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Ruptures of War: Shame and Symbolic Violence in Post- Conflict Acholiland

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ABSTRACT

Up until 2006, conflict between the Lord's Resistance Army (LRA) and the Ugandan government disrupted lives of people living in northern Uganda. The conflict has challenged ethnic identities, particularly that of the Acholi. Moreover, the disruptions of war have challenged the way my Acholi informants define themselves as human beings and members of society. In the following ethnography, I argue that not only have my informants experienced symbolic violence undermining their sense of honor and worthiness at the hands of the Ugandan government and the LRA, but that the shame they feel after the conflict also commits symbolic violence against themselves. The struggle for honor, dignity, worthiness, and legitimacy has been internalized, and they inhabit psychologically both the position of the dominant and the dominated. For my informants, shame is an undermining force that rattles the way they make sense of their world, affirm their identities, and justify their existence.

Keywords: Acholi (ethnic group), northern Uganda, conflict, shame, symbolic violence

INTRODUCTION

“Too much of it. I feel too much of it,” mumbled Mary, a thirty-nine-year-old Acholi woman in northern Uganda. I had just asked her if she felt a sense of shame after the conflict, and this was her response. Through my translator, Bosco, I gently prodded, “Could you tell me more about it? If it is okay?”

Conflict in Northern Uganda: A Brief History

For twenty years, war between the Ugandan government and the Lord's Resistance Army ravaged northern Uganda. The conflict has its origins in the tumultuous history of Uganda marked by divisive ethno-national relations preceding and following the country's independence from Britain in 1962 (Doom and Vlassenroot 1999; Karugire 2003; Mazrui 1975). In 1981, Yoweri Museveni, the current president of Uganda, lost the presidential election and subsequently established the National Resistance Army (NRA) in opposition to the national government. After failing to subdue Museveni and the NRA in its stronghold, the Luwero Triangle, President Milton Obote ordered a brutal military operation. The Acholi, along with other ethnic groups of northern Uganda, comprised a significant portion of Obote's armed forces, and consequently, these ethnic groups were blamed for these deaths (Doom and Vlassenroot 1999, 9).

After returning from the war in Luwero, Acholi soldiers failed to integrate socially and cosmologically: other Acholi “viewed [them] as killers” bringing impurity, “immoral[ity]”, and evil spirits¹ into Acholiland (Behrend 1991, 164-65). In response, Alice Lakwena, a young Acholi woman guided by spirits, began the Holy Spirit Movement to purify, integrate, and re-“sanctify” the Acholi and Acholiland (Behrend 1995, 45).

In 1985, Obote was overthrown by his own military, and Acholi General Tito Okello became head of the government. However, no more than six months later in 1986, Museveni and the NRA seized control of Kampala, and Obote's armed forces fled northward to Sudan. Under the rhetoric of rectifying the injustices committed against the people of Luwero, Museveni sent his army northward into Acholiland in pursuit (Doom and Vlassenroot 1999, 9-10). In response, the mission of the Holy Spirit Movement adapted from purifying Acholiland to protecting it (Leggett 2001, 28), and the returning soldiers of Obote joined.

In the end, the movement to defeat the NRA failed, and Alice Lakwena fled Uganda. However, following this defeat, member Joseph Kony sought to revitalize the movement. In 1987, emphasizing a similar “moral rejuvenation” of the Acholi people (Doom and Vlassenroot 1999, 22), Kony established the Lord's Resistance Army (LRA). Overtime, the government counter-insurgent operations to quash the LRA became more and more brutal, and Acholi popular support for the LRA waned. In 1994,

peace talks began between the LRA and Museveni; however, they quickly collapsed. Kony began castigating the Acholi elders and the Acholi people for not supporting him and the LRA (24).

Following the failure of the peace talks, Kony began to use abduction as a means of recruiting LRA members. These abductions targeted children and youth because they were viewed as blank slates that could be indoctrinated with the principles of Kony which sought to purify Acholiland (25). The LRA also began massacring its own people as well as neighboring ethnic groups in brutal ways that sought to control people through fear (Vinci 2005).

In 1996, Museveni gave the people of northern Uganda forty-eight hours to relocate to designated protection centers, which also served as outposts for the Ugandan army and would later be called camps for Internally Displaced Persons (IDPs). Overpopulated, lacking any infrastructure, and caught between the crosshairs of Museveni's troops and Kony's, these camps became sites of innumerable human rights violations, cultural degeneration, and dehumanization (see Dolan 2009, 159-190).

Ten years later in 2006, after partially successful peace agreements between the LRA and the Ugandan government, the camps were disbanded and people finally permitted to return home. However, by the time I arrived to conduct my fieldwork nearly five years later in 2011 as a study-abroad student (and fledgling anthropologist), many people remained in these camps. For three weeks, I lived in a former IDP camp, and with the help of two key informants and translators, Cynthia and Bosco, I conducted twenty interviews with individuals living in the camp and the surrounding villages. These interviews, along with public lectures given to my study abroad program by members of the community and my experience spending four months in northern Uganda as a student studying conflict and peace-building, form the basis for this ethnography.

Focusing on Shame

When I had asked Mary to tell me more about the shame she felt, I was expecting a brief answer like many of my informants. Instead, she opened up and bore her shame to me. She explained that "before the war," her father was a farmer, and he wanted his children to study—in fact, she already had an elder brother and sister in secondary school. When she was a little girl in primary school, the "rebels" came (i.e. the LRA), and they killed

her father. As a result, "everyone had to look for his own ways." Afterwards, life for the family became very hard, and she had to marry against her will because her family could not provide for her. According to Mary, since her father was not present to ensure her husband respected her, her husband abused her. To escape the domestic violence, Mary returned to her family. In the meantime, her husband took another wife, but soon he wanted Mary to "come back to him." When she returned, her husband had not gone for HIV testing, and she "landed the disease." Mary said that this was the "major shame [she] was having ... because [she is] positive," and "it's been because of the conflict"—because if the war had not taken her father, he would have made sure she found a husband who respected her, and she would not have HIV. Mary concluded that, even though this is a shame to her, "there's nothing [she] can do."

Through her story, Mary reveals that her shame stems from a loss of respect, and she attributes this situation to the conflict which disrupted her family. As a social institution, her family functions to protect her and to ensure she is respected, that her worthiness goes untarnished. However, the conflict divided her family and disturbed this social arrangement: she could not be protected. As a result, she contracted HIV. In the face of these events, Mary feels powerless: "there's nothing [she] can do."

During my fieldwork, Mary was not my only informant who expressed a sense of shame as a result of the war, and this sentiment was common as I asked my informants questions about their lives, livelihoods, and identities after the conflict. This ethnography is my attempt to understand this sense of shame experienced and expressed by my informants.

Shame is the feeling of having lost one's worthiness in the opinion of oneself and/or of society (Pitt-Rivers 1966; Stewart 1994; Wikan 1984). As a result of shame, a person loses a sense of valuing himself and of being valued. In their efforts to rebuild Acholi culture and society after the conflict, many human rights NGOs and cultural institutions are seeking to restore dignity in Acholiland; however, in order to understand how to restore this dignity—this sense of honor, worthiness, or pride—it is important to first understand all of the complex ways in which my informants feel they have lost it.

Ethnographies on conflict in East Africa examining how individuals make sense of their world in the face of violence have generally focused on physical and structural violence (e.g.

Finnström 2008; Hutchinson 1996). However, the focus of these analyses fails to explain the shame felt by my informants post-conflict. Vigh (2006) defines violence as “a relationship between agents whereby at least one of the parties experiences a limitation of his/her agency that is interpreted as illegitimate” (23). In order to understand this shame, an additional form of violence must be considered: symbolic violence. According to Bourdieu (1977), symbolic violence implicates a power relation by which legitimacy and worthiness are vied for via symbolic capital (181). This form of violence seeks to undermine the processes by which worthiness is conferred and to “legitimize” the “authority” of the dominant (192).

In the following ethnography, I will argue that not only have my informants experienced symbolic violence undermining their sense of honor, or worthiness, at the hands of the Ugandan government and the LRA, but that the shame they feel also commits symbolic violence against themselves. For my informants, the struggle for symbolic capital—for honor, dignity, worthiness, and legitimacy—has been internalized, and they inhabit psychologically both the position of the dominant and the dominated. In Acholiland, shame is an undermining force that rattles the way my informants make sense of their world, affirm their identities, and justify their existence.

SHAME AND JUDGMENT: EVALUATIONS OF WORTHINESS

As we sat on her veranda and watched her four-year-old daughter play in the dirt, Cynthia—a twenty-six-year-old teacher and also my translator—explained how the situation during the conflict was “not good:”

During the conflict, I got hurt, I was traumatized. [...] The situation was not good. I was alarmed. I didn't feel safe. You feel useless and bad—the trauma always disturbs people. [...] Before the war, the Acholi culture used to be very rich in terms of food, in terms of wealth, in terms of moral upbringing, but during the war all these things ... were all destroyed. People got food from World Food Program You could say there was an outbreak of famine. People were killed. Other things were destroyed. Animals were taken away But [sighing] everything ended up in a mess. [...] Because as the war has ended, people have gone back to their homes, and they want to bring back those days, the nostalgia, the good days when people had their own home

and were independent and could care for themselves and their neighbors [...].²

These feelings of uselessness, trauma, and of a lack of richness which mark Cynthia's livelihood during the conflict and at the present are all manifestations of shame. In their most general sense, they indicate feeling bad, feeling bad about oneself and one's experiences. In addition, all of these feelings arise from a comparison between the way things were in the past before the war and the way things are and have been since the conflict began: for Cynthia, the conflict has led to a loss of “richness” in Acholi life for which many have become “nostalgic.” This comparison involves making a judgment in which the present is qualified against the past. However, by comparing her personal experience before the conflict with her experiences since the conflict began, Cynthia also implicates herself in these judgments. She reflects judgments of her present situation inward as judgments of herself and feels personal inadequacy—a feeling Cynthia describes as “uselessness.” This feeling began during the conflict and persists in her memory.

In the following section, I will examine how my informants use the Acholiland of the past—with its own principles, practices, and personal experiences—not only to interpret their experiences during the conflict and up until the present, but also to pass judgments on themselves and others. For my informants, the past functions as a habitus, an internalized framework used to interpret and evaluate one's experiences and to direct individual action (Bourdieu 1977, 95). These comparisons evaluating the present against the past are a form of symbolic violence that produce the sense of shame expressed by my informants.

Using the Past to Judge the Present

For many of my informants, the ability to provide for oneself by “digging” (a colloquialism for cultivating) and raising cattle was very important. For Alice, a sixty-seven-year-old woman, the ability to dig connotes freedom. As we sat on a mat in the middle of her hamlet, she deftly shelled peanuts and explained:

We had a lot of freedom in those days where we could do a lot. We had never experienced war before. There were a lot of changes. We tried to cultivate a lot of things—millet, sim sim—in the garden [after the war ended]. But these elephants came and destroyed. And this changed the attitudes of the people, too, towards doing other things. This

war poisoned the people, and now the people are saying these elephants are coming to destroy people's things.

For Alice, even though the violence of the war has ended, its disruptions persist. As she has tried to restore the "freedom in those days" before the war by planting crops and procuring her own livelihood, she continues to meet obstacles, primarily the one posed by destructive elephants.³ Alice incorporates this obstacle to restoring her freedom as one of the many obstacles faced in recovery, and she laments that these challenges have "changed the attitudes of people," who are further discouraged by the destructive elephants. In this statement she is invoking a discourse of laziness prevalent in many of my interviews, especially among the elderly. In brief, this discourse portrays the Acholi people as having become lazy after receiving aid in the camps—a practice which contradicts the purported value of hard work. This discourse uses the Acholi way of life in the past, the Acholi *habitus*, to judge the lackluster attitudes of individuals after the conflict towards digging and other forms of hard work. Nevertheless, even though Alice expresses a sense of shame over people's present attitudes and frustration over the elephants, Alice perseveres: as she talks about the hardships of digging after the conflict, she continues to grow and shell peanuts. In this way, she actively works to create the freedom she experienced in the past but lost during the war.

For some informants, the conflict not only imposed on freedoms but it robbed people of their humanity. According to Mose Andrew, who is seventy-two years old and knew Acholiland before the war, the conflict disrupted cultural precepts about respecting others.⁴ Describing life in the IDP camp, he said,

Oh! In the camp there was no culture! People just behaved abnormally ... a lot of raping. Rape was done Fighting was also there—Let me say, our behavior was reduced to animals. Before, we respected one another.

Invoking the past—life "before" the conflict, Mose Andrew evaluates camp life. He implies that in these camps people did not respect each other, and he judges people's behavior in the camps as "abnormal"—an aberration from the norm, a norm dictated by the way things were done in the past. For Mose Andrew, the undisturbed Acholi culture before the conflict inculcated dispositions inherent in his current judgment. It is by this perspective, formed by his experiences before the conflict and preserved cognitively, that Mose Andrew judges what he

experienced during the war. To convey how contradictory these wartime behaviors were to what is proscribed by his *habitus* (psychologically located in an undisturbed Acholiland), Mose Andrew compares these behaviors to those of animals. Thus, not only did the conflict disrupt the way people lived their lives, but it compelled behaviors, such as rape, contradictory to the culture's beliefs of acceptable human behavior.

In his statement, Mose Andrew reveals two realms of symbolic violence. The first is experiential. Witnessing "rape" and "fighting" in the camp, Mose Andrew emphasizes how livelihoods marked by violence, disorder, and disrespect led to a loss of human dignity during the conflict. The second is discursive. By stating "our behavior was reduced to animals," Mose Andrew recalls and judges these experiences. He compares his and others' behavior during the conflict to that of animals, and in doing so he delegitimizes the worthiness of himself and others. This discursive act of passing judgment, while acknowledging the delegitimization experienced in the past, recreates this delegitimization in the present. In this way, his judgment commits symbolic violence against himself.

Judging the Self

Many of my informants expressing shame reflected judgments about experiences and situations inward on themselves to evaluate their own character, dignity, and worthiness. For example, Ojok, considering himself fortunate to have been able to escape Acholiland during the conflict, has returned to his home village in the town and sought political office. He wanted to preserve the camps as memorial sites and ensure younger generations understand what happened during the conflict; however, his idea was controversial. Drawing from the experiences of the members of his community, Ojok explained how some things are too shameful to be shared.

Yes, [I will tell my grandchildren about the conflict,] but during the war here, men were raped. They raped your children, your wife, and then you. And it is a big shame to tell your child. [Your grandchild] will ask, "What were you doing when that was happening?" So some of these things that have happened, [people] do not want them to go ahead: you cannot rape my daughter and then me and then I have to go and tell it to people. I have now lost all of my manhood. I have lost all of my dignity. [Some] people

just committed suicide because of what took place; they were not killed. Others that haven't committed suicide don't want to tell others that kind of thing. So, not everything will be handed over to the next generation, not everything that took place.

Even though Ojok speaks in general terms and not about his personal experiences, his hypothetical, but realistic, situation exemplifies how circumstances beyond one's control still become indicators of one's character in Acholiland. In an Acholi household, the male figure derives his sense of worthiness from protecting and providing for his family (Kizza et al. 2012, 701-703; Odokarach 2011). In Ojok's scenario, the inability to protect his family from rape not only renders the father powerless, but it reflects his lack of worthiness of being a man, his worthiness of possessing the social roles of a father and a husband. The loss itself of worthiness then becomes a source of shame: he is so embarrassed by his own inadequacy and failure to perform his social responsibility that he resorts to suicide, and if he does not resort to suicide, he remains silenced by the shame of this past experience. This shame causes so much personal suffering that he decides not to tell the next generation, his grandchildren, about that experience. Other studies (e.g. Dolan 2009, 191-218; Kizza et al. 2012) indicate that this impairment of masculine identity is systemic in Acholiland, and the subsequent loss of dignity has in fact compelled many Acholi men to commit suicide.

In another interview, Charles, a nineteen-year-old boy studying in secondary school, explained to me why he feels ashamed because of the conflict. He candidly told me,

I can feel ashamed because I myself, I should have not been like this I actually lost my father, who was not supposed to die. Otherwise, I would not be in this level [i.e. situation].

If the conflict did not happen, I would not be as I am now.

For Charles, the loss of his father has become a source of shame because his death goes against the natural order of things: being without a father is not how things are "supposed" to be for Charles. His conditional statement points to the conflict as the cause of his current situation and the subsequent shame he experiences. However, the situation is beyond Charles' control. It is merely how he "is." In this way, Charles implies that the circumstances of his existence contradict what is normal. He judges his own existence to be unnatural, and for this reason he feels shame: his circumstance contradicts the life he is worthy of

living, a life where he has not lost his father.⁵

Judgments: A Process of (De)legitimization

In Acholiland, many judgments are being passed. Some of my informants are judging themselves; some are judging others, other Acholi, the government, even the situation itself; and some feel like they are being judged. As the discussion so far reveals, these judgments function as symbolic violence by evaluating the self of an individual and his individual worthiness. However, what is the purpose of these judgments? Are they merely *descriptive*, intended to evaluate an individual's worthiness? Or are they *proscriptive*, intended to criticize, sanction, and guide future action? To what extent do these judgments legitimize or de-legitimize the self?

During my interview with Ojok, I asked him how the conflict has changed things. His response began by passing descriptive judgments as he described how the conflict has changed burial practices. However, once he described changes in people's attitudes towards work, his judgments became more proscriptive. He said,

Yes. Things that have changed—you know in the past, say for example, if a person dies, if he is old, say about fifty years old, people will stay for forty days or so before they do the last funeral rites. But now there is no time because so many people die. During those days [before the war], in each clan a person died every six months. But now [during the conflict] it's ten people dying today and tomorrow thirty [....] So what happens is that people devise a way to burry today [...] finishing the funeral there and then. This is a culture that never used to take place.

But then, the war has also brought a lot of attitude change. People nowadays, because of staying [...] for 10 years in the camps without giving production, [...] they are used to [aid from NGOs], and they still think that somehow somebody is still coming to give them something.

In the beginning, Ojok's tone is complaining, expressing his discontent. He describes how things, like death and disease, were simply beyond people's control. People did not practice proper funeral ceremonies because it was not feasible given the high number of people dying in such a short amount of time. In other words, people changed their behavior because they *had* to—their behavior was dictated by external factors beyond their control.

However, as Ojok begins to describe people's attitudes towards working and "producing" for themselves, his tone becomes castigating. He criticizes the people who still want handouts: he criticizes them for not doing something they *can* do. In Ojok's opinion, people *can* work because their situation now enables them to.

Ojok's judgments imply that people should adhere to Acholi values and practices as much as it is possible given external constraints. According to Ojok's perspective, while both of these changes are shameful, it is understandable that people were not practicing proper funeral burials because they could not, but it is *not* understandable that people remain dependent on aid now that the war has ended and circumstance enables them to provide for themselves. This second judgment is overtly proscriptive: it identifies what is "wrong" with people's behavior, shames their behavior, and lays the groundwork for how this behavior can be corrected. On the other hand, the first judgment is more descriptive. It describes the situation, but it does not provide a solution—because the solution was beyond people's present ability. Nevertheless, at the same time, the first descriptive statement is also covertly proscriptive: by referencing proper Acholi values and practices—values and practices that make one honorable—Ojok brings attention to the contradiction between the present way of things and the way things *should* be done. Thus, while the first judgment does not shame people for not following the ways of the past, invoking the ways of the past keeps them alive and validates them as the way things should be done. Conversely, the second judgment delegitimizes how some people are currently living their lives, bringing *their* worthiness directly into question.

In brief, the way judgments credit or discredit an individual's worthiness respectively mitigates or exacerbates shame. The shifting around of symbolic capital through such evaluations of worthiness of oneself and of others upholds the *habitus* of Acholiland before the conflict by discrediting that which contradicts this *habitus*. However, while these judgments may cognitively preserve the Acholiland of the past and indicate a course of social and cultural redress, judgments that discredit the self are simultaneously forms of symbolic violence which manifest as feelings of shame.

SHAME AND BELONGING: LEGITIMIZING SELF-WORTH VIA THE PERFORMANCE OF IDENTITY

For many of my informants, the conflict has challenged their sense of belonging and of possessing various social identities. The legitimization of the self is a process underscoring social interaction, and it is by the "presentation" of the self that the self is "credited or discredited" (Goffman 1959, 252-53). This sense of belonging is a measure of self-worth which seeks authentication through the performance identity (cf. Jackson 2001). In Acholiland, clan and ethnic identities are considered something you are born into (ascribed statuses), and these identities are associated with a set of cultural practices and convictions. As a result, while one may always possess one of these memberships, this possession does not imply that one is worthy of belonging. In this manner, failure to perform one's identity calls into question one's worthiness of belonging, one's worthiness of possessing an identity shared by the larger group. Given the great extent to which the conflict disrupted people's lives, these identity performances became difficult, and for some informants, failure to uphold their identities—and even seeing others failing to do so—has become a source of shame.

In the following section, I will argue that the conflict disrupted the social mechanisms by which the self is performed and legitimated, and as a result, my informants feel unworthy and ashamed. Furthermore, I will argue that the conflict has had a divergent effect on clan and ethnic identities: whereas the conflict has challenged practices that affirm clan membership and subsequently confer worthiness, the ethnicized⁶ nature of the conflict has challenged Acholi ethnic membership itself as a status worthy of possessing.

