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Understanding a Modern Crime: The Causes of Child Sex Tourism in Thailand

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Abstract

When attempting to understand the modern state of the commercial sex industry in those countries most affected by it, it is important to question what specific factors have allowed it to perpetuate. In Thailand, one of the many new faces of this long-fought, ever-globalizing business comes in the form of Child Sex Tourism, which, aided and abetted by modern technology, is becoming more and more difficult to define and control. By examining data regarding the root causes for Child Sex Tourism in Thailand from common themes in modern literature, it is possible to understand the causes for its existence and growth.

Key terms: child sex tourism, globalization, Thailand

Introduction

During February of 2012, a website known as "Khon Rak Dehk," or "Love Children" in Thai, was found to be operating within Bangkok, Thailand. Its primary purpose was to allow adult men from all over the world to share pornographic material of children, some of whom appeared to be under the age of ten. It also contained a forum in which users could not only share material but also advice and tips on the best ways to gain access to obtaining minors in Thailand for the purposes of sexual exploitation (ECPAT 2012). This provides just one example of the ever-elusive crime of Child Sex Tourism (CST), which has become a popular new form of the sexual exploitation of minors worldwide. As this industry has expanded with the advent of new technologies it is becoming increasingly difficult to define and combat, especially within the

narrow radius of just one specific country. Yet, it is clear that when attempting to understand the modern nature of the commercial sex industry involving children, Child Sex Tourism is extremely significant, as it represents crime that is both founded on antiquated circumstances yet increasingly dependent on contemporary technologies. Thailand is an exceptionally relevant example of a state that's practices, especially its illegal ones, are now caught between old and new. In looking at the case study of Thailand, a question must be asked: what factors have laid the foundation for the growth of the Child Sex Tourism industry? The answer may be compiled within four distinct sub-categories, with the most relevant, and most worthy of study and examination today, being the role of external factors on the existing industry. While this question has been asked before, the discourse surrounding it over the past several years has been limited, and, especially when looking at the case of Thailand, it remains in severe need of further discussion.

Thailand has become one of the most notable centers of human trafficking, sex trafficking, child prostitution and now Child Sex Tourism over time, not only in Southeast Asia but worldwide. In 2009, ECPAT estimated that some 30,000 to 40,000 children under 18 years of age, not including foreign children, were exploited as prostitutes (ECPAT 2011). According to the U.S. State Department, Thailand is a source, destination, and transit country for men, women and children subjected to sex trafficking, and has now been placed on the Tier 2 Watch List for the third consecutive year (U.S. State Department). Sex tourism continues to be a problem in Thailand, and its demand partially fuels the amount of trafficking necessary to maintain its sex industry. While the exact number of children within the sex industry in Thailand is still unknown, in 2007 the Thai government, along with several NGO's, estimated that there were as many as 60,000 children under the age of 18 involved in prostitution (ECPAT 2011). The amount of sex trafficking, child prostitution, and Child Sex Tourism that has been found to exist in Thailand has made the nation infamous, yet this standing was not achieved overnight.

In order to understand the roots of Child Sex Tourism in Thailand, it is important to analyze four distinct areas as well as analyze modern literature addressing Thailand as a case study. There are many scholars that have taken the time to study this particular aspect of Thailand's sex industry and they serve to provide a basis for research when looking at the problem today. However, much of this data could no longer be considered relevant, because of the absence of the study of the impact of external forces on Child Sex Tourism. Thus it is

necessary to update this area of study, including both the well-known causes of old and those newly found that have proven key to perpetuating the growth of this industry. An examination of past literature provides the premise for current scholarly thought regarding it and create a substructure for delving deeper into some of its agreed upon sources. After creating a definition of Child Sex Tourism one then must examine its political, economic and societal causes, as each has played a key role in providing the environment that has allowed this industry to expand. Together, Thailand's political history has become tied with its current economic state in terms of effectively combating Child Sex Tourism, both of which are bound to its traditional societal beliefs. Yet, while these aspects have laid the foundation for its present situation, the real influence of Child Sex Tourism is hinged on spreading technology, steadily linking Thailand to an increasingly globalized world and allowing the crime to become so hard to contain. After examining the current nature of the Child Sex Tourism industry in Thailand it is clear that historical political and economic factors and traditional societal ideologies combined with modern external influences are the causes that have led to its growth and perpetuation.

Methodology

This paper seeks to focus on Thailand as a leader in the Child Sex Tourism industry because it is representative as a long-suffering country in terms of organized prostitution, yet with a newly industrialized economy. Thailand has become internationally infamous for its sex trade industry, and CST is one of the most modern forms that this industry has taken. This industry has been allowed to spread due to a number of specific reasons, political, economic, and societal, and especially has been influenced by a number of modern external factors. Thailand is a relevant subject of research because of its long history of sex trade as well as the new methods that are currently revolutionizing this industry. Child Sex Tourism is one of the narrower facets of the sex trade industry that is hardest to control. It has served to transform the sexual exploitation of children in Thailand, and because of modern methodologies, will continue. The external factors affecting the CST industry in Thailand are the most important factors influencing the industry at this time. Because CST is so often combined with child exploitation, pornography, and trafficking, the influence of external factors (or, international factors that directly effect Thailand's CST industry), as a root cause has not yet been thoroughly examined.

The factors influencing the dependent variable of Child Sex Tourism in Thailand are political, economic, societal and external in nature, with an emphasis on the growth and innovation in the scope of external factors as they continue to bet the prominent components currently reshaping the industry. Operationalization of the concept of CST will assist in developing its definition, as it has long been considered an abstract category of child pornography and child prostitution. Creating a concrete definition will aid in providing a basis for forming legislation and the elucidation of language within future discourse. The research conducted in this paper is strongly qualitative, given that it will be analyzing the various proposed aspects of the CST trade in Thailand, as well as previous dialogue provided by scholars that have also done research in this area. This paper seeks to continue discourse analysis of this topic, mainly to evaluate and update existing research on the impact that the growth of external factors continues to have on the industry of CST. By updating this research it is possible to provide a better, more apposite understanding of the current nature of the industry in order to seek more effective ways to control and eliminate it.

Because of the elusive nature of the Child Sex Tourism industry, data is extremely difficult to collect and monitor. Seeing as a firm definition of CST has yet to be developed, much of the data analyzed thus far has been strongly speculative, using ambiguous statistics regarding the actual numbers of victims and perpetrators involved in the industry. One of the leading sources of information regarding CST is the organization ECPAT (End Child Prostitution, Child Pornography, and Trafficking of Children for Sexual Purposes), which serves to provide most of the data surrounding CST throughout the world. This paper will draw heavily from ECPAT's resources, because of the soundness of the reliability of their research, the fact that they have been involved in studying the problem for so long, and their current continued efforts to update present data and define CST, especially in Thailand. ECPAT is the leading organization in the United States working to combat CST and their work has greatly influenced the progress of combating this industry. In terms of theoretical basis of this paper concerning of the political, cultural and economic causes of CST in Thailand, many scholars in this area have already done much of the historical analysis.

When researching this material, the dependent variable studied in this paper is the Child Sex Tourism industry in the country of Thailand. Four independent variables are highlighted that have been identified as the specific causes of this industry. The subject of analysis of this paper

lies in the independent variables of this topic. The first independent variable is the political history and current political environment of Thailand, including: the rapid development of prostitution, effects of domestic and international legislation, the lack of enforcement of such legislation, and the incompetency of law enforcement. The second independent variable is the economic history and current economic environment of Thailand, including: the history and influence of poverty and industrialization, the influence of the tourism industry on the economy, and the effects of illegal immigration on the sex industry. The third independent variable is the societal ideologies of Thailand, including: societal ideologies surrounding childhood, women, and family, foreign conceptions of the Thai sex industry, and perceptions regarding the transmission of HIV and AIDS. The final independent variable is the external factors identified as causes of Child Sex Tourism, including: the heavy influence of the Internet on the tourism industry, the growth of globalization, and the lack of effective regulations that would serve to eradicate these causes.

Literature Review

This paper references many scholars whom have made headway regarding the examination of child exploitation and Child Sex Tourism. Because CST has advanced so rapidly over recent years, there does not exist as much research regarding it, as there does child exploitation, pornography and trafficking. However, many have managed to combine much of the research associated with each and have developed relevant hypotheses accordingly. While CST remains a fairly new industry, the authors and organizations involved have laid the foundation for further study, though 'further' and modern study continues to be lacking from this dialogue.

Heather Montgomery has made significant contributions towards the discourse associated with Child Sex Tourism, based off of her extensive fieldwork among young prostitutes in Thailand, and the works that followed. The result of her thesis, *Modern Babylon? Prostituting Children in Thailand*, written in 2001, is based on 15 months of fieldwork in a Thai tourist community that has survived child prostitution, and examines ten child prostitutes' perceptions of what they do, as well as their daily lives and motivations. She traced the development of social concern of Thailand surrounding the issue, and examined the role of prostitution within the children's familial roles and overall economic circumstances. The text provides an extremely

insightful glance into the fundamental situation of child prostitution in Thailand. While it is vague surrounding CST, it provides a strong source for information about the development of child prostitution in relation to CST's same foundational causes. Her article "Buying Innocence: Child Sex Tourists in Thailand," published in 2008, examines the differing categories of sex tourists, analyzing what particular qualities they find attractive in Thai children and women, and argues that there is little difference between tourists that purchase children and those that purchase adults. It works to examine the identity of the perpetrators in terms of what they find attractive in Thai children, and provides an introductory into the societal causes of Thai CST. One of her most recent works "Defining Child Trafficking and Prostitution: The Case of Thailand," published in 2011, attempts to define child trafficking and prostitution in terms of the ethical and emotive issues surrounding children that willingly participate in selling themselves. This work, though contentious, helps to describe the ambiguity and confusion surrounding child exploitation, especially when looking to convict perpetrators, and examines the difficulties associated with creating blanket international legislation to handle the many-faceted aspects of child prostitution. Montgomery is an expert in the study of children, and her efforts to analyze CST in Thailand over the last several years have helped provide a foundation for further discussion. While such work is lacking today in terms of CST's modern elements, it is necessary for understanding the roots of the Thai sex industry, particularly focusing on children.

One piece that has laid an effective framework for CST is Vicki F. Li's "Child Sex Tourism to Thailand: The Role of the United States as a Consumer Country", published in 1995. Written to examine the differing factors effecting CST in Thailand at that time, it was one of the first works to define and examine the political, economic, societal and cultural ideology and external factors separately when focusing on the causes of this industry. Her work is meant to trace the development of child prostitution in Thailand and examine the effect of U.S. law on deterring sex tourism abroad. Ultimately, her conclusion is that the growth of CST in Thailand may partially be attributed to domestic circumstances as well as international tourism from the U.S., Germany, and Australia. The solution might lie in enacting extraterritorial laws to prosecute nationals for committing sexual offenses abroad; yet implementing such amendments would be extremely difficult. While Li's paper inspired the ideas behind much further study, there exists a need to update her research in order to include the modern aspects of this industry that were not available eighteen years ago.

Likewise, a book entitled *Child Prostitution in Thailand: Listening to Rahab* by Siroj Sorajjakool greatly helped in providing insight into how Thailand's child prostitution industry developed, the influences of child prostitution in the region, the identity of the perpetrators, and materialism, poverty, and poor education's effects on child prostitution. Sorajjakool tells the stories of ten young Thai prostitutes, offering insight into their everyday lives and the specific cultural and societal implications that contribute to their situations. While explaining all of these aspects was beneficial when looking at the causes of child prostitution in Thailand, Sorajjakool did not focus much on CST, most likely because his research was conducted in 2001, when little information was gathered regarding the modern resources for the trade.

Afrooz Kaviani Johnson focused his piece "International Child Sex Tourism: Enhancing the Legal Response in South East Asia" on an analysis of extraterritorial legislation in destination countries. While hoping to stimulate debate and action on much-needed reform of such laws, Johnson recommends that national legislation specifically address child sex tourism. However, his analysis falls short in addressing the transnational nature of the industry, in that legislation would have to be enacted on both ends in order to be effective. Johnson does touch on the causes of CST and provides a good working definition, but his piece does not fully encompass the complexity of the responsibility of all parties involved.

Julia O'Connell Davidson works to question the understanding of how CST and the tourism industry are effectively linked together in modern discourse in her article "'Child Sex Tourism': An Anomalous Form of Movement?" She argues that campaigns against CST fail to acknowledge the commonalities of all forms of tourism and are likely to have little impact on the problems they are seeking to address. She works to disprove the image of Child Sex Tourism in multiple campaigns because of their misinformation regarding the actual industry. Her work provides a deep insight into how child sex tourists are perceived, and how that may limit effective competence on the part of legislation and the work done by various organizations. While this paper is primarily concerned with finding the flaws of such campaigns, she succeeds in effectively explaining how the problem should be viewed and met by the international community, as well as addressing many of the root causes of CST worldwide.

Evaluating literature provided by the organization ECPAT is key to understanding the past and present of Child Sex Tourism in Thailand. ECPAT is a global network of organizations and individuals collaborating for the purpose of ending child prostitution, child pornography, and

the trafficking of children for sexual purposes (ECPAT Mission). Researchers at a tourism consultation in Thailand in 1990 exposed the degree to which child prostitution was increasing in many Asian countries, and from there established ECPAT as a three year campaign focusing on ending the "commercial" aspect of the sexual exploitation of children (ECPAT: History). Though they initially concentrated their efforts specifically in Southeast Asia, they eventually expanded and became a global non-governmental organization and network. The first international assembly of this network took place in Bangkok in 1999, with over 50 countries participating. Today, the ECPAT network is comprised of participants in over 75 countries working to address the problem of sexual exploitation of children worldwide (ECPAT History). The literature that ECPAT provides regarding CST is extensive, especially in regards to regional analysis. They remain one of the primary sources for data in this area, and regularly partners with the United Nations International Children's Emergency Fund (UNICEF) and maintains a special consultative status with Economic and Social Council of the United Nations (ECOSOC). They annually release information in the form of an Annual Report, yet have country-specific factsheets, executive summaries, and country progress cards, which serve to provide specific information regarding the development of the problem within a specific country. Thailand has long been the object of study for ECPAT, given its significance as ECPAT's first and primary location, and their increased interest in Southeast Asia as a whole when looking into this industry. The works of Kelly M. Cotter, R. Barri Flowers, and Camelia M. Tepelus as well as data from organizations such as the United Nations and the U.S. State Department are also extremely valuable in examining every aspect of this topic. Yet, while much has been written regarding CST as an international trade, few have focused their efforts solely on Thailand, and those that have often offer outdated information.

Definition

R. Barri Flowers contends that given the wide variety of "estimates, serious definitional and methodological differences and the lack of worldwide studies" that it is "virtually impossible to measure the true global extent of the sexual exploitation of children" (Flowers). However, though he is correct in the present contentions associated with defining child sexual exploitation, it is important to attempt to examine its modern nature in order to understand its causes and potential solutions. To begin, most countries set their criterion for what constitutes a 'child' by

the parameters given in the UN Convention on the Rights of the Child, which maintains that a child is "any human being below the age of 18" (UN). Child Sex Tourism involves the sexual exploitation of children, or the "sexual services of a child or inducing a child to perform sexual acts for any form of compensation, financial or otherwise" and differs from child sexual abuse because it involves commercial exploitation (Levy & Willis).

While determining the definition of a 'child' has been straightforward for the most part, the problems associated with defining Child Sex Tourism have stemmed from attempting to find guilty those participating in this particular aspect of 'tourism.' ECPAT (End Child Prostitution and Trafficking), the leading organization combating CST in the world, defines Child Sex Tourism as "the commercial sexual exploitation of children by people who travel from one place to another to engage in sexual acts with minors" (ECPAT). For some this involves taking an organized tour, either by booking with a specific agency or by individual arrangements for the specific purpose of engaging in sexual acts with children, yet for others it might mean spontaneously doing so when presented with the opportunity (Davidson). Because of the ambiguous nature of the definition of 'tourism,' construing statistics is difficult when attempting to track the spread of the crime. Identifying the perpetrators based upon how and from where they travel is also arduous when looking to convict them, as they could be coming from as close as a different city or across the globe in order to participate in this act. Also, child prostitution and trafficking is already very difficult to monitor, based on the amount of unidentified children involved and the underground nature of international trafficking sectors. As CST has been tentatively defined, those states most have affected by it have now been identified and the nation of Thailand has become an example of the ways in which it has been able to continue.

Analysis

The following analysis is broken into the four categories representing the causes of Child Sex Tourism in Thailand. As stated previously, the last topic regarding external factors on CST requires the largest basis for further research. However, the political, economic, and societal factors that also influence the industry remain present in both discourse and the industry itself, and are extremely significant when looking to present a contextual history of this problem. In fact, they are so deeply intertwined with each other that even separating them for the purpose of study is a difficult task, yet it is necessary to do so when looking for the specific roots of CST.

Political

When looking at the development of Child Sex Tourism in Thailand, it is extremely important to consider the political factors involved in both the growth and continuation of its sex industry. Child Sex Tourism would not have existed without the spread of the sex industry into its current state of global commercialization, which began with the spread of conventional prostitution. There is no clear evidence as to when prostitution first became widespread in Thailand, yet many point to the 1960's as the pivotal point of the commercialization of prostitution and the period of its greatest growth. In 1967, when the U.S. military was in the midst of an ever-lengthening conflict with Vietnam, the U.S. government sought a treaty with Thailand for the purposes of a location for the 'R&R' (rest and relaxation) of fatigued American troops. The actual 'rest' and 'relaxation' came, for the most part, in the form of the first almost officially sanctioned sex industry in Thailand. Because of this demand, less than ten years later, Thailand had more than 20,000 brothels and other sex-industry establishments to its name, greatly influencing both its economy and reputation as an exotic escape for Western tourists (Sachs). Thailand's government and GDP was benefitting from its new attraction on a global scale, virtually ignoring the nature and possible repercussions of the industry as a whole.

On the surface, the Thai government did not appear to offer full-scale support of the sex industry. Forced sexual enslavement, trafficking, sex tourism, and prostitution of everyday variety were always considered illegal, as exemplified by regulations enacted long before the arrival of U.S. troops. Thailand passed its first modern anti-prostitution legislation in 1928 with the Trafficking in Women and Girls Act, which attempted to curb its budding sex trafficking industry (IMPOWR). The Suppression of Prostitution Act of 1960 attempted to eliminate prostitution by making it an illegal activity, not only convicting but providing vocational training for reformed participants. Probably the most notable enactment (and relevant to the drastic growth of the industry) remains the Entertainment Places Act of 1966, which was designed to pave the way for brothels to be legalized under the guise of bars, nightclubs, massage parlors, and teahouses (in order to increase revenue form American R&R) (IMPOWR). The act made it possible for such establishments to exist but not be explicitly marketed for the purposes of prostitution, and set 18 as the minimum age for women to work in such an establishment (IMPOWR). Each of these acts helped to limit the amount of children involved in the practice respectively, by adding regulations regarding age and increasingly heavy penalties for offenders.

However, as already noted, the sex industry boomed in Thailand despite such legislation due to the qualifying language of the specific laws and actual enforcement of them both difficult and taxing.

By 1971, Robert McNamera, the president of the World Bank at the time, urged Thailand (without specifically naming the sex industry) to supplement its export activities in an effort to attract wealthy foreigners, as spending by U.S. military personnel had rapidly escalated from 5 to 20 Billion in a span of just three years (Sachs). Thailand had initiated a plan of tourist development, with the help of World Bank economists, by 1975. An example of the attitudes surrounding these circumstances of the time period, the Deputy Prime Minister of Thailand was quoted as asking provincial governors (Campagna & Poffenberger):

> "To consider the natural scenery in your provinces together with some forms of entertainment you might consider disgusting or shameful, because they are forms of sexual entertainment that attract tourists. We have to consider the jobs that will be created."

The sex industry's dramatic growth continued from that time and became increasingly more difficult to monitor and control because of the ambiguous nature of the actual establishments. The Thai government made menial efforts to stifle this; the "Thai Immigration Act" of 1979 banned those that have engaged in prostitution from entering Thailand. There were no more significant laws made until the 1990's with the Prevention and Suppression of Prostitution Act of 1996, which redefined prostitution in even more obscure language, and decrease the penalties for repeat offenders (World Bank). Actual legalization of prostitution was proposed in 2003, in order to increase revenues from taxes and reduce corruption but the idea was never brought to fruition. Today, Thai domestic law imposes heavy penalties on those who procure, lure, compel or threaten children under age 18 for the purposes of prostitution, as well as doles out heavy punishment for those that work to procure children for prostitution (U.S. State Department). All legislation since 1928 has worked to limit the scope of the legality of the sex industry in Thailand and influenced the way in which perpetrators of Child Sex Tourism are convicted today, and understanding such legislation is crucial to determining the overall nature of the crime.

Thailand is party to a number of international treaties involving the sexual exploitation of children, which, along with its domestic legislation, work to better manage the globalized nature

of Child Sex Tourism. Thailand has ratified each report on the "UN Convention on the Rights of the Child" since 1996, and has accepted tips from the UN committee regarding ways to combat child prostitution and trafficking (ECPAT). It acceded the "Optional Protocol on the Sale of Children, Child Prostitution, and Child Pornography," yet has not yet submitted a report. Thailand also signed the "Protocol to Prevent, Suppress and Punish Trafficking in Persons, Especially Women and Children" but has yet to ratify it. While being party to these international treaties not only gives Thailand a chance to demonstrate how it is working not only to recognize but battle its current situation, actual enforcement of these measures remain behind, particularly because of issues associated with enforcing their parameters at base level. The root causes for the continued growth of the sex industry despite the fact that it is an illegal activity does not appear to lie in the lack of legislation but the difficulties involved in enforcing such legislation by the Thai government.

The causes of lack of enforcement of legislation are varied in terms of the means of implementation by the Thai government and its resources. The ability to effectively enforce regulations is inhibited by insufficient state resources and corruption within Thai law enforcement. Thai officials appear to have lax attitudes toward prostitution in terms of the tourism industry, especially at a local level, because of its being so deeply engrained in society. Undertraining and antiquated practices of Thai law enforcement as wells as the lack of proper equipment for detection make it easily possible for CST to continue, as the crime is now so reliant on modern technology. Inadequate resources have also been linked to corruption within law enforcement whom are prone to accepting bribes (especially those from Western perpetuators of Child Sex Tourism) and even services by their victims (Fredette). The National Office of Missing and Exploited Children maintains that CST in Thailand is made possible mostly by government "corruption and collusion, absence of or inadequate national laws, lax law enforcement measures, and limited sensitization of law enforcement personnel to the harmful impact of prostitution on children" (National Center for Missing and Exploited Children).

The political causes for the perpetuation of Child Sex Tourism in Thailand can be examined in Thailand's legislative history regarding the sex industry and the insufficient means of controlling it today. While Thailand is participatory in several international mandates regarding human rights, its domestic policies continue to fall short in combating the actual practice, often leaving the task to outside organizations. Continued trafficking and immigration

also exacerbate the problem, as it is difficult regulating a domestic industry at a global level. Finally, Child Sex Tourism is particularly strenuous to fight because the nature of the practice is based on such global terms, which not only involve prosecuting foreign visitors but inhibiting what would be helpful supplements to Thailand's GDP (as the tourism industry remains one of its most prevalent sources of revenue). Therefore, the Thai government has fallen short in its ability to stem the tide of the sex industry, making the political causes for Child Sex Tourism both deeply engrained and difficult to alter.

Economic

While examining Thailand's political history is crucial to understanding its struggle with Child Sex Tourism, the economic factors associated with the crime are just as pertinent. It is estimated today that the annual purchasing power of Thais is (U.S.) $9,500, compared to the U.S. $49,000 (CIA). Yet over the years, Thailand has intensified its manufacturing industry to one of the largest in the world, and with the help of rapid industrialization and modernization, it is quickly becoming one of the most prominent nations in Asia. While Thailand now has one of the highest GDPs in Southeast Asia at (U.S.) $345.6 Billion, it has still wrestled with a number of economic difficulties in the past and present, and those related to Child Sex Tourism are both longstanding and recent.

