Sociological Insight

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From the Editor

Navigating one's way through immense bodies of academic research is a grand, yet exhausting task. Contributing something novel to this body of scholarly literature is nothing short of a miracle. For five years now, *Sociological Insight* has successfully provided undergraduates throughout the United States with a portal in which to publish their findings into the realm of sociological research.

The general model of education in the United States teaches students to become efficient consumers of knowledge. It requires them to read books, memorize formulas and synthesize information. While most students successfully master this technique, very few take the next step. The shift one makes from being a consumer of knowledge to becoming a producer of knowledge is considered by some to be the most profound intellectual leap possible. It requires qualities of astute discernment, untiring perseverance and shrewd ingenuity. For an undergraduate to have successfully made this leap is not an easy feat.

However, there remain few outlets for undergraduates to showcase the fruits of their tireless efforts. Their minimal credentials exclude them from publishing in traditional academic publications. It was the recognition of this untapped source that inspired the development of *Sociological Insight*. Today, we continue our original mission by giving students a platform to contribute their own scholarly findings to existing bodies of literature. In addition, *Sociological Insight* serves a variety of less obvious and more latent objectives. By spending a great deal of time reviewing submitted papers, the students who make up the staff of the journal are exposed to a diverse composition of scholarly work produced by their peers. Additionally, staff members are able to expand their scholarly networks by interacting with faculty members and graduate students, as well as undergraduates with similar academic interests.

The staff of *Sociological Insight* has worked tirelessly to make this journal a reality. Unlike other types of academic journals, undergraduate journals require a complete reshuffling of staff members year after year. What this means is that each year a new group of brave undergraduates takes on the daunting task of learning to bring a collection of fresh ideas and research findings together, to produce what is *Sociological Insight*. Our staff is made up of a core group of executive staffers, and a larger community of associate editors and graduate and faculty reviewers.

The peer review process for *Sociological Insight* 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. In 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 its review of the paper(s) and make a decision to accept, or reject, revise and resubmit. If the decision is to revise and resubmit, the paper is sent back to the author with an attached document of the revisions

that need to be made in order for the paper to be worthy of publication. Once the revised paper is resubmitted and reviewed 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 the papers that will be published in the upcoming volume of the journal. Our rigorous review process allows us to continue *Sociological Insight*'s mission of raising the bar for undergraduate social science research by encouraging sociologists-in-training to think deeper, work harder and go farther.

Without the support of a wide variety of sources, *Sociological Insight* would be merely a group of interested students reading through cool, new research. However, because of the support we are provided, we are able to channel our energy into turning the research we are interested in into a complete and polished physical body of work.

We would like to express our gratitude to UT's College of Liberal Arts for gracious financial contributions that are essential to the production of our journal. Additionally, we would like to thank the UT Sociology Department for unending financial, intellectual and emotional support. People often fail to realize the complex network of individuals that make up an academic department. Departments are comprised not only of professors, but also of a variety of researchers, lecturers, advisors, graduate students, webmasters, managers and accountants. Individuals in each and every one of these positions were key players in the review process and final production of the journal.

We have always been encouraged by the chair of the department, Dr. Christine Williams, who continues to provide an outlet for undergraduates to contribute research to the discipline. Without her devout support, *Sociological Insight* would be nothing more than an abstract idea.

Additionally, we owe endless amounts of gratitude to our faculty advisor, Dr. Ekland-Olson. A beloved teacher and mentor to many students in the sociology department, Dr. Ekland-Olson has not only allowed our journal to continue functioning, but has also given us the opportunity to expand our core goals and purposes. In countless conversations with other sociology students at UT, I have found that Dr. Ekland-Olson consistently emerged as a key influence in the development and academic pursuits of many students. Additionally, Dr. Ekland-Olson has been a key figure in my own academic journey. After taking his class, Life and Death Decisions, which was rated one of "America's 10 Hottest Classes," I developed a genuine interest in academic research, particularly in sociology. Two years later, he provided me with a way to further develop my intellectual curiosities by funding two members of *Sociological Insight* to attend the American Sociological Association: Annual Meeting 2012 in order to promote our journal.

While Dr. Ekland-Olson is our journal's primary advisor, all *Sociological Insight* staff members can attest to the copious amounts of support they have received from a wide range of faculty members. Even those who haven't contributed to the journal directly have played an important role in shaping the intellectual imaginations of our staff members. Particularly vital to the success of the journal are our faculty reviewers, Dr. Hossein Haghshenas and Dr. Pamela Paxton. Many staff members of *Sociological Insight* are not only reviewers of academic research, but producers as well. Dr. Penny Green has been

instrumental in allowing them to do so and in providing students with a safe and accessible forum to openly discuss and debate intellectual theories and ideas.

On a more personal note, I would like to thank the faculty members whose mentoring and open doors have allowed me to grow intellectually and instilled in me the value of academic research. These include Dr. Keith Robinson, Dr. Shannon Cavanagh and Dr. Néstor Rodriguez, as well as many others.

Another person to whom the journal and myself are indebted is sociology advisor Debbie Rothschild. I came to fully appreciate Debbie's devotion to the department and its students after spending a semester working in the advising office alongside her. She goes above and beyond the requirements of an advisor by finding an answer to every question and never taking no for an answer. For five years now she has selflessly handled the administrative aspects of the journal and has carefully ensured that every minute detail is attended to. Additionally, Michelle Robertson has been essential in organizing our finances and providing us with a suitable meeting space. Webmaster Kevin Hsu has also been instrumental in helping us design and run our beautiful web page.

Most of all, I would like to thank *Sociological Insight*'s former editor-in-chief, Christopher Robertson. When I first began working for *Sociological Insight*, I was a curious but somewhat lost 19-year-old. Christopher's obvious passion and enthusiasm for sociology were beyond contagious. He introduced me to the world of academic research, and for that I am forever grateful. This year, Christopher has been available day and night to help guide the staff and I through all aspects of publishing the journal. It has also been inspiring to see former *Sociological Insight* staff members ¬¬— such as Robertson, Jean Nava, Stephanie Greeson and Amber Villalobos – carry their academic careers in sociology into graduate school.

In addition to all of the outside help we have received, the key component in the success of *Sociological Insight* has been its dedicated staff members. First of all, I would like to thank our associate staffers and graduate reviewers. I am proud to say that this year we have had the largest and most diverse group of associate editors than ever before. The management of this growing community of scholars would not be possible without the total commitment of our amazing executive staff. I am eternally appreciative of the unending devotion of our managing editor, Travis Singley. Travis continuously went above and beyond the call of duty by managing every logistical detail of the journal, as well as being a warm and encouraging source of support for the rest of the staff. Travis and our administrative director Philip Bartholomew were never in short supply of new and creative ideas. Philip's enthusiasm, ingenuity and wit were essential in providing the journal staff with an enjoyable working environment. Additionally, Niki Taliaferro worked tirelessly to make the journal more publicly available and accessible. David Oh, our financial director, was fundamental in the organization of our many sources of funding, and never failed to overcome any obstacles that stood in our way. Lastly, I would like to wish the best of luck to *Sociological Insight*'s brilliant upcoming editor-in-chief, Amanda Lacey. The executive staff has complete confidence in Amanda's ability to continue to expand *Sociological Insight*'s mission into the future.

Taylor Orth
Editor-In-Chief

"Professional Friend," Secret Domains, and the Dutch Doula: A Theoretical Application of the Stranger

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During the past decade, the Netherlands has experienced a rise in professional doulas—women who provide continuous emotional, physical, and mental support throughout labor. Little is known about the role of doulas in the context of the Dutch maternity care system. Using ethnographic research conducted in the Netherlands in Fall 2011, I first examine the differences in care between Dutch doulas and midwives/doctors and then analyze the ways that the Dutch doula represents Simmel's (1971) stranger. Specifically, I employ Karakayali's (2006) theoretical framework of stranger functions to argue that the Dutch doula simultaneously embodies distance and nearness in a "professional friendship" that grants her access to domains of secrecy. Finally, I engage in a brief discussion of gender, class, and race to illustrate the shortcomings of using the stranger as a paradigm to understand the position of the Dutch doula. This paper illustrates the strangeness of the Dutch doula in the division of labor context as she finds her niche in the Dutch maternity care system.

The Dutch maternity care system has an enduring history of midwifery (De Vries 2004). In fact, the Netherlands remains one of the only industrialized countries whose maternity care has resisted a complete shift to obstetric care. However, the midwifery model of care in the Netherlands has recently met a newcomer—the doula. With origins in the Greek word for "female slave," the modern-day doula refers to a growing occupation of childbirth professionals across the globe (Morton 2002). DONA International, the largest doula association in the world, defines a doula as a "trained and experienced labor companion who provides the woman and her husband or partner continuous emotional support, physical comfort and assistance in obtaining information before, during and just after childbirth" (DONA International 2005). By providing emotional and physical support, the doula supplements the medical support from other birth professionals—whether they be doctors, nurses, or midwives—and assists the woman in having a smooth delivery.

While many studies have examined the medical benefits associated with doula care (Hodnett et al. 2011), few have provided ethnographic accounts of the doula in relation to birthing women and other care providers. Morton (2002), for instance, conducted extensive ethnographic

work that explores the role of the modern-American doula in a highly medicalized system where technology and male obstetricians supposedly dominate childbirth.[1] In a European context, Berg and Terstad (2006) conducted qualitative interviews with Swedish women and found that their doulas improved their birth experiences in ways that their midwives could not. Despite being touted as the paragon of fostering "good birth" (Rothman 1996:201), the Dutch maternity care system might be falling short if the demand for doulas is increasing in the Netherlands. Drawing on previous research, I address questions regarding the emergence of the Dutch doula and the spaces she occupies in the well-established Dutch midwifery system. More specifically, I ask: Why are women in the Netherlands hiring professional doulas to attend their births? What do women gain from doula care that is missing in the current system? How does the doula fit into the Dutch maternity care system where midwifery practice has been institutionalized?

The theory of the stranger can be used to understand the function of the Dutch doula. Simmel's (1971) strangeness represents a type of interaction that simultaneously embodies distance and nearness. He describes the stranger-relation as "fundamentally affected by the fact that [the stranger] does not belong in it initially and that [the stranger] brings qualities into it that are not, and cannot be, indigenous to it" (Simmel 1971:143). The Dutch doula's involvement in the Dutch maternity care system can be examined through the lens of the stranger. Although the stranger has been applied to sociohistorical and sociopolitical contexts, the stranger discourse has not been adequately expanded to the present-day division of labor (Karakayali 2006). Stranger-relations are important in the context of the Dutch maternity care system because the introduction of a foreign agent may expose structural flaws that have previously gone unnoticed in the established institution.

In this paper, I apply Karakayali's (2006) framework of the stranger to argue that the Dutch doula fills a void in the Dutch maternity care system as a "professional friend." She is embedded in a space of close intimacy and distant professionalism that forms her strangeness and enables her to access a domain of secrecy. Furthermore, I briefly evaluate the ways that gender, class, and race undermine the application of the stranger for the Dutch doula as a privileged white woman serving others like her.

CONTEXT OF THE DUTCH DOULA

The doula is a relatively new phenomenon that has only recently been introduced to the Dutch maternity care system. Unlike many other developed countries, the Netherlands is unique for having a maternity care system dominated by midwives and rooted in homebirths. Even today, a majority of women in the Netherlands choose midwifery care during their pregnancies (De Vries 2004) and about 20 percent give birth at home (Stichting Perinatale Registratie Nederland 2011). In contrast, despite the recent rise in homebirths, less than 1 percent of all births in the United

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1   Refer to Peter Conrad for his works on medialization and Robbie Davis-Floyd for her works on the American "technocratic" model of childbirth.

States take place at home (Martin et al. 2011). Moreover, medical intervention during birth occurs less frequently in the Netherlands. The Cesarean delivery rate in the Netherlands is 15.4 percent (Stichting Perinatale Registratie Nederland 2011) compared to the United States's record-high rate of 32.9 percent in 2009 (Martin et al. 2011). The difference in the epidural rate for vaginal births between the two countries is also astonishing—8.1 percent in the Netherlands (Stichting Perinatale Registratie Nederland 2011) compared to 61 percent in the United States (Martin et al. 2011).

The Dutch doula came to be in 2007 when the professional Dutch doula association, *Nederlandse Beroepsvereniging voor Doula's* or NBvD, was formed (Nederlandse Beroepsvereniging voor Doula's 2011). Due to the emergence of doulas in the Netherlands, there is no comprehensive data on doula-attended births; however, the best estimate comes from the NBvD birth registration forms. Between January and October 2011, 119 birth forms were filled out by doulas and returned to NBvD.[2] This is a small number compared to the number of births each year in the Netherlands, but a sizeable one considering the short history of Dutch doulas.

THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

The stranger "comes today and stays tomorrow" (Simmel 1971:143). In contrast to a transient visitor who remains forever distant, the stranger embodies the attributes of both remoteness and nearness. This specific distal tension provides the stranger with a unique type of interaction with the indigenous community. While the stranger's relationship is invariably affected by the foreign elements that the stranger brings, Simmel describes the stranger-relation as a positive one.

A core characteristic of the stranger is objectivity, which is constructed through the stranger's trustworthiness and distance. The stranger's perceived remoteness is accompanied by perceived objectivity because the stranger "is not bound by roots to the particular constituents and partisan dispositions of the group" (Simmel 1971:145). But the stranger's objectivity is not marked by nonparticipatory neutrality. The stranger's objective nature simply means that the stranger is an active thinker who is free from biased dispositions that a native might possess.

Simmel provides examples of the stranger in a sociopolitical and sociohistorical context. For instance, he draws on the stranger-experiences of Jews in Europe as well as nomadic merchants and traders. However, Simmel's (1971) work does not examine the stranger's role in the social division of labor. Karakayali (2006) advances Simmel's (1971) conceptions of the stranger by developing a theoretical framework for understanding the "uses" of the stranger in four domains where the stranger is likely to be active. Specifically, I focus on the domain of secrecy, which is marked by privacy, secrecy, and sensitivity. Examples of strangers who might work in this domain are court advisors, statesmen, and domestic workers. By virtue of working in private domains such as the home and government, the stranger is able to access "the secrets of the group" (Karakayali 2006:321). Moreover, the stranger's perceived objectivity also makes him into a confidant who is privileged to hear "the most surprising revelations and confidences" (Simmel 1971:145).

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2   Unpublished personal data from November 2011; available upon request.

RESEARCH METHODS

I conducted fieldwork between September and December 2011 in the Netherlands, mostly based in Amsterdam. When I arrived in September, I immediately made connections with Dutch doulas and other birth professionals. They gave me access to childbirth—and doula—related workshops, trainings, and lectures where I was able to engage in participant observation and take extensive field notes. Most notably, I participated in a two-day DONA International training course in Den Haag and became doula trained myself. These events not only facilitated the process of recruiting interviewees in the later months, but they also enabled me to be fully immersed in the Dutch childbirthing community.

In addition to fieldwork, I conducted nine semi-structured, in-person interviews with mothers who recently gave birth in the Netherlands with a doula present. I received most of my contacts through doulas I met, and I also approached, and eventually interviewed, two women at birthing events I attended. The nine women had diverse birth experiences with seven different doulas in the extended-Amsterdam area. Four women I interviewed were not from the Netherlands. Three of them were from the United States and one was from another Western European country. Of the five Dutch-born women, four were of Dutch ethnicity, and one woman was second-generation Moroccan Dutch. The women I interviewed were in their 30s and early 40s and were all married or partnered except for one.

The interviews took place in the women's homes—and a houseboat—and lasted from 45 minutes to over an hour and a half. I asked the women questions about their feelings toward the Dutch maternity care system, their decisions to chose a doula, and their birth experiences with their doulas. Most women became emotional when they reflected back on the birth of their children. It became evident that childbirth was an event in which they invested time and effort. For instance, one woman read me her "birth plan" in which she listed her birth preferences for labor and delivery. Another woman, after our interview, led me to her sunroom and showed me the bathtub where she had her planned water-birth. Although I only interviewed the mothers, their partners and children were sometimes intermittently or continuously present in the same room. I did not find this to be a source of distraction or bias in the interviews. Language did not pose a significant issue since Dutch people learn English at school from a very young age; however, the Dutch women sometimes had to search for English words, especially medical jargon. In anticipating potential barriers, I reviewed Dutch terminology associated with pregnancy, birth, and the maternity care system. All interviews were recorded and transcribed. In the analysis, I looked for common themes that would elucidate the doula's role in these women's birthing experiences within the greater context of the Dutch maternity care system.

"BEING THERE": THE MISSING COMPONENT OF CARE

The Dutch maternity care system has largely disappointed the women who sought out doulas. Many described bleak experiences with midwives and doctors who did not adequately attend to their holistic needs as pregnant and laboring women. Women frequently expressed dissatisfaction about the fact that they never established any personal relationships with their midwives or

doctors. Labor professionals were seen as only focused on the medical aspects of patient care. Courtenay, an American expat, explained the transition from her planned homebirth to a hospital transport:

> Once we got to the hospital it was, "We're treating the symptoms, we're treating this part of you. The contractions aren't hard enough, so we're going to give you this drug for that." So it was always, you know, you almost feel like a piece of meat in a butcher shop. . . . It was more like, "We have a job to do, you lay there, and we're going to do this job with you." It was very matter-of-fact.

Silvia, another American, recalled similar experiences. "The midwife was more technical, and it was just more cut-and-dry. Basically like, 'Okay, here's a heartbeat,' you know. . . . I kind of saw the midwives as kind of a Dutch doctor, per se, where they would just say, 'Oh, just do this, it'll be fine'." Looking back on their birth experiences, women did not see Dutch midwives, much less doctors, as professionals who provided care beyond the physical. As a result, women such as Courtenay and Silvia felt an emotional disconnect from their birth professionals, who only attended to their medical needs. Although medical care is a priority, Courtenay explained why an emotional connection with a care provider is also important to a parturient woman:

> A little bit more of a connection [with the hospital staff] would have been better. And I think maybe even would have helped me deliver better because I didn't feel a connection with a person who was encouraging me, pushing me, you can do it, blah blah blah. If you don't feel like you're on the same team, like they're there for you, that you even can connect with them, then I don't think you can have the same emotions about it when someone's yelling at you rather than encouraging you. They could be saying the same thing but it's just the way you take it in.

In praising the Dutch midwifery system, Rothman (1996:209) claims that "[t]he Dutch woman can trust the [maternity care] system because the Dutch system trusts the woman." Clearly, the women I interviewed did not espouse the same trust in the Dutch maternity care system as it currently operates to facilitate childbirth. While the Dutch midwifery model is perceived to be supportive to birthing women, the mothers I interviewed exposed an integral emotional void in the system. Part of the problem with the institutionalized midwifery system is that virtually anyone can enter the workforce and become a midwife as long as that person has reached certain standards to be certified and employed. Sarah, an American mother who has given birth in both the United States and the Netherlands, gave her perspective on midwifery as a profession in the Netherlands:

> Here [in the Netherlands], it's great, you know. Lots of people have homebirths, it's very normal. On the downsides though, that means the people who are serving you are just

regular people who need to get a job. And at the end of high school they go to their career counselor and they say, "Oh you can be a midwife." "Oh, I can be a midwife?" It's not like you have to be driven and committed. So you have a whole set of midwives, who, you know, it's just their job, whatever. They don't feel passionate about it.

Sarah mentioned a key problem in the "Mecca of Midwifery" that she and Courtenay previously experienced (Rothman 1996:201). The Dutch maternity care system is organized in a way that does not encourage personalized care. First, almost all women in the Netherlands with low-risk pregnancies default to the care of midwives (De Vries 2004), thus creating enormous demand for Dutch midwives. The implication is that Dutch midwives do not necessarily have to provide personalized care in order to attract clients since women usually choose a midwifery practice close to home (De Vries 2004). At the same time, Dutch midwives, encumbered by heavy workloads and enormous occupational stress, have been found to experience burnout, which can further compromise their quality of care (Bakker et al. 1996). Moreover, midwives frequently work in team practices that send out a different midwife each time to a woman's prenatal visits. Several women I interviewed had been under the care of a midwifery team and told me that when they finally reached labor, they had only met their attending midwife once or twice throughout the course of their pregnancy.

The women I interviewed, either through past birth experiences or hearsay, found the prospect of an impersonal relationship with their Dutch midwife to be disconcerting. As a result, they employed doulas in order to establish more personal relationships with their birthing professionals. The women and their partners did not only want someone who had an occupational duty to attend the birth, but also wanted someone who wanted to be there for them. In fact, women frequently used the phrase "being there" to describe the devotion and commitment of their doulas that was absent in their midwives. Sonia, a Dutch woman, illustrated how her doula was actually "there" with her compared to her midwife who was also present for the birth:

> With my doula I felt more embraced, more being cared for. . . . I remember with my other birth, my midwife was doing her administration, and I felt a little lonely. With the doula there, they're with you. And normally it's even worse, the midwife would just leave. . . . [The doula is] really there for you. She's present, she's not doing her own thing when she's there with you. She's there, and she's there wholeheartedly. Things are just in the background, and she's there with you.

