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Pequot Warriors Combating Paper Genocide: How the Eastern Pequot Tribal Nation Uses Education to Resist Cultural Erasure

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ABSTRACT

This paper analyzes the southeastern Connecticut Eastern Pequot Tribal Nation's battle with cultural erasure and resistance through education. Indigenous education programs are gradual yet the most effective method of resisting Western cultural erasure from the United States government, because they peacefully invite both Natives and non-Natives to learn about Native American history outside of European colonizer textbooks. The Tribe battles the erasure that can result from external parties' ability to grant state or federal titles recognizing tribal authority (known as recognition titles) to determine who receives the powerful stamp of Indigeneity and the right to self-govern. My case study focuses on the Eastern Pequots Archaeology Field School project in collaboration with University of Massachusetts, Boston. I evaluate how the Eastern Pequots use a collaborative archaeology education program with their Tribal members and non-Native individuals to resist erasure by decolonizing Western pedagogy. The Field School has gathered over 99,000 artifacts over 15 seasons that dismantle common misconceptions of how Native Americans lived during the beginning of the United States' history and redefine modern beliefs about how Natives survived European colonization. The Field School contributes to expanding brief descriptions of Native history into a more complicated and dynamic story that elaborates on Native struggle, survival and resistance.

Keywords: Tribal Nations, land-based education, decolonization, archaeology

The colonial history of the United States between the seventeenth and nineteenth centuries is complex, but American textbooks reduce its dark and morbid history in order to erase the true interactions between colonists and Native Americans. Simplifying these interactions misrepresents the deadly impact of European colonialism on the east coast during the 17th century. As a result, the United States' origins are retold to favor the colonists by justifying their horrific actions against Native Americans. Also called "paper genocide," this is one of many strategic methods that wipes out Native American identity from the North American population, thus delegitimizing Native existence in the United States today. Paper genocide refers to the United States government actively writing Native Americans out of history while denying support for the future of Tribal Nations (Hardin 2015). Repositioning the contemporary education system to center on Native Americans gives the Native community the agency to incorporate their perspectives into a Eurocentric and Western dominated society that endlessly tries to silence this community. Gradual, Indigenous education programs are arguably the most effective method of resisting Western cultural erasure from the government because this method peacefully invites Natives and non-Natives to learn about Native American history outside of the context of European colonizer textbooks.

In this paper, I analyze the southeastern Connecticut Eastern Pequot Tribal Nation's battle with cultural erasure and resistance through education (Figure 1 shows the location of this nation). The Tribe battles erasure by external parties that can grant recognition titles (state and/or federal) to determine who receives this powerful stamp of Indigeneity, which legitimizes the Tribe in the eyes of the state and gives it the right to self-govern. I evaluate how the Eastern Pequots use a collaborative archaeology education program with their Tribal members and non-Native individuals and a decolonizing pedagogy to resist erasure. My main case study focuses on the Eastern Pequots Archaeology Field School project in collaboration with University of Massachusetts, Boston, led by Professor Stephen Silliman. The vital information found throughout each excavation plays a role of legitimizing the Eastern Pequot identity. Throughout the summer of 2018 Field School, I used a multi-purpose approach to collect data: 1) I conducted participant observation to assess the collaborative archaeology component, 2) I conducted 12 semi-structured interviews with Eastern Pequot members and Silliman to understand their perspectives on the history and benefits of the program, and 3) I assessed entry and exit surveys with 12 Non-Native students to evaluate their perceptions of Indigeneity within the Field School. Throughout the coding process, I identified specific patterns, focusing on various educational outlets such as the Field School, the Mashantucket Museum, and any programs that the Eastern Pequot holds. Lastly, I evaluated the educational impact on the Eastern Pequot identity.

Both my independent research and the Field School's research combats Native American invisibility by teaching the broader non-Native community in Southeastern Connecticut, a large group of privileged individuals who unknowingly walk on historic Pequot territory, that modern cultural genocide of Native American communities is ongoing in the United States today. Additionally, both research methods demonstrate that the Eastern Pequot Tribal Nation is a strong sovereign Nation actively seeking methods to re-indigenize the Western and Euro-centric education system. The Field School makes artifacts and primary sources accessible to students from University of Massachusetts, Boston and Connecticut College and that contributes to the growing academic literature specifically focused on the Eastern Pequot Tribal Nation. Eastern Pequot members witness how the Field School has uncovered over 99,000 artifacts over 15 seasons, which literally and figuratively grounds

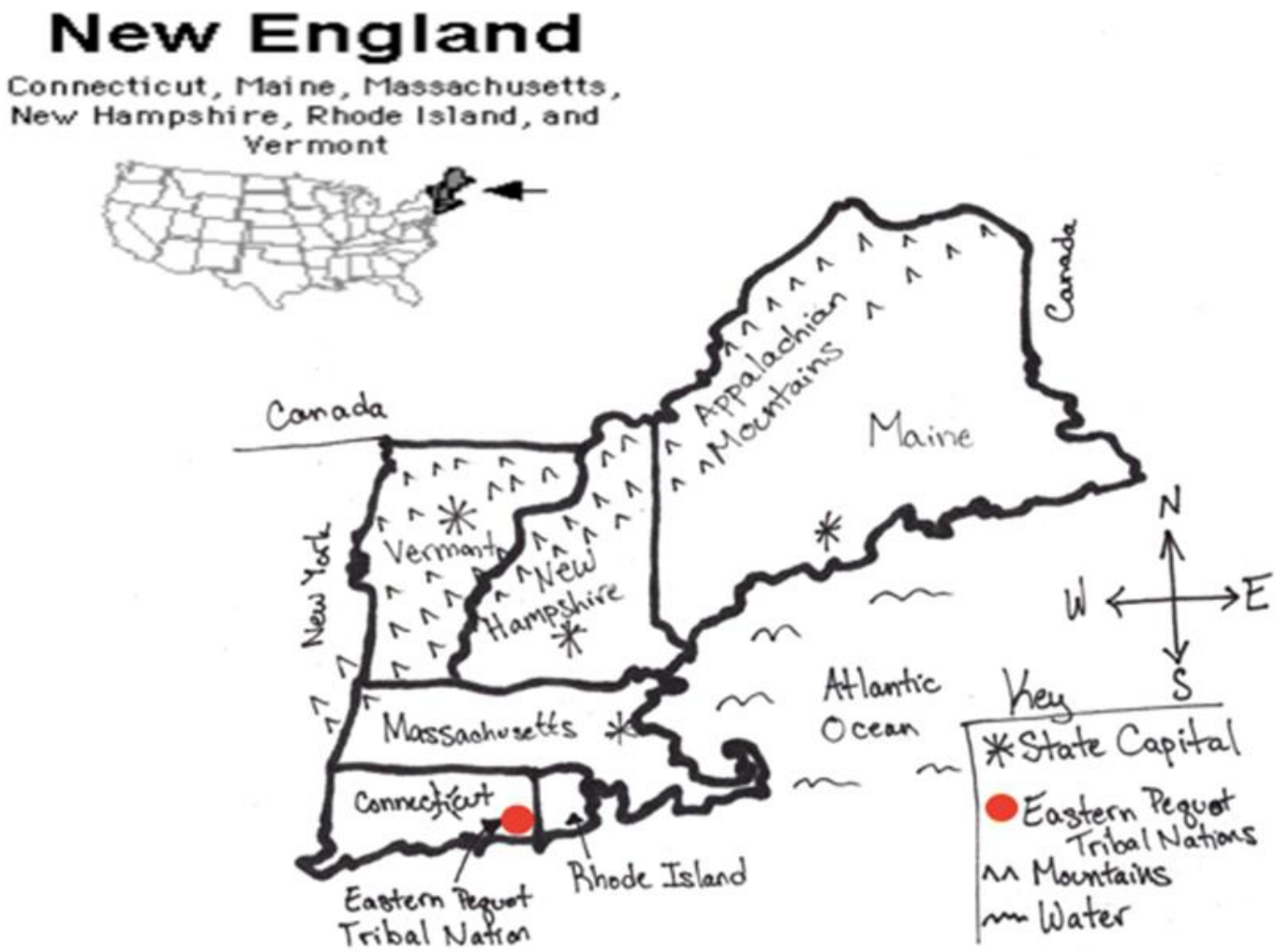

Figure 1. Map of New England and the Eastern Pequot Tribal Nation reservation

the Tribal members to their long-standing reservation. Some of these artifacts include: arrowheads, musket bullets, dining utensils, and jackfield pottery. The artifacts expand the limited description of the beginning of Native American history in the United States' colonialism into a more complicated and dynamic narrative to elaborate upon Native survival and resistance. These items are proof that the Eastern Pequots' ancestors lived, survived, and thrived on the same land that European colonizers and current Tribal members walk on today.

Throughout the course of three years, I built strong relationships with the Eastern Pequots that stemmed from another collaborative community project with my home institution, Connecticut College. During this time, many Eastern Pequots shared with me their backgrounds and emotions about the federal recognition process in 2005 that fractured their nation. As a shared experience among the Eastern Pequots, I focus on recognition titles as a form of cultural erasure to assist the Eastern Pequots in increasing awareness of how the US government and the Bureau of Indian Affairs invalidate Native Americans' ancestral history and stripping them of their right to govern. The Eastern Pequot Tribal members were hosts, land-based educators, and editors throughout the production of this paper. Tribal members whom I had the pleasure of interviewing and Tribal Council members shared their ideas of how they wanted their Tribal Nation to be represented from an outsider's perspective. The relationship we shared makes an explicit contribution to a growing trend of researchers collaborating with Indigenous communities on academic work.

Methods of Modern Cultural Erasure: The Recognition of Tribal Nations

While recognition status serves to support many Native communities, it can also be used as a weapon against Native Americans. One modern form of cultural erasure is the Tribal Nation's recognition titles. Commonly referenced as "paper genocide" among Native members, federal and state recognition titles determine Native Americans' significance to United States history and can refute their identity (Personal Communication: Mashantucket Pequot Member: October 8, 2017). Even in the 21st century, this serves as a reminder that Native Americans are still not welcomed in the United States or are given full autonomy.

The Significance of Federal Recognition Titles

The Eastern Pequot Tribal Nation has continually been slaughtered and forced off of their land by intrusive colonizers, which was exacerbated when the US government denied the Tribes' federal recognition in 2005 (Ferguson 1996). Federal recognition acknowledges a government-to-government relationship between Tribes and the United States (US Congress and the Bureau of Indian Affairs (BIA)) that allows for tribal sovereignty (NCSL website). The BIA was created in 1824 under the Department of War (Charles 1999). Later, it was moved to the Department of Interior in 1849, so the US government could oversee public land under one government agency (Charles 1999). There are over one hundred BIA field agencies and special officers stationed directly on Native reservations that serve federally recognized Tribes (Charles 1999, 26). Federally recognized Tribes have stronger and more direct communication with the United States government than their non-recognized counterparts, so federally recognized Tribes can use this advantage to raise awareness of any social issues they face while the United States government directly oversees and controls Native populations. This relationship can be beneficial as federally recognized Tribes have agency while still being respected by the United States government with limited involvement.

To gain federal recognition, the United States government requires Native Tribes to prove their Native American ancestry through seven criteria (Table 1). One of the requirements includes that "they've had 'continuous political authority and community' since 1989 and 'an external entity' has identified the group as Indian since 1900" (Bogado 2014, 3). It is necessary to note that an "external" party is used to define if a Tribe has been "Indian" long enough to receive this title (Bogado 2014, 3), so it offers colonizers the power to maintain or erase a group of people from history. Tribes

Table 1. Seven requirements to be a federally-recognized Native American Tribe

1	The petitioner has been identified as a Native American entity since 1900s.
2	A predominant portion of the petitioning group comprises a distinct community.
3	The petitioner has maintained political influence or authority over its members.
4	The group has governing documents which include its membership criteria.
5	The petitioner's membership consists of individuals who descend from a historical Native American Tribe or from historical Native American Tribes which combined and functioned as a single autonomous political entity.
6	The membership of the petitioning group is composed primarily of persons who are not members of an acknowledged North American Native Tribe.
7	Neither the petitioner not its members are the subject of congressional legislation that has expressly terminated or forbidden the federal relationship.

Table 2. Tribal Nation Recognition Titles Benefits Summary (source: author)

Federal	State
Acknowledges direct relationship between Tribal government to the United States government	Acknowledges Tribal status within state government, but not at federal level
Federal government acknowledges a Tribal Nation's historical and cultural contributions to the United States' history	Federal government does not believe there is enough tangible evidence that proves a Tribal Nation's historical and cultural contributions to the United States' history
Possess certain inherent rights to self-government (i.e. tribal sovereignty) without or limited influence from United States Congress	Can have limited Tribal participation in state commissions that typically make policy decisions that affect Native Americans
Guaranteed to receive federal benefits, funding, services, and protection that provide funds for health care, education programs, housing, and building casinos	Can qualify for Federal and State support but there is no guarantee of funding from state or federal government
Allows Native communities to sue federal court for illegal land encroachment by state government and individuals	Does not allow Native communities to sue federal court, state government, or individuals for any illegal land encroachment

with federal recognition have the right to govern themselves without any (or with very limited) influence from the United States Congress (NCSL website). It also allows Tribes to benefit from government programs that provide funding for health care, education programs, housing, and building casinos (Starn 2011). Through collaboration with the Indian Self-Determination Act and Education Assistance Act and the BIA, federally recognized Tribes can contact federal agencies to plan programs and functions that benefit Natives (Charles 1999, 28). One of the most significant benefits of being a federally recognized Tribe is that it permits Native communities to sue the federal court for land which was taken illegally by the state government and individuals (Starn 2011).

In contrast, state recognition acknowledges a Tribe's status, but it does not guarantee additional help or funding from the state or federal government (NCSL website). The US government's strict criteria mean that it is difficult for Native communities to obtain enough tangible historic resources to prove their ancestry or community. By granting the approval or denial of federal recognition status, the United States government and BIA are the gatekeepers to Tribal Nations' ability to revive and sustain their own identity. Additionally, the state government can manipulate the Tribal Nation's land if they choose to without being federally regulated or stopped (Starn 2011), so the state-recognized Native Tribes cannot sue the state government for intruding on their land. As a result, state-recognized Tribes such as the Eastern Pequots do not have full agency over their own property.

Denying or removing recognition titles contributes to ongoing paper genocide. The United States Congress and BIA determines which Indigenous groups receive the powerful stamp of Indigeneity and the right to self-govern. *Which groups are Native American enough to receive this federal title and which agencies determine this*? According to anthropologist Audra Simpson, in her work *Mohawk Interruptus* (2014), sovereign nations may exist within another nation without being negated while recognition can exist within a framework of multicultural politics (Greymorning 2014, 445). The ability of tribal nations to self-govern as sovereign nations is self-determined without an external party;

however, the United States continues to be an overbearing presence over these Tribal Nations because the United States assigns recognition. The power structures between the Tribal Nations and the United States government contributes to the constant "debate, doubt, and revision" of one's Indigenous identity that leads to a never-ending battle between "belonging and exclusion" (Starn 2011, 186).

Eastern Pequot Recognition Titles: Paper Genocide

Since the 1970s, the Eastern Pequot Tribal Nation, also known as the Paucatuck Eastern Pequots, encountered many obstacles when they were filing for their federal acknowledgement. In 1978, Eastern Pequots began navigating their federal recognition process (Figure 2). They filed a letter of intent to petition the United States Department of the Interior (DOI) for acknowledgement as a Tribal Nation. For many years, the Eastern Pequot Tribal Council members searched for progenitors to support the seven requirements to be federally recognized. In 2000, the Eastern Pequots received preliminary positive feedback on their federal acknowledgement from the Bureau of Indian Affairs (BIA) after they demonstrated to the United States government their ability to maintain community, political, and cultural practices. During this time, the BIA recommended that the Eastern Pequots and the Paucatuck Eastern Pequots join together as one Tribe during their federal recognition process (McFadden 2000). This suggestion, however, raised many uncertainties about whether the groups consist of two Tribes or different divisions of the same tribe in addition to which group is the true descendent from the original Pequots (McFadden 2000, 2). Although both tribes applied for recognitions separately, they each faced many challenges. In 1990, the bureau stated that the Eastern Pequots "skipped generations in their attempt to show historic links to ancestors" (McFadden 2000, 3). Later in 1994, the bureau stated that the Paucatucks did "not [prove] it was a distinct community since historic times" (McFadden 2000, 3).

Another obstacle the Eastern Pequots faced during their federal recognition process was the local townspeople from New London, Uncasville, and North Stonington's misunderstanding of what a recognition title provides for Tribal Nations. Due to the two largest and most successful federally recognized Native casinos being locally owned in southeastern Connecticut by the Mashantucket Pequots and Mohegans, non-Natives immediately assume that federal recognition is "synonymous with casinos" (Personal communication with N. Gambrell: July 15, 2018). When the Eastern Pequots and the Paucatucks first announced their federal recognition process, news outlets questioned the Tribes if they planned to build casinos in the area (McFadden 2000). In 2000, the local townspeople were concerned with the Eastern Pequots' and the Paucatucks' lack of response on building a casino (McFadden 2000). When asked again in 2002, Tribal members did not believe they were capable of obtaining a casino (Groark 2002). In fact, James A. Cunha Jr., the Paucatuck Eastern Chief at the time, stated, "There's no land. There's no casino. There's nothing. There are other hurdles we have to clear before we get to that point" (Groark 2002). Although the two nearby Native casinos bring in millions of dollars' worth of revenue each month to the southeastern Connecticut region, the biggest concerns are the large number of cars brought into the area and the taxed local services (Groark 2002). Officials from the three towns surrounding the Mashantucket Pequots' Foxwoods Resort Casino argued that adding one or two more casinos would only worsen the situation in the area. As a result, New London, Uncasville, and North Stonington invested over $500,000 to monitor the two Tribes' recognition petitions (Groark 2002).

After being pressured by the Connecticut attorney general Richard Blumenthal and representatives of three towns, via Freedom of Information Act lawsuits, the assistant secretary for Indian affairs granted the Eastern Pequots federal recognition in September of 2002. At this time, the DOI acknowledged the tribe as one of the oldest reservations in the United States with an "unbroken history" (Silliman and Sebastian Dring 2008). Within three months, the Eastern Pequots' achievement of federal acknowledgment faded because some public officials, local towns, and other politically motivated parties influenced the decision to

retract the original acknowledgment. For more than two years, the Eastern Pequots were held in appeal.

In May 2005, the Internal Board of Indian Appeals communicated their final decision to the assistant secretary for Indian affairs. Later, on October 12, four months after the final acknowledgment was under reconsideration, ironically two days after Columbus Day, the assistant secretary rescinded the Eastern Pequots' original federal determination (Bogado 2014). To combat this, the Eastern Pequots sent a notice of appeal of the final determination in November 2005 to reconsider their decision to decline acknowledgement to the Interior Board of Indian Appeals. In January 2006, the Interior Board of Indian Appeals' response stated that the administrative process of acknowledgement petitions was complete and the Eastern Pequots' reconsidered final determination was effective (Bogado 2014).In 2015, Connecticut's politicians, including Senator Richard Blumenthal, praised the BIA's decision to revise its rule to block additional Connecticut Tribes from all second chances of winning federal recognition (Redelat 2015); thus, it has become harder for the Eastern Pequots to fight for their rightfully deserved recognition title.

As of 2016, the state of Connecticut recognizes that the Eastern Pequots are a self-governing entity that possess power and duties over their tribal members and reservations (Constitution of the Eastern Pequot Tribal Nation 2007). Their powers and duties include: 1) the ability to determine tribal membership and residency on reservation land; 2) determine the tribal form of government; 3) regulate trade and commerce on the reservation; 4) make contracts; and 5) determine tribal leadership in accordance with tribal practice and usage (Connecticut General Statutes 47-63 2016).

Through their ownership of the most successful Native casinos in the country, both the Mashantucket Pequots and Mohegans prominently mark their economic and social dominance over a territory that nearly masks the Eastern Pequots land reservation (Figure 3). Additionally, the Mashantucket Pequot Museum and Resource Center preserves Pequot history for the education of both the Native and Non-Native community. It is a beneficial resource to both Pequot communities because they "share history" before colonialism (Personal communication with J. Silva: September 8, 2018). In contrast, the Eastern Pequots' land is found within the peaceful woods near their cousins' bustling casinos. Each Tribe's reservation is located in various parts of Connecticut that affects how they use their land

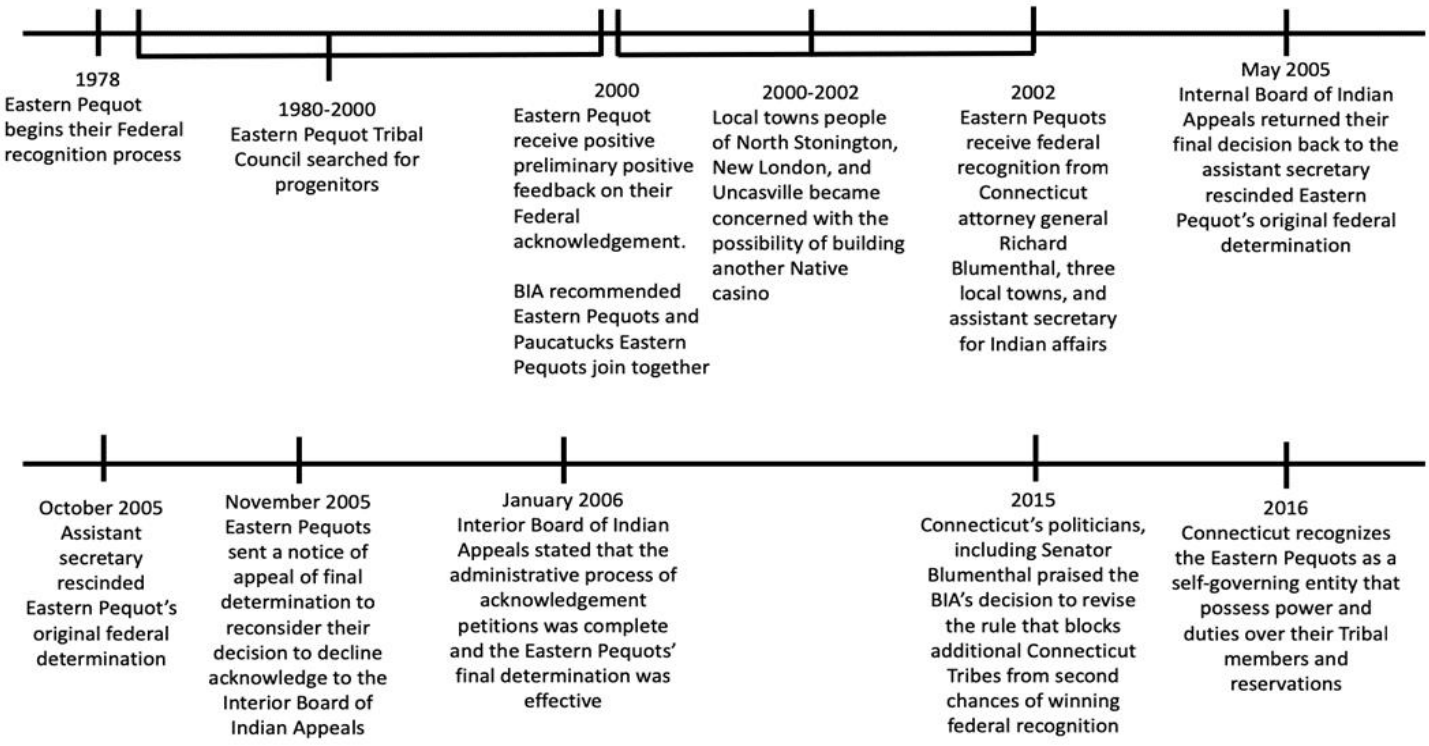

Figure 2. Timeline of Eastern Pequots' federal recognition process

for social gatherings such as the annual PowWow. "Although they may be economically poor, the Eastern Pequots are culturally rich" in that their history and experiences are more dynamic and complicated than common American history books explain (Personal communication with R. Flores: May 12, 2017). In the small southeastern corner of Connecticut, state recognized Tribes are overshadowed by their federally recognized cousins, so their identities and the social injustices they face are left practically invisible.

and non-Native communities alike (Manuelito 2015, 84). In contrast to protests or sit-ins, education is not an overtly activist or violent action. Instead, it is a strategic method that can make political changes without any damaging political deaths or symbolic arrests. Collaborative archaeology and anthropology projects can encourage mutual dialogue between groups to reposition Native people back into the dominant education curriculum through land-based education (Wildcate, McDonald, Irlbacher-Fox, and Coulthard 2014).

