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   **Christopher Robertson**

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**Biographies**

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Biographies
Among undergraduates, the world of academia can often feel like a cryptic, mysterious, and even unsettling place. The short distance between a bachelors degree and the beginning of a graduate or professional program can appear to be an unbridgeable chasm. Nowhere does the disquiet present itself stronger than in the elusive world of research, complete with the pressure of publish-or-perish and competitive graduate programs, not to mention the unsettling employment statistics for students who decide to go straight in to the job market. But in spite of all the questions, concerns, and doom and gloom, many undergraduates jump headfirst into research projects. The impetus to begin a scholar’s work can come in many forms: a nagging question that the books just don’t seem to answer; the professor who encourages a student’s term paper research project; or an honors thesis that requires a student to dig deeply into an issue they are excited or confused by.

Whatever the reason, when students commit valuable time to research and then submit their work to a critical appraisal by their peers, they have left their comfort zone and risked their necks in the unforgiving world of peer review. This is a courageous move. It is much easier to just “get by” as an undergraduate without forcing oneself to go above and beyond the particular requirements of their university’s degree plan by engaging in independent research. I feel it is important to keep this in mind as you read through the six papers that made it into Volume 4 of Sociological Insight (SI). These students did not have to submit these papers, but they did because they care about the discipline and appreciate the power of social science to uncover and illuminate the various blind-spots and misunderstood aspects of social life.

Sociological Insight is a labor of love for all the students involved in bringing it to fruition. Despite full course loads, part-time jobs, and their own independent research, the SI staff devotes much of their free time to making SI a reality. Our project is a result of teamwork in every way. The core executive staff is made up of the editor-in-chief, managing editor, administrative, financial, and PR/media directors who meet weekly over the course of UT’s two-semester academic year, along with a parallel staff of associate editors who meet bi-weekly at general staff meetings. The associate editors are the key ingredient to our peer review process. Additionally, the associate editor position is an important part of our overall mission to familiarize undergraduates with the world of formal research and academia.

The peer review process for SI is divided into three rounds, or tiers. Round one is an initial desk-reject decision made by the executive staff ensuring that a particular
paper meets our submission guidelines and has a certain level of professional, substantive content to warrant a full review. For the second round, each paper that passed the desk-reject is given to an undergraduate and graduate student pair for blind review. The review pair has two weeks to complete their review of the paper(s) and to make a decision of: reject, revise and resubmit, or accept. If the decision was revise and resubmit, the paper is sent back to the author with an attached document of all the revisions that need to be made in order for the paper to be worthy of publication. Once the revised paper is resubmitted and confirmed for the necessary changes all papers that passed the second round are sent on to UT-Austin sociology faculty reviewers, based on areas of specialization, for final review. At this stage the professors are asked to make a recommendation on whether or not the paper needs further revisions or is acceptable for publication as-is. After the faculty recommendations have been received, the executive staff meets to make a final list of which papers will be published in the upcoming volume of the journal. Our review process is rigorous and time consuming for good reason. The mission of Sociological Insight is to raise a high bar for undergraduate social science research by encouraging sociologists-in-training to think deeper, work harder, and go farther.

It would be impossible for us to make these goals into reality without the help of a supportive community. First and foremost we would like to thank Dr. Christine Williams, chair of the department of sociology at UT-Austin. Her support, both moral and financial, made this journal possible. But more than support, Dr. Williams has always given us the freedom to make our own decisions, along with encouragement that what we are doing with the journal is important, valued by the department, and making a genuine contribution to the discipline we love so much. Her belief in the abilities of undergraduates to conduct meaningful research is one of the reasons I believe that the University of Texas at Austin is the preeminent undergraduate sociology program in the U.S.

Next, we would like to thank our faculty advisor, Dr. Sheldon Ekland-Olson. Dr. Ekland-Olson—or “SEO” as we like to call him—has been one of our biggest fans on campus since day one. He has always gone out of his way to heap praise and encouragement on SI and its staff. Personally, Dr. Ekland-Olson’s support has been humbling. Any student who has ever taken a class or had a conversation with him will attest to his ability to leave you feeling confident and inspired. His measured, wise council has been invaluable to us this year. We look forward to working him for many years to come.

We would also like to thank all of the wonderful staff of the sociology department at UT-Austin. In particular, we are indebted to our wonderful undergraduate advisors, Debbie Rothschild and Jackie Dana. Day-in and day-out, they help with problems, answer questions, and give much-needed advice. Michelle Robertson was crucial in assisting us with the important task of managing our finances and organizing the logistics of the journal, along with Julie Kniseley and Kevin Hsu. We are also indebted to Dr. Penny Green for having always been one of SI’s greatest advocates, advisors, and friends.
On a personal note I would like to thank my former colleagues and close friends from last year’s executive staff: Diana Cho, Ashton Barrineau, Josh Bidwell, Amber Villalobos, and Nanette Lopez. Diana set the bar high for being the editor-in-chief of Sociological Insight. I learned more about being a leader from watching her than I could have from reading a dozen books, and it has been an honor to follow in her footsteps. Ashton and Josh made what could have been a difficult year much easier with their consistent friendship, laughs, and life advice. I could not have asked for a better group of friends over the past two years.

Finally, I want to express my gratitude to the 2011-2012 staff of Sociological Insight. We were fortunate to have an amazing group of associate editors this year who worked hard and stuck with us—even when we asked them to read papers over their holiday break. A special thanks to all of the graduate students who worked in review pairs with our associate team and wrote book reviews for us. On the executive staff, Stephanie Greeson singlehandedly made this edition of the journal a reality. She tackled every task that was given, requested more work in rare moments of free time, and was a constant second set of eyes making sure no detail was overlooked. During the spring semester Stephanie worked two staff jobs, serving as both managing editor and administrative director, performing both with equal skill and grace. Mr. Jean Nava was a never ending wellspring of cheer and professionalism as our financial director. Mario Guerra brought enthusiasm and new ideas as our PR/media director. Last but not least, I thank Michael “Ares” Ross and Jason Thomas for their work on the executive staff during the fall semester. All of us at SI are excited about the future of SI in the capable hands of Taylor Orth who served as our publisher liaison this past year. We’re excited to see what the future holds for Sociological Insight under her leadership.

Sincerely,

Christopher Robertson
Editor-in-Chief
The Role of Moral Shocks in the Texas Anti-Death Penalty Movement

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This study examines a coalition of individuals and groups involved in the anti-death penalty movement in Austin, Texas. Utilizing qualitative research methods conducted between September and November 2010, this paper seeks to uncover the role that appeals to emotion and moral shocks play in activist recruitment and in the strategies and frames utilized by social movement organizations. The research findings suggest that attitudinal affinity, social networks, and moral shocks work together to influence the recruitment and mobilization process in the anti-death penalty movement. In addition, the findings provide evidence that anti-death penalty activists intentionally utilize moral shocks related to innocence and unjust convictions as framing strategies.

On a Saturday afternoon a group of approximately 300 people march down Congress Avenue, carrying signs and chanting in unison. “One, two, three, four, it’s racist, cruel and anti-poor,” shouts a woman into a megaphone, to which the crowd responds, “five, six, seven, eight, stop the killing by the state.” Prompted by another man, the crowd begins to chant, “Rick Perry you can’t lie. We charge you with homicide,” followed by “it’s not justice, it’s a lie. Rodney Reed must not die.” Led by six men who spent time on death row for crimes that they did not commit, the group marches under the beating sun for twenty minutes before returning to the capitol grounds for the remainder of the 11th Annual March to Abolish the Death Penalty. After several family members, friends, pen pals and others whose lives have been impacted by the death penalty speak to the crowd, an event organizer directs the audience’s attention to a large screen off to the side of the stage. The stepmother of Cameron Todd Willingham, whose case has gained national attention in the last few years due to claims that he was innocent when he was executed, has filmed a short clip to be shown at the march. The crowd listens intently as she reads a letter that she received from her son in 1999, in which he talks about his dream of someday abolishing the death penalty. In a poignant conclusion, she tells the families of death row inmates that they should never give up, because they are all working together to make Todd’s dream come true.
What has driven hundreds of people from various backgrounds to attend this event? What does this occasion reveal about the strategies used within the anti-death penalty movement? Does this event shed any light on how anti-death penalty activists frame the movement in order to recruit activists and encourage support for their goals? Utilizing data from participant observation, in-depth interviews, and an analysis of organizational materials and websites, I analyze the factors involved in peoples’ decisions to become and remain involved in the anti-death penalty movement, including social networks, attitudinal affinity, and moral shocks. In addition, I examine the presence and role of appeals to emotion and moral shocks in the strategies and frames utilized by anti-death penalty activists.

Literature Review

Social Movement Recruitment and Mobilization

The literature regarding social movement recruitment and mobilization often focuses on the functions of attitudinal affinity (Dauphinais, Barkan, and Cohn 1992) and social networks (McAdam 1986; McAdam and Paulsen 1993) in leading people to become involved in social movement activity. Dauphinais, Barkan, and Cohn (1992) suggest that attitudinal influences are important predictors of feminist activism, and that the importance of microstructural factors may depend on the intensity of one’s commitment to the movement’s goals. McAdam (1986) concludes that formal and informal social ties act as the structural pulls that lead people with attitudinal affinities towards involvement in activism to actually follow through and participate. McAdam and Paulsen (1993) show that social ties and social networks are important because strong social ties to individuals and organizations provide the context in which an individual’s identification with a particular identity can be reinforced and linked to movement participation.

In addition, another body of literature moves towards a focus on cultural work, to address the impact that grievances and moral shocks have on influencing people’s decisions to engage in activism (Jasper and Poulsen 1995; Jasper 1998; Walsh 1981). Walsh (1981) explores the interaction between grievances and structure in movement mobilization, and suggests that discontent is an important variable in this process. Walsh (1981, p. 18) conceptualizes of the 1979 nuclear accident at Three Mile Island as a “suddenly imposed major grievance” that was “attributable to human decisions or negligence,” and which played a role in the social movement mobilization process following the incident. Jasper and Poulsen (1995) explore the role that cultural meanings play in recruitment processes, and examine the use of moral shocks to appeal to those without pre-existing social ties to a social movement. They suggest that moral shocks occur “when an event or situation raises such a sense of outrage in people that they become inclined toward political action, even in the absence of a network of contacts” (Jasper and Poulsen 1995,
p. 498). These moral shocks can take the form of suddenly realized or imposed grievances through highly publicized and unexpected events, but “can also be the experiences of individuals, as the gradual discovery that one’s drinking water has been contaminated by a local factory or waste site” (Jasper and Poulsen 1995, p. 498; Walsh 1981). In addition, Jasper and Poulsen (1995) discuss the importance of condensing symbols, which often accompany moral shocks, in the recruitment process. Jasper (1998, p. 13) elucidates the role that emotion plays within moral shocks, and suggests that a moral shock “implies a visceral, bodily feeling” from which strong emotions should flow.

There is a large body of literature concerning the influence of attitudinal affinity, identity, social networks and social ties, and grievances and moral shocks in social movement recruitment and mobilization (Dauphinais, Barkan, and Cohn 1992; Jasper and Poulsen 1995; Jasper 1998; McAdam 1986; McAdam and Poulsen 1993; Walsh 1981). However, the literature focuses on the impact of moral shocks in the absence of social networks and social ties, almost excluding the role that moral shocks could play in recruiting those who are already embedded within activist networks or who have personal connections to those involved in the movement. The current research study fills a gap in the literature by exploring the potential for moral shocks and social networks, in addition to attitudinal affinity and identity, to work together in recruiting people to activism.

**Framing and Strategies in Social Movements**

Examining the framing processes used in social movements is a major focus of literature in the field of social movement research (Benford 1993; Benford and Snow 2000; Snow et al. 1986; Snow and Benford 1988). Snow et al. (1986) explain that frame alignment processes are designed to link the social movement organizations’ interpretive frames with those of potential resource providers, in order to come to a shared definition and solution for a problem (Benford and Snow 2000). Benford (1993) discusses the use of vocabularies of motive within motivational framing, which create a sense of urgency through discussions of the severity of the problem and the efficacy and propriety of taking action. Many social movements rely on a master frame of injustice, which “focuses on the righteous anger that puts fire in the belly and iron in the soul” (Gamson 1992, p. 32). Injustice frames also often rely on adversarial framing (Gamson 1995), and assert that “motivated human actors carry some of the onus for bringing about harm and suffering” by identifying particular targets (Gamson 1992, p. 34).

It is important to address the central role that emotions can take on within social movements and framing processes. Jasper (1998, p. 405) asserts that “it is affects and emotional responses that political organizers appeal to, arouse, manipulate, and sustain to recruit and retain members,” and suggests that negative emotions such as a sense of threat, outrage, anger, and fear are prominent and powerful within an injustice frame. Berns (2009) utilizes Best’s (1990) concept of domain expansion, or the reconstruction of
problems in order to expand their scope, to discuss emotion-domain expansion, which she defines as the “identification of new aspects of an established social problem that produce strong emotional responses” (2009, p. 389). Berns (2009) concludes that social movement organizations specifically frame issues and use rhetoric that relies on and constructs emotional sentiments, and that they seek to increase the validity of emotion claims by publicizing specific incidents. Berbrier (1998, p. 440) also concludes that emotion is present in the framing processes of social movements, as activists appeal to fundamental sentiments, which act as “important mechanism[s] through which emotionally laden values and culturally resonant claims are aligned.”

Haines (1992, p. 125) suggests that flawed executions, “in which public sensibilities are offended by a breakdown in the ‘normal’ routine procedures of convicting killers and putting them to death” serve as threats to public support for the death penalty. Haines (1992, p. 125) argues that anti-death penalty organizations and the mass media transform flawed executions into “suddenly realized grievances,” a term borrowed from Walsh (1981), such that flawed executions become “dramatic events, whose emotional content affects the political struggle over capital punishment.” This assertion contributes to research that discusses the use of moral shocks and emotion as a strategy that social movement organizers implement in order to garner support (Berns 2009; Jasper and Poulsen 1995; Jasper 1998), particularly with regard to frames of innocence and wrongful conviction.

Previous research indicates that emotions and moral shocks play a central role in the frames and strategies used in social movements (Berbrier 1998; Berns 2009; Haines 1992; Jasper and Poulsen 1995; Jasper 1998; Walsh 1981). In addition, scholars propose that the anti-death penalty movement utilizes ‘flawed executions,’ which are conceptualized as ‘suddenly realized grievances,’ as a strategy for achieving the goals of the movement. I expand this concept of flawed executions and incorporate it with a discussion of moral shocks, to suggest that social movement organizers intentionally implement moral shocks related to unjust convictions and the execution of the innocent as a frame and strategy for meeting the goals of the movement. I can extend the applicability of the concept beyond specific and highly publicized instances to include the gradual discovery of information over time by conceptualizing ‘flawed executions’ as moral shocks rather than as suddenly realized grievances. In this context, exposure to information about flawed executions serves as a moral shock, which enrages people to the point of political action and contributes to their decisions to participate in anti-death penalty activism. Furthermore, this application contributes to the literature by illustrating how social movement organizers also implement moral shocks in order to alter public opinion and not solely to recruit activists.

**Methodology and Setting**

This study utilizes a variety of qualitative research methods to focus on the work
of Death Penalty Free Austin, an informal coalition of individuals and groups opposed to the death penalty that was formed in the spring of 2010. The coalition was formed with the intent to petition the Austin City Council to pass a moratorium resolution that condemns the use of the death penalty, and asks the Travis County District Attorney to refrain from seeking the death penalty in capital cases. In addition, the coalition intends to educate the community about the death penalty and to influence public opinion in the Austin area through a visible campaign. The coalition has been involved in coordinating or co-sponsoring many events throughout the Austin area, including media events, demonstrations, rallies, and a state-wide march. In addition, the coalition is involved in campaigns to bring awareness and visibility to the details of specific death row inmates’ cases.

I conducted nearly 20 hours of participant observation throughout the Austin area between September and November 2010. This participant observation took place at regularly scheduled meetings of Death Penalty Free Austin, which were held every other week and lasted between one and a half to two hours. In addition, I attended several events that were coordinated or co-sponsored and attended by the coalition. These events included a film screening, a small demonstration followed by a court of inquiry hearing, a small rally on World Day Against the Death Penalty, and the 11th Annual March to Abolish the Death Penalty (refer to Table 1 for complete details regarding fieldwork).

In addition to participant observation, I also conducted semi-structured interviews with seven activists. I interviewed people who are involved in Death Penalty Free Austin either directly or through their membership in an organization that supports and works with Death Penalty Free Austin. Five of the interviews were conducted in person, while two of the interviews were conducted via email correspondence. The interviews contained questions that covered demographics, personal experiences with activism in general and the anti-death penalty movement specifically, and perceptions and opinions regarding the goals, strategies, and frames used in the Austin area anti-death penalty movement (see Table 2 for a complete list of interview questions).

The final research method utilized for this research study was an analysis of organizational materials. I collected organizational brochures and pamphlets that were distributed at public events, in addition to publicity flyers and promotional materials. I also analyzed online blogs, websites, and Facebook groups and events that are maintained by members of Death Penalty Free Austin and their supporting organizations.

Limitations of this research study include the sample size and time constraints. The seven activists who were interviewed are not representative of the entire anti-death penalty activist community in the Austin area, given the small sample size. In addition, although I attended every coalition meeting and the majority of the coalition’s events, anti-death penalty activists are involved in a much wider array of activities throughout the Austin area than I was able to observe due to time constraints and a relatively short research time.
frame of only three months.

A strength of the methodology utilized in this study is the combination of participant observation and an analysis of organizational materials with semi-structured interviews. The inclusion of interview data provides the activists with the opportunity to share their own experiences and perceptions regarding the movement, which supports and expounds upon the observational data collected. In addition, I was able to conduct participant observation in a variety of settings and at many different types of events. This variation provides depth and a multidimensional view of the types of activism engaged in by members of the coalition.

**Findings**

Texas carries out more executions than any other state in the U.S., and has executed 464 people since the death penalty was reinstated in 1976.\(^1\) Furthermore, 138 people have been released from death row nationwide with evidence of their innocence.\(^2\) The death penalty debate frequently rises in prominence surrounding the execution dates of those who have had highly publicized and controversial cases. Throughout the last ten years there have been several such cases in Texas, including the cases of Gary Graham, Cameron Todd Willingham, Kenneth Foster, Jr., and David Lee Powell, which have prompted much social movement organizing by anti-death penalty activists in the area. The purpose of this research is to analyze the factors involved in people’s decisions to become and remain involved in the anti-death penalty movement, and to examine the strategies and frames utilized within the movement. In particular, I examine these facets with regard to the role that emotions play within the movement. I focus on claims regarding a flawed and unjust system, in which innocent people have the potential to be executed, as a moral shock that is utilized in order to enrage people to the point of political action.

*Social Movement Recruitment and Mobilization*

Data from in-depth interviews provides an interesting look at how attitudinal affinity and identity, social networks and social ties, and moral shocks interact to influence people’s decisions to participate in social movements. Four out of seven of those interviewed suggested that they had been opposed to the death penalty for quite some time before they became intensely involved in the movement, and all of the activists indicated that they had been involved with some type of progressive activism throughout their lifetimes before becoming involved in the anti-death penalty movement. Regarding

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moral shocks and their influence in activist recruitment, five out of seven respondents said that they became directly involved with the movement at least partially due to exposure to some type of moral shock involving information about specific cases. Six out of seven respondents also indicated that social ties or social networks had played a role in their decisions to participate in activism. Four out of seven respondents suggested that they became involved in the movement due to both social ties and networks and moral shocks.

One interviewee, Tom, provides an example of recruitment to the movement as a result of moral shocks, in the absence of social networks and social ties. He said that while he had always been against the death penalty due to his larger outrage at the criminal justice system, he did not start participating in the movement until he read about protests in Austin surrounding the controversial execution of Gary Graham, who maintained that he was innocent. This case served as a moral shock, as it suggested that Texas executed an innocent person who was denied a fair legal process. Upon being exposed to this moral shock Tom contacted the activists involved, and thus placed himself within a new social network of anti-death penalty activists that would contribute to his future participation in the movement.

Jessie’s and Matthew’s responses provide an example of the interaction of social networks and moral shocks in the process of recruitment to the movement. Jessie explained that she had been opposed to the death penalty for ten years, but that she began participating in the movement after reading about the David Lee Powell case on a singer-songwriter’s Facebook page. She became outraged that a man who had evidently gone through a transformation during his thirty two years on death row was still going to be executed for a crime that he committed while addicted to drugs, and said that after watching a clip about his case she thought “wow, this is really blowing my mind. This is an amazing human being.” She then became directly involved in the movement through her social ties with another singer-songwriter who personally invited her to a film screening via Facebook. While she did not know anyone involved in the core group of Austin anti-death penalty activists before becoming involved, she said that her immersion in the Austin progressive activist network led her to see a lot of the same people at major events. In addition, Jessie suggested that being against the death penalty has become a part of her identity as a Texan, which is reinforced by her participation in the movement. Matthew explained that he has been opposed to the death penalty since he was much younger, and that his early views were shaped by witnessing a public execution in Iran and from hearing about the execution of Ruben Cantu, who was potentially innocent. In addition to these moral shocks, Matthew was also immersed into a social network after participating in an alternative spring break anti-death penalty program with several friends. Participation in this program led to his direct participation in the movement, as he and several other students formed an anti-death penalty group for students. Matthew’s responses suggest that moral shocks shaped his early views, and that exposure to additional moral shocks
through the educational programs and social networking opportunities of the alternative spring break program led him to become directly involved.

Teresa’s responses also illustrate the interaction of social ties and moral shocks in recruitment to the movement, but in the absence of strong prior feelings about the issue. She said that she had never thought very much about the death penalty until a friend invited her to attend a meeting of a new anti-death penalty organization. Upon becoming involved she learned about the case of Rolando Cruz, who was released from prison after spending 10 years in prison for a crime that he did not commit. Teresa recalls, “I hadn’t realized before that this happens - that the people, a lot of people on death row are not guilty,” and says that she continues to feel strongly about the goals of the movement because innocent people are unjustly convicted.

Susan did not begin participating in the movement because of exposure to a moral shock, but instead as a result of social networks and a direct social tie to someone affected by the death penalty. She said that while she was always against the death penalty as a result of moral beliefs, that she only became directly involved as a way to support the family of her husband’s nephew, who was executed several years ago. Social networks and social ties continue to influence her decisions to participate in the movement, as her religious organization focuses on opposing the death penalty in local cases. Furthermore, her attitudinal affinity for participation is shaped by her religious and moral belief system. Linda, on the other hand, became involved in the movement due to both a direct social tie to someone affected by the death penalty and a moral shock. She became involved in the movement when her brother was wrongfully convicted and sent to death row. She was driven to participate in the movement not only to help her brother, but also as a result of the moral shock surrounding all of the errors that were committed during his trial and the fact that he claims to be innocent. In addition, she suggests that being involved in progressive activism and helping others has been ingrained as a part of her identity since childhood.

These findings support and expand previous research regarding social movement recruitment and decisions to participate. It is clear that all of the respondents were attitudinally predisposed to movement participation, as they had been involved with prior progressive activism, held oppositional views to the death penalty, or identified with progressive political ideologies. Regarding social networks and ties, there is evidence to support McAdam’s (1986) assertion that social networks and social ties serve as the structural pull to lead people to participate in activism, in addition to McAdam and Paulsen’s (1993) claim that participation through social networks reinforces salient activist identities. Furthermore, these findings expand an understanding of social ties to include not only those who know people involved in the movement, but also those who know people who will be directly impacted by the outcome of the movement. Linda, for example, became actively involved in the movement as a way to fight for her brother’s exoneration, while Susan became involved as a way to support a family member through the execution process. In addition, these findings also support Jasper
and Poulsen’s (1995) suggestion that moral shocks serve to mobilize people to engage in activism. However, these findings suggest that moral shocks do not only serve to recruit strangers without any social ties to the movement. The responses of Teresa, Jessie, Matthew, and Linda suggest that moral shocks can also play a role in movement recruitment alongside of social ties and social networks. In each of these instances, social networks and social ties contributed greatly to the respondents’ decisions to participate in the movement, though in different ways. For Teresa, social ties are what led to her first introduction to the death penalty and exposure to moral shocks, while for Matthew, entrance into a social network of students provided him with the opportunity to act on and sustain his attitudes towards the death penalty that had been forming for several years due to prior exposure to moral shocks. Jesse was exposed to the moral shock of the David Lee Powell case through a social tie, and encouraged to participate as a result of social ties and her immersion in the local activist network, while Linda became involved due to a moral shock involving someone with whom she has a strong social tie. This finding regarding the interaction between moral shocks and social networks contributes to the literature and suggests that moral shocks may play a larger role in movement recruitment than previously discussed. In addition, this finding encourages further exploration into the interaction between psychological, structural, and cultural perspectives on movement recruitment and mobilization processes.

**Framing and Strategies in Social Movements**

Anti-death penalty activists utilize an injustice frame and implement strategies that rely on appeals to emotion through moral shocks. They utilize rhetoric and put forth claims that construct and draw on emotional sentiments (Burns 2009). Furthermore, anti-death penalty activists use innocence as a cultural affectation in order to appeal to culturally resonant fundamental sentiments (Berbrier 1998) such as the right to freedom and justice under the law. Data collected from discussions at Death Penalty Free Austin planning meetings, speeches and signs at public events, organizational materials and websites, and in-depth interviews suggest that anti-death penalty activists rely heavily on moral shocks, and intentionally frame the movement in terms of innocence and unjustly convicted death row inmates as a strategy for success.

Death Penalty Free Austin (DPFA) participated in four public events, all of which were centered on innocence and unjust convictions. At the coalition’s first major kick off event, they chose to screen the documentary “Stave vs. Reed,” which chronicles the 1996 murder conviction of Bastrop resident Rodney Reed. The documentary presents charges of racism, police cover-ups, poor judicial practices, and a complete mishandling of the case, suggesting that Reed is an innocent man who will be executed unjustly. Members of DPFA also held a small demonstration before a hearing that was held to determine if there was probable cause to initiate a court of inquiry regarding the Cameron Todd Willingham case, which could potentially exonerate former death row inmate Willingham.
posthumously. Activists held signs that said things such as “I Am Innocent” and “No More Cover Ups! Todd: Innocent & Executed.” In addition, DPFA co-sponsored a small rally on World Day Against the Death Penalty, in solidarity with two death row inmates, Rodney Reed and Mumia Abu Jamal, who they claim were wrongfully convicted as a result of racism, police misconduct, and judicial corruption. Activists at this rally held signs that said things like “Abolish the Racist Death Penalty,” and gave speeches in which they discussed the racism, corruption, and class bias involved in the death penalty. DPFA also took part in organizing the 11th Annual March to Abolish the Death Penalty, which was attended by approximately 300 people. Many of the signs held by protestors referenced innocence and specific death row inmates who had been unjustly convicted, as did several of the chants used during the march. Many of the speakers also addressed the question of innocence by referencing people on death row who have been unjustly convicted and cases in which death row inmates have been exonerated.

Each of the public events coordinated by Death Penalty Free Austin utilized a strategy of framing that involved moral shocks by presenting people on death row who claim they are innocent, exposing information about unjust legal processes, and providing examples of death row exonerations. This strategy is intended to outrage people to the point that they decide to support the goals of the movement, and potentially begin to participate in anti-death penalty organizations. Movement organizers utilize many condensing symbols (Jasper and Paulsen 1993) to communicate an injustice frame, including Cameron Todd Willingham, whose case is repeatedly cited as evidence that Texas executed an innocent person. Cameron Todd Willingham, along with several other specific death row inmates and death row exonerees in general, serve as condensing symbols who represent the injustice of the capital punishment system and who activate the moral shock that the state has the potential to execute innocent people.

Organizational materials and websites also utilize these moral shocks and condensing symbols (see table 4 for copies of organizational materials). For example, the petition for a moratorium resolution, the Death Penalty Free Austin fact sheet, and a publicity flyer for the coalition all discuss the potential for innocent people to be executed, and specifically mention Cameron Todd Willingham. The flyer for the Reed/Mumia solidarity rally asserts the innocence of Reed and Mumia, and charges that the death penalty is “legal lynching,” a racially charged moral shock. Also illustrating the usage of moral shocks in organization literature is a flyer distributed by Kids Against the Death Penalty, an organization involved in coordinating the march, which refers to the death penalty as the “State Sanctioned Murder” of innocent people. Furthermore, Texas Moratorium’s blog, which is frequently used to distribute information about the march and about DPFA, contains many posts that focus on Cameron Todd Willingham, the exonerees who attended the march, and major news related to exonerations, execution stays, and other developments in death penalty cases throughout the country. These organizational
findings present further evidence of the presence of moral shocks and condensing symbols in movement framing and strategies.

The findings regarding public events and organizational materials contribute to research that discusses the use of moral shocks and emotion as a strategy that social movement organizers intentionally implement in order to garner support (Berns 2009; Haines 1992; Jasper and Paulsen 1995; Jasper 1998). During several DPFA and march organizing meetings, members mentioned the importance of highlighting death row exonerees at the march and talking about the issue of innocence. In addition, it was suggested several times that they needed to be sure to include a discussion of Cameron Todd Willingham at the march because of the recent attention that his case had been receiving. However, in a discussion about what to include on the main banner for the march, members discussed concerns with including the word “innocence” on the banner and with focusing too much on Cameron Todd Willingham, and they ultimately decided to print a banner that simply said “Stop Executions.” In addition, they also decided to print several smaller signs and placards that addressed specific reasons to oppose the death penalty such as racial and class bias, errors in the system, and the potential for executing innocent people. This decision suggests that they wanted to frame the goals of the movement in an overarching manner at the march that represented the broad goal of abolishing the death penalty, but that they also recognized the importance of addressing specific problems with the death penalty in smaller signs. This sentiment is also seen in the interview responses, as six out of seven respondents thought that framing the movement in terms of innocence and unjustly convicted death row inmates was an effective and appropriate strategy for the movement. For example, Matthew stated that “according to the research that I know has been done, the single most important factor in influencing people’s mind and changing their view of the death penalty has been the execution of innocent people. So that plays a very important role.”

Data gathered from signs, speeches, and organizational materials show how framing the movement in terms of moral shocks shapes the motivational framing and vocabularies of motive (Benford 1993) that are utilized in the movement. The death penalty is framed as a serious problem that has far reaching effects, and which needs to be urgently addressed. At the march, Tom discussed the recent exoneration of death row inmate Anthony Graves, who was an “innocent person just like every one of us,” and warned that the death penalty is a threat to everyone in Texas. The sister of Jeff Wood, who is on death row as a result of the Law of Parties, which allows for those who did not directly commit the murder but who were allegedly associated with the process to be executed, concluded her speech by saying that “we beg you to get involved before it’s too late.” Furthermore, the issue is framed as something that the city of Austin has the power to impact through petitioning for a moratorium resolution. In addition, Jesse’s speech at the Reed/Mumia Solidarity Rally illustrates framing the issue in terms of propriety and a moral responsibility to act, as she suggests that as a “people of conscience” they must act against the race and class based
injustices of the death penalty system. The language used in organizational materials and at public events illustrates vocabularies of motive and motivational frames that encourage people to act immediately so as to save the lives of innocent people.