Clan Membership: Feeling (Un)Worthy of Belonging

Feelings of unity, solidarity, and togetherness form the foundation of the clan whose main function is to protect its members, and participation in clan life and ritual is crucial for developing this sense of belonging. However, the conflict significantly disrupted clan practices, and as a result, many informants feel a diminished sense of clan belonging. Dismayed, Cynthia told me,

The conflict has divided people because they are no longer good-hearted. They used to love each other. But during the conflict, elders and parents passed away, and children grew

up without elders to say, “This is our relative. This is our land” So when they go back [home from the camps], [...] there are disputes over land So the conflict has really divided people.

Cynthia interprets those who rival over land as “no longer good-hearted.” These divisions contradict the notions of unity and protection—of “lov[ing] each other”—which define the clan. She contributes these deficiencies to the absence of “elders” to instruct the young, to inform them that “this is our land.” All of these disruptions are the result of “the conflict [which] has divided people.” The loss of elders and recurring rivalries over land are two significant challenges to maintaining clan belonging for my informants.

Losing Elders

Without elders to guide them, many young clan members find themselves at odds, particularly in upholding the morality and practices of the clan. According to Bosco, my translator and key informant, this change made him feel less like a member of his clan:

People prefer leisure time, wealth. And they are not afraid to marry from the same clan—that’s after the conflict—because we lost most of the elders who were the real initiators of the culture system in the clan. So now it’s totally lost. People are now diverted to a different direction. So that alone makes me feel I am not [clan name].⁷

Without elders to guide them, people are marrying from the same clan. This is so demoralizing for Bosco because marrying within the clan violates clan practice and is considered incest. For many clans in Acholiland, in order to marry, a committee of elders must convene to verify the lineage of each person and make sure they are not from the same clan (Girling 1960, 65-67). Without elders to make this verification or to uphold this practice, clan inter-marriage is occurring. For Bosco, inter-marriage contradicts the practices of his clan and threatens its cultural unity. Thus, because his clan is not adhering to the same cultural practice in solidarity, Bosco feels like he is not a member of his clan; he feels like he does not belong because his fellow clansmen have “lost” their morals. The conflict has disturbed the cohesion of his clan’s practices and challenged the ability of the clan as a social entity to establish a sense of belonging that authenticates Bosco’s clan membership.

Land Wrangles

Regarding the second challenge to clan belonging, displaced people are returning home to frequently find that their land before the war is now occupied by others, sometimes even their relatives. Consequently, disputes over land are ubiquitous, and many of these disputes have turned into violent rivalries among clan members or between two different clans (McKibben and Bean 2010, 25-26).

Interestingly, land wrangles can both threaten and reaffirm my informants’ sense of clan membership. For John, a chairman of the local government, land wrangles threaten his sense of clan membership. As he sat behind his desk at the office, he explained:

You may become unhappy ... when other clan members are trying to grab your land. Automatically, you become unhappy. You become annoyed because this land belonged to my father. I know you are also my father, but yours is on the other side.

Land wrangles cause frustration between clan members. One person believes that he owns the land—that the land is *his*, and “belonged to [his] father”—but another clan member disagrees. This causes hardship for the person trying to keep his land because the other person claiming it is extended family. When John states, “I know you are also my father, but yours is on the other side,” he reveals that one’s biological father and other clan members are both viewed as fathers. Contesting one’s father—biological or social—is problematic because the father is a figure of authority and doing so defies the social hierarchy. That fellow clan members are “trying to grab [a clansman’s] land” contradicts the solidarity valued by the clan and threatens that person’s sense of membership. As a result, he becomes “unhappy” and “annoyed.”

On the other hand, for Ojok, resolving land wrangles authenticates his sense of clan belonging. He explains,

When there is some land wrangle taking place, they always come to me and say, “You know, one member of our clan is facing this. Let us go and hear it!” or “Let us go and help him!” or “Let us go and talk about it!” And then I feel really that I am a member of the clan.

For Ojok, settling land disputes makes him feel like a member of his clan, and in explaining this sense of belonging, he refers to the obligation of “helping” one’s fellow clansman. When this obligation is invoked, it indicates that he is worthy

of participating in clan functions. For Ojok, settling land disputes is part of a performance that reinforces his clan identity, authenticates his sense of belonging, and confirms his worthiness as a member of his clan. However, when the clan fails to maintain cohesive values and practices during crisis, this loss of solidarity prevents identity performances from successfully validating the individual clansman's membership and worthiness.

Being Acholi: The Contested Worth of Ethnic Membership

Examining civil war in southern Sudan, Hutchinson (2001) reveals that ethnic conflict increases divisions between and within ethnic groups and that these divisions accentuating ethnic identity make it a source of suffering (309). Similarly, the ethnicized nature of the conflict in northern Uganda has challenged the value of Acholi identity for my informants: it has become an identity by which many feel stigma and culpability for the conflict. Even though some are still proud to be Acholi, many informants indicated that for them the worthiness of the Acholi identity has become tarnished.

Stereotypes, Stigma, and Culpability: Acholis as rebels

My informants frequently pointed out how other ethnic groups in Uganda have come to associate the Acholi people with the bellicose and brutal actions of the LRA. For example, Charles—whose family fled Acholiland during the conflict—explained how other ethnic groups stereotype Acholis as “rebels.”

You know, there are some tribes that distrust this tribe. Most tribes in Uganda, they detest this tribe [the Acholi] because they think we are all rebels. When you go to a different tribe, they may say, “We cannot keep you here, because you are a rebel.”

According to Charles, the Acholi are “distrusted” and “detested.” Because of this perception, other ethnic groups in Uganda are unwilling to let Acholis stay on their land. They stereotype Acholis as “rebels” who are responsible for the conflict with the government

However, this stereotype is problematic because it assigns culpability for the conflict to *all* Acholi and overlooks many Acholis' reluctance for the war. According to Mary,

The conflict, it wasn't out of Acholis' intentions—even though it was in Acholi land, of course Those who were being abducted into the bush, they were being forced to join

the rebels. So they didn't go intentionally.

In 1997, the Human Rights Watch reported that over the course of thirty-six months the LRA had abducted over 8,000 Acholi (Doom and Vlassenroot 1999, 25). Mary points to these forced abductions to demonstrate that the conflict was not the will of many Acholi.

Furthermore, it is important to note that this generalization of the Acholi as all “rebels” plays into the historical marginalization, stereotyping, and scapegoating of the Acholi by other ethnic groups and the Ugandan government. I asked Bob if he thought the conflict would come to be associated with the Acholi people, and he replied:

We will be associated with it because even in 1945, during the Second World War, the Acholi were the majority who went to participate, and we were the ones fighting the war Other people, they are the ones who look at us as warriors because they don't have any special power to take us to the bush [i.e. take us to war].

After a century of being the country's military as a result of the British system of “divide and rule” that allocated military responsibilities to the Acholi, many other ethnic groups came to see the Acholi as the warriors of the country (Mazrui 1975). Since independence, Uganda's various presidents have used the historical inclusion of the Acholi in the military and the stereotype of the Acholi as “warriors” to justify invasions and subsequent massacres in northern Uganda (see Atkinson 2011; Doom and Vlassenroot 1999; Finnström 2008; Karugire 2003; and Mazrui 1975). By invoking the historical role of the Acholi as soldiers in World War II, Bob is saying that this conflict will only take the path established by history along which the Acholi are stereotyped as *the* “warriors” and *the* “rebels.”

The result of these stereotypes and stigma has been an imposition of meanings on Acholi ethnic identity that interferes with my informants' own definitions of Acholi identity. However, in the eyes of some Acholi, they themselves are culpable. According to Agnes, an eighty-nine-year-old woman,

During the conflict here, you could not see anyone here in the village. My husband and two of my sons were killed by the rebels What happened in the past was not good, and that is why we are guilty. Kony is Acholi, and we are Acholi, too.

In this statement, Agnes reveals a feeling of guilt, of

culpability, for the conflict as a result of her ethnic identity. She invokes her shared ethnic identity with Joseph Kony, the leader of the LRA, and it is through her ethnic identity that she feels a responsibility for the violence of the past. The result of stereotypes and stigma assigning culpability to Acholi, as well as the culpability some Acholi feel themselves, has been the transformation of Acholi ethnic identity from a status into an onus.

Demoralization and Failure: The Normalization of the Abnormal

Even though the stereotype that the Acholi are warriors is problematic, it is not totally unfounded. In fact, many of my Acholi informants consider bravery and strength to be defining features of the Acholi. However, the conflict has started to challenge these notions. According to Ojok,

The Acholi were only brave when people were fighting with bows and arrows and spear[s], but now that people are fighting with airplanes and artilleries—and guns that shoot for kilometers—it doesn't even have to be bravery. Because you will just die But it has ever been said that Acholis are very brave, that they are warriors. But you can see that they have lost here to war.

Ojok argues that the Acholi are no longer brave because they use modern weapons that “shoot for kilometers.” In other words, given the destructiveness and accuracy of modern artillery, there is no bravery in fighting when there is practically guaranteed success without struggle: with these weapons “you will just die.” Bravery is having the courage to face your enemy head on and to confront danger—both of which are necessary to kill a lion or an outsider attacking one's homestead, acts epitomizing bravery in Acholi culture (Girling 1960, 102).⁸ Despite these notions of bravery, Ojok admits the Acholi have still “lost” to war. The conflict continued for twenty years between the LRA and the government, longer considering the prior Holy Spirit Movement, and it had a devastating effect on the Acholi people. These notions of failure and cowardice underscore the sense of shame experienced via Acholi ethnic identity.

Furthermore, as the weapon of choice changed from bows, arrows, and spears in Acholiland to guns and other artillery, everyday life has become militarized. Bosco explained that the presence of the gun is now pervasive, and he claimed that the gun also contradicts the Acholi culture:

We no longer follow the culture ... the Acholi way of life The conflicts alone brought everyone to get used to the gun. [Before,] people were not so acquainted with guns. But nowadays, you can find a kid of seven or eight month[s]—or even a kid of four month[s]—you ask [yourself], “What is that person carrying? It's a gun! *Muduku!* What does *muduku* do? It kills” But before, people didn't know the gun—the gun was something secret of course. But now, everyone is used to the gun and gunshots. So, we see that the conflict has changed life totally.

Bosco notes that the gun has become normalized: even the practice of children carrying them. According to Hutchinson (1996), the gun possesses a “power that is eerily internal to it” because, unlike a spear, it is not “issue[d] directly from the bones and sinews of the person who hurls” a spear (103). In Acholiland, the power of the gun has become pervasive, and the violence and devastation it wreaks has become normalized: people have become “used to,” or desensitized to, the gun and gunshots. This presence of the gun and the normalization of violence contradict Acholi tradition whereby the “gun was something secret” and other weapons—weapons that required bravery like the spear—were used.

Acholi Pride and Shame: A Lived Contradiction

For some of my informants, the disruptions and suffering caused by the conflict were too much to bear. Multiple informants mentioned they have been ashamed at one point or another to be Acholi. Some even mentioned that during the conflict they wished they could not be Acholi because if they were not Acholi, they would no longer suffer from the violence. This desire to shed one's ethnic identity to escape the conflict blames one's ethnicity for the conflict. At the same time, multiple informants mentioned they were also proud to be Acholi. When I asked Ojok if there had been times when he did not feel like an Acholi, his response illuminated this contradiction:

It has never happened. I'm very proud of Acholi, and I think there is only times when I lament that God—like especially when there was intensive war, and I see how the government side is killing people, and I see how the rebel side is killing the people—and I stand and ask God, “What has Acholi done? What have the Luos done to you?” Lamenting. Lamenting and complaining and saying, “God what have

they done to you? Can't you forgive them?"—But at no moment would I say to you that I regret being an Acholi.

While this contradiction seems to pose a paradox about his ethnic identity, Ojok is actually invoking two different concepts of Acholi identity. When he asks God what the "Acholi" has done, he also refers to them as "Luos." Luo is the general term for the group of Nilotic peoples living in northern Uganda, Southern Sudan, and western Kenya. As Finnström (2008) notes, his Acholi informants use "Luo" when "discuss[ing] their cultural belonging in the context of the wider history of migrations in the region" (36-37). In asking God what the "Luos" have done, Ojok attributes culpability for his suffering to the Acholi as a group of people. However, when he says that he never "regret[s] being an Acholi," Ojok refers not to the Acholi as a group but rather as a concept, an identity. Asking for God's "forgiveness" indicates that Ojok sees the Acholi as a group of people collectively responsible for the suffering each experiences. However, he still takes pride in culturally being an Acholi.

In all, the failure of identity performances to confer worthiness and authenticate the self results in a feeling of shame for my informants. The physical violence of the conflict and other disruptions took on a symbolic dimension whereby the worthiness of ethnic and clan identities were, and continue to be, challenged. My informants interpret this symbolic violence as a personal and collective failure to preserve the virtues of the society into which they were born.

SHAME AND DEHUMANIZATION: ACHOLILAND IN EXISTENTIAL CRISIS

In addition to being called "rebels," the Acholi acquired another ethnic slur during the time of the conflict: "Ebola." According to Bosco,

During the conflict, some of us were running to Kampala, but we were discriminated [against] Ebola was [in northern Uganda] during the time of the conflicts. Most of us, [when we went to Kampala, the capital of Uganda], they would say that this guy is from Gulu [in the North], now they have brought Ebola to us! So people used to say, "Ebola! Ebola!" discriminating us from them. So that really tarnished our minds also. But we still remained Acholi. There was nothing you can do.

Ebola is a highly infectious disease that causes hemorrhagic

fever. During the conflict, there were several outbreaks of the disease in the North (see Finnström 2008, 187-89). As a result, when Bosco went to Kampala and people heard he was from the North, they began calling him "Ebola!" This label marks Bosco as an infected person. He is not just a "rebel" who fights against the government, but he is a disease. He is marked as dangerous and infectious simply because of where he comes from. This label has a significant emotional impact on Bosco: he says that this "tarnished" his mind. Stating there was "nothing you can do," Bosco reveals his powerlessness and vulnerability at the hands of other Ugandans who stigmatize him.

"Labels" such as this "deprive [its] victims of identity and community," making it easier to commit violence against them (Kelman and Hamilton 1989, 19). Calling Bosco "Ebola" grants him a less-than-human identity. He has become defined by a disease—one that he does not possess. In the following section, I will argue that humanity is conferred and experienced along ethnic lines in northern Uganda and that the dehumanization of my informants, both by others and by themselves, constitutes symbolic violence.

The Debasement of Self-Worth—Humanity Denied

For some of my informants, their suffering during the conflict made them question the value of their own lives. The following is an excerpt of my interview with Charles.

DD: What does it mean to be a human being?

CH: It means just living in the way people can feel safe, when your body is well. You should understand us as being a human body and having humanity You get all things which are necessary for you.

DD: Did you feel like a human being during the conflict?

CH: I did.

DD: Could you tell me more?

CH: [Laughing] I think you know. When the conflict is in the area, people cannot feel well. So many things happen. Conflict can bring loss of life ... loss of life—Prostitution was also there. And, um ... may lead to some other things Some children may remain after the loss of their parents. And some parents may remain after the loss of their children. Things were not supposed to be that way.

Charles acknowledges that human beings possess not only a "body" but also a "humanity," and he identifies "feel[ing] safe"

and having one's needs met as critical aspects of being human. When I asked him if he felt human during the conflict, he says "yes;" however, he immediately challenges this simple statement when he answers my follow-up question: he identifies practices and experiences during the conflict that upset the way things were "supposed to be," such as death and prostitution. For Charles, his humanity is a lived contradiction: he is human, but during the conflict he experienced events that contradicted his humanity.

When I asked Mose Issaac if the conflict led to a degeneration of the values of hard work and respect we had discussed earlier, he responded,

Yes, the conflict kicked out this feeling that you were a useful being, and it took away your rights as a human. This disappoints you, and you feel bad.

Here, Mose Issaac refers to dehumanization in general: people's rights were "taken away" during the conflict, and he reveals that this dehumanization is felt inwardly: the loss of his rights "disappointed" him, and made him feel "bad." In this manner, experiencing less than human conditions challenged his self-worth, which he measures by his ability to work, his "usefulness." Feeling inadequate and powerless, he also developed a sense of shame: he felt "bad." Thus, the dehumanization he experienced during the war was disempowering and subordinating on both practical and symbolic levels.

In addition to this kind of structural violence, dehumanization was even more poignantly connected to instances of physical violence. According to Ojok,

We had perpetrators among our own, like the LRA rebels. They perpetuated a lot of sufferings, in very many ways: cutting lips, cutting eyes, cutting private parts, killing people in awkward ways, cooking you—even babies. In another way, the government soldiers came by raping what and what. [...] [In the end,] people don't even know who committed atrocities against them.

Ojok draws attention to the bodily mutilations practiced by the LRA and the use of rape by government soldiers on civilians. The physical body symbolizes one's group membership, and as such, it becomes the site of symbolic rituals that affirm or contest this membership (cf. Douglas 2002, 116). The use of bodily mutilation and rape symbolically terminates these social bonds. As a symbol of society, the body also becomes a site for contestations over power, in this case the power of the LRA and

the government over the civilian. Anthony Vinci (2005) argues that the LRA's use of bodily mutilation is highly symbolic and communicates messages to the Acholi people that intend to evoke fear in order to augment the "perceived threat" of the LRA and subsequently the power of the LRA. For example, the cutting off of ears and lips signify "beware of informing on the LRA," and rape intends to "humiliate" the "victim ... and his or her family members" (369-70). Moreover, because the body symbolizes an individual's human status, mutilating the body also denigrates the individual's humanity: if his body is not worthy of being physically protected, then his status and dignity as a human being is also not worthy of protection. In brief, the symbolic dimension of physical violence has ramifications on the worthiness and humanity of its victims: it severs social and human bonds, thus exacerbating the divisiveness of conflict.

Internalizing the Discourse of Domination: Being and Becoming Grasshoppers

According to Kelman and Hamilton (1989), "victims must ... be stripped of their human status if they are to be subjected to systematic killing" (19). When the conflict first began and President Museveni marched his troops into Acholiland in 1987 pursuing the soldiers (mainly Acholi) of his predecessor, Milton Obote, he is alleged to have given a denigrating speech. Attempting to dissuade local Acholi from joining the insurgent movement against the state, he compared the Acholi people to grasshoppers in a bottle, and he said that "[the Acholi] will eat each other before they find a way out" (Finnström 2008, 106). While this statement has not been successfully verified (106), it is a story told by multiple informants of mine when explaining how they dislike the government, how ethnic stigmatization has caused them to suffer, and how the conflict denied them humanity.

Many of my informants identified bravery, strength, and their tall and firm bodies as defining characteristics of the Acholi. Comparing the Acholi to small, weak insects—"grasshoppers"—directly contradicts this self-concept. Moreover, by removing the Acholi's physical human form, this analogy removes virtues and abilities that are acknowledged upon human status, such as dignity, respect, and agency. Here, the Acholi body is being symbolically denigrated in an assertion of power by the state. Telling the Acholi they will be trapped in a bottle and forced to

eat their way out does more than belittle the Acholi: it denies them their humanity, and it does so on the basis of their ethnic identity.

Understandably, this analogy is very powerful and full of meaning for my informants. When Bosco, a former member of the LRA, told me he felt a sense of shame after the conflict, I asked him to explain, and he in turn invoked this analogy:

We killed ourselves. It's like when you put the grasshoppers in one bottle. What happens? They bite each other. Have you ever experienced that? You get, like, six grasshoppers, right? Put them in a bottle—you know? ... then see what happens They will bite one another So we were just killing one, one another. Hmm. So it is a real shame to us

Why did that happen? Because even the Acholi themselves who are in the government soldiers, instead of killing the fellow Acholis who are in the bush, why didn't they unite?! And then fight the other tribe?! ... Don't you see? That's a real shame. It's because they were taken advantage [of] by the government. They were being given a lot of money.... to kill one another! So that was a real shame to the Acholi

And on top of that, we failed even to overthrow the government. So people now ask, "What were you people fighting for? Instead you are just killing one another—and that's another shame. You killed one another, just over some issue between two people: that's Museveni and Kony." So that alone made us kill ourselves It is a shame really. We killed ourselves That's all I can tell you.

Bosco describes how fighting between Acholis in the LRA and Acholis in the government army, as well as the ultimate failure of the Acholi to "overthrow the government," is shameful. In expressing his sense of shame, Bosco reveals that he has internalized the symbolic violence deployed by the state to subordinate the Acholi: he uses the grasshopper analogy as an interpretive framework by which he comprehends and expresses his own position of subordination, powerlessness, and failure. In order to convey the extent to which the intra-ethnic violence of the conflict defied nature and morality, he equates an Acholi killing another Acholi to cannibalism among grasshoppers. In addition to a failure to unite, this depravity—a loss of not just Acholi virtue, but human virtue—has become a source of shame for Bosco. By deploying this frame of reference, Bosco

reinforces the domination of the state by whom this analogy was allegedly first deployed, and this discursive act makes him complicit in his own domination. It is in this vein that shame makes my informants psychologically both the dominant and the dominated.

