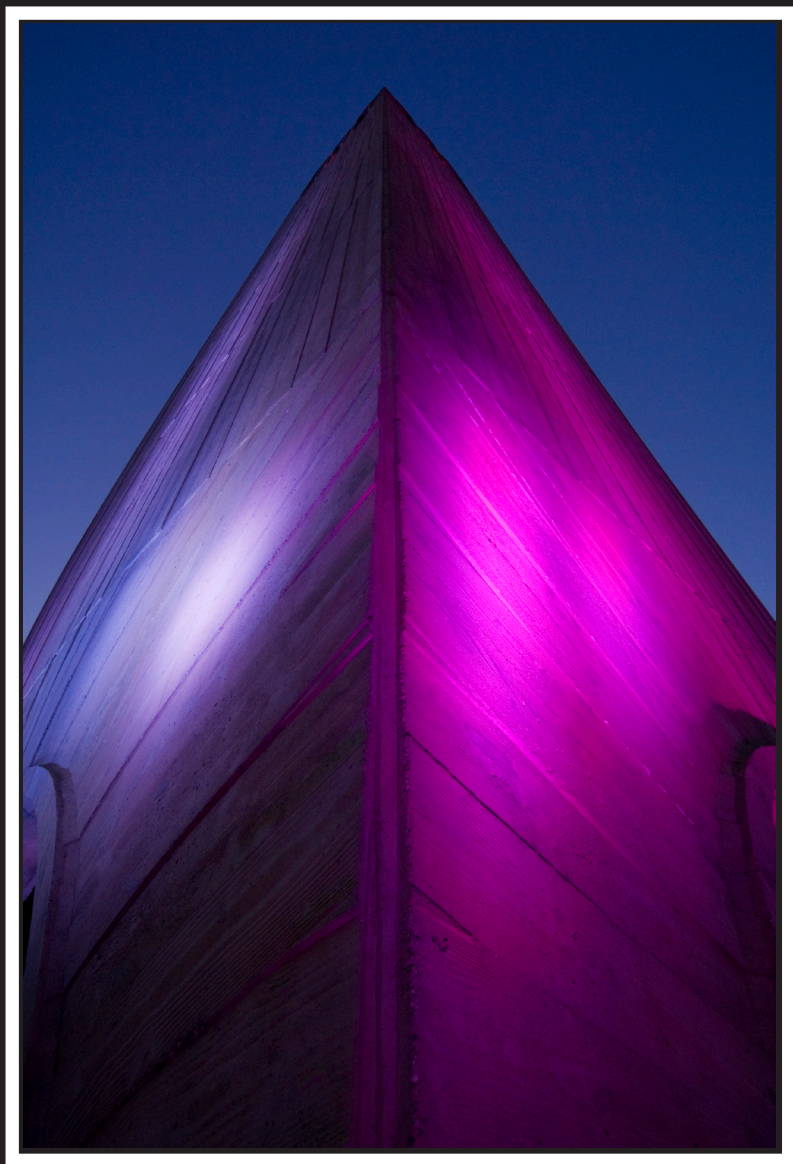


UCSB McNair Scholars Research Journal



UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA, SANTA BARBARA
2015 Volume 5

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Research Journal

University of California, Santa Barbara
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UCSB McNair Scholars

Research Journal

2015 - Volume 5

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Letter from Executive Vice Chancellor David Marshall

I am very pleased to introduce Volume V of the UC Santa Barbara *McNair Scholars Research Journal*. Named after Dr. Ronald E. McNair Jr., physicist and NASA astronaut, the national McNair Scholars Program is a program designed to provide research opportunities for first-generation college, low-income, and underrepresented undergraduates with the goal of preparing them for graduate school. Our local UC Santa Barbara McNair Scholars Program supports our campus efforts to advance the diversity and quality of our students, and to prepare them for success beyond their undergraduate experience. By combining undergraduate research with faculty mentoring and academic support services, the McNair Scholars Program provides a path to graduate school for students from families that in the past may not have considered even an undergraduate college education.

UC Santa Barbara is very proud to have been formally designated this year as an Hispanic Serving Institution in recognition of the fact that 27% of our students are of Hispanic origin. Indeed, UCSB is the first member of the American Association of Universities (AAU)—an elite group of the 62 top research universities in North America—to receive this designation. As a public research university, UC Santa Barbara strives to support its students and to give them the knowledge, understanding, and skills to make future contributions to the State of California.

The *McNair Scholars Research Journal* recognizes the research accomplishments of a select group of 8 undergraduate scholars from a wide range of disciplines who have successfully completed our McNair Scholars Program. Their contributions to this journal represent the hard work and intellectual creativity of students who, we expect, will become leaders in their respective fields. In our program, students develop a strong bond with mentors who offer guidance and serve as role models in order to help the students realize their potential. The journal also reflects the contributions of the faculty mentors who exemplify the dedication of our campus to undergraduate success.

The quality, originality, and creativity of the scholarship published here are very impressive. This research augurs well for the future contributions of these students to scholarship and society. I congratulate the McNair Scholars, applaud their faculty mentors, and extend my appreciation to the staff of the McNair Scholars Program for their dedication and work in helping these students succeed.

David Marshall
Executive Vice Chancellor

Letter from the College of Letters and Sciences Executive Dean L. Melvin Oliver

Welcome to the fifth issue of the UCSB McNair Scholars Research Journal. The work of the scholars in this journal highlights the fruits of an apprenticeship relationship that they shared with a faculty mentor to better understand and learn to carry out research in their respective fields. The research they have produced represents the result of applying creative ideas to research questions using systematic and rigorous methods of established research protocols in several areas, ranging from the humanistic social sciences to math/economics and linguistics. I am certain you will agree with me that this research is both impressive and engaging.

The UCSB McNair Scholars were encouraged to advance their education in hopes that they will become the next generation of college and university professors. We have seen scholars in previous cohorts go on to prestigious graduate and professional schools and we have no doubt that, as a consequence of their McNair experience, these scholars too will excel in their graduate programs. As first generation, and often underrepresented minorities, they are an important resource for higher education as our student population becomes more diverse and our nation's productivity becomes increasingly reliant on the academic, economic and social success of this multiethnic mosaic.

I salute the Director, Dr. Beth Schneider, the Assistant Director, Monique Limón, Program Coordinator Micaela Morgan, Writing Consultant Dr. Ellen Broidy, graduate mentors, and the array of faculty mentors who have selflessly given of their time, for creating the kind of supportive and nurturing environment that has made the production of this journal possible. And finally, I want to salute the McNair Scholar authors who, I hope, will look fondly

upon this publication as one of their first in a long line of research publications in a stellar academic career!

Sincerely,

Melvin L. Oliver

Executive Dean, College of Letters and Sciences and SAGE Sara

Miller McCune Dean of Social Sciences

Letter from McNair Program Director, Dr. Beth E. Schneider

Volume V of the UCSB McNair Scholars Program is now in the hands of our students, alumni, faculty mentors, campus allies, and colleagues in McNair programs around the country. As the Director of the UCSB McNair Scholars Program since its inception, it is a pleasure to showcase the work of some of our outstanding students.

These scholars and authors spent 18 months or more with the UCSB McNair Scholars Program. Expectations were high for these scholars, and each of the students met them, presenting their faculty-mentored scholarship at one McNair Scholars National Research Conference and/or at one professional association as well as offering at least two poster sessions in academic symposium on our campus. Among this current group of 8 authors are seven seniors who applied to graduate school this academic year; all will attend graduate school in Fall 2015 at the following excellent universities (UC-San Diego; UC-Berkeley; Purdue University; University of Illinois-Chicago; University of Indiana-Bloomington; University of Maryland; University of Wisconsin-Madison).

The papers published in Volume V are the final versions of manuscripts our graduates were willing to see through to publication. They went the extra mile, writing and rewriting in response to a steady stream of comments from their mentors and the journal editors. As undergraduate research papers, we expect that these publications will be the first of many manuscripts published by these students during their graduate training and in their first academic positions.

The perseverance, patience, and diligence displayed by the scholars will serve them well as they continue with professional training in their respective fields. For all first-generation, low

income, and underrepresented undergraduates, the existence of the journal and the labor it represents will hopefully be an inspiration to seek research opportunities, develop successful mentorships, and take seriously a future in which the McNair Scholars Program played and continues to play an important part.

Special thanks to the UCSB McNair Scholars staff and graduate student mentors. Most importantly, congratulations to the scholars.

In pride,

Beth E. Schneider
Professor of Sociology
Director, McNair Scholars Program

**Letter from the Editors,
Drs. Ellen Broidy and Beth E. Schneider**

The McNair Scholars Program at UCSB is pleased to bring you the fifth volume of the UCSB McNair Scholars Research Journal. A cooperative effort of faculty mentors, McNair staff, and most especially a dedicated cadre of student scholars, the journal represents months of research, writing, editing and reviewing on the part of all the participants.

For our scholars, preparation of their manuscripts for publication in the Journal began as a challenging and ended as a rewarding experience. Novices when they started the process, the scholars embarked on a year-long adventure in what it takes to produce academic work suitable for publication. With good humor and extraordinary patience and fortitude, they experienced the frustration of being asked to revise and revise again and then the feeling of elation that comes with a final acceptance. Through this process, the McNair staff was able to provide scholars with a practical hands-on introduction to the types of writing and revision expected of graduate students and academics.

Submission to the Journal was never a requirement of participation in the UCSB McNair Scholars Program so we were enormously gratified that a number of our students graduating in 2015 decided to allow their work to be put under the editorial microscope. While we would have liked 100% participation, previous publication arrangements with faculty mentors meant that some scholars were unable to submit their work. The scholars who did contribute worked diligently on their papers, rethinking, rewriting, reorganizing, and in some instances, reconceptualizing core ideas in response to comments from faculty mentors and the Journal's editors. We applaud them all for their hard work and commitment. We want to say a special thank you to the faculty mentors who worked alongside the students to guide them in the production of work of such high caliber.

We trust that you will enjoy reading the work of the UCSB McNair Scholars represented in this fifth volume of the Journal. We look

forward to bringing you the voices of new generations of scholars in subsequent volumes and thank you on behalf of the authors, mentors, and editors who made this publication possible.

Best,

Ellen Broidy

Writing Consultant, UCSB McNair Scholars Program

Beth E. Schneider

Professor, Department of Sociology

Director, UCSB McNair Scholars Program

“Talk slowly like a turtle”: Speech Therapy Strategies Influencing Metalinguistic Awareness

Lizette Wences

Mentor: Dr. Mary Bucholtz
Department of Linguistics

Abstract

According to the Stuttering Foundation, there are over 68 million people worldwide who stutter (Stuttering Foundation, 2015). Numerous studies have been conducted in an attempt to understand the cause(s) of stuttering, as well as develop appropriate assessment and intervention strategies (e.g. Ezrati-Vinacour, R., Platzky, R., & Yairi, E. 2001, Yairi, E. & Ambrose, N.G. 1992). However, relatively little work has been done on the effects of stuttering on metalinguistic awareness, or the ability to use language to describe language, particularly in relation to the self-perception of school-age children who stutter (CWS). Such work is necessary in order for speech-language pathologists to utilize clinical methods that cultivate positive self-esteem and self-confidence. Because the sociocultural environments children frequent heavily influence their language development (Dumas 2012), it is necessary to understand the experiences of young CWS in these settings. I therefore conducted a qualitative analysis of speech therapy sessions with two second grade children who stutter. Based on the analysis, I argue that the metalinguistic awareness of CWS is shaped partly through speech therapy. Therapy techniques, such as the puppet paradigm (Ambrose & Yairi, 1994), create a “good/bad” dichotomy in regards to fluent/disfluent speech. This split in the perception of speech by a CWS may create longstanding beliefs that they must “fix” or hide their speech. Unfortunately, the stress created by these negative reactions may increase rates of stuttering. Consequently, these experiences are important in that they affect self-perception and self-esteem of CWS, especially for vulnerable populations such as bilingual Latino/a children who stutter.

Introduction

Stuttering is a language disorder characterized by numerous disruptions of fluent speech, including the repetition of words or parts of words as well as prolonged speech sounds. These disfluencies are not inherently problematic in the sense that most people produce brief moments of disfluency from time to time. Among common disfluencies are repetition of words and use of conversational fillers such as *hm* or *uh*. However, high rates of disfluent speech can hinder communication and make daily activities more challenging for those who stutter, especially because people who do not stutter may become uncomfortable. How people perceive and react to the disorder can influence the self-perception and self-esteem of people who stutter.

Speech language pathologists, or SLPs, are therapists who specialize in the diagnosis and treatment of speech, language, and fluency disorders. When diagnosing a person who stutters, the SLP evaluates the number and type of speech disfluencies in various situations, and how the individual reacts to these disruptions. For young children who stutter, various factors influence the possibility that stuttering will persist into adulthood including but not limited to: a family history of stuttering, an extended period of stuttering, the presence of other language disorders, and concerns about stuttering by the child or family (Bloodstein, 1960a/b).

According to the Stuttering Foundation, there are 68 million people worldwide who stutter, with 3 million people in the United States alone (Stuttering Foundation, 2015). Out of this number, only a small percentage of Americans who stutter have access to speech therapy services due to financial limitations or the lack of SLPs qualified to provide clinical services in a language other than English. More often than not, individuals who have the opportunity to receive services are children since speech services are often provided through the public school system. Unfortunately, although these children have access to therapy, these services frequently hinder more than help their linguistic development due to the misinterpretation/misperception of language difference versus language disorder (Brice, 2002).

Depending on the goals set by the therapist for children who stutter (CWS), different methods are utilized. For example, the goals for CWS may include using fluency shaping techniques when telling a story. In order to achieve this goal, clinicians employ techniques that call attention to moments of disfluent speech in order to directly address the problem of stuttering (also referred to as stammering). Although there is a need, to some extent, to highlight the language disorder, clinicians must be extremely careful regarding the manner in which they approach these disfluencies. This caution is especially important in regards to children, whose linguistic development can be heavily influenced (both positively and negatively) by the responses of others (including not only SLPs but also caregivers, teachers, and peers).

Literature Review

Previous Research on the Cause(s) Stuttering

Charles Bluemel (1932), an early pioneer in speech-language pathology with a special interest in stuttering, suggested that the individual who stutters is unaware of his or her speech disfluency during the early stages of stuttering (i.e. in early childhood). He describes this initial stage as including minimal disfluencies (which are seen in most children during the early stages of their linguistic development). As the secondary stage of stuttering sets in later, physical tension becomes associated with speech interruptions. Prolonged blocks and strains in the facial muscles are clear indicators of this tension. Severe forms of stuttering are characterized by associated head and neck movements, lip pursing, and eye blinking (Yairi & Ambrose, 2005). As a consequence of these physiological responses, the disfluencies become more noticeable to those who interact with the person who stutters. If this stage is exhibited by a school-age CWS, it will usually catch the attention of caretakers and/or educators, oftentimes leading to a referral to speech-language services. For the CWS, these noticeable differences in speech production can lead to the development of metalinguistic

awareness and associated negative emotional reactions to stuttering. This situation highlights the importance of developing speech therapy methods that are sensitive to emotions of the clients.

Despite extensive research there is no clear-cut explanation for what causes stuttering. The current speech-language literature proposes three possible explanations for its origins: genetic, neurological/physiological, and psychological. For the purposes of this investigation, I will be focusing on the psychological approach. The diagnosogenic theory, a well-known, though now largely discredited explanation for stuttering, was proposed by Wendell Johnson and his colleagues (1942). This theory states that making a child aware of disfluencies by calling attention to them is a major factor in the onset of stuttering. Generally, stuttering was seen as a disorder that develops gradually, with awareness increasing after the extended presence of physical and speech symptoms. This belief led clinicians to avoid direct speech therapy techniques for children. Interestingly, Bernstein Ratner (1997) suggested that young children who stutter show higher awareness of disfluencies in comparison to children who do not have language disorders. That being said, there is relatively little work done on the processes by which children develop an awareness of stuttering that eventually leads to negative reactions toward self, speech, and social interaction (Bloodstein, 1960; Van Riper, 1971).

Forty years after Johnson's diagnosogenic theory, another theory was proposed for the possible cause of stuttering: a lack of structure in the child's environment. Bailey and Bailey (1982) highlight the importance of having people who frequent the child's environment collaborate in the prevention and remediation of disfluent speech. Given that school and the home comprise most of the environments children routinely frequent, the assistance of teachers and parents is ideal. Since children who stutter often do not feel self-reliant, confident, or self-assured (Bailey & Bailey, 1982), Bailey and Bailey suggest that criticism of these children be decreased and encouraging comments be increased in order to nurture a more positive self-regard.

Awareness of stuttering depends on the development of advanced metalinguistic capabilities, or the ability to use language to describe language (Ambrose & Yairi, 1994). Rates of stuttering can increase with strong emotions, such as frustration, excitement and fear. Nicoline Ambrose & Ehud Yairi (1994) propose two forms of treatment of stuttering, direct and indirect. Direct treatment is based on the assumption that a child's speech should be changed and thus there are direct changes to a child's fluency. This type of treatment involves correcting the child's disfluencies as they occur. On the other hand, indirect treatment is predicated on the idea that the environment that triggers stuttering should be changed; those who interact with the CWS need to create environments and contexts that promote fluent speech. Oftentimes, school-based clinicians use a combination of these forms of treatment, recognizing the importance that the environment plays in the sociocultural development of children who stutter.

The Environment and Interactions of Children Who Stutter

A common denominator in speech language pathology literature is the role that a speaker's environment and interactions play in their speech production and perception. Conture and Curlee (2007) emphasize the idea that children learn language within the context of interactions with caregivers and others in their environment (Nelson, 1973). In other words, children learn language and culture through meaningful use and interaction. Cultural, social, and individual variation in the form of communication in which children participate depends on the adults with whom they are interacting (e.g. caregivers, peers, or educators). The researchers argue that individualized interactional styles influence a child's language strategies through their responses to stuttered speech. For example, facial responses indicating confusion or requests to repeat utterances may signal to a child that the listener is having difficulties understanding their speech. Repeated interactions similar to the above example may cause a CWS to doubt their ability to communicate as easily and effectively as speakers with markedly fewer disfluencies.

Both the physical environment and the persons present in the environment (e.g. family, peers) affect the linguistic development of CWS. Important mediating social factors may negatively influence emotional aspects of a speech disorder (Ezrati-Vinacour, Platzky & Yairi, 2001), especially since this problem often worsens with age. Not being perceived as a suitable playmate by peers may lessen a child's opportunities for social interaction, which can cause a delay in social development.

Speech Therapy Techniques and Awareness

Using the idea of metalinguistics, Ambrose and Yairi (1994) established a procedure to test awareness of stuttering in young children, focusing on its development and relationship to age and severity. In this widely used technique, the researcher or therapist has two puppets utter the identical sentence, one with fluent speech and the other with disfluent speech. Participants are then asked to identify the puppet whose speech most closely resembles their own. This test relies on the underlying assumption that those CWS who correctly identify with one of the puppets are able to distinguish between the two puppets' speech; correct self-identification is taken as a sign of awareness. This technique is central to the argument of this paper and is discussed in greater detail below.

As proposed by Ambrose and Yairi, treatment and therapy techniques should be individualized and based on the severity and needs of the disfluent speaker. Eduard Conture and Richard Curlee (2007) build on this idea and suggest a treatment that counsels CWS. They offer the concept of "self-as-a-stutterer." This notion focuses on an individual's attitude towards himself or herself, paying particular attention to the improvement of self-perception. In this model, treatment involves presenting the idea that an individual may have a relationship with their stuttering, giving the child the impression that they are in control of their own stuttering. By creating a sense of relationship, children view their stuttering as

only a part of who they are, rather than something that defines them.

Previous research by Ambrose and Yairi (Ambrose & Yairi, 1994; Yairi & Ambrose, 1992) argues that early awareness may be attributed to the reactions from people who respond to a child's stuttering. The authors touch upon two prevalent speech therapy techniques that not only identify awareness of stuttering, but, as I argue, actually increase this metalinguistic awareness. The first is the puppet-talk technique discussed above. This strategy is a form of negative practice, that is, the strengthening of learning through contrast of two opposite behaviors. A second strategy the authors discuss is the use of special terms and therapy materials to help produce stutter-free speech, such as using a model turtle to remind students to use "turtle talk" (or speak slowly). Ezrati-Vinacour, Platzky and Yairi (2001) also note that school-age CWS not only manifest increased severity of overt stuttering, but also have a high level of awareness of stuttering and show the emergence of strong emotional reactions associated with their speaking difficulties. Further research is necessary in order to identify a correlation between speech therapy techniques and awareness levels.

In light of previous research, it is clear that fostering positive self-esteem and attitudes towards stuttering is necessary to create healthy experiences for speakers with disfluencies. If children come to believe that their stuttering is "wrong," they will try not to stutter or they will try to disguise moments of disfluency (Dumas 2010). Despite the multitude of works on defining, assessing, and treating stuttering, there is a large gap in information on the effects of speech therapy techniques on metalinguistic awareness and their effects on self-perception and self-esteem.

Methodology

This non-experimental study uses a qualitative approach in order to understand how commonly employed speech therapy techniques may affect the metalinguistic awareness and self-perceptions of CWS. Often, qualitative research relies on inductive reasoning to formulate a theory (Trochim & Donnelly, 2007). In an inductive approach, researchers first collect and examine data, identify trends, and then formulate an overarching theory. In other words, a research question is formed based on the answers already provided in the data. Data in this type of research includes verbal statements and detailed descriptions of behaviors. Distinct from a quantitative approach, qualitative researchers stress the importance of studying participants in natural contexts as opposed to laboratory settings. The emphasis on the natural environment is necessary to interpret accurately and to understand the actions of the participants. Since I seek to understand the experiences of children with communication disorders, observations are best when they are made in the natural environments and situations they often find themselves in.

In order to fully document the experiences of children who stutter, observations must be made in the environments they frequent. Thus, my larger research design includes a three-part longitudinal case study that I am currently conducting over one year. The three phases focus on different contexts: speech therapy sessions, classroom and playground, and home. For school-aged children, school is a familiar, routine environment in which they spend most of their day. Given that different environments may exert a variety of influences on a child's language development (such as differences in listeners and conversation topics), gathering information from as many contexts as possible creates a clearer picture of the experiences of young children living with communication disorders. The research included in this paper is drawn from a pilot version of the first phase carried out during the 2013-14 academic school year.

This focused case study documented multiple speech therapy sessions of two 7-year-old CWS. Jake and Max are Latino boys in the second and third grades respectively. I gathered data at Coral Tree School in California during the 2013-14 academic year. I collected data once a week for up to 30 minutes per session over the course of two months. The study involved multiple sources of evidence, such as observation of daily routines and spontaneous speech samples. Participant selection was based on enrollment in speech-language services at the school and the recommendation of the SLP providing the services. The selection criteria focused on bilingual school-aged CWS receiving speech therapy services provided by the public education system. After identifying two participants who met the criteria, I obtained permission to carry out the project from the UCSB Human Subjects Committee and the school. Consent and assent were obtained from the guardians and participants.

Because children with communication disorders may be uncomfortable with highlighting of or attention to the speech disfluencies, I did not record the first few visits so as to build familiarity with the students. Once a friendly rapport was established, I began to video- and audio-record the sessions. I took a participant-observer approach in which I mostly observed the speech therapy sessions, but in the final four sessions I was actively involved in treatment methods. To collect a larger variety of data, the therapy sessions were recorded in both group and individual settings. This difference in setting may eventually shed light on how interactions of CWS differ in response to those with whom they interact.

The speech therapy sessions were held once a week for 15 to 20 minutes. Usually, treatment was provided in a group setting so the two participants received services at the same time. Given the joint treatment, the two boys were already familiar with each other. Field notes were taken to note interactions and/or ideas of particular interest. Following the therapy sessions, I audio-recorded journal reflections about the day's events. Although the boys and clinician all spoke Spanish, there was no use of the boys'

heritage language in the speech therapy sessions; the only recorded Spanish utterance is “gol” (soccer goal).

I conducted a qualitative analysis of the video/audio recordings by systematically indexing, coding, and transcribing the data. I used an open data coding technique based on the emergence of recurring themes, using two methods to code the data. First, I coded all the instances of stuttering based on the type of stutter: whole-word repetition, sound-syllable repetition, sound prolongation, blocking, phrase repetition, interjection, and revision. Other themes I coded were therapy techniques, family life, structured vs. unstructured conversation, body language, facial expressions, use of Spanish, academic life, and distracted attention. Social interactions within the recordings allowed me to develop my research questions using an inductive approach: *How do speech therapy techniques affect the metalinguistic awareness of CWS? What affect do these techniques have on their self-perception and self-esteem?*

Data Analysis

Clinicians employ a wide variety of speech therapy techniques in order to identify and/or treat different aspects associated with language disorders, such as emotional, psychological, and physiological stressors. Techniques designed to help young people who stutter cope with and manage their stuttering highlight the disorder through negative practice, which is characterized as learning through the comparison of contrasting behaviors. This contrast creates a dichotomy that can be perceived as ‘good/bad’ or ‘normal/abnormal’ by children. Two of the most routine speech therapy techniques, known as “turtle talk” and the “puppet paradigm,” employ negative practice and are used to reduce the instances of disfluencies and identify metalinguistic awareness respectively.

The following transcript is taken from one of the first therapy sessions I recorded. This interaction only features Max because Jake was absent from school this day. Here, the SLP places Max in the role of the expert and has him explain the social etiquette of the speech therapy classroom to me using “turtle talk.”

Turtle Talk- Slowly Transcript
00:01:08-00:01:37

1.	Max	Ye:a!	<Low volume>
2.		Can I rip it?	
3.	SLP	And can you remi:↑nd Liz how we talk in here?	
4.	Max	Talk [slowly -]	
5.	SLP	[can you remind her?]	
6.	Max	like a tu:rtle:	
6.	SLP	Right.	
7.		Yours is kind of missing some legs	
8.	Liz	@ @ @	
9.	Max	This is not mine.	
10.		This is Jack's.	
11.	SLP	Is that Jack's turtle?	
12.	Max	Yea.	
13.		This isn't mine.	
14.	Liz	You have your own turtle?	
15.	Max	Yea.	
16.		This is not mine.	
17.	SLP	Oh!	
18.		How about this one?	
18.	Liz	Is that your turtle?	
19.	Max	Yea!	
20.		Look it!	
21.	Liz	A:h!	
22.		I see!	
23.		Did you make a ninja turtle?	
24.	Max	Ah!	
25.	Liz	Is that [Leonardo?]	
26.	Max	[How di-]	
27.	Liz	The blue ninja turtle?	
28.	Max	A:↑wuh	
29.			

In the video recording, Max exhibits his high awareness of the speech expected from him in this environment, as shown through his description of appropriate speech while employing the techniques himself. Max practices turtle talk by slowing down his rate of speech, carefully enunciating, and lowering his volume (line 4). The SLP then positively reinforces his description and proper use of technique by saying “Right” (line 7).

In this interaction, the SLP involves an object symbolizing “turtle talk.” As a part of the many activities conducted in the therapy sessions, students created their own tokens to help them actively practice “turtle talk.” Each student made their own turtle out of construction paper, decorating it however they saw fit. Whenever the boys became excited, causing an increase in their rate of stuttering, the therapist would pull these turtles out of their files and placed them in plain view of the students. Throughout various other instances in the observations, the boys almost always immediately began to use their “turtle talk” as soon as they laid eyes on their turtles.

A second example of “turtle talk” is provided in the following interaction between the SLP and Jack. In this interaction both students are present for the group therapy. The boys begin to get a bit rowdy in the session, so the therapist asks the boys to describe the speech that is expected of them in the classroom as a way of hinting at their lack of use of speech therapy techniques. Jack is quick to respond to the SLP’s question, excitedly providing his description of “turtle talk”:

Turtle Talk- Sh! Transcript

00:02:22-00:02:26

1.	SLP	Wait.	
2.		How are we supposed to talk in speech?	<i>SLP brings out a paper turtle</i>
3.	Jack	Sh	<i>Jack bounces in his chair with each utterance</i>
4.		Sh	<i>Eyes widen</i>
5.		Sh	
6.		Sh	
7.		Sh	
8.		Sh	
9.		Sh	
10.		Shhh!	
11.	SLP	And we're going to listen to Miss Liz today	<i>Whispered</i>
12.		Okay?	<i>Jack maintains eye contact with SLP, smile</i>
13.		And we're going to keep quiet voices	<i>Jack moves under table</i>
14.		Okay?	
15.		And I want you to pay attention.	
16.	Jack	Could we [play the bean game?]	
17.	SLP	[I'm going to put our little turtles-]	<i>SLP hands Jack and Max their turtles</i>
18.		We can play whatever game at the end.	<i>SLP raises one finger</i>
19.		Okay?	<i>Max spins turtle in his hands</i>
20.	Jack	Bean game.	<i>Haunch shoulders</i>
21.	SLP	Okay but [first-]	
22.	Jack	[Bean]	
23.	SLP	First we're gonna do this,	<i>Jack moves his turtle out of sight</i>
24.		Okay?	
25.	Jack	Be:an	
26.	Max	No:	<i>Max raises both fists in the air</i>
27.	SLP	Shh	<i>SLP gestures towards Max's turtle, which he picks up</i>

In this interaction, Jack eagerly describes the “turtle talk” speech therapy technique with repeated *sh*’s (lines 3-10), a single word, bouncing in his seat with each utterance. Max, on the other hand, provides a more detailed description. Jack’s lack of detail may be why the speech therapist explicitly states the use of “quiet voices” (line 13), using a low volume herself to get her point across. Jack is fully aware of the speech therapy technique at play and demonstrates this by adhering to the expectations once they are made clear by the therapist.

Similar to the previous example, this interaction contains a token for slow speech: the student’s paper turtles. While verbally

reminding the students of the speech expected from them, the SLP also provides a visual cue for the students to work with. Yet again, the therapist places the paper turtles on the middle of the table in plain view of the students. Here, it is interesting to note that Jack moves his turtle out of sight (line 24). Although the intention of this action is unknown, it is possible that Jake is exhibiting a negative attitude towards the turtle by removing it from his line of sight, a sort of “out of sight, out of mind” mentality.

Max also interacts with his paper turtle once it is placed on the table. Although he does not speak during this interaction, he picks up the turtle and holds it in his hands when the therapist signals the object. Max continues his silence and merely spins the turtle around in his hands, waiting for the interaction between Jake and the therapist to come to an end. In this way, Max non-verbally acknowledges the use of this technique in spite of the fact that he is not the student who is being explicitly reminded to use “turtle talk.”

Awareness Task-Puppet Paradigm

While the “turtle talk” task focuses on managing rate of speech, the interaction discussed below evaluates awareness of stuttering via the puppet paradigm. After being given the chance to hear both puppets “speak,” Max is asked to signal the puppet whose speech he think most closely resembles his own. The purpose of this task is to evaluate a child’s awareness of stuttering, self-identification, and self-perception.

In this example, Max is receiving speech therapy by himself due to Jake’s absence. This individual session provides the SLP with the opportunity to administer this task without Max being influenced by the presence of his peer, which could result in a difference in response. This activity takes place at the very beginning of the speech therapy session after some unstructured conversation between the student, SLP, and me. It is important to note that this interaction directly follows the prior example of Max’s “turtle talk.”

Puppet Paradigm Transcript
00:01:38-00:02:16

Stuttered Speech Codes:

- (P) Phrase repetition
(W) Whole-word repetition
(S) Sound-syllable repetition
(B) Block

1.	SLP	I'm just gonna do this	<i>SLP opens bag of finger puppets on her lap</i> <i>Max spins paper turtle in hands</i>
2.		This se=	
3.	Max	=gimme the- (P)	
4.		gimme the dragon.	<i>Max leans over the table to look at the puppets</i> <i>M reaches over and tries to grab a puppet</i>
5.		I want the dragon	
6.	SLP	There is no dragon (0.8)	
7.		Okay,	
8.		I have a question for you Max.	
9.	Max	##	
10.		I want it	
11.		No,	
12.		ma:n	
13.		uwu:h=	<i>SLP makes finger puppet "talk"</i> <i>Max tries to grab puppet</i> <i>Max pretends to flick puppet</i> <i>Max sits down in his chair</i> <i>Max pretends to flick puppet</i>
14.	SLP	=Hi: (0.6)	
15.		My name is Piénky	
16.	Max	Ga pft	<i>M stop fidgeting and closely watches cow</i>
17.	SLP	How are you?	
18.	Max	Ga pft	
19.	SLP	Okay (1.5)	<i>SLP ends "puppet talking"</i> <i>M purses lips</i> <i>M subtly signals cow puppet, drops gaze</i>
20.		And m- (S)	
21.		M-m-m-m- (S)	
22.		My-m-my- (S,W)	<i>M reaches to grab cow puppet</i> <i>Low volume</i> <i>M smiles</i>
23.		My name is Cow. (1.2)	
24.		Which one do you think you talk like?	
25.		(6.2)	<i>Looks down at paper on table</i> <i>Very low volume, begins to rustle papers</i>
26.		You think you talk like cow sometimes?	
27.	Max	Ye:a:s	
28.	SLP	Why?	
29.	Max	Mooo:	
30.	Liz	@@	
31.	SLP	You talk like your-	
32.		like moo?	
33.	Max	Moo:	

In this example, one can see the presence of multiple disfluencies in Max's speech, which I have indicated with one-

letter codes; the key for these codes has been provided immediately preceding the transcript. Near the beginning of the interaction, Max is verbally and physically active, as seen by his assertiveness (lines 3-4) and body language (lines 2, 6-7). When Pinky, the fluent puppet, begins to “speak,” Max playfully interacts with it, as shown by his attempted flicks and accompanying sound effects (lines 16, 18). Max demonstrates his knowledge of appropriate turn-taking in conversation, responding only during natural speech breaks. Max hardly responds to Pinky’s fluent speech, supporting the idea that the puppet’s unmarked speech is the preferred, “normal” way of speaking and therefore does not require any out-of-the-ordinary responses. Upon hearing the speech from the disfluent puppet, however, Max’s reaction to the situation takes an unforeseen turn.