In addition, the data indicate evidence of much adversarial framing, which contributes to the injustice frame that the moral shocks develop. Public figures such as George W. Bush, Governor Rick Perry, and Texas Court of Criminal Appeals Judge Sharon Keller serve as figureheads who represent an oppressive and unjust establishment, at which the grievances of the movement are directed. For example, at the demonstrations and rallies, many of the signs and chants directly attacked these figures. Sharon Keller is often referred to as ‘Sharon Killer Keller’ for failing to follow execution day procedures and to notify the judge of an appeal in the case of Michael Richard, and Rick Perry is accused of lying and engaging in a cover up regarding evidence in the Cameron Todd Willingham case. Activists at the 11th Annual March to abolish the death penalty chanted “Rick Perry you can’t lie. We charge you with homicide,” and a speaker suggested that the “real monster was running for re-election.” In addition, these chants, signs, and speeches direct blame towards the government establishment in general, clearly creating boundaries and identifying who is responsible for the injustices committed.

These findings support what is found in the literature regarding movement framing and strategies, and provide further evidence of the use of moral shocks in social movements. These findings suggest that death penalty activists intentionally use cases of unjust convictions and potential innocence as moral shocks, with the hope that the outrage generated by exposure to this information will lead people to support their goals and begin participating in the movement. In doing so, I have expanded the applicability of Haines’ (1992) concept of ‘flawed executions,’ such that it can include the gradual discovery of information over time and not only highly publicized and specific incidents, which encompasses anti-death penalty activists’ efforts to provide the public with information about the flaws in the justice system, the conditions on death row, and the personal stories of individual inmates. This application of Haines’ concept allows for a more thorough understanding of how anti-death penalty activists utilize cases of unjust convictions and potential innocence in the movement, and how moral shocks can be used not only to recruit activists, but also to alter public opinion. Altering public opinion is central to the goals of this particular movement, as its success often relies on the decisions of those in elected political office.

Discussion and Conclusion

Relying on participant observation, in-depth interviews, and an analysis of organizational materials, I have examined the factors involved in peoples’ decisions to participate in the anti-death penalty movement, in addition to the frames and strategies used in the movement. In this research study, I have provided evidence of the important role
that emotions play in social movement recruitment and framing processes. By integrating a discussion of moral shocks (Jasper and Poul sen 1995; Jasper 1998) with Haines’ concept of flawed executions (1992), I have shown how social movement organizers implement emotionally charged moral shocks related to unjust convictions and the potential innocence of those on death row in order to alter public opinion and recruit people to the movement. In addition, I have explored how moral shocks and social networks, when supplemented by attitudinal affinity and identity salience, can work together in motivating people to participate in the movement. This research contributes to the existing scholarship by pointing out the overlap that exists between psychological, structural, and cultural perspectives regarding social movement recruitment and mobilization processes.

Research regarding social movement recruitment often emerges as a reaction to previous scholarship, providing what is supposed to be a more accurate and comprehensive understanding of what it is that drives people to participate in social movement activity. For example, McAdam (1986) and McAdam and Paulsen (1993) seek to move beyond psychological accounts for activism that focus on individual level motivations for participation, in order to explore the important role of social networks and social ties. Scholars such as Jasper (1998) then reacted to this structural perspective to demand that more attention be paid to the cultural factors involved in peoples’ decisions to participate in activism, and to the essential role of emotion in particular. As the current study has shown, however, each of these perspectives has something important to contribute to an understanding of social movement recruitment that should not be ignored. In order to gain a comprehensive and nuanced understanding of the factors involved in peoples’ decisions to participate in activism, it is essential to examine the overlapping nature of each of these perspectives, and to attribute importance to a variety of factors.

Issues of race and class are often central to the death penalty debate, which makes the anti-death penalty movement a sociologically relevant topic of study. Each of my interview respondents discussed structural biases and discrimination related to race and class in their discussion of what the anti-death penalty movement is working against. The unequal distribution of power between socially constructed groups of people is what leads to the potential for innocent people to be convicted, most often as a result of racism and/or a lack of resources for high quality legal representation. In their efforts to fight against the death penalty and for social justice, anti-death penalty activists are seeking to address the errors of systemic oppression and to return rights to structurally marginalized groups of people. This study suggests that approaching issues of social justice from a sociological perspective, and in particular highlighting how race and class biases lead to the execution of innocent people, has served as an important tool in recruiting people to the movement and in framing the struggle against the death penalty.

The current paper points to several directions for future research in the field of social movements. Although I have pointed to an interaction between social networks
and moral shocks in the recruitment process, a more extensive study could analyze the causality involved in this relationship, to uncover a more nuanced understanding of the relationship between these different factors. In addition, future research could expand the conceptualization of moral shocks to include and distinguish between a variety of moral shocks used in the anti-death penalty movement. This expanded conceptualization of moral shocks could include not only outrage over unjust convictions and potential innocence, but also general anger at the criminal justice system or the amount of power held by the government. Finally, this study indicates that future studies should examine the role of emotion within the recruitment and framing processes of social movements, and acknowledge the overlap that exists between several different theoretical perspectives. Modern theoretical perspectives within the social movements literature point to the important role of emotions within social movements (Berbrier 1998; Berns 2009; Haines 1992; Jasper and Poulsen 1995; Jasper 1998), and it is essential to continue further deepening and defining our understanding of how emotions function within this field of study. In a movement such as the anti-death penalty movement it is inevitable that emotions will play a large role, as the movement is literally concerned with matters of life and death. In a state that has executed 464 people in the past 40 years, and a country that has wrongfully convicted and later released at least 138 people during this same time period, strong emotions regarding justice are bound to play an important role in peoples’ decisions to get involved, and in the strategies implemented by social movement organizers. Given its relevance within the sociological field of study and ability to shed light on the recruitment and framing processes used in social movements more generally, there is certainly a need for continued scholarship regarding the anti-death penalty movement.

REFERENCES


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<td>9/3/2010</td>
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<td>Blackwell-Thurman Criminal Justice Center</td>
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<td>10/10/2010</td>
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<td>1:00 PM – 2:30 PM</td>
<td>Outside State Capitol gates</td>
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Table II: Interview Questions

1. What was your first form of activism? What motivated you to engage in this activism? Who else was involved and how did others react to you? How did this experience influence you?

2. Are you currently involved in any other forms of activism or with other organizations outside of the anti-death penalty movement?

3. What motivated you to become involved with the anti-death penalty movement? Is there a specific event, story, or case that led you to get involved?

4. In your own words, could you tell me what you think the major goals of the anti-death penalty movement are? How strongly do you feel about these goals? Why do you think you fell strongly about them?

5. How long have you been involved with the anti-death penalty movement and in what capacity? What are specific examples of things that you do within the anti-death penalty movement? Has your role in the movement changed over time?

6. How/why did you get involved with Texas Moratorium Network? How does your participation in Texas Moratorium Network relate or contribute to your participation in other anti-death penalty organizations?

7. What would you say are the major tenets/goals of Texas Moratorium Network?

8. What new projects would you like to see Texas Moratorium Network enact?

9. What strategies does Texas Moratorium Network use to attract people to gatherings and events? How successful would you say these strategies are and is there any way that you think they could be improved?

10. What strategies does Texas Moratorium Network use in order to forge and sustain relationships with other anti-death penalty organizations? How successful would you say these strategies are and is there any way that you think they could be improved?

11. For your perspective, how do you think members of the larger Austin community, city council, and media outlets respond to the efforts of the anti-death penalty movement, and how does this impact the movement’s efforts?

12. From your perspective, what strategies do activists use in order to achieve the goals of the movement? How successful would you say these strategies are and is there any way that this could be improved?
Table III: Demographic characteristics of interview respondents

<table>
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<tr>
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<th>Age</th>
<th>Gender</th>
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<th>Marital Status</th>
<th>Level of Education</th>
<th># Years in Movement</th>
<th>Hometown</th>
<th>Political Affiliation</th>
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<td>White</td>
<td>Married</td>
<td>Bachelor</td>
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<td>F</td>
<td>White</td>
<td>Married</td>
<td>Graduate</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>Austin</td>
<td>Independent</td>
<td>Quaker</td>
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<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>F</td>
<td>White</td>
<td>Married</td>
<td>250 college credits</td>
<td>0.8</td>
<td>Hutto</td>
<td>Lean Left</td>
<td>Non-practicing Pagan</td>
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<td>24</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>Iranian</td>
<td>Single</td>
<td>Bachelor</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>San Antonio</td>
<td>Very Liberal</td>
<td>Atheist</td>
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<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>53</td>
<td>F</td>
<td>Hispanic/German</td>
<td>Divorced</td>
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<td>Ft. Smith AR./Jones OK.</td>
<td>Anarcho-socialist</td>
<td>Christianity</td>
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</table>

Table IV: Organizational Materials

Petition for a Moratorium Resolution:

We, the undersigned, call on the Austin City Council to pass a resolution recommending that the State of Texas enact a moratorium on executions given that Texas has already executed an innocent person, Cameron Todd Willingham; and we encourage the Travis County DA to not seek the death sentence in capital murder cases or request death warrants for current Travis County death row prisoners.
Death Penalty Free Austin Fact Sheet:

\[\text{LET'S MAKE AUSTIN DEATH PENALTY FREE!}\]

Texas carries out far more executions than any other state in the US. Since the death penalty was reinstated here in 1982, more than 460 men and women have executed in Texas.

It is likely that Texas has executed innocent people

11 people have been exonerated of murder and released from Texas Death Row. 138 people have been exonerated and released from death rows in the United States. Misconduct or errors by a prosecutor, defense lawyer, investigator, lab technician, eyewitness or others means there is no falsafe against the execution of innocents. Serious problems with processing of evidence by crime labs around the state, including the labs in Austin, Houston, and El Paso, have cast grave doubts on the ability of the State of Texas to prevent wrongful executions.

The case of Cameron Todd Willingham, from Corsicana, TX, is gaining notoriety among national media. In 2004, ten months after his execution, the Chicago Tribune reported that Willingham was likely innocent of the startine the fire that killed his three kids. In 2009, a study by the Texas Forensic Science Commission found that “a finding of arson could not be sustained”. If there was no arson, there was no crime. This story has been watched closely by The New Yorker and CNN’s Anderson Cooper. The Houston Chronicle reported in 2005 that a San Antonio man named Ruben Cantu may have been innocent of the crime for which he was executed in 1993, and in 2006, the Chicago Tribune reported that a Corpus Christi man named Carlos De Luna may have been innocent of the crime for which he was executed in 1989.

The death penalty is expensive for tax payers

In Texas a death penalty case can cost taxpayers three times as much as seeking and obtaining a sentence of life in prison, the additional cost of which is borne by all Texans. Local taxpayers can be faced with the financial burden of settling lawsuits when innocent people are wrongfully convicted or executed because of problems in the criminal justice system. For instance, the City of Austin settled two wrongful conviction lawsuits in 2003 brought by Richard Danziger and Christopher Ochoa for a total of more than $14 million, all paid by the citizens of Austin.

Death sentences are given disproportionately to the poor and people of color

There are indications of racial bias in the application of the death penalty in Texas. For instance, African Americans are only 11.5 percent of the population of Texas, yet about 40 percent of people on death row in Texas are African Americans. Nationally, over 80% of completed capital cases involve white victims even though only 50% of murder victims are white.

The tide is turning against capital punishment

The Travis County Commissioners Court and the El Paso County Commissioners Court have both already passed resolutions calling for a moratorium on executions in Texas. Anti-death penalty resolutions have been passed by the City Councils of Atlanta, Baltimore, Philadelphia, Oakland, Detroit, Cincinnati, New York City, Tucson, and many other cities.

At least 12 major newspapers in Texas, including the Dallas Morning News and the Austin American-Statesman, have called for either a moratorium on executions in Texas or abolition of the death penalty. Additionally, the American Bar Association has concluded that administration of the death penalty is "a haphazard maze of unfair practices with no internal consistency" and has called for a moratorium on executions.

Let’s make the death penalty history in Austin and Travis County. Sign a petition urging the Austin City Council to pass the Death Penalty Free Austin resolution, and join our local campaign! Email for more info.
Death Penalty Free Austin Publicity Flyer:

Following a series of scandals related to the use of capital punishment in Texas, local activists from many organizations will be pressing for a campaign to end the pursuit of death sentences in Travis County.

From the Cameron Todd Willingham case, to shoddy forensic investigations and racial bias in capital cases, the death penalty is dead wrong. All of the problems in the use of the death penalty can be found in real cases, like those of Rodney Reed, Louis Castro Perez, and the cruel and unusual execution of David Lee Powell recently carried out by the state of Texas.

The use of the death penalty is seriously being questioned right now, so let’s start an aggressive campaign to banish its end.

We hope to build a coalition of groups and individuals interested in passing a city council resolution saying that the City of Austin, Texas, condemns the use of the death penalty and asking Travis County District Attorneys to no seek the death sentence in capital cases and to not seek death warrants for Travis County Prisoners on death row.

ORGANIZING MEETING

THURSDAY, SEPTEMBER 9 AT 7PM
FRIENDS MEETING HOUSE
RODNEY REED AND MUMIA ABU JAMAL ARE ON DEATH ROW.

BOTH DENIED A RETRIAL
BOTH INNOCENT

BOTH CONVICTIONS DUE TO:
BLATANT RACISM
POLICE MISCONDUCT
JUDICIAL CORRUPTION
PROSECUTORIAL MALFEASANCE

Grassroots support for Mumia resulted in a Federal Judicial investigation of the Philadelphia Criminal Justice System; 278 cases of criminal injustice were found, 165 faulty convictions were reversed.

Demand a Federal Judicial Investigation of criminal injustice in Bastrop to FREE RODNEY.

Demonstrate against LEGAL LYNCHING on
WORLD-WIDE MUMIA SOLIDARITY DAY

Support both Rodney Reed and Mumia.

SUNDAY, OCT. 10 at 1PM; front of Texas State Capitol gate; 11th & Congress

Reed/Mumia Solidarity Committee
futurealt@yahoo.com
Kids Against the Death Penalty Flyer:

Please help stop the insanity of State Sanctioned Murder!!

Contact Governor Rick Perry and the Board of Pardons and Parole.

Please send your letter certified mail to: Honorable Governor Richard Perry
The Governor of Texas
PO Box 12428
Austin, Texas 78711-2428
or by E-mail @

http://www2.governor.state.tx.us/contact/

Information and referral hotline: 800-843-5789

Citizen’s opinion Hotline: 800-252-9600

Information and Referral and Opinion Hotline:

512-463-1782
Governor’s Main Switchboard:

512-463-2000

Governor’s Fax: 512-463-1849

Texas Board of Pardons and Paroles
General Counsel’s Office
8610 Shoal Creek Boulevard
Austin, Texas 78758

Phone: (512) 406-5852
Fax: (512) 467-0945

Paige Lynn Wood holding a sign in front of the Governor’s residence that says, “If you kill my dad, Jeff Wood You’re Killing me!

Please help stop this injustice from taking place!

www.freewebs.com/savejeffwood
Cosmopolitan Romance in Nepal: An Investigation of Emerging Views on Marriage and Dating Held by Young Newari Women

Rachel Williams
Whitman College

For decades Newari women have been limited to marriages arranged by their families and lamis, or matchmakers. There has been a recent shift in marital views among the youth has led to more courting among young Newars as well as a significant increase in the number of love marriages. Through in depth interviews with fourteen young Newari women, this article attempts to illuminate current attitudes towards marriage and courtship exemplified by young Newari women in Kathmandu. I also argue that being a cosmopolitan Newari woman requires a negotiation of traditional gender roles and requires a balance between tradition and modern aspirations.

I came home from school one day to find my Nepali host mom (aamaa) furiously sawing away at a baseball size padlock attached to the living room door. I noticed my Nepali host-father (baa) was standing next to her, absently watching as my tiny aamaa, who can barely claim 4 feet 10 inches, furiously sawed away at the lock. I soon learned that it was my baa who had accidentally locked the key inside the living room. Regardless, it was apparent that it my aamaa’s responsibility to break into the living room. For the next thirty minutes, she and I took turns sawing the lock while my baa stood idly by.

During my semester abroad, I lived with a Nepali home-stay family in Kathmandu, the urban center of Nepal. After the lock-sawing incident, I found myself more closely observing my host parents’ relationship. It did not take long to notice the distinctive hierarchical gender issues present in my new home, a gap which was further complicated by social constructions of love and marriage. Inspired by my host-parents’ relationship, I decided to further investigate Nepali marriages by conducting a field study in which I focused on marriages within the Newar ethnic group.

This article investigates the emerging change in views of marriage and courtship among young Newari women amidst a period of cosmopolitanization in Nepal. My research not only attempts to illuminate some current marital views and practices of young Newari women from Kathmandu, but also provides a lens through which social change can be
observed in a country in a unique socio-cultural position, tottering between old and new. I argue that Newari women’s views of marriage and courtship are gradually becoming more cosmopolitan and that this trend reveals a process of negotiating traditional gender role ideologies, emphasizing a growing sense of agency and independence among young Newari women living in Kathmandu. Furthermore, I contend that cosmopolitan Newari women are finding a balance between opposing forces of old and new by maintaining a sense of tradition while also forming modern visions and aspirations for themselves. This article does not address Newar men’s views of marriage.

**The Landscape**

I chose to focus my research on women belonging to the Newar ethnic group, indigenous to the Kathmandu region. Members of the Newar ethnic group appear to more heavily value tradition and adhere more strongly to traditional gender ideologies than other Nepali ethnic groups. Katharine Rankin (2004) describes the ways in which Newari women’s social and physical mobility are limited by their “dangerous qualities,” which are attributed to their temporary low caste status of contamination during their menstruation period (p. 147). Women are socially condemned for asserting agency or assuming an autonomous role, because it does not follow the social code of Newar culture (Rankin 2004). Newars seem to be slower to adopt more “modern” gender roles, particularly as they relate to marriage. For this reason, and because of my personal connection to a Newar family, I decided the Newars would be an appropriate group to study for the purposes of this research. My research seeks to understand why this change has occurred more slowly among the Newars. Although there is an existing body of literature focusing on courtship trends among other Nepali ethnic groups (Ahern 2004; Bennet 1984; Cameron 1998), this article fills an important gap in the literature, examining the trends of courtship and marriage among young Newars.

Kathmandu’s unique position as a social space of both tradition and modernity made it the ideal location for my research. Mark Liechty (2003) illustrates the constant negotiation of “what it means to be both modern and Nepali” in Kathmandu. Newari women living in Kathmandu face the daunting challenge of forming beliefs within the context of a traditional background amidst a cosmopolitanizing society, struggling to balance the old with the new (p. 61).

Kathmandu, more than other parts of Nepal, is undergoing rapid modernization due to the large concentration of visitors and international commerce. Newars in Kathmandu have increased interactions with foreigners and exposure to television as well as other media, including popular western music, news and newspapers, radio and India’s Bollywood film industry (Hoelter 2004). Additionally, much of the Nepal’s youth goes abroad seeking better education opportunities. Many of these youth eventually return to
Nepal, specifically Kathmandu, bringing back other cultures and customs. The interaction of international forces in a traditional society is creating tension between cosmopolitan and traditional values.

**Love Investigation Methods**

I discovered ample opportunities for my research in Kathmandu, where I spent the entirety of my four weeks of study. During this time I conducted fourteen semi-structured, in-depth interviews with young Newari women between the ages of 20 and 30. Three of the fourteen women were married and all of the women had experience dating. Additionally, all fourteen women had either received their Bachelor’s degree or were in the process of going to school for their degree. The interviews were digitally recorded, with the informed consent of all participants, and subsequently analyzed for the purposes of my study. While I had prepared questions that I asked during each interview, the interviews generally had the natural flow of an informal conversation during which the participants would volunteer anecdotes about past experiences and about their relationships. All participants felt comfortable speaking English, although there were varying degrees of fluency and comfort, which affected the quality of some of the interviews. A few of the interviews took place in cafes, but in many cases I was welcomed into the participants’ homes to meet their family members, look at family pictures, and of course share a cup of tea. During each interview, I focused on the history of the participant’s relationships or marriage and her beliefs about marriage and courtship.

During my interviews at homes, family members would hover, eagerly anticipating my interview with their daughter or sister. I preferred to conduct interviews one on one with the participants so they would feel comfortable sharing private information and could be candid in conversation. I would somewhat awkwardly ask the woman, in front of her family, if there was somewhere we could speak alone, as it would make the interview easier and more comfortable. Some parents insisted that their daughters could speak candidly in front of them, but in all cases participants preferred to speak alone and often indicated that they felt uncomfortable discussing their relationships in front of their parents.

While many participants were open to sharing intimate details about their relationships, some interviewees were much less forthcoming in the information they chose to share with me. In most cases, the interview was my first meeting with the participant. If time had permitted, I would have preferred to spend time with these women in a less formal context so they would feel more comfortable speaking openly with me, which would help me gain more insight into the intricacies and nuances of their relationships and marriages. However, given the circumstances, I was able to acquire many personal anecdotes and intimate details about participants’ relationships.
THE WORDS OF CITIES AND ROMANCE

In order to accurately report on my findings, I must first define some key concepts and terms: love, dating, courtship and cosmopolitanization. These terms are loaded with Western interpretations and assumptions but for the purposes of this paper it is important to understand these terms within the context of Newar culture.

Love is an emotion constructed through a complex framework of cultural expectations and religious doctrines at a specific place in time and history. I do not believe that love is a universal emotion that every human being is capable of feeling. Love is inevitably tied up in cultural values, and throughout this article I attempt to illustrate Newari women’s understanding of romantic and marital love and the associated factors in influencing this complex emotion.

A date is a meeting or interaction between non-family members of the opposite sex who may be love interests. Dating is a part of courtship, which is the process of getting to know a love interest before engagement and marriage.

Finally, I will use the term cosmopolitanization to describe the dual nature of the changes Nepal is currently undergoing. Nepal is struggling with the tension of holding onto tradition while incorporating modern ideas into society. Global exposure, realized through many mediums including media and technology, is impacting Newar tradition and cosmopolitanizing the way young Newari women view marriage. Nepal is modernizing, but not necessarily for the better, nor is there agreement on which aspects of change are for the better and which are not. Increased access to instruments of communication helps Newars to be more informed and knowledgeable, enabling them to gain more autonomy. Newars are integrating this new knowledge into their lives, blending modern and traditional aspects of society.

Nations are no longer isolated to their geographic regions. New pathways are opening globalized “networks of culture” through the “flows of labor, capital, and risks” (Beck 2011:53). Ulrich Beck (2011) argues, “we do not even have the language through which contemporary superdiversity in the world can be described, conceptualized, understood, explained and researched” (p. 53). Cosmopolitanization is occurring at a structural level in which boundaries between groups are becoming less distinct (Beck 2011; Trémon 2009). Ethnic boundaries exist largely as a social construction rather than developing from natural categories of origin (Beck 2011:54). Nations, such as Nepal, are strengthening their ethnic boundaries by reclaiming their traditions and embracing their cultural roots. This integrative process of combining tradition with outside influences suggests a need for a new discourse that is characterized by multiple voices and viewpoints. In our increasingly cosmopolitan world, dichotomous thinking, in which we make clear distinctions between “we” and “them” is becoming obsolete (Beck 2011:58).
AN OVERVIEW

The findings of this study are organized into two main sections: before marriage and after marriage. I tried to follow the chronological order of the process of dating and marriage in order to most effectively and logically report on my findings. In the Before Marriage section, I will introduce the concept of dating, women’s expectations for both their husbands and themselves, and the debate between love versus arranged marriage. Following this section, After Marriage, will address the issue of family involvement in marriage as well as the Newari woman’s role as a wife and daughter-in-law.

RESEARCH FINDINGS

Before Marriage: The Proposal

For young Newars, all relationships begin with a proposal. The proposal is traditionally made by the man but these days it is becoming increasingly common and acceptable for women to initiate the proposal as well. However, when I asked 21 year old Anju Shrestha about women proposing to men, she explained that even though women can propose to men, “when the girls love the person she wants him to propose first.” Additionally, many of the women I spoke with claimed that their boyfriend or husband was the first one to experience and express romantic feelings. It was clear that Newari women prefer traditional roles for this aspect of their relationship. In 28 year old Nirmala Kayastha’s recollection of her fiancé’s marriage proposal, note the allocation of responsibility:

I was just treating him as friend but he liked me like from inside. But he never talked about it. He said when the time comes, the right time, he will tell me. He told me actually last year but I was like “let me just think.” It took me a couple of months to stay yes. I told him yes and then I told my parents if it’s okay.

In Nirmala’s description of her fiancé’s proposal, her fiancé was responsible for initiating a romantic relationship with her. And even after he proposed to her, she needed a couple of months time to consider. Throughout Nirmala’s narrative she mentions that he was the one who “liked her from the inside,” emphasizing her passive role. Her illustration hints that she may even be embarrassed by the idea of the woman initiating romance. Nirmala seems to make every effort to avoid looking eager and instead expresses that she is happy it happened to her. This intentional attribution of responsibility seems paradoxical when Nirmala later expresses the importance of being able to choose her own husband:

Generally I prefer love marriage because it is me who is going to spend my whole life with the guy, not my parents, right? That’s why I told my dad, “it’s not you who is
Here, Nirmala asserts her agency in choosing her husband, although not quite claiming full responsibility for her decision. Unlike before, Nirmala describes herself in an active role. Nirmala’s paradoxical responses reveal an emerging sense of agency and independence that is still in formation. Nirmala is comfortable asserting her agency in the context of choosing a life partner but made sure to describe herself as a passive participant in the initiation of her relationship, reflecting her comfort with traditional roles for relationship proposals.

Manisa Shakya, a 23 year old Newari woman who has been married for three years, also highlighted her husband’s role in initiating their romantic relationship. In Manisa’s description she makes it sound as if she felt indifferent towards him until he declared his love for her. Only then did she realize any romantic feelings towards him:

Actually he was the one who fell in love at first. He proposed me then and after that I just think ok he’s independent, he had a shop and he’s mature. And I just thought he is a good person so I can be with him... and after that I also started liking him.

Despite Manisa’s apparent surprise and initial indifference, she accepted his proposal on the spot. During the proposal, he proclaimed his love for her, declaring, “if I don’t get you, then I won’t marry any girl.” Manisa giddily reflected on this moment, recalling, “this statement affected me very much.” Manisa’s husband’s proposal is one example of many grand gestures made by young Newari men when proposing to their love interest. Typically during a proposal, for either a relationship or marriage, a man declares his love for the woman. The expression of love reflects cosmopolitanization, while male and female roles reflect tradition and longstanding societal expectations.

What is a marriage?

Depending on the stages of life the women were in, I heard vastly different views of what marriage meant to each woman, with cosmopolitanization appearing to have more impact on the thinking of unmarried women than married women, but with significant variation from one individual to another. Soon to be wed Nirmala had a very romantic definition of marriage in mind:

It is like bonding of two souls together and spending the life together. Putting all your time and efforts to each other, just to, how do you say like, let it go the life like it is. Marriage is whole understanding between two people just to spend your life. Basically just to stay happy you have to have love within them, love, respect
and understanding. Those three it matters a lot in the marriage thing. That's how it became successful.

By contrast, Komal Shrestha, who has been married for seven years, called marriage the start of her “real life.” Before marrying, she did not have to take life as seriously. “Now my life starts,” Komal explains. As a married woman Komal has obligations to her husband, her husband's family and her children. Abha Shrestha, who has been married for five years, similarly addresses marriage as a new reality, a “new life, new family.” Marriage has given Abha a new direction and she encourages her friends to marry soon so they, too, find their new direction.

Gita, who is in a relationship but is currently unmarried, views marriage as an official commitment between a man and a woman. When Gita marries, she expects her marriage will last forever:

It’s a part of life. And in Nepal marriage is so holy and marriage is so sacred and then once you marry that person people expect or even you expect to be with that person for all your life because divorce is not so prevalent in Nepal, we don’t really hear people getting divorced. Even in arranged marriage, looks at mother and father, grandmother and grandfather and they’re still married. Marriage is something which is forever in Nepal.

Rupa Shakya, who is also unmarried but has never been in a relationship, views marriage in more matter-of-fact terms. “It’s a religious institute where you continue generation, build a social life, network.” She believes that it is a necessary step in life and that “at a certain point in time you need someone.” Manisa also views marriage as a natural part of life. “It’s a step that we take in our life. It’s kind of a good step. By marrying a person you get a lifelong partner to be with.”

Independent Women

Eleven of the fourteen participants were unmarried and all of them expressed the importance of marrying after the completion of their studies. This emphasis on education is pushing back the typical age of marriage for young Newari women. When I asked 22 year old Rupa when she planned on getting married, she seemed surprised, replying, “I have not thought about it (marriage) yet because I am still studying. Talks are going on in my family but they are still saying that ‘she’s studying, she has to have a job, and then we’ll think about it.’ Even my parents are not in a hurry so I am safe.” Rupa has completed her Bachelor’s degree and it currently in the process of writing her thesis for her Master’s degree. It is noteworthy, that all fourteen participants had either completed their Bachelor’s degree or were in the processes of getting their degree. Nirmala describes the importance
of having a career in addition to being educated:

Women are more career oriented right now. Before, in my mom’s time, they would just think that having a high school degree was enough for them and then when they will be twenties, early twenties, they just get married right away. But right now people are more career conscious. They think that only education is not enough. They have to also work for a while so that they can be independent, they don’t have to rely on their husbands.

Having a career frees women from financial dependence on their families or husbands, giving them a sense of independence and control over their own lives. One of the marriage participants, Abha, similarly expresses the satisfaction she gets from having her own source of income:

I think it has made me more mature. I can spend my money. I don’t have to ask to my mom, to my dad, to my father-in-law, to my husband too. I can buy anything for them also. If I take money from them and buy gift for them it will not be so... when I give gift to my mother-in-law, father-in-law, mom, dad, everyone, they will be happy. And I feel very much happy.

Abha does not want to have to rely on her husband or relatives for money and being able to give gifts to her family makes her feel happy. Abha had an arranged marriage at the age of 23, before she was able to complete her Master’s degree, and explained that it would have been much easier for her had she married after her graduation. “I still feel if I had completed my masters and then gotten married it would have been easier for me. Because for completion of two years master I got four years...I thought it would have been better if I got married at 25.”

For Gita, having a career not only gives her a sense of independence but is an essential part of her identity:

For me my independence is very important. I need to have my own identity. No matter how rich my husband is, how successful he is. I think for me to have my own identity is very important. You know my boyfriend used to tease me that “You’re going to be a housewife after marriage” and I used to beat him up. I used to tell him “I’m never going to be a housewife in my life!” I used to tell him like that. Because I cannot be a housewife after studying so much and after giving so much time to education. I cannot expect myself to be a housewife and stay in the house doing nothing. Maybe I’m too much focused on women or I don’t know, but it’s important for me.
Gita takes a strong stance in expressing her distaste for being a housewife. All eleven unmarried women expressed that becoming a housewife was not a viable option. Komal, age 30, also never imagined herself as a housewife. She planned on pursuing a career after finishing her studies, but her future took an unexpected turn when she “suddenly” got married:

I never thought of getting married and being a daughter-in-law, doing household things. I was different. I was studying. I just finished my studies and after that I just went in a different world. I have to get up early in the morning, things like that. I just finished my studies and all I was planning on doing something for myself, I mean some work, and suddenly I got married and they stopped me from doing anything. They were not supportive for me because they don’t like me doing work. They want me to stay home and used to tell me that you don’t have to do work, you don’t have to do work, you just stay here, we’ll fulfill everything.