CONCLUSION

Mary Douglas (2002) states that "any given culture must confront events which seem to defy its assumptions" (40). In the case of Acholiland, war has not only defied cultural assumptions, but it has led to social and cultural degeneration. New practices—

such as depending on aid and violence—have been normalized, and changes in the way Acholi conduct their everyday lives have challenged identity performances which are crucial to the authentication of self-worth. The conflict has propagated physical, structural, and symbolic violence as the LRA and the Ugandan government vie to dominate the everyday Acholi. This battle for physical and symbolic domination has left wounded not only bodies, but minds and selves as well, and this contest has called into question my informants' senses of self-worth, of belonging, and of being human. The discrediting of their selves and of their identities has made my informants ashamed to be and possess identities that they were born into. In this sense, shame has become a form of internalized symbolic violence whereby my informants judge their own selves to be unworthy and are felt to be judged by others as unworthy. Finally, the ethnicized nature of the conflict has posed significant challenges in terms of ethnic identity, especially as it has become a category by which humanity and worthiness is conferred and experienced.

Even though war has left Acholiland, the absence of violence does not mean peace has totally returned: shame and discredited identities linger. Thus, the Acholi find themselves “betwixt and between,” in a liminal situation, a crisis. In his analysis of social dramas, Victor Turner (1974) writes that “[c]onflict seems to bring fundamental aspects of society, normally overlaid by the customs and habits of daily intercourse, into frightening prominence” (35), and the case in northern Uganda is no different. The war and the subsequent shame my informants experience has rattled the meanings and practices by which by informants live and interpret their lives.

Even though this ethnography has been challenging to write—and it has likely been challenging at times to read—this topic is one that must be examined. Christopher Taylor (1999), an anthropologist who wrote on the violence that took place in the 1994 Rwandan Genocide, noted that “[h]eroism is eminently more satisfying to write about than human perfidy. Nevertheless, we need to understand human malevolence in all of its ramifications, for it seems that otherwise we are doomed ... to let history repeat itself” (182). In a similar vein, knowing how to heal the wounds of war that the run deep in the minds of my informants is predicated on first understanding these wounds. While this brief paper has attempted to provide an overview of how shame is felt and experienced in post-conflict Acholiland, it

is far from comprehensive: the intersections between shame and gender, national identity, and religion—as well as actions being taken to ameliorate this sense of shame—could all use further research.

In focusing on how shame is experienced, as opposed to how shame is combated and overcome, it has not been my intention to portray my informants as only victims of violence. On the contrary, my goal has been to humanize their struggle to maintain dignity as much as possible. Even though it is true my informants are victims, they are also survivors, and more importantly they are everyday people. Granted redress for my informants will not be an easy feat, healing their society, culture, and minds is a task many of them pursue every day as they continue on with their lives. When I asked Rwot Patiko, a clan chief, about the Acholi will go about rebuilding their lives and culture, he replied,

The Acholi is a proud person [We are] tall people, strong people [When an Acholi goes] hunting and kills a lion—a wild animal—[he is] given a respected name for doing something out of the ordinary: *moi*. This name means respected The Acholi aspire to have that name. To have that name is pride: it is for the greats.

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ENDNOTES

1. Cen, see Finnström 2008, 159-160
2. Throughout the article, separated passages like this one are excerpts from interview transcripts. A regular ellipsis indicates a pause by an informant. An ellipsis in brackets (e.g. [...]) indicates where I have removed text from the original transcript.
3. These elephants were actually a common topic of discussion in the village. Construction of a nearby road was disturbing the elephants' habitat and occasionally forcing them towards the village.
4. Mose [mo-ZAY] is a title for an old man that connotes respect.
5. For more information on the effect the war has had on children and their identities, see Cheney, Kristen. 2007. "Our Children Have Known Only War": The Predicament of Children and Childhood in Northern Uganda." In *Pillars of the Nation: Child Citizens and Ugandan National Development*, 167-218. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
6. I use this term "ethnicized" to refer to the process by which the conflict heightens ethnic tensions.
7. I have removed Bosco's clan name to protect his confidentiality.
8. cf. Ocitti, J.P. 1973. *African Indigenous Education, as practised by the Acholi of Uganda*. Nairobi: East African Literature Bureau. In Acholi society, hunting "fostered the virtues of endurance, courage, and resourcefulness, the quality of co-operation and the sense of community effort and mutual help" (87).

Gender Maneuvering over Coffee: Doing Gender through Displays of Hegemonic Masculinity and Alternative Femininity

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ABSTRACT

This research examines how individuals “do gender” in an urban coffee shop by performing gender maneuvering strategies in order to gain masculine cultural capital typically accessed through displays of hegemonic masculinity. This participant ethnography was conducted in a corporate coffee franchise over the course of eight weeks, to observe gendered interactions in a public space. Observations were made of customer and barista socialization in the store, where gender displays were maneuvered through social artifacts such as clothing and hairstyles; as well as gendered social transactions such as conversational styles and heteronormative social customs. Research findings suggest that both masculine and feminine social actors adopted traits of hegemonic masculinity in order to gain a dominant social position during an interaction, while a few chose to display an alternative form of femininity to achieve the same goal. Gender maneuvering strategies in these interactions were identified by analyzing variations in patron’s gender displays. This study examines how individuals do gender within mixed-gender dyads, feminine dyads, masculine dyads, and through displays of alternative femininities.

Keywords: doing gender, hegemonic masculinity, alternative femininity, gender maneuvering, masculine cultural capital

INTRODUCTION

Gender displays are ever shifting social constructions, created and reified through social transactions by multiple actors located within specific organizational contexts. The “coffee date” is one specific social transaction in which different gender displays may interact to create a myriad of gendered social dynamics. These dynamics determine who is dominant, having power and privilege in society; creating and perpetuating social inequalities. West and Zimmerman’s (1987) theory of “doing gender” can be posited as a process of creating social inequalities, based on differentiating between boys/men and girls/women in ways that are “not natural, essential, or biological” (137). The reciprocal relationship between the social construction and transactional reification of gender disparities in society creates and sustains the hierarchy of masculine dominance over femininity. West and Zimmerman also contend that these gender differences are a product of gendered social transactions that ascribe asymmetrical status between two individuals, creating a disparate gender binary. The objective that such a gender binary most readily serves is the inequitable “allocation” of resources, power, and privilege in society (West and Zimmerman 1987, 143), elevating the dominant form of masculinity above feminine gender expressions. The dominance of a single masculine identity also negatively impacts the expressions of male identified individuals who may be considered less masculine; i.e. homosexuals, transmen, men of color, and men of lower socioeconomic status. In this study, doing gender is used as a theoretical foundation to explain how individuals negotiate gender disparities in an urban coffee shop located in a Northwestern city in the United States. The coffee house setting was specifically chosen for this study as patrons on coffee dates are often less distracted by activities like eating, and socialization may occur freely in this caffeine energized environment.

LITERATURE REVIEW

To properly analyze the specific gendered transactions occurring between individuals frequenting the shop on coffee dates, it is important to first understand the dynamics that exist when two individuals interact. The sociological use of the term “dyad” in this study is intended to describe the unique relationship created between two individuals, persisting over time, where “face-to-face relations” establish a discernable pattern of interaction (Becker and Useem 1942, 13). The dyad is socially constructed when each individual performs gendered social transactions in cooperation with the other. These transactions are established through early gendered socialization processes which are viewed as “natural”, but which serve to create a gendered hierarchy. Within the context of the dyad, regardless of the biological sex of either member, individuals who wish to gain access to social resources and power may perform their “gender display” (Goffman 1976) according to a heteronormative binary, derived from the socially constructed ideals of “hegemonic masculinity” and “emphasized femininity” (Connell 1987). Furthermore, heteronormativity promotes a worldview in which heterosexuality is the preferred sexual identity of individuals, honoring heterosexual couples by positing them as the normal composition for romantic dyads in society. Hegemonic masculinity is thus accorded the highest status in society and social actors displaying this gender are afforded the most access to social resources and privileged positions. Those who display emphasized femininity through the socially idealized characteristics of “compliance, nurturance, and empathy” (Connell 1987, 188) are seen as being the ideal heterosexual partners of those displaying hegemonic masculinity. Within this system of inequality, individuals with a feminine gender display therefore typically gain access to socially protected resources through their masculine partners.

Goffman (1976, 69-70) described gender displays as behavioral exchanges where the “absence of symmetry” creates a hierarchy of dominance and deference. The observations in this study establish that these status inequalities exist in most dyadic relationships, regardless of the gender composition. Yet dominance is often negotiated through gendered social transactions, in order to gain “masculine cultural capital” (Bourdieu 1984); which can be described as social power and privilege used by those in the dominant gender group to negotiate for resources and position through symbolic social transactions.

It can also be accessed by members of a subordinate group as a “symbolic currency used to elevate their social standing” within the context of a dyad (Ocampo 2012, 449). Masculine cultural capital allows subordinate group members access to power and resources normally out of reach. An individual’s gender identity is socially constructed beginning at birth, based on their assigned sex category and reified throughout their lifetime by the performance of a gender role. Through a gender display individuals are able to secure their gender’s allocation of social resources. In the quest for resources, power, and prestige beyond the patriarchally determined level of one’s gender status; those who have historically been denied equal rights in society will often adopt behaviors ascribed to hegemonic masculinity, in order to access the power of masculine cultural capital.

In dyadic relationships, whether romantic, social, or business oriented, the gender display being enacted by either member can determine who has the dominant and deferent positions in an interaction. This can have serious implications for the allocation of resources or decision making processes, depending on the gender composition of the dyad. It is the proposal of this study that in any of these dyads, one member may enact a display of hegemonic masculinity to assert their position as dominant and the other may assume the emphasized feminine position of deference. Where these gender displays do not conform to perceived sex categories, it is the proposal of this study that individuals may be performing the social transaction of “gender maneuvering” (Schippers 2002) to increase their social power within the dyad, gaining access to masculine cultural capital. Gender maneuvering can be described as gendered symbolic transactions that signify or imply the actor’s power and privilege within the dyad, placing them in a dominant or deferent position. Gender maneuvering in this case attempts to challenge the relationships between masculinity and femininity, allowing individuals to access the cultural capital primarily ascribed to a masculine gender display. This can be achieved by “detach[ing] masculinity” from a male body, thereby doing gender through temporary displays of hegemonic masculinity (Pascoe 2011, 116).

Finally, another method for accessing masculine cultural capital can be attained through the display of an “alternative femininity” (Schippers 2002; Schippers 2007). Alternative femininities may attempt to challenge the hegemonic stratification of gender displays by intentionally replacing them with ones

“that do not articulate a complementary relation of dominance and subordination between men and women” (Schipper 2007; Finely 2010, 362). These displays appear to be an attempt to “redo gender” (Connell 2010). Such non-submissive forms of femininity seek to undermine the oppressive traits of hegemonic masculinity identified by some researchers as “dominance”, “virility”, and “lack of emotion” (Wood 2000; Lodge and Umberson 2012).

METHODS

The observational field site for this participant ethnography (Emerson et al. 2011) was a corporate coffee franchise (herein referred to as “Coffee Corps”) located in an affluent urban neighborhood in the Northwestern region of the United States. This store was frequented by a myriad of individuals, dyads, and larger groups consuming coffee and participating in gendered social transactions. This study primarily focused on the interactions of dyads frequenting the shop, as well as several unique women, in order to observe how gender displays were maneuvered to gain cultural capital, typically through displays of hegemonic masculinity.

The site itself is located on the corner of a busy intersection and observations were typically made from a table in a cluster of two-seat options making it ideal for observing dyadic interactions. The store is large and roughly square, with an entrance directly on the corner of the building, allowing for access from multiple directions. Patrons entering from the corner are forced to walk around the seating area, which gave plenty of time to observe style of dress, posture, facial expression, and many other gendered traits. The coffee bar ordering station had two registers with a small counter space between them. To the right of the registers was the barista station and at the end was the pick-up counter where the baristas announced prepared drink or food items. Generally the store smelled only mildly of coffee, atypical of such a setting. The free wireless internet, combined with a plethora of electrical outlets in the store, seemed to be a big incentive for anyone attempting to be studious. I typically dressed in jeans and a flannel button up or a sweater. I self-identify as male and heterosexual, and have a masculine gender presentation, and dress in a style typical of this area. Therefore I believe I passed as a typical student customer.

This study was conducted using participant ethnography, wherein customer’s gendered interactions while purchasing

and drinking coffee were observed. A total of 20 observational hours were conducted over the course of 10 sessions, at a coffee bar located in an active shopping and dining district of the city. Observational sessions were conducted at an early hour once a week when there was a high probability of observing pairs of customers engaging in gendered dyadic interactions. Special attention was paid to the perceived gender display of each member of these dyads and to the verbal and nonverbal forms of communication potentially being utilized to attain a position of dominance or deference. The doing of gender in this field site was noted through behaviors and traits ascribed to masculinity and femininity; such as posture, tone and volume of voice, content of conversations, eye contact, body position, expressiveness, display of SES, and style of hair, clothing, and makeup when applicable.

All gendered interactions during these periods were recorded through ethnographic field notes and all data collected during the course of this study was purely observational. At the end of each session, a full transcription of observational findings was immediately recorded, either at the coffee shop or upon returning home. All personal speculations and theorizing were constrained to “asides” and “commentaries” in an attempt to preserve the authenticity of observations (Emerson et al. 2011).

LIMITATIONS

The obvious limitation for this study is that of conducting participant ethnography without any additional data collection methods. The absence of a subject’s self-perception of their gender maneuvering strategies leaves results lacking in external applicability. As most of the observed individuals employed heteronormative gender displays and the sample is small results cannot be generalized beyond the scope of this study. Also the patrons frequenting this shop were mostly white, non-Hispanic; although Hispanic individuals appeared to comprise the largest minority group represented in this store’s patronage. Consequently the intersectionality of race and gender cannot be factored into this analysis of gender maneuvering strategies. Future studies in this area could attempt to explain how gender intersects with race, as well as with sexuality and class, to influence how individuals perform gender maneuvering within the context of the dyad.

Observations of the sex, sexuality, and gender identity of

the patrons during this study were filtered through the lens of my male, masculine, and heterosexual self-expressions. Thus descriptions of individuals' gender displays are based on my perception of these identities, as they are being performed through dyadic and social transactions. Utilizing interview data to ascertain self-descriptions of patrons' gender expressions could have further legitimized findings. A more accessible and in-depth ethnographic study of dyadic transactions could also lead to verifying observations about individuals gender expressions, which could be beneficial in verifying this study's results. Finally, future studies should include transgender expressions, as well as the gender displays of individuals with disabilities to move beyond the narrow scope of this study's findings.

RESULTS

Overall my observations confirmed my assumption that the majority of customers frequenting Coffee Corps displayed either hegemonic masculinity or emphasized femininity (Connell 1987). However, the focus of my research was to identify gender maneuvering strategies (Schippers 2002), therefore the results of this study suggest that many individuals performed gender displays which differed from their perceived primary gender expression to varying degrees. These displays often seemed to reify hegemonic masculinity when enacted by individuals displaying an overall masculine or feminine gender display, and conversely a few individuals appeared to challenge the gender hierarchy through a display of an alternative femininity. Examples of gender maneuvering were often observed in the interactions of mixed-gender dyads in which individuals attempted to access masculine cultural capital through a temporary display of hegemonic masculinity or emphasized femininity.

GENDER MANEUVERING IN MIXED-GENDER DYADS

Within the framework of hegemonic masculinity and emphasized femininity, I observed that most of the dyadic transactions taking place in the shop appeared to have a heteronormative composition, occurring between two heterosexual individuals of normatively opposite genders. In the context of individual deviations from normative gender performances, this section will focus primarily on individuals performing gender maneuvering strategies within heteronormative dyads, in order to access masculine cultural capital.

Over the course of my observational period there was one blonde woman who appeared in the shop during each session. My first encounter with her was as part of a small group seated at a large table. I will return to this interaction in my discussion of feminine dyads, but here it is important to describe my initial perception of her gender display. The blonde woman's exercise clothing was tight fitting, revealing her form, and she wore her bleach blonde hair pulled back in a tight pony tail. Bordo (1995) described the characteristics of emphasized femininity as a woman's attempts to remain "slim, childlike, and docile and on the other hand to convey an attitude of constant sexual readiness and appetite". This woman's tight clothing suggested an attempt to gain masculine cultural capital through her adherence to an emphasized feminine display. One day this blonde woman sat with a middle aged man and as opposed to the first time I saw her, she wore no makeup, creating a noticeable difference in her youthful appearance. She was wearing exercise clothes like before, but now she wore loose pants instead of her previous tighter fitting pair. The man sitting at the table with her was constantly looking at his smartphone, and even when she spoke to him his eyes rarely left the screen. His display of inattentiveness appeared consistent with a display of hegemonic masculinity, as masculine dominance is often maintained through devaluing the feminine (Pascoe 2011). Although she used lots of hand gestures and an assertive speaking style, leaning forward across the table, the man sat sideways, facing away from her, and rarely responded to her using only a few words or mild laughter. Her gender maneuvering strategy of an assertive conversational style and an emphasized feminine display seemed to have little commanding effect in this dyadic transaction. Her continued adherence to the physical ideals of emphasized femininity may have only served to reify this man's hegemonic display of masculinity. Her companion's devaluation

of her social status through inattention appeared to inhibit her ability to gain any masculine cultural capital.

In my second observation of the blonde woman taking part in a mixed-gender dyadic transaction, she was wearing more makeup than usual and was dressed in a turquoise hoodie highlighting her blonde hair, which appeared much shorter than before. She was seated close to a man at another table who was different from her previous companion. He was dressed in a working class fashion with a tan hat and short, neat hair. This man sat facing her as she talked in her typical assertive manner, and he appeared to pay close attention to her, constantly making eye contact. She stood up once and struck a self-defensive pose, appearing to demonstrate a defensive maneuver and the man smiled and applauded her. After 20 more minutes of chatting the woman said it was "very nice" to meet him and then left the store with a huge smile on her face. Although she still maintained her emphasized feminine appearance, her assertive conversational style and self-defensive demonstration suggested that she was performing gender maneuvering by temporarily adopting masculine traits to gain power in this social transaction. She appeared to have the agency to utilize both emphasized femininity and traits of hegemonic masculinity simultaneously, allowing her to gain dominance in this dyad.

One final example of gender maneuvering appeared in the dynamic interactions of a middle aged white couple. The couple entered the store one morning, ordered drinks, and then the man paid for the drinks and brought them to their table. He handed the woman her drink before sitting down and apologized that it took so long. The man then made several phone calls trying to purchase tickets for a concert for him and a "buddy". The woman stated loudly while he was still on the phone that he "never ask[s] [her] to go to concerts" with him and he responded that he wasn't sure he would get the tickets. The woman sat quietly, doing something on her smartphone, while the man spoke to someone about the tickets and she corrected his speech often, making his face turn red. When he finished the woman said "see I told you, you could take care of that" and he responded "yes, you were right". The woman read a newspaper and told the man about many of the politically charged headlines. The man responded to each viewpoint, always affirming what she said, never seeming to disagree. Eventually she started talking negatively about a city official and he disagreed with her. She immediately asked in a very loud voice "are you arguing

with me?” After five minutes of attempting to explain his point of view the woman stated “I’m done here” and stood up, heading to the door. The man jumped up and followed close behind her, looking concerned. The female in this dyad appeared to display more characteristics of a masculine gender expression than the male did, thus allowing her to access a greater amount of masculine cultural capital, giving her power within the dyad. She was very assertive in making her demands of him and even hostile at times in her speech and tone of voice. Her companion engaged in a submissive role, deferring to her aggressive and dominant display of social power. Yet her behavior was also contradictory. She did not offer to pay for her own drink or wait to pick it up, but expected her companion to provide for her, as well as expecting him to take her out to a concert. This behavior suggests a desire to be treated as the heterosexual companion to a dominant masculine social actor, fulfilling the normative provider/homemaker partnership ideal. However, through her gender maneuvering practice of dominating her dyad’s transactions, she may in fact have hindered her ability to get the treatment she demanded, by not allowing her companion to fully enact the masculine role of provider. Her strong display of hegemony in the dyad appeared to undermine the emphasized feminine treatment she simultaneously expected.

GENDER MANEUVERING IN FEMININE DYADS

In dyadic transactions where the gender display of both participants is normatively feminine, either individual may display behaviors commonly ascribed to hegemonic masculinity in order to gain masculine cultural capital and achieve a dominant position. When cultural capital is gained through such a display it can increase the individual’s social power, asserting their control over the allocation of resources within that dyad. My observations suggest that women occasionally appeared to perform such gender maneuvering strategies while having coffee with other women, and that their access to masculine cultural capital similarly increased.

