Dear Reader:

The summer of 2006 was the third summer that McNair Scholars at St. Lawrence University were involved in a research internship. It lasted eight weeks. During the summer the group bonded as personal friends and academic colleagues while conducting independent research on topics of their own choosing. They attended workshops designed to assist them in presenting their research as well as to prepare them for successful applications to graduate school. They took preparation classes for the Graduate Record Examination and visited a Graduate School Admissions Program as well as a Graduate School Fair. They also all presented at a national McNair Student Conference. On campus they participated in a colloquium presentation of their completed research projects. The program format included a set of four seminars in the spring that were followed by several summer seminars.

The McNair Post-baccalaureate Achievement Program is designed to provide opportunities for students who by virtue of life circumstances are underrepresented in doctoral programs. The McNair Program gives them the chance to be competitive.

What appears in this compilation is a collection of the written papers and abstracts based upon research conducted by each of the eleven scholars who participated in the 2006 summer research internship. For most, if not all, this was their first time doing extensive and formal research. Several are currently extending that research as part of a senior honors thesis requirement.

St. Lawrence University is proud of the work of these young scholars. This printed edition shares with the entire community the results of their work and is a testament to their efforts. St. Lawrence University also acknowledges the hard work of the mentors who advised the scholars. Had it not been for these staff members and professors, the program would not have been able to celebrate the successes displayed in this volume.

I hope that other young scholars will be inspired by the research presented here. As director of the program, I want to extend my deepest thanks to Dr. Elizabeth Regosin who worked as a mentor for one scholar while maintaining the duties of Faculty Research Coordinator and Principle Investigator for the McNair grant. Liz’s efforts for this program have been tireless. Additionally, I want to acknowledge and thank our Project Assistant Ms. Lynette Sumpter whose work and support made this summer program one of the finest we have seen at SLU, and the behind-the-scenes assistance of Ms. Rebeca Acuna who stepped in as a part-time secretary in the spring of 2006 which made all the difference in making the spring seminar and summer programs ones that made a difference in the lives of these scholars. Thank you for all you did for these wonderful students.

Ms. Carol Ann Kissam
McNair Project Director
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This research regards the Black and Jewish alliance during the American Civil Rights movement. Of the many groups present in America, these two appear to have had the most in common: the Jews who suffered during the Holocaust and previous persecutions in history, and the Blacks whose hardships stemmed from slavery and displacement. Because these two groups share a similar history of oppression, strong, yet sometimes strained, relationships have been forged between the two. This research is exploring the complicated relationship between Blacks and Jews, specifically focusing on the Civil Rights Movement years.
The Alliance and Collapse of Black and Jewish Relations
During the American Civil Rights Movements

Henrietta Asiedu
St. Lawrence University

Black and Jewish encounters date to Biblical times. Examples of such encounters can be reviewed in Shlomo Katz’s *Negro and Jew: an Encounter in America*, “…Negro- Jewish relations had briefly cropped up in the somewhat ominous and vaguely outlined story of Moses and the Cushite (Ethiopian) wife he had taken, how his brother and sister, Aaron and Miriam disapproved of this union” (Katz, xii).

Nevertheless, the first Black encounter in America was as slaves in Virginia in 1619. Jews arrived in America to escape persecution in Brazil around 1654. Prior to the Jewish arrival, the role of slavery in American society had been clearly outlined; the newly arrived free Jews accepted this role. This marked the beginning of the complex relationship between Blacks and Jews in America, “Jews were traders and masters; Blacks were merchandise, slaves and servants” (Perry, 51). *The Secret Relationship between Blacks and Jews*, written by the Nation of Islam, discusses this connection in detail. According to this text, Jews were not only slave owners but they also exploited African women by raping and impregnating them, which in turn produced mulatto children: half Black and half Jewish (Nation of Islam, 200).

A journal article by Huey Perry and Ruth White titled “The Post-Civil Rights Transformation of the Relationship between Blacks and Jews in the United States,” suggests that the newly arrived Jews accepted and participated in slavery in order to remove attention from themselves as the minority group (Perry, 52). Also, highlighted in this journal are two very important facts concerning the relationship between Blacks and Jews that occurred during the
1920s, 1930s and the 1940s. It is stated that, even though slavery ended several decades before, Jews still regarded Blacks as subordinate to them. Hence, the relationship during this period was characterized by inequality.

After the First World War, because they were making incredible economic progress, Jews began to move out of the shabby neighborhoods and at this point Blacks, in search of a better life, began to migrate to the north and were moving into these neighborhoods; this sparked off a series of clashes between Blacks and Jews. The first occurred in the form of a mild confrontation, “the milder of this confrontation took the form of competition for limited housing and the problems generally associated with interracial residential occupation, the more serious component of the confrontation took the form of conflict between Blacks as tenants and customers, and Jews as landlords and store owners” (Perry, 52). This encounter is highlighted by James Baldwin in his essay “Negroes are Anti-Semitic because they’re Anti-White,” Baldwin writes,

*When we were growing up in Harlem our demoralizing landlords were Jewish, and we hated them. We hated them because they were terrible landlords and did not take care of the building. A coat of paint, a broken window, a stopped sink, a stopped toilet, a sagging floor, a broken ceiling, a dangerous stairwell, the question of roaches and rats-all questions of life and death for the poor, and especially for those with children...* (Baldwin, 31).
Baldwin also represents the latter problem of Jews as storeowners and Blacks as customers in this essay,

*The grocer was a Jew, and being in debt to him was very much like being in debt to the company store. The butcher was a Jew, and yes, we certainly paid more for bad cuts of meat than other New York citizens...we bought our clothes from a Jew and, sometimes, our second hand shoes and the pawnbroker was a Jew...the merchants along 125th street were Jewish...*(Baldwin, 32).

Baldwin’s basic argument in his essay is that Jewish store owners charged Blacks more for secondhand goods than they did for other residents in the neighborhood. This is a first hand account of how strained the Black and Jewish relationship was during that period; prior to the Civil Rights Movement. Blacks arrived in America, years before their Jewish counterparts, but the latter received more privileges and rights, rights that Blacks had been fighting for. This led to Black hostility towards Jews, which most scholars have confused to be Anti-Semitism. Baldwin clearly states in his essay that Blacks aren’t anti-Semitic per se, but because Blacks had a dislike for Whites, and Jews are generally associated with Whites, that may explain why Blacks appear to be Anti-Semitic.

The second encounter came in a form of cooperation between Blacks and Jews to fight for more rights for Blacks. This cooperation appeared to be an alliance to create many programs that include the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP), “the campaign to free the Scottsboro boys (the nine young Blacks accused of raping two young white
girls), the communist party’s support of the demands of Blacks in Harlem for greater rights and opportunity and lastly the early years of the Civil Rights Movement in the South” (Perry, 55). The main focus of this paper is to discuss the complex relationship between Blacks and Jews, specifically during the Civil Rights Movement of the 1950’s and 1960’s. This research will also review the reasoning behind Jewish participation in the Civil Rights Movement, and additionally examine some reasoning as to why the alliance that had worked so well during the Civil Rights Movement fell apart.

A second wave of Jews migrated to America during the late nineteenth century. Population growth brought poverty as well as much enthusiasm, “and this new ardor for an emancipatory liberal vision of a better society now became, circa 1909, the lens through which some of the American Jews began to notice those oddest of their new fellow citizens, the ones with no rights in the land of rights, the victims of majority hatred and outrageous prejudices, their fellows in tragedy: the blacks” (Berman, 11). This brought about the first memorable moment in the Black and Jewish alliance.

As mentioned above, this was the founding of the NAACP in 1909, which was the first national organization to fight for more rights for Blacks, and by the 1930's was benefiting up to forty percent of the southern Blacks. Although this occurred prior to the Jewish Holocaust in Europe, Jews felt a similarity between themselves and the Blacks. According to Paul Berman, the Old World Jews were oppressed by superstitions and bigotry by Muslim and Christian “desires to organize society according to religious principles, and by the feudal idea that dynastic landowners (therefore not the homeless Jew) should dominate society” (Berman 10).
Because Jews migrated to a new world of opportunity, they decided to have an alternative political view which “promoted rationalism and education-against prejudice and superstition…it promised democratic, secular sovereignty-against theocratic domination…and it promised individual rights, equal for all, to be enforced by law- against an exclusively religious or ethnic vision of Society” (Berman, 10). *Justice and Judaism*, a text by Vorspan and Lipman states, “Judaism teaches that each man has the right to express or keep private the dictates of his soul, for the soul is the divine element in man and cannot be interfered with by other men or governments of men” (Vorpan, 112). In the old world, Jews received the opposite treatment of what the quote above expresses. Therefore, Jews had a dire need to migrate to a new world, where they established many organizations that fought for rights on behalf of oppressed people. Even though Blacks and Jews had many affiliations, nothing can compare to the alliances that were built during the Civil Rights Movement.

**In the Midst of the Civil Rights Movement**

Murray Friedman in his text *What Went Wrong: the Creation and Collapse of the Black-Jewish Alliance* shows that in 1955 the movement shifted from legal action to protest in the streets. This dramatic change was the result of a host of events, which started with the infamous story of Rosa Park’s refusal to give up her seat on the bus in Montgomery, Alabama, in December of 1955. This motivated local Blacks to get involved in the cause. With the leadership of Dr. King, not only was a bus boycott started but a protest was also underway.

An article “A Retrospective on the Civil Rights Movement: Political and Intellectual Landmarks” by Aldon D. Morris, states that another event that helped in the development of the
movement is the brutal murder of a fourteen year old black male in Money, Mississippi, which occurred in August of 1955. Emmet Till, from Chicago, was murdered because he whistled at a white woman. The terrible aspect of this incident is the fact that Till’s murderer received a not guilty verdict by an all white jury. The Black press and Till’s mother brought this to national attention, thus revealing the injustices of the Jim Crow system (Morris, 521).

According to Morris, the outcome of the Brown vs. Board of Education case which led to integrated schools, sparked hope among Blacks. In addition, the outrage caused by Till’s murder, helped set the stage for the modern Civil Rights Movement (Morris, 522).

Prior to the boycotts and during WWII, the American society had never been closer. Even though people from all races were joined together to fight for the same cause, there were still mild clashes; some military services such as the Armed Forces were still heavily segregated. “Black workers flocking to defense jobs in northern cities faced frequent harassment, and anti-Semitism lingered throughout the country” (Friedman, 131). In 1942, a survey showed that approximately a third of all businesses only sought Christian workers; even after the war, a poll showed that fifty-eight percent of the American population thought Jews had too much power in the United States.

In postwar America, qualified Jews could not even get jobs in most prestigious medical and law schools. Although Jews were experiencing such hostilities, Blacks received the worst of it. In a small Georgia town in 1946 two Black war veterans and their wives were the targets of a mob of Whites. The mob lynched the Black men and killed the women who had witnessed the murders, yet no one was prosecuted. The worst part of this was that there was a lack of police enforcement; racists continued to terrorize Blacks in the south and in the north.
On a brighter note, these atrocities brought Blacks and Jews closer (Friedman, 132). Also, at the end of WWII, Jews and Blacks became more supportive of each other, “this development was attributable to their realization that they shared a history of discriminatory treatment and that at this time in history, conflict between them was not to the advantage of either” (Huey, 56). In order to help fight bigotry and to develop a higher tolerance for “racial and religious differences, Jews began to strengthen their ‘defense’ agencies...a network of Jewish Community Relations Councils, which coordinated and augmented the work of national groups like the American Jewish Committee and other local bodies” (Friedman, 132).

Some Jews at first were opposed to joining Blacks in the fight against bigotry because they feared that the Jewish cause would be mixed up with that of the Blacks. Eventually that issue was resolved, allowing ‘Blacks and Jews’ to be joined together, especially in the fight for legislation and related efforts. During the “postwar period, the Anti-Defamation League utilized radio and television spots, clever jingles and filmstrips and other media efforts to promote cross-cultural understanding” (Friedman 140). Jews mostly favored the role of government to end bigotry and discrimination.

Early participants of the Civil Rights Movements included Jewish Agencies, the NAACP, the American Civil Liberties Union, the Japanese-American Citizens League, the National Lawyers Guild, the American Federation of Labor (AFL), the Congress of Industrial Organizations (CIO) and affiliated organizations such as the United Automobile Workers (Friedman, 141). In January 1950, the National Emergency Civil Rights Mobilization convened in Washington. Between “four and five thousand delegates from thirty-five states showed up - the largest mobilization yet organized - to demand a permanent Fair Employment Practices Act
(FEPC) and a stronger civil rights agenda...though the effort failed, the Mobilization and National Council for a permanent FEPC merged later that year to form the Leadership Conference on Civil Rights” (Friedman, 143). Jewish organizations used legal means as the driving force for the cause. The Commission of Law and Social Action (CLSA) sued Stuyvesant Town housing project in NYC for $100 million for refusing to rent to Blacks. Although this suit was dismissed, it paved the way for four major state laws and two anti-discrimination ordinances in NYC. Many Jewish organizations, including the American Jewish Committee and the Jewish Labor Committee, campaigned and lobbied for fair employment, fair education, as well as fair housing laws. By the early sixties, some twenty states and forty cities had enacted fair employment practice laws that covered 60% of the nation’s population and about 50% of minorities (Friedman, 145).

Even though Blacks and Jews worked together for civil rights causes, there was still distrust between the two groups. Blacks often wondered about the dominant role that Jews played in Black affairs; Blacks also saw “hypocrisy” in Jewish help. This led to strains in the Black and Jewish relations that began during the post war period.

Prior to the protest movements, there had been many efforts to gain rights for Blacks. The fight for desegregated schools took shape in the form of the infamous case, Brown v. Board of Education of Topeka, Kansas. The NAACP went as far as to hire psychologists to experiment on the impact of segregation on black and white children. Some early studies claimed that children learned how to discriminate by watching their parents; this is known as learned behavior. As explained in Friedman’s text, The American Jewish Committee hired Kenneth B. Clark, a Black psychologist, (who came out of the segregated school systems himself) to conduct
research “on the impact of discrimination on the personalities of young children” (Friedman, 150). Clark, in his study, theorized that “legally enforced school segregation damaged black children psychologically,” and to prove his theory, he “cited the results of a test conducted with black children, in which he had given them white dolls and colored dolls and asked them which they preferred; a statistically significant majority viewed the white dolls as ‘nice’ and the colored dolls as ‘bad’...this led him to the view that the average black American has been scarred by self-hatred” (Friedman, 150).

Also, according to Friedman, the Montgomery campaign was not the first black-only attempt to develop a southern boycott. “In June 1953, even before the Supreme court ruling in Brown, a mass bus boycott had been undertaken in Baton Rouge, Louisiana, by Blacks impatient with the slow legal actions of the NAACP. The white establishment in Baton Rouge, ultimately worked out a compromise in which two front seats were reserved for Whites, the rear seats for Blacks, and every seat in between would be occupied on a first come first served basis...” (Friedman, 158). Civil rights leaders in Montgomery were well aware of this compromise in Louisiana, therefore they sought advice from leaders over there. The above quotes showed the extensive amount of work and dedication from both Blacks and Jews to the Black cause.

In the thick of the Civil Rights Movement arose a prominent figure who became the link between the “embattled left and the newly emerging southern black protest movement. This crucial figure was Bayard Rustin. After the 1940’s the American left was in total chaos. The left: “whether liberals, labor leaders, pacifists, socialist or communists, had an influence in shaping the welfare state under President Roosevelt and Truman” (Friedman, 158). The leftists were in
total dismay because many were accused of witchcraft and of communist activities and were driven from government jobs.

At this point the leftists were in need of a cause and Rustin provided just that. After a few conferences, Rustin and King reached a compromise on how supporters in the “North could assist the Montgomery Improvement Association, the central vehicle of the Bus boycott” (Friedman, 161-62). In the summer of 1956, after the boycott was underway, Rustin introduced King to Stanley David Levison. King’s and Levison’s relationship epitomized the new image of the Black-Jewish alliances. Later, with the introduction of Ella Baker, a former secretary for the NAACP, this dynamic relationship between the four reached a new height. Together, the group drew strength from the Black-Jewish alliance as well as from the left. The newly found New York office collected money to help with the boycott.

On August 28, 1963, the movement shifted outside of the South with the march on Washington. This gave King his first major audience outside of the south. He took advantage of this by driving his points across with his speech. The Washington speech became a national focus and the press began to follow King’s daily activities. It is sometimes mentioned that the reason why the movement was so successful was because it was brought to national attention. Morris describes the impact of technologies on the Civil Rights Movement, “the widespread use of television was a case in a point…these technologies were capable of providing a window through which millions could watch Black protest and become familiar with the issues it raised…this development made it possible for Black protest to be viewed globally thus enhancing its ability to affect the international arena” (Morris, 522-23). People in other parts of the country became interested and sympathetic to the cause. Months after Washington, there
were many youth marches to fight for integrated schools, more than ten thousand young people participated in the first marches and about thirty-thousand youths attended the second one (Friedman, 168).

As the movement gained more momentum, King sought out ways to extend the “Montgomery protest movement throughout the south.” He knew that if the protest was going to remain successful then the movement could not become dominated by Whites… “blacks have to run their own independent church-based organization…with this in mind, Rustin and Levison drafted a memorandum that was the genesis of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC)” and the “SCLC was to be an umbrella organization that affiliates- mostly ministers and their churches – could join in loose confederation, it did not have individuals as members and therefore would not invade the turf or the NAACP or other groups” (Friedman, 171).

The main focus of an article by Allison Calhoun-Brown titled “Upon this Rock: The Black Church, Non-violence, and the Civil Rights Movement,” is to describe the role played by the Black Church in the civil rights period. Basically, the Black Church was imperative in the civil rights movement because the church helped to mobilize the non-violent aspect of the movement…the church also helped to mobilize many student centered sit-ins and protests (Calhoun- Brown, 170).

The movement in the south became successful due to many contributors. The New York offices donated the finances, helped with organizational skills, made connections with the media and publishing as well as with a broader political spectrum. Also, the support of many Jewish people brought the movement to its height “between half and three quarters of the money raised by the civil rights organizations at the height of the movement came from Jewish contributors…”
(Berman, 13-14). Thanks to these alliances, what started as a protest by local black churches to fight intolerable circumstances moved on to an even bigger movement that changed American society.

**Jewish Participation in the Movement**

Jewish contribution in the beginning of the Civil Rights Movement was considerably greater than Black involvement. Friedman gave an overview of some of Martin Luther King’s work. Dr. King, in a remark, stated that

> until Montgomery, Jews had dominated the alliance; after Montgomery, blacks would do so... it would remain a symbiotic relationship from which both sides would draw strength, but no longer would Jewish leaders and other outsiders call the shots...they would work behind the scenes, providing money and advice to King and his lieutenants, who would head the movement, win the headlines and take the arrests and jail sentences” (Friedman, 162).

Jews played an integral part in the Black struggle for rights, according to Friedman the period “just before the end of World War II to the mid-1950s, when the black-led protest movement got underway, may be said to have been the Jewish phase of the Civil Rights revolution” (Friedman, 135-36). The biggest contribution made by Jews was organizational, legal and financial support. “In 1948 the American Jewish Committee set up the National Labor Service to finance civil rights programs within both the American Federation of Labor(AFL) and
its smaller but feistier rival, the Congress of Industrial Organizations (CIO)...NLS funds were
used to engage civil rights workers in the educational departments of each labor organization”
(Friedman, 136).

Not only did Jews help to create the NAACP, they also aided in the “campaign to free the
Scottsboro Boys (the nine young men who were charged with the rape of two white girls), the
Communist Party’s support of the demands of Blacks in Harlem for greater rights and
opportunities” (Perry, 56). As the Black struggle turned to heavy protests on the streets of
Alabama, Jews accounted for “in 1964, two-thirds of the white volunteers who went south for
freedom summer” (Berman, 13). A series of events resulted in sit-ins which eventually turned
into a movement. According to Friedman,

“Early in February 1960 four black students demanded service at a whites only lunch
counter in a Woolworth department store in Greensboro, North Carolina...the students
expected to be ejected, rather Woolworth officials vacillated, and their inaction
encouraged the demonstrators there in support of the students to stage a sit-in...by the
third day the sit-in had attracted more than eighty protesters, and before the week was
out, four hundred. (Friedman, 177).

One other tactic used in this movement was “sit-ins on wheels” which was established by
the Congress of Racial Equality (CORE). The purpose of these sit-ins was to desegregate
interstate bus terminals in the south. Another tactic used was the “jail without bail,” even though
it did not make sense to most people, including Thurgood Marshall, who was the head of the
NAACP’s Legal Defense fund. Civil rights leaders believed that by occupying the prisons with people of all backgrounds and ages...“they would totally disrupt the southern justice system while bringing the region’s racist laws and regulations into national disgrace” (Friedman, 179).

Other strategies used in the movement that were derived from “sit-ins” included: “wade-ins” at segregated pools, “kneel-ins” and “pray-ins” at segregated churches and “phone-ins” at segregated businesses (Morris, 525). Also, “in the spring of 1961, Farmer (was linked to the movement by his hatred of the Jim Crow laws in his Native south, was a disciple of Ghandi, and was also linked to New York’s Black-Jewish culture) and CORE called for a series of interracial “freedom rides” on public buses throughout the South...the purpose was to pressure the federal government to protect black rights more vigorously by showing up the lack of law enforcement” (Friedman, 180). Police brutality was popular at this point, rather than protecting citizens, police officers allowed Ku Klux Klan members to harass and physically abuse freedom riders.

A number of the freedom fighters were young people and they volunteered for many reasons. Some went out for the sheer excitement of being involved in such a momentous event, for others it was just something to do before seeking employment in big law firms or on Wall Street. Some of these young people had never experienced a moment of poverty or discrimination in their lives, yet they were dedicated to fighting for rights on behalf of Blacks. Other volunteers included older people, schoolteachers, clergymen, and lawyers. “the heavily Jewish United Federation of Teachers set up ‘freedom schools’ in Virginia to replace those that had been closed as part of the state’s program of massive resistance to Brown” (Friedman, 181). It was amazing how dedicated people with no personal gain were to the Black cause.
In order to recruit more attorneys, “the Lawyers Committee for Civil Rights under Law” was organized in May 1964 after a White House meeting. Hundreds of lawyers were recruited as rotators to represent civil rights workers in court and to perform other tasks, more than half of these legal helpers were Jews. Blacks feared that the hundreds of white volunteers would overshadow what had previously been a black movement. To resolve this problem, “a quota system was considered; ten black workers for each white” (Friedman 186). This plan was discarded because of fear that if white volunteers got a hold of it, all they would stop providing financial means.

In the midst of the freedom summer was an event that shocked the entire nation. Three civil rights members: Michael Schwerner and Andrew Goodman (both Jews) and James Chaney (Black), went down to Mississippi in June of 1964 as Freedom Summer Project volunteers. On their way back to Meridian after visiting the site of a burnt down church, they were arrested by police. After their release, their car was seized by Ku Klux Klan members. They were beaten, murdered and their bodies were hidden in an earthen dam. The movie “Mississippi Burning” was based on the search to find the bodies of these three volunteers.

In an address by Martin Luther King as an effort to reach out to Jews, he states that “it would be impossible to record the contributions made by the Jewish people to the Black struggle for freedom because they were so numerous” (Friedman, 192). This quote leads to the next section of my research, in which I will focus on the reasoning behind Jewish participation in the Civil Rights Movement.
Why did Jews participate in the Civil Rights Movements?

By choosing to partake in the movement, Jews risked terrible injuries as well as horrible deaths at the hands of racist police officers or even the Ku Klux Klan. Despite this fact, there were many reasons that spurred the Jewish participation in the Black cause. One major reason for Jewish involvement that is often considered, and resonates throughout this paper, is the fact that both Blacks and Jews have had a history of oppression: the Jews who suffered during the Holocaust and previous persecutions in history, and the Blacks whose hardships stemmed from slavery and displacement. Having recently been liberated from the Holocaust, in which approximately six million Jews were murdered at the hands of Hitler and his Nazi regime, Jews had a first hand experience of being an oppressed minority group. This level of oppressed connectedness may have joined Jews to Blacks in the struggle to gain civil rights. Paul Berman in the introduction to his anthology titled *Blacks and Jews: Alliances and Arguments*, states “A Liberal Jew might say something to this effect “we are so similar that you are my brother: slavery is Nazism: lynching are pogroms: Jim Crow is Czarist anti-Semitism, American style: Mississippi is Poland: bigotry is bigotry…I understand your plight because of who I am and who I am is someone who fights on behalf of people like you” (Berman, p14).

Also by helping in the cause, Jews stood to gain economic as well as political benefits. Jews, after the war, were being excluded from prestigious schools as well as reputable jobs. During the movements, laws emerged that desegregated schools and jobs, by participating in the movement, Jews also gained entry rights into the schools and jobs that they were previously shut out of. Some researchers believe that Jews participated in the movement because of empathy they felt for Blacks as an alienated group. Earlier, Jews had migrated to America in order to
avoid prosecution and bigotry they experienced as a minority group, therefore they understood
the Black struggle. Although these arguments are valid, my analysis supported by different
pieces of evidence that I have collected, is based on a religious connectedness. My interpretation
is that religion was the motivating factor that brought about this Black and Jewish collaboration.

Friedman, in his text, explains that in the beginning part of the movement, some leaders
in the Jewish community were not involved in the cause because they traditionally looked to
religious figures to lead the battle first. Friedman writes about Abraham Joshua Heschel who
became the chief spiritual spokesman for American Judaism, Heschel later in a speech states that
“racism is man’s greatest threat to man” (Friedman, 191). Friedman explains that “Heschel’s
argument was rooted in existential Jewish theology, where the struggle for human rights begins
with an encounter with God…he linked the injustice done to black people with the profanation of
God’s name and accused all who had been silent or neglectful of being accessories to this great
injustice” (Friedman, 191). In another speech, Heschel states,

“Where in America today do we hear a voice like the voice of the prophets of Israel?
Martin Luther King is a sign that God has not forsaken the United States of
America…God has sent him to us, his presence is the hope of America, his mission is
Sacred, his leadership of supreme importance to everyone of us…I call upon every Jew to
harken to his voice, to share his vision, to follow in his way” (Carson, 394).

Heschel’s mission in this speech is to increase the number of Jews that were involved in
the movements. As stated above, some Jews needed motivation from their religious leaders in
order to participate in the movement. Also Friedman talks about some of the Rabbis who participated in the cause. He says, “they came, they said, in the hope that God would accept their small involvement as partial atonement for the many things they ought to have done before…mindful of the millions who stood quietly by and watched the smoke rise from Hitler’s crematoria” (Friedman, 193).

The quote above helps to further explain my point concerning religion as a motivator for Jewish involvement in the Black cause. In a text titled *Judaism: a Historical Presentation*, according to the teachings of Judaism, man is created in the image of God, “God entered a covenant with him, wherein He enjoined respect for the sanctity of Human Life” (Epstein, 19). Also, the text, *Justice and Judaism: the Work of Social Action*, by Vorspan and Lipman states, “Judaism gave to the world the concept of the sanctity and dignity of the individual…all men are equal because they are created in the image of God. Respect for the civil rights of others is each man’s duty to God” (Vorspan, 98). Inferred in these quotes, is the case that all human life is sacred and inviolable. Rabbi Dr. Jonathan Sacks, Chief Rabbi of Britain and Commonwealth said that, “the most transfiguring truth about Judaism ever taught was the sanctity of human existence, which is what was blasphemed against in the Holocaust” (BBC News, 2).

Additionally, in the text *Justice and Judaism: the Work of Social Action*, by Vorspan and Lipman is written,

> “discrimination against any racial or religious group in American life, threatens the ultimate security of the Jew, more important for our purpose is the duty of the synagogue, in order to fulfill itself, to bring to bear the full weight of its moral prestige in the
achievement of equality of opportunity for all men, regardless of race, color or national origin...for this principle is the essence of our religious faith... “ (Vorpan, 99).

Even though all the reasons mentioned above make compelling arguments for the reasoning behind Jewish participation in the Civil Rights Movement, the religious approach gives a new perspective when reviewing the complex relationship between Blacks and Jews.

The Collapse of the Black and Jewish Alliance

There are many contributing factors to the deterioration of this relationship. Huey’s article gives four very important reasons for the break in this alliance. As stated in the introductory section of this paper, after some of the major victories in the movement, Southern Blacks began to move into Jewish neighborhoods. Strains in the Black and Jewish relationship began to develop because the Jews who stayed, became landlords and storeowners. As Baldwin stated in his essay, Jewish landlords gave them the worst apartments with atrocious conditions. Even though Jewish storeowners allowed Blacks to shop at their store, Blacks were sold the most damaged goods or clothing and for a higher price.

In short, at this point there was friction in the Black and Jewish relationship because of the treatments that Blacks received from their Jewish counterparts, who because of their increased economic status could afford to be landlords and storeowners. Again, as Baldwin expressed in his essay, everything was owned by Jews who were not fair to the Blacks in their neighborhood, this led to tensions from Blacks. Jews had a difficult time accepting the fact that
Blacks were moving into their neighborhoods and because of this, many of the Jewish supporters withdrew from the movement.

Another reason for the collapse in the alliance as explained by Huey is “the shift from equal political and legal rights as the centerpiece of the movement to affirmative action as the basic focus” (Perry, 58). Some Jews believed that affirmative action created a sense of “color consciousness,” they (Jews) “saw compliance with quota regulations as favoritism for some groups in the pursuit of jobs, promotions, and school admissions, quotas evoked for Jews their own history of exclusion in the use of them…since Jews were less than three percent of the population, they felt that under the quota system they would have little chance of advancement” (Perry, 58-59).