Although both doulas and midwives are compensated, Silvia felt only her doula was making a personal sacrifice to be "there" for her at the birth:

> [The midwives are] not there for me from the minute it begins, you know. They're just there to check in on you, you know. Yeah, they heard the heartbeat and checked up on the

> pregnancy but they're not *there.* The doula is. She's invested, she's personally invested in this, you know. This is a chunk of time that's been taken out of her life, you know. So it's a huge investment, per se. At least that's what I had in my head. So for me it was like she's investing so much of her time in me.

The act of "being there" is more than being in the same vicinity as the birthing woman. Unlike Sonia's midwife who was doing personal work in the background, her doula was not multitasking; she was attentive and only focused on Sonia throughout the labor process, as if they were the only ones in the room. The doula's wholehearted, continuous support for the laboring woman also made Silvia feel that her doula was not only financially motivated to attend her birth. The women's retelling of their doulas "being there" for their births represents a much more intimate relationship than the ones the women had with their medical birth professionals, despite both ties involving commercial transactions.

"PROFESSIONAL FRIEND": AND THE DOMAIN OF SECRECY

This combination of the doula's unwaning support and extensive knowledge in birth produces a unique relationship between the doula and the birthing mother. In a joint interview, Francis, an Italian woman, and her friend Hanna, a Moroccan Dutch woman, referred to their doula as a "specialized friend." Similarly, Stephanie, one of the mothers, used the term "professional friend" to describe her doula. As a "professional friend," the doula becomes Simmel's (1971) stranger by simultaneously embodying distance in her professional status and nearness in her unrelenting emotional support. Like the midwife, the doula is a birth professional who has undergone an education, training, and certification process—albeit far less intensive than that of midwifery. For the women I interviewed, the elevated status of birth professionals serves to create distance between them and the specialist. But unlike the midwife, the Dutch doula differentiates herself by providing emotional support, which generates propinquity and narrows the sense of distance between the woman and the doula. Thus, the doula's ambiguous position is not exclusively situated in either the sphere of professionalism or that of friendship. As such, the doula's interactions with the birthing mother can be characterized by Simmel's strangeness.

As a stranger, the doula is also an objective, but active, participant in her relationship with the birthing mother. The Dutch doula maintains objectivity because she "is not bound by ties which could prejudice [her] perception, [her] understanding, and [her] assessment of data" (Simmel 1971:146). In her occupational role, the doula does not hold preconceived notions of the birthing mother with whom she has had no prior relationship. The distance of professionalism enables the doula to effectively examine her relationship with the birthing mother "through a bird's-eye view" (Simmel 1971:146). Courtenay explained how her relationship with her doula is different from a friendship:

[With the doula] there's no baggage and there's no embarrassment. One of the things that was hard for me is that I'm quite a modest person. One of the things I was worried about was being naked. I don't like to change in the gym, I don't go to saunas, I don't like it when people are naked where I need to be naked. I just don't—I feel very self-conscious about that. And so with a friend or female relative, I wouldn't feel comfortable being in the birth pool with no clothes on. I would have been embarrassed and worried about that. With [my doula], well she's a professional, and while we have a relationship with her, it's not like we had a relationship before that where I have to feel like judged or anything. So I think with people you have before and after with relationships there's a worry it might change the relationship but also that you might be insecure about the situation you're in.

Courtenay illustrated how the stranger-relationship with her doula was effective during birth in two ways. First, the doula's willingness to provide continuous support during one of the most important events of Courtenay's life indicates a level of intimacy akin to one Courtenay would have with a close friend or relative. This intimacy allowed Courtenay to feel comfortable in the presence of the doula during birth. Secondly, the doula's role as a professional created a welcoming distance from Courtenay's past that removed fear of judgment and insecurities as their relationship developed. It is the distance that differentiates Courtenay's relationship with her doula from one with a friend or relative during birth. The doula's remoteness helps buffer against conflicts that might arise from long-term relationships during a time when the birthing woman might feel most insecure and vulnerable.

The Dutch doula can further be perceived to occupy "secret" domains as theorized by Karakayali (2006). The majority of women I interviewed had doula-attended births at home. Inevitably, in these homebirths, the Dutch doula carried out her occupational duties in a private, domestic locale. By extension, the Dutch doula was granted "privileged insight" into the birthing woman's home and family dynamics (Karakayali 2006:320-321). Moreover, the doula is able to penetrate through the birthing woman's deepest emotional layers and serve as her confidant for "matters which are kept carefully hidden from everybody" (Simmel 1971:145). Courtenay explained:

My relationship with [my doula] was much more of a, what you would feel with like a spiritual leader or your yoga teacher. It's somebody who's touched you more internally about, you know, your hopes and your dreams and what matters to you. Just in the conversations we've had three or four times, she was more like a guru.

Courtenay's quote demonstrates that her Dutch doula was not only involved in childbirth, but also helped her engage in a deeper transformative process. Courtenay trusted her doula and shared her most personal aspirations with her. In that context, the Dutch doula has entered a "secret" arena where only she and a few privileged others are privy to the discussions.

Margarétha, a Dutch woman, also explained, "With the doula, there is a personal

relationship. . . . You share your worst fears that are often too personal to share with your doctor. . . . I felt we connected, we understood each other, that I could open up with her." Margarétha's close relationship with her doula allowed her to reveal her vulnerabilities that she could not confide in her other care providers. Women who choose to have a doula-attended birth do not expect to form personal relationships with their midwives or doctors. The doula is able to bridge the gap between the birthing woman and the medical community by accessing personal information that the women perceive to be important and relevant to the birthing experience.

In the doula trainings and workshops that I attended in Amsterdam and Den Haag, the participants discussed some of the revelations that doulas might hear from laboring women. For instance, women might reveal to their doulas their anxieties about their imminent motherhood. Margarétha, who is in her early 40s, told me she wanted the birth to go perfectly because she was afraid it was her "last chance." Certainly, this is the type of conversation Margarétha had with her doula, who would help her cope with these fears. Perhaps on a more serious note, I learned at an international birth conference in Amsterdam that women may divulge concerns about the effect of prior sexual trauma on a vaginal birth experience. Both examples represent the Dutch doula's activity in domains characterized by secrecy, privacy, and sensitivity (Karakayali 2006).

BEYOND SIMMEL: SHORTCOMINGS OF THE STRANGER

Aspects of gender, class, and race further complicate the application of Simmel's stranger to the Dutch doula. Although the women did speak of the existence of male midwives, doulas are almost always female (Morton 2002). All the women I interviewed had female doulas, and every doula I had met abroad was female. Wolff (2000:37) contends that the "key figures of modernity," including the stranger, are all presumed to be male. Indeed, Simmel's (1971) stranger is referred to as a man throughout the text, and Karakayali's (2006) application of the stranger only utilizes traditionally male examples. The few previous conceptions of female strangers paint marginalized women in a poor light, often taking on the roles of prostitutes or ostracized lesbians (Wolff 2000). Moreover, the stranger in the context of labor, particularly in the domain of secrecy, is conceptualized as someone of a lower class. Karakayali's (2006) examples of the slave soldier and court eunuch position the stranger in a lower social stratum than the royal elite. In those stranger-relations, there exists both a class and power imbalance that favors the employer. Finally, the stranger-relation is frequently characterized by racial difference. Simmel's (1971) stranger is exemplified by the experiences of the Jews in European history. Others have also applied the stranger to immigrants in new countries whose experiences are marked by tension and stereotyping (Toren 1999).

In contrast to the "non-respectable" portrayals of female strangers (Wolff 2000:37), the Dutch doula is an esteemed member of society, particularly within the childbirthing community. We already observed the doula's prestige with Courtenay, who saw her doula as a spiritual leader. Not only is the doula respectable, she is also an independent entrepreneur who must possess business acumen to become successful. The doula must advertise her services, manage clients, and keep up

with her trade. In that sense, she more closely resembles the male merchants that Simmel (1971) describes, rather than the female counterparts in stranger scholarship.

The Dutch doula also defies the class conflicts present in Karakayali's (2006) conceptualization of the stranger in a domain of secrecy. Although some may question the power dynamics in the doula-client employer relations, the doula possesses the autonomy to set her own costs and dictate her work or vacation periods. Doulas in Amsterdam typically charge between €700 and €1,000 for a "comprehensive" package that includes at least several prenatal appointments, continuous support during labor, and appointments in the postpartum period. Granted, the doula does not work full-time hours, but most doulas I met in the Netherlands also had stable daytime jobs in childbirth education or prenatal services. Admittedly, based on my experiences, the doula's social and class position often does not match those of her employers who can afford the exorbitant costs of having a doula. However, a doula's perceived nearness as a friend and someone who is "there" renders her social position on par with that of her birthing mother, at least during the labor process.

Finally, while Simmel's (1971) and Karakayali's (2006) strangers are marked by racial difference, the Dutch doula is a stranger who is racially similar to others in the birth community. Doulas in the Netherlands are a mix of Dutch natives and other white women who have immigrated to the Netherlands. Despite this difference in background, the non-Dutch white doulas do not experience negative stereotypes or discrimination that have been noted in other immigrant stranger-relations (Toren 1999). The differences between doulas do not create a sense of strangeness in their community. This is probably because the whiteness of foreign doulas provides a buffer against negativity that may arise from their non-Dutch backgrounds. Moreover, women who employ doulas are quite diverse. As seen in my sample, there is a mix of foreign expats and Dutch women who demand the services of doulas. However, the component of racial difference remains absent in the case of the Dutch doula. Only one of my interviewees, a Moroccan Dutch woman, does not fit the model of racial homogeneity among the mothers. She also received pro bono doula care because of her socioeconomic circumstances. Only if the Dutch doula extends her services to reach other racial and socioeconomic groups can we begin to clarify stranger-relations for these new interactions.

CONCLUSION

Since its inception in 2007, the Dutch doula's role in the maternity care system has brought tremendous attention to the efficacy of the current system. Despite having an internationally highly regarded midwifery model of care, some women in the Netherlands are dissatisfied over what they see as midwives' sole focus in providing medical care during childbirth. On the other hand, women find that they are able to form emotional connections with their doulas, who they feel want to be there for their births. The Dutch doula thus functions as a stranger by acting as a woman's "professional friend," which symbolizes a synthesis of distance and nearness. Moreover, the Dutch doula is also able to work in the domain of secrecy, where she has access to the birthing mothers' most private feelings and thoughts. Finally, the Dutch doula's emerging role evokes concerns of

gender, class, and race. While the Dutch doula's gender and class positions are more favorable than the ones of female strangers and strangers in secret domains, the status of the racial component cannot be correctly inferred due to the current racial homogeneity of the doulas and their clients.

Like Simmel's (1971) stranger, the doula has come today and is staying tomorrow. Her influence has already generated conversations on the spheres of care in the current system. As the Dutch doula continues to assert her position in the Dutch maternity care system over time, we can more comprehensively evaluate the dynamic nature of her stranger-relations and the more nuanced aspects of gender, class, and race in affecting her stranger status.

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APPENDIX: INTERVIEW GUIDE

On maternity care:
- I'd like to know your impressions of the Dutch maternity care system. As an expecting mother, did you find it supportive of your needs?
- In what ways did Dutch maternity care not meet your needs as an expecting mother?
- What was your ideal birth, and what did you see getting in the way of it?
    - ◊   PROBE for "natural," "medicalized" and "medical"

On doulas:
- How did you first learn about birth doulas and what was your impression of them?
- What was the most important factor in your decision to have a doula at birth?
- Before you decided on having a doula at birth, did you have any hesitations about making that choice?
- What kind of questions did you ask your doula at your prenatal appointments?
    - ◊   PROBE for fears:
- What was your doula's biggest contribution to your birth experience?

Doulas in context:
- What was your relationship with your doula compared to that with your midwife/doctor?
- Did you feel you could talk about some things with your doula but not your midwife/doctor?
- How did your doula add to your experience in ways that your midwife/doctor couldn't or didn't?
- How was having a doula different than having a partner/best friend/female relative?
- Was there anything you didn't like about your experience with your doula?
- What kind of women do you think should have a doula at birth?
- Is there anything else you'd like to talk about that I didn't cover?

Demographic information:
- Parity, marital status, occupation (woman and partner), years in the Netherlands (if not Dutch) and race/ethnicity.

Employing Simulation Methodology to Test the Effects of Mortgage Discrimination on Residential Segregation

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The literature on mortgage discrimination has historically focused on detecting discrimination, and rarely sought to explicitly link discrimination to racial residential segregation. This article seeks to explore that link by employing agent based modeling, and a new unbiased version of the variance ratio to determine if and how much residential segregation can be produced by mortgage discrimination in both racial and economic lines. Results indicate mortgage discrimination can produce moderate levels of overall residential segregation, but its effects are greater when comparing segregation between racial socioeconomic groups. This implies mortgage discrimination may be a contributing factor in explaining why minorities often reside with members of low socioeconomic status groups.

Discrimination against racial minorities has long been a concern of scholars and policy makers, who have not only studied interpersonal discrimination, but also the links between discrimination and institutional inequality, e.g., racial residential segregation. Though the United States federal government has historically been a primary agent of residential discrimination, this role was reversed through the passage of laws such as the Civil Rights Act of 1966 and the Fair Housing Act in 1968, which outlawed discrimination against anyone in the housing and mortgage markets based on race, color, national origin, or other factors.

It has been over 40 years since the passage of the Fair Housing Act, but current scholars estimate racial minorities are still more likely to be denied a mortgage than whites, even after controlling for a host of variables concerning applicant background and loan type (Goering and Wienk 1996; Ross and Yinger 2002; Yinger 1995). Discrimination against racial minorities in the housing market is identified as a strong contributing factor to the high levels of racial residential segregation seen in U.S. cities. However, few scholars have explored the possible linkages between mortgage discrimination and racial residential segregation. Through the use of computer simulations, this paper intends to explore the ability of mortgage discrimination to produce residential segregation.

This paper will first review a selection of current literature on mortgage discrimination, how it has been detected, and the possible links it may have to segregation. The SimSeg program and simulation designs used in analysis will then be described. Finally, the results of the simulations will be discussed, key patterns in the data will be highlighted, and plausible explanations of these results provided in order to determine if and how mortgage discrimination produces racial residential segregation.

LITERATURE REVIEW

The common methodology of housing discrimination scholars is the use of indirect methods, such as residual and default studies, to detect and estimate the amount of discrimination racial minorities face in the mortgage market (Ladd 1998; Yinger 1996). More recent research focuses on the growth in homeownership rates of racial minorities. Important categories in this discussion include: what type of loan (conventional, government backed, prime vs. subprime), the terms of agreement (interest rates, etc.) racial minorities use to purchase their home, and how these compare to whites (Bonds and Williams 2007; Apgar and Calder 2005). To begin this discussion, we must first determine how discrimination is commonly detected.

Rejection Probability Studies and Relevant Data Sets
Scholars have traditionally relied on indirect methods to detect discrimination against racial minorities in the mortgage market, the most popular methodology being rejection probability studies (LaCour-Little 1999). This method relies primarily on data collected through the Home Mortgage Disclosure Act (HMDA), a federal act passed in 1975. The Act requires private lenders to report the gender, race, and income of all applicants to mortgages, refinancing, and home improvement loans, including whether their loan was accepted or denied (Yinger 1995). This data is then aggregated into metropolitan areas, where "a census of mortgage loans" is created (Goering and Wink 1996). HMDA data sources reveal that in 1993 the overall denial rate for African Americans was 34 percent, Hispanics was 24.3 percent, and whites was 14.0 percent. Controlling for all available economic characteristics, location of property, and lender data, the denial rate for African Americans was still 10.6 percentage points higher than whites (Yinger 1995:69). HMDA does not collect data on the applicants' credit history or debt burden, however, creating significant analytical limitations. As racial minorities typically have a poorer credit history than whites, it is difficult to distinguish if higher denial rates are correlated to credit history or racial discrimination without a controlling variable (Galster 1992; Goering and Wienk 1996; Yinger 1995, 1996).

Scholars have sought to augment limited HMDA data with additional studies and sources of information. In the 1992 Boston Fed study (Munnell et al. 1992, 1996), researchers consulted numerous agencies, including lenders and underwriters in the Boston area, to determine what factors loan applicant lenders evaluated when making lending decisions. As a result, 38

supplemental variables used by lenders were collected. Prior to employing control variables, the results of the Boston Fed Study found the overall denial rate for minorities to be 28 percent compared with about 10 percent for whites. However, after controlling for variables such as the applicants' credit and mortgage histories, levels of employment instability, records of defaults of bankruptcies, etc., the gap between minorities and whites shrinks to just 8 percentage points (resulting in a denial rate of 18 percent versus 10 percent for whites). This 8 percent gap is unlikely to be attributed to any omitted variables, given the extensive list of control variables. Many attributed this gap to discrimination against minorities by lenders, but because the study failed to examine discriminatory actions at other points in the lending process, some argue this is an underestimate of the level of potential discrimination (Ladd 1998).

Not all scholars are confident of the results of the Boston Fed Study. Researchers have argued the level of discrimination may be overstated due to possible "omitted variables, data errors in the explanatory variables, misclassification in the dependent variable, incorrect specification, and endogenous explanatory variables" (Ross and Yinger 2002:107-108; for examples of criticisms see Day and Liebowitz 1996; Horne 1994; Zandi 1993; for responses and reevaluations see Munnell et al 1996; Ross and Yinger 2002). The literature on mortgage discrimination would be greatly advanced if the Boston Fed Study could be replicated or expanded to other cities, to confirm or refute its finding. However, this is unlikely to occur and the conclusions of the Boston Fed Study remain controversial today.

Linking Mortgage Discrimination to Residential Segregation
The literature on mortgage discrimination has traditionally examined the detection of racial discrimination. Many scholars have focused their studies on methodological questions including: which control variables to include, how discrimination occurs, and how to track the progress of racial discrimination over the years, etc. Fewer authors have explored how racial discrimination results in residential segregation, what pathways discrimination operates through, and whether discrimination is directly planned or an indirect effect.

One exception is Bond and Williams (2007), who examined how different types of lending affected racial residential segregation. The results of their multivariate analyses indicated that loans granted by traditional lenders and conventional loans served to generally decrease racial segregation between whites and African Americans, but that government-backed loans did not. The study also found that growth in lending for manufactured homes served to increase racial segregation between whites and African Americans, while subprime loans had no significant effect on segregation. They claim the growth in lending to African American homebuyers in the 1990s helped to explain notable decreases in segregation levels. However, the effects were small compared to other non-lending characteristics. Bond and Williams conclude that by discriminating against African Americans and other racial minorities in the mortgage market, lenders are helping to increase the possible level of segregation between whites and African Americans.

Segregation along Socioeconomic Lines?

While some scholars have sought to explain racial segregation along socioeconomic lines (Clark 1986), the current consensus among many scholars is that socioeconomic factors cannot completely account for the high levels of segregation between racial minority and majority groups. Most scholars maintain that race is the key factor in determining where racial groups live. In support, Massey and Denton (1988) found little variation in the segregation scores for African Americans by level of income or education (for other examples see Darden (1987), Darden and Karmel (2000), Fisher (2003), Massey and Fisher (1999, 2003), Sims (1999)). However, it has been established among many scholars that conventional measures of racial segregation, such as the index of dissimilarity, can be upwardly biased when the population counts are small or if the two groups being examined are disproportional in size. Since the number of minorities at the upper end of income and educational brackets are small, Massey and Denton's (1998) use of the index of similarity may be upwardly biased and have lead them to conclude that higher income African Americans are more segregated from whites than is the case.

Scholars have tried various ways to circumvent these methodological problems when studying socioeconomic segregation. Alba, Logan, and Stults (2000) used a multivariate, locational-attainment methodology to study the degree of racial segregation among middle-class African Americans. They found that middle-class African Americans were less segregated from whites than poorer African Americans, but that the majority racial groups they resided with were of comparatively low socioeconomic status. While current patterns of residential segregation cannot entirely be ascribed by differences in socioeconomic status, Alba, Logan, and Stults's study demonstrates that a comprehensive examination of all possible variables is necessary to understand the mechanics of racial residential segregation.

THE SIMSEG MODEL

Since few authors have explicitly surveyed the connection between mortgage discrimination and residential segregation, intensive study is needed in this area. Computer simulation methodology is a useful tool, allowing for stringent controls and simplified models that allow researchers to determine if, and how much racial residential segregation is produced by simulated degrees of mortgage discrimination

The SimSeg program was developed by Mark Fossett and has been discussed in detail (Fossett 2006, 2011; Fossett and Dietrich 2009; Fossett and Warren 2005). SimSeg is an agent-based modeling program that generates agents, referred to as households, that make choices about where to reside in generated housing market. These households are randomly assigned a race (Blue, Red, Green) and socioeconomic status (SES) scored 1-99 based on specifications chosen by the researcher. These two factors can interact by (1) manipulating the intra-group status inequality, by varying the distribution of SES within a racial category, and (2) through Minority Status Disadvantage, where racial minorities face a less favorable SES distribution compared to the

majority group.

A random selection of a quarter of the households is chosen each cycle and shown 12 random vacant "houses" where they can "move in". Each agent is forced to "move in" at least once to ensure that the results of the simulations are based on moving decisions of the agents instead of random chance. Households make these decisions based on their preferences of the racial composition of a neighborhood, seeking the highest status area and the best quality housing (scored 1-99 to match agent SES) they can afford. Before a household makes a move each "house" is means tested, implying the households must be able to afford the "house" based on their SES before they "move in".