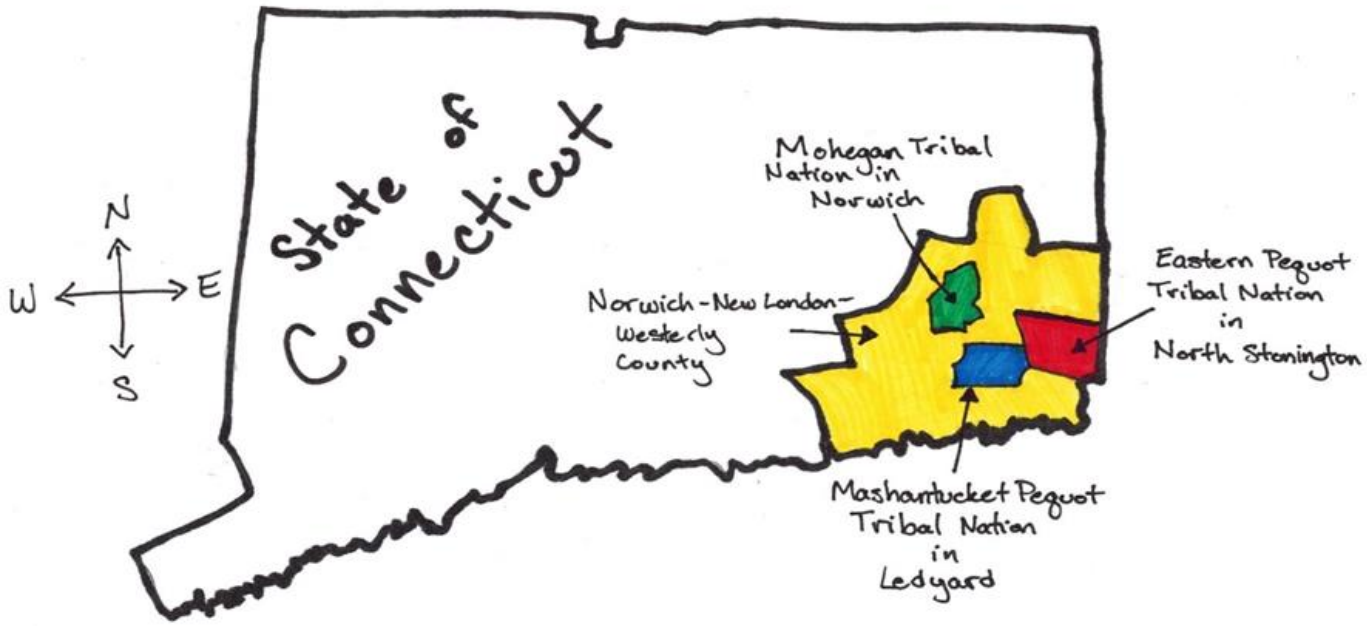

Figure 3. Map of three Southeastern Connecticut Native American Tribal Nations' reservation (Mohegans, Mashantucket Pequots, and Eastern Pequots) (source: author)

Education as a Form of Resistance

The Role of Archaeology and Anthropology within Indigenous Culture

Although gradual, Indigenous education programs are an effective method of resisting cultural erasure from the government because they peacefully invite Natives and non-Natives to learn about Native American history outside of the European colonizer textbooks. This is ironic because education in boarding schools was previously used to obliterate Native communities in the United States; however, it has transformed into one method of survival (Manuelito 2005) Dismantling the colonial discourses about Indigenous people strengthens self-determination within Native

Repositioning Native people to the forefront of education curriculums reverses the power structure between them and elite academics according to Julie Kaomea from the University of Hawai'i at Mānoa (Ismail and Cazden 2005). In 1975, the United States government passed the Indian Self-Determination and Education Assistance Act that provided Tribal and community-based schools that were essential to Native survival (Manuelito 2005). It gives Native communities the opportunity to express and practice self-determination as colonized peoples while being active participants in shaping their own future (Manuelito 2005). Five large Tribes – Cherokee, Choctaw, Chickasaw, Creek, and Seminole – credit their cultural revival success to their youth and their ability to have local and Tribal control over education

systems and community based bilingual programs (Manuelito 2005). Rigid American school systems, state, and federal agencies are large barriers for Native communities to spread their cultural knowledge (Ismail and Cazden 2005).One simple yet unproductive solution many American schools use is to sprinkle Native studies or racial courses into the program to reduce the lack of diversity taught in class. Mary Hermes argues that cultures cannot simply be added to the existing schooling system because it will reduce the culture's significance (Ismail and Cazden 2005). As seen in collaborative archaeology projects, one method is to find the balance between teaching Native American studies to non-Native audience while giving Native Americans their own agency to teach their own history (Gaudry and Lorenz 2018).

Anthropologists' and archaeologists' past relationship with Native Americans can be described as Audre Lorde's maxim "master's tools" to benefit colonialism; however, the current discipline leans on collaboration to dismantle these oppressive power structures (Lorde 1984, 110; Field 1999). Throughout the 1800s, archaeologists used the "Vanishing Red Man Theory" as a scientific justification to collect Native remains off of their reservation for craniology (Ferguson 1996). As a result, Native communities were "dehumanized and objectified …[to] prove that Native Americans were racially inferior and naturally doomed to extinction" (Ferguson 1996, 65). In addition, this theory contributed to the government's "scientific justification" for relocating Tribes and reservations (Ferguson 1996, 65). Later in the 1900s, the power dynamics between Native communities and archaeologists slowly incorporated equitable practices and laws. Archaeologists use cultural resource management (CRM) as a method to mediate the material culture found in the digs. CRM still threatened Native Tribes because it commodified knowledge produced by archaeologists by moving it into commercial areas and private consulting companies (Ferguson 1996, 65-66). Additionally, many laws were passed to promote more equitable research methods on Native land such as the Antiquities Act of 1906. This specific law was the first to establish that archaeological sites of historic, scientific, and commemorative values should be preserved and managed for future generations. The President of the United States is authorized to protect landmarks, structures, and objects with historic or scientific interest by claiming them as National Monuments. The Antiquities Act of 1906 only applies to federally recognized Tribal Nations. In 1966, the National Historic Preservation Act allowed Tribes to implement their own preservation program (Ferguson 1996, 67). This was followed up by the Archaeology Resources and Protection Act of 1979 that requires consent of Indian Tribes to be obtained before the federal government issues permits for excavation and removal of materials from Tribal lands (Ferguson 1996, 66). As a response, the Native American Graves Protection and Repatriation Act of 1990 has two goals: to give Native Americans property rights to grave goods and cultural patrimony and to repatriate human remains from federal and Native lands (Ferguson 1996, 66).

These laws were a positive step towards equitable research methods for archaeologists and Tribal members; however, federally recognized Tribes still receive an advantage over state recognized Tribes. There are laws that protect and advocate for federally recognized Native land and people, while state recognized Tribes must constantly fight the government and state officials to combat land encroachment. The Society of American Archaeologists (SAA) urged archaeologists to work with non-federally recognized Tribes in 1995 because the SAA were aware of the injustice state recognized Tribes face (Ferguson 1996, 68). With all of these changes to archaeology within the past fifty years, newer approaches to the discipline emerged to promote more equitable methods with the Native Tribes. Collaborative archaeology, where both non-Natives and Native members can actively learn about research methods and Native history, redefines who narrates the story of Native people in the United States (Ismail and Cazden 2005).

The University of Massachusetts, Boston Eastern Pequot Archaeology Field School

Since 2003, Professor Stephen Silliman has collaborated with the Eastern Pequots through an archaeology program. This program has had 13 Field School seasons with each year focusing

on various parts of the Eastern Pequots' land reservation. Over 13 Field School seasons, there have been approximately 30 Tribal interns and 130 non-Native participants involved in the program's mission (Table 3). Out of these numbers, five enrolled students have been Native American (Personal Communication with S. Silliman: December 17, 2018). This course has two objectives: 1) "it teaches students the basics of archaeological field research methods such as mapping, excavating, subsurface surveying, and artifact analysis" (Silliman 2008, 69); 2) it creates close connections between undergraduate and graduate students and the Eastern Pequot community. The Eastern Pequots benefit from this program because they have access to resources through "lower-cost historic preservation efforts, practical archaeological training for tribal members, and Native oversight of research" (Silliman 2008, 69). Additionally, this work is unique in nature because it is assisting a state recognized Tribal Nation – that is next door to two large federally recognized Tribes – with their own summer archaeology program. Assessed by Giovanna Vitelli (2011), Native American persistence in colonial New England can be challenging for both Western and Native researchers. Vitelli believes Silliman finds a balance between having the academic authority to write about Native American history and learning about it directly from the Native community themselves (Vitelli 2011, 185). Silliman's close relationships with Tribal Nations from both the West and East coasts bridges the power gap between the academic and the descendant communities.

Table 3. Overall Demographics of the Eastern Pequot Archaeological Field School Participants

*Native American Students	5
Non-Native American Students	130
Tribal Interns	12
Total	147

*2 Eastern Pequots, 1 Narragansett, 1 Navajo, and 1 Akimel O'odham

Throughout 2002, during their federal recognition application process, the Eastern Pequot Tribal Council was interested in beginning cultural and historic preservation on their reservation to strengthen the evidence that validated their ancestral existence. They wanted an archaeological survey of their reservation to determine the kinds of sites present on their land reservation and the necessary action to preserve them (Silliman and Sebastian Dring 2008). The goal aids the Eastern Pequots' desires to document any material culture of their history that supplements what was already known through oral traditions and written documentations (Silliman 2008). The archaeological program took place during the summers of 2003 and 2004 during the same time as the Eastern Pequots' petition. Even though their recognition was rescinded from them, the Eastern Pequots continued the program.

My personal relationship with the Eastern Pequots allowed me to gain deep insights into their experiences with federal recognition. Our relationship began in 2016 when we collaborated to make a community garden for the Tribal Nation. Additionally, from 2016 to 2017, I volunteered to assist the Eastern Pequots during any social event they hosted such as the annual Pequot Warrior Race and tag sale. During this time, my undergraduate institution, Connecticut College, aimed to increase collaboration between nearby Native American Tribes and the multicultural center on campus. I invited the Eastern Pequots to share their experiences and history with the student population at multiple educational events. Some of these gatherings included celebrating Indigenous People's Day, teaching a talk called *We are Still Here*, and promoting botanical walks on the reservation. In the summer of 2018, I participated in UMass, Boston's Eastern Pequot Archaeological Field School program with Professor Stephen Silliman. This program allowed me to strengthen my bond with the Tribal Nations and conduct my independent research alongside the Pequot Tribe.

For the duration of the Field School, Eastern Pequot Tribal Council members critically analyze archaeology methods and adjust them to Native traditions. The modified methods are carried out by the Tribal Interns who oversee

the daily operations of the program. Their responsibilities include the following: smudging newcomers with a bundle of tobacco and sage to cleanse the guests of any negative energy when entering the reservation, blessing any of the shovel test pits and excavation units where artifacts were taken from, and providing any historic or geographic information on the Tribe.

On the Eastern Pequots' 225-acre land reservation, Tribal Interns act as a bridge between the professionals/academics and the public in order to better interact with members of the Tribal Nation. The Tribal Interns are chosen by Tribal Council and recommended to Professor Silliman to hire during the Field School season (Personal communication: S. Silliman July 15, 2018). Silliman extends the Field School resources, such as academic discussions and full immersion into archaeological methods, to the participating Tribal Interns. This free opportunity for the Tribal Interns gives them academic credit through the university which can be applied to an archaeology degree (Silliman 2008). Additionally, this collaborative effort "sets the context for community members to take over their own heritage management and research in the future" (Silliman 2008, 74). The phenomenon changes who has the authority to tell Native history to a Native community in order to "[ensure] that [the] academic discourse does not alienate descendent communities" (Silliman 2008, 74).

Every field season has a different Tribal Intern, but many past Tribal Interns return to participate in the program. During my time in this program in 2018, Natasha "Nikki" Gambrell and Erica Blocker were the two Tribal Interns. Nikki, a Tribal Council member at the age of 26, has been a part of the program since she was 16 years old. At that young age, Nikki dug with the other students while other Tribal members, such as Bobby or Royal "Two Hawks" Cook, blessed the excavated holes and guided the groups throughout the reservation. Since 2008, Nikki has only missed one Field School season in 2015 where she worked for the Mohegan Archaeological Field School as their Tribal Intern. Additionally, the summer of 2018 was Erica's first time in the Field School. As a 20-year -old Eastern Pequot, Erica saw this as an opportunity to reconnect with her cultural heritage. From the moment the program started, Erica quickly realized how her family was expanding as she met more and more of her Native cousins from the Tribe. Throughout the field season, Nikki assisted Erica in learning more about the cultural significance of the reservation and passed down oral traditions such as dances used at their annual PowWow.

The Field School's Daily Operations

Orientation

On the first day of the program, Silliman reminded the students of the purpose of the program and clearly stated that "this program aims to decolonialize archaeology by looking at the Eastern Pequots' material culture" (Personal communication with S. Silliman: July 1, 2018). Later that day, Silliman invited members of the Eastern Pequot to join the orientation. Those who came were members of the Tribal Council and Tribal Elders. For me, the orientation was a reunion as I had not seen many of the Tribal members for months. There was a lot of high energy, laughter, smiles, and hugs when Silliman saw each Tribal member, thus showing how much trust Silliman has gained from Tribal Council over the years.

After introducing ourselves, the Tribal members shared some information about themselves, what their role is in the Tribe, and their opinions about the Field School. Overall, the Tribal members shared positive thoughts of the program and stated how excited they were for the students to be a part of the Field School. During this time, Erica Blocker mentioned that she was also Eastern Pequot and interested in learning more about her culture and her extended family. One of the Tribal elders, Aunt Mary, asked Blocker how she was related to the Eastern Pequot Tribe. Erica explained her ancestral line that began with Phoebe Ester Sebastian Smith. Aunt Mary quickly exclaimed that they were related. In this moment, the Field School reunited a member of the Tribe who has been so disconnected from her extended family and reconnected them to her roots. The bond these two members created through this program intensified their identity as a whole and strengthened their ability to be part of a sovereign Nation. Beyond the educational component of the Field School, the program also creates a centralized location and

group for the Eastern Pequot members to come together as one community.

In-class Assignments

Before we began digging in the field, students were expected to understand and discuss the Eastern Pequots' history in various medias; this included readings discussing collaborative archaeology programs, analyzing the power relations between the Connecticut state government and the Eastern Pequots, watching a documentary on the Pequot Massacre of 1636 called *10 Days that Unexpectedly Changed America* by the History Channel, and visiting the Mashantucket Pequot Museum and Research Center to watch the film *The Witness*. Both of these films gave an overview of the Massacre, but from different perspectives. In fact, during the student led discussion of the History Channel's documentary, students realized how the Eastern Pequot were not mentioned, but their federally recognized cousins were. Additionally, students noticed how the documentary failed to acknowledge colonists' racist acts during the 1600s. During the visit to the Mashantucket Pequot Museum and Research Center, students were immersed in the ethnographic museum which showed how the Pequots prior to the Massacre. Additionally, students viewed *The Witness*, a live-action film retelling of the Pequot Massacre from the Native Americans' perspective, to gain a deeper understanding of Native American relations between each Tribes and the colonists leading up to the Massacre. Due to the viewing of these two very different documentaries, the Field School students developed a basic understanding of Eastern Pequot history in southeastern Connecticut.

While in the field site, all participants were responsible for recording what artifacts were found; these artifacts were then placed in documented bags. At the end of each day, Silliman's graduate teacher's assistant would track the artifact bags on a log sheet which documented the number of bags that contained various findings. This practice had a mutual benefit for the Field School and the Tribal Nation as it helped the Field School keep track of any artifacts while informing the Tribal Nation of which items are being removed from the land. After the log sheet was filled out, the Tribal Intern would sign it to acknowledge that the artifacts would be removed from the land. Lastly, the Tribal Intern, specifically Nikki as she had ample experience in the program, blessed each excavated hole with a Native prayer thanking the Creator. The Tribal Intern then sprinkled tobacco in the shape of a circle over the hole. As the program continued and more artifacts were found, the whole Field School tried to hypothesize the house foundation's function. By laying out the artifacts on a makeshift map, students were encouraged to analyze any patterns they observed in the artifacts. Since this was one of the largest digging sites throughout the Field School seasons, there are still many unanswered questions about the house foundation and its purpose.

The Legacy of the Eastern Pequot Archaeology Field School with University of Massachusetts, Boston

The Field School generates ample resources and knowledge on the Eastern Pequots for Natives, non-Native students and politicians to witness and build new understandings of Native Americans during the US' 1600-1800's colonial history. Over the 13 Field School seasons, over 99,000 artifacts were collected and documented. In the summer of 2018 season alone, two arrows heads, a squibnocket, scissors, a coin dating back to the early 1800s, and a utensil set were just a few of the artifacts found during the excavation. All of these items suggest that the Eastern Pequot members did not culturally assimilate to satisfy European colonizers during the 1800s. Instead, these artifacts show that the Eastern Pequots survived European colonization by adapting to the European lifestyle while still maintaining their Native traditions. These artifacts dismantle the dominant binary discourse that Native Americans on the east coast either 1) assimilated into European culture to survive or 2) dwindled as a consequence of not assimilating to the European lifestyle (Silliman 2012).

Additionally, the longevity of the Field School serves to disassemble the misconception of time during early colonial periods. One of the major fallacies Stephen Silliman finds in Indigenous archeology is the "conundrum of

[the] temporal scale" through the concepts of "longue durée" and "short purée" (Silliman 2012, 113). The *longue durée* concept originates from the French philosopher Henri Bergson, who developed it as a theory of time and consciousness. This perspective of time summarizes major events but fails to include the mundane activities that can lead up to the events. It is common to misinterpret Indigenous practices within the colonial world in this way, by situating them into either a short or long-term cultural history (Silliman 2012, 113). This binary is limiting because archaeologists tend to choose one and not the other to represent Indigenous narratives (Silliman 2012). One of its limitations is that it "downplay[s] the impact of colonialism … in light of long-term Indigenous histories that span centuries … before the arrival of the European colonists" (Silliman 2012, 114). Silliman critiques scholars who attempt to investigate a significant number of events within a short period of time (Silliman 2012, 120). This method creates a false sense of *longue durée* because it "obscures the shorter-term strategies, decisions, and process that link past and present that give long durations of cultural patterns their actual power" (Silliman 2012, 121).

In contrast, the *short purée* perspective is a general representation of Indigenous experiences that blurs the lines between each distinct tribal nation and blends them down into a single identity. Like a food processor creating a homogeneous mush, this perspective "fundamentally altered [Indigenous cultures] by the presence of European colonists and colonies, frequently to the point of becoming unrecognizable in terms of their previous cultural ways" (Silliman 2012, 114). Clearly, this method is problematic because it misrepresents all Native American tribes and strips them of their cultural power and historic importance. Furthermore, Silliman critiques archeologists who focus on the first colonial interactions despite there being more archaeological material records on the later periods (Silliman 2012, 145). He argues against describing the time period through "first encounters" and/or "early contact periods" (Silliman 2012, 115). Silliman states that segmenting time through this lens and focusing on *only* the first colonial interactions "[emphasizes] these early periods [and] sever[s] present Indigenous communities from their pasts and their abilities to exert claims on them" (Silliman 2012, 115). This pattern is detrimental to Native communities because this knowledge is commonly taught in many middle schools across the United States, so the Native American discourse has been rewritten and accepted in a generalized fashion that should be contested.

For many of the Tribal Interns, the Field School encourages land-based education and connects them back to their land and relatives (Personal communication with N. Gambrell: July 15, 2018) (Figure 4). For example, Nikki does not dig with gloves. She states that digging with her bare hands establishes the intimate relationship to Mother Earth and her land reservation which connects to her ancestors (Personal communication with N. Gambrell: July 15, 2018). Additionally, the Field School allows Tribal Interns to carry on the legacy of Eastern Pequot participants who have passed away. For example, Ralph Sebastian, a Tribal Elder, was deeply involved in the beginning of the Field School's history and shared Eastern Pequot history with the Native and non-Native students. After his passing, younger Tribal Interns commemorate his contributions to the Tribal Nation and the Field School by embodying the knowledge of the reservation and their shared history (Personal communication with N. Gambrell: December 17, 2018). Even for Eastern Pequot members who only volunteered to dig for a short period of time, this program can still connect them to their ancestors' past. One individual who was adopted back into the Tribal Nation as a young adult participated in the Field School for the first time this year in 2018. He stated that digging through the excavation units and sifting through the dirt was like "opening a time capsule" to his Native ancestors (Personal Communication with Eastern Pequot Tribal member: September 15, 2018). As a Native adopted child, this work is crucial because it provides tangible artifacts that refute American discourses on Native Americans while providing insights of how the Eastern Pequot survived during early colonization in the United States.

The Field School provides an opportunity to educate politicians about who the Eastern

Pequots are, both historically and contemporarily, and how they live after the state government's inequitable actions to rescind their federal acknowledgement. During the Field School season, Silliman and the Tribal Council invited Connecticut's selectman and politicians to witness the digs in action. One Tribal member stated that is it easy for Connecticut's government to make unjust policies towards the Eastern Pequots because the people in positions of power do not know of the Tribal Nation's history (Personal Communication with Eastern Pequot Tribal member: September 15, 2018). Inviting politicians to the Eastern Pequots' land reservation to interact with the Natives builds bridges between the communities that have been unstable for many years.

Due to the house foundation's close proximity to the PowWow circle, it was an accessible location to invite many Tribal members and outsiders to witness the Field School in person. For example, local townspeople visited the site to simultaneously see what the students were digging and to learn from an archaeologist the impacts of this program. During these visits, the outsiders were accompanied by a Tribal member, so it bridged these two groups together. Additionally, tribal members and visitors visited the house foundation during the Eastern Pequots' annual PowWow. Silliman invited Tribal members to the house foundation to showcase some of the areas we were working in to maintain transparency with the whole Tribe. The Field School provided many answers about the dwellings cross the reservation. There are many stone walls and house foundations scattered throughout the land; however, the Tribal members did not understand why they were there, how they were used, or who lived in these houses. Each Field School season investigated each structure that provides some

Figure 4. Summer 2018 Field School participants with Eastern Pequot members Erica Blocker (far left) and Natasha "Nikki" Gambrell (fourth person in from the right). Photo courtesy of Stephan Silliman/Eastern Pequot Archaeological Field School.

historic context for the Tribal Nation. This helped the Tribal members gain a better understanding of how their ancestors used the reservation while dismantling the common discourse that Native Americans assimilated into European culture. Joanne, a Tribal member who visits each Field season stated "that the land … could talk because you can hear the ancestors talking to you, 'This is who we were.'"

Conclusion

The vital information found throughout each excavation plays a role in legitimizing the Eastern Pequots' identity. When the United States government rescinded the Eastern Pequots' federal recognition, the government also robbed the Tribal Nation of their agency to legitimize their own Native history (Starn 2011). The result of the government granting and then rejecting the Eastern Pequots' recognition status led to uncertainty and imbalance within the Tribal Nation. Eastern Pequot members argue that the government, specifically Connecticut Senator Richard Blumenthal, does not believe that Eastern Pequots exist anymore (Personal communication with N. Gambrell and V. Gambrell: July 15, 2018). To combat this erasure, the Field School provides tangible items from the past which grounds the Tribal members to their reservation that has been established for hundreds of years. Items such as arrowheads, musket bullets, and scissors show that the Eastern Pequots' ancestors lived *with* their European colonizers from the 17th to the 19th centuries as their Native presence was enough to resist colonization. Over 99,000 artifacts found throughout the 15 Field School seasons dismantle the common misconception of how Native Americans lived during the beginning of the United States' history and redefines modern beliefs about how Natives survived European colonization. The Field School transforms the brief binary description of Native history into a more complicated and dynamic story that elaborates on Native struggle, survival and resistance. Through their gradual collaborative academic research, students produced honors theses and have presented this information to larger audiences to increase the number of research publications on the Eastern Pequots' history and experience. This research beneficially serves the Eastern Pequots because the rising number of publications completed with a university authenticates their history within Western pedagogy. The Field School uncovers artifacts that prove the Eastern Pequots' ancestors lived, survived and thrived on the same land that European colonizers and current Tribal members walk on today. For many members, their research reconnects them to their past and encourages them to continue to learn more about their heritage (Personal communication with E. Blocker: July 6, 2018). Lastly, these artifacts and the ample knowledge that comes with them can be used towards the "BIA, US Department of the Interior in [the Eastern Pequot] petition for federal acknowledgement" (Personal communication with K. Sebastian: August 3, 2018).

The Eastern Pequot Archaeological Field School provides a unique opportunity for Eastern Pequot members to determine how they want to represent themselves and learn with archaeologists and non-Natives in ways that can ultimately decolonize Western pedagogy, anthropology and archeology. In both the archaeology Field School and in my anthropological research, the Eastern Pequot members had full participation in the outcomes of the research – highlighting their voices and how they want to represent themselves. It switches the power dynamics between the elitist academic researchers and the ones being researched. In return, one of the many benefits of this program is that it gives students the first-hand exposure to the resilience Eastern Pequot members exhibit every day. Through this collaborative program, the Field School helps shed light on equitable education programs that aim to work with under resourced communities due to the lack of federal recognition while breaking down many negative stereotypes that Native communities have of archaeologists. By educating members of the Tribal Nation and non-Natives, the Field School combats the cultural erasure colonizers implement because it brings awareness of Native history and modern presence. A collaborative archaeology program such as this can encourage more disciplines to pursue equitable research with other minority groups in hopes to give power back to minority groups.

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Karate-Talk in a Canadian Dojo

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ABSTRACT

Karate-*do* is one of many *budo*, or martial ways, that originated during the Kamakura Shogunate of Japan. The original *dojos* (training halls), used the Japanese language to indoctrinate karate students into the moral code of the *dojo* community. Over the last century karate has spread across the world, and other languages have been combined with Japanese to teach the art and sport. In this article, the discursive practice of combining English and Japanese in Canadian *dojos* is called Karate-Talk. Using identity frameworks from linguistic anthropology and sociolinguistics, I illustrate and interpret how Karate-Talk teaches students the moral and ethical codes that are embedded in karate training, and in doing so helps students develop their black belt identity. *Dojos* want their students to develop black belt identities because it helps to pass on the traditions of karate-*do* and contributes to the preservation and continuation of the art form. This article describes Karate-Talk in a socio-historic context, and establishes the ways it is used to create black belt identities in karate students through the use of a case study.

Keywords: karate, discursive practices, identity construction, linguistic anthropology

Karate-*do* is a Japanese martial art that originated with the combat training and techniques of the feudal Japanese samurai and became a codified art form and sport in 1921. Over time, this combat training style has been passed from teachers (*sensei*) to students (*karate-ka*) in Japan using the Japanese language to command, instruct, and explain in the *dojo*. As karate spread through the world, other languages needed to be used in the *dojo* in order to attract new students who did not know Japanese. Despite this shift, many terms and phrases in Japanese have been maintained alongside these new languages. In this article, I analyze the discursive practices, including the combination of English and Japanese, in Canadian *dojos*, which I call Karate-Talk.

There are two aspects to all karate training; it is both physical and mental. As most know, *karate-kas* learn a plethora of punching, blocking, fighting, and defending techniques to be used in sport, in self-defence, and against imaginary opponents as a form of training. To this end, karate can be physically demanding for students. Karate-do training is also mentally demanding. The *dojo* sets out to indoctrinate its practitioners into a specific moral code of discipline and loyalty. Similar to the values Samurai held sacred in early Japanese history, *karate-kas* learn the importance of courage and respect inside and outside of the *dojo*.

Teaching both the physical and mental aspects of karate is of the utmost importance to *dojos* around the world. Part of doing so is teaching *karate-kas* to have the mentality and identity of a black belt. There are thousands of quotes on karate blogs and posters on the practitioners' walls that say things like "A black belt is not something you wear, it is something you become," or "It's not about getting a black belt, it's about being one." In the karate community, a black belt is an identity, and it is not one that develops the day a *karate-ka* receives their black belt, but is one the begins to form on their first day of training. The language practices in the *dojo* – such as Karate-Talk – are some of the ways this identity is forged. Following from these observations, this paper has two goals. It will first describe the discursive practices of Karate-Talk as it is found in one particular karate *dojo* in Halifax, Nova Scotia. Then, it will analyze how Karate-Talk is used to promote and instill black belt identities in *karate-kas*.