As previously stated, my first encounter with the blonde woman was as part of a small group. There was a young man who sat with her and another woman, but as he spent all of his time working on his laptop, I was able observe purely dyadic interactions between the two women. Both of these women were dressed in exercise clothing, yet the blonde woman’s clothing was tight fitting and the other female wore baggier

clothing that hid her stockier figure. They both appeared to be dressed in a normative feminine fashion, although the blonde woman’s appearance was more in line with the youthful ideals of emphasized femininity. The blonde woman’s tighter clothing suggested an attempt to gain masculine cultural capital through her adherence to an emphasized feminine display, an endeavor which her female companion did not share; potentially giving the blonde woman a privileged position over her in the eyes of masculine social actors who might view her as a more desirable heterosexual partner. The blonde woman also spoke animatedly, smiling and using hand gestures, whereas her companion spoke with a quieter voice. The blonde woman thus appeared to dominate the conversation through an assertive speaking style, behavior typically ascribed to masculine social actors, thus furthering her gender maneuvering efforts to gain dominance in this dyadic transaction. The blonde woman and her friend returned during my second week of observations. They appeared much less animated in their conversation than before, and seemed to be having a serious talk as neither of them smiled and the second woman often wiped tears from her eyes. After a while they started to talk in a more animated fashion and smiles appeared. The blonde woman sat taller and straighter than her companion, and spoke more often and in a louder voice. The other woman sat with a hunched posture and only spoke when the blonde woman had finished talking. Through her straighter posture, command of the conversation, and stricter adherence to emphasized femininity, the blonde woman performed gender maneuvering through her dual gender displays and appeared to assert a position of dominance within this dyad.

Another excellent example of a female dyad performing gender maneuvering strategies through displays of both hegemonic masculinity and emphasized femininity, came in the form of a young same-gendered couple who entered the store holding hands one day. This was the only time I observed a same-gender romantic dyad come into Coffee Corps, which was surprising, as this neighborhood contains many music venues and thrift stores where I regularly observe and interact with members of the LGBTQ community. This unique dyad’s gender display was that of a heteronormative mixed-gendered couple. The feminine presenting individual was dressed in pants and a colorful wool jacket and she wore her bleach blonde hair long and straight. The masculine presenting individual was wearing jeans, a studded belt, and a button up Dickies shirt underneath

an athletic jacket. They also had a curvy feminine figure, with ample hips and breasts, and wore their hair cropped very short and dyed burgundy. They also had many piercings in their lip, nose, and ears, a tattoo on the side of their neck, and they did not appear to wear any makeup. The couple ordered drinks at the counter and the masculine presenting individual paid for them. After getting the drinks they left the store and the masculine presenting individual rushed ahead to hold the door open for the feminine presenting individual. The masculine presenting individual performed the heteronormative rituals of paying for drinks and holding the door, while the feminine presenting individual appeared to accept these gestures in the typical feminine role. Within the context of this same-gendered female couple, one individual adopted the traits of hegemonic masculinity, affirming their status as the masculine social actor. The other woman performed the rituals of emphasized femininity, waiting for the door to be opened for her, and ordering her drink without offering to pay, which potentially reified her companion's position of dominant masculinity. Through a display of hegemonic masculinity, this masculine presenting individual was able to access masculine cultural capital and its associated social power, entitling them to be viewed as a privileged social actor. This dyad's same-gendered composition at first may appear to serve as a challenge to heteronormativity, yet in their engagement with heterosexual dating rituals they may have only served to reify hegemony.

GENDER MANEUVERING IN MASCULINE DYADS

Although the gender expression allocating the most resources to an individual in our society is hegemonic masculinity, not all male identified individuals have the same access to masculine cultural capital. Stratification often occurs within masculine dyads, where some men perform a gender maneuvering strategy placing them in a deferent role, in order to gain access to cultural capital through the dominant actor in the dyad. This is known as performing a "complicit masculinity", where men benefit from hegemonic masculinity even if they do not use it personally as their gender expression. Or they may perform a "subordinate masculinity", which is relegated to many subordinate group members who suffer under hegemonic masculinity, due to their lack of access to masculine cultural capital (Connell 1995; Pascoe 2011).

One day two men entered the store dressed in business

attire; one wearing a suit and tie, the other wearing a slightly more casual outfit and an overcoat. The more professionally dressed man stated that he was paying for their drinks and proceeded to order something fancy, while the other man ordered the cheapest drink on the menu. The first man insisted that the other at least get something to eat, and the second man consented, ordering a bagel. They sat near me and began talking about a non-profit organization that empowers inner-city youth by taking them on fishing trips, and how they would both love to be able to fish for a living. At the end of their conversation the more casually dressed man asked the other man if he could pray with him and "thank God" for the work the other man was doing for the people of this city. In this dyad the more professionally dressed man appeared to display hegemonic masculinity, through his expensive clothing, paying for drinks, and insisting the other man take advantage of his offer. The other man displayed a subordinate, perhaps complicit masculinity, accepting the other man's offer of provision and by showing the other man deference through the honoring act of religious invocation. The first man's hegemonic display implies access to more cultural capital and therefore a dominant status in the dyad. The second man's display of subordinate masculinity exemplifies a type of gender maneuvering described as a shift from the dominance to deference, from masculine toward feminine, allowing the second man to "save face" (Goffman 1955) in the presence of someone displaying a more dominant form of masculinity.

An alternative motivation for gender maneuvering can be understood through the observations I made of a man and his very young son, dressed in a junior-sized New York Yankees tracksuit. The man was reading a book to the boy that had lots of brightly colored pictures, about a father and son who had a misunderstanding and worked together to resolve it. Part of the story seemed to be centered on the son being "good" and "obedient" and the boy repeated these terms excitedly. Another part of the book was about the boy in the story taking care of his little sister, and the man emphasized this part by drawing out the words. More of the story talked about what the little boy could do "all by himself" and a few of the other chores in the story were "helping dad trim a tree" and "ice a cake". It is interesting to note that the young boy was dressed in an athletic track suit, a style typical of "urban" masculinity, often expressed within communities of color that lack the socioeconomic resources to acquire masculine cultural capital (Ocampo 2010).

However, gender maneuvering occurred here when the father read a story that associated being a “good boy” with taking care of (nurturing) the boy’s little sister and participating in domestic labor. This may be an instance of “redoing gender” (Connell 2010) to construct an equalitarian form of masculinity within his son. Whereas most of the gender maneuvering I observed in this study appeared to be attempts to access masculine cultural capital, this instance appeared to be an attempt to undermine hegemony and create a concept of masculinity that was not dependent on the subordination of other genders.

GENDER MANEUVERING THROUGH DISPLAYS OF ALTERNATIVE FEMININITY

Some studies suggest that “redoing gender” through revisions to gender accountability “weaken its utility as a grounds for men’s hegemony” (West and Zimmerman 2009; Connell 2010). Redoing gender through forms of alternative femininity (Schippers 2002) may act to challenge the hegemonic gender binary through displays that do not bolster masculine dominance. Some of these alternative femininities may appear as genuine challenges, while others may actually tend to maintain the status quo through the feminizing or accessorizing of expressions that once sought to be more independent of masculinity and hegemony. The following examples of gender maneuvering were observed in the relatively brief transactions that occurred within dyads composed of two strangers; a customer and the barista. Although these dyadic transactions deviate from the previous observations of what we might call coffee dates, these displays of alternative femininity suggest methods of gender maneuvering that have the potential to subvert hegemony if they can avoid succumbing to complicity with it.

During one of my last observational periods, the blonde woman entered the store alone wearing black jeans and a men’s plaid, long-sleeved shirt. Her hair appeared a bit messy, as if she hadn’t brushed it, and she wasn’t wearing any makeup. Her gender expression seemed to have changed from emphasized femininity to more of a “gender-blender” style (Moore 2011). She also appeared to be less physically fit than my initial observations and her gender display did not seem to adhere to the standards of emphasized femininity as much as it did at first, potentially detracting from her previous gender maneuvering strategy. This new gender display could have been a shift in her overall gender expression and a challenge to the hegemonic

binary. Yet by distancing herself from the feminine to access masculine cultural capital, her gender display might actually emulate a complicit masculinity (Pascoe 2011, 182). However, in failing to perform an emphasized feminine display, she did not adhere to the status quo and therefore appeared to be accessing masculine cultural capital by displaying an alternative femininity.

More subtle displays of alternative femininity can be described by my last set of customer observations. Several women came through the store that all had a very similar style and appeared to display a similar form of alternative femininity. The first was a younger woman with very long blonde hair worn loosely down her back. She wore extra-high heels, black lacey tights, and the hem of a black dress could be seen hanging below a long black leather overcoat. She wore large designer sunglasses high on her head and carried a large black leather purse. Her makeup was very vivid; her face a uniform pale white, her lips a deep purple-red, and her eyes heavily accented with a black rockabilly “cat eye” style. This woman’s gender presentation appeared very feminine, with tight fitting clothing that accentuated her shape. Yet her makeup suggested more of a rockabilly gender expression, communicating a sense of confidence, power, and danger (Finely 2010) and her sharp tone of voice and lack of facial expression implied the possession of masculine cultural capital. However, this performance of alternative femininity appeared to feminize the rockabilly style more than its originators may have intended. She in fact seemed to adhere to emphasized femininity through most of her clothing choices, while her social interactions and rockabilly makeup suggested rebellion against hegemonic ideals.

The other two women displayed minimalist versions of a Punk Girl style, while their overall gender displays appeared to be that of emphasized femininity. The first was a younger woman wearing black leggings and a black leather jacket. Her hair was dyed black and worn straight and long and she wore knee-high brown leather boots and carried a black leather purse. The purse had black fringe dangling off the bottom and was lined with a thin row of gold studs. She also partially covered her hair with a black beanie cap and wore deep red lipstick with lots of cover-up. This woman had an overall gender display similar to the other woman’s emphasized femininity; however, the Punk Girl fashion accessories (the studs, makeup, and beanie) were utilized with no threat toward her social status or the typical

social sanctioning directed at *being a punk*. Her low-cut V-neck shirt and black leggings embodied current trends in fashion that attempt to accentuate the female figure, thus she appeared to maneuver between emphasized femininity and the alternative Punk Girl gender display.

The other woman entered the store wearing a leather jacket, a long gray blouse, black leggings, and short suede boots with gold studs on them. She also had a large leather purse with studs on it, large dark sunglasses, and platinum blonde hair. This woman appeared to be middle-aged and in very good shape. She received her coffee quickly and left the store without smiling or returning any of the friendly social gestures made by the female barista. This woman's gender presentation, with the accessorizing of studs, platinum hair, and emphasized makeup, also suggest a Punk Girl form of alternative femininity, yet accessorized in an emphasized feminine way. The studs on her boots were golden, as were the studs on her oversized purse, and the boots themselves were platform high heels. Her flat affect and distant attitude were also indicative of a gender maneuvering strategy of devaluation similar to traits of hegemonic masculinity.

For women who may display an overall rockabilly or Punk Girl self-expression, there may be social sanctions associated with performing such non-compliant gender displays. However, for these middle-class women there seemed to be no such dangers involved in wearing cat eye makeup, accessorizing with a few studs or fringe, and wearing feminized leather garb. Although their overall gender display is that of emphasized femininity, these women appear to be accessing masculine cultural capital by maneuvering between their primary gender displays and alternative femininities. They may receive positive feedback from hegemonic masculinity for embodying the ideal heterosexual partner to a dominant male, and yet their rockabilly and punk accessories also grant them some access to alternative femininity's defiant stance against hegemony. The contradiction here lays in the fact that while displaying alternative femininity in an accessorized manner may allow them to bolster their access to masculine cultural capital; they in fact tend to reify hegemonic dominance through their complicity with emphasized feminine ideals, serving to undermine the true spirit of alternative femininity.

DISCUSSION

During my observations the patrons of Coffee Corps often appeared to do gender by temporarily performing displays of hegemonic masculinity; and many times these gendered transactions did not align with their primary gender displays. These individuals deviated from the heteronormative binary by employing gender maneuvering strategies to gain masculine cultural capital; either by temporarily utilizing traits of hegemonic masculinity, or through displays of emphasized or alternative femininities. In many of the mixed-gendered and same-gendered dyads observed there appeared to be a gender binary being played out in ways often contrary to heteronormative practices. This was the most obvious and intriguing aspect of doing gender that I observed during my visits. I found that some women temporarily displayed traits of hegemonic masculinity in order to secure a dominant interactional position over another female or a male; and that both women and men displayed traits of emphasized femininity in order to gain access to cultural capital through deference to a dominant, masculine social actor. I also found that several of the patrons frequenting the shop expressed femininity through alternative gender displays in their interactions with baristas. These

alternative displays appeared to be an attempt to undermine hegemonic ideals of feminine behavior; however, they may in fact have served to reify the gender binary through feminizing and accessorizing subculture identities. I observed dyadic, gendered transactions through individual's conversational styles and gender displays, allowing me to identify and analyze their unique gender maneuvering strategies. My observation of gender display variations informed the analysis of specific gender maneuvering strategies and the impact of such tactics on the acquisition of masculine cultural capital.

The results of this study serve to explain how individuals on coffee dates or interacting with baristas attempted to redo the gender binary power structure; in order to increase their social power and to acquire resources typically reserved for those displaying hegemonic masculinity. These results should add to the implications of doing gender theory, in that the construction and performance of a gender display is often situational and readily maneuvered to serve the interests of an individual seeking to access masculine cultural capital. Therefore the heteronormative binary and its inherent inequalities may be routinely subverted through gender maneuvering strategies, to redo gender along more equitable lines. However, the findings of this study suggest that most individuals fail to undermine hegemony and instead typically reify masculine dominance by performing and thereby legitimizing oppressive social behaviors. When individuals are able to adopt traits (such as assertiveness) ascribed to masculinity without engaging in hegemonic complicity; individuals may succeed in redefining those traits as gender-neutral, and gain access to desired resources without placing the other member of their dyad in a subordinate role. The father reading his son a book with egalitarian ideals came closer than any other patrons I observed in attempting to redo gender and undermine hegemony.

However, most of the gender displays I observed during this study appeared to only reify hegemony's masculine dominance, instead of challenging it in true form. Women who temporarily employed traits of hegemonic masculinity endorsed those behaviors as a legitimate means for gaining social power and dominance, reifying hegemony instead of creating more egalitarian interactional norms. Women and men displaying the deferent traits of emphasized femininity to gain access to resources through a dominant masculine actor also

serve to legitimize hegemony. Women in this study who had the ability to perform gender maneuvering strategies could be said to have agency in acquiring the power to improve their social position, granting them access to social resources and privilege. However, in the long-term any agency acquired through the hegemonic system will only legitimize social institutions that operate on gender inequality; thus these women's agency may be a farce. What I failed to observe, the equitable allocation of resources within dyads, may be indicative of the context of this particular organizational setting. The heteronormativity of the coffee date establishes a framework for gender maneuvering strategies, granting individual agency only when individuals are complicit in the reification of a hegemonic gender binary. To truly undermine hegemony it seems that alternative displays of femininity and masculinity must subvert the ideals of hegemony, while carefully avoiding any actions that might serve to reify it. Future research might consider organizational settings in which gender maneuvering occurs without the reification of hegemony; where alternative gender displays seek to dismantle the gender binary and replace it with a spectrum of genders founded in equality. Future research could also include interview and survey data to identify individual self-concepts of gender displays and to better understand individual reasons for specific gender maneuvering strategies. Subordinated genders who enact displays of hegemonic masculinity only serve to legitimize gender inequality. Thus research into the outcomes of alternative gender maneuvering strategies could function to create more equitable dyadic transactions, where gender ceases to serve as a primary determinate in the allocation of power and resources in society. In order to redo gender in organizational settings like Coffee Corps, individual actors must diverge from hegemony and embrace gender equality.

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Interactions with the Outside: Exploring Non-Profit Resource Mobilization for Hispanic Immigrants in the Washington D.C. Metro Area

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ABSTRACT

This research looks at the interaction between a non-profit that serves low-income immigrants, the community, current immigration policy, and the immigrant population to understand the impact of this system on the growing Hispanic immigrant population in the DC metropolitan area. Over a period of 3 months the external and internal dynamics of the non-profit were observed through participant observation and through qualitative interviews. From this, the effectiveness of the current resource framework is assessed and the underlying processes involved in resource mobilization are analyzed. Drawing elements from the social movements framework, the major resources utilized and the processes of mobilization will be examined within the non-profit context. These resources and strategies propose a model of resource mobilization within the non-profit where cultural and human resources are emphasized to offset fundamental changes in how material resources are utilized, while socio-organizational and human resources are used to offset the impact of unfavorable policy towards immigrants. The implications of this system for the Hispanic immigrant population are discussed along with areas for future research.

Keywords: Immigration, Non-Profits, Resource Mobilization, Policy

INTRODUCTION: THE IMPORTANCE OF THE HISPANIC IMMIGRANT POPULATION

As the fastest growing immigrant group, Hispanics have made one of the largest impacts on the U.S. in all areas (economic, social, and cultural) and are only continuing to have a significant presence throughout the country. The 2010 United States Census found that the Hispanic population increased by 15.2 million between 2000 and 2010 (US Census Bureau 2011). Overall, there are 50.5 million Hispanics within the United States according to the 2010 census, with an estimated 11.7 million undocumented immigrants in the United States as of 2012 (2011; Passel et al. 2013).

Given that there are 11 million undocumented Hispanic immigrants, with about two million of them children who were brought here by their parents, it goes without saying that there are many social problems associated with such a large group of people living in fear of deportation and without structural opportunities to improve their lives (Passel et al. 2013; Kullgren 2003, 1630; Hall et al. 2010, 491-501). Because of their lack of legal status, many undocumented workers have been exploited, work in dangerous conditions, or are even held against their will (2010a 492-495; Logan et al. 2009, 3-10). Undocumented women face additional obstacles including domestic violence, forced prostitution, forced labor, and sexual assault (Ingram et al. 2010, 858-865; Hazen & Soriano 2007, 564; Raymond & Hughes 2003). Undocumented women who are victims of domestic abuse have the additional fear of being deported or losing their status if they leave their abuser (2010b, 858-860; Rizo & Macy 2011, 250-251). As many of these women may not speak English, are still unfamiliar with the United States, are oftentimes afraid of the police, and have limited opportunities to escape from their abuser it is difficult for them to get help even if they want assistance (2010b, 858-861; 2011, 251-253). Most importantly, all undocumented immigrants face a constant fear of deportation and uncertainty about their future because of their legal status. As there is no path to citizenship for these 11 million people at the current time, they live with worries of their families being separated, losing years of hard work, and having to return to their home country. Though undocumented immigrants face a large range of struggles, immigrants as a whole face a unique set of struggles when coming to the United States. Most immigrants are employed in low-skill high-labor sectors such as the agricultural and service

industry (Parrado & Kandel 2011, 626-624; Flippen 2012, 32). These are also industries that on average pay minimum wage or less, meaning that many immigrants live in or near poverty. Language barriers are also a significant issue for Hispanic immigrants, as not knowing English makes life more difficult and can lead to further discrimination (Finnie & Meng 2005, 1935).

Because of the connection between the social problems, struggles that immigrants (and within this context Hispanic immigrants) face, and a lack of resources, it becomes important to examine how resources are mobilized to combat these issues. As immigration policy holds a significant role in their struggles, the extent to which this limits resource availability is also important to consider. Thus, this research will seek to examine the resource mobilization of a non-profit that serves primarily the Hispanic immigrant community to better understand the implications of organizational processes for the capacity and continuity of resources provided to their clients.

UNDERSTANDING NON-PROFIT DYNAMICS FROM A SOCIAL MOVEMENTS PERSPECTIVE

Previous research has shown that the benefits of non-profits that serve immigrants are numerous. These non-profits act as community centers, are essential to supplement the lack of governmental resources, encourage the economic viability of immigrants, act as advocates for racial and ethnic minorities, serve as liaisons between governmental organizations and other non-profit organizations, and are a direct link into immigrant communities (De Leon et al. 2009, 3-10; Huxham & Vangen 1996, 5-8; McCarthy & Walker 2010, 215-230). The goal of non-profits, in general, is to “alter prevailing patterns of resource stratification and redirect resources” (Edwards & McCarthy 2007, 116-119). Given the many struggles that the growing population of Hispanic immigrants faces in the United States, it is important to understand how these problems are being addressed. As resource mobilization to combat social problems is at the heart of many Hispanic immigrant-serving non-profits, it is important to understand how these processes work. Additionally, it is clear in the literature that strategic decisions made by non-profits directly affect how successful an organization can be. As the success of an organization translates to the continuity and capacity of the organization, it is important to understand the implications of the strategic decisions made by non-profits as well.

Resource mobilization provides a useful framework for understanding non-profits, as they both share the trait of “undertaking actions to further the social change goals”. Thus resource mobilization framework can be used as a starting point to understand the mobilization in non-profits (Edwards & Gillham 2013; McCarthy & Walker 2010, 220). Social movement literature focuses on two facets of resource mobilization that are particularly important to this investigation: the type of resources needed and utilized, and the processes behind mobilizing these resources. Edwards and McCarthy (2007a, 116-120), drawing upon the many conceptualizations of resource types, provide evidence that resources that social movements utilize are moral, cultural, human, material, and social-organizational resources.