The city landscape can be manipulated to change the shape, type, and size of the city, although Fossett and Dietrich (2009) found these factors play no significant role in how segregation is produced in the model. The SES level increases as "houses" move away from the city center, and neighborhoods are stratified to varying degrees. The vacancy rate can be manipulated to increase or decrease the number of available "houses" for "move in". Property values can either be fixed, meaning they are consistent throughout the model, or unfixed, which means they can vary throughout the run of the simulation.

Experiment Simulation Designs
The researcher manipulated the features of the model to reflect plausible choices for what has been observed in existing neighborhoods (for a summary of simulation designs see Table 1). The basic simulation design uses a population of 60 percent Blue households, 20 percent Red households and 20 percent Green households. The minority populations are somewhat larger than what may be observed in most cities, but if minority populations were too small they could have biased the results of segregation, especially since racial preferences were in play (Fossett 2006; Fossett and Warren 2005; Schelling 1971). The SES distribution of the Blue population was set to a mean of 25, and an overall mean Gini coefficient of 35. Minority Status Disadvantage was set to 25, lowering the mean of the minority SES distribution by 25 percent.

Mortgage discrimination was simulated in the program by the variable of Credit Discrimination, which held Reds to a higher credit standard when they tried to qualify for housing. This variable was manipulated at 0 (no mortgage discrimination), 25 (25 percent higher credit standard to qualify for housing), and 50 (50 percent higher credit standard) across the models. The manipulation of Credit Discrimination was only applied to one racial minority group, Reds, allowing for the use of Greens as a control group and a quicker assessment of the effects of Credit Discrimination across the models.

Table 1: Summary of Settings for Model Parameters														
Simulation Design														
Characteristics	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14
Ethnic Composition														
Blues	60	60	60	60	60	60	60	60	60	60	60	60	60	60
Reds	20	20	20	20	20	20	20	20	20	20	20	20	20	20
Greens	20	20	20	20	20	20	20	20	20	20	20	20	20	20
Minority Status Disadvantage														
Reds	0	0	25	25	25	25	25	25	25	25	25	25	25	25
Greens	0	0	25	25	25	25	25	25	25	25	25	25	25	25
In-Group Ethnic Preference														
Blues	80	80	80	80	80	80	80	80	80	80	80	80	80	80
Reds	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Greens	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Minority Credit Discrimination														
Reds	0	0	0	25	50	0	25	50	0	25	50	0	25	50
Greens	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Area Stratification														
Eta^2 housing value by distance	0	0	0	0	0	30	30	30	60	60	60	90	90	90
Housing Values Fixed?	No	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes

Source: SimSeg Program, developed by Mark Fossett

Racial preferences were only applied to Blues and were set to 80 (meaning Blues preferred to live in a neighborhood that had at least 80 percent Blues). Blues were told to consider the racial composition of neighborhoods in their area and the adjacent areas when deciding where to "move in". Since it has been shown that racial preferences can create residential segregation (Fossett 2011), minorities were not given a racial preference for neighborhoods. This factor may have made it harder to determine the effect of mortgage discrimination in the models. Blues were given a racial preference to reflect the assumption that discrimination is derived from personal prejudices, thus the majority group were given high preferences for other majority group members. It was expected that Credit Discrimination would increase the level of segregation that is produced by racial preferences among Blues.

The overall city landscape was composed of 4,425 housing units arranged in 177 5x5 square housing grids, which were arranged in a circular pattern while 6 percent of the "houses" were vacant. The level of Area Stratification (the strength of housing value distance from city center) was allowed to vary across the model and was set to variables of 0 (no stratification), 30 (low stratification),

60 (medium stratification), and 90 (high stratification). Area Stratification was allowed to vary because mortgage discrimination was believed to act as a mechanism that kept racial minorities from obtaining loans to higher income housing. If the neighborhoods were highly stratified when minorities faced discrimination, it was predicted that as Area Stratification increased, segregation would also increase. Racial residential segregation was also predicted to exaggerate when Credit Discrimination was in play. Put simply, it was expected that the level of segregation would increase as both Area Stratification and Credit Discrimination increased.

The purpose behind these simulations was primarily theoretical rather than descriptive. They assume that mortgage discrimination is a real occurrence. In some of the simulations, the level of Credit Discrimination extends beyond what would normally be observed in the real world to assess the maximum amount of segregation that could be produced by this variable. It is important to interpret the result of these simulations cautiously. Though many of the model specification were chosen to reflect plausible levels for what has been observed in many neighborhoods, it would not be correct to equate these results with real world examples. However, computer simulations can help researchers crystallize theories, and if Credit Discrimination is found to increase segregation in SimSeg, it might underscore the need to evaluate mortgage discrimination's effect on residential segregation.

How Segregation is Measured in the Models

SimSeg has the ability to report multiple measures of segregation. After examination of four measures—the index of dissimilarity (D), the variance ratio (V), and an unbiased version of both— only the unbiased version of the variance ratio was examined in detail to determine the level of segregation produced in the models. While the four measures track each other closely, the unbiased variance ratio was selected for two reasons: (1) the variance ratio has been shown to be a more conservative measure of uneven distribution than the index of dissimilarity, and (2) some of the counts in the simulations are small. Thus, the unbiased variance ratio corrects for some of the upward bias that may result from this problem. This measure has been carefully laid out in Fossett (2007, 2011) and only a brief explanation of the measure will follow.

The unbiased variance ratio is a pairwise function expressed as a simple difference of means for group contact. Bias in the variance ratio was found to be the result of including the household in question in the contact score. Thus the unbiased variance ratio overcomes this by excluding the reference household from the calculation (e.g. considers only contact with neighbors, not the area population). The unbiased variance ratio is expressed as $V = YW-YB$, where $y_i= p_i$, and p_i is the level of contact with the majority racial group (e.g. Blues in SimSeg) in the household's neighborhood.   For a majority (Blue) household, p_i would be calculated as $(w_i-1)/((w_i-1)+m_i)$, for a minority (Red or Green) household, p_i would be calculated as $(w_i)/(w_i-(m_i-1))$.

The unbiased variance ratio can vary from 0 to 100, and can be interpreted as the percentage of the population that would have to move in order to achieve even distribution in the model. One noteworthy aspect of the unbiased variance ratio is its ability to produce a negative number, indicating there is a more even distribution in the city than would be expected under random

chances. Fossett (2011:27) believes this may reveal that there is "a systematic social dynamic, such as a quota system" at work in the city producing a more even distribution than expected.

DISCUSSION

Results of the mean unbiased variance ratio for each simulation design are presented in Tables 2-4. Each simulation design was run 5000 times and can be assumed to be statistically significant unless otherwise noted. The basic pattern drawn from these tables is that at the initiation of each simulation design the mean variance ratio ranged from -0.03 to 2.54. This shows that there was normatively an even distribution between the majority and minority groups. A negative result for the variance ratio can be interpreted to mean that there is less uneven distribution in the model than would be expected under random chance. At the end of each simulation (cycle= 30), moderate levels of uneven distribution between Blues and both racial minority groups were produced, with the mean unbiased variance ratio ranging from 29.26 to 47.75. This confirmed the prediction that the level of segregation would increase as Credit Discrimination was activated in the models.

Assessing the Effect of Blues' Ethnic Preferences on Segregation

In order to assess the full effects of Credit Discrimination in the model, the variables producing segregation examined in Fossett (2011) must be described. In Simulation design 1 (Table 2), moving decisions were predominately influenced by the racial preferences of Blues (set to 80). At cycle 30, the mean unbiased variance ratio increased from -0.03 to 47.70 for Blue-Red segregation, and increased from 0.04 to 47.75 for Blue-Green. This confirms that Blues' racial preferences have the ability to produce high levels of residential segregation.

Table 2: Testing the Effect of Blues' Ethnic Preferences: Mean Unbiased Variance Ratio at Initiation and Conclusion for Simulation Designs 1-3		
	Mean Unbiased Variance Ratio	
	At Cycle = 0	At Cycle = 30
Simulation Design 1		
Blue-Red	-0.03	47.70
Blue-Green	0.04	47.75
Simulation Design 2		
Blue-Red	-0.05	42.94
Blue-Green	0.04	42.96
Simulation Design 3		
Blue-Red	-0.02	32.03
Blue-Green	-0.02	32.05

Source: SimSeg Program, developed by Mark Fossett

In Simulation design 2 the effects of fixing housing values in the model were tested and it was found that fixed housing values lowered the level of segregation produced by the racial preferences among Blues. At the end of the simulation, Blue-Red segregation increased from -0.05 to 42.94, and Blue-Green segregation increased from 0.04 to 42.96. In the model, households were told to seek the best quality and highest status housing when making moving decisions. By fixing housing values in the model, this may have limited Blue's ability to meet both their housing and racial preferences. Blues may have had to compromise their racial preferences for an 80 percent Blue neighborhood to get the best quality and highest status housing. This brought Blues into more contact with Reds and Greens, slightly decreasing the level of uneven distribution.

In Simulation design 3, minority status disadvantage was activated, lowering the mean SES distributions of Red and Green households by 25 percent. Minority status disadvantage further diminished the level of segregation produced by Blues' racial preferences. At cycle 30 the mean unbiased variance ratio was 32.03 for Blue-Red segregation, and 32.05 for Blue- Green segregation. The lower SES distribution for racial minorities concentrated more Reds and Greens in lower income neighborhoods. This made it harder for lower SES Blues to satisfy all of their preferences, and forced them to "move into" more diverse neighborhoods. Thus, the overall level of uneven distribution was lowered in the model.

In Simulation design 4 Credit Discrimination for Reds was placed at 25. This level of Credit Discrimination seemed to have no effect on the level of Blue-Red segregation in the model, but increased Blue-Green segregation slightly to 34.09. In Simulation design 5, Credit Discrimination on Reds was placed at 50. The level of Blue-Red segregation decreased to 30.77, and the level of Blue-Green segregation increased to 35.75.

Credit Discrimination for Reds may have reduced segregation by concentrating Reds in lower SES neighborhoods and reducing their ability to afford higher quality housing. Lower SES Blues would have had a harder time meeting their racial preferences, and would have had to settle in more diverse neighborhoods. This would have increased the contact between the two groups and lowered the segregation score.

Despite no Credit Discrimination against Greens, Blue-Green segregation increased across all models. This may have resulted due to decreased competition in higher quality neighborhoods. Since Credit Discrimination is forcing more Reds into lower quality housing, more vacancies were created in higher quality neighborhoods for Blues and Greens to "move in" This would decrease the pressure on Blues to compromise their housing and racial preferences, resulting in less diverse neighborhoods and an increase in the uneven distribution of Blues and Greens.

Assessing the Effect of Area Stratification on Segregation

The effect of Area Stratification on Credit Discrimination's ability to produce segregation in the model was considered (see Tables 3 and 4). At a low level of Area Stratification (=30), the increase in Credit Discrimination produces a slight decrease in Blue-Red segregation, and the mean unbiased variance ratio decreases from 30.30 to 30.11 and finally 29.36. This low level of Area Stratification may

increase Blues' necessity to compromise their preferences, and increase their contact with Reds. The score for Blue-Green segregation fluctuates around 30 (increases from 30.30 to 30.53, down to 30.42). Since most U.S. cities experience moderate to high economic residential stratification, this pattern is unlikely to be confirmed empirically and more fruitful study would be claimed from what is described below.

Table 3. Mean Unbiased Variance Ratio At Initiation						
		Area Stratification	0.0	30.00	60.00	90.00
Credit Barriers to Reds	0	Blue-Red	-0.02	0.86	1.74	2.54
		Blue-Green	-0.02	0.86	1.75	2.53
	25	Blue-Red	-0.03	0.86	1.74	2.53
		Blue-Green	-0.03	0.86	1.74	2.53
	50	Blue-Red	-0.02	0.86	1.76	2.54
		Blue-Green	-0.03	0.85	1.74	2.54

Source: SimSeg Program, developed by Mark Fossett

Table 4. Mean Unbiased Variance Ratio at Cycle= 30						
		Area Stratification	0.0	30.00	60.00	90.00
Credit Barriers to Reds	0	Blue-Red	32.03	30.30	31.26	31.51
		Blue-Green	32.05	30.30	31.23	34.95
	25	Blue-Red	32.02	30.11	34.23	38.44
		Blue-Green	34.09	30.53	32.33	35.95
	50	Blue-Red	30.77	29.36	36.89	46.42
		Blue-Green	35.75	30.42	32.75	37.90

Source: SimSeg Program, developed by Mark Fossett

Credit Discrimination considerably increased the level of Blue-Red segregation at a moderate level (=60) of Area Stratification, where the mean unbiased variance ratio increased from 31.26 to 34.23 to 36.89. Blue-Green segregation was less affected, and increased slightly from 31.23 to 32.33 to 32.75. Credit Discrimination increased the level of Blue-Red segregation even more so at a high level (=90) of Area Stratification, where the mean unbiased variance ratio increased from 31.51 to 38.44 to

46.42. Blue-Green segregation was also affected, and increased from 34.95 to 35.95 to 37.90.

Area Stratification may have exaggerated the effects of Credit Discrimination by concentrating the same quality and status housing together, e.g., all of the low SES housing concentrated in the city center. This concentration may have made it easier for Blues to satisfy all of their preferences through the creation of same SES Blue neighborhoods. Low SES Blues were not satisfied with lower quality housing in neighborhoods populated with minority members, and thus their contact with Reds and Greens decreased. This mosaic of majority-dominated, minority-dominated neighborhoods increased the level of uneven SES distribution in the city and explains the increase in Blue-Red, Blue-Green segregation, confirming that Credit Discrimination had the ability to produce some level of racial residential segregation. As such, mortgage discrimination should remain a concern for scholars and policy makers alike.

Who Really Lives With Whom?

One benefit of working with computer simulations is that the populations can be subdivided with relative ease. The benefit of in-depth housing along racial and economic lines is easily apparent, from the work done by Alba, Logan , and Stults (2000), Employing a new unbiased version of the variance ratio allows researchers to do this without struggling with small population counts and sampling problems.

It has been established that mortgage discrimination has the ability to produce moderate levels of segregation. Mortgage discrimination can be conceived of as a tax on racial minorities' purchasing power, which prevents them from entering markets they could afford based on their socioeconomic status. Going forward, it is important to analyze the effect of mortgage discrimination on segregation between groups of different socioeconomic status.

As they were subjected to increasing levels of Credit Discrimination and Area Stratification, it was predicted that low SES Reds would become less segregated from low SES Blues, and increasingly segregated from middle, and high SES Blues. It was also predicted that middle SES Reds would become less segregated from low SES Blues, and increasingly segregated from high and middle SES Blues. Finally, it was predicted that High SES Reds would become increasingly segregated from high SES Blues and desegregated from middle and lower SES Blues.

Table 5 reports the mean unbiased variance ratio of Blues and Red broken down by level of SES. Table 6 reports the differences in the mean unbiased variance ratio as Credit Discrimination is applied to Reds in the models. A negative result in the Table 6 represents a decrease in segregation when Credit Discrimination was applied to Reds. After careful inspection it was shown that all predications held true.

For low SES Reds at low to moderate levels of Area Stratification, there was desegregation with low SES Blues (ranging from -0.19 to-6.51 point decrease), and increased segregation with middle and high SES blues (ranging from 0.52 to 15.34 point increase). At high Area Stratification, low SES Reds became more segregated from all groups. Middle SES Reds became less segregated from low SES Blues (ranging from -7.81 to -11.26 point decrease), and increasingly segregated from middle and high SES Blues (ranging from 7.66 to 23.83 point increase). High SES Reds became less segregated from low and

middle SES Blues (ranging from -2.31 to -21.37 point decrease), and more segregated from high SES Blues (ranging from 5.22 to 15.79 point increase).

Just as Alba, Logan, and Stults (2000) found, middle SES racial minorities were less segregated from the majority group than their poorer counter parts. However, when the SES of the majority members residing with racial minorities was broken down, the majority members were of comparably lower status. Since activation of the Credit Discrimination variable produced similar results in our simulations, it is proposed that mortgage discrimination may be a contributing factor to this pattern. Mortgage discrimination may not be a strong producer of the high levels of overall segregation seen today (Bonds and Williams 2007), but it plays a significant role when segregation between racial groups is compared along socioeconomic lines. Mortgage discrimination may act as a mechanism that prevents racial minorities of higher SES from fully capitalizing on their resources and translating these resources into contact with same status whites.

CONCLUSION

Though these models were meant to be theoretical explorations rather than descriptions of living conditions, they do add to the larger literature on mortgage discrimination. They provide evidence that, under certain conditions, significant residential segregation can be produced at a moderate to high level by mortgage discrimination. Extending these results to the real world should be taken cautiously, however, given the few causal factors simulated in the models and that other factors could interact with mortgage discrimination to produce different degrees of segregation than observed.

With that said, there are theoretical implications that can be extracted from these simulations. First, mortgage discrimination should be thought of as a mechanism for lowering racial minorities' ability to afford housing that reflects their income level. This may diminish their ability to have contact with majority members of their same SES. Mortgage discrimination acts like a tax, which prevents minorities from moving away from the lower SES status areas to areas of higher quality preferred and populated by the majority racial group. Moving to these higher quality areas would not only increase minority exposure to the majority group, but it would also serve to lower the level of uneven racial and economic distribution seen in the city. Thus mortgage discrimination acts as a segregating mechanism by keep racial minorities with the means to live in "white" neighborhoods from attaining the capital necessary to move into these areas.

Yinger (1995: 109-110) reports that in 1989, 20 percent of African American, 17 percent of Hispanic, and only 9 percent of white households lived in deficient housing, as classified by the U.S. Census Bureau and the Department of Housing and Urban Development. When looking at poor households these percentages increase to 29 percent for African Americans, 23 percent for Hispanics, and 13 percent for whites. Thus, mortgage discrimination may be a contributing factor by preventing minorities from gaining access to better quality housing.

Second, when considering racial majorities, simulations help researchers think through the kinds of decisions homebuyers make when deciding where to reside, and how these decisions affect

residential segregation. SimSeg allows for multiple preferences in the model, and aids researchers in understanding how homebuyers compromise these occasionally competing and opposing preferences. As seen in the simulations, majority members had to compromise their racial preferences to satisfy their housing preferences. Thus researchers should consider how stringent personal prejudices and other factors (such as housing quality) may be stronger determinants of where people reside.

The use of computer simulation methodology remains a viable option for studying this problem. This methodology enables researchers to crystallize theories derived from empirical results, and study problems that are not reachable using existing data sources. Future work should evaluate how minority racial preferences and Credit Discrimination interact, and what these factors mean for minority-minority segregation—a factor not considered in this experiment. Another important avenue would be to exercise the Minority Status Disadvantage or manipulate the SES distribution of each group in order to determine how Credit Discrimination interacts with SES in the models. This is given added emphasis since minorities are known to have an overall lower SES than whites, and Credit Discrimination has been conceived as a tax on the socioeconomic status that minorities do have.

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Appendix A - Tables

Table 5. Mean Unbiased Variance Ratio of Blues and Reds by SES at Cycle= 30

		Area Stratification	0.0			30.0			60.0			90.0		
		Red SES	Low	Med.	High	Low	Med.	High	Low	Med.	High	Low	Med.	High
Credit Barriers to Reds	0	Blues SES												
		Low	35.55	33.45	37.06	34.19	46.98	60.07	40.89	63.98	84.73	40.35	78.03	98.91
		Medium	32.83	31.04	33.13	34.91	31.61	33.22	43.15	30.44	37.85	60.60	29.10	60.92
		High	33.69	30.28	31.84	54.38	35.63	24.61	78.06	44.46	20.05	95.64	60.15	20.82
	25	Blues SES												
		Low	33.03	35.25	43.37	30.91	45.11	53.96	40.70	61.02	77.44	43.56	70.22	96.60
		Medium	29.69	31.90	39.03	35.45	31.72	30.28	47.36	33.40	29.32	71.81	36.76	46.11
		High	39.97	29.39	36.24	57.90	37.56	25.01	83.13	53.90	21.04	98.19	75.27	26.04
	50	Blues SES												
		Low	30.92	37.04	47.73	27.68	44.46	51.11	39.28	59.91	72.01	48.14	66.42	93.30
		Medium	26.69	32.26	41.83	35.43	31.71	29.21	51.22	37.73	25.71	80.08	49.11	39.55
		High	25.52	27.04	36.46	58.93	37.79	25.39	85.53	59.80	24.26	98.90	83.98	36.31

Table 6. Change in the Mean Unbiased Variance Ratio of Blues and Reds by SES as Credit Discrimination is applied to Reds

		Area Stratification	0.0			30.0			60.0			90.0		
		Red SES	Low	Med.	High	Low	Med.	High	Low	Med.	High	Low	Med.	High
Credit Barriers to Reds	25	Blues SES												
		Low	-2.52	1.80	6.31	-3.28	-1.87	-6.11	-0.19	-2.96	-7.29	3.21	-7.81	-2.31
		Medium	-3.14	0.86	5.90	0.54	0.11	-2.94	4.21	2.96	-8.53	11.21	7.66	-14.81
		High	-3.72	-0.89	4.40	3.52	1.93	0.40	5.07	9.44	0.99	2.55	15.12	5.22
	50	Blues SES												
		Low	-4.63	3.59	10.67	-6.51	-2.52	-8.96	-1.61	-4.07	-12.72	7.79	-11.61	-5.61
		Medium	-6.14	1.22	8.70	0.52	0.10	-4.01	8.07	7.29	-12.14	19.48	20.01	-21.37
		High	-8.17	-3.24	4.55	4.55	2.16	0.78	7.47	15.34	4.21	3.26	23.83	15.79

Source: SimSeg Program, developed by Mark Fossett

Talk about Crisis: Everyday Life in Detroit

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In this article I use poststructural discourse analysis to examine how Detroiters make meaning of their city's state of disaster. I analyze approximately 30 hours of ethnographic interview data which I collected in the summer of 2009, examining how Detroiters were impacted by the city's economic crisis. Drawing on existing literature that places Detroit within the sociological framework of disaster (Draus 2009; Herron 2007; Reese 2006), I propose that the city shares many characteristics with post-Hurricane Katrina New Orleans. I build on existing literature by analyzing not just the impact of disaster in Detroit, but how Detroiters interpret and explain it. I find two prominent patterns in my data: discourses that represent economic crisis through hostile state and economic powers and discourses that represent economic crisis through allusions to the future. These findings parallel Klein's (2007) concept of "disaster capitalism" and suggest that current policy efforts to mitigate disaster will further damage the relationship between Detroit residents and civic institutions.