Komal did not consider her husband’s family before marriage and as a result she was unable to pursue a career. This was a hard adjustment at first, but since having children Komal feels very dedicated to spending her time at home taking care of her children. However, after her children grow up Komal plans to work. “I will not stay home,” she says firmly. She hopes to pursue a career in business.

Meeting before Marriage

The practice of dating before marriage has become fairly commonplace in Kathmandu. There is no real Nepali term, however, that translates to date. When I asked Anjali what women call “dates” in Nepal, she responded, “we say date.” The incorporation of English jargon in the Nepali courting culture inextricably ties Western influences in with the concept of dating in Kathmandu. While the concept of dating in Kathmandu is widely understood, there is limited space available to young lovers who want to spend private time alone together. Anju describes a common frustration experienced among young couples:

There are very limited spots here for dating.... The religious places, they have made that the dating spot. There are not very many places for people to go for their lonely time. At [Temple] Pashupatinath and [Temple] Swayambhunath, they cover a lot of space so they can sit anywhere and they can have their lonely time in there. Restaurant is a bit public place, people come and go and it’s a disturbance. There are very few parks in Kathmandu and there is one that is very costly and people here don’t want to spend such money on dating and the temples are free to go.
Dating at religious sites in Kathmandu, especially Pashupatinath and Swayambhunath, has become a popular trend among young couples, but the couples are being banned from some temples because of their public displays of affection. On dates, it is very common to see couples holding hands. Kissing in public, however, remains a less common practice. “Nowadays we do see kissing. Holding hands—it’s very common. Kissing—not so common but it’s growing. The trend is coming, you know?” Muna explains.

Dating before an arranged marriage is also becoming more common and provides a woman with not only the opportunity to get to know her husband before marriage, but also allows time for her to say no to the marriage. Rupa describes this practice as a positive change for women:

This is one thing that has improved in our society. Previously it was not so. Now with more advanced and everything, we get to meet the guy beforehand, talk to him, get to know him and then if you have positive then you say it otherwise you don’t.

In the past, couples were typically only able to meet a couple of times before marriage and in some cases met for the first time at their wedding. Although Abha’s marriage was initially arranged by her family, she describes her marriage as “arranged then love” because she fell in love with her husband while dating him. Abha and her husband only met two or three times before agreeing that they would marry, but they did not marry until a year and a half after their engagement. During this period of courtship, Abha and her husband went on dates and talked on the phone on a regular basis:

We were like friends before. Everyone told us you must have had love marriage because we don’t seem like arranged marriage. No one believed we were arranged marriage. Everyone is like “sure you had love marriage. You didn’t tell us.

Abha’s arranged marriage looks very different from traditional arranged marriages because she was able to get to know her husband and fall in love with him through dating before they married. This cosmopolitan factor is not necessarily new to Kathmandu but is certainly an emerging concept within the realm of arranged marriage. Abha’s unique story provides an example of how even the most traditional form of marriage, arranged marriage, is being cosmopolitanized through dating practices prior to marriage.

Love Versus Nontraditional Arranged Marriage

While eleven of the fourteen participants expressed their preference of love marriage, I have discerned that current love and arranged marriages are similar in many ways. Most participants prefer love marriage because they can get to know the man before
marrying him. However, in current arranged marriages, women are generally able to meet and date the man before marriage and have a choice in marrying the man their family picks. Ranjana describes arranged marriage as a “blind date” set up by your parents. When I asked her whether she would have the opportunity to date the man her parents are setting her up with she responded “of course!” While there is more choice in arranged marriage these days, there is still a lot of pressure surrounding arranged marriages because parents are involved. Many of the unmarried women, for example, have already been receiving proposals arranged by their parents even though they have boyfriends and would prefer to have a love marriage.

Rupa exclusively prefers arranged marriage because she feels uncomfortable with the idea of dating a man without first receiving her parents’ approval. After marriage, “in the back of your mind you can feel secure,” Rupa explains. Then the couple has the freedom to go around openly without the fear that they may be hurting their parents.

Safal, on the other hand, describes a cosmopolitan trend that incorporates both love and arranged marriage in order to please all parties involved. “The system is like first love marriage then arranged marriage.” The woman first falls in love with a man of her choosing and after receiving her parents’ approval, the parents arrange the marriage. This gives women the agency to choose their husband while incorporating the tradition of having parents arrange the marriage.

After Marriage: Family Matters

Family is a very important factor for many young Newari women when choosing a husband. In Newar culture, a marriage signifies more than just the union of a husband and wife; the husband’s family becomes the woman’s new family. In Anju’s description of an ideal husband, she mentions her husband’s family status as an important quality. She explains that marrying a man means marrying his family. “We are not marrying to a person only. We are marrying to a whole family, all the members of the family, therefore we need to look at all the family also. Family matters.” It is important for women to consider the family when choosing a husband because after marriage the husband’s family will play an integral role in shaping their life. Anju wants her husband’s family to be educated and employed. Additionally, “they need to give their daughter-in-law freedom.” Unfortunately, Anju fears that most families will want her to be a housewife. After marriage many women have to leave their jobs to look after their families. “I won’t marry to such family,” Anju contends. “I will make it clear before getting married about such matters. If they won’t allow me to pursue my job then I won’t marry.”

The idea of moving in with a new family after marriage can be very daunting for young Newari women. Even though Rupa has always known of this tradition, she still finds the concept very strange:
That is one thing I’m scared of. Living with a new family, a mom and dad and go and introduced to a new family, and you will be calling them mom and dad. Yeah that’s a pretty weird concept. Not just for you but even for me. I will be calling someone else mom and dad, my mom and dad.

While Gita understands that her husband’s family will become like her own when she gets married, she also expects that her husband will love her family in return. “My family should be important to him. Because my mom is a single mother and I would want him to love her like his own mother.” Gita also expects that her husband’s family will treat her like a daughter, not a daughter-in-law. “I don’t want to feel awkward in someone else’s family,” she explains. Gita is ready to accept and love her husband’s family as her own, but she expects the same from her husband in return.

Role of the Newari Wife

While all of the participants expressed a desire to marry, they all acknowledge that after marriage they will have less freedom in controlling their own lives. Gita explains that because Nepal is a Hindu country, the daughter-in-laws are expected to assume many responsibilities, which inevitably means the loss of some individual freedom. “You won’t be as free as you are right now when you are married. I think I would want to enjoy my life first before getting married. Enjoy everything in life first. Be settled.”

Gita’s fears about losing her freedom after marriage are not unfounded. Abha describes the biggest change in her life since getting married as being “trapped:”

Basically I’m trapped. Not in a negative sense. But also I have more responsibilities, I have more people to answer and before I have to answer only my mom and dad and now I have to answer to my mother-in-law, father-in-law, husband. I can’t be with my friends anytime I want now. I am not like a college going girl now. I am a mother. I have to be with her.

Although Abha uses the word “trapped,” which has very negative connotations, she claims that being trapped is not necessarily a bad thing. Abha expresses that she is very happy being a wife and mother and has been able to continue working as a businesswoman in Kathmandu. When she says “trapped,” I believe she is referring to the loss of some of the freedoms that come with youth, such as being able to see friends anytime she wants. Abha also describes her family’s expectations of her as the wife of a Newar family:

They expect a lot from you. They want their daughter-in-law to be very much responsible. They expect that she should know everything, family matters, for examples, if any program is there, wedding, we should be an active participant.
We also have to be involved in all the things, all the puja, Dashian, Tihar, we should know everything how to do puja, when to go to puja.

Abha is now in charge of knowing all of the traditions specific to Newar culture. She is expected to not only understand all of the worshipping practices, but to be an active participant in every religious event. As a wife, Abha must balance the role of being a business woman with her religious and cultural responsibilities in the home.

Komal explains that not all Newari wives have the same role. She considers herself very lucky to have married into a family that is not overly demanding of her. “In our home it’s not traditional, it’s not so hard.” Komal’s in-laws do not force her to do any of the housework. “I have to do it for myself,” she explains. “I love to do that, I’m not forced to do that.” She has witnessed, however, how hard the life can be for a Newari wife by watching her friends. “I’ve seen my friends. They have very hard life. Their studies no use, they have to do everything, very hard.” This observation struck me as somewhat alarming because Komal is currently a housewife who is unable to put her studies to use, yet she views herself as lucky in comparison to many of her friends. Earlier in her narrative, Komal explained that she had planned on working after marriage but her husband’s parents were not supportive of her pursuing a career. It appears that since marrying, Komal has adjusted her expectations and aspirations. Komal expresses that she understands marriage requires compromise, reflecting a different balance between cosmopolitanization and tradition than most of the unmarried participants. When describing her sacrifices, she jokingly describes her least favorite part of being a wife. “Before marriage I used to get up whatever. That’s the worst part of married. I hate to get up.” On a more serious note, Komal explains that her complete dedication to her children and family leaves little to no time for herself. “Look at me,” Komal said dejectedly. “I hate this. I have to loose weight and I don’t know how. I’m busy, no time for myself.” Regardless of whether Komal has had to readjust her expectations, she still contends that she is very happily married and loves her life with her husband and children.

**Discerning Trends in Cosmopolitanization**

These young Newari women’s narratives about marriage shed light on the greater trend of cosmopolitanization happening in Nepal. Within the sphere of personal relationships, the cosmopolitan views expressed by young Newari women highlight the need for compromise between tradition and modernity. Cosmopolitanization involves mixing the old and the new; Newari women are maintaining their loyalty to their roots, embedded in tradition and family, while simultaneously forming modern aspirations for themselves.

During her interview, Gita Shrestha declared that she refuses to become a housewife after marriage. Gita’s declaration, however, should not be viewed as a denigration of the
value of running a household. To the contrary, Gita’s narrative highlights the value of home and family, revealing the duality of what it means to be a cosmopolitan woman. While Gita is an independent young woman who is not afraid of expressing her distaste for male dominance in Nepal, her modern assertions are not a dismissal of traditional practices. In fact, Gita’s beliefs about marriage are founded on the traditional value of family. Gita expects that her husband will love and take care of her mother as his own. Furthermore, she wants to be accepted into her husband's family as a real family member, eliminating any formality or stigma that is attached with the label of daughter-in-law. Gita understands marriage as a sacred commitment that requires compromise and adjustments in order to be sustained. Her definition of marriage hints at the very essence of what it means to be a cosmopolitan Newari woman. Compromise is necessary in order to reconcile the opposing forces of old traditions and new ideas. Gita and the other women I interviewed are in the process of finding a balance between their roots and their future.

The struggle of finding this balance is exemplified through the tensions revealed in Nirmala Kayastha’s narrative. Nirmala makes somewhat paradoxical claims of asserting her independence while also shying away from responsibility for initiating her relationship with her husband. While Nirmala feels deserving of her agency in choosing a husband, she appears embarrassed at the idea of initiating a romantic relationship with him. Most of the participants made sure to allocate primary responsibility for their relationship onto their boyfriend or husband, even if they believed in the value of being able to choose their own husband. While it is increasingly appropriate for Newari women to express their agency in choosing a husband, it remains taboo for a woman to boastfully claim responsibility for initiating a romance. Thus many Newari women choose to continue to follow a traditional social code, leaving Newar men responsible for initiating romances.

From listening to these women’s narratives, it has become clear that a Newari woman’s agency matters much more to her than having the choice of any man. Newari women rarely mentioned the issue of freedom of choice when describing their preference for love marriage. Rather, the participants preferred love marriage because it gave them the chance to get to know their partner before marriage. These women expressed the importance of having control over making the decision rather than allowing their parents to decide for them, thus illuminating the importance of having agency in choosing a husband, not the importance of having the freedom of choosing among many men.

In addition to having agency, most participants’ views of the world have become connected with visions of life in which their husbands provide supportive environments for pursuing their careers. For at least some participants, having their husbands’ support in their career is nonnegotiable. Having a career not only enables women to achieve financial independence but is symbolic of their individuality, of having an identity that is separate from their husband and marriage.
LOOKING FORWARD

Young Newari women are constantly redefining their views of marriage and dating and this research marks specific views at specific point in time. Through my research, we can see social change manifesting in the form of new marital views and practices. While the fourteen young Newari women I interviewed had diverse views in many areas of marriage, there were some significant themes that arose as I was doing my research. Preferences towards love marriage and the value of a career reveal young Newari women’s emerging sense of agency, independence and cosmopolitan worldviews. Additionally, the concepts of attraction and feeling are also essential to Newari women in their selection of a mate. Young Newari women desire more equality in the emotional give-and-take of their relationship and/or marriage than is typically associated with traditional arranged marriages. Furthermore, we can see from these women’s narratives that within the sphere of personal relationships, young Newari women are each negotiating their own personal balance between traditional and modern aspirations.

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Exploring Indicators of Social Incorporation: An Analysis of Volunteering among Hispanics in New and Old Migrant Destinations

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This paper examines conditions of Hispanic social incorporation through a comparative analysis of volunteering among Hispanics in new and old migrant destinations. Data from the Current Population Survey: Volunteer Supplement was used to compare and analyze the old and new migrant destinations. Much research has shown that different factors such as age, gender, marital status and education play a role in the likelihood of someone volunteering in an organization. In this paper I look at Hispanics (both native-born and immigrants) in traditional and nontraditional migrant destination states and compare how demographic factors, home ownership and citizenship status play a role in the likelihood of Hispanics volunteering. Volunteering not only serves to bring an individual’s skills to an organization, but that individual also learns from the volunteer experience. The primary goal of this paper is to assess conditions of social incorporation among Hispanics in traditional and nontraditional destination states by comparing indicators of Hispanic volunteerism.

This paper reports findings of social incorporation among Hispanics (both native born and immigrants) in traditional and nontraditional immigrant destination states. Volunteering is a form of social incorporation because it builds social capital across the community. The social activism of a democratic society depends on social capital, which is where volunteerism comes into play by helping create this social capital (Musick and Wilson 2008:5). In addition to this, volunteering is a way for the individual to learn about the cultural and social norms of the host country, as Handy and Greenspan (2009) found in their research on immigrants and volunteering. Volunteers not only bring certain skills to the organizations, but they also receive benefits from volunteering such as leadership skills and the sense of belonging, skills that may benefit the individual and the community in the long run. Volunteerism can also temper the impersonal nature of an increasingly bureaucratized life by offering unpaid services to those in need as well as encouraging people to be concerned for the population around them. This makes it so that the community will be concerned about the future supply of volunteer labor (Musick and Wilson 2008:5).
For this study I focus on formal volunteering, which is defined as belonging to an organization such as a school, religious, or other civic organization and participating in the events hosted by the organization (Parboteeah, Cullen, and Lrong 2004). I focus on the questions: How do Hispanics in the traditional and nontraditional states differ in volunteering? If differences exist, are they due to factors such as citizenship status, homeownership and education?

There has been a good amount of research focused on the general population and volunteering, but little has been done on Hispanic immigrants and incorporation. For example, in his research work on volunteering, Wilson (2000) includes the variable race, but cites literature that compares the difference in volunteering among blacks and whites only. Other research on volunteering and race has taken into account other races besides blacks and whites, but lumps them all together in an “other” category and does not state what other races were included (Mesch et al. 2006). As the largest minority group in the U.S., Hispanics are projected to make up 29 percent of the U.S. population by 2050 (Passel and D’Vera, 2008). As such, the role Hispanics play in American society, particularly in community life, but also politically, is increasingly important.

I chose to compare five traditional migrant destination states and six nontraditional migrant destination states because of the difference in composition of Hispanic immigrants in these two groups of states. Migrants move to certain places because that is where they know more people and those social networks provide more opportunities for success (Massey et al 1987). The ability to rely on social networks among individuals from the same sending countries often facilitated the adaptation and assimilation of immigrants to life in the U.S. (Hagen 1998). This leads to the hypothesis that Hispanics in traditional destination states will be more inclined to volunteer than Hispanics in the nontraditional destination states. This is because of the larger concentration of Hispanics living in traditional destination states. I also hypothesize that being female, owning a home, having a higher education, and being a native-born or a naturalized citizen will increase the likelihood of volunteering. These variables are known to increase the likelihood of volunteering in general and it seems logical that this would be the case for Hispanics as well (Levine 2007; Putnam 2001; Sundeen, Garcia and Raskoff 2009; Sundeen, Raskoff and Garcia, 2007; Uslander and Conley 2003; Musick and Wilson, 2008).

The states California, Florida, Illinois, New York, and Texas were chosen as the traditional destination states because these are states that have been known to be traditional “gateway states” due to their large concentration of immigrants (Massey 2008:26). Though the majority of new immigrants still migrate to these traditional gateway states, California and New York saw a decline in migration during the 1990s (Massey 2008). Alabama, Arkansas, Kentucky, North Carolina, South Carolina, and Georgia, were chosen as the nontraditional migrant destination states because prior to the 1980s, these states had little to no immigration (CNN.com 2009). Data from the volunteering supplement of
the Current Population Study (years 2005, 2006, 2007, 2008, and 2009 combined) were used for the analysis.

**Literature Review**

Looking at new immigrant destinations, Andersen (2010) points out that major political parties no longer see it in their interest to incorporate and mobilize immigrants. “It’s the community organizations that have now come to play an important role of incorporation where families and individuals are able to gain the knowledge and skills to be able to interact with the larger society, and particularly with the political and governmental systems” (Andersen, 2010:75). Incorporation does not happen by itself and overnight. Research has shown that increasing the size of a community or the size of social networks may increase the amount of resources and opportunity for political engagement because the increase allows individuals to identify others with similar characteristics and goals (Bueker 2006). If this is true for political engagement, it may hold true for participation in volunteer groups where one socializes with the people in the organizations. Research has also shown that engagement in community organizations has been linked to political participation (Rosenstone and Hansen 1993; Verba, Schlozman, and Brady, 1995). Ramakrishnan and Bloemraad (2008) indicate that scholars and public officials alike worry about declines in civic engagement and social capital because of troubling implications for democratic politics. If volunteering has been shown to be a related to political engagement, then lower levels of volunteering may mean a decline in political participation (Ramakrishnan and Bloemraad 2008:2).

(Much research on volunteering examines the variables of age, gender, education, religion and even income (Curtis Grabb, and Baer 1992; Ecklund and Park 2005; Mesch et al. 2006; Musick, Wilson, and Bynum 2000; Parboteeah et al. 2004; Park and Smith 2000; Wilson 2000). These are important variables to consider because they each have been shown to have an impact on volunteering for Americans in general. Individuals with higher education and income are more likely to volunteer than those individuals with less education and lower income (Curtis et al. 1992; Parboteeah et al. 2004; Levine 2007). When it comes to age and volunteering, there have been mixed findings on whether younger, middle-aged or older persons volunteer more. Curtis et al. (1992) found that older individuals reported higher levels of association membership in volunteer organizations than middle-aged or younger individuals. Sundeen et al. (2007) found that middle-aged individuals were more likely to volunteer than older or younger individuals. Other research has found that older people are less likely to volunteer (Wilson and Musick 1997). Gender has also been an important factor when it comes to volunteering. Many studies have found that women are more likely to volunteer than men (Mesch et al 2006; Eckland and Perry 2005; Sundeen et al. 2007; Sundeen et al. 2009). I discuss possible reasons for this later in the paper.

Some researchers have explored race and ethnicity as a factor in volunteering, but
few scholarly works have looked at the impact of citizenship status (Sundeen et al. 2007; Sundeen et al. 2009; Uslander and Conley 2003). It is important to look at the citizenship status of an individual when looking into volunteering because citizens may have an advantage over non-citizens in regards to civic engagement. As Sundeen et al. (2009:933) points out, “Immigrants who become naturalized citizens may be more assertive in learning about taking on customs of their new country, including volunteer participation, than those who do not seek citizenship.” Those individuals who are not citizens of the U.S. are less likely to volunteer than those who are (Sundeen et al. 2007; Uslander and Conley 2003).

**AGE**

Age, as mentioned earlier, has been shown to be a factor linked to volunteering, but research has shown mixed results for different ethnic and immigrant groups. For example, in a study of different ethnicities and volunteering, Sundeen et al. (2009) found that there was a relationship between being middle-aged and volunteering for Whites only. For Hispanics, being a first-generation immigrant made a difference in age for volunteering, where there is a positive (but not curvilinear) association with volunteering. Sundeen et al. (2009) also found that Hispanic and White immigrants who arrived in the United States at age 10 or older were less likely to volunteer than those who arrived at an age younger than 10. Age of immigrant arrival for Blacks and Asians makes no difference in volunteer rates. In a study of barriers to volunteering in the general population, Sundeen at al. (2007) showed that younger and older persons volunteer less than middle-aged persons. Musick and Wilson (2008:125) argue that middle-aged individuals may be more inclined to volunteer because that is when the social pressure to volunteer is stronger and educational credentials begin to signify volunteer potential. Other studies have shown that age has no effect on whether or not someone volunteers (Mesch et al. 2006).

**GENDER**

Previous research found that women are more likely to volunteer than men (Eckland and Park 2005; Sundeen et al. 2007; Mesch et al. 2006). Sundeen et al. (2009:935) argues that women are expected to be in charge of the childrearing and other organizational volunteer organizations in churches, schools, social services, and health services. Gender-role socialization may account for this: “The different socialization of females and males may incline them to seek only jobs that society has deemed acceptable for their sex.” (Reskin and Padavic 1994:42). Girls are generally socialized to be nurturing and homemakers whereas boys have been socialized to be competitive and a leader in the world (Reskin and Padavic 1994:42).

Other scholars note that women from different cultures may feel more liberated
with the American culture and more inclined to volunteer. According to Ecklund and Park’s (2005) study of volunteering among Asian American communities, “In sending countries with traditional cultures where the men take on the role of fulfilling the public and civic roles, the women from those countries who immigrate to the U.S. have more freedom to participate in non-religious civil life because of the relatively ‘liberal’ standards of American public life, therefore increasing the likelihood of volunteering among these women.” (Ecklund and Park 2005:17).

**Social Status**

People who have lower socioeconomic status, less education, are not U.S. citizens, and are not homeowners are less likely to volunteer (Sundeen et al. 2007). Musick and Wilson’s (2008) work on volunteering analyzes the influence of different social-economic resources on the probability of volunteering. Among these resources are income and education. “Education can be seen as a resource to volunteering because it means we are better informed about social issues, know more about governance and how organizations work, and have developed the necessary ‘civic skills’ demanded in many kinds of volunteer work” (Musick and Wilson 2008:123). Studies focused on immigrant organizing and civic engagement have shown that individuals with lower levels of education are less likely to participate in civic engagement (DeSipio 2002). Higher education broadens the social networks for individuals and as research has shown, social connections are important preconditions for volunteer work (Wilson 1998). In addition to this, higher levels of educational attainment encourage formal volunteering (Parboteeah et al. 2004).

Volunteering is a form of unpaid work that can be costly to perform both in terms of money and time (Musick and Wilson 2008:127). Low-income individuals may face financial barriers to volunteering due to expenses related to volunteering activities such as providing food, child care, and other services to those in need, as well as transportation costs (Reitsma-Street, Maczewski, and Neysmith 2000:665). In Illinois, 18 percent of the residents said they were not involved because of the money it takes and 13 percent were not involved because they lack the skills (Schuldt, Ferrara, and Wojcicki 2001). It is also debated that the society in which you live might have an impact on exposure to volunteer organizations. For example, someone living in a poor neighborhood most likely will not be exposed to an environment which promotes volunteering (Parboteeah et al. 2004).

**Citizenship Status & Naturalization**

The number of naturalized citizens between 2007 and 2008 increased from 660,447 to 1,046,539, a 58 percent increase (Batalova 2009). The number of persons naturalized dropped to 743,715 in 2009 (Lee 2010). The increased number of naturalized citizens was
not just due to the fact of the growing number of immigrants eligible to naturalize, but also because immigrants are naturalizing more quickly compared to the past (Jiménez 2011). For one to become a naturalized citizen, the individual must fulfill certain requirements enforced by the Immigration and Nationality Act. The requirements include ability to speak, read, and write the English language, knowledge of the U.S. government and history, having been granted legal permanent resident status in the United States, and having resided in the U.S. continuously for at least five years (Lee 2010). Since one must know English to become a naturalized citizen, naturalized citizens may be more inclined to volunteer than non-citizens. Knowledge of English is one way individuals will learn about the culture here in the U.S. as well as how take part of the customs.

DeSipio (2002) found that parents who are U.S. citizen were more likely to be involved in their children’s schools (a form of volunteerism) and respondents who were more fluent in English were similarly more likely to be involved than those who had poor English skills. Previous research on volunteering has also shown that being a citizen increases the likelihood of an individual to take part in other forms of civic involvement (Sundeen et al. 2007; Uslander and Conley 2003).

CIVIC ENGAGEMENT

Research by DeSipio (2002) has shown that an individual’s experience with group discrimination has little impact on the likelihood of civic engagement. On the other hand, an individual’s experience with personal discrimination increases the likelihood of civic engagement. Schildkraut (2005:307) argues “Individual-level discrimination is less likely than group-level discrimination to generate the group solidarity that can counteract discrimination’s damaging effects.” Those who are not civically involved are less likely to have their concerns addressed (Schildkraut, 2005). Though existing work on perceived discrimination has been focused mainly on the Latino population, (DeSipio 2002; Schildkraut 2005) more research focused on different racial and ethnic backgrounds is needed to determine if this holds only for Latinos or other groups as well.

The Civil Rights Movement of the 1960s and the 2006 Immigrants Rights Marches demonstrate that though a certain racial or ethnic group may be denied certain rights, it does not mean that they will remain quiet. Through civic engagement we have seen successions of movements like the Civil Rights Movement and also immigrants having their voice be heard.

The beginnings of the Civil Rights Movement date back to the 1800s when states like Florida legalized segregation and voting restrictions and the Civil Rights Act of 1875 was dismantled (Davis 2001:xvii). Though the success of the Civil Rights Movement was due in part to the organizing capabilities of national civil rights groups and the power of the federal government, this movement may not have been a success if it had not been
for those individuals at the local level who organized, led, and followed the Civil Rights
Movement (Davis 2001:1). Churches played a major role in the mobilization of people for
nonviolent action. Church membership provided individuals with a clear message and
meaning of nonviolence (Calhoun-Brown 2000).

Similar civil rights marches were organized in March 2006 to support Immigrants
Rights. The rallies took place in large cities like Los Angeles, Chicago, and Dallas and unlikely
places like Schyker, Nebraska, and towns across South Carolina (Ramakrish and Bloemraad
2008). These marches illustrated the capacity of noncitizens and nonvoters to organize a
mass demonstration of political engagement (Ramakrishan and Bloemraad 2008).

DATA AND METHODS

This analysis relies on the Current Population Survey (CPS) September volunteer
survey was to collect information on employment situation, a secondary purpose was
to collect information on demographic characteristics such as age, race, marital status,
educational attainment, family relationship, occupation, and industry. Questions on
volunteering in formal organizations as well as information determining the respondent’s
demographic characteristics were asked of household members 15 years of age or older.
For this study the total sample size of 30,407 includes 1,802 Hispanics in the nontraditional
destination states and 28,605 Hispanics in the traditional destination states. The study
was limited to Hispanics.

Using logistic regressions age, gender, home ownership, citizenship status, marital
status, presence of children under 18 and education were compared to see how they
affected the likelihood of someone volunteering. Due to the small sample size of Hispanics
in the nontraditional destination states, I combined the years 2005, 2006, 2007, 2008, and
2009 to get a more accurate sample size to compare to the traditional destination states
since there are fewer Hispanics in the nontraditional states.

DEPENDENT VARIABLE

The dependent variable, volunteer, is coded as 1 if the respondent volunteered
through or for an organization or for children’s schools or youth organizations as volunteer
activities; otherwise it is coded as 0. The types of organizations respondents could choose
from were (1) Religious organization, (2) Children’s education, sports, or recreational group,
(3) Other educational group, (4) Social and community service group, (5) Civic organization,
(6) Cultural or arts organization, (7) Environmental or animal care organization, (8) Health
research or health education organization, (9) Hospital, clinic, or healthcare organization,
(10) Immigrant/refugee assistance, (11) International organization, (12) Labor union,
business, or professional organization, (13) Political party or advocacy group, (14) Public safety organization, (15) Sports or hobby group, (16) Youth services group, or (17) Some other type of organization.

**Independent Variables**

*Demographic factors.* In the logistic regression, age and gender are the two demographic variables controlled for. Gender is a dummy variable with female coded as 0 and male as 1. Age is a continuous variable ranging 15 to 80.

*Home ownership and education.* The operationalization of education in past research has been by highest number of years completed. The Current Population Survey measures education in years of education but also includes years of education categories ranging from less than grade one up to professional school or doctorate. To make this range of years more meaningful in terms of years of education, I have collapsed categories into less than high school (the comparison category); high school or GED; post-high school education; and Bachelor’s degree or beyond. This particular categorization is commonly used in research with migrants (Wilson-Figueroa, Berry and Toney 1991; Wilson et al. 2009).

*Marital Status and Presence of Children under 18.* Respondents married with a spouse present and married with spouse absent were coded as married. Respondents who were widowed, divorced, separated, or never married were coded as not married. Respondents with no children under the age of 18 were coded as no children under 18 present and respondents with children at home younger than 18 were coded as children under 18 present. No presence of children under 18 was coded as 1 and presence of children under 18 was coded as 0.

*Citizenship Status.* Respondents who were (native) born in the United States, (native) born in Puerto Rico or U.S. outlying area, and (native) born abroad of American parent or parents were coded as native born. Respondents who were (foreign born) U.S. citizen by naturalization were coded as U.S. naturalized citizen. And respondents who were (foreign born) and not a U.S. citizen were coded as not U.S. citizen.

**Results**

Table 1 lists the differences of the demographic characteristics between the old and new destination states. Hispanics in the old destination states (14 percent) volunteer slightly more than Hispanics in the new destination states (12 percent). It is interesting to see that the average age in the new destination states is younger than the average age...
in the old destination states. As mentioned earlier in this paper, age has been linked to volunteering, but with variations. There is also a difference in home ownership between the traditional and nontraditional destination states, where more Hispanics own homes in the traditional destination states than in the nontraditional destination states. It is not surprising to see more native born Hispanic individuals in the traditional destination states (48 percent) than in the nontraditional destination states (24 percent) because of the large number of Hispanics in the traditional destination states and historical immigration patterns.

The percentage of naturalized citizens in the nontraditional destination states is six percent less than the number in traditional states, which is not as big as the difference between noncitizens in the traditional and the nontraditional destination states. More than half of Hispanics in the nontraditional destination states (65 percent) are non-U.S. citizens compared to 35 percent of Hispanics in the traditional destination states. Though this is a big difference, we have to take into account the different sample sizes in the traditional and nontraditional destination states. The nontraditional destination states may also have more non-U.S. citizens because of the fact that these states are new immigrant destination states. Hispanics in the traditional destination states have somewhat higher levels of education, which may be a reason why Hispanics in the traditional destination states have a higher average income than Hispanics in the nontraditional states.