Socio-Cultural History of Karate-Do

Budo (martial ways) is the overarching name of all the martial arts that originated in Japan, of which karate-*do* is one. *Budo* integrates "physical training, mental discipline, and philosophical insight" (Donohue 1991, 5) with the goal of developing faculties of personal character and spirituality, which are known as *do* (ways). *Budo* are arts, beliefs, and customs, that are best understood through the continuity of historical practice and tradition and are heavily influenced by the socio-cultural history of Japan (Donohue 1991).

There are several socio-cultural practices from throughout Japanese history that prosper in the culture and tradition of *dojos*. There are three examples that are of particular interest when examining Karate-Talk. First are the pseudo-family communities of Ancient Japan social organizations, specifically from the Kofun Period. As early as the fourth century, social organizations began to develop to reflect socio-economic relations in Japan. Groups known as *uji* (loosely translates to clan) were communities of people who shared patrilineal descent and social, political, and economic ties. Political and religious authority was held by elders, the chief, and the priest. These types of large extended family communities originate in the early Japanese experience and their structural influence can be found into the nineteenth century when karate styles began to be formalized and codified (Donohue 1991). This emphasis on respecting lineage is important in karate today.

The second feature is closely related to the first and is from the same time period; it is the importance of the group and its hierarchy. Within an *uji* there is a "*be*." A *be* is the group of workers, who mostly worked in agriculture but also specialized in other industries such as pottery or fishing. The *be's* purpose was to serve the *uji* and provide economic security for all (Donohue 1991). When we fast-forward to the samurai of the tenth and eleventh century (Varley, Morris, and Morris 1970) a similar mindset prevailed. They lived their lives dedicated to the good of the society as a whole, and very rarely sought independence (Maynard 1997). Dedication to a leader is a strong feature of karate-*do* today. *Karate-kas* are expected to be dedicated to their *sensei*; to do as they say immediately and with intent.

The final traditional feature of Japanese culture found in karate to discuss is the importance and influence of moral and personal development through spiritual grounding. John Donohue (1991) described the relationship of combat and spiritual development in the following way:

> That the Japanese have elevated techniques (Jutsu) of combat into ways (do), and have invested these do with mystical properties is a striking example of how social development and history interact with ideology, forming a synthesis of formerly disparate cultural elements. (50).

These ideologies and mystical properties that are mixed with the combat techniques are from diverse belief systems. Much of the code of honour and morals within karate-*do* developed from Taoism and Buddhism, which had been imported to Japan from China during the Tokugawa Era (Donohue 1991). There are also teachings of Japan's Shinto belief system present in karate-*do*. A great example of this is the *kiai*. A *kiai* is a loud shout that has the purpose of harnessing all the energy of the *ki*. The *ki* holds the promise that hard work will help one harness the power inherent in creation. This concept has origins in Tao. Tao also teaches the importance of correct breathing techniques which *karate-kas* practice. Breathing in to the stomach (*hara*) is considered the best way to harness *ki's* power because that is where the *ki* exists in each person (Donohue 1991). In Karate-Talk, many of the Japanese words used are terms for items or concepts that originate in the spiritual development in karate-*do*, and using Japanese, instead of English translations, helps to maintain their importance to the social history of karate's origins.

These three features and more can be seen in the typical Canadian karate *dojo* today. Donohue (1991) notes that it is "possible to find a dojo composed of non-Japanese members whose cultural orthodoxy exceeds that of similar dojos in Japan," (34). Many international *dojos* work hard to maintain their Japanese roots in non-Japanese environments because those roots are so important to the practice. Their importance and maintenance manifest through the language used in the *dojo*.

The Muromachi period (1392-1573) was a particularly violent time in Japan and it saw the systemization and codification of combat techniques (Linhart and Frühstück 1998). The *kata* (forms; sequences) scales were created to teach and perfect the techniques samurai needed to survive. They were considered a sort of textbook or encyclopedia of *budo* knowledge. Knowledge was therefore passed on to new students through endless repetition of the physical movements of the *kata* (Donohue 1991). In 1889, verbal commands were added to the practice of *kata* to give students further opportunity to explore and comprehend the techniques (Linhart and Frühstück 1998).

The growth of karate in the 19th and 20th centuries is often attributed to Gichin Funakoshi, who gave the first public demonstrations of karate and popularized it throughout Japan. The American occupation of Japan in the 1940s helped further spread the sport and tradition internationally (Tan 2004). *Kumite* (sparring), considered the practical application of *kata*, became more popular after Funakoshi's death, as his students throughout the world began participating in kumite competitions and karate slowly took on the characteristics of a sport, rather than solely a "martial way." Today, *karateka* worldwide debate whether karate should be considered a sport or a traditionally martial way (Shintani and Reid 1998). As karate has become less of a

combat tool and more of a sport, changes have occurred in the way techniques are taught in the *dojo*, however, there is still extensive evidence of the elements of Japanese culture and language that I have argued are important. Modern karate-*do* emphasises the importance of peace and self discipline. Eriguichi Eiichi, the spokesman for Federation of All-Japan Karate-Do Organizations, said, "The ultimate goal in karate-do, in the sense of the word, is to build peace… Karate-do begins with curtesy and ends with curtesy… The fists are not meant for killing but for protecting life," (Draeger 1983, 136). This goal is modelled by and passed from *sensei* to *karate-ka* in actions and in words. Students are still taught that the most important part of karate-*do* is the bow at the beginning and the end of every class and every competition because it reifies the respect that is expected from and for all *karate-kas*.

Creating and Reinforcing Identity through Language

The mode of speech within the *dojo* helps to develop the identity that is so important to becoming a black belt. This is because being or becoming a black belt is not a solitary activity; it happens within a community of people who develop and share traits, beliefs and values. There are several theories that will be presented in this section that explain the ways identity is formed through language. Most of these fit together within the framework of symbolic interactionism, which states that interactions need to be situated within a socio-cultural context, meanings come from such interactions, and those meanings are continuously being created and recreated as people interact within a society (Blumer 1969). In this paper, one's identity is the social and subjective meaning that symbolic interactionism helps describe.

Conversations – what people talk about with who, how and when – in the *dojo* are constrained and structured by the cultural basis of the *dojo* itself. What may seem like a natural or normal conversation to someone within the community only seems that way "because it conforms to their habitus, the practices, norms, and expectations that constitute customary lived experience," (Gaudio 2003, 660). In a language community, many of the discursive practices people use to communicate are culturally informed. In order to be considered as such the practice must be deeply felt, commonly intelligible, and widely accepted in the community (Carbaugh 1988), thereby making them part of the community members' habitus. If the practice does not meet these criteria, then it is not of cultural significance.

An example of such a culturally informed discursive practice is the study of "Coffeetalk" (Gaudio 2003). In the middle class United States, a conversation with a friend over coffee at Starbucks seems causal or naturally occurring to the participants. However, such a conversation is constrained by space, time and society, and as such this type of conversation may not be universally considered casual. Coffeetalk meets the three criteria for cultural communication listed above; it evokes particular feeling patterns in members of the community; meeting someone for coffee is accepted and understood across the community as a particular kind of communication event that will entail particular kinds of conversations; and members of the community are able to recognize and replicate the pattern of communication. It is a norm. Outside of the American middle class, such an interaction may not be recognizable in the same way.

A karate *dojo* speech community also have their own discursive practices that meet the criteria for cultural communication. The use of Japanese terms integrated into English is deeply felt, in that it "evokes a complex pattern of feeling that goes beyond itself" (Carbaugh 1988, 38). The mixture of the two languages signals to the *karate-kas* that they are included in the *dojo* community and using the language contributes to their identity as *karate-kas*. The language used is commonly intelligible, in that it is taught to everyone as soon as they begin attending classes and used across the karate community. Finally, it is widely accessible; those in the community have the discursive practices available to them to use when needed.

As stated, interactions are context dependent and therefore constrained by space, time and society (Gaudio 2003), and this applies to both Coffeetalk and Karate-Talk. The

participants must occupy the same communicative space (Starbucks, or the *dojo*), at the same time (30-minute coffee break or two-hour karate class), and all must be willing to be part of what the interaction entails (go out to drink coffee or spending the time and energy to train in the *dojo*). These discursive practices perform and stand for certain social meanings and cultural values that are central to the formation of identity.

There are several ways meaning and identity are constructed through language. A framework for analysis of five principles has been developed for understanding identity in a sociolinguistic perspective. The five principles are emergence, positionality, indexicality, relationality and partialness (Bucholtz and Hall 2005). For now, a focus on emergence and relationality helps to define the relationship of discursive practices and identity in the context of Karate-Talk. The emergence principle states that "identity is best viewed as the emergent product rather than the pre-existing source of linguistic…practices," (588). In karate, the more a *karate-ka* uses Karate-Talk the more they build their black belt identity. Further, identity creation has a reciprocal relationship with discursive practices (Tracy and Robles 2013). Therefore, using Karate-Talk will lead to a strong sense of a black belt identity, and a stronger black belt identity leads to more confidence communicating with Karate-Talk.

The relationality principle states that "identities are never autonomous or independent but always require social meaning in relation to other available identity positions and social actions," (Bucholtz and Hall 2005, 598). This is not to say that identities are dichotomous, rather, they work in relation to each other. The first relationship is adequation and distinction. In groups of people who share discursive practices, such as all the *karate-kas* being part of the karate or *dojo* community, similarities are emphasised while differences are downplayed. For example, a *karate-ka* may differentiate their sport from other martial arts like tae kwon do (from Korea) by using Karate-Talk. On the other hand, the opposite happens to differentiate groups or individuals. Within a *dojo*, advanced *karate-kas* might use more Japanese terms in their speech without then using the English translation to demonstrate their level of karate knowledge as higher than someone else.

Another relation is authorization and illegitimation. These take into account the power of structural and institutional forces in identity formation. Bucholtz and Hall (2005) state that, "Authorization involves the affirmation or imposition of an identity through structures of institutionalized power and ideology," (603). In karate, a coloured belt ranking system is used as a means of measuring and awarding karate knowledge and skill. *Karate-kas* of lower ranks are expected to respect those of higher ranks, in action and speech. Instructors are addressed with formality and most lower level belts are expected to not speak out of turn. The relationality of identity is important to understand the ways *karate-kas* are developing their karate identities through the language they use and in comparison to other people with whom they interact.

This framework can be used as a lens of analysis to make sense of the discursive practices of speaker and listener interactions. Everyone present in the interaction is a) asserting their own identity and b) assuming the identity of the others. The ways they speak to each other provide information about their identity and their assumptions about others (Tracy and Robles 2013). Tracy and Robles (2013) offer the example of a person asking for directions on a university campus. They give two possible responses; in the first, the person says, "Go the UMC on the fountain side, across from the door where all the student organization tables are." In the other the person says, "Follow this path… until you come to the University Memorial Center… Go the northwest side of the building…go in the door on the ground floor," (27). In the first example, the speaker assumes the lost person has knowledge of the campus, perhaps a student looking for an office; in the second the speaker assumes the lost person has never been on campus before and gives more detailed directions. In Tracy and Robles' (2013) second example the speaker takes on the passive role of assuming another's identity. In a similar speech event, a speaker may take the active

role of projecting an identity onto another. Weinstein and Deutschberger (1963) call this phenomenon altercasting. They define it as "projecting an identity, to be assumed by other(s) with whom one is in interaction, which is congruent with one's own goals" (Weinstein and Deutschberger 1963, 454). Speakers have the ability, in a conversation, to influence and alter the way the listener perceives themselves.

Both active and passive speech events which project an identity onto someone else contribute information about whether that person belongs to a particular social group. Central to identity construction "is the ascriptions and reception of social category belonging by others," (Madsen 2015, 24). This is to say that, in karate, not only do students internalize their identity as a *karate-ka*, but, for their identity to have legitimacy, others need to begin to accept them as such, as well. Through the lens of symbolic interactionism, the identity of a *karate-ka* is being created and recreated each time they use (or don't use) Karate-Talk to interact with others in the *dojo*. Therefore, social interactionism, along with Bucholtz and Hall's (2005) five principles of sociolinguistic identity formation and Weinstein and Deutschberger's work on altercasting, help reveal how meaning is constructed in contemporary non-Japanese karate *dojos*. They form a theoretical framework that will be used to analysis ethnographic data from a *dojo* in Nova Scotia, Canada. The goal of the research is to first identify the discursive practices that make up Karate-Talk in the *dojo*, and second to interpret how these practices are used and become part of the black belt identity that develops over time within the *karate-kas*.

Case Study: The CASK Dojo

At the Canadian Associated Schools of Karate (CASK) Halifax *dojo* (see figure 1), the transmission of karate-*do* as a Japanese art form is taken seriously. The school prides itself on teaching the art of karate-*do* before the sport, and uses traditional-style training to develop mind, body, and spirit (CASK Karate Halifax, 2018). The importance of tradition is emphasized by the use the term karate-*do*, thereby recognizing the practice as a martial "way." *Karate-kas* at CASK train in the style of *Wado Ryu* which combines classical karate techniques with self defense borrowed from Japanese jujitsu. The word *Wado* translates loosely as the "Way to/of Peace" and *Ryu* directly translates as "stream," but in this context carries "connotations of a unified body of technique and tradition passed on from generation to generation" (Donohue 1991, 42). *Ryu, Kai,* and *Kan* are all words that are used to describe various styles of *budo*. *Ryu* is often considered the most traditional descriptor because it is found in most classical martial and weapon techniques, whereas *Kai* and *Kan* carry connotations of less unified traditions (Donohue 1991).

The *dojo* itself is a multipurpose room in a community center in the North End of Halifax. Before each class, the CASK Halifax *dojo* is prepped in a minimalist style. The floor is first swept and framed pictures of Grand Master Hironori Otsuka, the founder of *Wado*, and Top Master Masaru Shintani, the Supreme Instructor of *Wado* Canada, are placed on display at the front. When students arrive at the *dojo*, they remove their shoes and socks, leaving them outside in the hallway. When they enter the *dojo*, they bow to the photos and announce, *Ossu*.

Figure 1: CASK Karate Halifax Logo. Photo used with permission from CASK Karate Halifax.

There are about 25 students who currently train at CASK, all from differing socio-cultural and economic backgrounds. Most of the students who attend are native English speakers; others are from families of recent immigrants who speak Arabic, Spanish, and Russian, but all have a strong foundation of English knowledge and ability. All students wear the same basic white uniform, with a Wado Canada patch sown on over the heart. Every student also wears a belt representing their rank. The belt ranks in Wado are as follows, from lowest to highest: white, yellow, orange, green, blue, brown, black. After reaching their black belt *karate-ka* transfer to the *dan* ranking system, known as "degrees" in English (the *sensei* at CASK Halifax is a 4th degree black belt). Students of lower rank are expected to listen to and respect those who have a higher rank, regardless of actual age.

Classes happen twice a week, on Thursday nights and Saturday mornings. Adults train with the youth, but also have their own class after the youth on Thursday nights. The *sensei* encourages the adults to come to the youth classes as frequently as possible. The reason he does so is three-fold. First, it is extra training for the adults, as once a week is not considered to be enough training. Second, adult role models in class help the youth learn *kime* (focus) and discipline. Third, being able to lead a class is a requirement of the black belt curriculum (Wado Canada, 2002) and so being present in the youth classes allows more opportunity to observe and practice teaching. Teaching a portion of a class is often a student's first opportunity to practice their Karate-Talk in front of the class.

CASK Halifax was chosen as a research site because it is an ideal *dojo* in which to study Karate-Talk. Karate-Talk is the result of the blending of the contextual modern and traditional discursive practices in a *dojo*. Wado Karate, as stated, places great emphasis on the traditional aspects of the art of karate and the cultural diversity present at CASK is representative of a multicultural modern Halifax. When put together, these factors create an environment that presents ample opportunity to observe Karate-Talk in practice. I spent three months training with the *karate-kas* at CASK, using participant observation to collect data. The participant observation method was used because it allows for data collection within the context of the *dojo* which "enables claims to be made about symbol use in context, interactional meanings, and forms of action," (Carbaugh 1998, 139) which is essential for identifying cultural patterns of communication. During my research, I attended both youth and adult classes as a means to better understand the context of the *dojo* and the ways *karate-kas* speak to each other and their *sensei* during class. Classes were also audio recorded and transcribed for analysis.

I used a thematic analysis, as described by Braun and Clarke (2006) to analyze my data and draw my conclusions. From the data collected, I created two data sets; one of data used to define Karate-Talk, and a second of data related to identity creation. Within and across data sets I identified patterns of meaning and themes, such as Karate-Talk comprehension or use of repetition in class. I then used these themes to develop a critical analysis of underlying concepts and ideologies of language use in this *dojo*. I drew on the theories and frameworks presented above to inform and support my conclusions. The following two sections detail my findings and conclusions about what exactly Karate-Talk is and how its discursive practices help form black belt identities among the *karate-kas*.

Language Use in Class: Karate-Talk

There are several ways languages are used in karate class that form the discursive practices of Karate-Talk. First is the specific ways English and Japanese are combined during class.

We can begin with an example from a class as students practice their kicking techniques:

> Sensei: Right hand on the wall, left guard up for *Mae geri, Mae geri*.
>
> So we all know what *Mae geri* is… I hope. Right? *Mae geri*. Front kick.
>
> So we want to kick with, *koshi*, the ball of the foot.
>
> LIFT. Ankle pointed, toes pulled back.

KICK. Point your ankle, pull the toes back. RETRACT. Pull the leg in tight. And DOWN. (Students perform actions on command).

Mawatta! Switch.

Now get into your *yoko geri* position. What's *yoko geri* Liam-san?

Liam: Side kick?

Sensei: Exactly. *Yoko geri*, Side kick. Everybody ready? *Yoko geri*. Slooowly. LIFT. KICK.

Itchi, Ni, San, Shi, Go (counting one to five in Japanese. Students hold out their leg mid-kick).

RETRACT. An::d DOWN.

There are two ways that Japanese is used here: vocabulary and commands. Words like the numbers and *koshi* (ball of the foot) are vocabulary words new *karate-kas* learn from their very first class. When a new student arrives at the *dojo*, he/she will be paired up with a more senior student who will teach them how to stretch and to count to five in Japanese. Learning and memorizing numbers and body parts is emphasised in every class. The second category of words are the commands, things like *mawatta*, and the names of the kicks. While in this example the kicks are being practiced slowly, the Japanese words are later used as commands to teach students to react quickly and accurately. Outside of vocabulary and commands, English is used for nearly everything else in class. It is used to repeat Japanese words for learning purposes, and it is used for explanations of technique during class.

Both English and Japanese have a communicative function in a karate class. Students do not need to be fluent Japanese speakers in order to attend or follow a CASK Karate class, however they do develop a certain fluency in the commands given. After only a year, *karate-kas* are able to understand and perform combinations when commands are given in Japanese only. For example, high ranking students are able to perform the following without hesitation: "San-bon, uchi udi uki, gadan bari uki, mae geri, mawatta gadan bari," (three outside forearm blocks, downward sweeping block, front kick, turning downward sweeping block). Students become fluent in Karate-Talk as they progress in their training. They recognize the Japanese terms they have learned and are able to comprehend them when placed in an otherwise English sentence. We will return to Karate-Talk fluency in the next section on black belt identity.

Furthermore, Karate-Talk is more than just adding Japanese terms into English oral practices. We also see many features of traditional *dojo* practices carried into Canadian *dojo* language. Traditional karate-*do* is taught through the repetition of technique until perfection. *Karate-kas* may do the same technique 50 times in a single class, and a *karate-ka* will have practiced the first *kata* more than 1000 times by the time they get their black belt. This repetition is a feature that has carried through into the language used in class. The following is one example; students at CASK are encouraged to arrive early to class so they can start to warm up. The following are excerpts of what *Sensei* said in the fifteen minutes before class on one particular day.

Sensei: Hello, get dressed quickly please so you can get stretched out.

You can do a couple laps to warm up but then I want you stretching.

Toby-*san*, are you stretching on task?

Stretching, stretching, stretching. I want to see everyone stretching on task.

Lots of stretching.

You want to be flexible, so you can kick high; start stretching

I hope everyone spent time stretching at home this week!

In these fifteen minutes alone, *Sensei* talked about stretching more than eight times. He used very little Japanese, but there are still elements of a traditional Japanese *dojo* that have carried into how he speaks. He repeats himself frequently, just like the repetition of technique in classes. We can return to the kicking dialog above to see a similar repetition in both languages. The names of each kick were said multiple times in the span of a couple minutes in Japanese and English. As well, the commands "Lift. Kick. Retract. Down." were

repeated a couple times that class, as they are in every class. In nearly every class at CASK *Sensei* uses the same phrases. He regularly says things like, "Heels and toes together, slowly, *tasho, tatami"* (palms to the floor); "Everybody check your stance. Four fists in between your knee and your toes;" "Bend your knees." Advanced *karate-kas* are likely able to recite a class by heart, and this predictability is part of Karate-Talk. Repetition is the traditional way karate is taught and we see that pedagogy reflected in the discursive practices of Karate-Talk. The repetitiveness of Karate-Talk creates, ingrains, and maintains the habits of the *dojo* community. Karate-Talk normalizes the values and morals it teaches for its students. The longer a *karate-ka* trains and uses Karate-Talk, the more they become part of the karate community, and its culture becomes their own. Thus, Karate-Talk forms the habitus of the *dojo* and helps to reinforce the shared culture of karate to create black belt identities.

Both the English and Japanese languages perform communicative functions in a karate class that contribute to the construction of a *karate-ka's* identity, and the choice of language reflects the socio-historic patterns of karate *dojos*. Japanese also has a symbolic function in class as well. It would be fairly easy to drop the Japanese from a karate class. It is possible to give commands in English, and students would already know how to count and could name their body parts in their native languages. Yet, Japanese has remained a central part of karate classes. Martial arts defeat sociolinguistic expectations of translocation. When traditions and practices are used outside of their original socio-cultural context, they are usually recontextualized to fit the needs of the new community. For example, Hip-Hop originated in African American communities, but when the style is used by Swahili artists, they use language and sing about concepts that are socially more powerful or meaningful to their cultural context (Pennycook 2007). In karate, we do not see this happen as much, because Karate's practices are rooted in Japanese traditions that are taught through understanding and continuing the past (Donohue 1991). Therefore, the Japanese language is also a symbol of the continuity of socio-historic traditions in the *dojo*.

All of the aforementioned discursive practices constitute Karate-Talk. Karate-Talk teaches *karate-kas* many of the ideological features of karate that they need to know to one day become a fully informed and proficient black belt. They, like those before them, will be able to pass the knowledge onto new karate students with authority and confidence.

Creating Black Belt Identities

Dojo interactions naturally include language use. As stated above, language practices contribute to and have a reciprocal relationship with identity formation. Karate-Talk, as it has been described, contributes to the formation of the black belt identity. One major influencer is the use of Japanese in the *dojo*. The values of traditional Japanese culture that are extremely important in the *dojo* – those being respect, discipline, and community – are embodied in Karate-Talk. The Japanese language connects these traditional *dojo* values to modern practices and instills them in the *karate-ka*. These values become the core of the black belt identity through the use of Japanese in Karate-Talk in the *dojo*.

This is not to say that *karate-kas* develop identities that are purely reflective of traditional modern Japanese culture. Rather, they take on traits and characteristics of a deracialized Japanese ethnicity. A deracialized ethnicity is one which has been removed from its initial culture and environment and is typically a reduction of the original, contextualized ethnicity. It is usually used for symbolisms and tokens of the original culture and alignment with it is voluntary, unlike alignment with one's own ethnic identity (Rampton 2012). In the *dojo* a deracialized version of Japanese identity is being disseminated partly through the language practices of Karate-Talk.

The black belt identity develops within *karate -kas* as they begin connecting and aligning with the karate community. Traits of the black belt identity include discipline, respect, and eagerness to learn more and perfect their technique. A Black Belt is someone who has extensive training in the art and sport of karate in body, mind, and spirit. Someone with a black belt identity does not necessarily have to hold a black belt rank, but they are certainly on their

way to having one. This is not a complete set of traits for a black belt identity. Like any identity, it is flexible and always changing; the black belt identity is maintained and altered through the interactions of the *dojo*.

As students at CASK work their way through the ranks, their black belt identities begin to grow as they begin to have more opportunities to practice their Karate-Talk fluency. This first comes in improving listening skills. Let's consider once again the commands from above.

> "San-bon, uchi udi uki, gadan bari uki, mi geri, mawata gadan bari," (three outside forearm blocks, downward sweeping block, front kick, turning downward sweeping block)

In a typical class, these would first be performed slowly, one at a time with English translations. Typically, a high-ranking *karate-ka* is positioned in the front of the class as a visual reference as well. Following this, *Sensei* creates a "High Performance Team" for higher ranks to practice more intensely. He asks the lower level belts to sit down and higher-ranking students have to perform those actions without the extra help and at a faster speed. In doing so they develop a fluency for Karate-Talk and simultaneously develop their black belt identity.

In addition to internalizing their identities as they can comprehend more of the Japanese commands, when the *sensei* allows them to stay on the floor and gives tougher commands more quickly, he is altercasting (Weinstein and Deutschberger, 1963) an identity onto them. By telling them to be part of the High Performance Team, he is saying that he believes their training has progressed enough that they are able to handle such a challenge, thereby telling them that he is accepting the development of their identity. He altercasts the black belt identity onto them and they begin to accept that role. This can be a continuous cycle of *sensei* raising expectations and students meeting them. Meeting higher expectations means a more developed black belt identity.

The act of listening and comprehending is one way black belt identities grow at CASK; another is through speaking and using Karate-Talk in front of the class. As students progress through the ranks, they are given more opportunities to lead classes and teach the younger students. When doing this, older students try to use their Karate-Talk, announcing commands in Japanese and repeating commonly used expressions. As with learning any language it is not perfect at first. *Karate-kas* often mispronounce or forget the Japanese words and use the wrong language at the wrong time. The following example is of an orange belt leading the warm up stretches and she mixes up the command for left (*hidari*) and right (*migi*):

> Orange Belt: Let's go to stretch number one!
>
> Stretch to the left, ah… *MIGI*!
>
> White Belt: That's not right!
>
> Sensei: Do not correct the instructor!
>
> Orange Belt: To the… left, *Hidari*!