Cultural and moral resources include legitimacy, solidarity support, sympathetic support, and celebrity (Edwards & McCarthy 2007, 116-125; Edwards & Gillham 2013). An example of this would be a celebrity endorsing an organization or cause. Moral resources, specifically legitimacy, have been found to be significant to community based organizations that seek to reach audiences that lack resources (Walker & McCarthy 2010, 223). Socio-organizational resources are distinctly separate from cultural and moral resources, as this group includes infrastructures, social networks, and organizations (2007, 116-125; 2013). This type of resource is composed of friends of movement participants who could potentially be recruited for the cause, partner organizations where cooperation could occur, or other structures within the community that can be accessed by the social movement for their advantage. Human resources, as defined by Edwards & McCarthy, are not only the humans involved with the movement, but also the skill sets that they bring to the movement (2007, 116-125). Human resources are significant for social movements and organizations because they are the actors that mobilize the ideas and goals of the movement. Similarly, this could be seen happening within non-profit organizations with the staff providing direct change through legal and social services. Finally there are material resources, which include funds, meeting space, and supplies (2007, 116-130; 2013). These are the most tangible and basic resources that social movements utilize.

All of these resources in some manner can be applied to the case of the non-profit. Though the non-profit is not actively trying to make an ideological change in many cases, the moral and cultural support of communities can help sustain an organi-

zation. This can be through increased volunteers or donations. (Zald & Umseen 1987, 263; Zald & McCarthy 1987, 172-174) Equally as important, the non-profit desires material and human resources. Once these resources are obtained, it is then the function of the social movement or social movement organization to begin mobilizing these components. This can be done through creating organizations and building organizational capacity, mobilizing money, mobilizing actors, and creating resources and mobilization potential through collective action (2007, 116-120). How effective these organizational processes are directly affect the continuity and capacity of organizations (Downey & Rohlinger 2008, 32; 1987, 161 & 172-174; Walker & McCarthy 2010, 218).

As important as it is to understand resource mobilization, it is equally important to understand how organizations make strategic choices with their resources. These choices affect the continuity and capacity of the organization, and consequently affect how effective the non-profit can be with their resources. Regardless of the lack of research on the mobilization processes themselves, there has been substantial research done on how strategic choice is made in non-profit organizations. How effective non-profits are at achieving these goals depend on a multitude of factors including the amount of funding available, the effectiveness of the board, the existence of a system to measure organizational outcomes, legitimacy in the community, and the success at outreach (De Leon et al. 2009, 12-14; Huxham & Vangen 1996, 6-10; Walker & McCarthy 2010, 232). One area that the research on non-profits has not considered is how relationships with outside organizations can affect the ability for a non-profit to fulfill its mission. Drawing from the social movements literature once again, it has been found that social movement organizations often compete with one another, instead of cooperating, even at times when they have similar missions (Downey & Rohlinger 2008, 28; Zald & McCarthy 1987, 173). Whether this is true within the non-profit sector, especially with the non-profit's unique goal of directly maximizing social change outcomes, is something that is important to examine to better understand what this means for the success of their organization.

Finally, it is important to note the limiting factor of public policy, when looking at the extent to which non-profits can help alleviate social problems that Hispanic immigrants face because of the significant problem of legal status within this community.

Given the fact that there are around 11 million undocumented Hispanic immigrants in the US, with no policy to address the situation, the non-profit can only provide so much. Under current immigration law there are few legal fixes for an immigrant here without authorization. If an undocumented immigrant was brought to the US under the age of 16, there is Deferred Action for Childhood Arrivals which provides temporary relief from fear of deportation and a work permit, but this is not a path to citizenship. Additionally, undocumented immigrant victims of qualifying crimes, such as domestic violence, human trafficking, or sexual assault, are qualified for special U-visas and T-visas that can lead to citizenship. Past these two main options that only a limited portion of the population qualify for, there are no means to change legal status. In rare cases other forms of legal relief can be employed, but these are few and far in-between. Given the large body of literature showing the negative affect of legal status on education attainment and success, salary, and quality of work conditions, it is clear that only so much can be done without a federal public policy change (Passel et al. 2013; Kullgren 2003, 1633; Hall et al. 2010, 495-510; Logan et al. 2009, 8-13). Thus, non-profits that target the Hispanic immigrant population face the unique challenge of trying to find an appropriate legal remedy for qualifying clients, while trying to address the symptoms of lack of legal status for undocumented clients who do not qualify for current legal remedies. How non-profits deal with this challenge has not been examined in past research, but is integral when trying to understand the extent to which non-profits can mobilize their resources.

Given the significance of the issues arising with the influx of Hispanic immigrants into the United States coupled with the crucial role that non-profits play in assisting this population, it is important to better understand the way that the non-profit functions specifically in regards to resources. Hence, this investigation attempts to answer the following questions: How do non-profits mobilize their resources to meet the needs of the Hispanic immigrant population and how effective are these strategies? How do non-profits and their resources interact with policy to affect the effectiveness at meeting the needs of the Hispanic immigrant population?

METHODOLOGY

Washington D.C.

Within Washington D.C., 9.1% of the population identifies as Hispanic and 13.8% of the population identifies as Hispanic in the metropolitan area (Pew Hispanic Center 2011; George Mason University Center for Regional Analysis 2011). This population is only growing, with a significant increase in the Hispanic population of Washington D.C. within the past 10 years. In general, compared to other large cities, Washington D.C. is one of the only cities that still has a rapidly growing Hispanic immigrant population, with only more growth in Dallas and Atlanta. (George Mason University Center for Regional Analysis 2011). Even more importantly, there has been even greater growth in the metro area of Washington D.C. The D.C. metro area includes the District of Columbia, counties in Maryland (Calvert, Charles, Frederick, Montgomery, and Prince George's), and counties in Virginia (Arlington, Clarke, Culpeper, Fairfax, Fauquier, Loudoun, Prince William, Rappahannock, Spotsylvania, Stafford, and Warren).

Given that the area is well connected through transportation and community organizations, the impact of this growth has affected the D.C. area as a whole by increasing the need for resources for Hispanic immigrants. To meet these needs, many non-profits in the area share the goal of helping immigrants with legal matters and assisting in their transition into the United States. In the metro there are over 500 non-profits serving immigrants, with 132 catering to the needs of the Hispanic immigrant population (De Leon et al. 2009, 2). As there is a large population spread throughout the whole area, the non-profit infrastructure that serves this community has recently had a great increase in demand. As it was noted earlier, the percentage of Hispanic immigrants living under or at poverty level is very high; thus, low-income legal and social services are integral support systems that can augment their success within the US. This is even more significant for those here without documentation or in vulnerable situations, such as those in abusive relationships or those who have been trafficked.

Jurisdiction challenges of a metro area are unique here. As these non-profits serve three different districts there are many challenges presented. Because attitudes within each jurisdiction vary in terms of attitudes towards immigrants, this can affect

funding and the amount that non-profits are able to help (De Leon et al. 2009, 3-5). The area has been a place of both support and rejection of the Hispanic immigrant community. This is personified in local governmental policies in two jurisdictions, within the municipality of Washington D.C. and in Prince William County, Virginia.

Within Prince William County there was a stark backlash to a large influx of immigrants. Specifically, a community member named Greg Letiecq formed an organization called Help Save Manassas to drive undocumented immigrants out of Manassas and the Prince William communities (Guterbock et al. 2010). To do this, his organization pressured the Board of Supervisors of the town to pass General Order 45 on July 10, 2007 (Prince William County Government 2013). This order stated that “The Police Department will investigate the citizenship or immigration status of any person who is lawfully detained for a violation of a state law or County ordinance, if there is probable cause to believe such person is in violation of federal immigration law and when such inquiry will not expand the duration of the detention. Racial profiling is expressly prohibited, as emphasized in existing General Order 2.01, Section C, 56,” (Deane 2007). Though technically racial profiling was prohibited, the immigrant community within the county grew increasingly concerned about the possibility of profiling. Despite their concerns and protests, the order was passed. This led to increased racial tension within the county and conflict between the police force that increasingly did not want to enforce the order, and a Board of Supervisors that was standing behind the measure due to pressure from the community (2010). Police were increasingly concerned that these policies would decrease trust in the community, making it harder to fight real crime when it occurred. This policy also drove Hispanic immigrants out, both those with documentation and without, devastating the housing market in the area. Eventually the measure was repealed on April 29, 2008, when a directive was passed requiring police officers to ask about the immigration status of all who are arrested, gives the officers discretion of whether to ask before arrest, and affirms the police department’s commitment to protect victims of crimes regardless of legal status (2013). Even so, a report done by the Prince William County police department found that the implementation of General Order 45 eroded confidence in the community and in police officers in the eyes of the Hispanic immigrant population (2010).

In stark contrast to the policy enacted in Prince William County, within D.C. a measure was passed that works to protect Hispanics against racial profiling in the wake of State Bill 1070 passed by Arizona. State Bill 1070 has been one of the most stringent immigration measures passed within the last few years. Before being overturned by the Supreme Court, it required anyone over the age of 14 who was not a citizen to carry registration documents with them at all times, and if stopped without them they could receive a misdemeanor. The ability for state police to investigate immigration status, was upheld, given the condition that racial profiling does not occur. Even so, the potential for racial profiling is still very high. A similar law was passed in Alabama; House Bill 56 limited undocumented immigrants from every aspect of life, from being able to open a utilities account to registering an animal (Hispanic Interest Coalition of Alabama, et al vs Robert Bentley, 2011). Since passing though, the appeals court of Alabama has limited many of the more stringent provisions within the bill (2011). Critics of these policies cite the tendency for racial profiling to occur under this law and see the law as a civil rights violation. In response to both of these bills, Washington D.C. passed a policy that has been called “anti-Arizona” to protect immigrants living within their borders. The executive order, signed by Mayor Vincent C Grey in October 2011 “clarifying that the District’s public-safety officials will not inquire into the immigration status of individuals or transmit information about immigration status to federal agencies except when that status pertains directly to a criminal investigation,” (Executive Office of the Mayor, 2011). This policy works to both keep immigrants from fearing being detained while also rewarding undocumented immigrants who are engaging in legal behavior and contributing to life in the United States. Along with President Obama’s immigration reform, the threat of legal repercussions for immigrants within the District of Columbia is a much smaller fear than in other areas.

Consequently, the Washington D.C. metro area presents an interesting case study to look at how urban areas with burgeoning immigrant populations develop and improve resource mobilization frameworks. Given the large demand for services, coupled with a growing immigrant population in a metro area formerly unaccustomed to this group, there needed to be a better understanding of how the area was dealing with this influx. Coupled with the extra challenges of multiple jurisdictions, the

distribution of resources in the area is complex and adds to the question of how non-profits meet community needs.

Data Collection Methods and the Field Setting: The Helping House

The setting chosen to conduct research was a non-profit, given the pseudonym The Helping House for confidentiality purposes. All those mentioned throughout the study have also been given pseudonyms for their privacy. As government assistance for immigrants is limited, the non-profit is the main body that aims to fill the gap of resources. I chose this location for three main reasons. First, it is an organization that mainly serves the Hispanic population of the entire Washington D.C. metro area. Second, it is an organization that offers more comprehensive services, specifically legal services, as this is one of the most pressing concerns for many Hispanic immigrants. Third, it is one of the oldest in the area and most reputable.

The Helping House is a well-established organization that mainly serves Hispanic immigrants, but has helped immigrants from throughout the world. Their services are available to all immigrants within the Washington D.C. metro area, but some are restricted due to funding guidelines. They provide social and legal services for low-income immigrants as well as providing special services for immigrants who are dealing with issues of domestic abuse or human trafficking. The legal services department of the organization is considerably larger than the social services side, a department that mainly exists to meet the needs of immigrants dealing with domestic abuse or human trafficking. This department consists of lawyers, paralegals, and Board of Immigration Accredited (BIA) Representatives. A BIA representative is able to submit immigration applications and represent clients in deportation court, but does not have to hold a law degree. Cases that the legal team would take ranged from petitioning for refugee status, applying for Deferred Action for Childhood Arrivals (DACA), applying for special visas on the basis of crimes, and a family law unit to assist domestic violence survivors. Social services include a therapist and social workers. The purpose of this department is to help domestic violence and human trafficking survivors deal with the trauma they have experienced so that they can lead successful lives but also testify against their abusers without being re-traumatized. They can also help survivors of abuse with safety planning, finding safe shelter, obtaining a job, and meeting the basic needs of them-

selves and their children. The social services department aims to assist those who have been trafficked to adjust to life in the US, teaching them how to get jobs, find housing, and navigate applying for special benefits for trafficking victims. Consequently, this non-profit tackles some of the most pressing needs of the Hispanic immigrant population.

Another distinct feature of the non-profit is the legitimacy it holds in the community. All staff members are required to speak at least English and Spanish fluently and special attention is paid to cultural sensitivity. Hispanics who understood the needs of the immigrant community originally founded the organization, a value the organization continues to promote internally and externally. This is reflected in the demand for the non-profit's services, where often the receptionist would have to turn away people because appointments were booked solid for the upcoming month as soon as they were made available.

At the time of research, the Helping House had 29 permanent staff members. Everyone at the non-profit was very enthusiastic about his or her jobs. Even during lunch breaks conversation would often drift to an immigration related topic. All members of the staff worked long hours, usually between 50 and 60 per week, sometimes even coming in on the weekend. Every staff member was proficient in English and Spanish with the exception of a few people in the administration. All the staff is under the age of 40, with the exception of the accountant and one senior staff attorney. All lawyers had past experience working in immigration law or with immigrants/international populations. The majority of the staff is also married and childless, with only four staff members having children. All employees hold at least a Masters or professional degree. Most significantly, all have a personal connection to immigration or commitment to public service related to empowering marginalized communities.

Over a period of three months from May 2013 until August 2013, I came in for three days a week, eight hours per day. My typical duties included organizing grant databases, researching the history of the organization through searching for historical documents and interviewing first-hand sources, writing articles about immigration policy, sitting in on legal trainings, assisting with program development, researching donors and creating board member profiles, and listening to immigrants' stories. Each day I would write notes throughout the day into a word document on the computer. I paid attention to the daily routine

of the office, listening to casual conversations and engaging in more formal matters. I was allowed to attend all of the trainings for the legal interns (all of whom are in law school), social services trainings, and sit in on some administrative meetings. The intern area was in the center of the office, in an open area where all that was going on could be observed. In this area, there were constant interactions between the staff and interns, as well as some interactions with clients.

After building a rapport with The Helping House over this period I conducted six qualitative interviews with the staff. These staff members were picked to ensure proportional representation of all departments, genders, and races. The length of time that the interviewees had worked at the organization ranged from 3 weeks to 10 years. The questions asked in these interviews were meant to gain a better understanding of the organization, its strengths and weaknesses, and the personal insights that the staff could provide about their work. The questions were open-ended, leaving much room for in-depth discussion about topics that could arise within the interview. I asked questions about their positions, involvement, opinions on the organization's functioning, and engagement in the broader community. The interview closed with asking a reflective question about the impact that the interviewee felt they had made on the population and asking for any other thoughts. The purpose of this was to wrap up the interview naturally and get a sense for the motivations of the people dedicating their career to public service. Finally, basic demographic questions were asked about age, race, education level, religious affiliation, employment, marital status, and number of children.

Though each interview addressed all of these key questions, due to the open-ended nature of many of the questions, each interview trailed off to focus on a particular interesting idea or process mentioned by the interviewee. This was directly related to the specialized role each employee interviewed played in the organization. For example, interviews with the different lawyers focused on various facets of legal issues faced by the Hispanic immigrant population while the interviews with administration and social services shed more light on the relationship on the non-profit to the community as a whole. Going even further, each individual had detailed insights about their function in the resource mobilization chain created by the non-profit.

Data Analysis Framework

Evaluation of the data was originally done through open coding. All participant observation notes and interviews were reviewed to look for common themes and patterns. As the notes were reviewed, short memos were written highlighting key points of discussion at the organization, information about how the non-profit ran, and any other significant information about how the organization strived to meet its mission statement. The memos were then read over and the discussion of resource mobilization was identified. A salient theme throughout the data was a discussion of how and through what means the non-profit could maximize their impact on the Hispanic immigrant community. From here, further research was done looking at theories of resource mobilization, culminating in the framework presented by social movement scholars. Thus, the data and coding were then evaluated according to the definitions of this mobilization theory to understand the types of resources the non-profit utilizes, how the organization makes strategic decisions, and how they mobilize these resources to ensure capacity and continuity.

Under this framework, the data was recoded to identify the human, material, cultural, and socio-organizational resources of the organization based on the definitions proposed by social movement organization. Whenever someone mentioned a resource in an interview, this was coded according to what type of resource it was. Additionally participant observation notes were coded to identify resources through reflections on the environment of the non-profit, disposition of the staff, everyday occurrences at the organization, and history of the organization. The following table presents examples of each resource and an example from the data:

Resource	Example from Data
Human Resources (staff, volunteer, interns, specialized immigration knowledge, duties)	“I supervise other attorneys, paralegals, BIA accredited reps, and interns in their work doing direct services.” (Juanita’s, a lawyer, description of her responsibilities)
Material Resources (Money, Office Space, Supplie, Social)	“One of the things I like about the Helping House is how accessible it is via public transport” (Deborah, an administrator, discussing strengths of the organization)
Cultural and Moral Resources (Legitimacy in the community, cultural sensitivity, ther non-profits in the area)	“When I asked about referrals today, Deborah told me that the Helping House is well known and trusted in the community. She estimated that over 50% of these clients come to Ayuda through these means. Otherwise, clients come through referrals from other organizations. These vary depending upon the type of case.” (from participant observation notes)
Socio-Organizational Resources (personal relationships, social networks)	“[So would you say that it’s more about the personal relationships?] I feel like it is, yeah! Because then people contact you directly, and it’s like you know a fellow non-profit you know worker” (Joe, a lawyer, discussing referrals between non-profits)

Then, the notes were coded as to how the Helping House mobilizes money and actors, and makes strategic decisions. Mobilization of money and actors include explanations as to how the organization utilizes the four types of resources. Here is

where intersectionality between resources begins to become important because these organizational processes often involve the use of multiple resources. The following table provides examples of the non-profit’s organizational processes as they were coded.

Organizational Processes	Example from Data
Mobilization of Money	“It is crucial to the Helping House’s future success that we diversify our funding sources. We need to do this through building community support so that people give meaningful donations, repeatedly” (Jane, an administrator, explaining changes in funding structures)
Mobilizing Actors	“I think that’s one of our strengths too, where we’re able to like draw upon the pool of interns that we’ve trained. I guess I’ve never really thought about it that much but our internship program if we can, if an intern applies and we really liked them, I mean it’s pretty likely that they’ll be hired.” (Joe, a lawyer, discussing trends in employment)
Strategic Decision-making	“Deciding what areas of your mission are going to grow as your funding grows through dialogue with the staff and board is crucial” (Deborah, an administrator, discussing how choices made about the allocation of resources)

Finally, the notes were coded for what these organizational processes mean for the continuity and capacity of the organization. Examples of this were found when looking at the intersection between specific resources and strategic decision-making. An example of this is when Deborah details the objective of a new funding model to supplement changes in support, “You have to be different, if you do the same thing and call out of the blue for money, that’s not effective. I’m in the business of developing relationships. There’s a difference between when an organization calls you and you’re excited to support it and really believe in it, it’s different when you hear the non-stop NPR fundraising or calls you out of the blue”. This example directly shows how the organization has made a strategic decision to change something about their organization based on a changing balance of resources that can be accessed. Thus, these relationships were

coded in the notes through identifying intersections between resources, and dialogue on how to leverage these intersecting resources against each other, for the purposes of continuity and capacity of the organization.

Limitations

It is critical to mention limitations to this investigation. For one, this case study is specific to the Washington D.C. metro area. This means that though the framework developed could be tested in similar metro areas, it is not an absolute model to how organizations mobilize their resources. Additionally, this investigation only was able to examine one non-profit and their interactions with other community entities. To get a complete picture of the relationships between non-profits, it would have been necessary to observe non-profits other than the one stud-

ied. Though the length of time spent at the organization was substantial (3 months), a longer period of observation could lead to more discoveries about functioning and also provide more data on how the organization evolves over time.

DATA AND ANALYSIS

This case study of a non-profit that serves primarily Hispanic immigrants presents an opportunity to get a nuanced view of resource mobilization within the non-profit. Drawing elements from the social movements framework, the processes of mobilization will be examined within the non-profit context. From this it is clear that resources interact and support one another, and that these interactions have significant implications on how resources are mobilized. This is discussed within the analysis of organizational processes, leading to the conclusion that organizations make strategic decisions based on how they believe they can leverage their existing resources. These resources and strategies propose a model of resource mobilization within the non-profit where cultural and human resources are emphasized to offset fundamental changes in how material resources are utilized. In addition, socio-organizational and human resources are also used to try and offset the impact of unfavorable policy towards immigrants. Finally, the effectiveness of resource mobilization will be assessed based on field observations to suggest ways in which the non-profit could improve its resource mobilization.

ORGANIZATIONAL PROCESSES

It is important to understand the implications of resources and the interactions among them on organizational capacity and continuity. This in turn, affects the resources available to the immigrant community. What came out of these interviews and observations, as a whole, was a complex discussion about what resources are available and the debate over how a non-profit should mobilize them. Though this was not originally expected, as a result of the questions aimed at getting a descriptive look at the organization, this significant conflict is highlighted and can be analyzed under an existing resource mobilization framework to advance theory on these processes.