The third reason is the emergence of the concept of “Black Power” by the younger generation of Blacks. Huey’s reasoning for this is the fact that “the emergence of the Black power concept resulted in conflict in the civil rights movement because younger Blacks who subscribed to the concept began to support racial separation as a solution to the race problem in the US, while older Blacks, Jews and Whites strongly preferred integration” (Perry, 58).

The last reason in Huey’s article, regards the Israel-Arab problem, most older Blacks (including Dr. King) and Jews supported Israel whereas the younger generation of Blacks who were generally in favor of nonwhites everywhere, supported Arab because they viewed Israel as an extended version of imperialism and the invasion of Arab territory (Perry, 59). Blacks also thought that the Arab population was being “oppressed” by Whites, Whites also referred to Jews, so Blacks acquainted their status as an oppressed group to that of the Arab group and in so doing, they became supportive of Arab in the whole Israel - Arab conflict.
Friedman believed that one of the problems that caused the alliance to collapse is the fact that Liberal Jews were in favor of working through legal means, whereas Blacks believed in protests and sit-ins as a way to get their point across (Friedman, 211). Also Friedman states that the alliance “split in a bitter battle over Mississippi’s delegates to the Democratic National Convention in August of 1964” (Friedman, 208). As supported by evidence above, some of the factors that brought these two groups together in the first place may have contributed to the collapse of the relationship after the Civil Rights Movement.


INDIGENOUS TREATMENT OF MALARIA

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Malaria has been infecting humans for over a million years and continues to afflict 300-500 million people annually throughout South America, Africa, and Asia. Treatment follows two possible courses: indigenous medicine (bush medicine) or modern treatment. Poverty in many developing nations restricts the availability of health care, particularly in rural areas where care and modern knowledge of disease is limited. Indigenous methods of health care remain predominant in such areas, as well as cultural beliefs and practices that influence both modern and traditional medicines. Currently, such indigenous knowledge is being jeopardized due to modernization of rural communities. This paper identifies factors contributing to the loss of indigenous healing knowledge and examines religious practices and cultural beliefs associated with preparation of medicine or malaria itself.
1.0 Introduction

Management of infectious disease is of global importance, particularly with the world population exceeding 6.5 billion. Epidemic maladies affect economics, politics and environments. Malaria is one such disease. The malarial protozoan burdens people between the latitudes of 60°N and 30°S, in the “malarial belt” spanning across Africa, Asia and South America. Most Western treatment of malaria has stemmed from indigenous practices from all three continents. Currently, poverty in malarial nations causes people to utilize indigenous medical practices due to lack of adequate Western healthcare. Nearly seventy-five percent of Africans and Asians rely on some form of indigenous medicine. This research seeks to compare and analyze indigenous health systems in Africa and Asia, their efficacy and sustainability.

1.1 Malaria: physiology and epidemiology

![Malaria life cycle, MSN Encarta 2006.](image)

There are four principle malarial protozoa - *Plasmodium falciparum*, *P. ovale*, *P. malariae* and *P. vivax* – of which *P. falciparum* is the deadliest. Transmission and life cycle are dependent on the symbiotic relationship between female *Anopheles* mosquito and humankind. Sixty five species of *Anopheles* mosquito are capable of transferring malarial protozoa. The life
cycle involves the transmission of gametocytes from an infected human to a mosquito. In the mosquito, the gametocytes undergo several transformations before migrating through the epithelial wall of the stomach to the salivary glands as sporozoites. Here they remain viable for 90 days. Once introduced to the blood stream, sporozoites circulate before impregnating liver cells. Asexual (schizogony) reproduction occurs in the liver to generate trophozoites. These entities then parasitize red blood cells throughout the body and produce gametocytes. The population fluctuations induced by various stages of the protozoa induce fevers in the human host. The cycle continues when the infected human is bitten by another Anopheles (Figure 1) (Salfelder 1987, Cox 1996, Fix 2000).

Climate zones dictate the geographical distribution of species; *P. falciparum* affects populations along the equator, *P. ovale* in West Africa and Vietnam, *P. vivax* in Asia, while *P. malariae* was endemic to temperate climates such as Europe and parts of North America before eradication during the early twentieth century (Salfelder 1987, Fix 2003). Other cases of malaria in non-endemic areas are considered to be imported, particularly from Africa and Asia (Salfelder 1987). It has also been theorized that malaria was introduced to the New World through the slave trade (Wood 1975). Conversely, there are those that argue that it was present pre-colonialism (Caldas de Castro, Singer 2004).

![Figure 2. Malaria risk zones. World Health Organization 2005B.](image)
Symptoms of malarial infection are dictated by the species contracted. Fevers elicited by protozoa schizogony determine the type of malaria. Schizogony refers to the asexual phase of \textit{Plasmodium} reproduction. Fevers occurring every third day are “tertian”, and every fourth, “quartan.” \textit{P. vivax} and \textit{P. ovale} are tertian, while \textit{P. malariae} is quartan. \textit{P. falciparum} is considered malignant or tertian due to induction of fevers every day or every third day (Salfelder 1987). Additionally, incubation varies with species; 24 days for \textit{P. malariae}, 16-18 days for \textit{P. ovale}, 12-15 days for \textit{P. vivax} and 8-20 days for \textit{P. falciparum}. More deaths are attributed to \textit{P. falciparum} due its virulence and the magnitude of its reproductive scale (Salfelder 1987).

Malarial infection elicits other symptoms including headache, nausea, anemia and vomiting. Severe cases stemmed from \textit{P. falciparum} affect the central nervous system resulting in pathologic brain lesions. Other severities include pulmonary edema and bronchopneumonia. More frequently listlessness and fever occur, characteristic of benign infection (Salfelder 1987, WHO 2005). The liver is most affected; victims typically die of liver failure, unable to maintain metabolic processes (Salfelder 1987). Treatment entails large doses of chloroquin or artemisinin based prophylactic which are toxic to \textit{Plasmodium}.

\textbf{1.2 Malaria and the Human Genome}

The beginnings of large scale malaria infection arose with agriculture. \textit{Homo sapiens} are the source of malaria protozoa infection, but widespread agriculture facilitated the breeding of \textit{Anopheles} mosquito, an ideal vessel for transference from host to host (Fix 2003). Irrigation systems and stagnant water encouraged breeding of mosquitoes in developed areas. This favored transmission of \textit{Plasmodium} from person to person. Currently, nations most affected by malaria are predominately agricultural, perpetuating infection.

Millennia of genetic influence caused an increased frequency of mutations in response to the malarial threat. Sickle cell anemia, Duffy antigens and thalassaemia are the most common adaptations. Areas in which malaria was introduced later or endemic areas with minimal cultivation practices lack genetic resistance (Fix 2003).
Sickle cell anemia (or disease) effects hemoglobin (oxygen binding sites) on red blood cells. In normal individuals hemoglobin A is inherited and red cells appear disc-like. For sufferers of sickle cell anemia, hemoglobin S is inherited causing red cells to take a sickle shape. This mutation prevents some binding of malaria protozoa to hemoglobin; therefore, those with the disease are less likely to succumb to malaria. This applies predominately to children; the sickle trait allows children time to produce antibodies against malaria (Bloom 1995). Children without the sickle trait are more vulnerable and have a higher mortality rate than those with the trait. The World Health Organization (2005) estimates that the majority of deaths in sub-Saharan Africa are children under the age of five. Underdeveloped immune systems are correlated to high mortality. This particular mutation is predominant in Africa and parts of the Middle East.

A similar mutation to sickle cell anemia is thalassaemia alpha and beta. This particular mutation involves the substitution or deletion of genes that dictate hemoglobin production (WHO 2006B). Though thalassaemia can be a hemoglobin abnormality physiologically, in some cases it is the amount of hemoglobin, rather than type, which is abnormal (Bloom 1995). Thalassaemia is most commonly found in the Mediterranean (the word has Greek origins) and the Middle East (Bloom 1995, El-Hazmi and Warsy 1999).

Duffy antigens are an adaptation to *P. vivax*; these antigens intercept protozoa before they parasitize red blood cells (Seixas et al 2002). Theory indicates that *P. vivax* has Asian origins,
resulting in a higher frequency of Duffy antigen cases among people of Asian descent (Seixas et al 2002). Asian people do exhibit some cases of other malaria mutations but with lesser frequency (Poolsuwan 2003).

1.3 Economics and Policies

A disease that affects 300 to 500 million people annually, of whom 1.5 to 2.7 die, incurs a large economic deficit and public policy implementation (WHO 2003). Africa and Asia are home to some of the most economically and politically turbulent nations in the world. AIDS additionally contributes to poverty experienced in these areas, with malaria perpetuating AIDS deaths. Thus, a parasite which influences such large populations has tremendous implications and influence on public health policy and global economics.

Malaria is a disease of poverty and a poverty causing disease (WHO 2003B). Economic depreciation caused by malaria related illness ravages across Africa and Asia. Governments spend exorbitant funds maintaining public health facilities and welfare programs for malaria alone; in some nations 40% of public health monies are spent on treating malaria, directly or indirectly (WHO 2003B). Individual expenditure accrues over time with the severity of infection and frequency. This includes not only time and money spent on medication and retrieval of medication, but lost wages from lack of productivity (WHO 2003B).

Control of mosquito vectors furthers government spending on health care. Cost effectiveness and cost-benefit analysis is considered before application of vector treatment (Hammer 1993). Diseases, such as malaria, are prioritized to determine government action. Most frequently money spent versus lives saved in conjunction with economic potential is modeled before investing in malaria control (Hammer 1993). Insecticide use to control malaria vectors additionally contributes to Plasmodium resistance.

Policies regarding public healthcare and control initiatives are lacking or are ineffective. For example, in Africa the HAART program for AIDS sufferers (Highly Affective Antiretroviral Therapy) treats roughly 30,000 people. The projected population in need is four million (Castro, Singer 2004). In terms of difficulty reaching target populations, the HAART program can be extended to most malaria control programs worldwide. Politics and economics prescribe treated demographics. Assumed government responsibility is reflected in commercial interests and favor instead of actual malaria control (Castro, Singer 2004).
Public health has proven to be an obstacle increasingly difficult to manage. International politics dictate medication availability and public health services. Despite efforts from non-governmental organizations (NGO’s) like the World Health Organization (WHO) and United Nations International Emergency Children’s Fund (UNICEF), malaria health care continues to be limited or inadequate. Even though feasible management of an epidemic which can potentially affect between 300 and 500 million people requires extensive political involvement and economic input. Prioritization of health care efforts on behalf of governments is essential. Regulation and efficiency are vital components of successful health programs.

Figure 3. Estimate of world poverty and malaria burden, WHO 2003.

Lack of adequate Western primary health care has led many people to rely on indigenous medicine. With the introduction of Western (allopathic) medicine to developing nations during colonization or missionary efforts, some groups became dependent on these new techniques. Healthcare facilities tender allopathic medications, though at a price. Currently dispensaries are
not always available to rural populations or are costly, which risks further illness for those with malaria. Frequently, medication arrives too late.

Allopathic treatment at home has contributed to malaria resistance. Association of all fevers with malaria builds resistance to the pathogen. Improper administration of medication provides temporary relief of symptoms, allowing the pathogen to resurge at a later time (pers. obsv. 2005). Inadequate dosage additionally contributes along with “counterfeit” medication. Supposed prophylactics are distributed under guise of antimalarials, though they have a fraction of the recommended dosage, furthering resistance (pers. obsv. 2005).

Increased utilization of indigenous medicine demands recognition. In Asia, traditional Chinese medicine, Unani or Yunani, and Ayurveda are formally established medical systems. Africa lacks acknowledged medical systems; few practices are accepted. African bush medicine varies in its degree of government accreditation; “tacit” recognition is in preparation for formal medical status, though it encourages incorporation to allopathic medicine (Nyamwaya 1992). Additionally, indigenous healers are promoted in allopathic communities in an effort for healers to return to their districts “modernized” and fade out other practices (Nyamwaya 1992). Non-recognition is the preferred option, despite the World Health Organization formally recognizing indigenous medicine (WHO 2003E).

2.0 Indigenous Medicine and Malaria: Disease Causation and Treatment

Indigenous disease causation is the cornerstone for understanding indigenous medicine. Infectious diseases such as malaria constitute separate beliefs regarding causation and means to cure them. Some people employ a doctrine of signatures; plants and animals which symbolize different components of the body provide cures for parts represented. Others, such as traditional Chinese medicine (TCM), treat using elemental balance (wind, metal, wood). African indigenous healing or bush medicine incorporates multifaceted beliefs regarding ideals of wellness and being in conjunction with the natural world. Indigenous healing systems differ most in their approach to treatment. Illness is not merely a set of symptoms; balance is critical for healing.

African malarial beliefs are typically those of natural contagion. Unlike other infectious diseases which can be transmitted via supernatural circumstances or interpersonal contact/prejudice (i.e. curses), malaria stems from the environment (Green 1999); for instance, eating groundnuts and sugarcane at a certain time of year (pers obsv. 2005). Western thinking inhibits
earth-based logic; groundnuts and sugarcane are harvested during the rainy season when mosquito populations are highest. Other beliefs include overexposure to sun, various insect bites, change in season and “small animals” transmitted by mosquitoes (Green 1999). To people with strong ties to nature, environmental contagion is logical.

A study conducted in Tanzania, East Africa, analyzed malaria treatment practices of 31 different indigenous healers. Data presented illustrates concepts of indigenous disease causation and treatment; most healers conveyed knowledge of parasitic infestation, deeming malaria transmission as “small animals” from insects, not necessarily mosquitoes (Gessler et al 1995). This demonstrates the permeation of Western biomedical thought into indigenous disease causation. Other practices conclude significant biomedical observations within the environment in conjunction with Western practices, such as removal of stagnant water, mosquito nets and plant based prophylactic (Gessler et al 1995).

In comparison to African medical systems, Asian systems are considered regional, affecting larger demographic groups. African systems are typically more isolated to groups/clans, while some large Asian systems are nation-wide. Such systems are characterized by preservation of health, not curing disease; this concept integrates the various elements of TCM and fluids of Ayurveda (Leslie 1976). TCM and Ayurveda, like most indigenous medical practices, convey social norms and taboos. Such cultural reflections are more apparent in practices which are highly systematized, such as TCM and Ayurveda (Leslie 1976). Malaria is viewed similarly to African belief systems, although widespread education has altered the perception of the disease. Western influence through education has penetrated indigenous thought; with regional Asian systems, many practitioners are educated, which thus influences behavior toward malaria (Lei 1999).

2.1 Global Perspective

Approximately one malaria related death occurs every thirty seconds (Campbell et al 2005). Epidemics of such magnitude demand a broader audience than at present. Non-governmental organizations such as the Roll Back Malaria (RBM) partnership of WHO provide educational resources and facilitate world power congregations to discuss malaria related policies. Investigation of indigenous therapies provides medicinal resources for the future.
Seventy-five percent of the world population relies on indigenous medicine (Bodeker 1995). Western treatment is proving ineffective and riddled with consequences, including pathogen resistance. Chloroquin resistance demands new methods of treatment; synthetic treatments are only temporary. Depletion of Western medicinal resources and pathogen resistance has created an environment conducive for pandemics. Now, human kind’s best alternative is indigenous medicine. Searching for commonalities in plant families utilized by indigenous communities establishes a database for pharmaceutical exploration and development.

3.0 Biology of Indigenous Malaria Treatment

3.1 Methods

I conducted a literature review of six studies on indigenous malaria treatment in six nations. Though I reviewed twenty studies, those chosen were selected for their distribution across the malarial belt - Mali, Kenya, Vietnam, China, The Democratic Republic of the Congo and India (Mbatchi et al 2006, Traore-Keita et al 2000, Le Tran et al 2003, Koch et al 2005, Nathan et al 2005, Leslie 1976). These studies elaborated plant species, active components and extraction processes for various indigenous malaria therapies. Plant species were tabulated and sorted according to botanical families and frequency of antiplasmodial activity. Plant parts were also noted according to frequency, in addition to method of administration.

3.2 Results

Of the twenty studies reviewed, fifteen pertained to Africa while five pertained to Asia. Species from the family Asteraceae demonstrated the most frequent antiplasmodial activity (six species) appearing in Vietnam, the Congo, China and Kenya. Rubiaceae was next most frequent. Members of Memnispermaceae additionally demonstrated activity in all species utilized (three species), though existing exclusively in Vietnam. Several families were utilized intercontinentally; Euphorbiaceae and Simaroubaceae exist in Congolese and Vietnamese indigenous medicine, while Meliaceae is used in India, Kenya and Mali. Though not all species utilized exhibited activity, the frequency of various families established a pattern of use. Fabaceae, Rubiaceae, Simaroubaceae and Asteraceae, demonstrated widespread antiplasmodial
activity. Fabaceae (Legume Family) was used mostly in Africa. This family has previously confirmed medicinal properties.

Indigenous healers used bark, roots, aerial parts, stems and leaves, though not the entire plant. Leaves and roots were most commonly used. Most frequently these parts were boiled or soaked and consumed as tea. Neem (*Azadirachta indica*) is consumed as tea but seeds are utilized to produce insecticides that control mosquito vectors (Nathan et al 2005). Vietnam demonstrated the greatest variety in plant parts employed; aerial parts, stems, leaves, fruits and seeds. Generally, countries in tropical regions capitalize edible plant parts, i.e. leaves, stems and fruits, as in Mali, China and the Congo. The Kenyan study (Koch et al 2005) revealed almost exclusive employment of roots. Multiple remedies for malaria are also used to treat venereal disease (Koch et al 2005).

Table 1. Plant species utilized in indigenous medicine, sorted according to family. Asterisk indicates documented antiplasmodial activity.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Country</th>
<th>Active components</th>
<th>Names</th>
<th>Family</th>
<th>Activity</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Kenya</td>
<td>saponins</td>
<td><em>Psidiadia punctulata</em></td>
<td>Apocynaceae</td>
<td>*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kenya</td>
<td></td>
<td><em>Carissa edulis</em></td>
<td>Apocynaceae</td>
<td>*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Congo</td>
<td></td>
<td><em>Landolphia lanceolata</em></td>
<td>Apocynaceae</td>
<td>*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vietnam</td>
<td></td>
<td><em>Artemisia apiacea</em></td>
<td>Asteraceae</td>
<td>*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vietnam</td>
<td></td>
<td><em>Artemisia vulgaris</em></td>
<td>Asteraceae</td>
<td>*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vietnam</td>
<td></td>
<td><em>Xanthium strumarium</em></td>
<td>Asteraceae</td>
<td>*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kenya</td>
<td></td>
<td><em>Gutenbergia cordifolia</em></td>
<td>Asteraceae</td>
<td>*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>China</td>
<td></td>
<td><em>Artemisia annua</em></td>
<td>Asteraceae</td>
<td>*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Congo</td>
<td>triterpenes</td>
<td><em>Vernonia brazzavillensis</em></td>
<td>Asteraceae</td>
<td>*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vietnam</td>
<td></td>
<td><em>Phyllanthus amarus</em></td>
<td>Euphorbiaceae</td>
<td>*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Congo</td>
<td></td>
<td><em>Hymenocardia ulmoides</em></td>
<td>Euphorbiaceae</td>
<td>*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Congo</td>
<td>betulinic acid (triterpenes)</td>
<td><em>Uapaca paludosa</em></td>
<td>Euphorbiaceae</td>
<td>*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kenya</td>
<td>saponins</td>
<td><em>Acacia tortilis</em></td>
<td>Fabaceae</td>
<td>*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kenya</td>
<td></td>
<td><em>Acacia mellifera</em></td>
<td>Fabaceae</td>
<td>*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kenya</td>
<td></td>
<td><em>Acacia hockii</em></td>
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<td>Congo</td>
<td>possibly rotenoids</td>
<td><em>Millettia versicolor</em></td>
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<td>*</td>
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<td>Mali</td>
<td></td>
<td><em>Trichilia roka</em></td>
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<td>Kenya</td>
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<td><em>Ekebergia capensis</em></td>
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<td>India</td>
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<td><em>Azadirachta indica</em></td>
<td>Meliaceae</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>berberine, jatrorrhizine, columbamine</td>
<td><em>Cocinum fenestratum</em></td>
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<tr>
<td>Vietnam</td>
<td></td>
<td><em>Tinospora cordifolia</em></td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vietnam</td>
<td></td>
<td><em>Tinospora crispa</em></td>
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<td>*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vietnam</td>
<td></td>
<td><em>Mimosa pudica</em></td>
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</tr>
<tr>
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<td></td>
<td><em>Polygonum multiflorum</em></td>
<td>Polygonaceae</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mali</td>
<td>ursolic acid</td>
<td><em>Mitragyna inermis</em></td>
<td>Rubiaceae</td>
<td>*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mali</td>
<td></td>
<td><em>Nauclea latifolia</em></td>
<td>Rubiaceae</td>
<td>*</td>
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</table>
Kenya  
Congo  
Congo  
Vietnam  
Congo

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Country</th>
<th>Species</th>
<th>Family</th>
<th>*</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
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<td><em>Pentas lanceolata</em></td>
<td>Rubiaceae</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Congo</td>
<td><em>Morinda morindoides</em></td>
<td>Rubiaceae</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Congo</td>
<td><em>Porterrandia cladantha</em></td>
<td>Rubiaceae</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vietnam</td>
<td><em>Eurycoma longifolia</em></td>
<td>Simaroubaceae</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Congo</td>
<td>similikalactone D</td>
<td>Quassia Africana</td>
<td>*</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Few studies have identified active compounds existing in indigenous malaria remedies. Method of action of several species and their compounds are not fully comprehended. However, some species, such as Neem, contain alkaloids known to be responsive. Studies performed assays with various solvents - water or alcohol, including methanol and ethanol.

Members of the terpene family were the most frequently identified active compounds of various specimens, such as triterpenes, saponins and liminoids. These compounds demonstrate properties effecting different stages of *Plasmodium* life cycle within humans. Anti-plasmodial activity was predominant in these compounds, many targeted protozoans in general; others were cytotoxic. Coumarins found in *Artemisia apiaceae* influence the circulatory system (Hoffman 2003). Artemisinin (*Artemisia annua*) is cytotoxic, though minimal amounts are sequestered in leaves. Neem contains modified triterpenes, complex liminoids (azadirachtin) with antibacterial and insecticidal properties. Compounds stemmed from neem exhibit cytotoxicity, antibacterial properties and immune system stimulation (Nathan et al 2005). Simalikalactone D is a quassinoid found in multiple members of the genus *Quassia* present in the Congolese study. Simalikalactone D is a known inhibitor of DNA gyrase, important in DNA replication.

### 3.3 Discussion

Indigenous medicinal knowledge is an overlooked resource for pharmaceutical development. Several families are used in indigenous antimalarial therapies. Many of these families are known for their medicinal properties. Rubiaceae includes other well known species such as coffee, Cat’s Claw and Foxglove. Similarly, Fabaceae has produced several popular pharmaceuticals including laxatives. Simaroubaceae, an obscure and small tropical family originating from South America has yielded multiple medicinal compounds, including those with antiplasmodial activity from Africa (Congo) and Asia (Vietnam). Though many antimalarials were derived from Asteraceae, this family is associated with economic crops such as sunflower, safflower, chicory and lettuce rather than medicinal properties.
Terpenes were the most significant biochemical compounds that were identified in antimalarial medicines. Terpenes are the largest secondary plant metabolite group. Known for flavors and scents, terpenes additionally act as a defensive mechanism in plants against predators. This alkaloid family is characterized by anti-inflammatory, anti-fungal and spermicidal properties (Hoffman 2003). Terpenes are cytotoxic, making them lethal to *Plasmodium* trophozoites. Members Fabaceae, Rubiaceae and Asteraceae contain saponins, ursolic acid and limoids members of the terpene group. Simalikalactone D, found in *Quassia africana* has different method of action; it targets DNA gyrase in *Plasmodium* and inhibits chromosome replication (Bertani et al 2006).

My data suggests high efficacy of plants utilized by indigenous peoples, however, discrepancies occur. The studies analyzed were *in vitro*; others (not included) were performed *in vivo* in rats, obtaining inconclusive results. Body chemistry might contribute to efficacy of species which did not show activity *in vitro*. Some inconsistencies may be explained by placebo effect; medicines prepared ceremoniously or otherwise, may be effective psychologically. Plants ineffective against *Plasmodium* may be effective against symptoms of the illness, such as fever and chills (Mbatchi et al 2006).

My study also raises questions regarding indigenous medical systems; do practices and beliefs or biological processes dictate efficacy of treatment? Are species chosen on a calculated basis, with knowledge of healing properties, or is healing a product of placebo effect or chance with plants chosen arbitrarily? Healers distribute medicines, performing rituals independently, while common remedies are prepared in house. Medicines chosen are also dependent on contagion beliefs. Beliefs pertaining to the supernatural entail different treatment processes than those stemmed from nature.

Furthermore, are Asian systems more effective than African? Asian species showed higher efficacy, and greater potential for pharmaceutical development. However, there are not enough studies from Asia to arrive at a conclusion. Can efficacy be related to *Anopheles* vector? Neem based insecticide has only been proven effective in controlling Indian populations of *Anopheles stephensi* (Nathan et al 2005). Additionally, does the species of *Plasmodium* influence the efficacy of a medication? Asian medicine may be more effective because it has been tested on the milder species *P. vivax*. *P. falciparum* virulence compromises both allopathic and indigenous treatments.
It is necessary to investigate indigenous antimalarials in further detail. Transmission of indigenous knowledge aids pharmacological exploration. Westernization of indigenous communities endangers traditional healing knowledge and creates dependency on allopathic medicine (Sheldon et al 1997). Ageing of indigenous practitioners and indifference of younger generations to receive wisdom has created loss of ethnomedical knowledge. Younger generations leave communities for educational and economic purposes, lose languages and find employment in urban areas (pers. obsv. 2005). If there is no one to pass healing knowledge to, who is eligible to receive it? Some practitioners are hesitant to impart methods to outsiders, particularly Westerners (Gragson and Blount 1999).

Scientific publication presents opportunity for preserving and exploring indigenous healing knowledge. However, pharmaceutical companies often capitalize on indigenous medicine without paying royalties to communities; this leads to biopiracy. The World Trade Organization (WTO) delineates trade related aspects of intellectual property rights (TRIPS). TRIPS has limitations when initiative is lacking from pharmaceutical companies and governments to make returns for knowledge to indigenous communities.

Investigation of indigenous medicine provides antimalarial therapies for the future. Through analysis of botanical families utilized within traditional medicine, patterns can be used to search for other medicines. Indigenous medical knowledge is the source of future medicine.
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A fourteen-year-old Dominican girl is diagnosed with sarcoma of the liver. This autobiographical paper describes the young girl’s emotional, physical, and psychological struggles and the chemotherapy and radiation treatments she endured. One aspect describes the social symbolic value of the female’s hair in this culture and how, without it, a young girl might possibly question her identity and/or her sexuality when she is constantly mistaken for a boy. It is narrated in the first person except during the five weeks she was in a coma, when it is narrated in the third person from the perspective of the parents. Descriptive research has been added to the narrative in an effort to help the reader have a better understanding of the procedures (e.g., CAT scan, biopsy) that were performed.
Crystal Clear: A Second Chance

It was the Monday after Thanksgiving break. My family and I had returned the previous day from Lawrence, Massachusetts, where the whole family had gathered to have a holiday feast. The radiant Bronx sun was starting to melt the snow on the sidewalk, rush hour had just started, and I was late to class.

As I got to class, the teacher, Mrs. White, shot me a disapproving look but didn’t say a word. I went inside and sat down. I took out my notebook and the first thing that I did was write the date, November 29, 1999. Mrs. White began by explaining how the present perfect works in the English language. I looked to the left side of the room where a poster with conjugations of verbs was hanging. As the class went on, Mrs. White proceeded with the present perfect and I kept a steady eye on the poster to make sense of what she was explaining.

At this time I had spent about five years in New York with my family. I came to the US from the Dominican Republic at the age of ten, in 1996. I can honestly say that I wasn’t trying hard to learn the language because everyone in school spoke Spanish. My parents didn’t know the language either. Although now they understand and speak enough to defend themselves, they have the limited vocabulary of an eight year old. I wasn’t aware that in the real world, knowing how to conjugate verbs and writing properly are a necessity. Without it, I wouldn’t be able to express myself in a manner in which people could understand and not classify me as an illiterate, basing their perspective on my ethnicity. I couldn’t see the need of the English language until I had to constantly translate for my mother when we were out. Now, at the college level, I see that without the proper vocabulary a student won’t make it too far. Our society sets certain standards and one of them is increment of vocabulary as we get older. The older we are, the more words we should know. I agree that our vocabulary expands as we get older, but I oppose the usage of
words that most people can’t understand. For example, I could express myself with elaborate words that sometimes might be used in the wrong context, but I choose not to because I’d rather be safe then sorry. I can get my point across using common words just as well, if not better, than those using big words.

I started to feel a stabbing pain in my chest. It felt like a sharp knife began to stab my heart every time that it pumped the thick cherry Kool-aid that ran through my veins. The pain persisted for several minutes. My teacher noticed that I was in pain; she advised me to go to the nurse’s office and excused me from class.

As I walked to the nurse’s office, I had a flashback back to August; I saw myself with the same pain, but in my lungs and in the emergency room trying to find out how to make it go away. Back then, a nurse had drawn blood samples. By the time that the results came in, the pain had ceased. The doctor said the lab results indicated that everything was fine. “If the pain returns, call this number,” he said, pointing at the bottom of a yellow release form, “you can go home now.”