As mentioned above, the SLP uses the disfluencies most representative of early stuttering to administer this task. She makes the puppet “speak” with sound-syllable repetitions at first, and then moves on to whole-word repetitions of the same word, “my” (lines 20-22). Immediately after the SLP begins to speak for the disfluent puppet, Max’s all-over-the-place movements come to a sudden halt (line 20); the energy Max had only moments ago seems to drain out of him, leaving him frozen in his seat. He makes no movements during the disfluent speech, making minimal movements even when prompted for a response by the SLP. Max’s extended delay in response cannot be attributed to lack of familiarity with the situation. His previous interactions with the puppet demonstrate the fact that he is aware of appropriate conversational behaviors. Max’s lack of verbal response, or any response at first, hints toward a negative reaction toward this task.

Spoken language is not the only means of communication; one must also take into account embodied action. Physical reactions, or the lack thereof, provide information that is not overtly made clear by speech. Max’s physical reactions to disfluent speech include lack of movement (line 20), facial tension (line 24), minimal movement (line 25), and lowering of gaze (lines 25, 32). All of these reactions exemplify a negative response by Max

towards the disfluent puppet. After some hesitation, however, Max self-identifies with the puppet with speech disfluencies. Interestingly, when asked to evaluate his response, he replies in an unexpected manner. Instead of remarking on his own speech, Max justifies his selection simply by mooing. Although it is explicitly obvious that Max is aware of the difference in fluency, he makes no attempt to explain his decision.

In the few instances of speech that Max does produce after hearing the disfluent puppet, his volume noticeably decreases. When responding to the SLP's questions, he lacks a verbal response at first (line 25), but does go on to speak in lines 27, 29, and 33. His responses also significantly decrease in length and complexity. This difference may be attributed to the fact that Max is now highly aware of his speech disfluency. Now that this disfluency has been highlighted, he uses a common strategy to minimize his stuttering (and thus make his disfluency less noticeable): simplification of utterances. This strategy, accompanied by the lowering of volume, another management mechanism, may have been elicited by the puppet paradigm and Max's self-evaluation.

Conclusion

The viewpoint of a child who stutters towards verbal communication emerges due to the reactions of others towards his/her disfluent speech. In the speech-therapy setting, the role of the clinician is to provide people who stutter with positive yet realistic perceptions about themselves and their speech. Young CWS are at risk of developing negative social reactions to their stuttering, which can lead to perceiving their speech as 'wrong' (Williams, 1982). This mentality can in turn lead to feelings of shame and embarrassment. Later down their educational paths, CWS may develop even stronger, more harmful emotional reactions (Rustin, Cook, & Spence, 1995) that will only worsen the severity of stuttering. In extreme cases, these negative reactions may be so strong that people who stutter may refuse altogether to participate in conversations due to fear of further ridicule. It is

important to note that awareness of children's speech disfluencies may be caused by exposure to their own disfluent speech. Early awareness may additionally be influenced by people in their environment who respond, often negatively, to their stuttered speech (Ambrose & Yairi, 1994; Yairi & Ambrose, 1992).

Techniques used in the evaluation of metalinguistic awareness among CWS are examples of negative practice. The fluent and disfluent puppets create a dichotomy in which one form of speech is seen as "better" and more acceptable than the other. This split in perception of speech by a young stutterer can create longstanding beliefs that they must "fix" or hide their speech. Unfortunately, the stress created by these negative reactions does more harm than good and can actually increase rates of stuttering.

So as to not foster feelings of negative self-perception and low self-esteem, Yairi and Seery propose a two-pronged approach when working with the emotional aspect of stuttered speech. Their first step aims to lessen negative emotions through desensitization while their second focus aims to increase positive self-perception and assertiveness. Desensitization seeks to provide CWS with experiences of stuttered speech without the negative reactions that accompany it (Emerick, 1970). Calling attention to the language disorder is only part of handling the situation. It is vital that clinicians aim to nurture self-confidence and self-esteem in a young stutterer. This is especially important given that school-aged children who stutter are more likely to have a high level of awareness of stuttering, have strong negative emotional reactions associated with the speaking difficulties, and feel the growing effect of social forces on the disorder (Yairi & Seery, 2011).

Future Work

During my fieldwork at the elementary school, I was surprised by the lack of Spanish present in the sessions. Although both boys were Spanish-English bilinguals, and the SLP was proficient in Spanish, there was no recorded attempt in my data to incorporate the heritage language into the speech therapy techniques. I believe the value of incorporating the heritage language is especially important for children whose primary language skills are in a language other than English. That is to say, the use of the heritage language in speech therapy may serve to reinforce what is being presented in English. The complete absence of Spanish gives rise to a variety of future inquiries: Are both languages spoken by bilingual children incorporated into speech therapy techniques? How effective are heritage language techniques in comparison to English-only techniques? In the future, I hope to answer these questions regarding bilingual children who stutter and continue to add to the growing literature on bilingualism and fluency disorders.

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UCSB Hookup Culture: How Sexism, Heteronormativity, and Racism are Reproduced and/or Challenged

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Abstract

Hookup culture is a relatively new phenomenon that influences the sexual behaviors, desires, and identities of college students. The purpose of this research is to explore how sexism, heteronormativity, and racism are reproduced and/or challenged within hookup culture. This study looks at the “UCSB Hook-Ups” Facebook page where students and other Facebook users anonymously post narratives about their hookup experiences. In addition to examining the narratives, this study also looks at the comments other college students and Facebook users post. The research reveals how hookup culture benefits women’s sexuality by challenging traditional gender scripts, but polices women’s sexuality through the good girl/bad girl dichotomy and the double standard. It also demonstrates that hookup culture facilitates non-normative sexual behavior among women, but reproduces homophobia. Finally, the study will show that students of color engage in hooking up, but experience gendered racialized stereotypes in hookup culture.

Introduction

Hookup culture, rather than dating, is the predominant way that college students form intimate and sexual relationships.¹ Hookup culture began to emerge during the 1960s as a result of several factors. The birth of the party scene allowed students to socialize in groups and soon became a setting for potential sexual encounters.² The women's movement changed women's and society's views about women's sexuality; feminists challenged the notion that only "bad" girls were sexual agents.³ In other words, feminists critiqued traditional gender scripts in which women were deemed "sexual gatekeepers," allowing women to explore their sexuality. Delay in marriage also allowed college students to "play the field" before they settled down with a lifetime partner.⁴ Lastly, the number of women enrolled in college increased, which made men a scarcer resource on some college campuses. Coupled with continued sexual scripts casting men as dominant in sexual encounters, men on many college campuses have more sexual agency because there are more women for men to choose as potential sexual partners and therefore men are able to set the rules for hookups.⁵ Ultimately the rules the men set uphold sexism and contribute greatly to the power imbalance within hookup culture.⁶

This study looks at how hookup culture both benefits and disadvantages college students by analyzing the hookup dynamics at the University of California, Santa Barbara (UCSB). UCSB was recently ranked as number two on Princeton's Top Party School's Review.⁷ UCSB is adjacent to the small college town of Isla Vista

¹ Kathleen A. Bogle, *Hooking Up Sex, Dating, and Relationships on Campus*. (New York and London: New York University Press, 2008), 1.

² Ibid., 20

³ Ibid., 22

⁴ Ibid., 23

⁵ Ibid., 23

⁶ For further information about hookup culture please see Bogle, Armstrong et al., Rupp and Taylor, and Ronen.

⁷ "Top Party Schools: Princeton Review Releases 2013-14 Rankings."

Huffington Post, last modified August 16, 2013.

http://www.huffingtonpost.com/2013/08/05/top-party-schools-2013-14_n_3707912.html#slide=2773551

(IV), where most college parties take place. Currently UCSB has about 20,000 undergraduate enrolled students and 52% percent of the undergraduate college students are female and 48% are male.⁸ UCSB's undergraduate racial/ethnic composition consists of: American Indian/Alaskan Native (1%), African American (4%), Chicano (19%), Latino (6%), Asian/Pacific Islander/E. Indian/Pakistani (19%), Caucasian (41%) and Unknown (3%). Although UCSB's largest racial group is white, there is still racial diversity in UCSB; currently 49% of undergraduates are students of color. In addition, the majority of students live relatively close to IV: 52% live in Isla Vista, Goleta, or Santa Barbara, 23% live in UCSB Residence Halls, 11% live in UCSB apartments, and 2% live in fraternities/sororities.⁹ These statistics reveal that most college students have easy access to parties in Isla Vista.

What counts as “hooking up” is subjective; it can range from kissing to having sexual intercourse. Hooking up is a widespread phenomenon on college campuses throughout the nation. Elizabeth A. Armstrong et al.'s study, “Accounting for Women's Orgasm and Sexual Enjoyment in College Hookups and Relationships,” demonstrates that students in at least twenty-one universities in the nation had hooked up before. The student's sexual partners usually were someone with whom they were not in a relationship at the time.¹⁰ Furthermore, scholars have found that students use the party scene as a place to initiate hookups.¹¹

⁸ University of California, Santa Barbara Admissions,”
http://bap.ucsb.edu/IR/campusprofile/Campus_Profile_2013.pdf

⁹ Ibid.

¹⁰ Elizabeth A. Armstrong, Paula England and Alison C. K. Fogarty.
 “Accounting for Women's Orgasm and Sexual Enjoyment in College Hookups
 and Relationships.” *American Sociological Review*, 2012 77: 435 DOI
 10.1177/0003122445802

¹¹ Rachel Allison and Barbara J. Risman. “It Goes Hand in Hand with the
 Parties”: Race, Class, and Residence in
 College Student Negotiations of Hooking Up.” *Sociological Perspectives*
 (2014); Shelly Ronen, “Grinding On the
 Dance Floor: Gendered Scripts and Sexualized Dancing at College Parties.”
Gender & Society 2010 24: 355. DOI
 10.1177/0891243210369894.

Because hookup culture is a dominant force that shapes the sexual lives of undergraduate students, it is imperative to analyze how different populations experience it. My study examines how non-dominant populations, including women, students who identify as non-heterosexual or who engage in non-heterosexual sexual behaviors, and students of racial/ethnic minorities experience hookup culture. I define non-dominant as students who do not identify as white, heterosexual, or male in a society that is patriarchal, white-dominated and, heterosexually dominant. Because gender, sexual identity, race/ethnicity and their intersections shape the life experiences of individuals, it is important to explore how larger structures such as sexism, heteronormativity, and racism affect the hookup experiences of college students.

This research defines sexism as a structural institution that discriminates, stereotypes, or produces prejudice on the basis of gender through the use of the sexual double standard and the good girl/bad girl dichotomy. The sexual double standard is the notion that there are different guidelines and standards for women and men with respect to what is permissible sexual behavior. Men are free to engage in sexual activity outside of marriage, but women are expected to remain chaste until marriage.¹² The good girl/bad girl dichotomy refers to the societal standard in which “good” girls police their sexuality and refrain from having sex till marriage, and “bad” girls are sexual agents who do not wait until marriage to engage in sexual activity.¹³ Heteronormativity is defined as the “cultural, legal, and institutional practices that maintain normative assumptions that there are two and only two genders, that gender reflects biological sex, and that only sexual attraction between these ‘opposite’ genders is natural or acceptable.”¹⁴ Racism is defined as a system of advantages based on race and is a system

¹² Bogle, *Hooking Up*, 203.

¹³ *Ibid.*, 203.

¹⁴ Kristen Schilt and Laurel Westbrook. “Doing Gender, Doing Heteronormativity: ‘Gender Normals,’ Transgender People, and the Social Maintenance of Heterosexuality.” 2009, 309-10.

involving cultural messages, institutional practices, and individual acts and beliefs.¹⁵

Literature Review

The “Bad”

Previous literature has taken up the question of whether hookup culture is good or bad for women. Some scholars have found that patriarchal gender scripts upholding the double standard and the good girl/bad girl dichotomy shape women’s heterosexual hookup encounters. Kathleen Bogle argues in *Hooking Up: Sex, Dating and Relationships on Campus* that women are judged negatively based on the number of sexual partners they have, the way they dress, the amount of alcohol they consume, and the manner in which they behave.¹⁶ Scholars have found that when women defy traditional gender norms in hookup culture they are stigmatized through slut bashing.¹⁷ Words such as slut, whore, ho, and bitch are often used to reinforce traditional gender norms and police the sexuality of women.¹⁸ These words reproduce the good girl/bad girl dichotomy and restrict the sexual agency of women. Women are aware of the risks they run when they are sexual agents and often police their own sexuality to avoid being seen as loose or “bad girls.” Within hookup culture the double standard not only polices the sexual behavior of women but also serves to objectify women and create less pleasurable hookup experiences for them. Sexual assault and rape are prominent concerns on college

¹⁵ Beverly Tatum, “Defining Racism ‘Can We Talk’”, 7.

¹⁶ Bogle, *Hooking Up*, 107.

¹⁷ Bogle, *Hooking Up*, 107; Ronen, “Grinding On the Dance Floor: Gendered Scripts and Sexualized Dancing at College Parties.” 24: 355; 362; Julie A Reid, Sinikka Elliott, and Gretchen R. Webber. “Casual Hookup to Formal Dates Refining the Boundaries of the Sexual Double Standard.” *Gender and Society* 2011, 25:545 DOI: 10.1177/0891243211418642, 558; Currier, Danielle M. “Protecting Emphasized Femininity and Hegemonic Masculinity in the Hookup Culture.” *Gender & Society* 2013 27:704. DOI 10.1777/089124321343960, 718.

¹⁸ Leora Tanenebaum. *Slut! Growing up Female With a Bad Reputation* (New York: Seven Stories Press, 1999), xvi.

campuses. Studies have found that one in four college women will be raped or experience attempted rape during their college careers and that there is a risk of sexual assault occurring when hooking up (Deming et al., 2013).¹⁹

Historically women have been viewed as being “gatekeepers” of their sexuality and men have been viewed as “sexual aggressors.”²⁰ In other words, men’s sexuality is viewed as natural while women’s is not. Women and girls are systematically taught not to recognize their sexual desires; they are socialized to view themselves as objects rather than sexual subjects.²¹ Women and girls must monitor their sexual behavior as well as monitor the sexual behavior of men. Furthermore, the missing discourse of desire is evident within hookup culture; scholars have demonstrated that both women and men objectify women in hookup culture. When women engage in hooking up, both women and men view it as “something that just happens;” women’s sexual desires are only transitory, spontaneous or impulsive.²² At parties women are subject to the male gaze and men are the ones expected to ask women to dance, which can lead to a hookup encounter.²³ When women break norms they are labeled as sexually aggressive and risk being seen as less desirable.²⁴ In other words, heterosexual men have more sexual agency in hookup culture because they are able to express their sexual desire in public without risking stigmatization.

¹⁹ Michelle E. Deming, Eleanor Krassen Covan, Suzanne C. Swan and Deborah L. Billings. “Exploring Rape Myths, Gendered Norms, Group Processing, and the Social Context of Rape Among College Women: A Qualitative Analysis.” *Violence Against Women* 2013 19:465. DOI: 10.1177/107780121387044, 467.

²⁰ Bogle, *Hooking Up*, 107.

²¹ Deborah L. Tolman, *Dilemmas of Desire Teenage Girls Talk about Sexuality* (United States of America: President and Fellows of Harvard College, 2002).

²² Lorena Garcia, *Respect Yourself, Protect Yourself Latina Girls and Sexual Identity* (New York and London: New York University Press, 2012), 6; Reid, Sinikka Elliott, and Gretchen R. Webber. “Casual Hookup to Formal Dates.” 549.

²³ Bogle, *Hooking Up*, 555.

²⁴ Leila J. Rupp and Verta Taylor, “Straight Girls Kissing” 29; Ronen, “Grinding On the Dance Floor.” 365.

²⁵ Ronen, “Grinding On the Dance Floor,” 366.

The fact that there are more women than men on most college campuses has created another power differential.²⁵ Most women report wanting to have more than casual hookups with their partners; the men did not.²⁶ Men have a “hidden power” in hookup culture since women are afraid to challenge the status quo with their hookup partner because they are afraid it will jeopardize their potential to continue hooking up with their partner.²⁷ Some research indicates that women need to engage in strategic ambiguity, using ambiguous language as an impression management strategy to describe their hookups and avoid being labeled sluts.²⁸ For example, women use the term hookup in order to avoid confirming or denying that they had sexual intercourse with their partners (719).²⁹ On the other hand, men engage in strategic ambiguity to reassert their masculinity.³⁰ For example, men actively state to their male peers that they hooked up with women but do not define what sexual activity occurred. Because there is no clear definition of what sexual activity occurred it is assumed that the man and woman had sex (721).³¹

Another disadvantage that women face in heterosexual hookup experiences is that women experience less pleasure than men do. Scholars have found that men do not express genuine concern for women in hookups.³² On the other hand, women have reported being more concerned with their male partner’s sexual pleasure than their own.³³ This could be because women have been socialized to see themselves as objects rather than subjects. In fact, women who have hookup sex on average only experience orgasm 11 percent of the time, while women engaging in sexual

²⁵ Bogle, *Hooking Up*, 55.

²⁶ Bogle, *Hooking Up*, 97.

²⁷ Bogle, *Hooking Up*, 101.

²⁸ Currier, Danielle M. “Protecting Emphasized Femininity and Hegemonic Masculinity,” 719.

²⁹ *Ibid.*, 719.

³⁰ *Ibid.*, 720; Bogle, *Hooking Up*, 81.

³¹ Currier, “Protecting Emphasized Femininity and Hegemonic Masculinity,” 721.

³² Armstrong, Paula England and Alison C. K. Fogarty. “Accounting for Women’s Orgasm.” 457; Bogle, *Hooking Up*, 81.

³³ *Ibid.*, 456.

intercourse in a relationship experience orgasm about sixty-seven percent of the time.³⁴

Most literature that has been written about hookup culture has focused on heterosexual students. Existing literature has suggested that queer students do not engage in hooking up.³⁵ Although this might be true about students on some campuses, narratives posted on “UCSB Hook-Ups” prove that queer students do engage in hooking up. In addition, researchers Leila J. Rupp and Verta Taylor have found that some women who identify as heterosexual engage in same-sex behaviors such as kissing other women at parties. Rupp and Taylor found that men and some women believe women engage in these activities for the male gaze, for the sexual pleasure and entertainment of men, not because they are deriving sexual pleasure from kissing.³⁶ When men find out that women are kissing because they are bisexual or lesbian, men often respond through gay bashing.³⁷ This could be because women are constantly stigmatized for enacting their sexual agency when it is clear that women are engaging in same sex behavior for their own pleasure rather than men’s pleasure.³⁸

As with queer students, most existing literature has suggested that students of color do not engage in hooking up or does not address the role of students of color in hookup culture.³⁹ There is very little literature that represents how the hookup experiences of students of color might differ from those of white students. Historically the sexuality of racial/ethnic minorities has been used as a tool for social control. For example, both Black women and men face racialized gender stereotypes that trace back to the era of slavery. Blackness is associated with the uncivilized, the wild, savages, and freaks.⁴⁰ Women of color experience

³⁴ Ibid., 446.

³⁵ Bogle, *Hooking Up*, 68.

³⁶ Rupp and Taylor, “Straight Girls Kissing,” 29.

³⁷ Ibid., 32.

³⁸ Ibid., 32.

³⁹ Bogle, *Hooking Up*, 66.

⁴⁰ Patricia Hill Collins. *Black Sexual Politics African Americans, Gender, And The New Racism*. (New York & London: Routledge, 2004), 27.

racialized stereotypes differently than men. Black women are seen as heterosexual and hypersexual. The bodies of Black women are seen as readily available to men, their bodies are often objectified and reduced to body parts. Black women's physical appearance is often measured by the look of their breasts, buttocks, and legs.⁴¹ Black men are also heterosexual and are hypersexualized. In addition, they are seen as deviant, and their worth is reduced to the size of their penis.⁴²

Other racial/ethnic minorities, such as Latina women, face racialized gender stereotypes as well. Latinas are seen as sexually promiscuous and are expected to become teenage mothers and/or have a sexually transmitted infection.⁴³ In addition, the bodies of Latina women are also subject to objectification similar to what Black women face; their beauty is measure by the appearance of their breasts, buttocks, and other body parts.⁴⁴

Women of color are conscious about the racialized stereotypes they face and often engage in a politics of respectability to dismantle these notions. The politics of respectability can be defined as a form of resistance originally engaged in by Black women in the Evangelical Church to claim superiority over dominant white society.⁴⁵ The politics of respectability aimed to deconstruct Black stereotypes by encouraging "every individual in the black community [to] assume responsibility for behavioral self-regulation and self-improvement along moral, educational, and economic lines."⁴⁶ Ultimately, this cultural strategy encouraged marginalized women to restrict their sexuality in order to be "ladylike" and reinforce patriarchal gender scripts, the double standard, and the good girl/bad girl dichotomy. Other racial/ethnic minorities engage in a politics of respectability

⁴¹ Ibid., 30.

⁴² Ibid., 161.

⁴³ Garcia, *Respect Yourself, Protect Yourself*.

⁴⁴ Collins. *Black Sexual Politics*, 29.

⁴⁵ Evelyn Brooks Higginbotham, *Righteous Discontents: The Women's Movement in the Black Baptist Church* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University press, 1993), 187.

⁴⁶ Ibid., 187.

to help disprove racialized gender stereotypes they face. Lorena Garcia argues in *Respect Yourself, Protect Yourself: Latina Girls Policing Their Sexuality* that Latina girls engage in “handling their business” as a form of the politics of respectability.⁴⁷ Filipina women are expected to engage in this strategy to preserve their culture as well.⁴⁸ Engaging in the politics of respectability for Black, Latina, and Filipina women ultimately reproduces sexism, heteronormativity, and racism.

The “Good”

While literature that explores the dynamics of hookup culture focuses on the negative effects of hookup culture, there is some research that emphasizes its positive aspects. Although women are subject to the double standard and the good girl/bad girl dichotomy in hookup culture, when compared to the way women are viewed in traditional dating culture, women have more sexual agency. Women are recognized as having sexual desires, and the idea that college women engage in casual sex is accepted.⁴⁹ Hookups are an alternative to having sexual relations in a dating relationship, which some women find time consuming and a distraction from their studies. Another benefit is that women are able to navigate this predominantly heterosexual space to explore non-normative sexual behaviors without having to attach their sexual behaviors to sexual identity.⁵⁰ In other words, hookup culture opens spaces for women to take on fluid identities and/or sexual experiences. Leila J. Rupp and Verta Taylor’s studies, “Straight Girls Kissing” and “Queer Girls on Campus: New Intimacies and Sexual Identities,” demonstrate how Lisa M.

⁴⁷ Garcia, *Respect Yourself, Protect Yourself*.

⁴⁸ Espiritu, Yen Le. “We Don’t Sleep around like White Girls Do: Family, Culture, and Gender in Filipina American Lives.” *Signs*, Vol. 26, No. 2 (Winter, 2001), 432-33.

⁴⁹ Julie A Reid, Sinikka Elliott, and Gretchen R. Webber. “Casual Hookup to Formal Dates.”

⁵⁰ Leila J. Rupp and Verta Taylor, “Queer Girls on Campus: New Intimacies and Sexual Identities,” *Intimacies: A New World of Relational Life* edited by Alan Frank, Patricia Clough, and Steven Seidman (New York: Routledge, 2013.), 3.

Diamond's concept of sexual fluidity, the ability of women to "experience desires for either men or women under certain circumstances, regardless of their overall sexual orientation" is present in the hookup experiences of some college women.⁵¹

Although women, queer students or students with non-heteronormative sexual behaviors, and students of color are marginalized within hookup culture, my research project explores the different advantages and disadvantages each group faces. For example, heterosexual white women might have more sexual agency than heterosexual women of color. Queer women or women who engage in same-sex behavior might experience less stigma in hookup culture compared to queer men or men who engage in same-sex behavior. In addition, although male students of color might experience racialized gender stereotypes, female students of color experience racialized gender stereotypes more often.

Methods

In order to understand the hookup experiences of UCSB college students, I collected and analyzed data from the "UCSB Hook-Ups" Facebook page. This is one of the many Facebook pages available to UCSB students to post anonymous confessions about their college experiences. Most confessions tend to be narratives of hookup experiences that have occurred in Isla Vista, a beachside college town where most UCSB students live. Some of the hookup stories indicated they took place in on-campus housing or in the hometowns of college students. It is important to note that "UCSB Hook-Ups" is a moderated page. The confessions are first submitted to a link provided on the "UCSB Hook-Ups" page, which redirects users to a web page where they can anonymously write about their hookup experiences. The webpage gives the instruction "Write your hookup story" and then gives a text box to provide the story. The moderator of "UCSB Hook-Ups" selects

⁵¹ Rupp and Taylor, "Queer Girls on Campus;" Rupp and Taylor, "Straight Girls Kissing" Lisa M. Diamond, *Sexual Fluidity Understanding Women's Love and Desire*. (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2009), 3..

which posts are placed on the “UCSB Hook-Ups” profile.⁵² The gender of the moderator is unknown. I attempted to contact the moderator through a private Facebook message on August 4, 2013. I posed several questions about the selection process for the narratives they publish. The response I received was “we just don’t care.” After their response I did not seek further contact with them because of their expressed indifference.

The UCSB Hook-Ups Facebook page was designed to publicize the hookup experiences of college students and reconnect anonymous posters with their hookup partner. Although this page was designed for UCSB students, it is a public page, accessible to anyone. When a page is public, both Facebook and non-Facebook users are able to view the posts. A person without a Facebook account can submit anonymous hookup posts. Although it is possible that some of the posts on the “UCSB Hook-Ups” page are from non-UCSB students, most often the post describes a hookup experience that occurred in Isla Vista, which reflects the geographical dimensions of UCSB hookup culture.

The page was created on February 5, 2013, and the first confession was posted on February 6, 2013. As of February 19, 2015 there were 448 posts. One of the unique features of Facebook is that users are able to “like” a post. Usually a Facebook member “likes” a post if the reader agrees with the post or likes its content. Facebook users want to receive a high number of likes, because this signals popularity. In addition, Facebook users are able to write “comments” on a post. A comment is usually a response to the post; the most common use of a comment is to agree or disagree with the original post and/or to tag other Facebook users by writing their user name so that users can view the post and the comments. In addition, a comment can also be “liked” if a Facebook user finds the comment likeable. Only people with Facebook accounts can write comments on posts. All Facebook posts and comments used in this research are reproduced in the paper exactly as they appeared on the Facebook page, with

⁵² The Facebook posts and comments may contain grammatical errors. Both posts and comments reflect the original content of the authors.

no attempt to correct grammar, spelling, etc. The identity of users who comment can be traced. Most Facebook users have their full name as their display name and by clicking on their profile you can find out basic information about the user. For example, if you click on the “about” tab the gender of most users is revealed. The two options to select for gender are “Female” and “Male.” This study identifies the gender of a commenter based on the gender that person selected under the “about” section on their Facebook profile.

My sample size consisted of 200 out of a possible 448 posts, and focused on narratives and/or comments that reproduced and/or challenged sexism, heteronormativity, and racism. Seventy-two posts dealt with sexism (36%); of those 72 posts, 35 posts reproduced sexism, 11 challenged sexism, and 26 contained opinions that both reproduced and challenged sexism.⁵³ I found 87 posts that dealt with heteronormativity (43.5%); 40 reproduced heterosexism, 33 challenged heterosexism, and 14 did both.⁵⁴ As for posts dealing with race/ethnicity (20.5%), 20 reproduced racism, 0 of the posts contained material that only challenged racism, 11 contained opinions that reproduced and challenged racism, and 10 posts were positive hookup stories about students of color.⁵⁵

Analyzing the anonymous hookup posts of UCSB students allows us to better understand the dynamics of hookup culture. Because these posts are anonymous, this is a relatively unmediated discussion about hookup culture that has the potential to present narratives students might be less likely to produce in an interview situation. Students are able to post about their experiences and thoughts without severe personal repercussion. Their identities cannot be traced and this can be an incentive to reveal hookup experiences that are non-normative. The narratives of hookup culture reveal how sexism, heteronormativity, and racism affect the hookup experiences of students, but also challenge these structures.

⁵³ See attached Appendix, Figure 1.

⁵⁴ See attached Appendix, Figure 2.

⁵⁵ See attached Appendix, Figure 3.

Data Analysis

The anonymous posts and comments on the “UCSB Hook-Ups” Facebook page reveal how gender, the diverse sexualities of students and race/ethnicity shape the sexual experiences of college students. They illustrate how hookup culture challenges sexism, since women take more sexual agency in hookup culture than in dating culture, but also demonstrate how women’s sexuality continues to be policed by the double standard and the good girl/bad girl dichotomy. Posts also reveal that hookup culture opens doors for same-sex and non-heteronormative behaviors, such as making out with individuals of the same sex, engaging in threesomes and orgies, but that homophobia is a common reaction to these behaviors. In addition, some posts reveal that students of color face oppression within hookup culture through racialized gendered stereotypes, that stereotypes are constantly being challenged, and those students of color have positive hookup experiences. These posts demonstrate how social structures provide gendered scripts for students, but that individuals are able to exert their agency to challenge scripts.

Sexism: The Constant Battle

Sexism exists within hookup culture and restricts women’s sexuality through gendered scripts. A reoccurring theme in the posts was women’s awareness of gendered scripts and using their agency to challenge them. About 19% of the posts from the sample challenged gender inequality. Anonymous poster 428, for example, writes,

“I don’t think it’s fair how guys can fuck as much as they want and not get called a hoe, but when girls have sex with someone they don’t really know she automatically becomes a huge whore...The fuck? All I’m trying to do is have some fun safe sex!”⁵⁶

⁵⁶ “UCSB Hook-Ups” *Facebook*, last modified August 14, 2013.
<https://www.facebook.com/SBhookups>

The commenter's word choice such as "I don't think it's fair how guys can fuck as much as they want" and "All I'm trying to do is have some fun safe sex" helps identify the anonymous poster as a woman. She recognizes that women's sexuality is supposed to be more contained than men's and that the double standard causes women to be stigmatized for their number of sexual partners and that the repercussion for acting outside gender norms is often slut-bashing. Clearly, women are conscious of gender inequalities in hookup culture and challenge them by exerting agency. This poster exemplifies sexual agency by proclaiming her right to have safe sex, which demonstrates that she recognizes herself as having the right to experience sexual pleasure but also to make informed decisions about her sexual activity. Thus it is apparent that hooking up can be a space where women assert themselves as sexual agents and where they disprove patriarchal gender expectations of womanhood such as adhering to the double standard.

Post 448 also expresses discontent with the double standard within hookup culture. The anonymous woman explains,

"To the group of guys on the 664 block of DP who applauded me this morning as I did my walk of shame, thank you. Girls don't typically receive recognition of and support for their sexual victories although we are as pumped about them as guys are, so it's nice to hear every once in a while that our efforts do not go unnoticed."⁵⁷

This post highlights the slut-bashing women face, such as "the walk of shame," which is stigmatizing and often prevents women from engaging in sexual behaviors to avoid walking home the next morning in last night's clothes. It is easier to identify a woman in last night's clothes than men, because cultural scripts dictate women should dress in short and tight clothing when they go out to parties. This woman is challenging the "walk of shame" by asserting that "girls" and women have sexual desires just like boys/men have, and that women's sexual behaviors, like men's,

⁵⁷ "UCSB Hook-Ups"

should be seen as “sexual conquests.” In other words, this post demonstrates that women are conscious about how their sexual agency challenges idealized notions of femininity and that this agency might lead to oppression, such as slut-bashing.

Although we see agency being expressed, oppression and male privilege are enacted through the comments on several posts. About 17% of the posts reproduced sexism through comments. The first comment on post 448 challenges the woman’s sexual agency by saying, “I doubt this girl was actually thinking this as she walked shamelessly.”⁵⁸ Both comments enable us to see that when women recognize their sexual agency they often face criticism, which is a form of policing women’s sexuality and encouraging them to adhere to traditional gender scripts in which men are praised for being sexual agents and women are discouraged.

Men have more sexual agency within hookup culture and are often praised for their “sexual conquests.” Several Facebook posts that consisted of women describing their hookup experiences had comments in which the men were praised. For example post #242 says,

“Dear really tall guy in the ucsb volleyball shirt at the library...I think your name is mat...I met you this weekend at a party...i convinced you to fuck me on the beach...damn my vag is sandy!! but if you wanna do it again you know where to find me.”⁵⁹

Some of the comments in this post praised the male volleyball player. The first comment that does this read, “Brandon Smith” Jesus dude you're an animal” and the second comment says, “I am a proud friend Matt Marsh And that is a lucky female.”⁶⁰ This post exhibits how men are praised for their sexual action and how such comments reinforce masculinity. For example, this post does not

⁵⁸ “UCSB Hook-Ups”

⁵⁹ Ibid.