Mobilizing Money: A New Approach

At the time studied, the organization was at a crucial point

of trying to build a sustainable funding base. Within the last ten years there have been major shifts in the way that non-profits procure funding. Before the economic recession in 2007 the quantity and amount of funding available through large governmental grants was starting to decrease, with the grants available decreasing significantly after the onset of the recession. Since then, there has been a shift to non-profits depending more on private donations. Thus, the non-profit is at a critical point of working to make themselves sustainable through developing a new funding strategy based on developing personal relationships in the community for the purposes of soliciting for meaningful donations. This is highlighted through Jane's, an administrator, explanation of how her focus as an administrator has shifted because of the shift in funding acquisition.

“The recession changed everything, even though there had been recessions in the past. They're fundamentally trying to change how government support is given out to non-profits in the community. So you're having a really high level dialogue philosophically on what is the function of non-profits and NGOs and how do they get the money when there isn't any money to give, so how are those tough choices made... it's no longer responsible to our clients to rely on large government grants that could be gone tomorrow”

This is not to say that grants were still not a decent part of the budget of the organization, but rather that this is slowly starting to shift. The organization studied did have multiple memorandums of understanding with the federal government and some federal government funding, but these were primarily for their human trafficking programs. State and local government grants were much more prevalent among funding sources but come with restrictions.

Coming along with the use of grants are the challenges of limiting services based on residency; this is even more so a problem at an organization that serves a well-connected, metropolitan community. These limitations significantly limit how effective the non-profit can be at resource mobilization. Though as their funding diversifies this may no longer become a problem, it is definitely an obstacle to being able to serve the largest amount of people. Compounded with the large increase of immigrants to the DC metro area within the past ten years and immigration reform in the works, this could easily become an even larger obstacle in the near future if steps are not taken to significantly

diversify funding.

As a shift of funding is underway, the non-profit has had to make some considerable changes to funding strategy. Though not visible, this process has not been without tension. In one interview it was noted that the change in funding is as much a cultural change of the organization as it is a funding change. Because of the way the organization was previously funded through grants, there is a lack of comfort with asking community members for support by some staff members at the organization. This is where tension arises between the administrative side of the organization and the direct services side. Because the roles and focuses of the administrative and direct services staff are so different, at times there is a lack of understanding be it because of communication or inherent ideological differences. To try and ease this, there has been a pointed focus on engaging in discussions and explain exactly what the shift in funding means. A large part of this comes from making the distinction between hounding people for money and building a genuinely supportive community donor base. The administration also tries to communicate that the purpose of going past government or large grants is to expand the work that the non-profit does, and explaining that this is the best means through which the organization can expand. As this new funding strategy has had some success in the past year that it has been implemented, the additional question arises of how to allocate these new funds. This breeds an entirely new discussion and point of tension. Though the mission encompasses both legal and social services, which department gets extra resources? The legal services department, though bigger, has a very high demand; does this mean that new funding should go to them? Or should it go to the newer social services department that is trying to grow, as to making the non-profit's services more comprehensive? A more detailed explanation of these intricate decision making processes by Jane helps clarify what is done to balance all interests.

"It is a constant dialogue, at the end of the day your board and your executive director are making decisions, but I am a very collaborative worker so it's important to me that this just doesn't come down from on high because I think the staff will be unhappy and this trickles down. To explain the overall culture of fundraising is how it all starts. It's about telling our clients that we'll be here tomorrow, if a government grant is cut tomorrow then we'd have to cut all of our

funding. From my perspective and those who want to diversify funding, it's more responsible for our clients that we develop a sustainable model of income...at the heart of all of our decisions is the accountability of our clients. As there are so few administrative staff and so many program staff, given that everyone here is very passionate what about the work and committed to the mission, it makes sense that they are protective of their clients and their work. But it's about explaining to them that we're trying to get people to make meaningful gifts instead of looking to meet financial goals, and that may entail some cultural changes in the organization."

There are no easy answers to these questions, but is instead a constant dialogue of where best money could be spent while also trying to figure out how money can best be used to further the mission. What is important, as another staff member noted, that the importance is always placed on furthering the mission and meeting the clients needs. At the heart of every discussion had, that must be what is foremost taken into account.

The question then arises as to how the client's needs are actually measured. This is one significant way that this non-profit is limited. There is no formal evaluation system in place to assess the client's experience, what their needs were and are, and how well their needs were met. Though their successes are apparent in other ways such as the demand for their services, the increase of immigrants to the DC area, the number of successful cases, and positive reputation in the community, a formalized way of evaluating outcomes of their clients could prove to be a useful tool. These statistical and descriptive measures could give a greater voice to the needs of the immigrants in the communities so that a more informed decision could be made about where to allocate new funds.

Mobilizing Future Actors

Training future actors is another important function of the staff for the viability of the organization. The internship programs provided, specifically for law students, help to ensure the future success of the organization in an unintentional way. As Jennifer noted in an interview, law school is about learning how to think rather than how to engage in the daily practice of law.

"With immigration law, it's even more necessary to provide that kind of basic training and you know the further men-

torship and supervision. Why? Because immigration law is, well, the only other kind of thing that you can compare it to is the tax code, and people joke about the tax code it's insane and like incomprehensible and it's like 1000 pages long."

Because of the complexity of immigration law and lack of applicable knowledge of the interns, each intern has to go through around two weeks of rigorous, daily training to learn how the organization works and about what they will be doing. From there, they receive a lawyer as a mentor and continue to learn as they slowly take on larger caseloads and work more independently. Through teaching the practical skills of meeting with clients, preparing applications, and managing cases the law students get work experience, but the non-profit equally has a pool of potential employees. This is a pool that has been used in the past with five employees being former interns at one point. This allows the organization to maximize the utility of the training resources of the other employees, as hiring from this pool prevents the need for another person to be taught.

The non-profit deliberately attempts to mobilize actors through their efforts to develop human capital through their interns and volunteers. This is indirectly accomplished through the propagation of the importance of immigration issues throughout the community. The time that staff members put into developing interns and volunteers is very significant. This shows an organizational culture of mobilizing others and investing in their staff. This has been a rather successful strategy for them in terms of staff retention given the number of employees who have worked for the non-profit for many years after first being an intern. This has also led to a tighter knit organization, which helps with retention of employees. All of the staff spoke highly of one another and were confident in the employees in their departments and in the entire office. This played an important role in keeping the focus of the office on working productively together, staying focused on the tasks at hand, and communicate effectively.

Mobilizing Other Non-Profits and Community Based Organizations

Significant to the organization's success is how it is able to mobilize relationships with other non-profits and community-based organizations. Before discussing their effectiveness in these relationships it is important to mention that the non-profit

can only do so much to mobilize these actors. As is noted in the social movements literature, organizations make strategic choices about when to work with other organizations and the terms of those agreements (Downey & Rohlinger 2008, 4; Zald & McCarthy 1987). This also holds true within the non-profit community. A good example of this is presented in an anecdote of a conflict when trying to get a client who had a highly valid (meaning that there was a good chance her abuser would try and find her to kill her) domestic abuse case into a shelter. The client's time at a former shelter was almost up, and they were attempting to get her in to another shelter. When trying to get into the other shelter, they faced an issue because the client did not speak English and the shelter did not want to provide translation services. The following is Claudette's (a social worker) description of how the two parties came to agreement.

"The executive director got involved and their executive director was involved, program directors were also involved and eventually we kind of came to an agreement that I would continue to provide case management as they were providing case management and that we would split the cost of translation. Which in terms of the social work field, that's not really a great agreement because you've got two people providing the same service and really it should only be one person so there's no confusion and no conflict between the two. And as such we basically ended up paying for half of the translation that this agency should have been providing. So fortunately the client got into the shelter but it wasn't really a just agreement."

This highlights some of the struggles associated with trying to work with other organizations and difficult choices that the non-profit has to make in these interactions. In this situation, the organization was faced with the dilemma of accepting an unfavorable agreement or not being able to assist their client. Recognizing the importance of providing holistic services and the client's safety, they chose in this situation to accept the agreement regardless of lack of fairness.

Building Organizational Capacity and Continuity through Moral and Cultural and Human Resources

The non-profit aims to build organizational capacity and continuity through the way that they mobilize their actors, money, and make strategic decisions. Specifically, there has been

a strategic decision made to make the organization more sustainable. This is a cultural shift within the non-profit as well as very clear shift in how resources are utilized. This can be seen through their practices of diversifying their funding, investing in training of interns and volunteers, the building of their board of directors, and developing personal relationships within other organizations to make referrals more effective. To build organization capacity and continuity cultural and human resources have become more significant to offset fundamental changes in how material resources are utilized. In addition, socio-organizational and human resources are also used to try and offset the impact of unfavorable policy towards immigrants.

The changing funding situation of non-profits has increased the need for cultural and human resources to gain funding, so that immigrants in all jurisdictions can take advantage of all the resources the Helping House offers. To offset the lack of material resources available, the organization has made a strategic shift to using cultural and human resources to make up for a lack of large governmental grants; this is essential to sustain funding of the organization. This is done through an increased emphasis for the entire staff to be behind the new method of funding and encouraging their participation in public events that the Helping House participates in to gain monetary support.

“When it comes to a culture of fundraising, it’s about a holistic community relationship and if people aren’t supportive starting with your own family, starting inside the office, it leads to unhealthy donor relations and missed opportunities. So everyone has to understand that really at all times and in all ways, they are helping to grow the Helping House’s community and then raise support for us, but it’s a very long-term process.”-Jane, an administrator

Their support is crucial for two reasons. For one, the legal and social services departments directly work with the clients, so their insights are appreciated. It is also essential that the entire organization be behind the new system of funding. As Jane, part of the administrative staff, mentions community support starts with the families and the people who work at the Helping House. Without their backing, use of cultural resources to gain support, and without their support on an ideological level, the new method of funding cannot be successful. Thus, increasing the material resource of money, is contingent on the successful interaction between human and cultural resources.

Equally as important to the new funding strategy is the support of the board members of the organization. They are required to attend board meetings and be involved in the decision-making processes of the organizations, fundamental to the long-term success of the Helping House. Though the non-profit is stable, it is important for the board to take their responsibilities seriously and be engaged with the organization. Ashley, a part of the administration noted

“Fundamentally they are the governors of the organization...they are the ones that are legally and financially liable for the organization. If it’s a stable organization, people will sign onto a board without hesitation, so there’s not that danger. But you still need your board to take the responsibility seriously, as they are the leaders and owners of the non-profits.”

Previous research has shown the importance of boards for non-profit success; this plays a less critical role in the short-term success of the non-profit in this case study, as the organization is stable. Instead, an effective board in general is needed for the long-term success of the shift of funding. Currently, the non-profit has a very new board that does not have extensive experience of being on the boards of non-profits. What comes along with this are miscommunications about what is expected from each party. To combat this, the non-profit has tried to better educate the board about their responsibilities and communicate their expectations before recruiting new board members. Consequently, until the board is more established it will be difficult for their role to be as significant as it would be in an organization with a strong and established board. As of right now that translates into fewer cultural and human resources that can be used to attract funding and support of the organization, with the goal of increasing this in the long term.

Dually, the current weaknesses of the board have been offset through emphasis placed on collective internal decision-making. As there has been such a big shift in funding that affects the culture of the organization, special care has been taken to clearly communicate what changes are occurring.

“I think the new funding model was introduced just as, ‘well we’re doing this now!’ as opposed to ‘here are the strengths of our organizations, here are the weaknesses of our organization, and that at the heart of all of these decisions is accountability to our clients. So to me, there’s nothing more

important than being accountable to our clients. What I've tried to do is to frame changes in administration as being beneficial to them and their clients, especially because this is an organization with so few administration and so many program staff"- Juan, a lawyer

Because in the past, there have been misconceptions about what exactly the new method of funding looks like, the administration has put in place weekly meetings to discuss the major changes occurring so that everyone has a deep understanding of what is going on. This functions to help with continuity in the long-term, through making the staff feel like they have a say and that their work and opinions are valued. It dually helps build support for the new program so that it can be successful.

The investment that the administration is making in developing the rest of the staff and the board is instead occurring because of a shifting organizational culture as opposed to a need to avert a pressing organizational crisis. A common thread throughout all of the interviews was a commitment to their clients that the organization will be there tomorrow and for years to come. Given this ideological frame of constantly keeping in mind the future of the organization, the Helping House has identified changing funding dynamics as being a significant to the capacity and continuity of their mission. As the organization is well known in the immigrant community and trusted as a resource, there is a lot of pressure to fulfill the community's expectations and helping people as long as there is need. Every person who was interviewed at some point expressed the desire of continuing the mission of the non-profit because of the important work that it does; this was without any prompting but rather came up when simply discussing the work that goes on at the organization.

Building Capacity and Continuity Through Human and Socio-Organizational Resources

Because this organization has significant involvement in legal services for immigrants there is a unique constraint as to the extent to which resources can be mobilized. As was mentioned earlier, the only two legal remedies available for undocumented immigrants at this time are Deferred Action and visas for victims of crimes. Policy is a large restriction on how much the Helping Hand can assist the community. Even so, the non-profit has found ways to leverage human and socio-organizational

resources to maximize the possibilities of legal remedies. An example of this can be found in a newly developed program to combat Notario fraud. The problem of notario fraud was identified at the Helping House when a number of lawyers reported hearing or seeing the implications of notario's from their clients. Some would mention that a notario was holding their passport and swindled money from them; while some were faced with more serious consequences of visiting a notario such as being ineligible for legal relief due to immigration paperwork being filed incorrectly in the past by notarios. Seeing this problem and mobilizing their socio-organizational resources, they met with other community leaders to find a remedy. Before the strategic decision was made by those in the organization to do this, the non-profit was powerless to do anything through traditional legal immigration remedies. Though these socio-organizational resources were important, the human resources involved were just as significant. Because of the expertise in law and interest in immigrant issues, the legal department developed a handbook for how to deal with notario cases. Their success in the courts is reflected in their framing of notario fraud as a consumer protection issues. Though the program is new, at the time of fieldwork three cases had already been won. Internally, there is a strong emphasis placed on being current on reforms to immigration policy and finding ways to make the law work for the client.

The one weakness in this strategy is though the legal department has found ways to utilize the flexibility of interpretation of the law at times; there is no advocacy arm of the organization. On social media and in daily conversations, the organization as a whole and the staff support comprehensive immigration reform and laws that will help with the social problems experience by immigrants, the organization does not engage in formal lobbying. There are two ways to view the lack of advocacy; as an organizational failure or as inappropriate for the non-profit. It is important to note that there have been times where the Helping House has been asked to be a part of developing public policy related to immigrant issues; specifically this happened in the early 1990s with the creation of the Violence Against Women Act. A few members of the Helping House were asked for their input when the bill was being drafted and were an important part of many of the protections for immigrant survivors of domestic violence and human trafficking. Since then, no significant lobbying is occurred even when the opportunity has presented itself.

An example of this is the summer of 2013 when immigration reform passed in the senate, but the Helping House merely voiced its support for the bill on social media instead of being involved in the policy making process. Immigration would have a direct affect on the pool of clients the non-profit would be able to assist if immigration reform was passed, but as of right now the non-profit has found no direct motive to be a part of that process. It could be argued that because their mission statement does not encompass advocacy, it is unnecessary for the organization to invest their human and cultural resources in this cause. If anything, this is another area that the Helping Hand could discuss being involved with in the future to maximize resource mobilization for their targeted population of Hispanic immigrant

DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSIONS

The purpose of this paper is to develop the understanding of resource mobilization within the non-profit. The social movements research on resource mobilization, strategic decision-making, and capacity and continuity presents a starting point for understanding how non-profits can be effective, but does not fully explain the functioning of the non-profit. Through the analysis of field observations and qualitative interviews, a model was built to better explain how the non-profit mobilizes resources and makes strategic decisions to build organizational capacity and continuity.

The findings from this case study are significant for Hispanic immigrants, resource mobilization strategies of non-profits, and sociological theory. This analysis brings to light the importance of planning to be sustainable, community support, relationships with other non-profits, and inclusive internal discussion for the maximization of resource. This examination presents several strategies of successful non-profits. Much of the resource mobilization framework in this non-profit is developed, constantly being refined, and stable. At the same time, it highlights the struggles that even established organizations face, especially in the face of increased immigration to an area. For the non-profit, this case study provides an outside evaluation of how effective they are with their resources. It provides suggestions of ways that they can maximize their abilities to continue to serve their clients (mainly Hispanic immigrants) as well as possible.

In terms of sociological theory, this investigation presents compelling evidence for the importance of understanding the role of non-profits in social change. Though policy is a significant limiting factor on the amount of social change and resource redistribution the organization can accomplish, the non-profit has a sustained direct effect on communities. Looking at the organizations in terms of resource mobilization can help identify ways that this mobilization can be improved, while also deepening the scholarship on what makes an effective non-profit. This would provide tangible benefits for individual non-profits in trying to better fulfill their mission, but also advance literature on non-profits past a very business-like focus on how management decisions affect the organization's success. Through examining the non-profit in terms of resource relationships instead of solely on internal decisions, a more nuanced understanding can be grasped on how non-profits can have maximum impact.

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Forms of Resistance against the Government of Unemployment in Germany

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ABSTRACT

The research question guiding this study is: What are effective forms of resistance of long-term unemployed in Germany against the government of unemployment? Following Michel Foucault, the government of unemployment is understood as the institutions, procedures, analyses, calculations and tactics forming a set of solutions to unemployment and its social and personal effects. The government of unemployment exercises power over the unemployed through the creation of individualized and politically marginalized subjectivities. The group KEAs e.V. responds to the political marginalization of the unemployed through independent self-organization. Furthermore, they challenge the individualized subjectivities imposed by the government of unemployment by fostering solidarity and practicing “agonal” resistance collectively and individually. This study is based on qualitative research conducted with the KEAs in the form of semi-structured in-depth interviews and participant observation.

Keywords: Unemployment, Governmentality, Resistance, Solidarity

INTRODUCTION

“Critique should be an instrument for those who fight, those who resist and refuse what is. Its use should be in processes of conflict and confrontation”-Foucault 1980, 236

In the summer of 2004 a mass protest wave swept through Germany in response to the implementation of the neoliberal Hartz workfare reforms, commonly referred to as “Hartz IV” in Germany. Hartz IV is the fourth of the Hartz laws combining the former unemployment benefits with welfare benefits. Long-term unemployment benefits are generally referred to in Germany as “Hartz IV”, which has also come to stand for the entire Hartz reform. Once the mass mobilized protests faded, individuals and groups of long-term unemployed moved on to more direct forms of action. The KEAs e.V. is one such group that formed in response to the Hartz laws and the abandonment of their cause by larger political organizations and unions. KEA stands for Kölner Erwerbslose in Aktion (Cologne’s Unemployed in Action) and Kölner Erwerbslosen Anzeiger (Cologne Unemployed Gazette), the newspaper published and distributed by the group. The KEAs are an independent organization with the aim of articulating and representing the interests of the group members based on their personal experience of oppression as a result of their unemployed status. The three main activities of the group are the production and distribution of their newspaper and other information material, weekly open legal advice and support, and the organization and support of creative protest. Furthermore, the group constitutes a platform for mutual support, where individual members can exchange experiences, accompany each other to the government agencies and pool their time and resources based on principles of solidarity.

The aim of my research was to investigate forms of resistance of long-term unemployed in Germany. I developed this specific research interest out of a broader concern with the exercise of power and forms of resistance in modern societies and particularly in my native country Germany. In contrast to the vast theoretical literature, I perceived a lack of academic interest in the localized forms of resistance as understood and practiced by economically and socially marginalized groups. Antonio Gramsci has argued that the conflict between the hegemonic power and the groups it represses can inspire alternative imaginations for building counter-hegemonic ideas and practices. Living in a society thriving on pretensions of social cohesion, I was

“ Critique should be an instrument for those who fight, those who resist and refuse what is. Its use should be in processes of conflict and confrontation”

– Foucault 1980, 236

moved to seek out the very material conflicts fought out on the margins of our society and explore the practical problems and implications of political resistance in Germany as a democratic neo-liberal market society.

METHODS

After finding their homepage www.die-keas.org on the web I contacted the KEAs and was invited to one of their weekly open meetings. I encountered a group of quite diverse and friendly people sitting around a large table with one computer in a comfortable informal atmosphere. I joined in the meeting which involved a discussion of personal issues, reports from the legal advice service, the planning of upcoming activities and finally my request to conduct ethnographic research with members of the group. After discussing my idea and some of the group’s doubts and reservations, my proposal was accepted and we agreed upon the general focus of my research.

My research consists of five semi-structured in-depth interviews of 60 to 120 minutes along with participant observation of two open group meetings and one of the legal advice and support sessions offered by the group for Hartz IV recipients. I conducted the interviews in German and transcribed, coded and analyzed the data in its original language. I later translated some of the interview material and the most important codes and key concepts for use in this report. All names of interview participants have been anonymized and three of the participants are referred to by their existing pseudonyms as used in their own publications.

Some of the interview participants volunteered after I pro-

posed the project in our first meeting but the final sample was also influenced by the participant's availability during my visits to Cologne. The five interview participants are all German, male and do not originate from Cologne. This reflects the general composition of the group quite well since only a few of the active members of the group are female, non-German or locals from Cologne. However, for this reason the lack of a female, local or non-German voice in this study also presents a significant limitation. Intuitively, the composition of the group may reflect on how its activities correspond to the needs of particular groups in German society. It would be the object of a further study to investigate how forms of resistance differ in their relevance for different positions in society.