With the reinforcement from the *sensei* she is able to correct her mistake, just as children do when they are learning to speak. The orange belt will likely make more mistakes as she learns how to use Karate-Talk, but she is also gaining the confidence to become a better black belt and one day be a *sensei* with the authority of the karate-*do* lineage.

Most of what has been said about creating black belt identities so far has been focused on high-ranking students. However, it is also important to recognize students will start developing small amounts of their black belt identity as soon as they begin training. In the early years of learning karate, *karate-kas* get their first introductions to the culture and language of a traditional *dojo*, much of which they can use as building blocks toward their black belt identity.

In the first moments of their first class, new *karate-kas* learn the word "*Ossu*." Anytime a student enters or exits the *dojo*, they must bow to the photos in the front and say *Ossu* (pronounced without the u). This word has many translations and connotations including a respectful "yes," and a recognition of what one was told to do. In the context of the bow it is a sign of respect towards the knowledge of the founders of the art. While its definition is often up to debate in karate communities, there is little doubt about its importance for demonstrating respect in the *dojo*.

One of the key underpinnings of karate-*do* that comes from traditional Japanese values is respect for other *karate-kas* and the importance of linage. It is frequently explained to students how karate has been passed through "generations" similar to a way people talk about their family history. For example, the students of CASK study under *Sensei* Garrett Chase. *Sensei* Garrett trained under *Saiko Shihan* Greg Reid. *Sensei* Reid learned from Top Master Masaru Shintani, who learned from Grand Master Hironori Otsuka (see figure 2), the founder of Wado. To this end, CASK Halifax students are fifth generation *karate-ka* in the Wado Canada linage.

Further, respect for an adherence to the social structure of the *dojo* and lineage is underscored by language used to address each other while in the *dojo*. In one class *Sensei* emphasised to his students, "We need to respect each other, respect the *dojo*, respect our training, and respect those who have trained before us." (Points to pictures of the masters at the front of the room). The value of respect is constantly reiterated in the *dojo*. All students address their instructor as *sensei*. The word *sensei* means instructor or teacher but also contains attributes of deep honour and respect (Donohue 1991, 35). *Sensei* addresses his students using the suffix "-*san*," as in the example above where he calls Toby, "Toby-*san*." In English, it typically translates as a gender-neutral 'mister' or 'miss' and, similar to *sensei*, carries elements of respect for the students who dedicate themselves to the instructions of their *sensei*.

Figure 2: Photos of Grand Master Hironori Otsuka (left) and Top Master Masaru Shintani (right). Photo used with permission from CASK Karate Halifax.

Once again, central to identity creation "is the ascriptions and reception of social category belonging by others," (Madsen 2015, 24). Karate-Talk in the *dojo* makes these social categories and a sense of belonging to the group fairly evident. The uses of the Japanese language and culture in these instances indicate to students that they belong in the *dojo* and wider karate community. Knowing one's place in the linage creates a sense of belonging and contributes to that identity. Just as people are often proud to display their family crest and heritage, karate linages give students an understanding that they are part of the tradition and the continuation of their art form.

The sense of belonging is further emphasised by the expectations that students conform to the customs and language of the *dojo*. They are "relentlessly required to adhere to group principals," (Donohue 1991, 35) and perform in *iutchi* (coordination, together). Students frequently count in Japanese together, and help each other learn commands. When a student is out of line or misbehaving in class, all students suffer the consequences. Learning Karate-Talk together and the expectations of the *dojo* develops a greater sense of group identity among *karate-kas*. From the relationality principle above, the adequation or similarities in their learning experiences help *karate-kas* relate to each other and begin to identify with the group. Belonging to a *dojo* and the wider karate community is essential to their own black belt identity. If they are part of the social group who identify as black belts they too will see themselves as a black belt.

Karate-Talk helps to build a black belt identity in *karate-kas*, both in terms of identifying with a deracialized and translocated Japanese martial art culture and with the group in which they train. Less than 1% of people who begin training in karate go on to become a black belt. Developing a black belt identity is key to achieving this goal. It should follow, then, that *Karate-kas* who develop their black belt identity and develop fluency in Karate-Talk are more likely to succeed in their karate goals.

Conclusions

Language use contributes to the formation of cultural identities in every community around the world, and it is no different for the karate community. Learning and using Karate-Talk is vital to creating the black belt identity in a *karate-ka*. The repetitive nature of Karate-Talk promotes the traditional values of Japanese karate-*do* in order to pass on the art form to the next generation of *karate-kas*. Students of karate become part of the continuity of karate history that characterizes its existence.

The discursive practice of Karate-Talk, unlike other styles and registers, does not entirely lose connection with its native language when it is translocated. As learned from the CASK Halifax example, the Japanese language can be nurtured within the dominate language of a non-Japanese society in which karate is practiced. Karate as an art form is different from other arts like Hip-Hop, in that its existence is based, once again, in the continuity of its history. Hip-Hop changed in order to better suit the needs of communities who adopted it (Pennycook 2007). Canadian karate did not remove Japanese from its language practices for precisely the same reason: the need of the community is to situate itself with respect to its founders or traditions. In order to do this, Japanese language practices are maintained.

Karate-Talk practices in the *dojo* establish black belt identities in its practitioners. It helps the *karate-kas* to see themselves as part of the karate community by indoctrinating them into a moral code that the community shares. *Senseis* use Karate-Talk with *karate-kas* to altercast the black belt identity upon them, which they, overtime, adopt as their own. They also use their own Karate-Talk to show others that they are (or one day will be) a black belt not just in physical practice, but also in their mind, heart and soul. Establishing black belt identities in *karate-kas* is key to passing on the art and sport of karate. It keeps the values, morals, and traditions of the *dojo* thriving and associated with the origins of karate.

In every karate-*do dojo* in Canada, *karate-kas* train with hopes of one day earning their black belt. The ways they speak to each other, the commands the respond to, and the Japanese they learn, all combine to form Karate-Talk. Japanese in the *dojo* is essential to building a *dojo* that continues the traditions of the one before it and maintaining the ties to Japan and the roots of karate. The *sensei* leads by example to help his students become strong black belts who can successfully use Karate-Talk to teach the next generation of *karate-kas*. Karate-Talk is a factor that keeps karate as a *do* or "way," and keeps *karate-kas* achieving high levels of physical training, mental discipline, and philosophical insight, just as Grand Master Hironori Otsuka intended it to be.

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Building a Life Despite It All: Structural Oppression and Resilience of Undocumented Latina Migrants in Central Florida

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ABSTRACT

Immigrants to the United States encounter a multitude of challenges upon arriving. This is further complicated if migrants arrive without legal status and even more so if these migrants are women. My research engages with Kimberlé Crenshaw's concept of intersectionality to examine interlocking systems of oppression faced by undocumented migrant women living in Central Florida. I worked mainly in Apopka, Florida, with women who migrated from Mexico, Central America, and South America. I found that three broad identity factors shaped their experiences of life in the U.S.: gender, undocumented status, and Latinx identity. The last factor specifically affected women's lives through not only their own assertions of their identity, but also outsider projections of interviewees' race, ethnicity, and culture. My research examines how these identity factors affected my interviewees and limited their access to employment, healthcare, and education. Through a collaborative research project involving work with Central Floridian non-profit and activist organizations, I conducted interviews and participant observation to answer my research questions. Through my research, I found that undocumented Latina migrants in Central Florida face structural vulnerabilities due to gendered and racist immigration policies and social systems, the oppressive effects of which were only partly mitigated by women's involvement with community organizations. My research exposes fundamental and systemic failures within U.S. immigration policies and demonstrates that U.S. immigration policy must change to address intersectional oppression faced by undocumented Latina migrants.

Keywords: immigration, intersectionality, immigration policy, gender, Latinx identity

It's a sunny day – normal for Florida in the summertime – and I'm standing next to Jasmine's car as she knocks on the door of a mobile home. Jasmine is an AmeriCorps member working with Hope CommUnity Center, a local organization working to support the immigrant community in Central Florida. Jasmine introduces me to the woman who emerges from the doorway of the mobile home wearing a calf-length cotton dress and a headscarf. Her name is Tatiana, and she talks with Jasmine for a moment before they beckon me toward them. We walk into her home, and I am greeted by three young children playing with a large plastic dollhouse. I perch myself on a sofa and Tatiana begins her story. She is one of eight migrant women I interviewed during the summer of 2017, with fellow researcher Rachel Newcomb as part of a collaborative student-faculty research program through Rollins College. Our research was motivated by the following question: how do women experience migration differently from men? During our interviews, we found that women attested to a very different experience of migration from their male family members and friends. Rachel and I discovered that women's experiences were not only shaped by gender, but also by an undocumented status and Latinx identity. These were essential factors in systems of oppression faced by our interviewees, and because of this finding, I chose to focus my own analysis on the intersectionality of these identity factors and their relationship to oppression faced by interviewees. In following the work of previous researchers (Kynsilehto 2011; Cherubini 2011), I utilize the framework of intersectionality as a fundamental theoretical perspective of this article in order to analyze women's experiences of migration. I describe in detail how and why my interviewees' experiences are unique through using the intersectionality framework, and then I describe the consequences of this by analyzing my interviewees' relationship to employment, healthcare, and education. For these women, the migration experience is structurally oppressive, yet despite these significant barriers, I also found that my interviewees showed agency and subverted their oppression by building lives in the United States.

Methodology

My research examines the multi-dimensional and complex nature of human migration from Mexico, Central America, and South America to the United States. I examine the ways in which gender, Latinx identity, and an undocumented status intersectionally affect the lives of undocumented Latina migrants in Central Florida. I employ a multidisciplinary approach toward understanding gender and migration, drawing from cultural anthropology, medical anthropology, sociology, and geography. To accomplish this study, I used participant observation and formal and informal interviews to seek answers to both of my research questions: (1) How is the migration experience gendered, and (2) What are the consequences of a gendered migration process? I conducted eight interviews averaging approximately one hour each with undocumented Latina migrants living in Central Florida. My research is further informed by approximately 300 hours of participant observation, conducted intermittently over the span of four years. Participant observation included volunteering with a migrants' rights advocacy organization (14 hours), tutoring at Hope CommUnity Center (74 hours), interning with Mi Familia Vota (100 hours), participating in three weekend-long immersions at Hope CommUnity Center (108 hours), and attending a citizenship workshop at Hope CommUnity Center (4 hours).

Much of my applied research occurred when I worked directly with anthropologist Rachel Newcomb through Rollins College's student-faculty collaborative research program during the summer of 2017. We conducted a comparative study examining how migrant women experience life in their receiving countries; as our countries of comparison, we chose the United States and Spain. We worked specifically with Latina immigrants in the

greater Orlando area of Florida, and with Moroccan migrant women in Barcelona, Spain. This collaborative research informs this article which focuses on the research in Florida.

Theoretical Background: Intersectionality

Kimberlé Crenshaw developed her theory of intersectionality to address the multi-dimensionality of structural violence faced by women. Her framework provides a basis upon which to analyze how the combination of certain identity factors increases the vulnerability of certain demographics to oppression in the United States. My research applies Crenshaw's theory of intersectionality to the experiences of women migrants now living in Central Florida who came to the United States from Mexico, Central America, and South America and are undocumented, meaning that they do not have documents stating their legal residency in the United States. Through interviews and participant observation, I found that the lives of the Latina migrant women living in Central Florida were fundamentally shaped by the consequences of the intersections of gender, Latinx identity, and their undocumented status. In addition, I also discovered that Latina migrants in the U.S. found ways around the oppressive structures in their lives by fulfilling their needs in unique ways. Despite the immense barriers faced by my research participants every day, each woman described her own form of resistance through the simple act of building a life in the United States. In this article, I assert that these barriers are the product of American policy that prevents undocumented Latina migrants from legalizing their status, which effectively limits women's access to safe and fair employment, education, and affordable healthcare. Through my analysis, I will not only describe how these systems of oppression relate to the intersectionality of these women's identities, but also how women resist the oppressive consequences of this intersection. Crenshaw writes that identity politics and the cultural use of identity factors, which have historically caused marginalization, "need not be the power of domination; it can instead be the source of political empowerment and social reconstruction" (Crenshaw 1991). Through utilizing intersectionality as my research framework, I examine the multiple "contextual dynamics of power" (Cho, Crenshaw, and McCall 2013) at play in the lives of my interviewees. My research demonstrates both the continuing marginalization faced by undocumented Latina migrants in Central Florida due to their lack of formal documentation demonstrating their right to live in the United States. That said, my research also emphasizes the strength and resiliency of these same women as they navigate structural barriers and find ways to create lives in the United States.

Latinx Identity

My project specifically engaged with women who migrated from Mexico, Central America, and South America. Latinx identity shaped interviewees' experiences in multiple ways. During our interviews, women described interactions with people, institutions, and organizations that were shaped by a recognition or projection of their race, nationality, culture, and/or ethnicity. These identity categories are broad and do not sufficiently describe or include what it means to be Latinx, and thus my descriptions of this identity factor are inherently limited. My discussion of Latinx identity implicates an outsider projection of this identity more than it describes my interviewees' self-described identities. It is important to discuss this factor, though, because it is exactly this projection and generalization of "Latinness" that my interviewees' experiences had in common. Furthermore, being from Mexico, Central America or South America placed my interviewees under specific immigration policy regimes. These laws not only determine immigration along lines of nationality, but also have racial dimensions (Armenta 2017, 16; Willen 2007, 338).

Migration Status

I assert that undocumented immigrants in the United States are treated as subhuman and barred from their basic human rights in the United States. Undocumented immigrants have highly limited access to American society and social institutions like education, jobs, and healthcare. Furthermore, because it is illegal to live in the U.S. without proper documentation, these migrants are subject to deportation at

any time. Two specific pieces of legislation have focused on increasing the deportability of undocumented immigrants in the U.S.: the Secure Communities Program, and section 287 (g) of the Immigration and Nationality Act of 1996 (Kline 2017). These laws increased the power of local police to act as Immigration and Customs Enforcement (ICE) agents. This means that any police officer who finds an undocumented immigrant may arrest and detain them until a true ICE agent arrives and the migrant can be deported. This specifically affects Latinx migrants in the U.S. because it is more difficult for Latinx immigrants to be granted visas, refugee status, or citizenship, with the result that many slip into undocumented status (Zavella 2016, 36; De León 2015). Race and racism are heavily implicated in "legality" in the United States, and thus deportability (García 2017). Because Latinx immigrants in the U.S. are less likely to access documented status and due to the discretionary powers of police officers to engage individuals and the implications of racial profiling on officers' choices, Latinx migrants are more subject to deportation and racism in immigration policies. Effectively, Latinx migrants are ultimately unable to escape the danger and trauma of the U.S. southern border (Kline 2017, 397; Coleman 2007; Silvey 2007, 76). This border also represents a boundary between American society and outside states, and thus its metaphorical extension into the daily lives of immigrants represents their exclusion from American society even though they have already crossed the state boundary (Silvey 2007, 76).

Consequently, Latinx individuals in the U.S. are viewed as outsiders and non-American (Kline 2017, 339), which contributes to the process of constructing "deservingness" or "non-deservingness" for Latinx immigrants. This process occurs simultaneously with the construction of "policy narratives" that act upon American societal hegemony and thus shape the way the average American views Latinx immigrants (Fernandez 2013, 108). "Legality" and "illegality" in conversations about migration thus contain hidden meanings, with illegality (in reference to undocumented status) connoting a lack of deservingness (Willen 2011, 338; Salcido and Menjívar 2013, 347). A major consequence of asserting that Latinx immigrants are undeserving of access to American society and social institutions is the dehumanization of Latinx immigrants in the United States. This allows for such human rights abuses as racial profiling of Latinx individuals and undue detainment, arresting Latinx individuals as "collateral" during ICE raids of factories and businesses, and society-wide discrimination (Lopez et al. 2016, 2; Kline 2017, 399). The consequence of being undocumented as well as Latinx is to be determined as undeserving of basic human rights in the United States, and thus subhuman.

Gender

According to sociologist Pierrette Hondagneu-Sotelo, "women and men do not enter the migration process equally" (1992, 394). The cause of this inequality is patriarchal structures in society and policy. Regardless of their origin, migrant women entering the United States encounter patriarchy in society. Gendered structures shape women's experiences before migration and during the decision-to-migrate process, and also in their lives in the United States. A review of literature describing "Latin American" patriarchy and gender structures reveals a highly generalized assertion that women are perceived as family caregivers, which relegates Latina women to a passive role in society as "recipients of state policy" and not as "agents, claims-makers or active citizens" (Goldring 2001, 504, 519). Such literature paints all Latina women as passive outside of domestic life, lacking the power to decide whether to migrate, when, to where, and every other aspect of the decision-making processes regarding migration (Hondagneu-Sotelo 1992, 394-395, 399). Migrant women from these countries are also assumed to be embedded in the "global care chain," in which childcare and domestic work are pull factors and common employment sectors for women from the Global South (Herrera 2013, 478). According to these theories of Latina women's limitation to the domestic sphere at every point in the migration process, authors assert that such women are stuck in a cycle of globally perpetuating gender norms (Herrera 2013, 478). This literature inevitably characterizes migrant women from Mexico, Central and South America as vulnerable and powerless.

Although this generalization is problematic, it is true that there are gendered power structures that migrant women face throughout the process of migrating. Anthropologist Maria Olivia Salcido and sociologist Cecilia Menjívar (2013, 336) assert that "gender hierarchies are embedded in the formulation, interpretation, and implementation of immigration laws, as experienced by immigrants". Not only is it more difficult for women to go from being undocumented to documented (Salcido and Menjívar 2013, 349), but undocumented women face more barriers than undocumented men in accessing employment, healthcare, and education in the United States (Salcido and Menjívar 2013, 339). Furthermore, undocumented migrant women statistically experience higher negative health impacts than male migrants related to stress (Seelye 2017; Novak, Geronimus, and Martinez-Cardoso 2017; Lopez et al. 2017, 4; Neuman et al. 2010). This issue is further complicated by the fact that undocumented migrants are barred from accessing health insurance (through the Affordable Care Act of 2010). Through just this example of health, it is quickly evident how gender, Latinx identity, and migration status are interrelated and have multi-dimensional consequences for undocumented Latina women in the United States. Because of this, I find that the paradigm of intersectionality is most useful to examine the structural forces shaping the lives of undocumented Latina migrant women living in the United States.

Analyses of Women's Experiences

Employment

Throughout my interviews, women consistently expressed to me that they faced immense limitations to the types of employment available to them in the United States. Because of their undocumented status, women were unable to obtain jobs which required a social security number during the application process. Thus, the types of work available to them were generally informal and often exploitative. Employers sometimes withheld paychecks, pushed women to work beyond normal hours, or failed to warn of the dangers of direct contact with agricultural chemicals. Women attributed the exploitation they experienced not only to their undocumented status but also to racist assertions about their worth as workers. Furthermore, the types of work available to migrant women in Central Florida were highly gendered, and some interviewees experienced sexual violence in their work spaces. One woman, Isabella, explained to me that it has been much easier for men she knows to find work and that these men often receive higher wages for the same job as women. Thus, the forces limiting these women's access to employment are consequences of an intersectionality of gender, migration status, and perceived Latinx identity. In order to demonstrate the breadth of the effects of this intersectionality, I will first describe the jobs held by women I interviewed, then explain why they were limited to these jobs, and finally describe the effects of working these types of jobs.

Of the women I interviewed, many worked in their sending country as well as in the United States. Although sometimes the types of work they engaged in were similar in both places, often women had more opportunities for diverse types of employment in their origin countries. This fact stands in contrast to the general belief that migrants are always stuck in a cycle of the globalization of care work (Herrera 2013, 478). Rather, the women were more likely to end up in paid or unpaid care work in the U.S., despite their hopes for better jobs there. To describe how this process works, I include a table demonstrating the work women did before migrating to the U.S. and their employment within the U.S. (see Table 1).

This table demonstrates how Latina migrant women in Central Florida are predominantly limited to domestic work, agricultural work, and employment in the service industry. All of these types of work provide very little pay and are often informal. My interviewees explained that they were limited to these jobs because of their gender and also because they were undocumented. Two exceptions to this are Yelena and Isabella, whose stories represent how difficult it was for them to escape the limitations of employment in the United States. In order to best explain these processes, I will first tell Celia and Laura's stories to explain the effects of intersectional oppression for Latina migrants in the United States. I will then share

Table 1

Name	Sending country	Work in sending country	Work in the United States (chronologically)
Isabella	Mexico	Farm labor	• Door factory • Plant nursery • Trash/recycling company • Cleaning hotels • Mixing chemicals for a plant nursery • Currently: Receptionist at a non-profit organization in Central Florida
Celia	Guatemala	Picking tobacco and peanuts	• Cleaning dishes during the day, cleaning offices at night • Waitressing at a Mexican restaurant • Currently: Domestic work (unpaid)
Tatiana	Mexico	Unknown	• Factory work • Currently: Domestic work (unpaid)
Rosalita	Mexico	Unknown	• Fruit packing • Currently: Domestic work (unpaid)
Elisa	Mexico	Unknown	• Farm work • Landscaping • Currently: Cleaning houses (paid in cash)
Yelena	Panama	(Too young)	• Work at a fast food chain restaurant • Nursing[i]
Laura	Mexico	Nanny Cleaning offices Accountant assistant	• Cleaning houses • Waitressing at a Mexican restaurant • Currently: Domestic work (unpaid)
Patricia	Mexico	Cleaning houses	• Currently: Domestic labor (unpaid)

the stories of Isabella and Yelena to demonstrate how they escaped the limitations of work generally available to undocumented Latina migrants in the United States. After these stories I will analyze the forces which shaped these women's experiences with employment, and how Isabella and Yelena were able to find better work.

Celia's story

Celia came from an impoverished family in the countryside of Guatemala, where she worked all day picking tobacco and peanuts with her family. Her father migrated to the U.S. first to attempt to make more money and send it back to her family, yet his remittances were not sufficient for her family's needs. Her uncle decided that the oldest children must also migrate to work in the U.S. for the survival of her family, so she and her older brother traveled with a chain of *coyotes* with her uncle. *Coyotes* are individuals who facilitate migrants' transportation across the U.S.-Mexico border. Often, *coyotes* charge a large fee for their services, even though the transportation they provide is generally unsafe and difficult for migrants. This experience was extremely difficult for Celia, because she was unable to get sleep during the three days they traveled atop a

train from Mexico to the United States, nor could she eat because there was no food available for travelers such as herself.

After this traumatic experience, Celia found herself in California, where she worked cleaning dishes during the day and cleaning offices and schools at night. She lived with her uncle, who was very strict about what Celia wore and did – she had to go to church with him and wear only dresses. He also insisted on listening in on all of her phone calls. Celia realized she needed to leave this man, so she soon left to live with her other uncle living in the United States. This uncle, though, was a drunkard and held parties at his house often, despite the fact that her sleeping space was the couch in the main room. She felt that he was "selling" her to men he invited to these parties because she "owed" him for living in his house, and he pushed her to socialize with his friends during the parties. Celia left this situation to return to the first uncle, but when she did, the second uncle threw her belongings away, including all of her documents from Guatemala and the expensive false passport she had purchased. During this entire experience, she was still working two jobs and not sleeping because she worked one at night and the other during the day.

Her only recourse was to contact her father, who found a service which would drive her across the country from California to Florida. The service cost her approximately $2,000. When she had finally saved up the money, she traveled to Florida and moved in with her father and seven other men living in a small mobile home.

Celia immediately became responsible for cooking for the men because she was the only woman. They developed a system where the men bought groceries, and Celia cooked dinner each day. She was unemployed during this time, not for lack of trying to find a job but because she could not seem to get hired. Out of boredom, she accompanied the men to their roofing job each day. As time went by, Celia became known to her community as a skilled cook, which finally led to her finding work at a Mexican restaurant. She liked this job and met her husband there around a year after she began working. After marrying, despite her enjoyment of her work, her husband forced Celia to leave the restaurant because he was jealous of her interactions with other men.

When I met her, Celia explained that her current work was cooking, cleaning, and taking care of her daughter Raquel. The only diversion from this daily routine was when she sometimes brought her daughter to Orlando City soccer games and to Disney World, but she remarked that she felt bored because these are the only activities her husband allowed her to do. She felt lonely because she did not know many other women in her community, but when she could, she went to Hope CommUnity Center to meet other Latina migrants.

Laura's story

Laura migrated from Mexico to California, and although she travelled with two of her siblings, most of her family stayed in Mexico. As a 15-year-old girl in Mexico, she began working as a nanny, and when she was 17 she started cleaning as well. While she was working, she studied at a technical school for accounting and was able to get a job as an assistant accountant. As a young adult, she applied for a visa to work in the U.S. but was denied because she could not demonstrate enough proof of wealth. Laura decided to cross the border regardless, with the goal of working for just one year in the U.S. and then returning with savings to her family in Mexico. Yet when she arrived in California, she had an enormous debt to pay the *coyote* for facilitating her border crossing, so she was forced to remain and work until she had paid that debt.

At first, she tried to get a job at a small vegetable market, but the owner refused since she did not have a social security number. She became desperate for a job, and so she decided to clean houses in San Antonio. The work was hard – she did not get breaks, and it was physically intense – but she continued because she had no other options.

When Laura's father called her with an opportunity for her to come to Central Florida, she accepted. In Florida, she recommenced her search for work, specifically in plant nurseries, but she could not find anything. She finally found a job as a waitress in a Mexican restaurant, which she described as demeaning and embarrassing. She was constantly harassed

by her boss and co-workers. Laura was sexually assaulted at this restaurant. After the assault, Laura did not return to the restaurant but instead tried to find a job at one of the many plant nurseries in the area, yet again had no success. She returned to the Mexican restaurant out of desperation.

Laura was finally able to leave the restaurant through marriage. She met her husband at the restaurant and, after they got married and she became pregnant, she quit her job. Now, she stays at home while her husband works as a cook in an Italian restaurant. She takes care of their two children and does the cooking, cleaning, and other forms of domestic work in their household. She also volunteers at Hope CommUnity Center in her free time.

Isabella's story

Isabella and her husband never meant to permanently immigrate to the U.S., but had planned to work in the U.S. for one year only because she had heard that the wages were better. They wanted to save enough money to return home to Mexico and build a house for their family. This plan was subverted, though, by the surprisingly high cost of living that they encountered upon arriving in the United States.