The poverty level in Thailand has fluctuated in recent years, aiding some industries and disadvantaging others, as well as providing environments in which sexual exploitation may perpetuate. Today, Thailand is classified as a newly industrialized economy, dependent on its ability to export goods worldwide, with exports accounting for more than two-thirds of its economy (CIA). Before this time, Thailand's economy was long influenced by the farming industry, yet when industrialization took hold, it brought with it a culture of consumerism that placed rural areas throughout Thailand at a financial disadvantage (state.gov). Logging projects to the government have added to farmer's woes, as they have destroyed much of the forestland that villages have depended on for livelihood for generations (state.gov). Population pressures and rapid modernization have further aggravated poverty, which, combined with the lack of economic opportunity in the countryside, has provided a key force behind the growing number of prostitutes in cities, including prostituted children (state.gov). Families struggling under the financial strain of having lots of children may sell a couple of daughters into prostitution in the city, creating a profit and alleviating themselves of a burden simultaneously. Income from

prostitution may be 25 times greater than legitimate rural wages, causing many destitute families to succumb to temptation and exploit their children (Fredette). Even if parents resist such opportunities, procurement agents from bars or brothels may trick or coerce parents into releasing their children under the pretense of offering jobs in restaurants or hotels (state.gov). Various crime syndicates may thrive off of this transaction, creating an increase in demand while allowing the attitudes associated with it to perpetuate. While these conditions have served to fuel the sex industry in Thailand, the influence of tourism has also benefited this industry.

Thailand's economy has become dependent on the tourism industry since the era in which U.S. military began to use the nation for its rest and relaxation. Thailand's tropical location and current reputation for lax regulations surrounding illicit activities have allowed it to become a worldwide tourist destination. In 2009, tourism made a larger contribution to Thailand's economy than that of any other Asian nation (Travel Daily News). However, linked to Thailand's tourism industry remains a thriving sex industry. For this reason, because of the massive growth in tourism over time (and seeing that it contributes to about 6% of Thailand's GDP today), Thai governments have been hesitant to legitimately enforce laws to regulate the sex industry. Early promotion of Thailand as a "sexual retreat" has done nothing to halt this process. One reason that the royal Thai government has not been more proactive about ending sex tourism is because it accounts for about 2-14% of the GDP's of Southeast Asian countries according to the International Labor Organization (Guzder). It is because of this hesitancy that large amounts of legislation have not been adequately put into force, and as tourism in Thailand has continued to grow future, sex tourism can only continue to grow with it.

Alongside poverty, industrialization and tourism, Thailand now faces an onslaught of illegal immigration, which serves to fuel further sexual exploitation. Foreign migrants, ethnic minorities, and stateless persons are at the greatest risk of sexual exploitation of this group, because they either do not hold documentation, or experience withholding of travel documents, migrant registration cards, and work permits by employers (state.gov). This makes collecting data and recognizing the victims that much harder, because there is no way of properly estimating or identifying the victims. When looking specifically at CST, the inability to identify marginalized victims further exacerbates the industry, due to the evasiveness of the sex industry in general and the lack of documentation of participants that would potentially allow for the collection of further data. While immigrants (especially if they're children) are already at risk for

subjugation and marginalization, they are prime targets for the insidious nature of the sex industry, because of its exploitive tendencies towards the most disadvantaged members of Thai society.

The economic causes of Child Sex Tourism in Thailand remain so rooted in everyday life that attempting to alter any of them would be a monumental undertaking. As Thailand becomes more globalized, further industrialization and modernization of the future is inevitable. Also, because the tourism industry contributes so much towards Thailand's economy, it will continue to be seen as far more important than the individuals it disadvantages. Rampant poverty as the result of this rapid urbanization and massive migration into bigger cities such as Bangkok, further fuels the Thai sex industry, including the industries of child sexual exploitation and Child Sex Tourism. Because so many women and children depend on prostitution as a livelihood, they are often just as unwilling as their oppressors to vie for change. Taking steps to adjust the make-up of Thai society, including the financial marginalization of both immigrants and women would be the only viable way, apart from more stringent legislation, to alter the course of the sex industry.

Societal

As difficult as it is to examine both political and economic elements, within the realm of Child Sex Tourism, the societal root causes are the most sensitive and emotive factors, and also would be some of the most difficult ones to adjust. Attempting to delve into the inner beliefs of Thai society in such areas as childhood, family, or any ideas of race is a complicated and frustrating task. What one sector of society believes about one subject, another will assume the opposite approach; there exists no blanket cultural values, and concerning CST in Thailand, the deeply engrained ideas involved are considered both integral to the industry and a massive roadblock in its eradication. The societal causes for CST in Thailand are intricate and sometimes contrastive; yet thoroughly represent a country pivoted on both the past and the future.

One component intrinsic to the fundamentals of Child Sex Tourism is Thai society's cultural and social beliefs about childhood. While CST is drawn from the wider category of child sexual exploitation, the ideas regarding 'what it means to be a child in Thailand' are deeply influential to both. Heather Montgomery states that within Thailand, there is "no concept of any golden age of childhood" and if there is, then childhood is not a particularly enviable state. Children are even pitied because of their lack of power and inferiority (Montgomery). She also

contends that sex and work are linked to adulthood in a Western perspective, but there really exists no age boundary because the idealization of childhood innocence and freedom was "confined to those with exposure to Western ideas" (Montgomery). Children, in Thai society, sometimes may be seen as either a burden or a future investment, which both effects the way that they are treated and influences the kind of expectations placed upon them from a very early age. Montgomery points out later that there is a widespread tendency in Western society to assume that children cannot be exploited within their own families, and indeed the idea of the amount of 'commitment' a child has towards his or her family is often linked to their profitability within the household economy. In some areas of Thai society, children may be seen as an investment, which may quickly pay returns depending on how early the child enters into the workforce (Montgomery). While, with the influences of modernization, the amount of children being forced into the workforce is increasing, the demand for young prostitutes is doing the same. As stated previously, there are tempting economic benefits of selling a daughter into prostitution if a family is destitute, and it is beginning to change the way in which Thai society views small girls. Suzanne Thorbek contends that "gender defines a person as belonging to a category with specific tasks" and "draws borders for both men and women" within the realm of urban communities (Thorbek). The economic benefits of prostitution have shifted society views on the value of girls, making traditional sexism favoring boys over girls pushed aside by the "commodification of sexism" (Robinson). According to some traditional customs, the first responsibility of a girl is to support her family in any way that she can, which stems from a genderized family-centered sense of duty (ECPAT UK). All of this, combined with the general acceptance of prostitution as a part of Thai culture, as well as widely accepted promiscuity of Thai men, creates a recipe for disaster when looking at child sexual exploitation.

While these beliefs around children in Thai society provide the environment for Child Sex Tourism to occur, both domestic and foreign conceptions of Thailand's sex industry are just as damaging. Craig J. Reynolds argues that the tourism industry in Thailand "is a willing agent in the development and marketing of Thai-ness" and "international tourism campaigns are often coupled with domestic cultural themes, so that kind of a feed-back mechanism operates (that) confirms the local identity by how the country is sold to foreigners" (Kahn). Western conceptions in particular have had a negative effect on the way Thai society and culture is widely received. The idea of an alluring "ethnic other" in regards to temptations surrounding foreign sex

industries have been played up since the U.S. began resting and relaxing in Thailand. Today, prostitution thrives on provision of paid sex across radicalized boundaries in the form of 'exotic' third world sex workers, and Asian women have obtained damaging global representations that have perpetuated ideas of domination (Pettman). These 'exotic' women are frequently presented as sexual, available, promiscuous, or, in this case, passive, willing, and already abused, which excuses men from any responsibility towards them. In this way, tourism may offer an adventure, or an escape, which can appeal to male fantasies (Pettman). Also, in terms of sex tourism, 'culture' is being deployed to justify the use made of 'other' women's bodies, which is where the idea of 'age of consent' is allowed to flicker and die, and CST becomes a common practice. Montgomery makes a point of saying that there is an obvious difference between men that actively seek out sex with children and those "who might have sex with a child if it is offered, but in the bars of Thailand's red light districts the latter category is deliberately obscured" (Montgomery). The qualities which may be so appealing about children in this perspective, their dependency, powerlessness, and loyalty, are all to be found among Thai prostitutes, both child and adult. These distortions allow for children to be sold younger and younger at higher rates, because of the way they are presented in a 'tourism' perspective.

One other factor playing into the growth of CST is the ongoing conceptions of virginity when related to disease. It is a common belief for male clients who partake in the demand for prostitution that children are less likely to pass on HIV or AIDS infections and sexually transmitted diseases, because they are marketed as 'virgins' (National Center for Missing and Exploited Children). This misconception about disease as well as the cultural belief that sex with a virgin will result in longevity or increased sexual energy has led to the profitable idea of the "mythicization of virginity" (Sachs). The transmission of AIDS is too often combined with notions of children's youth and purity, and it has become common belief that sex with a child is a form of safe sex, and much, much safer than sex with an adult (Li). These ideas have led to incredibly high populations of children being affected by the AIDS virus, as well as other diseases, which both further proliferates them and thus further entices men to seek out those that are 'clean,' creating a further demand in the industry.

The societal causes of Child Sex Tourism in Thailand are perhaps the hardest to change. While new political or economic legislation may be created to prevent the growth of the industry, it is far more difficult to change ideologies, especially those surrounding women, children, and

family, within a society. Altering perceptions of the 'exotic' women abroad would be easier, if the tourism industry was as concerned with human rights as it is seeking profit. Likewise, ignorance of ideas surrounding the AIDS virus, as well as other diseases, is increasing the amount of children involved in CST and allowing those that are to be easily infected in the process. Though societal beliefs stem from areas of tradition both within Thailand and internationally, the effect they have when looking at child sexual exploitation continues to be a problem as the industry moves into the future.

External Factors

The most important and significant cause of Child Sex Tourism in Thailand today, and the reason behind the need for updated research, is the influence of external factors currently taking place on this industry. While the sexual exploitation of children has grown as the result of political, economic and societal factors, the external factors associated with the modern world are directly effecting Thailand the most. The massive growth in tourism over the past couple of decades has served to proliferate the idea of CST, and has been effective in causing the industry to move into the spotlight as an issue. the direct influence of the Internet, both on the tourism and sex industries today and the on the amount of globalization currently effecting the world, is causing CST to become more dangerous, elusive, and uncontrollable than it ever would have been previously, which is why data must be updated regarding it.

In recent years, as the result of a massive boom in not only the use of the Internet but the amount of people that have access to it, the tourism industry has looked to respond accordingly. International tourism receipts grew to (U.S.) $919 billion in 2010, at an increase of 4.7% (UNWTO tourism). Tourism in Thailand accounts for 6-7% of the country's GDP, and brings approximately 14 million visitors per year (ECPAT 2011). International tourism boomed in Thailand from 2010-2011, and continues to grow at a rate of about 5% per year. Tourism in not only contingent on international visitors, domestic travel accounted for 380 billion baht in revenue. A large part of this growth is due to the influence of the Internet, which is the fastest growing and most unregulated communication network in the world (Hughes). It has made it possible to find any form of information concerning the place that is being visited. It has made the terrain, climate, culture, geography, and activities immediately accessible. It has allowed information to be easily added to, found, or shared from anywhere in the world, and, at times,

anonymously. The Internet has served to make tourism unbelievably easier than booking tickets, flights, hotels, and tours ever was before. Yet CST is not always conducted through physical tourism, the Internet has also served to facilitate websites like Khan Rak Deck, as well as thousands of websites soliciting child pornography that features Thai children. The Internet not only allows CST to be easily conducted, but allows Child Sex Tourists to communicate and network with each other. Through the use of false screen names and concealed forums, they are extremely hard to catch or monitor. Through the use of the Internet, CST in Thailand has been able to grow and proliferate, and as more and more people connect to these networks, it will only continue from here.

While the Internet has provided the environment in which CST has grown, there are other external factors that have played a part in the process. The growth of consumerism has only served to influence the amount of globalization taking place. A sudden influx of Western goods are being introduced in societies where they were not previously available, leading to more people desiring them (Fraley). In 2005, UNESCO reported that cultural exchange is becoming more frequent from Eastern Asia but Western countries were still the main exporter of cultural goods (UNESCO). This leads to a greater undertaking of Western ideas but not necessarily Western understanding. As countries continue to become more interconnected, products, ideas, and other aspects of culture become more interchanged, and, alongside advances in transportation and telecommunications, economic and cultural activities become more interdependent. Many would argue that, in terms of economic growth due to trade and communication, this is not a bad thing. When looking at it from that point of view it is not, as countries become increasingly connected with each other, ideally, markets are able to expand, and everyone is able to profit accordingly. Yet globalization is not only limited to economics, communication, or diplomacy, organized crime institutions may also profit from the increased amount of people partaking in their illicit activity, and the Internet has only served to spur on their business. In the case of CST, visitors both international and domestic are able to pay for tourism to wherever they are going, in this case Thailand, in order to participate in a criminal activity that involves the sexual exploitation of children. While globalization has made the world a more integrated place, there continues to be a price that would not have been so easily paid without the influences of modern technology.

Massive increases in the use of the Internet has had major effect on both the scope of the sex and tourism industries worldwide, both separate and combined. With the advent of the Internet, the sex industry has advanced far beyond previous economic, social, and multi-lateral extents. Online pornography has become a primary money-exchange category of the Internet. Today, the sex industry is a (U.S.) $57+ Billion industry worldwide (CNN). Web technology has allowed for individuals and companies to exploit, sell, and commercialize products to a massive and amenable audience, and the sell of 'sex' has revolutionized pornography, prostitution, and trafficking industries. Globalization produces an aesthetic of the body and thus makes bodies representations of ethnic origins. Those seeking specifics tend to look at bodies as products and not actual humans, creating a demand for a literal market that can all be uploaded, viewed and paid for in quick and anomalous ways. This makes it possible to book sexual services online and schedule trips surrounding those experiences with terrifyingly little difficulty. Playing into a global sex market demographic, those that offer sex services online become overnight entrepreneurs, and those that offer the sexual services of children can make more with less difficulty than they could selling almost any other illicit product. It is becoming easier and more profitable to traffic and exploit people than to traffic illicit drugs or arms, because the products can gain profit time and time again. One cannot look at the sex industry today without taking into account the role of the Internet, globalization and the global culture of consumerism that are responsible for perpetuating and expanding it. Because of the Internet, the sex industry, and especially CST have been able to thrive.

The ultimate price of each of these factors remains that it is now easier, cheaper, and safer to obtain sexual access to children in poor, developing countries than domestically, and the price for doing so is far less severe. Sex offenders can seek out this industry in order to maintain a feeling of safety included in the anonymity of visiting a foreign country where they may have the ability to plead ignorance to local customs and language (National Center for Missing and Exploited Children). Even if they are caught, perpetrators are easily able to flee across borders, while insufficient cooperation between states stifle transnational criminal proceedings (Fredette). The fact that this activity continues to persist marginally unchecked is what makes it so pertinent. There are Internet regulations that exist for the purpose of ending this industry. Organizations such as ECPAT are working to control not only the spread of CST, but also the material and discussion that it motivates as an industry. Yet seeing as the Internet is connecting more and

more people, with little of the regulation or monitoring necessary to make ending the spread of this information and enterprise effective or even feasible. It is for this reason that the external factors are the most relevant to Thailand's CST industry, because, while the other causes are still deeply relevant, these external factors have seen the industry through its largest period of growth, and has allowed the process to be carried on at a massive international level. While ECPAT did manage to stop the website "Khan Rack Deck," there are still hundreds of websites that exist for the same purpose, and without tougher control of the Internet, those sites can only survive and multiply from here.

Conclusion

The Child Sex Tourism industry, while gaining its roots from the wider category of child sexual exploitation, has revolutionized the organization of the exploitation of children around the world. The CST industry, as well as the rest of the sex industry in Thailand, continues to grow and have a heavier influence on the Thai economy, politics and society. Children are being exploited through systems of marginalization that requires them to participate in this industry, with little governmental aid through effective legislation. Though this paper only advances preexisting research, it is meant to provide a context for which research may be done to find solutions to this problem. All of the root causes of this crime, political, economic, cultural and external, are as deeply engrained in each other as they are responsible on their own. Finding a solution would involve the adjustment of each factor together, in order to create some kind of systematic and effective way of altering the industry. While this paper contends that the influence of external factors today is the most important aspect of this practices that should be focused on, the study of each cause is necessary to understanding Child Sex Tourism as a whole and how it could be effectively eliminated.

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Frame Reconstruction in Hegemonic Discourse: A General Theory of Rhetoric Applied to Social Movements for a $15 Minimum Wage

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Abstract

In the scholarly tradition of rhetorical criticism, this paper synthesizes established communication studies concepts to develop a general theory of frame reconstruction as a means of escape from the radical's paradox of persuasion faced by social movements. To demonstrate this theory, the author performs a qualitative case study of the modern political discourse on economic inequality in the United States, with a focus on the rhetoric of social movements for a $15 minimum wage. This paper summarizes the cultural, economic, and political context; explores relevant academic concepts, including frames, cultural hegemony, and the radical's paradox; and analyzes hegemonic frames in the discourse, including small business, the free market, and the middle class, as well as alternative frames and their theoretical efficacy for shifting public opinion on economic policy matters. The purpose is to narrate a deep understanding of the political discourse on economic inequality and the minimum wage along with the rhetorical dynamics characteristic of efforts to change a culturally hegemonic ideology.

Introduction

Rhetorical criticism is a scholarly practice that entails the qualitative analysis of the functions of persuasive communication in discourse, which is to say how it acts on audiences. Not limited to the study of vocabulary, imagery, or other overt symbolism, rhetorical criticism identifies and interprets covert conveyors of meaning. These include frames and assumptions in argumentation as well as the interaction between persuasive messages and audience ideologies (Jasinski, 2001; Kuypers, 2009). The implicit nature of these factors belies their power: in truth, their subconscious operation makes them all the more effective, for they are less likely than

explicit factors to be recognized as agents of social persuasion (Payne, 2001). To advance the field of communication studies, the practice of rhetorical criticism requires rigorous engagement with established theoretical concepts. In the realm of politics, there are additional considerations that include historical trends, contemporary socioeconomic conditions, and other tangible and intangible factors that influence public opinion and policy.

One opportunity for useful interaction, as evidenced in the literature (Entman, 1993; Burke, 1966; Gramsci, 1971; Herman & Chomsky, 1988; Hovland & Sherif, 1980; Lange, 1990), is the development of a theory that explains how in the context of a culturally hegemonic ideology, social movements can successfully persuade audiences to support public policies that radically challenge the social order. In this paper, I propose a general theory of frame reconstruction in hegemonic discourse. This theory articulates a means of escape from the radical's paradox, which for social movements is a strategic dilemma wherein both choices result in failure to effect meaningful change: on the one side, rhetoric that is harmonious with dominant ideas and thus widely accepted as within the limits of reasonable debate, but fails to challenge assumptions that implicitly legitimize the status quo; and on the other side, rhetoric that challenges these assumptions, but is so discordant with dominant ideas as to be widely rejected as unreasonable on its face.

To demonstrate the explanatory power of frame reconstruction theory, I will apply it to a case study of the modern political discourse on economic inequality in the United States, with a focus on social movements for a $15 minimum wage and the efficacy of their rhetoric for achieving desired changes in public opinion and policy. The prominence of these issues presents an opportunity for timely insight that could influence campaign strategies and outcomes. My qualitative analysis of hegemonic frames will inevitably involve some personal judgment in the selection and interpretation of examples, and although I will attempt to maintain the appropriate level of intellectual detachment required for serious scholarship, elements of subjectivity are inherent to the practice of rhetorical criticism. The goal here is not to generalize about social movements for a $15 minimum wage, but rather to narrate a deep understanding of the political discourse on issues of economic inequality and the minimum wage along with the rhetorical dynamics characteristic of efforts to change a culturally hegemonic ideology.

Contextual Summary

To understand modern social movements on economic issues in the United States, it is necessary to survey the political context in which they emerged. I will summarize historical events, including the rise and decline of labor unions as well as the neoliberal revolution that transformed the dominant paradigm of political economy. I will also review contemporary socioeconomic conditions, the prominence of economic inequality and the minimum wage as political issues, and the activities of social movements for a $15 minimum wage.

The Rise of Labor Unions in the Twentieth Century

In the United States, the labor movement of the early twentieth century was the catalyst for many of the worker protection laws in effect today. It is difficult to overstate how desperate circumstances were for the average worker. Whole families, children and adolescents included, toiled in factories seven days a week for upwards of sixty and seventy hours. Meager wages were barely enough for the food and shelter needed to survive. Working conditions were hazardous, and death and injury were common: 35,000 workers died in industrial accidents in 1914, and another 700,000 were injured. There was no guaranteed compensation for the families of those dead or permanently disabled. Yet not everyone suffered like this: that same year, the annual income of the nation's 44 wealthiest families each earning $1 million or more was equal to the income of 100,000 families earning just $500 apiece. Individual workers were easily replaced and thus had negligible bargaining power, but collectively workers could gain leverage through strikes. This need for collective action inspired the establishment of unions (Zinn, 2003).

Labor unions empowered workers to negotiate for higher wages and safer workplaces. Influential unions of the time employed different means for achieving these ends. Zinn (2003) describes two major unions, the American Federation of Labor (AFL) and the Industrial Workers of the World (IWW). The AFL, by far the larger of the two, sought to counter the bosses' monopoly on production with the union's monopoly on labor. Leaders took a top-down approach focused on organizing white men in the skilled trades, such as mining; women, people of color, immigrants, and workers outside these professions were generally excluded. The IWW had a more diverse membership and bottom-up approach. Members engaged in direct action strikes "initiated, controlled and settled by the workers" (pp. 330-331), and they were known for fighting back against brutality by police and military forces towards demonstrating workers.

Operating in parallel, the AFL and IWW won some limited victories for labor interests, but corresponding changes in public policy would not happen for another two decades.

The labor movement stalled amid the patriotic fervor of World War I, as many union leaders were jailed for anti-war activism. Working conditions had improved somewhat: by the 1920s, on-the-job casualties had fallen to 25,000 deaths and 100,000 permanent injuries per year. Average real wages rose each year, with more gains at the top. This upward trend was shattered by the stock market crash of 1929 and the subsequent Great Depression. Amid crushing poverty, desperate people begged, borrowed, and stole to provide for their families. Riots erupted across the nation. Fearing a revolution, President Franklin D. Roosevelt led the implementation of the New Deal, which was designed to quell social unrest while keeping the capitalist system in place (Zinn, 2003). Important pieces of legislation included the National Labor Relations Act of 1935 and the Fair Labor Standards Act of 1938. They codified many worker protections, including the right to unionize, guaranteed compensation for injury and death, and the first federal minimum wage (Grossman, 1978). These laws enabled the growth of labor unions as well as later efforts to raise the minimum wage.

Neoliberalism and the Decline of Labor Unions

Shortly after World War II, the United States emerged as the world's dominant economic power. Explosive growth in the manufacturing sector facilitated unprecedented prosperity and population expansion. As industry grew, so too did the power of industrial unions, including the International Brotherhood of Teamsters, the American Federation of Labor, and the Congress of Industrial Organizations. (The latter two would merge to form the AFL-CIO in 1955.) Congress overcame a presidential veto to pass the Taft-Hartley Act of 1947, which restricted union rights to organize, strike, and engage in the political process. Under the banner of anticommunism, it forced the expulsion of many radical union leaders (Barbash, 1976; Zinn, 2003). Nevertheless, labor unions remained strong for some time: membership density peaked at 35 percent of the documented workforce in 1954, and the member count peaked at 21 million in 1979 (Bureau of Labor Statistics, 2014b). From then on, labor unions in general experienced a progressive decline in membership and political influence.

The neoliberal revolution of the 1980s was a major factor in the labor union decline. It is closely associated with President Ronald Reagan, who famously said that tax cuts for top earners

would "trickle down" to benefit the rest of society (PBS News Hour, 2004). These tax cuts were one item on a neoliberal policy agenda that prioritized privatization, trade deregulation, and de-unionization (Chomsky, 2011). McCartin says Reagan's breaking of the air traffic controllers' union in 1981 "helped to define labor relations for the rest of the century and even into the 21st century" (as cited in Barnes, 2014). Indeed, this event reinforced the neoliberal narrative of government and unions as the problem. Chomsky (2011) describes this ideology as elevating profits over people. This phrase is epitomized by the North American Free Trade Agreement of 1993 that, through deregulation, incentivized the mass outsourcing of manufacturing jobs to poorer nations. Where unions had once derived power from strike threats, workers now faced the very real possibility of losing their jobs. In this way, neoliberalism shifted the balance of power toward private businesses.