The research question guiding this study is: What are effective forms of resistance of long-term unemployed in Germany against the government of unemployment? I answer this question in three sections. The first section deals with the government of unemployment and how it is experienced by the participants. I develop an understanding of practices of self-formation creating the unemployed subjectivity as individualized and politically marginalized. In the second section I explore how the KEAs formed as an independent organization within the political and social landscape of Cologne. Finally, in the third section I examine two main forms of resistance in the activities of the KEAs: fostering solidarity and "throwing sand in the wheels". I conclude by weaving these themes with reviewed literature into a detailed account of effective forms of resistance against the government of unemployment.

THE GOVERNMENT OF UNEMPLOYMENT

All of the five participants emphasized that they are resisting Hartz IV and the structures it entails. The Hartz reforms include the reduction of welfare benefits, the increase of requirements and conditions imposed on welfare recipients and the re-individualization of social risk (Butterwegge 2010). They form part of a shift from social welfare to workfare after the model of traditional "workfare states" such as Britain, the United States and Australia. The central element of these workfare regimes is the transferral of the social and economic risks of unemployment from the state to the individual who is expected to take responsibility for their own welfare and therefore has specific obligations towards the government and community in return for assistance

(McDonald and Marston 2005, 375).

Drawing on the approach of Michel Foucault, workfare regimes such as the Hartz reforms are understood as part of a set of solutions to unemployment and its social and personal effects as a "problem of government" (ibid. 378). This set of solutions is here referred to as the "government of unemployment". The term "government" goes beyond manifestations of political ideology and policy making, encompassing "the ensemble formed by the institutions, procedures, analyses and reflection, the calculations and tactics that allow the exercise of this very specific albeit complex form of power, which has as its target population" (Foucault 1991, 142). "Population" is an entity made available by particular knowledges and technologies such as statistics and scientific discourse (Dean 1995, 569). The purpose of government is "the welfare of the population, the improvement of its condition, the increase of its wealth, longevity, health etc." (Foucault 1991, 140). The population is therefore at once the subject of needs and the object of governmental power. The government of unemployment manifests in rationalities and discourses on the macro-level as well as interactions on the micro-level of social practice. For example, on the macro-level it includes discourses of deserving and undeserving unemployed developed in the mass media. For example, the German boulevard paper BILD regularly produces images and stories of welfare recipients as lazy and undeserving with headlines such as "The dirty tricks of welfare scroungers... and we have to pay" or "Hartz IV cheats – Luxury life in Tenerife". These discourses construct and make available a population of 'undeserving unemployed' as the target of government (Ingram and Schneider 2005). On the micro-level, it for instance involves the relationship between the unemployed client and the case manager through which the rights and obligations between the state and the individual are articulated (McDonald and Marston 2005).

The interview participants experience Hartz IV as a political instrument directed against them as long-term unemployed but also at the precariously employed and others potentially or indirectly affected by the workfare measures. Frank explained:

With Hartz IV... Yeah there my basis for subsistence is threatened. And that's also what's intended right? Of course, I always tell myself this jokingly um or cynically, I don't know, if the point of Hartz IV is to force me to lift my behind then they've accomplished that, of course.

The Hartz reforms are not experienced as a political failure but as a functioning mechanism targeted at them as long-term unemployed with the aim of activating them and adjusting their behavior. Furthermore, they are experienced as a “frontal assault” on them as individuals, their dignity and means of subsistence.

The government of unemployment is directed at the conduct of individuals (Dean 1995, 561). It entails practices of self-formation that shape the attributes, capacities, orientations and the moral conduct of clients to the job centers (ibid. 567). For example, training measures not only target the client’s skills and capacities but also their attitudes and expectations. Furthermore, these practices are designed to engage clients in self-government, meaning the internalization of the standards, goals and norms entailed in the Hartz reforms. The government of unemployment is therefore not imposed and enforced only from above but involves the complicity of the individual who accepts the values embodied in the system and invests in the power relations of which they are part (Cole 2007, 136). The aim of practices of self-formation is the improvement and “remoralization” of the unemployed whose habits, tastes and values are perceived as requiring “disciplinary and morally coercive techniques” in order to bring them into line with generally accepted behaviors and attitudes (Valverde 1996, 361). The government of unemployment is therefore based on a notion of what constitutes acceptable values and choices, and not working is not a valid choice (ibid. 364).

The shift from welfare to workfare can be described as a reorganization of political rationalities in response to changing technologies of government (Rose 2010, 200). In contrast to welfare regimes centered on the individual as dependent subject, workfare reforms are situated within a specific morality of the “active subject” as active, innovative, flexible and entrepreneurial. The active subject is the autonomous individual with individual skills and capacities standing in competition with other individuals, in need of life-long improvement and self-formation (Spilker 2010). Furthermore, the active subject is willing to take responsibility for its own welfare, motivated to engage in self-government and has realistic, meaning low expectations concerning its future (McDonald and Marston 2005). Unemployment as economic dependency and self-caused due to lack of flexibility or initiative is thus morally deviant and not an acceptable form of being.

The active subject is the ethical self to which the individual

should aspire and practices of self-formation are the process by which this is achieved. The government of unemployment therefore creates its object by constructing a specific unemployed subjectivity. Unemployment is more than an economic status, involving a social identity constructed through general discourse and in every day interactions (McDonald and Marston 2005). Specifically in Germany the “Hartz IV recipient” has become the unemployed subjectivity as the object of the government of unemployment (Heiter 2008). In Germany it is common for someone receiving Hartz IV to be labeled as “Hartz IV”, or “Hartz IV-ler”. This subjectification is achieved through a variety of techniques, discourses and practices.

First, the Hartz IV subjectivity is imposed through the construction of a socio-cultural minimum subsistence-level (Heiter 2008, 66). The level of welfare benefits constitutes the minimum living standards considered acceptable for the Hartz IV-recipient. Since these standards are far below average German living standards, they contribute to the stigmatization and social exclusion of Hartz IV recipients (Butterwegge 2010). As Uwe recalls:

I used to be very socially isolated because often it’s like this that you can’t afford to go out anymore right? Going to a pub or something that’s just not possible anymore right?

Furthermore, the Hartz IV subjectivity is produced through disempowerment and discipline (Heiter 2008, 67). The relationship of Hartz IV recipients with the job centre is a situation of powerlessness and lack of individual autonomy. For example, Hansi talked about the “Eingliederungsvereinbarung”, a contract signed by clients to the job centre and their case manager:

In the end, the agency basically puts its demands in there. If I don’t sign the thing it comes as an administrative act. Thereby it becomes a valid contract even without my consent. And if I do not comply with the “agreed” terms... um...I get sanctioned and they can withhold my benefits completely. Ultimately with a 100% sanction they can even withhold rental costs, so ultimately they threaten you with hunger and homelessness if you don’t do exactly what the agency demands

The individual agency and integrity of the client is completely undermined through the one-sided nature of these agreements. Whereas the client must comply with the job centre’s demands, the measures and trainings offered by the agency are discretionary clauses and therefore do not constitute actual

rights and obligations (Voigtländer 2012). The resulting disenfranchisement and the threat to their means of subsistence, forms the basis for coercion.

According to Christoph Butterwegge (2010), with Hartz IV, Germany's social government has adopted a workfare policy with coercion as its central element. For example, clients of the job centre can be forced to participate in work measures such as the "one euro job", a measure designed to help re-integrate the long-term unemployed into the regular labor market. However, measures that can actually fulfill this purpose are scarce and are granted at the discretion of the agency (Voigtländer 2012). Furthermore, these measures are situated mainly in the service sector which is dominated by unstable employment relationships and low compensation. Therefore, these measures generally do not achieve integration into the labor market but social exclusion and function as a disciplinary measure (Trube 2004). Upon the question why he opposes these "one euro jobs", Frank replied that:

In the majority they don't contribute to placing people in employment and um that's why it's nonsense and...but it's an instrument that makes people docile so they'll take any crap job in order to earn a little bit more

The power differential and use of coercion in the relationship between the unemployed client and the job centre emphasizes the obligations of the individual to the state and society while undermining their basic rights and individual agency. This disenfranchisement contributes to the individualization of unemployment, meaning that the individual is constructed as responsible for the risks and consequences of unemployment (Voigtländer 2012). In the following, Mati explains how he perceives this individualization:

There's this basic assumption that the Hartz IV-ler is at fault. So you're the bad guy, you're the rogue, you're the one cashing money and expensive trainings and all this stuff from us.

This individualization of unemployment, treating unemployment as self-caused, creates divides among the unemployed undermining the unemployed individual's capacity of social and political action (Voigtländer 2012). Frank expressed this in the following:

I think Hartz IV contributes heavily to the reduction of solidarity in society...right? That's what it's about. That's what it

aims at. Even among the unemployed there's classes right? [...] There's also those who take part in measures for zero Euros, he looks better than the one who gets the same money but doesn't do anything for it

Since the responsibility for unemployment is attached to the individual, the unemployed are divided into deserving and undeserving, a system which undermines solidarity and results in a form of divide and rule. The value system of deserving and undeserving unemployed is socially constructed and reproduced by unemployed individuals trying to prove their deservedness and by deflecting the image of the undeserving onto others (Ingram and Schneider 2005, Howe 1998).

Finally, the Hartz IV subjectivity involves anxiety connected to the perceived threat to their basic means of existence and to the coercion and disenfranchisement experienced through Hartz IV. Fear was an important topic in the interviews. Dealing with the job centre and the constant threat to one's livelihood as well as feelings of isolation and being left alone were sources of fear:

I knew at some point they would have put me down to zero, I wouldn't have received any more money as punishment, or I would have had to accept a damn one euro job, and that frightened me, yeah. [Frank]

Somehow I never felt alright if I had a personal appointment at the agency the next day. I would have problems sleeping because you always have this sword of Damocles hanging over your head because these benefit cuts are always hanging in the air. [Uwe]

The fear and anxiety connected to unemployment further undermine the individual's capacity of political action. On the one hand, unemployed individuals are intimidated and weakened in their relation to the job centre (Voigtländer 2012). On the other hand, in combination with an increase in precarious work conditions throughout Germany, the individualization of the risks of unemployment through Hartz IV creates general anxiety among Germany's poor (Spilker 2010). Fear of unemployment and Hartz IV has a dividing influence between working and non-working poor, increasing the stigmatization and social isolation of the unemployed.

The lack of means for collective action of the unemployed is exacerbated by their political marginalization. The unemployed cannot be adequately represented through conventional political

mechanisms because their interests are opposed to the dominant interests in society. The interests of economic growth dominate the political sphere in modern democracies and therefore these political systems tend to marginalize those who cannot be integrated into the economic system through gainful employment and consumption (Duarte 2007). Therefore, alternative approaches to the labor market questioning the exclusive focus on gainful-employment such as the basic income or disposable time models cannot find genuine representation through conventional political mechanisms (Blaschke 2003, Roth 2010). The long-term unemployed are neglected as a social group with specific needs and interests because unemployment is considered as deviant and defect. Economic participation is a condition for social citizenship and belonging, meaning that the unemployed are excluded from political participation while simultaneously being included as potential workers (McDonald and Marston 2005). Unemployment is thus accompanied by the experience of not being represented by mainstream political institutions (Rein 1997). Many of the participants voiced this feeling of being excluded from Germany's political landscape. For example, Mati stated the following:

Um if you look at the political landscape it's like this, there are four parties in Germany that all say the same things right? Um so then where's the pluralism in this? It doesn't exist. [...] or then I'd have to vote extreme that means the left or the right, I don't have any other choice [Mati]

Furthermore, many forms of political representation are closely tied to economic participation and thereby exclude those who are not gainfully employed. For example, labor unions represent the unemployed on the basis of their potential re-entry into the labor market but cannot represent the long-term unemployed as a group situated outside the economic system. Therefore, participants experience that when such institutions do create spaces for the representation of the unemployed, in practice these tend to work against the long-term interests of the unemployed and therefore obscure their political exclusion:

The point is we discovered pretty quickly that the trade unions are programmatically inadequate for the unemployed. They're simply not responsible for us as in they don't do anything for us. [...] They have more like an alibi function: 'we have an unemployment committee' but it doesn't do anything [Frank]

In summary, the Hartz reforms as part of the government of unemployment engage the unemployed individual in self-formation and self-government by means of a specific Hartz IV subjectivity as the "active subject" responsible for its own welfare and the risks of unemployment. The social isolation, stigmatization, disempowerment and discipline of unemployed subjects contribute to the imposition and internalization of an individualized unemployed subjectivity. Furthermore, the political marginalization of the unemployed within German institutions silences the voices of those who become politically active despite economic and social constraints. In the following sections I analyze how resistance is possible despite these constraining factors.

RESISTANCE THROUGH SELF-ORGANIZATION

In response to the marginalization of the political interests of the long-term unemployed, the KEAs are a self-organized group based on self-representation and independence from religious, political and state institutions. This self-organization is described by Hansi in the following:

Not to be dependent on any higher institutions, be it the state, parties, churches, whatever um you're personally concerned (betroffen) and yeah everyone can contribute with what he thinks and feels

Interviewer: And if you want to be independent, does this also cause difficulties?

Um yes well it all has advantages and disadvantages so decision-making processes sometimes take a bit longer here then it sometimes also takes longer to actually put some activity into practice um but in return it's not given from above but yeah we discuss things at eye level [...]. Well I definitely believe this to be much more advantageous than being dependent on parties or other institutions...also external funding, if we applied for external funding, we would directly get demands for how to work from the sponsor. Since we now sometimes deliberately breach rules and take the risk of being barred from the job centers, I think all that wouldn't be so easy anymore.

A main advantage of being self-organized and independent is that members can represent their own interests without interference through external demands and obligations. This also allows the creation of more open and flexible structures meaning that each individual contribution and experience is of greater con-

sequence to the overall outcomes. Therefore, self-organization allows those who are personally afflicted by poverty and unemployment to improve their individual situation and to take part in collective political action (Blaschke 2003).

The political dissidence of the unemployed is often hidden and incoherent and its effectiveness also largely depends on its unpredictability. An example of this is the protest activities of the KEAs which, as Hansi explains above, involve deliberate transgressions and confrontations with state institutions. Therefore, the forms of resistance of the unemployed are difficult to integrate into more rigid political or social structures (Rein 1997). Besides independence of religious and political institutions, the KEAs do not cooperate with the job centre and work measures such as the “one euro job”. In contrast to such mandatory work measures, self-organized groups like the KEAs foster voluntary involvement, openness and independence (Trube 2004).

Hansi also reflects on a key problem with self-organization concerning mobilization and the implementation of ideas. Effective collective protest depends on mobilizing structures usually provided by institutions such as political parties and trade unions. Mobilizing structures include action repertoires, networks and organizational forms that promote communication, coordination and commitment between potential actors (Lahusen 2012, 4). However, the KEAs have been successful in creating their own structures and acquiring experience in political work over time. In this section I show how the KEAs have dealt with these problems and succeeded in establishing and sustaining an independent self-organized unemployment organization. First I describe the influence of their specific location in Cologne and then discuss the roles of individual connections and self-representation based on personal experience (Betroffenheit) in successful self-organization.

The specific location in which a group develops has great influence on their organizational forms and strategies. Participants agreed that Cologne displays a familial atmosphere in which those who are politically active all know each other. For example, Paul was personally acquainted with most of the KEA members long before he joined the group. However, for Frank this entails substantial difficulties:

Especially those who come from a background where they were already socialized politically um they all know each other and all hedge ten year old grudges against each other

and feed on their bad experiences. So that really surprised me here that you can't just start at zero but instead they say we need to do it like this, we need a charter, we need rules of procedure...

Cologne's familial situation means that potential actors are already connected but are also often impeded by their shared backgrounds and histories. Furthermore, this shared background means that many actors in the unemployment movement or leftist scene are used to a certain type of procedure centered on official functions and formal procedures. According to Frank, these “affectations” are counterproductive because they shift the focus of the organization to its own structures and procedures, neglecting the actual content and activities. The absence of these structures and functions in the KEAs shifts their focus to content and allows members to build an “intimate base”, to get to know each other outside of the political.

An outstanding characteristic of the KEAs is thus their focus on activism and putting ideas into practice through concrete actions. Activities of the KEAs include the weekly sessions in which legal advice and support are offered, and regular visits to and protests at job centers and other state institutions in Cologne. For example, KEA members enter the job centre with flags and banners, distribute information material, establishing contact with other Hartz IV recipients but also seeking confrontation with the management and staff.



Protest outside the job center in Cologne Porz



"Hartz IV makes employees vulnerable to blackmail – solidarity helps"

A second important characteristic is the "intimate base" described by Frank, created through informal organizational structures. The KEAs have a board fulfilling the legal organizational requirements but in practice there is no hierarchy and there are no permanent functions or positions. In the two meetings in which I took part as participant observer, there was no chair person leading the discussion. Each time the meeting followed an agenda beginning with personal issues where each member could bring their personal problems or ideas into discussion. For example, a woman asked advice for responding to the job centre's demand for a service charge statement she didn't have. Other KEA members took time to offer advice and support. This was followed by reports from the legal advice sessions and past activities and the planning of upcoming events. Decisions were unanimous and made openly in the plenum.

The familial context in Cologne therefore presents obstacles which the KEAs overcome by fostering intimacy and consciously avoiding rigid official structures. However, this familial situation in Cologne also facilitates communication and coordination between different potential actors and therefore allows access to mobilizing structures without relying on higher political and social institutions. Individual informal connections are key means of mobilization and cooperation and these are provided by the political community in Cologne. For example, Frank became involved in the Cologne unemployment movement through personal contacts made over the internet:

Well it's individual people. Specifically in the internet I met

one guy with whom I communicated. We're meeting there and there come along. And there I met two others who then had the idea with the Board of the Unemployed

Individual connections are important because they are based on personal solidarity rather than shared interests and positions. Such bonds of personal solidarity are stronger and more reliable than more formal political alliances. Furthermore, the KEAs rely on individual allies in order to remain flexible and independent. Official organizational alliances compromise the independence of the KEAs and require more or less fixed interests and positions. Again, Frank made a clear point in this respect:

We're more interested in personal allies. I'm not interested in Attac as an ally, then I'd have to negotiate with Attac or something. Instead I'm interested in the Attac members who due to a particular solidarity embrace the cause and don't care whether their flag is involved or something and that works surprisingly well in Cologne

These individual alliances foster productive and flexible cooperation between different groups and initiatives. According to Hansi, the KEAs have active contact with many different groups with whom they share experiences and sometimes coordinate their activities. The KEAs establish contact to others who are affected by Hartz IV through their newspaper and protest activities in the job centers as well as the open legal advice and support sessions:

We usually go at the beginning of the month because that's when it's the busiest, we go to the waiting area in the job centre, talk to the people, introduce ourselves a little and just give them some information material and ideally if we have it the new newspaper [Hansi]

The importance of individual connections and establishing personal contact to others affected by Hartz IV is linked to the idea of self-representation. Rather than representing interests, for instance the interests of long-term unemployed, the KEAs seek to represent their own needs as individuals based on personal experience. Frank and Uwe both expressed this:

We never do it in the name of 'the unemployed' [...] we want to be an example of 'we for us'. And anyone who wants can join and define themselves as part of the 'us', anyone is free to do that but we are no representative organization working for the interests of others, we don't want to be that. [Frank]

For us it's about self-organization, self-representation, we also don't have the pretension of speaking for all unemployed, we speak for ourselves. [Uwe]

Paul expressed a similar view by describing the KEAs as his union, through which he can primarily work for his concrete personal needs rather than following ideological or more abstract political objectives:

I think it's good that people first of all organize themselves according to their personal needs and thereby develop this consciousness: who is your friend and who is your enemy? Why is the situation the way it is? [...] So I believe that the economy or the social context of the people should form the starting point

Self-representation is based on personal experience of oppression which fuels the political activism of those affected and targeted by the government of unemployment. This personal experience is the source of the political activism of the KEAs and strongly shapes their content and activities. For example, their newspaper, which can be downloaded on www.die-keas.org/kea, includes many personal experiences and strong opinions inspired by these. Furthermore, this personal experience generates a militancy that strengthens their activism and makes it unpredictable. Frank suggested that this is because the activists experience Hartz IV as a personal assault on them individually and therefore strongly feel that they are morally in the right.

The KEAs therefore provide a platform through which personally affected individuals can organize and engage in collective action but always based on their own personal experience. Since self-representation is based on personal experience rather than common objectives and goals, there should be substantial internal difference and disagreement within the KEAs. According to Hansi the KEAs are a "colorful mix" with people from different backgrounds and opinions and Uwe describes the KEAs as a "heterogeneous bunch" with many different political backgrounds. On the other hand, Paul conceded that the KEAs are in fact not as diverse as they seem. Most already have a background of political activism and share broader political views. For example, the group includes a group of male Iranian immigrants with a background of left-wing activism. Yet, even though many of the people who come to the KEAs for legal advice are women and people with Russian, Turkish or other non-German backgrounds, few of these become active members with the KEAs.

This suggests that the KEAs are not completely open as an organization but seems to appeal to a certain type of people. The extent to which this relates to the activities of the KEAs is discussed in the final section of this article.