⁶⁰ Ibid.

recognize that women sometimes need to persuade their potential partners to engage in sexual activities. Instead this post reinforces masculinity through the sexual conquests of the woman in this post. Other posts also illuminate how men have more sexual agency within hookup culture. In post 129 a woman is complaining about her hookup experience. She had recently met a British man and went home to hookup with him, in this case to have sexual intercourse. The woman expresses discontent with her hookup experience and says,

“To the probably high school british guy who cant last more than 5 minutes, stop coming to IV and thinking you can get chicks, its embarrassing. ARGHH where are some real men out there that can handle me??!”⁶¹

Some of the comments demonstrate that men’s sexual satisfaction is prioritized over women’s in hookup culture. One male Facebook poster wrote a comment saying, “but my favorite part is: ‘stop coming to IV and thinking you can get chicks’ because, finish or not, he totally did.”⁶² This comment received 28 likes, while the original post received 18 likes. This may indicate that more people agree with the comment prioritizing the man’s sexual pleasure over the woman’s. The fact that men’s sexual satisfaction is prioritized is enforced when a second male Facebook user, who could potentially be the man she hooked up with, writes, “All I can say is, I got mine...Twice.”⁶³ This comment received 28 likes, which exemplifies that hookup sex that is less pleasurable for women is acceptable.

Other posts continue to show how men have more power in hookup culture. Post 383 is a woman explaining her discontent with her hookup partner. She writes,

“You want to stop by so I’ll give you head [oral sex] but that's not how this works you selfish prick.

⁶¹ “UCSB Hook-Ups.”

⁶² Ibid.

⁶³ Ibid.

You want to try pushing my head down towards your 4” penis? You want to tell me “fuck you” when I say I want some mutually beneficial?”⁶⁴

The post allows us to see that some women expect mutually pleasurable sex during hookups. The comments on this post stigmatize the woman and side with the man talked about in the post. For example, a male Facebook poster writes, “standing ovation for this dude. i love when women cry and stamp their feet.. it means we win.”⁶⁵ This comment has 28 likes, providing support for the conclusion that this is an acceptable idea among some college students. A second comment from another male Facebook poster says, “But you still had sex with him.”⁶⁶ This comment stigmatizes the woman for having sex with the man and, in the context of the post, places responsibility on the woman for continuing to have sex with the man, even though both partners should have equal responsibility. In addition, placing responsibility on the woman upholds the notion that women should be “sexual gatekeepers.” This comment has 133 likes which demonstrates how women are disadvantaged in hookup culture for acting out their sexual desires. Often women are discouraged through stigma to challenge the nature of their relationship with their hookup partners.

When women challenge the nature of their relationship with their hookup partners they are stigmatized. Post 398 reflects the discontent women feel with their hookup partners. The woman writes to her hookup partner Tomas,

“I am always kind and polite to you, and i would say i am a pretty chill person and try my best to make people feel comfortable in awkward situations. You on the other-hand are nothing but rude and heartless to me. You never would ask for my number but every weekend we would hook

⁶⁴ Ibid.

⁶⁵ “UCSB Hook-Ups”

⁶⁶ Ibid.

up...Its not like [I] even wanted a relationship out of this, i just wanted to have fun.”⁶⁷

First the comments praise Tomas. One male Facebook user writes “Tomas had mad game.” Another comment says, “He played his card magnificently. What a great read. Bravo Tomas.”⁶⁸ Both of these comments highlight how hookup scripts expect men to engage in casual sex and have more power in hookup sex. Lastly, a comment by another male Facebook poster reads, “so you just wanted to have fun but you’re pissed off because he didn’t try to make it something more than that? classic.”⁶⁹ This comment has 36 likes, which indicates how common it is for men to expect women to want to turn hookups into relationships, no matter what they say. Although women have less sexual agency than men within hookup culture, women are able to exert their agency and deconstruct the double standard.

Sexual Assault

In hookup culture women and men police women’s sexuality and often blame women for hookup experiences that could be considered sexual assault or rape. There are several posts in which women indicate that there were no clear signs of consent and in which the woman expresses mixed feelings about her hookup experiences. For example, anonymous post 378 says,

“Last Saturday night I went to a crazy rager on DP. I met this smoking hot guy and I was so drunk and horny I went home with him. Things got really intense as we were making out on his couch. I wanted to look sexy while we were fucking so I flipped my hair. As my swung up I hit my head on a lamp, fell off the couch and passed out. I woke up the next morning with a used condom on my leg. Turns out he finished without me. To the hot guy, maybe we should do that again sometime except

⁶⁷ Ibid.

⁶⁸ Ibid.

⁶⁹ “UCSB Hook-Ups”

when I'm AWAKE.⁷⁰

This anonymous poster, who is most likely a woman, states that she was intoxicated when she hooked up with a guy she met at a party. She then goes on to explain that she injured herself during her hookup and passed out. When she woke up she found a condom, which informed her that the man she was hooking up had sex with her when she was passed out. Although this woman does not use the word rape to describe this incident, many Facebook users do interpret this scenario as rape but also engage in victim blaming the woman. This first comment, by a male Facebook user, says "Tl;dr [too long; didn't read]—'I got raped but it's chill because he was hot.'" ⁷¹ This is problematic because it dismisses the severity of the problem by saying the post is not worthy of reading. It also belittles the severity of this post and mocks the survivor. By assuming that the woman is "chill" or okay with what occurred, he is normalizing the rape that occurs within hookup culture. The second comment, posted by a woman says, "Seriously isn't that considered rape? Girls have absolutely no standards now days that's just sad. Well I'm glad that (i)you didn't feel violated." ⁷² This woman's comment, "girls have absolutely no standards now days that's just sad" demonstrates that blame is being placed on the woman.

Both women and men hold women accountable for being raped. It is clear through the comments on this post that the victim's behavior, such as being intoxicated and engaging in sexual activity, is being questioned instead of holding the perpetrator accountable for rape. This could be because it is seen as a woman's responsibility to police her sexuality. It is evident that this woman did not find what occurred to her acceptable when she says "maybe we should do that again sometime except when I'm AWAKE." The first comment on this post stigmatizes the woman for saying that they should have sex again; it is possible that this woman said this to minimize the severity of her hookup

⁷⁰ Ibid.

⁷¹ Ibid.

⁷² "UCSB Hook-Ups"

experience. In other words, women are unclear how to feel about some of their hookups in which alcohol was involved and there was no clear consent.

Alcohol often facilitates hookups and leads to an unclear definition of consent. For example, anonymous poster #278 explains,

“One night during fall quarter I was at my friend’s house on DP and blacked out for the first (and last) time. Somehow I met some guy, and before I know it, we’re fucking on a car in an alley. Instead of stopping like a normal person, I told him to go faster. Soon after I got really sick and he tried helping me out until I realizes was going on and I bounced. He put his number in my phone and until this day I still debate whether or not I should text thanking him for helping me or merely taking advantage of a ‘DB’ [drunk bitch] and fucking me on a car.”⁷³

Like the previous post, this anonymous poster is most likely a woman. She was blacked out drunk when she engaged in her hookup and is unsure of how to feel about her experience. This is evident when she says she does now know whether to thank him for helping her when she was drunk or taking advantage of her as a “drunk bitch.” The fact that she also calls herself a “drunk bitch” can be interpreted as her engaging in victim blaming. Because she was intoxicated, like the previous woman, she is unsure of what level of consent there was. Regardless of the degree of consent, or lack of consent in this hookup, she is aware that she was taken advantage of and expresses displeasure with it. The first comment on this post also blames the victim for being sexually assaulted. The male Facebook user says, “takes 2 to smash [have sex].”⁷⁴ This is reproducing the myth that women who are sexually assaulted are to blame because their behaviors indicated they were sexually available. Women often hear the words, “Well she

⁷³ Ibid.

⁷⁴ “UCSB Hook-Ups”

shouldn't have gotten that drunk" or "she should have known better." In this example it was the woman's fault that she got raped because she allowed herself to drink heavily prior to the incident. In addition to perpetuating rape myths this post demonstrate how survivors are stigmatized for defying traditional gender norms.

Through slut-bashing women are encouraged to adhere to traditional gender scripts. Posts in which women challenge gendered scripts through their sexual agency are struck down by comments that stigmatize women with words like "slut" or make them appear hypersexual. Even in posts that show signs of sexual assault women are still held accountable for their victimization and are slut bashed. The gender scripts promote a double standard in which women are expected to be "sexual gatekeepers," and are judged for the way they behave and the amount of alcohol they consume. Women risk being shamed when they challenge gender scripts, but the anonymity of posts allows them to voice their discontent with these scripts in hookup culture. Although in hookup culture women are constantly being slapped down for challenging sexism, some women still attempt to navigate the terrains of hookup culture.

Heteronormativity: The Beginning of Deconstruction

Hookup culture is largely heteronormative, so anything that is non-heteronormative is often stigmatized. Of the many narratives posted, approximately 57% (both posts that challenged and reproduced and challenged) were about non-heteronormative hookup experiences or posts seeking non-heteronormative hookup encounters. Hookup culture produces opportunities for fluid identities to be enacted because some types of non-heteronormative hookup experiences are more acceptable than others.⁷⁵ These activities include women kissing at parties and other activities such as a threesome between two women and a man because they are seen as a turn on for some men. For example, in post 439, a woman writes about her hookup encounter:

⁷⁵ Rupp and Taylor, "Straight Girls Kissing."

“so i walk into this 70’s themed party on Trigo with my boyfriend the night after valentine’s day. The party was cracking. Right ratio of females and males. i tried spotting some girls who’d be down (i’m bi...originally lesbian until i realized i appreciate dick too) because i’ve been craving to hook up with a girl ever since moved to IV...This girl started dancing and grinding up on me. I swear, after ten to fifteen minutes, she started making out with me. then my boyfriend passes by. People in the party of course got excited...we ended up having a threesome.”⁷⁶

This post illustrates how hookup culture helps cater to the fluid desires of women. For example, this former lesbian, who now self-identifies as bisexual, wants to have a threesome with her boyfriend and another woman. Parties enable heteronormative and non-heteronormative hookup behavior because that’s where hook up encounters often begin. Although two women kissing is often seen as women trying to receive male attention, here we can see that women use this heterosexual context to receive sexual satisfaction from same-sex intimacies. Post 431 demonstrates how parties enable women to engage in same-sex hookups and that hookups occur within the queer community. The woman who posts this narrative writes,

“I’ve seen you around gay parties. This past weekend I had the courage to go up to you and talk to you at the Pride party. You told me your name was Cyndi and we started making out, however, you left me as soon as you saw another girl, but I guess I shouldn’t be surprised. I always see you hooking up with a different girl.”⁷⁷

Hook up culture may benefit women because it opens doors for them to explore their sexual identities. Exploring their identities can range from kissing another woman at a party to having a

⁷⁶ “UCSB Hook-Ups”

⁷⁷ “UCSB Hook-Ups”

threesome with all members being women. Although hookup culture opens doors for same-sex intimacies, there is homophobia and disadvantages for students who engage in non-heterosexual activities.

Finding a partner to explore same-sex desires can be difficult for women within hookup culture. For example, post 308 is an anonymous woman seeking a same-sex hookup experience. She says,

“I’m bisexual. I fantasize about women all the time, but I have yet to come out. I have had my share of dicks but I can’t ever get off unless I am thinking of a girl. I am just way to shy to hookup with girls in IV; it’s hard to find women who are actually lesbian or bisexual. I want nothing more than to be with another woman. I have never done more than kiss with another girl but I want more. If you want to be my first show me the way ladies where you at!”⁷⁸

Although hookup culture could enable this woman to engage in same-sex behavior, it is clear that a partner to engage with is “hard to find.” This could be because hookup culture is predominantly heterosexual. Here we see how enacting heterosexual behaviors is easier than same-sex behaviors. Although hookup culture may create some opportunities for woman’s fluid identities to take place, heterosexual privilege can prevent students from acting on their same-sex desires. Heterosexual privilege continues to be manifested through the stigma women face when they act outside gender norms.

Often women seeking non-heteronormative hookup encounters face stigma because they are seen as too sexual. For example, anonymous poster 432 says,

“Im curious and bored plus my rommates are gone for this weekend so i was looking for a anonymous

⁷⁸ Ibid.

sober hookup. i party but hooking up randomly isnt something I would want to do under the influence of alcohol when the other person is also intoxicated. I'd also be ok with a threesome with another couple too! im asian, first year, fit and fairly cute.”⁷⁹

The anonymous poster does not identify gender, but the comments assume that the post comes from a woman. Some of the comments include, “ain’t got time for hoes,” “here’s a great way to get raped,” “Haha. Anyone else sense a little desperation in this post.”⁸⁰ These three comments received a total of 119 likes. Thus we see that the comments mainly express discontent with the poster, who is assumed to be a woman, because of her sexual agency rather than her non-heteronormative desires.

The woman who is seeking a threesome with two men in post 440 writes,

“I’m a girl who legitimately wants to try DP [double penetration]. I’ve only very recently just started watching videos of it, and I was shocked at first, but now, thinking and fantasizing about it...the idea of having your anus and pussy penetrated deep at the same time kind of drives me hot. Yes, it’s taboo, but I admit it- I want to try it I’m wondering how many guys is Isla Vista are curious about the idea as well.”⁸¹

The comments in this post stigmatize the woman for expressing her sexual agency. One of the comments that comes from a male user says,

“It’s never about the whore in the middle of the train but it’s about the two guys in either side, bonding in a way that only few are able to bond. I mean imagine how close one would be with his

⁷⁹ “UCSB Hook-Ups”

⁸⁰ Ibid.

⁸¹ Ibid.

friend as they both are fucking the same useless waste[r] both cum simultaneously.”

This comment not only objectifies women but it degrades them by calling the women in this sexual encounter a “whore” and a “useless waste.” Furthermore, this hookup experience supports the notion that some men are less concerned with the sexual satisfaction of women during hookups; it privileges the bonding between men during a sexual experience. This comment also stigmatizes this woman’s sexual agency by labeling her a “whore.” Women and men face stigma for non-heteronormative hookups, but the stigma women experience suggests discontent with women who experience sexual pleasure from heteronormative or nonheteronormative hook ups.

The stigma men face in hookup culture reflects homophobia as well. Facebook posts where men discuss their same-sex hookup experiences often receive homophobic comments. Post 277 says,

“It was two weeks ago that I ended up getting drunk at my frat house (Phi Sig) and that most amazing experience ever. I have fucked multiple girls in my last two years here in UCSB but this was on a whole other level. I never thought I would end up losing control and showing my true self. That night I met the most amazing guy ever, yes guy (please no rude comments its my first telling this story). He was sculpted, tall, and hot. He came up to me, we talked, and then headed out for a smoke. Surely after –he] held my hand and took me to the back of my frat house. He pressed me up against the wall and I for some reason did not fight this or felt it weird rather I welcomed it. I soon found myself making out with a guy. He took me back to his place where we had sex. This being the first time for me he allowed me to pitch the whole way while at times I would stop to blow him. It was an

experience to say the least and I wouldn't mind catching next time!"⁸²

The same-sex hookup story receives multiple homophobic comments. The first comment comes from a man who says, "what the fuck is going on," the second says "god damnit Deegan stop posting this bullshit," the third says, "For some reason I suspect foul play...There's no way this many people from phi sig are coming out publicly in two days. My guess is its another frat doing for shits and giggles."⁸³ Altogether these comments received 32 likes, while the post received 28 likes. These comments demonstrate that male same-sex behavior is viewed as abnormal and possible even a slander made up to make another fraternity look bad.

Post 276 also highlights the homophobia queer men face within hookup culture. The anonymous poster writes,

"Beginning of junior year a couple years back when I was around at Thanksgiving exodus, I met a guy off Craigslist who lived by the Christian frat. He was Hispanic about 6'4 and 270 lbs, said he was about 24, and I was 20. I definitely didn't expect him to be gay and he was nervous the entire time, which I found cute. I made the move after we smoked weed and drank some liquor and because I was basically a new guy at the time and wanted to make things easier for you, bottomed for you doggystyle over your bed."⁸⁴

The first comment says, "this is gross" and has 9 likes.⁸⁵ Although the number of likes is not large, it demonstrates that other people feel the same way about gay hookup experiences. This unmediated discussion about hookup culture shows how hookup culture is beneficial for male students with non-heteronormative

⁸² "UCSB Hook-Ups"

⁸³ "UCSB Hook-Ups"

⁸⁴ Ibid.

⁸⁵ Ibid.

sexual behaviors but also shows they face discrimination. The second comment in this post says, “Didn’t even have the goddamn common courtesy to give you a reach around!” Although the first comment demonstrates homophobia prevalent within hookup culture, this comment demonstrates how same-sex hookups are normalized among some college students. Although some college students are supportive of same-sex hookups, hookup culture is predominantly heterosexual and publicly enacting sexual activity could potentially be hurtful for queer men.

Heterosexual privilege is prevalent within hookup culture, but individuals are able to use this space to explore their non-heterosexual desires. Women enacting non-heteronormative behaviors that heterosexual men deem as a turn on are more acceptable. Still, women are subject to stigma when their non-heterosexual desires make them appear too sexual but in comparison to men with non-heterosexual desires, women announce their hookup experiences more often on the “UCSB Hook-Ups” Facebook page. Men face stigma through homophobic comments that deem same-sex behaviors between two men as unnatural and/or shameful. Although hookup culture is beneficial for both men and women with non-heteronormative desires, it benefits women to some extent more than it benefits men because it provides a safer space to act out these behaviors, partially because men believe women are performing for their sexual pleasure.

The Policing of Sexuality through Racism

Students of racial and ethnic minorities face discrimination within hookup culture. Women of color have historically been viewed as hypersexual, sexually aggressive, and available. Historically the notion of hypersexuality has justified sexual violence against women of color. As a form of resistance women of color have engaged in a politics of respectability to disprove the notion of hypersexuality and assert their moral superiority.⁸⁶ The sexuality of racial and ethnic minorities continues to be singled out

⁸⁶ Higginbotham, *Righteous Discontents*.

and othered. Often categories like race, gender, and sexuality are constructed through a binary. For example, a prominent binary that exists is the white/black binary, where white is constructed as the normal and Black is constructed as the other.⁸⁷ Because sexuality and race/ethnicity intersect, racialized gender stereotypes often “other” the sexuality of students of color. About 39% of the posts dealing with race reproduced racial stereotypes and an additional 39% reproduced racial notions. Comments followed in which racist notions were challenged. In post 410, for example, a woman is seeking a hooking up encounter:

“Uggh relationships are always such a drag! Why can[t] we just have fun nights that end in hot sex? This weekend I’m looking for a guy who is willing to have a good time. I am petite, brown hair, brown eyes and Latina! You know i will be bringing that Latin flavor!”⁸⁸

This woman, who self-identifies as Latina, is expressing her sexual agency and is looking for a hookup encounter with a man. This woman is aware of the hypersexualization that Latinas face and uses it to say, “You know i will be bringing that Latin flavor.” Thus we are able to see how it is possible for women of color to use stereotypes, presumably for their own advantage. Although her use of stereotypes is a form of expressing sexual agency, she also risks being stereotyped by others. The first comment a male Facebook user writes is, “Latin fever aka STD’s.”⁸⁹ This Facebook user’s comment conveys the racialized gendered stereotype that Latinas are sexually promiscuous and most likely have an STD.⁹⁰ In addition, this comment receives 73 likes which highlights how common this stereotype is among college students. The sexuality of this woman is being policed

⁸⁷ Patricia Hill Collins. “Mammies, Matriarchs, and Other Controlling Images.” *Black Feminist Thought: Knowledge, Consciousness and the Politics of Empowerment*, 2nd ed (New York: Routledge, 2000).

⁸⁸ Ibid.

⁸⁹ “UCSB Hook-Ups.”

⁹⁰ Lorena Garcia, *Respect Yourself, Protect Yourself*, 84, 90.

through racialized stereotypes; this demonstrates how the sexuality of women of color is often looked at as a social problem.

The sexuality of women of color is often othered within hookup culture. Often the sexual behaviors of women color are assumed to be culturally specific to their racial or ethnic background. For example, post 411 says,

“Dear mysterious black girl, Sorry I cant remember your name, but all I can say is wow! You are the first black chick I have ever been with and i can honestly say I think I caught jungle fever, Every thing about you was amazing, your ass, your boobs, and the sex (and surprising you actually knew how to have a conversation). I know that it was just a hookup, but hmu [hit me up] if you wanna have a good time again.”⁹¹

The racialized gender stereotype that Black women are hypersexual is evident here. In addition, other stereotypes about Black people, such as their being intellectually inferior, are also at play here. This stereotype is, however, challenged by other Facebook users. For example, a woman responds by saying, “You’re surprised a lack girl actually knows how to have a conversation.” This comment received 112 likes, which highlights that others were aware of the racism in this post. Another Facebook user responds by saying, “Oh yeah I forgot. Black girls can’t talk. You know. We’re from the jungle. We live the ‘oo oo ahh ahh’ lifestyle. We’re all loud and retarded and only good for sex or singing.” A man responds to her by saying “I think he was commenting on the fact that most girls don’t know how to keep a conversation going.” Then she responds by saying, “I mean if that wasn’t like the 10 millionth time I’ve heard that exact statement right along with ‘you’re pretty for a black girl’ I would be with you.”⁹² This post, along with the discussion between the two Facebook users, illustrates that women of color face racism within hookup culture and consciously challenge the hypersexualization

⁹¹ “UCSB Hook-Ups.”

⁹² “UCSB Hook-Ups.”

of women of color and the notion that they are intellectually inferior.

Several other posts hypersexualize Latinas and Black women. For example, post 465 says,

“To that hot latina girl I met at 711 on the loop...I am graduating and I would love to tear that nice rounds ass up & motor boat those nice big titties, so if you remember me hit me up.”⁹³

Post 374 says

“To Giselle the beautiful half Mexican, half Brazilian goddess I met a few weeks ago please come to the next ucsb hooks ups rager! I want nothing more than to find you and fuck you to no end. All I have to remember is da ass and those curves for days.”⁹⁴

Men of color are also stereotyped within hookup culture. Black men face hypersexualization. An anonymous woman writes about her hookup with a Black man in post 387. She writes, “I heard that black guys AND tall guys are ‘well endowed’ and since you’re both, I’m pretty sure your world (and maybe even have my world rocked).” Thus the stereotype that Black men are hypersexual and have large penises is apparent within hookup culture. This is also evident in the comments of other posters. For example, an anonymous male poster 356 writes,

“The last three people I’ve had sex with have left me wondering if it’s possible for me to have comfortable sex with thin women. Just last week I was with this one [chic] it was cool and all but getting’ in there was such a hassle I lost the erection. I really want an Asian but now I’m wondering would that even work out if the rumors are true? I’ve only had two or three one night stands

⁹³ Ibid.

⁹⁴ Ibid.

but these last few sexcapades have left my shit sore af. Wonder if I can find me a thick chick.”⁹⁵

Another male Facebook user writes, “i think a black guy wrote this aha.”⁹⁶ We see that Black men continue to be hypersexualized. This post also illustrates the racialized gender stereotypes that Asian women face.

This poster states that “rumors” prevent him from hooking up with Asian women. This demonstrates that stereotypes influence the hookup experiences of students. Presumably, he is referring to the stereotype that Asian women tend to have smaller bodies therefore their vaginas are smaller and feel tighter during intercourse. Stereotypes can encourage or discourage someone to hookup with someone from a specific race or ethnicity. This post demonstrates how a stereotype can discourage people from hooking up with a person of a different race or ethnicity; because of his preconceived notions of Asian women’s reproductive parts, the poster purposely does not consider Asian women as potential hookup partners. In other words, racialized gender stereotypes influence the way students of other races perceive them and can limit a person’s sexual agency.

Despite such stereotypes, students of color engage in hookup culture and have positive hooking up experiences. Twenty-one percent of the posts dealing with race were positive hookup experiences of students of color. The Latina woman who writes post 422 explains,

“To the black guy i met during Deltopia. You asked me to dance, but instead I asked to makeout. You were the first black guy I had ever kissed. You were pretty tall but i hardly remember how you look, as it all occurred so fast and I was pretty drunk. If I wasn't so shocked that I had made out with a black guy for the first time, I probably would have asked to fuck to. Anyways, Id love to meet

⁹⁵ “UCSB Hook-Ups.”

⁹⁶ Ibid.

you again. That's if you even come to SB or so...lol... Sincerely, the light skinned Latina in shiny teal bathing suit.”⁹⁷

This was a positive hookup, which occurred between two students of color. Although the sexuality of the Black man is being singled out, the woman who posts this expresses pleasure from the experience. In other words, hookup culture benefits but also oppresses students of color because it reproduces racialized gender stereotypes, but it also provides spaces where they can enact their sexual desires.

Other Facebook posts from users indicate they had a positive hookup experience with students of color and that students are conscious about the race or ethnicity of their potential hookup partners. Post 460 says,

“ So i met up with the girl who posted about her dildo collection on the UCSB class of 2016 page and let me tell you....she knows how to use every single one. thank god for horny asian girls.”

Anonymous Facebook user writes in post 331,

“To the Mexican girl who brought the life of the party that one night...Although you turned me down when I slid my hand under your shirt-the look in your eyes would make anyone nut. You're my naught Cinderella who left an empty space on the wall where something used to be. I know you said you were just there to dance, but I am desperate to find you, take you out, and maybe one day take you home.”

Both of these posts come from users who do not identify their race or ethnicity but identify the ethnicity of their hookup partner and single out the race/ethnicity of students of color. Although the posts do not provide insight into the student's of color experience

⁹⁷ “UCSB Hook-Ups.”

in the hookup, they do indicate that students of color engage in hooking up and that people associate sexual behavior with race and ethnicity.

Race/ethnicity influences the hookup experiences for students of color. Racialized gender stereotypes for both women and men affect the way other students perceive their sexuality. Women of color are hypersexualized, their bodies are often objectified, and their sexuality is often othered. Men of color face racialized gender stereotypes that hypersexualize them. Students are aware of these stereotypes and sometimes challenge them. Some students of color can presumably use these stereotypes for their advantage.

Conclusion

Hookup culture serves as both a positive and negative experience for many students at UCSB. Women face gendered oppression when they act outside of what gender scripts deem appropriate, but they also benefit from hook up culture because gender scripts within hookup culture benefit some women by recognizing women as sexual agents. Students who are non-heterosexual or who act outside of heteronormative sexuality also face discrimination through homophobia and can sometimes find it more difficult to engage in hooking up, but hookup culture also creates a safer space for women to engage in non-heteronormative behaviors. Students of color, especially women, face racialized gender discrimination in their hookup experiences, but are able to engage in positive hookup experiences. In other words, hookup culture is a place where gender norms, sexual norms, and racial misconceptions are both challenged and reproduced. Although hookup experiences for marginalized groups can be seen as a negative experience, it is important to understand that hookup culture can also serve as a safer space where sexualities, desires, and identities are less constrained.

Further Research

Further research must be done in order to better understand the dynamics of hookup culture and the advantages and

disadvantages faced by marginalized groups such as women, students who engage in non-heterosexual behaviors, and students of color. To do so, interviews with the undergraduate UCSB population should be conducted. In addition, to better comprehend the experiences of students it is imperative to understand how intersection of gender, sexuality, and race play a role in the life experiences of individuals. Interviews with queer students and students of color need to be conducted to make visible both how homophobia and racialized gender stereotypes limit the sexual agency of students as well as ways that hookup culture allows them to have more sexual agency than other communities with traditional gender and sexual scripts.

Appendix

Figure 1: Sexism

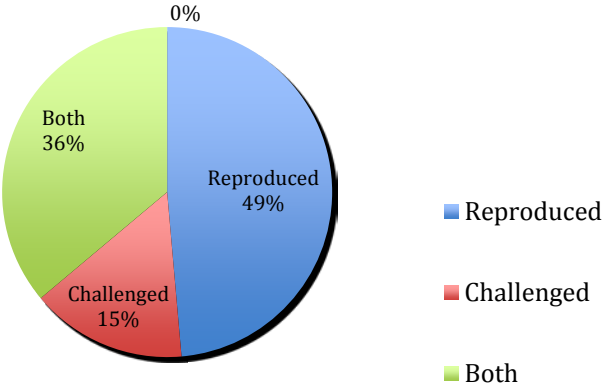


Figure 2: Heteronormativity

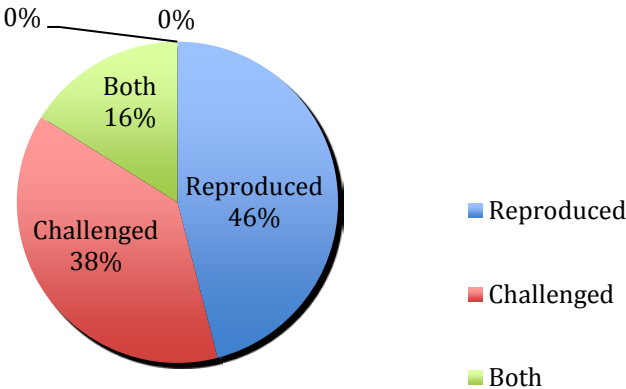
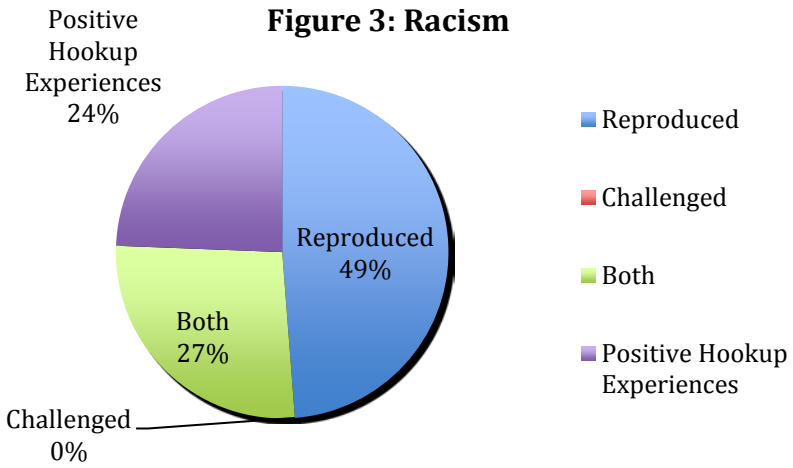


Figure 3: Racism



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California K-12 School Districts Ability to Maintain Resources Constant for Students (1995-2011)

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Abstract

The revenue provided to California school districts varies significantly from year to year. School districts may wish to smooth out this variation in revenue in order to maintain the same level of expenditures and therefore maintain student resources constant overtime. Since education is a long-term and steady process, maintaining resources constant for students over years is vital for the quality of education. This paper assesses the ability of K-12 school districts to smooth out variations in their revenue by saving and borrowing. We first analyze how changes in revenues affect school district expenditures. If districts are saving and borrowing, then the variation in revenue from year to year should not affect expenditures. Rather, the expectation of future revenues should play a role in how much districts spend. Therefore, we also examine the role of expectations of future revenue. Do districts spend more when their expectation of future revenue is high? How does a change in those expectations affect current expenditures? To measure expectations, we use revenue projections produced each year by California's Legislative Analyst's Office. We use real per-pupil growth rates to measure the change in each variable. Using linear regression and trend analysis, our results indicate that district's behavior lies in a midrange between perfectly maintaining expenditures constant overtime and completely failing to save and borrow.

Introduction

This paper assesses the ability of K-12 school districts in California to smooth out variations in revenue by saving and borrowing. It is vital for policy makers in California to determine whether school districts may be trusted to govern their own finances. If school districts are able to offset their revenue, then the state will not need to intervene in their finances. However, if school districts fail to save and borrow entirely, then the state may need to create a reserve for the purpose of saving revenues during periods of economic prosperity and drawing revenues out during recessionary periods. This would allow the state to provide a more consistent level of revenues to K-12 school districts in California.

This study examines how current period revenues affect current period expenditures. If districts are saving and borrowing, then variation in revenue from year to year should not affect expenditures; rather, the expectation of future revenues should play a role in how much districts spend. We apply a modified version of the life cycle-permanent income hypothesis¹ to examine the role of expectations of future revenue. How California school districts respond to changes in revenue and expectations determines how well they are able to offset the variation in revenue. Our analysis examines the effects of current period revenues, lagged revenues and the effects of changes in expectations on changes in expenditures. Our results indicate that the behavior of K-12 California school districts lies in a midrange between perfectly maintaining expenditures constant through saving and borrowing and failing to save and borrow entirely. That is, a change in revenue will cause a change in expenditures, but not dollar for dollar.

¹ Hall (1978)

Literature Review

Analogous to school districts, spending patterns of local government municipalities have been examined and two contrasting perspectives emerge. In the paper *“Intertemporal Analysis of State and Local Government Spending: Theory and Tests,”* the major research findings suggest that spending is determined by current resources and expenditures are not typically smoothed out over time. Conversely, the paper *“Are Local Governments Governed by Forward Looking Decision Makers? An Investigation of Spending Patterns in Swedish Municipalities”* depicts different results, where major findings indicate that a majority of expenditures are determined by long-term resources. There are various implications of these findings for this study. How school districts respond to increases and decreases in revenue is indicative of whether district expenditures are determined by long-term or current resources.

In *“Intertemporal Analysis of State and Local Government Spending: Theory and Test”* the authors suggest that current resources determine expenditures, which implies sub-federal government agencies consume in accordance with the Keynesian consumption theory. This theory, also known as the Absolute Income Hypothesis, developed by John Maynard Keynes, suggests that consumption is based on present income where economic agents do not take future income into account.