Neoliberal economic policies reversed the trend of rising average standards of living that had created the American middle class. After the 1970s, tax records show a widening gap between stagnant or falling income for most earners and dramatically rising income for top earners (Wolff, 2013). Western & Rosenfeld (2011) write that the widely accepted explanation for this phenomenon emphasizes the roles of global market forces and technological innovation in reducing demand for less-skilled labor; however, their paper demonstrates a stronger correlation between growing inequality and de-unionization than is commonly assumed. Labor unions established cultural and political norms supporting living wages as a public good. Moreover, the threats of a union strike or even unionization itself incentivized employers to raise wages, and these threats lessened amid a weakening labor movement. The authors conclude that labor union decline is responsible for one-fifth to one-third of the 40 percent increase in wage inequality between 1973 and 2007 (Western & Rosenfeld, 2011). Today, cultural and political norms strongly favor neoliberalism.

Social movements for a $15 minimum wage challenge key elements of the dominant political paradigm of neoliberalism wherein the private profit motive is the means for achieving economic prosperity, and government and labor unions are obstacles to this end. Business profits and top earners create jobs and drive growth; capitalist market forces are mysterious-yet-fair economic regulators; and hard work, education, and smart choices are the keys to achieving the American Dream of a better life (Chomsky, 2011; Rhodes, 2010). The notion of individual economic success as commensurate with personal merit suggests that wages reflect what workers

deserve in a moral sense. Given these assumptions, it makes sense to cut taxes for businesses and top earners, deregulate the market, and slash funding for public assistance programs (Wolff, 2013). By contrast, social movements for a $15 minimum wage advocate for a human-centered outlook, question the market's efficacy, and maintain that hard work isn't enough to get ahead (15 Now, 2014; Strike Fast Food, 2014; Workers Organizing Committee of Chicago, 2014). These ideas compete for public opinion on economic policy matters.

Modern Conditions in Society, Economy, and Politics

In the three decades since the neoliberal revolution transformed the dominant political paradigm in the United States, economic inequality has reached levels not seen since the Great Depression (Monaghan, 2014). Average real wages have stagnated even as the cost of living and corporate profits reach record highs (Wolff, 2013). The prevalence of labor union membership has plummeted: 14.5 million unionized workers comprised just 11.3 percent of the documented workforce in 2013, down from 17.7 million members or 20.1 percent of the workforce in 1983 (Bureau of Labor Statistics, 2014b). In the wake of the Great Recession, underemployment is rampant, and intense competition for living-wage jobs, combined with an increasing share of low-wage jobs, block opportunities for economic advancement (Henry & Fredericksen, 2013). These are the conditions in which economic inequality has become a salient issue, and wherefrom social movements for a $15 minimum wage have emerged.

As the service industry expands, a growing share of American workers hold low-wage jobs wherein full-time hours are not enough to escape poverty. Henry & Fredericksen (2013) report that 2012 saw 20.8 million job-seekers vie for only 2.9 million projected openings for jobs paying at or above the living-wage threshold of $15 per hour—seven job-seekers for every living-wage job. Below the threshold, income from full-time work is too low to cover necessities. Low-wage jobs comprised nearly 40 percent of total jobs and employed 51.4 million workers in 2012. With scarce opportunities to earn the means to pay living expenses, workers from a variety of backgrounds accept these jobs out of necessity. In 2013, workers earning up to the federal minimum wage of $7.25 an hour had a median age of 25. Statistics show 71.9 percent had earned at least a high school diploma, 6.1 percent held an associate degree, and 7.9 held a bachelor's degree or higher (Bureau of Labor Statistics, 2014a). These statistics contradict the stereotype of low-wage workers as primarily teenagers and high school dropouts.

Meanwhile, major employers post record-high profits. Two-thirds of low-wage workers are employed by businesses with at least 100 employees (National Employment Law Project, 2012). In 2011, United States corporate profits of $1.97 trillion comprised the greatest share of the national income since 1950. The fast food chain McDonald's and the retailer Walmart, two of the world's four largest employers, openly encourage struggling low-wage workers to apply for public assistance (Henry & Fredericksen, 2013). Such tactics exact a heavy toll that is not limited to taxpayer funds, for the conditions of poverty associated with low-wage work have devastating impacts on the physical and mental health of workers who lack adequate food, shelter, and medical care. Additionally, negligible disposable income restricts workers' capacity to purchase local goods and services, and this involuntary asceticism further stresses economies already suffering from a lack of demand (Wolff, 2013). Major employers can afford to pay workers more, but under neoliberalism they are motivated to maximize profits above all else.

In response to these conditions, social movements on economic issues have surged across the nation. In 2011, the Occupy Wall Street movement popularized the rhetorical meme of the "99 percent versus the one percent" of earners (Gitlin, 2012). Soon after, fast food workers in New York City and Chicago began organizing strikes and demonstrations of civil disobedience for a $15 minimum wage (Cancino, 2014; Finnegan, 2014; Greenhouse, 2014). Labor activists won a $15 minimum wage in Seattle (Thompson & Martinez, 2014), San Francisco (Coté, 2014), and elsewhere (Martinez, 2014). In a public speech, President Barack Obama described economic inequality as "a fundamental threat to the American Dream, our way of life, and what we stand for around the globe" (Office of the Press Secretary, 2013, para. 24). Still, there have been no changes to federal minimum wage policy beyond an executive order raising the minimum wage to $10.10 for federal workers, and Democratic leaders have since abandoned the frame of inequality (Goldfarb, 2014; Office of the Press Secretary, 2014). Social movements for a $15 minimum wage seek to effect change to public opinion and policy amid federal government inaction.

Theoretical Exploration

The notion of raising the minimum wage to $15 contradicts the neoliberal paradigm that dominates political discourse in the United States today. In this pro-capitalist ideology, hidden assumptions legitimize the status quo and make a $15 minimum wage seem radical. To achieve

their desired outcomes, social movements must persuade audiences to accept this position. I will explore how the concepts of frames, cultural hegemony, and the radical's paradox relate to strategic messaging of a radical policy.

Frames in Communication and Cognition

The way an issue such as the minimum wage is framed in political discourse has a tremendous impact on public understanding of the nature of the problem, its causes and moral significance, and which actions should be taken to solve it. The concept of framing was pioneered by Goffman (1974), and in the literature refers to a cluster of phenomena involving communication and cognition. Entman's unified definition says frames "select some aspects of a perceived reality and make them more salient in a communicating text, in such a way as to promote a particular problem definition, causal interpretation, moral evaluation, and/or treatment recommendation" (1993, p. 52). He further defines salience as the extent to which information is "noticeable, meaningful, or memorable to audiences" (p. 53). This idea is closely related to Burke's concept of terministic screens (1966), which Stob says serves to "explain the role of symbols in directing attention in certain directions rather than others" (2008, p. 137). Frames interact with established values, beliefs, and attitudes so as to convey meaning and facilitate understanding.

Given the well-documented relationship between frames and public opinion, it stands to reason that social movements for a $15 minimum wage attempt to change dominant frames so as to persuade audiences to support desired policy outcomes. Kahneman & Tversky (1984) vividly illustrated the persuasive power of frames by presenting experimental groups with descriptions of a hypothetical pandemic along with two mutually exclusive policy responses. Subjects exposed to the narrative emphasizing possible deaths overwhelmingly supported one policy, while subjects exposed to the narrative emphasizing possible lives saved supported the other overwhelmingly. These results demonstrate the decisive role of frames in opinion formation. Payne says frames are "the centrally important mechanism for constructing and reconstructing social facts" (2001, p. 38), and describes how frames compete in political discourse for public support. Shifting dominant frames can transform perceptions of reality, and by extension the social norms inscribed in public policy.

Methods of frame analysis in scholarly research vary widely. Quantitative approaches to examining rhetoric in political discourse tend to focus on the inclusion or omission of words and phrases, with some going so far as to completely automate data collection. These methods enable the analysis of large samples, and are objective insofar as researcher interpretation is limited to justifications for the importance of particular words and phrases in frame construction. However, such approaches are likely to miss more subtle shades of meaning. At the other extreme, qualitative approaches involve far more investigation into the cultural context as well as the connotations and logical implications of rhetoric. These methods require a great deal of subjective interpretation and are thus limited to smaller samples; nonetheless, they enable much deeper insights. Hybrid methods attempt to marry quantitative and qualitative approaches (David et al., 2011). In the tradition of rhetorical criticism, I have chosen a strongly qualitative method for my analysis of hegemonic frames.

The Cultural Hegemony of Neoliberalism

In the political discourse on economic inequality and the minimum wage, the dominance of neoliberal frames can be understood as a manifestation of cultural hegemony. Gramsci (1971) articulated the theory of cultural hegemony to explain how a stratified social class system can be maintained through the consent of the people rather than through force. Consent is manufactured by a dominant ideology that depicts the social order as natural, normal, and moral. Regardless of whether this ideology is intentionally engineered, it is so culturally pervasive that it operates at the level of common sense in popular cognition, as if the axioms therein reflect universal laws rather than social constructs particular to a time and place. This sense of immutability is central to cultural hegemony, for it is highly unlikely that a people will revolt, even amid crushing oppression, if they cannot envision a feasible alternative. The neoliberal portrayals of capitalism as the only viable system of political economy and the free market as a moral force serve to justify the status quo in exactly this way.

Mass media institutions are influential purveyors of hegemonic ideology. Herman & Chomsky (1988) articulate a propaganda model that explains how consent to the social order is manufactured by mass media in the United States. The effect of marginalizing dissent need not be intended by individuals working inside or outside these institutions; rather, it is the predictable consequence of operational incentives that produce a systemic bias. The propaganda

model's five filters are as follows: size, ownership, and profit orientation, which confer competitive advantages on media outlets controlled by the ruling class; dependence on advertising revenue, which entangles editorial and corporate interests; sourcing, which tends to favor recognizable figures such as government officials with formal authority; flak, which represents the threat of retaliation from public and private interests displeased by a story; and anticommunism, which entails a quasi-religious taboo on serious criticism of capitalism (pp. 3-31). Messages of social movements must pass through these filters to reach the media audience.

Because popular understanding of social movement issues is so strongly influenced by mass media, the concept of cultural hegemony is apropos to efforts for a $15 minimum wage. In his analysis of influences on public opinion of radical student movements in the 1960s, Gitlin says mass media are "a significant social force in the forming and delimiting of public assumptions, attitudes, and moods — of ideology, in short […] Such ideological force is central to the continuation of the established order" (1980, p. 9). Indeed, mass media effectively set the agenda of salient political issues in the public consciousness (McCombs & Shaw, 1972), and for much of the electorate, they are the primary source of information about social movements. Therefore, the hegemonic bias of mass media is a major obstacle to those who seek to win popular support for public policies that challenge the social order. Successful efforts must calibrate messages to pass through the filters of the propaganda model without conceding too much to hegemonic ideology and thereby diminishing the messages' persuasive power.

The Radical's Paradox in Persuasion

To effectively persuade, a communicator must advocate a position different from what the audience already believes, but not so different that it is rejected outright. For every issue there is a continuum of possible positions, and the audience is anchored at the position they consider most acceptable. The latitude of acceptance includes the anchor point and the range of positions the audience considers reasonable, the latitude of rejection contains the range of positions the audience considers unreasonable, and the latitude of non-commitment encompasses positions to which the audience is indifferent. Arguments are judged in comparison with the anchor point. The most persuasive messages fall in a sweet spot that is far enough from the anchor point to motivate opinion change, but not so far as to fall outside the latitude of acceptance. Messages too close to the anchor point will fail to inspire meaningful change, and

messages in the latitude of rejection will alienate the audience. This is the essence of social judgment theory as proposed by Hovland & Sherif (1980).

As discussed earlier, the framing of a message is central to its persuasive power. Relating this idea to social judgment theory, we can understand frames as facilitating understanding of an issue in a way that defines the latitudes of acceptance and rejection. Hegemonic frames do this in a way that marginalizes positions subversive to the status quo. Benford & Snow describe how social movements intentionally construct collective action frames "intended to mobilize potential adherents and constituents, to garner bystander support, and to demobilize antagonists" through an "action-oriented set of beliefs and meanings that inspire and legitimate the activities and campaigns of a social movement organization" (2000, p. 614). These collective action frames compete with hegemonic frames to define the latitudes of acceptance, rejection, and indifference, and by extension the positions it is possible to persuade an audience to adopt. Hegemonic frames have the advantage of being widely understood and accepted as common sense, so alternative frames face an uphill battle from the beginning. This disparity is a strategic obstacle for social movements seeking to change the status quo.

The success of these social movements depends on finding the sweet spot in the latitude of acceptance that motivates a change in audience opinion to support the movements' desired outcomes. This task becomes more difficult as the audience grows larger and more diverse. Lange describes the radical's paradox as "the dilemma [that] unfolds when a rhetor thoroughly rejects a set of political practices and articulates a radically different set of alternatives" (1990, p. 475). The dilemma is as follows: the radical must articulate a position within the audience's latitude of acceptance, and that requires communicating within hegemonic frames. Doing otherwise results in immediate rejection of the message. However, conceding the assumptions of these frames implicitly legitimizes the social order and lets the radical's arguments be subsumed by the dominant paradigm. Both choices result in failure to effect meaningful change. So how can social movements overcome the radical's paradox to win public support?

Lange (1990) describes four possible responses to this dilemma. Conformity and non-participation entail surrender to the dominant paradigm from the inside and the outside. Desecration challenges hegemonic discourse through irreverent and provocative tactics, but by itself is ill-suited for inspiring lasting change. Reconstruction transforms the context in which the issue is understood and the rhetoric evaluated, but Lange provides only a cursory explanation of

how this works in a general sense. This ambiguity inspired me to formulate a general theory of frame reconstruction that is defined as follows: to escape the radical's paradox of persuasion, social movements must break the constraints of hegemonic discourse and redefine the limits of reasonable debate to encompass their desired outcomes. This is done by critiquing dominant frames within the existing ideology of the audience, and then reconstructing the frames to transform understanding of the issues in a way that changes the latitude of acceptable positions. I will analyze the practical application of frame reconstruction by social movements for a $15 minimum wage in the next section.

Hegemonic Frame Analysis

For the issues of income inequality and the minimum wage, there are several hegemonic frames in the political discourse. I will analyze the frames of small business, the free market, and the middle class; interpret the assumptions and implications therein; and evaluate the theoretical efficacy of alternative frames for persuading the American electorate to support a minimum wage of $15. I will pay particular attention to how social movements with this goal are using frame reconstruction to redefine the limits of reasonable debate.

Small Business

The first hegemonic frame focuses on how raising the minimum wage would impact the viability of small businesses. According to Harrison (2014), opponents of raising the minimum wage say that increased labor costs would force small business owners operating on slim profit margins to compensate by cutting working hours, delaying hiring, and laying off employees. "Raising the minimum wage will kill jobs and stifle economic output," said Fingarson, a spokesperson for the National Federation of Independent Business (para. 6). Supporters say that higher wages will increase demand for local goods and services by giving consumers more money to spend, and that in addition to higher sales small businesses will benefit from higher productivity and retention rates associated with happier employees. "That added spending, added tax base, and all the other benefits are going to far outweigh any conceivable downsides," said Shepley, a small business owner (para. 16). This is the mainstream debate in a nutshell, and both sides cite opinion polls of small business owners as evidence for their positions.

At first glance, these arguments appear to be quite different, but in fact they share significant assumptions. In either case, the focus is squarely on business owners as the agents

who create or eliminate jobs in response to market forces and thus are considered authoritative speakers. Taken for granted are the ideas that what is good for small business profits is good for employment and by extension the community as a whole, and, conversely, what is bad for profits is bad for employment and the community. This fits neatly with the neoliberal notion of supply-side economics wherein prosperity is driven by profits that trickle down to benefit the rest of society. Absent is any conception that business and community interests could diverge on this matter; indeed, the common-sense operation of cultural hegemony restricts the limits of debate to exclude this possibility from reasonable consideration. Still, there exist other frames in which to understand the impact of raising the minimum wage in fiscal and human terms, and those frames suggest very different public policies.

The radical response by today's standards rejects the implication that minimum wage policy should be judged by how it affects business, and rather proposes that we judge businesses by their ability to sustain workers. President Franklin D. Roosevelt used this alternative frame when he said that "no business which depends for existence on paying less than living wages to its workers has any right to continue in this country" (Marist College, 1933, para. 4). Employment is not a public good if the wages thereof do not allow workers to provide for their families, and businesses unable to pay living wages should be allowed to fail, or so the argument goes (Levin-Waldman, 2000). In the neoliberal paradigm, this proposition seems ludicrous, or at the very least misguided; in the dominant rhetoric, jobs are a social good measured by the quantity of positions filled, not the quality of life they can sustain. To today's economic radicals, Roosevelt's argument is appealing, but its failure to engage in critique within the culturally hegemonic ideology makes it unlikely to resonate with a wider audience.

To make a paradigm-shifting argument with broad appeal, social movements for a $15 minimum wage must break this hegemonic frame using dominant ideas. The Workers Organizing Committee of Chicago (2014), which is the behind the Fight for $15 movement of fast food workers in that city, does this by emphasizing how wages that are too low to meet the basic needs of working families force workers to rely on public assistance for rent, food, and medical care. Their argument breaks the frame focused on financial cost to business by applying the idea of financial cost instead to society, which appeals to the neoliberal disdain for public assistance programs. This enables a smooth transition to reframing the issue in terms of the human cost of low wages, which in turn sets up the human-centered argument that everyone

deserves a living wage. Common ideas from one point to the next subtly shift understanding of the issue without jarring the audience, and thereby reconstruct the frame and redefine the limits of reasonable debate to facilitate acceptance of the radical position.

The Free Market

The second hegemonic frame is that of the free market as a mysterious and moral force that should be obeyed and appeased for the good of society. In *The Market as God*, Cox (1999) elucidates the many parallels between free-market orthodoxy and Christian theology:

> Behind descriptions of market reforms, monetary policy, and the convolutions of the Dow, I gradually made out the pieces of a grand narrative about the inner meaning of human history, why things had gone wrong, and how to put them right. Theologians call these myths of origin, legends of the fall, and doctrines of sin and redemption. But here they were again, and in only thin disguise: chronicles about the creation of wealth, the seductive temptations of statism, captivity to faceless economic cycles, and, ultimately, salvation through the advent of free markets, with a small dose of ascetic belt tightening along the way (Cox, 1999, para. 2).

Cox goes on to highlight other similarities: faith in the efficacy of the invisible hand of the market, irrespective of evidence; belief that the market is omnipotent (all-powerful), omniscient (all-knowing), and omnipresent (everywhere), which is to say godlike; and trust that there must be satisfactory reasons for why bad things happen, even if the explanation is beyond human understanding (1999, para. 5). This frame is endemic to the rhetoric of business and neoclassical economics, and just as there are Christians who advocate for reforms to mitigate the effects of economic inequality, there are capitalists and economists who do the same. Hanauer (2013) argues for a $15 minimum wage, and Piketty (2014) advocates for a global system of progressive wealth taxes. These reformers recognize and seek to mend flaws in the system, yet they never question its ultimate supremacy. Again we see the influence of cultural hegemony on political discourse, and again there exist alternative frames in which to view these issues.

The radical response comes from the Marxian school of economics. It focuses on the systemic influence of class exploitation, which is seen as a powerful force that Wolff & Resnick say is "interwoven with every other aspect of society in complex and contradictory ways" (1987,

p. 7). By contrast, the neoclassical school is focused on the aggregate result of individuals acting in accordance with their own material self-interest. These fundamentally different frames inspire very different analyses of economic issues. Neoclassicists see wages as the logical outcome of supply and demand for labor, which implies that worker pay is commensurate with productivity. Marxians see wages as part of the class process wherein capitalists make profits by paying workers less than the value their labor produces (Wolff & Resnick, 1987). The history of anticommunism in the United States puts the Marxian frame outside the latitude of acceptance for most Americans, and thus makes it less than ideal for mass communication by social movements for a $15 minimum wage.

Still, it is possible to reconstruct the frame of free-market orthodoxy to accommodate an understanding of class exploitation. Strike Fast Food (2014) does this by emphasizing unscrupulous actions by the employer McDonald's, which include a budgeting guide omitting many basic expenses and advising employees to get a second job; instances of wage theft; and a helpline operator script that recommends enrollment in public assistance programs for food, housing, and medical care. These points suggest that McDonald's has an incentive to keep wages low, even if that means exploiting workers. This argument appeals to the idea of fairness and, in doing so, breaks the dominant frame of the market as just. Strike Fast Food advocates for collective action and unionization to counter unfair treatment of workers, which sets up the argument that a living wage is fair compensation for hard work regardless of occupation. As in the previous example, the smooth progression of the argument using widely held ideas throughout reconstructs the frame and redefines the limits of reasonable debate to include the movement's desired outcomes.

The Middle Class

The third hegemonic frame of the middle class is a cornerstone of political discourse in the United States. It is closely associated with the national ethos of the American Dream, which extolls the opportunity to achieve economic prosperity through individual hard work (Rhodes, 2010). In rhetoric, the term middle class can be understood as an appeal to support for this ethos, not a demographic category by any precise definition. "The term 'middle class' is at once useful for political purposes and practically useless as an economic descriptor," says Farrington (2012). She describes the term's utility for building broad political coalitions, and provides several

examples of its usage by Democratic and Republican politicians in recent history. Unlike lower class and upper class, middle class has almost exclusively positive connotations, and Americans across the socioeconomic spectrum are eager to self-identify with the label. By focusing on a state of mind rather than material conditions or power dynamics, the frame of the middle class obscures the notion of class antagonism that could threaten the social order.

The radical response is that of class analysis in Marxist philosophy. Žižek (2012) describes three categories in the stratified social class system: capitalists, who appropriate the surplus value of labor in the form of profits; proletarians, who are paid the minimum wage as bare subsistence for continued exploitation; and the bourgeoisie, whose higher wages are justified by their supposed expertise. He argues that the evaluation of worker merit is a façade that functions to maintain the status quo:

> The evaluative procedure used to decide which workers receive a surplus wage is an arbitrary mechanism of power and ideology, with no serious link to actual competence; the surplus wage exists not for economic but for political reasons: to maintain a 'middle class' for the purpose of social stability. The arbitrariness of social hierarchy is not a mistake, but the whole point, with the arbitrariness of evaluation playing an analogous role to the arbitrariness of market success (Žižek, 2012, para. 10).

In this frame, this middle class is not an ideological orientation or a category of merit, but rather a social construct to mediate hostility between the upper and lower classes and thereby mitigate the associated potential for political instability. This view is common in academia, but it is unlikely to resonate with an electorate wherein many still aspire to achieve the American Dream.

Social movements for a $15 minimum wage are reconstructing the frame of the middle class to facilitate an understanding of class antagonism and opposition to ruling class interests. 15 Now (2014), which organized the campaign in Seattle, emphasizes the disparity in income between the top one percent of earners, whose wealth has increased since the Great Recession, and "the overwhelming majority of working people [who] are still struggling or are even worse off than before." The juxtaposition between the one percent and the implied 99 percent appeals to the same sense of social self-identification on which the frame of the middle class depends,

and in doing so breaks the dominant frame. The frame is then reconstructed in terms of economic inequality where the interests of the ruling class diverge from the interests of the public at large. From here, it is straightforward to pivot to the argument that every worker deserves a living wage. Again, the smooth transitions change understanding of the issue in a way that redefines the limits of reasonable debate to include the radical policy.

Discussion

My analysis of persuasive communication dynamics suggests that the cultural hegemony of neoliberalism in American society and mass media shapes popular understanding of income inequality in a way that presents significant strategic challenges for social movements for a $15 minimum wage. Hegemonic frames are starting places for debate, and their hidden assumptions constrain thought and discussion so as to implicitly legitimize the social order; hence, conceding these frames is not in the interest of these movements. Alternative frames suggest a very different perspective, but general audiences will likely reject these as too radical. To transcend this predicament, social movements for a $15 minimum wage are reconstructing dominant frames to transform popular understanding of the issue and the limits of the mainstream debate.

These findings suggest that frame reconstruction facilitates acceptance of radical policy positions. This theory synthesizes existing scholarly work in communication studies and political science. Frames are central to cognition and communication, and different frames inspire audiences to support different policy positions and social norms (Entman, 1993; Kahneman & Tversky, 1984; Payne, 2001). Cultural hegemony maintains a social order through ideology, and neoliberalism functions as such in the United States (Gramsci, 1971; Chomsky, 2011; Wolff, 2013). Mass media are agents of cultural hegemony that strongly influence public understanding of issues, perception of social movements, and the salience of issues in the political discourse (Herman & Chomsky, 1988; Gitlin, 1980; McCombs & Shaw, 1972). Audiences compare new ideas to existing ones, which results in a strategic dilemma for the development of messages to mobilize supporters, demobilize opponents, and win public support for a radical policy (Hovland & Sherif, 1980; Lange, 1990; Benford & Snow, 2000). Frame reconstruction empowers social movements to overcome the radical's paradox.