Detroit, a city of 750,000, is in a state of catastrophe. Once an industrial boomtown, Detroit has been plagued by five decades of deindustrialization and ravaged by the recession that began in 2008. Crisis plagues almost every aspect of city life. In the summer of 2009, Detroit's unemployment rate was almost 30 percent, up from an already high 14 percent in 2005 (Bureau of Labor Statistics 2011). According to the United States Census, one-third of the city's residents live below the poverty line. The city government lacks resources to support even some of the most basic municipal services, such as trash collection and answering police calls (Draus, Roddy, Greenwald 2010:664; Associated Press 2008). The school system is in particular disarray, with a debt of over $300 million and graduation rates among the lowest in the nation ("Report: Detroit Ranks" 2008). An estimated half of the Detroit's residents are functionally illiterate. This is only the beginning of the social breakdown wrought by the city's economic insecurity. In 2008, Detroit had the highest violent crime rate of any major American city (O'Malley Greenburg 2009). In 2006, one-quarter of the city's residents claimed that they would leave if given the opportunity (Herron 2007).

During the summer of 2009 I conducted an ethnographic study in Detroit to explore how residents were affected by the ongoing recession. In this article, I frame Detroit's crisis as a *disaster*—as have Draus (2009), Herron (2007), and Reese (2006)—caused by decades of advancing deindustrialization. An apt comparison would be post-Katrina New Orleans, only in Detroit there

has been no hurricane. In this article, I conduct an in-depth textual analysis of my interview data, drawing from poststructural discourse analysis to examine the shared understandings through which Detroiters experience disaster.

LITERATURE REVIEW

Since the 1950s, Detroit has been wracked by a combination of deindustrialization, housing discrimination, and disinvestment (Sugrue 1996). As a result, Detroiters today face systematic obstacles to their economic and social wellbeing. Scholars examining the crisis in Detroit at the macro level have demonstrated that class, race, and geographic location all impact social outcomes. For instance, welfare recipients in the Detroit area face barriers to employment such as mental health issues, insufficient access to transportation, and lack of proximity to job opportunities (Allard, Tolman, and Rosen 2003). Schulz et al. (2002) suggest "race-based residential segregation" as the fundamental determinant of health disparities in Detroit. Farley et al. (2000) document the lingering racial prejudices that continue to separate metro Detroiters, maintaining a status quo where urban blacks feel disenfranchised. Other work has linked segregation with socioeconomic inequality: Detroit's black residents experience poorer access to supermarkets (Zenk et al. 2005), closer proximity to landfills and EPA "superfund" sites (Smith 2007), and disproportionate risk of harm from environmental pollution (Downey 2006).

Table 1: Crisis in Detroit (US Census)			
	Detroit	**Michigan**	**U.S.**
Residents living in poverty, 2011	36.2%	15.7%	14.3%
Per capita income, 2011	$15,261	$25,482	$27,915
Residents without health insurance, 2011	19.5%	12.0%	15.2%
Residents with a high school degree or higher, 2011	77.1%	88.4%	85.4%

Detroit Ethnography

In contrast to macro-level structural explanations of Detroit's crisis, another body of research has focused on interpretive data at the street level. Ethnographic work on Detroit has addressed topics

such as race, gender, and the drug trade. The work of Hartigan (1999) explores how class shapes racial identity for Detroit's white residents. Willis (2008) finds that different alcohol consumption patterns of African-American men in Detroit are associated with various stages of adulthood, and both women and religion can be factors that lead men to adopt a more nuanced form of masculinity. Draus et al. (2010) draw upon Agamben's concept of "homo sacer" to depict the self-devaluation of Detroit heroin users, and conclude that structural forces cement the marginal status of heroin addicts. Bergmann (2008) follows two young black male drug dealers as they navigate the informal drug economy and juvenile justice system. Mieczkowski (1994) examines the widely varied roles played by females in the crack economy, their protection strategies, and their relationships with men.

Discourse Analysis

Macro-level approaches to crisis in Detroit have illuminated how Detroiters are impacted by disaster while micro-level ethnographic approaches show how they live within in it. My work expands upon existing literature by shedding light on how Detroiters conceptualize, interpret, and explain their city's devastated state. In this article, I conduct a poststructural discourse analysis of my ethnographic interview data. "Discourse" in this sense refers to a shared system of cultural representation that allows people to understand and meaningfully talk about things. Like Pascale (2005), I rely on Stuart Hall's understanding of discourses as "clusters of ideas, images and practices, that provide frameworks for understanding what knowledge is useful, relevant, and true in any given context" (251). In other words, discourses are the ideological underpinnings that we use to articulate and interpret information. Much discourse analysis centers on media texts, and it has been employed to study both poverty and disaster. Topics addressed by previous research include news coverage of the 2003 Asian SARS outbreak (Joye 2010), Canadian forest fires (Cox et al. 2008), Hurricane Katrina (Quenette and Littlefield 2007), and American homelessness (Pascale 2005).

However, a growing body of work combines ethnography with discourse analysis in order to demonstrate the logic, assumptions, and shared implicit understandings in play amongst ethnographic subjects. Ethnographies' focus on social acts in specific settings of time and space make it a method particularly ripe for examining the operation and reproduction of discourses. In addition, supplementing ethnography with discourse analysis is a way to make ethnography more delimited, analytical, and falsifiable (Macgilchrist and Van Hout 2011). In this article, I employ discourse analysis because it is a useful way to reveal the logic and assumptions being reproduced by my ethnographic research participants.

For example, Jeffries (2008) explores how white and black men make meaning of rap music and hip-hop culture, with a focus on discourses of race and gender. Freeman et al. (2006) analyze how urban and suburban New York parents engage with, adopt, and resist the discourse of standardized-testing driven accountability, finding a more uncritical adoption among suburban parents. Examining both cultural texts and ethnographic interview data, Sandlin et al. (2011) study the construction of meaning among poor women shoppers. They find that dominant discourses

about female consumerism draw upon racialized stereotypes and a worldview that blames people for their own poverty. Reid and Tom (2006) employ discourse analysis to understand how poor women in Canada made meaning of their dependence on state assistance. Their interviewees draw upon discourses of illegitimate and legitimate dependency, overwhelming odds, and a "critique and collectivism" discourse that identifies the systems that produce the women's marginalization.

METHODOLOGY

Funded by an undergraduate research grant, I collected ethnographic data in Detroit for approximately six weeks in June and July of 2009. My study received Institutional Review Board approval from American University in May 2009, and all participants gave informed consent by signing a printed form. As stipulated in the consent agreement, all participants have been given pseudonyms in this article.

I travelled all over Detroit, but much of my research took place along Woodward Avenue, the city's main north-south corridor. The eight miles of Woodward Ave. in Detroit span the diversity of the city's socioeconomic spectrum, from the skyscrapers of downtown to the blighted and largely abandoned neighborhoods of Boston-Edison. Most days I arrived in the city by carpool early in the morning and left in the late afternoon.

My interviews averaged about a half-hour in length, with some closer to fifteen or twenty minutes, and a few that spanned several hours. I used a semi-structured interview guide to ensure standardization, but also allowed the flexibility to discuss what each participant considered important (Appendix I lists my interview prompts). I used snowball sampling based on contacts I had in the city, but most of my interviews were "cold calls" conducted in the field—I would simply approach a stranger, introduce myself, chat for a few minutes, and ask if they were willing to participate in my project. On multiple occasions I met with two men, Jermaine White and Robbie Stanfield, who served as key informants. Contact with both was facilitated through a local soup kitchen. Jermaine was homeless and often panhandled downtown. He showed me some of the sites where he and other homeless Detroiters panhandled, slept, and used the bathroom. Robbie was once a patron of the soup kitchen but had become a trusted volunteer by the time we met. He took me on both biking and walking tours of the barren, drug-infested neighborhood that he once called home during years of addiction to crack cocaine. Following the advice of kitchen staff, I paid small sums each meeting (between $5 and $10) to both men as a token of appreciation.

In total, I conducted interviews with 28 Detroit residents. It is worth noting here that I encountered fewer women than men on Detroit streets, and the women who I did encounter seemed more apprehensive about participating in my research. As such, only six of my 28 interview subjects were women and my data reflects Detroit as seen through a largely male lens. Reflecting Detroit's demographics, most of my interview subjects were African-American (Appendix II lists my interviewees along with demographic information). Most interviewees worked in retail, construction, or other low-wage industries; however, I did interview a small business owner, a

reverend, a professional community organizer, and five retirees. Ten of the 28 participants told me that they were unemployed, an unsurprising ratio given the city's pervasive joblessness in 2009. Five participants in my research revealed that they were homeless.

To supplement my ethnographic interviews, I conducted a detailed study as an observer-as-participant in the city. I walked, biked, rode buses, and occasionally drove a borrowed car through neighborhoods all over Detroit. Several times during the day, I would find a place to sit and write long-form accounts of my observations in a notebook. I also observed a speech by a local labor activist, an anti-corporate rally, and a vigil at the site of a seven-victim shooting. I collected fliers available in public places, attended a church service, and watched episodes of public-access cable TV. With the exception of the church service, all of these events were open to the public. When asked, I would identify myself as a researcher.

Once my data collection was complete, I conducted discourse analysis of my ethnographic interviews. I transcribed the audio recording of each interview, and then coded data in order to find the strongest patterns of subject matter, viewpoint, and tone discussed throughout the interviews. Finally, I analyzed the language used by my research participants, making use of warrants from the interview texts.

ANALYSIS

State and Economic Power

Analysis of my interview data revealed that when people talk about disaster in Detroit, they refer specifically to *state and economic power.* State power most frequently takes the form of the Detroit, Michigan, or federal government, but also figures such as police officers. Likewise, the wielders of economic power span from corporations, wealthy individuals, and casinos to more local forms of authority such as slum landlords and corner store proprietors. Overall, these types of power were directly discussed in 23 of my 28 interviews.

My data suggest the presence of a discourse in which these manifestations of authority are represented as hostile to Detroit and to its people. Of the 23 interviewees who spoke about state or economic power, 19 made such a characterization. Two subsets to this pattern emerged. In the first, powers such as the government are characterized primarily through discourses of neglect, abandonment, and betrayal. I refer to this as a discourse of *passive hostility.* The second subset constructs a confrontational, antagonistic, or exploitative relationship between Detroiters and those with power. In this discourse, authorities treat Detroit with *active hostility.*

I have chosen three excerpts from my interview data to demonstrate the pattern of passive hostility. The first is from an interview with a retired autoworker named William Scott, who is now an activist with a local Black Nationalist group. Here, he describes travelling to the suburbs to attend a County Commissioner's meeting with a fellow activist, and that activist's grandson, who asked him a question:

[He asked about] things supposed to be taken care of by your city government. He asked me: 'Say, [Mister Scott], on our way out here I noticed, I didn't see but one or two holes in the street, no paper, hardly, and the grass was cut.' He said 'Why is that?' And really I didn't have a good answer to give him. But I just told him, I said: 'It's the suburbs, the politicians that's in office care about the city.' And not only that, you know, the politicians in state government, in my opinion, care more about the suburbs than here in Detroit.

The first piece of noteworthy language in the above excerpt is the notion of responsibilities which he asserts are "supposed to be taken care of." This phrasing implies duty or responsibility, as well as the abandonment of that responsibility. And though it goes without explicit mention, race is deeply woven into Scott's speech. In Detroit, "city government" has a very particular meaning. The city is 85 percent African-American, and virtually all city government officials are fellow African-Americans who have been elected from the city's neighborhoods into positions of power. Based on his phrasing, he implies that African-Americans are responsible for the city's wellbeing; yet he implicitly suggests that they "don't care."

Scott's use of the term "suburbs" provides further evidence of the racial discourses at play in his speech. The Detroit suburbs, which boomed as whites fled the city, are deeply associated with whiteness.[1] In the suburbs, politicians care about their constituents and thus the grass is cut and streets are clean. Scott makes two qualitative distinctions in his speech: urban versus suburban, and not caring versus caring. He pairs urban with not caring, and suburban with caring. Since the people in the city government with responsibility to the city are negatively contrasted with their suburban counterparts, Scott is likely referring to betrayal by fellow African-American Detroiters in the city government.

Consider also an excerpt that comes from Robbie Stanfield, one of the key informants mentioned above. He took me on a bike tour of one of Detroit's most barren neighborhoods, where he spent years struggling with homelessness and addiction. On our tour, Stanfield stopped to point out an abandoned school building:

Robbie: Now this used to be a private city school here. The city councilmember came out— you know, see, this is the thing that councilmembers, mayors, and governors need to see, right here. You know what I'm saying, Chris?

Chris: Yeah, absolutely.

Robbie: Because this is where will show that you a good mayor, a good councilman. Because you see this problem right before your eyes, and you say, 'Oh my god, I want to do something to change this here.' But then they say, 'We want to make our neighborhood safe with more police on the street.' Have you see a police officer since you've been riding,

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1   Until recently, the Detroit metro area was the most segregated in the nation; it currently ranks fourth behind Milwaukee, New York, and Chicago (Wilkinson 2011). For a history of white flight and the development of Detroit's suburbs, see Sugrue (1996).

since we've been riding, Chris?

Chris: No.

Robbie: That you can remember, just looking up around you? Have you seen a policeman riding in any area?

Chris: Not today.

Robbie: Not since we've been riding, not a one. So now, in the most needed area, how could you say that the police is out here to protect you, that the police is out here for the people? How could that be so? When we have not seen one single police car. Not even patrol, nowhere. Nowhere.

I asked what would happen if someone called 911 to report a crime in progress. Stanfield responds:

They probably wouldn't come. You know why they wouldn't come? Because this is the land of forgotten. This is where people don't supposed to exist. If it's a murder or something really dramatic they might come, but other than that they're not gonna come.

Stanfield, upon seeing the wrecked building, immediately begins speaking of "councilmembers, mayors, and governors," suggesting a strong association between blight and politics. How is the association elaborated? Stanfield says that the politicians should come and see the blight firsthand, implying that it is important to their responsibilities as legislators. Moving further down in the passage, Stanfield explains what he believes to be the appropriate way for politicians to react after seeing a neighborhood in such disrepair: "Oh my god, I want to do something to change this here." He then says "but," in order to emphasize the distinction between the appropriate versus the actual reaction of politicians. Immediately after doing so, Stanfield points out the absence of police in the neighborhood, an assertion that the political rhetoric is hollow. The excerpt draws upon a discourse of state power abandoning the neighborhood. His references to the "land of forgotten" where "people don't supposed to exist," along with his comments about the police, are representations of this neglectful government.

Authority was frequently represented and made meaningful in my data through discourses of neglect and abandonment. This hostility is not presented as intentional. In contrast, the second pattern of representation depicts authority as actively hostile to Detroit and its people. I illustrate the repeated view of power as antagonistic and exploitative with the following two excerpts. Here, William Scott represents a construction of power as *actively hostile* to Detroit:

And not only that, but you know, the politicians in state government, in my opinion, care more about the suburbs than here in Detroit. The last fight that we had, fight we've got going on right now. They're trying to take control of Cobo Hall. And the guise they're putting under is that it's gonna to be given to an authority. Ok, well it's going to be given to an authority? What do the city and its residents get out of it? It's part of the city. They're

gradually trying to take the water department. Under Mayor Archer, which was back in the 1990s, they put the Institute of Arts under authority, they put the main zoo under an authority. An authority is okay, as long as you're looking out for the interests of the city. Because, I mean, if these things is owned by the city, then that means the city have been providing revenue to keep them running, up until the time you put them under an authority. Now you put them under the authority, you're not giving the city anything in return. But the city don't have no control!

Some clarification is necessary here. Cobo Hall is Detroit's convention center, and in 2009 negotiations were underway to put the center under joint urban-suburban-state management (this is the "authority" Scott mentions), as opposed to control by the Detroit city government (Forman 2009). A language of struggle marks Scott's description. The Cobo Hall controversy is described as a "fight" for "control," which takes the "guise" of a change in management structure—the term "guise" evoking images of deception or foul play. This is significant because government and people are presented as adversaries in the budget crisis. This adversarial relationship also appears when he states that the state government is "*taking* the water department," which is "part of the city."

In the earlier excerpt, Scott framed suburban (i.e. white) in opposition to urban (i.e. African-American) interests. Consequently, I understand Mr. Scott as referencing a "state government" (in which white Michiganders dominate) that is not concerned about African-American Detroit but rather the "suburbs." What he describes is the state and suburbs attacking the city's resources.

The next excerpt is from a young man named Marcus Clark. At the time of our interview, he had been recently laid off from a job at a local hospital, and was trying to make a living as a self-employed street vendor. I asked him, "What do you think the community's greatest assets are?" a question that I posed to almost all participants in my research. His response also draws upon discourses of active hostility.

Well, I think that the assets of Michigan used to be the clothing, and the car industry. Once that fell, it just did a lot of things, man. I mean now we don't have nothing. Like Cobo Hall, and stuff like that. I mean like the car show, they trying to take that away from us. You know, it's just we don't have nothing! Ain't nothing here no more. They done stripped Michigan, the Motor City, or the state of music—music started here in Michigan, the car industry started here in Michigan. And they stripped it. We don't have nothing. We have no crop of sugar or sugarcane to go to no more. No bailout, they done bailed out everything. All the state officials that was crooks like Mayor Kwame—they say that he was a crook—the lady, Monica Conyers, she turned out to be a crook. So everybody, every state official, to me, I have no faith in them no more.

It is quite telling that in response to a question about the community's assets, Clark immediately references assets that have been "taken." The word he uses is "stripped." Stripping is what people

do to a car after they steal it—break it down and sell it off for parts. Clark uses this word in reference to what is happening to the city, but his geographic distinction is a bit ambiguous (Although he refers to "Michigan," all of his references—Cobo Hall, city Councilmember Monica Conyers, former Mayor Kwame Kilpatrick, "the Motor City"—are to the city of Detroit, so I surmise that he is speaking about Detroit.) It is also important to note that the auto and music industries are the subject of that stripping. The term "music industry" is unspecific, but it is likely that Clark is referring to Michigan's most famous music industry, Motown Records. Both the car industry and Motown are central to the identity of Detroit: the auto industry vaulted many African-American Detroiters into the middle-class, and Motown is a bastion of African-American culture (Sugrue 1996).

A careful analysis of Clark's words reveals a discussion that expands over a century of Detroit history. Many of Detroit's African-American residents found work in auto plants after their parents abandoned the "crop of sugarcane" in the American South and migrated to northern cities. But once the politicians stripped away the auto industry, Clark asserts that "we don't have nothing," not even "a crop of sugarcane to go back to." This stripping was done by political "crooks," reinforcing Clark's discourse of theft; "crooks" are exactly the types of people who strip cars. This theft by politicians has left many Detroiters in the city feeling stranded without resources.

The Future

Another salient pattern in my interview data was *discussion of the future.* When I asked about economic crisis, Detroit residents often responded with allusions to what the future might hold. In contrast to the sharp and widely shared discourses of state and economic power, I found that when Detroiters talk about the future, no widely shared logics emerged. Each of the following understandings are common to several research participants: some interviewees were assured that Detroit would rebound from its struggles and see a renaissance; others envisioned a renaissance, but felt that they will be excluded from the benefits it brings; still others seemed unable to contemplate what was in store for the city; some respondents even expressed hopelessness that Detroit's lot might improve. Approximately ten of my research participants did not talk about the future at all, but this may be a reflection of my interview prompts and not necessarily the beliefs of Detroiters.

One participant, Latrell Summers, has a wife and kids, and his family's home had recently burned down in a fire. When I spoke with him, he was living at a rescue mission while his wife and children had been taken in by friends. He was unemployed at the time of our interview.

> Chris: How about the auto industry?
> Latrell: I don't even know what to say about that. I can't understand how they let this sink so low. It's a lot of people I know there that lost their jobs and got laid off, you know. And now you know it's really fin to get tight. […] And you know, it's sad to say I think it's gon' get worse before it's gon' get a little bit better.
> Chris: Yeah, how come?