As I entered the nurse’s office, I noticed her oak desk full of stacks of colored paper. She wore her dark hair in a bun, which made her caramel face look round. Her eyes made contact with mine through her thick glasses. As she raised her hand to push back her glasses, which were mid-way down her nose, she asked me what was wrong. I told her that I was having strong sharp pains in my chest. She half-closed her eyes and raised her right eyebrow as I told her this, but she told me to sit down on an old wooden chair placed next to her desk. She took out a blue stethoscope and placed it against my chest. After she told me to inhale a couple of times, she told me that she didn’t notice anything wrong with me. She recommended Tylenol (this pill seems to be the solution to everything, I would assume, since it is the first thing that is offered when a
student goes to the nurse’s office). Instead, I declined her offer and decided to call my mother. At the time, all that was on my mind, like every other teenager, was “okay, nothing is wrong with me…so if I call Mom she can pick me up and I can just stay home for the rest of the day watching TV.”

My mother, who I refer to as Mami, came as fast as she could. When she finally arrived, she went up the stairs to the second floor and finally to the nurse’s office where I awaited her arrival. She burst into the blue and white room like a crazy person. She was out of breath, and her breasts kept bouncing as she inhaled gulps of air. She was wearing jeans and a white shirt. It looked like she had her hair in a ponytail, but most of it was out covering her face by the time she got to me. As soon as she saw me, she gave me a hug and grabbed my hand as she headed toward the door.

Once we were out of the office, the sand colored hallway seemed as deserted as the Sahara. As we went down the stairs, she asked, “Como es el dolor?” (how is the pain?)

I told her that it was similar stabbing pains to that of August, only that these were in my chest rather than in my lungs.

“Pero te duele mucho?” (does it hurt a lot?) she asked as she held tightly onto my hand.

“Me duele menos ahora pero todavía me molesta,” (it hurts less but it still bothers me) I told her, putting on my sad puppy face.

When we were on the first floor, I guided her to the exit, and along the way drank some water from a water fountain placed in the hallway. We exited the five-story stone building and headed towards our 1997 dark green Astro van, in which my mother took me to St. Barnabas Hospital once more.

During the car ride, I complained a lot, which made Mami speed up and play a game of
zigzag with the other cars. I paid close attention to the vein on her forehead as it rushed blood to her brain. I was also able to feel her concern for my well being as she rushed under a yellow light two blocks away from the hospital. I didn’t think that the pain was anything to stress out about, but I knew that Mami thought otherwise. There were times when I wanted to get out of school and thought of having a headache. A few minutes later, I would get that headache. I knew that it was all part of my imagination and so I hoped that the chest pain was caused of my imagination. We were fortunate enough to find a parking space in front of the hospital; otherwise we would have been in the car for a while.

When we arrived, I was taken to my pediatrician, a soft-spoken Asian woman in her late 40s. Mami insisted the doctor order an x-ray and would not be appeased until the doctor did so.

I was taken to the emergency room, where we had to wait for about an hour for my blood to be drawn, and another two for the x-ray to be taken. That is one thing about New York City: one can die in the emergency room due to the long wait. During my wait, I noticed that the secretary who takes the information of the patients was constantly on the phone. She was of dark skin with long nails and full lips. She dressed comfortably with a peach shirt, semi-loose jeans and beach Diesels.

“Hi! My name is Crystal and I was told to hand this paper to you.”

“Here,” she said, raising her voice, “fill this form out and bring it back to me.” She looked at me for a second and then picked up the phone.

“Thanks,” I said without smiling.

I finished filling out the form in about three minutes. I got up from the plastic chair where I sat and approached the secretary who was on the phone. I didn’t want to interrupt her conversation so I decided to wait a few minutes but she took too long. “Excuse me miss, here is
that form.”

She wobbled her head as she looked my way. “Just leave it there,” her right brow rose and her lips tightened.

During this waiting period, I noticed that the secretary gave attitude to everyone except to a light skin, muscled man whom approached her licking his lips. She had a bright smile on her face and she kept her eyes on his body. The man spoke to her for a minute or two as she laughed, letting him know that she enjoyed having him there. After the two minutes passed, he went out the door and into the snow-covered streets.

There were four rows of plastic chairs in the room. Two TV monitors were on, the one to the right had the news and the other had Jerry Springer. Both monitors had equal volume but Jerry Springer had a greater number of viewers in the room, including myself. What child wouldn’t prefer to watch a good fight to more bad news? To this day, I don’t watch the news because I find no point in it. News reports are the bearer of bad news. I choose not to stress out and worry about what is going on around the world. I take life day by day, stressing out in general is not healthy and stressing over things that are not affecting me directly is worse.

Once the results were back, which took about an extra hour, I was told that there was something suspicious on the x-ray. The doctors described it as a dark cloud in the region of my liver. I didn’t have a clue of what was going on, but I knew that nothing good was to come from it because of the expression on Mami’s face. Her brows clinched, and her eyes shrunk and tightened, as she was pulled aside by the doctor. He spoke to her for about fifteen minutes, during which time I observed her body language. She kept making gestures with her hands. My guess is that she was trying to make sense of what the doctor was telling her. She looked at me a couple of times and started tearing as she approached me. That same day I was admitted to the
hospital, where I stayed for two consecutive days.

During those two days, I was examined from head to toe with as many scans as there were in the hospital. On the first day of the two-day stay, I was taken to radiology to have a CAT scan\(^1\). I wore a white gown cut open on the back but securely tighten by a strap attached to it. Mami accompanied me, trying to keep me entertained. I sat quiet and calmer than my mom. A doctor moved toward us, “are you Crystal Fuerte?”

“Yes,” I responded, shying away from his eyes.

“I need to put a dye in your drink so that I can see your insides,” he said, addressing me as if I was I five year old. “Do you want cranberry juice or apple?”

I asked if there was orange juice, but he told me that I couldn’t drink the dye with orange juice because it can’t be given with anything that has acid. I pondered for a second, “can I have strawberry with kiwi?”

“That’s fine,” he said smiling.

I asked Mami to get the twenty ounce juice from the vending machine across the room. She got it and gave it to the doctor. He went off to put the dye in the drink while I translated to Mami what was going on. I explained to her that drinks would be brought to me with a dye that would allow for the doctors to see my organs. During the CAT scan my organs will light up as they x-rays are taken. The doctor came back with two twelve ounce cups filled with strawberry and kiwi juice. “I’ll check on you to see when you are done with the drinks,” he said. “Once you’re done, you’ll have to wait a couple of minutes for it to digest.”

\(^1\) CAT scan stands for Computed Axial Tomography. This procedure generates three-dimensional images from x-ray pictures, one slide at a time. The images get lighter as the assigned area, for imaging, gets thicker. The laser beam can rotate around the body, allowing images from varies angles to obtain a better view of the assigned area and its distance. The computer handles putting all the slides together to make the three-dimensional image. The computer stacks up the slides and adds shadow to form a single slide, but with three dimensions.
I grabbed a cup and nodded so that he would leave me alone. The first cup was a breeze; I took five gulps and it was done. The juice tasted differently, less sweet and slightly thicker as it moved from my mouth to the throat. It also made my nose tickle a bit. The next cup took me longer to drink because I wasn’t thirsty. I took sips every so often, but once in a while my mom pressured me into drinking more. When I finally finished drinking the juice, the doctor coincidently saw me heading towards the restroom but stopped me.

I was taken to a room that had a white machine with a donut-like hole in the middle of it. The machine was about eight feet high by seven feet long and three feet thick. It had a few buttons on the left side of the front portion. I was told to lay down on a hard, motorized piece of the machine. A nurse told me to remove any metals that I had on, anything from a chain to a bra due to the targeted area of examination, my chest and abdomen. She strapped me in. The motorized piece lifted me and inserted my body through the hole in the machine.

At this time I noticed a red laser beam placed just before the middle of the inside area of the hole. The laser beam was covered by a glass square which had an engraved x across it. Next to the laser beam and right in the middle area of the hole was an inch wide glass which formed a circle around the inside of this hole. Through the glass and inside the machine it was dark and almost impossible to see.

My attention shifted to the nurse who had stopped me from moving further into the hole. She left me and moved to a section of the room where the monitors were placed to view the images obtained by the scan. This section of the room was divided by a wall which was half glass, upper part, and half concrete, lower part. A buzzing sound reached my ears making my attention switch to what appeared to be two pieces of mirrors moving along the dark, glass covered middle area of this hole in the machine. I was given instructions not to look straight into
the laser beam but I wasn’t told not to look at these moving mirrors. Once the mirrors stopped moving, the nurse came back into the room and pulled me out of the hole.

The nurse took off the strap and informed me that the procedure was over. I put back on my gold chain, grabbed my IV line and headed out of the room. Mami awaited my arrival, sitting on a plastic chair across the room. I was taken back to my room where I would be left alone for a while. All I could think about was the homework that I would have to do after I got back to school. The thought that crossed my mind was that the teachers wouldn’t give me a break for being sick. I also wanted to watch some television, but there wasn’t one in the room. I lay in bed until the night came, while Mami sat next to me telling me how this would all be over soon. At night my father and brothers, Chris and Rafael, came to visit. The adults left the room while I stood with my brothers making jokes. They asked me what it was like to be out of school and not having homework, and what I did the whole day in the hospital. I explained to them how I would much rather be in school having to do homework than be in the hospital where it seemed like I was never left at ease. Once my parents came into the room, they told me that I had to get some rest soon because the next morning I would have another procedure done, something called a biopsy. From the sound of it, it wasn’t anything pleasant. I asked if it was going to hurt and they told me that it would not because I would be sedated.

The next morning, the second day, I was taken to a room with two black TV screens, and a small hard bed surrounded by covered iron trays. The room was cold, so I asked the nurses to get me some blankets. Two nurses and three doctors occupied the room; I was terrified by looking at their faces. They were all light-skinned, wearing green gowns and with serious faces.

2 IV- the insertion of a needle covered with a thin plastic layer. The needle is removed leaving behind the plastic shaped needle inside the vein.

3 A biopsy is a procedure that removes and examines a sample of tissue from a living body for diagnostic purposes.
I was told that my parents would be waiting for me outside of the room and that I was not going to be asleep during the procedure but that with local anesthesia I wouldn’t feel any discomfort. My gown was open in the front as the doctors placed a sky blue material over my chest. All of a sudden I felt something being squirted onto my right ribcage. It felt cold and like a gel, and I noticed that the doctors paid attention to the monitors as a doctor had something on his hand pressing down onto my ribcage. It was a black and white picture and things were moving. At the time I wasn’t aware that it was an ultrasound because this was my first time having one. The doctors stopped at a specific spot and placed a mark on me with a red marker. The gel was wiped off me and I was told that I was going to feel a little pinch from a needle that contained the local anesthesia. Once the anesthetic was applied, another doctor grabbed a syringe with an abnormal needle. This needle, a Menghini needle, had the diameter of a pen refill and its sharp tip horrified me.

I made a big mistake by trusting the doctors in their opinion of local anesthetics. The pain was incredibly strong as the doctors inserted a needle through my ribs and further down to my liver. As they moved the needle, the pain increased. To make things worse, they had to take several samples of the dark cloud. It felt like someone was cutting my insides over and over; it seemed as if the pain would never end. The nurses were trying to calm me down, an impossible mission until they told me that my parents were going crazy as they heard me scream in pain, desperate to come in though they were not allowed. I tried to be strong like my last name says, but it was hard to pretend like I wasn’t in pain. One nurse grabbed my hand and tried talking to me, but that didn’t work. My face was covered in tears as I told her to make it stop, to give me more drugs or make the doctors stop. It felt like I was talking to a wall because all she said was to calm down and that the pain would be over soon.
The next day I was sent to New York Hospital where I was told that I had a tumor, called rhabdomyosarcoma, close to my liver and lungs. The doctors told me that *rhabdomyosarcoma*[^4] was a rare kind of cancer.

I guess that when it comes to a problem of such high magnitude, almost everyone is ignorant regarding the consequences and frustration of not knowing how and why there is a cancer in the body of a loved one. I didn’t take it as seriously as my parents did because I don’t like to worry much about anything. I was just stressing over my first operation ever.

It was early morning. I was still half-asleep as I was taken to the pre-operation room. The first thing that the nurses did was setup an IV line in my right arm and minutes later I was saying, “see you later Mom, you too, Dad.” My parents were really concerned about my well being and I had to be their stronghold. They held my hands until the last minute before I was taken into the operation room. As I was being moved, I told Mami to save me a bottle of grapefruit juice.

“Yo no te voy a guardar in pote si no un galon,” (I’m not going to save you a bottle, instead a gallon) she replied.

[^4]: Rhabdomyosarcoma (RMS) “is a very rare malignant tumor that arises from normal skeletal muscle cell” (sarcomahelp.org). It targets children, but in rare occasions it is discovered among adults. Between 15-20 percent of all children cancers are sarcomas and about one percent of all adult cancers. The American Cancer Society states that the most common sarcomas are: MFH or Malignant Fibrous Histiocytoma-- 28%, lip sarcoma-- 15%, LMS or leiomyosarcoma-- 12%, synovial sarcoma-- 10 %, malignant peripheral nerve sheath tumors-- 6%, and rhabdomyosarcoma-- 5%. It also projects that for 2006, about 9,530 new cases of soft tissue sarcoma in the US. From these cases, there will be 5,720 male and 3, 810 female cases. During 2006, 3,500 Americans are expected to die of soft tissue sarcoma; 1830 males and 1,670 females.
I smiled to comfort them for the last time in hopes that they would relax a little. My heart beat rose as I moved further away from my parents, knowing that I would be cut open in a few minutes. The whole idea just blew my mind. I was scared, but I had to stay strong for my parents; they needed me to do so. I knew they were breaking down because they had no control over what was happening. I had always been healthy and the first time I got sick was, unfortunately, with cancer. I can’t imagine what went through their heads at the time.

As I got closer to the operation room, I started to reflect on my life and on how nervous I felt. I thought about how my life was changing so rapidly that I didn’t even get a chance to notice it. After this day, I would have a scar and who knows what else. What if I die, I didn’t even get to know how it felt to have a boyfriend. The thought of something going wrong got me thinking about the things that I wouldn’t have a chance to do. I was fourteen and with a million things that I could’ve done differently. I wanted to travel, have sex, explore new things, and be more outspoken. Once in the operation room, my eyes scanned it full of concern. The room was spacious; it had a lot of covered machinery and iron trays filled with scissors and surgical instruments. The nurses started to setup the room; they prepared some towels and got a brown anti-bacterium liquid. A nurse placed over me a transparent plastic mask covering my nose and mouth. She told me to take big breaths and to relax. The flow of oxygen into the plastic tube and mask made the inhaled oxygen smell like plastic making me suffocate and angry because I couldn’t take it off. I tried removing the mask but got caught. The nurse that saw me told me that I wasn’t really running out of air and to please leave the mask on. I put on my sad puppy eyes but that didn’t work on her. She stood by my side paying close attention to me.

A white man approached my IV line with a syringe filled with a transparent fluid. I watched him like a hawk suspicious of what he was about to do. He inserted the needle into the
IV line and released the fluid slowly. I watched every second of it because I didn’t want to be asleep just yet; I wanted to be able to see everything that was going on.

Within a minute or two I felt like part of my brain had died, it felt a bit numb and slightly heavy. I kept my eyes open, paying close attention to those around me. The same nurse came and smoothly passed her hands over my forehead, making me feel at ease. I fell asleep.

During the time that I was unconscious, I had several dreams relating in one way or another to my surroundings. I can only remember three at this time.

As I woke up in intensive care, I was surrounded by boxes of Poland Spring water bottles. I was very thirsty, so I picked one up, twisted the cap, opened it, and started to drink. I enjoyed the cool natural liquid that had just entered my mouth, savoring each gulp I took. After I finished the bottle, my thirst was not yet satisfied. I decided to go down to the first floor where a swimming pool was waiting for me. As I walked towards the pool, a childhood friend of my father had just arrived. I glanced at the pool, it was about an eighth of a mile long, and the walls surrounding it were orange. I took my eyes off the pool and greeted my father’s friend. He was dripping wet due to the rain and unfortunately for him, his car got a flat tire on the way to the hospital. He replied by saying that there was a huge flood coming our way and we should leave. I rushed back to my room, got my parents and a case of water, and then headed out the door. We panicked as we ran down the newly renovated stairs. My parents worried about my safety so they held my hand as we exited the multi-million dollar hospital. Once outside, we saw a tsunami heading our way, we ran down the lighted streets of downtown Manhattan.

In another dream, I was back in the hospital when suddenly a woman came into my room
and started searching through my mother’s jewelry. The jewelry was in the drawer where I kept my clothes. I paid close attention to the woman and then asked, “What do you think you are doing?”

She replied by saying, “I’m looking for my jewelry,”

I kept a steady eye on her and said “those are my mother’s…not yours…leave it alone.”

“I am your mother…don’t you know that,” she replied.

“You are not my mother…you are a stranger to me,” I said knowing that this light-skinned brunette was not my mother. I had never met this woman in my life and she pretends to be my mother? That’s not right! With tears in her face the woman insisted,

“I am your mother, Crystal.”

As stubborn as I am, I wasn’t capable of believing it because my mother is a dark-skinned, brown haired Dominican woman and this was obviously not her.

In another dream, a cousin of mine that I consider to be like my second mother came all the way from Spain to see me. She spent night and day with me in the hospital. She tried what was at the time my favorite drink, Ocean Spray’s ‘Ruby Red,’ and loved it. This juice was special because I felt that it gave me energy that no other drinks did and the sour taste of the grapefruit shook up my body. She liked it so much that on her way back to Spain she took some with her. During her stay, we conversed about our lives and she invited me to go to Spain when I got out of the hospital. She spoke about her boyfriend; how great he was, but how she wasn’t willing to commit. I agreed to go to visit her in Spain because she would pay for the trip and it was a new place for me explore.

After all of this, I finally woke up. I had been unconscious for five weeks during which my family had gone through hell. My mother told me the doctors had given up on me. They
believed there wasn't anything else that they could do to help me survive; my parents didn’t. The doctors asked my parents if they would want me to remain with the machine that helped me breathe or if they would want to remove the machine. That machine consisted of a tube insertion through my mouth to help my lungs function; two elastic bends inside of the tube would be attached to the lungs and help them function. Even though it was risky, my parents told the doctors to remove the machine to see how well I would function on my own. One day when my mother was mad at a doctor she told him, “Esa…a esa la empujé yo por aquí,” (Her…I pushed her out from here) she said as she pointed at her vagina, “y tu ni nadie me puede decir que mi niña se va a morir” (and you nor anyone else can tell me that my daughter is going to die). In reality, while I was unconscious, all I had were dreams of water and juice, as the drugs were reduced I became more aware of my surroundings but not enough to remember my actions. Also, I told my mother that she was not my actual mother and she cried when it happened. My cousin from Spain did come but I don’t remember anything that happened during that period.

After spending five weeks in bed I had to start all over. I was a baby once more, unable to walk without assistance, or to do much on my own. Everyday I practiced my walk. I started by tiptoeing around the smooth floor and progressively I began to walk better. Standing on my toes was the only thing that I could do because the muscles underneath my feet would hurt if I put my feet all the way down. It felt like I had years without stretching my muscles and I had to take it day by day to regain my flexibility. It seemed like the more I walked, the more comfortable I felt stretching my foot muscles. After a couple of days, I was comfortable enough to place my whole foot on the floor. I guess this is how babies feel when they start to learn how to walk. I don’t think that I could’ve done it without my parents’ support because they gave me the love and attention that I needed. In addition, they never left me alone, not for one night, nor did they leave
me without food when the hospital’s was bad. One day, a doctor came to ask me whether I wanted to have treatment, chemotherapy, or if I thought the removal of half my liver and my gall bladder was enough. The tumor could potentially return if I didn’t have the treatment, but there wasn’t any certainty that it wasn’t going to come back even if I decided to have chemo. I was told that there was less of a risk for it to come back if I took a treatment of a combination of three chemotherapies. I thought about it for about an hour and after so many tears were shed, I decided to take the treatment. My head felt like it was going to explode. I was imagining myself without hair and didn’t like the image of being bald. My biggest concern was being mistaken for a boy. I resemble my father.

Being mistaken for a boy was going to happen regardless, but how would it affect me? I had wished to be born a boy every so often, but I had come to terms that I wasn’t, so now what? How would this physical change affect me emotionally since I knew I was a girl? I couldn’t focus on my hair without knowing what was to come next; would I recover fast or slow and how long would it take for me to start the treatment? Once the doctors saw that my health was improving steadily, they decided to move me with the rest of the patients in regular care, so that eventually I could get to go home.

I woke up in my parents’ bedroom. They were still asleep, cuddling under the flowery bed sheets and facing my way. As I rose from my twin size bed, I saw my bottle of water next to my pillow and I felt my bladder full of urine. I got up, walked a couple of steps on the wine colored rug, and headed towards the white door. I got out and immediately located the bathroom next to me. I went in, leaving the door half-open, sat down on the toilet with the lights off, and released the fluid. I looked down to the floor and saw the cream-colored carpet. My mother
walked in on me and turned on the lights. I saw blue and green lights for a couple of seconds, and then I heard her telling me to get ready because we were going to the hospital so that I can get my chemotherapy today. I hated the days that I had to go to the hospital to get chemo, but the nurses grew on me.

New York Presbyterian-Cornell Hospital was the name of the hospital where I was treated. The hospital covered two city blocks and had more than fifteen floors, each with a specific purpose. I was on the sixth floor, which was the children’s floor. As soon as I arrived into the yellow-colored office, the Cuban secretary greeted me. Following our five-minute conversation, I was signed up to get my blood drawn. I had to wait in the green-colored waiting room; there was a TV in a corner and green couches all around the room.

“Crystal Fuerte” called one of the nurses. I rose from the seat and grabbed my bottle of water, along with my mother and followed the nurse. She took Mami and me down the hallway to a small white room where there was a chair and silver cabinets full of needles, tubes, etc... I sat on the chair and the nurse came next to me. She set up her chair and tubes. She wiped my hand with alcohol and tightened it on my arm; this made the veins become more visible. As the nurse inserted the IV needle through my skin and to the vein in my right hand, my mother was to my left, covering my face as it was pressed against her stomach. It took three tries to get my vein and I was angry, hungry, and hurt. Tears came out from my frustration but my mother calmed me down and fed me. We got out of the room and to our left there was another waiting room with reclining chairs and to its back was a wall with windows surrounding the room. Now I had to wait for the chemotherapy to arrive.

As soon as the chemo arrived, I was taken back to the white room where they drew my blood and the nurse connected one by one the three chemos to my IV. The chemo could never be
given directly to the vein, it has to be given with fluid through the vein and within a certain amount of time, otherwise, it would burn the vein and it wouldn’t be able to function ever again. For one of the chemos, I had to drink a capsule of Claritin so that I wouldn’t get nauseous, but it didn’t work; I was throwing up after a couple of hours of having the chemo. The nurse brought me a pink container but within minutes it was filled of the yellow greenish acid that came out of my stomach. My mother patted my back and held the container as I released whatever I had left in my stomach. Towards the ending of me throwing up, I gagged a couple of times and felt my stomach as it tightened up, having nothing else to discharge.

Medicine to prevent the nausea would be reinserted into my body to calm my stomach. Mami passed me a napkin to clean my mouth and walked to the restroom with me to wash my face. I rinsed my mouth with the cold water making sure that the disgusting taste would vanish. I urinated for a couple of seconds as Mami kept her eyes of compassion on me. We walked back to our chairs, where in a few minutes I fell asleep.

It was a hot summer day. The sun was out, which made the day warmer for those outside who could enjoy it. People on the street found the heat wave terrible, while on the other hand, I wished that I could’ve been able to be outside taking advantage of the weather. Through my window I could see the east side of the Hudson River and a small island. I was fortunate enough to always get this view when I had to spend a couple of days in the hospital. I learned that the river’s see-through, yet green and blue tides ran up and down depending on the time. There were constant shipments of trash throughout the day. The trash was shipped in long brown, deep in depth, boats. During days like this one, some people took out their white yachts and a few others rode in their colorful racing boats.
There was not much to do in the hospital since I was in the children’s section, which was not a bad thing. They had video games and more things to entertain than the adults ever would have. We had a Game cube and portable DVD players to keep us busy during the day, and we watched TV at night.

My room consisted of four white walls and a bathroom with its own shower. Life was not bad at the hospital, but I felt trapped within those walls. If it wasn’t for the doctors, I would have been out on the streets like everyone else, but I was not allowed because I was too weak. I had to settle with a television and materials, such as paper and color pencils to draw whenever I pleased. As an effect of the chemotherapy, I spent the year 2000 in and out of the hospital, in rooms such as this one.

There were months when my mother and I had to spend hours of boredom until the night when my father brought my brothers to visit. My mother spent the weekdays with me, slept over, and my father slept there on Saturdays. Times were hard for us but we hung in there for a whole year. There were times that I didn’t even want to get up from bed to go to the hospital and other days when I didn’t want to leave the hospital itself.

The nurses became friends of mine as well as the rest of the children on the floor. The hospital itself became my first home and my actual home became my second. Due to my treatment, I spent most of my time inside the hospital. I had fevers that went as high as 39°C and got nauseous from the chemotherapy constantly. One of the side effects of the chemo was clearly showing itself. Everyday when I woke up, I saw some of my brown hair on the white sheeted pillow. The hair was stuck in the form of a swirl due to my moving around at night.

One day at my house, I was taking a shower with Mami. Her dark skin was covered with bubbles from the soap. I was captivated by the way that the water kept running down her body
and then to the drain. I had had a long time that I didn’t see my mother’s body, so I was very observant to any change in her although I didn’t find any. Once she finished cleansing herself, she began to wash my back with a tiny light green towel and Johnson’s baby liquid soap. Then my mother put some shampoo on my hands so that I could wash my hair. I first got my hair wet and then placed my hands over my head. I started gently to rub my nails on my skull; after about two minutes of rubbing, I stopped and took my hands out of the hair. As I moved closer to the shower, I felt something on my hands, so I looked at them. My hands were full of hair. I felt weak in my knees. It felt like I was going to fall or faint. My head spun and I lost my sight for a couple of seconds as blood rushed to my brain. I couldn’t believe that my hair was coming out from my skull so easily. I immediately began to cry, and Mami held me in her arms. After I calmed down a little, I looked straight into her dark eyes and told her, “Mom I want you to cut my hair today.” My body completely shut down and didn’t even allow me to move. Mami pushed me towards the water and I allowed the clear water to run over my whole body. As I stood there, I took a mouth full of water and spit it out through my white teeth in three directions, right, left, and center, at the same time. I felt a lot of anger, not at her, but at what was happening to me. I was a fourteen-year old Dominican girl who had never gotten sick and now had to take chemotherapy, which was taking away the thing that she adored the most, her long hair. That same day, Mami cut my hair until it reached my eyebrows; this was the first time that I saw myself with short hair and though my parents liked how it looked, I didn’t. Having short hair made me feel like my femininity was gone. Like most young teens, I had low self-esteem; I was thicker than my friends. The only thing I loved about myself was, and still is, my hair. I had never cut my hair and always complained when my stylist would cut more than an inch when cutting the tip of my hair. For Hispanic women, hair is a symbol of their femininity. Without
hair, a woman can easily be mistaken for a man and unless that is a woman’s purpose, it is uncommon to see a female without hair or with real short hair. The length of my hair represented the years of conditioning it and the time invested in letting it grow. I have more hair than most people, representing how much life and strength I have in me. My hair is also very thick, making it strong like my last name. I told my mother to take me to the barbershop so that it could be cut off completely, and she did.

Mami took me to the “Playboy barbershop.” This is where my brothers and father got their hair cuts. The barber saw how ill I was and asked Mami what was wrong with me. She explained to him that I had cancer and was taking chemo. She added that I wanted to cut my hair off because it was falling out and I didn’t want to see it. I told him to cut it all off. He sympathized with me because his son was diagnosed with cancer as well a few years back. He turned on the trimmer and placed it on my head. I took a deep breath in and saw my hair fall.

During the time that I was in the hospital as an in-patient, I got used to taking medicine for pain. The medicine that I used was called Dilaudid, a tiny white pill which is a form of morphine but less damaging to one’s body. If used often, this drug becomes addictive. The doctors gave it to me; it first started by being a quarter of a pill to dull my pain and by the end of the treatment I was on two. I used it regularly so the amount kept increasing because it wasn’t having any effect on my body.

While I was in the hospital, the pill didn’t satisfy my desires. One day, I was given Dilaudid through the vein and I found it to be wonderful. From there on, I kept asking for it through the vein but the doctors didn’t want me to get it anymore, so there were a couple of times when I faked the pain so that I could get the drug. I would start to cry and tell my mom that
the pain was incredibly strong and I couldn’t take it any longer. My mother would go crazy, she would go and get the nurses, even though she didn’t speak English well, she would tell them what needed to be said, and would lose herself. I didn’t care what needed to get done in order for me to get what I wanted, no matter what. The thing about this drug was that it would go straight to your head, make me feel relaxed and sleepy, and I loved to sleep, so it was perfect for me. It felt like a part of my brain was shut down, weakening my reflexes. My eyes would open in slow motion and the speed of my speech decreased. Once the whole brain was shut down, my body felt tired making me want to sleep.

One day in my house, it was time to sleep and I wasn’t sleepy. I told my mom that I was in pain but I guess that something in her allowed her to see that I was getting addicted to the drug and that I would even go to the extent to fake the pain. She told me that day that I wasn’t going to get it, and I didn’t. My father had told my mother to give it to me because he didn’t want me to be in pain, but she still didn’t. She hid them from me so that I wouldn’t be tempted, but my body itself persisted on the idea of having pain. There wasn’t anything that I could do but retain myself from searching for it. I was conscious at the time that I was addicted to it, but in my mind I still needed it. It wasn’t until after a couple of weeks that I got over it and implanted the idea into my head that I didn’t need the drug.