When she first arrived, Isabella worked at her brother-in-law's door factory during the night shift, but after her grandmother died, she shifted to working at a plant nursery. She left this job for a seemingly better job at a trash and recycling company, yet this job was very difficult for her and she disliked the work. She cleaned hotels next but could not work enough hours to make a living, so she returned to the plant nursery. Despite switching jobs so many times, she could not find a position that allowed her to fulfill her original goal and save enough money – she explained her highest immediate cost was her need to purchase a car to get to work. Rent was higher than she had anticipated as well. As Isabella continued to work at the plant nursery, she became aware of the potential dangers of working with the pesticides and chemicals she handled for her job. When she found that she was pregnant, Isabella quit her job because she was worried about the effects of those chemicals on her unborn child.

When her daughter was born, there was something wrong with her skull. Isabella's daughter had to get surgery when she was only four months old, and then had to wear a helmet for the subsequent eight months. The surgery was difficult for Isabella and her husband. Isabella was forced to remain unemployed in order to care for her daughter, but she needed more financial income because she could not get health insurance without legal status and the cost of her daughter's treatment and care was extremely high. Also, during this time Isabella and her husband divorced and Isabella became the sole caretaker for her daughter. Finally, Isabella found a part-time receptionist position at a Central Florida non-profit organization. This job paid her a living wage, and after two years, she became a full-time staff member. Isabella felt comfortable and empowered with her employment as a receptionist, yet she still missed Mexico and her family home.

Yelena's story

Yelena was a child, as was her younger sister, when her parents emigrated from Panama to the United States. She grew up undocumented and worked at a fast food chain restaurant because the hiring manager did not ask for her social security number. She also attended the University of Central Florida and studied nursing. She drove to work and school because she had no other time-efficient options, and each day that she did, she felt afraid. If she were pulled over, she would not be able to provide a driver's license. After a while, her father found someone to give her a fake driver's license, but the county from which she got the license somehow found out and put a warrant out for her arrest. ICE agents went to her home and aggressively questioned her father. "He didn't know his rights," Yelena explained, and so he told the agents where she worked.

The ICE agents arrested her publicly at her job and brought her to a detention center. They demanded that she tell them how she arrived in the U.S. and where her immigration documents were, but she did not remember – she had been only three years old when her family migrated. She was put in a room with white cement walls, no windows, and one other cellmate who was a young Mexican woman who did not understand English. As soon as her family found out, they hired both an

immigration and a criminal attorney. The process cost her family thousands of dollars, but she was acquitted of the felonies by applying for DACA. DACA stands for "Deferred Action for Childhood Arrivals," and is an executive order under the Obama administration that allowed certain young undocumented immigrants to apply for temporary legalization. With DACA, she was free from the trauma of the detention center and from the fear of driving because she could now get a license. She was able to get a job with her nursing degree. "DACA gives you power," she told me, "because now you can survive. You can work and feed yourself good food. You have choice and freedom in what you want to do. You have a way to do something with your life, legally. Before, I didn't feel like a person."

Through analyzing these four women's stories, it is evident that their lives are fundamentally shaped by gender, their migration status, and their Latinx identities. Celia, Laura, Isabella and Yelena faced immense barriers to accessing safe work with a livable wage, and often their attempts to find such work were heavily shaped by gendered interactions, racism, and their undocumented statuses. Although each woman showed agency in obtaining work despite these oppressive structures, only Yelena and Isabella were able to find work that they felt was meaningful, safe, and had a sufficient wage. For Yelena, her life changed when she obtained legal status. In Isabella's case, she was able to obtain work with an activist organization devoted to advocating for migrants' rights. Without legal status and/or connections to such organizations, the other women were ultimately unable to escape oppressive structures.

Celia's story demonstrates the power of the oppressive forces faced by Latina migrant women in the United States. Gender shaped her experience in several ways, beginning from the fact that the network available to her was predominantly male. She migrated because her uncle decided that she must, and once in the United States, her only available living situations were with male family members. Although she demonstrated some agency through her decisions to move from her first uncle to the second and then back again, while she lived with these men she was subject to their rules and expectations. Furthermore, she was undocumented, so atop the stresses of living with strict and even abusive men, the only jobs she could access were in cleaning and cooking; because of the low pay of this work, she had to work both day and night. She finally found work that she liked when she waitressed at a Mexican restaurant, yet this lasted for only a year because her husband forced her to stop working. Celia's story reveals the vastness and complexity of structural oppression related to her gender, undocumented migration status, and Latinx identity.

Laura's experiences reflect very clearly how her intersectional identity in the U.S. led to a sharp contrast with her position in Mexico. There, she worked a semi-professional job as an assistant accountant, and her experiences with traditional women's work occurred predominantly after she crossed the border into the United States. She was dependent upon her father, a man, to help her get to Florida from her low-paying job in California, where she was not treated well. Her reason for migrating to the United States was to obtain work with better wages and conditions, yet she was even more limited in the United States than in Mexico. Her options for work were so limited that she chose to remain employed at the restaurant where she faced severe gender-based violence in the form of sexual assault. "There was no money in Mexico," she explained, "but it felt better there, even though the U.S. is supposed to be better."

Unlike both Celia and Laura, Isabella did escape the limitations for the types of work available to most undocumented Latina migrants in the United States. She did so despite being a single mother and dealing with her daughter's health issues, which were potentially related to Isabella's plant nursery work and exposure to dangerous pesticides and chemicals. Isabella worked at the plant nursery in the first place because it was the only job available to her that at least allowed for her daily survival, despite the fact that it still was not enough to save up and return to Mexico as she had originally hoped. These restrictions on job availability were a result of her gender and her undocumented status, which are also

related to her Latinx identity. Isabella finally found a job outside of these restrictions when she obtained a part-time position as a receptionist. Because of the nature of the organization at which she worked, her undocumented status did not prevent her from obtaining the job. Furthermore, because the organization is based in activism and advocacy for the rights of workers regardless of gender, migration status, or national/racial/ethnic/cultural identity, Isabella's work is not only a method of sustaining her family in the U.S., but also a form of resisting and subverting oppressive structures.

Yelena also escaped the labor limitations otherwise experienced by Latina migrant women. In contrast to Isabella, though, Yelena's ability to access a better job occurred as a direct result of obtaining legal status, demonstrating the importance of this identity factor. Before having legal status, she did not have access to work outside of her low-paying job at the fast food chain restaurant even though she had completed a nursing degree. Yet with DACA, Yelena was able to work in her field of study, which offered higher pay, benefits, and importantly, fulfilled her personal goal of becoming a nurse. Yelena associated her ability to work as a nurse with power, independence, and a way to integrate into American society far more fully than was possible before she obtained a legal status. Yelena's story demonstrates that being undocumented is an essential aspect of Latina migrants' oppression, and thus it is of tantamount importance to address the structural factors which make it more difficult for specifically female immigrants from Mexico, Central and South America to obtain legal status (Salcido and Menjívar 2013, 339).

As demonstrated in Laura and Celia's stories, many Latina migrants remain undocumented and thus face immense barriers to making a sustainable living in the United States. As well as limitations to types of work, I found that other consequences of the intersectionality of these women's identity factors included limiting their access to education and healthcare. In the following sections, I describe how Latina migrants' access to healthcare and education was also structurally limited due to gendered oppression, restrictions related to migration status, and how this connects to Latinx identity.

Healthcare

Through my research, I found that undocumented Latina migrants' access to healthcare was directly affected by the limitations related to the intersectionality of being Latinx, women, and undocumented in the United States. Access to healthcare was interwoven with access to other institutions, particularly to types of employment opportunities. Yet despite these immense barriers to women accessing healthcare, I found that many women showed agency by identifying other ways to access affordable healthcare.

My interviewees often experienced increased health risk factors due to the nature of their work. This problem was deepened by experiences of fear related to their identities as undocumented migrants and as women. In Isabella's case, a job in agricultural work led to increased risk of contact with dangerous chemicals and pesticides. Her daughter was born with skull complications likely related to Isabella's direct contact with chemicals and pesticides at the plant nursery. When she needed to travel to the hospital often to see specialists for her daughter, she would try to secure transportation but often had to drive herself. She was afraid each time that she would be pulled over and found to have no driver's license, leading to further financial difficulty and potentially deportation or other immigration proceedings. In fact, many of my interviewees noted stress, often related to negative work environments, driving without a license, and news of deportations and changes in immigration policy. This is consistent with findings by other researchers and is a crucial aspect of the intersectional oppression faced by many undocumented migrant women in the U.S. (Seelye 2017; Novak, Geronimus, and Martinez-Cardoso 2017; Lopez et al. 2017, 4).

In addition to these increased risks to their health, my interviewees faced significantly higher costs of healthcare since they could not access insurance due to their undocumented status. Furthermore, because their household incomes were generally limited due to the types of work available to them, this increased the

difficulties they faced in paying for healthcare. Even when able to access healthcare, some women faced prejudice in the clinics they utilized. Patricia, who migrated to Central Florida from Mexico, said in an interview that she faced harassment and racism at one clinic. She witnessed some doctors and staff members refuse service to patients who they thought were undocumented based on their race or ethnicity. Patricia did not have any options other than this clinic, though; despite its threatening environment, it was the only one accessible to her and affordable with her lack of insurance.

Despite all of the barriers I have thus far outlined, many of my interviewees were still able to access healthcare. They did so through connecting with each other and finding out which clinics were the most trustworthy and affordable in the area. Some of my interviewees had to switch between doctors and medical centers multiple times in order to find healthcare accessible to them, which included the concerns of cost, Spanish language availability, proximity, and inter-personal communications with staff. Through obtaining healthcare despite the significant barriers faced due to oppressive structures related to the intersectionality of Latinx identity, gender, and the undocumented status, the women I interviewed demonstrated resilience on an individual and community level.

Education

Education played an important part in shaping how the women I interviewed were able to navigate life in the United States. It affected my interviewees' access to healthcare and employment, as well as representing a barrier to integration into American society. During my interviews, it became evident that levels of education were fundamentally shaped by gender norms in women's home contexts – yet women were also unable to access education in the United States.

For the women I interviewed, their experiences with employment fundamentally shaped their lives, especially since the types of work available to them were mainly informal and required heavy time commitments to make a living wage. As I explained above, two women, Isabella and Yelena, were able to access better jobs than the other women. Isabella obtained her position with the non-profit organization by connecting with the organization and working as a receptionist. I assert that she was able to break through the structural oppression otherwise limiting undocumented Latina women because of the immigrant rights-oriented nature of the organization. Yelena was able to become a nurse and, when we spoke, was taking courses toward a medical degree to become a doctor. Yelena's success in her career was a direct product of her ability to access education in combination with the legalization of her migration status through DACA. To describe the structural forces barring the other women I interviewed from the same opportunities, I will compare Yelena's experiences to the other women's and explain the impact of this difference.

Yelena's ability to obtain a college degree was a consequence of multiple factors. First, she was only a child when her family migrated to the U.S. from Panama. She grew up in Central Florida, and quickly learned to speak English. She attended college at the University of Central Florida because of her language skills and because of her ability to complete high school, which many other women I interviewed had been unable to do in their home countries. When Yelena first graduated with her college degree she was still unable to work due to her undocumented status, but when she successfully applied for DACA she was able to get a professional nursing position.

The other women I interviewed were adults when they immigrated to the U.S. and most spoke limited English. English literacy is an important factor in accessing education in the United States, which is notably ironic since English literacy is also a skill gained from accessing education in the United States. Furthermore, other migrant women I interviewed were unable to study in the U.S. because they needed to spend their time working in order to support their families. Off-employment time was filled with gendered tasks centered around household work and childcare. Yelena's situation was different because she was not responsible for any children nor her household, and thus she was free to study at university. Finally, Yelena's

migration status change upon her reception of DACA allowed her to be hired to work as a professional nurse, which fundamentally changed her life in the United States. She stated that it gave her "power" and "freedom of choice." This is a major difference between Yelena's situation and that of the other migrant women I interviewed, as exemplified in one statement by Rosalita, another of my interviewees. She told me that the biggest hindrance faced by undocumented Latina women is their inability to get an education. She lamented that American women (who are citizens) do not understand how privileged we are to study in colleges and universities, because we are then able to get jobs that not only pay well, but that we actually enjoy. Rosalita directly related the ability to achieve education with self-confidence and respect within society. This comparison demonstrates the complex nature of the barriers faced by my interviewees in accessing education and employment.

Despite these immense barriers, many of my interviewees spoke of ways in which they demonstrated agency and discovered unique ways to access education for themselves or their families. Celia wanted to teach her daughter, Raquel, the meaning of education because Celia wanted her daughter to have as many opportunities as possible. Celia explained that in order for this to happen, Raquel would have to learn how to work hard for her own education. Tatiana echoed Celia's words, explaining that she left Mexico so that her children would have access to education. In Mexico, she explained, school costs too much because parents must also pay for lunches during the school day, as well as for their children's uniforms. Patricia also said that despite missing her life in Mexico, she chose to remain in the U.S. to provide her children with a good education and thus better career options. Throughout my interviews, this theme arose: my interviewees deeply felt the importance of education and sometimes even weighed its importance against their own happiness. They realized that their own lives would be better if they obtained an education, yet they also understood the barriers they faced to obtaining higher education. The women I interviewed resisted oppression by ensuring that their children would have access to education, and thus better opportunities in their lives, even if my interviewees themselves would not.

Women also resisted the oppressive structures barring them from education by accessing courses offered at Hope CommUnity Center and other organizations in Central Florida, including English language courses, classes in parenting, high school diploma courses, and more. Laura and Elisa specifically discussed engaging in these courses as a way to empower themselves as mothers and women. Laura told me that she attended an English language course and parenting course at Hope CommUnity Center to be an advocate for her children as they grow up in the United States. She explained that these courses gave her courage, as well as the ability to help other migrant women in her community. Elisa, who spoke English extremely well during our interview, explained that she learned English through taking courses at Rose Literacy[ii] and Hope CommUnity Center. She also obtained her GED after studying through these courses. Her motivation was to be able to speak with her son's teachers and be more involved in his life as he interacts with American institutions and society. Through obtaining education despite structural barriers, my interviewees demonstrated their agency and found power in motherhood and a community of women.

Community Organizations and Resistance

In my analysis of undocumented Latina migrants' access to work, healthcare, and education, I found that women faced immense structural barriers; however, they also subverted their oppression through finding unique ways to fulfill their needs and build lives in Central Florida. I found that many of my interviewees created ways to negotiate oppressive systems by connecting with organizations in Central Florida that provided services for undocumented immigrants – the most often mentioned of these organizations were Hope CommUnity Center and the Farmworker Association of Florida.

Previous research indicates that such organizations are indeed an important mechanism for addressing the needs of oppressed migrant populations and are often able to facilitate integration (Blackwell 2015,

146). Hope CommUnity Center works toward these goals through its citizenship workshops, English language classes, GED courses, parenting classes, and community-building events. Hope CommUnity Center also provides a means of collective empowerment for migrant women like Laura and Elisa. Other ethnographers who have worked with immigrant-rights organizations in other contexts have also attested to their success in immigrant communities. Scholar and activist Maylei Blackwell (2015, 146) states that such organizations have the power to "reduce institutional, cultural, linguistic, and economic barriers" for migrant women. Migrant women use these kinds of NGOs to build their social networks and empower each other; previous research has documented how migrant women also utilize these organizations to build power for their own activist movements (Hernandez 2017). I observed this occurring at Hope CommUnity Center, where there is a powerful group of immigrants and allies who campaign for immigrant rights in Washington, D.C. as well as conducting community events and campaigns in Central Florida. My own observations revealed that organizations such as Hope CommUnity Center and FWAF are immensely powerful tools for immigrants, and specifically migrant women, to resist the structures of their oppression.

Conclusion

My research was limited by my positionality as a white American citizen. As such, I have not experienced personally what it is to be undocumented in the U.S. or Latinx. My research project developed through personal interest in immigrant rights and connections with Hope CommUnity Center and the Farmworker Association of Florida. In addition, I am not fluent in Spanish, and this was a limiting factor because I worked with translators during interviews and so there could have been information lost during the interview process. Furthermore, my research was limited because my formal interview process occurred over the span of only one year. I would recommend that future research take more time and engage with more interviewees and organizations in the area. Finally, although I believe that the theoretical framework of intersectionality provided me with the ability to address power structures related to identity factors, it potentially limited my analysis by emphasizing identity over "structures of inequality" (Cho, Crenshaw, and McCall 2013, 797). Using an identity-based approach demonstrated more about projections of identity upon my interviewees, rather than their own conceptions of their identities, which are far more complex and dynamic. That said, analyzing the research material using etic or ascribed categories of identity helped pinpoint the structural ways in which they lead to the women's vulnerability, since the power structures that affect them are organized along etic, or 'outsider', categories.

Undocumented Latina migrants face systemic oppression in the United States due to the intersectionality of their identities as women, undocumented, and Latinx. Systems of exclusion prevent these women from accessing safe, fair and meaningful employment, affordable healthcare, and education services. Despite this, my research shows that some undocumented migrant women are able to resist the multi-dimensional oppression they face when they try to access healthcare, education and employment. I found that women utilized community organizations as a mode of activism and community organizing. Notably, though, being undocumented is the most oppressive factor I found during interviews that blocked women from their rights. The undocumented status itself is an intersectional issue because of American policies which make it more difficult for migrants from Mexico, Central America, or South America, and specifically for women from these areas, to legalize their status. American immigration policy must address these fundamental failures by creating opportunities for undocumented migrants to legalize their status, with specific attention toward gendered issues in immigration policy. As Kimberlé Crenshaw (1991) wrote, intersectional systems of oppression cannot be understood in terms of one identity factor or another, but must be examined as the relationship between diverse structures which are not independent of each other. My research illustrates the intersectional relationship between gender, undocumented status, and Latinx identity that are linked to systemic oppression in the United States. In

response, I call for immigration policies which address this oppression and create real pathways for undocumented Latina migrants to gain legal status. My research also demonstrates the resilience and power of migrant women and the diversity of experiences they have regardless of the structural vulnerabilities they face in the United States.

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Endnotes

[i]Yelena was able to work as a nurse only after she applied for, and received, DACA and was therefore given a social security number.

[ii]This organization no longer operates in Central Florida, but from what I gathered in our interview, it was a non-profit which offered free English language courses for immigrants in the community.

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Reclaiming Public Spaces in the Informal Economy: Migrant Mothers who Defy Gender Traditions in Cochabamba, Bolivia

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ABSTRACT

In the city of Cochabamba, Bolivia, mothers from the *campo* have become the engine of the Bolivian economy and leaders in their communities. The issue: they work in the informal sector, which is disapproved by the government and general population. Families from the countryside have lost their homes and traditional means of living as a product of policies in favor of foreign competition. Mothers have become the leaders of their homes and found jobs in the city that have further burdened their role responsibilities. Since there are few safe work opportunities that support indigenous migrant mothers' maternal identities, they create their own jobs in spaces traditionally dominated by *machista* values. Despite intersecting obstacles of gender, class and race, mothers are resilient and capable of redefining spaces and reframing narratives of their motherhood. Drawing on ethnographic data, this article depicts how migrant mothers achieve empowerment, survival and control of their identities thanks to the agency they have found in traditional employment, entrepreneurship and cooperative entrepreneurship within the informal sector, as well as support from non-governmental organizations.

Keywords: motherhood, Bolivia, informal economy, identity, intersectionality

In 2018, Bolivian President Evo Morales boasted that Bolivia was an economic leader in Latin America as its GDP rose by 3.8%. Shortly after, the International Monetary Fund (IMF) released a study on "shadow economies" that took the nation's pride away. According to this study (Medina and Schneider 2018), Bolivia's informal sector is 62.3% of its economy, the largest in the world. The IMF warned Bolivians that "'informality is linked to smuggling,'" and the Private Employers' Confederation of Bolivia predicted that one to 1.5 points of GDP were due to "smuggling" (El Deber 2018). Working class Bolivians were outraged that a sector misleadingly known for avoiding taxes and selling drugs was accredited for the country's prosperity (Diario Opinión 2018). The IMF neglected to report that the informal market in Bolivia is really a "domain of constant flux...between the legal and the illegal," with most jobs operating between both sectors (Goldstein 2016, 23). "Nearly 80 percent of employment" is in the informal sector and "about 70 percent of Bolivian workers are not registered in the nation's pension system," indicating that they are informally employed (33 -34). More importantly, most informal employees are migrant mothers from the countryside who have been displaced from their homes. With few safe or possible employment prospects, mothers create their own jobs in public spaces traditionally dominated by men. Migrant mothers prove to be resilient individually and collectively as they take back power with their motherhood in social and economic spheres that once tried to exclude them.

As Adolfo Arispe, the Cochabamba Director of Labor, says, "Without a doubt, women are the engine of the informal economy" (Nava 2017). The UN Women Bolivia organization estimates that 70% of women who work do so in the informal sector, and The World Bank says more women enter the informal sector than men (only 58% join) (El Día 2017; The World Bank 2015, 16). Although they make up the majority of this lively sector that fuels the economy, they do not receive the same rights that women in the formal sector receive from the government. Cecilia Estrada, a sociology professor and women's advocate in Bolivia, states in an interview with the Bolivian newspaper *Opinión* that the informal sector is a reflection of the inequality within the formal sector between men and women (Nava 2017). Mothers, specifically, are either unable to make enough money in the formal sector or are denied access because of a lack of education, discrimination or, more typically, responsibility to their home; they then are forced to generate their own economic resources in the informal sector (Nava 2017). This article focuses on the mothers who, against all odds, discover how to utilize the informal sector and become community leaders, transforming public spaces into thriving businesses that defy gendered traditions.

Thus, it is important to understand how motherhood impacts the identity of migrant mothers. Bolivian women have no singular standpoint on the maternal role, and so the definition and practice of motherhood can differ for those from the countryside, who experience different intersectional conflicts of race, class and gender, and those from the city, who have a dissimilar relationship to political power structures (Bailey 1994, 195). Migrant mothers' identity can best be understood according to Patricia Hill Collin's work on Black motherhood in the United States. According to Collins, motherhood refers to "the importance of working for physical survival of children and community; the dialectics of power and powerlessness in structuring mothering patterns; and the significance of self-definition in constructing individual and collective racial identities" (1996, 7). In other words, the core components of motherwork for migrant mothers in Bolivia are characterized by ensuring the survival of their children (who frequently face danger in the shape of medical access, drugs and violence), retaining and loving their identities in a society that devalues them,

and being able to find power in jobs that try to exploit them (Bailey 1994, 193-5).

Oppression manifests itself distinctly in the maternal roles of migrant mothers opposed to others. For example, migrant mothers are taught that it is selfish to put themselves first; in order to be a good mother, they must exhaust their mental and physical health for family survival, mistaking exploitation for altruism (Collins 2006, 143). Oppression also manifests itself in how employers and spouses abuse mothers' altruism, knowing that they lack the resources and sometimes the courage to defend themselves. Likewise, Collins (2006) states that mothers' identity formation stems from the work that they do as a part of a collective, but gendered violence in the countryside isolates women from community interaction and prohibits healthy self-identity formation. For this reason, it is crucial to understand how mothers can manipulate the informal economy to combat stereotypes about their identity while fostering their own relationship to this social role.

That being said, the IMF's report (Medina and Schneider 2018) also neglects its own role in the displacement of mothers from the countryside to the city and into the informal sector. In the 1980s and 1990s, Eurocentric policy-makers from the IMF and The World Bank promised to give the Bolivian administration loans to resolve national debt if they adopted neoliberal policy agendas, which favor free market competition to promote capitalist development (such as President Goni's policy implementation that privatized hydrocarbons and water) (Puente 2017; Goldstein 2016, 20, 39). Many Bolivians lost their jobs and traditional means of living in the countryside as competition from foreign companies grew. "Dispossessed of their land, resources, and jobs" (Goldstein 2016, 39), Bolivians were forced to look for work in the city. "In 1950, only 34 percent of Bolivians lived in cities…that percentage is expected to climb to 75 percent by 2020" (Goldstein 2016, 39). Because Bolivian men lost their jobs, mothers were burdened with finding new sources of income to support their families (Draper 2008). In 2013 the International Labor Organization (ILO) estimated that men's participation in the labor force was static, but women's participation was increasing (World Bank 2015, 15). The ILO found that 64% of women were participating in the workforce, and indigenous women were participating at a higher rate (62%) than non-indigenous women (55%) (15). Neoliberalism's high-competition ideology increased employers' demands "for flexible, dependent workers" and "made women an easy target for lax and insufficient labor protections" (Draper 2008, n.p.). The informal economy reflects not only the gender gap in the formal sector as Estrada claims (Nava 2017), but also the marginalization of indigenous migrant Bolivian mothers in the global economy (Draper 2008).

Although women's roles have expanded outside of the home, their domestic duties have yet to adapt to their new identities and obligations. The World Bank (2015) stated that "Bolivian women spend on average four times more time performing domestic tasks than men, and still spend almost 38 hours a week in labor market work" (men spend 47 hours) (20). Symbolic violence, an invisible form of domination in which injustice is perpetuated and normalized by society and misrecognized as problematic, enforces but does not explain gendered beliefs that women should spend more time in the home serving their families (Krais 1993, 172). Symbolic violence is apparent as Bolivian women drop out of school, disengage in political or social organizations, work in disadvantageous conditions, neglect their mental health, and give up their self-autonomy for their families (Soria 2016). In Bolivia, among other reasons, *machismo*, the belief that men are superior to women (adjective: *machista*), normalizes excluding women from the community, isolating them in the home and using physical or emotional violence against them (Draper 2008). Migrant mothers, hence, are suffocated by *machista* expectations of their social roles, symbolic violence that reinforces such ideas, and a global market that takes advantage of their identities' vulnerability.

This article exemplifies the resilience of Bolivian mothers from the countryside who have re-invented the informal sector as a tool to assert space in a labor force that has notoriously mistreated them. It examines how

migrant maternal identities respond in relation to traditional employment, entrepreneurship, and cooperative entrepreneurship in the informal sector. It demonstrates how self-employment in the informal sector and non-governmental aid can support mothers to defy gendered expectations and become their own providers and community leaders. Depending on the type of self-employment, women may be able to regain a sense of value that was previously dehumanized and reclaim power over the narrative of their maternal identities while exploring their identity individually and collectively as mothers.

