EDITORIAL board

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The Temporality of Identity in Planned Cities: A Case Study of Zhong Xing New Village, Taiwan

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ABSTRACT

In 1957, the Kuomintang (KMT), Chiang Kai-Shek's nationalist government, planned and built Zhong Xing New Village (ZXNV), a garden city, to house the Taiwan Provincial Government. Despite the benefits of public housing, healthcare, and education, ZXNV experienced a two-third drop in population after 1985. The political liberalization and democratization of Taiwan in the 1980s and 1990s led to the reclamation of Taiwanese national identity that rejected the hegemony of the KMT and the physical manifestations of this colonial history, including ZXNV. ZXNV was a utopian ideal constructed during a time of authoritarian rule for a specific political purpose and homogenous population. ZXNV's inability to change its purpose and identity led to its ultimate depopulation. Ethnographic fieldwork reveals the changes in ZXNV's built environment and neighborhood culture influenced by socio-political transformations over the last sixty years. Fourteen interviews were conducted with two generations of ZXNV residents, and archival research reveals the intended design and policies of the city. Key findings include the structural flaws in the city's design, the exposure of political tensions between the national and provincial governments, and the changing national identity of Taiwan due to globalization, all of which led to the ultimate downfall of Zhong Xing New Village.

Keywords: national identity and imagination; politics and space; post-war Taiwan and China; garden cities

The story of Zhong Xing New Village, Taiwan is one of space, identity, and politics. Constructed and founded in 1957, Zhong Xing New Village (ZXNV, also romanized as "Chung Hsing New Village") is a planned garden city located in Nantou, central Taiwan. The village was built to serve the Taiwan Provincial Government under the Kuomingtang (KMT), Chiang Kai-Shek's nationalist government that retreated to Taiwan in 1949 following the Chinese Civil War. In 1957, a militarily strategic site at the base of the Hushan mountain range was developed into a garden city with dozens of office buildings and over 3,000 houses. It was home to over 11,000 people.

Since ZXNV's peak in population in the late 1980s, the village has experienced a sharp population decline over the last few decades. This paper explores the structural flaws, such as housing and employment policies, and the tension between neighborhood identity and macro-national identity that led to this decline. The case of ZXNV addresses this question: can a planned city, established to assert a particular political and/or national identity in a colonialist context, survive as its position begins to conflict with the changes in identity and political dominance at the national level? ZXNV provides an excellent site and case study to investigate how a planned urban space shapes and ultimately is shaped by how communities navigate shifting and overlapping ethnic and transnational identities in a global-political context.

Large geopolitical and economic shifts in Taiwan made this garden city impossible to sustain over time. Planned cities are controlled from the top-down, and the garden city model was an astute choice for a government-controlled village. The village identity could be regulated and maintained as those attracted to such a space would then build communities that attract similar people. However, the resulting homogenous identity of community members was temporary as a result of the reclamation of Taiwanese independence and national identity. The seemingly perfect design of the village and the homogeneity in the social and political identity of the villagers could not overcome larger social forces at the national level. The homogenous village identity is notable because of how much it aligned with the KMT's identity, but its temporary nature led to population decline.

Grounding my ethnographic research in Doreen Massey (1992) and Setha Low's (2017) theories of politics and space, I posit that ZXNV's population decline was not only due to the aging population and structural flaws in the original design, but also because the singular purpose of the village, built to serve the provincial government under the KMT, became obsolete through the political evolution and transformation of Taiwan. The village is a time capsule from the 1950s that asserts a particular political identity of a time that existed under the authoritarian KMT regime. The fact that this village did not and could not change structurally with transformations at the national level is ultimately what led to its rapid depopulation, and it shows the limitations of urban planning that is closely connected to time-bound political and cultural assumptions.

Place, Space, and Identity

To frame this research theoretically within the literature discussing how places carry political history, I turn to Doreen Massey's (1992) article titled *Politics and Space/Time* and Setha Low's (2017) conceptual frame of the embodied space. Massey's (1992) conceptualization of space as the result of interrelations provides the foundation for the politicization of space. Power dynamics and relationality are vested into space, thus resulting in the asymmetric imbalance of power.

> Space is not a "flat" surface in that sense because the social relations which create it are themselves dynamic by their very nature … It is not the "slice through time" which should be the dominant thought but the simultaneous coexistence of social

relations that cannot be conceptualized as other than dynamic. Moreover, and again as a result of the fact that it is conceptualized as created out of social relations, space is by its very nature full of power and symbolism, a complex web of relations of domination and subordination, of solidarity and cooperation. (Massey 1992, 81)

Space cannot be devoid of power, as "it is not that the interrelations between objects occur *in* space and time; it is these relationships themselves which *create/define* space and time" (Massey 1992, 79). Thus, it is impossible to study the spatial environment of ZXNV without considering the full impact of the KMT regime. As space is created out of interrelations, such a foundation demands inquiry into the nature of these relationships and their positionality with respect to each other. These relationships result in the asymmetry/symmetry of power on an individual level, between *waishengren* (Chinese immigrants who arrived in Taiwan after 1949) and *benshengren* (residents with familial roots in Taiwan prior to 1949), at a national level with the KMT regime, and at a global level with Taiwan in the context of globalization. The population decline of ZXNV is wholly related to geopolitical shifts in Taiwan's position in the world. "[T]he spatial spread of social relations can be intimately local or expansively global, or anything in between. Their spatial extent and form also changes over time … there is no getting away from the fact that the social is inexorably also spatial" (Massey 1992, 80).

This case study of Zhong Xing New Village shows that space cannot be a-temporal or static. The very passage of time resulted in the deterioration of the space itself and the identity that constructed that space as the web of relations comprising ZXNV dissolved and disappeared. Low (2017) and Massey (1992) both "view space and place as always under construction, produced by global to local interactions and constituted by multiple bodies, collectivities and trajectories. In this sense, considerations of space and place shake up the way political questions are formulated" (Low 2017, 211). Low's conceptual frame of the "embodied space" further builds upon the imagination of space and place as a continuum of global to intimate interrelations.

The conceptual frame of "embodied space" integrates body/space/culture and connects microanalyses of individual bodies and place-making to macroanalyses of social, economic and political forces … The addition of the idea that embodied spaces have "trajectories" as well as time- and space-specific goals and intentions that are personally, culturally and politically directed brings greater agency and an appreciation of power dynamics to the theorization of individual and collective bodies and their movements … The conceptual lens that views space as always embodied offers a different approach to the ethnography of space and place by considering human and nonhuman "bodies" as simultaneous spaces as well as producers and products of space. (107)

In other words, viewing space as embodied means the presence and/or absence of a certain demographic embodies the social, economic, and political forces at a certain time and place. As such, KMT ideology was manifested not only in the built environment but also in the people who lived in ZXNV. Because of this, ethnography, and specifically interview-based research, is particularly well-suited for a case study that uses the lens of embodied space. This village was a "welcoming" and "inviting" space to some, but not to all. The decline in the number of bodies over time reflects the slow decline of the KMT regime and ideology. However, following the complete defunding of the provincial government in 1997, those who chose to stay continued to embody the political legacy of a bygone era in a space that embodies an outdated ideology. In ZXNV, there is an absence of subversive uses of space that contradict the original purpose of its designers, which is distinct from the ethnographic case studies that Low (2017) references through the conceptual frame of the embodied space. However, the continued occupation of this space by older residents is, in a way, a subversion of the dominant national identity in Taiwan today.

Garden Cities and National Identity

Ebenezer Howard's (1902) book, *Garden Cities of To-Morrow*, lays the foundation for the garden city as a planned community grounded in the fundamental belief that "town and country must be married, and out of this joyous union will spring … a new civilization" (10). Howard originally demarcated the ideal city to be 1,000 to 6,000 acres in size and serve 30,000 to 32,000 people, expecting the communities to be socially, politically, and economically self-sufficient. The great degree of cooperation required by such a plan would result in a population bound together by shared community identity in a particular space.

I view the design and construction of ZXNV as an unspoken, unofficial statement from the KMT regime with the intent to formulate identity at the state level. The complete regulation of this village can "help the state to create a favoured ideology, reinforce ruling-class-selected values, maintain control, increase cultural capital value, and thus ensure the success of this (cultural and political) 'hegemony'" (Chang 2004, 2).

Understanding identity and belonging can pose many challenges, particularly in discussions of national identity. In Taiwan, national identity is particularly fraught due to its history. National identity can be defined as the relationship between people and the state. Alternatively, Benedict Anderson (1983) writes that the nation is "an imagined political community – and imagined as both inherently limited and sovereign" (49). The nation is an imaginative construct that has to be constantly realized or reproduced for it to continue existing. This identity is bound together by a series of common events that allow people to relate to one another on a historical level as well as an ethnic and cultural level. Power dynamics shape identity, and powerful institutions are often able to dictate what an identity is altogether.

Political Evolution and National Identity in Taiwan

It is important to place the development and construction of Zhong Xing New Village in the context of Taiwan's history. I will offer a brief overview of the Chinese Civil War that led to the KMT's retreat to Taiwan, the history of martial law under the KMT, and a discussion of how politics and national identity have evolved in the last three decades. The existing literature on the transformation of national identity in Taiwan is largely focused on the macro-level social change of changes in electoral behavior in more recent history.

Chinese Civil War

April 12th, 1927 marks the beginning of a formal civil war between the KMT, led by Chiang Kai-Shek, and the Chinese Communist Party, led by Mao Ze-Dong. On December 9th, 1949, Chiang Kai-Shek fled with thousands of his supporters to reestablish what he believed to be the Republic of China (ROC) in Taipei. The ROC, led by Chiang and the KMT, continued to claim sovereignty over all of "China," which was understood at the time to be mainland China, Taiwan, Outer Mongolia, and other areas. In contrast, the Communist People's Republic of China (PRC) claimed to be the *only* China, which included Taiwan (Schubert 2012).

Era of Martial Law

Martial law became the foundation for suppressing communist and Taiwan independence activities in Taiwan, which was first enacted by the KMT in 1949 following the "228 Incident." The "228 Incident" started on February 27, 1947 with the arrest of a cigarette vendor by the KMT-controlled Tobacco Monopoly Bureau, which led to mass protests on February 28, 1947 that lasted for a week and resulted in thousands of civilian deaths (Shattuck 2017). A series of regulations were established, including laws that denied the right of assembly, free speech, and publication in Taiwanese Hokkien, a language spoken by 70% of the native population. Newspapers were commonly asked to run propaganda articles or to make editorial changes to suit the government's needs. In the 1950s and 1960s, "there were only 31 newspapers, 15 of which were owned by either the KMT, the government, or the military" (ChinatownConnection.com 2007). Under martial law, the formation of any new political parties, especially dissident ones, was prohibited. This period of suppression that would last until the lifting of martial law in 1987

is also known as "White Terror" (Shattuck 2017; ChinatownConnection.com 2007).

Democratization and Taiwanization in the 1980s

The indigenization of Taiwanese culture and politics in the past three decades began as a literary movement in which fictional tales reflecting local conditions gained ascendency over the stories of the hegemonic KMT. In the late 1980s and early 1990s, indigenization (*bentuhua*, 本 土 化 運 動), also known as "Taiwanization," developed hand in hand with protests for democracy, social justice, and ethnic equality as Taiwan was also brought into a web of other countries through globalization (Makeham and Hsiau 2005; Chang 2017; Tseng 2016; Stockton 2002; Chu and Lin 2001). "In 1987, the lifting of martial law formally set off the process of indigeni[z]ation and democrati[z]ation. The emphasis in cultural policy shifted from traditional Chinese to contemporary Taiwanese" (Chang 2004, 3). Taiwanization led to the exclusion of the waishengren war migrants, who were commonly referred to as "privileged outsiders" (Hsuan and Chang 2010, 3).

After Chiang Kai-Shek died in 1975, he was succeeded by his Vice-President, Yen Chia-Kan, and then by Chiang Ching-Kuo, Chaing Kai-Shek's son. During Chiang Ching-Kuo's presidency from 1978 to 1988, the Taiwanese political system saw gradual liberalization. Upon the lifting of martial law in 1987, the Democratic Progressive Party (DPP) was formed in opposition to the Kuomingtang. In 1988, Lee Teng-Hui became the first Taiwanese-born president in office. Until the first election by popular vote in 1996, all previous presidents had been appointed by the KMT. Since 1996, the DPP's popularity has skyrocketed following the election of Chen Shui-Bian in 2000, the first DPP president who marked the end of the KMT's dominance (Chang 2004, 4, 14). "The structural symbiosis between party and state was as much a source of strength as a root of vulnerability for the KMT regime" (Chu and Lin 2001, 118). The DPP's rise in popularity was partly inspired by the changing national identity in Taiwan, which had a direct impact on reducing the power of the KMT.

The political liberalization and democratization of Taiwan in the 1980s and 1990s led to the reclamation of Taiwanese national identity, which rejected the hegemony of the KMT and the physical manifestations of this colonial history, including Zhong Xing New Village. This article will draw upon the existing literature on national identity to contextualize and explore how this meticulously planned and over-designed garden city experienced such a dramatic decline in population and purpose.

The Historical Context of Zhong Xing New Village

When the Kuomintang retreated to Taiwan in 1949, they believed that the KMT was the sole legitimate government of China. "Before democratization beginning in the 1980s, identity construct in the Taiwanese society was conditioned upon one political goal ... reunification was one ultimate goal across the strait, there was only one China in the world, which was the Republic of China" (Tseng 2016, 230). It was under the assumption of "One China" that Zhong Xing New Village was constructed.

ZXNV was designed as the Provincial Government headquarters, which was a strategy rooted in political and military conservatism revealing a rash and haphazard decision to exercise power and control space. At first, the village was just a network of office buildings with no place for communal life (Chang 2017, 123). In response to this drab and dreary working environment, the Kuomintang recognized the need to build a community, thus turning to a meticulously designed garden city. And yet, the original "One China" philosophy still lurked. The village's design reflects this dual goal of creating a meaningful, community-oriented village that was not designed to last for multiple generations. This tension led to design flaws that contributed to the village's ultimate decline.

Today, Zhong Xing New Village is like a time capsule from the 1950s. To make ZXNV truly a garden city, it became home to 28,742 trees and a 3:1 tree to person ratio. The village is organized into three smaller districts that each has its own marketplace, elementary-middle school, and community center. The town hall is

in the middle of the village and is located adjacent to the track and across the street from the library, post office, police headquarters, and ZXNV's high school. The office spaces are concentrated, and the houses are arranged in a linear fashion on cul-de-sacs that branch off of main roads. Over 4,000 houses were constructed and arranged so that the commute by foot to the nearest school or market is less than 10 minutes.

Despite the careful planning, all three districts have experienced a steep decline in population over the last 30 years since the early 1990s, as illustrated in figures 5 and 6. The population dropped from a peak of 11,000 in the early 1980s to just under 4,000 in 2018, a decrease of 64%.

A set of structural flaws and over-determinism in the design of ZXNV contributed to this population decline. Because the government did not expect and plan for ZXNV to have a multigenerational lifespan, its commercial and employment markets were insufficiently designed to accommodate a growth in population. Firstly, the commercial markets in the village are not staffed by village residents. As the primary criteria for being able to live in the village is being a civil servant and employee of the provincial government, all of the "private sector" jobs in the retail market are only available to those who live outside of the village. The markets cannot grow with demand because there is a physical limit on the amount of commercial and retail space available. Thus, the economy is both physically and legally

Figures 1–4: Images of Zhong Xing New Village.
Figure 1 (top left): ZXNV Village Gate (Source: Zhong Xing New Village Travel Guide); Figure 2 (top right): ZXNV Market in District 2 (photo by author, 2019); Figure 3 (bottom right): Zhong Zhen Road in ZXNV (Photo by author, 2019); Figure 4 (bottom left): Aerial photo of ZXNV (Source: Google Image Search)

constrained from growing. This is also mirrored in the public-sector employment market. Since the Provincial Government was headquartered in ZXNV, many of the country's key departments were located in the village, including the Department of Soil and Water Conservancy, the Tax Bureau, and the Department of Ground Transportation, among others.

To qualify to live in the village, one must be an employee of the provincial government. Most of the government employees had moved to the village in their late twenties to early thirties, which meant that they would be expected to work for at least another 35 years, past the point at which many of their children would also be seeking employment. Thus, the job market of ZXNV could not accommodate the second generation who had grown up in the village and were excluded from working in the village. This exclusion was further exacerbated by the strict regulations that were placed on the allotment of public dormitory housing. One key policy prohibits first-generation employees from passing down their houses to their children.

Because these structural flaws have not been changed, ZXNV can be seen as a critique of overdesigned (politically, economically, and socially) spaces that cannot change with time. This village was designed for a homogenous population of the first generation who supported the KMT during its authoritarian regime, but neither this population nor the KMT exist in the same way anymore. Even the most well-thought-out utopian designs cannot overcome larger macroeconomic social forces that have transformed the nation. The planned city was a structurally flawed space that served

a specific, homogenous population for a specific time that has since been gone. My paper presents primary source data on how the misalignment of ZXNV's identity with national Taiwanese identity ultimately led to the village's death.

Methodology

The methodology can be broken down into historical and archival research, ethnography, and interviews. Firstly, archival research on the history and context of ZXNV provided the necessary background on the policies that were at the foundation of the city's design. I utilized census data to track demographic changes over time, looking at both population change and average age. However, the government materials did not provide a holistic account of national identity and how it has changed with time. Thus, I turned to participant observation and interviews as fundamental qualitative sources.

Ethnographic fieldwork revealed the changes in the built environment and neighborhood culture as influenced by socio-political transformations over the last sixty years. I was particularly interested in the languages spoken in different parts of the village and the movements and routines of study participants as well as their social networks. I observed six villagers in Taiwan over the course of two weeks to learn about their daily routines, social communities, and personal values and culture. This participant observation revealed the state of the dominant identity in the village today.

The majority of the data collected and used in this project came from fourteen in-depth semi-structured interviews that I conducted
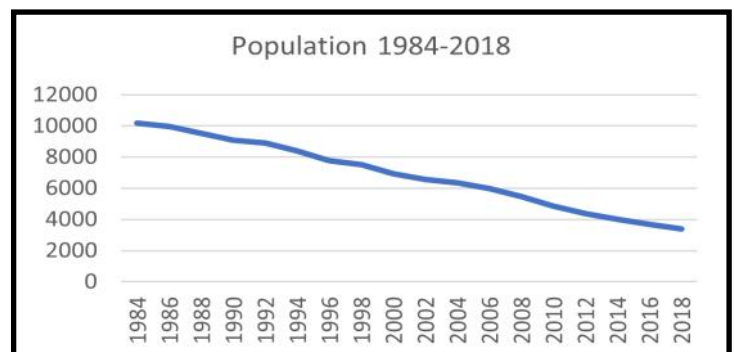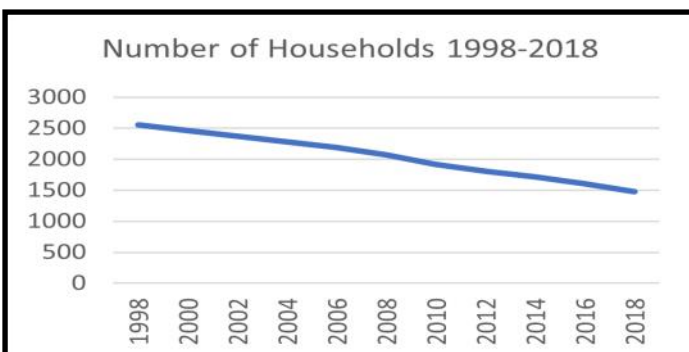
Figures 5–6: Graphs illustrating Zhong Xing New Village's decline in number of households and population. Source: Nantou City Household Registration Office, Nantou County.

with two generations of interviewees. During the interviews, I asked short biographical questions as well as more in-depth questions about personal history, culture, and values. I wanted to learn the interviewees' motivations for either living in or leaving the village and how the village has shaped their political beliefs and personal identity. I conducted eight interviews in Taiwan and six in the United States, and I spoke with seven people from each generation, which was vital to understanding how identity differed between the two generations. The first generation featured people who chose to move to the village as young adults and decided to start their careers and families there. The second generation included those who were raised in the village but chose to move out in pursuit of other opportunities. This primary source data reveals how the villagers themselves identified with the village. The goal of this design was to illuminate the culture and identity separating the two generations. Given that the first generation arrived in the village as KMT employees at the peak of KMT dominance, this identity can be used as a proxy for understanding what the national identity was like in the 1950s and 60s under the rule of the KMT. All names have been changed to protect interviewees' identities.

I present my findings and analysis in the following three parts: (1) Zhong Xing New Village's First Generation, (2) Zhong Xing New Village's Second Generation, and (3) What Happened to Zhong Xing New Village? The first two parts are further subdivided into sections on goals and aspirations, language and culture, and political belonging.

Part 1: Zhong Xing New Village's First Generation

In the village's first twenty-or-so years (1957-1980), the garden city design was effective. By effective, I mean that the villagers were employed where they were assigned to work, they shopped in the markets in their respective housing districts, they lived in houses that were assigned to them, and they used the community centers for public gatherings and recreational activities. The efficacy of ZXNV's design during these first few years was undoubtedly linked to the alignment of the first

generation's identity and goals with the original goals of the village and of the KMT during this time.

Building the First-Generation Identity: Goals and Aspirations

At this time, it is important to outline the initial goals of the first generation as ZXNV's identity is shaped by their vision and purpose for the village. The first generation was primarily focused on jobs, community involvement, and political belonging. Ms. Lee, Ms. Wang, and Ms. Zhang are three interviewees from the first generation whose experiences mirror this identity and culture.

Ms. Lee moved to ZXNV in 1959. She worked in the village hospital in the maternity ward and soon became the head nurse at the hospital. Having grown up in a traditional family with limited opportunities for girls, she was not allowed to finish high school because her parents wanted to save the money for her brother's education, even though she was at the top of her class all throughout grammar school. Thus, she greatly appreciated the freedom and social mobility that was unique to ZXNV, which empowered her to become the head nurse at the hospital. She would not have been able to work in this sort of position elsewhere in Taiwan. She spoke remarkably affectionately and appreciatively of the village and said that it was and always will be her home (C. Lee, interview, August 19, 2019).

Ms. Wang came to ZXNV in 1966 with her husband, and she worked at the library. She was the right-hand woman to the head of the library and was given a lot of responsibility from the start of her career. Even as the library's leadership overturned several times throughout her career, she was the one stable employee who was the foundation of the library. After leaving the library in 1985, she planned community events for the village and coached the tennis team. She also worked at the Tax Bureau, the village government headquarters, and at one of the elementary schools before retiring in 2000. She has thought about leaving ZXNV several times, but despite her family living elsewhere, she cannot seem to part with her life in the village (K. Wang, interview, August 17, 2019).

Ms. Zhang moved to the village in 1960 with her husband, who worked in the Soil and Water Conservancy department. She obtained her teaching certificate in Taipei before moving to ZXNV and held a position as a teacher at the local elementary school. Teachers are like celebrities in the village, and to this day, she is greeted as "Zhang Lao Shi," meaning Teacher Zhang, despite having been retired for more than twenty years. She contributed hours of teaching time, trained new teachers, led recreational programs with the children, and was the matriarch of her neighborhood block (S. Zhang, interview, August 6, 2019).

Ms. Lee and Ms. Wang's experiences in particular reflect the great amount of mobility for the first generation that was only available at this time in the village. The rest of Taiwan had not yet modernized, and "professional jobs" were hard to come by. Many of the women interviewees also cited sexism as one of the many reasons why employment was hard to find outside of the village.

For Ms. Lee, Ms. Wang, and Ms. Zhang, their daily routines have not changed much in the sixty years that they have lived in ZXNV. Ms. Zhang, for example, begins each day with a trip to the once-bustling marketplace in her district where she buys soymilk, youtiao, and sweet Taiwanese pineapples from the same vendors that she has been patronizing since the 1960s. She no longer teaches at the elementary school but now spends her day preparing groceries and meals for her husband and neighbors. After a mid-afternoon nap, she goes for a walk around the track or plays a few heated rounds of mahjong with friends. Her daily routine that has stayed consistent over the decades is an example of how a body and its relationships can embody a bygone era, which it continues to reproduce every day. For her, many parts of her lifestyle have not changed, and her community is very much alive; however, she feels a profound sadness when she hears of residents moving out or passing away and their houses boarded up and left to decay. Ms. Zhang's block used to be a lively and crowded cul-de-sac, home to a dozen families. Now, only two of the twelve houses remain occupied. The rest are decaying behind overgrown trees and rusted fences. This slow decay of the built environment is yet another reminder of the slow disinvestment that has haunted ZXNV over the last few decades that mirrors the decay of the KMT regime and embodies the people's new relationship to the KMT and the KMT's new relationship to the people and to political power.

These interviewees are just a few of the 5,000 original residents who built the community of 11,000 (at its peak) from the ground up and who built a life in and, more specifically, defined the identity of the village. Each of these members of the first generation initially came to the village for different reasons—some came as a result of marriage, others in search of employment opportunities. However, they were all primarily focused on jobs, community involvement, and political belonging. These three "goals" of the first generation became crucial to the village identity and were not similarly reflected in the experiences of the second generation. All of these first-generation interviewees moved to Taiwan after 1949 with the retreat of the Kuomingtang, and thus they also reflect the language, culture, and politics of the KMT, which I will discuss in the next section.

Building the First-Generation Identity: Language and Culture

The culture of ZXNV is most firmly defined by it being a stronghold for *waishengren* (外省人), meaning people who arrived in Taiwan after 1949 as a result of the retreat of the Kuomingtang. Waishengren, literally meaning outsiders, were often seen as colonists and the "elite" that had interfered and intruded into indigenous Taiwanese society. Waishengren are identifiable as many of them do not speak Taiwanese. This linguistic difference is a telltale sign of being an outsider, and waishengren are rarely accepted as being fully Taiwanese. All of the waishengren who were interviewed for this project identified as either Chinese or Chinese-Taiwanese, and none identified as strictly Taiwanese. ZXNV is unique in that it brought together people from all provinces of China and created a space for communication solely in Mandarin. In fact, during the era of martial law, Taiwanese dialects were forbidden in ZXNV, and those caught speaking them would be fined (S. Pan, interview, September 4, 2019). Most first-generation interviewees only spoke Mandarin, as they were part of the generation that had

lived almost half of their lives in China. Many second-generation interviewees also spoke Taiwanese, as most felt like it was necessary outside of ZXNV.

The linguistic differences and tension between the Chinese and the Taiwanese aspects of ZXNV and the rest of Taiwan is at the core of the political issues that ultimately had the biggest influence on the village's rapid decline post–1998. The villagers were bound by their shared waishengren identity in addition to sharing the same employer. Their waishengren identity became more important as pro–Chinese residents became increasingly ostracized in the recent decades as a result of Taiwanization. Within the borders of the village, over 80% of the population was colloquially known to be waishengren (S. Pan, interview, September 4, 2019). One interviewee identifies as *benshengren*, a label that represents those

who came to Taiwan before the KMT's arrival in 1949. There was tension and strain between the waishengren and benshengren throughout Taiwan at this time. However, in ZXNV, the other 20% of villagers were benshengren, and they

> were all educated and worked in the government, so it wasn't really weird between the two groups. There was harmony at ZXNV, no argument or fight here. My parents' friends are all waishengren, same thing with my friends, but no discrimination between the two. But outside of ZXNV, people feel much more strongly about it. ZXNV is protected and its history is so different from other parts of Taiwan because the KMT has 100% of control here. (S. Pan, interview, September 4, 2019)

Figure 7: Abandoned house in Zhong Xing New Village. Source: Photo by author, 2019

The waishengren's culture in ZXNV was further cultivated through the period of isolation from 1949–1987, during which cross-strait communications of any kind was forbidden between Taiwan and China. This meant that the first generation had nowhere but their homes in Taiwan. Slowly but surely, they became more and more attached to ZXNV as their only place of belonging in the world, and their identity became much more tied to the village itself. They were the only ones who understood each other's pain of leaving their ancestral homes behind in China and needing to start a new life in Taiwan during this geopolitically tense period that tore many families apart.

The culture of the waishengren is directly linked to the role of the KMT in the Chinese Civil War. Had the KMT not lost the war, they would not have had to retreat with their supporters to Taiwan. This village provided a bubble of linguistic and cultural safety for the waishengren that further isolated them from the rest of Taiwan as the elite in the KMT's government.

Building the First-Generation Identity: Political Belonging

The politics of Zhong Xing New Village are inextricably linked to the waishengren identity and history. Since waishengren refer to those who had left China at the end of the civil war with the Kuomingtang, this group aligned politically with the KMT. The KMT has always maintained a strong presence in the village, experiencing rather minimal political dissent throughout the last few decades. All of the interviewees from the first generation of residents identified with the KMT when asked about their political affiliations. Many of them benefit greatly from KMT policies and politics.

As a whole, this middle-class, professional group of post–1949 Chinese immigrants can be collectively referred to as the *jun-gong-jiao group* (軍公教); "jun" meaning military, "gong" referring to government employees, and "jiao" referring to school teachers. In the KMT's attempt to assert political dominance and control over Taiwan post–1949, it

> twice expanded the state bureaucracy and created many repetitive sectors at central and provincial levels ... in the days well

before industrialization set its foot on Taiwan, jobs in government sectors promised not only high social prestige but also job security and a good salary package. Hence government positions at all levels were highly valued and earnestly pursued at a time of low literacy and of adverse economic circumstances in the 1950s. (Goodman and Robinson 2004, 209)

The jun-gong-jiao group remains one of the most stable voting blocs in favor of the KMT to this day. Because one had to be employed by either the military, government, or school system to live in the village, everyone in ZXNV was a part of this group. Today, the jun-gong-jiao is known for voting consistently in favor of KMT policies that protect retirement pensions, universal healthcare, and social security, as well as for KMT positions on social issues such as their stance against LGBTQ+ rights.

Due to the desirability of government positions in the mid–1900s, the KMT wielded incredible economic power and control over employment and therefore over the employees themselves. The lack of political dissent at this time was directly due to the power of the KMT and the alignment of resident opinions with those of the government. The KMT exercised its unbounded power by governing Taiwan under martial law. This era of martial law would not be lifted until 1987. The main purpose of martial law was to preserve the power of the authoritarian government established by the KMT. When I asked my interviewees if they had known that they were living in the martial law era, almost all of them said that they were unaware. One interviewee said that he learned about martial law after it was lifted, and he had joined the military (A. Tsai, interview, September 9, 2019). "When we were kids, we didn't know about [martial law]. The 'law' wasn't implemented in the area. I think the kids who grow up here, we had a lot of freedom and we can say anything" (S. Pan, interview, September 4, 2019).

In fact, they all cited the years between 1960-1980 as the golden age of the village. The alignment of the golden age of ZXNV and the era of martial law is not a coincidence. During this time, the KMT was able to rule with the greatest amount of absolute control. This

meant that residents who identified with the KMT felt no changes in their lived experiences and did not feel ostracized for their political and cultural identities. They benefitted directly from the KMT's absolute power and were therefore blissfully unaware of martial law during this time.

Zhong Xing New Village is one of the last places today in Taiwan where the Kuomintang is not only popular but also openly celebrated and glorified. The statue of Chiang Kai-Shek stands proudly on top of the hill in front of the town hall, overlooking the track field and other recreational spaces. One first-generation interviewee remarked in great fondness, "Chiang was our fearless leader, one deserving of the greatest praise and honor" (S. Zhang, interview, August 20, 2019). The positioning of this statue points to the KMT's continuing authority over the village and its residents. Meanwhile, in DPP (Democratic Progressive Party that is pro-Taiwanese Independence) strongholds such as Tainan and Kaohsiung, KMT statues and memorials are regularly vandalized (AFP 2015).

Chiang Kai-Shek's reputation is typically divided among those of Taiwanese origin and the waishengren who arrived after 1949 following the retreat of the KMT. For the waishengren, Taiwan is China and the KMT is the ruling party of both China and Taiwan. However, these immigrants are simultaneously war refugees and colonizers. The large majority of the population living in Taiwan is made up of indigenous people and those who are multi-generationally Taiwanese. The original citizens of Taiwan saw the retreat of the KMT as an invasion of outsiders who were not that interested in Taiwan before it became a necessity. In the eyes of the waishengren, Chiang was an incredible leader, one deserving of the highest glory, praise, and honor as the development of modern Taiwan is largely attributed to Chiang. This is sharply contrasted with the anti-Chiang, anti-KMT rhetoric associated with the pro-Taiwanese independence movement that refers to Chiang as a dictator and a symbol of Taiwan's authoritarian past.