I was frustrated of being tired, which prevented me from practicing what was then my true passion, basketball. During the summer of 2000, I bought a basketball hoop to shoot at in the backyard of my house. It was perfect; the black seven-foot-long black pole stood a couple of inches away from the brick wall of my house. Against the wood-gated section of the backyard laid a three-feet deep and nine-feet in circumference swimming pool. There was a rectangular
area of about five to six feet in which I played basketball. Also, there was still the free walking area that led to a small park connected to the surrounding houses for their private use. Although I was still bald and weak, I tried my best to keep up with my game. The boys from my neighborhood took it easy on me because they would get in trouble if I got hurt by them, so they always kept their distance when playing basketball with me.

On one occasion, I went to see a therapist. She checked how far I was able to bend over, and checked my back muscles and my hands to see how well I was recuperating. She placed her cold, bare but washed hands on my back; she circularly motioned her hands on my caramel skin and ran her white finger down my crooked spine. After she finished checking me, she concluded that I wasn’t going to be able to get back to my normal athletic state until I reached the age of 21. I was astonished by her conclusion and decided afterwards that she didn’t have a valid statement. Like I always say, “Don’t let anyone tell you what you can and cannot do because that is only their opinion, not a fact.” After I got home that afternoon, the first thing I did was take my basketball and practice. I started to push myself harder just to prove that she was wrong. Every day I went walking and tried to play as many sports as possible, mostly basketball and baseball, just to get stronger. And I successfully did.

The transition from home schooling to public school was a challenge. At home, the teacher, an old but kind white man employed by home instruction, only assigned me one homework assignment per day, and didn’t give examinations. I was great with him. He even gave me extra time when I took the global regents because I still needed to complete my essay. He helped me become more proficient in English and he also shared private things with me, about his wife, his life and daughters. I liked him because he gave me more confidence. But my time of home schooling was over.
When I went back to my old high school, I got reacquainted with old friends and teachers, but I hated the fact that they assigned homework from each class and they also gave exams. The school was still the same, students all knew each other, and there were few fights during the year. Although it was hard, I gradually got used to it because I had plenty of time to do my work after school. I concentrated on my studies during the first semester but in the second semester, I tried out and made it on the softball team. During softball season, I had lots of fun with my friends because after every victory we would go out and celebrate, we would go and eat at a restaurant, mostly a Chinese buffet.

During my senior trip, I had lots of fun except for our last night in the resort. I had been in ‘love’ with a friend for two years; he felt somewhat the same for me but never expressed it as I did. From the very start I was up front with him and told him that I liked him, but he always said that he didn’t want to have anything with anyone, I respected his decision but that didn’t change the fact that this was the first boy that I ever liked. For the senior prom, I asked him to be my date and he gladly accepted; we went as friends but he made me a promise. He promised that he wouldn’t dance reggae with any girl because I would get jealous, and he did keep his promise until the last night that we spent on the senior trip.

It was night, we had just finished having a contest in which the girls had to dress up the guys as girls and the girls were going to be dressed up as guys. We had a lot of fun because we had a dancing contest and he was in it. After the contest, we got dressed back in our normal clothes and went back to the party. I decided to be on the first floor because they had pool tables. As I was playing pool, I noticed that he wasn’t around, so I went to look for him on the second floor where some students were dancing. The stairway was wet from dropped cups of soda, and
as I kept on going up I could hardly see. The medium size room was dark. I saw my friend sitting down on a chair so I went to sit next to him. I asked him what was wrong but he didn’t answer me. Immediately after, a girl that I knew asked him to dance reggae and so he did. This girl knew that I liked him yet she had the audacity to ask him to dance when she saw me talking to him. At this moment, a lot of things crossed my mind but I didn’t want to show it. I stood watching them dance because I didn’t want to give her the pleasure of seeing me run off simply because I was mad. Once they finished dancing, I left.

I went to a resting area where there were couches; there was nobody around so I stood there to think. All I thought about was how he had broken his promise, I hate when people do that. When it was time to go to bed, the teachers started to send the students back to their rooms. He came out with a group of people and saw me as I looked back at him. I waited to see if he had the courage to approach me and talk face to face, but he didn’t. My girlfriends from the softball team and I went back to our room. A few minutes after we arrived at the bedroom, the phone rang. One of the girls picked up the phone, which was on top of a nightstand between two full size beds. It was him. The girl passed me the phone and looked at me while I spoke to him.

“Crystal, what’s going on? Why are you mad?” he asked.

“If you want to talk to me why don’t you come upstairs and talk to me face to face,” I responded and immediately hung up the phone on him.

The girl that answered the phone previously, called him back and said “I told you she was going to react this way, don’t pay any attention to her. Just go to sleep.”

My face was red, my eyes half closed, and my ears were burning up. Two out of the three girls told me about how I shouldn’t have reacted that way because he wasn’t my boyfriend and he could do whatever he wants. I turned my back to them, picked up my bottle of water, and
walked out of the room. I stood outside the white aluminum door while I listened to what they were saying. Tears started to run down my face, my arms were extended downward, and my hands were already made into fists. The softball coach saw me standing outside the room and asked what was wrong, but I didn’t answer. She decided to go into the room and find out what was going on, so she called another teacher to keep an eye on me. As my softball coach went inside the room, she started to talk to the girls and I stood outside listening. It only made me angrier. I was frustrated and enraged, so in a split second I punched the white door leaving a dent on it. I felt like a bull when it sees the color red, the only difference was that I didn’t see red, I only saw him.
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The current research focuses on the Guatemalan immigration into the United States, mainly to the New York City area. Basing it on a case study of his parents’ personal experiences emigrating from Guatemala to the US, the author explores the main reasons why people leave their countries, family and friends seeking a better life and what their life is like in their new home. This exploration discusses the experiences of crossing the border, living in the new location, and facing exploitation and racism in the work place. The paper also examines how networking forms amongst illegal aliens, providing support for their journey and bringing family members from their home country, as well as finding a job and a place to live.
Guatemalan Immigration into the United States

I decided to research the Guatemalan immigration to the United States, specifically to New York City because I can relate it to my parents. I want to explore the main factors that led to my parents’ decision to leave Guatemala and immigrate to New York. By having my parents’ individual personal experiences as a base and foundation of my paper, I can analyze and compare it to thousands of other illegal immigrants from Guatemala and from other countries that decided to take the same journey. Immigration today is a controversial topic in the United States, and my research helps illuminate or contextualize on the factors that force people to immigrate to the US, for example, escaping poverty or seeking refuge from military and government oppression. Also, I want to describe the struggle and dangers Central and South Americans experience attempting to traverse Mexico and cross the US border and the hardships they face once they arrive at their destination. Crossing the border is just one of the obstacles that physically challenge illegal immigrants, but it is not the end of their problems because they still have to deal with society’s exploitation, racial discrimination and maltreatment due to the lack of legal documents that provide human rights. I am aware that my parents’ experience was different from other people’s stories, but I also want to extend the topic to statistically provide an estimate of Guatemalan residents and other Hispanic/Latino groups in New York City. My parents decided to head towards New York City because they already had family members living there and the opportunity to have a “better, successful future for themselves and their family”1.

My parents were amongst the 230,000 Guatemalans immigrants who departed to the United States during the 1980’s, when a civil war was developing.2 The majority of the 230,000 people seeking refuge in the US were of indigenous descent that did not have an option to stay in

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1 Blanca Contreras. Personal Interview with author. 19 June 2006.
Guatemala because they were being harassed by the military and the Guatemalan government. My parents, on the other hand, were geographically on the southeastern side of the country, away from facing the harsh treatment of the Guatemalan government. My Mom’s decision to leave Guatemala was basically due to “the lack of work and poverty” that pressured her to leave her three children in the hands of her mother and sister. Before she decided to leave Guatemala, she used to live in a little village populated by only a thousand people and was forced to travel to Guatemala City to work. She worked for a middle-class family as a domestic but was not earning enough to economically maintain a happy family. In 1986, she decided that it was better to seek better opportunities, leaving me when I was two years old. My Dad, who left in 1980, when he was 17, decided to leave during that period because “of the criminal rate that existed in Guatemala City at that time, due to the deficiency of work and the poverty rate.” My parents came separately at different times and did not know each other when they lived in Guatemala but they both had family members already living in the US that provided economic assistance for the journey to the US.

Without the help of family members, it would be impossible for a person from Guatemala to save money to pay a ‘coyote’ to get that person illegally across the border. Guatemala is a third world country that does not provide any stable, well paying jobs, therefore “80 percent of the population lives below the poverty line, and 20 percent are unemployed or underemployed, opportunities for economic improvements are quite limited.” The need for economic improvement and the high poverty rate make it difficult for a person to pay for themselves to get

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3 Moltalvo.
4 Blanca
across the border, since an estimated “one million migrants a year pay an average $5000 to $10,000 each to be taken unlawfully across the border.”7

Smuggling and trafficking of illegal immigrants across the US border has been risky, but it is a growing commerce that is an “estimated $5 to $10 billion annual business”8 around the world. The coyotes, as they are called, specialize in transporting and guiding people illegally into the US, avoiding the Mexican or US border patrol and evading deportation back to their native countries. Most of the time many coyotes attempt to avoid border patrols by risking their followers lives, through dangerous routes, where the migrants can die from geographical terrain, heat or are threatened by human beings; “Those who make it as far as northern Mexico’s desert risk dehydration, exposure, hypothermia or abandonment by unscrupulous coyotes (immigrant traffickers.)”9 Illegal immigrants are better off with a coyote that they personally know or that can be trusted because people can be left back in the process of crossing the border if the coyote just wants their money. Coyotes may sometimes promise women great job opportunities once they get across the border, but these women can end up as prostitutes, slaves or in indentured conditions to repay smuggling fees.

The coyote’s experience and trust are the components needed when doing the business transactions to get people over into the United States. Many people risk their lives and personal belongings to get to their destination. Out of thousands of people who try to get into the United States safely, some individuals get into an accident or experience some sort of mistreatment by either the coyote or human predators. For instance, the United States deports 1.5 million people each year. Of the people attempting to cross the border, only 30,000 are from Central America. Perhaps only 60,000 made it without being harmed or facing harsh treatment during their journey.

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8 Martin.
9 Viscidi.
and made it safely into the United States. Crossing the narrow river that marks Mexico’s southern border has been the backdoor to the United States, but it is also a great danger for those people who do not know how to swim. According to the Mexican statistics “an overwhelming majority who cross via Mexico are from Guatemala, El Salvador and Honduras, and consular officials from those nations report even higher number of dead. They said more than 260 of their people had died along this border.” Also, according to the statistics, the numbers of people who are accidentally dying or being murdered are increasing, due to the new precarious ways of attempting to cross the border without being caught and deported.

An example of an incident where eighteen out of an estimated one hundred people lost their lives attempting to cross the border illegally occurred in Texas, in 2003. The people who unfortunately lost their lives were being transported in an insulated trailer truck in a hundred degree temperature, causing them to suffer from asphyxiation and heatstroke. Most of the people traveling in the truck were from Mexico, Guatemala and El Salvador estimated to be of ages from 19 to 45. The number of dead involved in this incident made it “the highest death toll ever from a suspected case of smuggling immigrants into the United States by truck. It is also among the largest losses of life in any immigrant smuggling incident.” According to Rogelio Nunez, director of Proyecto Libertad, a legal services organization for illegal immigrants in Harlingen, Texas: “this incident and others like it have come about because harsher US policies toward the border have made it more difficult for people to come across, increasing the risks they’re willing to take.” The person who was responsible for driving the truck was apprehended eventually

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11 Thompson.
13 Barboza and Romero.
after fleeing the scene after he had detached the cab from the trailer. Irresponsible people or “these ruthless criminals, who put profit before people, will be tracked down, apprehended and prosecuted to the fullest extent of the law.” Usually in the United States the law is strongly prepared to deal with criminals who are found responsible for smuggling human beings and sentenced with all the force of the law. Incidents that involve undocumented people dying occur daily in the borders between Mexico and the United States. In this incident, the lack of responsibility and the reason why eighteen people died was because the inhumanity of the coyotes. The death of these eighteen people would have never occurred if the coyotes were responsible enough to take care of these people.

Even though my mother did not take any dangerous risks that jeopardized her life when she was in the traveling through Mexico, she did experience a difficult and tiring traveling system. During her traveling experience in Mexico, she witnessed a lot of poverty and uneducated men who spent much of their time at the bars drinking liquor. She was a forced to get on a train that was packed with people filling every little spot on the car without space to sit down. The ride on the train was her most difficult because she suffered extreme swelling in her feet due to the lack of space to sit down for two straight days.

The other frequent dangers that undocumented people face are the murdering, maltreatment, and torturing by gang members: “immigration officials said that among the migrants killed along the border this year was Milton Garcia, 28, a Honduran who died from a machete blow into the head. And in May, officials found the body of a 48-year old Guatemalan named Jose Otilio Navarro that showed signs of torture.” Youth gangs like the Mara

\[14\] Barboza and Romero.
\[15\] Thompson.
Salvatrucha are the most responsible of incidents where undocumented people crossing Mexico are robbed, raped or murdered if they try to defend themselves.

Among the others who are responsible for the torturing and harsh treatment of people migrating through Mexico are those in authority who carry guns. Mexico’s president is aware of the abuses committed against Central and South American victims who are going through Mexico, but nothing is being done to better the situation. The Mexican President Fox stated in 2001, “Their journey north is a dangerous adventure that all too frequently ends in deaths and violence; I know well that during their passage through this country they are victims of uncountable abuses and humiliations committed by bad authorities.” My Mom can affiliate with victims of corrupted Mexican authorities when she was attempting to cross the border. My Mother still remembers that horrible experience when she was taking the journey towards New York City from Guatemala. She states, “My experience in Mexico was the worst one because we traveled by bus until we got to Guadalajara, where we took a train which was the experience of my life. The Mexican federal police stopped the train and asked for identification, and the ones who did not have identification were locked up in one of the cars of the train. One by one, we were asked to see the man in charge; he asked us for all the money and if we did not give him anything he threatened to deport us.” The police let her go because she gave every item of value to them. Most of the abuse and corruption that occurs in Mexico is by local gangs and uniformed men who use their authority and power to feed off immigrants that arrive in Mexico every year. According to a study conducted in an area nearby Chiapas “there were three groups—criminals (47.5 percent), the local public security police (15.2 percent), and migration

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16 Thomson.
17 Blanca.
agents (15.2 percent) — that accounted for most of the mistreatment of immigrants arriving in
Mexico from Central America.

My Dad also faced corruption when he was traveling through Tijuana, Mexico. The Mexican immigration detained his group and since they were only three, the agents just took their money and let them go. Even though my Dad confessed that he starved for a couple of days, he did not actually work there. He called his Dad who was already waiting for him and continued his journey. My Dad’s experience was easier than my Mom’s experience across the border, mostly because my Dad was traveling with a coyote that was a friend of the family who was responsible for only two people. My mother on the other hand traveled with a larger group, so it was harder for the coyote to watch after every single person.

The maltreatment of undocumented people does not end at the border, if they actually get through the border without being deported back to their native countries. For those people who actually get to their destination, the hardship of accommodating themselves and finding a job is the start of another journey since they have to deal socially with people and their treatments.

When my parents arrived in New York City in the mid 1980’s, their accommodation in the Big Apple was not as hard as other undocumented immigrants who travel without having family members and friends waiting for them to assist them. Those people, who travel illegally by themselves to New York, might be more vulnerable to experience exploitation, racism and mistreatment from people who are taking advantage of their situation.

My Dad and Mom did not know each other before they came to the United States; they randomly met through a friend of theirs at a small social event. But before then, they each

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worked themselves through rough times dealing with the language barrier and maltreatment due to discrimination at their workplace.

My dad arrived in New York City in 1980; his dad who was already living here for more than a decade welcomed him. His dad was the one responsible for paying about four thousand dollars to the coyote to get him across the border. Even with his dad already living in New York City, my dad still stated that his life in New York was not as easy as he had thought it would be: “for me, life in New York was very difficult. First of all, we used to live in a basement, it used to be uncomfortable. My dad used to drink a lot and I used to stay home because I was afraid of the immigration agents around. I didn’t know English and I didn’t have any money. Two months went by and I still was unemployed; four months went by and I still was unemployed.” Even if my dad had my grandfather by his side, it was still hard to get employment. It was not until my dad met “a friend who told me that where he worked they were hiring and needed a person. The next day I went with him and thank God that I got the job.” My dad was employed at a recycling metal company; the company used to buy the scraps of metal from other companies and then they would process and organize it into different kind of metals, copper, brass, aluminum, stainless steel, iron and other classes of metals to be sold to other companies.

One of the problems that my dad experienced when he first started working in the recycling metal company was racial discrimination. According to him “I experienced more than anything else discrimination at work because there was this white American whose parents were German who did not like me much because I was Latino. But that did not make me stop working because I kept looking forward, I learned English and I learned to work all the heavy and dangerous machinery that we worked with and thankfully nothing ever happened to me. After

\[19\text{ Caril.}\]
\[20\text{ Caril.}\]
twenty three years of service, working in the cold and the heat because we used to always work outside, I successfully received the manager position of the company and was respected by my co-workers." My dad quit the job ten years after he received the manager position because he could no longer deal with working in the cold, the summer heat and the job is not as easy as it used to be. He quit his job in 2002, when he had already obtained US citizenship and had become a fluent English speaker.

My mother, on the other hand, went through an easier transition upon her arrival in New York City. She already had two brothers waiting for her; she stated: “when I arrived here, it was not easy but at the same time it was not difficult. I was already accustomed to work and I started working as domestic house maintenance in a family where I was lucky enough to have the wife of the doctor whom I worked for that spoke Spanish. That is how I started helping my family back home and legally brought my children to this country.” Now my mother has gained US citizenship with the help of weekend classes that she attended to overcome the language barrier.

These are only two stories of two people who successfully survived the journey to New York City from Guatemala and with strong will and dedication were able to deal with discrimination and language barriers that confronted them. In my parents’ cases and some other cases, networking between people already living in the States is more beneficial than not having any family members waiting, because then every single move has to be dealt with individually without economic and social assistance. Networking between family members and friends is the key source for having family or known friends immigrate into the United States. As mentioned before, Guatemala falls way below the poverty line, therefore it is certainly impossible to pay a fee for a coyote to help cross through Mexico and the US border. As one of thousands of Mayan

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21 Caril.
22 Blanca.
immigrants’ states in an interview, “first my relatives came and then my friends came and then the relatives of my friends and then the friends of my friend’s relatives came… Self help networks are a classic feature of immigrant communities; Sometimes a group of eight or ten would arrive, he called, and those of us here already would divided them up among ourselves and we would accommodate them for three or four months until they had found work and saved enough money to make a deposit on an apartment of their own and then we go to the building manager and say we need another place.”23

As people start moving from one place to another in large numbers, groups of immigrants start gathering into a neighborhood or neighborhoods all over the country and there is a clear momentum of people coming in. According to research by the Pew Hispanic Center the Big Apple “has the most New Latinos (close to 1.4, up from 800,000 in 1990). Puerto Ricans were once the predominant source of Hispanic immigration. Now they account for barely more than a third of the state’s Hispanics, and they are outnumbered by New Latinos.”24 Certain groups from specific South or Central American countries have come to represent certain cities, and the numbers of those New Latinos, like from the Dominican Republic are growing. About three quarters of the New Latinos are located in just five states: New York, Florida, California, New Jersey, and Texas.25

Even though New York City is known to be one of the cities populated with an immense number of people of Hispanic descent, Guatemalans residents do not have a big representation. Out of nearly three million Hispanics living in New York State in 2000, Guatemalans only have

25 Suro.
a population of nearly twenty-two thousand in the Metropolitan area. The most represented Hispanic groups that live in New York since 2000 have been from the Dominican Republic, Mexico, Ecuador and Colombia. These four and other smaller Hispanic groups cover the entire region surrounding New York City- including the Nassau-Suffolk, Newark, Jersey City, Bergen-Passaic, and Middlesex-Somerset-Hunterdon metro areas- where most of the New Latinos are situating. The New York area alone has over 1.1 million, and the surrounding and largely suburban metro areas add another half million. Central Americans are more than half of the New Latinos in suburban Long Island.

With nearly 35.3 million Hispanics living in the United States, the majority of them working without documents, there are certain disadvantages that they encounter. Lacking official legalized status, “undocumented workers have no legal rights and thus no defense against exploitation in the workforce.” They are commonly paid low wages for the labor that they perform since they do not have many rights to safety nets or public services that legal immigrants and US citizens obtain. In addition, undocumented people do not have the access to welfare, healthcare or insurance to assist them in case they suffer a medical condition, economic struggle and most of the time they are scared to go to the hospital because they are asked for their social security number.

Illegal immigrants are under an immense pressure to work and live with what they earn without having rights to protect them. Even though immigrants do not earn much annually they still have money or remittances to send to their families in their native countries. In 2000,

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26 Suro.
27 Camarota and McArdle
28 Suro.
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Guatemalans who lived in the United States had mean earnings of $9,204 annually.\textsuperscript{30} Sending remittances back to their families has become a monthly process that undocumented people have made priority and has become an important source of currency in Central America. With the low annual earnings they still have the money to pay for their bills and their rent. According to a Mexican immigrant living in New York, “before anything, I send them the money because they count on it. Then afterwards I pay my bills, my rent, but the first thing I do is send it.”\textsuperscript{31} With more people illegally coming across the border into the United States annually, central and South Americans are expected to send a record thirty billion dollars annually to their families for their subsistence in their developing countries.\textsuperscript{32}

Both my parents send money to my Grandmother, aunts, cousins and friends monthly, but we are not the only ones sending them money, I have three other uncles who work in the New York Metro area that send them cash through money orders. And this is the main purpose of networking, having family members in the United States, because the more people work in the US, the better family members are in our original native country.

I am gladly writing my parent’s personal experience and I’m learning from it that they suffered during the process of coming to New York, but they were both doing it for the best of the family and for the best for me and my siblings. I respect them and I’m proud of what they have accomplished because if it were not for them, I probably never would have been legally brought to the US. And, I would have never received the opportunity to go to a private school in Brooklyn, nor attended a well-known college like St. Lawrence University. But, these are the general dreams that every person attempting to come to the United States is seeking; living in a place that provides a future and economic opportunities for everybody that lives in it. That was

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\textsuperscript{30} Suro \\
\textsuperscript{31} Roberto Suro. “Billions in Motion.” Pew Hispanic Center, 2002. \\
\textsuperscript{32} Viscidi
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the dream for those people who unfortunately passed away trying to see for themselves the opportunities that the US provides and their native countries lack. But, as harsher restrictions and US policies become stricter at the border making it harder for people to come across, individuals will still take greater risks to reach their goals and their destination. And the cycle of networking and getting family members and friends into the United States will always continue.
Bibliography


During United States history, there have been changes in both the course of medicine and those who have been able to train and practice medicine as doctors. In the early years, there was no set standard for those training to become doctors, nor were there any licensure procedures. Throughout this time, women had always been healers but had not always had the privileges afforded to men. It was not until 1849 that the United States produced its first female physician, Dr. Elizabeth Blackwell. The road women traveled to become physicians was not easy for them, but they persevered to gain a recognized position within the medical community. While women have gained the right to be called doctors, they are still not equal in medical society today. This research involves a short look into medical history, the lives of five influential women physicians, and reviews the position female physicians have today in the medical community.
Introduction

Throughout United States history, the course of medicine has changed, and along with that, who has been able to practice medicine. Women have always been influential healers, but they have not always had the privileges that men have had. Between cultural norms and male physicians, women were discouraged and barred from entering medical training in the latter part of the 1800s. In the 20th century however, women’s roles began to change with the movement from the Victorian Era, with strict gender roles, to less strict gender roles. In 1880, there were less than 30 women among every 1,000 physicians in the United States, but by 1910 there were about 60 women physicians out of every 1,000 physicians (Campbell and McCammon, 2005).

Throughout the 19th century, United States medical education was given by means of three different systems: an apprenticeship system whereby students received hands-on training from a local practitioner, a proprietary school system whereby students attended lectures from physicians who owned the college, or from a university system whereby students received a combination of clinical and lecture training (Beck, 2004). Elizabeth Blackwell was the first woman to gain the right to be called doctor in 1849 and since then more and more women have applied to medical school (Scrivener and Barnes, 2002). Today women make up approximately half of those medical students applying to American medical schools and residency status has also increased from 22% in 1980 to 36% in 1998. While women have overcome the barriers to enter medical school, there are still obstacles that women face in the workplace such as lower income for the same work and sexual harassment from fellow co-workers (Burrow and Burgess, 2001).
Short History of Medicine

I. Power and Authority

Doctors in the past did not always hold a position of power and authority. They had less influence, prestige and income than doctors of today. Authority in this sense stands for the possession of a status, quality of claim that compels the trust of obedience as well as the “probability that particular definitions of reality and judgments of meaning and value will prevail as valid and true,” according to Paul Starr (Starr, 1982). There are two types of authority, social and cultural. Social authority involves control of action through the giving of commands. Cultural authority involves the creation of reality through the definitions of fact and value. An example of social authority is the authority that physicians have over nurses, technicians, and other subordinates. An example of cultural authority is the power that the physician exhibits over patients that makes them believe that anything the physician says is correct. Toward the end of the nineteenth century, there was a change in social structure and scientific advance as the profession began to gain unification and power (Starr, 1982).

II. New Practitioners

Many people in the United States took up medicine in the colonies and with it, the title doctor. It was common in the seventeenth and eighteenth century for the clergy to combine medical and religious services for their congregation. Individuals served as healers regardless of rank and gender. Being a doctor in history meant a small financial return for long hours (Starr, 1982).

As service demand grew, so did the number of doctors. The social position of doctors was insecure and ambiguous. Where a doctor stood depended on his family background and the status of his parents as well as the nature of his occupation. The social distance that doctors kept
with patients increased in the early 1900s and the distance that fellow colleagues had with each other became less. In the first decades of the twentieth century, the medical profession gained prestige (Starr, 1982).

**III. Income**

Medicine rarely offered the path to wealth. In history, physicians were paid by case. There were some doctors that were paid per annum and provided all the care to a family, plantation, or members of an indigent community. It was not favorable for doctors to practice the latter system of payment because their services were normally taken advantage of. Much of the care given by doctors was provided on the basis of credit. While doctors tried to collect their payment every quarter or every year, they lost much of it through unpaid bills. This was a source of irritation to doctors, but they could not afford to not abide by this system. In other cases, doctors were forced to work more than one job. Doctors could be seen doing midwifery and pharmacy as well as farming to be able to afford a living. Around 1900, an average salary for a doctor ranged from $750 to $1,500. The amounts doubled between 1900 and 1928 to $1,500 and $3,000 (Starr, 1982).

**IV. Medical School**

In defining the medical profession, three lines were drawn: graduates versus nongraduates of medical school, members versus nonmembers of medical societies, and licensed versus unlicensed practitioners (Starr, 1982).

In the early days, young men were taken in under the care of successful practitioners to serve as an apprentice, read their medical books, and take care of household chores. In return for their services, the assistants were fed, clothed, and were presented with a certificate of
proficiency at the end of their term. However, there were no set expectations, or standards, and the apprentice was only as good as their mentor (Starr, 1982).

In the nineteenth century, a physician did not necessarily have to go to medical school in order to practice medicine. If he did decide to go, there was no set time length for their attendance. Today, in order to become a doctor, one must complete four years of an undergraduate education, four years of medical school, and four years of supervised hospital training. Also, a student must complete standardized national tests to qualify as a specialist (Starr, 1982).

V. Licensing

New York City was the first city to pass the first law in 1760 on examining and licensing doctors and the placing of a fine on those that were unlicensed. Those individuals that were already practicing were exempt from the law. Though licensing proved to be ineffective, licensure persisted and it is because of this that medical schools multiplied. Those doctors that received a license were able to use that as an official certification unlike those that did not have one and used a preceptor’s letter of commendation. A major landmark within history was a law by Illinois, passed in 1877, that “empowered medical examiners to reject diplomas from disreputable schools.” Under this law, all doctors had to register with the state with degrees approved from licensing schools, others had to be examined. Despite these new laws, individuals still passed into the medical field though they still may have been unqualified (Starr, 1982).

VI. Flexner Report

In 1908, the Carnegie foundation asked Abraham Flexner to examine the medical schools within the United States and Canada. His results were published and became known as the Flexner Report. The report created a
revolution, reconstructed medical education, and made science, medicine, and supervised clinical training part of the curriculum. From the inception of the first medical school to 1907, there had been 457 medical schools, only 155 had survived in 1907. Of these 155, all were private and were designed to make money. Before the Flexner Report there was no real application process to get into the school, rather any student that could pay to go there was granted acceptance into the school. Few of the medical schools had hospitals or clinics attached for student involvement (Parker, 2000).

When Flexner visited the 155 medical schools he was looking at 6 requirements:

1) entrance requirements
2) faculty size
3) finance
4) laboratories and equipment
5) the library
6) access to hospital bed patients (Parker, 2000)

Among the recommendations in his report, Flexner stated his recommendation for closing all 3 of the women’s medical colleges. Included in his recommendations was to decrease the number of medical schools from 155 to 31 in the United States. His reasoning in this was that most of the schools did not meet the proposed standards and therefore were not producing high-quality doctors (Boelen, 2002).

Abraham Flexner died at 92 on September 21, 1959 (Parker, 2000).

VII. Healthcare Systems

In history there was also a shift from the household to the market in respect to the care of the sick. In history, the term “health care system” did not equal what it is today. Today the health
care system is made up of hospitals, medical centers, public health agencies, health insurance and pharmaceutical companies. In 1870, there were only a few hundred hospitals and once the hospitals began to grow, physicians were allowed to maintain their independence in them, but they were left out of the organizational structure of hospitals that increased the cost of their patient care (Starr, 1982).