The general nature of frame reconstruction theory suggests that it is not limited to social movements for a $15 minimum wage, the issue of economic inequality, or the context of the

United States. This concept could have dramatic effects on campaign strategies and outcomes for radical social movements worldwide. My strongly qualitative method of hegemonic frame analysis is useful for gaining deep insight into ideas; nevertheless, its inherent subjectivity makes it difficult to reproduce, and it is possible that my personal biases have influenced the results despite my efforts to maintain an appropriate level of scholarly detachment. Furthermore, the large amount of intellectual labor required for this degree of interpretation is at present impossible to automate and thus limited to very small samples of political discourse. A hybrid qualitative-quantitative method of frame analysis as suggested by David et al. (2011) could address these shortcomings by allowing for larger data samples and more objective results.

Persuasive messages are central to the ultimate impact of radical social movements, but they are far from the only decisive factor in the success or failure of issue campaigns. Further study of social movements for a $15 minimum wage would benefit from examination of additional influences on campaign outcomes. These include internal elements such as the demographics and psychographics of movement organizers, campaign decision-making processes, and the group dynamics therein; strategic concerns such as coalition development, field outreach, and the raising of funds and other resources necessary for campaign operations; and external elements such as rhetoric by politicians and other public figures, media frames on the minimum wage and economic inequality more generally, and competition with other issues on the political agenda. Scholarly research on these topics will facilitate a more complete understanding of the roles of these social movements in American history.

Conclusion

In the modern United States, the minimum wage has become a salient political issue as economic inequality reaches levels not seen since the Great Depression. With tens of millions underemployed since the Great Recession, competition for living-wage jobs is intense, and the share of low-wage jobs is growing. Low-wage workers struggle to pay for necessities and rely on public assistance programs to survive while major employers post record-high profits. In labor unions, which were once a vibrant political force for the interests of workers, membership is at a historic low. Rising average standards of living bolstered by collective bargaining and the post-WWII manufacturing boom are a thing of the past. Since the Reagan era, neoliberal policies of privatization, trade deregulation, and de-unionization have kept real wages stagnant and

incentivized the mass outsourcing of American manufacturing jobs. It is in this environment that social movements for a $15 minimum wage have surged in New York City, Chicago, Seattle, San Francisco, and elsewhere throughout the nation.

Neoliberalism is a culturally hegemonic ideology that sets the terms of political discourse. For economic inequality and the minimum wage, hegemonic frames influence public understanding of the issues and constrain the limits of debate and persuasion to positions that maintain the status quo. These circumstances entail a strategic dilemma for social movements for a $15 minimum wage. In the dominant paradigm of neoliberalism, their desired policy outcome seems radical, and arguments divorced from pervasive assumptions are unlikely to be widely understood or accepted; yet, arguments that concede these assumptions implicitly legitimize the social order and so are also unlikely to inspire meaningful change. The rhetorical technique of frame reconstruction transforms popular understanding of the issues to change which positions are considered reasonable, and thus redefines the limits of debate and persuasion. Frame reconstruction is how social movements can escape from the radical's paradox.

Because rhetoric is central to the efficacy of social movements, these findings have significant implications for the academic disciplines of communication studies and political science, and for the development and implementation of campaign messaging strategies. My research articulates a theoretical concept for the analysis of frame reconstruction in political discourse, but is limited by its highly qualitative approach. Scholars pursuing this topic would do well to consider hybrid qualitative-quantitative methods that allow for more objectivity and larger data samples. Further study could facilitate a broad understanding of the rhetorical dynamics of efforts to shift a culturally hegemonic ideology. As wealth disparities continue to increase under neoliberal capitalism, economic issues will only grow more urgent in the political discourse. Social movements for a $15 minimum wage demonstrate how non-unionized workers are at the forefront of a new wave of the labor movement. This wave has the potential to grow into a revolutionary force that radically impacts labor relations in the twenty-first century and beyond.

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Erroneous Erasmus and His Predecessors: Centuries of Bible Translations

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Introduction

The Rise of Christianity

Christianity has not always been considered a religion. Dr. Martin Ball stated in his lecture, "Christianity," that "after Jesus' crucifixion, death, and resurrection in 30 CE, stories about his miraculous life began circulating, orally." Jesus did not leave any writings about himself or his mission, and each group of his followers possessed different ideas about his life. Linda Woodhead points out in her book, *Christianity : A Very Short Introduction*, that despite all of the attempts to unite his story into a single narrative, " . . . he always threatens to break free" (6). While Jesus should be the unifying factor that all Christians share, he continues to cause divisions among the various denominations of Christianity. For the first 300 years of Christianity, the word Christian did not exist; followers of Christ considered themselves as a movement within Judaism. Constantine was a Roman general who experienced a vision of a cross in the sky during a battle with another general, and gaining victory that day, he took his vision as a sign to convert to Christianity. With his control over new territory, Constantine moves the capital of Rome to Byzantine, modern day Turkey (Ball). Ken Curtis indicates that it was not until Emperor Constantine's conversion, followed by the Edict of Milan, in 313, CE that Christianity became an official, and no longer evil or depraved, religion (n. p.). Also in the third century, various versions of Gospel codex began appearing, mainly in Greek, but also in Hebrew and Aramaic (Ball). These early versions of the New Testament were prepared by missionaries to assist in the propagation of the Christian faith. According to Linda Woodhead, "Many early Christian communities probably possessed only a single codex, perhaps a gospel or a harmony of several gospels. It would be many centuries before churches possessed a complete New Testament or Bible" (9). Constantine declared Christianity the official religion of Rome, and

called a council to discuss the beliefs of the faith because a major disagreement arose among believers about Jesus's status. The council was composed of bishops and learned men gave their views and drew up " . . . one of the most influential and widely accepted Christian creeds (statements of belief): the Creed of Nicaea" (55). The main argument they settled was whether Jesus should be " . . . understood neither as God nor man, but as a quasi-divine being whose status hovered somewhere between the two," as Arius, a presbyter of Alexandria, Egypt proposed, or Anthansius', also of Alexandria, view of Jesus as a divine being (55). The council supported Jesus' divine status, deciding he was " . . . of one (homo) substance (ousious) with the Father" (55). This sparked controversy among the various Christian sects, which led Constantine to order the compilation of an official Christian Bible. From this point on, "everything not contained in this Bible was considered heresy" (Ball). Also, following the Creed, the Catholic Church began forcing people to convert to Christianity or face immediate death.

The first major revision of the Bible came in 382, when Pope Damasus commissioned St. Jerome to revise the Church's collection of Old Latin Biblical texts using the best Greek texts. While his translation was the predominant version used for many centuries afterward, it did not become the Church's official Latin Bible until after the Council of Trent 1545-1563. This decision arose despite the Church's own admission in the thirteenth century that the text of the Vulgate was not stainless (Huizinga). The Roman Catholic Church held complete political and religious power until the end of the Middle Ages and beginning of the Renaissance with the re-birth of rationalism and emergence of the Protestant Reformation. Also, during this period, due to the high cost of written manuscripts, aristocrats and the Church possessed almost all copies of the Bible. Howard indicates that "[i]t was not until paper began to replace parchment in the fourteenth century that books became more affordable and started to circulate among a wider audience" (23) The main reason for this was that it took scribes months, and sometimes even years, to produce a single copy of a manuscript, driving up their costs. Jerome's Vulgate became corrupted over the following centuries as a result of the scribes' difficult working conditions, in which it was difficult to maintain accuracy. For example, Bruce M. Metzger and Bart D. Ehrman indicate, in The Text of the New Testament: Its Transmission, Corruption, and Restoration, that prior to the invention of the fountain pen, the scribe had to re-ink the pen by dipping it into an inkwell, which was distracting to the eyes, memory, judgment and pen (n.p.). They also point out that errors occurred in the texts for various reasons—some intentional and some unintentional.

Intentional errors included grammar corrections, addition of details, alterations due to doctrinal discrepancies, as well as clearing up historical and geographical difficulties. Unintentional changes included error of judgment, errors of the mind, and errors due to faulty hearing and eyesight. All of these factors affected the readability and credibility of these manuscripts for several centuries.

Influence of the Printing Press

The development of the printing press, after over a millennium of duplication by scribes, allowed the rapid reproduction of errors that were already contained in the manuscripts. For nearly twelve hundred years prior to this, scribes had to hand-copy each Bible. Therefore, "Johannes Gutenberg's invention of printing by using movable type had the most momentous consequences for Western Culture" (Metzger and Ehrman). No longer did it take months or years to complete one copy of a text, speeding up the process to a matter of weeks or days and opening up the possibility of reaching a larger reading audience. Nicole Howard, author of The Book: The Life Story of a Technology, indicates that, not surprisingly, the first text from Gutenberg's press in 1456, was an edition of Jerome's Latin Vulgate, which was an appropriate selection for an initial printing project (30). It would be another fifty years before the Bible would again appear in the Greek language. One reason is the difficulty and expense in developing the type for the Greek fonts, sometimes requiring the development of over 200 hundred as opposed to the 24 needed for Latin (Metzger and Ehrman). However, "the principal cause that [delayed] publication of the Greek text of the New Testament was doubtless the prestige of Jerome's Latin Vulgate" (Metzger and Ehrman). The development of the printing press allowed people to reproduce and broadly distribute more accurately and economically than previous methods of producing written works, which quickly allowed the works to influence the public's perceptions. A kind of biblical Christianity, Protestantism, developed " . . . out of Church Christianity, and retains a number of its characteristics, including its orientation around higher power. But instead of locating such power – on earth – in the church, its rituals and traditions, priests and sacraments, it attributes highest authority to the Bible" (Woodhead 56). This drove up the public's demands for their own copy of the Bible in the vernacular languages of the era. Protestantism " . . . was the first fully to exploit its potential as a mass medium. It was also the first movement of any kind, religious or secular, to use the new presses for overt propaganda

and agitation against an established institution" (Eisenstein 145). The printing press allowed the mass distribution of the Bible and other Church liturgy: "For the first time in human history a great reading public judged the validity of revolutionary ideas through a mass-medium which used the vernacular language together with the arts of the journalist and the cartoonist" (Dickens qtd. in Eisenstein 145). As the Bible began to circulate in translations the public could read, they began to realize that the teachings of the Bible and the Catholic Church conflicted with one another.

Erasmus and the Printing Press

Desiderius Erasmus of Rotterdam was the first individual to publish a Greek translation of the New Testament. As a humanist, he believed in individuals seeking new knowledge for themselves, and this knowledge could be found in classic literature. Huizinga indicates that "Erasmus belonged to the generation which had grown up together with the youthful art of printing. To the world in those days it was like a newly acquired organ; people felt rich, powerful, happy in the possession of this 'almost divine implement'" (65). He regularly visited printing shops while traveling around Europe, making valuable connections that would perpetuate his career. Howard points out that "Indeed, Erasmus made a habit of living and working in print shops throughout Europe" (72). In a letter to his friend, John Colet, Erasmus writes, "If you wish to have any of your writings published, just send me a copy. I will take care of everything else and will make sure that the printing is absolutely flawless" (Hillerbrand 47). This insight into Erasmus' life reveals the depth of control he held within the printing industry. Daniel Boorstin points out that "[p]ioneers of the new technology of printing became Erasmus' intimates" (114). Many of these printers welcomed and hosted Erasmus in their homes and shops, providing him with the tools he needed to turn out volumes after volumes of translations of the classics. "In Basel he became the friend and collaborator of Johann Froben[,] . . . settled in Froben's household[,] and became his general editor and literary adviser" (114). Froben also supplied Erasmus with valuable assistants that helped him translate the Hebrew that Jerome used consistently (Hillerbrand 79). Erasmus' relationship with Froben became fruitful: together they published five editions of the Novum Instrumentum and the Latin translations of countless other classic titles.

Erasmus' knowledge of Latin is what brought him prominence and success because without it he would not have been a suitable author in his era: "The art of printing undoubtedly furthered the use of Latin. It was the Latin publications which in those days promised success and a large sale for a publisher, and established his reputation, for they were broadcast all over the world" (Huizinga 65). This position had both its strength and weakness for Erasmus. It allowed Erasmus' immediate influence on the public; however, this was not always a positive fact, because Erasmus, as a prominent authority, could express his opinion in anything that inspired him (65). Despite his success as a Latin scholar and author, Erasmus' eagerness to translate St. Jerome's letters and the Latin Vulgate fueled his desire to learn Greek. Erasmus dreamed of the ability " . . . to bring about a complete rebirth of St. Jerome" (Hillerbrand 78). He said of Jerome, "In the West we regard him as our supreme theologian; in fact, we say he is virtually the only one deserving of the name. But at the same time the text of his writings is so disfigured, chaotic, and corrupt that, although no other author is worth reading, he is the one least possible to read, much less understand" (78). Erasmus points out the poor condition of St. Jerome 's works, which suffered from centuries of errors and misguided translations until it was barely comprehensible. In order for Erasmus to fulfill his wish to bring St. Jerome back to life, he had to acquire a more in-depth understanding of the Greek language.

Erasmus' Pursuit of Greek

Consequently, Erasmus sought all opportunities to immerse himself into the study of Greek. He first gained an opportunity to fully apply himself to studying Greek in 1495, while he was in Paris. Margaret M. Phillips points out in her article, "Erasmus and the Classics," that Erasmus admits prior to this " . . . had only the slightest tincture as a boy" (6). Erasmus believed that despite his old age, it was better to have learned Greek later, rather than to have never learned it. The deeper he went into the Greek literary texts, the more he held " . . . that Latin learning however profound is maimed, halved of its value without Greek" (Phillips 7). In December of 1500, Erasmus still struggling to learn Greek, writes to his friend, Batt, on at least two occasions, expressing his strong desire to " . . . attain some facility in Greek, and then to devote myself completely to sacred learning, which I have long desired to do" (Hillerbrand 34). He is also pressuring Batt into funding his scholarly pursuits, writing "[i]n effect, my whole future depends upon you alone. Therefore, you must lend an equal effort to my endeavors" (35).

He tells him the primary reason was because Batt was the first to recognize his potential for a promising future, followed by their bond of friendship that has long linked them, and his final reason was that the perpetuation of Batt's name is intimately bound up with the immortality of his writings (35). Erasmus boasts " . . . that if I can use my talent to preserve my works from perishing, the memory of your sincere heart is destined never to perish" (35). Before ending the letter, Erasmus tells Batt "I swear that this letter does not contain a single word that does not reflect my true sentiments" (35). This reveals the lengths that Erasmus went to in order to obtain understanding of the Greek language and eternalize his work. The next day, Erasmus writes another letter to Batt, urging him to talk to the mother of one of the students he was tutoring on his behalf, asking that she fund Erasmus' translation project:

> And point out how much greater fame I am going to bring her by my learning than will any other theologians whom she is supporting. Their sermons are full of trite sayings; I am producing works destined to live forever. Their ignorant nonsense is heard in one or two of the churches; my books will be read by students of Latin and Greek in every nation throughout the world. (36)

Erasmus concludes the letter saying, "I know very well that there are many applicants for benefices. But tell her that I am the one man who, when compared with all the rest, etc. You know your old habit of telling lavish lies about Erasmus" (Hillerbrand 37). This indicates the necessity in examining Erasmus' true motives for being the first to provide a complete Greek translation of the New Testament, especially because he had such a difficulty learning the language once he did acquire the funds and a tutor.

Furthermore, in a letter to Nicholas Ruistre in 1503, Erasmus confesses, "[o]ne thing I can vouch for, as a result of my experience; it is very difficult to turn good Greek into good Latin" (43). Often, while translating, Erasmus could not find the proper Greek word to translate the Latin word into, so he would simply input the Latin word in the Greek copy. He also admitted " . . . this whole business of translating Scripture is clearly the role of a grammarian," having been trained as a theologian himself, what was Erasmus' true inspiration for continuing his translation projects, if it caused him so much anguish and frustration (51). Despite his difficulties, Erasmus finally grasped enough of the Greek language to produce five editions of the Greek New Testament within his lifetime: 1516, 1519, 1522, 1527, 1535 (Faber 270). It

remains unclear as to when Erasmus actually began translating the New Testament into Greek, but he commented ". . . I undertook the project with Herculean verve. The workshop hums as St. Jerome appears in the most elegant print" (Hillerbrand 79). The printing press became the vehicle that propelled the Protestant spirit. Erasmus' reputation, and the book's low price and convenience, made it a stimulus to New Testament scholarship" (Boorstin 114). Erasmus enjoyed continued success and acceptance among a wide audience.

First Greek New Testament

Erasmus may have been the one to first publish a Greek New Testament, but it was not the first one that rolled off a printing press: " . . . in 1514, the first printed Greek New Testament came from the press, as part of a polyglot Bible. Planned in 1502 by the cardinal primate of Spain, Francisco Ximenes de Cisneros (1436-1517), this magnificent edition of the Hebrew, Aramaic, Greek, and Latin texts was printed at the university town of Alcala called Complutum in Latin. (Metzger and Ehrman). The first edition, volume V, contained the New Testament and a Greek and Latin glossary and was printed first, according to its colophon, 10 January 1514. However, this manuscript, along with additional volumes that included Hebrew grammar, awaited sanction by Pope Leo X. He did not grant approval of the texts' publication until the 22 of March in 1520. Historical evidence indicates that the Polyglot was not circulated until around 1522. Conveniently, Erasmus dedicated his first edition of the Novum Instrumentum to Pope Leo X. By the time the Polyglot began circulation, Erasmus was working on his fourth printed edition of the Greek New Testament. Scholars can only speculate as to when Erasmus initially decided to translate an edition of the Greek New Testament, but Metzger and Ehrman note that while on a visit to Basle in August 1514 he discussed (probably not for the first time) the possibility of such a volume with the well-known publisher Johann Froben" (n.p.). Erasmus did not immediately take him up on his offer, but no doubt Frobe felt the pressure to publish the first translation. In April 1515, Froben once again approached Erasmus, while on a visit to the University of Cambridge, via a mutual friend, trying to convince him of the urgent need for a Greek New Testament:"Doubtless, Froben had heard of the forthcoming Spanish Polyglot Bible and, sensing that the market was ready for an edition of the Greek New Testament, wished to capitalize upon that demand before Ximenes' work would be finished and authorized for

publication" (Metzger and Ehrman). Froben offered Erasmus a promise a competitive price to take on the job.

As a result, Erasmus felt the pressure to work as swiftly as possible, and he had little time to obtain readable manuscripts suitable enough for a printer's copy. Had time permitted, he would have had easily located all of the necessary manuscripts for an accurate translation. However, due to the time constraints, and since " . . . Erasmus could not find a manuscript that contained the entire Greek Testament, he utilized several for various parts of the New Testament. For most of the text he relied on two rather inferior manuscripts from a monastic library at Basle, one of the Gospels and one of the Acts and Epistles, both dating from about the twelfth century" (Metzger and Ehrman). Erasmus compared only these versions and made his corrections in the margins of the manuscripts, which the type for the printing press was later set from. Erasmus lacked a complete copy of the Book of Revelation, missing one leaf that contained the last six verses, and rather than holding up the printing process to secure another copy to compare, Erasmus translated the lines from the Latin Vulgate into Greek: "As would be expected from such a procedure, here and there Erasmus' self-made Greek text are readings that have never been found in any known Greek manuscript of these verses—but are still perpetuated today . . . " (Metzger and Ehrman). The lack of the full manuscript was not the only instance where Erasmus employed this approach: "Even in other parts of the New Testament Erasmus occasionally introduced into his Greek text material taken from the Latin Vulgate. Thus, in Acts 9-6, the question that Paul asked at the time of his conversion on the Damascus road, "And he trembling and astonished said, Lord, what will you have me to do?," was frankly interpolated by Erasmus from the Latin Vulgate. This addition, which is found in no Greek manuscript at this passage, became part of the Textus Receptus [received text], from which the King James Version was made in 1611" (Metzger and Ehrman). Nonetheless, this was not the only altered passage that became part of the Church's official doctrine: "In the first edition Erasmus' translation was fairly conservative; in the second, as he said himself, he ventured further. After that there were further changes, apart from minor corrections, though until the fourth edition he continued to make use of new manuscripts" (Augustijn 94). This changed with the fourth edition because the public finally had the Polyglot to compare Erasmus' translations with.

After the publication of Spain's Polyglot Bible, in which the translators used a wider variety of manuscripts for comparison, and before Erasmus published his fourth edition, the

public increasingly became suspect of Erasmus' translations. This suspicion only escalated since there was evidence to support that he used the Polyglot ". . . to correct his own version in the preparation of his fourth edition, 1527" (Jarrot 121). Erasmus' retraction of earlier translations indicates that he too was unsure of his own work. One critic was Martin Luther, who had based his German translation on Erasmus' second edition of the Novum Instrumentum, which contained the ". . . purified Greek text with notes, together with a Latin translation which Erasmus had altered too great deviations from the Vulgate" (Huizinga 91). Luther supported a complete reformation of the doctrine and dogmatic practices; whereas, Erasmus simply called for a moral reform among the Roman Catholic Church. The main difference of their views was on the subject of free will. Luther continually tried to align his efforts with Erasmus, but Erasmus refused to renounce the Catholic Church. Another critic accused Erasmus of Arian heresy, agreeing with Arius' belief that Jesus is neither God nor man, for his omission of text that supported the holy Trinity, and he predicted that ". . . the world again would be racked by heresy, schism, faction, tumults, brawls, and tempests" (Boorstin 114). Three years after the publication of Erasmus' New Testament, he responded to the charges of Arian heresy: "My New Testament has been out now for three years. Where are the heresies, schisms, tempests, tumults, brawls, hurricanes, devastation, shipwrecks, floods, general disasters, and anything worse you can think of?" (114). Perhaps with the escalation of these types of events in modern society, one should question Erasmus' responsibility due to his erroneous bible translations.

Problems and Solutions

The problem with the perpetuation of errors across several centuries prior to the Council of Trent's adoption of the Latin Vulgate as its official Bible in 1565, pronouncing its authenticity, is that the scripture cannot be rejected or corrected. The errors that occurred within the text up until that point, were thenceforth protected from any correction. Upon a closer look at Erasmus' words and actions, it remains clear that they contradict one another. He claimed divine inspiration for his scholarly pursuits in which money and material possessions had no influence; however, Erasmus continually asked his friends for money, and dedicated his written works to the most prominent figures of his time, ensuring him their monetary support. Had Erasmus not changed his translations found in the first edition, 1516, in subsequent editions, then his motivation for his translations would not be suspect. When Spain finally published its Polyglot

Bible in 1520, Erasmus noticed the variation in translations and used the Polyglot to edit his fourth edition of the Novum Instrumentum. Erasmus maintained that he used the oldest texts available to him; however, evidence indicates that he was limited to the copies among his circle of acquaintances and the library in Basel. Whereas the translators working on the Polyglot used ancient Hebrew, Aramaic, and Greek texts in order to present the public with the most accurate scripture possible. Erasmus' haste and desire to preserve his own works through publication, reveals an egotistical rather than spiritual motivation to translate the New Testament into Greek. Despite Erasmus' words that profess divine inspiration, his actions prove otherwise. In addition, Erasmus' goal was to instruct Christians to seek God for themselves, rather than relying solely on the Church, an organized religion centered on sacraments and rites of passages that only the Catholic Priests could perform. He fulfilled a need within the Christian community with his Greek translation of the New Testament, giving rise to the popularity of translations into other vernacular languages, allowing the public to read the scripture for themselves. The problem with Erasmus' translation lies in his sources. He relied on the Church's interpretation of the scripture by focusing on what a few Church fathers, including Apostle Paul and St. Jerome, wrote in their letters about various passages concerning Jesus' life. Erasmus did not used the oldest surviving texts in extant at that time. On the contrary, he only used manuscripts that had already been altered by centuries of reproduction by scribes and the translation by St. Jerome. Therefore, Erasmus went against his own belief that "[i]t should be the endeavour of every Christian to understand Scripture in its purity and original meaning" (Huizinga 51). This provides another example of how his words contradicted his actions.