Latrell: Because you know look, all the homeless people right now, steady putting homeless out in street, know what I'm saying? And it seem like there's no way out of it right now, you know what I'm saying? Not saying that it ain't gon' get better because I believe it is, but right now at this present time, it's gon' get worse before it get better! Cause it's gon' be too many people unemployed by the time it start getting better, and hopefully man, just hopefully things work out. People gon' be getting locked up, all that type of stuff. And the crime rate gon' go up! It's sad to say but it's gon' go up. I mean if you put a person out in the street, what results? I mean, what they got to do? I mean the only thing they can do is to convert to crime. They're not gon' be sitting out here broke. And that's been a problem with Michigan for a long time. A lot of unemployment, guys do what they do. Sell dope, stick up people, do whatever else they got to do. That's why we have so many damn prisons around here. And that's another thing. They trying to relieve them guys that's been in prison for so long, they trying to put them out here. Now you ain't got enough money for the prison system! I mean, but you fin to send all these guys home, now it's really gonna be—because they really don't know nothing about a damn, if they can't get a job they really don't know what to do but stick somebody up or do something wrong to somebody. But hopefully things get better, man. But right now it just don't seem like it's happening. So I have to stick going to school, doing what I do, and hopefully like I say, times get better. I just pray a lot. That's all I do, I just pray a lot.

While Summers seems to believe that the situation in Detroit will eventually improve, his word choice suggests a lack of confidence. When asked about the future, Summers talks about "putting homeless out in the street" and people "sell[ing] dope" and "stick[ing] up people." His language evokes a sense of disorder. The phrase "out in the street" implies a lack of recourses for the people impacted by the crisis. In addition to descriptions of crime and chaos, Summers claims that released prisoners "don't know nothing about a damn." This lack of knowledge is paired with a lack of resources (i.e. jobs), creating a situation in which people have no choice but to commit crime in order to sustain themselves.

Police, or other forces capable of restoring order, are notably absent from Summers' representation of the situation. He mentions unemployment, but no means for people to get jobs. He mentions criminals, but no means for rehabilitation. He says that all this "has been a problem with Michigan for a long time," but does not provide any solutions to that problem. This provides further evidence that he does not have a clear conception for how Detroit could improve its circumstances in the future. Finally, he says that one of his methods for dealing with the situation is to "just pray a lot." The appeal to a higher power is a profound expression of the sense of confusion he feels as to how Detroit's crisis could be mitigated.

The final excerpt is also from Robbie Stanfield, on our bike tour of the abovementioned neighborhood. In discussing the neighborhood's conditions, he says:

Has any change developed? No. Is any change gonna come about? Maybe, but it won't be for the poor people, it'll be—like I said—for the rich and famous 'cause they the ones that always profit from these tearing downs and rebuildings 'cause what they rebuilding, they making it out of the range where poor people can't even pay no bills like that there. You know, so it's not changing for the poor people. And you got guys out here on a daily basis selling they drugs, selling they weed or whatever they doing. Still entrapping people, you know?

The message here is rather blunt. Stanfield firmly states that change in the neighborhood "won't be for the poor people." He also mentions "tearing downs and rebuildings"; earlier in our discussion he had spoken about a large housing project in the neighborhood that was a notorious gang haven. Later, he mentioned that the project had been converted into more expensive condos. So, "tearing downs and rebuildings" is likely a reference to these projects, as "poor people can't even pay no bills there." Also noteworthy is Stanfield's reference to "the rich and famous." It is unlikely that the new residents of the former project are *actually* famous—despite the rebuilding, the condos are still situated near one of the most decrepit neighborhoods in the city. But Stanfield's addition of the term "famous" highlights the prestige of the privileged group he describes, and serves to emphasize the distinction between rich and poor. This distinction is important because in Stanfield's description, the two groups have *different futures*. The rich group is the one for whom it is possible for "change to come about." Stanfield draws upon a discourse of exclusion in order to describe the future.

DISCUSSION

My data suggest a shared understanding among Detroiters that government and economic power is at best indifferent, and at worst hostile to the people of the city. As demonstrated above, Detroiters employ such a discourse in reference to police officers, local politicians, state government, corporations, and the federal government. They also make meaning of economic crisis through discourses in which the future is prominent.

The representations of power as actively hostile can be seen as an extension of Klein's (2007) concept of *disaster capitalism*: the notion that political and economic elites use moments of collective trauma—such as Hurricane Katrina—to push the privatization of public assets while resistance is disorganized. The repeated references to "taking"—of Cobo Hall, for example—in my interview data suggest that Detroiters are acutely aware of this threat. After all, Detroit is suffering from a disaster too. As of this writing, Detroit's municipal government is on the brink of emergency financial management, a controversial form of receivership in which the city would lose a significant amount of sovereignty as officials appointed by Michigan's governor supersede the duties of local elected officials.

My research provides context with which to evaluate current recovery efforts. There has been little federal anti-poverty policy response during the most recent economic downturn. At the

local level, the city's budget crisis has prompted policymakers to close public schools, cut back police, firefighting, public transportation, and other municipal services, all in addition to the above-mentioned emergency financial management plan. Detroit's mayor has even discussed a plan to "shrink" the city, moving the remaining residents out of depopulated neighborhoods in order to better consolidate public service delivery.

This article is not the forum to debate whether these are sound policies (though I would argue that they are not), but my research suggests that the policies will elicit a negative reaction in Detroit's current social environment. The above measures are vulnerable to interpretation through the same discourse of "taking" that was common among the Detroiters I interviewed.[2] Rather than drawing Detroiters into the recovery effort, these policies will deepen the discourses of distrust towards government in Detroit, advancing a vicious cycle of alienation. Without public buy-in, these policies face a reduced chance of successfully ameliorating the city's economic crisis and restoring faith in civic and economic institutions.

The discourses I found about Detroit are similar to other work on American inner cities. In his work on the social norms of street violence in Philadelphia, Anderson (1999) articulates similar patterns of hostility and hopelessness:

> All these social consequences of persistent urban poverty and joblessness coalesce into acute alienation from mainstream society, especially among the young. What has formed as a result is a kind of institutionalized oppositional culture, a reaction to a history of prejudice and discrimination that now finds its way into schools and other institutions; it makes meaningful participation in institutions dominated by those closely associated with the wider society problematic, if not impossible, for many. (P. 323)

If Detroit residents consider their elected representatives to be unaccountable at best and adversaries at worst, then in a certain sense they are disenfranchised—a people disconnected from their government. The founders of American democracy were influenced by the ancient Greek notion of "man as citizen," the notion that for humans to achieve their full potential, they must be able to participate in the governance of their society (Aristotle 350 BCE). The Detroiters who told me that their leaders "care more about the suburbs" or "done stripped Michigan" are not full participants in the American experiment and are not actualizing their full human potential.

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2   Indeed, several of my research participants mentioned that they were concerned about recent closures of public schools.

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APPENDIX I — SEMI STRUCTURED INTERVIEW PROMPTS

The questions below were used to guide conversation with all interviewees, with follow-up questions used to continue the conversation and probe for more detail based on participants' responses.

- How long have you lived in Detroit?
- Has unemployment affected you or anyone you know? Has it affected your community? If so, can you tell me how?
- Has the foreclosure crisis affected you, your family, or your community? If so, can you tell me how?
- Can you tell me how daily life has changed for you, your family and friends, or your community since the recent economic crisis?
- What do you think might happen with the auto industry? How do you think it might affect you?[3]
- How do you feel about the abandoned buildings, vacant lots, and overgrowth in Detroit?
- What are your community's greatest assets? What are its greatest unmet needs?
- What do you think of the city, state, or national government's management of the economy?
- What are the most important things you think outside observers should know about Detroit?
- Who else do you think I should talk to about these questions?

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3   At the time of my data collection, the "Big Three"—Ford, General Motors, and Chrysler were in the midst of bankruptcy and bailout by the federal government.

APPENDIX II – RESEARCH PARTICIPANTS

Table 2: Research Participants						
Pseudonym	**Profession**	**Age**	**Race**	**Gender**	**Interview date**	**Location**
Latrell Summers	Unemployed/ construction	Middle-aged	Black	Male	6/14/09	Woodward Ave/ Downtown
Corey Rogers	Unemployed/ college graduate	Young adult	Black	Male	6/14/09	Woodward Ave
Anonymous	Retired auto worker	Middle-aged	White	Male	6/16/09	Downtown (park)
Anonymous	Retired restaurant owner	Elderly	White	Male	6/16/09	Downtown (park)
Roy Garder	Unemployed	Middle-aged	Black	Male	6/17/09	North End
Anonymous	Retired/rec center volunteer	Elderly	Black	Female	6/17/09	North End
Richard Jones	Unemployed (homeless)	Middle-aged	Black	Male	6/17/09	North End
Jaylon Smith	Small business owner	Middle-aged	Black	Male	6/18/09	New Center
Anonymous	Unemployed/ security guard	Middle-aged	Black	Male	6/18/09	New Center
William Scott	Activist/Retired auto worker	Elderly	Black	Male	6/21/09	West Side
Scott Payton	College student	Young adult	White	Male	6/21/09	East Side
Spike	Unemployed/ Maintenance	Middle-aged	Black	Male	6/23/09	Midtown
Anonymous	Retail – corner store	Young adult	Iraqi-Amer.	Male	6/24/09	Woodward Ave
Jonelle Troy	Retail – office supplies	Young adult	Black	Female	6/24/09	Grand River Ave
Jammer Spammer	Retired	Elderly	Black	Female	6/26/09	West Side
Cannon	Construction	Young adult	Black	Male	7/2/09	Downtown
Kool-aid	Unemployed (homeless)	Middle-aged	Black	Male	7/2/09	Downtown
Jermaine White	Unemployed (homeless)	Middle-aged	Black	Male	7/2/09	Downtown
Jessie Hughes	Street cleaning	Young adult	Black	Male	7/7/09	Midtown
Julius Roosevelt	Street cleaning	Young adult	Black	Male	7/7/09	Midtown
Ronald Sawyer	Pastor	Middle-aged	Black	Male	7/13/09	North End
Marcus Clark	Street vendor (unemployed)	Middle-aged	Black	Male	7/14/09	East Side

Table 2: Research Participants						
Pseudonym	**Profession**	**Age**	**Race**	**Gender**	**Interview date**	**Location**
Carolyn Richards	Unemployed/auto worker	Middle-aged	Black	Female	7/14/09	East Side
Robbie Stanfield	Unemployed	Middle-aged	Black	Male	7/15/09	Downtown
Anonymous	Unemployed (homeless)	Middle-aged	Black	Female	7/16/09	Downtown
Anonymous	Community organizer	Young adult	Black	Male	7/16/09	Woodward Ave
Marlene Brown	Unemployed (homeless)	Middle-aged	Black	Female	7/23/09	Downtown
Anonymous	Activist	Middle-aged	Black	Male	7/26/09	Highland Park

Covering the Peace Movement: How Three U.S. Newspapers Portray Pacifists and Peace Activism

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The push for peace has been a persistent social movement throughout American history. Its effect on society has been partly dependent on how journalists have portrayed it, because the framing of a social movement in public discourse can either facilitate acceptance or mobilize opposition amongst the larger population in the society. Some researchers have analyzed the role of the media in various aspects of the peace movement, but none have specifically examined how the movement is portrayed in mainstream news outlets. This study is a content analysis of how the media in the U.S. reports on the peace movement and peace activism, both within the United States and abroad. Building on theories of framing and social representation, I studied references to elements of the peace movement in three major U.S. newspapers during the 19 months of the United States' troop surge in Afghanistan. My analysis shows that there was a difference in tone across newspapers and a difference in frequency across newspapers and time. Overall, the reporting tended to be supportive, especially when the story was about an individual pacifist or activist. This finding may serve as a basis for comparison in future studies that examine peace movements in other time periods or other media.

While many people associate peace activism with the 1960's anti-war protests, the peace movement is a perennial fixture of American society beginning with the pacifist Quakers of colonial days and continuing into current times. During the Vietnam War, anti-war activists were portrayed as critics not only of government policy but also of individual soldiers, and were hence portrayed as traitors (Beamish, Molotch, and Flacks 1995). This discourse proved durable and was utilized by political elites in subsequent conflicts to discredit the efforts of the peace movement to bring about, what would seem to be, a laudable social goal (Porpora and Nikolaev 2008). In response, peace organizations made a coordinated effort during both gulf wars to emphasize their whole-hearted concern for the welfare of troops and their families, while still maintaining their opposition to government policies (Coy, Woehrle, and Maney 2008). During the first decade of the 21st century, the U.S. government, through media elites, encouraged a framing of patriotism as unquestioning support of war policies, and the peace movement was hard pressed to speak for more peaceful options without being branded as traitorous (Coy, Maney, and Woehrle 2003).

This study investigates the recent portrayal of peace activism in American media, which

is important because the manner/frequency with which media sources discuss peace issues assists in the social construction of the movement and influences social discourses about the war (Boykoff 2006; Leitz 2011; Nelson, Oxley, and Clawson 1997). For purposes of this investigation, peace activism means any person or group working in opposition to war or in advocacy of peace, including any person identified or self-identified as a pacifist. These persons and groups constitute the peace movement. The study will examine the content, tone, and perspective of news stories to determine if references to the peace movement or to pacifists are framed in a supportive, dismissive, or hostile context. Since the activities of American activists often include or affect overseas events, and vice versa, coverage of such events by American newspapers will also be considered. In addition, this study will analyze the frequency of such stories in the publications studied.

Sociologists study movements because they are the means by which social norms can be changed and, if successful, can lead to changes in laws and policies. Anything that strengthens the American peace movement can have implications for American foreign policy and hence for the course of international affairs. How journalists and pundits portray a social movement is vitally important to the movement's success (Bonds 2009; Boykoff 2006; Coy et al. 2008). Hence, this research relies on theories that explain the social representation of reality (Boykoff 2006; Sarrica and Contarello 2004). While describing events, issues, or persons, a journalist's choice of words, metaphors, images, and catchphrases are fraught with symbolic meaning. This symbolic meanings may carry the great weight of an historic discourse, as the catchphrase "support the troops" does, or may moderate emotional responses to the story, as when Iraqi children killed in a U.S. attack are termed "civilian casualties" or even "collateral damage" (Coy et al. 2008; Gamson and Modigliani 1989). Regardless of whether reporters attempt to remain impartial, the way that a story or argument is presented teaches the public how to understand the event (Nelson et al. 1997). The physical setting, context, and authoritative commentary that journalists choose to include or exclude in their reports are a form of social construction often referred to as framing (Benford and Snow 2000; Edelman 1964:158). It is different from mere persuasion, in which one overtly attempts to change opinions by the supplying of new information, or from priming, in which the reader's pre-existing mental concepts are cued for use in processing new information (Boykoff 2006; Gamson and Modigliani 1989; Nelson et al. 1997). This framing is part of the continuous dialogue by which society creates and maintains its norms and realities (Benford and Snow 2000; Coy et al. 2008; Edelman 1964:116). In modern society, the dialogue is routinely held via the many forms of media that citizens turn to every day for information about current events and the enormous bank of human knowledge (Beamish et al. 1995; Benford and Snow 2000; Boykoff 2006; Sarrica and Contarello 2004). Mainstream media reflect public concerns and at the same time have an enormous influence on the average citizen's perceptions of events, including the various contenders who are seeking to define those events and the appropriate course of action for the nation (Boykoff 2006; Gamson and Modigliani 1989). For this reason, an examination of how mainstream media frames the peace movement may illuminate any change in the power of

the movement's message and chances of strengthening its influence (Boykoff 2006; Gale 1986).

LITERATURE REVIEW

Several studies have explored how social issues or movements are presented in the media. Researchers have examined peace activism in general, with some attention paid to how media reports on the cause and the representation of peace activism in the media.

How the media reports its stories can have a strong effect on the behavior of both power elites and grassroots groups. For example, media coverage of the Bosnian crisis during the 1990's may have pushed the Clinton administration to intervene by directing public attention to threatened American values. *The Washington Post* focused mainly on the distress of civilians and the possibility of mass murders, while *The New York Times* raised the question of potential national-security concerns (Auerbach and Bloch-Elkon 2005). Porpora and Nikolaev (2008) revealed "moral muting" during the public debate about the decision to go to war in Iraq. Their study showed that journalists took their cues from the power elite, promoting reasoning that was morally insupportable in favor of the war, while the peace movement's efforts failed to gain any traction. From the grassroots angle, dismissive media framing of public protests against the World Trade Organization, World Bank, and International Monetary Fund meetings pushed the protestors to greater radicalism (Boykoff 2006).

Studies of peace activism also examine how the issue is defined. For instance, a pair of Italian researchers used survey methods to look at the ways in which social representations of war, peace, and conflict vary between peace activists and non-activists. They discovered that activists tend to construct conflict and war as normal and manageable, while non-activists feel helpless and fatalistic when they contemplate these or similar topics. For peace activists, such representations of conflict were "defined, shared and used by groups and contribute to defining the environment in which the life of these groups and of their members takes place" (Sarrica and Contarello 2004:550). Other researchers have studied how peace activists attempt to re-frame the public discussion about going to war (Bonds 2009; Coy et al. 2008; Leitz 2011). In his interviews with peace activists who had travelled to Iraq, Bonds (2009) revealed that some American peace activists made efforts to induce role-taking and empathy by their first-hand accounts of the suffering Iraqi civilians. Researchers have also analyzed how peace movement organizations (PMOs) aggressively engage the "support the troops" frame that has been a persistent public discourse since the days of the Vietnam War. Coy, Woerhle, and Maney (2008) found that PMOs made a concerted effort to redefine the meaning of troop support by talking about President Bush's misguided foreign policies and the stingy material support being provided for troops in the field, returning wounded, and the families of the soldiers. In a similar vein, Leitz (2011) showed how military peace organizations provided alternative framings for the concept of troop support, in spite of the efforts of pro-war political forces.

Researchers have looked for evidence in news accounts from the Vietnam era for the

common perception that anti-war protestors spat upon, attacked, or otherwise targeted members of the military. Although the perception that this behavior occurred is widespread and many veterans speak of the experience, no news accounts were found that reported such behavior (Beamish et al. 1995). Research has also been conducted on peace activists who emerged from military and veterans groups to challenge the framing of the Iraq war by power elites. Leitz (2011) called this "oppositional identity," and showed that it was a key factor in preventing media outlets from toeing the administrative line in their coverage of the war. Included in her research was a media content analysis covering seven years, which found more than 5000 references to military peace movement organizations and key individuals.

None of these studies have examined the peace movement's portrayal in mainstream media. The media has been studied in related endeavors, such as whether Vietnam War protestors assaulted returning troops (Beamish et al. 1995), the media's effect on national foreign policy during the Bosnia crisis (Auerbach and Bloch-Elkon 2005), and media framing of the global justice movement (Boykoff 2006). What the public sees in major newspapers contributes to the perpetuation of assumptions about social elements, the context of the public's absorption of new information, and to public receptiveness toward violence or reconciliation (Coy et al. 2008). In writing about or even making casual reference to peace activists, journalists engage in social representations of reality for the reader. The symbols portrayed, authorities quoted, words chosen, and even the decision whether or not to run a story all contribute to the framing of the peace movement in either a positive or a negative manner. This paper investigates the portrayal of peace activism in recent times, with attention to both the frequency and tone of the stories run by major American newspapers.

METHODOLOGY

The aim of this study is to investigate how the peace movement is currently portrayed: Are news accounts sympathetic, dismissive, hostile, or merely straightforward in their reporting? Does the number of articles vary over time or from a news source to another? In order to explore these questions, I conducted a quantitative and qualitative content analysis of major newspapers.

Choosing a recent period of time during which there was likely to be a relatively high concentration of activity by the peace movement, I used several search terms to scan archives of three well-respected, highly read newspapers from the east, west, and central areas of the United States for reports relevant to peace activism. The chosen time frame begins in December 2009, when President Obama announced that a troop surge of 30,000 would be sent to Afghanistan (Landers 2009), and runs through June 2011, when Obama announced the beginning of a draw-down of those troops (Parsons and Cloud 2011). This period was selected on a supposition that peace activism might be more evident in media outlets during a mobilization for war. Because I wished to study recent reporting, the beginning of the war in 2003 was not useful. I chose these dates primarily to maximize the number of potential articles about the peace movement. The

newspapers selected for the study were The New York Times, The Chicago Tribune, and The Los Angeles Times.

Newspaper selection was based on respectability and readership. The New York Times and The Los Angeles Times are both frequent winners of Pulitzer Prizes. Among mid-western papers, The Chicago Tribune is among the nation's top 10 in readership, and was also chosen because of its longevity. To obtain the sample, I conducted a search of each newspaper's online archive section for the period in question, using six search terms: peace activist, anti-war activist, anti-war protest, peace demonstration, peace movement, and pacifist. Most of the articles from these lists could be found in the website archive of the newspaper, supplemented by searches using LexisNexis database or Google search.

The initial number of articles collected was 279 (see Table 1), but I reduced this number by eliminating duplicates, obituaries, fine arts or book reviews, letters to the editor, photo credits, captions and timeline dates. I did not include stories that were unrelated to the peace movement (for example, topics like dog training or gardening). Ultimately, the working sample consisted of 59 news articles, news reports, or syndicated columns.