Today, the economy is dominated by large corporations and most professionals that practice today receive their income and self-regard from where they went to school and where they work (Starr, 1982).

**VIII. American Medical Association**

The American Medical Association (AMA) was founded in 1847 and today has more than 297,000 members. The AMA is responsible today for informing their members of medical and health legislation, on both the state and national levels, before Congress and other governmental agencies. The AMA also offers a physician placement program and counseling on practice management problems. The AMA has a library that lends materials and provides specific medical information to physicians (“American Medical Association”, 2005).

In order to understand the role of the AMA and how it came to be, its definitions and structure should be discussed. The AMA considers its major functions to include: representation of the profession, providing scientific and socioeconomic information, data on the profession, and the maintenance of education standards. The AMA is comprised of three identifiable seats of power: The House of Delegates, the 15-member Board of Trustees, and the AMA administrative staff. The responsibilities of the House of Delegates is to meet twice a year to debate and determine broad policy matters, set the dues amount, and to elect the officers. The Board of Trustees is elected by the House of Delegates and they meet five to six times a year. The
Trustees work closely with the AMA staff and have fiscal responsibilities and the authority to make policy decisions between the two meetings a year that the House of Delegates have. The AMA administrative staff wields their power through the chief executive officer and the vice president, but their real power comes from the members of the AMA (Campion, 1984).

Physicians go out of their way to become members of the American Medical Association. First the prospective member is introduced by colleagues to the county medical society. From there the prospective is proposed for membership by the current members and put through a background check and examination of their academic and credential records. If everything comes out positive then the member is elected in. After a physician is elected in, they must attend one or two orientation sessions to learn the codes of behavior that have been adopted by the county society. These codes include: what is expected in terms of keeping abreast of medical advances and a member’s obligation to contribute part of his or her time to the various community medical programs undertaken by the county society (Campion, 1984).

The American Medical Association has made a tremendous difference in medical education. Around 1900, only a few medical schools required any previous college attendance let alone completion of high school. Changes began to take place in 1905 with the first considerations of minimal requirements prior to entering medical school. In 1907, the council comprised a ten-point standard for medical school inspection. It included the call of examination of: laboratory facilities and instruction, dispensary facilities and instruction, and hospital facilities and instruction. In 1909, a committee of 100 physicians, appointed by the council, drew up a 4100-hour medical school curriculum. By the 1940s, nearly all medical schools required the completion of three years of college prior to entry. By the end of the 1950s, a three-tiered system was in place for graduate medical education that paralleled the undergraduate medical education.
There were qualifications for entry: the MD degree and the completion of an internship. The Residency Review Committees set standards for educational programs and surveillance to monitor them. Lastly, the specialty board examination which consisted of an independent evaluation of the end product (Campion, 1984).

IX. Sectarianism

Sectarianism means of, relating to, or characteristic of a sect (Sectarianism, 2006). In the context of talking about the medical world, sectarianism takes on a special meaning. According to Paul Starr, it is “a dissident group that sets itself apart from an established institution such as a church or a profession; its members often see themselves as neglected and scorned apostles of truth.” In later years, sectarianism intensified because of the openness of American society as well as the way American society was closed. It was the cliquishness of medical politics that encouraged those excluded practitioners to make movements that would improve their position (Starr, 1982). Sectarians and health reformers were groups that welcomed women into their schools and societies where others would not. Sectarians were able to establish their own professional institutions and so there was an ease of access to a medical degree for those that attended these institutions. It was through these institutions that women were able to achieve a professional status (Abram, 1985).

Women Physicians in History

In the 1840s, the first women gained medical training in America at the New England Medical College, which was founded in 1848 in Boston. It was in the second half of the nineteenth century that seventeen medical colleges for women were founded in the United States (Starr, 1982). Once women were accepted in the medical community, medicine was only second
to teaching as a profession. Women in medicine seemed to be motivated less by a desire to liberate their sisters from men than the determination to surpass male colleagues in bringing medical science into the home (Morantz-Sanchez and Markell, 1985). Most women physicians refused to consult with sectarians by the last part of the nineteenth century. By the end of the nineteenth century, over 7,000 women were physicians including white Protestants, Blacks, Jews, and members of immigrant groups (Abram, 1985).

Those that oppose women physicians praised their ability to serve as nurses, but rejected that they had competence in medicine. Women in the nineteenth century finally secured a place in medicine by creating a professional role that seemed to bridge the gap between public and private lives. It was these women that helped to play a role in the health and hygiene movement (Abram, 1985).

I. Female Medical College of Pennsylvania

In 1850, the Female Medical College of Pennsylvania was chartered and opened. The college was first established by Quaker businessmen, clergy, and physicians. Later the establishment became the Woman’s Medical College of Pennsylvania in 1867 (Papadakis, 2006). The name finally changed to the Medical College of Pennsylvania in 1970 when the college began to accept male medical students (“Medical College of Pennsylvania”, 2005).

The school merged in 1993 with Hahnemann University to become the MCP Hahnemann School of Medicine of Allegheny University of the Health Sciences. In 1998, it was acquired by Tenet Healthcare Corp. and became MCP Hahnemann University. It was in 2002 that Drexel University took over operation of the school, changing the name to the Drexel College of Medicine (“Medical College of Pennsylvania”, 2005).
II. Elizabeth Blackwell

Elizabeth Blackwell was one of nine surviving children, born on February 3, 1821 to Samuel and Hannah Blackwell in Counterslip, England. The Blackwells immigrated to New York in 1832 and later to New Jersey in 1835. After settling in Cincinnati, Ohio in 1838, Samuel Blackwell died and the family had to support themselves. Hannah and her daughters opened a boarding school that operated until 1842 (Scrivener and Barnes, 2002).

Blackwell traveled to Henderson, Kentucky in 1844 to become the head of a girls’ school. It was not long after that Elizabeth became bored with teaching and with life in Kentucky with the slaveholders. She returned to Cincinnati and decided to become a doctor after a dying friend encouraged her to do so. From 1845 to 1847, Blackwell studied medicine in private from physicians. Blackwell was determined to become the first woman surgeon and moved to Philadelphia to apply to colleges. It was not until 1847 that Blackwell was admitted into medical school at Geneva Medical College in western New York. The faculty at Geneva was opposed to letting Blackwell in, so they left the vote to the students and to the faculty’s surprise, the students voted unanimously to allow Blackwell into the college (Scrivener and Barnes, 2002).

Blackwell did not have an easy time in school or out. The townspeople saw her as insane or evil and would gather in their groups to stare at her. Finally, in 1849, Blackwell received her degree along with the highest scores on her final examinations. After graduating, Blackwell traveled to Paris for training as a midwife at La Maternité. It was there that as Blackwell was caring for an infant with purulent ophthalmia, a contagious eye disease, that she contracted it and lost eyesight in one eye and limited sight in the other. Her dreams of becoming the first woman surgeon were at an end; however she still continued to practice medicine (Scrivener and Barnes, 2002).
In 1851, Blackwell returned to New York and in 1853 she opened up a one-room dispensary. In 1857, her sister, Dr. Emily Blackwell, and Dr. Marie Zakrzewska joined her and the dispensary was soon expanded to the New York Infirmary for Women and Children, the first hospital run by women. In 1867, Rebecca Cole joined the team as the sanitary visitor, traveling to families to give advice on proper hygiene (Scrivener and Barnes, 2002).

In 1858, Blackwell returned to England to give lectures and the following year was entered into the Medical Register of the United Kingdom as the first recognized woman physician in England. In 1859, Elizabeth returned home to New York to add a women’s medical school on to the New York Infirmary. The Civil War disrupted these plans, but not long after the end of the war Blackwell refocused on opening the women’s medical school. In 1868, the New York Infirmary became the Woman’s Medical College of the New York Infirmary. It was the first medical college to require entrance examinations prior to admission. The school was unlike any other medical school in that it had longer terms, opportunities for clinical experience, and an examining board that included physicians of the most prestige in the state, also, a required course in hygiene of which Blackwell held the chair. The college stayed opened until 1899 when Cornell University Medical School started to accept women (Scrivener and Barnes, 2002).

Elizabeth Blackwell left the college and infirmary in the hands of her sister Emily while she returned to England in 1869 to give more lectures. While there, Elizabeth established a practice in London and formed the National Health Society in 1871. She was accepted as the Chair of Gynecology at New Hospital and London School of Medicine for Women in 1875, but had to retire after one year due to declining health. In 1907, after a fall down a staircase, Blackwell never fully recovered her strength and died on May 31, 1910 in Argyllshire, Scotland (Scrivener and Barnes, 2002).
III. Emily Blackwell

Emily Blackwell was born on October 8, 1826, to Samuel and Hannah Blackwell, in Bristol, England. It was in 1848 that Emily decided to concentrate on a career in medicine. After being rejected by 11 schools, including Geneva Medical College where her sister went, she was finally accepted in 1852 to Rush Medical College in Chicago. She was only able to study there for one year because the Medical Society of Illinois censured the school for their admittance of a woman. Emily worked during the summer with Elizabeth at the dispensary and was accepted in the fall to Western Reserve University in Cleveland where she graduated in 1854 with honors. Emily also traveled to Europe to pursue a clinical education of which she received from Dr. James Young Simpson (Scrivener and Barnes, 2002).

In 1856, Emily returned to New York to work with her sister at the dispensary which became the New York Infirmary for Women and Children in 1857. Emily’s main responsibility was the management for the infirmary, overseeing surgery, nursing, and the bookkeeping. The hospital ended up having to move twice, once in 1869 and another time in 1874. They treated 3,680 patients in 1860 compared to the 7,549 patients in 1876. After Elizabeth returned to England, Emily was in charge of the infirmary and the college. For thirty years, Emily served as the dean and the professor of obstetrics and diseases of women. In 1899, Emily closed the Woman’s Medical College and transferred her students to Cornell University Medical College. Emily continued to work with the infirmary until she retired in 1900 (Scrivener and Barnes, 2002).

After retiring, Emily spent time with her adopted daughter, Anna, and Dr. Elizabeth Cushier in York Cliffs, Maine. Emily Blackwell died on September 7, 1910 from enterocolitis only three months after Elizabeth died (Scrivener and Barnes, 2002).
IV. Alice Hamilton

Alice Hamilton was born on February 17, 1869 in New York City to Montgomery and Gertrude Hamilton. Alice was the second of five children and was raised in Fort Wayne, Indiana. Alice received her formal education at Miss Porter’s School in Farmington, Connecticut from 1886 to 1888. It was in 1888 that Mr. Hamilton’s business ventures began to fail and Alice realized she would have to support herself. Alice settled her mind to studying medicine since she could go anywhere and would be needed (Scrivener and Barnes, 2002).

Alice entered the University of Michigan in Ann Arbor in 1892, after preparatory courses at Fort Wayne College of Medicine, and graduated in 1893. Hamilton went on to intern at Northwestern Hospital of Women in Children in Minneapolis, in 1893, and the New England Hospital for Women and Children in Boston from 1893 to 1894 (Scrivener and Barnes, 2002).

In 1897, Hamilton became an instructor of pathology at the Woman’s Medical School of Northwestern University in Chicago. After Northwestern closed, Alice became a scientist at the Memorial Institute for Infectious Diseases in Chicago where she identified the source of a typhoid epidemic (Scrivener and Barnes, 2002).

Hamilton became the first female professor at Harvard Medical School in 1919. However, Hamilton was denied membership into the Harvard Club, denied participation rights in commencement exercises, and not allowed football tickets. Hamilton published the first American textbook on industrial medicine in 1924. In 1935, Hamilton was asked to retire without ever having been promoted. Alice Hamilton died in Hadlyme, Connecticut on September 22, 1970 after a series of strokes (Scrivener and Barnes, 2002).
V. Rebecca Crumpler

Rebecca Lee Crumpler was born on February 8, 1831 to Absolum Davis and Matilda Webber in Delaware, although Crumpler was raised by her aunt in Pennsylvania (Scrivener and Barnes, 2002). In 1852, Crumpler moved to Charlestown, Massachusetts and worked as a nurse until she was accepted in the New England Female Medical College in 1860. Upon her graduation, in 1864, she was the first African American woman, in the United States, to earn a doctor’s degree as well as the only African American woman to graduate from New England Female Medical College (“Dr. Rebecca Lee Crumpler”, 1993).

Crumpler practiced in Boston before moving to Richmond, Virginia after 1865. While in Virginia, Crumpler set to work with other black physicians, to provide care for freed slaves that did not have access to medical care; she worked with the Freedmen’s Bureau, and local missionary and community groups. Crumpler also married Arthur Crumpler around the time that she moved to Virginia. By 1869, Crumpler was back in Boston to Joy Street on Beacon Hill. In 1880 she moved to Hyde Park, Massachusetts where she died on March 9, 1895 (“Dr. Rebecca Lee Crumpler”, 1993).

VI. Rebecca Cole

Rebecca J. Cole was born, the second of five children, on March 16, 1846 in Philadelphia, Pennsylvania. Cole graduated in 1863 from the Institute for Colored Youth in Philadelphia and enrolled in the Woman’s Medical College of Pennsylvania the following year. She graduated from there in 1867 becoming the first black woman to receive a medical degree from that institution (Smith, 1992).

Upon graduating, Cole moved to New York City where she worked in the New York Infirmary for Women and Children, run by Elizabeth Blackwell, and was appointed resident
physician. Cole was also given the role of sanitary visitor later on. The role of the sanitary visitor was to give simple and practical instructions on the management of infants and preservation of family health to poor mothers (Scrivener and Barnes, 2002).

Cole finally left New York and went back to Philadelphia to establish her own private practice. She maintained her support for public health education programs in the area in order to help improve living conditions for others (Scrivener and Barnes, 2002). After practicing medicine for over fifty years, Cole died on August 14, 1922 in Philadelphia, Pennsylvania (Smith, 1992).

V. Summary

In the end, women overcame the restrictions placed on them by society to become women doctors. Each of these women were chosen because they were the firsts among their fellow colleagues to reach new heights that women before them were unable to reach. Elizabeth Blackwell overcame the obstacle to become the first woman doctor. Her sister, Emily Blackwell, was the Dean of the Woman’s Medical College in New York City which was the first school to require entrance examinations. Alice Hamilton was the first woman to become a professor at Harvard Medical School. Rebecca Lee Crumpler and Rebecca Cole were among the first two African American women doctors.

Women Physicians Today

Even today, women have been taught that most of the professional jobs in society today are men’s jobs and that it is not possible for a woman to have the same position that men do. Part of that reasoning is the choice that women have been presented with of having to choose a family over their career, but who says that a woman has to choose (Campbell and McCammon, 2005)? Why are men not confronted with the same decision?
Today, women represent approximately half of the students entering American medical schools. The residency status of women has increased to 36% in 1997 from 22% in 1980 (Burrow and Burgess, 2001).

I. Residency Programs

Over the past several decades, the number of women involved in medical school and residency programs has increased. In 2004, 50% of matriculated medical students were women and were also 25% of practicing physicians. Women physicians today have more qualities than men regarding communication skills. Women physicians are more likely to have their patients help make treatment decisions and options and they are sensitive to patient’s medical and emotional concerns, however, this does not show increased patient satisfaction (Levinson and Lurie, 2004).

There are approximately two-thirds of women medical residents involved in pediatric and obstetrical, 7.1% are involved in orthopedics and urology, and only 5% in thoracic surgery (Burrow and Burgess, 2001). Women are overrepresented in pediatrics and psychology, but underrepresented among surgical specialties. It is projected that by 2010, there will be an increase in the number of women practicing at an older age and the number of women involved in radiology. Within their study it also shows that there has been a steady increase of practitioners since 1970 with pediatrics remaining as the leading field for women (Kletke, Marder, Silberger, 1990).

II. Income

The Women’s Physicians Congress conducted a study in 1997 that examined the average salary for female and male physicians. They discovered that female doctors earned an average salary of $120,000 compared to the average male physician’s salary of $175,000 with the
difference being 31.4%. Specialists also earn more money than primary care physicians. In 1991, it was seen that female physician’s income was 27% less in family practice, 29% less in internal medicine, and 34% less in pediatrics (Dev, 2005).

There are many arguments surrounding the reason why male physicians earn more than female physicians. One is that men are more apt to work in high-risk situations, such as surgery, and women are more apt to work in people-oriented specialties. Another reason may be the differences among the workload that male and female physicians undertake. Women usually have more household responsibilities therefore allowing them to work fewer hours during the week than their male counterparts. On average, female physicians worked 54.3 hours and male physicians worked an average of 59.8 hours (Dev, 2005).

**III. Problems**

Women physicians are more likely to work fewer hours and take time off for child rearing, tend to work longer and retire later in their life than their male counterparts, and prefer to practice in urban versus rural settings (Levinson and Lurie, 2004). In a study by Kletke, Marder, and Silberger, it showed that male physicians worked more hours a week peaking at age 37 and at age 43 for female physicians. Within their study, the only specialty where women worked, on average, more hours than men was in emergency medicine (Kletke, Marder, Silberger, 1990).

To help alleviate the pressure of women having to take time off, the government passed the Family and Medical Leave Act of 1993 that allows 12 weeks of unpaid leave, but it only applies to those businesses with more than 50 employees, 62% of workers, 24% of those that earn less than $30,000 a year, are eligible. This act was suppose to be a relief for those mothers needing to take time off after the birth of a new baby, but instead, according to a 2000 survey
conducted by the Department of Labor, 78% of those eligible for this have stated that they could not afford to have maternity leave with no pay (Kingsbury, 2006).

Women are underrepresented within leadership positions of academic medicine, practice settings, and professional medical organizations within the United States. Most of this stems from the fact that while women are qualified for these positions they tend to not apply because of the competitiveness. There may be downfalls to more women taking on leadership roles based on: women command lower salaries than men and women are less aggressive negotiators with business matters than men (Levinson and Lurie, 2004). In 1991, 31.5% of male professors were at full professor while only 9.6% of female professors were full professors (Dev, 2005).

Another problem that faces women in the workplace is the act of sexual harassment from male co-workers. Women physicians are 2 ½ times more likely to receive gender-based discrimination than male physicians within an academic environment. Reports of sexual harassment and discrimination are highest in surgery and obstetrics/gynecology while pediatrics, psychiatry, and family medicine have the lowest rates (Heru, 2005).

IV. Dr. Francis Conley

One woman physician today that has faced sexual harassment and resigned because of it is Dr. Frances K. Conley. Dr. Conley entered medical school in September 1961, being one of twelve women. After five years of medical training, nine of the twelve women graduated and headed their separate ways. Conley was offered a rotating internship position in the Stanford University Hospital in the surgical ward. The internship finally gave way to a chance to become a resident physician. It was in 1973 that Gerry Silverberg was asked to join the faculty to help alleviate the increasing clinical load. In 1975, Dr. Conley was asked to join the faculty to cover the VA Hospital in Palo Alto. It was there that Conley became the chief of the
section of Neurosurgery. Dr. Conley also became an assistant professor as Stanford University (Conley, 1998).

It was shortly after Conley joined the medical staff that the Dean of Students came to her for help with a student. It seems that the student had become the center of sexual harassment from the male surgeons at Stanford. The student was hoping to find an ally in Dr. Conley, but all Conley could say was to become tough or she wasn’t going to make it through. Dr. Conley had learned, through the daily lunches with the male surgeons, to go along with their sexual tendencies and listen to their dirty jokes. It seems that Conley had become one of the boys by working with them, but it also seems that she had to become one of the boys to keep her place there. In 1982, when Dr. Conley’s tenure review came about, Conley and her husband decided that they would not be having children of their own, but instead, “adopt” students that were attending Stanford. They provided psychological and financial help to those that they “adopted” from different programs (Conley, 1998).

During Dr. Conley’s sabbatical in 1985-1986, she decided to enroll in Stanford’s business school deeming that a business degree would help her if she ended up in an administrative position. A professor there, involved in the class on power, soon became a frequent visitor to her surgical suites at the VA Hospital, completing an analysis on stereotypical gender differences. His conclusions were that male surgeons were top-down, dictatorial managers who used their anger to obtain obedience, while female physicians used a consensual management style where anger was rare and everyone worked as a team. Upon returning from sabbatical, Conley requested that the paperwork be filed for her to become a full professor of which she was granted (Conley, 1998).
In the late 1980s, Gerry Silverberg uncovered the administrative assistant misappropriating funds from the department. Dr. Hanbery, the current chair of the department, stood by his assistant through this time and Silverberg then began to accuse Dr. Hanbery of having a hand in the missing funds. It was only a matter of time before Silverberg was granted the position of acting chair of the department because Dr. Hanbery resigned. After Dr. Hanbery left, a number of personnel followed because of the womanizer that Dr. Silverberg was. Silverberg not only criticized those physicians on his own faculty, but those physicians from other departments. Conley was told, in a national meeting of neurosurgeons in 1990, that Gerry Silverberg was trying to hide Dr. Conley because she was more visible than he was because of her accomplishments. Nothing would be able to save Dr. Conley’s position as a tenured full professor if Dr. Silverberg became chair, or even acting chair, of the surgical department because he would hold the power to limit or destroy any member of the department (Conley, 1998).

It was in March 1991 that the search committee came together to start their search for a department chair. Dr. Silverberg’s dream of being automatically promoted from acting chair to permanent chair started to slip away. Dr. Conley was questioned on a number of aspects of the program and who she thought would make a good department chair and whether Gerry Silverberg had what it took to run the department. As she was leaving she said to them, “…if he’s the best you can do, I'll resign and leave Stanford.” On the evening of May 22, 1991, while visiting a patient in the hospital, Dr. Conley received the news that because of the financial situation with the school the committee was stopping the national search for a new department chair and appointing Dr. Silverberg to the position. Her answer to this news was a resignation letter that would be on his desk in the morning noting her resignation to be effective on September 1, 1991 (Conley, 1998).
In 1991, sexual harassment was considered part of the medical world and rarely discussed. In the years since Conley returned from her sabbatical, she had heard of numerous reports of sexual harassment against Dr. Gerry Silverberg. The harassment ranged from verbal sexual comments to being physically blocked up against a wall to even being physically touched the wrong way. At a Medical Faculty Senate meeting, an overflowing amount of people were present. The meeting was open for those there to present their comments on the situation happening without names or departments being mentioned. Most of the stories that day came from female students that were experiencing sexism within their classrooms. When the male students were asked why they were present, their comment was, “…..because we don’t like what’s happening to our female classmates.” One male commented on how his girlfriend was harassed by the chief resident, but she was powerless to do anything because the residency she wanted depended upon his evaluation. It was at this Senate meeting that Dr. Conley came to realize that she was still a victim of sexual harassment and that the field she worked in was a target for gender discrimination. She concluded that her professional career had progressed because she was willing to accept the harassment thrown at her from male colleagues instead of questioning it and standing up to them. Then the risk of alienation, dismissal or promotion had stood in her way and so she accepted what was said to her and continued on in her profession (Conley, 1998).

Dr. Conley decided that a silent exit from Stanford was not exactly the way that she wanted to go. She met with Marlys Labelle in the Stanford Communications Department on the possibility of publishing an opinion piece. Conley sent the letter to local area newspapers announcing her resignation and the sexism that is still present within the medical community. Within the piece, she used the results that her business professor had concluded in the operating
room between men and women surgeons. Within two weeks of mailing the opinion piece, Dr. Conley’s story was featured on the front-page of the *Chronicle*. Michael McCabe had written a short, but sensational piece on sexual harassment throughout the years. One quote, from a friend of Frances Conley, sums up things nicely regarding harassment and the medical community. Dr. Margaret Billingham stated, “When a woman becomes a senior member of faculty, particularly in surgery, men perceive her as a threat. It’s like women in the Army. Surgery is supposed to be men’s business (Conley, 1998).”

It was Dr. Conley’s courage to finally bring to light the sexual harassment issues that students face in the medical community that has helped to lead to the changes being seen today. Conley received a lot of news coverage from the editorial she had written and went on to write a book, *Walking Out on the Boys*, accounting the events that happened while she was in medical classes, her internship, and residency as well as those events leading up to the reasons why she resigned from Stanford (Conley, 1998).

V. Conclusion

For years women have struggled for the right to be able to obtain a medical education and to be recognized as a doctor within the medical community. Now that women have obtained that right, they are constantly defending themselves against society to prove that they can hold a job as a doctor and have a family. Women are also defending themselves against the practice of sexism featured in the medical community. Medicine has been around since the dawn of time and women have been involved with medical care, however, women have been discriminated against in many different ways. Within our society, medicine plays a great role, and while the medical community has come a long ways, the medical community still remains discriminatory towards women. While women have come a long way to gain a place in the medical community
there are now some changes that need to take place before women can be considered equal within that community.
Picture Citations


Works Cited


The current research examines the late R&B singer Phyllis Hyman’s lyrics applying a method called cluster criticism. Cluster criticism traces the frequency of terms and their intensity. Terms identified as key terms because of their intensity are often “god” or “devil” terms, with overwhelmingly positive or negative connotations. The investigator then charts the cluster of other terms that surround a key term each time it appears in a specific text. The research focuses on lyrics of original compositions with the expectation that they will shed insight into the depression from which Hyman suffered and which ultimately led to her suicide.
PHYLLIS HYMAN'S LYRICAL ANGELS AND DEMONS

BY: DARRELL L. HEMSLEY JR.
In 1999, in the Waxy Maxi music store, I saw a picture of an alluring beauty. “Mommy,” I asked, “who is that pretty lady on the wall?” “That,” she replied, “is Phyllis Hyman.” Four years later, I began working at F.Y.E, a musical retail store; I again came across her photo, this time on the cover of the Ultimate Phyllis Hyman Collection. Not satisfied with simply seeing her beautiful face, I scanned the CD at one of the listening stations, tuned in the track “Betcha By Golly Wow,” and heard her voice for the first time. From that moment on, I was captivated. Since then, my love and admiration for Phyllis Hyman’s music has continued to grow. I now own her entire musical collection, including collaborations.

Initially, it was Phyllis Hyman’s voice that made me such a devoted fan. At times, she sings softly, soothing the soul, but at other times, she sings with a vengeance, souring with fire. Her voice is rich, melodramatic, powerful, soothing, emotional, compelling and extremely authentic. Her voice lives and breathes soul, but her musical abilities are not confined to a single genre. She sings jazz, blues, R&B, disco, Broadway show tunes, and even rapped on her number one single, “Don’t Wanna Change the World.”

As I grew accustomed to the artistry of her voice, I found myself increasingly drawn to the lyrics of her songs. Hyman’s songs frequently focus on relationships and especially the struggles and desperation that come with them. Her lyrics nod to the pleasure of love while testifying in detail about its pain. For someone as beautiful as she was, with a talent to match the physicality, I wondered why relationships were so gloomy for her and why her music was often so somber. Having encountered many difficulties in my own relationships, I found myself identifying with the struggles about which she sang. Her music spoke to me on a personal level.

As fans do, I began mentioning her name to friends. Nine times out of ten, the result was the same: “Who?” Their lack of knowledge baffled me until I began work on this project and
realized that despite winning extensive critical acclaim from music reviewers, Phyllis Hyman remains a rather obscure artist. In fact, scholars have all but ignored her work. A “Phyllis Hyman” search on MLA International, the Arts and Humanities Index, JSTOR and Project MUSE produced no results. The only search database that produced any answers Omnifile Full Text and Music Indices.

I hope to begin to address this oversight by analyzing the lyrics of her original songs. While many of the songs on her albums are “cover songs” written by others, Hyman also wrote or co-wrote 14 original songs. I intend to focus on the lyrics of these original compositions, suspecting that they will shed insight into Hyman’s troubled psyche. Because songwriting, like poetry, employs condensed language, the words used by songwriters draw heightened attention to some aspects of their experience while downplaying other aspects. My study unfolds in the following fashion: after summarizing Phyllis Hyman’s musical career and medical history, I then briefly describe the methodology used to investigate the lyrics of the 14 original songs she recorded, concluding with the findings of that investigation.

Phyllis Hyman’s Musical and Medical History

Musical History

On the evening of June 30, 1995, Phyllis Hyman was scheduled to sing at the Apollo Theatre in New York City, with long time friends, The Whispers. When it came time for rehearsal, the all male group was told that she was suffering from an ailment (Joyce N15). The message they heard an hour later was far less cryptic.

Phyllis Hyman, the eldest of seven children, was born July 6, 1949 in Pittsburg, Pennsylvania, and raised in Philadelphia. She “… grew into a statuesque, 6’l’ beauty, who moonlighted as a model” (Galloway). Although she sang in the All-City Choir while growing up,
the real beginning of her musical career occurred in 1971 when she moved to Miami and began performing live in clubs with another band she dubbed P/H Factor (Galloway).

It was in Miami that George Kerr, a music producer, witnessed her talent. Kerr reflects, “I flew down to see her group at this club (The Love Lounge) on the water that had a white clientele. She was fantastic! They were doing mostly modern jazz (Good Morning Heartache,’ Some Dinah Washington), and I flipped!” (Galloway). Kerr signed her to his production company, Double K Productions, and started studio work on her debut album. Reflecting on her talent in the studio, Kerr recalls, “She and Linda Jones were the only artists I’ve ever recorded that could do a song in one take. And she took direction well (Galloway). Despite this high praise, Hyman’s first single release—a disco song entitled “Leaving the Good Life Behind.”—failed to garner any media attention or air play. Her second and third singles “Baby I’m Gonna Love You,” and “Do Me.”—were no more successful, and the bad luck continued when a studio fire destroyed the master tapes and other unreleased songs for her first album (Galloway).