“Intertemporal Analysis of State and Local Government Spending: Theory and Tests” further illuminates that government expenditures are determined by long-term resources by emphasizing previous research indicating that balanced-budget laws do not constrict local governments from borrowing, thus making it possible for them to be able to smooth expenditures. The rationale for this behavior is that balance-budget laws only require a balanced budget to be passed where spending does not necessarily need to correspond with the enacted budget. This allows local governments to save in times of excess revenues and borrow in times of budget shortfalls. If sub-federal governments

have the capability to borrow and smooth expenditures over time but still determine expenditures by current resources, then the absolute income hypothesis proves to be a characteristic of local government behavior rather than a result of balance budget laws forcing governments to consume resources according to current resources for a given period.

However, the methodology used in this article differs from “*Are Local Governments Governed by Forward Looking Decision Makers?*” due to the latter aggregating local government spending. This aggregation treats local government spending as one agent while the other article categorizes local governments into subgroups. The latter article’s findings suggest that forward-looking decision makers and long-term resources dictate patterns of expenditure. This indicates that Swedish municipalities’ spending illustrates Milton Friedman’s theory of consumption, also referred to as the Permanent Income Hypothesis. Friedman theorized that long-term resources determine spending. This long-term pattern of consumption is further illustrated by findings that indicate that during a period of deregulated markets and simplified borrowing, governments behaved intertemporally by smoothing expenditures across periods.² However, the method in “*Are Local Governments Governed by Forward Looking Decision Makers?*” differs from “*Intertemporal Analysis of State and Local Government Spending: Theory and Tests*” as a result of the categorization of the Swedish municipalities into subgroups, which may be the underlying reason for differing results.

Previous investigations of local government consumption patterns relate to this paper because they indicate that it is plausible for districts to fall in a spectrum between perfectly smoothing expenditures over time and completely failing to save and borrow. That is, larger districts may act in accordance with the permanent income hypothesis and smaller districts act in correlation with the absolute income hypothesis, or vice-versa. This is evident when

² Matz Dahlberg, Tomas Lindstrom (July 1997). *Are Local Governments Governed by Forward Looking Decision Makers? An investigation of Spending Patterns in Swedish Municipalities*. Journal of Urban Economics 44, 254-271 (1998) Article No. UE972069.

you categorize districts into subgroups. Analogous to local governments, school districts must also make expenditure decisions ahead of time in order to formulate budget expenditure plans for subsequent years. If districts treat revenue reductions as direct expenditure reductions, it may have adverse effects on educational programs such as class size staffing to pupil ratio, funding for extra-curricular activities, and various other programs responsible for enriching student learning. Further research will analyze how school districts respond to discrepancies between projected and actual revenues.

“Stochastic Implications of the Life Cycle-Permanent Income Hypothesis: Theory and Evidence” by Robert E. Hall also analyzes consumption behavior and uses a modified version of the life cycle permanent income hypothesis. The Life-Cycle Permanent Income Hypothesis predicts that consumers form estimates of their ability to consume in the long run and then set current consumption to the appropriate fraction of that estimate.

Model

Underlying the analysis in this paper is the assumption that school districts are forward looking and attempt to equalize dollars per-pupil over time in order to maintain consistent resources per student. Maintaining the same level of resources per-student is necessary for maintaining stability in the quality of education over years. Having financial resources fluctuate from year to year translates into fluctuating resources needed to sustain and fund class size, teacher training, length of the school day, number of days in the school year, etc. A district that seeks to smooth out variations in its revenue will maintain annual expenditures equal to the average of expected revenues. If a district is equalizing dollars per-pupil over time, its annual expenditures will equal the average of revenues it expects to receive over a given period. This implies that a district will borrow when revenues fall below average and save when revenues are above average. Therefore, year-to-year fluctuations in school district revenue will not cause expenditures to change. Rather, the district will change its annual expenditures

only if its expected revenues change. It follows that if expectations for future revenue do not change, then average expected revenues do not change and therefore expenditures remain constant. Hence, expenditures will change if and only if expectations for future revenue change. We therefore include changes in expected revenues for the current period as an explanatory variable. The variable “Changes in expected revenues” will examine how a deviation from school district expectations of future revenues affects current expenditures.

The use of changes in expectations is based on the analysis used in Hall’s (1978) study, which applied a modified version of the life cycle-permanent income hypothesis. The life cycle-permanent income hypothesis suggests that school districts would form estimates of their ability to spend in the long run and then set their current expenditures according to that expectation. If school districts maintain a constant level of expenditures, then theory predicts that there will be a one-to-one relationship between spending and changes in average expected revenue.

School districts receive lagged information about their revenue in the form of a 1-year revision estimate and a 2-year final revision. This implies that information regarding whether school districts overspent or underspent for any given period is lagged. Since this information is lagged and school districts in California cannot quickly adjust expenses such as teacher salaries due to bargaining with teacher unions, we also include lagged and current revenues as explanatory variables. Inclusion of this variable is also consistent with Hall (1978).³

This simple theory makes a strong assumption about the behavior of school districts. An alternative assumption is that school districts completely fail to save or borrow. Rather, expenditures each year equal the revenue received for that year. This alternative assumption also suggests that expectations do not

³ Hall 1978 also includes lagged income due to consumers having difficulty smoothing consumption over transitory fluctuations in income. Hall’s analysis therefore indicates that consumption is too sensitive to current period income to conform to the life cycle-permanent income principle.

matter. This theory is consistent with the analysis used in Holtz-Eakin et al. (1994).⁴

Data

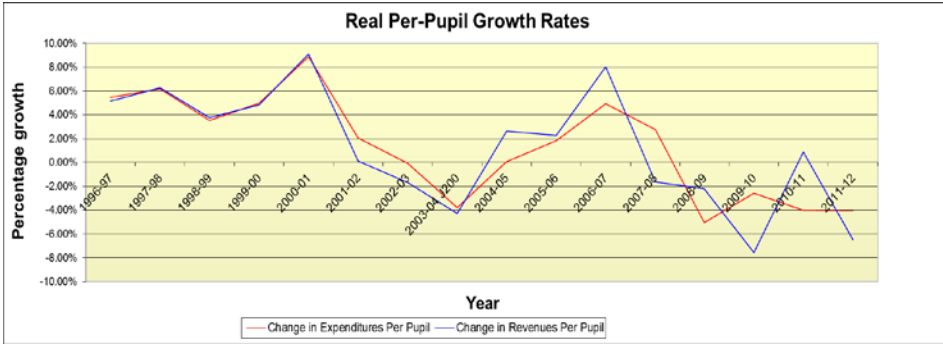
To examine the two alternatives, we regress the change in real per-pupil school district expenditures on ‘the change in real per-pupil current period revenues’ and ‘the change in real per-pupil lagged period revenues,’ as well as ‘the change in real per-pupil expected revenue’ using Ordinary Least Squares. The ‘change in’ is measured as a real per-pupil growth rate, where the growth rate is the change in real expenditures as a fraction of last year’s real expenditures. ‘Real’ implies that our variables are adjusted for inflation (change in prices over years) using the Consumer Price Index. Our variables are also measured on a per-pupil basis to examine if dollars per-pupil are being equalized over the years. If dollars per-pupil are being equalized over time, this suggests that resources per-pupil are also being equalized over time. The independent variables on which we regress the growth in real per-pupil expenditure are ‘the change in the growth of real per-pupil expected revenue’ and ‘growth in real per pupil current period revenues.’

The ‘change in the growth of real per-pupil expected revenue’ is defined as the growth of real per pupil expected revenue for a given period t , released during the current period t , minus the growth of real per-pupil expected revenue for period t released in period $t-1$. That is, this variable is the difference between the predictions of two growth rates corresponding to the same period but released in periods t and $t-1$. The ‘growth in real per-pupil current period revenues’ is the growth in revenues, adjusted for inflation and measured on a per-student basis for a current period t .

Revenue and expenditure data for 1995-1996 through 2002-2003 are available at the state level and are collected from

⁴ Holtz-Eakin’s theory examines whether long term consumption of local governments is determined by long term or short term resources.

J200.⁵ Data on revenue and expenditures for 2003-04 and after are provided by Ed-Data. Pupil enrollment is collected from the California Department of Education’s Data Quest search. For expectations of school district revenue, we use Fiscal Outlooks provided by the Legislative’s Analysts Office. Fiscal Outlooks are annual reports that forecast the condition of the general fund budget, which includes school district revenue for California. The general fund is the collection of revenues for the state of California; over 90% of revenues collected come from personal income taxes, sales and use taxes, as well as corporation taxes. Unfortunately, Fiscal Outlooks for years prior to 1995-1996 are unavailable and therefore our regression only contains a sample size of 15. Nevertheless, our regression results coincide with our trend chart analysis. We aggregate expenditures, revenues, and expectations for all K-12 school districts in California to measure behavior of districts as one representative school district.



Trend Chart: Figure 1: Changes in Expenditures Per-Pupil and Changes in Revenues Per-Pupil

From our trend analysis in **Figure 1**, it is evident that from 1996 through 2000-2001, real per-pupil growth rates in expenditure (red) follow real per-pupil growth rates in revenue (blue), which is very close to a one-to-one correspondence. This

⁵ J200 is a format used by local education agencies to submit financial reports to the California Department of Education.

suggests that during those years districts were not smoothing expenditures. Rather, districts spent whatever revenue they received during each respective year. During this period, the United States was recovering from a recession and revenues were on an upward trend. Districts may have not seen the need to save since they were not expecting another recession anytime soon.

For years thereafter, our trend analysis chart also illustrates districts smoothing expenditures over time. Periods such as 2001-2002 through 2003-2004 where real per-pupil expenditure growth rates (red) exceed real per-pupil revenue growth rates (blue) are followed by periods such as 2003-04 through 2007 in which real per-pupil growth rates (blue) in revenue exceed real per-pupil expenditures (red). This pattern is evident throughout subsequent periods. In short, this suggests smoothing because after periods in which expenditures grew faster than revenues, districts attempted to slow down expenditures as a result of possibly having overspent in prior years. Overall, our trend analysis chart illustrates districts smoothing and not smoothing expenditures. This indicates that districts lie in between being able to perfectly offset the variation of revenue by maintain expenditures constant overtime through saving and borrowing and completely failing to save and borrow. These results coincide with our regression analysis.

For our empirical observation, we regress an equation of the form:

$$\Delta Y = \alpha + \Delta\gamma_1 R_t + \Delta\gamma_2 Z_0 \quad (1.1)$$

where Y denotes expenditures, Δ represents changes, which we have measured as real per-pupil growth rates, and subscript t represents the current period. Lower-case gammas, γ , represent parameters to be estimated. The coefficient α measures effects from variables that may have been left out of our regression. Additionally, ' R ' represents revenues and Z_0 represents current year changes in expectations, where the subscript 0 denotes the same current year t . Changes in the growth of expectations is given

by a new forecasted growth rate minus the old forecast predicted for that same year, where $\Delta Z'_t$ represents the new forecasted growth rate for some given year, t , minus an old forecasted growth rate, ΔZ_t , for the same current year. That is, the change in expectations for the current year is given by,

$$\Delta Z_0 = \Delta Z'_t - \Delta Z_t \tag{1.2}$$

Table 1: OLS Estimates of the effect of changes in expectations, and revenues on expenditures; measured in real per-pupil growth rates

Variable	Parameter	T-Statistic
Coefficient (α)	-.002%	-.311
Growth in Revenues (ΔR_t)	.826%	5.41
Change in Expectations Year 0 (ΔZ_0)	.299%	1.32

Note: The regression above contains data measured in real per-pupil growth rates from federal fiscal years 1996-97’ through 2010-11’. To measure expectations, we use Fiscal Outlooks produced annually by California’s Legislative Analyst’s Office. Revenue and expenditure data for 1995-96’ through 2002-03’ are collected from J200. For 2003-04 and after, revenue and expenditure data is provided by Ed-Data. The R-Squared value and F-statistic are 15.39 and .72%, respectively.

Our empirical observation’s results are given in **Table 1**. “Change in Expectations Year 0 (ΔZ_0)” represents the change in the growth rate of current year expectations. Our coefficient resulted in .299 that suggests that a 10% increase in the change in expectations shows an increase in the growth of real per-pupil

expenditures of 2.99%. Since changes in the growth of expectations do not have a coefficient of one, then changes in expectations and changes in expenditures do not follow in a perfect relationship. This suggests that districts are not perfectly smoothing expenditures. However, since the coefficient is greater than 0, the data indicate that districts are partly smoothing expenditures and hence partly smoothing resources for students.

The coefficient “Growth in Revenue” represents growth in real revenue per pupil for the current year. Our analysis resulted in a coefficient of .826. A 10% increase in real revenue for the current year increases growth of real per-pupil expenditures by 8.26%. Coefficients from this regression imply that district expenditures follow current year revenues very closely, but not in a perfect correspondence. Since the relationship between changes in expenditures and revenues is not a 1 to 1 correlation, this relationship between changes in variables suggests some smoothing of expenditures. Districts expenditures may not perfectly follow revenues due to difficulties adjusting expenditures instantaneously with respect to changes in revenue. That is, districts face expenditures such as employment and teacher salaries that cannot be quickly adjusted when revenues change in times of economic deficiencies.

Both theories predict differing effects between expectations and current period revenues on expenditures for the same period. Districts do not know the actual amount of revenues they receive for a given year until subsequent periods, when a 1-year estimate is released, and two years after when a 2-year revision reveals this information. As a result, a school district may not only take into account revenues expected for the future or revenues it is receiving in the current period, but may also take into account what it received in the prior period (1-year revision estimate). In short, if districts receive a 1-year estimate of revenues received in the prior year, which are lower (or higher) than what they expected for that year, then they may need to take this information into account when planning for their current year’s expenditures. Therefore, we include this variable in (1.1) to have an empirical regression of the form:

$$\Delta Y = \alpha + \Delta\gamma_1 R_t + \Delta\gamma_2 Z_0 + \Delta\gamma_3 R_{t-1} \quad (1.3)$$

The variable “Growth in lagged Real Revenue Per-Pupil” (ΔR_{t-1}) in **Table 1** indicates revenue growth rates for the prior year. Our empirical regression indicates that a 10% increase in revenues for year $t-1$ will increase the growth rate of real per-pupil expenditures by 4.4% in year t . This positive relationship implies that if revenues in year $t-1$ experienced negative growth, then expenditures in year t will also experience negative growth. Therefore, our regression results with prior year (lagged) revenues results in the following:

Table 2: OLS Estimates of the effect of changes in expectations, revenues and lagged revenues on expenditures; measured in a real per-pupil growth rates

Variable	Parameter	T-Statistic
Coefficient (α)	-.01%	-2.60
Growth in Revenues(ΔR_t)	.672%	8.84
Growth in Prior Year Revenues(ΔR_{t-1})	.444%	6.43
Change in Expectations Year 0 (ΔZ_0)	.381%	3.52

Note: F-statistic and R-squared values for this regression are 56.42 and 94.42%, respectively.

Conclusion

This study analyzes how changes in revenue and expectations affect K-12 school district expenditures in California. Since K-12 revenues vary significantly from year to year, this project has investigated whether districts are able to offset the variation by maintaining a constant level of expenditures through saving and borrowing. The paper investigated whether districts are equalizing dollars per-pupil over time and therefore maintaining resources constant for students. We conclude that districts' ability to maintain a constant level of expenditures falls in a midrange between perfectly maintaining expenditures constant through saving and borrowing and failing to save and borrow entirely. From the trend chart in **Figure 1**, it is evident that in some periods district expenditure growth rates closely follow same period revenues, which suggests that districts fail to save or borrow. Other periods suggest saving and borrowing. In these periods, real per-pupil expenditure growth rates exceed real per-pupil revenue growth rates that are then followed by slowing expenditure growth rates below revenue growth rates. In the aggregate, our regression and trend analysis suggest that K-12 school districts in California are dictating expenditures based on conditions in the past (e.g. lagged revenues) and present (e.g. current period revenues), and changes in the expectations of their future revenues (e.g. projections of future revenue). While this paper assumes homogeneity (aggregating all districts expenditures, revenues and expectations to create one representative school district), future work on this project consists of assuming heterogeneity and analyzing how spending patterns differ by individual districts.

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Evolution by Selection in Iterated Language Learning Experiments

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Abstract

Iterated learning experiments claim to model the evolution of languages. In this study, we test to what extent the languages in these experiments actually follow evolutionary dynamics. Specifically, we look for evolution (descent with modification) and selection (adaptation to environmental factors) as the languages change over generations. In this modified version of the classic Kirby, Cornish & Smith's (2008) Experiment 2, the languages show a gradual decrease in learning error and an increase in systematic structure over generations. The novelty in our version was the tree-like structure of the chains which allowed us to obtain a set of final languages with a known phylogeny. We expect that the tree reconstructed by a phylogenetic analysis program based on the distance matrix of the languages in the most recent generation of each chain will be similar to the veridical tree, strongly indicating that change in our languages is the outcome of descent with modification. We also posit that three quantitative signatures of selection will be found in the languages. First, a series of Mantel tests (Mantel, 1967) reveals a consistent, directional increase in systematic structure over chains. Second, RegMap analysis (Tamariz, 2011), which quantifies the mutual entropy between segments of the words and features of the meanings (subject, direct object, and indirect object), will confirm the accumulation of regularity in mappings between meanings and signals. Third, a computer model of the spread of word segments over time (Tamariz et al., 2014) should find a significant departure from the patterns of evolution expected by the neutral (drift) model, signaling the effects of selection.

1. Introduction

While great strides have been made in our scientific understanding of many facets of life, we are still, for the most part, left grappling with our often contradictory explanations of the origin and evolution of language. Two theoretical contentions often rear up in the discussion of the evolutionary origin of linguistic structure: a) linguistic structure is biological in origin; natural selection plays a primary role in the adaptation of language for the purpose of social information-gathering, marking humans as the only species to possess this 'cognitive niche' (Pinker & Bloom, 1991; Pinker, 1999); and b) linguistic structure is the result of cultural processes, such as transmission and usage, which lead to cumulative cultural evolution (Kirby, 2003; Smith, Kirby & Brighton, 2003). The most oft-cited caveat to the validity of either theory is the lack of a fossil record for spoken language. In fact, in 1866, the Linguistic Society of Paris issued an academic ban on the discussion of the origin of language following the publication of a large number of questionable theories that lacked empirical evidence. Scientific advancement in many fields, particularly in the brain and cognitive sciences, has led to resurgence in the investigation of language origin and evolution. In order to properly investigate language evolution, most scientists will agree that there needs to be a coming-together of scientific factions. Our cumulative understanding drawing from a cross-disciplinary approach involving fields such as biology, neuroscience, psychology, anthropology, linguistics and computer science is crucial to advancements in the investigation of cognition and language use (Gong, Shuai & Comrie, 2014; Miller, 2003; Knight, Studdert-Kennedy & Hurford, 2000).

Michael Tomasello (2008) takes a comparative approach in his attempt to understand the origins and evolution of languages, as he focuses on the intersection of human and animal communication. If we simply state that language is a system of communication, then we may also conclude that both human and non-human species clearly have language since communication is so salient in nature. However, the communication system that

marks insects or cells is encoded on the genome, so that in every healthy instance the species would inevitably act on its genetic impressions predisposed for communication. This is not the case with humans; there is no one-size-fits-all approach that human infants take. Instead, whatever environmental impressions the child receives will impact the development of the unique language spoken within their community (Christiansen, & Kirby, 2003). Tomasello supports the theory that linguistic precursors such as gesture and non-verbal communication have been culturally transmitted through human populations to give rise to spoken language. Upon extensive research in primate behavior in communication and gesture learning, Tomasello points out that while ontogenetic ritualization of signals and responses can stabilize, this tends to only occur within a dyadic module and is not transmitted further. However, we can identify patterns of cumulative cultural evolution where certain discoveries of tool use are transmitted to future generations within a species (Whiten et al 1999). Thus, while the mechanisms which humans are equipped with to acquire a language are biological in nature, languages are expressed depending on the learned environment, or what is culturally transmitted from one generation to the next. The features of linguistic structure, which show massive diversity across world languages, are due to cultural and social pressures (Mithun, 2007). One possibility is that cultural evolutionary processes such as transmission, selection, and drift are the primary forces responsible for linguistic structure.

1.1 The cultural evolution of linguistic structure

While we may never be certain of the origin of the biologically evolved bases for language acquisition and use, we can investigate the cultural evolutionary dynamics responsible for linguistic structure in a controlled laboratory setting. Recent research in this area uses computer simulations in which simple but coordinated language systems emerge within populations of artificial agents through iterated learning across generations (Smith, Kirby, & Brighton 2003; Hurford, 2003; Steels 2001; Kirby, 1999; Nettle, 1999). When a nonsense language with no

initial structure is passed through computational agents, structure will begin to emerge based on patterns the agent is identifying within the incoming signals. The iterated learning processes follow the logic of the game of telephone common amongst American schoolchildren, where one individual passes the incoming message onto the next person. The iterated learning process provides a concrete example of how certain structural features of communication systems become transmitted and routinized, eventually giving rise to a constant grammatical structure in a language.

In laboratory-based experiments inspired by the iterated simulations, participants are exposed to an artificial language coupled with images, and are told that these are the words an alien would use to describe the picture. To implement the iterated aspect of the experimental design, their results are collected and serve as the incoming language to subsequent participants. The crucial manipulation is that the constructed language the first participant saw had no structure initially, yet human subjects unintentionally imposed a learnable structure into the random stimuli throughout the iterations of the trial over a number of generations (Kirby, Cornish & Smith, 2010). Our current study is based on recent evidence that evolutionary dynamics that emerge via the process of iterated learning¹ serve as the catalyst for linguistic structure that arises even in artificial languages.

Based on prior trials performed in the classic experiment by Kirby, Cornish & Smith (2008), the iterated learning process does in fact beget this sort of grammatical structure; however, the initial experiment revealed that in the absence of a pressure for expressivity, rampant underspecification occurred, meaning that the same word (string) could encode the meaning of two different pictures (meaning spaces). While this is certainly easier to learn and transmit onto the next participant, it can also serve as a source of confusion as certain variables begin to be erased. A learner cannot easily disambiguate certain elements of the images if two or

¹ The iterated learning paradigm refers to the process by which an individual acquires a behavior based on the observation of a similar behavior that has been acquired in the same way.

more pictures share the same word. Natural human learning and processing is characterized by a one-to-one mapping, whereby each meaning of a signal can be described using one form only (Pertsova, 2007). The researchers remedied this in Experiment 2 of the same simulation, in which they removed homonyms from the subset of the language transmitted to the next generation. By filtering out duplicate strings so that there was a pure one-picture to one-string mapping, homonyms were not able to form, and the learner in subsequent generations was eventually able to settle on a fully compositional language, meaning that each element of each image was represented by a unique sub-string that describes a specific element. Furthermore, it ensured that meanings did not collapse and variations of the strings were not erased, and that parts of strings came, over the generations, to encode different features of the meaning space. This resulted in a stable, easily learnable, and fully expressive system. The filtration process shows just how adaptive language is in an evolutionary process, based on the communicative needs of its speakers. For this study, we employ this filtration system to act analogous to natural pressures that demands language be expressive and relatively unambiguous.

Cornish (2010) describes four evolutionary dynamics found in the methods of iterated learning trials that mimic the process of natural selection. These are either naturally occurring or implemented through manipulation: data bottleneck, whereby only a subset of all the data produced at one generation is passed on to the next participant; memory bottleneck, or the limitations of the learners' memory that result in some data being lost at each generation; forced expressivity, for instance through experimental manipulation (Kirby, Cornish & Smith, 2008) or a communicative task (Kirby, Tamariz, Cornish & Smith, 2015); and increasing transmission fidelity by means of innovations streamlining into a stable system. Each of these forces applies pressure on the development of linguistic structures in the artificial language. The results of the first two constraints can be collapsed into one explanation: both a lack of exposure to all possible data, and the consequence of human memory limitations will lead to an 'invisible-hand' forcing a learnable structure into the language.

Forced expressivity creates a fully compositional language, whereby all the signals in the images are encoded by morphemes (the building blocks of words). This caters to humans' general bias towards a one-to-one mapping to negate ambiguity (Cornish, 2010). See results of the trials carried out by Kirby S. et al. (2008) in **Figure 1**.

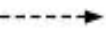
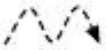

	n-ere-ki n-ehe-ki n-eke-ki	l-ere-ki l-aho-ki l-ake-ki	renana r-ene-ki r-ahe-ki	□ ○ △
	n-ere-plo n-eho-plo n-eki-plo	l-ane-plo l-aho-plo l-aki-plo	r-e-plo r-eho-plo r-aho-plo	□ ○ △
	n-e-pilu n-eho-pilu n-eki-pilu	l-ane-pilu l-aho-pilu l-aki-pilu	r-e-pilu r-eho-pilu r-aho-pilu	□ ○ △

Figure 1: Results; Kirby S. et al. (2008). PNAS 2008;105:10681-10686. The language stabilized to be fully compositional: each morpheme encodes an element of the meaning space. The initial letter encodes color, the middle of the string encodes shape, and the suffix at the end of each string signals motion.

At no point are the participants aware they are receiving the results of a prior participant nor are they aware they are passing on their results to serve as the sole source of language for the next subject. The fact that this is an extended game of telephone is revealed only after the trial is concluded. Indeed, past trials reveal in a post-test questionnaire that many of the participants were not even aware they were being tested on images they had not seen during the testing phase (Kirby et al 2008). Bottleneck transmission pressures the participant to exploit existing structure that may be present in the alien language, and apply these generalizations during the testing phase. In this way, subjects are manipulated into believing there is structure, they are just hard-pressed to find it. Ideally participants would transmit the same

exact word construction they are exposed to onto the next person. However, since subjects are not exposed to all word-image pairs, they are forced to take note of the strings they are exposed to, and begin to look for patterns in the data to make sense of the incoming signals.

1.2 The emergence of morphology

A combination of these selection pressures creates grammatical structure, in the shape of morphemes encoding elements of the meanings. By comparing the innovations, reconstructions, and patterns of expression produced at each generation in iterated learning experiments, we can identify how the evolutionary processes at work - namely descent with modification and selection - shape the morphosyntactic structure that emerges from artificial languages. Morphosyntax refers to the meaningful building blocks of languages and the way they are put together in utterances. As avenues for her future work, Cornish (2010) cites certain modifications such as using slightly more complex meaning spaces. This revision has been incorporated into our experiment design. Whereas the images used in past iterated language learning tasks have made use of physical descriptions of a single item (see **Figure 1**), we use images that depict a subject, direct object and indirect object. In this way, we postulate that by incorporating more complex images, syntax, that is word order, will be encoded within the emergent structure of the language. Furthermore, a novelty we introduce in our experiment design is modeling the chains of transmission after a tree-like structure in order to obtain a set of final languages with a known phylogeny (see **Figure 2**).

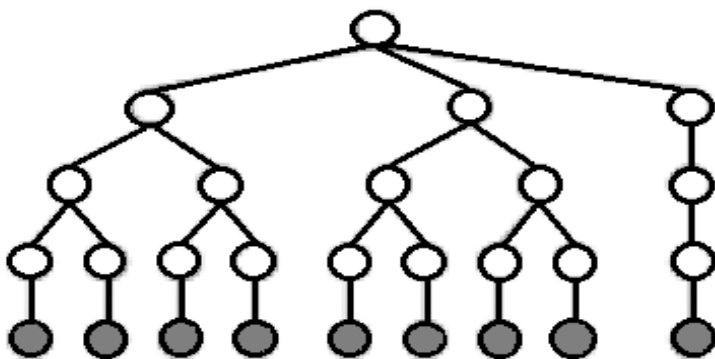


Figure 2: The tree-like design of the transmission chains in the iterated learning experiment. Each circle represents a language, and each line, a participant. The first horizontal tier is Chain X, Y, and Z respectively.

1.3 Hypothesis

It is our hypothesis that these culturally transmitted languages will evolve to become increasingly learnable through inheritance, and will mutate with an increasing rate of transmission fidelity, as Kirby, Cornish & Smith (2008) found. This was the outcome of a pressure for learnability as participants responded to selection, as well as a pressure for expressivity, which co-occurred with features of the meaning space, thereby increasing in regular morphosyntactic structure. We posit that the iterated process will beget grammatical structure, and we can then analyze each of the three elements of the images as morphemes expressing the giver, the object and the receiver. Finally, in order to test whether language change is the result of descent with modification, we extend the iterated language-learning paradigm to include the tree-structure intended to generate a family of languages with a known phylogenetic structure. By examining the patterns of variant innovation and spread over generations on their own and with respect to the population structure and to the meaning space, we can estimate that the pattern of variation observed in the last generation of languages predicts the patterns of descent with modification in the family tree.

2. Methods

2.1 Participants

This study recruited 26 undergraduate and graduate students from the Linguistics Department at the University of California, Santa Barbara. 53.8% of the participants were female and 46.2% were male. The average age of the participants was 22.3 out of a range of 16-48. Each participant received the choice of either extra credit in an approved course or monetary compensation for the study which took approximately 45 minutes.

2.2 Materials

We created one miniature artificial language, which will be referred to as “Proto-Randomese,” to initialize the iterated learning chains. The signals were 27 nonsense words, constructed by randomly concatenating a series of letters either 2 to 4 syllables in length, generated from 9 simple consonant-vowel pairs. (see **Appendix 1** for the full Proto-Randomese language and its corresponding meanings). These strings were paired at random with the 27 meanings (shown in **Figure 3**), which were images representing “giving” actions: someone (A-C) (*the subject*) gave something (1-3) (*the direct object*) to somebody else (a-c) (*the indirect object*). The full meaning space consisted of all possible combinations of three subjects, three direct objects and three indirect objects.

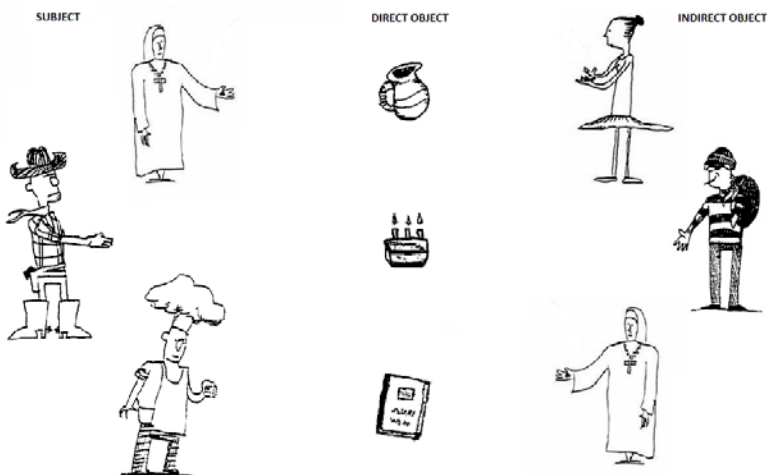


Figure 3: Images courtesy of Branigan, H. et al. (2000); Elements that constructed the meaning space: three subjects (A: priest, B: cowboy, and C: chef); giving one of three objects (1: vase, 2: cake, and 3: book) to three indirect objects (a: ballerina, b: robber, and c: priest).

2.3 Procedure

The structure-less language, Proto-Randomese, serves as the primary language that gets introduced to human subjects. Proto-Randomese gets passed to three initial participants in chains X, Y, and Z, or in other words, the first-tier generation. Chain Z descends in a pure vertical line of transmission whereas chains X and Y split into binary factions and continue branching down to feed into the second-tier generation, and the process repeats. Each participant was trained on a subset of an input language and subsequently tested on it, thus producing an output language. To implement the iterated learning process, the output language for a participant was used as the input language for the next participant in a chain. These 27 image-word pairs were randomly divided into a seen category and an unseen category (henceforth referred to as SEEN and UNSEEN) of near equal halves. A participant was

presented with the SEEN image-word pairs, and asked to learn these words. Each stimulus of the meaning-string pair was presented on screen for 6 seconds for 2 cycles.

Immediately following this first training session the participants concluded the round with a mini-test, which is comprised of half the subset of SEEN and half the subset of UNSEEN meaning-string pairs for a total of nearly half the full number of the 27 image-word pairs. By filtering in these UNSEEN images during the mini-testing phase, the language cannot be learned by pure rote memorization as participants are tested on images they have never seen before, though they will be familiar with the elements in each image. The trial runs through two more rounds of training followed by a mini-test and concludes with asking the subject to produce the words for all 27 image-word pairs. Therefore, each subject is exposed to each element of the images, however not necessarily trained on a word-image pair that they are eventually tested on. It is here in this final testing phase that each participants' errors as well as their partially constructed morphosyntactic structure gets passed on as the only source of language to the next participant.

2.4 Analyses

2.4.1 Measuring Linguistic Structure

In order to say definitively that grammatical structure arises out of an iterated learning process, there needs to be a means of measuring linguistic structure. This is accomplished by comparing the rate of transmission errors throughout the chains to each input language to see what morphology is stabilizing over time, as well what syntactic structure can be identified based on morphological patterns. The changes in the language that occur within each participant's output are recorded and compared with the cumulative innovations and mutations over the generations. For each change in the letters of the 'words' - which includes insertions, deletions or replacements - a maximal edit distance of 1 is assessed. For example, if the Proto-Randomese passed 'padi' on to the first generation in chain X and became 'yopati', then there would be an

edit distance of 3 - both with the insertion of 'y' and 'o' and with the alteration of 'd' to 't'.