Discussion

Abandoning Christianity is not the solution to settling doctrinal differences that arose on account of centuries of erroneous translations by Erasmus and his predecessors. Instead, the modern environment, with its ease of globally exchanging knowledge, beckons all of humanity to reconsider its belief and value systems. The split of the Roman Catholic Church and the Protestant Church did nothing but create a division between Christians; therefore, Erasmus' support for the reform of morals within the church, rather than the complete reformation that occurred, was a valid stance. Perhaps a return to ancient, surviving manuscripts of the earliest Christian Gospels will help to reveal the true essence of Jesus, a man early Christians felt needed

to be remembered for his radical vision and message of love, rather than relying on centuries of conflicting doctrines. On a scholarly level, additional research and dialogue surrounding key passages that usurp the power of minority groups should be considered. Modern scholars, unlike Erasmus, are going back to the ancient texts as guides to deciphering meaning, rather than translations that only represent a one-sided agenda. In addition, a dialogue about these findings will increase the odds of settling doctrinal credibility and discrepancies. Erasmus sought to decrease future misunderstandings of scriptures; likewise, today's scholars, philosophers, grammarians, translators, and theologians must work together to prevent future misunderstandings of scripture due to erroneous translations into vernacular languages.

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INDIGENOUS NORTH AMERICAN COMMUNITIES AND NINETEENTH-CENTURY UNITED STATES DIPLOMACY:

ANALYSIS OF THE CULTURAL SHIFTS ON OJIBWA BANDS

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The Ojibwa Tribe makes up one of the largest Indigenous groups in North America.[1] This Tribe identifies themselves as the Anishinaabe, which translates into the "original" or "true people." In contemporary times, the majority of enrolled members live on government allotted reservations that span across sections of Michigan, Wisconsin, Minnesota, and North Dakota, and share ethnic relation to the First Nation Ojibwa peoples in Ontario, Canada.[2,3] Although the bands located within the confines of the United States territory share ancestral grounds, culture, religion, and a language family, they each maintain their own tribal sovereignty as defined and recognized federally by the United States. The body and argument of this paper focuses on two key aspects: (1) the sociopolitical climate of Indian Country during the end of the eighteenth and first half of the nineteenth- century, and (2) the cultural shifts experienced by Ojibwa bands as a result of the aforementioned. This narrative analyzes writings of Ojibwa Metis William W. Warren, Ojibwa language interpreter Benjamin Armstrong, Leech Lake Missionary William Boutwell, and treaties of land cession, allotment and relocation. According to the definition of cultural shift, this research argues that with the introduction of United States diplomacy, the assimilation and adaption of Ojibwa culture is not definable as cultural loss, but rather cultural shift.

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[1] Warren, William W., and Theresa M. Schenck. History of the Ojibway people. St. Paul: Minnesota Historical Society Press, 2009., 3

[2] These groups are known as the Ojibwe/a, Ojibway/ey, Chippewa (the same word pronounced differently) From. Warren, William W., and Theresa M. Schenck. History of the Ojibway people. St. Paul: Minnesota Historical Society Press, 2009., 3

[3] "First Nations" is the term that will be used throughout this research to identify ethnic Ojibwe living in modern day Canada and the British North American Territory.

In 1959, R.W. Dunning argued that with the outcome of the War of 1812 and the following depreciation of the fur trade, the Ojibwa bands experienced cultural loss. According to anthropologist Denis O'Neil the definition of cultural loss is:

> The loss of cultural traits, as cultures change and acquire new traits, old no longer useful or popular ones inevitably disappear. An example of culture loss is the disappearance over time of certain words and phrases in a language. In some cases, the words continue to be used but acquire new, very different meanings. Culture loss is accelerated during periods of acculturation and transculturation.[4]

At the root of this claim was Dunning's understanding of the Ojibwa's assimilation rates, their increased economic dependence on British and United States aid, and the ways in which the Ojibwa made adjustments from a traditional life to one identifiably civilized. He stated that it "would no longer be true to consider them as an aboriginal population."[5] However, Dunning's concept of cultural loss, in regards to the Ojibwa, does not account for the major elements of their culture that remained after 1812 and in present times. The perspective of cultural shift, on the other hand, more adequately explains the cultural transformation experienced by the Ojibwa as a result of a strong United States diplomatic presence. Anthropologist H.G. Barnett defines cultural shift as:

> The classic processes of culture change (evolution, drift, diffusion, historical change) all produce changes in cultures as systems; however, they do not depend on deliberate intent by members of a society, but rather on a gradual chain-reaction effect: introducing A induces change in B; changing B affects C; when C shifts, A is modified; this involves D . . . and so on ad infiniturn.[6]

With a relatively new-established form of sovereign governance, in combination with the cultural aspects of reservation life, the Ojibwa maintain a minimal connection to a pre-War of 1812 tribal environment. Many issues that have become synonymous with modern tribal communities ceased to exist prior to the formation of a strong colonial system, and the emergence of United States as a dominant power in North America. However, the contemporary tribal communities and forms of self-governance are representatives of the cultural shift, initiated by early diplomacy, within the Ojibwa's internal construct and traditional political dynamic, rather than cultural loss. By analyzing the sociopolitical climate of Indian Country (as a whole) during the latter part of the eighteenth century and the first half of the nineteenth century, in

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[4] O'neil, Dennis. *Anthropology Glossary of Terms*, Palomar University, 2012.
[5] Dunning, R.W. Social and Economic Change Amoung the Northern Ojibwa, University of Toronto Press, 1959, 9.
[6] H.G. Barnett, Innovation: The Basis of Culture Change. New York , 1.

addition to reviewing the effects of diplomatic interaction with the United States on Ojibwa inter-tribal relationships, and traditional aspects of Ojibwa society, there can be no doubt that cultural shift occurred at an accelerated rate following the war of 1812. Evidence of cultural shift will be discussed through the following examples: the neglect to honor ancestral borders, the shift in Ojibwa endogamy, the restructuring of clan and marriage traditions, the re-gendering of agricultural roles, inter-tribal conflict resolution, and the implementation of oral tradition into literary histories.[7]

Historiography

Historians have conducted research surrounding the tumultuous relationship between the United States and Indigenous communities that has, to date, redefined the way the academic community views North American Indigenous history. Richard White's *The Middle Ground: Indians, Empires, and Republics in the Great Lakes Region, 1650–1815* addresses the comprehensive history of post-contact Algonquin speaking peoples, the majority of the colonization period, and assimilation up to the year of 1815[8]. Additionally, Daniel K. Ritchner's *Facing East from Indian Country a Native History of Early America* provides a detailed chronology and comprehensive study of Native American's role in the creation of the United States.[9] These works have provided useful information in determining the sociopolitical climate of Indian Country throughout the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, and have contributed significantly to the literature and historical narrative surrounding United States and Indigenous diplomatic relationships.

The most influential works that contributed to this research were Charles Kappler's seven volume set entitled: *Indian Affairs and Treaties*. Produced in 1904 they were, until the publishing of Vine Delloria Jr. and Raymond J. Demallie's Documents of American Indian Diplomacy: Treaties, Agreements, and Conventions 1775-1979, the leading comprehensive collection of United States and Indigenous treaties. Kappler's work proved to be a crucial tool while conducting this research. However, the most recent and applicable research surrounding the

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[7] Robert Keller, Jr. "*Teaching Indian History: Legal Jurisdiction in Chippewa Treaties*," Ethnohistory, Vol 19 (3) 1972, 209-218.

[8] White, Richard. *The middle ground: Indians, empires, and republics in the Great Lakes region, 1650-1815*. New York: Cambridge University Press, 2011.

[9] Richter, Daniel K. *Facing east from Indian country: a Native history of early America*. Cambridge, Mass: Harvard University Press, 2001.

Ojibwa, as well as the Potowatomi, and Ottawa, has been carefully undertaken by Theresea Schneck. Her collection of works include compilation of primary and secondary source materials such as: *William W. Warren: The Life, Letters, and Times of an Ojibwa Leader, The Voice of the Crane Echoes Afar: The Sociopolitical Organization of the Lake Superior Ojibwa 1640-1855, and All our Relations: Chippewa Mixed Bloods and the Treaty of 1837.* The breadth of her scholarship extends from the seventieth to the mid nineteenth-centuries with a focus on ethnographic records, sociopolitical structures, and the concept of deconstructing cultural shift in Ojibwa society up to the War of 1812.[10,11,12] Throughout the course of this research the correspondence between William Warren and officials of the United States government, in addition to the accessibility of treaty documents have proved invaluable when addressing this argument.

Introduction

During most of the seventeenth and eighteenth-centuries, Ojibwa's patrilineal communities inhabited their ancestral grounds stretching into the British North American territory from central Saskatchewan to Southern Ontario, and in the United States: from the Northern Plains of North Dakota into Michigan, Wisconsin, Minnesota, and parts of Ohio. Although this research focuses predominately on the Ojibwa bands of the Anishinaabe peoples, it is important to understand that prior to European contact and involvement; Indigenous communities were already experiencing forms of cultural shifts. According to Anishinaabe oral tradition presented in William Warren's ethnography on the history of the Ojibwa Tribe, the Ojibwa, Potawatomi, and Ottawa in their most traditional form, were once a singular group. Warren described their inter-tribal relationships as similar to a familial hierarchy.[13] The Ojibwa bands were revered as the "oldest brother" and the Keepers of the Faith. The Ottawa bands embodied the position of the "middle brother" and the Keepers of Trade. The Potawatomi band's role was that of the "younger brother" and the Keepers of the Fire. United, they were known as

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[10] Schenck, Theresa M. *William W. Warren the life, letters, and times of an Ojibwe leader*. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2007.

[11] Schneck, Theresa, The Voice of the Crane Echoes Afar: The Sociopolitical Organization of the Lake Superior Ojibwa 1640-1855.

[12] Schenck, Theresa M. *All our relations: Chippewa mixed bloods and the treaty of 1837*. Winnipeg, Man. Madison, Wis: Centre for Rupert's Land Studies at the University of Winnipeg Amik Press, 2010.

[13] Schenck, Theresa M. *The voice of the crane echoes afar: the sociopolitical organization of the Lake Superior Ojibwa, 1640-1855*. New York: Garland Pub, 1997.

the Three Fires of the Anishinaabe, and later given the title the Three Fires Union.[14] Although the three groups had been separated geographically, it was during the nineteenth-century that the Three Fires Union stood reunited as representatives of Anishinaabe nations. They communicated with policymakers, negotiated twelve treaties with the United States and Great Britain, and some bands were ultimately able to avoid relocation through skillful navigation of diplomacy.[15,16]

The Sociopolitical Climate of Indian Country

Perhaps the most pivotal point of Ojibwa history is the emergence of signs that alluded to cultural shift within their societies. For the Ojibwa this began with the establishment of their relationship with Britain during the eighteenth-century. In 1763, the Treaty of Paris, and King George III's Royal Proclamation, officially gave the British crown authority over the North American territory and the Indigenous populations inhabiting the land. The outcome of the Treaty of Paris represented a change in the dominant power from French to British colonial rule. It was because of this treaty and proclamation that prior to 1812, the Ojibwa bands forged a long-standing economic partnership with Britain. Trade with Britain became the major form of economic stability in the Great Lakes Region, and as time progressed the Ojibwa bands became financially dependent on the British. [17] It was this economic dependency that the British used as leverage and coercion on the Ojibwa and other bands of the Anishinaabe, to ally with their power during conflict with the colonies.[18] Additionally, it was these alliances and established economic codependency between Britain and the Ojibwa bands that factored into the United States motivations to terminate British authority and communications with Indigenous populations. [19]It is important to address this partnership as it represents the cultural shift from Ojibwa pre-contact culture of intertribal trade to a large scale era of international enterprise, and solidified mutual economic need of trade between Ojibwa bands and Europe.

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[14]Warren, Schneck, 39

[15] Armstrong, Benjamin G. and Thomas P. Wentworth. *Early life among the Indians : reminiscences from the life of Benj. G. Armstrong. Treaties of 1835, 1837, 1842 and 1854. Habits and customs of the red men of the forest. Incidents, biographical sketches, battles, &c.* (Ashland, WI. : Press of A.W. Bowron, 1892).Online facsimile, 10-13

[16] Armstrong, 10-13

[17] Treaty of Paris. West's Encyclopedia of American Law. 2005. *Encyclopedia.com.* (March 10, 2015). http://www.encyclopedia.com/doc/1G2-3437704856.html.

[18] Armstrong,10-13

[19] Armstrong, 12.

Another sign of cultural shift for the Ojibwa began with the outcome of the American Revolutionary War which solidified the United States victory over Britain and established control over major allotments of the British North American territory. This meant that following 1776, the United States extended their authority over the Indigenous peoples of the Great Lakes Region. This included the Ojibwa who due to economic necessity, attempted to maintain their alliances with Britain. Despite the United States efforts to diminish British presence, during the early years of the post-revolution era, there was still a large presence of British influence that remained. This became a predominant trend along the Great Lakes Region. Moreover, British and Ojibwa economic needs insured that trade continued between the peoples. However, by the start of the nineteenth century, the major economic benefits of the fur industry were experiencing a steady decline.[20] With the strengthening rise of a new colonial power, the rapid growth of European immigrants and rising populations within cities, settlers' expansion efforts created tensions within Indigenous populations throughout the United States. The turbulent sociopolitical climate of the United States in the early nineteenth century, paired with the reactionary actions of the inhabitants of Indian Country, were major factors in the United States distrust of the British. The United States growing suspicion of Britain led the government to place specific focus on establishing a firm diplomatic relationship with the Ojibwa.

As the United States and Britain maintained a tug-of-war power struggle over influence and control of Indigenous communities, specifically the Ojibwa surrounding the British North American Territory, the whole of Indian Country was experiencing border conflicts, religious revivals, and inter-tribal warfare. The sociopolitical climate and turbulent events in Indian Country provide a historical backdrop and evidence of the volatile relationship between the Indigenous communities and the growing power of the United States government. The first part of the following section briefly chronicles the sociopolitical climate of Indian country by examining the United States' motivation behind their establishment of a strong diplomatic presence through treaties and Indian affairs agents with the Ojibwa.[21]

Although the Shawnee men Tenskawatawa "the Prophet" and his brother Tecumseh, may seem unrelated to the cultural shift of the Ojibwa, their revivalist movement and separatist message with strong anti-American themes, became widespread throughout all of Indian

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[20] Kugel, Rebecca. To be the man leaders of our people: A History of Minnesota Ojibwe Politics, 1825-1898. Michigan state university press, 1998, 2.
[21] Barce, Elmore. Tecumseh's Confederacy. Indiana Magazine of History. Vol 13, No 1. 1917, 67-73.

Country, and in turn identified a potential weakness of the United States. Within decades after claiming independence, the United States was continuously fighting against British influence in the North, and attempting to keep internal conflicts between Indigenous communities and growing populations at a minimum. Ultimately, the Prophet's message exhibited potential to lead a United Indigenous uprising that could have jeopardized the United States' autonomy, with a British take-over. The sociopolitical climate of Indian Country during the nineteenth century and the symbolism of the Prophet, Prophetstown, and Tecumseh, played a significant role as a precursor to the War of 1812 and the United States diplomatic relationships with Indigenous communities. The relationship between the uprisings lead by the Prophet and Tecumseh resonate with Ojibwa cultural shift as the outcome initiated fear within the United States government. If the Indigenous communities united and allied with the British, the United States could risk losing their territory and power. In addition to the United States' suspicion, the Prophet and Tecumseh's message encouraged Indigenous communities to revert to pre-contact societies and maintain limited association with European powers represents evidence of Indigenous recognition of cultural shift. The Prophets' message and enthusiasm of his followers, were the first examples of an Indigenous revitalization effort.[22]

The revitalization movement was documented throughout the press, and its communique spread by traveling foot messenger and printed pamphlet. The Prophet and Tecumseh, promoted a set of religious guidelines that encouraged blatant separation from all things European, and their message emphasized the importance for Indigenous communities to protest assimilation. The Prophet and Tecumseh recognized the inherent cultural shifts from traditional forms of tribal dynamics to those reliant on United States aid, and saw no positive outcome from a continued relationship. They allied with the British and preached that their followers would establish a native nation free from United States control. This only produced more suspicion, distrust, and unrest within the United States government and a strong fear of Indigenous rebellion with growing British support.[23]

The mistrust and fear of a united Indigenous uprising with British support led to combat between Indigenous communities and the United States which, at its apex, instigated the conflict in 1812. However, despite continuing hostilities, the number of bands and tribes that joined the

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[22] Charles Minor, Steven Butler Editors, The Indian Prophet and His Doctrine," The *Pennsylvania Gazette,* 11 March 1812, 4.
[23] Barce, 67-73.

revitalization movement continued to increase and eventually led to the development of a confederation of several Indigenous groups. It was this very confederation that instigated the uprising known as the Battle of Tippecanoe in 1811, and the conflict ended with high death tolls on all sides involved in the campaign. The Battle of Tippecanoe was the salient point in the early nineteenth century that solidified the United States belief that Britain was a threat to their territory and power. The War of 1812 was fought so the victors could possess two major outcomes (1) the right to territory, and (2) the right to establish authority over the Indigenous peoples of the interior of North America within the realms of the aforementioned. The war of 1812, and its outcome, is of specific importance to the argument of this research because in order to maintain their authority over Indigenous peoples and territory from Britain in the Great Lakes Region, the United States signed and ratified numerous treaties with the Ojibwa bands. During the years following the war, and into the late nineteenth century, the United States and the Ojibwa signed and ratified numerous treaties that accelerated cultural shift within their communities.[24]

Establishment of United States Authority and Power over Indigenous Peoples

The War of 1812 ended with the treaty of Ghent in which no new borders were established. However, the treaty hereafter reaffirmed the indefinite United States independence and authoritative power over the peoples of America.[25] During the peace talks in 1814, as an act of good faith to those who fought on their behalf, British policymakers expressed sympathies for the Indigenous cause, and demanded an independent Indigenous nation state in North America.[26] However, because the unifier, Tecumseh, had been killed in battle, inter-tribal conflicts that arose from the war tore the Indigenous confederation apart. This nullified the British demand to the United States, and established that Indigenous communities lost the most in the war. [27] It was this devastating blow that set into motion yet another period of cultural shift. The traditional aspects of Ojibwa society, which had for the most part been maintained under French and British rule, would struggle over political identity and battle over ancestral land claims.

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[24] Warren, Schneck, 15.

[25] Treaty of Ghent, 1814; International Treaties and Related Records, 1778-1974; General Records of the United States Government; Record Group 11; National Archives.

[26] Treaty of Ghent, 1814.

[27] Smith, Donald. *Mississauga Portraits: Ojibwe Voices from Nineteenth-*. Toronto, Canada: University of Toronto Press, 2013, 43

The long lasting consequences of the War of 1812 proved truly transformative for the Indigenous communities of North America. The United States agreed to no longer attempt to annex the Territory of Canada, and in return, Britain ceased their support of the Indigenous revitalization movements occupying United States territory and all tribes under the scope of United States authority. The United States emerged as the dominant outside power which paved the way for United States expansion and cession of the interior of the North American continent. This established the United States government as a mediator between inter-tribal conflicts. In an effort to keep violence at a minimum, the United States attempted to maintain many of the governing nation-to-nation aspects their predecessor, Great Britain, had laid out. This included the political jargon established in 1784 when Indigenous communities, under the authority of the United States government, signed the Fort Stanwix treaty. This treaty had, to date, reimaged the political status of Indigenous tribes in North America.[28] Fort Stanwix clarified that the United States not only would view these groups as foreign states but treat them as such. Scholar of the Philosophy of Indigenous rights, F.S. Cohen stated "Treaties with Indian tribes are of the same dignity as treaties with foreign nations. . ."[29] This is an important comment to reflect on, as it identifies the way the United States government viewed Indigenous communities.

The short term reality of this treaty was a declaration of peace between the United States and the East Coast tribes such as the Iroquois. However, the long term consequence was that following the war of 1812, all inhabitants of the newly ceded territories fell under the outlined definition of political identity established by the United States of Indigenous communities. The United States stated that Indigenous bands, clans, or tribes were to be viewed by the government as foreign states rather than domestic minority groups.

Treaty Era: Miscommunications and the Cession of Indigenous Land

Figure 1: Example of how the Treaties were considered "signed" with an X. [30]

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[28] Treaty with the Six Nations, 1784, in Kapper's Indian Treaties and Affairs Volume II, 5,6.

[29] Keller, 209-218

[30] Many of the Indigenous peoples had minimal understanding they had ceded their territory, and could not read or write so they signed away their cultural and traditional uses of the land in most cases by marking an x, see Figure 1.

Sheeweetaugun, his x mark.
  La Pointe:
Peexhickee, his x mark,
Keemeewun, his x mark,
Kaubuzoway, his x mark,
Wyauweenind, his x mark,
Peekwaukwotoansekay, his x mark.
  Ottoway L:
Paybaumikoway, his x mark.
  Lac de Flambeau:
Gitshee Waubeeshaans, his x mark,
Moazonee, his x mark,
Gitshee Migeezee, his x mark,
Mizhauquot, his x mark.
  Ontonagon:
Keeshkeetowug, his x mark,
Peenaysee, his x mark,
Mautaugumee, his x mark,
Kweeweezaisish, his x mark.
  Vermilion Lake:
Attickoans, his x mark,
Gyutsheeininee, his x mark,
Jaukway, his x mark,
Madwagkunageezhigwaab, his x mark,
Jaukogeezhigwaishkun, his x mark,
Neezboday, his x mark,
Nundocheeais, his x mark,
Ogeemaugeegid, his x mark,
Anneemeekees, his x mark.
  Ontonagon:
Kauwaishkung, his x mark,
Mautaugumee, his x mark.
  Snake River:
Waymittegoash, his x mark,
Iskquagwunaabee, his x mark,
Meegwunaus, his x mark.
  Lac de Flambeau:
Pamoossay, his x mark,
Maytaukooseegay, his x mark.
  Rainy Lake:
Aanubkumigishkunk, his x mark.
  Sandy Lake:
Osaumemikee, his x mark,

Gitshee Waymirteegoost, his x mark.
Paashuninleel, his x mark,
Wauzhuskokok, his x mark,
Nitumogaubowee, his x mark,
Wattap, his x mark.
  Fond du Lac:
Shingoop, his x mark,
Monetogeezisoans, his x mark,
Mongazid, his x mark.
Manetogeezhig, his x mark,
Ojauneemauson, his x mark,
Miskwautais, his x mark,
Naubunaygerzhig, his x mark,
Unnauwaubundaun, his x mark,
Pautaubay, his x mark,
Migeesee, his x mark.
  Ontonagon:
Waubishkeepeenaas, his x mark,
Tweeshtweeshkeeway, his x mark,
Kundekund, his x mark,
Oguhbayaunuhquotwaybee, his x mark,
Paybaumausing, his x mark,
Keeshkeemun, his x mark.
  River de Corbeau:
Maugugaubowie, his x mark,
Pudud, his x mark,
Naugdunosh, his x mark,
Ozhuskuckoen, his x mark,
Waubogee, his x mark,
Sawbanosh, his x mark,
Keewayden, his x mark,
Gitsheemeewininee, his x mark,
Wynunee, his x mark,
Obumaugeezhig, his x mark,
Payboumidgeewung, his x mark,
Maugeegaubou, his x mark,
Paybaumogeezhig, his x mark,
Kaubemappa, his x mark,
Waymittegoazhu, his x mark,
Oujupenaas, his x mark,
Madwayossin, his x mark.

Prior to an in-depth observation of the years of land cession and treaty, it is important to understand the avenues by which the treaties were created, the signing of the treaties, and their ratification. Ojibwe interpreter Benjamin Armstrong stated in his semi-autobiographical writings that the treaties between the United States and the Ojibwa were often misleading.[31] The Indian agents would relay the treaties as enabling the United States the right to extract resources from Ojibwa ancestral grounds. This was then solidified in the minds of the Ojibwa when they received payment from the government in the form of differing allotments of goods, and in some instances annual installments for differing lengths of ten, fifteen, twenty, and up to twenty-five

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[31] Armstrong, 49.

years.[32,33,34] Therefore, when analyzing treaties of land cession it is important to remember that the Ojibwa did not comprehended the inevitable outcome of relinquishing their rights to property, but rather to determine how dominant United States diplomatic presence, through treaties instigated cultural shift.

In April of 1816, Congress passed a law enabling only United States citizens the right to trade with Indians.[35] This law called for a drastic change that ultimately initiated a shift in the political, economic, and cultural dynamics, and affected the every-day life of Ojibwa peoples. Following the War of 1812, the United States government began its attempt to win the trust of the inhabitants of their new territory through establishing diplomatic relationships with the Indigenous communities of the Great Lakes Region. By the end of the nineteenth century, the United States had signed some 200 treaties with Indian bands, 90 of those treaties involved the cession of Indian territories, settler expansion west of the Mississippi River, and the extraction of resources, this ultimately led to the ratification of policies of relocation of Native peoples, the creation of reservation allotments, and the initiation of Indian boarding schools.[36] The repercussions of the treaties signed between the United States and the Ojibwa bands led to misunderstandings regarding land allotment, migration westward, and the reigniting of a centuries-long rivalry between the Ojibwa and the Sioux.