Turning to Model 1 in Table 2, age, gender, home ownership, citizenship status, marital status, and presence of children under the age of 18 were entered into a logistic regression. The only differences between the Hispanics volunteering in the traditional and nontraditional destination states are age and presence of children under the age of 18 present. In the traditional destination states, as age decreases, so does the likelihood of volunteering. The findings for age and volunteering in the traditional states are consistent with previous research (Curtis et al. 1992). In the nontraditional destination states, the variable age is not statistically significant so we cannot make any assumptions about age and volunteering in the nontraditional destination states. No children present under the age of 18 also was not statistically significantly in the nontraditional destination states. Having no children under the age of 18 present at home decreases the likelihood of volunteering by 70 percent in the traditional destination states. The results show that holding everything constant, females in both the traditional and nontraditional destination states were more likely to volunteer than males. Consistent with Putnam (2001) homeowners were also more likely to volunteer than non-home owners. Naturalized citizens in the nontraditional states were 50 percent less likely to volunteer than native-born individuals and noncitizens were 74 percent less likely. In the traditional states, naturalized citizens were 35 percent less likely to volunteer than the native born and noncitizens were 60 percent less likely. Being married also raised the likelihood of volunteering.

In Model 2, reported in Table 2, education was added. The variables age, no
presence of children under the age of 18, high school education, and marital status were not statistically significant to determine the likelihood of volunteering in the nontraditional destination states. As age decreased in the traditional destination states so did the likelihood of volunteering. Being married raised the likelihood of volunteering compared to not being married in the traditional states. Having no children under the age of 18 present lowered the likelihood of volunteering by 71 percent. In both the traditional and nontraditional destination states being married, native born, owning a home, and having more education increased the likelihood of volunteering.

Income was added to a third logistic regression, but was not included in this paper due to the fact that a large proportion of the sample size was dropped because of missing cases. Because of this I felt reliability would be lost. Though the results of the third regression were not reported in this paper, income was statistically insignificant in the new destination states whereas for the old destination states, those who had higher incomes were more likely to volunteer.

Table 1

| Descriptive Statistics for New and Old Destination |
|---------------------------------|-----------------|-----------------|
|                                 | New Destination States | Old Destination States |
| Volunteer %                    | 12               | 14              |
| Age - Mean (Percent)           | 33               | 39              |
| Gender - Male                  | 55               | 48              |
| Home Ownership - Own           | 40               | 55              |
| Citizenship Status             |                  |                 |
| - Native, Born in the U.S.     | 24               | 48              |
| - Foreign Born, U.S. Naturalized Citizen | 11           | 17              |
| - Foreign Born, Not U.S. Naturalized Citizen | 65           | 35              |
| Marital Status - Married       | 56               | 51              |
| Education                      |                  |                 |
| - Less than High School Diploma | 50               | 42              |
| - High School or Equiv (GED).  | 26               | 28              |
| - Post-HS Education            | 14               | 19              |
| - BA/BS or Beyond              | 9                | 10              |
| Mean Income                    | 25,000-29,999    | 30,000-34,999   |
| (Included for descriptive purposes) |                  |                 |
| **N**                          | **1,808**        | **28,711**      |

Table 2
Logistic Regression Predicting Likelihood of Volunteering
Model 1

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>New Destination States</th>
<th>Old Destination States</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Odds Ratio</td>
<td>Odds Ratio</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Age</td>
<td>0.994</td>
<td>0.995***</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>.9819266–1.00526</td>
<td>.9929607–.997679</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gender - Male (ref: female)</td>
<td>0.587**</td>
<td>0.613***</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>.433784–.7932287</td>
<td>.5717093–.6577784</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Home Ownership - Own (ref: don’t own)</td>
<td>1.879***</td>
<td>1.353***</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1.365918–2.5857599</td>
<td>1.257856–1.455261</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Citizenship Status - (ref: native, born in the U.S.)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- Foreign Born, U.S. Naturalized Citizen</td>
<td>0.496**</td>
<td>0.655***</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>.3107033–.7916285</td>
<td>.59426–.7226155</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- Foreign Born, Not U.S. Naturalized Citizen</td>
<td>0.264***</td>
<td>0.402***</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>.1879385–.3713191</td>
<td>.3684565–.4377227</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Marital Status - Married (ref: not married)</td>
<td>1.471*</td>
<td>1.435***</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1.018748–2.123583</td>
<td>1.318285–1.561361</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Presence of Children - No Children&lt;18 Present (ref: children&lt;18 present)</td>
<td>1.021</td>
<td>0.699***</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>.7232433–1.440534</td>
<td>.645049–.7572629</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

N 1,802 28,605

*p<.05  **p<.01  ***p<.001
### Table 2
Logistic Regression Predicting Likelihood of Volunteering (cont'd)
Model 2

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Variable</th>
<th>New Destination States</th>
<th>Old Destination States</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Odds Ratio</td>
<td>Odds Ratio</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Age</strong></td>
<td>0.987</td>
<td>0.995***</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>0.9747375...9999208</td>
<td>0.992259...9971722</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Gender - Male (ref: female)</strong></td>
<td>0.601**</td>
<td>0.624***</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>0.4416008...8167699</td>
<td>0.580941...6694304</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Home Ownership - Own (ref: don't own)</strong></td>
<td>1.865***</td>
<td>1.259***</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1.345494...584656</td>
<td>1.169101...355799</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Citizenship Status** - (ref: native, born in the U.S.)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Citizenship Status</th>
<th>New Destination States</th>
<th>Old Destination States</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>- Foreign Born, U.S. Naturalized Citizen</td>
<td>0.546*</td>
<td>0.668***</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>0.385279...8794</td>
<td>0.6049541...7373831</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- Foreign Born, Not U.S. Naturalized Citizen</td>
<td>0.391***</td>
<td>0.482***</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>0.2716759...5618446</td>
<td>0.4406954...5267834</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Marital Status - Married (ref: not married)</strong></td>
<td>1.358</td>
<td>1.373***</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>0.936259...971133</td>
<td>1.260548...495354</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Presence of Children - No Children&lt;18 Present (ref: children&lt;18 present)</strong></td>
<td>1.022</td>
<td>0.711***</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>0.720869...448111</td>
<td>0.6552672...7703912</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Citizenship Status** - (ref: native, born in the U.S.)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Citizenship Status</th>
<th>New Destination States</th>
<th>Old Destination States</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>- High School Diploma or Equiv (GED)</td>
<td>1.500</td>
<td>1.115*</td>
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<td>0.9954538...260599</td>
<td>1.015254...224785</td>
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<tr>
<td>- Post-HS Education</td>
<td>3.091***</td>
<td>1.926***</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>2.010314...4753213</td>
<td>1.753155...2114974</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- BA/BS or Beyond</td>
<td>3.706***</td>
<td>3.045***</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>2.297092...979669</td>
<td>2.740127...3382718</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**N** | 1,802 | 28,605

*p<.05  **p<.01  ***p<.001
The results of this study show that the social incorporation of Hispanics in old destination states is greater than in the new destination states, but not by much. A reason for this may be that more Hispanics in the old destination states are established into the community and own a home, which was shown to increase the likelihood of volunteering in this study. These findings are also consistent with Putnam’s (2001) work on volunteering. By owning a home, one will more likely have stronger social networks and community ties (Putnam, 2001). And as can be seen with previous research, social capital is positively related to volunteering (Parboteeeah et al. 2004; Wilson and Musick, 1998). In addition to owning homes, Hispanics in the old destination states have somewhat higher levels of education than Hispanics in the new destination states. In the old destination states, 57 percent of Hispanics have at least a high school education or higher compared to only 49 percent of Hispanics in the new destination states. Education is an important factor in predicting civic involvement as mentioned earlier in this article for various reasons such as the self-confidence it builds and the awareness it raises on social and world issues (Musick and Wilson 2008:119).

It is interesting to see that the mean income of Hispanics in the old destination states is greater than the mean income of Hispanics in the new destination states. This could possibly be due to the fact that there is a higher percentage of Hispanics in the old destination states have at least a high school education or higher compared to Hispanics in the new destination states. Citizenship could play a part in this difference. We see that there is a large portion of non-citizen immigrants in the new destination states (65 percent), compared to 35 percent in the old destination states. North and Houston’s (1976:S-11) research on the wages earned by illegal individuals in the U.S., found that undocumented workers received between 35 and 81 percent less in average hourly wages than other workers in the same industry (North and Houston 1976:S-11). Rivera-Batiz’s (1999) work on earnings of legal and illegal Mexican immigrants in the United States showed that legal immigrants received substantially more than undocumented individuals. “Male legal immigrants earned 41.8 percent more than undocumented workers while female legal immigrants earned 40.8 percent more.” (Rivera-Batiz 1999:111). Though the primary focus of this study is the social incorporation of Hispanics in old and new immigrant destination states, we see that more Hispanics in old destination states are established in the sense that a higher percentage of them own a home, are native born or are naturalized citizens, and have at least a high school education or higher.

**Old Immigrant Destination States & Volunteering**

Age. For both of the models shown, age, gender, home ownership, citizenship status,
marital status, presence of children under the age of 18 present, and the level of education had an effect on the likelihood of volunteering among Hispanics. Being older increased the likelihood of an individual volunteering. This finding is consistent with Curtis et al. (1992) research on voluntary association membership, but contradicts Wilson and Musick (1997) who found older individuals to be less likely to volunteer.

**Gender & Presence of Children under age 18.** Consistent with various past work on volunteering, females were more likely to volunteer than males (Wilson and Musick, 1997; Eckland and Park 2005; Sundeen et al. 2007; Mesch et al. 2006). Having children under the age of 18 present at home also increased the likelihood of an individual to volunteer in this study (Wilson and Musick 1997). Because of the traditional gender roles in our society, it is no surprise that women are more involved in volunteer organizations.

**Marital Status.** Individuals who reported being married were more likely to volunteer than those who reported not being married. These findings contradict Mesch et al. (2006) findings on singles volunteering more than those who are married. However, Putnam (2001:278) argues that being married and having children changes the kinds of social networks one belongs to as well as increases the time spent in community organizations.

**Native Born & Foreign Born.** Compared to immigrants (both citizens and noncitizens), native born individuals were more likely to volunteer. Studies, which have compared citizens and noncitizens, have found that citizenship spurs civic engagement (DeSipio, 2002; Sundeen et al., 2007; Uslander and Conley, 2004). Though this study compared only native born and individuals, we can see from the findings that noncitizens have a higher likelihood to not volunteer than naturalized citizens when compared to the native born.

**Education.** Education increased the likelihood of volunteering, which past studies have shown this to be true (Wilson and Musick 1998; Parboteeah et al. 2004; Putnam 2001:187). Putnam (2002:186) argues that “Educated people are more involved in the community in part because of the skills, resources, and inclinations that were imparted to them at home and school.” Also, social integration is a huge part of the college experience, the exposure to different clubs and organizations on and off campus differ across a host of student variables and institutions.

**NEW IMMIGRANT DESTINATION STATES & VOLUNTEERING**

**Age.** For the new destination states, age was statistically insignificant in determining the effect it has on volunteering.
Gender & Presence of Children under age 18. Consistent with the results for the old destination states, females were more likely to volunteer than males. However in both models, the presence of children under the age of 18 at home was statistically insignificant in relationship to the likelihood of volunteering.

Marital Status. Being married increased the likelihood of volunteering by 47 percent in Table 2 reported in Model 1. But when education was added into the model as can be seen with Model 1 in Table 2., marital status was statistically insignificant.

Native Born & Foreign Born. Consistent with the findings in the old destination states, native born individuals were more likely to volunteer than foreign born individuals.

Education. Those with higher education were more likely to volunteer than those with lower levels of education.

CONCLUSION

Hispanics are the largest and fastest growing minority in the U.S., this being said it is important to look at how communities and organization can appeal to this population. Volunteers bring many valuable skills to organizations and organizations can take advantage of Hispanic residents’ skills, energy, and perspectives while simultaneously enhancing these volunteers’ quality of life and more effectively integrating Hispanics into communities. The location of where Hispanics live is also important to take into account because the host community may play a critical part in the social incorporation of these individuals. A community with a larger concentration of different racial groups may be more welcoming to immigrants than a community that does not have much interaction with different racial groups. This could impact how immigrants assimilate into the American society.

This study raises new research questions concerning volunteering and social incorporation. For example, does the type of organization in which one volunteers play a role in the likelihood that an individual will also participate in political activity? Since old migrant destination states have a larger concentration of Hispanics, do organizations in the old destination states offer more resources for social incorporation, such as through Spanish spoken at the volunteer organizations? It would also be essential to look at different factors which may help the social incorporation of Hispanics into the American society such as Latino elected officials, homeownership, citizenship status, education, and how they play a role in the social incorporation of Hispanics specifically or how they may be considered resources.

The questions presented here should be addressed with a qualitative approach.
to better understand them. A qualitative approach would be beneficial to examine the attitudes of Hispanics towards volunteering as well as comprehend if certain factors such as Spanish being spoken at an organization would be an incentive for someone to volunteer. Future research should focus on organizations where Hispanics volunteer most and interview these individuals to see how different factors influence their volunteering specifically. We should also take into account those individuals who do not volunteer to get a better understanding of how certain factors may block or limit the civic engagement of those people.

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Capital Transformations in Boston Music Scenes

Keri Hartman
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This article analyzes 18 in-depth interviews with performers, production team members, and journalists involved in nine music scenes in Boston, Massachusetts using Bourdieu’s framework of capital transformations. Saturation in the market for talented musicians in many scenes forces performers to rely upon more than their artistic ability to obtain gigs. Instead, music scene participants focus on developing and maintaining social capital, which they then attempt to leverage into better-paying gigs, larger audiences, and even the creation of new employment opportunities within the scene. Most music scene participants focus on building local, scene-specific social capital by frequenting locales where they are likely to meet other members of the scene. This social capital specific to the local music scene is then converted into economic capital by allowing its owners to tap into a network of reciprocal support, collaboration, and sponsorship, and even – for highly connected scene participants – to play a lucrative gatekeeping role. At the same time, however, the market saturation in Boston’s local music scenes also leads participants to draw upon other social networks, such as ethnic communities and personal friends, in order to secure a broader support base.

The past twenty years have been a period of resurgence for the largest American cities in terms of both population growth and economic health. This period coincided with a shift from a conception of cities as dirty, dangerous sites of industrial production to highly exciting and innovative centers of entertainment and cultural consumption (Glaeser and Gottlieb 2006). The consumer city attracts certain types of people – what Richard Florida terms the “creative class” – who seek out communities that provide “abundant high-quality experiences, an openness to diversity of all kinds, and above all else, the opportunity to validate their identities as creative people” (Florida 2003: 9). Since Florida argues that cities that attract members of the creative class are “the economic winners of our age,” with high concentrations of innovation and high-tech industry growth, cities would do well to cultivate their cache among members of this class in order to secure their own economic health (2003: 8). One attribute of a city highly correlated with both the general economic health of a city and with high-tech industry growth is the presence of strong music and
art scenes (Florida 2003; Lloyd 2002). Cities that are able to support large numbers of musicians, artists, and other scenesters attract the concentration of innovative, highly educated people necessary for success in the twenty-first century economy.

For this reason, interest in the economics of music scenes has grown among researchers in recent years (see Gardizi 2006; Thornton 1996). In this article, I analyze 18 in-depth interviews with performers, production team members, and journalists involved in nine music scenes in Boston, Massachusetts, to investigate the ways in which participants in Boston music scenes navigate their twin desires to make a living in economic terms and to make a life in a more cultural sense through their scene participation. I find that structural conditions in the Boston area create tension between these two goals, for saturation in the market for talented musicians in many scenes forces performers to rely upon more than their artistic ability to obtain gigs. Instead, drawing upon Bourdieu’s understanding of capital conversion, I argue that music scene participants focus on developing and maintaining social capital, which they then attempt to leverage into better-paying gigs, larger audiences, and even the creation of new employment opportunities within the scene. Most music scene participants focus on building local, scene-specific social capital by frequenting locales where they are likely to meet other members of the scene. This social capital specific to the local music scene is then converted into economic capital by allowing its owners to tap into a network of reciprocal support, collaboration, and sponsorship, and even – for highly connected scene participants – to play a lucrative gatekeeping role. At the same time, however, the market saturation in Boston’s local music scenes also leads participants to draw upon other social networks, such as ethnic communities and personal friends, in order to secure a broader support base.

LITERATURE REVIEW

Peterson and Bennett define music scenes as contexts “where performers, support facilities, and fans come together to collectively create music for their own enjoyment. In many ways the organization of music scenes contrasts sharply with that of the multinational music industry, in which a relatively few people create music for mass markets” (2005: 3). They are grassroots collectivities oriented simultaneously around the production and consumption of music, and occur spatially at typical meeting places known to most participants (Hitzler, Bucher and Niederbacher 2005).

At the same time, however, hierarchies and lopsided networks do exist within music scenes. Because all scene participants rarely meet together in one location, music scenes are organized into “diverse, interwoven groups and arrangements segmented on the basis of differing criteria” (Hitzler et al 2005: 25). 1

1 My translation. Original: “vielfältige, miteinander verwobene und nach verschiedenen Kriterien segmentierte Gruppen und Gruppierungen”
groups that form a scene out of what would otherwise be isolated sets of friend groups sharing a given musical taste. This means that participants that form bridges between groups, who Hitzler, Bucher and Niederbacher term “organization elites,” have power in deciding the scene’s stylistic directions and in organizing events for the scenes (2005).

Because of their grassroots nature, music scenes have generated a largely do-it-yourself economy based on “small collectives, fans turned entrepreneurs, and volunteer labor” that work to support music scenes (Peterson and Bennett 2005: 5). These positions are often informal and ad-hoc, however, leading many participants to supplement their scene-based income with other forms of employment. In ethnographic research with artists living in Chicago’s Wicker Park neighborhood, Lloyd finds that more than half of his informants earned incomes less than $40,000 per year, leading the vast majority to subsidize the art earnings with work outside the art world (2002). Employment within music scenes, then, often involves the combination of a variety of flexible, informal means of remuneration that both mesh with participants’ desired lifestyle choices and allow them to maintain their existence.

In order to do this, music scene participants rely heavily upon processes that convert their social capital into economic capital. This process of capital conversion draws upon the work of Bourdieu, who theorized a distinction between economic capital, “which is immediately and directly convertible into money,” and social capital, which is derived from and can be converted into economic capital, although not without some transaction cost (Bourdieu 1983: 243). Bourdieu defines social capital as “the aggregate of the actual or potential resources which are linked … to membership in a group – which provides each of its members with the backing of the collectivity-owned capital, a ‘credential’ which entitles them to credit” (Bourdieu 1983: 248). Social capital thus consists of the human relationships upon which a person can draw for favors, information, and reciprocal exchange. Because it relates both to the number and strength of a given person’s connections and to the connections of her connections, social capital is highly dependent upon a person’s position within a given social network (Bourdieu 1983). Those located more centrally in the network have more social capital than those located on the periphery. Thus, a key strategy of social capital accumulation is the cultivation of contacts, particularly those with more central positions in the network, in the hopes that these contacts will prove economically useful in the future. Within contemporary music scenes, where the do-it-yourself ethos reigns, social capital has become particularly important. In interviews with unsigned rock bands in two Virginia college towns, Sargent found that performers’ “need to network directly with audiences in order to gain elusive financial rewards intensifies the significance of social networks as a resource” upon which bands draw in order to succeed economically (Sargent 2009: 472). In order to accumulate this scene-based social capital, performers network with other scene participants, whether fans, fellow musicians, or production teams.
DATA AND METHODS

Data for this analysis comes from 18 in-depth interviews conducted with participants in a variety of Boston-area music scenes over a period of one year by Harvard University undergraduates as part of a junior tutorial in sociology. Each researcher conducted one interview in person or via telephone, transcribed it, and submitted it to a larger interview pool. Data on the length of each interview was not reported, although students were instructed to aim for a minimum length of 45 minutes. Each interviewer was given free reign in choosing the subject, style, and specific theoretical focus of his or her interview. However, all interviews addressed the subject’s personal musical background (e.g. history of involvement in the scene, motives for participation, and details about current musical projects), the geography and dynamics of the local music scene in which he or she took part (e.g. history, key performers and venues, cohesion vs. fragmentation, hierarchies of participation), and how the Boston scene compared to other local scenes for that particular style of music.

Because of the nature of the data collection, no attempt was made to systematically sample the Boston musical landscape in its entirety, or to control for the race, age, or gender of respondents. Data on interview subjects’ race and age was not even reported, so there is no way of knowing how my sample’s age and racial demographics might affect my conclusions. Fourteen of the eighteen respondents were male, but no systematic differences in responses by gender was observed, leading me to believe that my data is generalizable to both male and female music scene participants.

The most commonly represented music scenes were hip-hop and classical – including choral ensembles, early music, and opera – with four interviews each, followed by rock (with three) and mariachi (with two). A variety of other musical scenes such as folk, Irish bar music, and jazz were represented by one interview subject. By far the most common position for interview subjects within their respective musical scenes was as a performer. Eleven interviewees defined musical performance as their primary scene activity, while another three subjects who primarily worked in production were also performers. In total, five interview subjects defined production as their primary scene activity, with duties ranging from the creative director of an afterhours nightclub playing electronic music to ticketing agent at a mid-size rock venue. The remaining two interviewees were college radio DJs.

I conducted three rounds of inductive coding by hand on the eighteen interview transcripts. In the preliminary round of coding, I selected for further analysis all interview segments that addressed music scene economics. This eliminated two interviews from the sample (a neo-soul performer and a bouncer at a hip-hop nightclub). These were also the interviews with the shortest and most incomplete transcripts, indicating that their lack of attention to economic considerations resulted from interviewer inadequacy rather than from
an actual lack of capital transformations within the neo-soul and hip-hop music scenes. Thus, there is no evidence that the conclusions I draw about capital transformations in Boston music scenes are biased by the fact that I build my analysis upon the remaining sixteen interviews. The second round of coding identified the major types of social capital that Boston-area music scene participants draw upon (scene-specific, personal, and identity-based), while the third round parsed through the strategies of accumulation, conversion, and maintenance of scene-specific social capital, the type of social capital for which I had the most data.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Music Scene</th>
<th>Role</th>
<th>Type(s) of Capital Identified</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Jeremy</td>
<td>Rock</td>
<td>Bass Guitarist</td>
<td>Scene-specific</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cait</td>
<td>Rock</td>
<td>Frontwoman</td>
<td>Scene-specific; Personal</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cathy</td>
<td>Rock</td>
<td>Club Ticketing Agent</td>
<td>Scene-specific</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Trevor</td>
<td>Classical</td>
<td>Trumpet player</td>
<td>Scene-specific</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>James</td>
<td>Classical</td>
<td>Choral Singer</td>
<td>Identity-based</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Trevor</td>
<td>Classical</td>
<td>Trumpet player</td>
<td>Scene-specific</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Diego</td>
<td>Mariachi</td>
<td>Guitarist</td>
<td>Identity-based</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Roger</td>
<td>Mariachi</td>
<td>Performer</td>
<td>Identity-based</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Teake</td>
<td>Hip-Hop</td>
<td>College Radio DJ</td>
<td>Scene-specific</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dan</td>
<td>Hip-Hop</td>
<td>Rapper</td>
<td>Scene-specific</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ben</td>
<td>Jazz</td>
<td>Saxophone</td>
<td>Scene-specific</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jonathan</td>
<td>Irish</td>
<td>Lead Guitarist</td>
<td>Identity-based</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dave</td>
<td>Reggae</td>
<td>College Radio DJ</td>
<td>Scene-specific</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Riho</td>
<td>Opera</td>
<td>Singer</td>
<td>Personal</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mike</td>
<td>Folk</td>
<td>Club Manager</td>
<td>Scene-specific</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mark</td>
<td>Electronic</td>
<td>Club Manager</td>
<td>Scene-specific; Personal</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Basic information on each interview subject and the type of social capital they identified as prominent in their specific music scene is summarized in Table 1. Because the same questions were not asked of every interview subject, a systematic comparison of the processes of capital transformation in various music scenes in Boston is not possible on the basis of this data. Throughout this paper, I will draw upon the interviews that do address each type of capital transformation in order to draw some tentative conclusions.
Sociological Insight

about the internal dynamics of music scene economies in the Boston area. However, the absence of data from any given music scene about a specific type of capital transformation should not be taken as evidence that the relevant capital transformation does not exist within the scene.

FINDINGS

Economic Structure of Boston Music Scenes

Eight interviews across five musical genres identified heavy market saturation for performers within their specific music scenes. For genres such as hip-hop and rock, this was attributed to the recent democratization of the music-making process due to technological advances that have made audio recording cheaper. As Teake, a hip-hop DJ at a college radio station, noted in a comparison to the early days of hip-hop, “Back then you had to be good. Now anyone can rap” and record professional-quality demos with just a foam mattress pad, a laptop, and a $60 microphone. These technological advances have lowered the barriers to entry for aspiring musicians, making it easier for more people to attempt to support themselves with music. For genres that typically require advanced musical training, such as jazz and early music (played on period instruments), technological advances have not led to such deep changes. However, the plethora of Boston universities with high-quality music education programs draws many people affiliated with these music scenes to the area, which has led to market saturation in these scenes as well.

Because of this market saturation of musicians, owners of the means of musical production (which are typically concert venues, but also include symphony orchestras and opera companies) are able to be selective about which musicians they hire. For-profit concert venues and their booking agents, especially, take care to select those musicians that will maximize their profits by bringing the most people to their location. Cait, front woman of a rock band, explains that for venues, “It’s all about selling beer, or generating door sales, or whatever it is. As a musician, you’re just trying to bring people out” so that they can spend their money in the venue. Because concert venues exist to make money, this focus on the draw in selecting performers sometimes overshadows musical considerations. Jeremy, a rock bassist, argues, “The fact of the matter is that if you don’t bring a lot of people in, promoters don’t really care what you sound like. If your music is mediocre, but you bring a lot of people to the bar, everyone’s getting paid” and therefore happy. Jeremy also believes that the specific nature of the Boston rock music scene, clustered around bars that offer live music rather than stand-alone concert venues, contributes to this trend.

Unfortunately, no booking agents at such bars were interviewed to confirm whether or not economic calculations play the decisive factor in setting up gigs. However, an interview was conducted with Mike, the managing director of a small-scale non-profit folk venue that does not sell alcohol, which seems to be the exception that proves the rule. He
notes that his club is “not just another LiveNation venue [a large for-profit nationwide concert promoting and booking company]. When you get into larger-scale venue world then tickets are paying and a lot of what they sell is liquor.” Free from this need to draw huge crowds and fuel alcohol consumption, Mark looks at other factors as the person responsible for booking acts: “Do I think they’re talented? Do I see potential for development? Can I afford it? Is it financially responsible for me?” While financial considerations do play a role, his economic decision-making is based more on a desire to support new music without ruining the organization’s financial solvency than on a profit maximization strategy. This is the best evidence that many for-profit venues look at mostly when booking, although Mark feels he cannot do so because of his venue’s non-profit status.

Performers, knowing that their ability to get gigs is based not on their musical talent per se but on their ability to draw people to the venue, thus face a dilemma. They can either become better musicians and hope that this will inspire others to attend their performances, or they can cultivate social capital, using their personal connections to fill the venue with friends, relatives, and contacts. Because of these competing strategies, economic success within the scene -- defined by the frequency of gigs and the scale of the venues at which one plays -- is not necessarily correlated with musical ability. As Jeremy, the rock bassist, notes, “The quality of the music tends to be better with the bands that draw more but not necessarily so.” Indeed, Mark, creative director of an afterhours dance club, finds that in the Boston electronic music scene, “a lot of people who get gigs are really just promoters, not good DJs, so people aren’t exposed to highest quality music and just are exposed to people with a good guest list.” Most performers, however, tend to use both strategies simultaneously, striving to improve the quality of their music while simultaneously cultivating and mobilizing a social network of potential supporters.

Although I focus on social capital accumulation in this paper, it is worth noting that performers are not examples of *homo economicus*, leveraging their contacts solely to achieve maximum payout. Rather, it is their passion for their music and their desire to devote their lives to it that motivates their desire to support themselves through participation in the music scene. As Jeremy notes, “We would rather play to thirty people who are excited versus a hundred people who didn’t like it. Those numbers are very true because we would rather play for five hundred people who didn’t like it than thirty people who did.” Thus, performers often take mixed strategies, subsidizing projects of passion with higher-paying gigs, as Jeremy’s band did when they played in Gillette Stadium before a New England Revolutionaries (Major League Soccer) game. The reality is, in the words of hip-hop performer Dan, that without paid gigs, “People might know my music but I’d be broke.”

*Social Capital Transformations within the Local Scene*

*Accumulation*. The most commonly discussed strategy, mentioned by eleven of sixteen respondents, for converting social capital into the economic capital of paid
gigs was to cultivate social capital within the local music scene itself. Seven respondents accomplished this by frequenting typical meeting places for their respective scenes. Although these specific locations vary, attending performances by other musicians of the same genre was common to many scenes. For example, Cait, the rock front woman, attends five to seven rock concerts a week. She notes, “To build contacts, you just have to go out to a shitload of shows, and try to meet everyone that’s playing, try to meet the promoters who are putting together the gig, try to meet the venues that are putting things together. Ultimately, you can never know enough bands, you can never have enough places to play.” Similarly, Ambrus, an organist and clarinetist involved in the early music scene, spent much of his first year in Boston “socializing and getting to know the organs” at early music performances rather than attempting to secure gigs for himself.

For members of music scenes that often require professional qualifications, university music programs are another typical meeting place for members of the scene. Both classical musicians that rely on scene-specific social capital have cultivated connections within Boston’s university music scenes (the third classical performer, James, sings in a gay men’s chorus that relies upon identity-based capital to draw audiences), as did the two informants from the similarly technique-heavy jazz and opera scenes. Trever, who plays the trumpet for a professional orchestra, finds that the best connected people in Boston’s classical music scene all went to college together in the city in the late 1950s and early 1960s, and Riho, the opera singer, acquires most of her performance opportunities through colleagues at the New England Conservatory of Music, where she obtained a Master’s degree. Thus, as they attempt to cultivate social capital within the local scene, members of various music scenes frequent scene-specific locales, which differ in the details of their locations but seem to cluster around concert venues that feature performances by musicians affiliated with the scene and with university music programs that educate up-and-coming members of the scene.

Three interview subjects use scene-related employment as a way of building the contacts necessary to launch their own musical careers. Mark, the creative director of the electronic music club, sees himself as a techno DJ first and foremost, but uses his job as a club promoter to meet other producers of electronic music. Cathy, ticketing agent at a mid-size rock concert venue, finds that many production and sound people play in bands and tour, and she herself hopes to use her current position to jumpstart a career in tour and artist management.

*Conversion.* Once they have obtained social capital within their local scene, participants attempt to convert that social capital into economic capital. In doing so, they implement a variety of strategies that depend on their position within the scene’s hierarchy and on internal features of the scene itself. The simplest form of conversion, practiced by six respondents, draws on bonds of reciprocity among members of the scene with similar structural positions. Within rock music, in particular, scene members make
point of attending each other’s shows to help each other draw a crowd. Each of the three informants from the rock music scene, in addition to one hip-hop performer, utilized this strategy, and according to Cait, the practice is widespread within the scene: “At least half of the people, or 1/3 of the people who are out for the show might be musicians themselves or promoters or bartenders at a music venue. It’s like the scene supporting the scene. You go hear somebody play, so that in turn they’ll go hear you play. That’s how it works.” These norms of reciprocity ensure that scene members with sufficient social capital can be sure of drawing at least a minimum number of people to their performances solely from support of fellow scene members.