2.4.2 Inheritance and mutation

First, a series of Mantel tests (Mantel, 1967) should reveal a consistent, directional increase in systematic structure over chains. Second, RegMap analysis (Tamariz, 2011), which quantifies the mutual entropy between segments of the words and features of the meanings (subject, direct object, and indirect object), will confirm the accumulation of regularity in mappings between meanings and signals. Third, a computer model of the spread of word segments over time (Tamariz et al., 2014) should find a significant departure from the patterns of evolution expected by the neutral (drift) model, signaling the effects of selection.

2.4.3 Tree inference

Traditional iterated learning paradigms design the transmission chains after pure vertical diffusion lines, with each language within the generations sourcing from a different proto-language. Therefore, there is no common language between the various vertical chains, as four unrelated proto-languages are given to initial participants. The novelty in our iterated language learning design is that there is a common ancestor to all the resulting languages to trace the phylogeny of the family tree. We expect that the tree reconstructed by a phylogenetic analysis program based on the distance matrix of the languages in the most recent generation of each chain will be similar to the veridical tree, strongly indicating that change in our languages is the outcome of descent with modification.

2.4.4 Selection pressures

Finally, a qualitative assessment of the languages in each of the chains will be given based on the coalescent trees of each generation. This will indicate the morphological variations and innovations that are emerging in order to indicate at which generations meanings are starting to stabilize.

3. Results

3.1 Inheritance and mutation

While the experiment is ongoing, preliminary analysis of inheritance of the morphology corresponding with specific meaning-spaces indicates that patterns of regularity are beginning to encode the images. Preliminary results generated by a series of Mantel tests (Mantel 1967) reveal a consistent, directional increase in systematic structure over chains (see **Appendix 2** for raw Z-scores in chain X, languages 1-3). Whereas linguistic structure seems to be increasing as selection pressures for expressivity and learnability show in the distribution of z-scores, error and the edit distance, that is, the innovations and mutations between participants' responses within the generations within chain X, languages 1-4, - appear to be decreasing. See **Figure 4**.

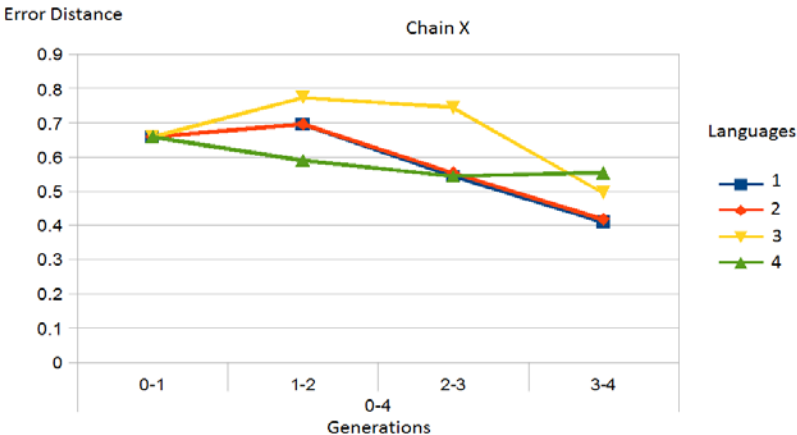


Figure 4: Edit Distances in Chain X, languages 1-4; the vertical lines of diffusion contained in the generations in Chain X show languages 1-4 decreasing in the error output between participants.

4. Discussion

Initial findings illustrate that the language increases in 'learnability' through a decrease in transmission error over time, thus supporting the original hypothesis of cultural evolution which states that cultural transmission is responsible for the evolutionary dynamics that underlie the linguistic structures that adapt to form a language system. Cultural evolution provides a catalyst for language change, and cumulative cultural transmission plays a crucial role in the development and shift of a language. This contrasts with those scientists who claim that biological evolution is solely responsible for the phenomena of language origin and evolutions. In iterated language learning simulations, there appears to be design without a designer as the artificial language is under pressure to be a learnable language, symbolic of the meaning spaces in the communicative task.

While biological properties are necessary to acquire and use language properly, cultural evolution provides the catalyst for change over time. The iterated learning process gives rise to a compositional artificial language which can become transparent and predictable as it is affected by human subjects. Linguistic structure can emerge as an adaptive system when transmitted from individual to individual, as humans share a need to communicate economically to deal with a plethora of ambiguous information in the world. It is difficult to determine without a fossil record of spoken language, when and how in our hominid lineage humans came to utilize such an open-ended and adaptable mode of communicating unlike anything that is known in the animal kingdom. Presently, inquiries about the evolution of language are being pursued via experiments conducted in the laboratory to isolate the specific factors that may be affecting language change. One of these methods used in the lab, the iterated learning process, serves as a microcosm of how children learn their first language, which is by understanding the patterns and grammatical structure of a native speaker and replicating the speech habits of a community. These results support the notion that human culture binds with evolutionary dynamics in a way that the two, along with cognition, become inseparable in the production of language.

Human language is a highly adaptive and open-ended system of communication that will evolve based on the communicative needs of its speakers needs.

5. Future Research

While preliminary analysis through Mantel testing of the generations in the languages of chain X identifies emergent structure and error decrease as we posited, the remaining diffusion chains - namely Y and Z - must be assessed to note if structure is increasing holistically within the language family tree. Furthermore, a phylogenetic reconstruction program must be used to identify if indeed descent with modification can be supported based on the degree of innovations between the final emergent languages of each chain. Finally, RegMap analysis will indicate the morphosyntax of the languages to indicate which particular morpheme in each string corresponds with the elements of the meaning space – that is, the subject, direct object, and indirect object. Providing a qualitative analysis of the coalescent trees, in which the segmented morphemes undergo mutation over the generations, will make transparent which morpheme is consistently being transmitted and successfully stabilizing within each chain from the common ancestor of Proto-Randomese. As a consideration for future research using the iterated learning simulation, the debriefing portion revealed the complex nature of the images was often frustrating for the participants. Therefore, they did not feel that they performed as well as they could have if either the complexity of the images or strings were reduced. While participants were verbally instructed that this was not an easy language learning task, it would be interesting to identify the complexity threshold at which participants can still perform well, yet are challenged by cumulatively constructing morphosyntactic structure rather than providing adjectival descriptions of a single item as found in previous trials (Kirby S. et al., 2008).

5.1. Limitations

Kirby S. et al. (2008) gave empirical evidence regarding cognition and linguistic precursors through the iterated learning method which suggests that humans are culturally influenced to

process incoming signals into patterns and assign the signals in categories, resulting in the emergence of linguistic structure. Therefore, it is unrealistic to assume the participants will enter into the lab a blank slate, as they already have the cognitive capacity necessary for linguistic knowledge. We are estimating that the cognitive underpinnings and cultural influences of participants' language will give rise to an inherently English-like syntax when they influence change on the iterated language. It is relevant to consider the outcome in an experiment design involving participants whose native language is not English, nor are a part of a research-oriented environment such as was the case in the university setting of this experiment. Bringing various cultural and cognitive backgrounds into the context of language evolution would provide a holistic account that is crucial to the advancement of findings in this field.

Appendix 1

Legend for images:

A: chef	B: cowboy	C: priest
1: vase	2: cake	3: book
a: ballerina	b: robber	c: priest

Artificial Language:

1. A1a	kise		
2. A1b	seyogu	15. B2c	gudatuki
3. A1c	tubosedi	16. B3a	dapadayo
4. A2a	tuda	17. B3b	boyoki
5. A2b	tudidi	18. B3c	dadi
6. A2c	tusekigu	19. C1a	didagu
7. A3a	sekidayo	20. C1b	tukida
8. A3b	kidasepa	21. C1c	yosebobo
9. A3c	padi	22. C2a	sedidigu
10. B1a	guyopa	23. C2b	sesebopa
11. B1b	dasese	24. C2c	pasetugu
12. B1c	botubodi	25. C3a	bobo
13. B2a	dasekise	26. C3b	gupa
14. B2b	dituki	27. C3c	boyoguse

Appendix 2

	A	B
1	0	-1.155838435
2	1	4.349581068
3	2	2.05990129
4	3	7.37040275

Columns

A: Generations

B: raw Z-scores

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**Pushing Boundaries, Transgressing Extremes, &
Transforming Identity:
Latino/a Identity in the Los Angeles Extreme Metal Scene**

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Abstract

This ethnographic project explores varying conceptions and constructions of Latino/a identity through mapping the underground Extreme Metal music scene of Los Angeles (LA). The scholarly literature highlights how Latino/a culture is deeply rooted in the history of LA, and how it has varied over time, through migration, marginalization, enculturation, and even through the aesthetics of new music genres, like extreme metal. Having participated in and observed the extreme metal scene in LA for over six months, I found that there is unanimous consensus that the LA extreme metal scene has a unique sound and style, and that Latino/a culture and identity are integral to the scene. However, I found that it is difficult for fans to articulate the specifics of their interest in a particular genre, and that there was a similar difficulty in discussing ethnic identity. In other words, defining what characterizes the extreme metal scene as Latino or uniquely Los Angeles, is best done through first exposing what is not. Through fieldwork, I found there is a drastic disconnect between Latino/as in the EM scene and the Chicano music scene in LA, and I argue that this marginality to the greater Latino/a community of LA is a result of the extreme themes of the genre. Latino/a' participants in the LA extreme metal music scene are both on the margins of the greater LA music scene as well as the Latino/a music scene of LA.

Introduction

The line is out the door-which was uncommon, though not unheard of in the music scene. The stage was the first thing I saw when I turned the corner and entered the main room. The sound technician set up directly opposite, on my left. The room was pretty bare and dimly lit. There was no extravagant décor: merchandise along the back wall, some random items askew, some smoking rooms leading to the back area, and numerous groups of people talking.

A red glow lights up the room. People trickle towards the front of the stage. I do the same. Up near the right speaker, I can see the audience gaze fixed on the blood-smeared and cloaked musicians in front of them. Multiple layers of feedback permeate through the venue. The band, Icon of Phobos is still; their backs to the room. The crowd is just as motionless. Smoke creeps across the floor. The feedback steadily continues. E.R.M, the vocalist, slowly raises his arm. The guitars ring out a single, loud, distorted note, and his fist comes pounding down. The set begins. Energy bursts through the room. Hair sways. Horns rise.

With his back still to the room, E.R.M. slowly rocks back and forth. In a swift turn, his face, smeared with blood and black liner, is toward the audience. His eyes widen over us as he slowly tilts his head back. He falls to his knees. Low-fi, loud, raspy, distorted vocals, reminiscent of early extreme metal bands like Venom, rattle the room. Lyrics are short, loud, growled, and difficult to decipher even for a fan of the genre. At the end of each verse, E.R.M. turns his back, only to turn back with further intensity in the next. Just before the final song of the half hour set, E.R.M raises a chalice towards the room and over his head. Tilting the chalice, the blood-like liquid pours over him. He stands still; the music still roaring. The crowd was fully engaged; another powerful extreme metal ritual sets off in South Central Los Angeles, held at one of the most influential underground venues for extreme metal, The Black Castle. This event could easily be any extreme metal performances in any part of the US, or even the

world, but tonight's show is in South Central LA, one of the various Latino/a neighborhoods where the thriving Los Angeles underground extreme metal scene is located.



Figure 1: E.R.M. of Icon of Phobos (ERM Instagram account)



Figure 2: The Black Castle venue (LA Weekly)

While the Black Castle in South Central Los Angeles is only one of the venues of the scene, it undoubtedly is a vital one. The venue itself used to serve as a custom car shop, until a dedicated member of the underground extreme metal scene, “Der

Ingenieur,” transformed it. Unless you’re connected to the local scene and know about the venue, it’s easily missed amidst the busy boulevard, surrounded by a few homes, a MetroPCS, a plumbing supply store, and a stereo alarm store. The night detailed in the introduction may not be the most typical of the local at The Black Castle or the scene in general, since Finnish Black Metallars Sargeist, were headlining; however, even then the show retained a lot of the characteristics of the LA scene. Surrounding areas like Compton, Bell Gardens, Carson, EastLos, and at times the Downtown area are also hot spots, and those venues, such as The Catacombs and Destino Del Clan, are within the immediate vicinity of The Black Castle. There are also some bars and houses frequented for backyard shows.

As ethnomusicologists have found in other popular music genres (Sorrondéguy 1999; Loza 1993; Lipsitz 1986), extreme metal has been global since its early origins. Nonetheless, there is a strong misperception that extreme metal audiences, located in Europe and the US, are generally comprised of white middle class males and that anything contrary to that is peculiar (Kahn-Harris 2007; Wallach et al 2011). As a Latina metal-head from Southern California, I grew up very aware of these misconceptions. However, given that there have been Latino/a musicians and fans in California since extreme metal first took hold worldwide, to me, it seemed stranger to assume that Anglo identities were the norm in this transnational music scene, and that Latino/a’s in Southern California were merely catching up.

The term “scene,” in the context of popular music scholarship, refers to a space constructed by “member” (fan) interaction, through various forms of participation like performances, and the consumption of merchandise, recordings, promotional advertising, etc. The blood, face paint, gritty vocals, and controlled feedback are all conscious choices and standard characteristics of *extreme* metal, a group of genres characterized by extreme tempos, growled vocals, and occult imagery and themes (for convenience’s sake, I will refer to the extreme metal genre as “EM” at points throughout this essay). To fans in EM scenes around the world, these aesthetics are typical. To others, the

culture might be alarming or confusing, and is often caught in-between the “moral/aesthetic right and the cultural political left” (Avelar 2011: 136). These extreme characteristics, and the reactions they incite, make for an important transnational culture to document and discuss. How do the transgressive aesthetics that characterize EM differ around the world? What EM aesthetics are emphasized within the US? What EM aesthetics are considered transgressive in the US? Although it is important to understand that this genre is transnational, and that the LA EM scene draws from transnational versions of EM, the representations and experiences of Latino/a identity among fans in the LA underground scene can only be understood through the prism of race and ethnicity in America. How are both Latino/a culture and identity represented in US popular music historically? And, specifically, what can some understanding of participation in extreme metal scenes bring to understandings of Latino/a culture and identity?

This paper, which draws from 6 months of ethnographic fieldwork in LA, does not attempt to present a comprehensive history of the extreme metal genre, Latino/a’s in American popular music, or even a history of the LA scene. Rather, my objective is to begin speculating about how Latino/a identity is expressed, negotiated, and transformed through extreme metal aesthetics and discourses. Therefore, this paper most importantly asks the following questions: In what way do Latino/as in the Los Angeles underground EM scene connect with and express their ethnic/cultural identity? To what extent do Latino/a’s in the scene believe their identity does or does not create a sort of subculture within the scene? What divisions are there within Latino/a participants in LA EM? To what extent do EM aesthetics, language, musical influences vary according to “generational” differences amongst Latino/a fans?

There is no question that Latino/a culture and identity are integral to the LA EM scene but there are also varying opinions about what is representative of the aesthetics of LA metal and the construction and expression of a Latino/a identity. This project begins to understand and take note of these concepts and constructions of Latino/a identity within the extreme metal scene.

Literature Review

I will begin by reviewing a variety of scholarly literature that shows how Latino/a identity has transformed in LA music scenes over the past several decades, exploring significant Latino/a figures in American popular music, and contextualizing their work in the socio-political history of Los Angeles. Following this, I offer a description of the visual and aural aesthetics of extreme metal and its connections to Latino/a's, and Los Angeles.

As various scholars have explained (Baulch 2003; Kahn-Harris 2007; Lipsitz 1986, 1994; Loza 1993; Shank 1994; Stokes 1994; Taylor 1997; Viseca 2004; Wallach et al 2011; Walser 1993; Weinstein 1991), music doesn't necessarily just reflect its cultural context, or identity; it is a space used to negotiate and transform identity and place. In *Dangerous Crossroads*, Lipsitz highlights the significance of popular music in that it "demonstrates and dramatizes contrasts between places by calling attention to how people from different places create culture in different ways" (1994: 4). In other words, space, place, and identity are becoming more complex with globalization and "shared cultural space no longer [solely] depends upon shared geographic space" (Lipsitz 1994: 6). In my project on identity and popular music, this concept of globalized applies to the term Latino/a, rather than Mexican-American, because it is more inclusive and representative of contemporary Los Angeles which now embodies a variety of Latino/a cultures from Central America and South America, in addition to Mexico; more specifically, how Latino/as transform identity in EM.

Such as with diasporic communities, Latino/as, especially people of Mexican descent, are deeply embedded in the culture of California, especially Los Angeles, given that the land was once a part of Mexico. Yet despite this strong presence of Latino/as in Los Angeles, "Cultural institutions and the mass media depict dominant cultures as 'natural' and 'normal', while never representing the world from the vantage point of ethnic minority communities" (Lipsitz 1986: 158). In Los Angeles, Latino/a culture is "other-ed," exoticized, and thus not seen as a part of LA,

but rather as a separate immigrant or ethnic community gathered in certain neighborhoods of Los Angeles (Loza 1993; Lipsitz 1986); For visual clarity, these Latino/a neighborhoods are outlined in the map in **Appendix A**. George Lipsitz uses the example of Mexican writer Octavio Paz, who found Latino/a culture in Los Angeles to be disappointing, and “a superficial gloss of Hispanic culture” to illustrate that there are expectations of what an “authentic” Mexican- American or Latino/a culture should be in Los Angeles (Lipsitz 1986). Paz’s opinion, unfortunately, is not without precedent. Unless found adhering to culture thought of as “traditional” in the US, Latino/a identity is often dismissed as inauthentic and thus unimportant.

It is therefore critical to recognize that identity is not static; it is complex, multi-dimensional, and constantly evolving. As Lipsitz forcefully states in *Cruising around the Historical Bloc: Postmodernism and Popular Music in East Los Angeles*, “To think of identities as interchangeable or infinitely open does violence to the historical and social constraints imposed on us by structures of exploitation and privilege. But to posit innate and immobile identities for ourselves or others confuses history with nature and denies the possibilities of change” (Lipsitz, 1994: 160).

Steven Loza’s *Barrio Rhythm: Mexican American Music in Los Angeles* adds to the discourse on Mexican American culture in popular music through the combination of ethnographic research and a socio-political history of Los Angeles, principally following how music and identity transform through the decades (1993). *Barrio Rhythm* begins its socio-political history of Los Angeles in early California, when Mexican-Americans constituted the majority Latino/a presence; however, he does acknowledge the influx of other Latino/a cultures and identities beginning in the 1980’s. Loza’s work highlights how Latino/as experience a sense of being pigeonholed by their identity. While he interviewed musicians across different generations he found that they all shared the experience of only being offered stereotypical music roles such as playing classic mariachi songs from Mexico, like the classic song “El Rancho Grande” for example. Even Lalo Guerrero, often recognized as the Father of Chicano music, stated that he “had no

trouble finding work in Los Angeles as long as he was playing in the field of Mexican entertainment” (Loza 1994). In other words, he, like most Latino/as in Los Angeles, was not seen as American enough to be accepted as an “American” popular musician.

Loza found that these sentiments extended into the early 1990’s, where a majority of musical activity was concentrated in the east side of Los Angeles (EastLos). Even in the 1990’s EastLos was the only part of LA where Latino/as flourished in rock, and later rap, and punk. With other significant Latino/a neighborhoods appearing in LA, strong Latino communities outside of EastLos have formed. By the 1990’s it’s clear that Latino/musicians aren’t necessarily forced to play certain musical styles, but are often limited by being solely marketed as an “EastLos” band, or Chicanos. For example, Los Lobos, a Chicano rock band based in Los Angeles, offered several instances in which they felt undervalued as musicians due to their identity (Loza, 1993). Clearly, blatant discrimination and the institutionalized and systemic marginalization of Latino identity are present in this world.

An especially important aspect of Loza’s research is his acknowledgement of the influence of enculturation on Latino/a identity, normally referred to as a generation gap. The term “generation” refers to when your family immigrated to the US, whether you were born and raised in the US or abroad in Latin America, and to what degree you retain your Latino/a culture versus your American culture. First generations generally are less enculturated, speak Spanish more often and more fluently, and are more directly influenced by the Latino/a music they were raised with. Second generations and up generally are more enculturated, speak English most often, and grow up exposed to a wider array of musical influences. These differences are at times difficult to see on an individual basis. I can use myself as an example: I am a first generation Latina but since my parents lived in the US about 10 years, thus being a bit more enculturated before having me. I am bilingual and was definitely musically influenced by my family. I feel, however, that I fit in between first and second generation. Some musicians, like Los Lobos and a lot of punk bands, fully

embrace a hybrid cultural identity. Others, like Teresa Covarrubias of The Brat, a punk band originally from EastLos, is a third generation Latina that is more enculturated, and thus draws attention to how she often felt pigeonholed as an “EastLos” or Latin performer which she thought was odd considering that all the musicians really had in common was where their parents were from (Lipsitz 1986; Loza 1993). Often Latino/as are disconnected from each other based on generational and cultural differences such as language (Spanish, Spanglish, and English) and musical preference. The vast presence of Latino/as in the LA underground EM metal scene can similarly reveal much about constitutive features of what it means to be Latino/a in LA as well as nationally (Walser, 1993).

The connection of the history of Latino/a participation in the LA music scene with the aesthetic and history of the extreme metal genre is complex. Generally, the term *heavy metal* refers to commercially successful bands ranging from 1960’s classics like Led Zeppelin to the over the top pop, glam, and hair metal bands from the 1980’s, like Poison, which share characteristics like guitar solos, high pitched vocals, recognizable melodies, and theatrical or satirical themes that at times can reflect a social critique (Kahn-Harris 20017; Weinstein 1991). However, I want to clarify that this paper is on extreme metal. *Extreme* metal is an umbrella term referring to subgenres ranging from doom metal, black metal, gothic metal, thrash metal, and death metal. It does not usually include nu-metal or grind-core genres. Extreme metal, influenced by hard-core punk, grew out of the decadence of pop and glam metal, and developed characteristics that clearly distinguish it from Heavy Metal: nearly unintelligible growled, screamed and high pitched vocals, extremely rapid tempos, ‘tremolo’ guitar riffs, a trebly guitar sound, and a mix of low fidelity recordings or simple production; through its loud aural aesthetics and controversial occult visual aesthetics and themes, extreme metal pushes “conventional music aesthetics to the point where music collapses into what is conventionally classed as noise; extreme metal challenges what music is.” (Kahn-Harris 2007: 8).

In *Extreme Metal: Music and Culture on the Edge*, Kahn-Harris deconstructs the occult themes and practices of the transnational extreme metal scene. Some of the EM themes found transnationally are: war, warriors, the “distrust of the cosmopolitan city,” the supernatural, paganism, Satanism, misanthropy, and “the postmodern use of symbols from a variety of ancient cultures” (Kahn Harris 2007: 26). Kahn-Harris breaks down the purpose of these themes in extreme metal through the theory of transgression: “Transgression, like extremity, implies a sense of testing and crossing boundaries and limits” (2007: 22). It pushes the binary on good and evil and escapes authority, and thus is often caught in-between the “moral/aesthetic right and the cultural political left” (Avelar 2011: 136). Despite being an extreme metal fan, Kahn-Harris observes the reluctance in the scene to connect music and self to politics. “The dividing line between fantasy and reality has at times been extremely porous for extreme metal protagonists”; one such example is the infamous case of the Norwegian Black metal scene’s string of church burning in the 1990’s (Kahn-Harris 2007: 20).

Sonically, extreme metal can be described as a wall of noise; these extremely fast tempos and distorted vocals are carefully made choices. Discursively, non-musical discourse of extreme metal’s transgression is reflected “through a variety of media: lyrics, song titles, fanzines and other publications, record sleeves, band names, and of course, everyday talk” (Kahn-Harris 2007: 30). Heavy metal did employ dark themes; however, it is important to note that extreme metal takes these themes and fantasies into a far more sinister and vivid reality of control and violence. Kahn-Harris spells out exactly how different the non-musical transgression is between heavy metal and extreme metal, through a comparison of Ozzy Osbourne’s song “Suicide Silence,” and extreme metal in Deicide’s “Sacrificial Suicide”, and cites the latter as having more “explicitly satanic and explicitly glorify[ing] suicide” (2007: 32). Even more simply, the difference between heavy metal and extreme metal bands can be distinguished through things as simple as font style on posters, album art and band names. And in performance spaces these blatant differences which identify EM can be seen in clothing, paint, and symbols adhere to

the controversial, the supernatural, or warrior. Bodily transgression at times follows stereotypical themes of metal on sexuality, and abusing alcohol, and drugs. It is, however, just as common in extreme metal to emphasize self-control (Kahn-Harris 2007: 25).

Michael Mena has begun to explore the intersection of extreme metal, Los Angeles, and Latino/a identity with his Master's thesis "The Mexican Identity and Music: Audioscapes and the Transnational Death Metal band Brujeria" (2011). Mena focuses on the band Brujeria (Witchcraft), which is a Mexican American extreme metal band that formed in Los Angeles in the early 1990's, and remains highly influential today. Brujeria is a "marginalized band within a marginalized genre of music," with Spanish lyrics and themes revolving around politics, immigration, the Mexican American Border, and violence (Mena 2011: 18). These themes, along with the music of extreme metal "invoke feelings of patriotism, nationalism, statelessness, homelessness, pride, anger, displacement, dissatisfaction with government, nostalgia, masculinity" (Mena 2011: 29). Brujeria grew out of the history of prejudice against Latino/as in LA; the band appeals to Latino/a identity through the use cultural symbols, such as the Virgin Mary or the Mexican flag, political events, or even stereotypical objects Latino/as are associated with in US popular culture, like matches and handkerchiefs. Some of their best known albums are *Matando Gueros* (Killing White People) and *Raza Odiada* (Hated Race), and the transgressive themes and topics of these albums and the rest of their music without a doubt reflect the influence of extreme metal aesthetics.

Studying Brujeria, Mena used cross-generational interviews and lyrical analysis, and he concludes that "Brujeria is capable of transcending its own physical reality and creating an inclusive imagined community that is both serious and playful" (2011: 25). Due to what may be considered anti-American, Brujerias' name and influence is still mostly underground in the United States, whereas they are hugely popular in Latin America. Mena highlights Brujerias' underground characteristic in the US in the ethnographic introduction of his thesis, stating that he had "... never found a Brujeria shirt at any of my U.S. metal shirt shop

locations, so I knew the only way to get one was either at a concert or in Mexico” (Mena 2011: 18). The extreme metal band Brujeria creates a Mexican American space that transcends place. This intersection between extreme metal, Latino/as, and Los Angeles, once again brings me to my research questions: In what way do Latino/as in the Los Angeles underground EM scene connect with and express their ethnic/ cultural identity? To what extent do Latino/as in the scene believe their identity does or does not contribute to the distinctiveness of the local scene? What divisions are there within the Latino/a community regarding the scene? To what extent do EM aesthetics, language, and musical influences vary according to “generation” differences amongst Latino/as?

Methodology

This project makes use of fieldwork observations. For a period of about 6 months, from June 2014 to December 2014, I participated in the LA extreme metal scene in order to interact with and observe how Latino/a identity is navigated in the scene. I observed the different influences of the scene and its origin stories, from within the music itself, to dialogue between performers and participants, and even the representations of different bands on t-shirts and other promotional materials. In this period, I’ve attended over 25 performances throughout LA, during which I spoke to a variety of scene members about my goals for this project and how they connect to my own experiences. During my field observations, I kept notes both electronically, on a smart phone application, and in a small journal. The following day, I would attempt to expand on my brief notes, focusing on recreating conversations among other things. My field observations were supplemented by some informal interviews and discussions with musicians, fans, promoters, and venue proprietors.

This paper is unquestionably influenced by my own perspective, both as a fan of the extreme metal genre and as a Latina from Southern California. These unique perspectives allow me various advantages. As a fan of the transnational EM music scene, it is possible to explain and sort characteristics that are similar or different depending on local, national, or transnational.

As a Latina, I am particularly aware of how the expected “authenticity” of Latino/a identity and culture in Southern California, in addition to a history of exploitation and exclusion, contributes to the complexity of identity. Through a combination of these two unique perspectives, I hope to contribute to understanding what it means to LA EM scene participants to be Latino/a.

Observations and Discussion

Through mapping the Los Angeles underground Extreme Metal scene, this paper simultaneously maps conceptions and constructions of local Latino/a identity. As the historical and ethnographic projects by Loza, Lipsitz, and Mena, among other scholars, have shown, Latino/a culture is deeply rooted in the history of California, especially in Los Angeles. The way Latino/a identity is constructed and expressed has varied over time, through migration, enculturation, and even through the creation of new genres like extreme metal. This is where my paper continues and contributes to this academic discourse. Having participated and observed the extreme metal scene in Los Angeles, there is no question that Latino/a culture and identity are integral to the scene. There are, however, varying opinions about what is representative of the aesthetics of LA metal and the construction and expression of a Latino/a identity.

Like ethnographic studies conducted in other parts of the world, it is important to highlight not only the significant differences in local versus global, but also the local versus the national. In other words, there should be an equal focus on how the local scene in LA speaks to the national extreme metal scene in the United States, whether through claims of similarity or difference. So, just as Mena found the band Brujeria to be “a marginalized band within a marginalized genre,” I find that this generally extends to Latino/as throughout the LA EM scene.

So unlike previous ethnographic studies, such as Emma Baluch's "Gesturing Elsewhere," or other extreme metal scenes in the global south, the local is not rejected in Los Angeles (2003). Perhaps this embrace of the local is due to the fact that the scene is long well established given its location adjacent to a city central to the music industry, though Kahn-Harris argues the location of the LA does not make it any less marginal. Nonetheless, throughout my participation there was a clear and constant pride in the LA underground extreme metal scene. But it is important to note that the global is also embraced and admired and these connections are equally important to acknowledge and discuss. There is a strong connection within the local scene in regards to promotion of events and music; however, music is often also promoted to various globally recognized hubs for extreme metal, Brazil or Norway for example. As David Novak found in *Japanoise: Music at the Edge of Circulation* (2013), extreme music scenes exist and persist through cultural feedback and media circulation. The scenes in Brazil and Norway are just as marginal as they are in LA, but through feedback and circulation, the scenes carry on thriving through these global interconnections. So, no matter where an extreme metal scene is located, geographically or in a more fluid space, the scene is marginal and underground.

Although there is a clear distinction between what LA extreme metal is and is not, as Kahn-Harris and other popular music scholars explain, it is difficult for fans to articulate the specifics of their interest in a particular genre. Often, answers to questions about what draws someone to a genre are given through examples of bands or even through examples of what is not a part of the genre. In this project I found that there was a similar difficulty in verbalizing identity and culture; this is perhaps a phenomenon similar to what Loza found in his project Barrio Rhythm when describing differences between generations and the influence of enculturation. In other words answering "what does LA metal look and sound like" and "what is Latino/a identity in the scene like," does not incite as much discussion as "what is LA metal not" and "what is not Latino/a identity."

To begin to test and understand the porous boundaries of what LA metal and Latino/a identity in EM is, I attended an annual Chicano scene event, the “Farce of July,” put together by Chicano rap veterans Aztlan Underground. This event was ideal to test these boundaries because the group is well known for using Latino/a, indigenous, and pre-Columbian imagery in their music, something that is also common in extreme metal. Punk is the closest genre to extreme metal that Loza studies, and even then there are strong ideological differences between the two. Concepts applied to both genres can have different meanings. Mena amusingly sums up this tension between metal and punk with a well-known dialogue between the two scenes: “I have heard punk kids say ‘It’s about the message not the guitar solo.’ While metal heads reply... ‘Learn how to play guitar and then maybe we could take you seriously!’” (2011: 35).

At the “Farce of July” event, it was fairly clear that this was not an event where extreme metal would be a focus, but it was an important step nonetheless. During the event, I had an opportunity to speak with Yaotl, the vocalist of Aztlan Underground, about the types of music chosen for the event, touching on the absence of extreme metal and extreme metal bands like Mictlantecuhtli, which also make use of pre-Columbian themes. However, it quickly became clear that Aztlan Underground and Mictlantecuhtli have not even heard of each other and that there was an apparent disconnect between Latino/as participating in the Latino/Chicano music scene and the EM music scene. For instance, “the postmodern use of symbols from a variety of ancient cultures” is a prominent theme in extreme metal, and in Chicano music (whether hip-hop, rap, or punk) pre-Colombian imagery is very common. Therefore it would be reasonable to assume that since the extreme metal scene makes use of similar imagery, they would be involved with the Chicano scene and occasionally book shows together. However, these symbols and themes form different sets of aesthetics and discourses, punk and metal, and, there seems to be very little communication or interaction between the two.

Even within the Latino/a community, extreme metal is marginalized. From then on it became clear that an event like this

was not LA metal, and not an example of how Latino/a identity is constructed and expressed in the extreme metal scene of LA. However, Mictlantecuhtli also did not necessarily epitomize the scene.