In view of the organizational form of the KEAs, a relevant factor is the informal and grassroots structure of the KEAs. Frank explains that many people who joined the KEAs but then moved on to other organizations did so because they sought a more official function within the organizational structure. The structure of the KEAs appeals particularly to activists from an anarchist or leftist background, which applies to four of the five interview participants. The political spectrum of the KEAs is thus limited in some ways but nevertheless accommodates a wide range of backgrounds and opinions. Paul explained that the KEAs manage to accommodate a wide range of people because they achieve a balance between two main forms of participation:

They have a more open conception so that people can participate who aren't anarchist or leftists...and they still manage not to completely lose, let's say, this anarchist part because that would be the second danger to become a mere self-help group or service thing. [...] this balance between self-help, self-organization and a radical political claim, they do that quite well [...]. I find it impressive what they do on Wednesdays this legal advice and support um and Frank doesn't really take part in that or Hansi so in a way that's two wings of the organization but they get on well with one another [...] and I would say that's the strength of the organization, that this balance is possible and constantly being renewed

The KEAs are structured in a way that allows people to contribute in different ways and cooperate despite disagreements or different political views. Intersections through their shared experience of unemployment hold the group together. There is a common understanding that people have a shared experience of being targeted and oppressed through Hartz IV and the government of unemployment. Hansi stated that:

of course there's common intersections and overlaps, that we don't approve of the job centre, I think we all agree there and for now we don't really need more than that. The rest you can discuss now and then but the important thing is that we agree here: the job centre has to go

Besides these intersections, what binds the individual members

of the KEAs together is a common identity and self-confidence gained and constructed in a number of ways. First, Frank explains that the activities of the KEAs are reproduced through the internet and the feedback and appreciation encountered here strengthen the organization:

It makes you strong, you feel the solidarity, you feel the feedback and, you feel that somewhere a signal has been perceived and a spark has been ignited let's say

Therefore, Frank identifies the moment in which the KEAs first began to claim their activities as decisive in their development. While in the beginning they would report their activities anonymously in the third person, a point came where individual members began to write on the homepage and in the newspaper about the activities of the KEAs as a group, and thereby the KEAs began to take credit and responsibility for their actions. This self-awareness as a group is strengthened by a certain self-image constructed through their activities and self-presentations. For example, the logo of the KEAs is the kea parrot indigenous to New Zealand, a bird which lives and cooperates in large flocks:



It's about the kea in allusion to this, well the flock and principle of solidarity of the parrots and I think it's funny [...] it also has the charm of Robin Hood or something. [Frank]

Furthermore, Hansi talked about a protest at the job centre where all participants wore blue wigs because he as the obvious activist with blue hair had been singled out and punished as the main culprit in a previous protest event:

At the last event the others put on blue wigs in order to increase the level of difficulty: Call the police and collect the blue-haired.

Small jokes and ideas like this increase the collective self-awareness of the KEAs and contribute to binding them together despite their differences and disagreements.

In conclusion to this section, the following can be said about the successful self-organization of the KEAs within Cologne's political community. Being independent from higher political or social structures requires the establishment of personal informal connections based on genuine solidarity. This solidarity originates in an overlap of personal experiences of the government of unemployment as well as other fine intersections. These intersections bind together individuals who each fight for their own personal needs resulting in radical political activism.

Furthermore, the construction of a collective self-image binds together the group and promotes solidarity among the KEAs.

SOLIDARITY AND SAND IN THE WHEELS

I have argued that the government of unemployment imposes an individualized and politically marginalized subjectivity on the unemployed and other welfare recipients. Furthermore, I demonstrated how self-organization of the unemployed based on self-representation and individual connections constitutes one form of resistance to their political marginalization. In the following section I analyze how the activities of the KEAs fostering solidarity and "throwing sand in the wheels" form acts of resistance against the subjectivities imposed through practices of self-formation of the government of unemployment.

One form of resistance carried out by the KEAs consists of fostering solidarity within and outside the group. The notion of solidarity carried by the KEAs involves helping others by helping oneself in collective resistance as well as the security of mutual support contained in the image of the flock. Hansi and Uwe expressed this notion very clearly:

We help each other, we experience solidarity. It's this helping each other and resisting together against this oppression. Um I think this is generally lacking in society, this helping each other. [Hansi]

It's this feeling of being helpless of being at the mercy of the institutions that you don't have any more when you're being accompanied, when you fight back, when you do something yourself. [Uwe]

On the one hand, KEA members become active in order to help themselves and find ways of coping with the circumstances of unemployment. However, as Frank explains, through collective organization individuals can help each other through self-help:

I always say that what the individual KEA achieves for himself, he achieves for all by opening up that path for others and the rights that he fights for. And what we achieve for others by accompanying them or whatever, we each achieve for ourselves. That's a pleasant reciprocal effect.

This works in a number of ways. First, individual KEA members bring together different conceptual and material resources in a way that benefits all and supports their individual struggles. Most importantly, they share legal expertise and accompany each other as well as non-members to the job centers and le-

gal institutions. Every Wednesday the KEAs offer an open session where anyone can come and seek legal advice and support. When I visited a session around six legal 'experts' from the KEAs were sitting around a table at one end of the room, each talking to one advisee while more were lining up in an improvised wait-

ing area at the other end of the room. The following banner was hanging from the wall and several copies of the KEA newspaper and other information material was lying around for people to read while waiting:



"We are working voluntarily; we are unemployed ourselves; we are independent of the state, parties and churches; we need your support"

Through these legal advice sessions, KEA members share their legal expertise and experience and offer support for the struggles of others.

Furthermore, Frank suggested that besides the struggles and protest, the KEAs try to create a better life for themselves, through mutual material support but also by creating a social space and community feeling among the members:

Self-organization is necessarily also, next to the grimness of our fight, about being able to breathe and live a better life together right? This is a part of solidarity and we decided that we also need these moments of relaxation for ourselves...

Besides protest and direct resistance against state institutions, the KEAs therefore also create an alternative way of living and being for themselves. For example, the participants stressed that the KEAs provided social contacts and a community in times when they felt isolated and alone due to their unemployment:

With the KEAs I regained the feeling of being needed. So it was also very good for my self-esteem. [Uwe]

Then I was completely in open loop and I was just...I would say under-socialized and it was just good to have people um human contacts...yeah so pretty simple I really hit rock bottom last year and I really had to tell myself, I need to socialize now. What should I do? Well ok it was actually quite logical, go to the KEAs that will help, they're nice people and there's something happening there and so on. That was really good...That really helped me. [Paul]

Furthermore, the KEAs create a sense of community to counteract the anxieties and fear experienced by individual members. The image of the flock of parrots that support each other and work together for their mutual benefit is an important aspect here. Frank explained that the feeling of belonging to a close group gives him confidence and security in dealing with the state institutions:

To know that I'm not alone, I can go to the job centre as part of a flock. That completely takes away my fear. And um when it started, when Hartz IV came, I was really scared shitless

As explained above, dealing with the job centre involves a perceived threat to the means of existence of the participants. This threat is based on the power differential between the agency and the client as well as the immediate threat of sanctions. According

to Uwe, the presence of just one witness already alleviates the situation significantly and gives the client greater leverage with the job centre. He also explained that knowledge of the group's support gives each individual greater confidence and autonomy in relation to the job centre:

We don't leave anyone behind [...] for me that's lived solidarity. Or for example with Hansi, who is now being supported in his cause. You know, his complete refusal to cooperate (Totalverweigerung). From being supported with groceries to other things right? I mean Hansi doesn't have to worry even if he's kicked out of his apartment. Here in this house he'll at least have a bed. I mean he'll never end up under a bridge you know, for me that's lived solidarity.

The group solidarity of the KEAs therefore enables the individual coping and resistance strategies of its members. Individual strategies of resistance of unemployed vary and are often diffuse and hidden (Rein 1997). However, whether individuals choose to accept Hartz IV and confidently claim their rights or refuse to cooperate choosing to fight back, the collective solidarity fostered within the KEAs supports and connects their individual struggles in a way that benefits all. Fostering solidarity among the unemployed is thus a form of collective and individual empowerment enabling people in their individual forms of resistance against the government of unemployment.

Besides fostering solidarity within the group, the KEAs try to carry this solidarity outside and encourage solidarity among other unemployed as well as in society as a whole. This involves showing others in a similar situation the benefits of being in a group and of helping each other. For example, Uwe suggested that:

We quasi exemplify it outwards through the way we live and others maybe realize that solidarity is worth it because we achieve tangible results. [...] it's enough if they organize themselves in their neighborhoods, if one neighbor accompanies the other (to the job centre). If both receive unemployment benefits and accompany each other.

Furthermore, it involves reducing people's anxiety and showing that unemployment is not as threatening as it is made out to be in public opinion. Fear of unemployment exerts pressure on the working poor to accept precarious working conditions and low wages (Spilker 2010). By creating networks of solidarity, the KEAs try to reduce the vulnerability of the precariously

employed population and give people confidence to resist despite the threats embodied in Hartz IV. This was particularly the position of Paul who believes that people need to realize that resistance is empowering rather than an additional vulnerability:

The message should be that when you are with us then you'll get through this, then we'll make it work...and we also support you, that could be the next step, with your struggles in the work place and even if you become unemployed you won't fall into a void

This solidarity with and support of the working poor is actively shown through protest activities such as the "one euro job walks" (Eineurojob Spaziergänge) where the KEAs visit organizations employing one euro jobbers, confront the employers and offer support and solidarity to the employees.

However, the support and community offered by the KEAs may not be of equal relevance to the majority of unemployed or other welfare recipients in Germany. As stated in the introduction, most of the KEA members are male, above middle age and not originally from Cologne. It is quite likely that many groups in society have access to other networks and sources of community and support and therefore are not affected by unemployment in the same way as the participants of this study. For example, many women, young adults, locals and members of ethnic minority communities may have access to family resources closed to other groups but also face more restrictions to their political activities. This would be the object of further research into forms of resistance against the government of unemployment.

As indicated by Paul in the quote above, solidarity is not limited to the unemployed but includes the working population and also transcends national boundaries. Frank explained that everyone is affected by workfare measures, not only those who are currently unemployed and directly affected:

Everyone is affected even if they don't receive unemployment benefits but everyone who is now employed is potentially affected by Hartz IV so it would be reasonable for them to fight it. Also to save their job and their salary right?

Therefore, the KEAs see it as their task to show solidarity towards other groups. For example, Frank talked about the strikes in children's day care centers in Cologne, which they supported in solidarity and fought to abolish one euro jobs in these centers. Here the cause of the unemployed is directly linked to that of the day care centre employees whose jobs and wage level is threat-

ened by the competition created through Hartz IV work measures. Furthermore, Paul argued that the unemployed and the working poor are divided through the discourse of undeserving unemployed and widespread fear of unemployment and Hartz IV. He suggested ways of increasing contact to and solidarity between these groups:

Creating personal contacts to and supporting working people in different areas that you encounter when you look around, I mean that will take place somehow. I mean there are always unemployed people coming into the open legal advice and of course these unemployed people worked before and know people who work and might soon be working again themselves... I mean only a minority is unemployed the whole time. And if you use these contacts to get into these jobs and these neighborhoods something could definitely take shape...

The individual personal connections elaborated in the preceding section can thus be used to promote solidarity among the poor, working and non-working, and thereby counteract the dividing influence of the government of unemployment, specifically through the individualization of the risks of unemployment and discourses labeling the unemployed as undeserving (Howe 1998).

Spreading solidarity is a means for the unemployed to compensate for their loss of social and political rights and empower themselves as a group and in their individual relations with the job centre (Voigtländer 2012). Increased solidarity and the mutual support of the group allow unemployed individuals to create empowered subjectivities in opposition to the individualized and disempowered subjectivity imposed through the government of unemployment. Effective resistance against the government of unemployment necessitates a refusal of the types of individuality imposed through practices of self-formation and the promotion of alternative forms of subjectivity (Thompson 2003). Fostering solidarity recreates the unemployed subjectivity as socially embedded and challenges the notion of unemployment as self-caused underlying the individualization of unemployment. Furthermore, the new subjectivities created through solidarity are self-confident and aware of their rights, as opposed to the fear, disempowerment and vulnerability inscribed in the Hartz IV subjectivity.

Many of the activities of the KEAs are thus geared towards

encouraging solidarity and enabling people's individual forms of coping and resistance against the government of unemployment. The interview participants characterized their own protest and resistance as "throwing sand in the wheels". This means that their protest is subversive and deliberately seeks to disturb and disrupt the bureaucratic mechanisms of the government of unemployment. Their resistance can therefore be characterized as "agonal", as opposed to "cooperative", meaning that given power structures are rejected and undermined (Heiter 2008, 70). For example, by refusing to sign a contract with his case manager or accepting any of the job centre's requirements and measures, Hansi is withdrawing himself from the power relations of the job centre rather than investing in them. He thereby refuses the complicity and internalization by means of which the government of unemployment can take effect in people's lives. Agonal resistance therefore also involves rejecting the value system embodied in Hartz IV. For example, KEA members question and seek to deconstruct the stigmatized image of the long-term unemployed:

There is a conception of humanity (Menschenbild) behind this, a normative concept (Werteverständnis), and I want to contribute to revealing that it is a bad conception Frank

On the other hand, acts of cooperation involve individual empowerment in relation to the job centre but do not challenge the power relations it embodies. For example, Uwe also makes use of the legal support offered by the KEAs to procure attractive training measures from the job centre. Such acts are instances of individual empowerment but do not qualify as agonal resistance.

Furthermore, "throwing sand in the wheels" suggests a diffuse and bottom-up form of resistance constituting the sum of many different individual acts. Often these acts are hidden or unintentional but in their sum they can significantly destabilize existing power relations (Pickett 1996). Within the activities of the KEAs "throwing sand in the wheels" is practiced on the collective level through protest and encouraged on the individual level in the form of legal dispute.

As an example of disruptive and subversive protest, Frank talked about the first big "Zahltag" in 2007, a mass organized event in Cologne where on the first working day of the month protesters including the KEAs went to the job centers for protests lasting several days:

And in the first days it came to a police escalation where the police were beating and the manager or someone was

screaming and gesticulating wildly "this is going too far, we both didn't want this", so he meant us and him whereupon one of us said, I don't remember exactly, "why, why do you think that we didn't want this?" These are the images we need right?

In Frank's view the aim of protest is to provoke conflict, cross lines and thereby publicly problematize Hartz IV and the job centers as well as causing bureaucratic costs. The protests organized and carried out by the KEAs are deliberately unpredictable and militant. Rather than building on mass organized demonstrations, the KEAs have their own more discrete channels of mobilization based on the individual connections described in the preceding section which gives them an important advantage of unpredictability:

We have our own mobilization lists where we contact people, then and then we have an event planned, come join, if not then not, so that the job centre can't prepare for us so that we have this surprise effect, so they don't roll out the red carpet and take extra care not to do anything wrong but when we're gone it's the same as ever: cheating people, blackmail, coercion... [Uwe]

There's definitely a militant momentum in these acts of disobedience. When the job centre says you're allowed to do this, you have a right to protest but please do it outside we say no. No. Our house is the job centre, here we have our cause and our cause is our personal experience and no one has the right to tell us please stay outside. [Frank]

The militancy and unpredictability of protest emphasizes the political and subversive intentions of the KEAs.

On the individual level the KEAs offer support and encouragement empowering individuals to practice their own coping and resistance strategies. On the one hand the primary aim is to ensure the well-being of each individual:

Well our main goal must be that all involved, as in all members...um...pull through, get their money, stabilize or improve their living conditions...attacking one is attacking all...and then to support others and contribute to the improvement of conditions for all unemployed [Paul]

However, an overall aim is also to encourage people to "fight back", exert pressure on the job centers and practice agonal individual resistance. On the one hand this can involve complete refusal to cooperate as in Hansi's case or other more subtle acts

such as legal and bureaucratic confrontations. For example, in one of the meetings I attended Hansi informed the others that he had accompanied a friend who had been sanctioned with 30% for failing to hand in responses to his mandatory job applications. Hansi and his friend went to the job centre to dispute the sanction since most employers do not respond to applications. The case manager was unfriendly and seemed inadequately informed about the legal rights of the client until Hansi threatened to register an official complaint. Such acts resist the disempowerment and discipline of the unemployed client in their relationship with the job centre.

“Throwing sand in the wheels” is a celebration of struggle detached from overarching theory or ideology (Pickett 1996). According to Pickett, ideological or theoretical critique is necessarily top-down and does not create the conditions necessary for autonomous local resistance. The KEAs provide the resources and opportunities for people to become individually active but do not prescribe higher objectives or theoretical principles. Instead, they emphasize the individual personal experience motivating each individual to engage in resistance. In this sense, “throwing sand in the wheels” can be understood as tactical rather than strategic resistance. Tactical resistance of the individual emerges in conditions of powerlessness and aims to opportunistically change the situation in the individual’s favor (Philipps 2008). For example, someone who follows the advice of the KEAs and legally appeals a sanction does so to improve their own personal circumstances. Here the motivation is not to overthrow the power relation in which the individual is situated. Nevertheless, such acts constitute forms of resistance because the individual refuses to engage in self-government and fights back rather than internalizing the compliant and intimidated Hartz IV subjectivity. “Throwing sand in the wheels” as a celebration of struggle therefore interrupts the practices of self-formation through which the unemployed are governed.

However, in many cases unemployed individuals make use of the support provided by the KEAs in order to solve an outstanding problem but are not further committed to political activism or other forms of resistance. For example, a woman I met at one of the legal advice sessions told me she was just seeking help with understanding and filling out forms, saying “I can handle my business on my own”. Furthermore, the professionalism and legal competency of the KEAs is in danger of be-

ing misunderstood as a service or charity. Therefore, individual empowerment does not always lead to agonal resistance:

Of course when we accompany someone to the agency then we also deescalate...like we don't go there to punch some case manager in the face [...] when people go there alone, it does happen that people lose it and then there's someone who can mediate a little for both sides and who first of all wants to make things easier for the unemployed but somehow also for the agency when there's a very difficult case at hand [Hansi]

Therefore, the advice and help offered by the KEAs can have cooperative effects because conflicts and problems are solved that would otherwise escalate and increase the frustration and militancy of the unemployed but also show up the conflicts embodied in Hartz IV and the job centers. However, this is a necessary contradiction because the first priority of the KEAs is to ensure the well-being of its members and those for whom they provide legal advice and support. According to Voigtländer, when unemployment initiatives cooperate with state institutions this occurs out of a position of marginalization because there are in that moment no available alternatives (Voigtländer 2012).

CONCLUSION

The KEAs can be understood as an activist organization in resistance against the government of unemployment. The government of unemployment constitutes techniques, mechanisms, agencies and discourses involved in the management of unemployment. The government of unemployment exercises power over the actually and potentially unemployed by imposing the subjectivity of the “Hartz IV-ler”. This subjectivity is based on the individualization of unemployment, its risks and effects and therefore involves anxiety, guilt and pressure to perform. Furthermore, this subjectivity divides and disciplines the unemployed, reducing their capacity for political action. Since the interests of the long-term unemployed stand in direct opposition to the dominant economic interests of society, they can also not rely on support by larger institutions such as political parties and trade unions. Therefore, Germany’s unemployed find themselves in a position of political marginalization.

The KEAs as a self-organized self-representing group face many difficulties in terms of resources and mobilization structures but in return are able to develop agonal forms of resistance

challenging the very foundations of the government of unemployment. This study has identified two major forms of resistance practiced in the activities of the KEAs: fostering solidarity and “throwing sand in the wheels”. Fostering solidarity is a form of self-formation that challenges and subverts the subjectivity imposed by the government of unemployment. It forms the self as empowered and in solidarity with others, opposed to the individualized victimized Hartz IV subjectivity. Thereby, it enables and encourages different forms of individual resistance based on personal experience of oppression. Individual resistance can be cooperative when the individual claims its rights with the job centre or agonal when the basic values and power relations entailed in Hartz IV are challenged. Individual forms of resistance are generally tactical and based on the individual experience rather than higher goals and objectives. Therefore, different views, experiences and types of resistance can be incorporated and enabled within one organization. The KEAs do not prescribe but rather enable individual resistance against the government of unemployment. However, they encourage agonal forms of resistance or “throwing sand in the wheels”. Through individual acts of disobedience or legal disputes, individuals can contribute to the disruption and subversion of the mechanisms of the government of unemployment. Furthermore, on the collective level, the KEAs engage in subversive militant protest. The small group and the individual connections, through which it establishes its networks, allow the KEAs to engage in unpredictable militant activities, effective by disturbing the smooth functioning of the government of unemployment.

The strength of the KEAs is their grassroots structure and emphasis of individual connections based on personal experience. Therefore, the growth of this movement should not consist in the growth of the group or their activities. Rather, it is necessary to encourage individuals to become politically active and form similar groups in other localities. Self-organization allows the particular needs and experiences of personally affected individuals to be articulated and transformed into collective action. Therefore, other groups will not necessarily resemble the KEAs in their make-up and activities. However, significant elements worth applying to other localities is the informal grassroots structure and the empowerment of individuals to resist in their own way based on their own experience. Furthermore, building solidarity is necessary to replace the loss of social and political

rights of the unemployed and enable the poor, working or non-working and across national boundaries to become politically active and challenge oppressive power structures embodied in the government of unemployment.

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