Schenck argues that contact with Europeans through trade was not the cause of cultural shift rather "it was the loss of their freedom to live life as they had always lived it, and the loss of their lands through the treaties of 1837 and 1854."[37] However, the early part of the nineteenth century was a time of great change in the political and economic relationship between the United States and Ojibwa bands. Over the course of multiple Presidential administrations there underwent the signing of treaties that created an environment conducive to Ojibwa cultural shift. This section highlights how certain treaties caused shift in the form of: Ojibwa tradition of honoring ancestral land boundaries during times of peace, to the abandonment of that practice for

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[32] Treaty with the Chippewa. August 11, 1827. Stat. 7, 393. Treaty. From. Kappler, Charles Joseph. Indian Affairs: Laws and Treaties.(Washington, D.C.: U.S. Dept. of the Interior, Vol. II, Treaties, 1904-1979, 281-283.
[33] Treaty with the Chippewa. July 29, 1829. Stat. 7, 320. Treaty. From Kappler, Charles Joseph. Indian Affairs: Laws and Treaties.(Washington, D.C.: U.S. Dept. of the Interior, Vol. II, Treaties, 1904-1979, 297-300.
[34] Treaty with the Chippewa. May 9, 1836. 7 Stat., 503. Treaty. From. Kappler, Charles Joseph. Indian Affairs: Laws and Treaties.(Washington, D.C.: U.S. Dept. of the Interior, Vol. II, Treaties, 1904-1979, 461-462.
[35] Schenck, Theresa. *William Warren the Life Letters and Times of an Ojibwe Leader*, The University of Nebraska press, 3.
[36] Keller, 209-2018.
[37] Schneck, 108.

purposes of escaping United States authority. The United States focus on westward expansion and the need to coerce acquisition of land, payment for land, land allotments, and policies of removal were pieces of legislation that created internal unrest within Ojibwa communities. This unrest directly impacted cultures and the construct of traditional societies.[38] In more general terms perhaps the most significant factor in the initiation of cultural shift was the United States's infringement on the rights of Ojibwa peoples, the denial of Indigenous authority over their ancestral territories and the signing of treaties that required forced migrations across natural tribal boundaries.[39]

Forced migration and cohabitation, of Ojibwa bands and other tribes, following the ratification of treaties initiated cultural shift. The Treaty with the Chippewa in 1819, one of the first treaties between the Ojibwa and United States following the War of 1812, set down the geographic guidelines of Ojibwa land allotment in Article Two (Figure 2), in which the Ojibwa ceded a total of six million acres to the United States government for a few established reservations along the Saginaw River and its tributaries.[40] Prior to contact with Europeans and settlers the Indigenous communities had established their own geographical boundaries. Although these boundaries did not completely negate the opportunity for tribal rivalries, oftentimes they served as understood barriers separating one ancestral territory from another. [41]

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[38] Treaty with the Chippewa. September 24, 1819. Treaty. From Kappler, Charles Joseph. Indian Affairs: Laws and Treaties.(Washington, D.C.: U.S. Dept. of the Interior, Vol. II, Treaties, 1904-1979, 185-187.
[39] Treaty with the Chippewa, 1819.
[40] Treaty with the Chippewa, 1819.
[41] Warren, Schneck, 89.

Figure 2: Article Two of the Treaty with the Chippewa, 1819.

> thence, with the said line, to the place of beginning.
> ART. 2. From the cession aforesaid the following tracts of land shall be reserved, for the use of the Chippewa nation of Indians:
> One tract, of eight thousand acres, on the east side of the river Au Sable, near where the Indians now live.
> One tract, of two thousand acres, on the river Mesagwisk.
> One tract, of six thousand acres, on the north side of the river Kawkawling, at the Indian village.
> One tract, of five thousand seven hundred and sixty acres, upon the Flint river, to include Reaum's village, and a place called Kishkawbawee.
> One tract, of eight thousand acres, on the head of the river Huron, which empties into the Saginaw river, at the village of Otusson.
> One island in the Saginaw Bay.
> One tract, of two thousand acres, where Nabobask formerly lived.
> One tract, of one thousand acres, near the island in the Saginaw river.
> One tract, of six hundred and forty acres, at the bend of the river Huron, which empties into the Saginaw river.
> One tract, of two thousand acres, at the mouth of Point Augrais river.
> One tract, of one thousand acres, on the river Huron, at Menoequet's village.
> One tract, of ten thousand acres, on the Shawassee river, at a place called the Big Rock.
> One tract, of three thousand acres, on the Shawassee river, at Ketchewaundaugenink.
> One tract, of six thousand acres, at the Little Forks on the Tetabawasink river.
> One tract, of six thousand acres, at the Black Bird's town, on the Tetabawasink river.
> One tract, of forty thousand acres, on the west side of the Saginaw river, to be hereafter located.

The unique social system of an Ojibwa band prior to a predominant diplomatic presence of the United States ensured that traditional ancestral borders were, more often than not, maintained. These boarders allowed for minimum inter-tribal conflict between other Ojibwa bands and neighboring tribes. However, with the first major land cession to the United States, and the establishment of several "Ojibwa" reservation lands cultural shift began to occur within the bands that formally occupied Michigan territory. This shift was evident in the abandonment of honoring ancestral borders in an effort to escape reservation life, and forced land cession.

Due to expansion efforts by the United States, such as the Treaty with the Chippewa of 1820 the government began to slowly gain authority over the Ojibwa and access to a large allotment of Michigan. In the Treaty of 1820:

> The Chippeway tribe of Indians cede to the United States the following tract of land: Beginning at the Big Rock, in the river St. Mary's, on the boundary line between the United States and the British Province of Upper Canada; and, running thence, down the said river, with the middle thereof, to the Little Rapid; and, from those points, running back from the said river, so as to include sixteen square miles of land.[42]

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[42] Treaty with the Ottawa and the Chippewa. July 6, 1820. 7 Stat., 207. Treaty. From. Kappler, Charles Joseph. Indian Affairs: Laws and Treaties.(Washington, D.C.: U.S. Dept. of the Interior, Vol. II, Treaties, 1904-1979, 188-189.

As more land was being ceded some Ojibwa bands began a westward migration, outside of their ancestral territory in Michigan, toward the interior of North Dakota. The Ojibwa bands had a previously long-established unstable relationship between the Sioux peoples that inhabited North Dakota.[43] For decades the Ojibwa and Sioux rivalries had remained dormant because the Ojibwa had honored the ancestral territory borders of the Sioux. Unfortunately, in an effort to escape the diplomatic presence of the United States, the Ojibwa migration was viewed by the Sioux as trespassing and this relocation effort (instigated by the signing of the treaties of 1819, and 1820) reinitiated inter-tribal friction between the migrated Ojibwa bands and the Sioux people.

Ojibwa bands were identifiable by their doodem, or totem which was an animal that the group respected and represented. These doodems enabled neighboring Ojibwa and Sioux groups to distinguish between the bands. One group could judge whether the band they were encountering were kin, allies, or enemies. Consequently, the Sioux of North Dakota identified the Ojibwa bands as enemies, and made a formal declaration of war on the Ojibwa occupying their territories. The conflict between the two tribes escalated synchronously with the appointment of Indian agents, and later the establishment of the Bureau of Indian Affairs (BIA). For almost five years, the Sioux and Ojibwa bands raided one another. In efforts to stop inter-tribal war, a definitive Sioux and Ojibwa border was established with the signing of the Treaty of Praire du Chien in 1826.[44] The Treaty with the Chippewa in 1826, also referred to as the "Treaty of Praire du Chien" was the United States' way of "happily terminating" the major conflict between the Sioux and the Ojibwa. In addition to establishing "peace" between these conflicting tribes through the establishment of a border, the treaty acknowledged a trend arising within the Ojibwa lands. This documentation foreshadows a cultural shift within the Ojibwa lifestyle. The treaty, in article Five stated that: In consideration of the poverty of the Chippewas, …and almost destitute of game, and as a proof of regard on the part of the United States, it is agreed that an annuity of two thousand dollars, in money or goods, as the President may direct, shall be paid to the tribe, at the Sault St. Marie. But this annuity shall continue only during the pleasure of the Congress of the United States.[45]

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[43] Schneck, 108.

[44] Keller, 209-218.

[45]Treaty with the Chippewa, Treaty with the Chippewa. August 5, 1826. Stat. 7,290. Treaty. From. Kappler, Charles Joseph. Indian Affairs: Laws and Treaties.(Washington, D.C.: U.S. Dept. of the Interior, Vol. II, Treaties, 1904-1979, 268-273

In addition to this treaty establishing the Ojibwa's first introduction to strict border, it also is one of the first documented cases where the United States government addresses the visible conditions of Indigenous land allotment. Therefore, the United States recognized that with more session of territory, aspects of Ojibwa society such as hunting, fishing, gathering and agriculture would depreciate. This revelation ultimately led to articles in additional treaties that stated the allotment of goods in the form of agricultural supplies would be provided to the Ojibwa. Evidence of how these treaties created cultural shift in the Ojibwa communities will be discussed more in detail during the next section, through evidence of the re-gendering of Ojibwa agriculture, and the restructuring of Ojibwa clan endogamy.

Diplomacy's Impact: the Cultural Outcomes on the Ojibwa

Prior to the ratification of the Treaty with the Chippewa in 1836 (ratified in 1837) the Ojibwa band at Leech Lake experienced an accelerated rate of negative economic conditions that initiated a major cultural shift, specifically in the form of the re-gendering of the roles of agriculture.[46] This shift occurred because of the increased population of the Ojibwa community due to past treaties and ceded, the depreciation of game because of population increase, and the acceptance of missionaries. With the increasing poverty rate of Leech Lake the people began to seek out help from the United States. Missionary William Boutell commented in his diary that when an Ojibwa community permitted a missionary to move into their territory it symbolized to the members of the band that they had produced a token of an alliance and compliance with the United States.[47] Many Ojibwa communities viewed interactions and relationships with missionaries as synonymous to a diplomatic relationship with the United States.[48] Therefore having a positive relationship with the Missionaries, gave the Ojibwa people of Leech Lake a feeling of security regarding the United States government. "By sending the missionaries, the United States indicated a willingness to continue the association; by accepting the missionaries into their villages, the Ojibwa signified their continuing commitment."[49] One example of how this relationship initiated cultural change within the Leech Lake band of Ojibwa's is outlined in

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[46] Treaty with the Chippewa. May 9, 1836. 7 Stat., 503. Treaty. From. Kappler, Charles Joseph. Indian Affairs: Laws and Treaties.(Washington, D.C.: U.S. Dept. of the Interior, Vol. II, Treaties, 1904-1979, 461-462.

[47] William Boutwell, Diary entry on March 12, 1835. Diary entry. From Kugel, Rebecca. *To be the main leaders of our people : a history of Minnesota Ojibwe politics, 1825-1898*. East Lansing, Mich: Michigan State University Press, 1998., 27-30.

[48] Kugel, 18.

[49] Kugel, 20.

missionary William T. Boutell's Diary on the entry from March 12, 1835. The Leech Lake Ojibwa reveled in the possibility that missionaries could improve their economic situation and their standing in regards to an alliance with the United States.

For the Leech Lake band the immediate and most noticeable outcome of the establishment of larger villages, through land cession treaties and allotments, was a fast decline in game that were main targets for food and fur traders. Prior to these larger established communities Ojibwa impact on the animal populations by hunters was minimal. According to Boutell one clan member, an elder named Kitchi, stated "I am poor… the Indians are poor… and every year … becoming more so. There are no animals."[50] Because of the increasing population and the decreasing ability to maintain a traditional hunter/gatherer lifestyle the Leech Lake band turned to missionaries for guidance, in hopes the United States would provide aid. According to Boutell they asked for cattle and additional land to establish a garden to grow food.

Traditionally Ojibwa's agricultural system consisted of harvesting corn, and wild rice. They understood the concept of agriculture, but it was never something that they relied on as their major form of sustenance. Additionally agriculture was considered something sacred and spiritual, and the tending of the earth, corn, and wild rice was a role given by the creator to women.[51] However, with the introduction of United States land cession treaties the Leech Lake bands experienced a rapid increase in community populations, which led to an economic problem, and a depreciation of food. The Ojibwa adapted there culture, and through the process of cultural shift re-gendered their agricultural roles, and asked for aid from missionaries. There efforts, and attempts at shifting their culture did not go unnoticed by the United States. [52]

The Treaty with the Chippewa in 1836, in which one of the signing bands was Leech Lake, the United States allocated in article two provisions in the form of: "One thousand dollars for farmers, and for supplying them and the Indians, with implements of labor, with grain or seed; and whatever else may be necessary to enable them to carry on their agricultural

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[50] William Boutwell, Diary entry on March 12, 1835. Diary entry. From Kugel, Rebecca. *To be the main leaders of our people : a history of Minnesota Ojibwe politics, 1825-1898*. East Lansing, Mich: Michigan State University Press, 1998., 27-30.

[51] Clifton, James, Cornell, George, McClurken, James. *People of the Three Fires: the Ottawa, Potawatomi and Ojibway of Michigan, Grand Rapids Inter-Tribal Council*. West Michigan Printing Inc, Grand Rapids Michigan 1986. 81-83

[52] William Boutwell, Diary entry on March 12, 1835. Diary entry. From Kugel, Rebecca. *To be the main leaders of our people : a history of Minnesota Ojibwe politics, 1825-1898*. East Lansing, Mich: Michigan State University Press, 1998., 27-30.

pursuits."[53] This aid enabled the missionaries and the Ojibwa men the financial freedom, and supplies to pursue agricultural enterprise, and by the mid nineteenth century Ojibwa men were dominating the grain and corn industries and reaping profits, while women maintained the cultivation of vegetables. This shows evidence that following the Treaty with the Chippewa in 1836 the dominant role of tending to the earth, grain, and corn was now an economic pursuit that was predominantly occupied by male members of the Ojibwa. Whereas the women of bands tended and collected things for the home such as vegetables, and during times of ceremony wild rice and corn. This is a reversal in roles, as well as an increase in the practice of agriculture more for enterprise and sustainability, which prior to United States contact this was not a necessity for the Ojibwa. [54]

Diplomacy's Impact: the Social Outcomes on the Ojibwa

Treaties signed during the first part of the nineteenth century laid the foundation for cultural shifts in the established social patterns of the Northern bands of Ojibwa society. In this section evidence of how a dominant United States diplomatic presence through treaties initiated (1) cultural shifts from reciprocity to individual wealth, (2) inner-tribal conflict resolution, and (3) the endogamy of the Ojibwa will be discussed. Traditionally clans and kinship of the Ojibwa had, for centuries, been based on the concept of the giving and sharing of personal wealth rather than hoarding goods for personal gain. This was applied to all aspects of their society with specific emphasis on resources collected through hunting and gathering. Their methods of reciprocity were a practical facet of the Ojibwa society. When populations grew and game became a less reliable source of sustenance and income, reliance on government allotments for survival was prominent. Armstrong recollects the inter-tribal relationships of Ojibwa bands after years of a United States diplomatic presence. He discusses in his writings specific incidents where he attended yearly tribal meetings. At these meetings his observations display evidence of a major cultural shift in Ojibwe bands from concept of reciprocity to a more European influenced, and modern construct, of the concept of individual wealth. In the treaties outlined throughout this research multiple articles outlined annual payments of "goods," to the Ojibwas for the ceded territory. Armstrong recalls that after several years of receiving these "goods" the

[53] Treaty with the Chippewa. May 9, 1836. 7 Stat., 503. Treaty. From. Kappler, Charles Joseph. Indian Affairs: Laws and Treaties.(Washington, D.C.: U.S. Dept. of the Interior, Vol. II, Treaties, 1904-1979, 461-462.
[54] Clifton, Cornell, McClurken, 80.

bands began to pile the yearly payment on the ice, and rather than equally dividing it between them, the young men would gamble for it over a three day game of lacrosse.[55] The winner's would receive the payments in full, and then the losers would have a shot the following payment. This shows evidence of the shift from reciprocity, where the bands would all receive equal shares of everything from game to "goods," to a more individual based wealth lifestyle.

In addition to the shift from reciprocity to individual wealth, with the significant loss of territory due to land cession, the Ojibwa inner-tribal social structure experienced shifts. One of the most notable was the Ojibwas methods of conflict resolution. Traditionally bands maintained what can be considered a form of oligarchical rule. There leaders were male elders known as the Ogima who were in charge of leading by example in the management of civil and political matters.[56] Prior to forced migration and the blending of bands, due to the cession of land by treaties, there is evidence that Ojibwa society had very little interpersonal conflict. According to James A. Clifton, George L.Cornell, and James M. McKlurken quarrelling was regarded as an inappropriate act in Ojibwa bands. If there were any contentions or disagreements the Ogima's would instruct the conflicting individuals to leave the band with their families settle in distant locations. This Indigenous manner of resolving interpersonal conflict became an issue when land cession increased with the signing of the Treaties with the Chippewa in 1842- 1855, and enactment of relocation policies.[57, 58, 59] As the territorial mobility of tribal groups was diminished for the Ojibwa bands, the method of banishment became less feasible.[60] Forced on to smaller tracts of land, they had to adapt their forms of inner-tribal conflict resolution, and eventually began to rely on the United States for innovations to their system. Additionally, the diplomatic relationship established by Indian agents, succumbed tribal communities to conflict with officers appointed by the government. The introduction of outsiders and the violence that was instigated by these relationships are examples of cultural shift. In a letter written from William Warren to Governor Dodge in 1847 there was evidence that the Indian agent referred to

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[55] Armstrong, 19.
[56] Clifton, Cornell, McClurken, 83.

[57] Treaty with the Chippewa. October 4, 1842. Stat, 7, 591. Treaty. From. Kappler, Charles Joseph. Indian Affairs: Laws and Treaties.(Washington, D.C.: U.S. Dept. of the Interior, Vol. II, Treaties, 1904-1979, 542-545.
[58] Treaty with the Chippewa of the Mississippi and Lake Superior. August 2, 1847. 9 Stat., 904. Treaty. From. Kappler, Charles Joseph. Indian Affairs: Laws and Treaties.(Washington, D.C.: U.S. Dept. of the Interior, Vol II, Treaties, 1904-1979, 567-569.
[59] Treaty with the Chippewa of Saginaw, ETC., August 2, 1855. 11 Stat., 633. Treaty. From. Kappler, Charles Joseph. Indian Affairs: Laws and Treaties.(Washington, D.C.: U.S. Dept. of the Interior, Vol. II, Treaties, 1904-1979, 733-735.
[60] Clifton, Cornell, McClurken, 83-85

as "Mr. Hays" had brutally attacked Warren's family on the La Point reservation. The Ojibwa, under the authority of the United States could not banish Mr. Hays, rather Warren had to write through the proper channels to ensure the adequate sentence for the crimes. This shows evidence of cultural shift from inner-tribal conflict resolution from the traditional form of banishment to having to Ojibwa navigate the political channels of the United States government.[61]

Similarly, prior to the nineteenth century, an important factor of the social clan and kinship structure of the Ojibwa was their belief in creating ally ties through intermarriage. This delicate endogamy of the Ojibwa experienced cultural shift as treaties ceded land and increased populations of Ojibwa communities. Traditionally intermarriage with first cousins was often practiced in these Ojibwa bands, but because of an influx in multiple band population, and neighboring tribes such as the Ottawa and Potawatomi it occurred less. As more members looked towards cross band and tribe marriage over cross cousin unions.[62] Additionally, the economy of the bands receded; the Ojibwa warriors also neglected taking multiple wives. This brings to the forefront the probable conclusion that these bands experienced an upset in the balance of tribal political power, a previous benefit of having multiple familial allies within the tribal hierarchy.

The importance of this aspect of the diplomatic relationship is that it provides biographic and ethnographic examples of the roots and stages of cultural shift from traditional forms of marriage and governance to more modern constructs of tribal sovereignty. As to this day all bands of the Ojibwa, Potawatomi, and Ottawa can trace their ancestry back to the five original dodems. The new geographical and social rearrangement paved the way for the diminution of the traditional clan system and the first step in the evolutionary process of the modern Ojibwa bands tribal self-governance, and methods of lineage tracing, and blood quantum.[63]

William W. Warren: the Epitome of Cultural Shift in Oral Tradition:

In his 1989 article David William Cohen defined oral tradition as a process that grows and develops as it is transmitted in an intergenerational capacity.[64] For the Ojibwa people a

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[61] Warren, William. William Warren to Governor Dodge, June 26, 1847. Letter. From
Schenck, Theresa M. *William W. Warren the life, letters, and times of an Ojibwe leader*. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2007, 32-33.
[62] Clifton,Cornell, McClurken, 85
[63] Bishop, Charles. *The Northern Ojibwa and the fur trade: An historical and ecological study (Cultures and communities, a series of monographs: native peoples)*. Mishawaka, In: Holt, Rinehart and Winston of Canada, 1974, 23
[64] Cohen, David, William. The Undefining of Oral Tradition. Ethnohistory 36 (1): 9-18, pp. 9-10

crucial part of their life and culture has been transmitted in this way since time immemorial.[65] These creative and innovative verbal packages were used as a means of committing creation stories, and clan histories to memory. The beauty of oral tradition, especially within native communities, is the potential for it to free flow throughout time, to be broken apart, and reconstructed by multiple speakers and storytellers.[66]

According to David P. Henige in his book the *Chronology of Oral Tradition* the fluidity aspect of oral tradition remains continuous up until the point that it is transcribed—in which it ceases to hold the same cultural value.[67] Regardless of this discourse oral tradition is still in many aspects a time-honored practice within modern Ojibwa culture. However during the latter half of the nineteenth century, a time in which many Indigenous communities felt the effects of United States colonial authority, Dakota-Ojibwa wars, the loss of land, and a dwindling trade economy, members of the Ojibwa peoples began to fear the potential loss of their stories. Rebecca Kugel states "Not only must the Ojibwa be central in their own history, they must also be understood as conscious historical actors." [68] It is important to discuss that Ojibwa history is not solely based off a community clinging to an unchangeable culture, but rather that the identifiable cultural shifts experienced by the Ojibwa society occurred based off of Indigenous decisions and reactions to an ever-changing sociopolitical environment. Because the Ojibwa people feared a total cultural loss due to an increase in United States authority, they took precautions to document their oral tradition, and thus in doing so experienced cultural shift. This cultural shift took its form in the sense of innovations to oral tradition through the technique of tribally approved methods of literary documentations based on oral tradition.

In an effort to maintain their traditions, customs, and stories individuals turned towards literary documentation. Presently both oral tradition and ethnographic documentation remain fundamental resources with important roles in scholarship and the preservation of Indigenous histories, languages, and the very essence of culture. This is such the case with the Ojibwa bands. The traditional tribal dynamic of oral stories shifted to transcriptions of oral stories, from permission of the tribe, to insure the of continuity Ojibwa history. One noteworthy example of

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[65] Schneck, 101

[67] Henige, David P. The Chronology of Oral Tradition: Quest for a Chimera. Oxford: Claredon Press 1974.
[68] Kugel, 2

this is a young scholar who went on compile, for the purpose of explanation and preservation, the oral traditions, creation stories, and history of the Ojibwa.[69]

William W. Warren was born a decade after the war of 1812. He was the son of an American Fur trader and Ojibwa woman. He entered into the world at time when Indigenous people were viewed by the United States government as obstacles in the path of expansion and economic progression. His ethnic background established him as a Metis Ojibwa and enabled him to have both an American and Indigenous perspective on the events surrounding United States Diplomacy. His unique life experiences led him to become the most accomplished Ojibwa interpreter in the nineteenth century, and despite having a relatively short life, he dedicated himself to the documentation of traditional Ojibwa histories.

At an early age Warren attended Clarkson School, where he was motivated to read and learn how to write English. In a letter Warren wrote home to his family at the end of his first year at Clarkson his language is strained. He misuses the word "were" for "was" and provides vivid exclamations about his goals for his education. At the end of his letter Warren stated: "I have wrote this letter without any help but excuse me for the bad writing. Do not expect such bad writing next time."[70] As Warren progressed in his studies he left school at 16 and began his writing career in 1847. For two years between 1847 and 1849 correspondence between Warren to his supervisor Henry Schoolcraft discuss the process by which Warren navigated poor health and collected answers to tribal histories, origins, and languages.[71, 72] These histories specifically chronicled the Ojibwa peoples.