In Zhong Xing New Village, Chiang's statue remains untouched, even on February 28th, the annual anniversary of the beginning of the era of White Terror and martial law in Taiwan (Shattuck 2017; AFP 2015). Many waishengren refer to Zhong Xing New Village as a safe space, one of the few remaining, where their politics and identity are celebrated and protected.

Part 2: Zhong Xing New Village's Second Generation

The downfall of ZXNV can be attributed to many surface-level factors, such as the lack of opportunities for higher education and employment. Nevertheless, profound transformations in Taiwanese identity itself and the temporality of identity are at the crux of this decline. The physical and tangible decay of ZXNV is an embodiment of the new relationship between Taiwan and globalization. The second-generation's large absence embodies this transformation.

The ZXNV second generation's identity is a heterogeneous hybrid of the changing national identity and the stagnant village-specific first-generation identity. The irreconcilable tensions between the two made the second generation feel like they had one foot in both but no claim to either. This mobility of identity, bolstered by new economic opportunities elsewhere thanks to globalization, resulted in the mass exodus of the second generation out of ZXNV, thus causing its significant decline. The second generation's identity could not have been predicted by the KMT because it was shaped by the changes in national identity and globalization.

Building the Second-Generation Identity: Goals and Aspirations

The first generation came to the village, by choice, in search of opportunities for employment, personal growth, or communities. However, the second-generation residents do not have the same need for ZXNV, and they do not feel as emotionally attached to the village as their parents did. Many of them knew from a very young age that they would be leaving and therefore saw this place as transitory and fleeting. All second-generation interviewees cited educational purposes as the primary reason for leaving the village, given that there were no universities in the village. They pursued professional opportunities that were unavailable in the confines of the village,

especially following the 1980s as opportunities increased abroad and in other cities.

Ms. Tseng noted that there are only two types of people who do not leave the village given that ZXNV's culture and economic, political, and social systems pushed the second generation out, intentionally or otherwise: (1) people who are not good enough academically to get into international universities and graduate programs or who did not have enough money to pursue these goals, and (2) people who were offered a job to stay. In her case, she had always wanted to leave ZXNV and had, in fact, majored in English so that she could leave. However, she was the third-youngest child of four, and her older siblings were able to pursue education abroad. When she finished her college degree in Taipei, she did not have the money to leave. She was offered a job to teach English at the Zhong Xing Middle School and decided to return because her father was also having health issues at the time. After her father passed away, she was able to continue living in her family's house because she had become an employee of the government. Her decision to stay in ZXNV was one of necessity, but she considers it to have been a good opportunity. She is an anomaly, one of the few from the second generation of ZXNV residents who stayed (P. Tseng, interview, August 20, 2019).

This assumption that they did not have a future in the village contributed greatly to the lifestyle decisions that second-generation interviewees made later in their lives. One interviewee notes that he never really had friends in the village, as he knew he would be leaving since he was in elementary school. He moved to Taichung for boarding school at 11 years old and then to the United States. He regarded ZXNV as a temporary launching pad for his future (A. Tsai, interview, September 9, 2019).

For Mrs. Sa, she chose to leave ZXNV to pursue her career in dance. She studied dance in college and knew that she wanted to make this her career. After college, she saw that many of her classmates and childhood friends were moving to the United States, and she chose to immigrate for better professional opportunities. She spoke fondly of the village, though her emotional attachment was to the people of the village and not so much the built environment itself. Like other interviewees, most of her friends moved to Taipei, mainland China, or the United States. She said, "I remember the people, not so much the places." Despite being close to her classmates, she did not see the long-term benefits of living there, especially after her parents moved away too (G. Sa, interview, November 3, 2019).

Building the Second-Generation Identity: Language and Culture

The second-generation interviewees were much more heterogeneous and divided on the subject of language, culture, and political identity. All of the interviewees speak Mandarin, but many also speak Taiwanese and English. Ms. Tseng jokingly remarked that people from ZXNV often spoke Mandarin with a peculiar accent that was the combination of all of the Chinese dialects spoken in the village. She also mentioned how it was necessary for her generation to learn Taiwanese because they sought educational and professional opportunities outside of the village, whereas her parents were satisfied with their stable career working for the provincial government, which only required them to speak Mandarin.

Unlike their parents, the second generation was not ostracized from the rest of Taiwan for being waishengren because they were born in Taiwan. In fact, growing up in ZXNV provided a certain type of social clout within the village, as if someone raised there was raised "right." A lot of elitism surrounded the second generation as they were socio-politically more mobile in the rest of Taiwan. They had political, educational, and economic access to the rest of Taiwan. There were no external forces such as discrimination elsewhere in the country that would have prevented the second generation from leaving the village, and there were also no internal opportunities or appeals keeping them there.

Building the Second-Generation Identity: Political Belonging

The second generation offered very mixed viewpoints on government and politics in Taiwan. Many of them saw the benefits of the KMT, especially in the policies that employed and protected the first generation. However,

many of them also identify as Taiwanese, which makes their understanding of national identity more difficult to align with a political party. When asked if he identified as Taiwanese or Chinese, Mr. Tsai said, "half-half, depends on who's asking, I can go either way." This hybridity of identity is unique to the second generation that was linguistically and culturally shaped by the first generation's waishengren identity, but politically influenced by national changes in Taiwan.

Most interestingly, I found that many of the second-generation interviewees were politically apathetic. Their decisions to immigrate were driven by economic rather than political factors. When the second generation became young adults in the 1980s and 1990s, the politics of Taiwan had changed considerably. The Kuomingtang no longer held complete political and economic power, and the seeds of anti-KMT political parties were already in place and starting to grow. As Ms. Pan said, the KMT "designed the village for the people who were there at the time, but they did not think about it for the future and then by the time the second generation grew up, there was a different government in place. That's why ZXNV's history is so different—different government, different parties made different policies that affect ZXNV's future" (S. Pan, interview, September 20, 2019). This statement only became truer with time, as politics became increasingly volatile over the last few decades in Taiwan.

Part 3: What Happened to Zhong Xing New Village?

The original purpose of ZXNV became completely irrelevant in the face of national identity and political transformation. This shift left the waishengren and the citizens of ZXNV behind and contributed greatly to the downfall of a village established on the monolithic foundation of China-centric KMT politics. ZXNV was built to serve the provincial government; however, how can Taiwan be both a nation and a province? President Lee Teng-Hui asked and acted boldly on this question during his administration.

Lee Teng-Hui's presidency was the tipping point for Kuomintang rule in Taiwan. He was appointed as president of Taiwan by the KMT in

1988 and served until 2000. For the first few years of his career, he faced little dissent as opposition parties had not yet fully formed. Lee Teng-Hui won the 1996 election with 54% of the vote. At the time, the Provincial Government had control over all areas of Taiwanese daily life and a 98.82% overlap with the national government in geographic jurisdiction. Threatened by the rise in power and status of the Provincial Government, despite only being established in 1947 by the executive branch of the national government, led by James Soong at the time, and fearing that he and the national government would soon be eclipsed, in 1997, President Lee passed a constitutional reform that limited, streamlined, and essentially defunded the Provincial Government (Chang 2017).

Taiwan, as a sovereign nation, cannot have both a national government and a provincial government. The very term "provincial" assumes that Taiwan is but a province of China and not its own nation. President Lee's decision is one of the most decisive pro-Taiwanese independence political moves made in the history of Taiwan. This pro-independence decision came as a shock to the entire Kuomintang party and its supporters. Interviewees commonly referred to President Lee as having 藍皮,綠骨 (lan-pi-lu-gu), which translates to blue skin, green bones. He maintained a façade of being a spokesperson and leader for the KMT (the blue party) and yet, he made consequential policy decisions that aligned with the DPP (the green party).

This decision, bolstered by the unstoppable wave of indigenization and Taiwanization, completely revolutionized the political landscape of Taiwan and effectively rendered Zhong Xing New Village useless.

> Before the streamlining took effect, the provincial government had consisted of a legion of 126,356 civil servants working in 551 organizations, including TPG [Taiwan Provincial Government] departments and bureaus, provincial-level cultural institutions, schools and various subsidiary bodies, and also province-owned enterprises ... within only a few years the provincial machine ground to a halt. The number of employees

at Chunghsing New Village headquarters was drastically reduced from 4,756 just before the Streamlining to 285 in 2000 and to 85 in 2006. (Chang 2017, 41)

ZXNV's entire purpose had been to serve the needs of the Provincial Government and its employees. Without a government, it is an empty shell of buildings and infrastructure. President Lee's decision is the most clear-cut cause for the sharp decline of ZXNV. However, this decision could not have been predicted by the KMT to be the reason for the death of ZXNV because at the time of construction, the KMT was the only force in Taiwan that faced little opposition due to martial law. The fact that this village served such a specific purpose for a specific time and could not evolve with national changes is the reason why it died.

During his administration (2008-2016), President Ma Ying-Jeou of the KMT said that he would rebuild ZXNV and expand Taiwan's high-speed rail system to include ZXNV. But over the course of his administration, he gradually lost power and then the "DPP took away ZXNV's future" (S. Pan, interview, September 20, 2019). In 2018, President Tsai Ing-Wen of the DPP decided to fully erase the provincial government, and thus all agencies and departments that were located in ZXNV were absorbed into the national government in Taipei.

Today, ZXNV government buildings sit empty as their respective departments were transferred to the national government. The sparse population that remains is largely from the first-generation and continues to live in their assigned houses, adjacent to rapidly decaying abandoned buildings. ZXNV's apparent emptiness embodies the historic structures and transformations that led to the migration of its residents.

Conclusion

Zhong Xing New Village is a story of a designed space wholly shaped by identity and politics. On the surface, ZXNV is a classic example of a planned city that has experienced great depopulation and disinvestment. However, to understand the fate of ZXNV, one cannot ignore the politics of urban planning because its design could not overcome national, societal changes. As Massey (1992) writes, space is not apolitical or atemporal. ZXNV is an example of a space that tried to exist as a static slice of time, but was ultimately fractured by how national politics changed over time. Even the most utopian, meticulous designs are influenced by existing assumptions and cannot account for the unforeseen future threat of national transformations.

ZXNV is proof that garden cities are effective when the population is not just homogenous but also aligned with the ideals of the planner; the goals and identity of this village were once homogenous and well-aligned with the goals and identity of the KMT. The complete regulation of this village is how the KMT manifested its ideology. The golden era of ZXNV was from the 1960s-1980s, a time when the rest of Taiwan was living under strict martial law. This chronological alignment is not a coincidence but evidence that the KMT designed ZXNV with a very specific, homogenous, ideal population in mind. This population embodied the KMT's ideals, and the decline in the number of bodies reflects the slow decline of the KMT regime. During this time, the design worked perfectly—people lived in the places they were designed to live, worked at jobs that were designed to be their jobs, and shopped at the marketplaces that were designed to be marketplaces. This design began to fall apart as the concentrated, authoritarian power of the KMT began to fall apart, and the homogenous identity of the villagers began to unravel as the second generation came of age.

ZXNV's inability to change its purpose with the changing political landscape led to its depopulation and physical decline. This village was planned as an "ideal world" that reflected the KMT's wishful thinking during a particular political moment, and its ultimate demise is like a second loss of the KMT's dream of a united China that they once wished to represent. Zhong Xing New Village had a lot of promise, but the seeds of its own destruction, through the political awakening and liberalization of Taiwan, were also at its core.

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Cycling in(to) Society: Integration and Social Mobility in Copenhagen

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ABSTRACT

Integration and the processes involved are increasingly becoming more important in anthropological studies as the world is globalising. However, individual experiences of migrants, especially those of women, are often not considered in academic research. Therefore, I aim to include personal experiences of migrant women by studying those in the context of integration in Copenhagen. I conducted fieldwork over two months in the city of Copenhagen through participant observation in a cycling course created by the Red Cross, along with several informal interviews and five in-depth interviews with key informants. This article examines how integration is perceived, whether intersecting physical and social mobility can aid integration, and what impact gender has on these processes. Integration in this context is argued to be a form of social mobility, one that describes a forward movement into society. The process of integration for the women considered in this research is aided by cycling, as moving through the city physically promotes social mobility. Cyclists learn to navigate both the social and physical environment around them, and they gain access to services as well as opportunities in the labour market.

Cycling is an essential part of everyday life in Copenhagen, but for newcomers in the city, adapting to this mode of transport is a difficult adjustment. The local Red Cross therefore organises cycling lessons for migrants, teaching them how to cycle and navigate the busy bike traffic in the city. The course is held at a small playground behind a primary school that has painted asphalt mimicking real roads. The playground is hidden behind the school but is connected to the rest of Copenhagen by a cycle highway, which is also the route I took to get there. I park my bike up against a shed and head toward the wooden picnic table where people are sitting (figure 1). Sandra, the team leader, springs up with a beaming smile on her face, and she welcomes me with a big hug. Meanwhile, a few people are very slowly cycling around in small circles on the asphalt. Those who cannot quite cycle yet seem to be pushing themselves forward with their feet. I notice everyone on a bicycle is a woman; the only males present are two of my fellow volunteers. Although there are clear differences in age and country of origin, all attendees wear the same yellow vests and bicycle helmets. Up until my first day as a cycling instructor, I thought of biking as a trivial part of everyday life that, to me, was just a way of getting from one place to the next. I did not give much thought to the fact that cycling was necessary for freedom and accessibility. I soon came to realise through teaching women from countries much different than my own that cycling could mean more than just physical mobility; indeed, cycling has a significant impact on social mobility as well.

By observing and speaking to women learning how to cycle through sessions organised by the Danish Red Cross, this research looks at the experiences of migrants,

Figure 1: The cycling playground. As usual, there is coffee and cake for participants.

specifically women, as they integrate into Danish society. It seeks to understand how cycling and the process of learning this skill can contribute to individual migrants' integration in Copenhagen. Investigating the experiences of migrants is especially important in a relatively homogenous society such as Denmark since the strong sense of a shared national identity is often seen to be challenged by the influx of immigrants. Migration and integration are not only widely discussed in politics and media but also are prominent in everyday conversation. Since policies involving the process of integration often generalise immigrants and ignore individual experiences, I am interested in how individual migrants experience integration and how cycling may affect this experience. I argue that we must look beyond conventional definitions of social mobility and integration to include individual experiences and understand the impacts of these processes on migrant women specifically. I explored the experiences of migrant women in their process of integrating into Danish society through the concepts of social mobility and gender. These concepts have informed the research questions

below, which then guided my fieldwork and analysis of integration through cycling.

1. What does the notion of integration entail for individual migrant women in Copenhagen? How do they perceive this process?

2. Can physical mobility lead to a better sense of social mobility and integration?

3. Does gender have an impact on the experiences of the process of social mobility and integration?

The research data is derived from official government publications, fieldnotes taken during participant observation at the cycling course, and informal interviews with its participants. My fieldwork and interviews were conducted while I was volunteering with the Red Cross in Copenhagen during August and September of 2019. The project formed around what I was able to do as a volunteer, since I was working with a large international charity and had to respect their policies. Fortunately, I was allowed to participate in the cycle training course that was one of their many projects aimed at migrants and social inclusion. My role as a volunteer was to train participants through simple steps to gain balance, provide enthusiastic encouragement, and instruct them in navigating traffic. During breaks, I was able to speak to some of the trainees and have short informal conversations with them about their experiences. I also contacted two informants outside of sessions so that I could conduct longer and more in-depth interviews. By participating in their training, I was able to observe informants interacting with each other and with the volunteers. The dissertation research proposal went through ethical clearing at the University of Aberdeen. Considering the ethics of the project, I made sure to inform the team leader, the volunteers, and the pupils that I would be doing research for my undergraduate dissertation while I volunteered. It was especially important to be transparent as a researcher because vulnerable people were involved in the process. Each informant was told participation was voluntary, anonymous, and that personal information such as names and email addresses were safely stored.

Approaching the integration of migrants through a gendered perspective became necessary after I had completed my fieldwork since I had only spoken to women. I found that being a woman myself gave me certain advantages when conducting fieldwork for this dissertation. The women I spoke with regularly confided in me and opened up to me easily about their experiences. I also noted that despite being a new volunteer, I was trusted by the trainees to instruct them and was even asked to give some one-on-one sessions during weekends. I had the advantage of conducting anthropological research at home, as being Danish myself meant that I could give insights about life in Denmark to the participants and help them practice the Danish language. This strengthened the relationships I had with informants. However, I was limited by the time constraints and irregularity of those who showed up to the cycling sessions. This meant that I was constantly forming new relationships and continuously had to work on gaining the trust of newcomers, which made getting into the details of their experiences and learning more thoroughly about each person very difficult.

To make sense of the ethnographic descriptions below, I will briefly introduce the team leader and my main informants from the cycling course (see table 1). Each of these women has been given a pseudonym to protect their confidentiality. Sandra is the team leader of this cycling group, and she has contact with the Red Cross and organises the cycling lessons. With help from volunteers, she keeps track of who is participating and their skill level. She has been involved in the lessons since they started five years ago, organised by the local library and community centre, before the Red Cross began funding the project. Brianna is the first cycle trainee I met and attended every single session I was at. She often brought her young daughter who wanted to learn how to cycle as well. Brianna is originally from Pakistan and moved to Copenhagen to be with her husband and reunite the family. Siri joined the cycling lessons for a few sessions since she had previous experience but needed proof of her ability to cycle in order to become a social care assistant. She had lived in Copenhagen since 2010 and moved here to be with her husband.

Table 1: General information about the main participants in the study.

Name	Country of Origin	Time lived in Denmark	Reason to participate
Brianna	Pakistan	7 months	Had dreamed of learning how to cycle but was never allowed to in her home country.
Siri	Nepal	9 years	Needed proof of her ability to cycle to work as a social care assistant.
Kyra	India	1 year	Saw biking as an important part of living in Copenhagen and felt left out for her inability to cycle.
Lola	Armenia	26 years	Wanted to keep fit and keep her daughter company as she learned.

Kyra, originally from India, moved to Copenhagen with her Belgian husband. She learned very quickly and found cycling exhilarating. Lola was inspired by her daughter to learn how to cycle, so they joined the lessons together. She had been in Copenhagen the longest, coming from Armenia in the 1990s. She started cycling both for convenience and to keep fit.

Immigration Policies in Denmark: Past and Present

Looking at the history of immigration in Denmark is necessary to provide context and a wider understanding of the integration process in the country's capital. Immigration to Denmark expanded during the economic boom of the 1960s as a shortage of labour attracted migrant workers to the country. At this time, the country lacked policies to support integration in terms of language, schooling, and welfare (Tesfaye 2017). The economic bust in the 1970s meant employment levels went down while immigration continued to increase (Olwig and Pærregaard 2011, 3). High levels of unemployment meant tensions between migrants and locals rose, and municipalities were overwhelmed with the uncontrollable influx of people. As a result, the attitude towards immigration changed and borders were closed again. The migrant population did not disappear, however, since most of the immigrants already living in Denmark remained (Tesfaye 2017).

In 1983, years after the initial wave of migrant workers, the first immigration law was put into place (Olwig and Pærregaard 2011). The law involved opportunities for asylum and new requirements for authorisation to bring family members into the country. Family reunification was granted automatically, meaning spouses of immigrants automatically gained citizenship (Folketinget 1983). This immigration law was, at the time, considered one of the most liberal in Europe (Olsen et al. 2017). Almost ten years after, in 1998, the first law specifically targeting issues of integration was drafted. It aimed to ensure equal opportunities for foreign newcomers in all aspects of life in Danish society, including work, politics, economics, religion, and culture. It intended to ensure that immigrants would quickly become self-sufficient and be given an understanding of the basic values and norms of Danish society (Hansen 2016).

Despite liberal laws and a progressive political climate, many Danish citizens and politicians perceived the influx of migrants as a threat to Danish national identity. This created a dramatic shift from one of the most liberal immigration policies in Europe to one of the most restrictive. Immigration has since been a major source of debate in Danish politics, especially during elections. In 2001, for example, the election of a conservative government led to more restrictive policies concerning foreign migrants. The updated "foreigner policy" (*udlændingelov*) created harsher regulations for immigrants and made

residence permits much harder to attain (Hansen 2016). Similarly, the migrant crisis of 2015, referring to the thousands of migrants fleeing conflict in the Middle East and Africa and entering Europe, sparked new nation-wide discussion in Denmark on what to do about immigrants, immigration, and integration. Much like in 2001, the election following the crisis resulted in right-wing parties gaining more power compared to previous years. These parties passed new policies detrimental to the immigrant population. One, which came into effect in 2018, was the "masking ban" that prohibited face-covering in public, widely believed to be targeted at Muslim women. Another policy made it more difficult to acquire residence permits: refugees and families of immigrants entering the country could no longer qualify for permanent residency. Funding for integration efforts was cut, which meant the focus shifted from integrating incoming refugees to sending them home when possible (Ingvorsen 2019).

The most recent election in the summer of 2019 voted in a new prime minister from the left-wing Social Democrats, Mette Frederiksen. The election occurred during my fieldwork and was seen as a positive move toward more liberal immigration policies, since the anti-immigration Danish People's Party lost support after being the second biggest party for years. In reality, the Social Democrats are continuing the restrictive immigration policies created by the previous ruling power "Venstre" and the Danish People's Party. Despite enforcing policies created by right-wing parties, the Social Democrats are backed by a wide majority of the population favouring their known liberal views. As a result, the division between left- and right-wing immigration ideology is diminishing. In Denmark, non-western immigrants are seen as a threat to liberal politics and core values, as well as the perceived homogenous population in terms of ethnicity and religion. Denmark typically shares a strong sense of national identity that is grounded in ideals of Lutheranism, social democracy, and emphasis on the welfare state. As a consequence, migrants entering Denmark have a strong barrier to break through in order to become part of the Danish nation-state.

Currently, immigrants make up around 10% of Denmark's population, with the largest number living in Greater Copenhagen (Danmarks Statestik 2018, 11). Since the late 1980s, immigration levels have remained higher than those of emigration, and the non-western immigrant population has increased significantly, now making up the majority of the migrant population (Tesfaye 2017; Danmarks Statestik 2018, 11-14). Although the population of immigrants in Denmark seems relatively small in comparison to other European countries, the aforementioned policies and political debates show the extensive impact migration has had on the country. Not only do they affect the lives of foreign migrants in Denmark, but also how these foreigners are perceived in local and public discourse.

Cycling Culture in Copenhagen

Copenhagen prides itself in being the "world's best cycling city," and its cycling culture is very important to those who live there. It has become more than just a form of transportation; it is a cultural symbol. Cycling is a symbol of equality since it is the best way to navigate through the city and most people living in Copenhagen use bicycles no matter their background or status. Getting around with a car or public transport is simply impractical in comparison. The fact that cycling is essential for life in Copenhagen is immediately noticeable when walking around anywhere in the city; you are always surrounded by bicycles. This often intimidates those who set foot in Copenhagen for the first time and are not used to seeing hundreds of cyclists dominate the traffic. Though it may be daunting to join the locals in cycling, it is inevitably the best way to get around. By cycling in Copenhagen, you become a part of the cityscape. Therefore, considering Copenhagen's cycling culture is noteworthy when exploring the experiences of immigrants.

The Danish government has put an immense amount of work into making Copenhagen the "world's best cycling city." The Bicycle Account, published by the municipality in 2019, reports that while almost half of the city's residents cycle to their work or place of education every day, 27% drive and only 18% take public transport (Technical and Environmental

Administration 2019, 6). Since 2009, the city, the state, and private foundations have invested around 2 billion Danish kroner (230 billion GBP) in cycling-related initiatives. These include independent projects, building infrastructure, traffic safety measures, and planning safer routes. Through these projects, the city aims to reduce CO_2 output and increase the health of the population. Most choose to cycle because the city's infrastructure is designed to make cycling the easiest form of transportation compared to driving or public transport. Advanced cycle paths (see figure 2) cut down on travel time significantly, cycling is much cheaper than public transport, and a bike is easier to park than a car. The Bicycle Account briefly touches upon cycling and immigrants, stating that almost half of Copenhageners originating from countries without a strong cycling culture never cycle. More than half of the population who never cycle are women, either because they do not know how to or because they feel insecure in traffic (Technical and Environmental Administration 2019, 12-27). The Account acknowledges the existence of cycling courses that teach women how to cycle to increase employment opportunities and improve health, but it does not provide details. Moreover, most of the existing cycling initiatives are geared toward those who can already cycle rather than those who are still learning.

Mobility: Physical and Social Movements

Mobility is more than just physical movement (Salazar 2017, 5). Lelièvre and Marshall (2015) differentiate between the two by deeming movement to be an object of observation while mobility is an object of study. According to

Figure 2: The Copenhagen Cycle Highway crosses through a lively square in the city.

Lelièvre and Marshall, the former is therefore abstract and devoid of meaning, whereas the latter is socially constructed. Despite this difference, the terms are mutually dependent: "mobility, as the analytical object of study, can only be approached by bringing into dialogue the practices, perceptions, and imagined conceptions of movement" (Lelièvre and Marshall 2015, 440). Similarly, Peter Adey (2009) defines mobility as a lived relation both to oneself and to the world; it is how we understand and engage with the world around us analytically. It is a concept widely used to understand world processes such as migration (Adey 2009, xviii). In "Toward a Politics of Mobility," Cresswell (2010) identifies mobility as the "fragile entanglement of physical movement, representation and embodiment" (18). Representations of movement are what gives it meaning, physical movement means getting from point A to B, and embodiment is the bodily experience of movement. These three aspects of mobility, Cresswell writes, are highly political (19). In another approach, Salazar (2017) distinguishes three characteristics of mobility: the ability to move, the ease or freedom of movement, and the tendency to change quickly (6). Yet mobility achieves little without being materialised through people, objects, words, and other embodied forms. Salazar (2017) states that mobility is an important part of how we belong in society, and it has different meanings depending on the social circumstances. There are many ways in which mobilities and movements can be studied analytically, and these will be explored further below.

Social inclusion and exclusion should be considered when studying social mobilities, as these can have a substantial impact on one's access to social services, jobs, education, and social networks, among other things. Social inclusion and exclusion can, for example, be linked to mobility through the notion of physical access (Cass et al. 2005, 539-40). The inability to access social services, goods, and places of work or education contributes to social exclusion, especially because they "appear to determine full membership or citizenship" (Cass et al. 2005, 540). In other words, access through physical mobility is beneficial for integration and, consequently, for moving forward into

society. Women are more prone to social exclusion as their mobilities differ from those of men, and as a consequence, whether intentionally or not, their needs are not considered. The social exclusion of women occurs through transport, technology, social policies, and labour markets, to name a few examples. While the types of transport men and women may use differ, women's daily travel patterns are generally much more complex than those of men. A woman's commute may involve "dropping children off at school before going to work; taking an elderly relative to the doctor and doing the grocery shopping on the way home" (Criardo-Perez 2019, 50). Men, on the other hand, are more likely to only travel between work and home, commuting with less diversions. There needs to be a greater awareness of this gendered difference, as urban planning and policies prioritise "compulsory mobilities," i.e. trips for educational or work purposes. Not only does this dismiss characteristically "female" activities of caregiving as unimportant, but also it specifically ignores the mobilities of women. Urban planning policies in most countries do not prioritise pedestrians and public transport users, and so women as the most likely persons to use these forms of transport are excluded (Criardo-Perez 2019, 50-57). The Red Cross cycling groups work to combat social exclusion by creating more opportunities for women to become mobile. Cycling as a form of transport provides a greater sense of freedom and provides independence from other modes of transportation that are more expensive and less flexible, especially in Copenhagen.

In sociological and anthropological literature, "social mobility" is often considered as the upward movement in society (Gans 2006; van den Berg 2011), often in terms of class and status within that society. Gans (2006) emphasises the role of class to bring upward mobility, as a higher class often means higher education and funds for training (154). He states that workplaces either create opportunities for or hinder upward mobility. This especially impacts migrants trying to assimilate or move upwards through employment (155). Gans claims upward mobility can lead to assimilation and vice-versa. In contrast, van den Berg (2011) criticises the

use of social mobility as solely focused on education and employment. She calls for alternative uses and claims that subjective definitions and individual experiences researched through qualitative methods should be considered in the study of mobility, as this approach is broader and allows for alternatives. While I agree that subjective definitions and experiences are important to consider, van den Berg's (2011) definition still focuses on social mobility as an upgrade of class or "moving up the social ladder" (504). I argue that this definition is limiting and does not consider the other types of experiences of mobility, like those of migrant populations, which may describe a change but not an upward or downward movement in their class status. Therefore, definitions of social mobility must be expanded.

Migration is one of the key types of mobilities studied in anthropology, along with transport and movement (Cresswell 2009, 18). These studies are not a new phenomenon within anthropology; as Malkki (1992) writes: "People have always moved" (24). Yet what is new and always changing are the analytical approaches to mobility (Cresswell 2010; Malkki 1992). The context of migration studies has also been changing, especially in recent years as "increasing migration and ethnic diversity have become the norm" (Olwig and Paerregaard 2011, 2). Therefore, some social scientists claim that migration and mobility should be seen as the natural state of humanity rather than stability (Samers 2010, 4). Horevitz (2009) favours the term "migration" over "immigration" in the anthropology of migration, as the former connotes a state of impermanence and continuous movement between home and host countries. In contrast, "immigration" suggests a stationary state of settling permanently in one country (Horevitz 2009, 78). Migration involves movement as one place pushes people out and another pulls people in (Cresswell 2009, 18). On one hand, this movement is physical. On the other, migration incorporates social mobility: the changing of one's position within society, from migrant to citizen. This change is not necessarily an upgrade in class, which further demonstrates why the definition of social mobility needs to be expanded.

Migration is not the only type of mobility relevant to migrants that needs to be discussed. We need to consider what occurs after migrants have already reached their destination: internal mobility within their new country of residence. Migrants continue to experience mobility long after the initial move as they navigate new social, economic, political, and cultural standpoints of their host country. One main form of internal mobility is integration. This concept describes a person's movement as their status is changed from being foreign in society to an active member and citizen of that society. Integration is a form of social mobility; however, it does not necessarily align with the previously mentioned definitions of social mobility in social sciences. Becoming integrated does not mean you are moving up or down the social ladder, since integration is an ongoing process, and the notion of what being integrated means is subjective. It is, therefore, problematic to measure integration in terms of success or fulfilment of certain attributes outlined by the state, such as involvement in after-school activities or the freedom to choose one's partner (Beskæftigelses og Integrationsforvaltningen 2018a). In this dissertation, class categorisation is not significant and is restrictive because it creates unnecessary divisions between people. To rethink the concept of social mobility, I define it as a movement *into* rather than upward. Integration is a movement into society because this process involves immersion into a place and the bridging of different cultures. Therefore, integration as a social mobility is not an upward movement but a movement forward into society.

Academic Approaches to Integration

Integration as a concept is difficult to characterise, and it is often used in a variety of disciplines, each using the term differently. That said, Grillo (2007) believes that we need to have a clear and shared understanding of what integration means, which differs depending on the context. The context of these concepts is important for examining what "happens on the ground" (981); in other words, context shapes how these concepts influence individuals (Grillo 2007). In the context of integration of

immigrants, Samers (2010) outlines three principal meanings of integration: assimilation, multiculturalism, and the coming together of migrants and citizens. Assimilation puts the sole responsibility of integration and adopting values of the host country on the migrant. In contrast, multiculturalism and the coming together of migrants and citizens suggest that integration is reciprocal, and each has to accommodate the other (Samers 2010, 278). Similarly, Simonsen (2017) claims political integration to be a combination of assimilation and multiculturalism. Assimilation in this context is when immigrants resemble their host country as much as possible, whereas multiculturalism suggests immigrants follow the laws of the host country but maintain their own culture and way of living at the same time. For Simonsen, integration is a two-way process that involves both what the host state does and what the immigrants do (208).

Despite controversy about the exact terminology, Ager and Strang (2008) also regard integration as an important field to study. Their framework for successful integration consists of different factors of integration, with the foundation being citizenship. Employment, housing, health, and education are means of integration. Ager and Strang attempt to expand on usual political definitions by including experiences of migrants, social and cultural knowledge, and safety and security. Not one of these definitions states a definitive meaning but instead they suggest very specific approaches to integration. Samers (2010) and Simonsen (2017) approach integration similarly, whereas Ager and Strang (2008) create a framework that attempts to include as many aspects of integration as possible. The approaches all simplify the process of integration, which in reality is very complex. Defining the term in such specific ways can be problematic as it is too fragmented and non-linear. Integration is not something that can be broken down into bullet points. It is a complex process that is always changing. For this dissertation, I will consider integration to be the process of moving forward into society, which has all of the elements discussed above working together.