Figure 3: Aztlan Underground (FB page)



Figure 4: Mictlantecuhtli (FB page)

In months of fieldwork Mictlantecuhltli remained the only band I encountered to make use of corpse paint, pre-Columbian imagery and war props on stage. Corpse paint is most notably used in Northern European black metal to make musicians appear as inhuman warriors, and is definitely not the norm in the Los Angeles scene. In fact, in one performance where the band came up in an informal interview, a scene member explained that corpse paint is really “a Norwegian thing” and that’s why it’s nearly absent in Los Angeles; it’s not considered “LA” metal. Another time, while waiting for Mictlantecutli to set up for a performance at The Black Castle, a scene member and fan of the band, explained that the band was very “old-school” and definitely not representative of the overall scene. This comment refers to Norwegian Black Metal bands which used similar corpse paint in the 1980s-1990s. So, although an outsider to the LA scene might perceive Mictlantecuhltli to represent a norm in the Latino/a extreme metal scene, it seems to really be the exception in its chosen form of identity expression. Mictlantecuhltli represents a lot of the reasons Latino/as choose not to make use of pre-Columbian imagery as participants are aware of the stereotypical expectations of a Latino/a identity in the USA and specifically EM in the USA.

Another interesting discussion point pertinent to this study on the construction and expression of Latino/a identity in LA extreme metal is that Mictlantecuhltli is also criticized (by mostly non LA EM scene participants) for not having Spanish lyrics to supplement their chosen pre-Columbian visual aesthetic. This critique seems to come from outside the extreme metal scene, such as the LA Chicano or punk music scene, or extreme metal scenes in Latin America. Scene members do not necessarily critique Mictlantecuhltli, but they acknowledge that they are critiqued and that the band does not necessarily represent Latino/a identity in the scene. The criticism of using one language versus another falls into the pattern noted by Loza’s interviews, in that being Latino/a in the US brings with it a certain set of expectations. Does being Latino/a and using pre-Columbian themes mean having to sing in Spanish? Some punk bands, like Los Crudos, have used the language as a political statement, but again I want to emphasize that the use of the language does not define someone as Latino/a or not.

Overall, this critique of Mictlantecuhтли recurs in various ethnomusicology studies on Latino/as in popular music. However, in Mictlantecuhтли's case, the critique is much more complex, including criticism about the use of cultural themes in EM, visual aesthetics, and not being political enough, in comparison to bands like Aztlan Underground. It is clear that corpse paint is not considered to be a generic feature in Latino/a performances of "LA extreme metal" and that neither is the use of pre-Columbian themes. So then, the question still remained: What *is* considered a definitive construction or expression of Latino/a identity in the LA extreme metal scene?

Immigration to Los Angeles is continuous, and there are many first generation Latino/as, as well as second, third, fourth, and so on. As Loza found in his project, generation is linked to rate of enculturation (1993). Generational differences, or enculturation differences, as Loza would call them, is still most definitely a divide within Latino/a participants *within* the EM scene. This enculturation gap within the Latino/a community as represented by language is difficult to pinpoint, given that it is a sort of unspoken divide and common effect of enculturation. However, there is a clear cluster of bands within the scene that play more often with each other than with the rest of the scene, and in this smaller group Spanish is the more dominant conversational language. On merchandise (like T-shirts), and on patches, typically you saw reference to bands from the transnationally acclaimed European scene. Influences on the scene of Spanish speaking or Latino/metal bands were also common- Brujeria, Asesino, A.N.I.M.A.L, Sepultura, Transmetal, and so on. Throughout the LA scene lyrics are always written in English, despite band members and fans having the ability to speak other languages, like Spanish. After months of searching and exploring the scene, I have been unable to identify Spanish language extreme metal bands in LA.

This difference within the EM scene is most apparent when comparing the night at the Black Castle, or really most other performances, with my attendance at "MagoFest" in the South Central venue, Destino Del Clan. This venue is small, identified only by a small door between an apartment complex and a Central

American Market. Inside, there are posters of previous concerts, graffiti, drug paraphernalia, pornographic videos, murals of Satan, and murals of Latino/a revolutionaries. As I walked in, the band Dichotomy was setting up on the small stage, joking with the crowd in Spanish about free beer and alluding to Brujeria, but as soon as their set began, they shifted back to English and musically referenced classic melodic death metal bands from Europe and Latin America. Although I am a Latina from Southern California and although I am bilingual, I definitely feel more at ease speaking English or Spanglish. In Destino Del Clan I found myself concentrating on making sure I thought out my Spanish well before I actually spoke. “MagoFest” participants would understand what I’d say regardless, but it’s not uncommon to be corrected or to be criticized for not knowing “my” language. In Black Castle, I found myself in a comfortable mix of English and Spanglish because I knew that the majority of the Latino/a scene members understood my occasional Spanish and Spanglish, but we were all most comfortable speaking English.

Contrasting Mictlantecuhтли with the study of another local band, Witchaven, offers additional clarity about Latino/a identity in the scene. Witchaven is a renowned blackened thrash metal band in the LA scene, and perhaps best epitomizes prominent sonic and discursive transgressions of scene: the music is a clear mix between black metal and thrash metal styles, with strongly political, anti-capitalist, anti-policing lyrics. Again, being explicitly political is not common in the extreme metal scene, so in this aspect Witchaven is often criticized for not being “true” to extreme metal because their music can be seen as too political. Nonetheless they are a respected band in the scene.



Figure 5 Witchaven (FB Page)

Although the scene is no longer limited to the geographic space of EastLos, there are still a lot of EM performances held there. More often than not, these are thrash metal bands, one of the genres within extreme metal. It is perhaps the blurred line between thrash and hardcore punk that allows an enduring thrash metal scene to survive in EastLos, which was and is home to a longstanding Latino/ Chicano punk scene.

I follow Kahn-Harris' organized discussion of transgression in sonic, bodily, and discursive terms. More generally, the sonic transgression of the LA extreme metal scene is the fusion of two sub-genres, usually a mix of the two names of the sub-genres, for example: death-thrash, blackened death, blackened thrash etc. The genre mixes for the most part the speed of thrash metal, the satanic imagery of black metal, and the gritty vocals of death metal. Bodily transgression in the scene focuses more on sexuality and occasional drug and alcohol use, themes that are not uncommon across the transnational scene. Discursively, transgression in the LA metal scene follows the transnational extreme metal themes: violence, war, control, self-destruction, and Satanism; however, there is a noticeable absence of symbols from ancient cultures, with the exception of the occasional reference to Greek mythology and those related to Satanism. These extreme themes are followed

in more mundane practices of everyday life, in lyrics, band names, merchandise, music videos, and even follow conversation in relation to current events.

Conclusion

More could be learned from this project by comparing interviews with Witchaven, Mictlantecuhtli, Icon of Phobos, and Dichotomy, as it might highlight more details in the generational divide within bands of the extreme metal scene. Gender identities are also an obviously significant part of the scene, and it would be interesting to analyze and understand these themes and points from a strictly female, Latina perspective. This project ends with openness to these possible additions and expansions.

Understanding the marginality of the Latino/a identity through a sociocultural history of Los Angeles, alongside an understanding of transgressive extreme metal aesthetics, requires us to rethink long held conceptions about both extreme metal, Latino/a identity in Los Angeles, and demands that we begin to recognize how Latino/a identity is uniquely expressed in the LA extreme metal scene. There is a drastic disconnect from Latino/as in the EM scene and the Chicano music scene in LA, as its extreme themes push the music scene, and the Latino/as in it, onto the margins of both LA and the Latino/a community.

Through mapping the Los Angeles underground Extreme Metal scene, this paper simultaneously mapped conceptions and constructions of local Latino/a identity. Scene participants, from musicians, fans, and promoters alike, agree that there is no question that Latino/a culture and identity are integral to the LA EM scene. However, it was clear early on that it is difficult for fans to articulate the specifics of their interest in a particular genre, and that there was a similar difficulty in discussing their Latino identity. It is clear that there are varying opinions about what is and what is not representative of the aesthetics of LA metal and the construction and expression of a Latino/a identity.

In summation, the transgression of the LA extreme metal scene is a mixture of the speed of thrash metal, the Satanism of

black metal, and the gritty vocals of death metal; it's loud, fast, and powerful, true to the thrash metal roots in LA. The LA scene does connect to a transnational EM scene, especially in Europe and Latin America. The particular selection of some transnational extreme metal themes that the LA scene, such as war, death, misanthropy, and the avoidance of others and the use of symbols from ancient cultures.

While the utilization of pre-Columbian imagery and themes may seem obvious, bands like Mictlanteuctli reflect a reoccurring concern among Latino/a musicians and fans of not wanting to be pigeon-holed by ethnic identity (Loza 1993). To assume or expect that all Latino/a identity in the extreme metal would adhere to pre-Columbian themes in order to portray an “authentic” Latino/a identity in EM is constraining and resonates with an earlier moment in popular music, in which Latino/a musicians in LA were only allowed to play stereotypical Mexican music such as Mariachi. To reiterate Lipsitz,, “To think of identities as interchangeable or infinitely open does violence to the historical and social constraints imposed on us by structures of exploitation and privilege. But to posit innate and immobile identities for ourselves or others confuses history with nature and denies the possibilities of change” (Lipsitz, 1994: 160).

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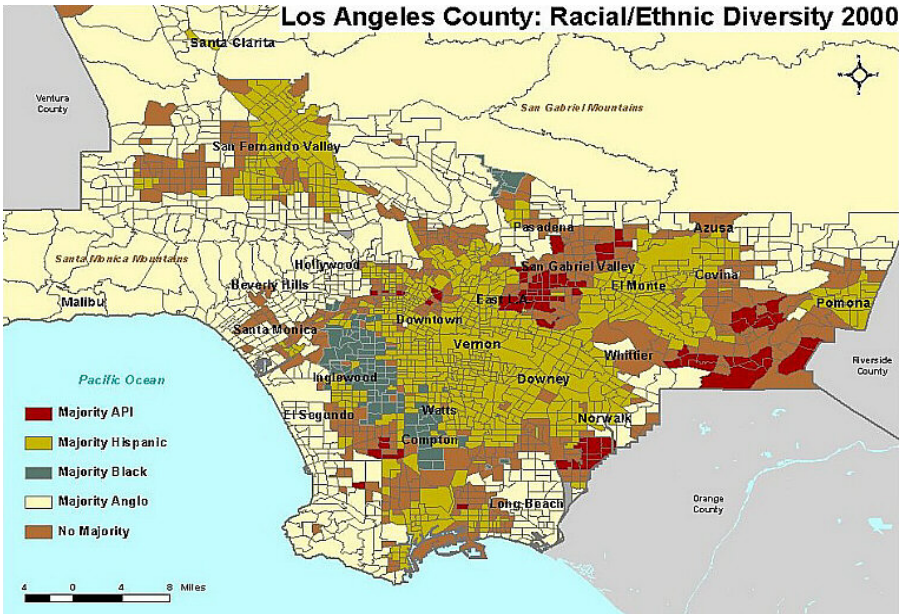
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Appendix A: Breakdown of Ethnic identity in Los Angeles county neighborhoods as of 2000



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Consciousness Raising through Artistic Interventions in the *Ni Una Mas* Social Movement

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Abstract

Femicide is the term used to describe the violent acts of torture, rape and mutilation that are precursors to the death of a female body. Many have charged the Mexican government with granting impunity to the perpetrators of femicide, due to the number of unresolved cases and continued deaths. This project reviews the types of interventions that have challenged the Mexican government and raised awareness about the terrorizing acts performed on female bodies. I am specifically interested in looking at artistic interventions, the use of art as a political tool. This method of intervention is creative, and it has the ability to reach individuals who may not have access to journals, books, and or independent media. These types of interventions can be interpreted as a movement within a movement, because art lives on even after a social movement fades. I discuss multiple forms of artistic interventions such as music, an online radio station, and two photographs. All of these modes of intervention are important because they possess the potential to raise awareness about the violence against girls and women both locally and globally.

Introduction

Globalization has had detrimental consequences for those who do not reap the benefits of neoliberal policies such as the North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA). Elvia R. Arriola argues that with the signing of NAFTA “domestic violence and femicide¹ in Ciudad Juárez have risen in the wake of heavy industrialization along the border. . .at least three hundred women and girls were killed in Ciudad Juárez between 1994 and 2000.”² Femicide is still at an all time high.³ While the signing of NAFTA intensified the killings, it is not the only reason why these murders are occurring. In addition to neoliberal policies like NAFTA, scholars who study femicide frequently point to multiple factors contributing to its occurrence including capitalism, gender, globalization, narco-trafficking and patriarchy. These factors are interconnected and function to further marginalize communities. A focus on patriarchal ideology proves useful to this analysis.

In Mexico, patriarchal ideology is manifested through cultural and national ideologies, and reinforced by government

¹ Arriola, Elvia R. 2006. Accountability for Murder in the Maquiladoras: Linking Corporate Indifference to Gender Violence at the U.S.-Mexico Border. *Seattle Journal for Social Justice* 5: 603. p. 39
“Femicide is also called “female homicide” and is a gender crime. BLACK’S LAW DICTIONARY 502 (7TH ED. 2000). It is the murder of someone based on the fact that the victim is female” (p.39).

² Ibid. p. 25

³ Lopez, Adriana Carmona, Alma Gomez Caballero, and Lucha Castro Rodriguez, 2010. “Femicide in Latin America in the Movement for Women’s Human Rights.” Trans. Sara Koopman. *Terrorizing Women: Femicide in the Américas*. By Rosa Linda. Fregoso and Cynthia L. Bejarano. Durham: Duke UP, 2010. 157-76. Print. p. 162

“According to the Casa Amiga Centro de Crisis (Friendly House Crisis Center), which monitors feminicides, in Ciudad Juárez alone there were thirty-five feminicides in 2005, twenty feminicides in 2006; and eight feminicides in 2007, with twenty more women violently assassinated. In 2008 sixteen hundred people were violently assassinated in Ciudad Juárez, and young women have continued to disappear. In 2009 nearly three thousand people were killed.” (p.162).

officials who discredit Maquiladora⁴ employees by calling into question their morals. According to Alejandro Lugo, Ciudad Juárez, in the state of Chihuahua, has “. . . a male-centered patriarchal system in which men continue to believe that they own not only women and women’s lives, but also women’s right to live or die—including how they die, especially dark-skinned working-class girls and women.”⁵ Patriarchy undergirds a system of male entitlement wherein women may be thought of as disposable objects. While multiple theories exist concerning the feminicides, an argument can be made that when girls and women exercise their agency (the ability to make autonomous decisions), they become targets because they are transgressing a gender script that is associated with domesticity and virginity. This has resulted in the last decade in many deaths.

Government officials police women’s sexuality by “blaming the victim.”⁶ Politicians have argued the murdered women “are living a double life” related to sexual promiscuity.⁷ Patricia Zavella argues, “In this patriarchal logic there are culturally sanctioned discourses or practices of repressing women’s sexual desires, whereby women, should experience pleasure only in the context of institutional approval: through Church-sanctified marriage.”⁸ If a woman engages in sexual activity outside of marriage, she is subject to being called a “whore” and viewed as an unrespectable woman.

In this project I document how men and women actively raise awareness about the horrific crimes being committed against women in Ciudad Juárez. My research question focuses on how

⁴ Maquiladora is Spanish for factory. Most Maquiladoras have unsafe working conditions and exploit their employees.

⁵ Lugo, Alejandro, 2008. *Fragmented Lives, Assembled Parts: Culture, Capitalism, and Conquest at the U.S.-Mexico Border*. University of Texas Press. P.236

⁶ Portillo, Lourdes. 2001. *Señorita extraviada* missing young woman. New York, NY: Women make movies.

⁷ Ibid.

⁸ Zavella, Patricia, 2003. *Talking Sex: Chicanas and Mexicanas Theorize about Silences and Sexual Pleasures.* "Chicana Feminisms: A Critical Reader. Durham, NC: Duke UP, 2003. N.Print. p. 228

local and global communities engage with or address border violence against girls and women through artistic interventions. I also ask two subsidiary questions: First, who is in the vanguard addressing violence against women in Ciudad Juárez? Second, why does the community turn to artistic intervention?

Literature Review

An abundance of research exists concerning Maquiladoras, the violence against girls and women, and the impunity granted to the perpetrators of the feminicides. For the purposes of this research, impunity is defined as exemption from legal prosecution.⁹ The literature that I will review discusses the response of the local and global communities to the violence against women. The literature demonstrates the communities' agency and their methods of intervention. In addition, the literature challenges dominant academic scholarship, and highlights how spectacular political displays function to raise awareness about an issue.

Non-governmental organizations such as Casa Amiga, located in Ciudad Juárez, have been recognized for their persistent attempts to alter culture, ideology, and power relations. This intervention is not a loud and visible protest; rather, its subtle approach to provoking change on a micro level is an effective form of resistance. Joanna Swanger describes how Casa Amiga operates. She writes, "Through the techniques of feminist therapy and consciousness-raising workshops, the members of Casa Amiga are constructing a culture based on sharing, reciprocity, responsibility, accountability, and mutual obligation."¹⁰ This form of resistance is powerful because the women at Casa Amiga learn to dismantle the cultural indoctrination that subordinates them as women. They develop a framework that provides the tools to better understand their human agency, how it is constrained by societal gender

⁹<http://www.oxforddictionaries.com/definition/english/impunity?searchDictCod e=all>

¹⁰ Swanger, Joanna, 2007. Feminist Community Building in Ciudad Juárez: A Local Cultural Alternative to the Structural Violence of Globalization. *Latin American Perspectives* 34(2): 108–123. p.119

ideologies and reinforced by external social structures such as globalization.

The work of community organizations like Casa Amiga is consistent with feminist scholars who are making critical academic interventions by challenging theories that tend to universalize women's experiences. For example, Guadalupe Taylor advocates a transcultural-transnational feminist approach that takes into consideration the distinct lived experiences of women whose social, political, and economic position in the social hierarchy are distinct from U.S. women. Taylor argues that this framework is better suited to explain the plight of female Maquiladoras and the violence they encounter. Taylor argues, "A feminist theory that attempts to explain and transform the lives of poor rural women on the border should consider their voices, their particular situation and experience, their ethnic background, and their marginalized situation in their own country."¹¹ Taylor's argument brings to the fore the necessity of including the voices of the community directly affected by the unequal distribution of wealth and power associated with globalization and neoliberal policies. Although Guadalupe Taylor is not looking at art as an intervention strategy, she is providing a critical framework that would allow scholars to understand the plight of the devalorized bodies in Chihuahua and challenges universalizing feminist ideologies.

Challenging dominant political discourse is an additional form of intervention because it challenges the status quo. Melissa W. Wright discusses necropolitics, and gender violence along the U.S-Mexico border.¹² Building on Michel Foucault and Achille Mbembe, Wright expands on the concept of necropolitics by examining "how the wars over the political meaning of death in relation both to femicide and to the events called drug violence unfold through a gendering of space, of violence and

¹¹ Taylor, Guadalupe 2010. The Object Bodies of the Maquiladora Female Workers on a Globalized Border. *Race, Gender & Class* 17(3/4): 349–363. p.359

¹² Wright, Melissa W. 2011. Necropolitics, Narcopolitics, and Femicide: Gendered Violence on the Mexico-U.S. Border. *Signs* 36(3): 707–731.

subjectivity.”¹³ Wright argues that when Mexico received criticism from the U.S for becoming an emerging “narco state,” “Mexican government officials argued forcefully against these claims and stuck to their story that the violence was *narcoviolencia*, perpetrated by criminals against criminals who were not targeting innocents.”¹⁴ The language used by government officials creates a “good” and “bad” criminal binary. This is problematic because innocent bystanders are not being fairly represented legally. According to Wright, anti-femicide groups “have made many strides in weakening the discourse of public women as they successfully organized a transnational social justice movement that led to legal reforms within Mexico. . . but they have a long fight ahead if they are to succeed in dismantling the story of drug violence as perpetrated by criminals against one another.”¹⁵ Wright’s argument illustrates the advancement of social justice movements, but it also demonstrates the limitations of being unable to change the systems of belief that marginalize people in society according to gender, race and class. Two forms of intervention are highlighted: activism that resulted in successful legal interventions and the actions of the local community that challenge elitist discourse concerning why people are killed. While challenging elitist discourse is not artistic, it publicly calls into question the popular narratives that appear to endorse the violence generated toward girls and women.

Spectacular displays of political activism such as street protests and theatrical performances are explicit forms of intervention used to raise awareness. These also have the ability to pressure governmental officials to end the immunity granted to the perpetrators of gender violence. Kathleen Staudt argues that, “Anti-violence activists have used drama, testimonies, films, and plays to frame and extend their messages. Performance is a useful concept around which to analyze anti-violence social movements

¹³ Ibid., 709

¹⁴ Ibid., 721

¹⁵ Wright, Melissa W. 2011. Necropolitics, Narcopolitics, and Femicide: Gendered Violence on the Mexico-U.S. Border. *Signs* 36(3): 707–731p.726

at the border.”¹⁶ Performance as a form of intervention reaches populations that otherwise may not have access to or the ability to read a newspaper, book, or article. Spectacular political displays, such as plays, can seem less intimidating than street protests and can prompt individuals to partake in the anti-femicide movement. One example is the *Vagina Monologues* by playwright and activist Eve Ensler [who] “began a global campaign to call attention to violence against women, female sexuality, and other long-dormant issues once part of the 1960s-1970s women’s movements in Mexico and the United States.”¹⁷ The significance of this political performance is its ability to permit the observer to relate to the protagonist and empathize with the current situation, in this case the exploitation of women, and perhaps to become involved in challenging and questioning government impunity.¹⁸ This form of intervention is powerful and has the potential to resonate in the imaginary of the individual interpreting the message.

Methods and Data Analysis

I consulted both primary and secondary sources to obtain data for this project. Secondary sources consisted of anthologies, articles, books and the cover image of *Terrorizing Women: Femicide in the Americas*.¹⁹ Scholars who have written about femicides have provided insight into various channels of communications for raising awareness such as music, radio, theatrical performances, and art. I became interested in these forms of disseminating information because of their creativity in reaching a myriad of audiences of different gender, class, and ethnic backgrounds. I identified multiple musical genres and performers that appeal to different generations. Radio Fem was mentioned by a femicide scholar in *Terrorizing Women: Femicide in the Americas*; wanting to learn more about it, I reviewed the online

¹⁶ Staudt, Kathleen 2009. *Violence and Activism at the Border: Gender, Fear, and Everyday Life in Ciudad Juárez*. University of Texas Press. p.18

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, p.18

¹⁸ *Ibid.*

¹⁹ The cover image from *Terrorizing Women: Femicide in the Americas*, is a primary source, however, it is packaged as a secondary source.

podcast in detail. I analyzed two photographs, one was on display at an art exhibit at the University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign, and the other appeared as the cover image of *Terrorizing Women: Feminicide in the Américas*. I chose these two images because of their gendered depictions, one image is mostly male, while the other is mostly female. These images portray different messages. It is important to analyze how global and local communities utilize these channels of communication to raise political awareness. It is critical because these forms of intervention have the potential to influence public policy and challenge stereotypes. I did a content-textual analysis to illustrate how these artistic interventions raise awareness in a subtle yet spectacular form.

Artistic interventions are a way to address the problem of accessibility. Journal articles, and independent or dissident newspapers may not be readily accessible to the majority of the population. In contrast, music, online radio podcasts, and images are cultural texts that can be understood by those who may be illiterate. Therefore, these types of artistic interventions provide an alternative way to question authority, a different strategy for raising awareness and most importantly, a distinct method of communicating the truth about the violations committed.

Music Interventions

I have chosen three distinct musicians/musical groups that uniquely challenge the status quo and marginalization of poor people of color. Los Tigres Del Norte is an all male band whose musical genre can be described as corridos.²⁰ Lila Downs' musical genre is influenced by "folk and ranchera music of Mexico and South American and American folk, jazz, blues and hip-hop. Many of her lyrics focus on issues relating to social justice, and often tell the stories of the workers who migrate from rural Mexico to work in the U.S."²¹ Las Cafeteras is a mixed gender group whose lyrics and visual performances are a method of resistance. "The songs speak of longing, their parents journey crossing borders and life in East L.A.; they tell stories of love and struggle and often use social

²⁰ Corridos are ballads.

²¹ N/A. Retrived from Web site: www.liladowns.com/us/biography

satire to point at political inconsistencies.”²² These three groups challenge the status quo, and the unique gender dynamic of each musician/musical group can influence and inspire political action from various generations and/or ethnic backgrounds.

Los Tigres del Norte is an internationally known band whose politically charged corridos have entertained audiences while simultaneously informing and raising awareness about the violence against female bodies. Stemming from the Mexican Revolution, corridos function, among other purposes, to educate and story tell. Los Tigres del Norte has toured around the world with their politicized music, such as their song “Las Mujeres de Juárez” (The Women from Juárez). This particular song illustrates a powerful method of intervention because the lyrics are politically charged,

“Humillante y abusiva la intocable impunidad los huesos en el desierto muestran la cruda verdad. . . es momento ciudadanos de cumplir nuestro deber si la ley no lo resuelve lo debemos resolver castigando a los cobardes que ultrajan a la mujer.”²³ (for English translation see footnote)

The honesty illustrated in these lyrics raises awareness and issues a call to action from Mexican citizens and others that may be tuning in. This song is an instrumental method of intervention. The words in each verse are purposeful and detail the consequences of repulsive impunity and lack of accountability. The verse, “the bones in the desert reveal the raw truth,” implies that gender violence is an issue because no proper funeral was given to the

²² Perez-Luna, Elisabeth (Interviewer) & Hector Carlos (Interviewee). (2014, March 1) Retrieved from NewsWorks. Web site:
<http://www.newsworks.org/index.php/local/the-latest/65436-chicano-band-las-cafeteras>

²³ n/a[transcriber of lyric] . Los Tigres del Norte [owner of song]. “Las Mujeres de Juárez,” accessed June 24, 2014,
<http://www.musica.com/letras.asp?letra=892929>

The untouchable impunity is humiliating and abusive the bones in the desert reveal the raw truth . . . it is time citizens to fulfill our duty if the law does not resolve this we must resolve it by punishing the cowards who abuse the women

deceased, they were left to rot in the desert; therefore, perpetrators view female bodies as disposable and expendable.

Evidence that this is a powerful method of intervention was proven when the politicians censored this corrido.²⁴ In response to the reaction of the politicians, one member of Los Tigres del Norte responded,

“La canción es una expresión de solidaridad con las víctimas y sus familiares. No difama en absoluto. . . Si les preocupa la imagen de la ciudad, pues que vayan y hagan algo con lo que allí sucede. No puede ser que vengan a reaccionar recién cuando aparece una canción.”²⁵ (for English translation see footnote).

The elites may have felt threatened and therefore prevented this particular song from being played. Music is more readily accessible to individuals who may have low literacy skills. Songs once written can travel and be shared; they have the potential to shed light on violence occurring around the world. If this band were to disappear tomorrow, their music would continue to speak the truth about their community’s struggle. According to Julia E. Monarrez-Fragoso, Ramona Morales, the mother of a victim, stated, “No one looked for my daughter, and what was worse is that they said she had been murdered because she was a prostitute . . . All of my family recognizes that this song must be advertised and made known.”²⁶ This mother’s statement reveals the urgency and the desire for the truth about the killings to surface. Morales

²⁴ Garcia, M. (Interviewer) & Los Tigres del Norte (interviewee). (2004, June, 6). *Emol. Mexico Rudo y Querido* [Interview transcript]. Retrieved from Emol Web site: <http://www.emol.com/noticias/magazine/2004/12/06/270203/mexico-rudo-y-querido-6122004.html>

²⁵ Ibid.

The song is an expression of solidarity with the victims and their families. Not defamation at all. If they are concerned about the image of the city, then they should go do something about what is happening there. It cannot be that they react in such manner when a song appears.

²⁶ Alba, Alicia Gaspar de, and Georgina Guzmán. (2010). *Making a Killing: Femicide, Free Trade, and La Frontera*. University of Texas Press. P.193

explicitly challenges the dominant political discourse that those who are murdered are living a “double-life” as well as the virgin/whore binary.

Lila Downs is an internationally known singer whose lyrics reach a wide and varied audience with songs such as “La Nina” [The Girl]. This song points to the exploitative conditions of the maquiladora industry. It highlights the missing female bodies and stresses that justice will be served. Lila Downs’ lyrics in “La Niña” state,

Ay! melena negra carita triste, Rosa María
buscando vives tus días y noches una salida que un
domingo libra este infierno tuyo por tu alegría

Maquiladora sólo un recuerdo será algún día
y la cosecha tu propio fruto será algún día,
será algún día

Que redimidos sean tus patrones será algún día y que
la humildad se vuelva orgullo será algún día y que
seas igual a los demás será algún día será algún
día.²⁷ (for English translation see footnote).

These lyrics portray to some extent the stories of many

²⁷ N/A, “Lyrics Translate,”(2010, September, 23). Retrieved from Web site:
<http://lyricstranslate.com/en/la-nina-girl.html-0>

Ay! Black tresses, sad little face, Rosa María
You live your days and nights looking for an escape
Come Sunday this hell of yours might open into your happiness

May the maquiladora one day be only a memory
And may the harvest one day be your own
One day it will come to pass

May your bosses one day be redeemed
And may humility one day be restored to pride

And may you one day be recognized as equal to the others.
One day it will come to pass

Maquiladora employees who often migrate for a more promising and prosperous future; however, the employees experience racial bigotry and encounter inequality while living in a dangerous and anxiety-inducing environment. In an interview, Lila Downs says that her music is a method of storytelling. Downs states that she and her husband wrote “La Nina” [The Girl] to underscore that,

“ . . . young women who immigrate who migrate . . . from the little rural communities in Mexico and go to the cities sometimes Mexico City and then go to the border and find a way out of poverty, of the poverty of pride a lot of times. And I found this fascinating as the subject of the song. . . we had few tours around the border. It’s kind of like the music took us to experience it in a personal way, and really meet a lot of maquiladora workers and people who had the stories.”²⁸ (words omitted for clarity)

Understanding what motivates Lila Downs to compose her lyrics is fundamental. Her knowledge stems from contact with the border, and the indirect or direct contact with the female bodies occupying this geographic location. Although Downs is not an academic, she is engaging in transnational-transcultural feminism by including the voices of the women living at the border. She engages with the border and the geographic locations of the *maquilas*. This engagement allows Downs, through her performance, to attempt to portray the pain and sadness felt by Maquiladora employees. This is an important spectacular political display because she evokes the suffering felt by Maquiladora employees and passes it along to the audience. Downs allows her listeners to have some form of connection, even if it is a spiritual one.

It is important to highlight the similarities and differences between the performance of Los Tigres del Norte and Lila Downs, as it pertains to their gender. While both engage with the violence

²⁸ N/A (Interviewer) & Lila Downs (Interviewee). (2012). Retrieved from Youtube [Lila Downs Interview 1 of 2 at Grammy Museum L.A 9-17-12] Web site: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Z5XTRmFijS0>

against girls and women and the goal of each is to raise awareness, they differ in the method of storytelling. This variation in storytelling relates to style and can be associated with gender roles. Los Tigres del Norte sings corridos which are gendered and are associated with masculinity and toughness. Therefore, when Los Tigres del Norte sings about the impunity and violence they are blunt and their lyrics are “tough,” in their demand for direct call to action. For instance they state “ya se nos quito lo macho o nos falta dignidad/ Now did we lose our manliness or are we missing our dignity” (my English translation).²⁹ This verse alludes to the gendered role of a man being the protector and provider; in essence, it is highlighting their failed *machismo*.

In contrast, Lila Downs tells a story of a “suffering girl” employed in the Maquiladora. She states, “Que redimidos sean tus patronos será algún día y que la humildad se vuelva orgullo será algún día y que seas igual a los demás será algún día/ May your bosses one day be redeemed And may humility one day be restored to pride And may you one day be recognized as equal to the others.”³⁰ Lila Downs’ method of storytelling alludes to the emotions felt by the girl; this can be both limiting and empowering. It is limiting because it does not reference larger structures that create this condition, and does not reference female agency for coping with these structures. However, it is empowering because emotion is politicized as vital for understanding everyday female lives. Lila Downs uses her agency as a female celebrity to politicize emotion and makes it an acceptable method of storytelling.

A third music intervention is seen in Las Cafeteras a mixed gender band that emerged in Los Angeles and is rapidly gaining popularity and spreading its social justice ideology through music. Among their political and radical stories they have a song titled

²⁹ n/a[transcriber of lyric] . Los Tigres del Norte [owner of song]. “Las Mujeres de Juárez,” accessed June 24, 2014, <http://www.musica.com/letras.asp?letra=892929>

³⁰ N/A, “Lyrics Translate.”(2010, September, 23). Retrieved from Web site: <http://lyricstranslate.com/en/la-nina-girl.html-0>

“Mujer Soy” (I am Woman) that is dedicated to the female warrior.³¹ “Mujer Soy” lyrics illustrate the desire for justice for both girls and women. Some of the lyrics state,

Las niñas, las niñas y las mujeres
solo pedimos solo pedimos solo pedimos justicia
los dejan los dejan con los quehaceres,
y un golpe y un golpe y un golpe de caricia
Caminar caminar es peligroso en los desiertos

en los desiertos en los desiertos de Juárez
el gobierno el gobierno es poderoso
mientras mueren mientras mueren las mujeres.³²
(for English translation see footnote)

These lyrics document the life of a woman who was a victim of domestic violence. Therefore, the song has the potential to speak to numerous people who may suffer from emotional and/or physical abuse. The lyrics reveal that the government is a powerful element for creating the conditions in which women find themselves, while simultaneously documenting the agency and strength of a woman. In an interview Denise Carlos a member of Las Cafeteras explains

³¹ “IT’S TIME” CD Update N.d. Las Cafeteras. <http://lascafeteras.com/its-time-cd-update>

³²N/A [Las Cafeteras]. (2012, May 13). *Las Cafeteras “Mujer Hoy” at Tropic de Nopal in L.A.* Retrieved from <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=fqW4v9LqE8o>

The girls, the girls and the women
we only ask for, we only ask for, we only ask for justice
they leave us they leave us with chores
and a blow and a blow of love
walking walking is dangerous in the desert

in the deserts in the deserts of Juárez
the government the government is powerful
while they die while the women die

her connection with “Mujer Soy.”³³ She says that this song is a narrative of four distinct women. One woman is saying,

“I will not be a victim of conquest. I am great. I am intelligent,’ because you don’t always hear women and girls saying that. We shy away from that. So that’s something I feel proud of: to be able to honor my sisters in that way and have an actual song where I talk about these stories. And part of these stories I’ve lived, so that songs speaks to me a lot.”³⁴

Music can also be a channel for therapeutic healing as well as a mechanism to cope with the social structures that generate such unjust and unfair conditions. Carlos highlights a gendered script associated with women and girls that prohibits them from being overly confident. Rather, females are to be submissive and docile, characteristics related to *marianismo*.³⁵ Using her position as a public figure, Carlos documents her community breaking away from this gender script.