Three of the performers also mentioned collaborating on booking, notifying each other of upcoming gigs in the same way that members of many social networks spread news of job opportunities to contacts looking for employment. Jonathan, founder and lead guitarist of an Irish bar band, explains these norms of cooperation: “We do not consider other Irish bands to be competition but rather allies. In the event we are engaged on a particular date that is subsequently requested, we have no compunction in recommending our fellow musicians.” This collaboration occurs to an even greater extent in Boston’s choral music scene, in which the Boston Choral Consortium, consisting of the directors of all of the area’s choirs, collectively schedules seasons for all choral groups so as to avoid unnecessary competition. James, member of the Boston Gay Men’s Chorus, says, “There is overlap with what they are going to sing, and sometimes that leads to competition. It is a way for people to know what others are doing and they can sort of plan around that.” By forming essentially a cartel of choral ensembles, the Boston Choral Consortium institutionalizes the scene’s social capital while establishing explicit norms of collaboration among members.

Other forms of converting social capital into economic capital take advantage of hierarchies within the scene. For members located closer to the margins of the scene’s social network, this often takes the form of working through people who are better connected. In particular, four respondents mentioned becoming friends with promoters is important in music scenes in which venues rely on these promoters to book performers. Because as Dave, a college radio DJ, notes “only a few people have the keys to getting a show” in the reggae scene, knowing these people becomes vital to economic success. As an example of the power of these connections, Ben, a jazz saxophonist, has been able to play at a mid-size venue because he knew people who could put him in contact with the manager there. Similarly, Cait notes that in the rock scene, “If you get on the promoter’s good side, he’s gonna talk to somebody at a different club across town, and put in a good word for you, or your reputation is gonna come before you.” An analogous phenomenon even occurs in the classical music scene, as personal connections are key to getting a position as a substitute musician with larger companies such as the Boston Symphony Orchestra, according to Trevor.
More centrally located members of the scene network, however, are often able to become gatekeepers, turning their positions as bridges between various groups in the scene into opportunities for remuneration. An astonishing fourteen of sixteen respondents noted that gatekeeping plays a role in their scene’s economic landscape. For example, Trevor, the classical trumpet player, will recommend his own students to orchestras and ensembles that call him asking for a certain number of trumpet players. This solidifies his reputation as a person who makes things happen for his students, leading more aspiring classical trumpet players to seek his tutelage. In many scenes, those with large amounts of social capital in the scene are hired as managers, using their contacts to secure gigs on behalf of others. Jeremy notes that it is managers who have deep and far-reaching contacts in the rock scene, while Jeremy himself “come[s] and say[s] hi but we’re not super close.” Cait concurs, explaining that managers are hired for “their contacts and their connections and their experience in the industry. And they will have certain contacts at venues. They’ll get you somewhere you wouldn’t be able to get yourself.” It is chiefly because of their social capital that managers can command twenty percent or more of a band’s tour pay-off, according to Cait. A similar process appears to occur in the opera world, where Riho states that singers “need management” to make it big, but it is less clear from this interview whether managers leverage their contacts to secure positions with higher-profile opera companies for their clients, or whether management is needed because having it is a sign to those companies that a singer has arrived.

An extreme example of leveraging position within the local, scene-specific social network for financial gain occurs in the Boston mariachi scene. According to Roger, a mariachi performer, “There are a couple of guys who are the head honchos of mariachi and they’ll get a call for a gig. They’ll have their lists of musicians, call them up, ask if you’re available at a specific time … They’re the organizers and they get paid a lot more than the musicians, they make a lot off the top. We end up not getting a whole lot.” These mariachi kingpins have such power and can command such high fees because of the unique structure of the mariachi scene in Boston. In fact, the term “scene” is a bit of a misnomer, for neither of the two mariachi players interviewed see themselves as part of one. Roger, one mariachi performer, states, “It’s an every man for himself kind of thing. You play your instrument and you may get a call during the weekend and you’re asked if you’re free.” The other interviewee Diego argues that there are not enough mariachi musicians in Boston to form a scene, explaining that he has never attended a mariachi performance because he is always one of the performers. Because of this fragmentation of mariachi in Boston, those few people who do have widespread connections – the kingpins with their lists of musicians – can convert their scarce social capital into high financial payoffs.

Mariachi musicians in Boston are in an even worse position because they cannot differentiate themselves from other mariachi musicians and thereby obtain gigs without relying upon the kingpins. Mariachi in Boston does not have “fans” in the same way that
other genres do, for bands are seen as interchangeable. According to Diego, Boston audiences outside of the Latino community associate mariachi music only with the drunken debauchery of Cinco de Mayo, meaning that they do not take the time to learn to appreciate the music itself. He admits that he was ashamed to tell his classically-trained musician friends at college that he played mariachi because of this somewhat racially informed perception, noting that “they’re surprised to learn how hard it is.” Even within the Latino community, audiences support mariachi more out of a desire for a cultural connection to their ancestral homelands than out of appreciation for the music itself. According to Roger, “People in the Southwestern states feel like they’re losing their connection to their home. They want to maintain their cultural identity so they keep up a lot of stuff like mariachi.” Supported for their “authenticity” rather than their musical abilities, however, bands do not gain fans that prefer their music to those of other mariachi groups. Thus, individual mariachi musicians and bands cannot challenge the power of the mariachi kingpins. If they refuse to comply with the high fees and centralized booking, they can be easily replaced.

Maintenance. For horizontal relationships, which are built upon norms of reciprocity, it is important to not wear out those norms by drawing too heavily upon them. For example, two respondents indicated that when performers play too frequently they quickly exhaust their ability to draw audiences. Because of this, Cait identifies playing too many shows locally as one of the most common mistakes among emerging rockers, and notes that she herself only plays a local show once every four to six weeks. Similarly, Ben explains that some larger jazz clubs in the city do not allow performers to play elsewhere for three weeks before and three weeks after a gig there. Mechanisms to ensure that musicians do not tap out their social capital seem to be built into this scene.

Maintaining vertical relationships, in which less connected performers essentially ask for favors from more highly connected scene participants, requires professionalism in addition to reciprocity because of the hierarchical nature of the contact. As representatives of the more highly connected party, a lack of professionalism from the favor-asking party could harm the social capital of both, according to four respondents from the rock and classical scenes. For this reason, organizational elites within Boston music scenes punish such breaches of trust very harshly. According to Cathy, the rock club ticketing agent, “You don’t wanna piss anyone off in Boston. It will come back and bite you in the ass.” Cait explains how this works with the example of a band that cancelled a gig two days before they were scheduled to play, which didn’t give her enough time to schedule a replacement. “I mentioned it to a friend of mine who had put them on a bill that he was playing at the different club, and they also cancelled very short notice for his gig, and we talked about it, and I heard about it, and I’m probably never gonna book that band, and he’s never going to either.” A reputation for unreliability threatens not only a band’s ability to secure future performances but also their recommender’s reputation for
connecting promoters to reliable musicians. For this reason, word spreads quickly about unprofessional performers, and they are quickly weeded out of the scene.

*Other Forms of Social Capital Transformations*

In order to overcome the obstacle noted above, that one cannot draw too heavily upon scene-specific forms of social capital without wearing them out, seven participants indicated that they draw on social capital from other contexts in order to draw audiences for their performances. I will now explicate the process of converting two additional forms of social capital, which are rooted in identity-based networks such as ethnicity or sexual orientation and in personal social networks, respectively, into economic capital in the music scene. Because of the smaller number of responses that mentioned such forms of social capital, however, these findings are based on less convergence among interviews in various scenes and should therefore be considered more tentative.

As mentioned in the discussion of mariachi music, four performers primarily tap into identity-based networks to supplement support from the scene and to fill seats at their performances. Somewhat surprisingly for a Mexican musical form, “Salvadorians are very involved” in mariachi, according to Roger. “People from El Salvador do listen to mariachi music. I guess that’s why they’re so involved because it’s good networking and people know each other well.” Mariachi musicians thus use their ties within the Salvadorian ethnic community to gain financial benefits; rather than “the scene supporting the scene,” as was the case in rock music, mariachi appears to be a case of an ethnic community supporting a community. The Irish bar music scene, according to Jonathan, also relies upon ethnic ties, with the Irish immigrant community in South Boston forming its major base of support. Similarly, the Boston Gay Men’s Chorus draws larger crowds than are typical for musically similar choral groups because of its large degree of support in the LGBT community. According to James, “For gay and lesbian people it’s a special type of event they can go to to feel at home.” By leveraging their social capital within local identity-based networks, musicians supplement the audiences that they can draw from scene-specific social connections alone.

In addition to these ethnic networks, three performers often rely on their personal social networks of local friends and relatives unaffiliated with the scene, with one (Riho, the opera singer) using it as a dominant strategy. Mark, the electronic music aficionado, notes that the crowd in his club on nights with local DJs is usually “more casual and less energetic because they don’t know anything about the music;” they are attending the performance to support a personal friend. Similarly, Riho the opera singer has been invited to perform at private parties and events by friends or acquaintances from church. Thus, while contacts within the music scene are most directly transformable into scene-related economic capital, for these contacts are most likely to know other highly-connected members of the music scene or to have access to scene-related economic goods, extra-scene social capital can form an alternative means of drawing audiences to performances.
CONCLUSION

Despite limitations to the data resulting from the somewhat ad hoc nature of the interviewing strategy, my analysis has been able to provide a preliminary typology of strategies of social capital formation, conversion, and maintenance within Boston music scenes. A confluence of factors, from the democratization of the recording process due to global technological advances to the local universities that attract reams of talented musicians to the city, those who hope to make a living in Boston music scenes must contend with market saturation. Because they cannot hope to draw audiences on the basis of their musical talent alone, performers are forced by competition for scarce performing opportunities to rely upon social capital in their pursuit of fans and supporters. Thus, forming connections within the music scene by frequenting the scene’s typical meeting places as fans, support personnel, or even students and teachers (when the typical meeting places are university music programs) becomes vitally important to economic success within the scene.

These connections are then converted into economic capital within the scene in forms that vary depending on the overall structure of the scene’s social network and on a particular actor’s place within it. When collaborating with other participants with similar structural positions in the scene, performers draw upon bonds of reciprocity. They attend each other’s shows, making sure that each performer can count on a minimum number of bodies in the audience, pass performance opportunities on to each other, and even ensure that they do not compete with each other by setting their calendars collectively. Scene participants also convert social capital into economic capital by leveraging the scene’s hierarchy to their advantage. Less well-connected performers cultivate contacts with those responsible for booking performances, hoping that a personal connection will give them the foot in the door they need to secure space on the venue’s calendar, but the most lucrative opportunities are clustered among those located more centrally in the scene’s network. Band managers and music teachers, in particular, use their connections within the scene to direct performance opportunities to their clients, which gives them access to financial kickbacks, both directly and in the form of more clients. The size of these financial rewards varies depending on the number of overlapping ties – the degree of cohesion – within the music scene itself. When most participants do not know each other and bands do not have independent fan bases, as is the case in mariachi, the few people who serve as bridges between musicians can command high fees.

Because most scene participants adopt the same strategies of converting scene-related social capital into economic capital, however, individual scene members must take care not to overdraw from this collective resource. As performers, they must avoid playing too frequently so that they can guarantee an audience base for each performance and must make sure to return favors for other participants who have assisted them in the past.
Even when no reciprocity is possible, as is the case for less highly connected musicians who secure performance opportunities through more highly connected friends, they must adhere to high standards of professionalism or face banishment from the scene.

These limitations on the terms of conversion for scene-specific social capital leads participants to also draw upon other forms of social capital to find audiences and performance opportunities. One strategy of note in these interviews was a reliance on ethnic or sexuality-based ties, but performers also tapped into more personal networks of family and friends in their quest to draw bodies to performance venues. Because interviews were conducted inductively to gain a basic understanding of the internal functioning of Boston music scenes, discussions of extra-scene economic and social activities were somewhat limited. Further research with a more deductive focus on capital transformations within music scenes is needed to more systematically tease out the various methods of extra-scene capital accumulation and the process of converting it into economic capital within the scene in the same way I have done in this analysis with scene-specific social capital.

REFERENCES


Learning to be Adults: The Effects of University Structure on Students’ Transitions to Adulthood

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This article endeavors first to understand whether significant differences exist in the structures of large public colleges/universities and small private colleges/universities, and then how such potential differences influence college students’ self-identification as adults. 131 institutions of higher education in the Mid-Atlantic were analyzed on 24 structural variables, 8 of which proved to hold significant differences between large public and small private institutions. A 74-item questionnaire collecting information regarding students’ academic experiences, relationships in college, work experience, practical measures of independence, changes in personality, and demographic data was sent to students at 14 of the studied colleges/universities using snowball sampling, generating 138 non-random responses. All significant relationships with attendance at a small private university were negatively correlated with various outcome variables for measuring students’ self-identification as adults, and more generally, variables measuring students’ relationships and personality changes in college held the most influence over students’ self-identification as adults.

A New York Times article posing the provocative question, “What is it about 20-Somethings?” caught my attention last fall, as it claimed that current 20-somethings are “taking longer to reach adulthood overall” than did previous generations and cited social psychologist Jeffrey Arnett’s claim that the late teens to early twenties—a period he refers to as “emerging adulthood”—constitutes a new stage in human psychological development (Henig 2010). Arnett’s main critics raise the observation that not all youths experience emerging adulthood in the same way, or at all, as reason not to separate emerging adulthood from the established stages of adolescence and adulthood; background and privilege play into this phase, notably in terms of the kind of colleges and universities 20-somethings attend. While the article stresses the differences between four-year-institutions and community colleges, all four-year-institutions are not created equal, nor is the undergraduate experience homogenous for all 20-somethings, as the conversation with my roommate from Michigan State last summer demonstrates; how
might differences in the institutional structure of various types of four-year-institutions affect students’ transitions to adulthood? Regardless of whether this phenomenon results from a confluence of today’s social attitudes and economic destitution, or truly represents a new developmental stage lodged between adolescence and adulthood, it certainly rings true for contemporary parents and quarter-lifers, thus warranting further study.

**Literature Review**

*Early or “Emerging” Adulthood*

Since the early 1980s, sociologists and social psychologists have been paying particular attention to people in the 18-30 age range, with much of the focus centering around pinpointing the end of adolescence and the beginning of adulthood, the recent social phenomenon of significant delays in marriage and parenthood, the seeming self-centeredness of “Generation Y”, and most recently, the “quarter-life crisis”. In his early work, Jeffrey Arnett (1997) draws particular attention to the transition to adulthood as a social construct, shaped not only by biology but more definitively by somewhat transient culturally-determined criteria—what constitutes a socially acceptable definition of “adulthood” varies between cultures, time periods, etc. He posits that individualism features most prominently in contemporary quarter-lifers’ comprehensions of the impending transition to adulthood, as evidenced by survey and interview data that stress the personal characteristics of responsibility for the self, the ability to make decisions for oneself, and the ability to stand apart from one’s parents financially. Interestingly, these criteria all represent intangible qualities of character, rife with moral implications for how emerging adults believe adults should behave, and all must be developed gradually (1998: 296). Later, he goes on to emphasize the degree to which the period of emerging adulthood, from the late teens to the late twenties, contains the clearest opportunities for exploration and self-discovery—particularly in the arenas of love and work—that most Americans will ever have, making it accordingly the most self-focused period of the lifespan as well (2004).

Likewise, many of Arnett’s colleagues and predecessors support the idea that this period, which others refer to as the transition to adulthood or young adulthood, hold a special significance in the overall life-course perspective; notably, Hogan and Astone refer to the transition to adulthood, which should be understood as a process (1986: 112), as representing “a critical juncture in personal life histories [that] connects social origins with subsequent adult attainments and life satisfaction” (1986: 125). Nelson and Barry refer to emerging adulthood as a state of identity moratorium, characterized by “extensive exploration with little commitment” (2005: 245). The authors synthesize the extant data on explorations during emerging adulthood to reveal how truly encompassing the exploratory nature of this time period can be. They find that identity exploration is carried out in psychological, social, and interactional realms, including turbulent work
experiences, more substantive romantic relationships, and changing worldviews (Nelson and Barry 2005). Additionally, Michael Shanahan alludes to the process colloquially known as “finding oneself” inherent in transition to adulthood as reflecting “both young people’s active efforts to shape their biographies and the structured set of opportunities and limitations that define pathways into adulthood” (2000: 668). He also stresses the degree to which modernity and the changes in health and family-structure that accompany it have greatly diminished the prevalence of traditionally normative pathways to adulthood. This constitutes a relatively new phenomenon that conceptualizes “one’s life course as a deliberate project” (Shanahan, 2000: 670).

College and Adulthood

An overwhelming majority of researchers highlight the dominant role of colleges and universities among this set of opportunities and limitations to which Shanahan refers; the American system of glorified, yet fairly unstructured, higher education requires students to individualize their plans for school and work (Shanahan 2000). This suggests that some qualities inherent in the institutional structure of higher education may factor into the individualism Arnett and others have found to epitomize emerging adulthood so succinctly. In their chapter in the anthology On the Frontier of Adulthood: Theory, Research, and Public Policy, Furstenberg Jr., Rumbaut, and Settersten Jr. effectively summarize the incredible significance higher education has on emerging adults:

Universities are the best example of a full-fledged social institution that shapes the lives of young adults. In a certain sense, they are virtually total institutions, which provide shelter, directed activities, adult and peer support, health care, and entertainment. They are explicitly designed to bridge the family and the wider society and, increasingly, have been tailored to provide the sort of semiautonomy that characterizes early adulthood (2005: 20).

Additionally, Arnett himself notes college as “a prime setting” for work and love explorations, (2004: 121) and Kaufman and Feldman posit that because “college gives students a breadth and depth of experiences that adolescents and young adults might” be unable to find elsewhere, students may “form felt identities grounded in new social interaction” during their college years (2004: 485). Hogan and Astone recognize that college dormitories may represent an “institutional framework” in which students may learn the practical and developmental skills necessary for independent living (1986: 112-3). Nelson and Barry note that college students experience little pressure to resolve their identities until after graduation, and as such do not necessarily consider definite career choices as a requirement of adult status (2005). Most significantly, an article in the 1980 Pacific Sociological Review notes that the existence of “particular sets of others, [in conjunction
with] the characteristics of the university setting” potentially play a role in college students’ identity formation processes (Reitzes and Burke 1980: 63). These authors, like many others, recognize that some inherent qualities of the process of attaining higher education may affect students’ development of adult-like traits and tendencies, and even weakly hint at the idea that some differences may exist between structurally distinct universities, but in practice, treat all colleges and universities equally in their analysis of the effects college wields on undergraduates.

**Student Identity Development in College**

Focusing on individuality and the interests of the individual has a longstanding history in the American postsecondary education system (Boyer 1987), and as demonstrated by the rising numbers of possible academic majors, extracurricular activities, style of residential living, and claims of individualized attention on college campuses today, this trend seems likely to continue well into the future. In their landmark work, *Education and Identity*, which reviews the history of the higher-educational-system’s concerted effort to foster identity development amongst students, as well as analyze survey data from students at multiple universities, Chickering and Reisser note the indirect effects of higher education on students’ identity formation (though they employ the related term “self-concept”):

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Apparently the size, selectivity, prestige, predominant race of a school, and type of control had little direct influence on students’ academic and social self-concepts. These institutional characteristics did, however, have indirect effects on self-concepts through their influence on the kinds of academic and social experiences students had, which were in turn related to students’ self-concepts (1993: 82).
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Kaufman and Feldman express interest in the ways “college as a particular structural location fosters the formation of particular felt identities as compared with the maintenance of prior or precollege identities” (2004: 465). As precollege identities fall squarely within the realm of adolescence, the concept Kaufman and Feldman explore here ties directly into the ideas of exploration and identity formation inherent in emerging adulthood. The authors note how college influences the acquisition of intelligence and knowledge, thus raising critical thinking abilities, which, Arnett stresses may influence the ability to make independent decisions. Moreover, Arnett emphasizes identity changes revolving around occupation and career, which relate back to the work exploration and cosmopolitanism, reflecting the changing worldviews Nelson and Barry discussed (Kaufman and Feldman 2004). Additionally, Nelson Laird correlates experiences with diversity on college campuses with increases in “students’ confidence in their academic abilities, the importance they place on taking action in society, and whether they view themselves as critical thinkers,” (2005: 382) suggesting that such institutional characteristics as diversity and diversity awareness have
strong implications for the individualism so critical to emerging adults. Though focusing on institutional characteristics—such as diversity, size, prestige, selectivity, etc.—that have great potential for variation and fluctuation from university to university, none of these authors directly address whether their findings maintain robustness across different types of institutions.

**How Does Heterogeneity in College Structure Affect Students’ Identity Development?**

As the Integrated Postsecondary Education Data System lists 7,150 degree-granting institutions in the United States, more than 4,000 of them four-year-institutions, the tendency of sociological endeavors to study undergraduate institutions as homogenous and uniform may constitute a gross oversimplification on the parts of many researchers. In a system as diverse and structurally variant as this country’s, it simply isn’t enough to discuss the effects of ‘college’ on young adult identity formation in such a general sense, as so many scholars have done. The fact that the characteristics which scholars suggest may impact student development in college differ greatly from university to university, as demonstrated by their use in the ranking of institutions by such publications as *U.S. News and World Report* or *The Princeton Review*, cannot be ignored as scholars strive to understand the true significance of higher education. In short, these differences strongly suggest that university structure may play a bigger role in emerging adulthood than simple distinctions between community colleges and four-year-institutions. Specifically, the distinctions between large public universities and small private universities in setting characteristics that Reitzes and Burke and others introduce, as well as in institutional resources such as Arnett notes, suggest that for an accurate representation of the effects of college life on emerging adults, further cross-institutional research is absolutely necessary. What other institutional factors, such as percentage of undergraduates who commute, number of majors and extracurricular activities offered, or student-faculty ratio might play a role in quarter-lifers’ self-perceptions of their status as adults, and to what degree do said factors differ between these types of universities? Does one type of university better prepare its students for the transition to adulthood, or does each type prepare its students in different, perhaps even conflicting ways? Among others, Nelson and Barry note that college students and their non-college peers may constitute statistically distinct groups in terms of economic privilege, rates of exposure to diversity of beliefs/experiences, and degrees to which they are challenged to self-evaluation (2005: 259); what is overlooked both here and elsewhere, however, is that sharp distinctions in institutional characteristics at various types of four-year universities may engender the same sorts of differences amongst college students. This paper endeavors to compare such institutional differences in large public and small private universities, taking into account “the resources available to the institution and the characteristics of the students who enter,” as do cross-institutional studies of graduation rates (Scott, Bailey, and Kienzl 2006: 250).
Hypotheses

The previous literature suggests that a relationship between university type and students’ transitions to adulthood exists. My project endeavors (1) to understand the commonalities in structure between institutions of similar types, namely amongst large public institutions and small private institutions, (2) to explore the relationship suggested by the literature between institutional structure and college students’ identity formation as informed by the aforementioned structural commonalities to determine (a) the existence of a relationship between university type and students’ transitions to adulthood, and (b) the nature of such a relationship, if it exists. The sheer multitude of variables I seek to explore—and the fact that the literature provides loose hypotheses about nearly each variable individually, as will be highlighted in the discussion section—leads me to a second hypothesis: that both large public institutions and small private institutions actively prepare their students for adulthood, but in radically different and sometimes conflicting ways. I believe that, largely due to differences in resource distribution, large public universities will prepare their students for the practicalities of living as an independent adult, while smaller private universities have the resources to insulate their students from many of the practical drudgeries of adult life, instead preparing their students for the mental and emotional challenges of adulthood by providing more opportunities for critical thinking and the development of substantive relationships.

Methods and Data

I compared institutions on twenty-four variables, ranging from the straightforward, such as student-faculty ratio or number of extracurricular activities available to students, which were recorded numerically to the more indistinct, such as whether students could participate in cooperative education programs, which were coded using a binary system that corresponded to whether such features were or were not extant on a given campus. I analyzed 131 institutions in the Mid-Atlantic Area, collecting data on all 12 institutions that meet the requirements of the ‘large public universities’ category, and on 119 institutions that meet those of the ‘small private colleges/universities’ category. The degree to which these institutions vary on so many of these variables further solidifies my belief that treating four-year institutions as even relatively homogenous constitutes a gross underestimation of the true diversity inherent within the American system of higher education. Extant hypotheses were strongly considered during the process of determining which institutional-level variables to analyze and during the development of relevant questionnaire items, and determining which variables significantly do or do not support those hypotheses should clearly relay the advantages and disadvantages presented by attending each type of university; those advantages and disadvantages were tallied and
grouped to determine whether one university type presents significant advantages over the other, or if, as predicted, the advantages presented by each type fall within distinct categories.

To collect student-level data, I developed a 74-item questionnaire, drawing item ideas from the topics presented in the literature, extant surveys used in previous research, and my own understanding of college life and experiences. In the General College Information section, items relating to residence on- or off-campus, student status, extracurricular activities, and number of times one has changed ones major represent variables that make direct connections to the institutional-level data, and questions concerning individual attention address the larger theme of superfluity. Questions from the Relationships and Work section that specifically address the ways in which students’ relationships have changed since enrolling in college relate to the deepening of relationships explored in the literature, and questions relating to collegiate work experiences and financial relationships with family members probe the realm of financial independence Arnett deemed critical to the process of emerging adulthood (1998, 2004). The questions concerning personality and personality changes over time in the Questions that Make You Think section aim to directly confront students’ perceptions of adulthood and its inherent qualities, many particularly as they relate to the undergraduate experience, and as such have the most potential to be crucial to the study.

Given resource constraints, a truly random sample of all students at institutions that fall into either of my two categories in the Mid-Atlantic region of the United States proved to be utterly infeasible. As such, I have sacrificed true randomness and employed the services of friends and acquaintances at a small subset of these universities to assist me in using snowball sampling for my project. I used Facebook.com’s “Find Friends by School” feature to assess which institutions in this region of the country at which I have friends, who would serve as my primary contacts at their respective institutions and spread my survey to their friends and acquaintances; this process revealed that I have friends at nine small private institutions1 (defined as having approximately 5,000 undergraduates or less and not having any state-affiliations) and five large public institutions2 (defined as having approximately 15,000 undergraduates or more and being state-sponsored/affiliated). I reached out to one or two friends at each institution (via Facebook), briefly

1 These institutions are as follows: Sarah Lawrence University in Bronxville, NY, Bucknell University in Bucknell, PA, Cabrini College in Radnor, PA, Johns Hopkins University in Baltimore, MD, Ursinus College in Collegeville, PA, Lafayette College in Easton, PA, St. Joseph’s University in Philadelphia, PA, Washington College in Chestertown, MD, and Princeton University in Princeton, NJ.

2 These institutions are as follows: Towson University in Towson, MD, Rutgers University—New Brunswick in New Brunswick, NJ, Pennsylvania State University—University Park in University Park, PA, Temple University—Philadelphia in Philadelphia, PA, and the University of Delaware in Newark, DE.
explaining the premises of my study and asking them to help me reach other students at their respective institutions. I encouraged my contacts to consider a multifaceted idea of diversity when deciding who to contact regarding my study, though I qualified that they could sacrifice diversity for quantity if organization-affiliated email lists could be utilized. These efforts garnered 138 questionnaire responses from fourteen colleges and universities in New Jersey, New York, Pennsylvania, Maryland, and Delaware.

**Results**

One-third of the measured institutional characteristics, eight of twenty-four tested institutional-level variables, proved to hold both significant differences between university types: student-faculty ratio, number of available majors, percentage of students receiving financial aid, number of student organizations, percentage of students living in university-owned housing, percentage of students who participate in Greek life, acceptance rate, and percentage of minority students. Four of these variables are hypothesized to hold direct effects on students’ identity development, and three of those four—student-faculty ratio, number of available majors, and percentage of students living on campus—held statistically significant relationships with at least one of the four outcome variables. When regressed against adult-status-attainment outcome variables alone, attendance at a small private institution held nearly significant negative relationships with feeling more oneself since enrolling in college and with believing college had made them more of an adult. Variables concerning students’ relationships with friends, family, romantic partners, and professors proved most pervasively significant in predicting responses to outcome variables related to the attainment of adult status, supporting findings presented by Arnett (1997, 1998, 2004) and Chickering and Reisser (1993). Subsets of variables within three other categories—*Academic Experiences, Practicalities of Adulthood, and Personality Changes*—significantly predicted students’ self-assessments of their adult status. Most significantly, attending a private institution held direct negative relationships on considering oneself to have reached adulthood and on the number of self-selected criteria for adulthood students met, when viewed in conjunction with variables concerning students’ relationships. Demographic trends caused by the non-randomness of the surveyed sample skewed results for one response variable, considering oneself to have reached adulthood outcome variable, resulting in its removal from the study.

**Institutional Level Findings**

As predicted, a substantial percentage of the variables analyzed on the institutional level presented striking differences between large public universities and small private universities in terms of institutional characteristics and resources. Large real differences in numbers of available majors ($\bar{x}_{LgPublic} = 91.5$ and $\bar{x}_{SmPrivate} = 38.347$) and extra-curricular
Learning to be Adults

activities ($\bar{x}_{\text{LgPublic}} = 340.818$ and $\bar{x}_{\text{SmPrivate}} = 76.702$) demonstrate that large public universities present their students with more choices in both of these arenas than do small private universities. Large public institutions also featured a more even female-to-male ratio on average than their small private counterparts ($\bar{x}_{\text{LgPublic}} = 1.162$ and $\bar{x}_{\text{SmPrivate}} = 1.651$), suggesting that there may be a greater potential for the building of substantive romantic relationships at such institutions. Small private institutions averaged approximately thirty percent more students receiving financial aid and residing on-campus than large public institutions—($\bar{x}_{\text{LgPublic}} = 0.518$ and $\bar{x}_{\text{SmPrivate}} = 0.816$) for percentage of the student body receiving financial aid, and ($\bar{x}_{\text{LgPublic}} = 0.331$ and $\bar{x}_{\text{SmPrivate}} = 0.635$) for percentage of the student body residing on campus. This suggests possible implications for student employment, with less students potentially maturing through holding a job if monetary gains are less necessary to students’ lives due to receiving financial aid, as well as for feelings of superfluity, as living on campus provides more opportunities for students to feel involved in the university community. Additionally, more than twice the proportion of small private colleges analyzed in this study require a core curriculum for all students ($\hat{\rho}_{\text{LgPublic}} = 0.333$ and $\hat{\rho}_{\text{SmPrivate}} = 0.8$) and over seven times proportionally require that students live on campus for at least their freshman year ($\hat{\rho}_{\text{LgPublic}} = 0.083$ and $\hat{\rho}_{\text{SmPrivate}} = 0.643$) than did their large public counterparts, revealing what appears to be a greater commitment to promoting critical thinking and fostering community on the part of small private universities, both of which are discussed in the literature as yielding great positive effects of identity development and maturity attainment during the course of undergraduate education.