Undeterred by the string of bad luck, she and Larry Alexander—who wrote “Baby, I’m Gonna Love You” and would marry Hyman in 1978—moved to New York City. There, the singer again used nightclubs to promote her talent. After witnessing Hyman perform at a club on Manhattan’s Upper West side, producer Norman Connors offered her the opportunity to record a cover of the Stylistics, “Betcha By Golly Wow.” It was this song, released on January 15, 1977, that put Hyman on the map, with the single debuting on the R & B charts at number 29 (Ultimate Phyllis Hyman Nathan). Later that year, Phyllis would record her self-titled debut album on Buddah Records. Although the album did not sell particularly well, it did produce a few hit singles, most notably “Loving You/Losing You,” which reached number 32 on the R&B charts.
Following this minor success, the singer immediately returned to the studio to begin work on a follow-up album with Buddah Records.

Before the album was released, however, Buddah went out of business, and Arista took over, with legendary owner Clive Davis now at the helm. Hyman’s first album under the label was Somewhere in My Lifetime. According to Grimaldi, “The title track (produced by then newcomer Barry Manilow, a longtime admire of Hyman’s) became Phyllis’s first radio hit” (Grimaldi 2). The single was released December 23, 1978, and debuted at number 12 on the R & B charts (2). To display Hyman’s versatility, Arista quickly recorded and released an upbeat dance “cover” of Exile’s “Kiss You All Over,” following this up a year later with another dance anthem, “You Know How To Love Me.” This song, the title track from Hyman’s third album, reached number 12 on the R&B charts in late 1979 (Grimaldi 1).

Wanting to prove that she was more than just a dance diva, in 1981 Hyman starred as Etta, one of the lead characters in Duke Ellington’s Sophisticated Ladies, a Tony-Award winning musical that was a “Broadway and a touring sensation” (Galloway). Hyman took great pride in her stage success. “Whenever you want someone who can walk across a stage and give you major fashion …, just call me. I do that so well” (Galloway). Others shared the singer’s sense of her own success. Hyman was nominated for a Tony Award, won the Theatre World Award for Best New Comer, and performed the role for two and a half years (Ferrell). While performing in the musical, Hyman cut and released Can’t We Fall In Love Again, her fourth studio album. The album’s title track took her to new heights of popularity, with the title track reaching number nine on the R&B charts in July of 1981 (Ultimate Phyllis Hyman Nathan). Grimaldi describes
this time period as “the peak of her career,” nothing that she “was widely recognized as a New York celebrity. She was everywhere” (2).

An interview with the singer in Jet magazine later that same year, however, indicates that Hyman was not equally successful in all respects of her life. “I try to avoid even thinking about it [my romantic life]…Because there’s nothing to balance. There’s only professional, there is no personal. I’m not ashamed to talk about it, because I think that maybe people don’t discuss it enough [.] and they’re suffering inside” (“Fans and Friends” 58). Hyman went onto admit that she longed for a relationship with “some nice, wonderful, friendly gentlemen. I don’t really want to say [‘] need [‘] because… to an aggressive, liberated woman [‘] need [‘] sounds too pathetic. But maybe I’m wrong. Maybe need and want sometimes go together. Maybe I do need and want a man (“Fans and Friends” 58).

Hyman’s musical career experienced a downturn in 1983 with the release of Goddess of Love, her fifth album and one that barely entered the charts. The record-buying public were not the only ones who were unhappy with the album. Hyman was also. According to Grimaldi, the singer was displeased with the material Arista forced her to include on the album and felt the label was “cavalier” in its attitude towards her: “I came to the [Arista] label because of the takeover of Buddah. So I didn’t have much choice in the matter… I’d say I was pretty much overlooked and ignored (2). The Internet Movie Database corroborates Hyman’s assessment, referring to her as a “prisoner of the label” and noting that “the label used all of its resources to promote Aretha Franklin and Whitney Houston” (Grimaldi). Ironically, although Goddess of Love is now one of Hyman’s most highly sought albums, Arista never released it on CD (The Internet Movie Database). Because of her feud with Arista and because she could not legally sign with another company, Hyman did not record any solo albums for four years, though she did
appear on several movie soundtracks and albums as a guest artist. She also did a college lecture tour, toured with her band, and provided her voice to numerous television commercials (Grimaldi).

In 1985, Arista released Hyman from her contract, and signed with Philadelphia International record label, collaborating with producers Kenny Gamble and Leon Huff. Hyman’s break with the Arista label coincided with her divorce from Larry Alexander, and her first album with the new label was appropriately titled Living All Alone. The album was a success, with two hit singles. The title track reached number twelve on the R&B charts, and “Old Friend,” reached number fourteen (Ultimate Phyllis Hyman Nathan). Regarding the overall success of the album, Nathan writes: “Phyllis’ came through with an album filled with strong material, superb production and great performances.” Similarly, Grimaldi notes that this album “brought Hyman back to the forefront of the industry with saturated radio play, international concert bookings, talk show appearances and countless magazine articles” (2). Additionally, in the years following the release of this album, Hyman also appeared in two movies: The Kill Reflex and Spike Lee’s School Daze, where she performed the jazzy tune “Be One,” written by Spike Lee’s father.

Phyllis’s highly anticipated following-up album Prime of My Life, took five years to hit the shelves because of a problem with a distributor used by Philadelphia International label, but Billboard magazine reported in a 1991 interview that the singer “never considered recording for any other company” (“Phyllis Hyman is Back in Prime Time” Nathan 23). When asked why she did not leave the label, Hyman stated, “When I got involved with the last album, I felt I was with a record company that really cared about me, a company that treated me with respect…Kenny Gamble was the first executive who I felt really listened to my thoughts on what I wanted to do musically” (“Phyllis Hyman is Back in Prime Time” Nathan 23). Although all was going well in
Hyman’s professional relationship with her new musical producer, the same could not be said of her new romantic relationship. In fact, during this time period, Hyman underwent a devastating breakup that “made the songs difficult to record, but the results were fabulous” (Grimaldi). “The “fabulous results” included three major hits, among them an up-tempo dance smash titled “Don’t Wanna Change the World” that reached number one.

In 1992, Phyllis was voted Number One Best Female Vocalist in the United Kingdom by Blues & Soul magazine, beating competitors such as, Aretha Franklin, Whitney Houston, and Anita Baker (Grimaldi). Hyman also became involved in fighting AIDS by lending her voice to many benefit concerts, visiting wards and hospitals around and in New York. “Many patients requested Phyllis’ presence, which left the singer feeling inadequate and perplexed as to their reasons for wanting to see her as opposed to a family member or friends” (Grimaldi).

In the midst of Phyllis’s emotional difficulties, she had begun work on I Refuse to Be Lonely, her eighth album. Producer Nick Martinielli notes, I Refuse to Be Lonely had a lot of meaning for her, which is one of the reasons she was able to give such a strong performance” (“Gone too Soon” 5). By June 30, 1995, Phyllis’s depression had completely consumed her, and a few hours before she was to perform at the Apollo Theatre with The Whispers, she committed suicide in her New York City Apartment, overdosing on pills. She left a note stating, “I’m tired. I’m tired. Those of you that I love know who you are. May God bless you” (“Fans and Friends” 52).

Grimaldi contends that “in the posthumous released, I Refuse to Be Lonely …Phyllis alluded to her inner struggle on several songs, five of which she co-wrote (3). Similarly, Gordon Chambers, who was co-writer on several songs on this album with Hyman, notes: “Phyllis would be a storyteller: she would share about her life and her thoughts[,] and I would interpret what
she said in lyric form. I tried to make sure I captured her feelings. She was passionate about not singing anything superficial. In retrospect, a lot of what we wrote were her parting words” (“Gone Too Soon” 5). Her long-time friend Michael Grimaldi sums her death up in a way that is warming and mournful: “Her passing has left a void in the entertainment world and in the hearts of many, including ourselves. Phyllis Hyman, our hero, our friend. We miss you.” (3).

Hyman’s Medical History

When Phyllis Hyman was in her mid-30’s, she was diagnosed with manic depression (Lesser 116). Most people who suffer from this condition, also known as bipolar disorder, experience frequent and severe mood swings, alternating between extreme highs, or manic states, and extreme lows, or depressive states (Leahy 6).

During manic periods, sufferers experience an elevated mood, feeling euphoric and ecstatic but also irritable and given to excessive anger over trivial things (Hillard). During low periods, sufferers experience a persistent depressed mood, feel worthless, lose interest in social contact, gain or lose weight, and become preoccupied with thoughts of death or suicide (Williams 276; Bryson). Sometimes, the mood swings are triggered by a major event in the life of the sufferer, but small changes can also trigger major mood swings.

Eli Lilly and Company, a drug manufacturer, identifies two additional factors that complicate the disease. First, the direction of the mood swing is not necessarily linked to whether the change is positive or negative, and “even seemingly happy events, such as becoming a parent or getting married, can trigger depression.” Second, because of the stigma attached to the disease, “[m]any people suffer in silence while depression slowly eats away at their quality of life. Some are ashamed or afraid to seek help; others try to downplay the severity of their symptoms.”
Accounts from friends and family members make it clear that Hyman experienced erratic mood swings and frequently lashed out in fits of rage. Gamble Huff, Hyman’s longtime producer, stated: “She was not an easy person to deal with. . . . There was no telling what kind of mood she would be in when you met with her” (Lesser 118). Similarly, Paul Mills, who played drums in Hyman’s band from 1990 until her death, recalls that dealing with the singer was “like walking through a minefield” (Lesser 118). Phyllis Hyman’s sister Ann recalls, “[I]n the studio, she was known to scream, curse, and throw things. . . . That’s the other side of this illness. The agitation . . . made it difficult for her to enjoy this business, and I’m sure it made it difficult for people to work with her” (Lesser 118). Once, Hyman was thrown off of a tour for nearly causing a riot in Washington, D.C. when, after an argument with the promoter about her slot in the show, she told the audience they wouldn’t let her play (Lesser 118).

While the above accounts focus primarily on behaviors associated with manic periods, Hyman also suffered periods of extreme depression. Hyman’s ex-husband, Larry Alexander, reported to _Vibe_ magazine, “She was fighting a lot of loneliness inside. . . . She would put on that beautiful dress, and she would put on a big smile, but she’d come off stage and be quite lonely” (Lesser 119). Regina Belle, who toured with Hyman many times, recalls that Phyllis “allowed her weight to balloon . . . and became much more careless about her costume. In the past, even if we were just going from Detroit to Cleveland to Oklahoma City, she would never wear the same thing. . . . Now we’d do a couple of dates, and she’d wear the same outfit. That was the first thing I noticed” (Lesser 120).

Though Hyman initially tried to hide her illness from most people (Lesser 116), during the final years of her life she was less secretive about it. Hyman herself admitted that “[t]here is a deep connection between part of my loneliness and quest with my music if you listen to some
of the words in my songs. I sing about a lot of pain, which is something I know a lot about” (“Fans and Friends” 58). Similarly, during an appearance on the Arsenio Hall Show, when the host asked Hyman why so many of her songs are about love, she responded: “Most[ly] about relationships gone bad. I do that very well.” Hall asked, “Why is that?” and Hyman said “It’s something I know a lot about.” In a 1992 interview, Hyman was even more open about her illness, admitting that she had been enduring a “transformation which has affected me spiritually, mentally, and emotionally. For many years I had been a very insecure person. Plus, I probably had a reputation for being difficult to deal with. I didn’t know any better. Things came to a head when I reached a really low point last year. Now I feel like I’m more secure, more comfortable with me what I’m doing, with who I am” (Phyllis Hyman is Back in Prime Time Nathan 23).

Unfortunately, Hyman was far from recovering from her illness. In 1993, her mother and grandmother died within a month of one another, and the demons that Phyllis had been suppressing began to surface. In the past, Phyllis had sought professional help from physicians, but now she refused to take the medication they prescribed, feeling that the “side effects distorted her too much” (Lesser 119). Hyman’s manager and close friend, Glenda Garcia, notes that “[i]nstead of following recommended treatment, [she] self-medicated, mostly with alcohol, to try to ease her suffering” (119). The more pain Hyman endured, the more alcohol she consumed. Hyman’s struggle with depression became a battle with alcohol too.

According to Gallant, alcohol consumption becomes a problem when it interferes with the following: “(1) employment or studies, (2) marital, family, or living companion relationships, (3) interpersonal relationships, (4) legal problems, and (5) medical complications” (Wilcox 6). Eventually, Hyman’s alcohol consumption interfered with many of these aspects of her life. According to Lesser, “Hyman’s frustration with the recording industry reached its gripping point.
She had yet to sell 500,000 copies of an album. . . . She was still performing, but drinking more than ever, and was gradually letting go of her many vanities” (Lesser 119). Phyllis was entering a state where returning to normality was decreasing

In April of 1995, Regina Belle noticed Hyman reading books about death. “She kept saying, ‘I’ve come to the conclusion that the only real way is to die,’ Belle says. I kept trying to change the subject, but she just went on and on and on.” (Lesser 120). Danny Poole, Hyman’s ex-boyfriend and one of the last people she spoke to before committing suicide, stated: “She was tormented but she was real happy with her decision. She wasn’t angry. She was jovial, she laughed, she made fun of life. . . . [She] rationalized her impending suicide. ‘I’m unhappy. The only bright light is to die so I won’t have to worry about a job and other people…I have no personal life and no energy. All I want to do is go” (“Fans and Friends” 56). When Danny told Phyllis that people were going to miss her, she replied, “I’m not going to stay around for people who will miss me. I never see them anyway. . . . They’ll get over it” (“Fans and Friends” 61).

Textual Analysis of Hyman’s Lyrics

Methodology

My analysis of the lyrics of Hyman’s 14 original songs is based primarily, though not exclusively, on Kenneth Burke’s cluster criticism. Cluster criticism reveals “the meanings that key symbols have for a rhetor . . . by charting the symbols that cluster around those key symbols. . . . [T]he equations or clusters that a critic discovers in a rhetor’s artifact generally are not conscious to the rhetor. . . . [T]he clusters manifest in someone’s rhetoric can reveal, beneath an author’s official front, . . . a survey of the hills and valleys of the rhetor’s mind” (Foss 71-2).

When using cluster criticism, the critic first identifies the key terms in the text. Identification of the key terms is done based on frequency (how often a term appears) or
intensity (the strength of the emotional connotations associated with the term). Terms identified as key terms because of their intensity are often “god” or “devil” terms—that is, terms with overwhelmingly positive or negative connotations. After identifying the key terms, the critic then charts the cluster of other terms that surround the key term each time it appears in that text (Foss 73). Finally, the critic looks for patterns that emerge in the clusters that surround each key term. “The patterns in the associations or linkages discovered in the charting of the clusters is a way of making visible the worldview constructed by the rhetor. If a rhetor often or always associates a particular word or image with a key term, that linkage suggest that they key term’s meaning for the rhetor is modified or influenced by that associated term” (Foss 74).

In addition to cluster criticism, I also engage in a second type of textual analysis rooted less in content than in grammar. Cluster criticism is oriented toward content and assumes that the proximity of terms to one another reveals important aspects about a person’s thinking. A close analysis of some aspects of grammar can do similar work. For example, when people speak about themselves, do they tend to position themselves as the subject of the sentence or as the direct or indirect object or the object of the preposition. The former suggests that the person views him or herself as an active agent. The latter suggests that the person views him or herself as acted upon rather than acting. Other aspects of grammar that I used in my analysis will be discussed later.

Cluster Criticism

There are five key terms that derive from Phyllis Hyman’s lyrics: need, change, love, alone, and man. The terms give insight to Hyman’s struggle with hopelessness and her quest for love from a man who adores, respects, cares, and completes her. Hyman never found that special
man to end her pain. Her lyrics reveal a woman consumed by her own demons in a battle that she decided to end.

“Need” as a Key Term


“Need” first surfaces in “Obsession” (1990), where it appears once: “Wanting you, needing you, has brought my life such misery. Never fails, hasn’t changed. Perhaps it’s just my destiny. Learning to love’s the key; falling in love always ruins me.” Here, the terms that cluster around “need” are: “love,” “misery,” “fails,” “destiny,” and “ruin.”

In “Obsession,” Hyman mourns about her need for love, acknowledging that love is the key to happiness, but admitting that her experiences with love have only left her with ruin. She still believes in love; however, because her love interests continuously disappoint her, she is left with a void. Thus, the search for what she needs man intensifies.

In “The Strength of a Woman” (1993), “need” appears three times: “My heart has been so broken holding everyone so close, counting on them being there when I needed them the most;” “My intuition has brought me this far; I don’t need to wish on each falling star;” and “I trust I’ve got all I need in myself; I don’t have to look for it in anyone else.” Here, the terms that cluster around “need” are “broken heart,” “holding close,” “being there,” “falling star,” and “myself.”

Hyman admits that she needs people to be there for her, but because they aren’t, they are likened
to a falling star, attractive but illusive. Because she cannot count on others, she must trust that she has all she needs in herself. As happens too many who suffer from bipolar disorder, the need to be surrounded by others disappears.

“Need” appears in the chorus of “It Takes Two” (1994) where it is repeated four times: “It takes two, for our relationship to be everything we need, to feel complete.” Here, the terms that cluster around “need” are ‘two,” “relationship,” “we,” and “complete.” This is the only song where the need Hyman speaks of is shared rather than merely her own. Yet, even here, there is the implicit recognition that if the two cannot operate together, then she will be alone and, thus, incomplete.

The term “need” appears 18 times in “It’s Not About You (It’s About Me)” (1994), and the terms that are clustered around it are “true,” “free” and “you.” The song opens with the following lines: “I can’t take this confusion. Is this love illusion? Cause, baby, what I need is true. You got me in the middle. I can’t solve this riddle. So, baby, it’s goodbye to you.” Hyman is fed up with a man that is lying to her, cheating on her, and leaving her in limbo. If she cannot have honesty from him, then she will dismiss him. Three needs appear in the song: Hyman’s need for the man, her need for the truth, and her need to be free. Of these three needs, the most pressing one is the need for the truth, as is evidenced by the fact that the line “what I need is true” is repeated 11 times. The next most pressing need is the need to be free, as is evidenced by the fact that the line “I need to be free” is repeated four times. And the least pressing need is the need for the man: “I don’t need ya no more. Your lies they bothered me, and I don’t need, I need to put up with this.”

“Need” appears five times in “Come Right or Not At All” (1994): “and now I need to know: how far can we go?”; “if you really want to know me just look into my eyes and make me
realize there’s no need to hide;” “you need to be there;” “you need to be strong;” and “I need you right there.” Regarding a relationship, Phyllis insists on openness and understanding: “Take your time to understand me, if you want to share my life, please don’t think that I’m demanding, it’s just the way I am, and now I need to know, how far we can go.” Later she states, “There’s no need to hide.” And later still, she demands, “I’ve been waiting for so long [so come right or not at all], time for you to be strong [come right or not at all] need to be strong, show respect for me [a little love and honesty] yes indeed, take your time to understand me [so come right or not at all].” In this song, the terms that cluster around “need” are “knowledge,” “realization,” “you,” “strong,” “respect,” “honesty,” and “sincerity,” with Hyman needing to know that her man will be strong, honest, sincere, and will be there for her and respect her.

In “Why Not Me” (1994), Hyman is desperately searching for answers, and “need” appears 12 times. “Now that I’m alone, my heart needs to know, why not me [why not me]. Is it a crime to be myself [myself], to be who I was meant to be, [ooh] why not me [why not me]. Doesn’t everyone deserve to find that dream [to find that dream]. Why not me.” Her heart is slowly breaking; she needs to know why no one loves her. She believes everyone deserves to find that special person, but because she hasn’t found that person, she feels inadequate. As the song progresses, her sense of inadequacy and her need for another intensifies.

I want to know, I need to know [why not me?].
Can you tell me why?
Everyone needs someone who will be there for them. [Why not me?]
Yes they do.
They really do.
They really need someone, someone there for them. [Why not me?]
I need someone to be there for me.
Don’t you know I really need—
I need to believe that there’s someone— [Why not me?]
I need a man who’s got his own.
I need him strong.
[why not me?]
I need him now.
Wo, yes, I do.
I really do.
I want to know.
Yes, I do.

Nine of the last 20 lines of this song feature the term “need.”

Hyman continues to reveal her desperate desire for another and her bad luck in that search in the melancholy track “I’m Calling You” (1995) where the term “need” appears 13 times—a number coincidentally associated with bad luck. “I’m calling you, where are you now, I need you here, here in my life ooo…I’m calling you, I’m crying out, I’ve got to find you someway, some how.” She tries to reassure herself that he will come: “I’ve finally realized, if I concentrate, he’ll come to me, and be all that I need.” But he doesn’t come: “Where are you now, I need you here, here in my life (here in my life) I’m calling you (calling you).” As she nears the end of the song, her pain becomes increasingly palpable: “I’m crying out because I need you, ooo…I need you here, I need you here with baby, I want you to love me, baby.” Here, she has reduced herself to a baby, someone who needs nurturing, care and love, and shortly thereafter, her plea intensifies from “I need” to “I really need”: “Please come to me. Please come to me. I really need. . . I’m calling you.” The need is as critical as it is unfulfilled.

In “How Long” (1995), the term “need” only appears twice: “How long hey baby [you been doing me wrong] Babe, I need to know, Babe, can you tell me why, babe…How long, baby [has this been going on] how long [you been doing me wrong] I need to know.” Hyman needs to know why and for how long her lover has been cheating on her, but here, unlike previous songs, there is a sense of anger and aggression, as if she is in control. She needs to understand the situation; she does not need his presence.
In “Tell Me What You’re Gonna Do” (1996), Hyman’s need for a man returns: “I haven’t heard from you, I really need for you to want me too.” If he doesn’t, she threatens “I’m moving on, I’m out of here, I’ve got a life, don’t you see my dear, I don’t need this pain driving me insane, please be good to me, I can’t go on this way.” Later, she implores, “Show me some affection [show me it to me] My heart needs protection [that’s what I need] from this loneliness I’m feeling inside.” She needs affection that will protect her heart from loneliness. This is her ultimate need.

Only two of the six songs written between 1979 and 1993 include the term “need,” and in these two songs, the term appears only four times. Of the eight songs written in the final two years of Hyman’s life, seven include the term need. Not only does “need” appear in more songs; it also appears more frequently in those songs and sometimes with an additional intensifier as in “I really need.” While Hyman claims in “Strength of a Woman” to have everything she needs in herself, ultimately, her other songs reveal this to be a lie. Phyllis Hyman’s most overwhelming need is for the affection of an honest and faithful lover. Without such a person, she feels incomplete, insecure, and miserable.

“Change” as a Key Term


In “Gonna Make Changes,” the term “change” appears 14 times, but each time it appears it is “I’m gonna make changes” or simply “gonna make changes.” This line is the centerpiece of
the song’s chorus: “I’m gonna make changes, gonna make minds aware, moving together, always willing to share, there’s power in the masses collectively we can win, gonna make changes, gonna make changes, gonna make changes.” Seven of the last 11 lines of the song are “gonna make changes,” with the following four lines included before the final three “gonna make changes”: “make them for everyone, search out the gladness and pass it to everyone, just keep on with believing, that’s what you gotta do.” In this song, the terms that cluster around “change” are: “aware,” “share,” “power,” “masses,” “collectively,” “we,” “win,” “everyone,” and “gladness.” Here, Hyman is decidedly optimistic about change, depicting it as communal (“share,” “masses,” “collectively,” “we,” and “everyone”) and positive (“aware,” “power,” “win,” and “gladness”).

In “Obsession” (1990), the term “change” appears only once: “Wanting you, needing you has brought my life such misery, never changes, never fails, perhaps it’s just my destiny.” Here, the terms that cluster around “change” are: “wanting,” “needing,” “misery,” “never,” “fails,” and “destiny.” Change remains a positive thing for Hyman, but her hope for, and faith in, the possibility of change has disappeared.

In “Living in Confusion” (1991), Hyman expresses her loss of faith in a man that has cheated on her. In this song, “change” appears four times. It appears twice in the chorus of the song, which is itself repeated twice: “I thought I was your only one, seems like I’m always going through changes, living in confusion, seems like I’m always going through changes, living in confusion, confusion, confusion.” Here, the two primary terms that cluster around change are “always” and “confusion.” Unlike the previous song where change is positive but never occurs, here change always occurs but is negative and confusing.
In the song “I Refuse to Be Lonely” (1994), another song about a relationship gone bad, the key term “change” appears just once: “Some things I can choose, and baby, I refuse to be lonely, to be lonely. I can’t change you, I can’t blame you, and this time I’m not even gonna try.” The terms that cluster around “change” in this song are “choose,” “refuse,” and “lonely.” Here, Hyman’s take on change is ambivalent. She realizes she cannot change a man who does not want to be changed, but she chooses to refuse to be lonely, thus making changes for herself.

In “It’s Not About You (It’s About Me)” (1994), Phyllis mentions “change” once, using the synonym “rearrange”: “For far too long I was feeling hopeless, but now I’m through with you, and so I’m giving you some notice, no it ain’t your fault, it’s just your nature, but it’s not my job to try and rearrange you.” Phyllis refused to feel hopeless; therefore she is firm in her belief that she will rid herself of this man. Hyman finds his nature offensive to her own, therefore she will not attempt to rearrange him. She is fed up with his mistreatment.

In the 1995 song, “How Long,” change appears once. “Only I choose my history and I’m giving you your walking papers.” Ultimately, the only change Phyllis becomes capable of is dismissing her man; however, this is a power that leaves her alone. She is not comforted by loneliness, but rather haunted and left in despair.

Several conclusions can be posited regarding the key term “change” in Hyman’s lyrics. First, the term gradually disappears from the lyrics as her songwriting career progresses. Second, for Hyman, two types of changes are dominant: changes in knowledge and changes in relationships. Hyman’s knowledge changes as she learns that she can’t change her lover or that he is cheating on her or treating her wrong. As a result, there is a change in her relationship status as she says “no” to her lover and is left alone. Third, while change starts out a very positive thing in “Gonna Make Changes,” it becomes increasingly negative throughout her life.
“Alone” as a Key Term


In “Give a Little More” (1981), the key term appears just once: “Empty hearts will bring you pain, loneliness is what you gain—uh uh.” Here, the terms that cluster around “loneliness” are “empty” and “pain.”

In “Living in Confusion” (1991), the key term “alone” appears twice. In both instances, Hyman uses “only one” as a synonym for “alone” in a line that appears twice in the song: “You told me you loved me. I thought I was your only one. It seems like I’m always going through changes, living in confusion.” Here, the terms that cluster around “alone” are “loved,” “told me,” “thought,” “changes,” and “confusion.” Hyman faces betrayal by a man who has cheated on her. Being the “only one” is a positive thing for Hyman, but because she realizes she is not the “only one,” she faces “confusion.”

In “Strength of a Woman” (1993), “alone” appears twice. Early in the song, Hyman states, “My heart has been so broken holding everyone so close, counting on them being there when I needed them the most, there comes a time when you realize that the only pair of arms that will never let you go are your own, I’m not afraid to be alone.” Late in the song, she states, “I stand alone, I’m on my own, I am free to be me.” Here, the two primary terms that cluster around “alone” are “not afraid” and “free,” with Hyman claiming that loneliness is not to be
feared and that standing alone leaves one free. She finds comfort in her own arms, which will shield her broken heart.

In “I Refuse to be Lonely” (1994), “alone” appears ten times. It appears most frequently in the song’s chorus, which gets repeated three times: “Yes I am alone. Yes I’m on my own, but for the first time in my life, I’m gonna carry on, yes I’m gonna ache, but I will not break, some things I can choose, and baby I refuse to be lonely, to be lonely.” It also appears in the line “lonely is a place I used to be, but I’m closing that door.” In this song, Hyman both accepts and refuses loneliness. She accepts that she is now alone in the chorus when she states “yes, I am alone, yes, I’m on my own.” She refuses loneliness when she states, “I refuse to be lonely” and “lonely is a place I used to be, but I’m closing that door.”

In three other songs written in 1994 and 1995, Hyman’s relationship to loneliness also appears ambiguous. In “Come Right or Not at All” (1994), Hyman mentions loneliness once in the sassy line: “I would rather be here lonely than be mistreated by you.” Though here loneliness is presented as a state that is preferable to mistreatment, in “Why Not Me,” another song from the same year that also incorporates the term just once, loneliness is accepted but associated with despair: “Now that I’m alone my heart needs to know why not me.” In “I’m Calling You” (1995), however, loneliness gets presented as a state that Hyman will not accept: “I will not accept that there’s not one for me, cause I know he’s there out there somewhere, waiting for me.”

The final track in which loneliness figures is “Tell Me What You’re Gonna Do” (1996). Here, loneliness appears twice: “I can’t go on this way, feeling all alone, tell me what you’re gonna do” and “show me some affection [show it to me], my heart needs protection from this loneliness I’m feeling inside.” Here, the ambiguity disappears. Loneliness is a condition that Hyman depicts as not just difficult but impossible: “I can’t go on this way.”
Through the course of Hyman’s songwriting career, she comes full circle in her take on loneliness. Initially, it is associated with pain and emptiness. Then, it is associated with the freedom to be one’s self and is accepted. Then, Hyman recognizes loneliness as the state she is now in but presents this as a state she will not accept. Then, it is presented as a state she accepts as her lot in life but a state that is nevertheless negative. Finally, it once again becomes an impossibly empty and painful state: “I can’t go on this way.” As depression consumes Hyman’s life, she becomes more and more alone. She does not understand why she is alone. Confusion and loneliness consumes her as light spirals downward into a deeper and deeper darkness.

“Love” as a Key Term


In “Give a Little More” (1979), “love” appears four times: “Is this just a magic spell only you and I can tell, so well, I’ve been trying for so long, tell me where our love went wrong;” “if you give a little more and don’t forget, give a little more, you won’t regret our love” (repeated twice in the song); and “once we wrote a sweet love song, it made our lives so very strong, but now we’re singing out of key.” In this song, Hyman wants her lover to tell her where their love went wrong. She is unsure if her effort to maintain the relationship is working. Their love is falling apart, and she does not want it to. Here, Hyman believes that love will work if her lover puts in the needed effort.