Table 1: Summary of articles returned for each search term by newspaper			
Search Term	New York Times	Los Angeles Times	Chicago Tribune
anti-war activist	0	28	15
anti-war protest	0	10	0
pacifist	85	30	17
peace activist	20	23	22
peace demonstration	4	1	0
peace movement	12	6	6
Total:	121	98	60

The unit of analysis was the entire article, and each of the final 59 articles was analyzed using focused coding. The coding table (see Appendix B) was arranged in chronological order from December 2009 to June 2011. It includes columns that indicate from which newspaper an article derives, whether it is a syndicated column, news article, report, or blog, and the general topic of the article.

The manifest indicators address whether the article discussed an individual story or public protest, and whether it contained public statements by peace activists or by opponents of the peace activists being discussed in the story. Most of the articles were categorized under just one of the above options, signified by a shaded cell, but the presence of all indicators is accounted for numerically. Latent indicators are those that suggest a supportive, dismissive, or hostile framing of the story.

Several of the articles were not written about the peace movement, per se, but made sufficient reference to either pacifists or peace activists that some assessment of that portrayal seemed possible. In these cases, the latent indicators addressed the depiction only of the individuals and activities that

were relevant to the peace movement.   Coding shows whether the article focused on events and individuals, or on explanations of policies and issues. Focusing on the issues supports the movement by giving voice to its message; focusing on the individuals or events undercuts the message (Boykoff 2006).

Otherwise, the cumulative effect of positive or negative indicators was decisive. A list of 31 cues to supportive framing, 10 cues to hostile framing, and 8 cues for dismissive framing enabled each article to be rated for overall tone (see Appendix B). Justification for each cue was derived from works that studied the way that peace activists have attempted to change the meaning of supporting the troops, from those that analyzed the way mass media characterizes dissident movements and from works that explained how "moral muting" is employed by media sources in questions of foreign policy (Boykoff 2006; Coy et al. 2008; Leitz 2011; Porpora and Nikolaev 2008).

Table 2 shows how the cues for each indicator can occur many times in one article and that articles can contain cues for several indicators, however, ultimately each article is coded for no more than one latent and one manifest indicator.

Table 2: Frequency and proportion of cue occurence by indicator			
Code	total occurrences of indicator	# of articles in which indicator occurs	# articles coded for indicator
individual story	24	18	16
	na	31%	27%
public protest	26	19	10
	na	32%	17%
public statement by opponent	5	4	0
	na	7%	0%
public statement by pacifist	39	22	11
	na	37%	19%
provides explanation of policy	18	12	6
	na	20%	10%
supportive frame	255	52	41
	na	88%	69%
dismissive frame	45	18	8
	na	31%	14%
hostile frame	70	29	8
	na	49%	14%
absence of framing	3	2	0
	na	3%	0%

Over-reliance on information provided by official sources was considered hostile framing, because in these cases the journalist is allowing the official story line to continue, even if the article is otherwise supportive (Nelson et al. 1997). Sound bites, slogans, analogies, and imagery provided by pro-war elites were generally considered hostile framing (Nelson et al. 1997). If members of the military peace movement (veterans and their families) are involved in the story this is considered supportive framing because it indicates that the writer has accepted, if not adopted, the potent oppositional identities frame promoted by PMOs during the recent wars (Leitz 2011).

After coding the articles, I calculated the cues for each indicator in the article and made a final assessment of the article's framing. Although most articles included references to more than one manifest and latent indicator, all articles were assigned to one predominant subject indicator and one overall framing indicator, which are highlighted in the coding table by a shaded cell (see Appendix B). The overall frame depended in part on the frequency of supportive, dismissive, or hostile cues, but other factors were also taken into account, as noted above. If the article was not defensibly described by any of the manifest indicators, that section of the table was left blank.

FINDINGS

My intention in conducting this study was to illuminate the relationship between U.S. mainstream media outlets and the peace movement in recent years. Among the articles used, several refer to a particular anti-war candidate in a California House electoral campaign. A rash of articles appeared in the summer of 2011 in response to an international incident involving activists. Another grouping concerns an FBI investigation into certain peace activists which locals called a phishing expedition. Besides these three protracted news stories, a surprising number of the articles I found concerned individuals whose suffering or even death resulting from their peace activism made them appear as martyrs. They were most frequently stories about individuals, and often included public statements by pacifists or activists. I will argue that portrayals of the peace movement during this period were mostly supportive, although the degree of supportiveness varied depending on the subject of the story (individuals, protests, newsworthy events, etc.). There were differences between the three newspapers in how the movement was covered, both in frequency and tone, and there was a difference in combined frequency of articles during the time frame I examined.

Differences over Time
There is a slight increase in the number of articles during the time surveyed, with the highest activity between June and December 2010 (see Figure 1). Several of these were related to a June crisis in Gaza, The Los Angeles Times covering an antiwar candidate for office, and The Chicago Tribune running a series of stories in the fall on an FBI investigation of antiwar activists (which constituted 25 percent of all Tribune stories in this study). The New York Times ran four unrelated stories in February 2011, which caused a spike in the number of articles (see Figure 2). Three of

these were positive stories about individuals, and the fourth was a mild discussion of potential effects of the Arab Spring. This pattern of difference is evidence that levels of interest in peace issues is not uniform among mainstream media outlets, nor is it necessarily related to questions of national defense policy. Therefore, it is difficult to ascribe any specific interpretation of this trend; however, I think it might be useful to examine news reports concerning the wars in Afghanistan and Iraq during this same time period to see if the frequency of articles on peace is related to any events there.
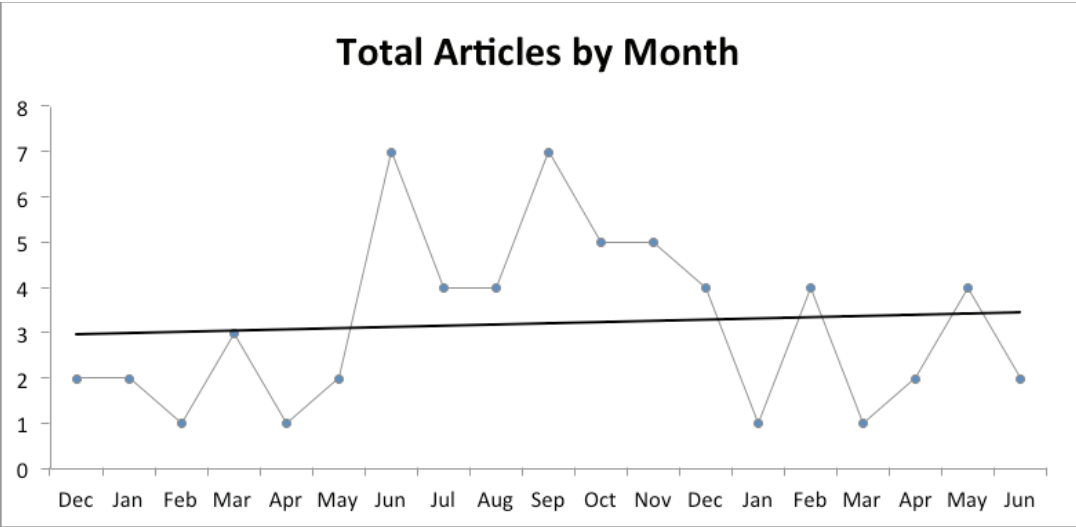

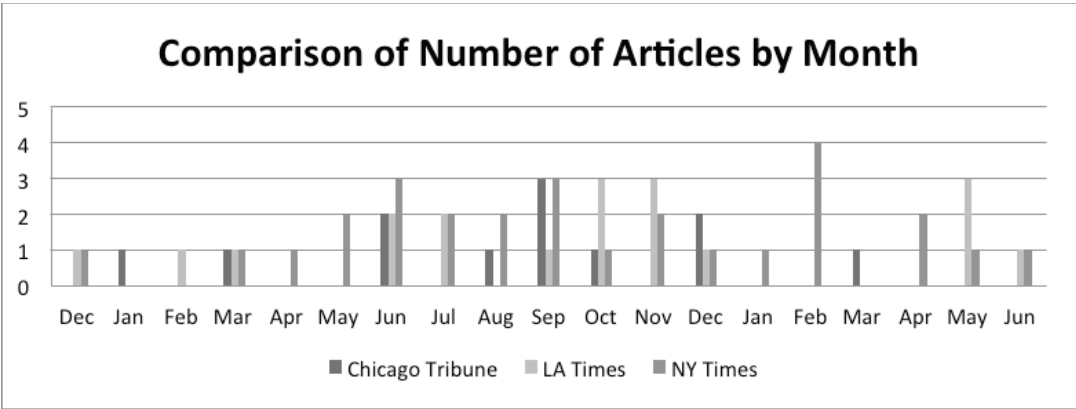FIGURE 1. FREQUENCY OF ARTICLE OCCURRENCE OVER TIME

FIGURE 2. COMPARISON OF FREQUENCY BY NEWSPAPER

Differences between Newspapers
There was a difference between the three newspapers in terms of frequency, subject, and support. The Chicago Tribune never focused on individual stories. The paper reported on public protests, quoted peace activists, and sometimes provided explanations of government policy. As noted

above, 25 percent of the Tribune's articles were related to the same story about an FBI investigation of some area antiwar activists. The first of the series,

FBI raids target activists' homes," was a public statement by an activist: "Minneapolis activist Steff Yorek said the homes of a number of anti-war, socialist or pro-Palestinian groups had been searched by the FBI. Yorek, whose home was also searched Friday, called the searches 'an outrageous phshing expedition.' 'Activists have the right not to speak with the FBI and are encouraged to politely refuse,' she said. (Grimm and Dizikes 2010).

I classified two of these as protests: "Hundreds protest raids tied to terrorism probe" and "Anti-war activists in raids won't testify" because the first was clearly identified as such in the title and the second also noted that a small crowd had gathered to support the defendants. The fourth one, "Attorney: More anti-war activists subpoenaed," did not fall clearly into any subject category, being primarily a reporting of official actions related to the investigation, without actually quoting any official statements.

In contrast, The Los Angeles Times predominantly reported on individual stories and public statements by peace activists. For example, in July 2010 the paper printed a sympathetic story about a California mother who opposed the war but had a son in the military. "Forty years ago, Patricia Salazar marched and shouted on the streets of L.A. against the Vietnam War. Today, she would very much like to protest the wars in Iraq and Afghanistan. But she won't. Not as long as her son is wearing the uniform of the U.S. Army," (Tobar 2010).

The New York Times also relied heavily on individual stories and public statements by pacifists. Few of the articles analyzed were coded as public statements by opponents, and it is interesting that the paper, although running by far the most total stories, provided quotes from such opponents at half the rate of the other publications. However, one particularly strident op-ed in The New York Times was clearly both a statement by an opponent and in a dismissive frame— "Superbroke, Superfrugal, Superpower?" bemoans at length the federal budget cuts being urged, which Friedman predicts will force the United States to cease asserting its economic and military strength abroad, creating dire consequences for the entire world (Friedman 2010).

Table 3: Frequency and proportion of indicators by newspaper			
Code	New York Times	Los Angeles Times	Chicago Tribune
individual story	8	8	0
	29%	42%	0%
public protest	4	3	3
	14%	16%	25%
public statement by opponent	0	0	0
	0%	0%	0%

public statement by pacifist	7	3	1
	25%	16%	8%
provides explanation of policy	3	1	2
	11%	5%	17%
supportive frame	22	13	6
	79%	68%	50%
dismissive frame	3	2	3
	11%	11%	25%
hostile frame	3	3	2
	11%	16%	16%
absence of framing	0	1	1
	0%	5%	8%

There is a clear difference in the number of articles carried per newspaper, in the content and the framing of those reports. Among the three newspapers, The Chicago Tribune carried only 12 articles having to do with the peace movement, compared to Los Angeles' 19 and New York's 28. Half of the Tribune stories were presented in an overall supportive frame, but this compares unfavorably to the 68 percent and 79 percent of the other two publications. It had the highest proportion of "dismissive frame" scores, at 25 percent, but there was no significant difference in the proportion of hostile frames found (see Table 3). Again, this shows that the mass media cannot be painted with the same brush when it comes to reporting on the peace movement. Nonetheless, it seems that newspapers are reluctant to use hostile language against the peace movement or pacifists.

An International Incident

When peace activists do something that raises international interest they get the attention of American media as well, but there are differences among news outlets in how the story is reported. In the first week of June 2010, all six stories, plus one in early July, were about Israel seeking to enforce a naval blockade of Gaza by preventing aid deliveries. One ship was boarded by commandos and defended violently by a group of people who claimed to be Turkish peace activists. Another ship, carrying Malaysian, Irish, and Jewish peace activists among others, was boarded without violence and ultimately escorted to a Gaza port. An interesting observation was that some accounts referred to the Turkish victims as "peace activists," others called them "so-called peace activists," and others avoided the adjectives altogether, simply calling them "activists." The Los Angeles Times ran two stories on this situation, focusing on the fact that the activists were protesting Israel's blockade of Gaza and providing public statements by peace activists. These two accounts contained both hostile and supportive cues in almost equal numbers, and coding of the articles for tone required attention to a cumulative effect more than the frequency of cues. The following passage provides primarily

supportive cues:

> "'Our action is partly to bring needed aid . . . [b]ut the aid we are bringing is a drop in the bucket. What we need is an end to the blockade and to draw attention to the policies that are forcing Gazans into poverty and aid dependency'" (Sanders 2010).

It is a quote from a movement leader, first of all, and it brings attention the issue of aid rather than to the earlier violent confrontation. Focusing on the important issues of a social movement in a news report serves to promote the cause, while undue attention to the features of a protest or to an individual participant divert attention away from the cause they are supporting (Boykoff 2006). In the same article, multiple quotes from official sources were used, which is usually considered unsympathetic to the movement's goals (Nelson et al. 1997). However, in this case the official perspectives offered most often questioned, or even deplored, the actions of the Israeli commandos, so I determined the article should be identified as supportive.

The Chicago Tribune ran two articles, a comparison of which illustrates the way that journalists can frame the same event in opposing terms. The first, "A Rerun of the Same Old Script," portrays the events in overtly hostile and weighted terms:

> "Does it strike anyone else as beyond coincidence that within hours of Israel's commando raid on a flotilla of ships bound for Gaza — ships supposedly containing 'humanitarian supplies,' and left-wing 'peace activists' — that demonstrations broke out in Europe and outside the Israeli Embassy in Washington? And how about the U.N. Security Council, which often acts in slow motion, except when it has the opportunity to criticize Israel. It sprang into action on Memorial Day to listen to haters of the Jewish state denounce Israel as if it already knew who was to blame for the nine civilian deaths and the many wounded," (Thomas 2010).

Israel is the victim of an international conspiracy in this diatribe, but contrast that with the wording of another opinion piece two days later in the same paper:

> "Forget what country did it. Consider, first, the facts: armed commandos attack an unarmed ship in international waters, open fire and kill nine civilians, including one American. What do you call that? An act of piracy," (Press 2010).

The New York Times ran twice as many articles as The Chicago Tribune, including a follow-up seven months after the original event. Three of these were coded supportive, for example "Saving Israel from Itself," and one hostile "An Assault, Cloaked in Peace," with the follow-up piece providing retrospective that included the results of official investigations in a solidly supportive tone. The higher number of articles, and the fact that the Times bothered to do a follow-up, indicates that the

paper has a greater level of interest in peace stories than either of the other two, evidence again that one cannot make a broad statement about how the movement is treated by the press.

The Persecuted Pacifist

One theme that recurred frequently during the coding of these articles was the concept of the persecuted peace activist. The very first article, from December 2009, was about the murder of a pacifist university professor in Boston, and the last article was coincidentally also about the murder of a pacifist university professor, this time in Russia. In between were dozens of references to activists who were jailed, harassed, berated, and investigated. This closing segment from the first article portrays the murdered pacifist as gentle, scholarly, and concerned with justice:

> "He was a scholar in the true meaning of the word . . . [a] very peaceful and gentle man, and he was a professor who spent his entire career working towards fairness and justice. The only firm stance he has ever taken on any issue is that he was antiwar and a peace activist. The last time I remember him protesting was against the Iraq war," (Schmidt and Regan 2009).

In the case of the last article in my series, the assassinated professor is portrayed as responsible and brave:

> One of the best methods to resist the ideology of extremism is a good religious education,' Mr. Sadikov said. He said a moderate Islamic education was an 'anti-venom' against terrorism, and that he was keenly aware of the dangers inherent in his project. "The radicals are saying, 'You need to punish the impure Muslims'"(Kramer 2011).

These depictions of the peaceful martyr have resonance in an American society dominated by Christian tradition and the celebrated story of a prince of peace who was crucified without just cause. In relating such stories, newspapers contribute to the social construction of social meanings and norms. They redefine, in this case, the image of the Muslim man from a wild-eyed radical to a peaceful scholar. They also remind us that we claim to honor those who are willing to suffer and die for the cause of peace.

The Relationship between Subject and Tone

The media presents more stories about individuals than about events or discussions of policy. Individual stories and statements by peace activists tend to be stories that are framed supportively, such as the stories of soldiers' mothers and murdered scholars mentioned above. Articles that are coded as explanations of policy are equally as likely to be supportive as they are dismissive or hostile, though it should be noted that an explanation of official policy is by its nature a countermovement argument (Nelson et al. 1997). Reports on public protests are, although generally supportive (see Table 4), likely to include responses by countermovement spokesmen or official explanations of the policy being protested. Houde (2008) described the standoff between war protestors and

supporters on a college campus, presenting the views of both sides but expressing those views in frames that encouraged a more positive response to the war protestors' perspectives. For example, a quote from a counter-protestor, "They're just trying to shine a bad light on the soldiers . . . and they're trying to take away our power to fight wars. It's part of the communist manifesto to make us not powerful," is clearly a presentation of opinion hostile to the peace movement, but it is preceded by a short paragraph summarizing the war issue thusly:

> "As the U.S. marks the seventh anniversary Saturday of the invasion of Iraq, and as anxiety grows over when and how U.S. troops will withdraw, the tensions between the anti-war groups and their detractors shows no sign of abating."

Note that this summary draws attention to the length of what was originally predicted to be a brief war, and uses the word "invasion," which carries a negative connotation thus framing the war as illegitimate. A few lines later, the article describes what happened when the antiwar organizer attended a pro-troops event. "'I received threats,' she said, 'I was called pond scum. One guy said he would beat me to death with combat boots.'" Even though there were ample references in this article to arguments against the peace movement, there were more references coded as supportive, and the opposing arguments were presented in a discounting frame, which portrayed the countermovement as violent and ignorant.

Table 4: Relationship of manifest indicators to latent indicators			
Manifest Indicator (with total)	Percent supportive	Percent dismissive	Percent hostile
individual story	15	0	1
(16)	94%	0%	6%
public protest	7	0	2
(10)	70%	0%	20%
public statement by opponent	0	0	0
(0)	0%	0%	0%
public statement by pacifist	10	1	0
(11)	91%	9%	0%
provides explanation of policy	3	1	2
(6)	50%	17%	33%

I coded the majority of the articles in this study as supportive in tone, and a majority also in the category of individual stories. It is important to recognize that, by focusing on an individual (even in a positive light), the issue concerns of peace activists are often sidelined (Boykoff 2006), and when

the focus is on policy (the issue of greatest concern to the activist), the media typically relies on official sources who perpetuate a frame dismissing the pacifist as naïve, ignorant, or even traitorous (Nelson et al. 1997). Nonetheless, the overall portrayal of the peace movement today appears to be positive. It has been said that the peace movement failed in its attempts to sway the conversation about going to war in Iraq (Porpora and Nikolaev 2008). However, in the decade since, peace activists have worked hard to alter public perceptions of their movement, to bring attention to previously neglected "bundles of concern," and to redefine the meaning of supporting the troops in such a way that it includes more careful consideration prior to launching a war (Bonds 2009; Coy et al. 2008; Leitz 2011). Possible evidence of their success was found in the prevalence of supportive indicator cues throughout the sample studied here. When a social movement begins to find support in social institutions like the mass media, it indicates it has entered a new, stronger phase of political power (Gale 1986).

CONCLUSION

Although there have been studies analyzing the role of the media in framing recent conflicts, and on the efforts by peace activists to provide counter-frames, none of the literature specifically studies the way in which American mainstream media portray the peace movement. Given that the elite media play such a powerful role in the social construction of contested issues, the manner and frequency with which media sources discuss peace activism will have a great effect on social discourses about the war (Boykoff 2006; Leitz 2011; Nelson et al. 1997). In my research, I found that journalists construct the meaning of pacifism for us in diverse stories about pious sports stars, naïve heads of state, and murdered scholars. The symbols portrayed, authorities quoted, words chosen, and even the decision whether or not to run a story all contribute to the framing of the peace movement as either righteous, silly, or dangerous, to reduce it to the most common contexts. This study involved the reading of 279 news stories and careful, repeated analysis of at least 59 of those, using a rigorous system of cues couched within the text of each article to determine its slant. The analysis leads to the conclusion that much of the media depiction of peace activism is positive, and not all of it is associated with the question of whether the country should be at war. Many stories portray the individual lives of people who are dedicated to peace, but perhaps do not consider themselves activists. These predominantly supportive stories idealize the humble man or woman of peace, thus amplifying a frame that may resonate strongly in a culture rooted in the Christian tradition, with its archetype of persecuted prophets. One avenue for future research might be to analyze older news accounts to see if this persecuted activist theme occurred with such regularity during earlier eras. In contrast to previous research showing a public perception of the peace movement as unpatriotic, I find that the elite press is willing to give a generous airing of the movement's interpretation on events, and even runs stories that strengthen the positive image of pacifists when there is no compelling news event occurring.