Simple t- and z-tests established the statistical significance of the differences between variable means for each type of university, which yielded twelve statistically significant variable differences—fully half of the variables analyzed. Consistent with the belief that universities of similar types will have many commonalities, which will differ radically from those of universities of a different type, differences in student faculty ratio, number of available majors, percentage of students receiving financial aid, number of student organizations, percentage of students living in university-owned housing, proportion of universities that have a set of core curricular requirements for all students, percentage of students who participate in Greek life, proportion of universities that require freshmen to live in university-owned housing, acceptance rate, median SAT score, percentage of minority students, and female-to-male ratios all tested significantly between each type of university (See Table 1). Small private universities had significantly smaller student-faculty ratios, as well as lower numbers of available majors, student organizations, median SAT scores, and percentages of minority students. They had significantly higher percentages of students receiving financial aid, residing in campus-owned housing, and participating in Greek life; additionally, small private universities were more likely to require some sort of core curriculum for all or most students, as well as to require that students live on campus for their freshman year. The data suggest that small private universities do more to actively
encourage their students to participate in campus life and foster a sense of a community on campus, and the literature suggests that, as a result, students on these campuses will feel less superfluous and thus like they have more opportunities for identity development.

Student-Level Findings

138 students from fourteen colleges and universities in the Mid-Atlantic region of the United States participated in this study. Eighty-three of said students attended small private universities, and the remaining 55 attended large public universities. Full-time students were overrepresented at both types of institutions. The vast majority of students at small private universities lived on campus, in comparison to a minority of students at large public institutions. Respondents from large public institutions were older, on average, than their counterparts at small private universities. No major differences arose in the proportion of students from each type of major at each type of university. The proportion of White respondents from each type of institution was similar and slightly above the proportion of the US population Whites represent, but in terms of minority students, blacks were overrepresented in the sample from small private institutions, and Asians were overrepresented in the sample from large public institutions. Females were greatly overrepresented at both university types, but this overrepresentation was more dramatic at large public institutions. More detailed information regarding sample demographics can be found in the appendix in Table 2.

Demographic variables, including age, dummy variables for whiteness and femaleness, student income and household income, and mother- and fathers’ highest levels of education, were tested against the as perceived adulthood-related outcome variables an attempt to control for the non-randomness of the surveyed sample. Interestingly, these variables proved to hold significance over only one outcome variable, considering oneself to have reached adulthood—despite the fact that no other outcome variable held any significant relationship with demographics, every variable tested wielded a significant (or, in one instance, nearly significant) relationship on this outcome, though the nature of the relationships fluctuated. In data not presented here, age, whiteness, student and household incomes, and father’s highest level of education attained all proved to correlate negatively with students’ self-consideration as an adult for this model and this model alone. Conversely, femaleness, mother’s highest level of education, and attending a small private institution (when being considered in conjunction with demographic variables) all correlated positively with students’ self-consideration as adults. The curious nature of this strong interaction between the demographic variables and this outcome variable prompted me to remove all regression data involving the “considers oneself to have reached adulthood” variable; the lack of significant interaction between these variables and any other outcome variable, however, suggests that inter-group differences in age, race, gender, etc. between the students attending each type of university did not significantly impact the findings of
this study outside of the “considers oneself to have reached adulthood” variable.

Surprisingly, given the weight attributed to the concepts they embody in the literature, few of the variables from the Academic Experiences category proved to hold statistical significance, implying that students’ academic experiences either do not vary greatly between university type, or as suggested by Chickering and Reisser, these variables simply do not directly affect students’ identity development. Being a full-time student was the only variable that held a significant positive relationship with students feeling more like themselves since being in college ($\delta=0.751$, $p=0.049$) (See Table 3). As seen in Table 5, Chickering and Reisser’s concept of superfluity has some concrete effect on the number of self-selected criteria for adulthood students. Agreeing that one’s presence does not matter on one’s campus was negatively correlated with the number of criteria for adulthood students personally met ($\delta=-0.186$, $p=.02$).

Contrarily, the results of the survey better and more consistently support the importance given to relationships, romantic and otherwise, during the period of emerging adulthood in the literature. Table 3 demonstrates that agreeing that one had the ability to make long-term commitments more easily correlated positively with feeling more oneself since enrolling in college ($\delta=0.374$, $p=0.027$), while attending a small private university was negatively correlated with feeling more oneself since enrolling in college when examined in the context of substantive human relationships ($\delta=-0.39$, $p=0.024$). The increased ability to make long-term commitments held a significantly positive relationship with believing one’s undergraduate experience had contributed to making one more of an adult ($\delta=0.431$, $p=.013$), as seen in Table 4. The number of self-selected criteria for adulthood one has met interacted most significantly with the Relationships variables. As shown by Table 5, both having close relationships with one’s professors and the average length of one’s romantic relationships in college gained significance in this model, yielding positive effects on the number of self-selected criteria for adulthood students had met ($\delta=0.359$, $p=0.008$) and ($\delta=0.013$, $p=0.016$), respectively, while redefining relationships with one’s parents held a negative relationship with the number of criteria for adulthood one had met ($\delta=-0.338$, $p=0.005$). Most significantly, attending a small private university maintained the negative relationship with adulthood outcomes when examined in conjunction with Relationships variables as established in the “feeling more oneself” model: Table 3 shows that attendance at this type of institution correlated negatively with the number of criteria for adulthood one had met ($\delta=-0.58$, $p=.01$).

Similar to the Academic Experiences variables, the Practicalities of Adulthood variables held unexpectedly little significance in predicting responses to outcome categories surround students’ perceiving levels of adulthood. Table 3 demonstrates that holding a job (full-time or part-time) during college proved to hold a large and highly significant positive relationship with students feeling more themselves since being in college ($\delta=1.121$, $p=.000$). As expected given the significance Arnett places on securing
financial independence from one's parents, receiving financial assistance from one's family was negatively correlated with the number of criteria for adulthood students felt they had attained ($\delta=-1.006$, $p=0.000$), as seen in Table 5. Above all, financial matters seem to constitute the most significant aspect of the practicalities of adulthood that differ between students at various types of colleges, and the robust significance of various aspects of a student's financial situation in relation to students' self-perceived levels of adulthood suggests that financial matters should be of utmost concern to university administrators.

Though a small quantity of variables proved significant from the *Personality Changes* category, those that held significant relationships with various outcome variables seemed to express very strong relationships. Table 3 shows that believing one's personality had changed as a result of being in college, taking more time for self-reflection in college than previously, and having the ability to better manage one's emotions all held very strongly significant positive relationships with feeling more oneself since enrolling in college ($\delta=0.261$, $p=0.006$), ($\delta=0.211$, $p=0.007$), and ($\delta=0.356$, $p=0.000$), respectively. Being confident in one's ability to live independently after graduation significantly predicted both believing that college had made one more of an adult ($\delta=0.289$, $p=0.007$) in Table 4 and having met a higher number of self-selected criteria for adulthood ($\delta=0.32$, $p=0.000$) in Table 5. Additionally, Table 3 reveals that increases in self-reported tolerance levels positively correlated with feeling that one's undergraduate experiences had made one more of an adult ($\delta=0.312$, $p=0.006$), as predicted by theories generated in the literature.

**Discussion**

The data certainly presents a strong argument in support of previous research that denotes the truly life-changing nature of the college experience for undergraduates. As total institutions, residential colleges can be understood as incubating students for four or more years, affecting not only their knowledge bases, but also their very personalities and opinions of the world, before releasing them back into the "real world" as different persons than those they were upon entering the university. Due to structural constraints, larger public institutions cannot incubate students with the same degree of totality that their smaller private counterparts can afford. Theories presented by previous researchers, most notably Arthur Chickering and Linda Reisser in their 1993 work, *Education and Identity*, imply that students at large public institutions may be at a fundamental disadvantage due to these structural constraints, as identity resolution is facilitated through small classes that foster discussion, residential living, involvement in the larger campus community, close relationships with adults at the university, and other factors that seem to be more prevalent at smaller institutions of higher learning. The results of this study suggest that students themselves may disagree: in all but one instance—when considering oneself to have reached adulthood was regressed against the *Demographics* variables—every time
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attending a private institution bore a significant or nearly significant relationship with an adult status-attainment measure outcome variable, the direction of that relationship was negative; according to surveyed students, the incubatory environment fostered by small private institutions may in fact be injurious to the development of an adult identity.

The nature of this injury may be found in the relationship between the feelings of independence Arnett stresses as integral to the development of an adult identity and the sense of interdependence Chickering and Reisser denote well-structured—presumably small private, according to the tone of other comments these authors make regarding the benefits and disadvantages inherent in university size)—universities as striving to foster within the members of their student bodies. While a sense of the fundamental importance of community and an appreciation for the necessity of contribution to a collective entity certainly represent development tasks critical to the successful navigation of adulthood, the nature of the dependent relationships created by each type of university structure must factor into conceptions of these tasks’ relevance to life after graduation. Large public universities and small private universities clearly present radically different living and learning environments for their students, which results in differences in conceptions of adult-status between their students, with students at small private universities never quite coming out ahead.

**Conclusion**

This research project has presupposed a few assumptions that should be addressed before concluding; I have worked under the propositions that the resolution of a student’s identity is tantamount to the attainment of adult status, as well as that students’ attitudes and self-perceived personal changes are at least somewhat shaped by institutional environments and that student responses to questions that involve the same characteristics as measured on an institutional level reflect direct or indirect manifestation of the effects of those characteristics. Despite my efforts to control the effects of these assumptions by incorporating such phrases as “since being in college” to many of the most important items on the questionnaire, and including such variables as year in school and age into regression models, there persists the possibility that students’ self-perceived measures of their adult status may have only a spurious relationship with enrollment in a particular type of university, or with being a college student at all, instead resulting primarily from life experiences that may have happened with or without being enrolled in an institution of higher learning, or that predated students’ enrollment in such institutions. Additionally, it must be noted that the relatively small size and non-randomness of the surveyed sample certainly limit the generalizability of the results presented here; having student coordinators at each university select which students to invite to participate in the study may have introduced countless unknown biases. Though said coordinators
were instructed to send the questionnaire to “a really diverse group of respondents, in terms of race, class, age, area of study, etc.,” the actual respondents were overwhelmingly white and of traditional college age (18-22). But as these characteristics match that of the overall population of college students in the United States, the skewed demographics may have held little effect (excluding the curious relationships between demographic dummy variables and students’ considering themselves to have reached adulthood, which were removed from the results section and do not inform these conclusions). A substantial proportion of tested variables proved significant or nearly significant in either consistent or interestingly divergent manners to warrant further study of the combined effects of the indirect learning experiences a college education affords.

When regressed against the outcome variables by itself, before any additional possibly confounding variables were introduced into the regression model, attendance at a small private institution held nearly significant negative relationships with feeling more oneself since enrolling in college (β = -0.26, p=0.065) and with believing one’s undergraduate experiences had made one more of an adult (β = -0.324, p=0.058). The significance of attending a small private institution fluctuated greatly from model to model both within and between each category of analyzed variables, at times appearing to wield very strong effects on students’ adult-identity development, and at other times appearing truly negligible and entirely without warranting mention. This rampant fluctuation, in addition to merely presenting attendance at a particular type of institution as a very inconsistent and unreliable variable, suggests that more hidden variables may be at work in these models. Chickering and Reisser warned about the inability of direct measures of institutional characteristics to accurately assess the effects of college as a total institution on its students, and these data support that warning, as demonstrated by the general lack of significance presented by the Academic Experiences variables. As such, future research should attempt to make the most indistinct aspects of the college experience as inquired about in the questionnaire more easily quantifiable. Many questionnaire items were measured in purely nominal terms, eliminating all possibility that they be incorporated into regression models and thus potentially obscuring the overall effects of the more imprecise features of institutional structure; future research on the subject should make a more conscious effort to ensure that even the most imprecise aspects of the college experience are measured in easily quantifiable manners.

Despite these limitations, the data strongly suggest that students at small private institutions do not view themselves as adults to nearly the degree that their counterparts at large public institutions self-identify. For most measures, these results do not appear to be confounded by differences in age, race, gender, or family background, though the non-randomness of this sample does present generalizability constraints that future research should endeavor to minimize. Significant relationships between variables representing the Practicalities of Adulthood suggest that students may give more weight to the
tangible markers of adulthood such as independent living and having a job than Arnett theorizes in his work, while supporting his argument that being able to support oneself financially represents an essential criterion for adulthood to today’s college students. Additionally, Arnett’s theories regarding the significance of relationships to students’ identity development and adult-status-attainment are strongly supported by these data, as Relationships variables held some of the widest and most robust significance on the outcome variables; the negative correlation of attending a small private university with these variables suggests that, even in light of the robust positive effects of having close relationships with one’s professors, something inherent in the nature of small private universities stifles substantive relationship-building. Positive relationships generated in relation to the variables concerning students’ self-identified personality changes since being in college support Chickering and Reisser’s ideas that less tangible out-of-the-classroom experiences shape students’ identity resolution and thus influence progress towards overall attainment of adult status, but directly contradict their implication that students at larger universities do not reap these extracurricular developmental benefits to the same degree that their counterparts at small universities—relative to their counterparts at small private universities, these students seem to feel these benefits much more solidly.

The dawn of the technological age has demanded that entrants into the paid labor force have higher levels of education, sending the masses into institutions of higher learning at unprecedented rates, and fostering both the extension of emerging adulthood and the re-ordering of traditional transition markers such as marriage, childbearing, and establishing fully autonomous residential separation from one’s parents (Mortimer and Larson 2002: 11). When viewed in conjunction with the sense of “credential inflation”—the diminution of the value of college degrees in a labor market...being flooded with them” (Stevens 2007: 14) currently permeating American society, a cultural phenomenon inspiring more and more applicants to the nation’s especially prestigious institutions—which are overwhelmingly small and private—this distinction between degrees of self-identification as an adult at different types of universities becomes especially worrisome. On the whole, if the university is to continue to be seen as the unequivocal total institution designed to facilitate emerging adults’ transitions to adulthood, as suggested by current societal trends, then education policies and institutional structures must change to enable graduates to compete in the labor market, as well as simply exist successfully in the sphere outside of academia. Though often seen by the general public as very prestigious or highly valued than public institutions, small private institutions evidently have much to learn from their large public counterparts about how best to foster independence within their systems of interdependence, so as best

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3 Future research should explore whether this is correlated in any way to the fact that small private universities had grossly more skewed female-male ratios than their large public counterparts. The gender ratio within the university’s faculty and staff may also play a role in students’ abilities to form substantive relationships.
to prepare their students for life after graduation. Perhaps such universities should sponsor seminars or workshops directed at teaching their students about financial independence, or focusing on how to best establish close (but not entirely dependent) relationships with one's peers and mentors. In short, in direct contradiction to the multitude of theories suggesting that students at institutions with similar structures to the small private institutions studied here should inspire more emotional maturation and identity resolution than their large public counterparts, due to increases in abilities for substantive human encounters fostered by small class sizes and student-faculty ratios, and larger percentages of students residing on campus when differences are apparent between students at different types of universities, students currently enrolled at small private universities in the mid-Atlantic do not seem to feel the identity-developing benefits promised by the individualized attention they receive.

Though the student-level data presented here cannot be expanded to represent the general undergraduate population, the institutional-level data, which represents over 95% of institutions of higher education in the mid-Atlantic region of the United States, can be interpreted as representative. If nothing else, this data irrefutably demonstrates the heterogeneity of structure of institutions of higher learning in this region, which demands the recognition of the nuances of campus climates and collegiate organizational structures in sociological studies of U.S. colleges and universities. If institutions of higher learning are to continue to be studied as microcosms of U.S. society, or even in their own right as social spaces rife with opportunity for identity development, sociologists and other social scientists must pause to ask, “Which colleges/universities?” much in the same manner that they must ask, “Which students” are affected by various happenings on college campuses. Additionally, if confirmed through more generalizable data, the diversity of students’ feelings regarding their own tenuous adult statuses represented in the survey data may lend some credence to the establishment of “emerging adulthood” as a life stage between adolescence and adulthood to be studied more closely. Though our society grants adult status somewhat arbitrarily at age eighteen, this data clearly suggests that not all, or even most, college students above the age of eighteen self-identify as adults, which has deep sociological implications for understanding the motives and mindsets of young people in the process of establishing independent productive lives in American society.

References


------. 1997. “Young People’s Conceptions of the Transition to Adulthood.” Youth &


Sassler, Sharon, Desiree Ciambrone and Gaelan Benway. 2008. “Are they really Mama’s


<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Variable</th>
<th>Small Private Institutions (n=119)</th>
<th>Large Public Institutions (n=12)</th>
<th>t-statistics (α=0.05)</th>
<th>p</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Student-faculty ratio</td>
<td>12.796</td>
<td>15.917</td>
<td>2.145</td>
<td>0.001***</td>
</tr>
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<td>Number of available majors</td>
<td>38.347</td>
<td>91.5</td>
<td>2.201</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Percentage of students receiving financial aid</td>
<td>0.816</td>
<td>0.518</td>
<td>2.12</td>
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</tr>
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<td>Number of student organizations</td>
<td>76.702</td>
<td>340.818</td>
<td>2.228</td>
<td>0.002***</td>
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<td>Percentage of students living in university-owned housing</td>
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<td>0.331</td>
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<td>Proportion of institutions that have a set of core curricular requirements for all students</td>
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<td>0.333</td>
<td>1.96</td>
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<td>Percentage of students who partake in Greek life</td>
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<td>0.066</td>
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</tr>
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<td>Proportion of institutions that require freshmen to live in university-owned housing</td>
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<td>Median SAT score</td>
<td>1093.691</td>
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<td>Percentage of minority students</td>
<td>0.184</td>
<td>0.318</td>
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<td>Female : male ration</td>
<td>1.651</td>
<td>1.162</td>
<td>2.009</td>
<td>0.002**</td>
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*p< .05    **p< .01    ***p< .001

Note: Data only presented for those variables which held statistical significance.
Table 2
Demographic Information

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Students at Large Public Institutions (n=55)</th>
<th>Students at Small Private Institutions (n=83)</th>
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<tr>
<td>Live on campus</td>
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<tr>
<td>Average Age</td>
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<td>19.337</td>
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<td>Female</td>
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<td>54</td>
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<td></td>
<td>0.764</td>
<td>0.651</td>
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<tr>
<td>Average Student Income</td>
<td>4619.23</td>
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<tr>
<td>Average Parental Income</td>
<td>147894.74</td>
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### Table 3

Significant Results of Linear Regressions of Feeling More Oneself Since Being In College

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<tr>
<th>Input Variable Category</th>
<th>Variable</th>
<th>S.E.</th>
<th>Coefficient</th>
<th>p</th>
<th>Significance Level</th>
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<td>Academic Experiences Variables</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Time Status</td>
<td>0.751</td>
<td>0.3774</td>
<td>0.049</td>
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<td>Relationships Variables</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Attending a private institution</td>
<td>-0.39</td>
<td>0.169</td>
<td>0.024</td>
<td>*</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Make long commitments</td>
<td>0.374</td>
<td>0.1651</td>
<td>0.027</td>
<td>*</td>
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<td>Practicalities of Adulthood Variables</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Having a job</td>
<td>1.121</td>
<td>0.267</td>
<td>0.000</td>
<td>***</td>
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<td>Personality Change Variables</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Personality Changed</td>
<td>0.261</td>
<td>0.0925</td>
<td>0.006</td>
<td>**</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>More Self-Reflection</td>
<td>0.211</td>
<td>0.0773</td>
<td>0.007</td>
<td>**</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Manage Emotions Better</td>
<td>0.356</td>
<td>0.0973</td>
<td>0.000</td>
<td>***</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*p < .05   **p < .01   ***p < .001
### Table 4

Significant Results of Linear Regressions of Believing College Has Made One More of an Adult

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Input Variable Category</th>
<th>Variable</th>
<th>S.E.</th>
<th>Coefficient</th>
<th>p</th>
<th>Significance Level</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Relationships Variables</td>
<td>Make long commitments</td>
<td>0.431</td>
<td>0.1682</td>
<td>0.013</td>
<td>*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Personality Change Variables</td>
<td>More Tolerant</td>
<td>0.312</td>
<td>0.1118</td>
<td>0.006</td>
<td>**</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Confident in Ability to Live Independently</td>
<td>0.289</td>
<td>0.1061</td>
<td>0.007</td>
<td>**</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*p< .05  **p< .01  ***p< .001

### Table 5

Significant Results of Linear Regressions of How Many Self-Selected Criteria for Adulthood One Has Met

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Input Variable Category</th>
<th>Variable</th>
<th>S.E.</th>
<th>Coefficient</th>
<th>p</th>
<th>Significance Level</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Academic Experiences Variables</td>
<td>Feels Presence Doesn’t Matter</td>
<td>-0.168</td>
<td>0.0713</td>
<td>0.02</td>
<td>*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Relationships Variables</td>
<td>Attending a private institution</td>
<td>-0.58</td>
<td>0.2185</td>
<td>0.01</td>
<td>**</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>View Parents as People</td>
<td>-0.338</td>
<td>0.1164</td>
<td>0.005</td>
<td>**</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Months Relationships Last</td>
<td>0.013</td>
<td>0.0053</td>
<td>0.016</td>
<td>*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Close Relationships with Professors</td>
<td>0.359</td>
<td>0.1319</td>
<td>0.008</td>
<td>**</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
### Table 5 (con’t)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Practicalities of Adulthood Variables</th>
<th></th>
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<th></th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Family Financially Assists Student</td>
<td>-1.006</td>
<td>0.238</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>***</td>
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</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Personality Change Variables</th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Confident in Ability to Live Independently</td>
<td>0.432</td>
<td>0.12</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>***</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

*p< .05  **p< .01  ***p< .001
Ideology in Social Movements: Contemporary Anarchism in Providence, Rhode Island

ISAAC JABOLA-CAROLUS
Brown University

Anarchism as a social movement has seen an unprecedented revival in Europe and North America over the past decade and a half. This paper presents a case study examining the ideological composition of the anarchist movement, thereby contributing to the limited scholarship on the movement and demonstrating the value of interpretive analysis for social movement studies. Using in-depth interviews conducted in Providence, Rhode Island between 2010 and 2011, I systematically examine the ideational characteristics of a local anarchist population. To facilitate this ethnography-inspired endeavor, I look beyond social movement theory and import a theory of ideology from the field of discourse studies. This tool directs my explication of the values, aims, and understandings at the core of the participants’ ideology. My findings lend support to the position that interpretive analysis of social movements’ ideational content is valuable both in its own right and as a complement to more positivistic studies of movement mobilization.

As “anarchy” and “anarchist” often connote chaos and evoke images of bomb-throwers and punks, it will be useful to begin by defining my main term. Following recent scholarship on contemporary anarchism (Gordon 2007; Graeber 2010), I use “anarchist” as a classification for individuals who: (1) value notions of freedom and equality that lead them to oppose authority and domination and by extension, social phenomena including, but not limited to, the State and the capitalist economic system; and (2) orient their practices toward the creation of non-hierarchical, non-compulsory social relations. By this definition, the classification can be applied both to individuals who call themselves anarchists and to those who do not.

In the past decade and a half, anarchism—as a transnational social movement comprised of anarchists—has grown to a level unseen since the 1930s. Anarchists and anarchist ideology proved highly influential within the anti-globalization, or global justice, movement—so much so that some scholars have called anarchism the heart of the movement (Day 2005; Gordon 2007; Graeber 2002, 2009; Ross 2008). After the major global justice mobilizations gave way to a period of localized activism, anarchists have
recently found themselves playing important roles within the European *indignados* and the American Occupy movements. Within the latter, the anarchist influence is easily observable in the emphases on radically egalitarian decision-making processes, the pre-figuration of an alternative society, and direct action (as opposed to making demands of political representatives) (Graeber 2011).

Despite the anarchist movement’s revival, empirical studies of the subject are relatively scarce. This inattention to anarchism is particularly apparent in the sociology of social movements, which tends to focus on movements characterized by organizations with visible and unified goals, claims, and tactics (Fitzgerald and Rogers 2000). To my knowledge, other than Polletta’s (2002) limited research on the Direct Action Network and Atton’s (2003) work on IndyMedia, there have been no sociological investigations dealing directly with contemporary anarchism. In light of this dearth of literature, the first aim of this project is to contribute to the limited sociological knowledge about the anarchist movement through a detailed case study of a small-scale, local anarchist population in Providence, Rhode Island.

The second aim of this project is to demonstrate the utility of closely examining meaning, or ideological content, in movements. Existing theory in the sociology of social movements is neither sufficiently concerned with, nor equipped for, projects that seek to understand meaning in movements rather than explain mobilization (that is, how movements grow and succeed) (Gillan 2008; Walder 2009). This shortcoming should be rectified for two reasons. First, the dominant theoretical agenda in social movement studies—the refinement of predictive-explanatory theories of mobilization—could benefit from dialogue with interpretive approaches and empirical studies. Second, as Gillan (2008: 252) notes, “Movements offer reflections on the organization of social, political and economic life which are of value to all those for whom a normative appraisal of current political and social structures is necessary.”

By applying an existing analytical framework for the study of ideology, and by conducting and analyzing twelve in-depth interviews with anarchists, I systematically interpret and represent the core of anarchist ideology as it appears in the Providence, Rhode Island area. I find that the main components of the interviewees’ inter-subjectively shared ideological structure are: the values of individual autonomy, collective freedom, and participatory democracy; the goals of empowerment and social structural change; and the practice of issue-based activism and organizing. This basic finding does not significantly depart from the existing, limited literature on contemporary anarchism; my main contribution to this anarchist literature, rather, is my elucidation of the particular meanings of and interrelations between the ideology’s constituent parts. With respect to social movement theory, my interpretive approach yields insights into mobilization that I will discuss towards the end of this article, most notably, that a movement’s ideology can delimit not only its scope of legitimate strategic action but also the pace of its growth.
ANARCHISM AS A SOCIAL MOVEMENT

A basic assumption of this paper is that anarchism, as a diverse but discrete political phenomenon, can be categorized and examined as a social movement. Della Porta and Diani (2006) define “social movement” as an expression of collective action, a distinct social process that consists of the mechanisms by which actors engaged in collective action do three things: (1) enter and persist in conflictual relations with clearly identified opponents; (2) associate in dense informal networks; and (3) share a distinct collective identity. While previous scholarship on contemporary anarchism is scant, a few recent studies provide evidence that anarchists are engaged in collective action characterized by these three defining features (Gordon 2007; Graeber 2009).

The anthropologist David Graeber, the foremost scholar of the contemporary anarchist movement, has conducted ethnographic research on the anarchist current within the global justice movement. His work (2009) focuses on the anarchist elements of direct action and participatory democracy within the planning, execution, and aftermath of the 2001 Summit of the Americas protests in Quebec. Uri Gordon (2007) has taken a different approach to the movement, seeking to investigate political theory in practice by analyzing the language used by anarchist intellectuals, websites, and transnational movement organizations. His work more closely resembles the present study but sacrifices much depth and nuance in attempting to capture the transnational nature of the movement. Moreover, while the works of both scholars are valuable as pioneering examinations of the anarchist movement, they are not concerned with social movement theory. The anarchist movement, however, provides a rich opportunity to garner observations useful to movement mobilization studies.

IDEOLOGY AND THE INTERPRETATION OF MEANING IN MOVEMENTS

Since the 1970s, North American social movement scholarship has revolved around the process of mobilization, seeking to explain how movements grow and succeed. The field has looked to the respective influences of resource mobilization, organizational structures, political opportunities, and the recruitment of supporters through the process of framing. More recent developments—following framing theory’s lead into cultural processes—have explored the effects of other cultural factors on movement growth and outcomes, such as collective identity (Taylor & Whittier 1992), ideology (Oberschall 1993; Platt & Williams 2002), emotions (Goodwin, Jasper and Polletta 2001), and storytelling (Polletta 2006).

This focus on mobilization has recently been criticized for its narrowness. Walder (2009) contends that the mobilization tradition has forfeited the investigation
and understanding of the varying ideational content, namely the political orientations, of movements. He argues that more scholars should ask: what kind of movement is mobilized and why this kind? Similarly, Gillan (2008) critiques existing social movement theory for neglecting deeper inquiry beyond movements’ particular claims and actions to the underlying, orientational beliefs that motivate them. In reviewing previous movement scholarship, Gillan (ibid: 247) finds that “the ideational content of social movements is often obscured by a focus on particular, immediate goals; by their orientation to certain forms of action; and by the mediated, simplified nature of their communication.” Framing and frames are inadequate tools for the investigation of meanings and ideas in movements. The basis of movements in political beliefs and values therefore remains obscured, leaving movement analysts with incomplete understandings of their very objects of study.

In view of this shortcoming, Gillan calls for a shift away from positivistic efforts to build predictive-explanatory models of mobilization, towards a hermeneutic approach intended and equipped to deeply examine movements’ complex ideational compositions. Better understandings of meaning in movements would give movements’ political ideas the attention they deserve. Gillan’s proposed framework unites theories of framing, ideology, and hermeneutics and introduces a concept he calls the “orientational frame.” Blending political theorist Michael Freeden’s (1996) concept of ideology with Snow and Benford’s (2000) concept of frame, Gillan (2008: 254) defines “orientational frame” as a worldview that can help social movement actors to understand “significant events and processes of which they are aware, to justify particular responses to them and to envision alternative arrangements.” While I agree with Gillan’s assertion that Freeden’s concept of ideology is too static and removed from the grassroots to be applicable to meaning systems in social movements, it seems that Gillan could have adjusted Freeden’s concept or looked to a different, more appropriate conception of ideology. This, after all, is what Gordon (2007) does as he analyzes discourse and ideology in prominent anarchist networks. Furthermore, ideology has drawn sustained (if insufficiently nuanced) attention in social movement studies (e.g., della Porta 1995, 2009; Oberschall 1993; Platt & Williams 2002), and so Gillan’s break with the term appears unnecessary and potentially confusing.

To be sure, Gillan’s project is compelling; it is to his call for a shift in theoretical approach that this paper responds and subsequently proposes an alternative concept of ideology. Yet there is one further critique to be made: preoccupied with shifting the research agenda, Gillan overlooks the possibility that studying meaning in movements could rather fruitfully complement, instead of replace, positivistic analysis of movement processes. He neglects a small corner of social movement scholarship that facilitates dialogue between mobilization and a non-strategic, non-instrumentalist view of culture: the study of culture as a constraint on movements’ strategic action. This theoretical current, which explores how culture “sets the terms of strategic action” (Polletta 2008: 84), has also previously

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1 Similar observations have been made by Chesters and Welsh (2011) and Johnston (2009).
demonstrated an interest in ideology, making it additionally relevant to the present study.

An important work here is Swidler’s (1986) article, which, in addition to presenting culture as a toolkit, points to culture’s role in shaping action. According to Swidler, ideologies—conceived as explicit, articulated, highly organized meaning systems—play a particularly powerful role in shaping action during “unsettled lives,” or times of social transformation when culture is contested. Under these conditions, ideologies help to organize social life and can “establish new styles or strategies of action” (Swidler 1986: 278, her italics). Social movements, which exist in contexts of contestation and transformation, often “carry” ideologies that compete with existing cultural frameworks (ibid: 280). These ideologies play a significant role in shaping the practices of movement participants and can begin to influence the actions of bystanders as movements grow.