By 1853 Warren's health was in steady decline, he had continued writing his manuscript of the oral traditions of the Ojibwa peoples and was in search of a publisher. The very last letter Warren wrote was addressed to a publisher in Chicago named William La Duc. In the letter

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[69] Schneck, ix.

[70] Warren, William. William Warren to the Warren Family, End of the School year of 1836, Letter. From. Schenck, Theresa M. *William W. Warren the life, letters, and times of an Ojibwe leader*. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2007,11-13.

[71] Warren, William. William Warren to Commissioner Medill, September 1, 1847. Letter. From Schenck, Theresa M. *William W. Warren the life, letters, and times of an Ojibwe leader*. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2007, 41-42.

[72] Warren, William. William Warren to Henry Schoolcraft. September 6, 1849. Letter. From. Schenck, Theresa M. *William W. Warren the life, letters, and times of an Ojibwe leader*. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2007, 54-55.

Warren attached his original manuscript of *A History of the Ojibwe Peoples*.[73] Without receiving a response for La Duc, Warren passed away two months later.[74] Warren's main goal was to publish his chronicles of the Ojibwa oral tradition on behalf of his people. Although this did not occur in his life-time his manuscript was published in 1885.[75] It became the first historical publication on the Ojibwa people, compiled by an Ojibwa Metis which represents the cultural shift of oral tradition to tribally approved literary documentation of oral tradition.

Conclusion

This research has approached an in-depth analysis of the cultural shifts that occurred for the Ojibwa people from a time period that began with the British cession of colonial authority from France to the formation of the United States, and the period of discovery and expansion of the interior of the continent. By examining several treaties signed by the Ojibwa and the United States, the writings of Benjamin Armstrong, William Warren, and William Boutwell it has drawn a correlation between a prominent diplomatic presence and the acceleration on cultural shifts in the social and political framework of nineteenth-century Ojibwa societies. Through evidence of the abandonment of honoring ancestral grounds, the re-gendering of agriculture, the shift from reciprocity to individual wealth, traditional methods of conflict resolution, changes in the endogamy of the Ojibwa, and innovations in oral tradition, this paper argues that there is no doubt that an increased United States diplomatic presence initiated these shifts. Analysis of the Ojibwa and on the impacts of a prominent United States diplomatic presence on Ojibwa tribal culture and sociopolitical dynamics is an ongoing research project. With further archival work looking at primary sources such as periodicals, biographies, tribal rosters, and ethnographic records of oral tradition history throughout the nineteenth century it could be extended to the a comparative historical case study including the Potawatomi and Ottawa tribes.

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[73] Warren, William. William Warren to William La Duc, May 9, 1853.Letter. From Schenck, Theresa M. *William W. Warren the life, letters, and times of an Ojibwe leader*. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2007, 169-170.
[74] Schneck, 172.
[75] Schneck, 177.

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Fig.1 Treaty with the Chippewa, May 9, 1836. 7 Stat., 503. Signatures. Treaty. From. Kappler, Charles Joseph. Indian Affairs: Laws and Treaties.(Washington, D.C.: U.S. Dept. of the Interior, Vol. II, Treaties, 1904-1979, 461-462.

Fig. 2. Treaty with the Chippewa, September 24, 1819. Article Two. From Kappler, Charles Joseph. Indian Affairs: Laws and Treaties.(Washington, D.C.: U.S. Dept. of the Interior, Vol. II, Treaties, 1904-1979, 185.

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"That's So Gay": Exploring Complications of Semantic Variability With Regard to Gender Identity Terms

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Abstract

The purpose of this paper is to explore the extent of reclamation and acceptability of some gender identity terms, the motivations for reclaiming or re-appropriating certain pejorative terms, the process of reclamation, and the importance of context and group membership when considering appropriateness of use. This paper will also consider points of contention regarding reclamation as a form of activism and social awareness.

Survey

Field research was conducted on March 5th-7th 2015 in the form of a 10 question online survey. This survey was made available to participants via the social network site, Facebook, and was posted to the Southern Oregon University's Queer Resource Center (QRC) webpage. The survey was created to explore the extent to which certain terms (understood to have been 'reclaimed' by some members of LGBTQ campus communities) were considered acceptable—or not acceptable. Six terms were used in the survey: 'Gay,' 'Queer,' 'Dyke,' 'Faggot,' 'Slut' and 'Tranny'. These terms were specifically selected due to their wide use in Western society, both within LGBTQ communities and in dominant heteronormative communities, and because of their well-known and complex pejorative meanings. It was expected that the terms *gay* and *queer* would be found to have a higher acceptance rate than the other terms investigated through the survey; this assumption was, in part, due to the fact that the survey was made available via social media affiliated with the QRC.

A Likert scale was used to determine the level of acceptability or non-acceptability of the terms in question. Respondents to the survey were asked to rate each term as "completely acceptable," "somewhat acceptable," "somewhat unacceptable," or "completely unacceptable" (see Example 1. below). In addition to these questions, participants were also asked to respond to several prompts requiring write-in answers regarding their feelings on matters such as the

context in which these terms were used and whether the gender or sexual orientation of the speakers mattered.

Example 1.

Please rate the acceptability of the following referential terms:

	Completely unacceptable	*Somewhat unacceptable*	*Somewhat acceptable*	*Completely acceptable*
"Gay"	o	o	o	o
"Queer"	o	o	o	o
"Dyke"	o	o	o	o

Of the fifty respondents who began the survey, forty-four (88%) completed the initial rating questions, yet only thirty-one respondents continued on to the write-in portion and completed the survey to the end. It is important to note that the possible reason for a 40% drop-out rate was due to the complication of rating such terms without reference to the context which these terms would be hypothetically used and by whom they would be used. A "page-break" was used between questions 1-6 which included the rating questions for the terms of inquiry, and questions 7-10 which focused on issues such as the importance of social context, the identity of the speaker and whether "reclaiming" such terms could be considered activism. This page-break did not allow respondents to look ahead to the up-coming questions. Frustrations regarding the lack of available space to explain one's answers, and lack of explanation within the survey regarding the circumstances which these terms would be used, were expressed on the Facebook page where the survey link was posted. If the exceptionally high rate of drop-out was indeed due to frustrations regarding a lack of input concerning contextual circumstances and the intentions or identity of the hypothetical speakers, then such data—or lack thereof—cannot be dismissed as a simple casualty of online surveying, but rather highlights the importance of such contextual factors when considering these identity referential terms.

As expected, respondents did indeed rate the terms 'Gay' and 'Queer' as the most acceptable terms among the six which appeared in the survey with 75% ($n=33$) of the forty-four participants rating 'Gay' as "completely acceptable." 'Queer' was a close second with approximately 65% ($n=29$) rating the term as "completely acceptable" and nearly 30% ($n=13$) rating it as "somewhat acceptable." (See Graph 1. Below)

Acceptability Graph 1.
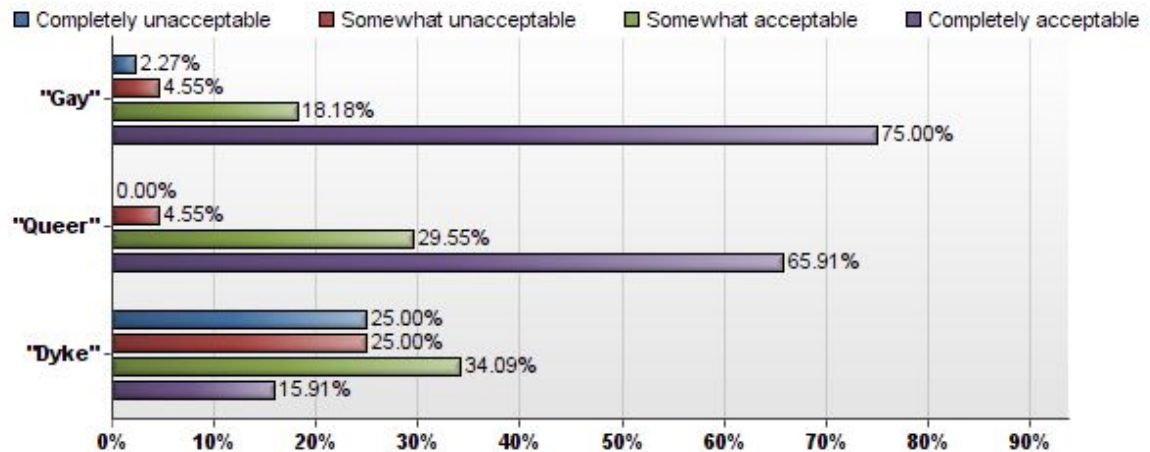
"0" respondents rated 'Queer' as "completely unacceptable"

As previously noted, the acceptance of the term *queer* was somewhat expected due to the fact that many of the respondents would likely have been affiliated in some way with Southern Oregon University's Queer Resource Center. The QRC offers support to queer identified students by providing access to information and educational resources and also assists students by promoting personal and academic success through community building and advocacy. As stated on the center's SOU affiliated site, the mission of the center is "to provide visible and accessible advocacy for the needs of queer students while expanding awareness and knowledge of queer issues on campus and in our community" (2012). Use of the term *queer,* by frequenters of the QRC, as understood by this researcher, is meant as an inclusive "umbrella" term and is intentionally nebulous and non-specific with regard to its actual definition.

Queer as an identity

The use of *queer* as an inclusive term has been on the rise since the early 1990s, possibly due to highly visible activist campaigns initiated by the short-lived activist group Queer Nation, who coined the (now somewhat cliché) chant: "We're here we're queer, get used to it!" Queer Nation protests sprang up in major US cities along both the east and west coasts in reaction to increased violence, or "queer bashing," incited by fear over the HIV/AIDS outbreak of the 1980s (Queer Nation, 2013). Many of Queer Nations first activists were self-identifying gay, lesbian, bi-sexual and transgender persons who used the term *queer* as an all-encompassing identifier in

an effort to convey a unified front against homophobia and homophobic violence. Prior to this use, it was frequently used to mean 'homosexual,' usually in reference to a male (often in a derogatory manner), along with many other historical meanings which this term still retains in a peripheral sense.

According to Merriam-Webster's online dictionary (2015) 'queer' may mean:

(adjective)

1 a: worthless, counterfeit <queer money>

   b: questionable, suspicious

2 a: differing in some odd way from what is usual or normal

   b (1): eccentric, unconventional (2): mildly insane: touched

   c: absorbed or interested to an extreme or unreasonable degree: obsessed

   d (1) often disparaging: homosexual (2) sometimes offensive: gay

The 'Top Definition" according to Urban Dictionary as of March 2015, with 5,070 "thumbs-up" votes:

queer: Originally pejorative for gay, now being reclaimed by some gay men, lesbians, bisexuals and transgendered persons as a self-affirming umbrella term. *Caution: still extremely offensive when used as an epithet* (Italicized emphasis added).

Among the fifty respondents to the survey mentioned above, forty-seven opted to answer a question regarding their personal gender. Five options were available to the participants including 'Man,' 'Woman,' 'Trans*,' 'Queer' and 'Not Listed' with an optional write-in for the latter. Of these forty-seven, 8.5% of respondents (*n*=4) self-identified as *queer* while another 8.5% identified as *trans** and nearly 15% (*n*=7) selected 'not listed.' Write-in responses to the 'Not Listed' choice included: genderqueer, Genderfluid, androgynous, Agender and non-binary (see Graph 2. Below). The majority of respondents identified as 'Woman' making up over 55% (*n*=26) of the total participants, and 19% (*n*=9) respondents identified as 'Man.'

Participation Graph 2.
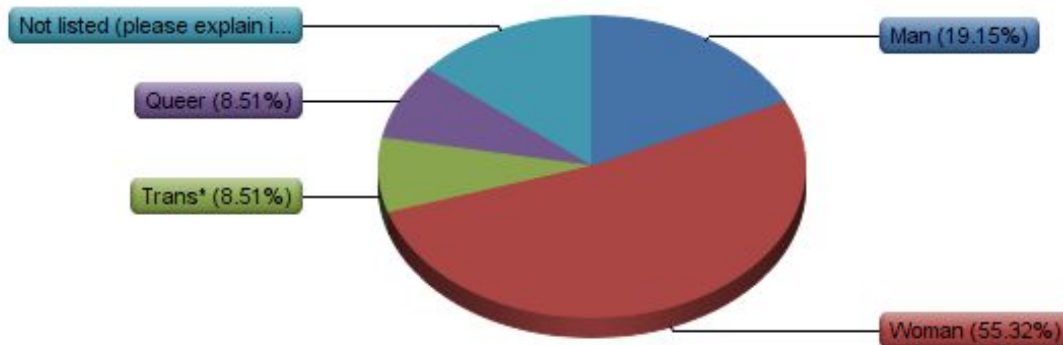
Nearly 32% of responses (n=15) identified as something other than 'Man' or 'Woman'

With such a high adoption of identity terms including *queer* or alluding to non-binary gender characteristics, it can be assumed that despite the term's many existing derogatory meanings, *queer* has been reclaimed, or reappropriated by many members of the university's QRC community, and is generally considered to be acceptable as an adjective.

Though reappropriation of *queer* as an acceptable identity reference is not universal, it does seem to have an ever widening appeal in LGBTQ communities. What is particularly interesting regarding this term is its resistance to resignification—by that I mean it does not necessarily take on solely positive connotations when used as an adjective by in-group members. *Queer* seems to retain some measure of its pejorative meanings as well as meanings which allude to eccentricity and peculiarity. Some individuals embrace 'queer' *because* of its variegated semantic denotations. Andrea Zanin, a PhD candidate at York University and author/blog writer of *SexGeek.com,* self identifies as queer and expresses her affection for the word thus:

> Queer. Queer is a lovely word. It uses the letter "Q" in such a charming fashion. It means things like "odd" or "strange," words which have always struck me as denoting things mysterious and intriguing and quirky and cool. I like queer. I am queer. Queer suits me just fine – I am odd and strange, at least if you compare my sexuality to the mainstream ideal, and that's a good thing in my books. If others want to hurl it out open car windows at me along with a beer bottle, well, that's awfully rude of them. But it doesn't make me any less queer or feel any less happy with the term. The degree of insult inherent in the use of the word "queer" is proportional to the degree of desire the person on the receiving

end of it wants to be, or be perceived as, normal. I don't the least bit care about normalcy so the word has no power to hurt my feelings. Yes: queer is good. And it is accurate (2008).

Even when used in an intentionally derogatory or spiteful manner the term may maintain several meanings at once; the saying "queer as a two-dollar bill" for example uses the term's historical refrence as conterfit or illigitamate moneys while also conveying oddity *and* implying non-heteronomative behavior. Due to its semantic flexability, it would seem pertinant to be quite clear of the context in which the term is used and possibly the gender or sexual identity of a speaker, to properly assess the intended meaning.

So *Gay*

The term deemed most acceptable by respondents of the survey was *gay,* possibly the only gender referential term to have wider semantic variation than *queer*. Of the forty-four responces 93% (*n*=41) minimally rated 'Gay' as 'somewhat appropreate'. Unlike *queer*, *gay* seems to have undergone significant reappropreation by both LGBTQ identified persons and communities, and heteronormative communities. It is often used as a synonym to 'homosexual'—though, arguably, it is most often in reference to homosexual males, rather than females or genderfluid folk. Also unlike *queer*, *gay* seems to carry less pegoration when used specifically as an ajective to describe sexuality. This may be in light of the fact that historically, *gay* was linked to meanings of merriment and joy, whereas *queer* was linked to oddity and falseness. According Merriam-Webster's online dictionary (2015), 'gay' may mean: (adjective)

1 a: happily excited: merry <in a *gay* mood>

  b: keenly alive and exuberant: having or inducing high spirits <a bird's *gay* spring song>

2 a: bright, lively <*gay* sunny meadows>

  b: brilliant in color

3: given to social pleasures; *also*: licentious

4 a: homosexual <*gay* men>

  b: of, relating to, or used by homosexuals <the *gay* rights movement> <a *gay* bar>

It is interesting that despite the general acceptance of *gay* when used to describe sexual orientation and the generally positive connotations historically linked to *gay*, that in the latter half of the 20th century it has come to have associated derogatory meanings. These meanings seemed to be conveyed through context and an understanding of the speaker's opinion and expectations of heteronormative behavior. Phrases such as "that's so gay" can be heard uttered frequently in public places with the intention of 'gay' to mean something like 'lame' or 'un-cool,' or to draw attention to non-masculine behavior where masculine behavior is expected. It is likely one of the most widely used terms to sanction expected masculine behavior among boys and men alike. On March 16, 2015 by 1pm in the afternoon, a live feed counter posted on ThinkBe4YouSpeak.com reported nearly 6,000 uses of the phrase "so gay" on the social media network, Twitter, for the day and 278,040 uses for the month. It seems obvious, that despite the wide acceptance of this term as an adjective by participants of the survey, LGBTQ communities nationwide, and wider dominant society, its use is not solely relegated to a neutral descriptive term regarding sexuality, but rather embodies a variety of meanings which can only be determined via context and familiarity with the speaker's viewpoints on heteronormativity.

SPEAKING and interpretation

As mentioned above, use of the term *gay* when used by in-group members or heterosexual individuals, when refering stictly to sexual identity, does not seem to carry pejorative meaning; however, when used as a synonym for 'lame' or something unfavorable, it does seem to retain its meaning of 'homosexual,' and highlights disfavor or social unaccebtability by doing so. Each of the terms which appeared in the survey have a variety of potential meanings, some of which are 'slurs' or epithets. Any of these terms deemed to be a 'slur' brings about insight to either an individuals overall feelings regarding non-heteronomativty, or wider societal issues regarding non-heteronomativity, as a key definition of a slur is that it is an *accusation* or insinuation; of course insult cannot be levied unless the accusation regards behavior or characteristics that are seen as unfavorable or negative in the first place. Put another way, if being homosexual was seen as rather innocuous, being accused of acting 'gay' would not be an insult, thus the term "that's so gay" would have no bite, and no place in society. As indicated by the number of uses on Twitter on any given day, this is plainly not the case.

Each of the terms within the survey have multifarious meanings; determining which meaning is being implied minimally requires that conversational interloctures have cultural and linguistic competence and intimate understandings of one another's political views. A model positied by Dell Hymes (1974a), known famously as The SPEAKING Model, employs use of an acronym for the purpose of being mindful in research of the many complex layers involved in 'communicative competence' (a notion also put forth by Hymes which extends Chomsky's 'linguistic competence' and centralizes the importance of performace by speakers). The acronym stands for: Setting or Scene which "referes to the time and place of a speech act and, in general, to the physical circumstances" (Hymes, 1974b:55). Participants, or, those who are the speakers and the audience, listerns and overhearers. Ends, meaning the purpose of the speech act. Act sequence, or the order and sequence of events which take place during communication. Key, which includes the "tone, manner, or spirit" of the communication (Hymes, 1974b:57). Instrumentalities, or register and style of speech. Norms which refer to the social rules considered normative or socially acceptable for such a communication event on the parts of the listener(s) and the speaker(s) (languageinconflict.org, 2015), and Genre, or kind of event which the speech act is taking place in, ie; a storying being told to children or lawers discussing issues with a client are different genres. All of these features are key contextual elements which have significant influence over the meanings of words used among interloctures. Knowing these features and what is expected is paramount if interlocutures are to effectively communicate.

As we have seen, even the most accepted identity referential terms which have been reclaimed often maintain their original pejorative meanings, as well as their historical meanings, or have negative meanings expanded upon them as is the case with the term *gay*. The variety of meanings complicates situations and comprehension even when elements such as 'participants,' 'genre' and 'setting' are known and familiar— if elements such as 'key' are misunderstood, or 'norms' are unknown. Regarding the survey conducted by this researcher, participants were asked to make decisions regarding appropreateness of complex terms without knowledge of 'setting,' 'participants,' 'key, or 'genre' and at least 40% of them found this task to be impossible or objectionable and withdrew from the survey after page 1. It seems that making decisions without such information is at least very difficult due to the potential for each word to be used in a negative or derogatory manner, and persons who identify with a term which is so loaded may have many resons for withholding their opinion regarding acceptability of such

words. With so many complications in using terms which potentially connode pejoration, why would anyone want to 'reclaim' them in the first place? The short answer is of course, not everyone does.

The Power of Naming

For many, certain terms simply carry too much hurtful baggage. In an op-ed written for the *Advocate* (February, 2014), Parker Marie Molloy expresses her dissatisfaction with what she refers to as the "t-slur":

> It's a term tied to a history of violence, oppression, anger, and hate. It's a term I've been called by those who wish to harm me. And frankly, it's a term many trans women, like slain New Yorker Islan Nettles, hear immediately prior to falling victim to physical violence.

It was the second most unacceptable term among survey respondents with nearly 80% (*n*=35) rating it as 'completely unacceptable,' coming in behind 'Faggot' by only one response, which was rated 'completely unnaceptable' by over 81% (*n*=36) of respondants (See Graph 3. below).

Acceptability Graph 3.
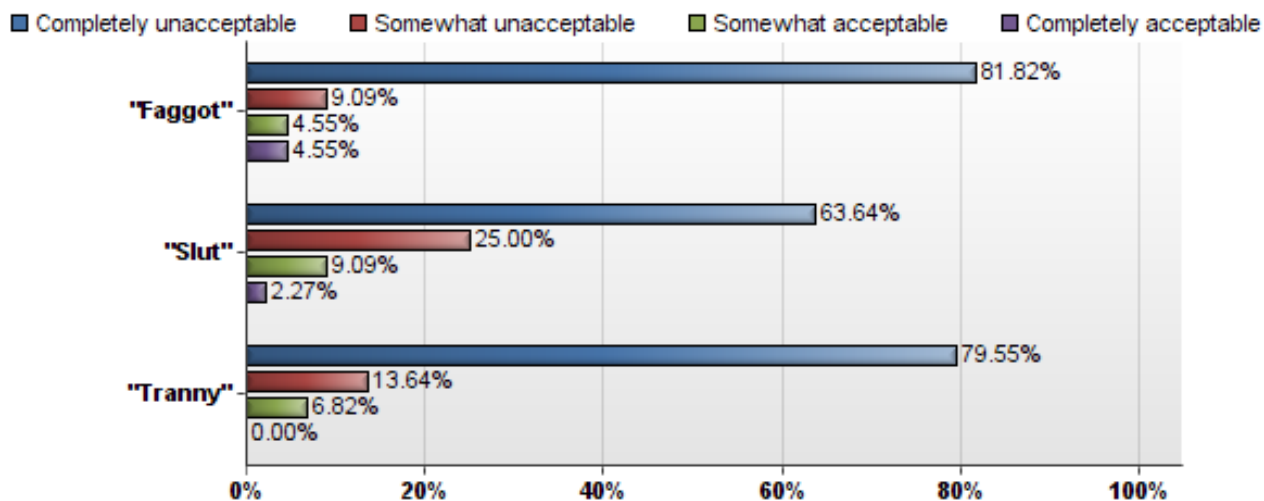
"0" respondents rated 'Tranny' as "completely acceptable"

When considering what it is to 'reclaim', one has to ask if it is even possible to *re*-claim something that was not necessarily belonging to an individual or group in the first place. When considering other forms of relcamation—such as cultural reclamation—it is often considered a

process whereby persons who were disposessed of their cultural practices (such as language or subsistance) re-claim them through practice after a period of non-use due to social forces (such as assimilation tactics). Some responces to survey question 7. ("Do you think that 'reclaiming' [gender identity terms] is a form of activism?") seemed critical of the notion; as one respondent puts it: "'Reclaiming' words that have always shown a negative connotation seems to just reinforce the acceptability of using said term. If girls "reclaim" 'slut', it feels like it makes it okay to continue calling girls sluts rather than erradicating [*sic*] the word all together [*sic*]." Critiques such as this were voiced by several survey participants, though, overwhelmingly the responses tended to favor reclamation.

Another meaning of 'reclaim' is to *recall from wrong or improper conduct, to reform or to rescue from an undesirable state* (Merriam-Webster 2015). It is with this definition in mind that I suggest that reclamation of identity terms is not about re-claiming terms, but about reclaiming power through the transformative process of resignification. Resignification is an idea proposed by Judith Butler who, in her groundbreaking book *Gender Trouble* (1990), submitted that gender is performative and suggested that references such as 'Woman' or 'Man' are open to interpretation and resignification (Hey, 2006). Through resignification, marginalized groups may take a claim in denoting meaning to terms used to describe them. The power to name cannot be overemphasized; in occidental cultures, the original benefactor of names was Adam who (as his God-given-right) had sole power to delineate one thing from another. He named Eve and everything else which walked, slithered, swam or flew across the face of the earth "and whatever the man called each living creature, that was its name" (Genesis 2:19). It was his perspective and prerogative to which everything conformed, and his voice which gave meaning and significance to that which he saw. Though this story is thought to have happened long ago (somewhere between 4,000 years ago and never) its significance in Western society is still prevalent regarding who has the power, and who gets to name. Adam was the central point of consciousness and authority while Eve and everything else was relegated to scenery. Reclaiming upsets the assumed hierarchical order. The process will likely never be devoid of controversy, for wherever there are power dynamics there are conflicts of interest.