The meaning of integration in Denmark specifically has changed significantly since the concept first gained popularity within the Danish language in the 1950s. The term was not used in the context of migration until the first male guest workers entered the country in the 1960s and 70s. Since then, it has become pervasive in public and political debates (Rytter 2018, 12). Contemplating how a specific society defines the process of integration is vital for understanding how the government of that society approaches integration. Current notions of integration in Denmark, according to Rytter (2018), are associated with values such as responsibility, self-sufficiency, and independence. These values reflect the emphasis on entering the workforce and language proficiency in integration policies because when a citizen can work, they are likely to be more self-sufficient and less dependent on welfare. Integration policies in Denmark have therefore generally aimed to help immigrants enter the workforce quickly. As a result, other factors that are necessary for a person to successfully integrate into society may be overlooked (Rytter 2018, 13-14). It is interesting to note that despite anthropological and sociological literature deeming integration as complex, confusing, and chaotic, the term is used regularly in literature published by Danish public institutions. Extensive information about integration policies, including the integration barometer and reports on official policies of the municipality, are freely accessible and easily found on the Copenhagen municipality website.

Integration in a Danish Context

The municipality of Copenhagen has created a barometer for measuring the process of integration with 26 goals to follow. Each of these goals is then labelled as having a positive change, a negative change, or no/little change in terms of successful achievement. Success is measured through quantitative research; for example, there was a 6% increase in participation in education of "non-Danes" from 2016 to 2014. Therefore, the goal to increase enrolment in schools was deemed successful. The more goals outlined in the barometer that are labelled as having a positive change, the more successful the process of integration in Copenhagen. The barometer highlights what it

means to be an active Danish citizen: contributing to the economy, participating in cultural activities, and education are just a few of the main points. It also includes health and well-being and a sense of security within the city (Beskæftigelses og Integrationsforvaltningen 2018a). Along with the barometer, integration policies for the municipality of Copenhagen are published in a report every four years that outlines what has been done for integration in the past and what needs to be done in the future. The report consists of five benchmarks for successful integration, which are directed at what is needed for "Copenhageners with minority backgrounds," meaning immigrants or those descended from immigrants from non-western countries. The benchmarks include the following: minority citizens entering the workforce, performance in primary and secondary education, active participation in culture and communal activities, health and quality of life, and encouraging diversity in communities to prevent crime (Beskæftigelses og Integrationsforvaltningen 2018b, 18-12).

Cycling is mentioned briefly as a component for improving the health of the minority population, and the report claims that using bicycles as a form of transport leads to a healthier life (Beskæftigelses og Integrationsforvaltningen 2018b, 22). While not untrue, cycling as a form of transport does much more than improve a person's physical health. In other reports on integration, cycling is completely overlooked as a means to bridge different cultures and to create opportunities in the labour market. It is therefore not considered as a way to aid forward movement into society through integration as a form of social mobility. Policies are overlooking what I believe to be a useful tool for integration. These policies show that the process of integrating immigrants and immigrants' well-being are extensively deliberated within the municipality. Although the municipality has outlined specific goals and markers for integration, they are generalised and do not suggest how to achieve these goals. Completing successful integration, according to the reports above, seems to be put in the hands of local organisations and the immigrants themselves.

Moving forward to improve social science theories and government policies on integration needs to include a bigger focus on how these concepts may apply to people in daily life. My project aimed to understand how individual migrants feel about moving into a new country and the experiences they have in doing so. I started my fieldwork by asking the questions "what is integration?" and "do you feel integrated?" but quickly realised that these loaded questions were difficult to answer. Instead, I asked what their experiences as newcomers in Denmark were, what they needed to feel at home and welcomed here, and lastly, whether being part of the cycling group had any influence on their experiences. One of the most important things to feel at home in Denmark, for almost everyone I spoke with, was learning the Danish language. For some, being reunited with their families, especially their husbands, was what made Denmark home. Getting work as soon as possible was also seen as a way to settle into society, as this meant that migrants could earn an income and provide for their families while at the same time, being surrounded by Danish coworkers allowed them to become more familiar with Danish ways of life. These conversations put the process of integration into perspective. Although cycling was useful for getting certain types of work, especially in social health care, integration for these women was multifaceted and seemed to be an ongoing process.

One of the cycling trainees, Lola (see table 1), told me that one of the main things that made her feel at home in Denmark was religion. She moved here in 1993 from Armenia and is an orthodox Christian. Therefore, Lola felt comfort in the fact that many Danes are Christian as well. Understanding the language was also central for her, and as she was previously a language teacher, she found joy in the process. Learning how to cycle had not been a priority when coming to Copenhagen, but she was convinced to join the course with her daughter who wanted to learn so that it would be easier to meet up with friends. Lola wanted to learn not only so she could get around easier but also to stay fit. Ultimately, Lola saw biking as a form of sport or leisure activity and was therefore not as devoted to cycling lessons as her

daughter. Brianna, another informant, told me that the most important thing for her to feel at home was to have her family reunited. She had just moved to Copenhagen seven months before I had met her. Brianna and her four-year-old daughter had come to Denmark from Pakistan so they could be together with her husband, who had been studying at a university here. Brianna wanted to build a happy family with her husband since taking care of her daughter was difficult for her to do alone in Pakistan. Siri, however, prioritised being surrounded by Danish-speaking people in order to feel more rooted. She had been in and out of the hospital the first years she was in Denmark and looked back on the experience very positively. Siri told me that if she had not been surrounded by Danish doctors, nurses, and patients, she would not have felt as comfortable living here.

Before every cycling session, Sandra and Brianna would meet up to practise Danish together. Brianna's husband did not want to pay for language classes as he thought they were too expensive. So, Sandra had gotten her hands on one of the course books from another cycling pupil and started practising with Brianna. She was inspired to eventually create a language café so that others in the same situation as Brianna have better opportunities to learn Danish. By the end of my time as a cycling teacher, Brianna had finally started Danish lessons and was quickly improving. From the women I spoke to during my fieldwork, I learned that they all had various and distinctive needs for them to feel like Copenhagen could be their home. Their stories demonstrate that the concept of integration cannot be condensed into a few approaches, and it is important to take individual perspectives into account when defining the approaches to integration that the city and various organisations take.

For cycling to be a way for the local municipality to assist migrants in achieving integration and social mobility, one of the most important things for the Employment and Integration Administration to consider when creating policies is that migrant women who learn how to cycle gain further opportunities through this skill. Many needed to cycle to get

work or school, to pick up their children, to go to the grocery store, and to be part of events or other activities. Learning how to cycle helps migrant women to blend into the landscape of the city amongst the many other Danes on bikes, becoming part of the city's social fabric and moving forward into Danish society as a result. This is how the aspect of physical mobility, cycling to gain access, works together with social mobility in enabling integration into society. Not only does cycling help in the process of integration but also being in a group that meets once a week supports migrants' experience of integration as well. The women enjoyed coming to cycle classes not just to learn a skill but to talk to other people in similar situations and to get to know Danish people who can help them navigate a new culture they are not used to. Sandra made sure to create an atmosphere during the class that felt safe, welcomed everyone, and did not judge anyone based on their skill level or where they were from. She served coffee and tea at every session, greeted everyone with a big smile, and at the end of the day made sure to say goodbye personally to every participant as they left. As the team leader, she took on an almost motherly role. As such, the cycling course provided women with a group through which they could empower themselves by learning a skill critical to moving forward in Danish society. Moreover, by meeting others going through the process of integration, the women were able to create valuable connections and foster a sense of solidarity within the group.

The Impact of Gender

Different genders and the relations between them are products of social and cultural processes (Moore 2002, 815). The difference between men and women are not just biological features but originate from how gender is culturally constructed within societies. Although understandings of gender and sex vary depending on different cultures, each culture has its own way of referring to them. The constructions of gender are a way of making sense of our bodies, giving meaning to them and their embodied practices (Moore 2002, 819). The concept of gender can refer to how social life is structured, as it is an ongoing process that plays an important role in

organising our behaviour and thought (Mahler and Pessar 2006, 29). In this dissertation, the concept of gender will be used to discuss the experiences of women's mobility and how those experiences may differ because of their gender. Looking at the relationship between gender and mobility can provide insight into what limitations there are to mobility that stem from gender constructions and what can be done to overcome these limitations. In particular, my fieldwork allowed me to consider how of the relationship between gender and mobility effects migrant women in Copenhagen since all informants in this dissertation are female. The course I volunteered for was mainly created for women, but anyone was welcome to participate. However, Sandra believed grown men and especially husbands could dampen women's spirits while learning to cycle.

Women have only recently been considered in mobility and gender studies. Abbott and Payne (1990) state that women were not considered in these studies beforehand because mobility was originally measured by social class and occupation of the household leader, which has typically meant the man of the house (13). Women in migration and mobility studies have been overlooked due to the assumption that women migrate to accompany their providing husbands (Mahler and Pessar 2006, 27). Although this has been the case in the past, defining women migrants' motivations through these assumptions can generalise and simplify the experiences of women. Furthermore, studying only men ignores the fact that women and men move differently and have different needs for mobilities. Therefore, it is necessary to focus more on gender within the field of mobility studies. The impact of gender on the process of integration, or forward movement into society, is significant in the context of this dissertation as almost all of the people I spoke to during my fieldwork were women. Studying the relationships between gender, mobility, and integration are essential to gain a better understanding of the processes involved.

Gender can influence mobility by determining its patterns or, in terms of where someone might go or what type of transport they use, gender may limit mobility. At the same time, mobility can influence gender through empowerment and the shaping of identities. According to Hanson (2010), mobility is connected to questions of identity such as "who am I?" and "what can I accomplish in life?" Mobility is a way for women to enter public spaces and seek out more opportunities outside of the home, and they can therefore challenge traditional gender roles that define their lives (9). The experiences of female mobility are considered different and more restricted than that of males. Cresswell and Uteng (2008) note this restriction in the forms of transport men and women traditionally use. Men often travel more directly but longer distances by car. The car represents a masculine mobility in the form of freedom, sexual conquest, and aggression. Women, on the other hand, were encouraged to use a bus, a slower and more public form of mobility that was said to be more appropriate for household tasks within a limited radius (4). This leads me to question whether an increased sense of mobility can empower women.

Although European host societies tend to offer migrant women more freedom and mobility than their country of origin, these women often have a limited or disadvantaged position in this new labour market (Morokvasic 1993, 474). Following the labour migration stop of the 1970s in Europe, more women started migrating to join their husbands who already worked abroad. Due to specific labour demands and immigrant women's lack of recognised skill and education, they often found themselves in low-skilled, low-paying jobs with limited opportunities to increase their social mobility (Morokvasic 1993, 465). Women's work was seen as an extension of their domestic roles, and as a result, their activity became linked to their gender. This ideology pigeonholed them into specific occupations that were very similar to their domestic roles (Morokvasic 1993, 471). The discrimination and oppression women face in the labour market create barriers to their social mobility. Morokvasic, however, states that women do not need to accept the barriers to mobility. They can find strength within oppressive conditions. Women form groups that provide solidarity beyond the ethnic groups they are bound to, which she believes is an important aspect in the process of

integration. She claims that immigrant women's resistance to the oppressive nature of the labour market is the basis for change in gender relations and social relations rather than adopting the values of a host country (Morokvasic 1993, 476). Is Sandra's cycling course, then, a form of group solidarity that assists migrant women who are trying to integrate into Denmark?

Many of the women I spoke with who participated in the course had moved to Copenhagen because they wanted to join their husbands who were either working or studying in Denmark. Although they followed their husbands who were already employed in Denmark, many of the women were learning how to cycle to assist in providing for their families. It is fairly common for immigrant women in Denmark to become "sosu-assistenter" (social and health care assistants), as there is a lack of social health workers across Denmark, and the work can lead to other careers in the health sector without the need to attend university. Morokvasic's (1993) work, however, suggests that many women may become sosu-assistants because the work involved is similar to traditional gendered domestic roles. Sandra shares this view with Morokvasic. She thinks many of the women who come to the cycling course work in home-care because of the "motherly instinct" that comes naturally to them, and therefore the work attracts them. She also told me that it is not a job that many Danish people want since it is not seen to be prestigious. Two women I spoke to during the cycling training were in the process of becoming sosu-assistants. This was also why they were learning how to cycle, as it was mandatory for the work they would eventually do. Even though they both had working husbands and one woman even had a small child, they wanted to participate in providing for their household. Learning how to cycle gave them the ability to do so. Not only would they be contributing to the family income, but also working and moving around the city could help them move forward into society. These women were empowered by the cycling course and its volunteers to increase their physical mobility, which in turn helped them to achieve social mobility.

There is no lack of attempts to create policies that enable successful integration of migrants in Copenhagen, but very few of these are specifically targeted at women. Non-governmental organisations and local initiatives make up for where the government is lacking in reaching female migrants, often sponsored by municipalities. The Red Cross is one of many organisations that has initiatives aimed at women, such as the Women's Network and the bicycle training programme. The cycling initiatives like the ones funded by the Red Cross are a great example of a way women may be empowered. As seen in figures 3 and 4, women at different levels of cycling were empowered though coaching and encouragement by volunteers. Many of the women I spoke to during my fieldwork did not have the chance to learn how to cycle in their home countries before they came to Copenhagen, but getting that chance now was empowering for them.

Kyra, who is originally from India, brought her visiting mother to a cycling lesson. Kyra's mother told me that she was not allowed to learn how to cycle as a child, even though her brothers were able to. When she was little, she

Figure 3: One of the volunteers leading a more advanced cyclist through traffic.

would hop on her brother's bike but was never allowed to start or stop by herself. Instead, the brothers would place her on the bicycle and lift her off again. She had almost learned how to cycle but was never given the freedom over her own mobility on a bike. She was prohibited from biking as a child, and then she was limited by the protectiveness of her brothers. Because of this, she was not able to pass on the skill to her daughter, Kyra, who took the task into her own hands as an adult by joining the cycling course in Copenhagen. Kyra had been absent from the cycling classes for almost a month, and when she returned, she seemed very nervous to get on her bike again. Towards the end of the two-hour session, her feelings of anxiety had clearly vanished, and she even insisted on staying on the course for a few more minutes after the session had ended. Around and around she went on the little playground while the remaining volunteers watched. She was much more confident in herself now. As she sped up, her smile widened and her hair beneath her helmet flowed in the wind. "WOOOOO!" she yelled while pumping one fist in the air. Kyra eventually learned how to cycle home and around her neighbourhood after twelve classes and found cycling exhilarating.

A similar experience was described by another participant who had been a part of the course for around ten weeks and was an enthusiastic cyclist. Although Brianna had only been in Copenhagen for a short time, she was set on cycling around from the beginning. Most other participants had lived here for several years before joining the course, learning Danish first and getting familiar with the country. Learning how to bike had been a big wish of Brianna's since childhood. She told me that girls do not have the chance to learn back in her home country, Pakistan. After moving to Denmark to unite her family, Brianna told me that her first demand to her husband was to get the chance to learn how to cycle. Her husband agreed, so Brianna took the opportunity to break the barriers of mobility that she had in her home country and eventually overcame them. When I arrived, she was already proficient but still came to every single session. Brianna even started bringing her daughter who would pedal around on the cycle with help

from other volunteers. She made sure her daughter would not experience the same kind of mobility restrictions as Brianna had when she was younger.

Sandra retired at a relatively young age and has a lot of time to dedicate herself to the cycling course as a volunteer. She is very committed to these women and passionate about helping them in any way she can. Sandra mentioned her aim was entirely to teach women how to bike, and the reason she wanted to do this was to help immigrant women specifically. She never banned men from participating in the course but preferred that they did not join since it changed the atmosphere of the lessons. These women came from different backgrounds and each was a different age, but they all came together to reach a shared goal: to learn how to cycle. In an interview I did with Sandra, she told me her reason for focusing on women so much is because she feels a sense of duty toward them. She wants to show them that their lives in Denmark can be vastly different than what they are used to and make them aware of the opportunities they can have here. Sandra wants to give these women confidence and believes that if they learn how to cycle, they will acquire the confidence to do more beyond the cycling lessons. Putting women in contact with their bodies and the element of encouragement pushing them to do more is what is empowering about the cycling course, and Sandra wants the women to know that they have power. Mobility can influence migrant women's perception of their gender roles by providing them with a sense of empowerment.

Conclusion

For two months, I volunteered with the Red Cross as a cycling instructor to get to know migrant women, their experiences coming to Denmark, and how they coped with moving and settling into a new country. From the women I spoke to, I learned that the process of integration cannot easily be condensed into a list of definitions and goals determined by academics and public policies. Their individual experiences are varied. Integration is a hard term to pin down, as the term means different things in different contexts and is even widely

Figure 4: Sandra in action, teaching a beginner the basic steps.

debated in anthropology. "Do you feel integrated?" is a complicated and perhaps too simplistic question to ask. I started wondering what it means to feel at home, to feel settled in, and to have a sense of belonging in a place. Every person I spoke to answered this differently. Some said they needed to speak the language, others prioritised being with family, whereas one person felt more at home among Danes because they had the same religious beliefs. Being friends with Danish people, having an official residence permit, or working in Denmark were also essential elements. This dissertation barely scratches the surface of what is important for integration and feeling at home somewhere.

The male perspective has always been dominant in studies of mobility and migration. This means women are often overlooked in research. Through this dissertation, I wanted to include perspectives that are often ignored and reconsider theories that have been proven to be limiting and generalising. I attempted to rethink conceptions of mobility and integration to examine the individual experiences of

migrant women. I started this project by asking: what is integration and how is it perceived by migrants? This thought became less prominent throughout my fieldwork than the actual processes that are involved in and impact integration. I argued that integration is a form of social mobility; it is a way of moving forward into society. At the same time, the process of integration is aided by other forms of mobilities, both physical and social. The physical mobility of cycling through Copenhagen makes easy access to public amenities, schools, and places of work possible. It creates opportunities within the labour market since some jobs, such as health care assistants, require applicants to be mobile. Thus, the physical act of cycling increases social mobility and furthers the process of integration. Cycling also impacts social mobility through embodied experiences. These experiences connect people to the environment and people around them, transform their identity, and create a sense of belonging to places.

My fieldwork clearly shows that gender has a substantial impact on mobility. Women I spoke to revealed that they had limited mobility in their countries of origin. Many of them were not allowed to cycle whereas their male relatives were. Gender also impacts social mobility, as much of the work immigrant women chose to do is related to common stereotypes of women's work. Perhaps this is because they are more likely to get this kind of work because it does not require higher education levels, which many immigrant women do not have. However, these jobs are low-paid and looked down upon by Danes. Therefore, a group like Sandra's cycling course is important for immigrant women. It brings them together and creates a sense of solidarity, which in turn empowers them and helps them to feel more at home and comfortable in a new country.

Cycling is a specific skill that is quite easy to teach, and so enabling immigrant women to acquire the skill has a very high success rate. Therefore, it is a straightforward way to approach the problem of limited mobility. While I believe that cycling is important for integration in this context, it would be wrong to assume that it would have the same effect anywhere else. For the women I spoke to specifically, the

embodied act of cycling and participating in a communal activity was a good way to settle into Copenhagen; however, I acknowledge that the process of integrating and migrating to a country is incredibly complicated. For a person to feel a sense of belonging and achieve social mobility, much more is involved than what is outlined in this dissertation and cannot be achieved just by learning how to cycle. Cycling is a very small part of what is needed in the grand scheme of integration and social mobility in Denmark but important for the individuals involved in this research.

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The Gendered Construction of Border-Crossing in Canada: Immigrant and Indigenous Women's Life Histories in the Tracks of Gloria Anzaldúa

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ABSTRACT

Our paper offers a new direction for Canadian scholarship on women and border studies by contextualizing women border-crossers within Anzaldúa's *conocimiento* model. Based on the narratives of six women border-crossers in Canada, we argue that citizenship is a form of regulatory state-power where "belonging" is bureaucratically defined. For these women, belonging to a homeland is embodied in the interplay between Anzaldúa's *facultad* and *shadowbeast*—between the agency of spirituality and the vagaries of political subjectivity. They crossed the border into Canada, and as a result, the whole of Canada became a borderzone within which they negotiated *nepantla* (the experience of being "in-between" culture and identity categories). We demonstrate how applying Anzaldúa's framework to the Canadian context yields new insights into secularism, citizenships, multiculturalism, and belonging.

Keywords: *conocimiento; nepantla;* borderzone; border-crosser; immigration; citizenship; colonialism; secularism; multiculturalism

*The authors are equal co-authors, listed alphabetically.

To be a border-crosser in Canada is to belong everywhere and nowhere, to exist in a space where one is simultaneously "of Canada" and "of somewhere else." The act of crossing borders is more than passing over geographical lines. When a woman moves from the Global South to Canada, she carries her homeland and life-experiences in her body, spirit, and mind. Ethnic markers such as language and accent are readily apparent, embodied experiences. However, there are less perceptible factors such as spirituality, education, and experience with violence that create emotional borders. The woman herself is a borderzone; she cannot be understood merely through what others read as embodied markers of ethnic identity. So, what happens when women of colour cross geographical lines and their original frameworks of reality clash and meld with others'? Our paper attempts to reify this in-between space, *nepantla*, of a woman border-crosser's identity (Anzaldúa 2015). Based on the narratives of six women border-crossers, we argue that Canada objectifies "belonging" through immigration's bureaucratic constructs. Yet, following Gloria Anzaldúa's symbolic system of *conocimiento* (a process of spiritual inquiry), our data show that true belonging is embodied in the interplay between a woman's imaginative capacity, *la facultad*, and her internal conflicts, the *shadowbeast* (concepts that originate from Anzaldúa's *Light in the Dark*, 2015). We argue that the bureaucratic notion of citizenship does not confer "belonging" but instead works to categorize, dehumanize, and alienate *Others*. Our research participants crossed into Canada, and as a result, the whole of Canada became a borderzone within which they negotiate their notions of self. By looking through the lens of *conocimiento*, we trouble the boundaries that colonialism has set up to define identity and belonging based on the binary of inclusion and exclusion, and we uplift the voices of the women living in "global-spiritual terms" (Anzaldúa 2012, 141). These border-crossing women's identity journeys reflect the long way Canada still must go to become a nation that celebrates difference.

Gendering Canadian Border-Crossers: In the Tracks of Gloria Anzaldúa[1]

We are forced (or choose) to live in categories that defy binaries of gender, race, class, and sexuality. Living in intersections [...] we must constantly operate in a negotiation mode. Mestizas don't fit with the norm. Depending on the degree of cultural hybridization, we are caught between cultures and can simultaneously be insiders, outsiders, and other-siders. (Anzaldúa 2015, 71)

Gloria Anzaldúa, a Chicana cultural feminist, queer theorist, poet, and much more, is renowned for developing Borderlands Theory. In her words, "my work is about questioning, affecting, and changing the paradigms that govern prevailing notions of reality, identity, creativity, activism, spirituality, race, gender, class, and sexuality. To develop an epistemology of the imagination [...] I construct my own symbolic system" (Anzaldúa 2015, 2). In this study, we look through the lens of Anzaldúa's *conocimiento* system for an extensive and inherently intersectional understanding of women's embodiment of crossing borders. *Conocimiento* is a process of spiritual inquiry; it is a way of knowing, seeing, and being in the world. A woman enacts *conocimiento* through political and creative action, embedding "her experiences in a larger frame of reference, connecting [her] personal struggles with those of other beings on the planet, with the struggles of the Earth itself" (119). Anzaldúa's seven-stage process of *conocimiento* provides this study with a lens through which we can understand border-crossers' experiences of self-discovery and belonging. This lens is invaluable as it challenges colonial and bureaucratic interpretations of "identity" and "belonging" while providing an alternative that considers

the ambiguities of lived experiences. In order to do justice to the robustness of these stages within the scope of this paper, we will focus on the three that the interviews featured most.

- *"el arrebato . . . rupture, fragmentation . . . an ending, a beginning"* (124): an event such as "a violent attack, rift with a loved one, [...] systematic racism, and marginalization" fragments your worldview and breaks down who you used to be (125).

- *"nepantla . . . . . torn between ways"* (126): a liminal space "where the outer boundaries of the mind's inner life meet the outer world of reality, [you are] suspended between shifts, you're two people, split between before and after" (122). Nepantla is the crossroads where border-crossers confront conflicting cultural realities; it is a stage where one (re)develops one's own understanding of life and oneself on a personal and spiritual level.

- *"putting Coyolxauhqui together . . . new personal and collective "stories""* (138): the turning point that pushes you to try to arrange your experiences "into a pattern and story that speak to your reality" (123).

While we only focus on three, all seven stages of *conocimiento* occur concurrently throughout life (see Anzaldúa's 2015 publication *Light in the Dark* for an explanation of the remaining four stages). Together, "these stations comprise a meditation on the rites of passage, the transitions of life from birth to death, and all the daily births and deaths in between" (124). Upon embodying these practices and acting on her own vision in daily life, a woman performs spiritual activism.

The seven-stage concept of *conocimiento* represents the process of Anzaldúa's (2015) *new mestiza consciousness theory*. Firmly rooted in postcolonial feminism, her theory hypothesizes that if women can own, or "dance upon," their hyphenated identities or *mestizaje* (abstract noun, like "mixedness"), they fight against the confinement of oppressive, western-defined identity categories. According to Anzaldúa, as a new *mestiza*, your "resistance to identity boxes leads you to a different tribe, a different story (of *mestizaje*), enabling you to rethink yourself in more global-spiritual terms

instead of conventional categories of color, class, career" (141). These new perspectives challenge the binarism and linear thinking of western ontology. Within the Canadian context, border-crossing women embody an inherently hierarchical hybridization, or *mestizaje*, of identities; they are, themselves, a borderzone. This new category of identity, *mestiza*, is a disposition of ambiguity and multiplicity that reflects borderlands as both a physical site and a lived experience (71).

Methodology

In January of 2019, we met with six women border-crossers living in Canada. Our research consisted of open-ended interviews that were three to five hours in length. In choosing our participants, we sought out diverse geographical representation. The origin countries in our data set include Palestine (Gaza), Venezuela, Lebanon, Zambia, Pakistan, and Mi'kma'ki. In this context, Indigenous women who traverse reserve boundaries and juggle both colonial and home cultures are border-crossers as well. As Audra Simpson (2014) notes, Canadian law works to regulate Indigenous behaviour "to protect, and, in different iterations, to confine and contain the Indigenous in certain spaces" (144). This study's participants ranged between nineteen and thirty-six in age, and they were able to choose their pseudonyms for this report.

Within the scope of a two-term, undergraduate independent study project, the small sample allowed for in-depth, qualitative analysis. Our approach deliberately breaks with traditional anthropological models, which often function to demarcate *self* from *Other* and deny the "coevalness" of their informants (Lavie and Swedenburg 1996, 1). At the same time, this work remains fundamentally ethnographic as it is grounded in our informants' perspectives and the social relations that create their realities. We embarked on a feminist-collectivist approach, collaborating with our participants as interlocutors who bring multiple perspectives that cross disciplines and geographical boundaries.

As three women of similar age, completing our undergraduate degrees in diverse disciplines, we, like our research participants,

bring our own perspectives into this study. With this in mind, we feel that it is imperative to introduce ourselves.

Kathleen is twenty-three years old and finishing her Combined Honours degree in International Development and Gender & Women's Studies. The most recent first-generation immigrants in her family are paternal great-grandparents from Iceland and Scotland who met and married in Canada. Her maternal great-great-grandparents emigrated from Italy in the early 1900s. Tracing her matrilineal genealogy, her ancestors were part of the first wave of Irish settlers in Prince Edward Island during the mid-1700s (notably around the time of the Acadian Expulsion and coinciding removal of local Mi'kmaq communities).

Alia is twenty-one years old and pursuing a Combined Honours degree in Social Anthropology and Contemporary Studies. Like most Canadians, she is of mixed heritage. Her father's family immigrated to Canada in 1967 from Bethlehem, Palestine, a year before his birth. Alia's mother is Scottish-Ukrainian. In an effort to flee the Soviet regime, Alia's maternal grandmother spent her childhood taking refuge in various European cities, arriving in Canada in 1950.

Theresa is a twenty-three-year-old, Canadian-born Lebanese woman. Next year she will pursue a Law Degree at the Schulich School of Law at Dalhousie. Theresa's father immigrated to Canada in 1989, with her mother following shortly after. They left within the context of the Lebanese Civil War, which occurred from 1975 to 1990. They now operate a very successful restaurant in Truro.

Border-Crossers

The following introductions to the research participants are not mere prefaces. They are the data that led us to employ Anzaldúa's framework to women border-crossers' experiences in Canada. Each woman's journey involved navigating complex and seemingly conflicting identity categories. As these women negotiate their place between these categories, they embark on their process of spiritual inquiry, or in Anzaldúan terms, *conocimiento*.

Kira

> When people ask me where my home is, I feel like they are asking me where I belong, and I don't know [she exhales]. Ask me where I'm from; it's an easier question.

Kira is a twenty-five year old woman from Venezuela. She is passionate, optimistic, and quick to laugh. Even though she struggles to define "home" and find a sense of belonging in Canada, Kira maintains an impressive balance between being headstrong and open-minded. "What do I see when I look in the mirror?" She laughed, "I'm super small, I'm black, and I have super curly hair!" Kira told Kathleen that coming to Canada at nineteen was "the first time I'd moved to a place. [...] I was hanging out all the time with Mexican people, Koreans, and Japanese. [...] It was very different to *anything* I had lived in my life before." Kira's family was financially privileged in Venezuela, so they enjoyed regular vacations. Laughing, she said, "I'm really grateful that I went to Disneyland so many times because I was kind of familiar with the culture. It wasn't a shock for me when I first came."

Ella

> Sometimes I feel worried to tell [Canadians] I'm Palestinian. But, I'm still Palestinian. Yeah... that's tough. I don't know what [else] to say.

Meet Ella, a twenty-seven-year-old singer, chef, and border-crosser from Gaza, Palestine. Sitting in a coffee shop, behind soft dark curls that frame her almond eyes and tentative smile, she shared with Alia her story of navigating a turbulent, years-long border-crossing experience. Ella continues to reconcile the dramatic changes her new Canadian life brings after living in Gaza for twenty-four years. "I feel like I'm in the process of finding my identity... like, who am I? Am I gonna be still thinking the same? [...] Or, am I gonna be developing my skills and my thinking?" Ella moves through the world with anxiety that stems from no longer being in Gaza. She told Alia, "the question of home is very hard... Home's still home, where I was born in Gaza Strip, Palestine. But for me now, being away from home and all the difficult situations there, I am trying to make my home here in Canada."

Raissa

> My religion, for sure, has the right of way over anything else. My 'Lebaneseness' also... . If you told me to give [myself] two top identities, it would be my religion and my background. These are two things I don't think I could compromise.

These are the sentiments of Raissa, a twenty-five-year-old Lebanese border-crosser. "[We] came here in 2006," she told Theresa. "My dad is a physician, and he got his degree from a Canadian university. [...] in 2006, he got a locum [a temporary position] in Nova Scotia, and that was the summer when Israel was bombing us [Lebanon]. Because of the... the situation that was going on, all Canadian citizens were asked to leave [Lebanon]. So we'll just go on 'vacation!'" This "vacation" became permanent. Raissa grapples with the fractured familial connections in Lebanon. She shared that it is difficult "missing things that happen and feeling like you want to be over there but you can't... and same for my family [in Lebanon]. They feel like they're missing us and they're missing watching us grow up and living with us day to day." Her smile dissolved as she continued, "When we were living there... we were part of each other's lives directly. Whereas, when you don't live close to each other, you still love them, but... they're not really part of your life, so you don't know what they're like."

Ariel

> At sixteen, I was told that I will be getting married to an older man and will be going to Canada as his bride. [...] Canada was not my choice, it just, like, happened.

Ariel's border-crossing experience played a pivotal role in who she is today. Comfortably nestled on Kathleen's living room sofa, the thirty-six-year-old took a deep breath, pushed her long, auburn-dyed hair from her face, and launched into her story. "I was pretty much pressured into a marriage. [...] A year later I arrived here in my new home and it was miserable. Then, I became a teenage mom." She paused, sipping peppermint tea. "But I think there's a much deeper and more powerful emotional migration story because even though I was physically here, I had never thought of Canada as my home. I wanted to leave because I was being abused in my marriage." Today,

Ariel is a public speaker and a women's rights activist who shares her story wherever she can, from living rooms to international conferences. "When I look back and think, '*Why* did I go through all of that abuse...'" She trailed off, staring into the middle distance. "But the work that I'm doing now to help thousands, if not millions, of people around the world... I love it. It gives me meaning and purpose and wakes me up every morning."