In an empirical exploration of the non-instrumental role of ideology in movements, Downey (1986) uses the case of the anti-nuclear Clamshell Alliance to show how ideology acts as a screening mechanism in the process of strategy selection. Using an ethnographic methodology drawn from Geertz’s (1973) work on ideology,2 Downey explains the Alliance’s ideology of participatory democracy and its role in delimiting the group’s perceived options for legitimate action. To use the language of Tilly (1999: 419), Downey demonstrates that ideologies contribute to the formation of “repertoires of contention.” Tying his findings to an inquiry into the Alliance’s eventual failure, Downey also argues that ideology played a significant role in the development of organizational dilemmas.

In a related study, della Porta (2009) addresses the global justice movement and the ideology of deliberative democracy in social forums. Using ethnographic methods, she unpacks the components of the overarching ideology that guides social forums—deliberative, or participatory democracy—and examines the difficulties of practically working out a corresponding democratic organizational model.

Such endeavors linking interpretive analysis of movements’ ideas to the examination of movement practices and mobilization have proven to be a productive development. It seems inevitable that the interpretation of meaning in movements provide insights useful to the understanding of movement processes and outcomes. Therefore, in this article I aim to perform both tasks: thoroughly elucidating key components of anarchist ideology and explaining how they are relevant to mobilization. I thereby help to rectify social movement theory’s disproportionate inattention to ideas and meaning in movements. The following framework directs my interpretation of the interviewee discourses and my representation of the emergent ideology structure.

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2 For Geertz (1973: 221), ideologies are “symbolic frameworks in terms of which to formulate, think about, and react to political problems.” This conception also suggests that ideology plays a significant role in shaping social action.
IDEOLOGY AND DISCOURSE ANALYSIS

In search of a more refined, movement-appropriate concept of ideology, I have looked beyond social movement literature. In the field of discourse studies, Teun van Dijk (2006: 115) offers a multidisciplinary conception of ideology which combines social, cognitive, and discursive components: ideologies are systems of ideas or beliefs, “socio-cognitively defined as shared representations of social groups, and more specifically as the ‘axiomatic’ principles of such representations.” Ideologies, in short, encapsulate the fundamentals of a group’s self-image. They are cognitive and social in that they serve as the cognitive interface between individual thought, action, and discourse, on the one hand, and groups, group relations, and institutions on the other. They are discursive in that they are acquired, expressed, and reproduced in discourse and communication, in various forms of talk and text (van Dijk 1995, 2006). Accordingly, discourse analysis is the most relevant approach for studying ideology.

Ideologies are constructed from a biased selection of basic social values and organized in group self-schemas consisting of categories, namely, a group’s “identity, actions, aims, norms and values, and resources, as well as its relations to other social groups” (van Dijk 2006: 115). Discursive descriptions relating to these categories betray underlying ideology structures and differentiate between in- and out-groups, generally presenting the in-group (Us) positively and the out-group (Them) negatively (van Dijk 1995: 147-149). The aspects of ideologies that are not expressed explicitly in discourse can be uncovered by examining discursive structures such as figurative language, emphasis/omission, and lexical selection.

In applying van Dijk’s (1995, 2006) theory to the study of social movements, there are four additional aspects of ideology which I have sought to clarify:

1. Ideologies partly control what individuals do and say, but concrete social practices and discourses are first needed to develop ideologies.
2. Ideologies are not the personal beliefs of individuals; they are those fundamental beliefs which are inter-subjectively shared. Individuals’ belief systems, however, may very well coincide with ideologies.
3. Ideology is distinct from the concept of collective identity, which is the positive “feeling of connection with a broader community, category, practice, or institution…It is a perception of a shared status or relation” (Polletta and Jasper 2001: 285). This conception of collective identity can be construed as a category within ideology.
4. Ideology is distinct from “frame” in that it refers to more comprehensive and fundamental belief structures which are prior to frames and which guide frame-construction.

3 Ideology is non-deterministic: “members do not necessarily and always express or enact the beliefs of the group they identify with” (van Dijk: 2006).
CONTEMPORARY ANARCHISM IN THE PROVIDENCE, RI AREA

In several ways, Providence, Rhode Island is typical of many medium-sized, northeastern cities. Abandoned warehouses and mills littering the city scream “post-industrialism,” and the relatively large homeless population attests to the high levels of poverty and unemployment. The city is also marked by rather stark racial and economic inequality, with a poor African-American and immigrant population on one side of town and a prestigious university surrounded by a wealthier white population on the other. These conditions, paired also with Providence’s longstanding do-it-yourself music and arts subculture (Buhle 2011) and the tendency of liberal institutions like Brown University to produce radical activism, render Providence conducive to dissident politics and counter-culture.

Indeed, the revival of anarchism has not missed Providence. Following the galvanizing 1999 WTO mobilization, Providence saw a boom in anarchist activity. In 2000, anarchists formed a collective called Love and Resistance, which published a newspaper and helped fundraise in defense of a Providence activist who had been arrested at that year’s Republican National Convention. By 2004, anarchists had launched a number of radical projects including: the Dirt Palace, an anarchist-feminist art collective; a local unit of Food Not Bombs, an initiative to provide meals to the hungry using produce discarded by supermarkets and restaurants; and Recycle-A-Bike, an organization that promotes bicycling as a mode of transport.

Over the next two years, Providence chapters of the predominantly-anarchist Industrial Workers of the World (IWW) and Students for a Democratic Society (SDS) were revived. Additionally, a Providence branch of the Northeast Federation of Anarchist Communists (NEFAC), the annual Anarchist Book Fair, and an anarchist worker-owned cooperative that builds bicycle frames were all established. In early 2011, an anarchist free space called Libertalia was opened, housing a library and hosting IWW meetings, the Rhode Island Solidarity and Equality network, and the nascent Providence Free School. Lastly, two community organizing groups, Direct Action for Rights and Equality (DARE) and the Olneyville Neighborhood Association (ONA), have attracted the participation of many anarchists.

At the time of writing, all of the above initiatives, except Love and Resistance and Food Not Bombs, are still active. Providence, for its relatively high level of anarchist activity and diversity, and for its typicality as a medium-sized post-industrial American city, is therefore a prime location to study both anarchism and ideology in social movements.

DATA AND METHODS

Van Dijk’s (1995, 2006) framework for studying ideology identifies discourse as
the most appropriate genre of data. In order to illuminate the ideology of Providence anarchists, one must critically listen to their voices. I have chosen interviews as my main source of data given my intention to uncover patterns between the beliefs of different individuals, rather than presume the existence of a shared ideology. Interviews also provide the opportunity to tease out underlying values and aims, which may be less accessible in campaign-specific texts produced by activist or organizing groups.

Between September 2010 and February 2011, I conducted twelve semi-structured, in-depth interviews with individuals from the Providence area. I began with two contacts I had in the Brown University chapter of SDS and used snowball sampling to find interviewees who are graduated SDS members, one of whom led me to another group of interviewees in NEFAC and the IWW. Other interviewees were found independently by speaking with individuals at the Providence Anarchist Book Fair. I also contacted individuals quoted in a 2005 Providence Phoenix article which addressed Providence anarchism. Through that effort I found an older generation of interviewees who had been involved in the Love and Resistance Collective.

In recruiting individuals for interviews, I informed them that I was researching anarchist ideas and practices in Providence. I took their willingness to be interviewed as an indication that they fell under the definition of anarchist I have used. In later analyzing each interview, I reevaluated whether or not each interviewee could still be classified in such a way. Only one interviewee fell outside of my definition, and so I have excluded that interview from my analysis. With respect to the interviewees’ self-identification, five routinely call themselves anarchists, five identify as anarchist but do not use the label often, and two do neither.

Categorized according to race and gender, the interviewees are: six white men, one African-American man, four white women, and one African-American woman. Ten of the individuals are in their early to mid-twenties, and two in their mid-thirties.

Interviews lasted between forty-five and ninety minutes. The core interview questions pertained to past activist experiences and intellectual influences, self-identification, the meaning of anarchism, anarchist practice, and reflections on Providence anarchism today. The semi-structured nature of the interviews ensured that I covered the same topics with each interviewee, while leaving room for interviewees to talk freely. I conducted the interviews at locations selected by the participants to ensure that they were comfortable enough in the environment to honestly answer my questions. To guarantee anonymity and confidentiality, I use pseudonyms, and, as much as possible, avoid disclosing identifying details.

Interviews were recorded, transcribed, and subsequently coded to develop categories of core ideological components shared by the interviewees and, additionally, to quantify the degree of consensus around each category. This preliminary content analysis built categories from van Dijk’s categories for ideological discourse analysis, Graeber’s
(2002, 2010) and Gordon’s (2007) writings on contemporary anarchism, and themes emerging from the interviews. I arrived at six categories: anti-capitalism; anti-statism; individual autonomy/anti-authoritarianism; equality; participatory democracy; issue-based activism and organizing. The following section details my deeper findings pertaining to these categories.

I do not intend to examine the complex ideational variation within the interviewee group, nor is my purpose to present a comprehensive ethnography of anarchism in the Providence area. What I offer is an interpretation of the ideas expressed by my interviewees; it is not meant as a definitive account. Lastly, the ideology I identify may or may not be representative of the ideology of the more general anarchist movement in the Providence area. Nonetheless, I interviewed a group diverse enough such that my findings remain robust even if I overlook any other anarchist currents. In view of these limitations, my findings offer an illustration of what the core of anarchist ideology might look like in the Providence area, and more generally.

FINDINGS

While insisting on the heterogeneous nature of the anarchist movement’s ideational content, I concern myself here with the underlying commonalities spanning the interviewees’ personal belief systems. Turning now to an in-depth analysis of the interviewee discourses, I unpack the meanings of the six themes identified above and trace their interrelations.

VALUES AND NORMS

In ideological discourse, it is essential to explore meanings that involve values and norms, meanings and mental representations “about what We find good and bad, right or wrong, and what Our actions and goals try to respect or achieve” (van Dijk, 1995: 138). Values generally refer to the fundamental aims to be striven for by individuals and groups (van Dijk 2001: 15). Norms refer to behavior and define what the in-group and its members should or should not do (ibid: 43, 73). Together, values and norms function as the building blocks for group ideologies by playing a significant role in shaping group goals, activities, position and relations, and identity. The principal interrelated value/norm themes that pervade the interviewee discourses are *individual autonomy*, *collective freedom*, and *participatory democracy*. This finding is hardly unexpected; what I contribute here, however, is an explication of what such ambiguous concepts mean to the interviewees.

*Freedom as Individual Autonomy*

As the words “anarchism” (“anarchy” comes from the Greek *anarchos*, or “no
ruler”) and its synonym “left-libertarianism” suggest, a certain notion of freedom sits within the core of any anarchist ideology. While not all of the interviewees expressly discuss freedom, it is possible, nonetheless, to gather the concept’s context-specific meaning and understand its place within the interviewees’ ideology.

Perhaps the most representative expression of freedom’s meaning comes from Ben, a school teacher and past member of Students for Democratic Society (SDS). Ben asserts that, with respect to the question of “who should have control over what people do…individuals themselves ought to have that.” The normative “ought” clearly signals that Ben assigns positive value to the state of having control over the activities that comprise one’s everyday life—this can be called autonomy. Autonomy is a more precise term for the interviewees’ understanding of freedom; it represents the ability of individuals to decide upon matters ranging from how they dress to how many hours a week they work.

The shared positive valuation of autonomy is most widely revealed in each interviewees’ expressed opposition to hierarchical social relations and the products of such relations, namely, oppression and domination. Cory, another past member of SDS, stresses the importance of “challenging hierarchy…[and] liberating ourselves from all sorts of oppressions—gender and so forth, class oppression.” Tony, a current member of SDS, expresses his commitment to “the rejection of domination in every instance.” And Sara, a Providence resident who has been involved with Food Not Bombs and a radical circus troupe, identifies with anarchism’s “rejection of authority and domination in all its forms, even within ourselves and our communities.” Domination and oppression generally connote the condition in which an individual or group with more autonomy limits the autonomy of other individuals or groups. This condition defines social relations that the interviewees classify—and explicitly denounce—as “hierarchy” and “authority,” such as the State (State over citizen), capitalism (owners and bosses over workers), patriarchy (men over women), and structural racism (one racial or ethnic group over another).

One additionally important aspect of autonomy is revealed in certain interviewees’ talk about responsibility. As Austin (member of an independent labor union) points out, “that’s the beginning of autonomy, taking responsibility.” According to the interviewees’ conception of autonomy, individuals can only achieve greater control over the activities comprising their daily lives once they decide to take responsibility for that control—the limits of their agency, however, is open to debate. The assumptions entailed in valuing autonomy thus become clearer: individuals are capable of taking responsibility for control of their lives, and they generally want to. The meaning of individual autonomy, however, cannot be fully understood independently of two other concepts that appear across the individual discourses: equality and collective freedom.

**Collective Freedom**

Nick, a member of the IWW and NEFAC, says of anarchism, “It’s for freedom…It’s

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4 The Industrial Workers of the World (IWW) and the Northeastern Federation of Anarchist Communists (NEFAC).
about being able to manage your own life... do[ing] what you wanna do, but in a way that’s still respectful to the community—that you have a responsibility to everyone around you.” Statements like this reveal that the value of individual autonomy is not alone at the core of the group’s ideology. Indeed, what has historically distinguished anarchist ideology from other socialist ideologies and right-libertarianism is the simultaneous valuing of individual autonomy and the respect for social, or collective, life.

As illustrated by Nick in the above quotation, the collective—often referred to as the “community”—is seen by the interviewees as a group of individuals equal in their claims to autonomy and respect. This “equality” is an assumption and appears in certain expressions such as interviewee Cory’s (past SDS member) assertion that living as an anarchist involves declaring to others, “I’m going to listen to you and approach you as an equal.” This assumption of fundamental equality between individuals is an integral feature of anarchist ideology.

Equality as an assumption leads to the valuing of equality in another sense: equality as the condition in which individuals have the same maximal degree of autonomy as other individuals. This value, equality, can therefore be called “collective freedom.” The clearest evidence for collective freedom as a shared value comes from the interviewees’ talk about “solidarity,” as well as “community” in a second sense (the first being “collectivity”). The term “solidarity” appears in the discourses of IWW and NEFAC members like Luke, who describes solidarity as:

Realizing that my lot in life is very similar to many other people who are struggling for their rights and their liberation. And, I’m gonna butcher the quote, but to paraphrase—I think it was Freire\(^5\)—one does not liberate oneself, neither does one liberate the other. But we liberate each other, you know, together.

Solidarity is understood as a feeling of commonality with and support for others as they strive for autonomy. It stems from recognition that one’s experience of oppression is in fact a shared experience, and that this oppression can only be overcome with the help of others who also experience it. Implicit to solidarity is a positive valuation of the autonomy of others, and so, it expresses the value “collective freedom.”\(^6\) In this way, solidarity is closely related and rather analogous to the idea of community in its second sense: a group in which individuals are respectful and supportive of each others’ struggle for autonomy. Understanding this notion of community helps to explain the meaning of otherwise imprecise assertions about community, such as Emily’s observation that “a lot

\(^{5}\) Paulo Freire (1921-1997) was a theorist of critical pedagogy.

\(^{6}\) Solidarity, as used in the language of the interviewees, also implies an interest in the general well-being of others—insofar as well-being and autonomy are distinct concepts (it seems they do overlap).
of anarchist activism is focused around trying to build community.” Community in this sense is presented positively across the discourses of non-union member interviewees. As a concept it is compatible with solidarity in that one could say community is a group in which individuals feel mutual solidarity.

**Participatory Democracy: Reconciling the Individual and the Collective**

From the concurrent positive valuation of autonomy and collective freedom stems the value of participatory democracy. Mentioned explicitly in nine interviews and implied in the remaining three, participatory democracy serves to promote and reconcile drives for individual autonomy amongst members in a collective. As current SDS member Emily explains, this is a result that liberal, or “false democracy,” fails to produce:

> I’m also particularly frustrated with liberal democracies because we give away all of our own autonomy and capacity to act to these larger actors, these, like, these larger-than-life pseudo-celebrity politicians that are gonna take care of everything. And so [we] forget that we’re responsible for taking care of our own communities, and feel disempowered to do so. Not only do we give away that sense of duty, but we give away our belief in our capacity to do anything….The issue with our democracy is that it isn’t democratic enough.

The flaw of liberal democracy is not that it favors the individual or the collective, one over the other, but that it fails to respect both; it necessitates the loss of both autonomy—control over one’s everyday activities—and responsibility “for taking care of our own communities.”

For the interviewees, matters of democracy in decision-making also extend beyond prevailing political institutions. Any social arrangement that deprives people of autonomy, or capacity to “have a say” in collective decisions is objectionable. Thus, SDS members like Tony engage in a “university democratization” campaign, which is motivated by the belief that—with regards to matters such as tuition hikes, financial aid, university investments, and employee layoffs—“the people who are being affected—either within the university or outside of it—are not the people who have the power.” In a similar spirit, Amy of the Olneyville Neighborhood Association looks to the economic realm and remarks, “Even a factory worker really has no say over what their factory is making; I don’t think that makes a lot of sense.” Such a fundamental lack of democracy—of individual autonomy and collective freedom—in economic organization motivates, for many of the interviewees, an opposition to capitalism that permeates the discourses.7

Participatory democracy is an alternative ideal for collective decision-making in social organization, as it is seen to better promote individual autonomy and collective

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7 Interviewees express an array of additional, but less-mentioned, motivations for an opposition to capitalism, including: it is inhumane and atomizing; it causes mass poverty, suffering, and ecological destruction.
Large representative government that can rule an entire country screws people over. And so the whole point is to move to more localized communities where there is participatory democracy, where everyone or almost everyone is participating and all opinions are voiced and taken into account, and decision-making is more based on consensus than majority screwing over minority.

Like the other interviewees, Emily understands participatory democracy as a localized, small-scale structure for collective decision-making which can ensure that individuals have the ability to more actively participate and have their interests taken into account. This general model allows those who are affected by a decision to have a significant degree of control over that decision. In diffusing meaningful control over collective decision-making individual autonomy can be better preserved.

As suggested in Emily’s quotation above and in several other interviewee discourses, participatory democracy is typically accompanied by the norm and practice of consensus. Consensus refers to the actual structuring of collective decision-making and is the preferred decision-making model of many of the groups in which interviewees are involved. If everyone must approve of a given decision for it to go forward—that is, if everyone has veto power—then everyone has a significant degree of control over that decision. It is in this sense that one and all are able “to make their own decisions” and thereby preserve individual autonomy within a collective—even if this means occasionally consenting to decisions about which one is not particularly enthusiastic.  

GOALS AND PRACTICES

The common goals which derive from the interviewees’ shared values and norms are: the short-term, small-scale goal of empowerment and the long-term, large-scale goal of social structural change. With regards to the ideological category of activities—what We, the in-group, do—the interviewees are less united; the practice of issue-based activism and organizing, however, is important to all and stems from the their shared values and goals.

Empowerment and Issue-Based Activism/Organizing

The word “empowerment” appears in five of the twelve interviews and is used to express the unanimously held goal of increasing individual autonomy and collective freedom. A close reading of the data suggests there are two distinct, but related fields

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8 See Graeber (2009) or Polletta (2002) for accounts of consensus-based decision making in practice.
of empowerment: first, increasing autonomy by increasing capacity to meet immediate, everyday needs; and second, increasing autonomy by equalizing power relations between individuals or groups. The first field is clarified in Ben’s description of the Olneyville Neighborhood Association’s campaign for the right of undocumented individuals to obtain driver licenses: he explains the goal of the campaign as “a small little reformist whatever. It’ll make lives better, and…increase the capacity of people to do the things they need to do for themselves. And so I guess small things like that are ‘the work.’” This first field of empowerment is oriented toward increasing individual autonomy by ensuring that people have what they need in order to do basic things such as find employment or get to their jobs. In this way, individual autonomy is inseparable from more immediate needs and entails the capacity to meet those needs. The second field of empowerment is oriented toward developing a more sustainable autonomy: as Ben continues, “the other side of ‘the work’ is…developing people so they can change their own lives.”

As the example of the driver license campaign suggests, both fields of empowerment are served by activism and collective organizing around local, particular issues, which I call “issue-based activism and organizing.” While the interviewees engage in a diversity of practices, issue-based activism and organizing is the only one which all participate in or explicitly endorse; it might be said that it is the most important type of strategy in the interviewees’ collective “repertoire of contention.” It includes such varied practices as: trying to democratize university governance, supporting workers in labor disputes, helping immigrant populations gain new legal rights, and organizing in labor unions.

The role of issue-based activism/organizing in addressing immediate needs is relatively straightforward, but its role in the second field of empowerment demands further clarification. Tony of SDS says of activism, “I think it’s about adjusting relationships of power and making people feel like they are empowered.” Activism and collective organizing serve as important locations for the equalization of power relations. This equalization can occur either within activist collectives or between activists and non-activists. Within activist collectives, like SDS, this equalization takes the form of participatory democracy, or intentionally non-hierarchical organization and decision-making; it fosters individual autonomy and produces a temporary approximation of collective freedom. Between activists and non-activists, empowerment through equalization of power is facilitated by a non-hierarchical, egalitarian approach. Luke, of the IWW and NEFAC, explains empowerment-through-equalization in practice as he describes the Rhode Island Solidarity and Equality (RISE) network:

What RISE entails is being a network of working people that support each other when you have problems with a boss or landlord, and using the direct action model to remedy grievances. So, say someone was denied their security deposit unjustly…we would work with the person who was affected and [make] it clear that this is not a social service, we’re not lawyers, this isn’t a charity, it’s not a state-run agency. It’s based around someone
being involved in their own, you know, struggle, with people backing them up. A given grievance is not redressed for the individual by more powerful or capable individuals. Instead, it is redressed by the individual at center, supported by others who offer discussion about courses of action and participate with the individual in direct actions. With such egalitarian assistance, the individual is believed to feel and develop greater agency than he or she otherwise would.

What is not clear from the interviews is the relative importance ascribed to the two fields of empowerment. It seems that through their varying practices, such as issue-based activism/organizing, the interviewees constantly negotiate a tension between meeting immediate needs and fostering a more total, sustainable individual autonomy. What is clear, though, is that issue-based activism/organizing is additionally oriented toward larger-scale social changes by which individual autonomy and collective freedom could be maximized.

Social Structural Change: The Slow Revolution

In addition to empowerment, the interviewees share the goal of macro-level societal change, which also derives from the root values of individual autonomy, collective freedom, and participatory democracy. Lending support to Gordon’s (2007) claim that open-endedness is a main feature of contemporary anarchism, the interviewee discourses reveal a general disinterest in the particulars of this goal. Their talk about social change or revolution is vague, making loose reference to the end of capitalism and the State or the establishment of “smaller-scale democratic communities” (Emily), “smaller, self-sustainable participatory communities” (Amy), or “something that’s more community-based and focused on interactions with other people” (Kim). Detailed descriptions of an alternative, non-capitalist economic system or participatory-democratic political structures are markedly absent from the interviewee responses about their long-term goals. This pattern appears to reflect an emphasis on empowerment in the present and near future.

It is not simply the case, however, that the interviewees think short-term empowerment is more feasible or important. Ben sheds light on the relationship between empowerment and structural change:

I think a lot of times people on the Left jokingly talk about “the revolution,” like, “When the revolution comes, X or Y [will happen].” But for me either we’re in the middle of...making the change that we think we need or it’s not going to happen. Like, the revolution isn’t a moment in time; it’s a long, long process.

As established in the previous section, the “change we think we need” is the augmentation of individual autonomy and collective freedom, that is, empowerment. Questions of determinism aside, what Ben means, then, is that anarchists are constantly engaged in practices that foster empowerment (an end in itself), and that continual empowerment
is also the very means by which to achieve larger-scale social change. Given that empowerment—as both end and means—always occurs at the micro-level, larger-scale social change is necessarily a slow process.

In discussing anarchist practice, several other interviewees express the dual nature of empowerment and the ongoing, processual, and micro-level dimensions of their conception of revolution. Emily suggests that her activism with SDS “should be about trying to sidestep what’s wrong and create alternative models that could potentially replace the bullshit that exists.” Her activism is not only about remedying immediate issues and fostering empowerment in the short-term; it is also oriented towards longer-term, larger-scale structural change characterized by maximized individual and collective freedom.

Kim, a past SDS member now working in women’s healthcare, speaks of a different, more personal genre of anarchist practice: “How do we go about destroying capitalism? I dunno. Stop believing in it. Stop buying things.” Here she reveals a view of social structure as rooted in the micro-level of everyday life. According to this perspective, the adjustment of one’s beliefs and lifestyle are revolutionary actions. She also highlights everyday interactions with others, stating, “If we want to go out and create a world that... we feel positive about, I think that has to start with the way that we interact with each other.” The individual mind and the practices of everyday life such as consumption and casual social interaction—the, like activism, are important domains in which empowerment and structural change occur.

The insistence on social structural change by gradual, small-scale empowerment differentiates anarchist ideology from other socialist ideologies which see such change to be possible by comparatively sudden political revolution and top-down initiative. There results an obvious tension, however, between the anarchist conception of revolution and anarchists’ desire to resolve more-immediate grievances (labor disputes, for instance). Most of the grievances and issues addressed by activism/organizing are attributed by the interviewees to structures like capitalism and the State, patriarchy and racism. If anarchist values dictate that these structures are only to be changed by slow micro-level empowerment, and if these structures do cause the relevant grievances, then the grievances and practical issues which anarchists confront will seem to persist indefinitely.

On Public Protest and Recruitment

An elucidation of the relationship between empowerment, structural change, and strategic action has helped to explain the emphasis on issue-based activism and other empowerment activities within the interviewees’ repertoire of contention. It is also possible now to better understand the interviewees’ discursive and practical de-emphasis on certain strategies, particularly demonstrating and propagandizing.

Most protesters, who helped shut down the WTO’s 1999 meeting in Seattle, would attest that demonstrations can be incredibly empowering. After all, the Occupy movement
has arguably been most valuable for its ability to empower individuals and groups through direct action and consensus-based decision making (Graeber 2011). Perhaps just as often, however, demonstrations can fail to significantly empower participants. I want to suggest that, because (1) protest actions are so inconsistent in their ability to bolster empowerment, and (2) they demand a relatively high degree of energy and resources, anarchists such as those I have interviewed tend to prioritize practices which yield more consistently positive results for empowerment and structural change. This claim can be supported by the fact that, despite substantial discussion in each interview about matters of practice and strategy, the interviewee discourses are nearly silent with respect to protest actions.

The recruitment of participants is central to the growth of any movement, and certainly to one with such a long-term goal of social structural change. In the past, propagandizing—the writing and distribution of persuasive ideological texts—was an important strategy for recruitment within the anarchist movement. During the height of the pre-World War I anarchist movement, Providence was, itself, home to an influential circle of insurrectionary anarchists that extensively and almost exclusively propagandized (Buhle 1978, 2011). Today, however, propaganda no longer appears to be as important to Providence-area anarchists. As with demonstrating, propagandizing is largely absent from the interviewees’ description of their practices. Furthermore, there currently exists no anarchist newspaper or newsletter in Providence, and the distribution of leaflets, pamphlets, or zines to non-anarchists is uncommon.

So how do the interviewees hope to “recruit” new anarchists? As Luke describes in talking about his organizing with the IWW labor union and NEFAC:

> Sometimes we purposely propagandize...but usually [our strategy] is, you know, a longer-term thing. It’s about building relationships. And it’s about being a part of people’s—each other’s lives, you know, learning from each other and that interplay. And through that, you know, you naturally end up discussing political ideas and ideology.

The spread of anarchist ideas and practices is largely seen as a by-product of empowerment activities like local activism, which generate opportunities for anarchists to build relationships with non-anarchists and transmit anarchist ideas through “natural” conversation. This approach is widely shared by the interviewees. Emily, Austin, and Sara explicitly express the opinion that “movement-building” strategies like propagandizing and calculated recruitment are “coercive” or “contrived” and therefore objectionable. “If people come to these beliefs,” says Emily, “it should be because they’ve started to engage in the world and question it and develop their own critiques of the world; and it can’t be, like, me telling you, ‘Here are all these things that are fucked up.’” Propagandizing, in essence, is
not especially empowering.

Demonstrating and propagandizing may be useful practices at certain times, but they are generally overshadowed by the daily efforts to enable empowerment, including: issue-based activism and organizing; teaching; performing art and making it more accessible; and adjusting one’s own beliefs, lifestyle choices, and interactions with others.

CONCLUSIONS

The strength of interpretive analysis of culture—culture loosely understood as learned patterns of thought and behavior shared by a group—lies in the fact that understanding individuals and social groups in their own terms generates insights that are otherwise inaccessible. This is a lesson from ethnography, and, as evidenced by a growing acceptance of a non-pejorative view of ideology, it has slowly been incorporated into studies of social movements. This article has attempted to further the interpretivist development by systematically examining the discourses and ideology of anarchists in the Providence area.

A distinct constellation of five main political concepts emerged as I subjected the interviewee discourses to close analysis: the values of individual autonomy, collective freedom, and participatory democracy; and the goals of empowerment and social structural change. Individual autonomy, in this context, signifies the individual’s control over the activities that comprise her/his everyday life. A belief in the equality of individuals in their claims to individual autonomy leads the interviewees to respect and value the autonomy of others. Thus, arises the value of collective freedom, or the condition of equal, maximal individual autonomy for members of a society. The value of participatory democracy represents the reconciliation of individuals’ respective drives for autonomy; it is a model for small-scale decision-making which, through the mechanism of consensus, allows each individual to have significant influence on collective decisions.

The first shared goal stemming from the above values is the concept of empowerment, or the augmentation of individual autonomy and collective freedom. Empowerment occurs gradually at the micro-level; it is individuals who become empowered, and only in a process more akin to endless perseverance than sudden awakening. The second goal is large-scale social structural change or “revolution”: the end of capitalism, the dissolution of State and all other hierarchies, the establishment of small, participatory-democratic communities. This goal, however, entails no developed utopian vision or any notion of a well-defined revolutionary moment. Instead, it is a conception of a revolution that privileges gradual, micro-level empowerment as the primary vehicle for large-scale change. Empowerment is therefore both an end and a means; “the revolution”, as the interviewees see it, is immanent in their daily practices.

Both empowerment and structural change are served by a diversity of practices,
but activism and organizing around immediate issues prevails as a commonly-shared strategy. For anarchists, activist and organizing collectives create a space for putting participatory democracy into practice while simultaneously providing opportunities to help non-activists develop autonomy. Also significant but less-shared practices include the adjustment of one’s: social interactions (to make them more egalitarian); lifestyle (such as consumption habits, to decrease dependence upon the capitalist economic system); and beliefs (to remove certain oppressive ideas received in socialization). The omission of certain practices in the interviewee discourses, particularly demonstration and propagandizing, can also be explained in terms of the shared goals: neither practice can promote empowerment as consistently and successfully as those which are emphasized.

Within these findings lies support for the previously-made claim that ideology acts as a filter in the process of strategic decision-making. As Downey (1986) suggests, ideology provides a framework for identifying and evaluating the legitimacy of different possible strategic action. To be more precise than Downey, it is the categories of values and goals that can define which practices are acceptable and appropriate—both at the individual and group levels. Thus, for instance, the interviewees’ values of individual autonomy and collective freedom lead to an emphasis on issue-based activism and organizing as opposed to producing propaganda, because the former is better suited for fostering empowerment. The same values foster a rejection of formalized leadership and hierarchical structure within anarchist collective organization.