In “Obsession“(1990), the term “love” appears four times. “Wanting you, needing, has brought my life such misery… Learning how to love is the key, falling in love always ruins me.
Obsession is its name, and addiction is its game. I’m telling you never again, never again.”

Love” then becomes “misery, ruin, obsession, and addiction. Here, Hyman still desires love, but this desire is rendered negative by being likened to an addiction.

In “Living in Confusion” (1991), the key term “love” appears twice. Hyman sings, “You told me you loved me, I thought I was your only one.” Though he has lied to her, she has remained faithful to him: “Don’t you know I was loyal to you.”

In “It Takes Two” (1994), the term “love” appears three times. Hyman twice repeats the following passage: “There’s a choice for us, a choice we have to make, what love demands is honesty.” Love also figures in another passage from the song: “Have some faith in what we feel, in time our love will be revealed, open up that cautious heart, and let me in so we can start.”

Here, Hyman equates love with “openness” and “honesty.”

In “It’s Not About You, It’s About Me” (1994), “love” appears eight times, each time in the repeated line: “I can’t take this confusion, is this love illusion, cauz baby what I need is true.” Here, the terms that cluster around “love” are “confusion,” “illusion” and “true.” Because Hyman does not know whether his love is “true” or an “illusion,” she experiences “confusion.”

In “Come Right or Not At All” (1994), “love” appears five times. Hyman protests, “Show respect for me, [a little love and honesty], even more sincerity [so come right or not at all].” This portion of the song repeats five times in the chorus. The terms that cluster around “love” here are “respect,” “honesty,” and “sincerity.”

In “I’m Calling You” (1995), “love” is spoken of only once: “I need you here, I need you here with baby, I want you to love me, baby, oh yeah ooo...(scatting), I need you here with me, please come to me, please come to me I really need—.” Here, Hyman associates two terms with
one another: “love” and “need.” Hyman, desperately needing a love that always eludes her, is on an endless quest.

In three of the five songs in which the key term “love” appears, it is related to honesty or truth. In none of the songs where the term “love” appears does Hyman ever indicate that she loves herself. Because she seems incapable of loving herself, she must look for love in someone else. Thus, for Hyman, love is a need, a dependency, an addiction.

**Content Analysis**

When “I” is subject of verb from 1979 to 1995, it becomes focused on the present, adding up to 224 times (68%). The past is referenced the least, which is 47 times (14%). The future disappears, occurring 60 times (18%), and only reappears in “Tell Me What You’re Gonna Do,” but this song is a promised sought after relationship. If the man does not acknowledge the relationship, then Hyman sings, “I will be gone, gone, gone.” Here, is another glimpse of Hyman’s hopelessness with relationships and how the future does not exist for her. When “I” is the subject, the negative is attached to the verb in the present 43 times, and the past only shows three times and the future ten. The “I” becomes increasingly a space where the “I” no longer acts. As a result, Phyllis is removing herself from the situations in her songs. It is almost like a farewell or allusion to her suicide. She no longer wants to be active, such as she did, not in this world. Death is the way Phyllis saw the end of her pain. The message in the music is there, some just did not realize her longing to end her life was closer than anyone ever expected.

**Conclusion: Phyllis Hyman finds peace in death.**

Phyllis Hyman struggled to find true happiness in her life, career, self, and romantic interest. Cluster criticism reveals that she wanted to be loved by a man with sincerity, strength, honesty, respect, and a devotion to her needs. With that said, Phyllis never realized that she
needed to love herself before she could give her love to a man. She depended on a man to fulfill her emptiness. Hyman had no focus on self love and what she needed in order to love. However, Phyllis would not accept a man who was dishonest and inadequate to her emotional needs. She felt that he should be ashamed for the pain he has caused her. Hyman desired to be placed on a pedestal, making her special, “his only one.” The only way she can possess power of him is by “Giving him his walking papers.” However, “giving him his walking papers,” leaves her alone. Hyman desperately searched for that special man. She wanted to devote herself to him, but she never found him. For Phyllis, the best way to ease the pain and suffering was suicide. Suicide is a permanent solution for a temporary problem. Phyllis did not see her life that way, the suffering and loneliness was too much to endure. Despite Hyman’s decision to take her life, she has left behind a musical legacy, one that will attest to her musical talent. Phyllis found her Angels by finding peace in death, ending her pain. Hyman’ allowed her Demons to convince her to exit this earth.
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This research explores a medical anthropological study of indigenous concepts of wellness and illness in the Caribbean, which influences the structure of their medical system. It contains a definition of medical anthropology and the history of Hispaniola. The Caribbean is unique – there are many cultures that have combined to form an appropriate medical system that suits the occupants of the island. The questions answered include: How do Caribbean cultures define a “well” or “unwell” person? What “causes” illness in Caribbean cultures? What are the types of indigenous healers, their “abilities,” and their status and role in the community?
Medicine as a Cultural System in the Caribbean

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Medicine as a Cultural System in the Caribbean

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INTRODUCTION

Culture is inherent in most aspects of human life--it is what separates us as human beings from any other animal. Culture is the means of our survival, through it we posses the ability to adapt in an array of environments. These adaptations come in a variety of forms: from the invention of sunscreen to protect our hairless (at least compared to other terrestrial animals) bodies from the sun to automobiles as a means of transportation to any place we desire faster than we are able to run. Cultural adaptations are even used to create certain systems to keep our species alive. Medicine is one such system.

Clifford Geertz’s article *Religion as a Cultural System* explains how culture assigns meaning to symbols that are specific to a group.

The culture concept to which I adhere has neither multiple referents nor, as far as I can see, any unusual ambiguity: it denotes an historically transmitted pattern of meanings embodied in symbols, a system of inherited conceptions expressed in symbolic forms by means of which men communicate, perpetuate, and develop their knowledge about and attitudes toward life. (Geertz 1973:89)

Using this definition, we see culture as a system of symbols, which are specific to a people. The symbols are arbitrarily assigned a meaning, specific to that culture. Geertz explains how religion contains these cultural symbols (1973) and thus is a cultural system. The same methodology can be applied to medicine.

This paper demonstrates that medicine is a cultural system that can be seen in the historical and cultural make up that has formed the medical systems found with the indigenous
people of the Caribbean, specifically among the Taino, Garífuna, and Bwa Mawego. Analyzing Geertz’s definition of religion we can show medicine is a cultural system:

>a system of symbols which acts to (2) establish powerful, pervasive, and long-lasting moods and motivations in men by (3) formulating conceptions of a general order of existence and (4) clothing these conceptions with such an aura of factuality that (5) the moods and motivations seem uniquely realistic. (Geertz 1973: 90)

In the first part of his definition, (number 1) Geertz describes the concepts of “models for” and “models of” behavior. These models are used to define cultural patterns as being specific to human thought. “They [cultural patterns] give meaning that is objective conceptual form to social and psychological reality both by shaping themselves to it and shaping it to themselves” (Geertz 1973:93). The “model for” behavior is the “shaping it to themselves” that Geertz refers to in the passage above. When applied to medicine, this model refers to the cultural patterns, or medical rituals, that are learned through the generations. As time progresses, each generation generally acquires the knowledge of the rituals from the generations before him/her. The Dugu festival conducted by the Garífuna is a perfect example of such a ritual. The “model of” behavior distinguishes human thought from other thought processes unlike the “model for.” This is because the “model of” is able to “express their [the people analogous to it] structure in an alternative medium” (Geertz 1973:94). The “alternative medium” is the symbol specific to the culture.
In the second part of his definition (number 2) Geertz explains, “motivations are ‘made meaningful’ with reference to the ends towards which they are conceived to conduce, whereas moods are ‘made meaningful’ with reference to the conditions from which they are conceived” (Geertz 1973:97). “Motivations” focus on an end result, in the case of Caribbean medicine it is the patient’s point of view—the patient wants to become “healthy” and thus has a specific healer he/she seeks. The Bwa Mawego shows this because of the pluralistic medical systems (many existing healers), have a series of healers in which they seek aid from the illness. When one healer does not help, the Bwa Mawegans seek another. “Moods” focus on the journey toward the end result, what the Caribbean healer will do to make the patient well. The “motivation” and “mood” changes in relation to the group being studied.

The third part of Geertz’s definition of religion also relates to medicine. Geertz states here that religion serves as an explanatory model to explain phenomena. He quotes Malinowski, “Religion helps one to endure ‘situations of emotional stress’ by ‘open[ing] up escapes from such situations and such impasses as offer no empirical way out except by ritual and belief into the domain of the supernatural” (Malinowski 1948:67 as cited in Geertz 1973:103). This can be seen in the Bwa Mawegans hierarchal method in which they seek a healer.

Geertz also explains how religion helps the “Problem of Suffering,” which is not the act of avoiding human suffering, but how to suffer (1973:103). He describes how the Navaho deal with mourning and illness, the two main facets of suffering and explains: “The sustaining effect (of the treatment of the suffering)…rests ultimately on its ability to give the stricken person a vocabulary in terms of which to grasp the nature of his distress and relate it to the wider world” (Geertz 1973:105). The Bwa Mawego of the Caribbean treat certain “illnesses” conceptually similar.
And the religious response to this suspicion is in each case the same formulation, by means of symbols, of an image of such a genuine order of the world which will account for, and even celebrate, the perceived ambiguities, puzzles, and paradoxes in human experience. (Geertz 1973:108)

The fourth point of Geertz’s definition is the belief that is contained in religion. There needs to be a source of faith, as it needs to be in any social system, as in medicine. The patient in every medical system needs to have a certain degree of faith in the healer and the medical explanations in order to be healed well. Geertz continues:

The existence of bafflement, pain, and moral paradox—of The Problem of Meaning—is one of the things that drives men toward belief in gods, devils, spirits, totemic principles, or the spiritual efficacy of cannibalism…but it is not the basis upon which those beliefs rest, but rather their most important field of application…in tribal religions authority lies in the persuasive power of traditional imagery; in mystical ones in the hypnotic attraction of an extraordinary personality. (Geertz 1973:109-110)

This can be seen in all three groups, as they all have their individual concepts of wellness and illness. Geertz goes on to analyze rituals as a sort of “cultural performance” (1973:113), which embodies the symbols and beliefs of the given culture, whether religious or otherwise. Medical rituals, as seen in the Taino culture, are also “cultural performances” because of their meaning and symbols to the Taino society.
The fifth and last part of Geertz definition speaks of moods and motivations again. Geertz states religion shapes the social order of a group, though it may not describe it completely. The beliefs contained in any chosen religion shapes the reality of the believer. What defines a person depends largely on the individual’s culture. Culture shapes the perspective of reality of the individual and thus causes them to define certain aspects of life differently. All three of the groups I will be writing about show this, as would any culture.

Some medical systems contain an obvious basis in religion; the three main people in the Caribbean focused on in this paper are examples of such medical systems. If religion is a cultural system and medicine is formed from religion, medicine must be a cultural construct as well. I focus on only three groups; however the fundamental concepts of medicine—such as the patient-healer relationship and treatment of an “illness”—can be seen around the world. There are similar ingredients to all medical systems, but the culture is what makes each unique.

Anthropologists study medicine as a cultural construct through an applied sub-field of cultural anthropology called medical anthropology. Medical anthropology explores world cultures through their specific concepts of illness and wellness. Medical anthropologists observe universal patterns of medicine throughout the world. In general terms, every culture has a concept of a “healthy” person, their perception of acting, feeling, and seeming “normal” and “healthy.” If one strays away from the criteria of a “healthy” person, they are seen to be unwell or inflicted with an “illness” or “disease” of some sort. The “illness” may be defined as personalistic or naturalistic; this will be explained in detail later. Most apply home remedies or tend to the “illness” themselves. If this does not work, however, one must seek the aide of a healer. This relationship of a patient and healer is seen in every medical system. The healer is seen by the patient as a respected figure because of his/her ability to treat the “illness” (Baer,
Singer, and Susser 1997, Romanucci-Ross 1983, Landy 1977). The Western system of medicine (familiar to the United States and Europe) incorporates the knowledge of science to find the cause, definition, and treatment of an “illness.” These concepts of illness and wellness are defined by scientific means in Western culture. For example, one comes to a doctor’s office because he/she experiences a certain symptom, such as pain in the lower right quadrant of the abdomen. The doctor asks a series of questions and palpates the region to assess the extent of the pain. The patient is then prescribed something or will have a procedure conducted to eliminate the symptom and/or the illness.

In this paper, as I have mentioned, I will be showing medicine is a cultural system with three main Caribbean groups: the Taino, Garífuna, and Bwa Mawego. I will be defining medical anthropology since its fundamental concept is medicine is a cultural system. Later I will show the cultural background in the Caribbean in respect to the three groups and their respective ethnographies. The cosmology of each group is a large part of the formation of the medical systems. Finally, I describe their medical beliefs and conclude with Geertz, showing that their medical systems are indeed examples of the universal fact that medicine is a cultural system.

**WHAT IS MEDICAL ANTHROPOLOGY?**

Each society possesses its own set of rules for the translation of signs into symptoms, the definition of illness and the patterns of treatment. Social forces not only affect diagnosis but also the access to different kinds of treatment and therapists by different sectors of the population. At the same time, medical practices are also ideological practices… ‘symbols of healing are simultaneously symbols of power’. (Seymour-Smith 1986: 188)
Medicine consists of biological and behavioral, or cultural, characteristics. The biological aspect of Western medicine has thoroughly developed, but it fails to successfully integrate the cultural aspect. The United States, which follows the Western medical system, is a pluralistic society; there are varieties of cultures within this country. Along with these cultures come vastly different ways of thinking—this is the cultural aspect of medicine (Romanucci-Ross 1983: xi). Without some understanding of a person’s culture, one would not be able to successfully interact with people of different cultures. This interaction is especially crucial in the case of medicine. If a medical professional cannot be aware of how to convey important health information (such as taking a prescription drug) understandably to a patient, it could be a major detriment to that patient. Biological and behavioral medicine are equally as important in the United States. They have an intricate relationship. Medical anthropology shows this interconnectedness.

In a very broad definition, medical anthropology is the study of how people think and interact to disease and illness. For years, Western medicine has been the most familiar model to explore. Cultural anthropologists have studied cultures’ belief systems and medical systems, but no one had ever combined them. “Ethnographies which were written before the development of medical anthropology as an independent sub-discipline tend to emphasize the social and symbolic aspects of sickness” (Seymour-Smith 1986:187). There was not a specified sub-discipline that surveyed these cultures’ medicinal views and compared them. The foundation of medical anthropology was seen in the 1920s with W. H. R. Rivers’ book.
**Origins of Medical Anthropology**

W. H. R. Rivers’ book *Medicine, Magic and Religion* was the first indicator of the thought process that merged into medical anthropology.

He conceptualized medicine, magic, and religion not as static concepts but as ‘three sets of social processes…so closely interrelated that the disentanglement of each from the rest is difficult or impossible…man’s attitude towards disease [is] identical with that which he adopts towards other classes of natural phenomena’ (Rivers 1927:1 cited in Handy1977:3).

Since this book, medical anthropology has developed into an ever-growing field of anthropology.

In the 1950’s a group of physicians and anthropologists created the term “medical anthropology” in hopes to integrate the cultural and biological concepts of medicine and compare the Western model to the other indigenous models around the world (Baer, Singer, and Susser 1997). Other anthropologists rejected the term because they believe it derived solely from the established Western concept of medicine, it was not a culturally conscious term. These anthropologists encouraged the use of the less controversial term “ethnomedicine”:

the study of indigenous or popular healing practices and of beliefs, attitudes and strategies regarding health and disease…suggests the primacy of folk categories and interpretations in the study of health and disease (Seymour-Smith 1986: 100).
However, ethnomedicine did not encompass such broad topics in the opinion of other anthropologists. Therefore, despite the disagreement, the most familiar term used today is medical anthropology.

**Medical Anthropology Today**

Medical anthropology builds a bridge between health sciences and anthropology. Crossing the bridge in one direction are persons trained in the health sciences who have come to sense a need to see health and disease in the broad context of a total way of life. Anthropology’s comparative framework helps medically trained people to see how social and environmental factors affect health and to be aware of alternative ways of understanding and treating disease. (McElroy 1996: xxi).

Human beings have interacted with the environment since the origin of humankind. Through the ecological perspective, according to McElroy (1979), diseases come from changes made by humans in the environment. For example, malaria emerged from stagnant water as a result from indigenous people who changed from hunting and gathering to “slash and burn” techniques of agriculture as a means of obtaining food (McElroy 1979). Evolution, a subject of great familiarity to anthropologists, can also show this interaction with the environments.

Humans have survived through the evolutionary line because they are very proficient adaptors to their environment. Humans cannot only develop biological adaptations (i.e. sweating to cool them down), but they have cultural adaptations (i.e. creating and using an electric fan to cool them down). Medicine is another cultural adaptation. It is not unreasonable that one’s reaction to the environment, especially if it results in disease, is to build a system to combat this threat to his/her existence. Thousands of years have demonstrated this battle between humans’
cultural adaptations against the evolution of diseases (epidemiology). This is what medical anthropologist study—how a group of humans create and maintain this cultural adaptation of medicine to adapt to the changes of disease and illness in various parts of the world.

The ability to adapt so well has its negatives, even in medicine. Sometimes, one must sacrifice in order to attain a solution to combat a specific disease or illness. This is seen around the world. Some medical practices are detrimental to people, but still viewed as a reasonable solution to fighting a disease or illness. An example of this is radiation therapy in the United States. This procedure kills off cancer cells, but instead of targeting only cancer cells, radiation therapy eradicates all cell types in the body, making the patient weaker and more susceptible to other diseases.

Key concepts used in medical anthropology are sickness, illness, disease, health, sufferer experience, medical system, medical pluralism, and biomedicine.

Sickness is a global term which refers to all events involving ill health, be these defined in terms of disease or of illness. Disease refers to pathological states of the organism, whether or not they are culturally or psychologically recognized (the medical definition of ill health). Illness refers to culturally and socially defined or conditioned perceptions and experiences of ill health, including some states which may be defined as disease and others which are not classifiable in terms of medical definitions of pathological states. (Seymour-Smith 1986: 187-188).
Health is defined, according to the World Health Organization (WHO), as “‘not merely the absence of disease and infirmity but complete physical, mental and social well-being’” (WHO 1978 cited in Baer, Singer, and Susser 1997:4). This describes a holistic approach to the concept of health. Sufferer experience is “the manner in which an ill person manifests his or her disease or distress” (Baer, Singer, and Susser 1997:7).

A medical system is an organized way in which to deal with illness and disease in society. There are two roles found in all medical systems: the role of the patient and the healer. There is also a disease theory and a health care system associated with a medical system. The disease theory explains disease causation, what the person believes caused the disease or illness to come about.

Two of these health systems are “personalistic” and “naturalistic” medical systems. The personalistic medical system is one believes in a higher power, as in a deity, supernatural being (ghost), or enchanted being (witch or sorcerer) has caused the disease. The naturalistic system causes the people to believe that an imbalance in life exists and thus causes a type of warning, which is the disease (Romanucci-Ross 1983). The naturalistic system is pronounced in Chinese medicine. Medical pluralism is the existence of many medical systems in a given society. An example would be the co-existence of Western medicine (technology remedy healers, physicians) and naturopathy (natural remedy healers) in the United States (there are many more systems which co-exist).

There exists a “hierarchy of resort” (Romanucci-Ross 1983) in these medical pluralistic cultures, in which a people will first resort to home remedies before consulting a healer. Biomedicine is used synonymously with Western medicine. This allopathic form of medicine is the most dominant in most industrial western cultures, namely France, Germany, Britain and the
United States. Technology combats illnesses and diseases. The prominent healers, called physicians, learn to focus on the illness or disease of the person. The patient is seen more as a “diseased body” than someone with an illness. This system is characterized as a rather impersonal way of curing illness. There is an inherit aggressiveness associated with biomedicine, as the body is basically seen and described as in “war” against the disease.

Hans Baer’s book *Medical Anthropology and the World System: A Critical Perspective*, critically analyzes the world system’s issues through the medical lens. The anthropologists that take this critical perspective view the emergence of health care and health as another demonstration of social inequality and power (Baer, Singer, and Susser 1997:3). This is most obvious in the biomedical cultures. Those who have health care are higher in social status and those who are the healers are also highly regarded in their cultures.

The importance of medical anthropology may not be so obvious upon first glance. A comparison between cultures helps us better understand our own. These alternative medical routes in indigenous cultures may prove to be beneficial to biomedical cultures. For example, the Garifuna live with an impressive quality of life and with such longevity by means of only natural resources. What could we do with the United States’ existing technology to mimic or develop it in order to reap benefits that are not only better, but also more inexpensive for the majority? This may alleviate the ever-present problem of millions of people not being able to afford health care in the United States. The current mindset of Western medicine could benefit greatly from other cultures’ ways of thinking. By analyzing smaller communities and their interactions with their environment through culture, we may have a view of how our medical system developed. Also, we will see as technology increases (in order to maintain the certain way of life) we give something up in return, generally something that makes us suffer.
For the last fifty years, medical anthropology has been developed and defined in a variety of ways. It compares different cultures’ beliefs of health and illness. This comparison can be used as a way to critique how some, if not all, medical systems may have a way of social stratification in a society. As more cultures are compared, there are similar concepts that emerge. The concepts of health, illness, and disease, may all have different definitions depending on the belief systems of the culture, but the concept still exists. Also, the relationship between the healer and the patient exists no matter what culture is being explored. This systematic approach to health and illness is something that is inherent in *Homo sapiens*. Though each culture may have its differences, anthropology has shown that there are, indeed, universally shared concepts.

Today medical anthropology is advancing further and new ways in which to apply it are being developed. An example is clinical anthropology. Clinical anthropology focuses on providing efficiency to the Western medical practices by providing a cross-cultural sensitivity toward the patient’s way of thinking about the disease or sickness that is presented to them, basically how the patient would understand the sickness. This is a more concentrated view of medical anthropology, which focuses on the social role and status that the medical system plays in a given society.

**CULTURAL BACKGROUND OF THE CARIBBEAN**

The Caribbean islands, seen below in Figure 1, are located in the Caribbean Sea between North and South America. The Caribbean overflows with a variety of cultures intermingled to produce unique cultures found in each island. These islands are filled with a great deal of history from the prehistory of the indigenous people to the colonization by the European powers.
Islands such as Dominica, St. Vincent, and Hispaniola foster people who have kept a culture unlike the Western one. However, each was affected by the Western culture.

Figure 1. Map of Central America and the Caribbean.

**Indigenous Beginnings**

A group of people migrated to Caribbean islands more than 3,000 years BC from tropical forests of South America, though it is unknown why. This migration came in four waves—four types of groups (Pons 1995:17). The first people, named Ciboneys by archeologists, were nomadic and used natural shelters to fish and collect their food. They were not farmers or potters. They are now named “preceramist archaic groups” (Pons 1995:17). The second group was the Igneri. They were excellent ceramists from the Arawak tribe, which are still in South America. The Igneri spread out to the Lesser Antilles, various parts of Puerto Rico and
Hispaniola and almost eliminating the Ciboneys. They are now named “Saladoids” (Pons 1995:18). The third wave was a tribe of Arawak from Venezuela, the Guianas. They eliminated some Igneris and the remaining populations of the Ciboneys. With this came some uniformity between populations in the Caribbean. This migration lasted over 1,000 years, bringing about many cultural changes, which resulted in the Taino culture and society.

The Taino, an agricultural and fishing people, had a distinct culture by 700 AD and was the defining culture found in the Greater Antilles until the arrival of European powers in 1492. The Taino had named the island of their residence Quisqueya. The last migratory wave was another group from the Arawak tribes in South America. This new group migrated to the Caribbean as well, but acquired a culture different from the Taino; they were called the Caribes. This group eliminated the last of the Igneri in Trinidad and the Lesser Antilles and would allegedly cannibalize the Taino. They settled in the Lesser Antilles, Puerto Rico and the eastern part of Hispaniola, where they would hunt and eat the Taino men and take the Taino women as cooks, weavers, and potters (Pons 1995:18). For years the Taino and Caribs lived in their respective areas, until 1492.

**Colonial Take Over- Spanish and French in Hispaniola**

On December 6, 1492,

Christopher Columbus sought out goods and spices under the Spanish flag and landed on what he thought was India. After realizing that he was not where he thought he would be—but there was
gold and goods to acquire from the “Indians”—Columbus settled on this island, which he called “Española.” This was the first colony in the Americas. He had met with the Taino, the indigenous group that was prominently found on this island, who were peaceful despite the various battles they had to undergo with the Caribs of the Lesser Antilles.

The Europeans brought with them their Western economic views as well as diseases not found normally in the Taino’s environment. Columbus established a factory, La Isabela (Pons 1995:30). Many problems resulted from this factory with his Spanish workers, mostly hidalgos, since they believed that they should not work and there was not enough food. Columbus became fearful of Taino rebellion as well, so he conducted two violent military campaigns towards the Taino in the center of the island between 1494 and 1495. These military campaigns were at first made to convert the Taino into the Spanish Catholic monarchy system, but since it was cheaper, Columbus decided to give the unhappy Spanish factory workers the Tainos as slaves in place of monthly wages. This also gave Columbus a chance to claim all the gold and goods from the captured Taino. The Taino were forced to tend Cassava plantations for the workers, but most of the Taino escaped into the mountains and left the workers to go hungry once again. Despite all the turmoil on the island, Columbus returned to Spain in 1496. The workers at La Isabela took advantage of this two-year absence and rebelled against his brothers, Bartolome and Diego.

During this rebellion, the workers left the factory under the lead of Francisco Roldan. The workers migrated to the Western part of Española in hopes to obtain more food. Meanwhile, Bartolome, along with their followers, went to the southern part of the island where the gold mines were located. He named this area Santo Domingo, the current capital of Dominican Republic.
Upon his return, Christopher Columbus appointed Roldan as alcalde mayor of Española as a means to pacify the island. Unfortunately, this meant that the Taino were enslaved once again, for that was one of the many demands made by the workers. This rebellion was one of the major catalysts of change in Española. All the workers under Roldan became large land and Taino owners which promoted them as higher class citizens in the social strata of the island. The Spanish Crown also removed Columbus from the island.

With the removal of Columbus came the appointment of Nicolas de Ovando as governor in September of 1501. Ovando was instructed by the crown to “impose law and order and keep under his authority the 2,500 persons who accompanied him to Santo Domingo and the 360 individuals whom Bobadilla and Roldan ruled” (Pons 1995:32). In order to break the power of La Isabel workers, Ovando sent Roldan and his closest followers to Spain and forced the remainder of the followers to marry the Taino women with whom they were living. This caused a weakening in power since the leaders were over seas and the workers who married the Taino women were seen as lower class for having married a savage. This only weakened the power, however, and Ovando still needed to keep the promise of Indian slaves to the workers. In order to do so, Ovando created military campaigns in two unconquered areas on the Western part of the island, Higuey and Xaragua. These two military campaigns, unlike Columbus’, were aimed towards executing all the chieftains in the Taino. The captured Taino were sent to work in the gold mines, constantly being mistreated and underfed. In 1501, the Spanish crown decided to declare the Taino free, but no one followed the declaration. In 1503, Ovando convinced the crown that the Taino were needed to work the mines and thus Spain legalized the sale and distribution of Taino.
The healthy population of Taino slaves declined significantly from the original 400,000 to 60,000, according to the 1508 census (Pons 1995:34). This decline resulted from the constant abuse the Taino had to endure. They were affected by the diseases that the Spanish brought over and even the pregnant women would abort or kill their own children to prohibit them entering slavery. Even the surviving Taino would take their lives instead of leading such a terrible one. A group of Taino migrated to the mountains and deserts of the island to live a life without the Spanish. The actual amount of Taino on the island is unknown since the censuses of the 1500’s did not account for them (Guitar 2002). With the decline in the enslaved population and the discovery of the exports of sugar and cattle, the Spanish needed to find more workers. African slaves were the best solution.

Figure 3. Map of Hispaniola: Haiti and Dominican Republic

Years passed with the Spanish weary of the buccaneers who were infamous for stealing goods off Hispaniola. With this, the new governor, Alonso de Feunmayor, decided to construct walls and forts around the capital, Santo Domingo, to keep it safe (Rogonziński 2000: 53). By 1607, the governor was ordered to militarily force people residing on the western part of the island to abandon their land and cattle and move closer to the capital. This was done to further protect the island from
Dutch smugglers. This caused the west side of the island to be abandoned by the Spanish colonizer, allowing the French to formally take over the west side in 1697 and name it Saint-Domingue.

**Dispelling a Historical Myth**

According to history sources, the Taino were “extinct” by this time. Anthropologist and historian, Lynne Guitar, however, has demonstrated that there were Tainos who fled and were unaccounted for in the censuses used to count them (2002). There were also African slaves who ran away from the Spanish and French plantations to live free with the Taino in the mountainous regions of Hispaniola. Though the Taino suffered greatly through disease and other factors, they survived through blood and culture. The Criollos are the mixed people that resulted from the mixing of ethnicities, namely the Spaniards, African slaves, and Tainos found in the current occupants of Hispaniola.

The Taino are not extinct today, despite the claim made in the 1500 Census (the census’ used by historians to prove the extinction). This census did not account for the Taino populations that were hiding in the desert and mountains, the peripheral of the island. Why do you think there are darker skinned people found in the mountains today? Only five plantations were included in the Census’ (with a combined number of 200 Indians), the other 40 plantations were unaccounted for. The census also had “others”...ethnicities were organized by social and political standing, not biological (choices = Indian, Spaniard, African). Taino women became *ladinozed*, took the Spanish lifestyle when married to Spaniard males. Even though the Taino women lived as Spaniards, they taught children the Taino culture in the “domestic sphere” (Guitar 2002:5), i.e. food preparation and storage, child raising, religious, and medical practices. Taino culture and beliefs are seen even in the wealthy people from the capital today. Less
wealthy people, found in the mountainous and desert regions, adopt more Taino culture and this is where the indigenous medical practices are seen.