Lila

> Going back home, my African friends [say], 'Oh, you're so Canadian.' I'm like, 'No! I'm in the middle!' I feel offended [...] 'cause I want [them] to know that yes, I grew up here [in Canada], but I'm still Zambian, right?

Lila is a twenty-two-year-old university student from Zambia. On a chilly Thursday afternoon, she met with Alia outside a campus study room. Lila wore bright colours that mirrored her playful humour and vibrant smile. She laughed often throughout the three-hour interview as she described the struggle of finding a space where cross-cultural expression between Zambian and Canadian traditions and values was comfortable. "Home," she explained, "is a little bit of both places. I'd probably start off by saying home is where I'm from, Zambia. But, I would also include Nova Scotia because this is where I was raised." For Lila, negotiating the concept of "home" is an intricate dance between two cultures that continue to complicate and torment each other. She confessed her deep love for her Zambian homeland and the essential role that family, "the most important thing," plays in her life.

Willard

> I was taught that being Mi'kmaq wasn't about how you looked. It was about the way you acted throughout society and the way you viewed the world. It wasn't your skin. Since I knew that from such a young age, for [other children] to try and say I wasn't Mi'kmaw just because of the colour of my skin was so weird because [...] everything I do is Mi'kmaw, every day.

Unlike our other research participants, Willard, a nineteen-year-old woman from Indian Brook, Nova Scotia, has been a border-crosser from childhood. She met with Theresa in the kitchen

of her Victorian-style townhouse. Willard currently lives in Halifax while attending university but has to cross "colonial borders" when visiting family on the reserve. As an Indigenous woman, Willard often collides with labels like "status" and "borders," terms she refers to as "colonial expressions." She explained to Theresa, "It sucks that I have to say full status 'cause, like, that's a colonial thing. But it's literally a daily part of our life; the only way I can talk about that is if I literally use a colonial term." Willard associates home with her life on the reserve, where her entire community is her family. "The Canadian culture is more [...] capitalist-based. Everyone's just trying to get their own nuclear family into the best it can be. [...] They only care about themselves and their family."

The Lacuna: Canada's Neglect for Spirituality and Religion in Discussions of Immigration

As we reviewed the literature, we discovered a lacuna in Canadian border-crossing research. The bureaucratic process of Canadian citizenship is secular; thus, many assume that border-crossing and "integration" are also secular experiences. Canadian immigration literature is a classic example of confirmation bias, favouring information that confirms society's preexisting beliefs. That is to say, Canadian secularism tends to demote spirituality and religion to a somewhat ambivalently respected and even inconsequential aspect of identity. For example, in Madine VanderPlaat's (2007) comprehensive review of Canadian literature on immigrant women's integration, religion is referenced only once in the context of Muslim women's experiences job hunting while wearing hijabs. Spirituality and religion are, to varying degrees, principal facets of culture. This is a critical point, as culture informs our behaviour and provides the framework through which we understand our surroundings, our experiences, and our positionality (9). As such, our findings suggest that the experience of border-crossing is anything but an exclusively secular endeavour.

In Canadian literature, the border is defined almost exclusively in geographical terms and refers to the border-crossing woman as an

immigrant. This approach treats her challenges as speed bumps along a linear path from point A, the initial act of crossing the border, to point B, social integration and citizenship. This linear framework is adverse to Anzaldúa's (2012) nonlinear, multifaceted definition of borderzones. For her, a borderzone is physical, emotional, and spiritual; it is "where the Third World grates against the first and bleeds [...] a vague and undetermined place created by the emotional residue of an unnatural boundary [...] a constant state of transition" (25). We draw on Anzaldúa's approach to analyze our findings, as it incorporates the entirety of a woman border-crosser's experience, especially the interwoven thread of spirituality and religion. Popular literature's neglect of these influences is partly a result of Western scholars' research parameters. According to Smadar Lavie (2018), "colonial idealism is still at the very heart of scholarship, because funding for research and publications is mostly situated in North American and Western European institutions that set the research agenda" (29). Canadian research on immigration is generally conducted within patriarchal institutions that value secularism's "rationality" and science's "objectivity." As such, Canada's "invisibilization of the familiar" (the continued de-personalization, bureaucratization, and securitization of border-crossing experiences, in this context) compels its immigration literature to eschew spirituality as a critical area of analysis (Chew 2009, 87).

Sketching the Ancestors of Canadian Border-Crossing Literature

Although lacking in spirituality-inclusive research, Canada has a substantial body of literature that focuses on holistic life experiences, including intersectionality, identity, and belonging. In what follows, we give space for the five scholars whose ideas were fundamental in guiding and supporting our research in this field.

Intersectionality
Some of the first Canadian ethnographic research on women border-crossers was done in 1988 by Dr. Helen Ralston, a professor at Saint Mary's University in Halifax, Nova Scotia.

Ralston's work looks at the experiences of class, gender, and ethnicity for women border-crossers. Her intersectional model marks her work as exceptional for its time. Another early work comes from Roxana Ng (1981). Her radical ethnographic fieldwork with immigrant women in Vancouver highlights ethnicity as a concept created *after* the border-crosser enters Canadian society. Ng argues that Canadians are actively involved in the process of enacting ethnicity and race in our everyday lives. When a border-crosser enters Canada, their race and ethnicity become a means by which other Canadians understand and engage with them in productive and social environments.

Identity and Belonging

Gillian Creese's (2005) work, *Negotiating Belonging: Bordered Spaces and Imagined Communities in Vancouver, Canada*, explores the psychosomatic space where border-crossers negotiate their positionality between cultures. Interestingly, Creese is the only feminist Canadian author we found who references Anzaldúa. Her work heavily informed our understanding of what it means to "belong" to a homeland. According to Creese, women border-crossers' senses of belonging are "often ambiguous, contradictory, and at best, partial" in Canada (24).

Audra Simpson's (2014) *Mohawk Interruptus: Political Life Across the Borders of Settler States* explores how North American colonial bureaucracies work to regulate and even suppress the Indigenous peoples' self-determination efforts. Simpson's work set the basis for our understanding of the connections between history, policy, and continued colonial violence and how they work together to perpetuate the subjugation of Indigenous peoples—which we found also applies more broadly to minority populations within Canada.

In her work *Homegrown, Muslim and other: tolerance, secularism and the limits of multiculturalism*, Eve Haque (2010) frames Canadian diversity policies and cultural mentalities within the context of "multiculturalism within a bilingual framework" (81). We engage with Haque's analysis of the insidious relationship between secularism, multiculturalism, and white supremacy to contextualize women border-

crossers' experiences within Canada's continued affirmation of colonial power hierarchies.

While all of these authors' works were valuable to our overall understanding of the issues discussed in this paper, none engaged with spirituality or religion's impact on the border-crossing experience in Canada. For this reason, we use Anzaldúa's (2012; 2015) work not only to illuminate women's border-crossing experiences but also to expand Canada's secularist immigration discourse.

I. *el arrebato* . . . rupture, fragmentation . . . an ending, a beginning

> You are no longer who you used to be. [...] abandoned by all that's familiar. Exposed, naked, disoriented, wounded, uncertain, confused, and conflicted, you're forced to live en la orilla—a razor-sharp edge that fragments you. (Anzaldúa 2015, 125)

The "fragmentation" that a border-crossing woman confronts when she enters Canada is entangled in the hegemonic landscape of systematic racism and marginalization (125). This experience is unique, for as she becomes "Canadian," social structures work to delegitimize her "global-spiritual" *mestiza* identity. Consequently, her understanding of the world and herself breaks down.

Multiculturalism as an *ideal* seems to imply equality and interconnectedness, and it does have this potential in Canadian society. However, up to this point, Canadian multiculturalism continues to perpetuate ethnic power hierarchies. The political discourse around multiculturalism emerged during the Trudeau Era in the 1960s when post-war Canada sought to challenge the existing hierarchy of Anglo-Celtic dominance, most visibly from French Canadians. Eve Haque (2010) discusses how, during this time, Canadian "national belonging was shifted from overt racial preferences onto the terrain of language and culture to produce the Official Languages Act (1969) and [...] the Multiculturalism Policy (1971) which together gave rise to Trudeau's ostensibly seamless linguistic and cultural policy of 'multiculturalism

within a bilingual framework'" (81). The duality of this grouping, while it sought to calm Anglo-Franco tensions, also served to "erase the founding status of Indigenous peoples and render 'the Other ethnic groups' [...] as mere cultural communities peripheral to the now-acknowledged 'two founding races,' the French and English" (81). "Other ethnic groups" was how all non-French and non-English "immigrant groups" were defined legally during the commissions. It is precisely this framework that carries the "us" (white, Anglo/Franco citizens) versus "them" (border-crossers of colour/ differing religions) maxim throughout Canadian multiculturalism.

Understanding the Canadian multiculturalist formula's duality is crucial because it provides the basis for one of its most essential cornerstones: secularism (82). Canadian secularism is predominantly based on *laïcité,* the historic religion-state model of 18th century France (Wallace 2014, para. 21). The European secularist movement was not centrally about tolerance; it served as a way to wrest control from the Church, privileging the Enlightenment period's rationality and individualism (Chew 2009, 87). According to Dolores Chew (2009), the ideology of secularism "fit well with the project [of] 'western civilization,' with its assumptions of progress and development" (87). The aim of *laïcité*, or secularism, was not to outlaw religion but to restrict and control it, particularly as it grew in tandem with the differentiation of the public and private social space (Wallace 2014, para. 21).

Canadian Secularism, but with a Christian Flavour

Many Canadians believe that our country, as a secular liberal nation, guarantees the "separation of church and state," or religious influence in public life. Instead, as these women border-crossers' narratives suggest, through secularism, the liberal state exercises sovereign power and determines which religious expressions are acceptable in the public sphere (Haque 2010, 82). In Canada, "proper" religious expressions are Christian. When the French and British colonized Turtle Island, renamed North America, they brought their Christian religion-state traditions (Wallace 2014, para. 15). By the

end of the 17th century, the Church of England, for example, controlled Upper Canada, and the Roman Catholic Church held Lower Canada (para. 15). Due to the colonial roots and amplified by the "white settler hegemony of 'multiculturalism within a bilingual framework'" (Haque 2010, 79), European Christianocentrism is ubiquitous in Canadian culture. Lila acknowledged this phenomenon when she told Alia, "Canada has been accommodating [to my family's Christian practices], but only because Christianity is [...] the dominant religion in the Western world." Today, we can see Canadian society's continued subconscious allegiance to Christianity in the way we operate around a Christian calendar. Only Christianity is universalized and is entitled to designated paid holidays. For example, Canadian religion-based statutory holidays include Good Friday, Easter Monday, and Christmas Day. Evidently, the Christian religion is far from being kept out of the public sphere.

At present, what Canadian secular, multiculturalist "diversity" permits, specifically in terms of non-European Christian expression, is quite limited. For instance, Raissa is a Maronite, a sect of Christianity that originates in Syria but is now firmly rooted in Lebanon. When asked about how she believes Canadian people outside of her Church view her religion, she said, "They think it's silly. They have a different perspective and [...] it's not relevant [to them]." Since Canadians minimize Raissa's religious experience, she avoids discussing her beliefs altogether. According to Chew (2009), this restriction on "diversity" is an effect of secular fundamentalism. Distinguished from secularism (that is, the separation of Church and state), secular fundamentalism is the extreme sect that calls for policies and laws such as Quebec's ban on religious symbols through Bill 21 (an Act respecting the laicity of the State) in 2019. These policies disproportionately affect non-white religious expression, which highlights Canada's allegiance with colonial Euro-Christian values. To this point, Willard explained that she is often challenged by the distinct lack of places where she can smudge. She told Theresa, "Even in one of my Indigenous classes right now, the instructor has been wanting to do, like, a blanket exercise, but in order to do that, you

have to smudge to start the exercise. And a lot of the rooms don't accept smudging." As Raissa and Willard's experiences suggest, not all types of religious and spiritual expression are accepted or even possible in the Canadian public sphere. This means that Canadian multiculturalist policy can, and in many ways does, serve as a smokescreen for secularist exclusionary practices.

Bureaucracy: A Pilgrimage Through Uncertainty

> We are experiencing a personal, global identity crisis in a disintegrating social order that possesses little heart and functions to oppress people by organizing them into hierarchies of commerce and power. (Anzaldúa 2015, 118)

Lavie's (2018) research challenges the notion of bureaucracy as a secular, rational system by highlighting the critical role uncertainty plays in bureaucratic negotiations and processes. While her work focuses on Mizrahi women in the State of Israel, this concept of bureaucratic uncertainty as a state regulatory power also applies to Canadian colonialism in immigration. According to Lavie, the goals of women negotiating the uncertainty of bureaucracy parallel "the goals the faithful have when they go on pilgrimage" (23). Ella shared a story regarding this kind of uncertainty, illustrating the paralleled experiences of chance, faith, and prayer between pilgrims and women border-crossers negotiating the bureaucracy of immigration. "I think I learned how to be patient," she laughed.

> I was so frustrated at the beginning. […] I was really worried about my family at the time because the situation is getting worse [in Gaza] and it's not safe, and my process is taking a long time. My hearing is postponed. I don't know how I'm going to get them here or try and help them. So, it was really tough. And my lawyer said, like, 'I'm sorry but you are seeking asylum so you can't really help your family because it's your story, your thing to do.' I was like, 'Oh, I didn't know that. I thought when I claim asylum, I can help them to come here.' Because when you do immigration it's different than seeking asylum, it's different than just staying here

and working, and then getting your PR and stuff.

Canadian immigration has its own bureaucratic logic. According to Ella, "Even though there is a process, it does come off like it's really simple and very welcoming. But there's so much that goes into it that we don't really notice until we go through it and then it's like, 'oh wow,'" she concluded apprehensively. Even though Lila came to Canada from Zambia in 2001 at the age of six, she did not receive permanent residence until her first year of university. She talked about the years of paperwork and uncertainty that her parents faced while paying lawyers who ended up being extremely negligent. In 2014, when Lila still did not have permanent residence, Nova Scotia Immigration wanted to deport her father whose papers had expired.

Canadian multiculturalist policy maintains that multiple cultures coexist within one unified (homogenized) "Canadian" culture. This system of thinking secures the ethnic hierarchies in our immigration bureaucracy; the white man of European/Protestant origin continues to be considered the "neutral" against which difference (and thus the allocation of citizenship privileges such as rights, security, and protection) is measured. Today, we can see tensions arise as Canadian demographics become increasingly heterogeneous with the influx of non-Christian cultures and religions (Haque 2010). As Creese (2005) argues, "transnational migration creates new forms of multiply-positioned subjects and cultural hybridities that, in so far as they destabilize national boundaries, may be potentially transgressive" (3). Canada's shifting demographics challenge not only the current secular attitude but also white, Christian, European privilege.

II. *Nepantla*, the In-Between: Torn Between Conflicting Realities

> After leaving the home culture's familiar cocoon, you occupy other ideological spaces, begin seeing reality in new ways, questioning both the native culture's and the new culture's descriptions of reality. (Anzaldúa 2015, 71)

Canada's secular model pits homogenized, white/European Canadian identity against

particular *non-western* cultural expressions. This social configuration creates a "rupture," or an "us" against "them" dichotomy, that border-crossing women must negotiate. In the next section, we explore this negotiation through Anzaldúa's *conocimiento* stage of *nepantla*. All of the women in this study felt pulled between conflicting realities—the norms of Canada's white majority and the familiar norms of their homeland.

Not So Polite: Canadian Racism

There is a ubiquitous boundary that exists between secular subjects and non-liberal fundamentalist cultures. In this atmosphere, the boundary between what, to the hegemonic universal, is tolerable and what is not becomes a practice of demarcation (Haque 2010, 84). The nature of the demarcation—or what is, in reality, "tolerable"—is hardly predictable. Roxana Ng (1981) argues that the point at which ethnicity becomes significant for border-crossing women is when they are perceived as not performing adequately (103). For example, Ella shared an experience of closing her cafe one day when "a guy came and said, 'I just realized that you're not white, not Canadian.' [Then he] kept asking me about drinks and telling me to make them certain ways, like I didn't know. He was being really rude to me." Willard also spoke to this when she described Canadians' confusion at her mother being both Mi'kmaw and a lawyer. Willard said, "it's almost like they don't even realize they're being racist [...] because it's just been such a societal norm that if you're a marginalized person you usually don't achieve things like that." To this, Anzaldúa (2015) writes, "Exchanges with self, others, and world arouse antagonism when others don't react as you expected" (77). Here, we see that the association of Indigenous identity with poverty runs so deep that Canadians struggle to correlate it with prestige.

These simplistic assumptions, reinforced by Canada's Euro-Christianocentrism and secular multiculturalism, illustrate yet another insufficiency in the demarcation practice of cultural *Others*. These demarcation practices contribute to the "us versus them" discourse by assuming that "Others" (ethno-cultural minority groups) are ahistorical and static and subscribe to changeless cultural norms. As Anzaldúa (2012) argues, the *mestiza* "has had to work twice as hard as others to meet the standards of the dominant culture which have, in part, become her standards" (71). This tenuous structure perpetuates social "ruptures" and serves to cement Canada's racialized, ethnocultural hierarchy. It also distorts what fluidity exists between majority white and minority non-white cultures by overlooking their interconnectedness.

The *Shadowbeast*: A Case of Mistaken Identity Politics

> While home, family, and ethnic culture tug you back to the tribe [...] the anglo world sucks you toward an assimilated, homogenized, whitewashed identity. Each separate reality and its belief system vies with others to convert you to its worldview. (Anzaldúa 2015, 126)

According to Anzaldúa (2012), many border-crossing women conform to the values of the "new" culture to avoid rejection; they "push the unacceptable parts [of themselves] into the Shadows" (42). However, a *mestiza* who succeeds in identifying her *shadowbeast* through spiritual activism sees it for what it is: her inner rebel (42). Her negotiation with rigid, seemingly incompatible belief systems is a negotiation with her *shadowbeast*. As such, the *shadowbeast* works on both a collective and personal scale.

A border-crosser's shadows are the parts of herself that refuse to be constrained by Anglo/Western hierarchical structures. In Canada, both Ariel and Ella's *shadowbeasts* manifest similarly in their desires to distance themselves from Arab and South Asian men. Ariel's marriage was rife with emotional, physical, and financial abuse. It has been many years since Ariel left her marriage; however, she makes it clear that, "I don't mingle with Pakistanis and South Asians too much. I feel like there's always going to be judgement there. [...] I faced a lot of backlash when I left my marriage. [...] It was ugly, and all from that community. So, I just stay away." On the topic of dating, Ella announced, unprompted, that she would never be with an Arab man. She stated categorically, "I hate Arab men." These women find themselves in the shadow of Canadian culture where Arab and

South Asian presenting phenotypes are harshly judged. They have internalized a belief system (based on a range of experiences), wherein minority cultures, specifically Arab and South Asian men, are ahistorically viewed as controlled by immutable customs. This is extremely pertinent in the Global North's current climate, where we are witnessing increasing surges of Islamophobia. While one must guard against the ease by which "Arab and Pakistani men" and "violence" slide into a common category, there are very real patriarchal manifestations of violence within Muslim countries that exist to varying degrees in all cultures (Christian patriarchy, for instance). These issues are multilayered, complex, and informed by many factors, including these women's personal experiences both in Canada and in their countries of origin.

What's Language Between Friends?

Language is the primary tool used to negotiate various signifiers of cultural differences; however, language *itself* can serve as an exclusionary practice. In this context, women border-crossers' external and internal experiences of linguistic estrangement highlight their journey through *nepantla*. Jhumpa Lahiri (2016) argues that "when you live in a country where your own language is considered foreign, you can feel a continuous sense of estrangement. You speak a secret unknown language, lacking any correspondence to the environment. An absence that creates a distance within you" (19). Lila described her experience of *external* linguistic estrangement to Alia. She felt left out whenever her extended family came to visit because nobody spoke to her in English. "Immediately all kinds of languages are running through [my home], and as much as I do hear everything [...] I'll always be replying in English and then I feel kind of alienated." Even though English is an official language of Zambia and her entire family can speak it, they mainly choose to communicate in their Bemba dialect when they are together, which Lila cannot speak fluently.

Language is a primary tool of self-expression. When a border-crossing woman cannot express herself in the language of the majority, she experiences *internal* estrangement. Kira's inability to "talk normally"

frequently frustrates her. Humour is integral to her personality and is, therefore, crucial in her relationships. She described how the critical connection between fluency and humour often left her feeling lonely:

> [It's] how you say words, how you put them in a sentence, *especially* when you don't speak the language, [...] you can't be as funny, or you can't be as *fun* in general. Like, you have sarcastic tones that you can't express, and when you actually get them out, they are too slow to be funny. It's infuriating! Everyone's like, 'Oh, yeah, yeah she's okay...' and it's like, no, I'm not just okay, I'm *awesome*! I swear!

She ended with a laugh. For Kira, not being able to express her humour was an obstacle that made her feel disaffected in Canada. She said, "I *really* miss having close friends like I had before [in Venezuela]." In this sense, Kira and Lila's experiences are two sides of the same coin. Where Lila's fluency in English inhibited her from genuinely connecting with her family, Kira's struggle with English left her ability to make friends tenuous.

Language deficiencies impede a woman border-crosser's ability to navigate the *nuances* of cultural differences. Since she is not familiar with the colloquial context, euphemisms may be lost on her, which creates a sense of *cultural* alienation. Raissa astutely pointed out, "Language is a reflection of culture. So, the expressions used in the language reflects the type of culture it is, and what the priorities of a culture is." In her experience, she noted,

> I find it really, really difficult to connect with people who are born here. This is their culture. [...] I feel like an outsider because I can't connect [with them]. [...] But with my international friends, whenever we start talking about how we don't feel like we fit in... You feel like you belong in that group right away because you have something in common with them, [...] you feel like people view you differently.

A big part of "feeling included" is contingent on one's ability to understand the underlying intra-cultural (inside) jokes. For Raissa, not understanding cultural-linguistic contexts made her feel like she did not belong amongst her

Canadian peers. For women border-crossers, or *mestizas*, establishing relationships while experiencing cultural alienation is incredibly difficult. Raissa suggested as much when she spoke of feeling disconnected from her Canadian-born peers. This is why bringing Anzaldúa's nomenclature into a Canadian border-crossing context is so important: It acknowledges and reifies both *mestizas'* spiritual agency and the vagaries of political subjectivity that the state prefers to ignore.

III. *Coyolxauhqui*, a Community: A New Personal Narrative

> Your resistance to identity boxes [...] calls you to retribalize your identity to a more inclusive one, redefining what it means to be [...] a citizen of the world, classifications reflecting an emerging planetary culture. In this narrative, national boundaries dividing us from the 'others' (nos/otras) are porous, and the cracks between worlds serve as gateways. (Anzaldúa 2015, 141)

Canada is a space where multiple cultures coexist and thrive. Yet, for too long, Canada's colonial, secularist, bureaucratic imperatives have mandated that women border-crossers deny their *mestiza* identities and assimilate into predetermined identity categories to become "true" Canadians. In the following section, we explore some methods that these women use to refuse the suffocating limitations of Canadian identification practices. Through the lens of Anzaldúa's *conocimiento* stage of *Coyolxauhqui*, where new personal and collective narratives emerge, we can see how Canada can provide *mestizas* with a unique space to explore the cracks between culturally-defined identity borders. In this stage, one "owns [their] shadow, allowing the breath of healing to come into [their] lives" (Anzaldúa 2015, 123). As this process unfolds, Canada becomes the borderzone where these women dismantle rigid perceptions of identity and belonging. Willard articulated this effect beautifully when she asserted her Mi'kmaw identity's boundlessness that is neither singular nor determined in advance. She told Theresa, "everything I do is Mi'kmaw, every day." For her, being Mi'kmaw does not mean anything other than being exactly who she is every day—on and off the reserve. In every moment of Willard's multidimensional identity, she is Mi'kmaw.

Bucking the System: What is a Woman?

> You realize that some aspects of who you are—identities people have imposed on you as a woman of color and that you have internalized—are also made up. Identity becomes a cage you reinforce and double-lock yourself into. The life you thought inevitable, unalterable, and fixed in some foundational reality is smoke, a mental construction, fabrication. So, you reason, if it's all made up, you can compose it anew and differently. (Anzaldúa 2015, 138)

When we asked the women to define "womanhood," their initial answers paralleled a traditional patriarchal definition comparing women *against* men. She is what he is not. Kira shared that being a woman meant "being scared of dressing in a certain way, or being scared of what people are going to think if I dress that certain way." Ella said, "Sometimes I felt like, why wasn't I a man who had control [and] could do things?" These looming patriarchal perceptions of being a woman exemplify a manifestation of a collective *shadowbeast*—mainstream Anglo culture's implicit categorization of womanhood.

However, as these women pondered the question, their answers shifted. The narrow definition of womanhood evolved to one that reached beyond stereotypes. Kira noted, "Those are *imposed* things. [...] They are not real!" Throughout the interview, they began to articulate "womanhood" in their terms. When Lila described her identity, she proudly declared, "I'm a Black woman [...] and the idea of the femme is a powerful thing, even if society may not see it that way. Women have a lot of power in that we raise people [...] That's really powerful whether or not you're a mother." Ella commented, "Understanding yourself as a woman *every day* makes you feel like, no I don't want to be a man... I *can* be responsible for things. I *can* carry heavy things." Ariel concurred, wrapping everything up with, "I think because I was told that because I am a girl I couldn't do this or that, it has just kind of made me more rebellious. Like, I'll show you, watch me!"

Since neither Anglo-secular norms nor the familiar norms of their birthplaces adequately served their personal understandings of womanhood, these women challenged their inner *facultad* (their ability) to accommodate "mutually exclusive, discontinuous, and inconsistent worlds" to create a new narrative for themselves (Anzaldúa 2015, 81). Essentially, the *mestizas* channelled their *facultad* by turning inward to engage the *shadowbeast* and their inner resilience.

Back to the Drawing Board: Overriding the Colonial Binary

When I write [...] [it] feels like I'm creating my own face, my own heart – a Nahuatl concept. My soul makes itself through the creative act. It is constantly remaking and giving birth to itself through my body. It is this learning to live with *la Coatlicue* that transforms living in the Borderlands from a nightmare into a numinous experience. (Anzaldúa 2012, 95)

Ariel embodies *Coyolxauhqui* in her active renegotiation of her personal narrative. After leaving her abusive marriage, she created a new, independent life for herself and her children. In essence, there existed a kind of "internal split" for her: before and after, Pakistani culture and Canadian culture, old self and new self. Ariel subsumed her younger self into a *shadowbeast* through shame, humiliation, and anger, internalizing this dichotomy.

In March 2019, Ariel published her autobiography. The cover is her wedding photo: a seventeen-year-old girl in traditional Pakistani wedding garb. She told Kathleen, "When my book cover was being designed [...] I was having fights with my publisher. [...] I don't identify with that scared mouse on the cover anymore. I don't like her. The woman in the red heels and the western dress, the strong power figure, that's me." A few months later, Ariel was a keynote speaker at a graduation in Ottawa. As she was handing students their degrees, she had an epiphany. "[I]t just struck me that I was on stage at that age to get married... That's how old I was in that picture, on the cover. And these *kids*, they were coming on stage to get the degrees." For the rest of the ceremony, Ariel sat on the stage and thought about her seventeen-year-old self. She marvelled at how

"she was the one who did not give up on her education, who did all the chores during the day, served her in-laws, cooked the food, and still went into her room in the middle of the night and studied and completed her high school without any support." Since that moment, Ariel has had a very different attitude towards that young woman. "I'm like, 'holy fuck.' [...] If I hadn't fought all those hard battles then, I wouldn't even be who I am today. [...] I just felt so much compassion for this little girl that was me. [...] If there's anyone who's the hero of the story, it's her, and if there's anyone who deserves to be on the cover, it's her." After the graduation, Ariel went back to her hotel, opened the book cover on her phone, and "sat there for an hour crying and saying thank you to that girl." She called her publisher the next day and said: "'The cover's fantastic.'"

Reconciling her past and present, Ariel was able to reclaim foundational moments integral to her identity as a border-crossing woman. She overrode the *shadowbeast* that deemed her identities incompatible and reified the fluidity that exists between them. The graduating students inspired Ariel to walk through a spiritual gateway, and she put herself back together on her own terms.

Canada's various colonial borders that separate "us" from "them" often emanate from the liberal intention to create one unified community where diverse cultures can coexist in harmony. The disjuncture, however, is that the state uses secular assimilation to achieve this goal. This results in the erasure, for example, of Indigenous worldviews that draw their ethical frameworks and governance systems from the deeply empathetic, respectful, and reciprocal relationships among people and the earth. In contrast to Canadian secularism, Willard explained that Mi'kmaq culture is inherently altruistic and recognizes the "interconnectedness" between all beings, cultures, and ways of knowing. "We would still recognize that parts of their [Canadian] culture are intertwined in ours [...] out of respect." Willard exemplifies Smadar Lavie and Ted Swedenburg's (1996) argument that "borders and diasporas offer new frames and analysis that resist and transcend national boundaries" (15). Willard's *facultad* is the

inherent recognition of the colonial binary way of thinking and her constant renegotiation of her *mestiza* identity as a life-long crosser of colonial borders.

Laugh and the Whole World Laughs with You: Conclusion

Stubborn, persevering, impenetrable as stone, yet possessing a malleability that renders us unbreakable, we, the mestizas and mestizos, will remain. (Anzaldúa 2012, 86)

This paper is a platform for the narratives of six women border-crossers in Canada; their narratives are given space, influence, and power, both within their own contexts and within Canadian academia more broadly. As these women evolve through *conocimiento*, they become their own "borderland" where colonial perceptions of "Canadian identity" begin to unravel through reflective and creative dialogues. For them, the whole of Canada becomes a borderzone within which they negotiate *nepantla*, reconciling their *facultad* and *shadowbeast* and claiming for themselves a *mestiza* identity that hybridizes all of their border-crossing experiences. Canada's Anglo-secular landscape has neglected and overlooked the complexity of *mestiza consciousness* and the inherent spirituality that frames this experience. Bringing Anzaldúa's (2012; 2015) works into the Canadian context gives us the ability to articulate this *new mestiza consciousness* and shift the structure that dominates prevailing notions of identity, spirituality, race, gender, class, and sexuality.

We often hear that Canada's beauty and significance *is* its quintessential diversity. But this difference must be effectively *articulated* if diversity is to be embraced and celebrated authentically. The more we uplift and give space to the *mestiza* experience, the closer Canada will come to the multicultural nation it claims to be.

Canada's multicultural landscape is no utopia, but we uncovered it to be a place rich with potential. As these women border-crossers' stories attest, Canada can provide a space for a diverse range of positive self-discovery and spiritual activism. In the words of

Ariel, "If you choose not to take part in a set of cultural values that you do not agree with, then you will find another community and another set of values that you will align yourself with."

These six women's experiences, a microcosm of a far greater population, demonstrates the need for a broader immigration lens, one that acknowledges the folly of predetermined, one-dimensional border-crossing narratives. The "problems of difference" that we face in a globalized world lack effective solutions. To progress, our understanding of the world must be "broader than the Western understanding of the world" (Escobar 1988, 16). One way forward is to understand how Canada's secular fundamentalism and Christianocentrism inhibit *nuance*, a critical aspect of understanding immigrants, refugees, and asylum seekers as complex *human beings*. Negotiating diverse and often seemingly contradictory perspectives has never been more crucial. When we legitimize multiple perceptions of "what exists," we create spaces where new and better cultural narratives can grow. This approach can go some distance in counterbalancing lingering worldviews that promote violence and prejudice with the hope of minimizing the "us" versus "them" mentality. One example is the dire need to decolonize our conception of Indigeneity as a subaltern "culture." We must support Indigenous activists in their attempts to educate Canadians on how to break the colonial monopoly on legitimate forms of knowledge. Using Anzaldúa's (2015) model, we conclude that women border-crossers offer Canada a unique opportunity. In order to bring Canadian diversity to its full potential, we must understand and integrate the more nuanced aspect of spirituality in women border-crosser's life experiences. As globalization endlessly redefines geographic and socio-political borders, the border-crosser is becoming the new human archetype. It is time we recognize the *mestiza* as an authentic form of political subjectivity.