Methodology

This article relies on the use of anonymous vignettes from life stories, quotes from interviews and observations from fieldnotes to create a reflective and authentic platform for the voices of the women who shared their stories with me. Only three voices are used in this article, but their stories speak to the thirty-five other mothers who I met and formally interviewed who shared similar feelings and experiences. Thanks to the help of the non-profit institution proyecto Trabajo Digno (pTD), which provides free assistance to both women and men to find a dignified job, start an entrepreneurship, pursue legal action against exploitation, and receive psychological help or workplace training, I was able to gain the trust of women who either had just found the organization, were currently working with the organization or long ago had received help from the organization. With pTD's help, I was able to meet women who were searching for a job, starting or owned their own business or were part of a knitting cooperative. I conducted participant observation for a total of three months as I worked alongside the head of the job-seeking sector at pTD, assisted with and participated in workshops designed to develop skills needed to obtain a safe job and understand one's rights, conducted interviews with the employees, attended weekly meetings as well as monthly workshops with the staff, and attended the organization's celebratory events with its employees, patrons, volunteers and participants. Regardless of the relationships that these mothers may have had with the organization, they were their own agents in changing their lives; pTD assisted them by providing the educational tools, resources and encouragement that all Bolivians should have access to, but which are commonly denied to those who are vulnerable.

It is important to note that there are a few elements not discussed at length in this article that deserve consideration. Firstly, although I interviewed a few women from the working class, my research focuses primarily on mothers with children who come from the *campo* or countryside to work in the city and have little to no support from a male partner. This article focuses on motherwork from this select location so as to not overgeneralize motherhood and disregard the different experiences of mothers (Bailey 1994, 195). The relationships that these mothers have are hard to define; most have had children at a young age and are unmarried, but they find new temporary relationships to relieve social and economic hardship. Many significant others may even live with the women, but never contribute to their home. Additionally, the *campo* has fewer employment opportunities for women because of economic changes and gender biases. For this reason, this article focuses on migrant mothers.

Secondly, the work experiences Bolivian women encounter differ greatly depending on how race, age, class and motherhood intersect in their identity. As Kimberlé Crenshaw (1991, 1242) explains, we must acknowledge intragroup differences in identity politics so as not to oversimplify their unique experiences. In the city, jobs are divided into gender roles and service-based jobs, which heightens a mother's struggle for power. Usually, more feminine jobs include domestic tasks like cleaning, cooking, and serving. Employers limit mothers' options as they desire to hire young, unmarried women. Employers see older, married women as being less docile and committed to their job (Fisher 2018). They also see children as a risk to continuous work, forcing mothers to search for places to leave their children.

Similarly, as argued by Crenshaw (1991, 1244), violence against mothers from the *campo* can only be understood by looking at gender and race through an intersectional framework because they impact a woman's

employment experience together rather than individually. It is for this reason that mothers from the *campo* have a harder time finding work than women from the city. Two-thirds of women from the *campo* identify as having indigenous roots, speaking Quechua, coming from a lower socioeconomic class, having little access to education (40% are illiterate), and having on average six children (Draper 2008). Characteristics such as illiteracy and many children reflect the violence that indigenous women face. The majority of mothers interviewed explained that they could not finish their education because their parents forced them to stay at home and raise their brothers or to work so that their brothers could go to school. One woman confided in me that she was at risk of health problems because her husband repeatedly impregnated her. Many mothers explained that they may not be able to control their husbands, but they could control their bodies by secretly undergoing a birth control implant.

Some migrant mothers can leave behind the countryside, learn to speak Spanish and become educated, but discrimination will continue to follow them—for instance, non-campesino citizens label them by how Quechua influences their accents, how they dress indigenously, and so on. Discrimination denies migrant mothers equal opportunities in labor. In order to survive, they enter the informal sector where there is a constant demand for workers but zero protection from the government, which normally would include maternity leaves, medical protection and laws governing work hours, days and holidays. The abuse does not disappear, though, as employers in the formal sector can also take advantage of mothers; for example, forcing them to work more hours without extra pay. As the lawyer of pTD explained when I interviewed him, the majority of people in Bolivia are unaware of their rights and the legal action that they can pursue, making them vulnerable to employers.

On a similar note, the informal and formal sector are heavily intertwined, hence why it will be called (in)formal in this article, but the government forms "categorical definitions of people and practices" (Goldstein 2016, 75-76) to retain power structures and make informality look invisible. Elites have the privilege to distribute power and resources by dictating what jobs are legal and illegal and whose rights are recognized. An illegal job can be one in which someone sells legal goods without a permit for the land they sell on, and a legal job might entail someone selling illegal items with a property permit (75-76). Because of this, the police and state authorities will perform illegal seizures and demand payments from workers doing what they deem to be illegal jobs. They will call them primitive, dirty, and so on (77-79). State officials maintain the city's power dynamics by abusing vulnerable workers and justifying their actions through dehumanization.

Lastly, it is important to acknowledge my own privilege and positionality in conducting this research. Knowing that my research was for an academic study may have impacted how comfortable women felt sharing information. It is possible that questions during the interviews, conducted in Spanish rather than Quechua, were answered narrowly with the truths that they thought I wanted to hear. There is power that comes with my position as a US scholar because I am the one collecting information and telling their stories. This work serves as a platform to deconstruct such power and display their voices.

Finding Employment in the (In)formal Sector

> I feel very overwhelmed, but in my mind, I have to keep moving forward. And I'm tired, but I still have to get myself up and move forward. I have to clean the clothing, cook and go to work for eight hours a day. *I work*. I arrive [home] at night and keep doing it all over again for my kids…There are days that I feel so sick and I'm so tired, but I can't stop. There is no one else who can [take care of my kids]. (Juana)

As Juana's quote hints, traditional employment—working for someone else—in the (in)formal sector is not the best option for most migrant mothers. Historically, women came to Cochabamba for social mobility, "working as housekeepers, cooks, and babysitters for wealthy families on the city's

north side" (Goldstein 2016, 141). Yet, traditional employment offers poor wages and maltreatment for migrant mothers (Goldstein 2016, 141). Currently, Bolivia is ranked 118 out of 130 countries for the worst gender wage gap with men earning 50% more than women, making alternative options to traditional employment seem promising (El Día 2017; The World Bank 2015, 18-19). Traditional employment threatens migrant mothers' identities because they are unable to work and raise their children at the same time, but it does offer agency, independence and an escape from the burdens at home. Although advertised as liberation for all women, traditional employment continues to be oppressive and exploitative for migrant mothers. Juana's life-story demonstrates the dehumanization and stress that mothers may experience as a result of assumed maternal expectations that permit abuse from employers in the (in)formal sector and abuse from their families. Juana's story shows how migrant mothers struggle to survive while maintaining pride and value in their identities.

Juana was 22 years old when she moved to the city of Cochabamba to find work. She did not speak Spanish very well and only felt comfortable speaking in her native tongue of Aymara. She never finished school, and so she struggled to read and write. Eventually, she met her ex-husband, and they had three children during their 19 years together. Her life soon became complicated; she was no longer able to think about what she wanted to do, but rather about what her children and husband needed and if she lacked it. Shaking her head, Juana told me that she and her husband truly could never get along; he treated her poorly. Choosing her words, she said that he kept her isolated in the house, refused to give her money, and denied her an education. She always worked two jobs in addition to her husband's job to help her family make ends meet. Her third job, she claimed, is being a mother. She helps her children with their homework, watches over them, cooks, cleans, washes laundry and so on. Thinking about her husband's pension, a benefit from the formal sector, she sighed. It never contributed enough, but it was at least something and now it was gone. It is not unusual for Bolivian mothers to be the sole providers for their children or the primary breadwinners of a family (Goldsmith 2016, 143). It was this year that she found out that her ex-husband was cheating on her and had a four-year-old child with another woman. It was then that Juana's husband abandoned their family, which is not uncommon among migrant mothers, and claimed their home, leaving Juana and her children homeless.

Consequently, Juana had no choice but to move her children and herself temporarily into the home of her abusive stepbrother. Looking at the empty glass sitting on the table between us, she murmured, "He treats me poorly and I have to hold it all in." She explained that she has nowhere else to put her children and cannot turn to her family. Since her husband disappeared, her children are always crying because they are suffering. She is also suffering, but she forces herself to stay calm so that her children see her as strong. She looked at her daughter sitting in the chair next to us and said, "They help me through it [the pain]." She justifies her suffering and shoulders the burden, like most migrant mothers, for her family's survival. In Bolivia, 7 out of 10 women suffer from domestic violence and it is estimated that one in every two women have suffered from some type of violence during their lives (Villegas 2018). Juana's experience at home is symbolic of how gendered violence suppresses mothers' identities and puts them in dangerous situations.

Moreover, migrant mothers' identities are not only exploited in the home, but also in the labor force. Before Juana's husband left, she worked in a store selling furniture. It was her only job at the time because it required her to work from 8:00 am until 8:00 pm. Her boss normally refused to pay her on time and at one point stopped paying her altogether; but she needed the money desperately, so she came to pTD, an organization she heard of through word-of-mouth, for legal assistance. After speaking to the organization's lawyer, she learned that she was being exploited. She was working 12 hours a day and not being paid over -time past the legal eight-hour shift. Her boss would refuse to provide her with a glass of water or let her sit down during a shift. Sometimes, she was forced to come in on a

Sunday, a day culturally meant for family, or a holiday, a day when work is over-time, without receiving any pay and would be threatened with losing her job if she refused. Juana's boss was verbally abusive, too. "Sometimes I just wanted to run and leave, but I would hold it in—what my boss would say to me. I would get stressed from it, but I would have to hold it all in." Juana added, referring to all of her previous bosses, "They will make you return to re-do something and tell you all the things you're doing wrong. I can't disagree or defend myself. I have to be silent." Juana worried about what would happen to her family's financial security if she lost her job, and so she pushed through her pains. Her boss took advantage of her because they knew that Juana was unaware of her rights and desperate for money.

Juana grew to believe the words that came out of her bosses' mouths. She began to believe that this was the treatment she deserved and something that she alone must face. "They tell me I don't need the money…I don't need the resources and they make me feel silly," she explained. "They don't think about how they affect you…they don't know I have another job and kids, and they don't care for us…". Juana felt her identity as a mother was in jeopardy as she sacrificed self-worth for family survival. As both a marginalized indigenous woman and mother from the campo, Juana's abuse was a product of the intersections of racism and sexism (Crenshaw 1994, 1248). Like many other migrant mothers, Juana experienced cultural barriers, distrust with abusive state officials, and lower access to resources both in Quechua and overall. Her experiences at home and in the workforce have left her unable to view herself positively, but she does believe that her experiences serve as a lesson for her children of what not to do, as most mothers believe (Goldsmith 2016, 206). Juana told me that she is determined not to let her children end up "like her."

After pTD helped her to learn her rights and search for safe jobs, Juana has independently found two jobs that allow her to devote more time to her family, but at the expense of earning sufficient money. She works two days out of the week and takes sewing classes so that she can eventually pursue a self-employed career as a sewing instructor. Like most working mothers from her town, Juana does not know of any available nurseries nor does she have the financial ability to put her children in one while she is away. Most mothers like Juana fear leaving their children unattended at home because of their neighborhood's high crime rates (Goldstein 2016, 201-204). Juana clarified, "It is hard to get a job when you have a family, no?…It [is] so difficult to work as a woman because you need to help them with homework and go to work at the same time." The information she learned at pTD has inspired her to be stronger for her kids and be a role-model. She is investing in a future job where she can be her own boss and bring her children with her to work.

Furthermore, it is important to weigh both the benefits and consequences of traditional employment. In terms of benefits, Juana has found work to be an escape from the stresses that plague her at home. Like most mothers, she feels as if she can finally breathe when at work because she is in control of her own life. Before Juana's husband left, she thought that a woman's role was to be with her kids in the home. She elaborated by saying, "My husband did not approve of me working or studying, and now I see that women should do all of those things." Juana's jobs have "confounded the categories that serve to organize *machista* culture" and place women, both indigenous and from the *campo*, in the home rather than a public space (Goldstein 2016, 142-143). Nevertheless, Juana struggles to see her work as a mother as successful. Worrying about sounding selfish, she whispered, "I hope they understand me. I know there are times that they are upset, and they say to me 'You're never in the house.' And I know that there are families with moms and dads that can do that, and I want to do that. But if you work, you have to go always."

Although traditional employment has presented Juana with agency and power, it has not been the most conducive to building her sense of self or freedom from gendered expectations. Traditional employment has made her subject to abuse from the exploitation of her maternal identity. Juana was fortunate to have found an organization like

pTD to help her. However, as the founder of pTD, Martine Greischer, told me in an interview, most mothers from the *campo* are isolated from the community and unaware of organizations that provide help, and those who speak Quechua are unlikely to travel to the city for help. Juana looks forward to a future in sewing, believing that self-employment may relieve some of the tensions employment could not solve.

Finding Employment in Entrepreneurship

> I can be with my children. I can take care of them; I can go to meetings for their school; and it is a job that I can enjoy. Normally, you can't with jobs. *This* is more freedom. Sometimes it takes a toll on me because I have to open [my store] at six in the morning and close it at 9 at night. It can be tiring, but whatever…you have the advantage to be there with your children. (María)

As María's life-story illustrates, entrepreneurship in the informal economy can disrupt gender norms that toxify motherhood and limit women's agency. A woman can become her own boss, learn new skills, and leave the house to work and interact with the community as a leader. At the same time, when a woman creates her own job, she may have the opportunity to determine her own hours, who she works with or for, where she works, what she does and if she can bring her children to work. Although a woman may be able to leave the home and interact with outsiders, her job might also increase her ability to spend time at home and fortify detrimental and burdensome expectations of what her maternal identity entails, which María's reflections on her identity show. Similarly, according to a study on metropolitan areas in Bolivia by *Ciudadanía*, 64% of Cochabambinos said they want to start their own business and 62.7% said they lack the money to start one (Avendaño 2017). María's experience demonstrates that starting a business can be inaccessible, particularly for an indigenous woman from a lower socioeconomic class.

That being said, one of the obstacles to entrepreneurship is that most migrant mothers do not know that it is a viable option. Most mothers see entrepreneurship as a dream, something far out of their reach. Experiences resulting from their intersectional identities have taught migrant mothers that their place in the labor market is to work *for* business owners, not *as* business owners. According to Martine Greischer, approximately 50% of the people that work in the informal sector are actually employees of someone else's entrepreneurship. Small businesses, like fruit vendors in the open-air market the *Cancha*, are often owned by one person who has various stands with different "girls" to work at each one. One step to breaking these patterns is educating mothers about their capacity to be their own bosses; however, finding a source of inspiration for this path may be difficult.

For this reason, María believed that she was blessed the day that Aldeas Infantiles SOS, a NGO which she described as helping "mostly children—abandoned or in need," came knocking on her door. It was not by coincidence that Aldeas Infantiles SOS found her; the organization was informed of the town's at-risk families, and María and her husband were penniless at the time since he could not work for months due to an injury. The organization had formed a partnership with the mayor to start a nursery so that mothers could leave their children and work to survive. Following this, the NGO contacted María to see if she would be interested in starting a small store for the community. They turned her dreams into a reality with a donation of 1,000 bolivianos, a table, and a shelf. María explained, "I did not have the capital to be able to open it before—I wanted to—but I couldn't." Additionally, the NGO introduced her to pTD to find additional support and another shelf; pTD offered her assistance through a series of workshops and one-on-one meetings with their business expert. María recalled that pTD taught her how to organize her finances, know what money to keep in the store and what money to take out for eating or spending on her family. María started her business because she was fortunate to have access to two organizations that most migrant mothers are unaware of. Despite receiving financial assistance from the organizations, María needed to take out a loan from the bank and discover how to run her business alone through trial and error with her community.

Now, María is her own boss and runs a small community store from a room in the front of her house. She sells everything that the neighborhood needs—from cookies to pasta—while taking care of her family at the same time. She starts her day by preparing her family breakfast, buying fresh milk and bread at 5:30 am from the delivery man, sending her husband off to work at 6:30 am, and dropping her youngest off at school by 7:30 am. Around lunch time, her children return to the house to eat and then join her as she works. Gathered at the table, they point a finger at one another laughing out the words "*tú toca*," or "your turn," to assist when a customer arrives. For María, the fact that she can bond with her children at work is the reason why she could never return to traditional employment where she "was treated less" and like a "slave" for "not having studied". María's job as a store owner enables her to survive and to teach her children pride in their identities. Equally as important, she feels validated because her family contributes to her work and recognizes her efforts.

On a similar note, María's store has earned her validation within her community because members depend on her for help. Before the store, she felt "useless" because she "wasn't doing anything" and "lonely" because "no one was home" and she "couldn't leave". Now, María feels happy and important because people want her help. For instance, one day a client asked her what they should do for their daughter's upset stomach, and María assisted her by making a remedy of cornstarch mixed with coca cola from her store. She felt validated when the parent came back to thank her for her success. On a different day, a group of boys, whose mother was unable to leave from work, asked María if she could make them fried eggs for lunch and wait to be paid. María happily cooked for them. They were shocked that she trusted them, and she laughed, telling them that she knew they would return. María knew that she was essential to their well-being. Another day, a woman with a baby came to her store to buy cooking gas. María did not want the woman to carry the tank alone, so she took it to the woman's house and installed it for her. The woman was so grateful that she gave María a plate full of corn. "I like that I can help in this way," María remarked several times. Using her agency, María has created a job that allows her to nourish her maternal role in a way that traditional employment could not. Additionally, her job promotes positive self-reflection due to her community and family validating her work efforts.

As she succeeds financially and socially, María plans to expand her store. She wants to add fresh vegetables and meat and, if possible, start a side-business where she can sell fresh fruit juices to the community. Obstacles such as taking care of her youngest child prevent her from expanding the store as much and as quickly as she would want. She hopes that her children will continue to work alongside her so that the business can grow faster and her children can see her succeed. "[I want them to work] like myself, with my own strength…I want that they explore and have opportunities to work far from here," she stated. María wants her children to explore jobs that give them the same pride in their identities that she has discovered from her own business. María's job has helped her to envision a future for herself and to recognize her strengths.

She expressed, "Yes, I feel more independent. It's not that much waiting on your husband. You can still serve him, but before when the income was just my husband's, I would walk in the street and I wouldn't buy a single thing alone—not even a drink. But, now, at least, I will buy a drink or something I want… It makes me happy that I can do that." Entrepreneurship has provided her with a sense of happiness and agency to reclaim her power through financial independence and broken gender stereotypes.

In spite of her successes in relation to her maternal role, María has difficulty seeing her individual accomplishments. When given the task to describe herself, responding first with "mother," her second thought was "*Me falta*," or "I lack". María shared that she never had the opportunity to attend school. Now, entering her late forties, she felt as though it was too late to fulfill her dream of receiving an education, a common feeling among migrant mothers. The influence of power dynamics throughout her life has led María to believe that education is a marker of success and her lack thereof makes her inferior and unsuccessful. When María has

to take money out of the store's savings because her husband had failed to find work, she said, "I fear that it makes what I earn not enough". This example illustrates that María often shoulders the burden of being her family's primary income provider. Even when her husband is at fault for not contributing to their family's economic stability, she still considers herself as the one not doing enough. María was unable to describe herself outside of her maternal role and what she lacks. This is likely because the degree to which her family relies on her as a savior has intensified. Her family holds her to an even higher regard as she continues to succeed individually as the one who physically and financially provides for and protects the family. As a result, her self-image can waiver between positive, when she recognizes her strength as a mother, community member and provider, or negative, when she struggles to see her individual accomplishments because her family is at risk of survival.

María's story provides an example of how entrepreneurship can provide women with better opportunities to compete in the market and grow emotionally, socially and economically if given access to the right tools, like pTD. María described feelings of independence because she makes her own money and can spend it however she wants, but she still puts her family first. She also felt validated because her family and the people in her community recognize her successes and efforts. However, she cannot view herself outside of her limitations defined by her social context. María explores relationships outside of her home when she helps her community, but she never works alongside a community to test Collins' (1996) idea of women building their own identities through collective motherwork.

Finding Employment in Entrepreneurial Cooperatives (Co-ops)

> Before [the co-op], I just worked and was stuck in the house. But then, with the girls, I made contacts and I could leave at least once a week; I could talk to and meet people and go to one place or another—and travel. I have traveled to Santa Cruz and sold things… I have been able to meet so many people. (Sonia)

As Sonia describes, cooperative structures can become powerful tools for women's movements that provide agency to redefine motherhood and dismantle gender traditions. Cooperatives can become spaces for women to discover new skills and leadership roles, engage and heal in supportive and social spaces, challenge the notion that a woman's place is at home, escape a labor system that devalues them, and build on their collective identity in order to empower their individual identity. Sonia's story depicts how individual transformation of self-identity can stem from collective growth, and it reveals the exploitative nature of the international market and its neoliberal policies that egalitarian women's cooperatives encounter.

Sonia was never able to finish her high school degree, but she knew how to weave. When she was little, her mother and her would weave together. However, after dropping out of high school, Sonia decided to go to Argentina to sell vegetables. She wanted to find work far away from her home, but soon her mother died and she was forced to come back with her newborn baby, two children, and husband to take care of her mother's home. After attending a course for weaving in the city one day, Sonia met a group of women from the countryside who were forming a weaving cooperative or co-op. Twelve years have passed and she continues to work in this community. In response to who founded the group, she said, "We say that we have created it [together]." Sonia and her group do not like to attribute its foundation to one person because each member is valued in creating its whole.

Similarly, although the cooperative has a hierarchy of jobs, the labels do not define who is more important. "We have a president, a treasurer—all of that. We have a teacher—we have positions like that. People do what their abilities allow, but they are all equal in terms of importance," Sonia explained. "There is no leader because we are all leaders". They take turns creating orders and split the income evenly no matter who contributed more or less for that order because they value supporting each other over doing better than one another.

For many of the mothers in the group that experienced pain from an abusive job or relationship, forming their own rules and being seen as equal has become a liberating process. They are able to affirm their value and importance.

As well, the group learned how to organize themselves through weekly, sometimes twice a week, meetings; they also learned how to network and sell their products competitively at the fairs they travel to. They learned how to conduct their work at home in order to satisfy their work as mothers. At the same time, these women oppose gendered labor divisions that try to isolate them inside of their homes by leaving their households for meetings and traveling outside of their communities to sell goods (Stephen 2005, 256). The cooperative enables the women to find agency in leadership positions and to develop new skills like financing and marketing. They find power in deciding what they want to do as well as who they do their work for and with (255). They even break their own internalized stigmas on their identity as they enter together into political and economic spaces that were once denied to them. As marginalized women, many were taught to believe that they were not worthy of entering certain spaces. One woman in a co-op told me that she was once too afraid to enter a bank because she was a "*cholita*", or indigenous woman, but after entering several times with her colleagues she no longer felt uncomfortable going alone. The group allows women to meet people who experience the same struggles, and their socialization outside of the group encourages them to see themselves as equals to others.

Furthermore, the structure of the cooperative is built on a framework of motherwork that enables the women to see each other as part of a family in which they can support and embolden one another. Ariella Rotramel's (2017) '*This Is Like Family': Activist-Survivor Histories and Motherwork* refers to Patricia Hill Collin's definition of motherhood and explains that motherwork "recognizes that individual survival, empowerment, and identity require group survival, empowerment, and identity"; however, motherwork can extend past familial relationships and can be used as a public action, like with the cooperative (51). Sonia, reflecting on her relationship with the group, said, "The way that we meet and behave with one another is like family. Or, if there is nothing to do, we check-in with one another and see how we are doing…how can we support each other." They support one another in a way that did not exist for themselves before the cooperative was formed (61). Their shared experiences of abuse have created traumatic scars that the cooperative allows them to heal and grow from together (60). They teach one another that they are good enough, that they are valuable, and that they do not deserve to be abused just to survive (61). Thus, the cooperative enables mothers to engage in a job that values collective survival, empowerment and identity growth.

Sonia, for example, believes that she would not be who she is today without her "girls". "I changed a lot," she asserted. "Before I always worked, yeah. But after I joined the women, I knew everything. I became well-known and did a lot of workshops. I couldn't express myself [before], I couldn't talk, but now I can talk a lot… I'm more open now. I can't tell you how I was before. I just would weave for myself and I couldn't respond to anyone." As Sonia explains, she felt herself change once she joined the group. She grew to become confident and she found her voice by communicating with other mothers in the cooperative's weekly meetings and with foreigners on topics such as finances; Sonia was also able to challenge race, gender, and class based stereotypes that had restricted her from accessing resources like the bank. Sonia explained, "I can value myself…this [job] is for me." She works for her family's survival to succeed as a mother, but she stays in her cooperative regardless of its issues because it provides her with a community that she cannot access elsewhere.

In fact, at the time of this research study Sonia was working part time at another job selling items because her family's survival was at risk while she worked part time with her girls. "I can't leave them" she repeated at the thought of quitting. Since she has to leave her house more often to work and her income had declined, her family was regularly upset with her for not being home. So, her first thought

when describing who she is was as a "*llorona*" or weeper. The stress in her household would bring her to tears over the smallest of things because she feared she was not doing enough for her family. Both her and her husband work half time, and so she felt responsible for the decline in their income. Her reaction resembles María's. However, she quickly added, "I am very *parlanchina* [talkative]. I can talk about anything now." Thinking more positively, she elaborated, "I am friendly and good with people" and "I know a lot of people in the streets. I talk in Quechua too. I communicate with the group and other people from the *campo*." She even joked that she can convince her husband to clean the house or cook when she is too lazy. Ending her thoughts, she quipped, "I am always crying though." Sonia's answer reflects the tension that her family's survival puts on her new dynamic identity as a mother.

While the neoliberal market has brought communities of women together in cooperatives—spaces that they have designed themselves with occasional advice from organizations like pTD—it has also broken them apart, destroyed their trust in one another and caused them to feel exploited or abused once more. The global hegemony of a free market favors neo-colonialism, which causes vulnerable countries that have been colonized, like Bolivia, to compete in a global market where Western demands seek "authentic" or "exotic" commodities made from the cheapest labor. Competition causes the prices for goods needed to make textiles to rise while the prices of textiles being sold stay stagnant or decline (Stephen 2005, 263). Worst of all, Western textile designers who worked with the cooperatives may begin to make knock-off versions in other parts of the world where labor is cheaper, devastating the original workers (265).