³³ N/A [Cosmic Closet] (Interviewer) & Denise Carlos (Interviewee). (2014). Retrieved from The Cosmic Closet (Interview transcript) Web site: <http://www.thecosmiccloset.com/home/2014/6/12/qa-with-denise-carlos>

³⁴ Ibid.

³⁵ Lugo, Alejandro, 2008. *Fragmented Lives, Assembled Parts: Culture, Capitalism, and*

Conquest at the U.S.-Mexico Border. University of Texas Press. p.238

“From a particular Latin Americanist perspective, it is evident that analysis of the factory was implicitly dominated by the machismo/*marianismo* (which assumes that all women must be, to different degrees, moral extensions of the Virgin Mary) distinction, commonly associated with gender differences in Latin America (see Twinam 1989, 120)” p.203

Podcast Interventions

Radio Fem was an alternative online radio station for women located in Ciudad Juárez, Chihuahua. The station's website published nine podcast that discussed the kidnappings of girls and women. Through this artistic intervention, family members challenged the silence surrounding the kidnappings and killings of their loved ones. Norma Andrade and Marisela Ortiz are founders of this alternative media. In one of their segments they state,

“Por eso en esta día internacional de la mujer decimos es imposible pedir justicia igualdad y bienestar para las mujeres sin atacar al verdadero enemigo. En este día las mujeres hemos decidido no pedir nada en específico sino la caída del sistema neoliberal y corrupto. Urgimos a la sociedad en general a abrir los ojos y alertamos a los gobiernos a los empresarios y quien benefician de ese sistema que ya tenemos identificado al enemigo y que la lucha apenas comienza.”³⁶ (for English translation see footnote)

This podcast challenges not only the power structures that perpetuate and reinforce women's subordination in society, but gender ideologies as well. These women are being vocal, loud and public while exerting their agency. Evidence that this radio station

³⁶ Andrade, N., & Ortiz, M. (2006, March). “Comunicado de Radio Fem.” *Radio Fem podcast*. Podcast retrieved from http://www.thing.net/~cocofusco/rompiendo%20site/pages/comunicado_de_radio_fem.htm

And because it is the international day of the women, we say it is impossible to ask for justice, equality, and safety for the women, without attacking the real enemy. On this day of the women we have decided not to ask for anything specific but rather demand the fall of the neoliberal system and corruption. We urgently demand the citizens to open their eyes. We are warning the government and the corporations that benefit from this system that we have identified the enemy and the fight has just begun (4:37-5:09).

had the potential to be a vital force in challenging authority was proven when it was denied permission to transmit live in Mexico. Norma Andrade and Marisela Ortiz produced their broadcast online.³⁷ The purpose was to inform the community about recent abductions and found bodies, as well as raise awareness about corruption. This mode of intervention challenges the dominant cultural rhetoric that deems girls and women's bodies disposable and expendable. It can be argued these women politicize emotion in order to *open the eyes* of the citizens. The information disseminated is uncensored and expresses the interests of the local community being affected by the killings.

In another segment of Radio Fem the audience is introduced to a voice of a young child who has lost a loved one; his pain is manifest in his rendition of a song/poem by an unidentified author. This is a powerful method of intervention because it shows a different narrative than of an adult. Through the boy's voice, the audience is offered a new lens through which to understand the murders. The boy is able to capture the pain felt by the person living with the loss of a loved one. The child sings,

Doce días que te busque sin encontrarte
la esperanza la perdí cuando te halle
Pero el tiempo y la desgracia no borraron
el recuerdo y el amor que en ti se fue
cada noche le pedí a todos los santos
Tu retrato todo el tiempo lo bese
a la virgen le pedí que te cuidara
Ya sabía que en sus manos te entregue
cada ves que te recuerdo
mis ojos lloran sin poderme contener
tu retrato yo lo guardo
donde vaya siempre yo lo llevare ³⁸ (for English translation
see footnote)

³⁷ Andrade, N., & Ortiz, M. (2006, March, 8). "Anuncio de apertura de Radio Fem." *Radio Fem podcast*. Podcast retrieved from

³⁸ N/A (date N/A). "Doce Dias." *Radio Fem podcast*. Podcast retrieved from: <http://www.thing.net/~cocofusco/rompiendo%20site/pages/archivo.html>

The song utilizes the politics of emotion to illustrate why others should care. This artistic intervention illustrates the suffering of the children, who are innocent bystanders and are defenseless against such grotesque acts of violence that affect both genders. The young boy touches on the politics of religion. He highlights religious symbols such as the Virgin Mary and saints in order to relate to the Mexican populace. This song can be interpreted as an indirect prayer dedicated to those tuning in, hoping that they might feel *enough* compassion and motivation to act politically against the feminicides.

Photographic Interventions

Photographs are powerful methods of intervention and they can have an enormous impact if the image is contextualized within an art exhibit. Lugo captured this image in 2002, at the end of the historic 225-mile pilgrimage march from “Chihuahua City to Ciudad Juárez by ‘Women in Black’ protesting the brutal killings of girls and women in Northern Mexico.”³⁹ The photograph was part of the 2014 “Healing Works Art Exhibit” at the Women’s Resources Center at the University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign.⁴⁰ This image was chosen because it centered men as

I searched for twelve days without finding you

I lost hope when I found you

But time and misfortune have not erased

the memory and love you left behind

every night I prayed to all the saints

I kissed your image every night

I asked the Virgin Mary to take care of you

I already knew that I had given you to her

Every time I remember you

I cry and cannot contain myself

I keep your image

and wherever I go I bring it with me

³⁹ “Healing Works Art Exhibit.” Women’s Resources Center. 703 South Wright Street, 2nd Floor, Champaign, IL 61820, MC-302. Date of visit n/a.

⁴⁰ Ibid.

the focal point of the anti-femicide movement. The nonverbal message this image conveys is men are in solidarity with women.



This photograph can be understood on multiple levels. The first is the religious symbolism. The religious *crúz* or cross functions to politicize both the location and the mourning process and brings awareness to all those that cross the Paso Del Norte International bridge. Secondly, the visual representation of men humanizes girls, women and men themselves because males are considered the perpetrators of crimes against women. The image in the photograph aims to demonstrate that not all men are misogynistic; many are fathers and/or stand in solidarity with the women. Thirdly, people can relate to the image; the men appear to be working class. The photo humanizes the victim and gives room for others to relate, because their loved one might be the next target. Fourthly, this symbolic display references Jesus who was crucified unjustly; therefore, the girls and women become as important as the death of Jesus, a male. The nails can be interpreted as representing their torturous painful deaths, and in actuality represent each murdered woman. Finally, the scene evokes an emotional response; it is one of empathy, mourning, sorrow, and outrage. This image utilizes the politics of emotion to get a response from the viewers.

Another powerful image is the one captured by Cynthia Bejarano that appears in an anthology titled *Terrorizing Women: Feminicide in the Américas*. There are similarities and differences between Lugo's image and Bejarano's photograph.⁴¹ While they both explicitly politicize the geographic location and the mourning process, Bejarano's image portrays women as the focal point of the *Ni Una Mas*⁴² movement while the other image captured the process



of the installation of the *Cruz*. Bejarano's photograph depicts the political display already installed. This image can also be read on multiple levels. First, girls and women in the image are from various generations. The individuals depicted may be activists, friends, and/or family that are in solidarity with the demand for justice for the murdered women. Second, this image directly challenges notions of what it means to be a traditional Mexican woman. The women in the photo do this by becoming "public women," loud, vocal, and hyper-visible. This movement speaks to religion, faith, sisterhood, and solidarity; the latter is evidenced because in the image it appears as if the organization, "Women in Black," is present. Their unity is powerful and essential. They exercise their agency while humanizing the assassinated girls and women. The nails appear to have the name of each person assassinated which further humanizes the victims and makes them hyper-visible. Both Lugo's and Bejarano's images are active in that the individuals are in direct contact with the street traffic. The signs the women are holding appear to be challenging government political discourse that claims the victims are criminals involved with the drug cartels. Finally, Bejarano's image challenges the gender notion that women are passive. Although women are

⁴¹ Image Retrieved from this Web site: <http://www.truth-out.org/news/item/5875:coming-to-grips-with-feminicide>

⁴² Ni Una Mas translates to Not One More.

threatened for being visible and politically active, these women continue breaking the silence.

Conclusion

In this paper, I have attempted to demonstrate how local and global communities address border violence against girls and women in Ciudad Juárez, Mexico. I have examined examples of artistic intervention itself and evaluated the components that make it a powerful method of intervention. I have looked at three different musicians/musical groups, a radio podcast, and two photographs. The three artistic interventions are critical because they engage in non-traditional, non-academic methods of communication.

These alternative modes of communication are fundamental because they can reach wide and diverse audiences. They can also facilitate and raise awareness among people who may have low literacy skills. Artistic interventions are a movement within a movement, because they have the potential to spread awareness even after the movement ceases to exist. The politics of accessibility are key when discussing art as a mode of intervention. Dominant media can be influenced by elites who may benefit from the feminicides by instigating terror in the community as punishment for rising up or challenging social structures and cultural ideologies. In opposition to how mainstream media document events, the photograph by Lugo illustrates community documentation. This is an alternative perspective coming from those directly or indirectly affected by the feminicides. Artistic interventions engage in “border crossings,” transgressing man-made borders, resulting in consciousness-raising about the feminicides, while simultaneously attempting to challenge patriarchy, globalization, narco-trafficking, and capitalism.

Artistic interventions politicize the emotions of the person witnessing the spectacular political display. Dialogue between people about the interventions has the potential to challenge the silence that has surrounded the years of violence against women and encourages political protest. Women and men all over the world are breaking the silence, raising awareness, challenging

repressive discourses and ideologies, exercising their agency and demanding to be free from fear, and free from gender violence. This struggle will not cease until justice and equality have been achieved for all.

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Media's Influence on Fertility: A Study from Uganda

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Abstract

This paper examines the relationship between media and fertility in Uganda. Uganda has experienced rapid population growth. It is among the top 10 youngest countries in the world, and in the top 10 for highest number of children per woman. In this study, fertility is defined in two ways: the number of children born to a woman and the use of modern forms of contraception. Media is defined by three variables: ownership of a television, a radio, or a phone. This paper uses the Uganda National Panel Survey from 2009-2011. Utilizing a pooled regression model we find that having a television in the home reduces the number of children born by 0.6, owning a radio reduces it by 0.17, and owning a phone by 0.048. However, phone ownership is not statistically significant from zero. We use a logit model to estimate the probability of media's impact on the use of modern forms of contraception. The largest and only statistically significant form of media is phone ownership. Television ownership is very important in determining the number of children born to a woman and phone ownership increases the likelihood of women using modern forms of contraception. The paper contributes to ongoing social science research on the impact of media on social norms.

Introduction

This paper examines the relationship between exposure to media and fertility in Uganda from 2009 to 2011. Uganda is one of only a few countries in the world that has seen its median age population decrease. A recent United Nations' report projects the Ugandan population will remain in the top 10 youngest countries in the world through 2050 because of its high fertility rate. Uganda is also ranked among the top 10 highest birth rates per women with the average woman giving birth to 6.38 children (United Nations, 2014).

This paper's main hypothesis is that exposure to media reduces the total number of children women have. The second hypothesis is that women exposed to media are more likely to use modern forms of contraception. Media exposure is defined by three variables: television ownership, radio ownership, and mobile phone ownership. Fertility is the total number of children born to a woman and a woman's use of modern forms of contraception. All variables used in this analysis are from the Uganda National Panel Survey 2009 – 2011.

To estimate the relationship between media exposure and fertility this paper uses three different regression models. The first is a pooled model with total number of children born to a woman as the dependent variable, and the three different specifications described above for media exposure. The second model is a logit model with “currently using modern forms of contraception” as the dependent variable and media exposure as the main independent variable. Finally, the last model uses average electricity hours a day as an instrument for media exposure, and total number of children born to a woman as the response variable. Electricity is used as an instrument because exposure to media is heavily reliant on electric power, and over 50 percent of Uganda's electricity comes from highly inconsistent hydroelectric power plants.

The three specifications for media exposure suggest a negative association to fertility. Owning a television reduces the

number of children born to a woman by 0.6 children holding all things constant. This is roughly equivalent to women who live in an urban setting. Owning a radio and phone reduce the number of children born to a woman by 0.17 and 0.048 respectively. Phone ownership is the only statistically significant form of media for model two. Women who own a phone are 1.46 more likely to use modern forms of contraception. Women who own a television set have 1.2 less children than women who do not, when we use average electricity hours a day as an instrument.

While previous literature has looked at the effect of media on fertility in Brazil, Indonesia, Bangladesh, and others, this paper uses current survey data from Uganda to complement that literature. Recent papers use a variation of the dependent variable and independent variables of this paper. However, previous papers use data that is older than 2009, and do not focus on very high fertility countries.

Literature Review

The previous literature uses various forms of media to explain fertility rates and/or contraception behavior. Ferrara, et al. looked at the growth of one specific soap opera that grew over time as the main independent variable or media exposure (2012). Dewi, et al. looked at access to private channels across Indonesia, and Rabbi investigated how frequently a person reads newspapers, watches television, or listens to the radio (2013, 2012). People's views on the desired number of children change when they are exposed to different lifestyles, the benefits of fewer children, and by learning about contraception which allows them to remain sexually active without having children.

Westoff and Koffman examine the rapid increase of television and radio around the world to see how these technological changes have influenced the number of children born, contraception use, and number of children desired (2011). They find that women who report watching television regularly are more likely to use modern forms of contraception. Regular television watchers also report a decrease in the number of children desired (Westoff, 2011). Contraceptive use can be a by-product of

targeted messages from government agencies. In addition, television takes up time which may result in a general decrease of sexual activity (Westoff, 2011). However, progressive television shows are much more prevalent than government ads and therefore are much more likely to affect behavior.

Dewi, et al. also looked at media's effect on contraception in Indonesia (2013). They use data from 1994 to 2009 to explain how television expansion has affected birth rates. They find that birth rates have decreased with the introduction of private television programs). Areas that have 100% access to private television programs have birthrates 30% lower than areas that do not. The authors also find that modern contraception usage increases in these areas. However, married women still tend to use traditional forms of contraception. The authors suggest that certain television programs glorify an urban lifestyle that tends to include smaller families (Dewi, et al. 2013).

Ferrara and colleagues studied the relationship between soap operas and fertility in Brazil (2012). In the article the authors discuss an important natural experiment in Brazil. In 1990 Brazil scored relatively low in literacy but the number of households with television sets grew from 8% in 1970 to 81% in 1990 (La Ferrara, et. al. 2012). At the same time there was a large expansion of soap operas, and these television shows depicted radically different life styles. It was not uncommon to see shows with a 50 year-old women with no children or a family with only one child. The authors describe soap operas thusly:

“In addition to freedom, recurrent themes included criticism of religious and traditional values; consumption of luxury goods; the portrayal of wealthy families; the display of new lifestyles; the circulation of modern ideas, such as female emancipation in the work sphere; the female pursuit of pleasure and love, even if through adultery; display of homosexuality; criticisms to machismo; and emphasis on individualism” (2012).

Soap operas were not introduced to the whole country at once; they expanded gradually. This added another important dimension to the authors' analysis. They find that soap operas have a large effect on fertility and exert the most influence on women of lower socioeconomic status. They also find that the expansion of soap operas lead to a significant reduction in fertility (Ferrara et.al, 2012).

Byamugisha, et. al. focused on Ugandan college students in 2005. The study examined how much students know about contraception and how often they are using it. They found that college students knew very little about emergency contraception and only 14.5 percent had ever used contraception. Among those 14 percent, 48 percent were using condoms and 23 percent were using the withdrawal method. Almost a quarter of the students using contraception were using less effective forms of it. One of the most important issues the authors raise is that the most common sources of information about emergency contraception is from friends (34%) and media (24.8%) (Byamugisha, et. al, 2006). Media is an important source of information for contraception methods. However, the article came out in 2006 and relied on data that was almost 10 years old.

Data

This paper uses the Uganda National Panel Survey from 2009 to 2011. The Ugandan government aimed to produce “annual estimates in key policy areas providing a platform for experimenting with and assessing of national policies and programs” (UNPS, 2009). The data is composed of four sections: Women Questionnaire, Household Questionnaire, Community Questionnaire, and Agricultural Questionnaire. The two most important sections in the survey are the sections on women and the household.

The Women Questionnaire contains information on contraception and children born. The first survey section asks whether the women have heard of, or ever used, and whether they

are currently using a certain form of contraception. There are 15 choices of forms of contraception. The second part of the women section asks how many children the woman has had, how many live in the same household, the day/month/year of their birth, and whether they are still living. The most important questions for this paper are the ones covering contraception and number of children born.

The major hurdle in analyzing data in this section is all the missing observations in the “currently using” section. If the person answering the question “has never heard of” a specific method of contraception then they will leave the next section blank (have you ever used and are you currently using). I assumed that those missing observations meant that that person was not using any form of contraception. However, it could be that these people are using some form of contraception, but may not know it. The potential problem would be that I am assigning a 0 where there should be a 1. Thus my results would lead to a weaker relationship between media and contraceptive use. I took a more conservative approach. The potential problem is that I might be introducing noise and the relationship between media and fertility might not be as strong as it really is. Furthermore, when I merge different data sets by the unique PID identification number of each person, I lose a few observations. There are 2,526 observations for the year 2009, 1,934 observations for the year 2010, and 2,056 observations for the year 2011. For all three years there are 3,705 different women. However, only 882 women are surveyed all three years. One of the reasons I used a pooled regression model is because the data set is unbalanced. For the analysis we use every women surveyed even if they were only surveyed in one year.

The two main dependent variables are created using the Women Questionnaire part of the survey. Total number of children born is question 2 of Women Questionnaire 2B. This paper assigns a 1 to a woman currently using female sterilization, male sterilization, birth control pills, IUDs, injections, implants, male condoms, female condoms, or emergency contraception (similar to Plan B) and a 0 otherwise. This variable is called “currently using modern forms of contraception.”

The Household Questionnaire is where I derive most of my independent variables. The years under consideration are 2009, 2010, and 2011. There were 2,520 unique households in all three of these years and 737 of these appear in all of the years. The assets subsection asks about household television ownership, number of televisions, and estimated value of the television. I only know if there is a television in the household, unlike Rabbi who analyzes frequency of television viewing (2012). The remaining subsections contain more detailed information on the household. Subsection 1 has administrative information such as region name, community identifier, and urban or rural location. I also use variables from subsections titled: Household Roster, General Information on Household, Education, Health, Child Nutrition, Disability, Energy Use, and Other Household Income.

The next two sections of the Uganda National Panel Survey are the community and agricultural sections. The community section contains information such as service availability, type of school, health services, bank services, post office, police, and army services. The service availability section includes information on the distance to the closest pharmacy, government health centre, government hospital, private (NGO) clinic, private hospital, and 16 other services along with a question about whether any of these five services are located within the community. The main drawback to this section is that not all communities were surveyed. When the community data set is merged with the household and women section we move from 6,516 observations for all three years to 4,747 observations. We are not sure what determined which communities were surveyed and which ones were not. That leads to two questions: did they randomly choose the communities to include or were there some selection criteria? Those criteria could be proximity to the capital, less remote areas, etc. If there is some selection going on then my results could be biased. Given that we do not know how communities were selected and the large reduction in observations, this paper did not use data from the community section for analysis.

Including districts in the model creates some difficulties. The survey code book lists 80 different districts in the country.

However, in the actual data set there are 111 distinct districts; many have names that are not in the code book, and there are several individuals who have a blank space in the district section. Uganda is composed of four regions: Central, Eastern, Northern, and Western. However, for the year 2009 the region section did not have a Central region but instead it had “Central without Kampala” and “Kampala.” These two answers were merged together to form one answer: Central.

Wealth is captured using two different strategies. Each household gave an approximate value to the 22 different assets in the survey. If the respondent has 2 bicycles and each one is worth 100 shilling then that asset will have the number 200. One wealth variable is created by taking the log of the sum of total assets. I assumed the larger the value the wealthier that person. Finally household section 11 question 1 asks: “What is the Most Important Source of Earnings in the Last 12 Months?” There are 9 different options presented: subsistence farming, commercial farming, wage employment, non-agricultural enterprises, property income, transfers, remittances, organizational support, and other. This question was used as another way to capture wealth. It is important to note that the asset estimator is based on what the owner believes the property is worth. This could lead to a biased response; therefore, two wealth variables are used. This first variable is a categorical one so there is no ordering in the second wealth variable.

Education is taken from subsection 4 of the Household Questionnaire. There are two variables used for education: if the person can read and write and if the woman has attended school in the past. Both of these are categorical variables. A woman can read and write, read only, write only, or cannot read or write. There are women that can write but not read. It could be that these women can only write their names and so answer say yes to writing but no to reading. A second form of education that is used in this paper is school attendance. A woman has either attended school in the past, is currently attending school, or has never attended school. Again this is a categorical variable.

The data contained some irregularities in the total number of children born section. Total number of children born can only increase for a particular woman. It is impossible for a woman to bear 3 children in 2009 and then say she only bore 1 child in 2010. However, there are some women who bore fewer children in future years. For the remainder of this paper and for the different models these women are removed from the data set.

Empirical Strategy

This paper aims at understanding the effect of media exposure on fertility. We do this by assuming fertility to be a function of media and x , where x is a set of control variables: age, urban setting, region, marital status, wealth, and education. Two different dependent variables are used: total number of children born to a woman and if a woman is currently using modern forms of contraception. There are three specifications for media: television ownership, radio ownership, and phone ownership. In all regressions the standard errors are clustered by PID. I use three models because I have two different definitions of fertility and the third model uses and instrument for media.

Model 1

$$y_{it} = media_{it} + x_{it} + \epsilon_{it}$$

Model 1 uses total children born as the dependent variable y . Media is represented by three different specifications described above and x is control variables. This model uses a pooled regression to estimate the coefficient associated with media. The problem with this model is that there could be omitted variable bias. People who prefer to own media might also prefer to have fewer children and this preference variable is missing from the model. In this example the covariance between the preference variable and media is positive, and the coefficient associated with the preference variable is negative. Therefore, the coefficient estimated for media would be downward biased. This issue is further discussed in model 3.

Model 2

$$Y_{it} = media_{it} + x_{it} + \epsilon_{it}$$

This second model is a logit model. Y is the dependent variable or if a woman is “currently using modern forms of contraception.” Media is television, radio, or phone ownership and x is control variables wealth, education, age, marriage, and urban setting.

Model 3

$$y_{it} = electricity_{it} + x_{it} + \epsilon_{it}$$

This last model includes average hours of electricity per day as an instrument for media. y is the total number of children born to a woman. As described earlier the main problem with model 1 is omitted variable bias caused by this preference variable. For “average hours of electricity per day” (from now on, the variable will be called electricity) to be a good instrument we need two conditions to hold. Electricity should be correlated with media and electricity should be exogenous to y or the correlation between electricity and the error term is 0. Normally this preference variable would be correlated with electricity. A person who prefers media and fewer children would also prefer more electricity to power his/her media. In general electricity is not a good instrument for media. However, Uganda has a unique power source that helps with the second condition.

The majority of the Ugandan population receives its power from hydroelectricity that comes from Lake Victoria. The lake is heavily dependent on rainfall and therefore during droughts electricity is very sporadic. Over the last 10 years climate change has made the rain season in Uganda less predictable and more

susceptible to droughts, which has made electricity production less predictable and more sporadic. Therefore people are randomly assigned average hours of electricity per day. Since a television is useless without power the more electricity a person has, the more they are exposed to media. The amount of electricity a household has is random then media exposure is also random. The random nature of electricity eliminates any kind of selection bias and therefore we can ignore the preference variable. Therefore any effect that electricity has on total number of children born has to be through media which satisfies the second condition. An issue that may arise is that people would move to a different area where electricity is more stable. The relocation idea would be invalidated if there were no better place to move, or if the entire country suffered from sporadic electricity. **Table 1** and **Table 2** describe electricity in the four regions of the country per year for people that have electricity in their home. Electricity consumption varies greatly in each region for all three years and in every region average hours of electricity has fallen each year. The standard deviation in most regions has also increased every year.

Table 1: Average Hours of Electricity in Eastern/Northern Region

Eastern				Northern		
Electricity	Min/Max	SD	Mean	Min/Max	SD	Mean
2009	0/24	5.809	1.648	0/24	2.616	0.3813
2010	0/24	4.674	1.205	0/24	2.521	0.4026
2011	0/24	3.879	0.9198	0/24	2.11	0.3629

Table 2: Average Hours of Electricity in Western/Central Region

Western				Central		
Electricity	Min/Max	SD	Mean	Min/Max	SD	Mean
2009	0/24	4.433	0.9383	0/24	9.95	6.592
2010	0/23	2.641	0.4649	0/24	9.267	5.622
2011	0/24	3.836	0.9182	0/24	9.00	6.07

Table 3 shows the correlation between education and electricity. This is another way to check the validity of the randomness of electricity. The preference variable might also be correlated with education. Another way to think of this preference variable is to consider someone who is progressive. They are more educated, watch the news, are more likely to use contraception, and are less likely to have the expected number of children based on traditional norms about fertility. If people cannot select how many hours of electricity they have then the correlation between education and electricity should be low, which in this case it is. There are two ways I constructed the variable for education for the purposes of the correlation matrix. One is if the person is able to read and write she received a 1 otherwise a 0. The second is, if she attended school in the past she received a 1 otherwise she received a 0. Electricity is again the average hours of electricity per day the women has in her household. Electricity and both forms of education are very weakly correlated.

Table 3: Correlation between Electricity and Education

	Electricity	Able to Read and Write	Attended School in the Past
Electricity	1	0.1938	0.1132
Able to Read and Write		1	0.526
Attended School in the Past			1

Results

Summary Statistics

The summary statistics in **Table 4** represent the main dependent variables, children and contraception, along with the main independent variables. The table is a pooled statistic of all three years of the data. Important to note is that the number of children in Uganda is quite high. One woman had 19 children and the standard deviation is also relatively high suggesting that there are many women with more than four children. Television ownership in Uganda is still relatively low with only 15 percent of the women owning one, compared with 70 percent who own a radio and 64 percent who own a phone. Also, most women only have one television in their home. The average number of televisions is only slightly higher than the percentage of people who own a TV. The same can be said about radios; phone is the only device where, on average, most people have more than one.

Table 4 Summary Statistics

Statistic	N	Mean	St. Dev.	Min	Max
Children	6,320	3.876	3.278	0	19
Age	6,515	29.51	9.757	14	60
Electricity	6,505	2.499	6.680	0	24
Electricity have	942	17.4	7.12	0	24
TV	6,507	0.151	0.358	0	1
Number of TV	6,515	0.169	0.431	0	5
Radio	6,507	0.703	0.457	0	1
Number of Radio	6,514	0.816	0.682	0	6
Phone	6,507	0.639	0.480	0	1
Number Phone	6,515	1.169	1.400	0	11
Contraception Heard	6,515	0.982	0.133	0	1
Contraception Used	6,470	0.624	0.484	0	1
Contraception Currently	6,431	0.349	0.477	0	1
Modern Heard	6,515	0.974	0.158	0	1
Modern Used	6,468	0.482	0.500	0	1
Modern Currently	6,441	0.223	0.416	0	1

There does not appear to be a problem with people knowing about contraception as 98 percent have heard of at least one form of contraception and 97 percent have heard of at least one modern form of contraception. However, only 35 percent of women are currently using any form of contraception and only 22 percent of the sample is using modern forms of contraception. However, a much larger percent of the population have used some form of contraception than in the past. Electricity hours are also very small; on average a woman has about 2.5 hours of electricity a day, and the standard error is also relatively high. As discussed earlier, this is most likely due to the random nature of hydroelectric power and electricity being expensive in Uganda. The “electricity have” variable is only for women that say they have electricity in their household, and as we can see that variable also has a large standard deviation. Even when women have access to electricity they do not have 24 hours of it and average hours of electricity can vary significantly.

Regression Results

The first regression is for model one and three different forms of media. The dependent variable is number of children ever born to a woman and the main independent variables are television ownership, radio ownership, and phone ownership. The control variables used are the log of total assets, most important source of income, region, marriage type, urban setting, age, and education. The coefficients associated with the region variable are relative to the Central region. If the East region has a 2 then women who live in the East region on average have 2 more children than women that live in the Central region. This explanation works for all the categorical variables and we call the Central region the relative region. There are two forms of education that I used in this model. The first is ability to read and write. The person can read only, write only, read and write, or unable to read and write. In the regression the relative question is “unable to read and write.” So coefficients associated with reading and writing are relative to “unable to read and write.” I also used school attendance for education. There are three possible responses: currently in attendance, never attended or attended in

the past. The relative response is attended in the past. To save space, I have removed many of the coefficients in the table describing the model output.

Model 1 is a pooled OLS regression model and we see that there is a negative relationship between media and total number of children born. As shown in **Table 5**, television is the strongest of the three types of media. People who own a television have 0.6 fewer children than people who do not controlling for the variables listed above. This number is also statistically significant. Radio and phone are also in the correct direction but are much weaker. People who own a radio have 0.17 fewer children than those without a radio and people with phones have 0.05 fewer children than those without. However, the coefficient on phone is not statistically different from zero. This initial result suggests that media does play a role in determining how many children a woman has.

The variables used in model 1 give results that we anticipated including that educated women and women that live in an urban environment have fewer children. If you are able to read and write you have about 0.5 fewer children than if you are unable to read and write. This number is about the same for women who live in an urban area. Owning a television reduces the number of children at a higher rate than if you are able to read and write or live in an urban area. It is interesting to note that divorced women have over 1 child fewer than women who are married. These numbers are much higher than the other coefficient in the model. This is possibly a social clue to the stigma associated with being divorced that could lead to not finding a partner. Finally, Model 1 has an R squared of 0.63 or 63 percent of the variance is explained by the model.

Table 5: Model 1 Results

	<i>Dependent variable:</i>		
	Children		
	(1)	(2)	(3)
TV	-0.606***		
	(0.084)		
Radio		-0.174***	
		(0.058)	
Phone			-0.048
			(0.059)
Able to Read and Write	-0.524***	-0.525***	-0.543***
	(0.071)	(0.071)	(0.072)
Urban	-0.486***	-0.629***	-0.626***
	(0.070)	(0.067)	(0.068)
Married Monogamously	1.134***	1.126***	1.106***
	(0.091)	(0.092)	(0.092)
Married Polygamous	1.120***	1.119***	1.109***
	(0.105)	(0.105)	(0.105)
Widow/Widower	0.456***	0.450***	0.449***
	(0.154)	(0.155)	(0.155)
Observations	6,283	6,283	6,283
R ²	0.630	0.627	0.627
Adjusted R ²	0.628	0.626	0.625
Residual Std. Error (df = 6256)	1.998	2.005	2.007
F Statistic (df = 26; 6256)	409.478***	404.973***	404.123***
<i>Note: parenthesis are standard errors</i>		*p<0.1; **p<0.05; ***p<0.01	

Model 2 is a logit model for modern forms of contraception. As **Table 6** shows in this situation all three media predictors have a positive effect on modern forms of contraception. By exponentiating the coefficients we see that TV, radio, and phones increase the probability of using modern forms of contraception by 1.16, 1.14, and 1.46 respectively. Of these radio and phone ownership is statistically significant. Owning a phone is the most influential form of media. This result somewhat contradicts my hypothesis that TV is the important determinant in women using modern forms of contraception. However, communicating by phone may be opening up some channels for discussing contraception which may be more important than what television shows offers. Or it could be that people who own a phone are also more likely to use modern forms of contraception. This is a significant finding because phone ownership in the three year period has increased steadily. In 2009, 58 percent of the women surveyed owned a phone; by 2010 the number had jumped to 63 percent and reached 71 percent in 2011.