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Endnotes

1. This heading is inspired by Norma Alarcon's paper titled *Chicana Feminism: In the Track of "the" Native Women.*

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"Hey there, Brian": Voicing Mormon Cosmopolitanism in a College Apartment

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ABSTRACT

In this paper, I discuss a humorous form of voicing called Brian Voice (BV) used by myself and my former roommates, all of whom are students at Brigham Young University and members of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints. Bringing the tools and methods of linguistic anthropology together with the anthropology of morality (especially ordinary ethics), I demonstrate the ways in which my roommates and I use this voicing to simultaneously inhabit the two seemingly contradictory identities of, on the one hand, a reverent Mormon and, on the other, a modern cosmopolitan. BV facilitates this identity by enabling speakers to voice both irreverence and anti-cosmopolitanism without incurring the normal social consequences associated with those stances. I contend that BV accomplishes this mitigation of negative consequences through indexing ridiculousness and absurdity. By situating BV within its Mormon context, I demonstrate that in distancing speakers from both hyper-reverence and irreverence, BV entails a practical engagement with the ethics, principles, and ideals of both Mormon morality and cosmopolitan morality, thus allowing speakers to inhabit a simultaneously Mormon and cosmopolitan self.

Keywords: Mormonism; voicing; cosmopolitanism; irreverence; linguistic anthropology

In this article, I analyze a form of voicing called Brian Voice (BV) that is used in conversation by a small group of undergraduates at Brigham Young University (BYU). In this analysis, I show how BV is used to point to certain notions of morality in the Mormon context and allows speakers to manage (however implicitly) the tension between an apparently anti-cosmopolitan religious reverence and a cosmopolitan irreverence. In doing so, I draw on the theoretical work of Lambek (2010), who argues that "ethics is intrinsic to speech and action" (1). Lambek (2010) and Das (2012), both proponents of an anthropological approach to morality that they term "ordinary ethics," link ethical concerns inseparably to practice in order to push back on a scholarship of morality that they find overly rooted in abstract logic. Essentially, they argue that people form their moral selves through their mundane practices rather than through appeals to an absolute, intellectual notion of morality. As Das (2012) puts it, one becomes moral "not by orienting oneself to transcendental, objectively agreed-upon values but rather through the cultivation of sensibilities within the everyday" (134). The voicing practices that I will describe are exemplary of ordinary ethics because morality appears to be enacted relatively effortlessly through them. Lempert (2013) has pointed to the potential value of ordinary ethics for the study of language, and Sidnell (2010) has shown that scholarship on the relationship between mundane language and ethics goes back at least to Austin (1957), while at the same time criticizing a historical lack of attention to "the ordinary language of ordinary people" and calling for increased scholarly attention to linguistic expressions of morality in everyday life (Sidnell 2010, 124). I contribute to this scholarship by further addressing this nexus of language and morality, showing how cultural-religious ethical judgements are immanent in the language practice called BV by its speakers.

I will begin by outlining the methods I used in my research and analysis. I will give an idea of the sound of BV, including a brief phonetic analysis, and describe the history of the voicing's entextualization. I will then discuss the ways that BV functions as a mechanism for creating an identity that is simultaneously cosmopolitan and reverently Mormon. Throughout this article, I use the word Mormon to refer to the religious-cultural system in question. I recognize that many members of this group, myself included, prefer to be identified as "members of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints," which is the largest official church within Mormonism, with about 16 million members worldwide. However, I feel that by using Mormon, I can speak to a broader cultural movement, which includes active members of the Church and others on its peripheries who interact with the cultural influence of the religion. I use cosmopolitanism to embody an identity, typically desired by American college students, that is sophisticated, worldly (rather than limited or provincial in focus), and politically progressive. In colloquial usage, some college students might refer to a cosmopolitan individual as "woke," but I avoid this term because it is exclusively political in connotation and its meaning has become increasingly muddled through ironic and critical usage.

This desired cosmopolitanism typically connotes a secularism and intersectionality that conflicts with many traditional aspects of Mormon piety. Thus, a traditional, pious, Mormon identity would be anti-cosmopolitan in many ways, especially given that it is religious, conservative, and insular. However, these categories do not conflict in every respect. For example, both pious Mormon and cosmopolitan identities require some form of well-mannered politeness. Nonetheless, I argue that speakers use BV to bridge the gap between two desired identities, cosmopolitanism and reverent piety, that might otherwise conflict. This balancing act involves the interplay of reverence and irreverence, with BV enabling speakers to parody the hyper-reverence of a conservative, anti-cosmopolitan Mormon while

at the same time distancing themselves from the irreverence that might be associated with certain stances of cosmopolitanism. By setting up a constellation of identities (hyper-reverent, anti-cosmopolitan, irreverent) that they simultaneously distance themselves from, the speakers create an identity for themselves that is at the same time reverent and cosmopolitan. This balancing act points to a complex morality manifested in everyday practice, thus embodying a form of ordinary ethics.

Methodology

This article is based on data obtained during six months of participant observation in my undergraduate apartment in Provo, Utah. There, I observed the interactions of my roommates as we went about our lives as students at BYU. During this period of observation, I recorded and analyzed approximately five hours of talk, including transcribing extended segments. These recordings were taken during periods of naturally occurring conversations in the apartment, and while my roommates were aware that the recording was taking place, no prompts were given to direct the conversation. I base much of my argument on the analysis of the close transcriptions of these recordings, in addition to data pulled from observation notes and interviews with my roommates. Transcription symbols used in this article are shown in figure 1 and are based on transcription conventions outlined by Du Bois (2006).

This research was approved by BYU's Institutional Review Board. At the request of my roommates and in order to maximize confidentiality, I have chosen pseudonyms for myself and my roommates. The pseudonyms Sam, Cole, Eric, and Joe are used for the four interlocutors in both the body of the article and in all quotes and sections of transcribed speech events that I have included. I recognize that the publication of this work presents a limited risk for breaches of confidentiality. All of my former roommates have been consulted about the decision to publish and they have enthusiastically given their approval.

Figure 1: Transcription conventions

The Phonetic Qualities of Brian Voice

BV is a form of voicing in which speakers mimic the tone, style, and inflection of a particular person known to some of the speakers (see below for a short history of the voicing's enregisterment). It is characterized by a lower and more frontal placement of vowels, a higher-than-normal pitch, and the placement of increased stress on the beginning syllable of intonation units. I argue that the relative strangeness of BV's sound allows speakers to speak in a way that sounds absurd or ridiculous. Comparative phonetic analysis, in which I compare the way BV sounds to the sound of the speakers' normal voices, helps to more clearly illustrate these characteristics. All phonetic analysis was done using PRAAT software.

Figure 2 shows a comparison of vowel placement for an interlocutor, Cole, with his normal voice shown in red and his BV shown in blue. The most apparent difference is the marked variety in vowel frequency between Cole speaking as himself and Cole using BV. For all vowels (except for the F2 vowel formants of /u/), brian-voiced vowels have a much higher

average frequency, with brian-voiced F1 vowel formants being an average of 112.9 Hz greater than the non-voiced, and brian-voiced F2 vowel formants being an average of 163.1 Hz greater than non-voiced vowel formants. Thus, on average, the place of brian-voiced vowels is lower and more frontal than vowels in non-voiced talk. It is also interesting to note that in words that a speaker would normally pronounce with the /a/ sound are pronounced as /ɔ/—when speaking normally, speakers would not distinguish between the pronunciation of the words cot and caught, pronouncing both as [kat]; however, in BV speakers would pronounce both cot and caught as [kɔt]. In respect to this distinction, BV's cot-caught merger does not follow the typical merger patterns of common dialects of American English. That BV does not follow this specific merger pattern is significant because it indicates the strangeness of BV when compared to normal speech.

Figures 3 and 4 compare the pitch of Sam pronouncing the phrase "Hey there, Brian," first in his normal voice (figure 3) and then in BV (figure 4). The pitch contour is indicated by the blue line. As the pitch contour shows, BV is characterized by a significant increase in overall pitch, as well as an increase in the contrast between the highest and lowest points of the pitch contour. It should be noted that both increased pitch and increased pitch variation are commonly associated with women and with non-heterosexual men (Gaudio 1994, 50-51). While BV is not used to embody or to criticize these groups and speakers all indicated that BV is male, it is possible that BV's indexing of (Peirce 1958), or pointing to, absurdity is accomplished in part through its phonetic links to gender and sexual identities that have often been associated with backwardness. In this way, BV is clearly marked as distinct from a voice that the speakers, all of whom identify as heterosexual males, would normally use.

For a canonical example of the sound of the voicing, BV sounds something like a combination of the iconic drawl of Jimmy Stewart and the voice of Wallace Shawn in his role of Vizzini in the 1987 movie *The Princess Bride*. Although the exact sound of the voicing can vary from speaker to speaker, everyone within the group immediately recognizes when someone in the group uses BV.

In summary, BV is a marked way of speaking that is distinct from these speakers' normal

Cole		
Vowel	F1 (Hz)	F2 (Hz)
i	315.81	2115
ɛ	598.75	1661.7
æ	688.41	1458.7
ɑ	681.96	1009.6
ʌ	680.8	1338
u	410.32	1670.8

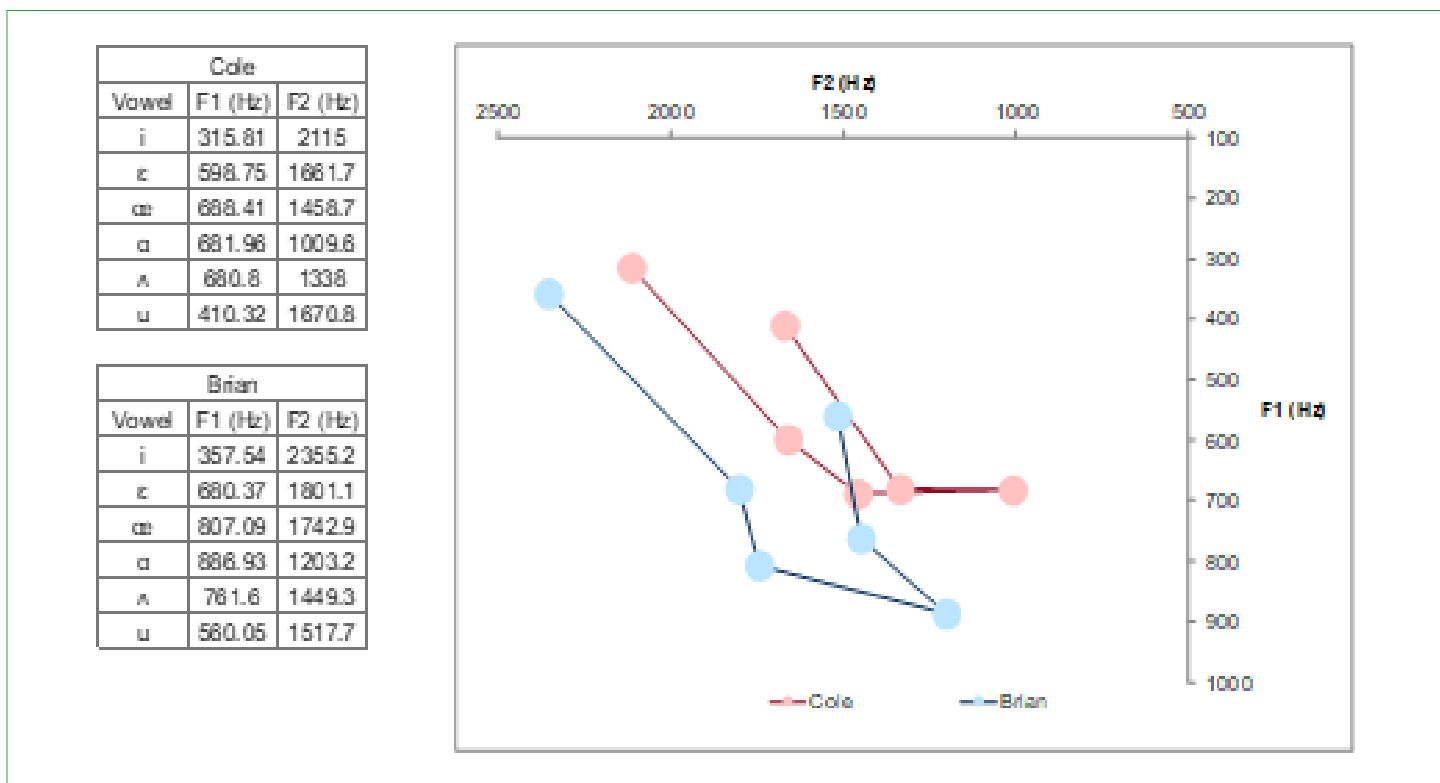| Brian		
Vowel	F1 (Hz)	F2 (Hz)
i	357.54	2355.2
ɛ	680.37	1801.1
æ	807.09	1742.9
ɑ	886.93	1203.2
ʌ	761.6	1449.3
u	560.05	1517.7

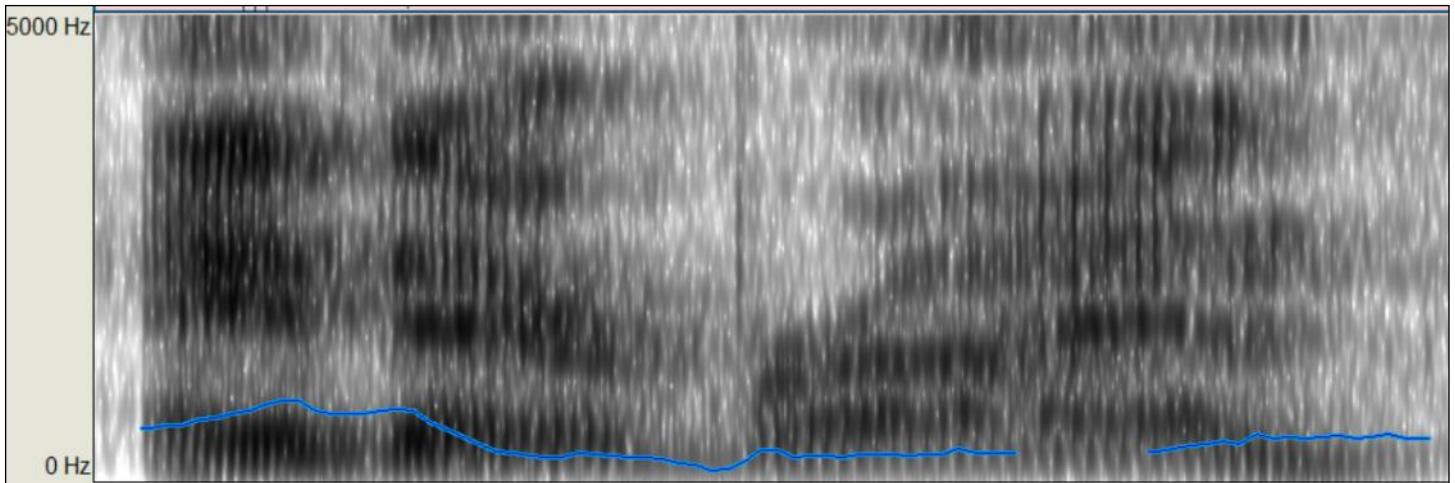Figure 2: Comparative vowel placement

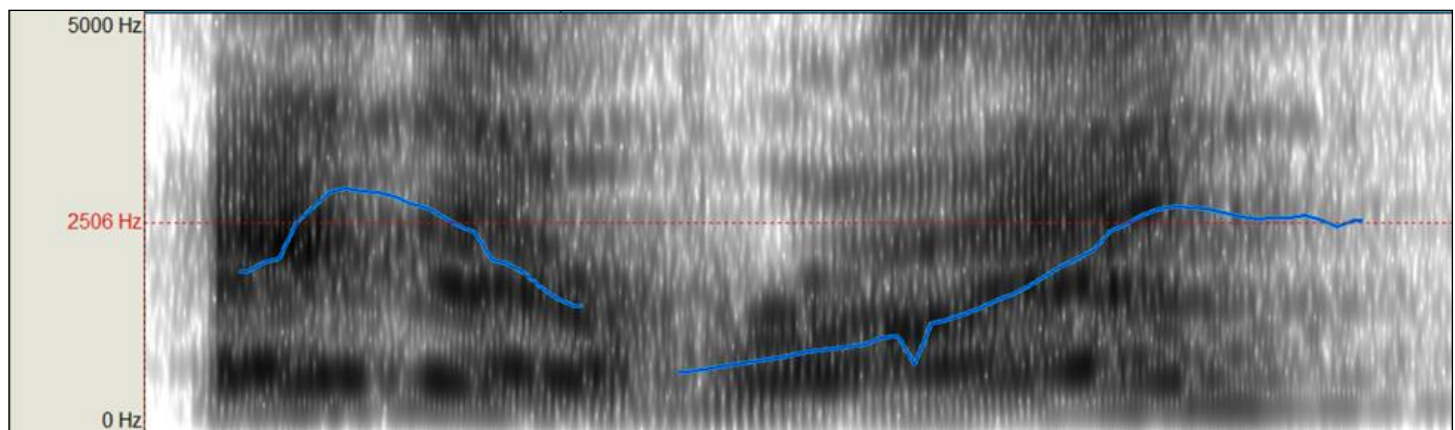Figure 3: Pitch contour of "Hey there, Brian" in normal voice

Figure 4: Pitch contour of "Hey there, Brian" in BV

voice qualities. This voicing has a quality to it that sounds ridiculous and somewhat absurd since BV sounds unlike any actual person. This decontextualized quality is precisely what allows for a certain semiotic fecundity. This quality of BV not only as a recognizable voice but also a voice that none of the speakers would normally use produces the indexically ridiculous and absurd quality that I attribute to BV.

The Entextualization of Brian Voice

Entextualization is the process by which discourse is extracted from its original context and made into its own recognizable text-form, or established pattern of speech (Baumann and Briggs 1990; Silverstein and Urban 1996). Silverstein (2014) has shown that this process of entextualization is particularly important for the creation of voiced identities wherein text-

metricalized discourse, a specific type of established speech pattern (see the phonetic features just mentioned), is taken out of its original context (see next paragraph) and made into an extractable and recognizable text-form that can be deployed in multiple new contexts (see further analysis below). As the voicing was separated from its original context, speakers began to recognize it as a distinct register, which they called "Brian Voice." In this way, the entextualization of BV is a manifestation of enregisterment, the process "whereby performable signs become recognized (and regrouped) as belonging to distinct, differentially valorized semiotic registers by a population" (Agha 2007, 81). In other words, certain speech patterns can come to constitute specific identities. The following story of BV's enregisterment is critical to understanding how the BV register has come to constitute a very particular "image of personhood" (Agha 2007,

177), a personhood that is indexical of ridiculousness and absurdity.

BV originated as an inside joke between two of the roommates, Cole and Sam, who attended the same church congregation during middle school and high school. They had a mutual friend named Bryson who attended high school with a boy named Randy who would often mistakenly call Bryson Brian, even after being corrected. When Bryson first told this story to Cole and Sam, he ironically voiced Randy in a clearly exaggerated and ridiculous way. Cole and Sam both found the voicing of Randy, as well as the misnomer Brian, to be comical. From then on, Bryson, Cole, Sam, and several other friends would jokingly call each other Brian, mimicking the voicing of Randy from the first telling of the story. This beginning led to two key developments in the enregisterment of BV: the voicing of Randy as the basis for BV and the use of the name Brian as a referrer for speakers. In addition, this further illustrates the indexation of ridiculousness in BV since BV was born out of Randy's repeated use of the name Brian for Bryson even though he had repeatedly been told Bryson's actual name.

As with any proper entextualization that entails the decontextualization of language forms, the initial context of the voicing faded in time, and Randy-the-person became irrelevant to the meaning of the voicing, partly because Joe and Eric, who later became users of BV, never knew Randy. Only the initial ridiculousness of misnaming as Brian remained. Indeed, speakers frequently referred to each other as "Brian," almost always in BV, in the same way that other American males of a similar age might refer to each other as bro, dude, or man. For example, in one conversation I observed, Cole greeted Joe in the following manner:

Cole;   <Vox: Brian Voice> Hey there Brian!,

How ya doin? <Vox: Brian Voice>.

The centrality of Brian as referrer continued after Cole and Sam left high school and came to BYU as roommates. There, they used BV around their other roommates, Eric and Joe, who noticed that Cole and Sam frequently called each other Brian. It was Eric and Joe who first began to explicitly call the practice "Brian Voice." They eventually came to use BV just as much as Sam and Cole, who described to them the voice and its backstory. That the voicing is called "Brian Voice" and not "Randy Voice" and that the speakers refer to themselves as "Brians" and not as "Randys" illustrates the decontextualized distance of BV from the original story.

As the original context of BV gradually diminished in importance, several other inside jokes from Cole and Sam's childhoods were eventually woven into BV. Examples of such co-entextualization can be seen in the transcripts below through mentions of "Charlie," "Ha! That's a good one," and "Sorry about it." Each of these refers to a distinct inside joke, totally separate in context from the original Randy story, which have become combined within BV. "Charlie" began when, during an activity at the church congregation, an adult member of Bryson, Cole, and Sam's congregation struggled to convince his young daughter to put on her coat. The scene was somewhat comical for the three friends and dramatic reenactments of the event became entextualized jokes. Eventually, certain phrases from this event became a part of BV and are frequently referenced in brian-voiced speech with mentions of Charlie (the obstinate young child). "Charlie" is now used in BV to refer to someone who is obstinate or annoying. Phrases from another story became a part of BV when a person who visited Bryson, Cole, and Sam's congregation and who spoke in a manner that they felt was somewhat ridiculous would sometimes make comments such as "Ha! That's a good one" and "Sorry about it." When deployed in conversation, these names and phrases would always be used in BV.

As with BV itself, these names and phrases became increasingly distant from their original context, combining with others to form BV as it is spoken today. Thus, BV becomes functionally meaningful by indexing the ridiculousness of the original contexts of these stories while eliding the rest of those contexts. Furthermore, BV points to the absurdity of these original stories while also indexing the phonetic qualities described above. Both the contexts and phonetic qualities are now recognized by the speakers as a "repertoire of performable signs linked to stereotypic pragmatic

effects" (Agha 2007, 80), with those pragmatic effects being the indexing of ridiculousness. Thus, this process of enregisterment has created a register, BV, which the speakers indexically link to an absurd and ridiculous personhood. This indexically ridiculous personhood associated with BV is key to allowing the voicing to distance speakers from both anti-cosmopolitanism and irreverence.

BV, Anti-Cosmopolitanism, and Irreverence

I love my Heavenly Father,

And I will try to be

Reverent when I'm in his house.

Then he'll be near to me.

This passage contains the lyrics to the song "I Will Try to Be Reverent," which is part of *The Children's Songbook*, a hymnal used by children in the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints. The passage demonstrates the importance of reverence in the Mormon religious context. From a young age, children are taught that reverence for the sacred is an essential element of securing closeness to God. The entry for reverence in *True to the Faith*, a broadly used study reference published by the Church, indicates that reverence is a profound attitude of respect and love for God, in addition to respect for other aspects of Mormon religious propriety. The reference states that "the depth of your reverence is evident in your choice of music and other entertainment, in the way you speak of sacred subjects," as well as in "prayer, scripture study, fasting, and payment of tithes and offerings" (The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints 2004, 145). In other words, reverence encapsulates the attitude of respect for the divine in addition to respect for other beliefs and behaviors, including speech, that combine to constitute the sacred Mormon person. Thus, for Mormons it is critical to avoid irreverence, which I take to be any action that disregards culturally mandated requirements of respect for sacred beliefs and behaviors. However, BV allows speakers to voice irreverence without incurring the normal social consequences. This is made possible by the ridiculous and thus trivializing nature of BV, by the use of parodic double voicing (Bakhtin

1984), and by the resulting distance which BV places between the speaker and irreverence.

As noted above, BV trivializes situations because of the ridiculousness and absurdity associated with it. Because it began as a joke and is still used as a comedic device, BV is used in contexts that are less serious. As such, speakers often use the voicing to trivialize talk that might otherwise constitute a seriously irreverent statement. I will demonstrate this in examples throughout the paper. The fact that speakers' use of BV shows a deference for the moral considerations of others designates BV as a kind of vari-directional, passive, double-voiced discourse (Bakhtin 1984, 185; Morson and Emerson 1990, 152-154) with which the speakers voice irreverence in order to distance themselves from that same irreverence.

BV creates distance between the speaker and the irreverent in part because when speaking in BV, speakers assume an identity different than their own. In an interview, Eric responded that when speaking in BV, "it's not your deep and earnest self." He later described BV as a "persona that we adopt." Other speakers reflected similarly on this topic, indicating that in some way or another BV allows speakers to assume an identity different than their own. Indeed, when an interlocutor speaks in BV, he assumes the "BV identity." Thus, when he speaks, he speaks as Brian and not as himself. This relates to Goffman's (1981) decomposition of the speaker into the categories of animator, author, and principal. In the case of BV, the animator, or the person physically speaking, is clearly trying to distance themselves from the principal, or the "someone who is committed to what the words say" (Goffman 1981, 144).

Speakers are trying to distance themselves from something, and I argue that that something is both irreverence and anti-cosmopolitanism—either of which could contaminate the moral purity of the speaker, who is sacred because of the emphasis placed on saving face (Durkheim 1912; Goffman 1959). On the one hand, expressing an overly-moralizing and hyper-reverent self, an anti-cosmopolitan religious rube (cf. Hillary Clinton's "basket of deplorables" or Obama's criticism of those who "cling to guns or religion"), could

offend the cosmopolitan sensibilities of the speaker, thus enacting a sort of profanation. On the other hand, these speakers are members of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints and a direct expression of irreverence would also constitute a profanation within this religious ideology. I propose that BV is a resolution to this pernicious conflict—and a rather delightful one at that. In what follows, I will explore three different ways in which BV allows speakers to parodically voice both anti-cosmopolitanism and irreverence, thus distancing themselves from those attributes and securing their simultaneously cosmopolitan and reverent selves.

Voicing Criticism

In the Brian apartment, criticism of others is profane because it has the potential to offend. While politeness is certainly an important element of cosmopolitanism, the imperative toward avoiding offensive remarks is particularly significant given the Mormon context of BV. It is a common trope that Mormons project niceness, something that has often been referenced satirically in popular media, including in South Park and Saturday Night Live (Tobler 2012; Walker 2013). In interviews, all interlocutors expressed the importance of BV in mitigating offense, stating in various ways that BV makes potentially offensive statements sound less mean, both to the criticizer and to the criticized. In this way, speakers use BV to distance themselves from the anti-cosmopolitan and irreverent quality of impolite criticism.

For example, at one point in a recorded conversation, Joe and Cole began to speak to one another, code-switching between English and French, which caused frustration for Sam, who could no longer follow the conversation.

Joe;   Je ne sais pas.

Cole;   C'est l'acte de naissance?.

Joe;   That's what I don't know.

I don't know if it's the same thing or different so-

And then I'll figure it out.

Sam;   <Vox: Brian Voice> You guys wanna speak English <Vox: Brian Voice>.

Joe;   I am speaking English.

Sam;   <Vox: Brian Voice> Speak in English so I can understand <Vox: Brian Voice>.

This interaction was followed by laughter and more joking. In this example, BV is a particularly effective critique of the undesired code-switching because it acts as a humorous, unsophisticated counter to the cosmopolitanism reflected in the use of French. Sam is able to explicitly state his critique of Joe and Cole, but by doing so in BV he distances himself from this embarrassing, anti-cosmopolitan identity of someone who does not know French and insists that people must speak English in his presence. Furthermore, using BV allows Sam to distance himself from the meanness that could be associated with his criticism.

I observed several other examples of this form of mitigated criticism in a conversation which took place on a Sunday morning as the roommates were preparing to attend the services of their Latter-day Saint young-single-adult congregation. On this particular morning, Cole was the primary author of brian-voiced criticism. According to him, he was particularly stressed to be on time that morning because Joe had asked him to give the invocational prayer at the meeting. In the course of the morning, Cole used BV first to chide Joe for taking too long to get ready and later for having asked him to give the congregational prayer.

Cole;   <Vox: Brian Voice> Some Charlie asked me to give the prayer <Vox: Brian Voice>.

In referring to Joe as "some Charlie" while using BV, Cole engages in an impolite (and thus both irreverent and anti-cosmopolitan) practice of criticizing a friend. In this case, BV allows Cole to avoid the consequences of irreverence and anti-cosmopolitanism associated with criticism of Joe. After expressing this criticism of Joe, Cole turned his attention to Sam, who was still in the shower.

Cole;   <Vox: Brian Voice> Time to finish up in there <Vox: Brian Voice>.

While Sam verbally responded to Cole's criticism dismissively, he was out of the shower and hurriedly getting ready within 30 seconds of Cole's comment. In this interaction, Cole used

BV every time he directly addressed someone with a critical comment. While he spoke openly and without voicing his preoccupation with timeliness, it is telling that BV was used when addressing others. This supports the idea that BV allows for the speaker to engage in the irreverent (in the context of Mormon culture) and potentially anti-cosmopolitan practice of criticizing one's roommates and friends. In this example, it is Cole's need to mitigate potential offenses to his roommates that leads him to state direct criticism of others only in BV. Conversely, speaking of his anxieties about being late does not directly implicate any friends, and therefore Cole does not use BV because there is no risk of impoliteness. Thus, BV allows speakers to reject the cosmopolitan and Mormon imperative of niceness in order to directly criticize others.

In the previous example, Cole uses BV to explicitly state his criticism, saying exactly what his problem is with another roommate. In other cases, speakers use BV to state criticism sarcastically. In these cases, an interlocutor may not explicitly state their criticism, or they may state the opposite of their criticism, but the critical intent of the comment is still understood when a speaker uses BV.

For example, in one instance Cole, Eric, and Sam were sitting in the living room of their apartment while Eric and Cole were engaging in a lively discussion about the 2020 US Democratic Primary race. While Mormon political culture is often perceived as overwhelmingly conservative, the interlocutors, especially Eric and Cole, actively engage in discussions that evidence their support for progressive left-wing politics. For example, in this conversation they were discussing their approval of then presidential candidate Senator Bernie Sanders. In the middle of their discussion, Sam began to sing very loudly. Cole stopped talking and turned toward Sam, speaking in his normal voice.

Cole;   You having fun over there?.

Sam did not respond and kept singing. Cole spoke again.

Cole;   <Vox: Brian Voice> You having fun over there? <Vox: Brian Voice>.

Sam;   Oh yeah @@@

Sam then stopped singing and the conversation resumed.

In this example, Cole offers a critique of Sam that functions as a Gricean implicature. In asking if Sam is having fun, the implication is that Cole and Eric are not. This case is particularly interesting because Cole states the critique of Sam's singing twice, first normally and then in BV, but Sam only recognizes and responds to the second, brian-voiced critique, as evidenced by Sam's verbal response, laughter, and cessation of singing. The fact that Sam did not respond to Cole's intended criticism after the non-voiced phrase but quickly responded when the same phrase was repeated in BV may suggest that BV has a pragmatic element that allowed Sam to recognize the critical nature of Cole's remark.

In other situations, speakers use BV to defuse the social tension created by criticism. For example, in one evening conversation, the roommates began discussing what type of cheese stick Joe was eating, and the situation quickly became tense; Joe believed he was eating cheddar while the other three roommates claimed it was Colby-Jack. BV was not used at all during the initial part of this exchange. After Eric, Cole, and Sam continued to insist on their point, Joe began to feel uncomfortable, as indicated by agitated his tone:

Joe;   <Loudly> No it didn't say Colby-Jack though <Loudly>.

Sam;   But it's pretty--

Eric;   That most certainly is Colby-Jack.

Cole;   <Vox: Brian Voice> We need to know Brian <Vox: Brian Voice>.

Sam;   <Vox: Brian Voice> Brian.

It's not cheddar,

Because it has something else in it <Vox: Brian Voice>.

When Cole stated the imperative to know the identity of the cheese in BV, he clarifies that the cheese's identity is in fact trivial information and not worth the discomfort it is causing Joe. The trivialization is accomplished through BV's

indexically realized quality of ridiculousness. Sam similarly addressed Joe's apparent offense by switching into BV. While he continued to press his point that the cheese was not cheddar, Joe was getting perturbed. It is at this point that Sam began using BV, perhaps to mitigate possible offense. Here, it appears that both Sam and Cole use BV to mitigate a situation in which they had been irreverently and anti-cosmopolitanly critical in a way that might otherwise have led to interpersonal strife with Joe.