Such competition can influence community members from cooperatives to leave and take clients for themselves. The market's blood thirsty desire to reward the dominant can break the trust and equality that cooperatives are founded on. Sonia's group is struggling to rebound from this very situation. At one point, they were introduced to an American client who was interested in their product. The client demanded a large export and their president, who spoke English, was handling the transaction. Suddenly, their president betrayed them and stole the client. The president not only took away their largest client and access to a foreign market when doing this, but also she broke the trust within the group. Sonia confessed, "When we knew how to export, we let go of everything we had to do to focus on only this [foreign client]." Sonia spent holidays and late nights awake, crying in frustration, to finish the order. She sacrificed time with her family and invested it in the group only to be betrayed by the principles that she thought they all shared. The group faced three months of low demand and little exportation following this incident, and Sonia became tired of the decline. She questioned if the former president was right to leave the group.

With her arms crossed at her sides, she said, "I have always been afraid of *this*. I always work and work for someone else and the other person excels higher than me." Her confidence in her group has become tested as the demand for their products has lessened, her income has declined, her trust and feelings of equality have been ruined, and her family's survival has suffered. Although united by labor, the egalitarian system can also be broken by the free-market if a mother cannot achieve the basic task of survival. Regardless of the co-op jeopardizing her family's survival, Sonia puts herself first, unlike María and Juana, and refuses to leave the group because of the freedom it grants her. In a similar fashion, one might argue that Sonia's former president put herself first when she stole the clients and risked her "second family's" survival.

Conclusion

The purpose of this article is to display the resilience of the migrant mothers of Cochabamba who form and fuel the Bolivian economy. These women are unfairly labeled as dirty workers who exploit the system but, in reality, they are the ones being exploited. Mothers have been displaced from their homes, forcing them to migrate to the city and create jobs with the little skills and education they have in a space traditionally ruled by *machismo*. Power politics have oppressed these women on a national and global level, but

through self-employment in the informal sector mothers have found agency to redefine their maternal identities.

In order to understand how these women's maternal identities respond to employment, this article analyzes migrant mothers' relationship to traditional employment, entrepreneurships, and cooperative entrepreneurship in the (in)formal sector. My research shows how job security can change the way women learn to value themselves and how non-profits can provide them with the encouragement and tools that others have always had access to. Through an intersectional lens, it examines how traditional, employed jobs sustain toxic definitions of maternal social roles and how self-employment disrupts them.

As a result, this research rejects the idea that (in)formal jobs provide the best access to agency because mothers from the *campo* cannot engage in self-growth in the same way as middle-class mothers do. Their intersectional identities cause them to engage differently in the world and to have different reasons for what is best. For migrant mothers, self-employment in the informal sector provides them with the support that they were unable to find before. It allows them to transcend gender traditions, regain a sense of value, accomplish maternal goals, and explore their dynamic identities.

This article finds that through entrepreneurship, migrant mothers are able to gain independence from their partners and validation from their community and family, which help them to form positive thoughts of themselves. It also finds that mothers who work alone and for the community continue to put their family's survival first. On one hand, most migrant mothers face obstacles in the form of access to money and resources when they do not know who to trust or contact. On the other hand, by forming knitting cooperative entrepreneurships mothers are able to utilize the framework of motherwork to form "second families", helping them to heal from oppression and to empower each other's self-identity as a collective. Women work with and for the community in these jobs, allowing them to think positively of their maternal identity. Women are able to prioritize themselves, too, as proven by Sonia and her former president who both made "selfish" choices. Conversely, cooperatives are not perfect in that family survival, empowerment and growth of self-identity can be constantly contested in a neoliberal and patriarchal market.

In short, migrant mothers in the informal sector are transforming economic and social spheres in Bolivia. They not only carry the Bolivian economy on their shoulders, but also they reverse power dynamics, dating back to the start of colonialism, that have tried to exploit their vulnerable identities.

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Island Empowerment as Global Endowment: Understanding Hawaiian Adaptive Cultural Resource Management

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ABSTRACT

Based on fieldwork and interviews with academics, activists, government officials, and indigenous *alaka'i* (practitioners) involved in the revival of traditional fishponds and *ahupua'a* (land -based management systems), I provide a case study of the politics of cultural resource management on two islands in Hawai'i. Analyzing the intersections of identity, community, education, and spirituality as they influence indigenous sciences of sustainable resource management, I underscore themes in cultural resource management, historically based restoration, Community Based Subsistence Fishing Areas (CBSFAs), and Traditional Ecological Knowledge (TEK), particularly focusing on the merits of combining these methods to create an adaptive resource management style. According to informants' understandings of place, culture, and politics in their own lives, the ideal model for a sustainable global future should be based on an indigenous place-based model of "adaptive" cultural resource management.

Keywords: Hawai'i, cultural resource management, sustainability, *ahupua'a*, indigeneity, traditional ecological knowledge

To our ancestors' credit, man – I mean, they were the future scientists and now we're trying to reinvent that. (Interviewee 2)

It's customized to the place and that's really the essence of traditional fisheries management… it's a very adaptive based management… I would say the main thing that people need to understand is that you don't just manage for the resource; you manage people and resources together. (Interviewee 4)

In a time when the world is facing ecological crisis and global cultural assimilation, steps need to be taken to prevent further loss of biodiversity and cultural diversity. As anthropologists, we recognize that culture and nature go hand-in-hand and it is vital to preserve them both. Traditional Hawaiian management of fishponds similarly strives towards such preservation by using a combination of traditional ecological knowledge and cultural resource management. The National Marine Fisheries Service of the United States, a division of the National Oceanic and Atmospheric Administration (NOAA), has slowly progressed toward using more sustainable practices in resource management, including fisheries (National Oceanic and Atmospheric Administration 2018). Yet, funding for fisheries has declined by 77% (University of British Columbia 2018), and over 75% of the world's fisheries are overfished (Leonard 2007, 4:14). This decline in funding immediately affects Pacific small islands and low-income coastal communities, and it more gradually affects the global community as fisheries provide 17% of human diets and create livelihoods for up to 12% of the world's population (University of British Columbia 2018).

Traditional Hawaiian management of fishing included social and cultural control that effectively sustained resources. The Hawaiian *ahupua'a*, an adaptive management system based on resource availability and fluctuation, was established in the fifteenth century for land division and socioeconomic organization. *Ahupua'a* regulated fishing activities and catch distribution using *kapu*, or rules. This required cognizance of lunar and seasonal cycles and their effect on resources. *Konohiki*, or land agents, enforced *kapu* for *ali'i* (chiefs) and received advice from *kupuna* (elders) along with *po'o lawai'a* (master fishermen). Master fisherman underwent years of training before obtaining the role of an advisor. This extensive training led to high sensitivity toward environmental changes, garnering them the title "sentinels of the ecosystem" (Bambridge 2016, 180). Rules included understanding spawning cycles and avoiding fishing during those times to protect supply. This allowed Hawaiians to subsist off their resources for millennia (Bambridge 2016, 179-180).

The traditional Hawaiian system of fishing began to collapse after the introduction of the *Māhele* (land ownership) system in 1848 and, by 1900, all *konohiki* rights had been repealed and fishing was opened to all persons. Shorelines became spots for tourism and recreation (Bambridge 2016, 181). Contemporary management in Hawai'i is based on government resource managers, which means that strategies focus on maximum yield and species conservation at current levels (Bambridge 2016, 182). Focus on indigenous resource management was diminished throughout colonization and only recently reclaimed as a process to promote sustainability and prevent further deterioration of fisheries.

In another post-colonial context, the Maori people of New Zealand successfully combined indigenous cultural knowledge into present-day legal structures. They claimed legal personhood for the river Waikato (Ruru 2012, 118). Having always respected the river as part of human and spiritual life, the Maori found a way to adapt corporate law to their local kinship and spiritual system (wherein the river is both a body and a life force) in order to foster a sustainable future for the Waikato. This legal recognition of the right to water as the right to identity has inspired other indigenous claims.

The case of the Quechua fisher folk at Lake Titicaca provides another example of indigenous resource management coexisting with national legal frameworks. The anthropologist Ben Orlove recorded how local management incorporated fishing into their kinship. Their respect for the fish allowed them to preserve their culture and livelihoods along with abundant and diverse fish stocks (Orlove 2002). This case demonstrates a system of long-term sustainability, which functioned relatively unhindered by government officials. These successful models of long-term sustainable resource management point to the need for government resource managers to pay attention to local, place-based, cultural understandings of sustainability.

Very little ethnographic research among Hawaiian fisheries' management has been conducted, which restricts the utilization of indigenous resource management in policy making. Speaking with indigenous groups opens a dialogue between policy managers, indigenous practitioners, and the general public about the merits of indigenous resource management on a larger scale. Efforts in Hawai'i have begun to combat fisheries' depletion, but challenges persist (Bambridge 2016, 178). Including the voices of Native Hawaiians, government officials, academics, and activists will improve upon existing accomplishments and continue to push fisheries management toward sustainable practices.

Below I argue that fishpond practitioners provide an important model of indigenous place-based "adaptive" cultural resource management and, as mentioned earlier, ethnographies of indigenous resource management elsewhere support my claims. Adaptive here means continuously customizing management practices by actively evolving, growing and incorporating varied methodologies into them. Cultural resource management includes "managing cultural resources… [such as] important sites, objects, and places" under a legal framework to preserve and maintain cultural heritage (Encyclopedia.com 2019). Cultural resource management gives indigenous peoples the opportunity to legally protect meaningful resources that contribute to their identity. Melissa Nelson explains that Traditional Ecological Knowledge (TEK) of indigenous peoples preserves biological diversity and creates "complex reciprocal relationships" between their cultures and the environment (2008, xxi). She states that Indigenous Knowledge, defined as "distinctive bodies of knowledge, which have evolved over many generations within their particular ecosystem, and define the social and natural relationships with those environments," is a crucial point when it comes to TEK (Nelson 2008, 45). This Indigenous Knowledge, capitalized to emphasize the importance of these epistemological claims, lies within communities, not individuals or written legislation, and reflects a collectivity of people and the environment (Nelson 2008, 45-46). As stated in *the Rahui*, "integrating Native Hawaiian traditional ecological knowledge (TEK) and traditional practices into contemporary marine management is an important element [of sustainable resource management] (Bambridge 2016, 178)."

As discussed by Tony Pitcher and Mimi Lam in "Fishful Thinking" (2010, 1), sustainability hinges on a composite management strategy of ecosystem-based management and historically based restoration. Ecosystem-based management comprehensively focuses on ecosystem links to make sure all interconnecting marine resources maintain healthiness (Pitcher and Lam 2010, 6). Historically based restoration means compiling data from management strategies such as Community Based Subsistence Fishing Areas (CBSFAs) and TEK to learn from and implement more successful strategies (Pitcher and Lam 2010, 8). Pitcher and Lam (2010, 8) argue that understanding the history of a fishery is necessary to construct a meaningful restoration strategy. My research traces the history of *ahupua'a* and its use along the coast of Hawai'i for a more extensive look into fishpond history.

Integrating the ideas of cultural resource management, historically based restoration, CBSFAs, and TEK will create more sustainable management of fisheries. Combining methods that have shown some success on their own will allow for greater success overall once working

in cohesion. As Levine (2014) indicated in his study of CBSFAs, it is important to bridge the gaps between locals and officials in order to create more smoothly functioning legislation. Teaching indigenous methodologies in schools and throughout fisheries could help to inform future generations of the sustainable model built into indigenous management practices and its applicability to today's resources.

Methodology

I traveled to O'ahu during the summer of 2018 and collected data on Hawaiian fisheries management, specifically fishponds, in order to understand the intersections of cultural resource management, historically based restoration, CBSFAs, and TEK to create sustainable ecologies. Throughout an eight-week period, I continually interviewed and met with fishpond practitioners, government officials, academics, activists and oral history curators. Throughout my fieldwork, I engaged in 13 formal and 2 informal interviews with willing participants of the study (see chart).

Participants were selected from five different fishponds, with six fishpond practitioners participating. These participants provided a range to compare and contrast fishpond management styles. Three participants from government agencies were selected from departments focused on fisheries and water resources. Government participants provided information on current fisheries management and the plausibility of policy changes. Three academic participants were selected from fields of indigenous and/or cultural studies, with two opting for informal interviews. These participants provided a theoretical context and assisted in finding sources. Activist participants often intersected with fishpond practitioners and provided insight on the current focal points of indigenous activism. The five indigenous activists included in the chart are those who repeatedly mentioned activism as a large part of their identity throughout their interview. This does not mean other interviewees were not proponents of indigenous activism; instead, it means this point did not come up as frequently with the interviewees not listed as indigenous activists. Interviewing four oral history curators was particularly fruitful. Searching online revealed the challenge of finding detailed information about fishponds. Interviewee 10 explained that this was not uncommon: "it's really hard. It's a lot of people having these stories or it's just somewhere, I don't know how to search for it." This lack of online information made research especially difficult unless it was done in the field, which outlines the importance of oral tradition to indigenous Hawaiians.

Chart of interviewees	
Indigenous fishpond practitioners	Interviewee 1, 2, 7 (includes two persons), 10, & 11
Government agency participants	Interviewee 6, 8, & 9
Academic participants	Interviewee 4 & two informal (not noted in text)
Indigenous activists	Interviewee 4, 5, 6, 10, 11, & 12
Oral history curators	Interviewee 1, 3, 10, & 11

Site Description

To understand Hawaiian fishpond management, it is important to have a comprehensive description of these areas, which I gained from interviews 1, 2, 4 and 5. In these interviews, most of the language used by fishpond practitioners includes technical and scientific terms. Because these scientific terms are continually used to describe fishponds, this paper retains similar terminology. For detailed definitions of the Hawaiian vocabulary included in this document, please refer to Appendix A.

Hawaiian fishponds have *kuapā* (walls) surrounding the perimeter that extend into the water (see figure 1). Fishponds contain brackish water, and these ponds are designed to contain a plethora of nutrients. The mix of saltwater and freshwater produces nitrogen that then creates blooms of *limu* (algae). Algae is vital to the life of the pond because microalgae feeds phytoplankton and little fish within the pond. Fish enter the pond through *mākāhā* (sluice gates) in the wall surrounding the pond (see figure 2). During low tide, algae rich water flows out of the pond and into the ocean. This

Figure 1 - *Kuapā* (walls) built using the traditional dry-stack method on Moloka'i. Photo by Evelyn Cornwell.

attracts small, hungry fish which enter through the gates. Clean freshwater entering into the pond is necessary for the algae to flourish and attract fish. Without this algae, the pond would not be self-sustaining and practitioners would need to feed the fish. Fishpond practitioners select herbivorous fish to avoid competition and enable the fish to thrive.

There are five known ways to construct traditional Hawaiian fishponds. One is built in the mountains and is composed of freshwater. Similarly, another fishpond is a midland pond with freshwater still coming from the mountains. None of the fishponds visited fit these descriptions. The other three types are constructed close to the shore. One is named a *kuapā loko* (walled in) because it is right on the shore (see figure 3). Being on the shore connects this fishpond to both land and ocean. Most of the fishponds discussed fit this model. Another fishpond fits the model of a *pu'uone*. A *pu'uone* has a channel from the fishpond to the ocean, but still has a freshwater input. During low tide, algae rich water from the fishpond flows down the channel and into the ocean to attract fish. During high tide, saltwater from the ocean flows up the channel and into the fishpond, creating the necessary mix of saltwater and freshwater to sustain the pond. The fifth fishpond is called '*umeke*, or fish-trap. It is built on the shoreline and the walls contain u-shaped openings. When high tide comes in, fish enter the openings in the wall; as low tide goes out, the fish get trapped in these structures. People then harvest the trapped fish. No '*umeke* style fishponds remain on O'ahu, but there is one on the Big Island.

Most fishponds contain *keiki* ponds (guppy ponds). After fish spawn in the larger pond, practitioners collect the babies and put them in a separate pond to increase their survival rates. Once these baby fish reach a juvenile state, they get reintroduced into the adult pond. Most of the five fishponds visited are currently restoring keiki ponds back to functionality.

In order to understand fishpond sites better, knowledge about the traditional land tenure system in Hawai'i is required. Interviewee 4 shared some of the results from her own interviews to elaborate on traditional Hawaiian management of resources.

> So *ahupua'a* is a traditional land division – and then a larger version is a *moku*, which is a region or district – and so these maps would show different *ahupua'a*, and the traditional names and people would claim them not by TMK [the Tax Map Key established by the government] but by the name of that land…it's basically from the shoreline to the edge of the reef. So that *ahupua'a* belonged to the people that live on that land and it was managed by a *konohiki*, and a *konohiki* in more customary ancient times was the person that had the knowledge of the fishery, of the reproductive cycles of the fish and all these things. (Interviewee 4)

An *ahupua'a* can stretch from the mountaintop

Figure 2 – Channel with *mākāhā* (sluice gate) leading into fishpond A from the ocean at high tide. Photo by Evelyn Cornwell.

Figure 3 – View from a *kuapā loko* wall. Photo by Evelyn Cornwell.

out into the ocean. This marks the resources which people in that *ahupua'a* have access to, including fish out in the ocean. In a perfectly functioning *ahupua'a*, the mountain "soaks up moisture from the clouds which seeps down through the rock and re-emerges at the pond" (Interviewee 1). The water from the mountains would often travel through *lo'i* (taro patches) before reaching the fishpond. In the process, the water would pick up rich nutrients from the soil of *lo'i*, and those nutrients would become a part of the fishes' diet.

As foreigners attempted to gain land in Hawai'i, the *Māhele* system was established by Kamehameha III in 1848. This system introduced "land ownership" in Hawai'i and completely altered the traditional reciprocal relationship Hawaiians had established with their '*āina* (land) (Cachola 1995, 87-88). Shortly after the *Māhele* system establishment, the Resident Alien Act of 1850 was passed to allow foreigners ownership of Hawaiian land (Cachola 1995, 93). The *Hawaiian Organic Act* of 1900, enforced by the US federal authorities, later repealed all *konohiki* rights and opened fishing to all persons. Due to these policy changes, few parts of modern-day Hawai'i abide by the customary system. Yet, while driving through O'ahu the car often passes signs marking a particular *ahupua'a* from the past. Many people do not recognize the history behind these signs.

Fishponds tend to be privately owned now, although some located in state parks are controlled by the federal government. Many fishpond workers are trying to receive recognition as fishpond practitioners. This title legitimizes their work and accounts for effort put into restoration. As explained by Interviewee 5, the fishponds on the island of O'ahu organize and meet at least once a year through the organization *Kua'āina Ulu 'Auamo* (KUA), which translates to a backbone organization supporting grassroots movements. KUA provides space for fishpond

practitioners to expand their networks and discuss ongoing projects around the islands. They function on a participatory democratic model, where they leave most of the decisions up to practitioners and then work to support the practitioners' projects. The organization facilitates discussions on how fishponds functioned in the past and what they aspire to be in the present and future.

Hawaiian Identity

Learning the nuances within Hawaiian identity can make the movement for the reclamation of Hawaiian cultural management more accessible. My interviewees (including fishpond practitioners, policy makers, academics, activists, and oral curators), all emphasized how Hawaiian identity sprouts from mythology, spirituality, and sustainability. Glancing into Hawaiian identity demanded building trust between myself and my interviewees before interviewees shared mythologies, or *mo'olelo*. Mythologies are passed through oral tradition, and each orator adds their own small details. Some mythologies about the fishponds have been lost, and the transcribed mythologies often go un-translated. Interviewee 1 has begun keeping a written, translated record of these mythologies in order to preserve them for future generations. Documentation of the myths in English may pique a greater interest in Hawaiian cultural resource management for outsiders. One Uncle (a term of respect used for male Hawaiian elders) recounted the creation *mo'olelo* (myth) of fishponds.

> I came across a legend of *Kū*, actually a spirit from the sea who took a human form...he noticed that while fishing was great outside of Hana, Mau'i, on the open ocean, there were times when it was, due to storms or heavy winds, so that people could not go fishing. So he thought the people in this *ahupua'a* were suffering because fish was a main part of their diet. Then he saw nearby an inlet...that if he made a wall on the ocean side of it, it could maintain fish and keep them alive...That was the beginning of the first fishpond in Hawai'i and maybe in the world. (Interviewee 3)

When Interviewee 3 came to fishpond B, he immediately set out to find the stones honoring *Kū*. In his mind, the restoration of the fishpond could not go forward without these stones. After finding the stones, he had to pull them out of the mud, clean them, and restore them to their proper places. Afterwards, he contacted the Bishop Museum, which is the Hawaiian cultural history museum, to confirm if the stones accurately matched historical records of stones for *Kū*. The museum confirmed his cosmology.

Another myth explains the origins of fishpond guardians.

> They left their lands to come here and they arrived here [fishpond D], they assembled themselves, and then the head *mo'o* (guardian), the ancestral *mo'o* Lani Wahine, made a procession... then she just had all these guardians and told them to go find places... find people to take care of you, to honor you and some did. A lot of them they found places, but there was nobody to take care of them, so the name exists [sometimes] but the history is lost. (Interviewee 10)

Interviewee 10's knowledge of this myth is not comprehensive because deterioration of details often happens with oral tradition. Fishpond D tends to pass the mythologies on to interns orally, and written accounts still remain rare for them. One myth describes how guardians take many forms, but always defend their fishpond.

> Fishpond A... had a visit with a giant stingray coming in and flipping itself into the fishpond...according to legend, fishpond A was having trouble in the past with poachers... so the *kupuna* of the fishpond went up to the point in [the mountains] over there where there lived a person of the stingrays... and after he listened to the story he made a gesture and one of the stingrays jumped into the air and made itself like a kite and sailed down and landed in fishpond A and that became the keeper of the fishpond. So when that giant came in the last 10 years... that was the returning of the guardian. (Interviewee 3)

These mythologies play a large part in the rebuilding of Hawaiian fishponds. Respecting the land means practitioners receive protection from guardians. If the land is abused, the

guardians will punish the trespassers. This encourages Hawaiians to take good care of the land, nurturing it and molding it to coincide with nature.

Practitioners still try to honor their *mo'o* by offering prayers, shells, and wreaths of flowers to them, even the ones with unknown names. These traditions, which unite fishpond workers and continue a tradition of respect, show that spirituality continues to fit into Hawaiian identity and fishpond management. Their spirituality encourages them to work with the resources in and around the fishponds, rather than making decisions that solely benefit humans. This is why guardians appear to people in forms of animals or other life forms from the natural world – to nurture appreciation toward these beings. Traditional management encourages similar reverence for the land: "land is the chief and we are the servants to the chief" (Interviewee 3).

The prayers recited to guardians and the chants recited before entering fishpond grounds are referred to as *oli*. An Uncle on the island of Moloka'i shared that *oli* can mean different things for different people; regardless of these varied meanings, *oli* is an integral part of most indigenous peoples' interactions with fishponds and practitioners. Among fishpond practitioners, *oli* is so crucial that it has taken on many more meanings than the literal translation in a dictionary. This reveals the transformative powers of cultural resource management as an adaptive practice. For example, when asked why *oli* holds such significance in fishponds, Interviewee 10's explanation connected with culture, mythology, and the earth's resources. "If you don't get a response you gotta keep [going], you have to *oli* again and *oli* again. So it depends on those who are inside and if they feel like it's not well-received" (Interviewee 10).

Something as simple as a greeting has many nuances behind it. These *olis* are an integral part of many fishponds and also reference the ethics of sustainability: nurturing and caring for the land. Sustainability in local terms reflects the standards of *ahupua'a* land division, and each interviewee spoke about this management.

Figure 4 – Photo of my feet after completing a workday. Photo by Evelyn Cornwell.

> Indigenous systems of management far surpasses Western management…These things are not a resource but a part of kinship… These fish are all ancestors, along with all the plants and animals and mountains. There is a reciprocal relationship: we take care of the fish and they take care of us. Our success is dependent on the fishes' success. (Interviewee 1)

This connection to mythology, spirituality, and resources guides practitioners to sustainable choices. As I came to understand this connection, I learned that it is the reason they choose to be called fishpond practitioners. Recognizing their relationship with the environment as a reciprocal one, they work with the fishpond while practicing respect and understanding.

> In Hawaiian culture there is our *kumulipo*, our ancient creation chant, and you see in that genealogy connection… that there's other species, marine and terrestrial, that are born and they're all our brothers and sisters or they're our ancestors above us and so if they're family, then you have a moral obligation to care for them. (Interviewee 4)

Clearly objectification of the natural world is not a workable model of sustainability. When people view resources as a source for gain, they often do not consider the value of that resource or feel grateful for what the resource provides them. Fishpond practitioners have an alternative viewpoint because their model of sustainability directly correlates with Hawaiian identity and community involvement.

Community

Communities surrounding fishponds have different levels of involvement, which range from daily involvement to having little or no interest. Even the communities involved in restoring the fishponds do not always understand or enact traditional values such as *ahupua'a* when interacting with the area. However, despite these different understandings and levels of engagement, many individuals are coming together and working as a community to restore these areas.

Most of the five fishponds that I visited during my fieldwork are open to the community for workdays. Workdays are opportunities where anyone can visit a fishpond to assist with current projects, varying from tasks such as weeding to helping rebuild fishpond walls (see figure 4). These days provide the fishponds with more hands for restoration projects. Yet, many community members remain unaware of workdays. Their limited knowledge of fishponds may have less to do with not valuing fishpond culture and more to do with the discomfort or difficulties that come with engaging in the culture. I experienced this first-hand as an anthropologist trying to gain access. While I had many positive interactions at fishpond sites, I also experienced outsider treatment.

A representative of KUA, an organization supporting fishponds, elaborated: "I think community involvement is complex, and understanding the really diverse community that we have in Hawai'i now is really complex because there are people who have not had generations of family here" (Interviewee 5). Following this point of view, some fishpond practitioners misconstrue the necessity of Native Hawaiian roots or indigenous roots to build up fishponds and fishpond communities. In reality, success might come through combining the diverse communities of Hawai'i to enact and adapt the sustainable practices of Native Hawaiian management in the present.

An academic at the University of Hawai'i at Manoa elaborated further. She explained how some people today take advantage of the label "Native Hawaiian" and use it as an excuse to get away with detrimental practices to the pond or as an argument for being able to take as much fish from the pond as they want (Interviewee 4). This mindset is tricky since it is similar to the mindset of poachers who come and steal from the ponds. Illegal activity, such as poaching, interferes with tracking and data retrieval from the fishponds. This data is essential for practitioners in analyzing the ecology of the fishpond and is especially vital during restoration processes.