Who can say "queer"?

Who may use certain reclaimed terms is often a point of contention. Blog contributor, Eden Walker, professed in an editorial in the Huffington Post (2013) their dis-ease with use of the term *queer* by heterosexuals:

> They've used the word "queer" like a rock, and they've stoned us with it for years. Now that it's cool, they want in on the action, and I say that's wrong. …For me, the heteronormative trying to take ownership of "queer" just because they have an avant-garde lifestyle choice is wrong, no matter how much they know of our history or empathize with the struggles of the people who went before me...

Walker's opinion that "the heteronormative," or those who represent dominant society, should refrain from using reclaimed terms is not unique. 22% (*n*=5) of twenty-two respondents answered in the affirmative to the survey question "[With regard to who may use the surved terms] does the sexual orientation or gender identity of an individual concern you?" Knowing that the participants in a conversation retain an in-group status may help interpretations of meaning with regard to gender identity terms. In an article titled "Who Can Say "Nigger": and other considerations," Randall Kennedy compares use of the well-known "n-word" by African Americans to the reclamation process utilized by some non-heterosexuals:

> …they have continued the tradition that redefines nigger from a term of abuse to a term of affection. What many gays and lesbians have done with "queer" and "dyke" is what many African Americans have done with nigger—transformed it from a sign of shame to a be avoided if possible into a sign of pride to be worn assertively (2000:90).

Of course, not everyone can say "nigger" (or "nigga"), just as not everyone can say queer… at least not without repercussions. As we have seen, determining the meaning of words can be very complicated; when considering usage of words which may be used in a derogatory manner in reference to a group or individuals who have historically been the target of violence, negotiating acceptable speech can be tricky for both in-group and out-group members.

To reclaim, or not to reclaim…is that the question?

In the winter of 2015 we witnessed the dismantling of the Sigma Alpha Epsilon (SAE) fraternity branch at the University of Oklahoma after members of the SAE UO chapter (all of whom were of European American descent) were captured on film chanting "there will never be

a nigger at SAE… you can hang him from a tree, but he'll never sign with me. There will never be a nigger at SAE" (New, 2015). National outrage over the video prompted immediate action by the university's president, David Boren, who gave the participating fraternity members but a few short days to clear out of their campus house. Boren responded to the public outcry by "tweeting" several public admonitions: "To those who have misused their free speech in such a reprehensible way, I have a message for you. You are disgraceful. You have violated all that we stand for. You should not have the privilege of calling yourself 'Sooners'" (Bacon, 2015). Boren also declared that the school's reaction to this incident would become an example of how to deal with such issues, "…there must be zero tolerance for racism everywhere in our nation" (Bacon, 2015). The members of the SAE are not the first to be publicly criticized for use of the "n-word;" a veritable circus of celebrities and politicians alike have come under the harsh glare of collective social scrutiny for flippant use of what is arguably the mother of all slurs. This collective disapproval of the term shows a level of discomfort by the many with regard to racism against African Americans. Restrictions on use of the "n-word" can be found many places, including work environments and among friends or "mixed-company." To be clear, I am not saying the word does not get used frequently in a pejorative way, but I am saying that to do so runs a risk of being called-out, admonished or reprimanded due to a collective and ever widening disapproval of obvious racism. The level of disapproval with this term is equal to the level of disapproval with individualized racism (institutionalized racism is another issue). It is likely that the actions of the SAE would have gone virtually unnoticed 50 years ago, yet today their actions have made national headlines. If one can compare "the n-word" to words reclaimed by LGBTQ communities, should intolerance towards use of these terms be encouraged as a method to encourage intolerance of homophobia?

Certainly disapproval with use of the "n-word" does not mean it will not get used, and it does get used with some frequency by in-group members and non-in-group individuals alike. The "n-word" retains all its pejoration, all of its historical significance and all of its bite regardless of who uses it. It is exactly its potency which wards off use by many non-in-groups and elicits social action when this restriction is disregarded. The overall complexity of what is okay to say and by whom creates conversation (and contention) among individuals, among wider societal circles, through shared social media and through national news media. Should the social regulation and sanctioning, which use of the "n-word" is subject to, be a goal for reclaimed terms

which stem from pejorative meanings? Or, should an ultimate goal of reclaimed identity terms be to neutralize the pejorative values of such terms so that they come to only have meaning as referential adjectives? As we move toward a more inclusive tomorrow, I hope attention is paid to these kinds of questions, and hope also that they be thoroughly explored. Language seems to be a social barometer for what is tolerated and acceptable behavior; it is also used to sanction behavior.

As interlocutors must rely on current understandings and contexts to make meaningful speech, it must be the brave who instigate conversation and who bring issues of power into focus so the need for resignification can be understood. The process of reclamation seems a good platform for such conversational instigation—using words which are entangled in controversy shakes things up. 68% (n=17) of survey respondents affirmed that they believe reclamation is a form of activism. Though to some these issues may seem self-evident on a personal level, when we consider word use on the macro-level, things are not always as simple as they might at first seem. Identity terms are complex, and so are the individuals who use them. If we have the power to name and reclaim, then the next steps involve deciding just what the goal of reclaiming really is.

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Prenatal Maternal Stress: Neurological and Physiological Impacts on Offspring

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Abstract

A growing body of research indicates that high levels of prenatal maternal stress (PNMS) can have lasting negative impacts on offspring. This review examines current literature about the structural and physiological effects of gestational stress on the brain of the fetus. Specific focuses include the structure and function of the hypothalamic-pituitary-adrenal (HPA) axis and how it is affected by high levels of maternal stress, and how glucocorticoids such as cortisol cross the placenta and developing blood-brain barrier, altering the formation of the brain and its synapses. In addition, protective factors to prenatal stress are reviewed, such as placental enzyme 11β-hydroxysteroid dehydrogenase type 2 (11β-HSD2), The postpartum and longitudinal effects of stress are also explored, linking prenatal hormones to postpartum health and behavior of offspring I conclude by exploring ways to reduce ante-and postpartum maternal stress by improving the preconceptive, prenatal, and infant care systems.

Key words: prenatal maternal stress, prenatal development, embryonic brain development

Introduction

A womb-like experience may not be as universally comfortable, soothing, and safe as the folk understanding of this environment implies. In spite of the physical layers of muscle and skin protecting a fetus from the outside world, it is highly sensitive to every nutrient ingested and hormone secreted by its mother. Some effects of maternal stress, such as prematurity and low birth weight, have been thoroughly tested (Rondo, Ferreira, Nogueira, Ribeiro, Lobert, & Artes, 2001; Torche, 2011; Wadhwa, Sandman, Porto, Dunkel-Schetter, & Garite, 1993). For example, some studies have shown that children exposed to prenatal stress develop language later than a non-stressed control group (Talge, Neal, Glover, & Network, 2007). A growing body of research also indicates that prenatal influences contribute to the development of psychiatric disorders such

as anxiety, depression and externalizing behavior problems (Davis et al., 2011). The lasting impact on the offspring's brain and behavior is still a developing field of study. In an attempt to deepen our understanding of the link between prenatal maternal stress (PNMS) and long-term offspring development, this review will explore contemporary research on the impact of prenatal stress on early brain development and the stress-response system. I will begin with an overview of the gestational physiological and structural developments that are pertinent to this subject, expand into the impacts of PNMS on the offspring's physiology, behavior, and epigenetic expression, and end with a brief discussion of the potential for preventing or alleviating these adverse effects.

Structural Development of the Brain

The blueprint of the brain begins forming almost as the zygote splits exponentially into cells that will become a living, breathing person. It forms from the inside-out and the bottom up, beginning with the hindbrain to regulate the autonomic nervous system, then forming the limbic system, and at last developing the cerebral cortex (Moscoso, 2009). This process is as complex and intricate as life itself. This review focuses on the basics of prenatal brain development in order to set up further exploration of how stress impacts it.

"Differentiation" is the process by which structures branch off and increase in complexity and function. In the earliest stage of development, the entire embryo is a miniscule, flat disk with three layers of cells: the endoderm, which will become the lining of the internal organs; the mesoderm, which is the basis for bones and muscles; and the ectoderm, from which the nervous system and skin arise (Bear, Connors, & Paradiso, 2016). At about 17 days after conception, a groove in the neural plate folds in on itself, beginning a process called "folding." At 22 days post-conception, the walls move together and fuse dorsally, forming the "neural tube." From this tiny tube, the entire nervous system develops. As the folds come together, some ectoderm (the "neural crest") pinches off and spreads laterally to the neural tube. This section of the brain develops in conjunction with the mesoderm, forming the nerves that innervate the skeletal muscles (Bear et al., 2016). Simultaneously, primary vesicles develop at the end of the neural tube. These three swellings will become the forebrain, midbrain, and hindbrain. In the forebrain, the optic and telencephalic vesicles sprout off, leaving the diencephalon between the two hemispheres. Nestled deep within the forebrain, the diencephalon differentiates into the thalamus

and hypothalamus, structures that will eventually be heavily involved in complex sensory processing and homeostatic regulation (Bear et al., 2016). Between the gestational ages of eight and 16 weeks, migrating neurons form the subplate zone, anticipating connections from afferent neurons originating in the thalamus, basal forebrain, and brainstem. Once neurons reach their final destination, they branch and establish connections with other areas of the brain, enabling their behavioral functions to unfold. (Nussey & Whitehead, 2001). The hypothalamic-pituitary-adrenal (HPA) axis, which functions as a primary stress response, is formed by 20 weeks gestation (Nussey & Whitehead, 2001). The amygdala, which governs detection of and response to emotions, specifically fear, is fully formed at eight-months gestation (Ulfig, Setzer, & Bohl, 2003). The HPA axis and amygdala/limbic system form the foundation of the developing baby's fear response system, which is a complex adaptation for coping with postnatal life (Talge et al., 2007).

The complex process of embryonic development is subject to both intrinsic influences, which are based in the genetic code and specialize in form and symmetry, and extrinsic influences, which include prenatal environment, and will continue to influence development until death (Moscoso, 2009). The process of brain formation is artful and intricate, and each detail is contingent upon the ability of the maternal body to support the pregnancy and provide the nutrients and hormones necessary for the fetus. However, subtle differences in hormones secreted by the mother have been indicated, in an ever-growing body of research, to have a measurable impact on the offspring's behavior and cognition (Buss, Entringer, Swanson, & Wadhwa, 2012; Davis, Glynn, Schetter, Hobel, Chicz-Demet, & Sandman, 2007; Davis, Glynn, Waffarn, & Sandman, 2011; Huang, 2014). In one example, Davis et al.'s 2007 study correlated elevated maternal cortisol at 30-32 weeks of gestation with greater infant negative reactivity, as reported by the mothers.

At each stage of development, the portion of the brain that is being formed is in a sensitive period particularly susceptible to the impact of environmental influences, which is exacerbated by the leakiness of the blood-brain barrier through early infancy (Saunder, Liddelow, & Dziegielewska, 2012). This makes the baby's central nervous system especially vulnerable to damage from toxins and imbalanced maternal hormones resulting from elevated stress (Saunder et al., 2012). These effects may impact brain structure and function throughout the lifespan.

Prenatal Maternal Stress

Maternal stress is not inherently harmful. In fact, women have naturally elevated levels of cortisol during pregnancy, which is necessary to the development of several organs, including the central nervous system (Huang, 2014). Some prenatal stress is also necessary for preparing the child for a world in which he or she will inevitably encounter stress. However, healthy pressures of life are different from psychosocial stress, in which aversive or demanding conditions tax or exceed an individual's actual or perceived resources (Lazarus, 1966). This type of stress is a multi-faceted dilemma that affects the behavior, physiology, and development. Elevated maternal stress influences the immune and vascular systems, and is associated with mothers engaging in negative health-related behaviors, such as smoking, lack of exercise, and poor nutrition, which also negatively impact the baby (Davis et al., 2011). On a purely physiological level, PNMS can significantly elevate cortisol, and in some cases result in stress-related health issues which could impact the baby in a negative way (Davis et al., 2007). For example, prenatal maternal anxiety and depression have been correlated with an elevated incidence of extremely high blood pressure, at 140/100 or above (Kurki, Hiilesmaa, Raimo, Mattila, & Ylikorkala, 2000). This condition, called preeclampsia, has been linked with low birth weight (Ødegård, Vatten, Nilsen, Salvesen, & Austgulen, 2000). During a longitudinal study, at 20 years of age, individuals who were born with very low birth weights (mean=1197 g) were found to have more chronic conditions, such as neurosensory impairment and abnormal height, lower IQ's, and less instances of graduating high school as compared to a normal-birth-weight control group (Hack, Flannery, Schluchter, Cartar, Borawski, & Klein, 2002).   In addition to its physiological impact, stress affects the growth of highly vulnerable structures, such as the amygdala. This is the governor of the fear-response system, and can be extraordinarily useful in preparing an infant for a world in which he or she will be very likely to encounter stressful situations (Gerhardt, 2004). However, research indicates that if the amygdala is formed under exposure to abnormally high levels of cortisol, the fear-response system may be overactive (Davis et al., 2011). Development of the fetal nervous system can be influenced by cortisol that passes through the placenta, because cortisol easily crosses the blood-brain barrier and targets glucocorticoid (GC) receptors, which are present throughout the nervous system (Davis et al., 2011).

When a fetus vicariously experiences a heightened level of stress from its mother, its brain can become overwhelmed with cortisol and the developing receptors, as well as the development *of* receptors, may shut down, particularly in the hypothalamus and hippocampus (Gerhardt, 2004). In the future, he or she will have less ability to reuptake cortisol that is produced during a stress-response. Thus, the cortisol will remain floating around in the brain, exacerbating high levels of stress that are very difficult to suppress (Gerhardt, 2004). The child will be subjected to a high baseline of stress, which compromises the natural ability to respond to or recover from truly stressful situations (Davis et al., 2011).

Programming

Programming is the process by which an event or environmental factor during a sensitive developmental period has a longitudinal impact (Sandman & Glynn, 2014). Tissues and organs develop sequentially, and are sensitive to environmental issues at different stages of development. During these formative periods, disturbances in hormones such as 11β-hydroxysteroid dehydrogenase type 2 (11β-HSD2), cortisol, and corticotropin-releasing hormone (CRH), as well as the hypothalamus-pituitary-adrenal (HPA) axis and limbic system, can result from psychosocial stress, which may negatively alter the programming effect for the fetus (Davis et al., 2007).

11β-HSD2

Psychosocial stress increases maternal cortisol levels beyond what is required for normal embryonic development. This leaves the fetus less protected by the placenta due to the reduced expression and activity of the placental enzyme 11β-HSD2, which is not equipped to process the heightened levels of cortisol (Huang, 2014). At normal levels, 11β-HSD2 converts cortisol to its inactive form, cortisone. Although this enzyme protects the fetus from 80% to 90% of maternal cortisol, a small but significant amount passes through the placenta and the fetus's immature blood-brain barrier (Huang, 2014). When maternal cortisol levels are elevated to a level far above the baseline, activity and expression of 11β-HSD2 are reduced, leaving the fetus exposed. A disproportionate amount of cortisol is transferred through the placenta and into the developing body. Unfortunately, these high levels of cortisol can result in offspring not fewer receptors that would normally receive and process the stress hormones (Gerhardt, 2004). This may contribute

to findings that babies who were exposed to elevated maternal cortisol levels have higher baseline levels of cortisol, and are quicker to express fear and irritation and slower to recover from perceived stress (Davis et al., 2007).

Corticotropin-releasing hormone (CRH)

CRH is a neuropeptide synthesized primarily in the paraventricular nucleus of the hypothalamus. It plays a major part in the regulation of physiological reactions to stress by influencing the pituitary-adrenal function (Sandman & Glynn, 2009).

During pregnancy, the placenta expresses the genes for CRH. Maternal cortisol quickly activates the synthesis of placental CRH (pCRH) from the fetus. Higher levels of cortisol increase this production. This rapid response can begin a domino effect on the health of the fetus, sometimes resulting in pre-term birth. Early delivery can have undesirable, long-lasting consequences for the infant, which my include sensory, motor, and neurological impairments (Sandman & Glynn, 2009).

HPA Axis

One of the most important effects of prenatal GC exposure is programming the fear-response system, including the limbic system and HPA axis (Davis et al., 2007). GC plays the important role of priming the fear-response system, and prenatal maternal GC release can augment existing baseline levels during development. When PNMS is at a high level, the elevated GCs can alter the neuroplasticity, and behavior of the HPA axis, which may result in detrimental effects (Huang, 2014). The structure and function of the hippocampus is vulnerable to the effects of GCs: animal experiments have indicated that elevated GC levels can result in offspring with smaller hippocampal volume (Davis & Sandman, 2010). In fact, the influence of PNMS on the developing fetal HPA axis has been proposed by Davis et al. as one mechanism that underlies fetal programming of adult health outcomes, such as vulnerability to disease and obesity, as well as psychological dysfunction, including behavioral inhibition and anxiety (2011).

Cortisol

Cortisol is a key element of the maternal-fetal stress feedback loop. The cortisol that is not synthesized into cortisone by the placental 11β-HSD2 passes through the fetus's highly

permeable blood-brain barrier and targets GC receptors that are present throughout the central nervous system (Davis et al., 2011). Thus, an overabundance of maternal cortisol production impacts the fetus's entire nervous system. During this fragile time in which the developmental blueprint is being formed, these effects can have deleterious lifelong impacts, including a greater propensity toward seizure disorders (Huang, 2014).

Early exposure to maternal cortisol may affect infant behavioral regulation. Cortisol influences the development of the connectivity between the brainstem, limbic, and cortical brain regions during 8 to 16 weeks gestation (Davis et al., 2011). The mother's cortisol may affect the development of the HPA axis, which includes alterations to cortisol receptor development. Therefore, individuals exposed to PNMS may not be able to respond to or recover from stressors in the environment appropriately, an effect that may last well into adulthood (Davis et al., 2011).

Epigenetic Imprint

Although physiological and behavioral impacts are apparent from exposure to PNMS, growing evidence indicates that high levels of PNMS can interact with both pre- and post-natal in the progeny. In a study on maternal stress influencing microRNA (miRNA) regulation in rats, PNMS appeared to disrupt the expression of genes that are crucial to brain development and plasticity (Zucchi et al., 2013).

The epigenetic imprint on PNMS in humans is ethically impossible to study in a randomized controlled trial. However, researchers in Quebec used a stress-inducing natural disaster to their advantage when an ice storm hit in 1998. Cao-Lei et al. (2014) began a longitudinal study with women who were pregnant at the time of the storm, which left much of the city without power for days in the dead of winter. Objective and subjective stresses were measured from the pregnant women. When the offspring were eight years old, the researchers took samples of saliva, and then took blood samples when the children were 13 years old. Methylation levels of 1675 cytosine-guanine (CG) components were found to have significant alterations from PNMS, and significant CG signatures in 22 chromosomes, indicating that PNMS triggered a large signature alteration in the genome (Cao-Lei et al., 2014).

Prenatal exposure to maternal depression is also related to epigenetic changes, according to recent studies that correlated prenatal maternal affect with the risk for neurobehavioral disturbances in the offspring. One such study focused on the methylenetetrahydro-folate

reductase C677T (MTHFR C677T) enzyme, which is associated with depression and changes in DNA methylation. Greater depressed mood during pregnancy was associated with affected DNA methylation patterns, indicating that maternal depression may contribute to developmental programming of the epigenetic expression in the progeny (Devlin, Brain, Austin, & Oberlander, 2010).

Lasting Impacts

Even before the challenges of modern societal stressors, individuals who were exposed to higher levels of prenatal cortisol displayed significantly different behavior than their counterparts whose mothers experienced less stress during pregnancy, according to a study on the effects of maternal cortisol at the end of pregnancy (de Weerth, van Hees, & Buitelar, 2003). One of the primary consequences of gestational GC exposure may be a more fearful, inhibitory response to new circumstances or stimuli, such as loud sounds and sudden noises (Davis et al., 2007).

The timing during which exposure to PNMS occurs impacts neural and behavioral development. Early pregnancy is one of the key developmental periods, as the zygote folds in on itself and begins following the blueprint for development. Stress during this period is associated with lower scores on infant behavioral assessment examinations (Davis et al., 2011). Another sensitive period is 30 to 32 weeks, during which higher maternal cortisol during this brief period correlates with more negative infant reactivity (Davis et al., 2007).

In addition to timing, the magnitude and quality of stressors is important. Children of women who experienced six or more self-reported stressful life events during pregnancy, regardless of the timing, were at about four times greater risk of developing mental health problems later in life (Robinson, 2012). In another study, high CRH levels during gestation were correlated with decreased physical and neuromuscular maturity, which has been associated with impaired brain development and motor development abnormalities (Sandman, 2009).

Longitudinally, evidence points to an association between high levels of prenatal maternal cortisol and fearful and reactive behaviors of offspring (Davis et al., 2011). Babies who were exposed to high levels of stress in utero tend to be more reactive at and after birth, show more behavioral inhibition and anxiety during infancy, toddlerhood, and childhood, and display a slower rate of recovery from stress responses (Davis et al., 2011). They are also more likely as toddlers and children to have greater physiological arousal to challenges, to display anxiety or

fear in new situations, to have higher stress reactivity and poorer emotional and attentional regulation (Davis, 2011). Further, studies comparing the cortisol levels on the day of a vaccination and the first day of school found that children who had been exposed to high levels of maternal stress showed that they had higher levels of cortisol in the faces of these stressors than children in a control group, which indicates that fetal development of the HPA axis is influenced by PNMS (2011).

Conclusions and Future Orientation

More longitudinal research is needed on this topic, because associations between prenatal psychosocial stress and HPA axis regulation in offspring may emerge later in development. (Davis et al., 2011). In addition, many aspects of the timing and hormone balance are very subtle, and studies in the future may be able to target these aspects more meticulously.

Although an extraordinary amount of development and programming occurs during gestation, an infant's brain is still very malleable after birth. Positive patterns in early life, especially in the first year, can heal trauma and enable a baby to develop the cortisol receptors and relax into a less-stressed state, from which it will develop accordingly (Gerhardt, 2004). Social supports, a nurturing home environment, and bonding techniques such as parent-infant massage can help mothers and their partners adjust to parenthood with less stress, which will have a direct and positive impact on babies exposed to high prenatal levels of stress hormones (McClure, 2000). Even if an individual did not receive this care during infancy, many therapists are becoming aware of the impact of prenatal trauma, and emerging therapeutic methods are targeting these early wounds for patients of all ages (Chamberlain, 2013).

Nonpharmacological prenatal stress-reduction techniques are also gaining solid footing in the obstetrical and psychological fields. Classes in yoga for pregnancy are popular in many areas of the world, and information about how to have a healthy pregnancy and birth is widely accessible. Studies on the positive effects of prenatal meditation on the mothers and offspring have yielded promising results. In one such study, a group of pregnant women were taught several meditation techniques. Umbilical cord blood cortisol levels were measured after birth, and the results showed that the babies in the intervention group had higher cord blood cortisol than those in the control group (Chan, 2014). This indicates a healthy stress-response system for these infants: the stress of childbirth elicits a cortisol surge that prepares a fetus for life outside

the womb. At five months of age, the infants were assessed using a Carey Infant Temperament Questionnaire, and were measured to have "better" temperament (Chan, 2014). The physiological and behavioral findings of this study indicate that prenatal meditation may have a positive, lasting impact on the infant, though further longitudinal research is needed. Fortunately, maternal-infant healthcare has become more of a priority for Amnesty International and the United Nations in recent years, and the body of research into alternative methods for preconceptive mental health care is expanding rapidly.

Research about the deleterious impact of prenatal maternal stress is not meant to discourage, stress, or impart guilt upon the parents and children of today. Instead, this knowledge may inspire parents, healthcare workers, and scientists alike to explore new methods of prenatal or even preconceptive care, in which the psychological health of the mother is attended to and stress-reduction techniques are incorporated into daily life. The evolution and implementation of preventative prenatal healthcare may result in healthier future generations.

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