In the past, speakers have also used BV to point out the trivial nature of other roommates' concerns. For example, in one instance I observed Cole, Sam, and Eric express sympathy for Joe after he came home one evening from a date that did not go as well as he had hoped. Joe spoke of his disappointment in a normal tone while the other roommates responded sympathetically but in BV. Similar instances, where the speakers would use BV when expressing sympathy for an unsuccessful date, were fairly frequent. In using BV in this way, speakers were able to express culturally mandated sympathy while at the same time trivializing the person's negative experience, showing that they believed each other's worries were not as significant as they seemed to be.

This use of BV to mitigate concerns about dating is particularly significant given the strong cultural expectations regarding dating and marriage in the Mormon context. Mormon theology sees marriage as necessary in order to obtain the highest level of heaven. Thus, dating is highly encouraged among young Mormons generally, and at BYU in particular, as the path to marriage and thereby to heaven. Because of this, dating at BYU differs significantly from dating at most other American universities in that many BYU students get married before graduating. Data shared by the university in the Fall of 2016 revealed that 36% of incoming seniors were married (Averett 2016), and university data aggregated over a ten-year period showed that an average of 25% of the total undergraduate population was married in a given year (Christensen 2012). However, marriage rates at BYU have decreased in the last 20 years (Averett 2016), and I observed the roommates frequently discuss their apprehensions regarding what they viewed as overly-moralized pressure toward marriage.

In the situation described above, the roommates are caught between a need to express sympathy for Joe (per both the Mormon and cosmopolitan imperatives toward niceness) and the need to avoid conflating that sympathy with an open endorsement of Mormon marriage culture (which would be anti-cosmopolitan). BV allows them to reach a middle ground. On the one hand, speakers could have used their normal voices to express sympathy in this situation. But in doing so, they might risk reinscribing the hyper-reverent position of Mormons who feel that dating and marriage is the single most important thing in a person's life. To assume that position would be to actually become an anti-cosmopolitan religious rube. Since the roommates did not want to do that but would also feel rude (and thus both anti-cosmopolitan and irreverent) if they did not say anything, they used BV. BV allowed them to express sympathy while at the same time trivializing, through the aforementioned ridiculousness, the otherwise anti-cosmopolitan position they are in some ways validating.

In some situations that I observed, the lack of BV following the expression of problematic news clearly indicated the serious nature of the discussed problem. There are some situations and offenses that BV cannot mitigate. In one instance, Cole, Eric, and Sam said something that deeply offended Joe. In the course of the conversation, the roommates implicitly criticized Joe's relationship with his fiancée. Significantly, their comments had implicit sexual implications. Joe was clearly hurt by this, as evidenced by his mumbled responses to their chiding and his withdrawal from participation in the conversation. The other roommates then spent the next several minutes of the conversation attempting to resolve the conflict, frequently inquiring about Joe's feelings and apologizing for talking badly about his fiancée, but never using BV. In the five minutes prior to the offense, BV was used in the conversation 16 times, while in the five minutes following the offense, BV was not used at all. This is significant considering BV was used an average of 3.7 times per minute across all

segments of talk that I transcribed. The above manifested inability to committedly apologize in BV is likely due to BV's indexing of ridiculousness and absurdity. Because of this, BV cannot be the means of resolving a serious conflict or of mitigating the negative consequences of a serious criticism.

When asked about subjects that would be inappropriate to discuss in BV, each roommate's first response was that spiritual topics were off limits to jokes. For example, Sam's immediate response to my question was "church things," but he quickly recanted. He then clarified that he was okay with being sarcastic or joking about the Church as an organization and about people at church, that he was comfortable with what he called "light criticism." However, he said he would not be sarcastic in a "more sacred context." He offered personal experiences with deity as an example of something he would not joke about.

Eric similarly indicated that he was not comfortable using BV to make light of profoundly personal spiritual experiences. However, he indicated that he sometimes used BV to push back against traditional religious norms in Mormon culture. This demonstrates the at times conflicting need of speakers to be reverent, pious Mormons while at the same time resisting anti-cosmopolitan elements of their religious culture. For instance, in a conversation about religious faith, Eric and Cole used BV when expressing opinions opposite to their own in a discussion about the way doubt is treated by Mormons. In many cases, Mormons tend to be uncomfortable with those who question the central truth claims of the Church, such as the belief in the historicity of the Book of Mormon or in the Church holding exclusive rights to an authoritative priesthood. While in recent years the Church at an institutional level has begun moving toward a greater openness to members who question established religious narratives, at the level of the laity, many people still openly oppose questioning and doubt. It is this anti-cosmopolitan tendency to resist questioning that Eric and Cole were criticizing. They used BV to voice the opinion that asking critical questions about religious doctrine is bad and leads to apostasy, while using their normal voices to discuss how questions can lead to growth and an increase in religious faith.

From interview data and observation, it is clear that for speakers of BV, there is discomfort associated with joking about personal religious matters. This explains why the roommates speak in BV when discussing religious subjects in potentially impious and therefore irreverent ways. In order to distance themselves from the negative social consequences of impiety and non-normative religious views, speakers use BV. However, there are also cases where religious matters are seen as anti-cosmopolitan and therefore worthy of ridicule, and in cases where such matters are discussed, BV can protect the speakers from conflation with anti-cosmopolitanism. The voicing allows the roommates to voice irreverence, in some cases in order to push back against traditional, anti-cosmopolitan religious values, and always with limited negative repercussions.

Voicing Taboo

In a previous example, Joe took offense when his roommates breached the topic of sex. While in this particular instance BV was not useful in limiting the profaning effects of criticism or of taboo, in many other cases BV is actually quite effective at separating the speaker from the irreverence associated with taboo topics such as sex or bodily functions.

For example, after a discussion about a T.V. show character who had an affair, the roommates began to discuss the meaning of the word affair. During this discussion, the speakers seemed to find the mention of the word "sex" to be comical, as evidenced by their laughter. They then engaged in a game involving the implicit metapragmatic recognition of the taboo in which they speak openly about sex:

Eric;   <Vox: Brian Voice> Sex.

       Everyone sa@y s@ex <Vox: Brian Voice> .

Sam;   <Vox: Brian Voice>@ one tw@o thr@ee <Vox: Brian Voice>,

Cole;   =<Vox: Brian Voice> Sex <Vox: Brian Voice>.

Eric;   =<Vox: Brian Voice> Sex <Vox: Brian Voice>.

In this discussion, all mentions of sex were stated in BV. Here, interlocutors were able to use BV to index the ridiculousness associated with BV and attach it to the taboo word. In doing this, the roommates are parodying an anti-cosmopolitan person who is afraid to talk about sex. Through this parody, speakers reinforce their own cosmopolitan identity and humorously push back on the seriousness of this particular taboo. However, using BV also allows them to protect themselves from the irreverence of the taboo in the Mormon context. This trivialization through ridiculousness allows the speakers to distance themselves, as animators, from principalship of the taboo. Thus, even if speakers are primarily concerned with criticizing the anti-cosmopolitan existence of a taboo, they are simultaneously protecting themselves from the potential polluting effects of irreverence.

While taboos around sex exist in many cultures, sex is seen broadly as a taboo topic among Mormons and is particularly taboo when it relates to sexual practices seen as divergent, including extra-marital sex, as was the case in the previous example. The strict avoidance of taboos has formed an important part of the ways that Mormons construct their personhood, both historically and in the present (Kramer 2014; Vogt 1955), and this has had wide-reaching effects in the complicated ways that Mormons approach taboo topics, as noted in cases of psychotherapy and family relationships (Beit-Hallahmi 1975; Koltko 1990; Pearson 1986). Additionally, in Mormon culture there is a special reverence associated with sex. For example, in the "Sexual Purity" section of a Church pamphlet of youth guidelines called "For the Strength of Youth," sex is described as "the powers of procreation" which are "beautiful and sacred" (The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints 2011). Thus, the speakers of BV, all of whom were raised as and are practicing members of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, are likely to have strong cultural motivations for associating the trivial use of sexual taboos with irreverence. This also helps to explain Joe's previously discussed offense at the mentioning of his relationship with his fiancée, which had sexual implications, when in most male undergraduate apartments in the US, this might not have been as much of a problem. BV is a way that speakers can balance cultural motivations for avoiding sexual taboos with the need to assert a cosmopolitan identity that is comfortable with openly discussing sex.

The roommates also frequently use BV to avoid the anti-cosmopolitanism of taboo words not related to sexuality. In one instance, Eric and Sam were discussing a story related to expired yogurt in the apartment's fridge, and Cole interjected in BV, characterizing the substance as "diarrhea yogurt." Whether a taboo is sexual or not, speakers can use BV to distance themselves from impolite (and therefore both anti-cosmopolitan and irreverent) statements by voicing that irreverence in a clearly ridiculous way. Across all the conversations I transcribed, 69.6% of explicit taboos (words related to sex, bodily functions, or profanity) were spoken in BV.

Voicing Undesired Identities

Speakers frequently use BV in order to avoid profaning themselves with undesired identities that they sometimes chose to voice in their speech. By undesired, I mean undesired by a particular speaker in a particular context and not related to notions of objective desirability. The category of undesired identities is broad, and I use it here less as a specific category like criticism or taboo and more as a way of grouping the uses of BV which I feel do not fit well in the previous two categories. Essentially, this category contains instances of BV in which a speaker wishes to avoid principalship for a given identity (Goffman 1981). Speakers are thus able to express certain positions without claiming full responsibility for them.

For instance, in a conversation where the speakers were discussing the way geese often cross roads and inconvenience drivers, Cole and Eric both use BV when they say phrases that might be construed as indexically feminine. Cole mentions "little fluffy babies," and Eric pretends to address those baby geese as follows:

Cole;   They would just line up,

<Vox: Brian Voice> Their little fluffy babies <Vox: Brian Voice>,

Sam;   =Yeah,

Cole;   =And walk them,

Acr@oss th@e str@eet.

@@.

Eric;   <Vox: Brian Voice> Alright children <Vox: Brian Voice> @@,

Here, the speakers use BV to trivialize their use of words that might be associated with a feminine identity, as demonstrated by how Cole only voices the "little fluffy babies" portion of his comments. Through distancing themselves in this way from the feminine, the speakers are able to preserve their own masculine identity. As discussed previously, female voice qualities have often been associated with backwardness and thus anti-cosmopolitanism. Here, Cole and Joe use BV to avoid association with a potentially anti-cosmopolitan identity.

In a different conversation, Sam mentions that his girlfriend, Emily, had told him on one of their first dates that she did not know the difference between a duck and a goose. Sam then suggests that he would ask Emily if she had been pretending to be dumb in order to have something to talk about or if she actually did not know the difference between the two animals. He follows that proposition with a use of BV as follows:

Sam;   @@ Oh hey Emily,

<Vox: Brian Voice> Did y@ou rea@lly not know,

@ the difference between a duck and a goose? <Vox: Brian Voice>

Cole;   =<Vox: Brian Voice> Ha:,

That's a good one <Vox: Brian Voice>.

Sam;   <Vox: Brian Voice> Idiot <Vox: Brian Voice>.

@@@.

Here, Sam was essentially acting out the proposed conversation with his girlfriend. The primary intent of this dialogue is clearly humorous. Sam is mocking Emily for not knowing something that he felt was obvious. Still, by using BV, which indexes a lack of seriousness, Sam showed that he recognized how ridiculous and offensive it would be to ask the proposed question while at the same time making the joke. Here, BV allowed Sam to avoid the anti-cosmopolitanism associated with criticizing his girlfriend and possibly even a misogynistic identity in clarifying that he was not seriously considering asking Emily the proposed question.

I observed frequent conversations in which the roommates discussed the push and pull between a Mormon theology, which they interpreted as anti-sexist, and a conservative religious culture, which they found problematically oppressive to anyone who was not a heterosexual male. While in more conservative Mormon circles sexist language toward females can be pervasive, the irreverence of misogyny, given the roommates' interpretation of Mormon theology, as the provenance of the anti-cosmopolitan religious rube is abundantly clear for the roommates. This notion of irreverence, especially when combined with the cultural imperative for niceness, demonstrates the strong motivations that Sam would have for using BV to avoid an anti-cosmopolitan and potentially misogynistic identity. In this case, BV allowed Sam make a joke while distancing himself from undesired qualities. In other words, BV permitted him to speak irreverence and anti-cosmopolitanism without becoming anti-cosmopolitan or irreverent himself.

One of the more entertaining identities that the roommates used BV to distance themselves from involved a twisting of anti-immigrant rhetoric associated with Donald Trump to apply to French people visiting the United States with tourist visas. This conversation arose when Cole and Joe were discussing the difficulties that a French friend was facing in coming to visit them.

Sam; <Vox: Brian Voice> French people are stealing our jobs <Vox: Brian Voice>.

Joe; @@@,

In the ocean that way these stupid French people,

French people are stealing our jobs?.

@@,

That's the dumbest thing,

I've ever heard.

Cole; <Vox: Brian Voice> We need a big and a beautiful wall <Vox: Brian Voice>.

Sam; <Vox: Brian Voice> Build it <Vox: Brian Voice>.

Joe; <Vox: Brian Voice> Build it.

In the ocean that way these stupid French people,

Can't come over <Vox: Brian Voice>.

Cole; <Vox: Brian Voice> Oh wait but they have planes?,

Oh no. <Vox: Brian Voice>.

Sam; <Vox: Brian Voice> No_ <Vox: Brian Voice>.

Joe; <Vox: Brian Voice> Build a wall going up to the atmosphere <Vox: Brian Voice>.

Here, the undesired identity is that of xenophobia. I frequently observed conversations among the roommates that reflected pro-immigrant political ideas. Often, these conversations mix cosmopolitan, liberal politics with the theological underpinnings of the pro-immigrant stance assumed by the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints (Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints 2010). In the example above, Joe, Sam, and Cole engaged in a comedic satire of the then contemporary political discussion of President Donald Trump's border wall and other anti-immigrant sentiments. Using BV adds to the humor and makes obvious the separation between animator and principal (Goffman 1981). They are able to joke while distancing themselves from a political opinion that for them would be both irreverent and anti-cosmopolitan.

BV is also frequently used to voice impious identities. This is particularly true in speech where ideas related to religious faith are criticized. For example, in one conversation

about Joe's choice to study instead of having fun with his roommates (he is the Brian referenced in the speech below), Sam and Cole use BV when evoking notions of salvation and damnation.

Sam; <Vox: Brian Voice> Brian is uh,

Wasting all his time and is completely unmotivated,

Hasn't gone to the library in three weeks.

He's basically going to go to hell <Vox: Brian Voice>.

Cole; Yes, because

Sam; <Vox: Brian Voice> Just kidding <Vox: Brian Voice>.

Cole; Cause,

<Vox: Brian Voice> If you don't go to the library,

You're just damned for eternity <Vox: Brian Voice>.

Sam; <Vox: Brian Voice> Oh wait.

Hell doesn't exist <Vox: Brian Voice>.

Here, Sam and Cole are trying to demonstrate to Joe, who just expressed feeling bad about not studying enough, that his worries are relatively trivial. They do this by using hyperbole in BV. In saying that Joe is going to hell because he did not study, the roommates are seeking to point out how ridiculous they think Joe's guilt really is. Their dismissal of Joe's guilt with the line "Hell doesn't exist" references the Mormon belief that the afterlife consists of degrees of glory, all of which are magnificent, rather than a heaven-hell dichotomy typical of other Christian groups. The implication is that Joe should not feel guilty for his perceived lack of studying. Rather, he should recognize that his efforts, even if less than perfect, will end up benefiting him—just as even mediocre morality results in a kingdom of glory, so too will even mediocre scholastic efforts lead to learning.

However, the question remains of why BV was used in this particular segment of talk. Clearly, it is used to add an extra element of humor and triviality to the situation, similar to other examples discussed previously. But humor and triviality would likely have been implied by the ridiculousness of the statements

alone. I would posit that BV was necessary in this context in order to limit irreverence through impiety. As discussed previously, an important aspect of the sacred self in Mormon contexts is respect for spiritual and religious beliefs. Making light of salvation and damnation could risk irreverence on the part of the speaker. However, the anti-cosmopolitan character of BV is also at play in that BV is used here to voice the overly-moralizing religious rube who thinks someone could suffer damnation for not studying. By using BV, Sam and Cole are able to irreverently criticize Joe using a complex satire of Mormon religious imagery and at the same time avoid anti-cosmopolitanism.

The Moral Character of Brian Voice: Reverent and Cosmopolitan

As mentioned in several examples above, BV is able to mitigate the social discomfort associated with irreverent and anti-cosmopolitan statements through trivializing those statements. This trivializing capacity stems from BV's association with the ridiculous and the absurd. BV became an entextualized inside joke precisely because of this characteristic ridiculousness in the original Randy-Bryson context. From this original, ridiculous context, BV was combined with other absurd contexts, and eventually became distant from them. Through association with these original, ridiculous contexts, BV has been enregistered as a phonetic and contextual index of the absurd. Simply put, BV was born and raised in ridiculousness and absurdity, and though now distant from the original ridiculousness, still brings ridiculousness and absurdity into any space in which it is spoken. Because BV is so absurd, it has the power to trivialize what is voiced, and as seen in the examples above, speakers use this to mitigate the negative social consequences of irreverence and anti-cosmopolitanism to which BV gives utterance.

Interestingly, the use of BV mainly in contexts of anti-cosmopolitanism and irreverence has created a specific character associated with BV, which speakers refer to as Brian, "the persona that we adopt." Based on

my observations, I argue that the Brian persona is essentially an overly-moralizing, hyper-reverent, and perhaps politically conservative Mormon that the speakers voice ironically, even parodically, in order to criticize those characteristics while also distancing themselves from the anti-cosmopolitanism and hyper-reverence that they are voicing. For example, when the roommates used BV to express sympathy for an unsuccessful date experienced by Joe, they were able to imply that the failed date was not really a big deal while also expressing the sympathy that an overly-moralizing Mormon might express in equating Joe's failed date to a failure to be married and thereby a failure to be righteous and heaven-bound. The roommates were using BV to parody a position of seriousness regarding Joe's lack of success, and thus the practice of BV becomes a parody of hyper-reverent anti-cosmopolitanism. By parodying this position, which a hyper-reverent, conservative Mormon might assume, the roommates are able to distance themselves from an ethical stance that would be less than desirable to a cosmopolitan college student, namely the heavy emphasis on (relatively) early marriage.

In many of the examples of BV referenced in this paper, including the criticism of xenophobic political currents, Cole urging his roommates to hurry and get ready for church, and criticizing Joe for being morally pure enough to study all night instead of having fun, the use of voicing marks the expressions as unnecessarily moralizing and therefore anti-cosmopolitan. In other words, by using BV's indexical absurdity to criticize these apparently conservative and hyper-reverent statements, the roommates are indicating that those moral attitudes are problematic. This is abundantly clear in the example where Sam avoids association with a critical and perhaps misogynistic identity while voicing an ironic criticism of his girlfriend. By using BV, Sam paints the proposed sexist criticism as absurd, thus avoiding the polluting effects of the anti-cosmopolitanism associated with misogyny while simultaneously asserting a cosmopolitan identity for himself.

However, BV is not solely about criticizing the overly-moralizing positions of conservative Mormons. As we have seen even in examples

where hyper-reverence is being criticized, the roommates' use of BV still indicates some deference to notions of pious Mormon reverence. For example, while BV is used to criticize an overly-moralizing position on studying or having a bad date or being late for church, there is also an implicit recognition that niceness, marriage, and church attendance are important. In these cases, speakers do not use BV to suggest that one should never study or never get married or stop going to church entirely, as one might expect from those wishing to identify as cosmopolitan. Rather, the parodic nature of the voicing implicitly embodies a critique of a decidedly anti-cosmopolitan position that would unduly censure laxness in studying and dating or lateness for church while at the same time acknowledging that suggesting a total rejection of those ideals would be irreverent. As discussed throughout this paper, BV allows the roommates to distance themselves from irreverence associated with interpersonal criticism, with taboo, and with undesired identities that would affront Mormon notions of reverence, thus preserving their own reverent identities. It also allows the roommates to distance themselves from positions reflective of the anti-cosmopolitan rube who they are voicing. Thus, the speakers are free to criticize anti-cosmopolitanism while protecting themselves from the irreverence that might be associated with that criticism.

That the voicing is a means for balancing cosmopolitanism with Mormon reverence is further manifested by there being a reverence that is allowable and is clearly off-limits to BV. As evidenced by the lack of BV following the insult to Joe, as well as by the interview data in which speakers expressed a reluctance to use BV in speaking about personal spiritual experiences, there are certain situations in which BV would introduce too much irreverence. In the end, BV produces a type of Goldilocks phenomenon where the speakers are able to develop the "just right" amount of reverence—not too reverent, but also not too irreverent. It allows speakers to navigate boundaries between the moral requirements of their religious life and the moral requirements of cosmopolitanism. Through BV, speakers are able to be both reverent, pious Mormons and cosmopolitan college students as they create a cohesive Mormon cosmopolitanism.

Conclusions

BV turned out to be much more than the humorous mimicry that it was at its inception. It has evolved into a means of performing the complex social function of limiting the polluting effects of irreverence while also asserting a cosmopolitan identity. In this way, BV allows speakers to transcend the seeming contradictions between a reverent Mormon and a cosmopolitan self by balancing ethical judgements that might otherwise be in conflict. In its ability to criticize without offending, this quality of Mormon cosmopolitanism's moral imperative toward niceness is made abundantly clear. Similarly, when speakers use BV to speak of taboos or avoid conflation with an undesired identity, their speech reflects underlying moral values. This supports the existence of an implicit Mormon-cosmopolitan morality, a kind of ethics-in-practice that is not being explicitly articulated by the speakers but is felt nonetheless. Furthermore, this research makes it clear that the seemingly mundane, ordinary, everyday language of a group of just four speakers has important implications for anthropological approaches to the study of morality.

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The Social Functions of College Drinking: Pregaming, Priming, and Protecting the Liminoid Experience

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ABSTRACT

The Harvard School of Public Health College Alcohol Study has concluded that, on average, one in three college students abuses alcohol regularly. However, while highlighting potential risks, academic literature largely neglects the social functions students derive from consuming alcohol. College represents an important milestone in an individual's life and is characterized by what Turner (1969) called liminoid experiences, which involve a temporary suspension of social status, at bars, clubs, concerts, festivals, and college parties, often closely connected to alcohol consumption. This paper explores how women students' practice of "pregaming," that is, drinking alcohol in smaller groups before attending a social event such as a party, enables individuals to achieve the liminoid state while also providing opportunities to resist potential negative consequences of intoxication. College women use pregaming to build a support network with close friends, enabling them to ensure their physical safety. Beyond the integrity of their bodies, women also ensure that their actions during the liminoid experience of a college party are consistent with ideas they have of their personal identity. Although they temporarily suspend their social and personal identities during college parties, women prevent unwanted permanent changes of their sense of self by holding each other accountable to rules they establish during the pregame.

Keywords: liminoid; alcohol consumption; college students; women

At 10:25pm on a Saturday night, I found out that Sarah was able to drink a cranberry-vodka concoction while standing on her hands singing the alphabet backwards. Sarah had invited me earlier that day to come to her room to "pregame" before a party that was happening in the senior residences, the Townhouses, that night. At 8pm, I knocked on her door to find her and three other women sitting on the floor in front of a full-length mirror they flipped sideways, applying various shades of glitter to their eyes. Scattered on the floor were countless jeans, dresses, tops, and skirts that had made it into the final round of an elaborate outfit selection process for every one of the women. What started as a heated group discussion about appropriate coordinated attire for the evening (the consensus fell on denim skirts and crop tops) quickly evolved into an open bar operated out of Sarah's mini refrigerator. Sarah's friends brought spiked Seltzer, and she drank something she poured together from strawberry vodka, lemon juice, ginger ale, and cranberry juice, while I stuck to a can of flavored non-alcoholic seltzer water.

After drinks were settled for the evening, Sarah suggested that we should play a drinking game, since she perceived that "just sitting in a dorm room and drinking would be depressing." Soon after, we started playing "truth or dare," which, when applied as a drinking game, was heavily centered around daring each other to finish our drinks in the most entertaining way possible. While I participated with my water, after a time Sarah's friends proclaimed they were now "comfortably buzzed." That qualified us as ready to attend the party that was supposed to start at 9pm but at which "nobody will hang out until 11." While Sarah made a third round of the vodka drink and the other women

opened another spiked Seltzer, all of us were on our phones. Sarah and her friends flipped through Snapchat stories to see what the rest of our small campus was up to that Saturday night, while I took field notes on my phone. Suddenly, one of the woman's eyes widened as she declared "Do *not*, under any circumstances, let me make out with Nick again, I just saw him on Jack's Snapchat story and he's at their townhouse to pregame right now." That inspired the rest of the group to make their own rules about the evening, before we would, as Amy said, "not be ourselves anymore." Sarah vowed to not dance on the kitchen table (again), while another girl made rules about not texting the cute guy she knew from her Psychology class while drunk. Everyone promised to hold each other to their individual standards, and that concluded a successful pregame. Putting on our shoes, we headed out to the party.

The consumption of alcohol among college students in an undergraduate setting in the United States has been studied primarily through the lens of public health, specifically, investigating the risks of binge drinking and alcohol dependency (see for example Read et al. 2003; Slutske 2005; Wechsler and Nelson 2008; Mallet et al. 2012). Additionally, anthropological research has focused on expressive (and oppressive) heteronormative fusions of alcohol and masculinity, such as hazing rituals (Johnson 2011) or sexual assault (Sanday 1996). The role of pregaming, however, especially for college women, has often been explored as merely part of the social event that constitutes a college night out, not as a separate entity with functions that alter the night as a whole. In contrast, during my research, women employed pregaming as a distinct stage of activity to navigate the promises and potential hazards of a college party. This paper focuses on the practice of pregaming among female college students, exploring how they create intentional bonds with their close friends during pregaming in order to ensure personal and community safety at parties, and how pregaming facilitates a liminoid experience – that is, a temporary suspension of social status through shared limit experiences, as I explain in more detail later – through a shared feeling of intoxication and shared norms for the evening to come.

Ethnographic Setting

This research was conducted at St. Lawrence University, a private liberal arts college in upstate New York, May through July 2019. The student population was then about 2,500, with a 55% to 45% female to male ratio (St. Lawrence University, 2019). St. Lawrence University is located in a rural community in the village of Canton, with the vast majority of students living in some form of on-campus housing.

Despite being a small school, St. Lawrence University has a vibrant social life. The campus resembles a park, with wooden benches under maple trees and winding paths connecting academic and dormitory buildings. Students spend time outside as much as the weather and long, harsh North Country winters permit. Winter temperatures plunge well below freezing for weeks on end. This means that for much of the academic year, social life takes place indoors, with most popular drinking and partying locations being mostly in student dormitories. While during the day, most students might meet their friends in the Sullivan Student Center to chat, complete their homework, or grab lunch from the café downstairs, in the evenings, students are usually found socializing in their dorms or attending one of the venues on campus that play music and host college parties. Attending a college party at some point during their four-year undergraduate career is something most students at St. Lawrence University cannot avoid, whether they consume alcohol or not. Most of my participants went to the Java Barn, a garage space with a stage that hosts life-music events once a week.

Students most often described partying at the Senior Townhouse residences, small apartment buildings that house about six students per unit. Each townhouse has a kitchen and living room space that permits students to host more people than a typical dorm room. The townhouses are also arranged to create an outdoor quadrangle that is often used as a partying space during the warmer months, when students leave their back door to the quad open, which allows for mingling and socializing in different townhouses. Another popular partying spot for students are the residential buildings with suites, small, apartment-like dorms where five to seven people share a living room, kitchen, and bathroom. The suites, and especially the townhouses, represent inherently liminal, which is to say, "in-between" or "threshold" spaces. They are not only located on the edge of campus, furthest away from any of the academic buildings, but they are also designed to look like apartments rather than dorms, making them more self-contained than the other buildings that have dorm rooms, shared bathrooms and long hallways. In their design, resembling non-college living while being embedded in the college social scene, they are liminal since they are neither the sheltered college dorm with Resident Assistants, nor the autonomous apartments or houses of independent adults. They represent an "in-between" kind of living for students, which became clear during my fieldwork as the townhouses were always the second or third party location of the night for students. The Townhouses were sought out specifically when a certain level of intoxication – and suspension of personal identity – was achieved, and therefore serve as a special marker of the liminoid experience.

Methods and Ethical Considerations

I used both quantitative and qualitative methods to collect data during my research. Since anthropology is a social science concerned with preserving the complexities and nuances of human interaction, I favoured an ethnographic approach to analysis. This means that instead of placing a central emphasis on the quantitative data I collected in a survey, I drew on those data to support the qualitative data collected through interviews and participant observation. This means that my analysis goes beyond observing patterns of behavior to situate the phenomenon of college alcohol consumption in a theoretical framework that better elucidates what functions alcohol occupies within a residential undergraduate college campus. This stands in contrast to more public health or consumer-focused research, as the primary goal of my project is to understand the culturally specific meanings of

consumption, not necessarily change or stigmatize a group of the student population.

To collect quantitative data, I sent out an online survey (available from author upon request) set up in the Qualtrics platform, recruiting respondents through closed St. Lawrence class Facebook groups as well as by email among students I knew. Participation in the survey was anonymous. At the end of the survey, detached from the survey responses, participants 21 years of age or older could voluntarily provide their email addresses to participate in an interview. Although I had initially aimed to interview participants of all ages to gain a better understanding of age and class-year differences and drinking behavior, I complied with the Institutional Review Board regulations placed on the project, which prevented participation of students too young to legally consume alcohol. In total, 102 students submitted responses to the survey, with 54 female-identifying respondents and 48 male-identifying respondents. The survey enabled me to conduct a statistical analysis of alcohol consumption at St. Lawrence University. I draw on this analysis in a secondary manner in this article, to gain insight into the similarities and differences in responses to questions about alcohol consumption in social settings. The survey also helped prime participants for more in-depth engagement with the study. I posed versions of the survey questions in my interviews (see Appendix 1) in order to gain more in-depth knowledge of the different perspectives around a particular issue. Furthermore, I wanted to use the survey as a tool to make interviews less threatening. By seeing my survey questions, I hoped that potential interviewees would become more familiar with my research topic and have a better idea of the kind of questions I would ask during the interview.

I carried out semi-structured interviews to collect qualitative data and to gain insight into the underlying structures that produced the alcohol consumption patterns reflected in the survey. I conducted ten interviews with a cumulative interview time of twelve hours. These semi-structured interviews provided shed light on individual perceptions of consuming alcohol at St. Lawrence. They also gave participants space to narrate personal

stories and provide nuanced descriptions of how social relationships are transformed by alcohol. With participants' permission, interviews were recorded and the files stored in a password-protected, deidentified file. Interviews were not transcribed but rather organized and coded in a "topic log" in which the topics, notes, and direct quotes from participants were noted alongside the time on the recording. This allowed me to recognize patterns in the responses of my participants more efficiently than full transcription.

The third research method employed was participant observation. Although most students do not live on campus during the summer, when this research took place, about 50 to 60 students do remain on campus during the summer for research projects, internships or on-campus employment. This provided me with the opportunity to observe students aged 21 or older during their pregames and at the local bar popular among St. Lawrence students, The Hoot Owl. Observations at The Hoot Owl complemented the pregaming research, because they gave me insight into the liminoid experience that pregaming preceded. Participant observation was largely documented with field notes I took on my phone, which is protected with face-recognition. The added security of using a phone with face-recognition prevented other people from gaining access to my fieldnotes, which was especially important given the behaviors students engaged in while vulnerable due to being intoxicated. The notes – entailing bullet-points of descriptions, quotes, and personal interpretations of what I observed – were later secured in a password-protected file on my computer and expanded upon when I got back from a night of observations. Fieldnotes were analyzed in the same way as interviews, using topic logs, to sort fieldnotes by broad theme and enable a coherent analysis.

Pregames were chosen as the focus of this research in part because they are invite-only social events. As such, all participants could be informed about and consent to my participant observation at the pregame beforehand. Participants in the pregame were aware that I, as the researcher, drank little to no alcohol. I chose to put my seltzer in a can sleeve so as not to visually exclude myself further from the

normal pregame proceedings. All participants also consented to me recording events and stories from pregames in my field notes, which I took on my phone.