My findings demonstrate what can be considered an optimistic portrayal of peace activism.

That is, it is possible that after eight years of war and all the questions raised over its conduct, peace activism is looking like a more viable social movement. There is a long history in this country (and others) of opposition to war. In social mobilization theory, a movement can achieve success relative to its access to resources such as financing, person-hours, and institutional support (Benford and Snow 2000; Gale 1986). The peace movement appears to have a broad base of support across time and cultural divisions, yet struggles to win victories in national policy. A change in the movement's ability to mobilize rhetorical support among mainstream news providers could lead to new inroads in government institutions.

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Analyzing the Impact of Grutter v. Bollinger

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Grutter v. Bollinger, 539 U.S. 306 (2003) is the title of a landmark United States Supreme Court case that established the legality of affirmative action policies in U.S. law school admissions. The case upheld the admissions policy of the University of Michigan Law School, which assigned a "plus factor" to the race and/or ethnicity of underrepresented minority groups while still considering many other factors in their admissions decisions (Grutter v. Bollinger 2003:B). This landmark decision sparked substantial controversy at the time of its passing, controversy that continues to this day. We are now eight years removed from this decision and very little research has assessed the effects this decision have had on minority enrollment rates. My research asks if the enrollment rate of African Americans in U.S. Law Schools has changed since Grutter v. Bollinger (2003) and what factors are preventing, or enabling this case to have an impact on enrollment rates.

*G*rutter v. Bollinger, 539 U.S. 306 (2003) is a landmark United States Supreme Court case that established the legality of affirmative action policies in U.S. law school admissions. The case upheld the admissions policy of the University of Michigan Law School, which assigned a "plus factor" to the race and/or ethnicity of underrepresented minority groups while still considering many other factors in their admissions decisions (*Grutter v. Bollinger* 2003:B). Their affirmative action policy considers a wide variety of other factors and analyzes each student on an individual basis. This differentiates their policy from affirmative action quota systems, a type of affirmative action policy that reserves a specific number of seats for ethnic minorities, which will be filled regardless of the applicants' credentials. Affirmative action quota systems were previously found to be unconstitutional under a previous ruling in *Regents of the University of California v. Bakke*, 438 U.S. 265 (1978).

The *Grutter v. Bollinger,* 539 U.S. 306 (2003) decision sparked substantial controversy at the time of its passing and that controversy continues to this day. However, we are now eight years removed from this decision and very little research has been able to assess the actual, real-life quantitative effects this decision has had on minority enrollment rates. My research intends to show how the enrollment rate of African Americans in US Law Schools has changed since *Grutter v. Bollinger* (2003). My research will also describe any factors preventing, or enabling this case to have an impact on enrollment rates.

To answer my research question, I analyzed secondary data collected by the American Bar Association and the Law School Admissions Council. I also performed a qualitative secondary analysis on a purposely selected sample of n = 10 for law schools to assess what factors were either inhibiting law schools from, or allowing law schools to have high enrollment rates for African Americans.

LITERATURE REVIEW

Affirmative Action

The United States Supreme Court case, *Grutter v. Bollinger*, 539 U.S. 306 (2003) established the legality of the use of specific types of affirmative action policies and U.S. affirmative action policies can be defined as any policy that seeks to remedy past racial and gender discrimination within society, and specifically within the workforce, by re-allocating jobs and resources to members of specific groups (Libertella, Sora, and Natale 2007). The U.S. President John F. Kennedy, in his 1961 Executive Order [E.O.] 10925, was the first to use the phrase "affirmative action" (Sykes 1995). Kennedy's E.O. required federal contractors "to ensure that applicants are employed, and that employees are treated during employment, without regard to their race, creed, color, or national origin" (Executive Order No. 10,925 3 C.F.R. 448 1961:301). The ideas and values of Kennedy's affirmative action would eventually permeate into many different sectors of society leading policy makers in private businesses and government departments alike to craft their own affirmative action policies (Brunner 2007).

In the modern United States, affirmative action policies are routinely criticized as policies that give members of targeted groups an unfair, and undeserved advantage which, in itself, is a form of discrimination against equally qualified or more qualified members of majority groups (Beauchamp 1998). In his article, "Groups, Individuals & Constitutive Rules: The Conceptual Dilemma in Justifying affirmative action" Joseph Wagner (1990) lays out some of the more popular criticisms against affirmative action (See Appendix A).

Although the number of people openly against affirmative action policies in the United States has increased since its inception in the 1960s, there is still a substantial amount of support from avid proponents of civil rights and social justice. Many advocates of fair employment practices agree that affirmative action is "an effective and necessary tool in combating the employment differentials extended from traditions of Western colonization" (Hall 2004:568). Some enthusiasts of affirmative action have even gone so far as to say that opponents of affirmative action and "anti-affirmative action policies support the maintenance of white privilege in American society" (Thompson 2007:v). Yet while most advocates for social justice would agree that opportunity discrimination – whether in employment, education, or something else – is the result of racist and exclusionary traditions from the colonial era (Hall 2004), the idea of using affirmative action to remedy this discrimination continues to be a source of controversy. Since in essence, affirmative action policies harm the chances of success for highly qualified non-ethnic minorities, its use is often

criticized as being unethical and a form of reverse-racism. The public and academic debate around affirmative action has been no less controversial than when it is applied in the field of education (Linda Loury and David Garman 1993). To add to that controversy, two landmark Supreme Court Cases have ruled both for and against the use of affirmative action policies in U.S. higher education: *Regents of the University of California v. Bakke*, 438 U.S. 265 (1978) and *Grutter v. Bollinger,* 539 U.S. 306 (2003). In order fully to understand the status of affirmative action in US higher education, one must be briefed on these cases.

A Tale of Two Cases

What could perhaps be one of the most famous cases related to affirmative action was the *Regents of the University of California v. Bakke*, 438 U.S. 265 (1978). The case arose after Allan Bakke, a white male medical school applicant, was denied admission to the University of California Medical School at Davis (UC Davis). At the time, UC Davis had an affirmative action policy in place that reserved exactly 16 seats out of 100 for minority applicants in each of its fall semester freshmen classes. The affirmative action policy was enacted in an attempt to make up for the historical exclusionary practices that existed in medicine. However, since Bakke's GPA and MCAT scores were higher than those of the 16 minority students that were admitted to UC Davis, he contended that he was excluded from admission solely because he was white, a violation of several laws including the 14th amendment (Bakke 1978).

The court would eventually side with Bakke and rule, as one journalist put it, that "one wrong cannot be righted by committing another" (Hempstone 1978). However, the Supreme Court did leave some hope alive for affirmative action and its advocates. The Court would only find that affirmative action policies which amounted to a quota system are unconstitutional and that race could potentially be used as a factor in admissions (Bakke 1978). This step taken by the Supreme Court would help guide a later Supreme Court decision that would begin a whole new type of debate around affirmative action. The decision was also remarkable, in that the court openly acknowledged the effectiveness that UC Davis' affirmative action policy had on increasing the number of minority enrollments. This is something that the court would not discuss in *Grutter v. Bollinger*, 539 U.S. 306 (2003).

Grutter v. Bollinger, 539 U.S. 306 (2003) is the name of a landmark US Supreme Court case that fully established the legality of certain, specific affirmative action policies in U.S. Law School admissions. The case upheld the admissions policy of the University of Michigan Law School, which favored "underrepresented minority groups" while also considering many other factors. Because this affirmative action policy considered such a wide variety of other factors, and did so on an individual basis, it did not amount to a quota system (*Grutter v. Bollinger* 2003). Affirmative action policies that amounted to a quota system were found to be unconstitutional under a previous ruling, *Regents of the University of California v. Bakke* (1978).

The case arose in a manner similar to that of *Regents of the University of California v. Bakke* (1978). When white law school applicant, Barbara Grutter, was denied admission to the University

of Michigan Law School (UM Law) despite her excellent GPA and LSAT score, she sued the school because she believed she had been discriminated against on the basis of race. UM Law defended its decision arguing that their affirmative action policy was enacted to ensure a "critical mass" (*Grutter v. Bollinger* 2003:c), without which minority students might "feel isolated or like spokespersons for their race…" (*Grutter v. Bollinger* 2003:B). The court agreed, in part, with UM Law and accepted its affirmative action policy because it did not rely on a quota system, but instead it used race as a "potential 'plus' factor" (*Grutter v. Bollinger* 2003:B).

This decision continues to be a source of controversy. Both its merits and social impact were, and still are, subjects of unending contention and debate (Bankston 2006; Devins 2003). The Court's decision sparked a new debate around affirmative action that challenged whether or not it was actually helpful to minorities. In his article for the Wall Street Journal, journalist John Hechinger (2004) details two opposing sides to this new argument. The first comes from Professor Richard H. Sander (2004) whose research suggests that affirmative action places minorities, specifically African Americans into positions that they are not qualified to be in, preventing them from achieving academic success and from eventually passing the bar (Hechinger 2004). Sander's claim that ending affirmative action in U.S. law schools would, counter-intuitively, increase the number of black lawyers by 8 percent was challenged by researchers who claimed it would actually lead to a decline by about 25 percent to 30 percent using the same data (Chambers, Clydesdale, Kidder and Lempert 2005). The issue of "mismatch" which Sander brought up continues to be a topic of debate within affirmative action. While both research groups discussed the impact affirmative action has on African Americans who are already enrolled in U.S. law schools, my research will look elsewhere. My research will assess if the *Grutter v. Bollinger* decision is effective in producing a higher number of African American law school students, not whether these students have success beyond law school.

While both the merits and social implications of *Grutter v. Bollinger* are undoubtedly valid topics in need of thorough discussion, these topics cannot be accurately discussed in full until the actual impact this decision has had on minority admissions has come to light. Research was completed at one unnamed medical school which suggested that the type of admissions policies allowed by *Grutter v. Bollinger* (2003) might actually lead to a decrease in diversity in graduate school programs (Schmidt 2010). Meanwhile, other research that analyzed schools who admitted African American and Hispanic students who had lower academic credentials on average than students of other races questioned found that it is possible for a diverse student body to have a negative long term effect on the learning of White and Asian students (Schmidt 2010). Though both of the aforementioned research projects provided some insight into higher education post *Grutter v. Bollinger* (2003), little research has traced the impact of that decision on the enrollment rates of minorities within law schools, the site in which the case originated. A study by the Society of American Law Teachers (2009) showed that admissions amongst African Americans and Mexican Americans have been in a downward trend since 1993. While helpful in illustrating a disturbing trend, the study did not separate African Americans from Mexican Americans in its raw admissions

data. Since the racial discrimination that African Americans have faced is different than that of Mexican Americans, it would be more useful to analyze how affirmative action policies are helping each group separately, rather than lumping them together as one. Analyzing the groups individually would make it easier to assess how each group is actually doing, whereas one would not be able to discern between the groups using the study done by the Society of American Law Teachers (2009). This study will specifically ask, has the enrollment rate of African Americans in U.S. law schools changed since *Grutter v. Bollinger* (2003) and what are the factors preventing, or enabling this case to have an impact on enrollment rates?

METHODOLOGY

My research asked two questions: (1) how has the enrollment rate of African Americans in U.S. law schools changed since *Grutter v. Bollinger* (2003), and (2) what are the factors preventing, or enabling this case to have an impact on enrollment rates? I employed the use of both qualitative and quantitative data analysis methods to complete my research and provide the best possible answers to my research question.

Method I

The first method I used for my research was quantitative secondary data analysis, "a form of research in which the data collected and processed by one researcher are reanalyzed" (Babbie 2012:138). In order to determine if the U.S. Supreme Court Case *Grutter v. Bollinger* had an impact on the number of African Americans attending law school, I examined the total number of African American students, as well as students of all races, who enrolled as first year students to American Bar Association (ABA) law schools from 1995 to 2012. I compared raw number data from African American students and students of all races, and converted that data into percentage data for African American enrollees. Percentage data was necessary to collect because the raw number data would not account for differences in the total number of spots available in ABA law schools from year to year.

The data was drawn from statistics collected by the ABA, an organization that "provides law school accreditation, continuing legal education, information about the law, programs to assist lawyers and judges in their work, and initiatives to improve the legal system for the public" (ABA 2012). The unit of analysis for this study was the number of ABA Law School enrollees from 1994-2012. I selected these years so I would have the same amount of data before and after *Grutter v. Bollinger* (2003)—9 years. I analyzed this data by calculating the linear regression trend line through the use of the Microsoft Office software program known as Excel (See Appendix B). I decided to use a scatter plot because it is an excellent tool for visualizing patterns, which is necessary when examining theories of cause and effect relationships between two sets of data (NetMBA 2010). A linear regression trend line was used to illustrate the slight decline in enrollment rates that came soon after the passing of *Grutter v. Bollinger* (2003).

Method 2

In order to better assess why *Grutter v. Bollinger* – a decision which allowed for the legal implementation of affirmative action policies that do not amount to a quota system and consider race to be one of many factors of an individuals application – failed to have a more impressive impact, I decided to use a qualitative content analysis method with individual ABA law schools as my unit of analysis. My sampling technique shifted from simple purposive sampling, "a type of non-probability sampling in which the units to be observed are selected on the basis of the researcher's judgment about which ones will be the most useful or representative" (Babbie 2012:73) to theoretical sampling because my evolving understanding of the subjects directed my sampling into a new direction (Babbie 2012).

My original plan to purposely select ten ABA law schools, of which I would analyze a variety of factors to determine why they were or were not successful in obtaining an impressive amount of African American students, became flawed when I learned that the state of Michigan had previously passed a state law banning the use of affirmative action policies within the state. I also learned that California, Washington, Nebraska, and Arizona have also enacted similar laws through various means. With this new information, I decided to change the direction of my sampling and pick one school from each of the five states that have banned affirmative action, and select five schools from states that have not done so.

The five schools I selected from the states which banned the use of affirmative action were UC Berkeley School of Law, the University of Michigan Law School, the University of Washington School of Law, the University of Nebraska College of Law, and Arizona State University College of Law. I chose to include UC Berkeley School of Law because, in his dissent in *Grutter v. Bollinger*, Justice Thomas mentions this school as an example of an institution that is able to remain diverse without the use of affirmative action policies (*Grutter v. Bollinger* 2003). I chose to include the University of Michigan Law School for its relation to *Grutter v. Bollinger*. Since the University of Michigan Law School was involved in the actual case, I felt it would be wise to assess how the school has fared since the decision. The other three schools were chosen because they were the largest, or in some cases the only, public law schools within their state.

The five schools I selected from states without laws banning the use of affirmative action were the University of Pennsylvania School of Law, Georgetown University School of Law, the Indiana University Maurer School of Law, the George Washington University Law School and Hofstra University School of Law. These schools were selected because their rankings[1] were parallel to each of the law schools selected from states that currently have affirmative action bans in place, with the exception of Georgetown University who ranked closely to, but was not tied with the University of Michigan (US News & World Report 2012).

The data I collected for each school came from a variety of sources: the political affiliation of the state based on the 2008 U.S. Presidential Election, the presence of an anti-affirmative action

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1   As determined by the US News & World Report, the organization responsible for the most widely accepted law school rankings.

policy within the state, the direction of the trend of African American enrollees since 2006, the school's U.S. News & World Report Ranking, and the percent of African Americans in the incoming class of the school in 2011 (see Appendix C). This data was gathered from either the U.S. News & World Report's (2012) law school website, or from data collected by the Law School Admissions Council – "a nonprofit corporation that provides unique, state-of-the-art products and services to ease the admission process for law schools and their applicants worldwide" (2012). I chose to use schools from each subset with similar rankings to eliminate the possibility of the selectivity of the law school being the largest influencing factor.

The benefit of choosing to do a qualitative content analysis to supplement the quantitative secondary analysis I did earlier in my research, is that it allowed me to provide a more detailed analysis of what I was studying, while enabling me to provide a more accurate explanation for why *Grutter v. Bollinger* was unable to have an impressive impact. The immense amount of detail I collected was helpful in constructing a theory as to why the impact was so unimpressive. However, there are obvious weaknesses in my methodology as well. Since time constraints allowed me to do an analysis of only ten schools, I was unable to craft a sample that was fully representative of all ABA law schools. Given more time, one could do this study with all ABA law schools, and not have to work with a sample. One flaw that applies to both my methods is that I am analyzing the data of ABA law school enrollees and not admitted students. Thus, the possibility that large portions of African American law school applicants are admitted to law school but choose not to enroll, is not eliminated by my study. Although there are several weaknesses within my methods, my research nevertheless provides, at the very least, some insight into the impact *Grutter v. Bollinger* has had on the number African Americans attending law school.

FINDINGS

My research asks if the enrollment rate of African Americans in U.S. Law Schools has changed since *Grutter v. Bollinger* (2003), and what are the factors preventing, or enabling this case to have an impact on enrollment rates? An analysis of the percentage of African American ABA law school enrollees shows that the decision in the United States Supreme Court Case *Grutter v. Bollinger*, 539 U.S. 306 (2003) failed to have an impressive impact on the percentage of African American ABA law school enrollees (see Appendix B). In the ten years leading up to *Grutter v. Bollinger*—1994 – 2003—the average enrollment rate for African Americans was 7.7 percent. In the ten year period from 2003 to 2012, the average enrollment rate for African Americans was 6.9 percent. This is illustrative of the negative impact *Grutter v. Bollinger* (2003) had on enrollment rates. Furthermore, 2006 and 2007, three and four years after *Grutter v. Bollinger* (2003), saw the lowest African American enrollment rates since 1994, which was the first year included in the study. The decision also failed to prevent the enrollment rates of African Americans from having an overall downward trend from 1994-2012 (see appendix B). Most surprisingly, during the years of the study 4,399 new spaces opened up in U.S. law schools. African Americans were only able to fill up 308 of these new

seats, which is roughly 7 percent. This is despite the fact that African Americans account for 13.1 percent of the U.S. population (U.S. Census Bureau 2011). Overall, *Grutter v. Bollinger* (2003) failed to have a positive impact on African American enrollment rates amongst ABA law schools.

What Factor(s) Most Contributed to Grutter v. Bollinger's (2003) Unimpressive Impact?

To assess why this decision failed to have the positive impact that one might have anticipated, I collected data from a sample size of n = 10 for ABA law schools to assess what was enabling or preventing them from enrolling a high number of African American law school students (see Appendix C).

Table 1: Law School Sample Data			
Law School ID	Political Affiliation of State (Democratic = 1, Republican = 2)	Presence of Anti-Affirmative Action Policy (Present = 1, Not Present = 2)	Percent of African Americans in Freshmen Class 2011
Berkeley (1)	1	1	4.6
Michigan (2)	1	1	2.9
Washington (3)	1	1	2.1
Nebraska (4)	2	1	2.8
Arizona (5)	2	1	2.1
Pennsylvania (6)	1	2	7.9
Georgetown (7)	1	2	8.6
Bloomington (8)	1	2	7.4
GW (9)	1	2	5.1
Hofstra (10)	1	2	8.3

In my analysis, I found that the factor most responsible for inhibiting law schools from enrolling higher percentages of African American students is the presence of an anti-affirmative action policy. The correlation between the presence of an anti-affirmative action policy (where "1" = present and "2" = not present) and the percent of African Americans in each law school's Fall 2011 class is an overwhelming R = .902. This indicates a very strong, positive correlation between the presence of an anti-affirmative action policy and the percent of African Americans in each law school's Fall 2011 class, meaning that the law schools in my sample which were located in states that did not have anti-affirmative action policy overall had higher percentages of African Americans in their Fall 2011 classes. In fact, the law school with the highest percentage from a state with an anti-affirmative action policy was still behind the law school with the lowest percentage from a state without an anti-affirmative action policy by 0.5 percent. This is illustrated in the table below:

Furthermore, the average percent for law schools located in states without anti-affirmative action policies was roughly 4.56 percentage points higher than the average percent for law schools located in states with anti-affirmative action policies. It is interesting to note that the difference

between the two averages is much higher than the average percent of the latter, which is 2.9 percent. Clearly, this data indicates a strong relationship between the presence of an anti-affirmative action policy and the percent of African Americans in each school.

Other Findings

While none of the other factors I analyzed had a correlation with the percent of African Americans in each law school that was as strong as the presence of anti-affirmative action policy, there were still some rather interesting findings. The factor that had the weakest relationship with the percentage of African Americans enrolled in each school was the schools' rankings with an R of .002. This is interesting given that it was previously believed, within the general sphere of public knowledge, that schools seeking higher rankings would have to severely limit the number of African Americans they admit (G. MacDonald 2006). Another noteworthy finding was about the relationship between the political affiliation of the state each law school was located in and the percentage of African Americans in each law school. The political affiliation of each law school's state was the only analyzed factor to have a negative correlation (R= -.54) with the percentage of African Americans in each law school. This means that law schools in Republican states were more likely to have enrolled less African Americans than their Democrat counterparts. The analysis of the direction of the current trend in each law school's African American enrollment rates did not yield any interesting findings. While each of these findings were interesting, none of the aforementioned factors had a correlation to the percentages of African Americans in each law school that was as strong as the presence of an anti-affirmative action policy.