Some fishpond practitioners feel as if there is no hope for the adults of the community because "adults are stuck in their ways [and] the kids will be making laws and decisions in the future" (Interviewee 1). Therefore, many practitioners focus on the youth. Fishpond D primarily focuses on youth programs to pass down knowledge of fishpond management, often doing programs with the Kamehameha Schools, which host private lessons for Native Hawaiians. While it is important to pass on such knowledge, this also limits the scope of community involvement, especially considering current Hawaiian demographics. The most recent demographics show "the racial diversity in Hawaii stands at 38% Asian, 25% Caucasian, 23.8% two or more races, 10.2% Native Hawaiian/Native Islander, 1.8% African American, and 1% other races" (World Population Review 2018). But, according to estimates recorded by David Swanson, a sociologist, the Native Hawaiian population is actually on the rise (Demby 2018). Still, it remains important to include other community members since they compose a large portion of the Hawaiian community.

Government organizations try to support community interactions with fishponds through public sector meetings. However, getting people to participate is difficult and often requires incentives. As I found throughout my interviews, the general public looks at such meetings as being a hassle or too time-consuming. Fishpond practitioners often avoid such meetings because they believe that either they will glean nothing from government affiliates, or their presence will spur the government to insert itself further into fishpond management, resulting in more hindrances for practitioners. For fishpond practitioners, enacting similar tactics proves difficult because of resource limitations stemming from private ownership and operation. Fishponds enact community building through workshops, but these workshops only occur occasionally since funding is limited. Non-indigenous community members do not often receive invitations to these workshops. A more inclusive workshop structure might expand community mobilization and support for both existing fishponds and fishpond restoration.

Sometimes the community does successfully mobilize, and state officials work with them in order to make new rules. An interviewee working at the Division of Aquatic Resources (DAR) listed several community mobilizations that involved government assistance. While efforts have been made by the Department of Land and Natural Resources (DLNR) in Hawai'i to create community-based co-management for fisheries, an initiative known as Hawai'i's Community-Based Subsistence Fishing Area (CBSFA), these attempts have only had minor success (Levine 2014). Despite the legislation change enacted in 1994, only one community has successfully implemented a plan in the waters off of Hā'ena, Kaua'i (State of Hawai'i 2014), and Mo'omomi currently has a proposal being assessed (State of Hawai'i 2017). The progress of implementing CBSFAs has been much slower than similar strategies implemented in American Samoa. This is because the DLNR has been particularly tricky to work with for Hawaiian communities, as they provide little to no guidance when it comes to setting up a CBSFA. The lack of guidelines leads to disputes among the Hawaiians trying to create plans for a CBSFA (Levine 2014).

Having the community on the side of fishpond practitioners encourages the government to implement rules and regulations in favor of the community. Community involvement is low for many fishponds, and they hope to obtain more staff members in order to supervise more community workdays. Yet, Interviewee 1 said he still believes progress for fishponds is increasing. "For example, for the *moi* (type of fish), state laws say they are off limits from June 1st to September 1st (spawning season). There is also more awareness of ocean depletion" (Interviewee 1).

As community involvement is a linchpin for success in this model of sustainability, parts of the community without indigenous ties or previous experience in cultural resource management need to be included. It is important to include these parts of the community in order to gain the support of all those interested in sustainable options for restoring natural resources. Enlisting the help of the indigenous and non-indigenous parts of the Hawaiian community will strengthen the movement and expand the effort of restoration work. Since many of the fishponds struggle with finding enough volunteers and staff members, reaching out to non-indigenous community members will also increase their labor pool.

Education

Many interviewees mentioned experiential education as being vital to the restoration and management of fishponds. Interviewee 2, for example, explained part of her job as an *alaka'i*, or fishpond practitioner, is to continually build upon the foundation of education at the fishpond. She is dedicated to her role as *alaka'i* despite working a daytime job to sustain her family. "Sharing that education with the community so that the cultural practices can continue and bring awareness to others" is a mission statement for her. For this reason, part of her mission has been molding hands-on educational programs in order to pass along the cultural knowledge behind fishpond management. She works to incorporate traditional cultural values such as *oli* into the educational programs at the pond.

Interviewee 1 claims that their educational program stands out because they emphasize

the importance of education, cooperation, recruitment, and teaching youth fishpond management. He hopes to share their programs with other fishponds in order to promote community building and mobilization. While not all fishpond practitioners are as open to this transfer of knowledge, each interviewee expressed some interest in doing so.

Gaining government support may increase resources fishponds need for educational programs. An agent at the Division of Aquatic Resources (DAR), a branch of the Hawaiian Division of Land and Natural Resources (DLNR), agreed with fishpond practitioners' promotion of education at fishponds. He spoke at length on the importance of including Native Hawaiian historical cultural knowledge in education and utilizing it to push for more policy change and activism. The depth of his cultural experiences and his vigorous application of academic knowledge combine to make him a particularly effective advocate for indigenous activism and policy-making.

> In my agency, we do understand that the take of fish is very important to our islands… it's vital… to perpetuate culture and all of the benefits that fish bring to our culture. We gotta get that balance of letting people take but also making sure there's enough to take for future generations. (Interviewee 6)

He hopes to influence others in his field to similarly dedicate themselves to the mission of adaptive cultural resource management by bridging the gap between policy-makers and indigenous activists and successfully being an advocate for both.

A representative of the organization KUA stressed the importance of fishpond practitioners coming together to focus on core educational values. Uniting on this front would allow for fishpond practitioners to share their teaching methods with one another and grow together, not separately. This will help to create unity throughout the widespread community on the island of O'ahu and to create a more comprehensive understanding of fishponds. Education cannot account for the full revitalization and management of fishponds, but it will create a knowledgeable group of future practitioners.

Policy

Interviewee 4's account indicates that leadership structures must be altered in order to include place-based management using traditional methods from indigenous cultures. It would involve including indigenous voices in policy-making and building upon educational institutions by adding a curriculum about cultural resource management and its sustainable impacts. These changes would help to create a model of adaptive management.

> So the *ali'i* and the *konohiki*, the chiefs and their overseers, they needed to have a good relationship with the people cause the people had the right to leave if they didn't like their chiefs – so that person [the *konohiki*] had to be charismatic, had to have leadership qualities and integrity by which they could inspire the people. (Interviewee 4)

The charisma required in *konohiki* of the past seemed reminiscent of Interviewee 6. Interviewee 6 refreshingly offered transparency on the subject of policy, as government organizations do not always present themselves so candidly. His passion is obvious, and he has friendly ties with his coworkers and fishpond practitioners. Yet, he is not in a powerful position at the Division of Aquatic Resources (DAR). Including more indigenous peoples like Interviewee 6 in government positions could create a positive change. As an indigenous activist and government official, he has friendly ties with his coworkers as well as with fishpond practitioners. Often his practitioner friends talk with him when they have concerns over policies or government intervention. Speaking with government officials can be difficult for practitioners because they feel misunderstood and marginalized; as such, a more diverse office that includes representation of diverse voices can lead to more trusting relationships between officials and practitioners, similar to the relationships Interviewee 6 has garnered.

An employee for the National Oceanic and Atmospheric Administration (NOAA) made it clear that government agencies do not fully grasp the merit of cultural resource management. Interviewee 8 even tried to put a number to indigeneity: "What I'm curious about

is the definition of Native Hawaiian, because… I want to say that there is a percentage of indigenous or what defines an indigenous or Native Hawaiian to what percentage of your lineage or your heritage" (Interviewee 8). This may be a problematic viewpoint as it has the potential to obscure the importance of cultural definitions of indigeneity by focusing on percentages of bloodlines. He wants to be able to quantify what it means to have indigenous roots, but quantifying indigeneity precludes those who support indigenous perspectives without indigenous ties to them. Quantifying indigeneity could make those who are unsure of how much Polynesian or Native Hawaiian blood they have question their authenticity. This drive to quantify is particularly problematic when fishpond practitioners are pushing toward a cultural revival that includes support from those who identify as Native Hawaiians but may not know if they have Hawaiian bloodlines and those who value indigenous culture but may be non-indigenous people. This movement of Hawaiian cultural resource management is, therefore, not defined by numbers.

When asked how traditional resource management plays into NOAA's work, Interviewee 8 stated that the option for cultural resource management is not something that affects the daily jobs of government employees: "Let me pause and think about this. Because my initial reaction is that it doesn't (Interviewee 8)." He did state that it may be part of the work done by a few employees at NOAA, but it has not been taken into larger consideration. Fishpond practitioners note that the government does not often involve itself with the fishponds. For example, one practitioner stated, "until there is a shift away from tourism and development and they turn towards feeding the population, [it won't change]" (Interviewee 1).

Interviewee 8 argues today's government cannot support Hawaiian fishponds in the way practitioners want to manage it. The *kapu* (forbidden) system was used to deter citizens from certain actions in the past and involved very severe punishments. Interviewee 8 did not think Native Hawaiian fishing practices could function under international law because of traditions such as the *kapu* system. "They're trying to draft laws that grant privileges to the Native Chamorro. And if you try to do the same thing for the Native Hawaiians, it doesn't fit the current system of government that we have" (Interviewee 8).

Yet, fishpond practitioners are focused on reviving the resource management strategies that were in place and not the punishment. He did not fully understand this because, in the context of the *kapu* system, an adaptive resource management would be unattainable. However, in the context of sustainability, spirituality, and education, it is attainable.

His justifiable confusion is indicative of the confusion of many policy makers when attempting to grapple with the complexities of cultural resource management, as well as overlapping local, state, and federal jurisdictions. Interviewee 12, an indigenous activist, stated that across Hawai'i "fishponds, springs, taro fields, and wetlands [are] valuable because all waters below high water mark belong to the public." Perhaps for this reason, state organizations seem to work more closely with local communities in wetland management. For example, the Office of Conservation and Coastal Lands (OCCL), part of the Hawaiian Department of Land and Natural Resources (DLNR), has done some recent work with fishponds. This state-level branch of DLNR created a more effective policy for fishpond restoration. Interviewee 6, who works closely with OCCL, elaborated on OCCL's work.

> They have this one stop shop for fishpond restoration so it kind of gives them a break on some stuff and makes it easier for them to address all the parties who may have interest in what they're doing, all the agencies they may have to get permission from and stuff like that. (Interviewee 6)

This permit application can be found on OCCL's website and is a simple five-page document. This streamlined application was released by DLNR in January 2015, four years after its conception (Office of Conservation and Coastal Lands 2018). Unfortunately, this streamlined process does not provide solutions for all fishpond challenges.

One fishpond knows about the streamlined application for fishpond restoration but cannot use it for the restoration they want to enact. Interviewee 10 expressed his gratitude toward an older man in the community who obtained approval for their restoration project. Since the project did not fit into the streamlined process, this Uncle used his connections to get the proper permits. Not every fishpond has similar connections, which means that the permitting processes not accounted for in the streamlined application still take extended periods of time to accomplish. Furthermore, completing an application does not guarantee the fishpond will be approved.

Due to the policies of the current US administration, funding from the federal government and the Environmental Protection Agency (EPA) is slim. Many privately owned fishponds receive grants from the federal government as a way to budget for restoration. The cutbacks on EPA funding reduces grant opportunities, thus hurting the ability of practitioners to continue their work. On top of these funding cutbacks, Hawai'i is expected to provide fish for much of the United States. Interviewee 6 expressed how this makes regulation throughout the islands even more difficult: "Our fish feeds the people in the states, too. For the amount of people we have in the US and the amount of power we have, our quota is so small compared to other places like Japan, China, Philippines, [and] Indonesia" (Interviewee 6).

This fits in with the overall marginalization of Hawai'i in federal policy-making. Many resources come from Hawai'i, and people on the mainland often forget this. As put by Interviewee 9 from the Western Pacific Regional Fishery Management Council (WESPAC),

> A lot of the times you see... a romanticized view of what Hawaiian [indigenous] life was like.... Because of the way the system is, you'll never be able to go back to those types of systems...While we can't go back to saying Hawaiians only... what you can do is say, there are people with the knowledge, about the fishery or about the resources, if they're Hawaiian, or if they're not Hawaiian, it's [about] that process of coming together and talking about it, and providing what's best for the area. (Interviewee 9)

Fishponds deserve more funding for restoration because they contain cultural and practical value. Once functional, the fishponds could provide local sustainable food sources for the population of Hawai'i. One of the fishpond practitioners elaborated how much fish can be produced on site: "[in] a fishpond for every acre, you should be able to supply up to 500 pounds of protein" (Interviewee 2). In addition, fishponds provide significant benefits in terms of processing waste through natural filtration, such as oysters, restoring depleted fish stocks, and reviving native species while combatting invasive ones.

Despite the drawbacks of poaching in fishponds under restoration, Interviewee 8 believes all people have a right to fish at all times. His statement brings to mind Interviewee 4's discussion of entitlement, where Native Hawaiians felt as if they had the right to take fish because they grew up on the land. But this is not a model for sustainability. Given historical context, a uniform treatment under the law may not result in equality, justice or sustainability for both indigenous and non-indigenous people. If the federal government adopted state-level initiatives and tried to work with the fishponds using adaptive management, they might realize that replenishing fish stocks will provide a steady stream of food to the community, both now and in the future. This may include making certain areas off-limits as they recover and replenish.

WESPAC provided assistance to fishpond A in its beginnings, but it did not carry on this involvement. While fishponds could become a key source of sustenance for the community, WESPAC considers sustainability to be about keeping everyone fishing. Rather than replenishing fish stocks or looking toward feeding future generations, they focus on keeping fishermen fishing. "For us sustainability is really about keeping people fishing, it's not necessarily keeping so much fish that we can have for everything" (Interviewee 9).

This is a wildly different understanding of sustainability from that of fishpond advocates. Fishpond practitioners are pursuing restoration

in an effort to replenish the ever-depleting fish stocks. Many indigenous activists are also calling for certain limitations or restricted fishing areas in order to allow ecosystems to recover. In contrast, WESPAC is not looking toward the future but is focused on current commercial gains. WESPAC's strategy for fisheries management puts too much focus on keeping fishermen out on the water now and not enough focus on saving resources for future generations. This approach will, in the long-run, lead to the depletion of resources and the loss of biodiversity.

The NOAA website lists six key components of the Magnuson-Stevens Act, which WESPAC refers to as their ten commandments: "prevent overfishing, rebuild overfished stocks, increase long-term economic and social benefits, use reliable data and sound science, conserve essential fish habitat, [and] ensure a safe and sustainable supply of seafood" (NOAA Fisheries 2018a). Fishery management councils, such as WESPAC, use this act to create fishery management plans (FMPs). The ten national standards referenced each have their own guideline documents and other related resources. These ten commandments each have a rather generic title, but it is notable that "optimum yield" is first on the list while "safety of life at sea" is last (NOAA Fisheries 2018b).

NOAA's site states that these principles promote sustainable fisheries management. Yet, their definition of sustainability seems skewed after speaking with both Interviewee 8 and 9. Fishpond management should be able to fit into this model of analysis, but NOAA continues to avoid making comprehensive plans that fall in line with what fishpond practitioners need. Interviewee 4, an academic and activist, gives insight into why incorporating fishpond management into sustainable initiatives should take precedent:

> As we have kind of this global economy, we don't know where our food comes from, out of sight, out of mind, so then you don't have that respect… So the thing with staying in your *ahupua'a*, you begin to know every feature of it… it's like how you know a family member… and that's why the management works, cause you end up having a love for your place. (Interviewee 4)

So it is adaptive management in the sense that management is adapted to the changing conditions, but, as said by Interviewee 4, "typically the management in our modern times is a very top-down, centralized management system… [but we need to] customize our management to that place" (Interviewee 4). Local, place-based management provides a model for how state and federal authorities can incorporate adaptive management into policy-making. Customizing the policies for different areas and ecosystems creates adaptive models which relieve pressure on resources. State-level policy-making is slow, but there are efforts to work with the community and some advances in working with fishponds. Federal level policy works a bit differently and needs significant improvement to align with the goals of active management of fishponds. Government marginalization of the state of Hawai'i and indigenous peoples continues to be one of many challenges fishpond practitioners face in the work of restoration.

Challenges: Above and Beyond

Fishponds face many challenges, especially in early stages of restoration. Most interviewees addressed the lack of access to freshwater as a big challenge for fishponds. Estuaries are vital for fishponds; yet, developers tend to block freshwater flows and plug up underground water channels. Interviewee 2 explained the importance of water rights not only for fishpond practitioners but also for indigenous movements across the globe. "Not having access to freshwater, one: is detrimental because… we don't have freshwater anymore coming into our ponds so we really need freshwater [for these fish], and two: it's our right as cultural practitioners to have access to that" (Interviewee 2).

Interviewee 2's recognition of other indigenous communities facing similar issues emphasizes the frequent marginalization of indigenous communities. Practitioners deserve recognition from the state of Hawai'i and the federal government, especially when considering that fishponds could yield 500 pounds of local food per acre once restored. Yet, practitioners are not allotted the resources they need.

The Western Pacific Regional Fishery Management Council (WESPAC) is meant to support indigenous efforts in the community, but they do little to support the fishponds of O'ahu. They claim that animosity from fishermen makes it difficult to support ideas such as CBSFAs (Community Based Subsistence Fishing Areas), where the community regulates and creates rules for fishing areas in conjunction with the Hawaiian government. WESPAC's concern for the big business of fishing versus the small, sustainable growth of fishponds seemed to contradict their mission to support community based management and indigeneity. WESPAC barely helped with the successful implementation of a CBSFA in Ko'olawe, despite receiving credit for it. "We didn't have anything to do with the one in Ko'olawe, even though everyone says we did" (Interviewee 9). This statement shows CBSFA management is not the route for fishponds. It has proved largely unfruitful in the past and requires a revamped approach for fishponds to receive the assistance they need.

Most fishponds face the same challenge of lack of staff and resources. Due to being privately owned, many of the fishponds lack financial means to support more staff, especially at a competitive rate. This means some fishponds have as few as two paid staff, and the rest of their help comes from volunteers. Interviewee 2 illustrated the merit of paid staff by talking about the most employed fishpond on the island.

> They have maybe 8 employees that are paid and they have an internship program. And a lot of that is because they have support through [a local educational organization], so every year they're given a certain dollar amount and then what they do is they raise money through fundraising to supplement that budget... (Interviewee 2)

Figure 5 – Burning invasive mangrove after it was cut down on a workday. Photo by Evelyn Cornwell.

Fishpond A is at the forefront of fishpond restoration on O'ahu, and many fishponds look to them as an example. Despite their personal progress, Interviewee 2 said they do not make time to help other fishponds. Fishpond B particularly struggles with finding enough resources for restoration and often gets turned down when asking fishpond A for guidance. Fishpond B now gets help from rural Hawaiian Islands, such as Moloka'i and Kaua'i, who are more likely to take time out of their schedules.

Due to lack of funding, some fishponds produce and sell oysters or fish to support fishpond restoration. In order to begin raising oysters or fish, the water quality in the fishpond must be safe enough for people to consume seafood from it. Due to pollution caused from runoff, erosion, and other outside factors, this is a laborious process. Practitioners have to fight off invasive species in the pond that threaten the oysters or fish. Then they must figure out methods to prevent barnacle or other parasite growth (Interviewee 7). Oysters naturally filter water, making the fishpond cleaner and healthier for fish and organic life. Fishponds that cannot support oyster propagation often sell invasive species for profit. Clearing the fishpond of invasive species and predator fish ensures the protection of native, herbivorous species.

Another huge threat to fishponds is the invasive growth of mangrove in the ponds. I spent an entire day clearing mangrove from one fishpond (see figure 5) and pulling mangrove seedlings from another. Many people are surprised to discover that mangrove is invasive in Hawai'i since it is beneficial to the environment in many places around the world. "[Mangrove] is not good for the native fish and the native seaweed because it suffocates them, it takes all of the oxygen from the pond" (Interviewee 2). This removal work is time consuming and exhausting, but the potential for sustainable food systems and the repurposing of mangrove into furniture and other items makes these strenuous efforts worth it.

Many fishponds face individual, site-based challenges. In one case, a fishpond struggles with sand build-up within the pond. Although they dig the excess sand out to increase the depth of the pond, the city does not allow them to transfer the sand elsewhere nor sell it to landscapers. This leaves fishponds stuck with low water levels due to high sand quantity. When a fishpond has shallow water, less oxygen is produced within the water and the water heats up quicker. These conditions cause the fish to become too warm and their sluggishness prevents them from escaping predators. It also stunts plant growth within the pond, decreasing food options for selected herbivorous fish. Understanding the impacts of sand build-up made volunteers more motivated to contribute on workdays.

One fishpond faces significant challenges in managing pollution from wastewater treatment plants and other upstream contaminants. This same fishpond cannot afford to pay for on-site staff 24/7, leading to greater amounts of poaching and theft. The fishpond goes unchecked throughout the week because staff also have regular 9 to 5 jobs during the week. This has led to fish die-offs when raising *pua* (baby fish). Big companies located nearby often try to buy the fishpond land or control their resources. Moreover, this fishpond is tucked into a hard to reach location, so many people in the community do not realize it exists. This contributes to low turnout on workdays when they desperately need help.

Overcoming the geographic challenges on O'ahu would help create a united front for fishponds. O'ahu is the most urban island in Hawai'i; therefore, the people of O'ahu often get wrapped up in their fast-paced lives and are less likely to make time for workdays than people on more rural islands. Because it is harder for O'ahu fishpond practitioners to meet when working multiple jobs and caring for families, fishpond meetings occur infrequently. Yet, interviewees think face-to-face interactions are vital. Despite the importance of meetings, it is difficult to organize them and get approval from government agencies to go forward with plans formed at the meetings. This means that even if a meeting occurs, conversation between practitioners may be the only thing gleaned.

In an urban setting, practitioners also have a larger pool of people to appeal to and gain assistance from.

> What is happening in these urban centers is that there's such a craving to understand how our elders and our ancestors did things, like its essential to our culture and our identity and our well-being, so when you live in a place like O'ahu where you see a lot of concrete jungle basically, just to get back to who you are as Native Hawaiians means you got to go and put your hand in the soil again or work at the fishponds. (Interviewee 4)

Others in the community are also beginning to yearn for more revival of natural diversity within the ecosystem. As climate change affects the globe and natural resources deplete, people in both urban and rural areas are turning to traditional methods in order to live more sustainably. Fishpond restoration is one of those methods. As the push to shop local, buy organic, and consume more 'natural' products increases, more people are willing to explore indigenous methods of sustainability. During workdays, indigenous people were not the only ones sticking their hands back into the soil. People from nearby neighborhoods stopped by, parents brought their children, and travelers from around the world participated. This mobilization of the whole community could substantially impact government opinions and lead to more efficient policy changes.

Conclusion

Based on fieldwork and interviews with oral history curators, academics, activists, government officials, and indigenous *alaka'i* (practitioners) involved in the revival of traditional fishponds and *ahupua'a* (land-based management systems), I provide a case study of the politics of cultural resource management on two islands in Hawai'i. In particular, my research underscores the need to combine multiple models of sustainable practice in order to make adaptive cultural resource management possible. This model would combine cultural resource management, historically based restoration, Community Based Subsistence Fishing Area (CBSFA), and Traditional Ecological Knowledge (TEK). As suggested by Tony Pitcher and Mimi Lam, combining independently successful models of sustainability should result in a more successful model. Based on informants' understandings of place, culture, and politics in their own lives, the ideal model for a sustainable global future should be based, in interviewees' own terms, on an indigenous place-based model of "adaptive" cultural resource management.

This model is distinguished by conceptions of identity, community, education, and spirituality. At its core is the conception of the natural world as an active, adaptive subject rather than an object of management. Exploring Hawaiian identity provides a new outlook on resources by recognizing them as kin and, as such, treating them respectfully. The discussion of community brings to light the importance of uniting people, indigenous and non-indigenous, to reach a common goal. Without educating future generations, policy makers will not change and no one will be left to continue the work of fishpond practitioners. Policy makers need to seriously consider the positive effects of adaptive cultural resource management and take more risks. They currently function without making many changes and tend to write-off indigenous viewpoints. They need to be examining every option available to make resource management more sustainable. Despite the many challenges fishponds face, there is merit in contributing resources to the pursuit of restoration. In conclusion, indigenous, place-based management systems of fishponds show more effective results in ecosystem recovery and should therefore provide a model for policy and practice in other places.

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Appendix A: Glossary of Hawaiian Vocabulary

ahupua'a – term for traditional Hawaiian socioeconomic, geologic, and climatic subdivision of land

'āina – land; earth

alaka'i – to lead/direct; leader; conductor

ali'i – chief, cheiftess; king, queen, noble; to rule or act as a chief

'Auamo – carrying stick held on multiple shoulders of laborers who shared burden of carrying something of great weight forward

kapu – forbidden

keiki – child, offspring

kua – back; backbone

kua 'āina – grassroots (rural people of Hawai'i)

kuapā – walled

kupuna – elder

konohiki – headman of an ahupua'a land division under the chief

kū – to run in schools as fish; name of major god

kū'ula – any stone god used to attract fish; open altar near the sea for worship of fish gods

kumulipo – origin, source of life; name of the Hawaiian creation chant

lawai'a – fisherman; to fish, to catch fish

limu – general name of all kinds of plants living under water (fresh and salt water); algae, moss, lichen, liverwort

lo'i – irrigated terrace, especially for taro

loko – in; inside; interior; to implant

loko I'a – fishponds

Māhele – portion, division; land division of 1848

mākāhā – sluice gates

moku – district; island; section

mo'o – succession, series, especially a genealogical line; guardian

mo'olelo – story, tale, history, tradition, legend, record, myth

oli – chant that was not danced to

po'o – head, summit, director

pua – baby fish

pu'uone – divination; pond near the shore

ulu – to grow

'ula – red, scarlet; sacred

'umeke – bowl, circular vessel

Appendix B: Glossary of Abbreviations and Acronyms

CBSFA – Community Based Subsistence Fishing Area

DAR – Division of Aquatic Resources (sector of DLNR)

DLNR – Department of Land and Natural Resources

EPA – Environmental Protection Agency

FMPs – fishery management plans

KUA – Kua'āina Ulu 'Auamo (backbone organization supporting grassroots movements)

NOAA – National Oceanic and Atmospheric Administration

OCCL – Office of Conservation and Coastal Lands

TEK – traditional ecological knowledge

TMK – Tax Map Key

WESPAC – Western Pacific Regional Fishery Management Council

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