Aware of the increased challenge of doing research on drinking in such a small, intimate college environment, I took every measure possible to protect the privacy and confidentiality of my participants. In this article, I have changed all names and I include personal details only to the extent where they are necessary to build my analysis. Furthermore, to protect the confidentiality of my participants, the stories I tell here are a combination of elements, such as quotations and descriptive details, from accounts shared with me in interviews or observed by me during my research, a technique also employed by Willis (2019), Ward (2013), and Wertz et al. (2011), among others. A further benefit of this presentation of my data is that I can use a single story to allude to experiences representative of several participants (Willis 2019, 472).

The Rules of the (Pre)Game

Pregaming is always hosted by one member of a social group, usually a close friend group, in their small dorm room. College parties typically start at around 9pm, but peak arrival time is 11pm. Most college women start their pregame around 7 or 8pm, depending on how late they are going to join the party or event they plan to attend. The pregame host is responsible for supplying music and ice for drinks. When other members of the group arrive, the host usually puts on music and the first round of drinks is prepared. Alcohol is often shared, each group member bringing some supplies to distribute throughout the group.

Usually, the alcohol content of beverages increases throughout the evening, starting with canned alcohol like spiked seltzer and escalating to straight shots of hard liquor at the height of the pregame. While sipping on the first drinks, participants debate on clothing for the night, as determined by the event, the season, and what other group members are wearing. After that, the women college students usually apply their make-up, which is why pregaming sites with private bathrooms,

generally found in dorms inhabited by students in their junior or senior years, are preferred.

After everyone is pleased with their appearance for the night, participants usually come together and sit on the ground, the bed, or any other available pieces of furniture in the small dorm rooms. While some groups talk about their past experiences on a night out or take pictures for social media, others play drinking games to speed up the process of intoxication. As all players get increasingly intoxicated, the games usually dissolve as people get caught up in conversations based on personal stories revealed through drinking games, revealed for instance from a daring "never have I ever" statement. Winning is clearly not the objective; the games are instead a means of achieving somewhat equal levels of drunkenness among the members of the group. Once the group decides it is late enough to go to the actual event, usually around 10:30 or 11:00 pm, all members usually down a final drink and then grab a bottle or can to bring to the party.

Creating Intoxicated *Communitas*

Attending a four-year liberal arts college is often described as not only a time of earning a degree, but also a time to mold adolescents into well-rounded and critically thinking adults who will contribute productively to society. As such, in the United States, attending college can be seen as a rite of passage that constitutes a definite exit from childhood and transformation into adulthood. Rites of passage entail the cultural notion that life consists of different stages or statuses, associated with distinct duties and responsibilities.

Rites of passage are usually defined as public events of transition whereby individuals or entire age cohorts go through processes that let them leave a previous status behind and attain a new status (Hylland Eriksen 2001, 63). Turner (1969) dubbed this unique "in between" state a liminal phase, in which individuals occupy a role that is associated neither with cultural values from their previous stage of life nor the life phase after. Liminal phases represent the mid-phase of rites of passage (Turner 1982, 25), and they separate the individual from societal norms and constraints of acceptable behavior

by stripping them of their previous status while they are not yet occupying their new status (Rowe 1998, 47).

This loss in status during liminal phases equalizes individuals, since entire cohorts experience the same temporary loss in status. The resulting "intense comradeship" between individuals undergoing the rite of passage is crucial, according to Turner (1969, 360), in building a social bond that functions outside of ordinary social roles and constitutes a more universal human connection (Turner 1982, 25), which he terms *communitas*. In his study of the Ndembu of Zambia, Turner (1969) argued that liminality is crucial to ensure that individuals are discouraged from the desire to keep resources to themselves, as they will remember the holistic connection they felt with others during the liminal phase even after it is over.

The concept of the liminal phase has become largely impractical in the context of westernized state-level societies, since groups now rarely if ever truly exist "outside" the technologically connected society (Spiegel 2011, 12). In contrast to liminal phases, liminoid moments or spaces are not specific to certain cycles, whether social or biological, and their occurrence is based more on the interest of participants than on ritual obligation (Spiegel 2011, 13). Through separating people from the social structure, liminoid moments involve a temporary suspension of social status, but they do not result in a changed status of individuals, as liminal phases would. Drawing on Spiegel's (2011) discussion of the contemporary distinction between liminal and liminoid, I would argue that college has itself been institutionalized as a defined state of life, instead of representing a liminal phase between childhood and adulthood. Rather than moving together through a liminal phase, students share liminoid experiences during college that do not result in a permanent change in status but constitute temporary withdrawals from the social order to experience the universal bond of *communitas*.

In the case of college students, alcohol consumption is a way to facilitate the liminoid experience. While students experience a structured daily life with regular classes, sports practices and other extracurricular activities,

drinking provides a contrast to this controlled environment, where students can choose to be "out of control." One of my participants, Cathy, called this the "work hard, play hard" mentality:

> In my view, Sunday through Wednesday are the work hard-days at St. Lawrence. I see people working really hard in school and their other commitments. And then Thursday through Saturday people play hard, they let loose, and often alcohol is the way to do so.

Cathy speaks of the work-leisure divide that is characteristic of industrialized societies. The freedom of leisure framed in contrast to a structured work or academic day represents a freedom from responsibilities (Adorno 1991). As one of my other participants described, there is an immense liberty in "just being another drunk college kid at a party." It is this feeling of "letting loose" and suspending personal and social responsibilities that makes college parties liminoid spaces, as students rarely think about future obligations while being intoxicated at a party. While Turner's analysis of rites of passage and the liminal was centered around smaller-scale, non-Western societies, the students' behavior suggests that in modern state-level societies dominated by capitalism, the liminoid as a contrast to focused productivity still occupies a crucial cultural and social role.

The liminoid is often seen as a personal choice compared to the obligation of a liminal rite of passage, but my participant Lilly expressed a certain pressure to drink in college:

> It's almost easier to drink, because it takes some of that anxiety away from awkward social situations. I felt a lot of pressure in my sports team, because the upperclassmen were heavy drinkers, so I was a little intimidated. A lot of our team bonding was centered around drinking.

Lilly saw heavy drinking as a desirable skill for successful socializing that she tried to acquire. In fact, all ten interviewees talked about a pressure to consume alcohol because of their status as college students. At college parties, the kind of behavior perceived as acceptable is often connected to intoxication. When I asked Emily about going to a party without having consumed alcohol, without pregaming, she

said, frowning, "You just don't go to a party sober. You just don't do it." Even though Emily does not give a specific reason as to why being sober at a party is inherently negative, her implicit knowledge of how unacceptable it is triggered the physical reaction of uncomfortable squirming.

This pressure to drink is one of many social norms college students learn as they participate in a complex and multilayered social system that influences their drinking behavior. Social systems are sets of social relations that are reproduced in everyday life through interaction (Hylland Erikson 2001, 71). Social systems heavily influence individuals' drinking behavior, because they dictate which behaviors are acceptable. For example, individuals might have their own moral code of how they engage in alcohol consumption. However, their friend group influences that behavior by rewarding or sanctioning behavior deemed "acceptable." Not attending a party sober is an example of behavior that is deemed "normal" and "necessary" in order to blend in and ultimately successfully participate in the liminoid experience of a college party. Especially on a small campus like St. Lawrence University, being accepted into a social group and establishing close friends are of central importance. In the realm of pregames, students indicated that they would only pregame with close friends, with whom they would also attend a party. Participants would not go to a party alone because it would be "awkward," "lonely," and "an isolating experience." Since it is unacceptable to arrive at a party either alone or sober, it is crucial to drink with close friends during pregaming events to participate successfully in the campus party scene.

Students' perception of how much others drink and how individual college students fit into this perception is highly significant. In the survey, I asked students to indicate how many times a week they personally drank and how many times a week they thought a typical St. Lawrence University student consumes alcohol. As can be seen in Figure 1, students thought their average peer drank more than they did. Students indicated that on average they drink on weekends, while they thought the typical student would drink 3-5 times a week. Fellow

college students are not the only agents shaping students' perception of how college students consume, or ideally should consume, alcohol. Alcohol is regulated by the formal and informal categorization of acceptable and unacceptable behaviors, ranging from the legal drinking age to student handbook rules, often based on the status of individuals in the society.

Alcohol is a common catalyst for social bonds. Most of my participants talked about alcohol's effect on building relations, as well as easing discomfort when making social connections. This emotional effect is not unique to college students and can also be found in other societies. Consuming alcoholic beverages or fermented foods with alcohol content is part of most societies and the consumption of alcohol is thus regulated by societal expectations (Gould 2001; Mason 2006; Kunitz 2008; Dudley 2014). Mason's study of health care workers in China describes how consuming alcohol with coworkers during and after work is a crucial "social obligation" to achieve professional advancement in government-employed public health workers in China (Mason 2013, 109). As such, alcohol can be seen as a way of portraying a certain status among both Chinese health care workers and U.S. college students.

With very few abstemious exceptions, drinking at parties is essential for maintaining the status of being a college student, as it ensures the shared participation in intoxicated *communitas*. Performative drinking is important to signal social belonging, as my survey also showed that students at St. Lawrence consistently associated certain alcohols with certain groups of people, such as beer with men. While mingling with other groups during parties is accepted, because the liminoid character equalizes attendees as simply "college students", following the party, students' interactions have consequences for their social life on campus afterwards. This is another way in which students are "betwixt and between" (Turner 1969) as they seek more universal identities as St. Lawrence students and as college students, while navigating a more individual social position – which students carefully construct – in pregame and post-party spaces.
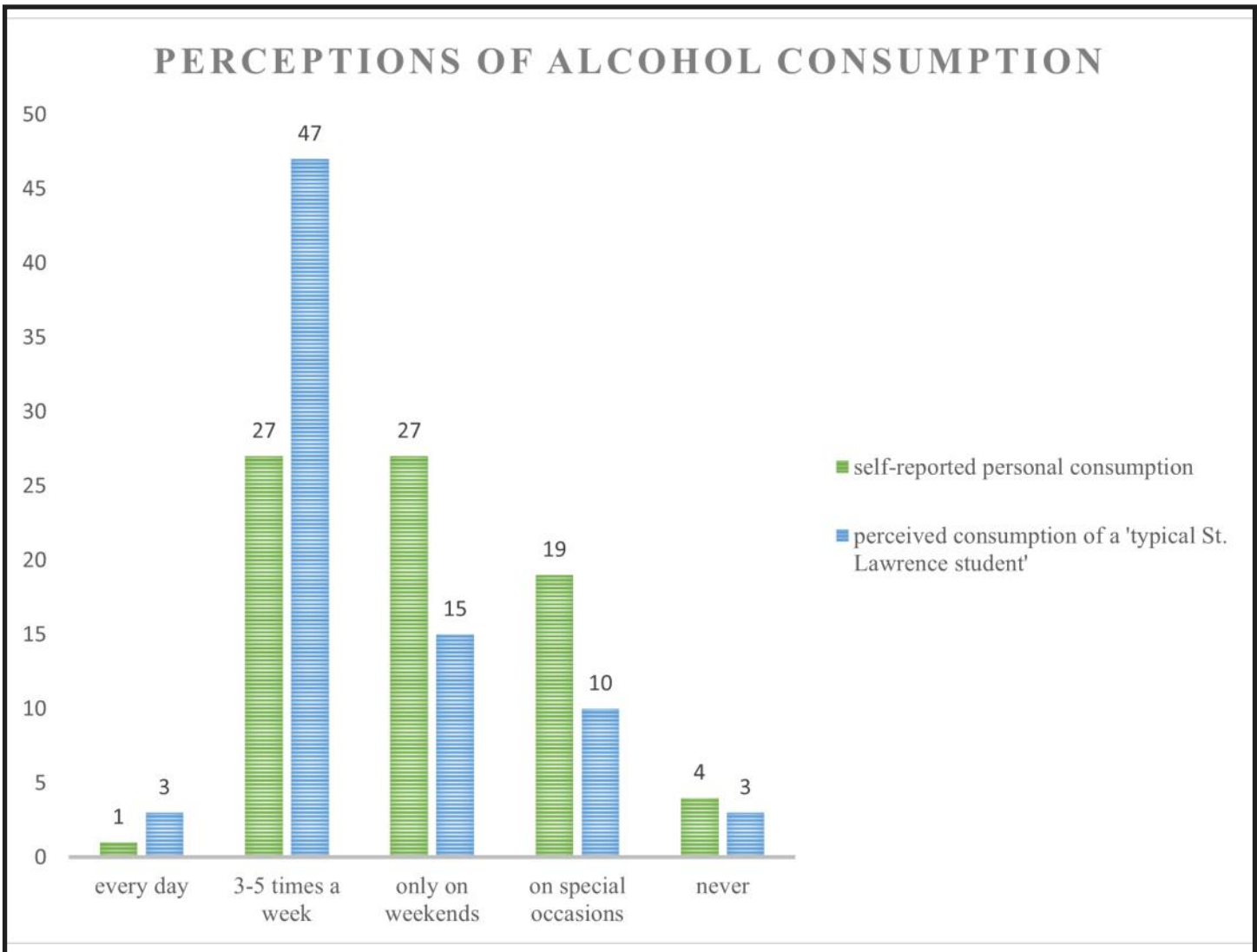
PERCEPTIONS OF ALCOHOL CONSUMPTION

Figure 1: Perceptions of frequency of alcohol consumption (*n* = 102)

Sober Rules in Drunk Spaces

As liminoid spaces, parties are a space of mingling between different social groups of the university that would not usually have contact with each other. With alcohol acting as a social catalyst, college parties always bring the chance of meeting a romantic love interest in an informal setting. All participants reported that romantic involvement outside one's own social group most often starts at parties, but this phenomenon also complicates the liminoid space. Cathy insisted that during the party, "nobody would really care who you make out with on the dance floor," but the next day, students might find themselves in a new social territory that they might not have wanted to navigate in the first place.

Intoxication as a welcome catalyst for social interaction—especially when approaching a

romantic interest—and intoxication as a serious risk factor for non-consensual physical intimacy are entangled in complex ways, from the perspective of women in my study. Alcohol consumption, as Abbey et al. report, leads intoxicated men to misinterpret women's friendliness as sexual cues (1996, 149). In comparison to pregames, parties are much more public spaces, and the noise and limited space in the small dorms was not only stressful but sometimes a reason for students, especially women, to feel unsafe. For women, this indicates an increased risk for sexual assault (Corbin et al. 2001), something never explicitly discussed by women participants during participant observation, but always implied in their actions. Many pregame rules revolved around not leaving a party space alone—especially not with a man—or checking up on each other, even during encounters with men,

by agreeing upon certain hand signals, facial cues (blinking fast directly at your friends to signify being uncomfortable) or even safe words or phrases such as really loudly saying "I love this song," to give other women the chance to pull an individual away under the guise of going to the dance floor together.

Despite their promise of fun, college parties present the danger of self-sabotage, according to the women I interviewed. Engaging in physically risky behavior at parties, such as binge-drinking beyond consciousness, therefore jeopardizes students' personal identity. Succumbing to the dangers of drinking is not necessarily seen as personal failure by students, but rather as a careless or unexperienced endangerment of one's social and personal body. This is not least because there is a perception that it is more acceptable to approach a person of romantic interest, at a party or elsewhere, when intoxicated. Among college students, alcohol is often associated with increasing sex drive and sexual affection (Benson et al. 2007, 348). Lilly had very personal experience with that:

> For women, drinking can often be associated with sexual action. I have heard so many of my friends say, "I have to be drunk if I am going to talk to this guy tonight" or "I would have to be drunk to hook up with this guy." Sometimes I am not sure if they're shy or if they feel like they should hook up with people drunk because that seems to be what you do in college. And I think that it makes things really blurry and unsafe. Because sometimes, I don't even know myself if I really want to do something, or if I'm just drunk. And then I wake up the next morning and think: My god, I really did that. So guilty.

In order to minimize the possibility of having experiences that would jeopardize their carefully constructed social personas, women discuss their love interests at length during pregaming. Often, individuals will make "sober rules" about the evening. Cathy explained to me that sober rules are usually instructions given by one woman to her friends. If she has romantic interests in another student, she outlines during the pregame, while she is still sober, exactly what kind of physical and social behavior she is comfortable with. If her friends

see her engage in anything but the behavior she has outlined as acceptable, they have permission to intervene in the situation or at least check in with her and remind her of the rules she had set for herself when she was not intoxicated. Such self-protective measures are necessary, according to Cathy:

> Sometimes, I gotta take care of my drunk self because I go a little crazy. And I might have done something I did not want to do or at least not in public and the worst is everyone will know.

Pregaming helps build a dynamic of trust between close friends also because, for the majority of my participants, it provided an exclusively female space. All of my participants were heterosexual, and when they talked about sexual health and "hooking up," they referred exclusively to men. While a feminist analysis necessitates a critical evaluation of men's behavior as the main perpetrators of sexual assault (see for example Abbey 2002; Abbey et al. 1996; Zawacki et al. 2003), in the realm of this paper I focus on how women protect themselves and each other in a mainstream context of gender relations, carving out agency through their collective partying experience as women. Through pregaming, women protect the physical integrity of their bodies by creating *communitas* with a feeling of mutual responsibility for one another even during a liminoid party, a space where social relations are open to new interpretations. Emily, one of my participants, emphasized this when pointing out that pregaming was not merely about "getting 70% messed up before you even start the party." More importantly, she added, it also provided an opportunity to "catch up" with friends and remind individuals of "the people that matter." Turner (1969, 371) outlines how liminoid experiences create *communitas*, the intense emotional bonds of intentional groups of people. People who pregame together consider each other close friends who solidify their friendships further by pregaming together. It is these people that you trust to help you comply with your sober rules during the party.

Sober rules highlight the separation the women make between mundane sober life and liminoid drunk experiences. Even though the

party itself represents a liminoid period, the time before and the day after does not, meaning that students have to face any repercussions of actions during the night out exactly as the person they were when they entered the college party. This is difficult because, as one of my participants, Mary, expressed, students might feel like the persona they expressed when they were intoxicated at a party was not actually them, yet they have to deal with the physical and social consequences, like bad hangovers or mockery from their friends, all while still trying to make sense of what they did the night before. Sober rules help college women navigate the liminoid space because in that liminoid space, their social identities are not irrevocably transformed but temporarily suspended.

Conclusion: The Culture of Liminoid Intoxication

The Harvard School of Public Health College Alcohol Study, which provided the first nationally representative picture of college-student alcohol use, assesses that alcohol consumption poses "a major public health problem at college" (Wechsler and Nelson 2008, 2). According to the study, "nearly 1 in 3 students qualifies for a diagnosis of alcohol abuse" (Knight et al. 2002: 266). Students in the survey indicated that they binge-drank (had five or more drinks in one sitting) on average about once or twice a month. When I talked about the survey results with Cathy, she just shrugged: "This isn't alcoholism, this is college." For her, as for virtually all of my other participants, public health data meant little for how they conceptualized their and their peers' drinking habits. Health simply is not their primary concern when deciding to attend a party with their friends.

Students' apparent disregard for their health is not, however, due to a lack of awareness of or indifference to the dangers of alcohol consumption. Emily said that when she came to college, she felt nervous about drinking because of a history of alcoholism in her family. She shared with me, "I just saw what it did to people, how it changed them." However, by her second semester she considered herself a regular alcohol consumer, despite being underage at the time. Even though her perspective on her family members did not change, she said that she felt like college was the time for her to consume alcohol with her friends, occasionally in excess.

All students I interviewed reported at least one occasion when, the day after drinking, they could not remember parts of the night before. For Lilly, this experience and seeing her friends go through similar nights of being "blacked-out" had a lasting impact:

> I feel like there are a lot of people at St. Lawrence that can speak to having a really bad night with alcohol. I know I had some of those nights, where you just test your limits. Mostly, I knew I had too much, but I was having a really good time, or I just wanted to push [my limits] a little bit more. But it changed me, I did that a few times and not again, because you learn, you grow, you mature out of it.

Emily also spoke of nights like the one Lilly described. She emphasized that through this excessive alcohol consumption, she was able to grow as a person. By exploring her limits, she explored her personhood at these limits as well. Especially waking up hungover in the morning, she knew "I didn't actually want to be that person. I did not enjoy being that person," something that helped her more clearly know and vocalize her limits. Emily and Lilly both spoke of becoming more focused on extracurricular activities in clubs and organizations, because they realized that drinking as their only leisure activity was not fulfilling. The visceral learning experience of drinking alcohol to excess showed Lilly her personal limits by pushing her physical limits.

Public health efforts so far have focused on restricting alcohol consumption or providing information about the dangers of overconsumption. However, college is not only a time of "polarizing drinking behavior" merely because of peer pressure or disregard for personal health (Wechsler and Nelson 2008, 3). Pathologizing drinking and partying risks pathologizing the liminoid itself. After all, Turner also saw liminal, and liminoid, phases as times of great promise, when "everything seems possible" (1969, 372) because they show

us that our social structure is arbitrary, and radical change is possible. Much of the liberal arts promise of educating future leaders and visionary thinkers (see for example Seifert et al. 2008; Urciuoli 2003) is encompassed in experiences of the liminoid.

There seems to be a lack of functional and widely accepted alternatives to ritualized drinking that satisfy the need to both lose oneself and find deep bonds of *communitas* with others, in ways that are both personally viable and socially acceptable. Humans have a deep and universal fascination with altered states of mind, and especially with alcohol consumption. So far, anthropologists have not found a single society without alcohol consumption, whether the culture is permissive toward intoxication or not. Dudley theorizes that there is something in our paleoanthropological past that connects humans to alcohol on a quasi-biological level (2014). Furthermore, there is evidence that even other mammals such as primates and elephants deliberately consume fermented fruits and foods to achieve some form of intoxication (Siegel 1989, 118). Even though alcohol might not inherently be connected to the liminoid experience, altered states of conscience help facilitate that experience, especially in the secular, industrialized society that has largely been stripped of magic and ritual through the ascension of rational thought and the scientific method.

As Turner asserted, liminal rituals have largely been replaced by the liminoid. This poses the question of whether liminoid experiences deemed problematic, such as intoxicated students at college parties, can be effectively replaced, and what they would transform into. Even though college students do not undergo a dramatic change of personhood during college parties as in rites of passage, the broader human bond and connection that they experience, the temporary dissolution of their selves, is crucial to the liminoid experience. Consuming alcohol and attending college parties serve the purpose of finding that connection for many students, and it does not seem readily replaced. Sports games or music festivals, both explored in the anthropological literature as also providing liminoid spaces (Rowe 1998, Taheri et al. 2016, John 2001), are often also connected to alcohol consumption and might therefore pose similar public health issues of binge drinking and overconsumption. This does not mean that the negative health impacts of binge drinking are negligible. Neither, however, are they attributable only to the personal failings of individual college students.

Pregaming and college parties represent more than a craving for social belonging or the suspension of personal problems, even though these effects might be welcomed by students. *Communitas* provides a relief from the structure of society, in this case the structure of college life. By juxtaposing leisure and academic "work" life, college parties provide an opportunity for students to temporarily exist outside that structure. It is therefore questionable whether any policy change on the university or legal level could effectively remedy the negative effects of college-student drinking, since college parties stand as a contrast to structure itself.

Acknowledgements

Appendix 1: Interview Guide

1. Please tell me when you had your first drink (in college).

2. What did you know about drinking at the time?

3. How did you feel about drinking in college at the time?
    4. Has the way you think about drinking in college changed since you first got to St. Lawrence?

5. What does a typical night out look like for you? Can you describe what you would usually do in a sequence of events?

5. What would you typically drink? Do you drink different types of alcohol for different occasions?

6. What does pregaming mean to you?

7. How would pregaming look like for you?

8. Who would you pregame with?

9. Who would you not pregame with and why?

10. How do you feel about drinking games at St. Lawrence?

11. Do you have a favorite drinking game and what does it look like? What are important skills you need for a drinking game (you described)?

11. Has the way people drink at St. Lawrence influenced your behavior? How so?

12. Since coming to St. Lawrence, have you changed the way you drink? Why?

13. Have you changed the way you act on a night out since coming to St. Lawrence?

14. Do you and your friends have similar drinking behaviors? How are they similar or different?

15. Do you have anything you want to add?

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Upscaling Downtown: Interpersonal Dynamics of Nightlife Revelers in Geneva, New York

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ABSTRACT

Bars have long been recognized as the intersection of a city's culture and commerce. They provide opportunities for social interaction, contain a multitude of local memories, and serve as sources of identity. The American Revolution, the Whiskey Rebellion, and the Stonewall riots all developed out of local bars. So, what does it mean when the character of bars in a neighborhood begins to change? How do these changes to commercial spaces affect the social fabric of a city? Using a combination of ethnographic fieldwork and interviews, I explore the upscaling of the downtown bar scene in Geneva, New York to unpack what these commercial changes mean for the disparate groups that frequent the downtown space. I argue that instead of simply diversifying the types of businesses available to consumers in Geneva, this development has altered the very character and social fabric of downtown. Rather than creating an integrated and cohesive nightlife scene in which disparate groups come together in shared space and time, this development manifests in the fragmentation of the downtown scene in new ways that increase the segregation of people in social space.

Keywords: urban sociology; bars; commercial upscaling; ethnography; integrated segregation

It is about 11pm on a cold Friday night in January. Two well-dressed couples in their twenties walk into The Point – one of the newest upscale bars in Geneva, a small city in the Finger Lakes region of upstate New York. As the couples approach the bar, they point and whisper in awe of the sophisticated interior décor. The women are wearing classy dresses and chic wool coats with their hair neatly falling just below their shoulders. The men are wearing dress pants, button up shirts with sweaters and hip trench coats. Pete, the head bartender of this cocktail bar, is wearing the 'uniform' of dress pants, a button up shirt with a vest and tie. The group proceeds to ask Pete about a few drinks on the menu, looking for a more detailed explanation of the hand-crafted cocktails. They each order a different cocktail so that they can try as many as possible. The two couples dance, chat among themselves and take pictures of Pete making their drinks. When their drinks arrive, one of the women mentions that her drink features a lime peel setting atop the ice illuminated by a blue flame. The couples take a few moments to taste each other's drinks before proceeding to take selfies with their elaborate cocktails. The four continue their night sitting at the leather tufted nailhead couches and glass tables beyond the bar in a dimly lit corner with a more personal and private feel.

The above interaction was not one in a bar in New York City or Los Angeles, but in a new bar in the small city of Geneva in the Finger Lakes region of New York. Ten years ago, this interaction would not have been representative of any nightlife experience in Geneva, but between 2013 and 2017, seven new upscale bars and restaurants have moved into downtown Geneva, New York – a city of under 13,000. Geneva's downtown was once characterized by casual, local watering holes but now includes a microbrewery, a wine bar, a farm-to-table restaurant, and a prohibition-style cocktail bar among its new attractions for nightlife revelers. I became interested in how these commercial shifts would impact such a small city. If seven or eight new businesses move into a city that is just over 4.3 square miles, changes may be more palpable than they would be in a larger-scale city. In this paper, I explore these commercial changes through an analysis of interpersonal dynamics within and between various commercial spaces in Geneva.

Bars as the Intersection of City Culture and Commerce

While public space, by definition, tends to be viewed as open and accessible to a variety of people, the reality of such openness is contested in the literature. According to sociologist Lyn Lofland, social constraints exist that specify who can occupy particular public spaces even though the spaces are visually and physically accessible (Lofland 1998, 8). These constraints tend to center upon normative expectations regarding markers such as class, race, and gender, applied to physical locations in space. As the French philosopher Henri Lefebvre notes, these are typically the ideologies of the dominant class, given their position to control the space (Lefebvre 1991). The social meanings given to public space by those in the dominant class are not to be taken as merely repressive and exclusionary. Individuals and groups who are excluded from certain spaces often contest both the purpose and use of that space, creating conflict.

Bars serve as a fascinating intersection of a city's culture and commerce, as well as its public and private space. Numerous studies have analyzed bars as important spaces for sociability, community, and sense of place (Grazian 2003; Grazian 2008; May 2014; Lloyd 2006; Oldenburg 1989). These works focus on the role that bars play in people's lives – as sites for cultural experiences, identity performance, or sources of community – and almost exclusively focus on larger cities (Grazian 2003; Grazian 2008; May 2014; Lloyd 2006; Oldenburg 1989). These studies offer vital groundwork for understanding the importance of bars across

various sites and moments in time as well as the performative social dynamics that occur within and between them. They also illuminate the changing boundaries of public and private space and what it means to have a right to one's city (Zukin 2008, 2010, 2011; Zukin et al. 2009). Intrigued by the rapid rate of commercial change I was seeing, I wanted to understand how these commercial changes were impacting the social dynamics in downtown Geneva.

The intersections of a city's culture and commerce are best understood by analyzing the interpersonal dynamics of the social spaces themselves. Reuben May (2014) explores how nightlife revelers navigate downtown space as they go about meeting, socializing, and entertaining themselves. May's work begins with a spatial analysis of the nightlife scene of a popular city in Georgia, in which he defines people in "caravanning groups" that operate in "social capsules" formed by symbolic boundaries (May, 2014, 13-14). These groups that move in social capsules enforce boundaries against excluded groups (May, 2014, 15). May's work reveals the ways that disparate groups see public space and the conflicts that arise in the streets, in bars and nightclubs, and in various public spaces throughout the downtown space.

May's study provides rich material from which to approach an analysis of the social dynamics at play in and between these new commercial spaces in Geneva. May develops the concept of "integrated segregation" – the idea that diverse groups are physically close to one another yet rarely have meaningful interactions, but rather are socially bound to those of similar race, class, and cultural backgrounds. Throughout the text, May argues that social tension between groups is persistent because many participants fail to make the connection between their current relations with other groups and the historical and institutional forces that perpetuate those very tensions. The thinly veiled structural racism in the downtown entertainment space is revealed, illustrating the direct influence of local government and nightlife management decision-making on interpersonal interactions among groups. In studying social dynamics of nightlife in Geneva, I employ a similar spatial analysis in an attempt to understand how nightlife revelers utilize and move through the downtown nightlife scene.

Taste and Exclusivity in Commercial Change

Sociologist Richard Ocejo (2014) analyzes the influence of government and nightlife management on the downtown scene in a neighborhood in New York City, exploring a once working-class area that now features luxury housing, chic boutiques, and a vibrant nightlife culture. His work investigates how various groups are affected by this urban transformation, arguing that the gentrifying neighborhoods of many post-industrial cities are influenced by commercial upscaling. Ocejo utilizes the actions and perspectives of residents, visitors, public officials, and nightlife actors to explore the contested and dynamic process of neighborhood change, finding that New York City's growth agenda has produced a commercial scene that appeals to and benefits wealthy and transient people and prioritizes their interests over those of existing residents (Ocejo 2014, 212).

Ocejo's work centers the impact of commercial change on everyday life in today's post-industrial cities. Recognizing that bars rest at the intersection of a city's culture and its economy, Ocejo utilizes bars as a window through which to view the changes in local social patterns, the formation of local identities, and the transformation of neighborhoods. This framing of bars as a tool to understand social dynamics became vital in my work in Geneva. Ocejo shows that the exclusivity of nightlife scenes may not be new, but the upscale nature of the cultures, tastes, and consumers that compose the scenes are. This notion of nightlife scenes shifting towards more upscale cultures and tastes is representative of the shifts in consumption scenes in Geneva. This contemporary form of downtown neighborhood exclusivity is driven by cities' growth agendas that appeal to and benefit wealthy newcomers and visitors – prioritizing their tastes and needs over those of existing residents (Zukin 2008, 2011). Wealthy and transient groups flock to these neighborhoods and use these new spaces to create and reinforce imagined communities based on

forms of commercial leisure, taste, and desire at the expense of people in actual place-based communities (Ocejo 2014, 210). The social context of Geneva combines local residents, college students, and tourists – all interacting in downtown space. Each group comes to the nightlife scene with different identities, tastes, and intentions. The question of whose tastes are catered to is wrapped up in cities' agendas and the relationship between culture and commerce.

Race, Commodification, and Authenticity

Another study looking at the intersection of a city's culture and its commerce is David Grazian's (2003) book studying the world of contemporary blues clubs in Chicago, which reveals how curated images of the blues are manufactured and sold to blues audiences. Grazian argues that the desire to experience authenticity in the postmodern world propels the popularity of the blues (Grazian 2003, 9). Drawing on countless hours spent in blues clubs throughout Chicago, Grazian shows how this quest for authenticity has transformed blues itself with professional and amateur musicians, club owners, and city boosters defining, packaging, and dishing the blues out to tourists and bar patrons. Rather than defining an authentic blues experience, Grazian seeks to explain how the commodification of the blues drives producers and consumers to a certain perception of authenticity. Similar performative dynamics are at play in various bars in Geneva in the manufacturing of a nightlife experience characterized by specialty cocktails and farm-to-table restaurants.