CONCLUSION

My research asked, has the enrollment rate of African Americans in U.S. law schools changed since *Grutter v. Bollinger* (2003), and what are the factors preventing, or enabling this case to have an impact on enrollment rates? Overall, *Grutter v. Bollinger* (2003) did not have an impressive impact on the enrollment rates of African Americans. In fact, an analysis of the data showed that enrollment rates continued began to move in a slightly negative direction following the decision in 2003 (See Appendix B). Through an analysis of a small sample of n = 10 for law schools, I discovered that the presence of an anti-affirmative action policy in the state where a law school is located is likely to have a negative impact on the percentage of African Americans within that particular law school. While there were several other interesting factors, this factor had the overwhelming strongest correlation. If *Grutter v. Bollinger* is ever going to remedy past racial discrimination with law school admissions by re-allocating law school seats to African Americans—as affirmative action policies are meant to do (Libertella, Sora, and Natale 2007)—then the anti-affirmative action policies must be removed or altered so that they do not affect law school admissions or enrollment rates.

So while it might indeed be necessary to continue to debate both the legal merits as well as the social impacts of *Grutter v. Bollinger* (2003)—as many legal and social justice scholars have

done (Bankston 2006; Devins 2003)—both proponents and opponents of affirmative action should be more focused on whether their arguments over this landmark case align with the reality of what the case has actually been able to accomplish. Because if it is later proven beyond any reasonable doubt that *Grutter v. Bollinger* has indeed failed to have a positive effect on the number of African Americans who enroll in law schools, it is needless to say that these aforementioned scholars arguments become less pertinent.

Future Research

Future research must be done in order to confirm my findings. While I believe my research does, at the very least, say something about the impact *Grutter v. Bollinger* has had on African American enrollment rates, time, data access, and other inhibiting factors hindered my research from being fully complete. If time and data access were not factors, I would repeat this same study with the same structure and methodology with a few key changes. Since time would no longer be inhibiting me from doing a qualitative content analysis on each and every ABA law school in the United States, I would discard my sample and collect data from every law school. Since at the time of this writing there are only 202 law schools, this would not be an unreasonable endeavor. It would eliminate the possibility of my sample not being an accurate representation of law schools. If access to data was not an issue, I would be able to repeat this study and analyze the admission rates of African Americans and not just the enrollment rates. Although there is no reason to assume that African Americans who are accepted into law school and decide not to enroll do so in larger numbers than any other race, repeating this study with the actual admission rates would eliminate this issue.

Doing a more thorough and accurate version of this study is an important step in analyzing the effectiveness of this specific affirmative action policy. My research has suggested that *Grutter v. Bollinger* was ineffective in increasing the enrollment rate of African Americans in U.S. law schools. If this is indeed true, then advocates of social justice and proponents of affirmative action, both in the public sphere and in academia, should be more interested in discussing the anti-affirmative action policies that seem to have prevented *Grutter v. Bollinger* from having a positive impact on African American enrollment rates. As noted earlier, these anti-affirmative action policies are a real life example of the type of policies that "support the maintenance of white privilege in American society" (Thompson 2007:v). If it is true that policies that blatantly support the maintenance of white privilege are being passed at the state level in efforts to directly undermine the rulings of the Federal Government, then it would seem that this is an issue of the utmost importance and relevance to all citizens of the United States.

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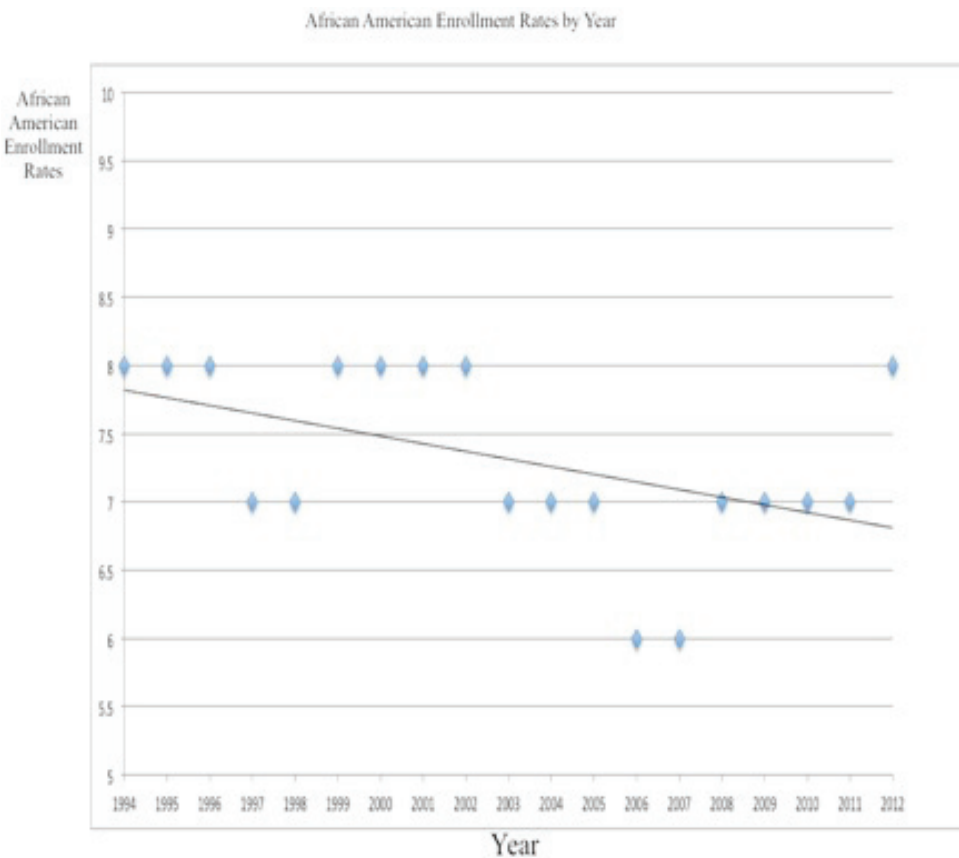
Appendices

Appendix A

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Table I.   The Case Against Affirmative Action

MORE PRACTICAL OBJECTIONS

Implementation

1. The programs often fail to achieve their objectives (e.g., more doctors for the poor).
2. Although it is a compensatory program, there are no criteria which determine when affirmative action should end.
3. The programs are an inefficient means of compensating victims of discrimination because the mode of compensation imposes costs which outweigh benefits.
4. A decision to compensate one group (e.g., blacks) without including all other similarly disadvantaged groups or individuals is capricious and arbitrary.
5. Affirmative action compromises the integrity of unaided but otherwise successful group members while creating self-doubt for the beneficiaries, enmity, mistrust, and resentment among the general public.

Benefits

6. The distribution of benefits is often inversely related to the economic need or the extent of injury of the beneficiary.
7. The distribution of benefits rewards individuals who have not suffered injury and therefore have no grounds for compensation.
8. The compensation given (jobs and schooling) is often unrelated to any suffered offense and therefore inappropriate as a remedy for the specifiable injuries of identifiable plaintiffs.

Burdens

9. The burdens imposed by affirmative action are underinclusive, so that only a subgroup of the offending class pays the costs for everyone else. The resulting burden is therefore arbitrary and unjust.
10. Under affirmative action, the costs of compensation are distributed in a fashion unrelated to responsibility for the original injury.
11. The benefits of reverse discrimination are insufficient to justify the violation of individual rights or the harm done to innocent individuals.
12. Because affirmative action compromises rationally relevant criteria (e.g., merit criteria) it poses a capricious and arbitrary injury to important social norms.

Abstract Principles

13. Because discrimination is in and of itself injurious and objectionable, a discriminatory policy, such as affirmative action, is injurious and objectionable in and of itself.
14. Affirmative action implies a principle of distributive justice that is seriously inconsistent with principles of individualism, freedom, and equal opportunity.
15. Our concepts of right, wrong and justice apply to individuals, not to groups. Therefore, ideas of group rights, group injury and group compensation have no place in accepted interpretations of justice.

ESSENTIALLY PRINCIPLED OBJECTIONS

Appendix B

African American Enrollment Rates by Year

Appendix C: Content Analysis - Law School Sample

Table 1: Law School Sample Data						
Law School ID	Law School State	Political Affiliation of State (Democratic=1 Republican=2)	Presence of Anti-Affirmative Action Policy (Present=1 Not Present=2)	Upward or Downward trend of African American Admits Since 2003 (Downward=1 Upward=2)	US News & World Report Ranking	Percent of African Americans in Freshmen Class 2011
Berkeley (1)	California	1	1	1	7	4.6
Michigan (2)	Michigan	1	1	1	10	2.9
Washington (3)	Washington	1	1	2	20	2.1
Nebraska (4)	Nebraska	2	1	1	89	2.8
Arizona (5)	Arizona	2	1	1	26	2.1
Pennsylvania (6)	Pennsylvania	1	2	1	7	7.9
Georgetown (7)	DC	1	2	1	13	8.6
Bloomington (8)	Indiana	1	2	2	26	7.4
GW (9)	DC	1	2	1	20	5.1
Hofstra (10)	NY	1	2	2	89	8.3

Appendix D: Example Data Set

Official ABA Data

Georgetown University Law Center

600 New Jersey Avenue, NW, Room 589
Washington, DC 20001
Phone: 202.662.9010; Fax: 202.662.9439
E-mail: admis@law.georgetown.edu; Website: www.law.georgetown.edu

ABA
Approved
Since
1924

The Basics

Type of school	Private
Term	Semester
Application deadline	3/1
Application fee	$80
Financial aid deadline	3/1
Can first year start other than fall?	No
Student to faculty ratio	12.4 to 1
# of housing spaces available restricted to law students	291
graduate housing for which law students are eligible	

Faculty and Administrators

	Total		Men		Women		Minorities	
	Spr	Fall	Spr	Fall	Spr	Fall	Spr	Fall
Full-time	123	124	80	78	43	46	12	13
Other full-time	3	3	1	1	2	2	2	2
Deans, librarians, & others who teach	18	18	6	6	12	12	2	2
Part-time	122	122	98	99	24	23	3	6
Total	266	267	185	184	81	83	19	23

Curriculum

	Full-Time	Part-Time
Typical first-year section size	117	129
Is there typically a "small section" of the first-year class, other than Legal Writing, taught by full-time faculty	Yes	Yes
If yes, typical size offered last year	26	35
# of classroom course titles beyond first-year curriculum	407	
# of upper division courses, excluding seminars, with an enrollment: Under 25	157	
25–49	76	
50–74	26	
75–99	8	
100+	18	
# of seminars	261	
# of seminar positions available	3,883	
# of seminar positions filled	1,898	948
# of positions available in simulation courses	1,743	
# of simulation positions filled	926	451
# of positions available in faculty supervised clinical courses	307	
# of faculty supervised clinical positions filled	286	0
# involved in field placements	121	6
# involved in law journals	700	56
# involved in moot court or trial competitions	174	3
# of credit hours required to graduate	85	

JD Enrollment and Ethnicity

	Men		Women		Full-Time		Part-Time		1st-Year		Total		JD Degs. Awd.
	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%	
African Amer.	55	5.1	115	12.8	145	8.9	25	7.1	54	9.1	170	8.6	58
Amer. Indian	5	0.5	1	0.1	2	0.1	4	1.1	3	0.5	6	0.3	1
Asian Amer.	83	7.7	94	10.5	146	9.0	31	8.8	36	6.1	177	8.9	60
Mex. Amer.	8	0.7	3	0.3	8	0.5	3	0.8	4	0.7	11	0.6	4
Puerto Rican	1	0.1	0	0.0	0	0.0	1	0.3	1	0.2	1	0.1	4
Hispanic	40	3.7	39	4.3	66	4.1	13	3.7	19	3.2	79	4.0	26
Total Minority	192	17.7	252	28.1	367	22.5	77	21.8	117	19.7	444	22.4	153
For. Nation.	34	3.1	30	3.3	54	3.3	10	2.8	20	3.4	64	3.2	18
Caucasian	791	73.0	538	59.9	1102	67.7	227	64.1	395	66.6	1329	67.1	388
Unknown	67	6.2	78	8.7	105	6.4	40	11.3	61	10.3	145	7.3	117
Total	1084	54.7	898	45.3	1628	82.1	354	17.9	593	29.9	1982		676

Transfers

Transfers in	81
Transfers out	10

Tuition and Fees

	Resident	Nonresident
Full-time	$43,750	$43,750
Part-time	$38,280	$38,280
Tuition Guarantee Program	N	

Living Expenses

Estimated living expenses for singles

Living on campus	Living off campus	Living at home
$22,250	$22,250	$16,275

Book Reviews

Punishing The Poor: The Neoliberal Government of Social Insecurity. By Loïc Wacquant. Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2009; 408 pp; $26.95 USD (paper)

When discussing the issues of punishment in society, one of the first people that comes to mind is Michel Foucault. In his extraordinary work *Discipline and Punish*, Foucault traces the history of punishment in society from the days of torture to the modern prison apparatus. Although we have (some may argue this point) moved away from the realm of torture, systems of punishment and discipline are certainly still strong and ever present. Police cars patrol various areas looking for signs of trouble and mischief, while strategically placed security cameras aid in the hunt for the undesirable troublemakers in society. An important question, however, is *where* these cars and cameras are predominately at work, and *why* they tend to favor these areas.

This question, among several others, is one that Loïc Wacquant sets out to answer in his book, *Punishing The Poor*. A former protégé of Pierre Bourdieu, Mr. Wacquant is currently a Professor of Sociology at the University of California, Berkeley and a researcher at the Centre de sociologie européenne, Paris. His major research interests include the penal state and incarceration, extreme social systems, and urban inequality and marginality, to name a few. A prolific writer, Wacquant has been a MacArthur fellow as well as the recipient of various other prestigious awards. My interest with Mr. Wacquant began during a conference course titled "The Historical Sociology of the Drug Problem in the United States." Having picked two of my own books to read for the course, my advisor suggested Wacquant's *Punishing the Poor*. Although the introductory chapter abounds in rather esoteric jargon that a common reader may struggle with (*carceral-assistantial net* and *carceral bulimia* come to mind), Wacquant does a fine job in explicating even his trickiest theoretical claims and considerations (he includes a theoretical coda at the end of the book). Equal parts theoretical exploration and empirical investigation, *Punishing the Poor* is an exhaustive, in-depth look into the lives of marginal populations, and how current social policies have been manufactured by neoliberal governments in order to create a penal state. Although he presents a radical claim, Mr. Wacquant assiduously defends his point throughout the text.

Wacquant's focal point is the emergence of penal policies that have supplanted and superseded charitable programs in the United States. As charitable programs diminished, there was a rapid upsurge in penal policies that focused almost exclusively on "castaway categories- unemployed youth left adrift, the beggars and the homeless, aimless nomads and drug addicts" with a goal of "reasserting common values through the anathematization of deviant categories,"(Wacquant, 4,5). Wacquant breaks up his analysis into two parts; first he documents and details the rollback of welfare in the United States, and follows by describing the roll forward of punitive penal policy. Such a change, claims Wacquant, was in order to better manage the poor population.

A fine example of such a change,

as Wacquant discusses in some length, can be found in the Personal Responsibility and Work Reconciliation Act (PRWRA) enacted by the Clinton administration in 1996, which he refers to as "welfare's burial"(50). PRWRA represents the culmination of the change from a charitable to a penal state, and prior to its inception, Wacquant details the steady decline in other "assistantive" programs such as Aid to Families with Dependant Children (AFDC). The diminishing of the charitable state was also promulgated by bureaucratic obstacles (perhaps we can conjure up some Weberian analysis here) which helped weed out those not "deemed" worthy of welfare, or who could perhaps not afford the time nor money to such tedious tasks. Further, the proliferation of welfare policies angered those who perceived welfare recipients as undeserving and lazy (i.e. the "welfare queen") which then prompted more politicians to take anti-welfare platforms.

According to Wacquant, "more than five million Americans, amounting to 2.5 percent of the country's adult population, fell under penal oversight by 1995." Thus, a large thrust of Wacquant's analysis lies on the fact that once funds for welfare were diminished, they were placed immediately into incarceration. In order to bolster his argument, Wacuant offers more comparative analysis and data that relates the current conditions and realities of the U.S. prison system to prisons in various other countries. In what he refers to as the "carceral boom" and also "carceral bulimia" in the Unites States, which took place between 1975 and 1995 (right before the ratification of PRWRA), the prison population nearly quadrupled. Further, he discusses how the trends of the United States penal policy is starting to gain popularity in other advanced countries, such as France.

The argument presented in P*unishing the Poor* is cogent and captivating, and Wacquantz is deft at describing the "paternalist program of penalization of poverty" which he claims our country has adopted. While I very much enjoyed his book, I can see how others may dispute his claims. However, such a dynamic is a helpful one, for it allows for constructive dialogue and discussion of important issues. In *Punishing the Poor*, Loïc Wacquant opens the door for such discussion through a thorough and compelling exploration of punishment in contemporary American society.

Ian Bratcher
The University of Texas at Austin

Biographies

Monica He
Rice University

Monica He is completing her BAs in Sociology and the Study of Women, Gender, and Sexuality at Rice University. This current work stems from her independent field research during her study abroad experience with SIT Amsterdam in the fall of her junior year. In summer 2012, she conducted quantitative research on racial/ethnic health disparities as a fellow for the Research Experience for Undergraduates (REU) at the University of Texas at Austin. Later in the fall of her senior year, she presented her REU work at the annual Southern Demographic Association meeting in Williamsburg, VA. Monica will start the doctoral program in Demography at the University of Pennsylvania in Fall 2013 and hopes to continue researching racial/ethnic and immigrant health disparities.

Bridget Clark
Texas A&M

Bridget Clark graduated Summa Cum Laude from Texas A&M University in December 2012 with a B.S. in Sociology, minor in History. During her time at Texas A&M she held leadership positions in Alpha Psi Omega Theater Honors Society, and MSC L.T. Jordan Institute for International Awareness, as well as serving as a small group leader in her church. The article presented here was adapted from a paper written for a graduate seminar in Demography, which focused on residential segregation and economic inequality, and she presented this research in New Orleans at the annual meeting of the Southwestern Sociological Association in March 2013. She plans to begin a doctoral program in the Fall of 2013 to pursue her research interests in Historical and Comparative Sociology, Economic Sociology, Economic Development, and Political Sociology.

Chris Lewis
American University

Chris Lewis graduated from American University in May 2011, majoring in Economics with minors in Sociology and International Studies. At American, he was a co-founder of American Way of Life magazine, which is dedicated to cultivating discussion of social, cultural, and political issues on campus. He also led an alternative spring break trip that studied public education in Washington, DC, worked on several service and activist campaigns, and spent a semester studying abroad in Cuba at the University of Havana. He grew up in the Detroit metro area, and is interested in the ways in which the region's residents are connected and divided by race, class, geography, and economic circumstance. He currently works as a freelance journalist, and also at a Washington, DC social service agency.

Lessye Joy DeMoss
Texas State University

Ms. DeMoss graduated summa cum laude from Texas State University in December 2012, with a major in Applied Sociology and a minor in Anthropology. She completed the initial version of her research for her Qualitative Research class, and in addition to submitting a revised version for this publication, she presented her findings at the Virginia Tech Center for Peace Studies and Violence Prevention Symposium on Non-violence in November 2012. Ms. DeMoss has a long-standing interest in peace issues, and is awaiting the results of her applications to graduate programs in both peace research and medical anthropology. During her undergraduate career, she was the recipient of numerous scholarships, including the Robbie and Roy Sorenson Scholarship, the Clarence Schultz Sociology Scholarship, the Geoff Wood Memorial Scholarship in Sociology, the Jerry Stanton Endowed Scholarship, and the Baha'i Faith Council of Austin's Racial Harmony Scholarship. She is a member of Alpha Chi honor Society, the Alpha Kappa Delta honor fraternity for sociology students, and the Sigma Alpha Lambda honor society. In addition, she has received the Texas State Liberal Arts Academic Excellence Award and is the Department of Sociology's 2013 nominee for both the Outstanding Student in the Liberal Arts Award and the LBJ Outstanding Senior Award. Aside from her academic work, Ms. DeMoss has been active in the community through political volunteerism, serving as representative to two county party conventions and as an alternate to the state convention in 2006. She served for three years on the Board of Trustees for the Unity Center of Positive Prayer in Austin, and currently directs the Austin Backgammon Club, a social club with weekly tournaments. Prior to her return to college in 2007, Ms. DeMoss was a professional horsewoman who managed a small farm and owned a public foal training business. Her work in this field was noted in the April 2000 issue of the American Quarter Horse Journal, in an article about early foal handling written by one of her customers, Randee Fox.

William Brotherson
University of California, Santa Cruz

William Evander Brotherson graduated from The University of California, Santa Cruz in March 2013 with a B.A. in Sociology and a Minor in Legal Studies. His research interests include critical race theory, sociological jurisprudence, international law and social movements. William currently works in a variety of public service positions. As Program Director of a local non-profit he works with community leaders to raise money to fight poverty in Santa Cruz County; he organizes campus staff and faculty to collect clothing, toys, and other household items during the holidays; and he helps recruit University students to work as volunteers and interns in other local non-profits. As an Executive Board member of a student-launched mentoring program, William trains his fellow students to serve local, underfunded high schools as college counselors. William will be attending law school in the fall of 2013. William hopes his JD will allow him to combine his academic interests and his commitment to public service. William hopes to eventually have a career in criminal justice reform.