Model 3 is the result from using electricity hours as an instrument for different forms of media. **Table 7** shows the correlation between electricity hours and media. The horizontal section of the table is the t-value of the first stage regression. Electricity and TV ownership is highly correlated and the t-value is very strong at 55. Radio and phone on the other hand are not as strongly correlated and the t-value is much smaller than that of TV ownership. It appears that electricity fulfills one part of the requirement for a good instrument: highly correlated with the independent variable when controlling for other variables. As explained earlier the second requirement for electricity hours is fulfilled by the random nature of hydroelectric power and Uganda's heavy reliance on hydroelectricity. There is also a large increase in the effect TV has on the number of children. From the regular OLS model women who owned a TV had 0.6 less children than women without a TV. When we use an instrument, that number jumps to 1.2 fewer children and is statistically significant. This represents a very large increase in the effect that TV has on total children born. Radio, which has larger negative number of 53, does not have a statistically significant coefficient. The t-value of

radio on electricity hours is also not significant. When we use electricity hours as an instrument for phone, we have a large negative and statistically significant result. However, the t-value is only 6.4 when phone ownership is regressed on electricity hours. The extremely large coefficient on phone is concerning and is most likely due to the fact that electricity hours is not a good instrument for phone ownership. If you own a phone you have six fewer children than people who do not own a phone a number that is suspect.

Table 6: Model 2 Results

	<i>Dependent variable:</i>		
	Modern Contraception		
	(1)	(2)	(3)
TV	0.149		
	(0.095)		
Radio		0.138*	
		(0.075)	
Phone			0.379***
			(0.078)
Able to Read and Write	0.631***	0.618***	0.551***
	(0.092)	(0.092)	(0.093)
Urban	0.528***	0.562***	0.511***
	(0.081)	(0.078)	(0.078)
Married Monogamously	0.215*	0.204*	0.187*
	(0.111)	(0.111)	(0.111)
Married Polygamous	0.136	0.127	0.099
	(0.128)	(0.128)	(0.129)
Never Married	-0.349**	-0.343**	-0.350**
	(0.157)	(0.157)	(0.157)
Widow/Widower	-0.447**	-0.447**	-0.433**
	(0.212)	(0.212)	(0.212)
Observations	6,412	6,412	6,412
Log Likelihood	-3,104.416	-3,103.912	-3,093.437
Akaike Inf. Crit.	6,258.832	6,257.823	6,236.875
<i>Note:</i>	*p<0.1; **p<0.05; ***p<0.01		

Table 7: Correlation between Electricity and Media Horizontally and the t-value of the Regression Media on Electricity Vertically

	Electricity	TV	Radio	Phone
Electricity	1	0.6861	0.0897	0.2566
TV	54.991*	1	0.1476	0.2880
Radio	0.935*		1	0.3215
Phone	6.460*			1

Note: The * is a t-stat for the linear model for media on electricity along with all the other exogenous variables and is located on the lower triangular section of the matrix it is also marked with a *. The upper section of the matrix is the correlation between the different variables. Note that TV own has the largest t-value.

Table 8: Model 3 Results

	<i>Dependent variable:</i>		
	Children		
	(1)	(2)	(3)
TV	-1.240***		
	(0.151)		
Radio		-53.576	
		(75.66)	
Phone			-6.080***
			(1.208)
Able to Read and Write	-0.484***	8.509	0.942***
Urban	-0.338***	1.187	0.384*
	(0.077)	(2.695)	(0.231)
Married Monogamously	1.164***	9.253	1.776***
	(0.092)	(11.57)	(0.202)
Married Polygamous	1.135***	5.986	1.809***
Never Married	-0.393***	6.032	-0.112
	(0.127)	(9.448)	(0.225)
Widow/Widower	0.458***	0.159	0.176
	(0.155)	(1.846)	(0.259)
Observations	6,282	6,282	6,282
R ²	0.626	-49.597	-0.002
Adjusted R ²	0.624	-49.791	-0.006
Residual Std. Error (df = 6257)	2.010	23.362	3.288
<i>Note:</i> *p<0.1; **p<0.05; ***p<0.01			

Conclusion

In 2013 the United Nations estimated that Uganda had the second youngest population in the world with a median age of 15.1. This is not a new trend. In 1980 Uganda had the 10th youngest population with the median age of 16.2, and by 2050 it is estimated that Uganda will still be in the top 10 with a median age of 16.5. That is half of what the world age in 2050 is predicted to be. It appears that Uganda has had a chronic problem with very high fertility. This is important because the country's GDP has not increased to keep up with the large population. From 2005 to 2010 the timeframe for the Uganda Panel Survey, the country had the 9th largest fertility rate of any country. Women on average gave birth to 6.38 children in their lifetime. It is important to know why this is happening and also what factors are associated with lower fertility rates. In this paper we discussed one of these factors in detail. It appears that women who own a TV have 1.2 fewer children and women who own a phone have a higher probability of using modern forms of contraception. However, the question still remains: why does this country have this persistent problem with no solution in sight?

Basic summaries of the total number of people with television sets and electricity suggest that the country is heavily lacking in both. From the survey only 14.8 percent of the women surveyed owned a television and that number dropped in 2010 to 13.8 but rose in 2011 to 16.4. The percentage of people with electricity for each year was 14.45 in 2009, 12.77 in 2010, and 16.0 in 2011. However, having electricity does not imply that the household has access to it 24 hours a day. On average if you had electricity in 2009 you had it for only 19.18 hours, 17.599 in 2010, and 15.429 in 2011. Television gives a person access to different lifestyles and cultures. We can see how others live their lives and are temporarily removed from our own culture, bias, and beliefs. However, a TV alone is not enough because it requires the power to run it, and in Uganda this appears to be a large problem. People who want electricity are limited by poor infrastructure and climate change, which is affecting the ability to steadily produce power.

We may finally get an answer to the much harder question: why this country had not seen fertility decreases like other countries. If media is an important factor in changing social norms and beliefs then countries that fail to provide the resources to access media may be susceptible to unwanted behavior. In Uganda we see women with 19 children; without exposure to other lifestyles this trend will most likely not decrease. Having random electricity may be good for analyzing media and fertility but it is not good for the country as a whole. In order for Uganda to slow its population growth it needs to stabilize power generation and distribution. The country could also use the fact that phones increase the likelihood of a woman using modern forms of contraception. The government could take advantage of the relatively high rates of phone usage to text contraception discounts or text contraception locations. They could also help increase phone access.

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Salvadoran-American Experiences: First Generation Salvadorans in Southern California

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Abstract

Since the 1980s there has been an increase in migration from El Salvador to the United States. According to the Pew Hispanic Research Center, in 2010, there were an estimated 1.8 million Salvadoran immigrants in the United States. Some Salvadorans attempt to assimilate into American culture thereby contributing to the erasure of Central American culture and customs, while others try to preserve their culture amidst pressure to acculturate. Most literature focuses on the passage and on the ability of migrants in the U.S. to send remittances back to their home country, but few studies focus on the experiences that define successful integration. My research explores Salvadoran-American experiences in Southern California; I analyze the ways cultural identity shapes Salvadorans and how they live with a transnational identity. I evaluate Salvadorans' self-identity by examining survey data collected through social media from 46 participants, ages 18-38, with at least one parent from El Salvador. Through this project I seek to understand the identity first-generation Salvadorans inhabit, and particularly how their self-identification plays out in specific socio-cultural conditions.

Introduction

“It's my identity, my struggle, my history. I feel that knowing history and culture of my background, it has become a way to understand who I am.” –Participant on why it is important to learn about El Salvador

“In order for you to be proud of who you are you must know where you came from. It's very difficult to say you are proud of who you are if you don't acknowledge everything that makes you, you.”
—Participant on why it is important to learn about El Salvador

As illustrated in these two quotes from participants in this project, Salvadoran-Americans in Southern California are drawn to finding out who they are through learning the history of El Salvador; it is a part of them. One of the reasons that it is important to study Salvadorans in the United States is because of their unique experience of having migrated as a result of the civil war in El Salvador (1979-1992) which may result in their facing unique challenges in adjusting to life in this country. The war pushed many to migrate for their own safety, with large numbers coming to the United States in the 1980s. For the purposes of this study, I am using the phrase “Salvadoran-American” to describe individuals who were born in the United States but have at least one parent born in El Salvador.

Once in the U.S., however, those fleeing the war did not find much of a welcome. As Coutin states in her book, *Nations of Emigrants: Shifting Boundaries of Citizenship in El Salvador and the United States*, “The U.S. government adopted the position that these migrants, most of whom had entered the country without authorization, were economic immigrants who deserved to be deported to El Salvador rather than persecution victims who deserved political asylum in the United States” (Coutin 8). Despite being denied refugee status, many still chose to come to the United States, so many, in fact, that in a 2010 publication, *Salvadoran Immigrants in the United States*, the Migration Policy Institute states, “By 2008, there were about 1.1 million Salvadoran immigrants in the United States, about one-fifth (19.1 percent) of the total population of El Salvador.”

I chose to study Salvadorans because I am half-Salvadoran; I feel I have a personal connection to the population group and I have similar feelings of confusion as participants in this research. This is an important migrant population, especially in Los Angeles, the city with the largest population of Salvadorans outside of San Salvador. The Pew Research Center's *Hispanic Trends Project* (2011) states that 44.8% of the Los Angeles-Long Beach is Hispanic. Of these, Mexicans, with 78% or a population of 4,529,000, are the single largest group. Salvadorans comprise the second largest, with 7.6% or a population of 443,000. The research literature, however, has not reflected sufficiently on the identity of these migrants as individuals. Frequently, the literature focuses on migration processes and on the political aspects of migration, or on family structure and gangs, but not on individuals and how their experiences shape how they assimilate into a new country. As Arturo Arias' states, "I want to examine why Central Americans remain invisible to the great majority of U.S. citizens despite their considerable presence in the country" (Arias 102). My perspective and motivation for doing this research is similar to Arias: the Central American experience is largely ignored.

For purposes of this study, my research questions include, "How do Salvadoran-Americans in Southern California self-identify?" and "What constitutes Salvadoran identity?" My hypothesis is that Salvadoran identity includes lived experiences, cultural identity, and cultural knowledge. Through these questions I seek to understand the Salvadoran community in the United States and to also analyze the different ways that Salvadoran Americans are shaped by their experiences. I am also trying to comprehend how they express their transnational identities, and what nationality (or nationalities) they choose to express. I argue that people who migrated from El Salvador have different experiences than other migrants because of the effects the civil war had on their identity. When they migrated to a new country, they might be forced to adapt differently, they might be more inclined to abandon their old country and their old identity to protect themselves, and to create a distance from the trauma they might have faced. In this sense they are different from other migrants because they leave or migrate because they fear for their lives.

Literature Review

This project examines the experiences of first generation Salvadoran-Americans in Southern California. It involves investigating what constitutes their identity by looking at ethnic identity, education, and lived experiences, such as the challenges of migration and adjusting to a new life in a different country. Richard Adams in his article, "Ethnic Emergence and Expansion in Central America" states, "Ethnicities differentiate themselves by reproducing characteristics that mark them as distinct" (Adams 14). There are different components that are important to different people. What part of our identity (language, religion, political organizations) we each choose to express is significant; frequently it is our ethnic identity that helps to define who we are.

In Umana-Taylor, Bhanot, and Shin's article, "Ethnic Identity Formation During Adolescence: The Critical Role of Families," the authors defined ethnic identity as "the degree to which individuals have explored their ethnicity, and are clear about what their ethnic group membership means to them and identify with their ethnic group" (Umana-Taylor, et al. 390). This definition is helpful as I try to categorize individuals through their identities. There is a debate about what constitutes membership in an ethnic group, particularly for Central Americans in the United States. I argue that because Central Americans are a minority in comparison to other ethnic groups such as Mexican-Americans, arguably the dominant Latino group, and because of their position as subordinate, Central Americans tend to assimilate into the dominant Anglo culture, and their own personal cultural identity gets suppressed.

Why People Migrate

In their article "Central American Migration: A Framework for Analysis," Nora Hamilton and Norma Stoltz Chinchilla argue that there were different reasons why Central Americans migrated. They found that people migrated for political as well as economic reasons, often because their countries were in turmoil. This article takes into account both historical and contemporary dimensions,

meaning it looks into historical occurrences that contribute to migration and more contemporary aspects such as the political regulations in their country of origin. Another significant aspect of their work is their outline of the domestic and international structures, such as the government's push for migrants to send money back to their home country, while noting the lack of internal support to provide resources for the people who remain in the country.

According to Hamilton and Chinchilla in "Central American Migration: A Framework for Analysis," for many migrants their first migration was not transnational, but from rural to urban. This provided a different perspective on the migration patterns of Central Americans. For many migrants, their first move was to other areas within their own country to find work. When conditions worsened in many countries, however, this was no longer an option. Many migrants from El Salvador left because of the war. Emigration for many was the only solution.

This article by Hamilton and Chinchilla as well as their book, *Seeking Community in a Global City*, also provides other reasons why people from Central America chose to migrate, including the fact that El Salvador is one of the most densely populated countries on the whole continent, with 300 persons per square kilometer. Another major motivator is persistent extreme poverty, which affects 48 percent of the population, partly a result of the absence of significant job growth that left the populace unable to advance economically (Hamilton and Chinchilla 46). This led many to choose to migrate to the United States.

The reasons people migrate and the conditions of their passage are factors that affect their success in the United States. The dangerous passage of Central Americans through Mexico (Padilla 13) is not only a determining factor in reaching the United States but also in how migrants achieve success in the future. The brutal and life changing events many experienced on their voyage north often impact their success by affecting their emotional stability (Baker and Umana, 3). Ana Patricia Rodriguez in her piece, *War at Home: Latina/o Solidarity and Central Americans*

Immigration, states that in El Salvador “during the 1980s, a fair but conservative estimate would be 160,000 people killed and two million displaced during the decade” (Rodriguez 129). Because there was so much turmoil in their country many migrants came to the United States seeking refugee status. But the United States did not grant them such status, and many of them were left helpless in a foreign country.

Transnational Imaginary

For many Salvadorans in the United States, the assimilation process does not result in abandoning their cultures and customs, but rather adapting to two cultures and redefining themselves. For large numbers this may result in a transnational imaginary. Yajaira M. Padilla explains this concept in her article, “The Central American Transnational Imaginary: Defining the Transnational and Gendered Contours of Central American Immigrant Experience.” She defines a Central American transnational imaginary as something that constitutes an ‘imaginary social space consisting in transnational communities of shared fates in which the politics of identity and questions of subjectivity are at play in diverse ways and at various levels” (Padilla, 153).

Padilla discusses the complexity of Central Americans’ experiences in a transnational imaginary. She looks at three works, an independent film *Sin Nombre*, Silvio Siria’s novel, *Bernando and the Virgin*, and the autobiographical account, *December Sky: Beyond My Undocumented Life* by Evelyn Cortez-Diaz, that attest to the visibility of Central Americans in the United States; they all show the unique Central American experience shaped by memories of war and renegotiated communal identities. Padilla argues that it is important that there is a Central American collective identity that rightfully represents the reality of their experiences. Her analysis of these three cultural products provides examples of the transnational imaginaries and of how the politics of identity were at play that helped to contribute to the complexity of the Central American transnational imaginary.

Methods

For this project I used data collected by Dr. Beth Baker-Cristales, a professor of anthropology at California State University, Los Angeles (CSULA), and Elizandro Umana, who was a graduate student in the Latin American Iberian Studies Program at CSULA. Their project aimed to better understand the ways that Salvadoran-American young adults and their parents accommodate themselves to life in the U.S. and how they develop their cultural identities. I gained access to this data after meeting with Professor Baker-Cristales; she supported my proposal to take the already acquired data and repurpose it within a different context.

Baker-Cristales and Umana used Survey Monkey to collect their data. They circulated the survey through a social media site, Facebook. This allowed participants to share it with their friends if they fit the requirements of having at least one parent born in El Salvador, and if they are between the age of 18 and 35. This was an anonymous online survey that consisted of 35 questions. For the purposes of my research I will be discussing 2 open-ended questions and 9 Likert-scale questions. Included in the appendix is a copy of all the questions asked in the initial survey. The survey had several open-ended questions that allowed the participants to respond without a word limit and to speak freely about their experiences. These questions were crucial for my project because they offered direct words from the participants about how they felt and how they identified. For other questions in the survey, a Likert-like scale was used to gauge how participants felt about certain issues, including if they thought it was important for them to learn about El Salvador, and questions concerning their ability to talk to their parents about life in El Salvador.

Professor Baker-Cristales' initial project focused on the Salvadoran-American experience of the participants as well as their parents (Baker-Cristales and Umana 3). For my project, I focused on individuals born in the United States. As a result, some questions on the original survey were not included in my quest to answer how young Salvadoran-Americans self-identify. For my

data analysis I analyzed questions such as “Do you think your parents are well-adjusted to life in the US?” and “Do you think your parents suffered as a result of the war in El Salvador?” I examined these questions and the responses to them to understand the participants’ perceptions of whether and how their parents’ experiences affected their knowledge and understating of El Salvador.

The questions on which I focused most closely were those that sought to show how Salvadoran Americans identify and to what they extent they choose to express their identity. These included, “How did you learn about El Salvador?” To be able to appropriately present the data, I included 5 of the rating scale questions into one graph, shown below in **Figure 1**. The responses incorporated into this chart included the categories: from my parent (s); from other family members; in high school; and on their own. For all of these questions the participants were asked to indicate their degree of agreement with the question: “How did you learn about El Salvador?” Responses ranged from strongly agree to strongly disagree.

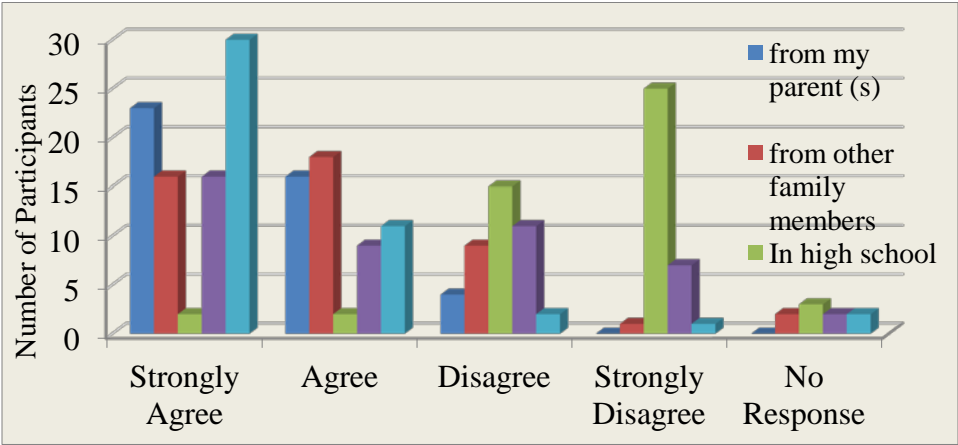


Figure 1—“How did you learn about El Salvador?”

Data Analysis

One of the first questions I focused on was: “When people ask you who you are, or where you are from, how do you answer?”

Responses to this question helped me construct the direction of my project as it directly asks the participants how they identify in public settings. The data discussed here is also represented in **Figure 2**. To be able to accurately depict how the participants identified, I organized their responses into different categories; for example, if they answered the question as, “I am from Los Angeles, and I’m Salvadoran,” I included one mark for each category, one for from Los Angeles, and one for Salvadoran. The results indicated that 24 participants, or 50% , stated that they are from El Salvador/or Salvadoran; 6 participants, or 12%, stated they were from Los Angeles; 3 participants, or 6%, stated they were Mexican-Salvadoran; 1 participant, or 2%, stated they identified as Hispanic; another 6 participants, or 12%, stated they were Salvadoran-American, 3 participants, or 6%, stated they were from Central America; 1 participant, or 2%, identified as Guatemalan-Salvadoran, and 5 participants, or 10%, identified as from the U.S. [or here] but parents are from El Salvador. These responses indicate that the variety of ways to answer this question adds to the complexity that is one’s identity. People identify in different ways which is clear from the last statistic where 10% specifically stated that they are from the U.S. but their parents are from El Salvador. This directly contributed to their identity conflict; they consider themselves to be American but are aware of their Salvadoran ancestry yet choose not to identify as Salvadoran.

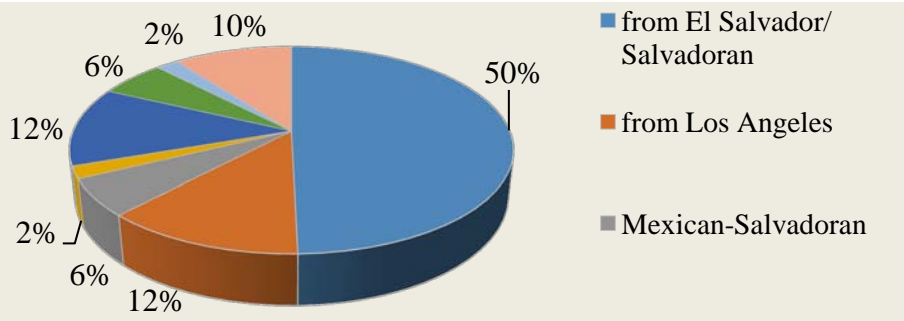


Figure 2--- “When people ask you who you are, or where you are from, how do you answer?”

Because this was an open-ended question, it allowed participants to include every identity they encompassed. One participant provides a good example stating:

“I’m from LA; I am Salvi, Santaneco; Salvadoran-American; a person of color, a Ladino; Central American; Latin American; Americano; American (U.S. American).”

Some definitions are necessary here to comprehend fully how this respondent understands identity. *Oxford Dictionaries* defines a Santaneco as a resident of Santa Ana, a department and city in El Salvador, and a Ladino as a Spanish-speaking person.

Because this response was so complex on its own, I did not include it along with the other data. However, the quote by itself accurately represents the multiple identities this individual inhabits: being a minority within a minority, but with multiple layers of identity that are not always well integrated.

One question asked the participants to indicate the degree to which they agree with the following statement: “I learned about El Salvador from my parent (s).” Twenty-three participants or 50% stated they strongly agreed with this statement, another 16, or 35%, agreed with this statement, and 4, or 8.5% disagreed with this statement. For this question, no participant indicated they strongly disagreed, and there were 3 participants who did not respond to this question or indicated that it did not apply to them. These data indicate that the parents play an important part in whether they learn about El Salvador or not, especially when no one stated they strongly disagreed showing that they to an extent learned about El Salvador from their parents.

The next question asked to what extent they agreed with the following statement: “I learned about El Salvador from other family members.” Sixteen participants, or 34.7%, indicated they strongly agreed with the statement; 18 participants, or 39% indicated they agreed with the statement; 9 participants, or 19.5% indicated they disagreed with the statement; 1 participant stated they strongly disagreed with this statement; and 2 participants did

not respond to this question. The response to this question might have varied as opposed to the previous question because some participants might not have many family members present in their life in the United States. Because many Salvadorans migrate alone, families might be separated for long periods of time, influencing the interaction their children have with their extended family.

A third question asked the participants to what degree they learned about El Salvador in high school. Two participants strongly agreed with this statement; another 2 participants agreed with this statement; 15 participants stated they disagreed with this statement; 25 participants stated they strongly disagreed with this statement; and 3 participants did not answer this question. Every participant surveyed had attended high school throughout Southern California, and that might have had an influence on how they did, or did not, learn about El Salvador. Although the Salvadoran population is large in Southern California, many indicated they did not learn about El Salvador in high school. A majority of the participants strongly disagreed that they learned about El Salvador in high school, showing a lack of exposure to such topics in public institutions, a lack of curriculum that includes the history of El Salvador.

The participants were asked to what extent they agreed with the statement: "I learned about El Salvador in college." Not all of the participants attended college, but for this question we will be analyzing the responses from the twenty-nine participants that indicated that they had some college experience, and the thirteen participants that indicated they had a B.A. or B.S. degree. Out of those participants, 16 stated that they strongly agreed with this statement; 9 participants stated they agreed with the statement; 11 participants stated they disagreed with this statement; 7 participants stated they strongly disagreed with this statement; and 2 participants did not answer this question. In my analysis this indicated that they didn't learn much about the history of El Salvador until they went to college, perhaps due to the fact that a number of college campuses have organizations or clubs tailored to this population. Through this experience of being able to go to colleges, they were exposed in a different way to what their

families' history might include and this might shape their identity or what it means for them to have family from El Salvador.

The last question in this group asked the participants to what extent they agreed with the statement: "I learned about El Salvador on my own." Thirty participants stated they strongly agreed with this statement; 11 participants agreed with this statement; 3 participants disagreed or strongly disagreed with this statement, and 2 participants did not answer this question. This finding is important because it shows that a significant number of participants went out of their own way to learn about El Salvador. My conclusion is that this might have been because they did not feel included with other ethnic groups, or they had parents who did not talk to them about their history. And as stated previously, a majority of them learned about El Salvador when they got to college, indicating they might not have known or learned much about it prior to that. It is possible that learning about El Salvador in this way affects their identity because they took the initiative to seek out knowledge about El Salvador; they may be more prone to express their Salvadoran identity.

The answers to these various questions suggest that for many Salvadoran-Americans born in the US, it was through their family and their own initiative that they learned about El Salvador. A number of the participants stated that they did not learn about El Salvador in high school. This might add to the complexity they face in trying to identify themselves and to express their cultural identity; it might also contribute to their lack of understanding about where they are from because they don't learn about it in public spaces, they learn about it at home where they might only hear personal stories that depict what is happening (or has happened), quite possibly a different interpretation from what you would learn in a classroom setting.

Another question asked the participants to indicate their level of agreement with the following statements, "Do you think your parents suffered as a result of the war in El Salvador?" and "Do your family members speak to you about the war in El Salvador?" I incorporated these two questions onto one chart, as

seen in **Figure 3**, below. For the first question, do you think your parents suffered as a result of the war in El Salvador, 26 participants, or 56%, strongly agreed; 9 participants, or 20%, stated they agreed, 7 participants, or 15% stated they disagreed, nobody strongly disagreed, and 4 participants did not answer this question. As for the second question, 27 participants, or 59% stated they strongly agreed with this statement; another 8 participants, or 17% stated they agreed; 5 stated they disagreed; 3 participants, 6%, stated they strongly disagreed; and 3 participants did not answer this question.

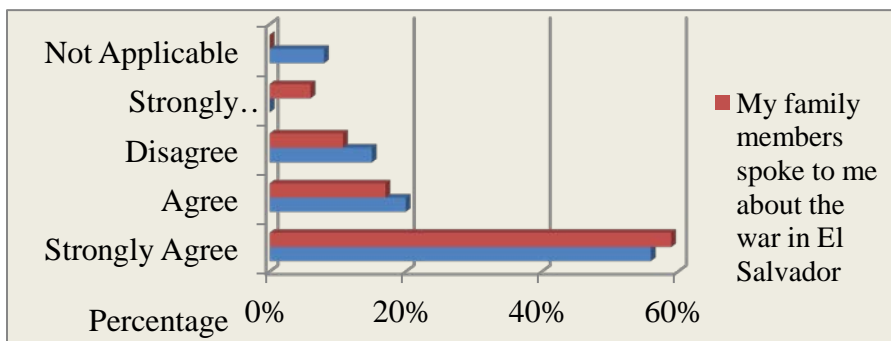


Figure 3- “Do you think your parents suffered as a result of the war in El Salvador? and Do your family members speak to you about the war in El Salvador?”

These data indicate an openness of parents to discuss the war in El Salvador. Participants also strongly agreed that their parents suffered as a result of the war, which illustrates a new form of learning about El Salvador. It is significant because they are learning from one of their own family members, giving them a deeper understanding of the suffering they endured.

For this project to accurately depict the identities Salvadoran-Americans inhabit, I closely analyzed the open-ended questions, in particular, “Why is it important for you to learn about El Salvador?” Below I have included two quotes from participants that I felt reflected the main sentiment found throughout the responses, that of reflecting their complex identity and why they

thought it was important to learn about their culture and their home country.

Participant A states,

“It is important to learn about El Salvador because it is where we come from. Our roots, our history and culture are El Salvador. We can’t know your future without knowing our past. If we lose that we lose us. If we assimilate into the Hispanic category we’ve lost to the white man. The Latino category is similar but offers a little personal solidarity with all of Latin America. Nevertheless, El Salvador stands to fall through the cracks of categories.”

Similarly Participant B states,

“I felt that I’ve neglected that part of my heritage based off of fears and misguided images I learned about El Salvador. But I wanted to know the truth on my own so that I can take pride in my Salvadoran heritage and also that I don’t forget where I’m descended from.”

In these examples the participants realized that El Salvador is a part of who they are. As Participant A stated, they need to learn about their families’ history to know who they are. I believe these quotes encompass their everyday struggle of understanding who they are, and where they fit in relation to other ethnic groups. They are stating that their family history is a part of them; through different aspects of their life, they are just trying to find their place, their identity.

Conclusion and Future Directions

Through this project I was better able to understand the identity first-generation Salvadorans inhabit and particularly what are the resources for the development of their self-identification. This is the first step in understanding how members of this group identify. According to the 2010 census as reported in *The Pew Research Hispanic Trends Project* in June 2013, Salvadorans are

the 3rd largest foreign-born Latina/o population in the U.S. after Mexicans and Cubans (<http://www.pewhispanic.org/2013/06/19/hispanics-of-salvadoran-origin-in-the-united-states-2011>). This project is a step towards accurately depicting the ways cultural identity shapes Salvadoran-Americans in Southern California and their reality of living with a transnational identity.

For future research I want to investigate what other factors come into play in terms of their identity. My working hypothesis maintains that identity includes additional and different factors such as religion or education. I would also like to do a comparative study of immigrant Salvadorans and first generation Salvadoran-Americans to examine how they feel about assimilation to American culture and if the parents or the children choose to resist that assimilation and why. This is significant because sometimes the migrant group resists assimilating, but the first generation does not question the American way of life and prefers to identify with it. Adding a generational perspective is important to research in terms of identity formation and self-identification.

APPENDIX: Salvadoran-American Identities Survey

- Age:
- Where were you born?
- What is your level of education?
- What is your current employment?
- Where was your mother born?
- Where was your father born?
- If you were not born in the U.S., what year did you move here?
- If you have siblings, where were they born?
- Who lived with you in the household where you grew up?
- When people ask me who or what I am, I generally answer...
- How many times in your life have you been to El Salvador?
- Do your family members in the U.S. maintain contact with family and friends in El Salvador?
- Do you maintain contact with family and friends in El Salvador?
- Please indicate your agreement with the following statements, marking 1 for strongly agree, 2 for agree, 3 for disagree, 4 for strongly disagree, and 5 for not sure or not applicable:
 - I believe it is important for me to know about El Salvador.
 - I learned about El Salvador from my parent(s).
 - I learned about El Salvador from other family members.
 - My family members spoke to me about the war in El Salvador.
 - I learned about El Salvador in high school.
 - I learned about El Salvador in college.
 - I learned about El Salvador on my own.
 - I know a lot about El Salvador's history.
 - I know a lot about what is going on in El Salvador today.
 - I know a lot about Salvadoran culture.

- Other Salvadoran-American youth I've met know a lot about El Salvador.
- I know why my family decided to come to the U.S.
- The non-Salvadorans I know in the U.S. know something about El Salvador.
- I will teach my own children about El Salvador.
- If I could travel anywhere in the world, I would go to El Salvador.
- My parent(s) wish to return to El Salvador one day.
- I feel positive about my future and my ability to achieve my goals.
- My parent(s) are well-adjusted to life in the U.S.
- My parents suffered as a result of the war in El Salvador.
- I am able to talk with my parent(s) easily about their lives in El Salvador.
- I am able to talk with my parent(s) easily about other subjects.
- Please tell us what you most would like to learn about El Salvador?
- Why is it important for you to learn about El Salvador?
- What are your plans or goals for the future?

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La lucha sigue pero ahi vamos!

Volume V Contributors



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Ronald E. McNair was born on October 12, 1950, in Lake City, South Carolina. Son of an auto mechanic and a high school teacher, McNair attended the local high school, graduating as class valedictorian. He went on to earn a bachelor's degree, magna cum laude, in Physics, from North Carolina A & T University in 1971 where he was named a Ford Foundation Fellow and a Presidential Scholar. McNair met a goal that he had set in high school to complete his PhD within 10 years. Five years after graduating from college, he received his doctorate in Physics from M.I.T.

Nationally recognized for his work in laser physics and the recipient of numerous fellowships, honorary degrees, and commendations, Dr. McNair was also a sixth degree black belt in karate and an accomplished saxophonist. In 1978, while working at the Hughes Research Laboratory, he was selected for the NASA space program. He was the second African American to fly in space. On January 28, 1986, Dr. McNair, along with 6 other astronauts, died when the space shuttle Challenger exploded and crashed into the ocean moments after lift-off.

After his untimely death, Congress provided funding to start the Ronald E. McNair Post-Baccalaureate Achievement Program. UCSB's McNair Scholars Program is dedicated to helping promising scholars follow Dr. Ronald E. McNair's path of scholarship and service.

The cover features an unusual photograph of one corner of the top of UCSB's Storke Tower lit up with commercial LED lights for a campus-sponsored sustainability conference in 2007. Both the tower and LED lights represent milestones in UCSB's history. In 2014, Dr. Shuji Nakamura, Professor of Materials and of Electrical and Computer Engineering, won the Nobel Prize in Physics (joining 5 other UCSB Nobel laureates) for the invention of efficient blue light-emitting diodes, the key to creating blue and other color LED lights. Storke Tower, dedicated on September 28, 1969, is a landmark campanile (bell and clock tower) centrally located on the UCSB campus. The tower is named after Thomas Storke (1876-1971), a Pulitzer Prize-winning journalist, U.S. Senator, and long-time Santa Barbara resident who helped found UCSB. Storke Tower is the tallest steel/cement structure in Santa Barbara County.