Tourism – a supposed economic solution to the declining manufacturing industrial economy – becomes a main motivation for the city of Chicago to promote the blues and its legacy in the city (Grazian, 2003). Through this perceived authenticity of the blues, race – and the performance of race – becomes vital to the packaging of the "authenticity" of the Chicago blues scene. Grazian shows us how, for consumers, blackness came to connote a sense of authenticity of the blues. Thinly veiled relationships between place and authenticity

also define the good nightlife experience for revelers in Geneva.

Bars have always been situated at the intersection of a city's culture and commerce and they serve as rich sites for understanding neighborhood change. I sought to explore the social dynamics that govern these nightlife spaces in Geneva to understand whether these commercial shifts were bringing changes in interactions and use patterns. Who were these spaces for and who was disinvited from them? What did the upscaling of downtown mean for the people living in Geneva relative to transient groups like students and tourists? Were there changes in use patterns and social interaction in the downtown space? My study provided an opportunity to build on the work of people like Reuben May and Richard Ocejo by providing an intimate look at what happens to the very social fabric of a community amidst these economic shifts and the contested interactional dynamics of these changing spaces.

Research Methods

To capture these changes and understand the mechanisms through which they operate, I decided to utilize a combination of ethnographic fieldwork and interviews similar to Ocejo's methods (2003). The ethnographic fieldwork provided an opportunity to observe how people interacted in each of the bars and compare the nature of interactions between bars in the downtown space. Through my ethnography, I was able to see patterns across time and space in downtown Geneva that helped me to make sense of how the downtown nightlife is structured. This ethnographic work allowed me to observe the mechanisms through which these patterns create and recreate integrated segregation. Over four months, I conducted ethnographic fieldwork in three bars in downtown Geneva. I chose to focus on a local bar, a college bar, and an upscale bar to compare the perceived groups in the downtown nightlife space. In addition to several hours of informal acclimation to the downtown nightlife scene, I spent a total of eleven hours of formal research in the upscale bar (The Point), ten hours in the college bar (Ray's Place), and ten hours in the local bar (Mertin's bar). I focused my fieldwork

on Thursday, Friday, and Saturday evenings, because these popular nightlife days and times were the times when interactions that I wanted to study would occur. While in these spaces, I took extensive fieldnotes of the atmosphere of the bar, the patrons in the bar and the nature of interactions amongst patrons and bartenders. I also noted interactions between myself and the bartenders or myself and patrons as I navigated my role as a researcher. During my time in these spaces, I conducted many conversations and informal interviews with bar owners, workers, and patrons. I wrote these conversations down quickly in my research notebook after the interaction ended.

In addition to the ethnographic fieldwork, I wanted to gain an understanding of the ways in which nightlife workers interpret and assign meaning to the social world in which they work. I decided to conduct formal interviews with bar owners and workers and (on one occasion) a patron. This allowed me to ask more direct questions and explore the views, experiences, beliefs, and perspectives of the nightlife workers in Geneva. Over the course of my research, I conducted seven formal interviews. In the upscale bar, I interviewed one middle-aged, white, male owner and two white, male bartenders in their twenties. In the college bar, I interviewed one middle-aged, white, male owner and one white, male bartender in his thirties. In the local bar, I interviewed one black, female bartender in her thirties and one black, male patron in his sixties. These interviews allowed me to understand how workers perceive their role as actors of the nightlife consumption scene and how they operate to support or challenge the social dynamics at play.

Understanding Bar Wisdom

The patterns that I began to observe formed a body of knowledge that seemed to guide groups in Geneva through interactions in different bars. Similar dynamics were also visible in the ways in which disparate groups interacted *within* each bar. Knowledge of these informal rules operates to allow individuals and groups to develop what I call *bar wisdom*. In developing the concept of becoming *barwise*, I was inspired by Elijah Anderson's (1990) concept of 'streetwise', developed in his urban sociological study of race, class, and change:

> This street wisdom is largely a state of mind, but it is demonstrated through a person's comportment. It represents a perspective gained through public interaction, the give and take of street life. This perspective allows one to 'see through' public situations, to anticipate what is about to happen based on cues and signals from those encounters. In essence, a 'streetwise' person is one who understands 'how to behave' in uncertain public places. (Anderson 1990, 5-6)

While Anderson's concept of streetwise refers to the wisdom governing interactions on the street, my use of *barwise* refers to knowledge and understanding of social rules that govern interaction in bars and illuminates differences in interactions between various bars. The rules of bar wisdom, much like street wisdom, are largely structured by race, class, and gender. This knowledge is applied at two levels: how patrons decide which bars to visit and how they interact in them. In this paper, I highlight the décor/atmosphere of the bar, clothing or style of dress among patrons, and notions of who is to be where, when, as mechanisms through which patrons deploy bar wisdom. This understanding often informs what spaces they choose to frequent at what time as well as the ways they interact or do not interact with other groups in the space. Despite the fact that these upscale bars bring a new clientele downtown, they nonetheless result in a segregated scene shared by different groups that do not interact significantly and/or get along.

Décor and Atmosphere of the Bars

The upscale bar, The Point, is located towards the end of a dimly lit street with drapes over the windows and a small, neon sign beckoning you to enter. It looks dark inside. Upon opening the door, you see the large wrap around bar, dimly lit grunge-chic exposed brick on the walls, and tin ceiling tiles. The right-hand wall holds the bar, which is lined with liquor bottles neatly displayed in front of mirrors with backlighting. The barstools feature a wooden seat with a copper metal frame that enhances the grunge-chic appeal. On the right-hand side of the bar, leather and velvet tufted nailhead couches offer a more intimate and personal space for

gathering. Black leather couches line the corners creating an alcove on either side of the bar and include small, round glass tables for cocktails to be displayed as folks sit and converse with one another. The walls are decorated with a variety of mirrors and framed pictures for sale as well as a large white caribou head.

The contrast of materials and textures such as exposed brick, black painted walls, wood, leather, velvet, and metal create a posh, industrial-chic feel that is unique to the newer businesses in Geneva. The space feels romantic; it reminds one of both an upscale, urban experience, but also a nostalgic trip back to Prohibition times. The bartenders wear dress pants, button-up shirts, vests, and ties. Their hair is neat, and they maintain a traditionally professional demeanor at the bar, such as greeting people upon arrival, communicating in formal English, maintaining a certain social distance, and wishing them a safe night as they leave. The music varies from 80s classics to smooth jazz depending on the night and the crowd. Patrons sit at the bar or congregate in groups within small, benched alcoves. When the bar is more crowded, groups may stand behind the bar along the tall tables on the left-hand side of the space.

Around the corner from The Point, Ray's Place is situated along a row of businesses in a main strip of downtown Geneva. The windows facing the street feature foggy, opaque glass aiding the unassuming exterior with a few staple neon beer signs in the windows. A few bouncers typically sit outside smoking or drinking beer. Inside the bar, you encounter loud music playing and a forty-six-foot wooden bar. The bartenders are mostly male and dressed casually in flannel shirts and blue jeans. Female bartenders tend to dress in blue jeans and a nice top. The space has tall, cathedral ceilings with wood covering most of the interior. Exposed brick covers one side wall with black drop ceiling panels and wood floors. The bar itself is long and narrow, extending far beyond what is clearly visible upon entrance. There is a small, raised, wooden stage and an open space that often serves as a dance floor. The forty-six-foot bar is to the right, just beyond the dance floor and to the left are tall bar stools

extending along the same length as the bar. The space includes a few arcade games, a dartboard, and two pool tables as you walk further towards the back. At the very back of the bar, there are usually no lights on and just a few mismatched couches and chairs that often hold piles of patrons' coats.

On a nearby street, Mertin's bar is situated next to an upscale tavern and a vacant storefront. Its brick exterior with neon beer signs in the windows characterizes the space as a traditional local bar. This bar is frequented almost exclusively by local working-class residents. Most of the patrons are middle-aged or older. This bar's patronage has a fairly diverse racial makeup and typically more men than women. A few people are almost always hanging just outside the door smoking a cigarette. They often meet you with a smile, a hello, and a casual comment about the weather or just a simple "How are you?" This is often a point referenced by local patrons who boast of the "authenticity" of this bar as compared to other bars downtown.

The bar appears to have been two separate storefronts at one point eventually having the center wall knocked out to join the rooms into one. Even with this, the space feels small. The ceilings are low and the space is narrow. Along the right-hand side wall is an old wooden bar. Straight ahead is a walkway leading back to the bathrooms in the back of the bar. To your left is an open space that feels quite empty most of the time with the exception of a game of pool being played occasionally. Typical of local bars, the décor looks somewhat rundown with most of the bar stools crooked, broken, or breaking and the bar, cabinetry and glasses a mismatched combination. Most of the interior wall space of the bar is covered in beer signs. Two large, flat screens TVs are mounted to the wall at either end of the bar and usually feature sports or the news, with the occasional movie. The bar has no air conditioning, so two large fans are mounted on the ceiling where the wall separating the spaces once stood.

Each of these bars has a different feel. Everything from the location and storefront of the bar to the décor and the bartenders themselves operate as a marker for people to understand who is to be in the space. The

Point's chic industrial atmosphere is a popular theme in post-industrial city bar scenes and its small size offers a more exclusive feel. In comparison, Ray's Place is a huge open space with cathedral ceilings and a forty-six-foot bar to accommodate a large number of patrons at a time. The importance of this is echoed by the owner who boasts of his bar's size, which is "three times the capacity of those Oak Street businesses," in reference to an upscale area in Geneva. Mertin's décor is casual and comfortable, inviting and invoking the sense of community and connection that patrons expressed as important. The atmosphere and décor in each of these spaces sets a tone that serves as a marker for patrons to decipher who frequents the bar, when, and why. This bar wisdom tends to be drawn along class lines in the city of Geneva as patrons understand The Point to be an upscale experience, Ray's Place to be a classic local bar with a blend of a college bar identity, and Mertin's bar to be a traditional working-class bar.

The physical décor and atmosphere of these bars creates and reinforces typical patronage. Through bar wisdom, patrons understand these markers in the décor and atmosphere of the bars that signal that the spaces are meant for high-end, classy consumption; loud college partying; or the casual sociability of a local bar. In moving through these spaces, patrons learn and reproduce information about who uses each of these three types of bars and position themselves accordingly. These understandings of social behavior are often drawn along lines of class. Patrons tend to stick to social types like themselves in these nightlife scenes, utilizing bar wisdom to produce and reproduce integrated segregation in downtown Geneva.

"Brush Your Teeth Before You Come to the Bar"

Clothing and physical appearance become tools to decide who should and should not be in certain spaces. This was evidenced by the steady commentary from bar owners and bartenders regarding attire and physical appearance as coded language about class and age. John, a bar owner at The Point, commented that people are mostly "dressed up to be out at night" when they go to The Point. He claimed that this was an "important thing"

and added that "they're here to be out and be seen…you know…brush your teeth before you come to the bar." In reference to how people dress and present themselves, John emphasized the importance of having what he considers good personal hygiene and appropriate attire and added that, "you don't know who you're going to meet," and that "your professionalism and self-respect comes across and people trust you more." He tells me that "there's an air of…a classic thing…but you get taken more seriously…more respected." John's comments indicate something about the kind of interactions that he expects patrons to have at his bar. The conversation is implicitly about class and a coded understanding of who the bartenders see the space being for. By using coded language about dressing "to be out" and mentioning cleanliness and neatness, John indicates distinctions of who he thinks is to be at The Point and who is not that seem to be drawn along lines of class, occupation, and age. This sentiment is echoed by Pete, a bartender at The Point, when he mentions that "people watch how they dress when they're coming to The Point." He goes on to say if you go into "any townie bar," you will see people "dressed in shorts and a t-shirt at any time," but "if people say, 'hey let's go to The Point tonight,' I think people try to… you know… wear business casual type of dress. They don't just put anything on." Here, Pete compares The Point to "townie bars"—a derogatory term for bars that working-class Geneva residents visit. The comment makes a class distinction between the bars by referencing how people dress and present themselves in each space. Commentary like this stems from Pete's bar wisdom and serves as boundary enforcement about who nightlife workers think The Point is for.

When the question of attire in the bar came up in my interview with Jimmy, a bartender at Ray's Place, he immediately began talking about the respectability of certain styles of dress, saying, "it's hard to respect people when they dress the way they do," in reference to guys and then added "for girls, they wear dresses that could be a night gown … these are the girls that get mad when something happens … it's like, respect yourself." He added that this comment applies mostly to students, but that there were some locals that dressed this way as well. While

his comment was riddled with victim-blaming and gendered expectations of "respectability" (not to mention infantilizing women by calling them "girls"), it alluded to the importance of style of dress as a component of bar wisdom used to determine who fit in with what groups in which spaces. Students tend to dress in designer clothing from brands like Vineyard Vines, J Crew, and Lilly Pulitzer, whose pastel colors and distinct style contrast sharply with the attire of locals in Geneva. Here, Jimmy commented about the difficulty in respecting this style of dress. The men's attire was not perceived as manly enough and the women's was not seen as respectable. This comment was important not only for its ageism and misogyny, but also in its comparison to the workers' perceptions about the style of dress of other groups in Ray's Place. Since Ray's Place is a contested space in struggles over its identity as a local bar and as a college bar, it is one of the only places where groups with distinct styles of dress came together regularly. Local patrons discussed style of dress as a form of othering between themselves and students. Overall, the college students' attire was more preppy party clothing, while locals tended to dress more casually. On nights when locals and students were both in the space, it became clear that people differentiated themselves by style of dress and appearance.

In Mertin's bar, almost everyone was in casual clothing. Often patrons came in wearing their work clothes with paint on their pants or grease on their shirts. Almost everyone wore blue jeans and some type of sweatshirt. Mertin's also had a group of regulars who were in motorcycle clubs. These patrons often visited the bar wearing their leather jackets and vests that featured the names of their club, their own names, and various other patches. The style of dress in Mertin's was different from the other two bars, particularly because Mertin's patrons were almost all regulars. This became clear to me very early on in my ethnography as I was attempting to manage my identity in each of the bars.

In my formal interviews and informal conversations with patrons, bartenders, and owners, it became clear that attire and overall appearance were markers of bar wisdom used by patrons and bar staff to manage themselves in the bars as well as evaluate others in the space. These conversations and judgements explicitly discussed physical clothing and appearance that served as indicators of how different nightlife participants decided who was supposed to be in what spaces – often drawn along lines of class and age. Patrons of these spaces would visually evaluate one another based on these markers of clothing and physical appearance to reinforce stratification in the bars and the broader nightlife scene of Geneva. These implicit class, age, and gender rules are negotiated in these conversations about clothing and appearance and aid in the creation of bar wisdom.

"We Can't Go There Yet, It's Too Early"

Time was another marker of bar wisdom for maintaining integrated segregation in downtown Geneva. Patrons of downtown had a keen understanding of who was to be in what bars at what time. This implicit understanding operated to keep certain groups from certain spaces at all times and also to manage how disparate groups moved through contested space at different times. When Mertin's bar would come up in conversation at both The Point and Ray's Place, many patrons did not even know what Mertin's was. Those that did often dismissed the bar as a space where people are "drinking at all hours of the day … 10AM people are drinking," as indicated by one young female patron at The Point. A middle-aged white male patron at Ray's Place echoes this, laughing when I mention spending time in the bar, and saying, "Why would you go there? It's a bunch of old guys drinking at all hours of the day." Both comments reflect a stereotype about age and class as a component of bar wisdom expressed by nightlife participants about Mertin's attracting "the local drunks" to "drink all day." Both patrons distance themselves from the space and distinguish the bar they visit from Mertin's. This indicates that time becomes a way that patrons of The Point understand acceptable and unacceptable drinking habits and serves as a marker to distinguish Mertin's as a space that people would not visit.

Time was used in other ways to understand the function and identity of bars in downtown

Geneva. One night at The Point, a group of four young, white folks sitting behind me discussed another bar in Geneva that is known as a classic dive bar. One man in the group suggested heading over to that bar and a woman responded, saying, "We can't go there yet … it's too early and we'll be kicked out for being overdressed." The group laughed in agreement. Again, markers of attire were present in the woman's comment that they would be "kicked out for being overdressed," but we also see the importance of time in her comment. Her bar wisdom allowed her to understand The Point to be a space for a sophisticated, casual drinking at the beginning of the night and the local dive bar as a place to finish the night with rowdy, cheap alcohol consumption.

Time is also used to mark when bars shift identity. At Ray's Place, for instance, local patrons and bartenders know that on Thursday nights around 11pm, the bar's identity will shift over to a college scene where the tensions based on class and age are felt in the space. As the DJ for the Thursday night crowd moves in to set up and have a few beers around 9pm before the Thursday night rush, conversations and jokes of the "invasion" emerge amongst locals and bartenders. Many locals openly voice that they choose to leave the space before students arrive, while others indicate that they stay as an act of defiance against the bar's identity shift towards college students.

In this sense, time becomes another organizing marker of bar wisdom for people to understand and communicate who belongs where. Conversations about time usually employ other markers such as social class, style of dress, age, and drinking patterns. Here we can begin to see how the multiple markers that make up bar wisdom combine to create an understanding of how disparate groups move through the downtown space.

Function of the Bars

Along with markers of atmosphere, attire, and time, the three bars in the study have different functions that attract and retain certain crowds. Ocejo explains how bars are places for "relaxation, socializing, and fun" and that "As fixtures in neighborhoods, they are repositories of local memory and sources of identity. A bar

that is old enough has walls that can tell the history of its surrounding neighborhoods and the people who live there" (Ocejo 2014, 1). Along with being spaces for socializing, bars can be a prism through which to view and understand neighborhood change. This is represented in Ocejo's discussion of the nostalgia narrative of early gentrifiers in New York City, for whom bars became one of the spaces in which the creativity, artistry, and community they treasure were formed. This gave early gentrifiers, "a place attachment based on personal experiences, relationships, and social networks" (Ocejo 2014, 91). The nostalgia narrative these groups created represented an important attachment to the "collective memory, or a powerful social construction of the past in the present" that served to construct new identities and ideologies as symbolic owners that formed the basis for collective action (Ocejo 2014, 92). Grazian notes that blues bars have different functions for different constituents. They are places to consume authentic blues for nightlife revelers and tourists, they are havens for the regulars, and they are places for artistic expression for the people who call themselves blues artists. For May (2014), bars became spaces for fun that nightlife revelers sought. In the studies by Ocejo, May, and Grazian, the functions of bars themselves impacted the ways in which disparate groups understood the space. Oftentimes, conflicts over beliefs about the function of particular spaces caused tensions between groups laying claim to the space. The upscaling of the downtown nightlife scene in Geneva brought about a shift in the function of bars downtown that often clashed with bars' traditional function.

On a casual night at Ray's Place, earlier in the evening, the bartender plays music by Usher and a number of people get excited. The bouncers join in, dancing with a few groups of local patrons and the bartender lip syncs to Usher's words. They all laugh and joke that "it's about to get hot in here." They decide that tonight they are going to play R&B classics. This important moment represented the personality and social fabric of this bar through its spontaneity and playfulness. After a few minutes of laughing and dancing, Jimmy (the bartender) turns to me and says, "see *this* is

what's cool about bars like this." Jimmy's reference to the lighthearted and playful interaction highlights the function of Ray's Place as he understands it. Bar wisdom informs Jimmy's valuation of what bars are supposed to be about and why this bar is special to him. Later in an interview, Jimmy comments that he believes that people enjoy this bar because it is a "meeting ground," adding that "you know you'll see someone you know … it may not be someone you want to see, but you'll see people you know." He explains that he has seen people get into arguments in the bar or just outside the bar and then settle their conflict over a drink minutes later in the bar. Jimmy's bar wisdom about Ray's Place reflected sentiments of many local patrons who see the bar as part of their lives and identities in their communities. They were referring to ideas about the traditional local bar where "everyone knows your name."

However, students' relationship to Ray's Place is different. They explain that they come every Thursday because "it's where you go on Thursdays" and "the DJ is great." They lament that there are typically only two bartenders working in the crowded bar on Thursday nights and express frustration in trying to get a drink. Based on students' bar wisdom, Ray's Place has a completely different function than it does for local patrons: it is about cheap drinks, loud music, and dancing. These two groups come into conflict with one another, given that their intentions for the function of the bar contrast. Locals prefer to have a few drinks among friends with live music or R&B classics, while students are looking for fast, cheap drinks and a great DJ. This juxtaposition becomes the most poignant on Thursday nights where the two groups fight over use of the space. This is also one of the clearest moments in which May's concept of integrated segregation is visible.

On Thursday evenings, the bar became spatially divided. Students dominated the center of the bar, conversing and dancing, while local patrons were restricted to the periphery at the front and back of the bar. Spaces such as the dance floor could host some intermingling of locals and students, but this rarely happens. The few occasions when students did dance with locals tended to be students mocking locals by enthusiastically dancing with them and

then turning to their friends as they all laughed at the encounter. Locals and students cohabited this space every Thursday evening and almost exclusively ignored one another. By about 11:30 pm, when this Thursday crowd of students packed into the bar, the entire forty-six-foot bar was full of people, locals, and students alike, trying to get drinks. Locals and students stand shoulder to shoulder at the bar and all but ignore one another. There were typically two bartenders working the whole bar, and thus, they were constantly on the move, largely unable to keep up with the sheer volume of requests for drinks that came pouring in. There was an understanding, discussed amongst locals and bartenders when students were not present, that bartenders would serve locals before attending to students. Early one Thursday evening before the rush of students arrived, Jimmy was discussing this telling me "it's about respect, you know? Like, if you come up to me yelling for a drink when you just walked up to the bar, then I'm not serving you." Students strongly expressed that they were aware of this serving order on Thursday nights. Additionally, on numerous occasions during my ethnography, students would turn to me as they were waiting to be served and roll their eyes or make a comment about how long they had been waiting and how the bartender was deliberately ignoring them to focus on "townies". Bar wisdom informs how the space is understood by the two groups that use it and when these groups cohabit the space, tensions arise about the function of the bar.

In comparison, Mertin's bar is less contested by various performances of the nocturnal self, but rather is the type of bar Ray Oldenburg (1989) would have called a third place. It functions as a space for patrons to come together and bond outside of work, family, and other commitments (Oldenburg 1989). In Ocejo's account of patrons of Milano's, a local Bowery bar in lower Manhattan, "going to the bar is intertwined with their local identities and provides them with a regular opportunity to maintain friendships and strengthen local ties…they do not manufacture and put on a 'nocturnal self' but embrace the freedom the bar gives them to act comfortably, apart from work and family" (Ocejo 2014, 24). This is similar to the function and identity of Mertin's as a

local bar as exemplified through the bar wisdom of its patrons. The bar was a space that was frequented by the same people all the time. It did not see the transient, nightlife crowd like some of the other bars in Geneva. This was evidenced by the fact that many students had never heard of the bar, let alone been there. Mertin's served no function for students and, thus, was not even on their radar. Additionally, stereotypes regarding class and age prevented even some locals from associating with the bar.

In comparison with both Ray's Place and Mertin's bar, The Point's crowd was predominantly white professionals. Groups of young, almost exclusively white folks frequented the bar. They ranged from college students to young professionals from Geneva and surrounding areas. They dressed in a manner somewhere between professional and party attire. The space felt white, as groups of predominantly white patrons dominated the dynamic in the bar, in part due to their sheer numbers compared to other demographics, but also in ways that the space and atmosphere catered to them. These groups could be seen most often between 10pm and midnight. Most frequently, groups came in for a cocktail or two and then left again. The nature of this bar lent itself not to excessive drinking and loud drunken engagements, but rather to a sophisticated consumption experience – evidenced, in part, by the price tag of its cocktails.

On any given night, it was not uncommon for two groups who came to the bar separately to show that they knew one another and converse, at least briefly, in the bar. These interactions, while sometimes a casual hello to a friend, oftentimes looked like professional networking. One Saturday night around midnight, a well-dressed, young, white man walked in with two similarly well-dressed white women. The two women walked immediately over to a group of six young, white patrons sitting in the corner alcove behind where I was seated at the bar. The man approached the bar next to me and upon making eye contact with one of the bartenders, reached over the bar and shook his hand, referring to him by name. The bartender asked how he was doing and they conversed about job openings in the man's

real estate firm, the bartender's purchase of a home, and common professional acquaintances. This was an example of how this upscale bar created not only an urban, upscale nightlife experience, but also a professional environment in which casual networking could take place. This bar became mixed-use in blending the line between nightlife space and an environment for professional engagements.

The manifestation of this bar as a crossover between party and professional environment is a product of a number of dimensions of the space working together and patrons' bar wisdom about it. First, the bar was frequented most by an upscale, white, professional crowd. This was evident in the high-priced, elaborate cocktails and the cocktail knowledge of the bartending staff that must accompany these extravagant drinks. Also, the positioning of the bar in the downtown space gave it a central location, as it was situated in the middle of the city, but also a mysterious, exclusive feel in that the exterior of the bar was dark with drapes covering the windows and only a small sign advertising the business to the street front. Everything from the private, exclusive feel of the bar's exterior to the atmosphere inside and the price tag of cocktails, alluded to the space's dual function as an environment for upscale consumption as well as professional networking and interaction. These markers coincided with implicit bar wisdom about the function of different bars in Geneva that guide nightlife revelers through space and helped them to decide which bars to visit and which to avoid.

Researcher in the Space: "Are You a Poet?"

Navigating my role as a researcher in each of the spaces became an informative way of understanding how bar wisdom and integrated segregation (May 2014) works. As a young, white, female college student, the ways in which I was perceived in the different spaces often reflected preconceived ideas about who ought to be in the respective spaces. I became cognizant of each facet of my identity as I moved through the spaces, attempting to fit in for my research. I would match my dress, hairstyle, and makeup in each of the bars in an attempt to fit the space. For instance, at The

Point, my positionality as a young, white, woman lent itself to my fitting into this bar fairly easily. I resembled the predominant crowd that frequented this bar and could position myself in demeanor, style of dress, and behavior in a way that did not seem odd. Also, this bar atmosphere itself was convenient as a research setting in that it was dimly lit, with numerous alcoves and spaces for me to sit while still being able to see the bar. Also, the trend of groups sticking to themselves made it a bit easier for me to blend in sitting at the bar alone. I was perceived as somewhat mysterious and was promptly told this and asked by a patron if I was a poet or a writer. The combination of these factors allowed me to position myself discreetly into the space and be perceived with a "Hemingway quality" as a young woman, sitting alone in the bar, with a notebook nearby. While patrons did not often engage with me as a researcher, occasionally, patrons would ask further questions about what I was doing and would discuss how they thought what was happening in Geneva was a positive thing that was bringing economic activity back into the city. They also remained aware of my presence as a researcher, offering up comments like "Write that down!" or "Did you get that?" in reference to part of their conversation or happenings in the bar. I understood this as them informing me what they felt my research was about and what types of things should be included in it. It also served as a way for them to interact with me on a more personal level in the bar. It was much easier to jot down notes in this bar given the nature of interaction in the space. Groups at The Point tended to stick to their own groups. This lack of intermingling allowed me to sit in the bar largely undisturbed, able to write down fieldnotes fairly freely.

My positionality in Ray's Place was more complicated and contested than in The Point. Through the bar wisdom I developed, I found that there was a tension between my role as a student affiliated with an elite, liberal arts college and my presence in the bar alone, seemingly separate from that identity, as students never visited Ray's Place without friends. While it seemed to me that bartenders and local patrons expressed reservations about my presence given my status as a student, most warmed up quite quickly to my presence in the

bar upon talking with me. My role as a researcher in this space was complicated. My sitting in the corner of the bar with a notebook did not appear intriguing and mysterious, as it did in the upscale bar, but rather felt out of place. I got a lot of confused looks from local patrons and a few questions as to what I was doing. When I would tell them about my research, they still seemed to be a bit confused, but generally accepted my presence. This negotiation of my identity became more challenging on Thursday evenings, when I would see plenty of students I knew, where the bar wisdom of locals and students conflicted, and my presence seemed peculiar to each group. Many would laugh and ask what I was doing given that my position as a student indicated that I should be behaving like them, rather than sitting in the bar alone with a notebook recording interactions and occurrences. This also complicated the nature of my relationship with local patrons and bartenders, given that they had grown to understand me and developed a relationship with me where my identity as a student had been secondary, but on Thursday evenings, that part of my identity was forced to the forefront because of the demographic shift of the bar.

Negotiating my role in Mertin's bar was quite challenging. My age was a problem because I was decades younger than most of the patrons. In addition, I was often perceived as out of place. One night, one man with whom I spoke throughout the night continued to tell me, "Honey, you're in the wrong bar." He was implying that I did not fit into this space given the combination of my age, social class, and gender. He was leveraging his bar wisdom in making the connection to the other bar scenes in Geneva being the "right bars" for me to be in. My patronage of this bar did not make sense to him. On another night, a middle-aged, Black man approached the bar next to me and ordered a drink. While he was waiting for his drink, he turned to me and asked if my notebook was my diary. This comment implied an understanding of what a woman who looked like me was doing writing in a notebook. There was an assumption, based on my age in comparison to most patrons, that I was writing in my diary—a form of infantilization based on my age and gender. My positionality relative to

the other patrons did not allow me to be seen as a mysterious writer like I was in The Point. Even after making an effort to adjust my clothing, hair, and makeup to fit into each of the bar scenes, my identity was the most difficult to negotiate in this space. Not only was this a product of how different the intersection of my age, class and gender were from the majority of the patrons, but this also reflected the tight-knit social fabric of this bar that I was interrupting – a reality I struggled with as a researcher.

Understanding my identity in each of the bars provided another way of exploring how bar wisdom operates to include and exclude certain people and groups on the basis of certain perceived characteristics and physical appearance. Even when I tried to situate myself in a space to reflect the patrons around me, my identity created complexities that I could not control for and I saw the manifestations of integrated segregation, as well as ways that it could be challenged. While I was always vigilant about how I was being perceived, and my interactions with bar patrons and staff often took time, most of the time, I was able to have meaningful conversations with those outside of my perceived social circle. The complexities of managing my identity in each of these spaces was a testament to the intricacy and complexity of bar wisdom and integrated segregation as they manifested and operated in downtown Geneva.

Conclusion

I began this project wanting to understand how disparate groups were reacting to and engaging with the upscaling of downtown Geneva and how they navigated their nightlife experience. I used bars as a window through which to understand the intersection of Geneva's culture and commerce. While this development does seem to have diversified the consumption options available in the downtown nightlife scene, it has also altered the character and social fabric of downtown Geneva by catering to the tastes of wealthier and often transient groups. Throughout this article, I have argued that rather than creating an integrated and cohesive nightlife scene in which disparate groups come together in shared space, the current development in Geneva manifests in

the fragmentation of the downtown scene in new ways that increase segregation of people in nightlife space. I have laid out the particular mechanisms through which bar wisdom operates downtown and the ways it is leveraged by patrons and bar staff to navigate the nightlife space. This bar wisdom operates to produce and reproduce distinctions between groups in the nightlife and reinforces spatial segregation in the downtown nightlife scene. The production, reproduction, and maintenance of these distinctions in the downtown nightlife manifests in social capsules socializing with those like themselves and exacerbating tensions between groups in the spaces. I also show how conflicts arise over the use of the downtown space and the function of the bars. I have found the bars and the nightlife scene to be a way to explore tensions that develop when cities' commercial growth policies cater to the culture and taste of rootless wealthier consumers at the expense of the working-class people who have roots there. The conflicting stories and beliefs about bar culture and community in downtown Geneva reached far deeper than the voices of the individuals who spoke of them. At the heart of these conflicts over the nightlife culture of a city are questions of place, identity, and belonging. Cities' growth agendas focused on tourism and consumption threaten the culture and needs of working-class residents in the interest of catering to the culture and tastes of wealthy, transient groups. As Ocejo (2014) notes,

> What happens when an urban neighborhood of diverse groups becomes increasingly upscale? Neighborhoods open for some but close for others, bars proliferate and thrive but their roots grow weaker, and a place becomes forever transformed. With upscaling comes conflict as well as ephemerality, as anchors of stability lose their strength to ground people amid their turbulent surroundings. (Ocejo 2014, 219)

I think a deeper yearning for democracy in decision making in cities lies at the heart of this contest debate over downtown bar space. Who is Geneva for? Whose needs, culture, and tastes are catered to? What is lost and who is forgotten in this process of commercial upscaling?

Acknowledgements

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