Perhaps more interestingly, my findings suggest that ideology may not only delimit strategic action in movements but also define the maximum pace at which movements can potentially grow. In the case of the anarchist movement, growth might be measured in terms of number of anarchists or proliferation of anarchist social organizations. As my analysis of the interviewees’ goals and activities has conveyed, this potential growth may be necessarily slow due to a belief that the gradual, micro-level increase of autonomy and collective freedom is the means to larger-scale social change. The pace of growth may also be constrained by a wariness of propagandizing and intentional recruiting, which can feel manipulative and in opposition to the value of individual autonomy. Consequently, such activity is minimal, and the dissemination of anarchist ideas into non-anarchist populations is limited.

Lastly, my findings indicate four possible directions for future empirical studies concerned with assessing anarchist movement outcomes:

1. **Localized issue campaigns**: Specific campaigns, such as the drive of a given chapter of Students for a Democratic Society to radically democratize its university, are important to anarchists given their potential to empower individuals. Research about campaigns would involve traditional mobilization approaches—resource mobilization, political opportunities, and framing would all be relevant—but the constraints of anarchist ideology, or conversely, the narrow range of possible action, would require significant attention (this might resemble
Downey’s [1986] study).

(2) **Experiments in creating anarchy**: Studying the development of participatory democracy has some precedents (della Porta 2009; Downey 1986; Polletta 2002), but remains one of the most relevant projects in the study of radical-left social movements outcomes. Certainly political opportunity structures and cultural factors like ideology and collective identity would be pertinent concepts.

(3) **Converting non-anarchists**: If much of anarchist “recruiting” occurs at the individual level in the building of relationships, then there is potential to study micro-level framing processes. Such investigation could also examine the resonance of frames within the non-anarchist organizations (e.g., community groups) or other contexts (e.g., protest actions, workplaces) that anarchists inhabit.

(4) **Sustaining anarchist participation**: The anarchist population in Providence tends to be relatively young. The reasons for this may be related to the movement’s ability to sustain participation. There would be several factors to consider, such as: the role of mobilizing structures and collective identity (how well do anarchist and non-anarchist groups and organizations, comparatively, encourage participation?), and the tensions underlying anarchist ideology and burdens thereof (individual/collective, meeting immediate needs/fostering empowerment, and remediying structurally-caused issues/viewing structural change as gradual).

These are directions that I envision for studies responding to the current vivacity of the anarchist movement and the recent mobilization of other closely related leftist movements. Whatever direction taken by this future scholarship, a framework such as the one outlined in this article should be of value to those studies that hope to account for the ideological complexity, heterogeneity, and dynamism within these movements.

**References**


In Who Lives, Who Dies, Who Decides? author Sheldon Ekland-Olson explores the value of life and the decisions to end it. Issues of life and death are seldom simple, but Ekland-Olson demonstrates just how complex these issues can be. Through a detailed historical analysis, Ekland-Olson explains how the United States reasoned through issues of abortion, neonatal care, assisted dying, and capital punishment.

While the book describes many different controversial topics, they all stem from the same moral imperatives. If we consider that life is sacred and that it should be protected, and also that once suffering is detected it should be alleviated, we begin to see the complexities of life and death. Ekland-Olson asks, “how do we go about justifying the violation of deeply important, perhaps universal, moral imperatives, while holding tightly to their importance?” Throughout this important book, he challenges readers to consider what the boundaries of life are – what is the absolute beginning of life? At what precise point does death occur? Is it when the heart stops beating, or when the brain stops working, or some other marker? Whose lives are most valuable, and more importantly, who decides the answers to these questions?

Ekland-Olson does a remarkable job of tackling these questions by providing a historical account of the events, laws, and court cases shaping our understanding of these boundaries of life. In doing so, Ekland-Olson successfully provides an analysis that does not lead the reader to a certain conclusion about what is morally right or wrong, rather he presents a non-biased account of the decisions and events leading to our current understanding about the value of life and death. Additionally, we are reminded of a basic sociological relationship between individual problems and societal issues. Ekland-Olson presents individual cases as the beginnings of larger arguments pertaining to the boundaries of life. It is in this process that we are reminded of how the debated of these moral imperatives begin, as well as how some social movements begin (e.g. movements surrounding abortion and right to life arguments).

The book is divided into four parts presenting a different situation where these moral imperatives have been challenged. In the first section, “A moral system evolves,” readers get a thorough explanation of the eugenics movement and the arguments that led to a process of defining boundaries of life and how it should (and under what contexts) be protected. In the second section, “The early moments and months of life,” questions surrounding abortion debates are considered. These questions not only concern whether or not abortions should be performed, but when it is appropriate to also protect women’s lives during childbirth, at what stage of pregnancy abortions can
safely be performed, at what point is a fetus able to feel pain, etc. Additionally, this section also considers infants who are born with debilitating and fatal deformities. Given that advances in technology and medicine have given us the ability to prolong the lives of these infants, is it right for us to do so if we are prolonging a life potentially full of pain and suffering? The third section of this book, titled “The boundaries of tolerable suffering,” explores situations where chronic pain and suffering has become too much to bear and death has become desirable for individuals or their families. Ekland-Olson demonstrates how family, political, and religious social institutions have shaped these arguments and how we think of deciding death. The last section, “Taking life and inflicting suffering,” Ekland-Olson describes the role of the criminal justice system in creating laws that are punishable by death. Over time, leaders have decided what crimes would be so severe to take the life of the accused, and how those lives would be taken. While these laws change, it is not without much debate and political influence that decisions are made. Regardless, the questions remain: Who lives, who dies, who decides?

This book is well suited for anyone who is sociologically minded. Ekland-Olson presents non-biased historical accounts of several different situations around the same root concern: “how do we go about justifying the violation of deeply important, perhaps universal, moral imperatives, while holding tightly to their importance?” In his conclusion, Ekland-Olson argues that these questions are not likely to be resolved, and that persistent tension is expected. In Who Lives, Who Dies, Who Decides?, Sheldon Ekland-Olson delivers what he promises in this stimulating and engaging book.

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Envisioning Real Utopias (2010), by Erik Olin Wright, is book seven of the Real Utopias Project. The project began in 1991 with the basic purpose of taking seriously radical social change and elucidating the principles and rationales for how change could occur within our current institutions. In light of that purpose, Wright reminds us of the main principles of capitalism and why it inherently limits access to “human flourishing.” In this critique of capitalism, Wright is demonstrative of an early claim in his book; that the first task of emancipatory social science is to diagnose and critique social institutions for the harms they generate in terms of social and political justice. The second task, Wright claims, is to develop coherent, credible alternatives. This task is what the bulk of Envisioning Real Utopias is dedicated to.

Published in a contemporary period of serious economic crisis, Envisioning Real Utopias presents its readers with multiple visions of plausible alternatives to capitalism. Taking nothing for granted in the way of previous or shared knowledge, Wright provides working definitions for
a wide range of key concepts used in the discussion of capitalism and human empowerment, including a broad definition of “human flourishing.” While defining such a great number of concepts makes the book a bit slow to get through, it also serves as the grounding on which he builds guidelines for pathways to economic, political, and social transformation.

While clearly inspired by the work of Marx, Wright is also critical of his theory of social change because it relied on the impossibility of capitalism rather than thoroughly explicating a viable alternative. Wright corrects Marx’s vision by arguing that viable social transformation would come about through slow change and the deepening of democracy rather than an abrupt collapse of capitalism. Because change would have to be slow, Wright argues that the “socialist compass” should work as the tool through which institutional designs can be measured for whether they are heading in the right direction.

For Wright, the key goal of social change is to “enable power rooted in voluntary association in civil society to effectively control the production and distribution of goods and services” (129). To this end, the “socialist compass” would focus on three questions aimed at institutional designs. Is there social empowerment over the way state power affects economic activity? Is there social empowerment over the way economic power shapes economic activity? And finally, is there social empowerment directly over economic activity? Treating economic arrangements not as ideal types but as hybrid configurations, Wright contends that capitalism will likely remain a component of relations that govern economic activity, but it would be subordinated capitalism constrained by democratic participation (145). In Chapter 5, the reader is given seven theoretical configurations that include elements of capitalism, socialism, and statism - all thoroughly defined. These configurations are the seven pathways to social empowerment that Wright envisions.

Moving from theoretical models to empirical cases, Chapters 6 and 7 explore real world cases of utopian design. Wright presents a complex analysis of these cases by trying to “fully recognize the complexity and dilemmas as well as real potentials of practical efforts at social empowerment” (151). Aside from providing meat to his theoretical claims, these cases also serve as the inspiration to believe in the possibility of alternatives. One example he provides for social empowerment and the state is a participatory budget in the city of Porto Alegre that was implemented when the Workers’ Party won the election for mayor in 1988. This case provides a real life example of how a transformation in municipal governance could invigorate direct democracy, but also offers principles that could be extended beyond municipal governance. His examples for social empowerment and the economy include the institutional design of Wikipedia, whose fundamental principles are non-capitalist because it depends on voluntary, unpaid contributions, the information is available to anyone who has access to the internet, anyone can gain full editing rights, it exhibits deliberative interaction among
contributors, and governing positions such as administrators are gained through democratic means. Wikipedia was originally non-hierarchical, but after many cases of cyber-vandalism and contentions over content, administrators took on the role of making some entries no longer available for editing. While many see this as cutting into the open editing policy, Wright argues that because the administrator status is gained with few requirements it still maintains the open, democratic character of Wikipedia’s original design, which for Wright closely resembles the ideals of radical democratic egalitarianism.

Wright’s *Envisioning Real Utopias* is theoretically thorough while also grounded in strong empirical cases. Because his alternatives are primarily focused on control over goods and services, some readers may find Wright’s theory less convincing in other dimensions of inequality related to capitalism, including dimensions of cultural capital and identity-based inequalities. Throughout the book, Wright makes prudent discussion of potential skepticism to his theory. While this at times adds a defensive tone to the book, it also shows his dedication to proposing theoretical pathways to social empowerment that are realistic and viable. The book will be inspiring to those who aspire to radical social change as well as those who hold on to the belief that social science can and should serve the interests of broadening access to “human flourishing.”


How do US evangelical sexual abstinence campaigns convince teenagers to be sexually “pure” until marriage and how do the young people negotiate their sexuality? The author of *Making Chastity Sexy*, Christine Gardner, examines the rhetoric of evangelical campaigns and discourses that teen participants use to talk about abstinence commitments. The author does so through ethnographic research in three major US campaigns: True Love Waits, Silver Ring Thing, and Pure Freedom, observing their events and interviewing campaign organizers and teenage participants. This book focuses on cases in the U.S., but also offers comparative analysis of similar campaigns that have been held in sub-Saharan African countries, including Kenya and Rwanda.

In this book, Gardner focuses on how “evangelicals are co-opting forms of secular culture to make chastity sexy.” (18) The author weaves religious rhetoric, sexuality, and social movement issues together to unveil “the complexities of sexual behavior.” (5) By doing so, she provides the dynamics behind young people making abstinence pledges, which statistical studies so far only discussed the dichotomy of keeping sexual abstinence and having sex. By exploring the current abstinence movement, initiated and developed by evangelical churches in

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the 90s as a part of their ministry, the author shows how the “politics of piety” come into play for Christian teens both in making a decision to be abstinent and in keeping their pledges. Gardner argues that the U.S. evangelical campaigns are moving away from condemnation of having sex before marriage towards “a positive focus on ‘just say yes’ to great sex within marriage” (13). The author carefully analyzes the discourses employed by the program organizers and invited guests at their events and include female celebrities and individuals or couples from the churches. The author focuses on the young attendees of the events to understand how they receive messages and how their abstinence pledges affect their lives.

Gardner provides an insightful, in-depth ethnographic investigation of the U.S. cases, and her work contributes to the literature on gender, sexuality and religion. Gardner first analyzes how campaign organizers frame abstinence as an individual’s “choice,” and not a forced decision, to adopt a godly “pure” life. Also, those who were sexually active in the past can regain second virginity through God’s forgiveness and can pledge sexual abstinence until marriage. Lastly, Gardner shows that sexual abstinence is framed as a “healthy choice” that keeps young people from getting STDs, unwanted pregnancies, abortions, and even AIDS (27-40). Therefore, teens’ sexual chastity is not only a spiritual decision but also a contribution to making a healthier society. Through in-depth interviews with young people who made pledges, the author investigates how teens negotiate their sexuality. Public testimonies at the campaigns promise teens good marriages and great sex in marital relationships, and silver purity rings bind the pledged together after they return to their daily lives, reminding them of their commitment.

In addition to this “thick description,” Gardner also analyzes both female and male discourses of sexual absence and looks at how they borrow fairy tale narratives of “someday my prince [princess] will come” (87). In this way, the author does not limit sexual chastity only to being a women’s issue. Gardner further discusses teens’ trials and errors regarding their sexual activities and what it means to remain sexually abstinent for them. Another strength of this book lies in its extensive scope; the author also provides an analysis of gay teens. Although the literature on homosexual teens is not as developed as that on heterosexual youths, the chapter five includes a discussion of the discourse surrounding Christian homosexuals and evangelical churches’ view on them (139-142). Gardner also problematizes the campaign’s silence on homosexuality and argues that campaigns’ promise of a good marriage as their reward for being chastised is not applicable for Christian gay teens. She discusses that generally in evangelical churches “being” homosexual is not sinful, but “acting” is, which means “sexual activity always is sin” for homosexual teens (140).

Gardner then turns her attention to sub-Saharan African countries where the U.S. government and these evangelical ministries fund sexual abstinence
campaigns. The main purpose of these campaigns is to prevent and reduce the infection of HIV/AIDS. In other words, the Kenyan and Rwandan cases show us how the evangelical ministry as a social movement relates to health issues, or life and death problems. Three out of the eight chapters are devoted to these cases, but the author does not fully analyze the experiences of teens and thus does not fully explain the dynamics of abstinence commitment in African countries. Rather, she provides a more culturally essentialized context of Kenya and Rwanda, which might set up confrontations between individualism and liberalism in the U.S. versus patriarchal family-oriented and community-oriented values that strongly restrict female sexuality in Africa. Moreover, her comparative units are not identical; the U.S. cases are more developed with a variety of teen experiences, whereas African chapters are more focused on the developmental workers’ discussions about the African cultural and patriarchal context on women’s sexuality.

In the last chapter, Gardner returns to the US and follows up the participants who made pledges in the past. She examines campaign participants’ dissatisfaction with their sexual life in their marriage.

*Making Chastity Sexy* is highly recommended reading for those who are interested in gender, sexuality and religion. Gardner’s insightful rhetorical analysis offers an understanding of the dynamics of sexual behaviors of Christian young people in the modern day. Finally, Gardner’s endeavor to bring gender, sexuality, religion, and social movement analysis together in a book shows us how these subjects can be studied thoroughly with careful ethnography.

HYUN JEONG HA
*The University of Texas at Austin*

**Sociologists in Action: Sociology, Social Change, and Social Justice.**

*Sociologists in Action* provides a distinctive and comprehensive analysis of how the tenets of the sociological perspective can be activated as a mechanism through which the facilitation of socio-political changes occur. The incorporation of powerful and convincing anecdotal stories from applied sociologists, and detailed accounts of their empirically based social programs gives credence to the idea that sociology as a discipline has an immense responsibility and capacity to create awareness of social justice, engender change, and create a coalition of like-minded constituents as means to encourage diverse discourses on the inequities that pervade our local communities and global societies. Conversely, the authors advocate provocatively for the reconfiguration of our accustomed sociological teaching pedagogies and modes of operation. For example, first we attribute much of our practice in sociology to being educators within the walls of academia instead of
practitioners or social justice activists. Secondly, we are accustomed to having our students be passive learners, instead of subjects in their own creation of knowledge. Lastly, the authors conjointly argue that sociology needs to breed a social space for inter-disciplinary subject matters in order to harbor a distinctive and fluid synergism of theories and knowledge that inform our social practices.

Korgen, White and White preclude their discussion of the experiences of practicing sociologists by first espousing the applicability of C. Wright Mills (1959) sociological imagination, theories, and research methods to the study and the implementation of public or applied sociology. First, the sociological imagination assist in our recognition of two core commitments of sociology 1) use a sociological eye to see beneath the surface of society to notice and examine patterns of injustice and 2) actively confront and help alleviate those injustices (Korgen, White & White, 2011:1). The sociological perspective, coupled with the integration of critical race and feminist theories sets the precedence for the enactment of social change. Illustratively, practicing sociologists provide telling and meticulous accounts of how they name and view their own personal reality and reframe it as social justice issue, and then strategically engage in revisionist practices to challenge oppressive practices prevalent in our social institutions. Next, the authors show that both quantitative and qualitative research methodologies deserve equal consideration and appraisal, as various data collection strategies aid in our ability to understand and measure trends in society. Through the combination of the sociological imagination, theory, and research methods public sociologists can shape and transverse through the spaces as both educators and activists. The inclusion of case studies regarding the work of renowned public sociologists on several key sociological topics such as race, social class, gender, stratification and environmental justice denounces the disparate treatment of the typologies and/or domains within sociology. Rather Korgen, White and White illuminate how collectivism and interdisciplinary work with other academics, community members and students is a key component in the legitimation of knowledge and the evolvement and progression of the field of Sociology.

The first six chapters focus on introductory topics that are often proposed to students in an introductory sociology course: culture, socialization, deviant behavior, social movements, stratification and social class and race and ethnic relations. Undoubtedly, one unifying theme of these aforementioned chapters is to encourage its readers to challenge existing norms, beliefs and institutional practices that affect the social and economic plight of marginalized groups such as the homeless, juvenile delinquents, queer/ LGBT populations, and racial and ethnic minorities. Furthermore, we as educators are not just called to change the paradigm of how students think about marginalized groups in society, but as public sociologists we are entrusted with the commitment to
build cross-ethnic coalitions, such as Dr. Jack Levin’s experimental social conflict and community service course which challenged traditional teaching pedagogies and allowed students to interact and converse with people of different races, or religions in the spirit of cooperation, civility and good will; or Dr. Susan Guarino-Ghezzi’s newly established program called “Make Peace with Police,” which engendered non-confrontational communication and encounters between police and gang-involved juvenile delinquencies in an attempt to ameliorate myths and stereotypes that fostered contention between both groups.

Secondly, while the last four chapters: sex, gender and sexuality, globalization and migration, environmental justice, social institutions (family, economy, education, government, and religion) focused on conceptualizing sociological topics as not only pervading our contemporary political discourse but embedded within our social institutions, and also transversing the boundaries of the United States and other global communities. For example, in the chapter on globalization and immigration, Dr. Robert C. Smith’s research on Mexican immigrants in the United States and their ties to their home country serves as an impetus to advocating for Mexican immigrants, co-founding social programs, and implementing initiatives to promote educational achievement and leadership among Mexican children in New York. Similarly, Dr. Daniel Farber’s research interest on the disparate exposures to environmental health hazards encountered by people of color and working class whites allowed him to use quantitative methodologies to document the prevalence of environmental hazards and then effect policy change and discourse on environmental and ecological issues.

*Sociologists in Action* offers a new lense for reconceptualizing the field of sociology, the personal histories of the sociologists in this book advocate that their “personal troubles” or “individual identities” become critical antecedents to their ability to make connections between their personal accounts and public issue. Additionally, their rigorous training in theory and quantitative and qualitative methodologies provide the palette for the actualization of social reform and social change. Additionally, their work calls for the erasure of divisionary practices that separate traditional sociology and public sociology; their work as both educators and researchers are not seen as disparate domains or roles but instead become key components in how they carry out their work as public sociologists. As educators, they challenge traditional teaching pedagogies and engage in transformative learning experiences with their students outside the classroom, and as researchers they observe various social phenomenas, and then offer a sociological analysis of how to best ameliorate social, economic, and racial inequities. For inquisitive young scholars and readers who engage with this book, they can only help but wonder whether sociology can move to a space where interdisciplinary work is encouraged, conventional teaching practices are challenged, diverse mechanisms for
transmitting and establishing knowledge are created, and that sociologists becomes both the subject and investigator of their research endeavors. Equally important, this book doesn’t typify or categorize social change, and instead measures change not by its impact but by our ability to view our role in eradicating social inequities in our everyday lives.

Ciera Graham
The University of Cincinnatti


In Punished: Policing the Lives of Black and Latino Boys, sociology scholar, Victor Rios examines the ways in which young black and Latino boys are subject to punitive social control. As a former gang member himself, Rios is able to relate the boys from his own experience.

Over the course of three years in Oakland, California, in-depth interviews along with participatory observation were conducted with forty “at-risk” boys. Rios was able to gather evidence proving that young black and Latino boys are punished both by the social control practices of schooling and their impoverished environment.

In the book’s preface, Rios tells the story of how as a young boy on the streets of Oakland, his best friend was shot and killed by a gang conflict (xiii). This situation as well as his negative experiences with the police led him to the discovery of his own “sociological imagination”—the classic term of the discipline deemed by C. Wright Mills to describe how one’s own experience can be applied to sociological concepts and understanding. The chapter, “Dreams Deferred: The Patterns of Punishment in Oakland” is actually a reference to Rios’ own dreams as a former version of his subjects. He describes the way in which he performed participant observation as “shadowing” by following them through their day-to-day activities. This approach allowed Rios to be exposed “to major patterns prevalent in their lives, including criminalization” (8). This form of observation is useful for ethnographic researchers to gain insight into the intimate microcosm situations that can only be witnessed and examined the closer the researcher is to the subject.

Rios’ key intervention with the book is addressed in “Chapter 2: The Flatlands of Oakland and the Youth Control Complex.” The youth control complex is a “system of criminalization molded by the synchronized, systematic punishment meted out by socializing and social control institutions” that constantly manages and controls the lives of poor youth of color (40). Rios explains this “criminalization is embedded in Oakland’s social order,” and thus he chooses his childhood neighborhood as his work site (27). As a long-term resident of the Bay area, he possessed geographical insight to a “social landscape which epitomizes the sociological circumstances of other cities with large Black and Latino/a populations in the United States” (28). In 2008, the Oakland
community witnessed the case of Oscar Grant, an unarmed black man shot in the
back by the police in a BART station, as an example of “unchecked police harassment
and brutality” (25). This example provides leverage to his research location as well
as highlights a recent incident that, given the history of political organization in the
region, made even communities of color outraged by the outright injustice. Rios’
use of relevant and recent news stories and data provides perspectives outside of
his research that allow readers to gain a further understanding of how punitive social
control is a widespread practice.

To connect the dire conditions of poor communities of color caused by
punitive social control to the economic system of capitalism, Rios briefly touches
on a “transnational global economy to... vulnerable populations... from social
welfare to social control” (29). However, this statement could have been further explored
throughout the book. Rios describes these effects of neoliberalism through the analogy
of the left and right arms of the state. The right arm is criminal justice and the left is
welfare. Later he describes the two by other characteristics, however it seems to me
that young poor black and brown boys have no choice is which direction they are pulled.

In “Chapter 3: Labeling Hype,” Rios states “one only needs to spend a
few hours with marginalized young people in their everyday settings to realize how
much they are policed, stigmatized, and treated differently from other citizens” (52).
For example, one of the boys in the study, Jose was first handcuffed and taken out of
school when he just was 8 years “an event that publically defined him as a criminal”
(58). Rios found that constant policing and harassment leads to a stigmatization as
well as a denial of what sociologists call “positive rite” – the universal human need
to be perceived positively by others (58). This traumatizing effect caused by years of
criminalization seems difficult to overcome for the young boys, unless they utilize
methods of resistance.

“Chapter 5: Dummy Smart,” refers to a defense mechanism by which the boys
use to manipulate authority figures that seek to implement punitive practices over
the boys’ lives. Through their interaction with adults, some of the boys expressed
their cleverness to “consciously fight for their dignity even if it meant risking
their freedom” (115). Rios suggests that the identities of political resistance of
the boys occur when, “they internalize criminalization, flip it on its head, and
generate action that seeks to change the very system that oppresses them” (104).
One tactic the boys used in response to punitive practices was merely the idea
of breaking the rules. This mechanism is developed in response to being prevented
from acquiring social and economic capital used in mainstream institutions (98). This
form of capital, although not translated well into formal authoritative situations, is used
as means of survival.

The young boys resistance to their circumstances, through political
awareness and organization, can challenge the linear path to incarceration. Rios
suggests that negative consequences of hypercriminalization caused by punitive social control are not absolute. He suggests that there is resistance by the young boys in response to criminalization, where there is “the potential to radically alter the worldviews and trajectories of the very marginalized young people that encounter criminalization” (21). He suggests the “school to prison” pipeline can be redirected and replaced by a “pipelines of opportunities” (xii). These opportunities may be mentorship from college students, after-school tutoring programs, and ultimately the decriminalization of their daily activities.

Central to Rios research process and findings was his analysis of the young boys personal lived experiences, the “voices of the youth” (9). This focus was towards those directly affected by institutional social control. An approach that is useful and commendable on behalf of the researcher to relinquish part of their expertise to the will and direction of its participants. Perhaps Rios sees this as a way for the young boys to practice self-determination even if it is as simple as telling their own stories.

For sociology, Victor Rios has paved a new progressive path in the disciple. Punished provides an insightful look into how the lives of black and Latino boys are subject to daily punitive practices throughout their social environment. In the role of the researcher, Rios faces a dilemma in how his own role-played out in the participant’s lives he was observing. Although Rios’ close relationship to the region and similar experiences of the boys was unique he states, “I became part of the study and part of the forces that both created and resisted the very power relations I sought to expose” (15). His reflection acknowledges that he too contributes to the punitive institutional practices as well as feels their punishment. His critique of previous ethnographic work allowed him to take an alternative approach to studying a social group. His conclusions were that through the various systematic institutional forces against them, the young boys were facing social death, “a systematic process by which individuals are denied their humanity” (159). However, Rios calls for the creation of “youth support complex” – a system that “nurture and reintegrates young people placed at risk” (162). He is an example of how through a transformative process he was able to earn a PhD from one of the most prestigious universities in the country. Rios not only encourages the reader to critically analyze the punitive social control practices prevalent in the young boys lives, but suggests it is okay to want to change them.

MARIBEL FALCON

The University of Texas at Austin
Luz Maria Carreno

Luz Maria Carreno is a senior Honors student at Utah State University. She is double majoring in Sociology and Spanish with a minor in Business. This past summer, Carreno was one of eight students who participated in the 2011 Research Experience for Undergraduates at the University of Texas at Austin. She worked on her own research, which she later presented at the 2011 Southern Demographic Association Conference in Tallahassee, Florida. Carreno is very grateful she received this opportunity because she met a lot of neat people and learned so much from the experience. Carreno has been the recipient of various other awards such as the Cardon Neuberger Scholarship, IME Becas Scholarship, Educational Opportunity Scholarship, and the Hispanic Leadership Conference Scholarship. Carreno is currently the Latino Student Union PR as well as the Outreach Intern in the Access and Diversity Center. During her time at USU, Carreno has been very involved with the community. She enjoys helping out others with anything that she can. In past years, Carreno has taught English to Hispanic parents as well as translate at parent teacher conferences, at a local high school. This school year, she organized an after school-tutoring program at the same high school, called “Collective Tutoring” with a group of high school students. This program not only offers homework help, it also provides college prep and has been successful up to this point. Though it is a new program, she is working on making sure that it keeps going even after she is gone.

Keri Hartman

Keri Hartman is a senior at Harvard University originally from Pittsburgh, PA. She is majoring in sociology with a secondary field in Germanic Studies. Her academic interests include cultural sociology, youth subcultures, racial formation, and the sociology of gender. She is currently writing a senior thesis on how white separatists construct racial boundaries in online forums where they interact with opponents of the movement and the purposes to which they direct these attempts at boundary-work. Extracurricularly, she directs PBHA’s Athena Program, a mentoring and employment program for low-income high school students in Boston around issues of gender run entirely by Harvard undergraduate volunteers. Her favorite courses include a seminar on The Wire and urban inequality with William Julius Wilson, a yearlong course on social theory during her sophomore year, and her junior tutorial in sociology, for which she wrote this paper. A fluent German speaker, Keri also studied abroad for a semester at the University of Vienna. She hopes to spend the next two years in Germany pursuing a master’s degree in intercultural communication before returning to the United States for a Ph.D. in sociology.
Isaac Jabola-Carolus graduated from Brown University in 2011 with an B.A. in International Development Studies. His research interests include radical democracy, social movements, globalization, and international political economy. His undergraduate thesis, from which his article is adapted, investigates the ideological sub-currents within the present-day anarchist social movement. Isaac has spent the last year working at the New York Hotel and Motel Trades Council and teaching in France.

Maya Ange’le Reid
Maya Ange’le Reid hails from a suburban area of the New Jersey shore. A Mellon Mays Undergraduate Fellow, she will graduate from Princeton University in June 2012 with a B.A. in Sociology and a certificate in African-American studies. In her extracurricular life, she participates heavily in cultural organizations, Sustained Dialogue, and her eating club, and she is currently rehearsing for her eighth acting experience on campus. Never having been exposed to social science before college, Maya was immediately intrigued, challenged, and inspired by her introduction to the discipline at Princeton. Her experiences on campus in clubs, organizations, classes, and informally among friends, alongside experiences maintaining a personal blog and a generally active social media presence, helped to generate her academic interest in the sociological study of identity. The paper she presents here, on the influence of university structure on students’ identification as adults, is excerpted from a year-long independent research project she conducted in her junior year under the advisement of Professor Rebekah Massengill. Currently, she is involved in a larger research project, under the advisement of Professor Douglass Massey, aimed at understanding the ways in which the college experience influence students’ conceptions of race and ethnicity on the levels of personal identity and social categorization. After graduation, Maya will be working in survey research and design for a major social policy research center in Washington, D.C., and she plans to enroll in a doctoral program in Sociology in the near future.

Kate Roberts
Kate Roberts graduated from Southwestern University in May 2011 with a Bachelor of Arts in Sociology. She was inducted into Alpha Kappa Delta, sociology honor society, in 2010, and received the Frank E. Luksa Award for outstanding sociology student in 2011. She is also a member of Phi Beta Kappa, and was involved in Alpha Phi Omega, a national service fraternity, during her tenure at Southwestern. Kate’s research interests include social movements, educational disparities, and the intersectionality of identity. She is currently a graduate student at The University of Texas at Austin, pursuing a Master of Science in Social Work. She seeks to apply sociological theory to practice on the micro level, by pursuing social justice for marginalized populations through direct practice work.
Her focus includes addressing systemic barriers, and increasing access to community and educational resources for low-income youth. She also has an interest in evaluating and improving the efficacy of service delivery models within the nonprofit sector.

**Rachel Williams**

Rachel Williams is a Sociology major at Whitman College. During the fall of her junior year, she spent the semester abroad in Nepal studying social change and development. During this time she lived in Kathmandu and conducted her field research project on marriage and dating. She subsequently presented her work at Whitman’s Spring 2011 Undergraduate Conference. Ms. Williams also conducted a recent study, examining the intersection of race, ethnicity and religion as it relates to identity among Asian-Jewish children. Ms. Williams will be graduating in May 2012 and plans to pursue a career supporting environmental causes such as the sustainable food movement and attend graduate school.