The people who occupy the island today are of mixed ancestry. In the mountainous rural parts of Dominican Republic there are impoverished people, who will claim their Taino heritage, but there is doubt to whether it is truly “pure” Taino blood, these are referred to as the “campesinos”. In Haiti, there is a strong demonstration of African values among the impoverished people. (I chose the impoverished people as a focus for they seem to possess more of the indigenous values and customs. In contrast with the wealthy people, whose lifestyles parallel more of the Western colonial standard of living.)

Currently, the Taino culture is seen most prominent in the rural impoverished parts of the Dominican Republic, while the African tradition is seen mostly on the other half of the island, the Haitian half. Tainos, who fled to live a life free of colonial rule, are the great majority of the ancestors of the “campesinos”, the impoverished people of Dominican Republic (Guitar 2002).

**Colonial Take Over in the Lesser Antilles**

The colonialism did not only affect Hispaniola and the Greater Antilles. St. Vincent, St. Lucia, and Dominica were able to avoid colonization early on because of their small size. However, they were eventually taken over by the Europeans and were affected respectively.

The island Caribs on St. Vincent were left unstirred until 1660 when the French and English simultaneously took over the island (as well as Dominica and St. Lucia). The Caribs, unlike the “peaceful Arawaks” refused to give into colonial domination and made a series of revolts against the Europeans. After the numerous revolts, the St. Vincent group of island Caribs were relocated to the deserted Roatan Island (Gonzalez 1988, Conzemius 1928). Even there the
uprising did not cease. The Carib revolters escaped to British Honduras (today Belize), a land east of Honduras and settled there as the Garífuna, or Black Carib.

In 1627 the French and English officially took over Dominica. Surprisingly there was not much dispute over the small island since there was little potential to produce a substantial cash crop. In 1725 the French placed a coffee plantation in Dominica along with the African slaves. A few years later, in 1763 the French relinquished ownership of Dominica to England. Today there still is a strong French influence on the island which is seen in the Carib-African mix people called the Bwa Mawego.

**CARIBBEAN ETHNOGRAPHIES**

In order to fully understand the health concepts of the Taino, Garífuna, and the Bwa Mawego one must have not only the history, but an introduction to the cultures. This section serves exactly that purpose—briefly explaining the culture in regards to each group’s subsistence economy, social organization, and religion/cosmology.

**Taino of Hispaniola**

The Taino have lived on the tropical island of Hispaniola for thousands of years, ever since the migration of their South American ancestors. They have a subsistence economy based on agriculture; they are also known to fish and hunt (see Figure 4 below).

![Figure 4. Painting of Taino village. (as found in Trustees of Indiana University)](image)

Taino are polygynous people, where the “commoner” men had two or three wives while the caciques would have up to 30. Their social stratification is based on economic wealth and political power. Large extended families under one roof (up to ten people).
There is a patriarchal family structure, where the central authority is the father. There is a matriarchal inheritance and succession pattern. For example, if a cacique died their inheritance would go to the oldest son. If there was no son, it would go to the oldest son or daughter of a dead man’s sister because the bloodline can be accurately traced. Each clan is organized matrilineal as well. The succession and power of each is measured matrilineal. Matrilineal organization with patrilocal residence ties between clans, groups, and tribes increase and theoretically strengthen as families grow and exogamous marriages increase.

Mothers nurture and raise the children. Fathers teach hunting and farming skills to their sons. The boys are instructed in farming and other techniques, while the girls learn tasks needed in the home. Children learn tasks according to the sexual division of labor in the clan. Women weave hammocks, cook, prepare cassava bread, and handcraft all domestic tools. The Taino have no currency, instead rely heavily on trade.

The political system consisted of chiefs, or caciques who acted as the ruler of their tribe. They decided whether or not the “commoners” would go into battle. They had assistants named nitainos who were considered noble class. These nitainos served as the link between the people and the caciques and had a large servant class, the naborias. Perhaps, more prominent than the caciques were the healers and religious leaders of the community, the behiques. They served as an “intermediary between men and their gods” (Pons 1938:26) as well as a medicine man. Behiques would make use of resources, such as herbs, and use magic as a means to bring a Taino back to well health. They would carry an idol with curative powers, specific to an individual medicine man.

The Taino were “animists.” They believed in interconnectedness between a visible world and an invisible one and in “existence and survival of the soul in the environment (tree, rivers,
They also believed in eternal life for the virtuous. “In Hispaniola they situated their ‘heaven’ in a remote part of the island, where the elected would go to rest and eat the delicious Haitian ‘apricot’” (The Arawaks-UCSB: 2).

**Garifuna of Belize**

The Garifuna, also known as the Black Caribs, of Central America are located in a country found between Honduras and the Caribbean Sea, Belize (previously known as British Honduras). They derived from a mix of the Carib of St. Vincent (found in the Caribbean) and the African slaves who escaped from a capsized slave boat in the Caribbean. The Garifuna have strong origins in the Caribbean, therefore they are an appropriate example of medical culture found in the Caribbean. The Garifuna are a mainly agricultural society, however they do fish and hunt as well. Their cosmology presents the belief of many spirits, ancestors (*gúbida*) and evil (*máfya*).

**The Bwa Mawego of Dominica**

![Figure 5. Map of location of Dominica (Quinlan 2000).](image)

Medical anthropologist Dr. Marsha Quinlan studied the Bwa Mawego health care system and their concepts of “bush medicine” in the summer of 1993. The Bwa Mawego are located in the eastern part of a small island in the Caribbean, Dominica. This site (see Figure 5 and 6) is
characteristic of most Caribbean islands with its tropically humid, hot, and rainy climate. In their volcanic mountainous island, they are subsistence gardeners, growing two types of *taro*, a potato-like vegetable, and other such tropical vegetables and fruits by means of the slash and burn technique. They also raise fowl and other animals as another form of food and to sell. Fishing is also done, yet it is a male occupation alone, showing an apparent gender division of labor.

Figure 6. Image of Bwa Mawegan Village (Quinlan 2000).

This group derives from a mix of the “peaceful Arawaks” and “cannibal Carib,” but also of the slaves, referred to as Maroons, who escaped from a capsized boat long ago (Quinlan 2004, 13). Their concepts of family are similar to the Western nuclear family: there is a mother, father, and child. The mother and father are not allowed to live together until the child is born, however. This is a form of marriage for them. “Formal” marriage is nonexistent in the Bwa Mawegan community. A woman refers to the man who resides with her as her husband, though the man usually does not refer to her as his wife. At the time of the study, “approximately 40% of households in Bwa Mawego are male-headed (or co-headed), and around 30% of reproductive-aged women are in long-term unions” (Quinlan 2000 as cited in Quinlan 2004). Also the residences are not only
occupied with the immediate family. Extended family, such as grandparents or sisters and their children, reside in the household as well.

Bwa Mawegans have a very patriarchal system, there is a strong “father involvement” in the community (Quinlan 2004:31). Their cosmology reflects the patriarchal thinking associated with the Bwa Mawegans by holding Roman Catholicism as the main religion. Protestantism and Rastafarianism also exist causing this to be a pluralistic system of cosmology; there are many religions in one society.

**CARIBBEAN CONCEPTS OF HEALTH, DISEASE, AND ILLNESS**

As I stated in the introduction, Geertz definition of religion serves as a strong basis under which culture can be shown to be a cultural system. Each point he analyzes in his definition of religion is applicable to medicine. The three groups in focus are offered as examples for each of these points.

**Models Of and For Behavior**

The first point on Geertz definition, the explanation of the models of and for behavior is seen in the Garifuna and their medical ritual of the Dugu Festival. Here we see how people shape themselves to a system and how the system is shaped for them.

![Figure 8. The búye, medicine man, summoning the ancestral spirit, gubida (Nowosad, Molinar, & Dugan, Garifuna).](image)
The Garífuna have a personalistic cause of illness—a supernatural force causes the illness. They define disease as an affliction of the evil spirits, the máfya. The only way a person would rid himself or herself of this affliction is to see the medicine man, or the búye (dugumaster, see Figure 8). The búye serves as a medium to contact the gubida, the ancestral spirits to combat the máfya. If the “sick” person does not get better with a treatment, the búye summons the gúbida by holding a three-day long festival called the Dugu or Dogu festival. The afflicted person would be placed in the corner of a room with the following:

At the center was placed what appeared to be a small pile of earth, the lanígi dögú (heart of the dugu), over which was spread a small mat (lídau). The latter was made of the plaited strips of the balaigre (gaunwere) plant...Around these were placed several large vessels containing hiyú (an intoxicating drink prepared from the coarse cassava bread), and every male guest deposited a bottle of rum or whisky there also. Every one, male as well as female, had the face smeared with arrotto, the red dye of the Bixa orellana, or with lampblack, and brought along from home a rooster which was carried in one hand during the dances. The dancers formed several circles, which revolved in different directions around the lanígi dögú. (Conzemius 1928:203)

The men and women who attend this festival dance around like animals, drink the hiyú and dance “provocatively”, (see Figure 9) according to Eduard Conzemius (1928).
Motivations and Mood

In the second part of Geertz definition speaks of motivations and moods. When the Bwa Mawego seek out help with an illness, they go through a series of healers. They first try to rectify the illness with bush medicine, or a home remedy made with the local herbs. If the illness still persists, they attend a Western health care facility with a physician. As a last resort, if the illness has yet to wane, they seek magic or religious help. They go to a priest, which is seen as the most trustworthy since he does not possess magic of his own. The priest is merely a tool for God’s work and if he were to tell anyone about the illness, he would go to hell. If the priest is not able to help, the afflicted person accepts that they must have been put under a curse or spell and must seek an obeahman (Quinlan 2004, Laguerre 1987). This is a serious matter in the Bwa Mawego society. If one is charged with imposing a spell upon another in the community ones status is immediately lowered—everyone in the village is suspicious of the person from then on.

The Problem of Suffering

The third part of Geertz definition of religion can be seen with among the Bwa Mawegans hierarchal method in which they seek a healer, but it is also seen in the way in which they treat certain “illnesses.” This is the way the Bwa Mawegans conceive the reason why they suffer and how they will deal with the suffering, i.e. the “illness.” The Bwa Mawego possess
two types of illness causation, naturalistic and personalistic. The imbalance of the body system is a naturalistic cause of illness. The Bwa Mawego explain naturalistic illnesses through a “humoral system.” The humoral system is the balance between heat and cold. This balance of hot and cold is to be maintained throughout one’s life. If a Bwa Mawegan subjects his/her body to quick temperature changes, too much “hot/cold food/drink,” or too much “hot/cold emotion” the body will respond by an illness (Quinlan 2004:72). The Bwa Mawegans have certain foods and drink which contain cooling or heating properties; unlike other culture’s humoral system which all foods and drinks contain either a cooling, heating, or neutral property. Personalistic illnesses are those caused by supernatural forces. In the case of the Bwa Mawego, there are four types of witches, sorcerers, obeahmen, and Jah. The four types of witches are: **soukwayans, lougawous, djombis, and diabléses.** **Soukwayans** (female) and **lougawous** (males) are the most malevolent of the witches. They cause “fright” and suck ones blood (giving a person “low blood” or “dirty blood”). The other two witches only cause “fright.” Witches have an intrinsic ability for magic while the sorcerers learn rituals and magic (Evans-Pritchard 1937 as cited in Quinlan 2004:55).

Witches possess the ability to metamorphoses into any animal and do evil in the forest land near the Bwa Mawego village. If a person comes into contact with a witch, the witch will cause “fright,” an infliction equal to the Western post traumatic stress syndrome. The **Soukwayans** (female) and **lougawous** (males) cause “low and dirty blood.” A person can tell if he/she has been sucked by a witch by the peculiar “sucking bruise” found on the body and the associated symptoms of the two illnesses. “Low blood” is not enough blood in one’s system. The person exhibits signs of weakness, fatigue, and dizzy spells. This is generally compared to
the Western anemia. “Dirty blood” is “‘dirts’ in blood stream that pollute the body” (Quinlan 2004:58). This is associated with the spread of contagious diseases.

Obeahmen are the neutral parties who are paid by a person to cast spells or curses on another (Quinlan 2004). They may also be visited by the ill person and let them know how to be cured and who paid to cast the spell/curse. The community does not view the obeahman to blame for the illness, instead the person who paid him is seen negatively in society.

Jah, the Patwa word for God, is another cause of illness. If one sins or disrespects any taboos, Jah will inflict an illness upon the person. For example, if one is to slaughter livestock during a pregnancy (a Bwa Mawegan taboo), the child will be born with part of the anatomy of the livestock, as in an arm(s) or leg(s) which is deformed in the form of a hoof or hooves (Quinlan 2004).

**Belief in Medicine**

The fourth point of Geertz definition, placing belief in the cultural system, is seen in the Taino.

Figure 7. Idol of *behique*, medicine man.

Taino believed in many gods, *Cemies*. They knew if they were to upset one, they would pay, sometimes by becoming ill. If the ailed person were seriously afflicted, they would have to be healed through a religious ceremony in the flat courts of the center of the Taino village. The *behique*, medicine man (see Figure 7) would use herbs, plants, tobacco smoke and the advice of the *Cemies* to extract the illness from the afflicted. The patient would have to vomit with a swallowing stick in order to purge the body of
physical and spiritual impurities (Negrón 2000). The men suffered through couvades/covada (Negrón 2000). This is an ailment that afflicts men during their wives pregnancy, causing the men to go through the same pains of labor. The men are treated the same as the women after pregnancy, resting on a hammock for a few days and eating the same diet.

**Concept of Person in Medicine**

The fifth and final part of Geertz definition is shown medically through the body image of the Bwa Mawegans. In order to maintain health, one must keep a balanced body system. There must be: 1) Balanced diet (local nutritional and humoral theory), 2) Not prohibiting body from exposure to excessive heat or cold, 3) Getting enough sleep without being lazy, 4) Exercising without working to exhaustion, and 5) Keeping the blood clean (Quinlan 2004:61). If there is a digression from the above list, the body will become imbalanced and thus cause an illness.

**DISCUSSION**

Indigenous medical systems, as is with all medical systems, are arbitrary. There is no intrinsic value to the symbols that they use for medicine. Symbols get their meaning from the culture in which they are used. Geertz definition of religion as a cultural system is applicable to that of any cultural system, in this case, medicine. The Garífuna have a cosmological belief in spirits, which is why you see such treatment and beliefs of disease causation with them, as well as in the Taino. The Bwa Mawego have a pluralistic medical system, with a number of beliefs associated with them, they have a series of healers they may see. These examples demonstrate what holds true for all cultures; their medical beliefs are built according to their culture.
I plan to continue the research more in depth with more of a focus on the people of Latin America and their differing medical beliefs especially with the colonial influence.
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DIAMONDS OF SIERRA LEONE: THE TRUE MEANING OF FOREVER

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The politics of denial and increasing global inequality have a direct relationship in the globalized world. This paper presents an analysis of the current situation in Sierra Leone as a case study, focusing on how globalization and the diamond trade have influenced the country’s ongoing struggles with state corruption, war, poverty, and strife. At the same time, this research examines how the international community, specifically the global north, shields itself from these problems by living in a state of perpetual denial over the origins of the products it consumes and its own complicity in this system.
Diamonds of Sierra Leone: The True Meaning of Forever

There are infinite routes that diamonds can travel before they end up on the fingers or around the necks of Western consumers. Diamonds can be walked to a border and exchanged for weapons, or carried in someone’s stomach out of a mine to be sold on the black market. These deadly stones are cut and polished by a friendly jeweler whose squeaky clean smile assures the consumer, if they even bother to ask, that those diamonds, lovingly placed on the fingers of women by doting husbands did not fund an organization that brutally raped women, amputated limbs at will, or enlisted children to fight in their war.

Not many people understand the true meaning of forever – but the people of Sierra Leone were given a brutal lesson in March of 1991, when the Revolutionary United Front ousted the legitimate government and took over for a ten-year reign of atrocity and chaos. Specific events had to occur in order to create the right conditions for this group to take over, and much of their power was derived through the sale of conflict diamonds. This paper discusses the historical beginnings of Sierra Leone and how colonization laid the framework for the corruption that now exists within their government. The diamond path section documents the many ways a diamond can make it to Western jewelry stores. The discussion on globalization documents how purposefully made decisions have created the conditions that exist in Sierra Leone today. Globalization has increased the interconnectedness of the world, and the section dealing with different flows will show how this is so with capital, diamonds, people, arms and violence. Additionally, Marx’s commodity fetish and aspects of denial in the globalized world will be broken down and explained. Denial is one of the key factors that allow atrocity to continue, only once denial is acknowledged and understood can it be adequately combated.
In order for one to understand the impact that colonialism has had, one must understand the motivations behind colonization in the first place. Many people still today feel that non-Western countries are better off for having been influenced by European civilization because those colonized people are no longer ‘primitive’ or ‘backward.’ However, one must understand that the intentions of some colonists quickly turned from civilizing indigenous peoples, to pillaging resources and amassing land for their empire.

When explorers first left Europe, they came upon spices, gold and other riches, and began extracting those resources from the lands they discovered to bring them back to their countries. This extraction of resources became commonplace, and explorers and traders began dealing with the native people for the desired goods. The colonizers determined that the natives did not know how to make proper use of their land, so therefore it did not really belong to them. This supposed misuse of land is one of the moral rationalizations used when the colonizers conquered different groups of people. They assumed that they could make better use of the land than the natives, which only furthered their feelings of racial superiority. As colonizers stole from the land and began settling, they determined that it was their job to civilize the ‘primitive’ natives, hence the development of the ‘white man’s burden.’ The belief in Europe as a civilizing force in the world expressed by the term ‘white man’s burden’, became a commonly held mantra for the Western world; the remnants of which are still felt today in the First World’s attempts to develop Third World nations in their own image. Although many Europeans still felt the call to modernize the indigenous peoples, once it was realized the great wealth that could be attained, the priorities of the Europeans began to change.
Before the coming of the Europeans, Sierra Leone as a country did not exist. It was divided up by language into different tribes, the largest of these being the Mende and the Temne. Additionally, all of these groups were able to provide for their own socio-economic needs. Despite the Europeans’ declaration of the different tribe’s primitiveness, the different groups were not living in squalor, but in some cases thriving in their own societies.

The first group of Europeans to visit Sierra Leone was the Portuguese in the 15th century. Sierra Leone received its name in 1462 from Pedro da Cintra, who named this new territory Serra Lyoa, Sierra Leone. They established a spot on the coast as their trading post and ‘watering place,’ as it was used as convenient stop for succor and rest on the trip to and from India. However, in the mid-sixteenth century, England had become interested in Western Africa and was determined to establish itself as a power. Unfortunately, some English men used this opportunity to kidnap people for the flourishing Atlantic Slave trade. These actions were not received well by the native people, who took action to prevent the capture of their people.

Despite the resistance, Sierra Leone became an important part of the slave trade. The coastal area of the country was where a majority of trade took place; therefore, natives living on the coast became exposed to European clothing, food and utensils. Some of the earliest signs of the negative impacts of globalization occurred on the coast of Sierra Leone when numerous craftsmen were put out of business because of the availability of cheap European goods. Additionally the arrival of Europeans led to a partial loss of native culture as people were shipped away as slaves, Christianity was introduced, and native crafts were forgotten in favor of purchasing British goods.

2 Alie, 26.
3 Ibid, 33.
At the end of the 18th century, the British had just lost the War of Independence in the American colony, and the slaves who had fought in the war on the side of the British fled to Nova Scotia or London. Dr. Smeathman, a botanist who had visited Sierra Leone, suggested that an “[…] agricultural settlement of Africans and whites […]” be established there. Granville Sharp, an abolitionist, supported the idea, along with many of London’s poor blacks. He proposed the name “Province of Freedom” and worked to make the proposal a reality. He hoped it would “[…] serve as a nucleus for the spread of Christianity and European civilization in Africa”.5

The settlers arrived in May 1787, and paid a sub-chief of the Sierra Leone peninsula for use of the land.6 The settlers faced many hard times with agriculture, weather and housing, yet they persevered. Former slaves, who had fought in the Revolutionary War and had since been living in Nova Scotia, had been waiting for the land promised to them by England for their loyalty. These people were given the opportunity to move into the settlement on Sierra Leone.7 As the settlement became more established, schools and other institutions were built, vastly improving the quality of life of the settlers.

By 1807, slave recaptives were being used to populate the colony. After the British declared slavery illegal, they often intercepted slave ships and rescued stolen Africans, freeing them into Sierra Leone. Although a European like society was already established, the recaptives held onto some of their traditional ways, essentially creating a new culture known as the Krio. It can be described as a “[…] blend of Western and numerous African cultures”.8 Krio was also the name of the language these people spoke which was a blend of English and native languages,

5 Ibid, 50-51.
6 Ibid, 51.
7 Ibid, 55.
8 Ibid, 78.
and even some Portuguese. Many of these Krio grew to be just as highly educated as Europeans, becoming “[…] the ‘firsts’ of the professional class in West Africa”. The Krio had a great deal of power in the colony and took on occupations such as lawyers, doctors, teachers and civil servants.9

There was very little travel into the hinterland of Sierra Leone, with the exception of those going on Christian missions. The uncharted conditions of travel and supposedly hostile natives were considered somewhat dangerous; missionaries were not always met with open arms, and sometimes with outright hostility. However, in 1896 the hinterland was named a protectorate of Britain, and therefore under British control. Frederic Cardew, governor of Sierra Leone (which in this instance refers only to the colonial area), went into the hinterland in an attempt to explain to the local chiefs what the protectorate process would entail. However, his explanations were practically “incomprehensible” to the Chiefs. The whole of what would eventually be the country of Sierra Leone was stripped from the natives in the proclamation of the Protectorate.10

Cardew essentially carved out a map of territories of the hinterland, and divided them into chiefdoms. Unfortunately, throughout that process he gave no regard to the cultural and ethnic divisions or history of these areas. The re-named ‘paramount chiefs’ of the different tribes had previously been referred to as Kings and Queens by their people, and they felt their authority was being usurped. They could no longer meet with high-ranking officials to conduct business, but had to deal with inexperienced peons – another blow to their authority. To add insult to injury, the colonial administration claimed it had the right to “[…] exploit […] what it considered a wasteland”.11 The 'wasteland' the colonial administration makes reference to was actually land where wild crops grew and various burial grounds existed. The colonizers assumed

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9 Ibid, 80-81.
10 Ibid, 126.
that if the people were not exploiting the land to make a profit, in the same way the Europeans did, than the land was not being used productively and therefore available for appropriation and plunder.

Cardew also declared a “Hut Tax” on all the people in the Protectorate. Not entitled a ‘house tax’ because he believed that the homes of the people in the Protectorate didn’t qualify as houses, but mere mud huts. Consequently, these actions created a backlash because “[t]he people of the Protectorate […] did not like to be taxed by a foreign administration, especially one that had not conquered them,” argues Joe A.D. Alie, “[t]hey believed taxation on their houses implied rent, which therefore denied them ownership rights”. This led to the Hut Tax War in 1898, which caused unrest throughout the Colony and the Protectorate.

The British were victorious in the Hut Tax War, but they suffered heavy losses and henceforth took actions to prevent further revolt. The Chiefdoms were broken down into even smaller units and different leaders were given authority. Chiefs essentially lost all power unless they agreed to do the bidding of the British government. The Krio, the group of elites from Freetown, were also discriminated against because it was assumed they had had a hand in the revolt. 

In 1938, a Youth League was formed in order to mobilize urban labor, ensure an equitable division of wealth and to “[…] unite the people of the Colony and the Protectorate and end colonial rule in Sierra Leone.” These were some of the first talks of freedom heard in Sierra Leone. The Youth League attempted a number of strikes and union ventures; however, the

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12 Ibid, 135.
13 Ibid, 143.
government often quashed these attempts. Apparently, the British ideals of equity and fairness were meant only for the British, not Africans.\textsuperscript{14}

Consequently, more and more natives began to feel compelled to gain that sought-after equality in colonial society. Once the Protectorate was declared, natives became interested in receiving a Western education, as it became more accessible. Therefore, a class much like the Krio of the colony was formed in the Protectorate; this newly educated class also became involved in national politics. The Krio were not pleased with this sudden surge of involvement from the Protectorate because they felt like they were being marginalized, which they were, by the British and the people of the Protectorate. This caused increasing tensions within the country.\textsuperscript{15}

An important concept to understand about the colonies of virtually all European states is that they were not concerned with the development of the colony whatsoever. They just wanted the territory to be stable enough so that the colonial lords would be able to reap the benefits, but unstable enough so that the people could not organize in revolt. There were two main concerns: “[…] the production and export of raw materials […]” and “[…] the need to create in the colonies an ever-expanding market for […] manufactured goods”.\textsuperscript{16} Philp McMichael in \textit{Development and Social Change} discusses a concept known as the colonial division of labor. The colonial division of labor deals with the ‘specialized extraction’ of raw materials from non-European countries, which were then sent to Europe to be processed into goods that would benefit that particular colonizing country. The natural resources flowed out of Sierra Leone, while British crafts flowed into the country. The second aspect of the colonial division of labor deals with dependency; the colonizers made the people of the colony dependent on European

\begin{footnotes}
\footnotetext[14]{Ibid, 178.}
\footnotetext[15]{Ibid, 184.}
\footnotetext[16]{Ibid 187.}
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manufactured goods. In doing this, the Europeans turned a profit, and consequently caused the indigenous people to halt the production of their own handicrafts.17

Many important raw materials were taken from Sierra Leone and sent to the West for manufacture. Export crops were a huge source of revenue, although they were bought at low prices by the British and then sold for a huge profit.18 Despite the fact that people of Sierra Leone were taught to grow certain foods and mine diamonds, they were never taught how to process them. Sierra Leone became merely a source of raw materials, and Britain had a whole country of people to slave away for its interests. One of the many reasons African nations are struggling to survive post-colonialism is that after they were exploited and given their ‘freedom,’ they had never been given the necessary tools to use their natural resources for their own benefit on the global market.

Within the global economy, Africa has consistently been the main source of diamonds for the rest of the world.19 Not only does Africa produce the greatest amount, but it has also produced some of the largest, most beautiful and valuable diamonds.20 This reputation has made different countries and companies vehemently vie for positions of power over African mines. Much like other natural resources, a vast majority of the mined diamonds are not cut or processed in Africa because of the lack of skilled labor for those particular fields.21 The people in these diamond rich countries are not taught how to cut, prepare or utilize their diamonds to sell on the market; the resources are instead spirited out of the country and Western diamond companies make a majority of the profits.

18 Alie, 192.
21 Berman, 316.
Some of the first diamond discoveries occurred in 1866 on the Orange River in South Africa. Upon this discovery, a group of people formed the De Beers Corporation and by 1893 had a monopoly on the market. Throughout Africa new strikes were discovered in Angola, the Congo, South West Africa and Sierra Leone. Because of these new discoveries, supply became so great that it exceeded demand, and prices dropped dramatically after WWI. The Central Selling Organization, “[u]ntil the 1950’s […] controlled almost all buying and selling of gem diamonds”. However, in the 1950’s a number of African nations refused to deal with this organization because of its dealing with the racist South African government. This spurred Sierra Leone, and a number of other nations, to take “[…] control of their own mining and export operations […].” Sierra Leone, in particular, is now known for its flourishing illicit diamond trade.

In the 1920’s, the British government of Sierra Leone decided it wanted to diversify the economy, and looked towards minerals and mining to do that job. The mining industry boomed in Sierra Leone. By 1957, 72% of exports were minerals with “[d]iamonds alone [contributing] 60 per cent of the total mineral exports and 43 percent of all exports at the time.” As a result a “diamond rush” occurred in 1952. People abandoned their homes and farms in order to cash in on the diamond-mining industry. Since farms were abandoned, food production significantly decreased, while demand for food increased. Therefore, the country was forced to import food from other countries, thereby, making it dependent on foreign food and goods to sustain itself.

Sierra Leone became independent on April 27th, 1961 and seemed as though it was on the road to having a free, democratic and stable government. Unfortunately, the elites enjoyed the

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22 Ibid, 320
23 Ibid, 321.
24 Ibid, 324.
25 Alie, 197.
majority of the benefits of ‘freedom,’ while the people of the hinterland continued to be marginalized. Leaders often held power through political favors, military might, and bribery. When situations began to devolve, military coups became commonplace to take out democratically elected governments. However, the worst of these coups occurred in 1991 when the Revolutionary United Front ousted the All People’s Congress and began a ten-year reign of terror, driving Sierra Leone further into desolation.

**The Diamond Path**

A 2000 Security Council Resolution of the United Nations stated that approximately 20 percent of worldwide trade in rough diamonds is illicit. There are three kinds of diamonds for purchase: licit, illicit and conflict. Licit diamonds are those that have been obtained through all the legal channels; although, in many cases one cannot be sure that all of the documentation is legitimate. Illicit diamonds are diamonds that have been illegally mined or stolen, while conflict diamonds are derived from areas where a conflict is going on. Often times, these diamonds are providing the funding that perpetuates the conflict. Diamonds that originated as conflict or illicit diamonds can easily become ‘licit’ in the eyes of diamond companies through bribery and manipulation of the system. It is very difficult to actually determine which gems were legally obtained and which were bought illegally. Despite the fact that companies claim to not deal with illicit mining, evidence clearly indicates otherwise.

There are a number of paths that a diamond can follow throughout the course of its life. The two most typical are: a legal sale and purchase, or an illicit sale and eventual legal purchase, most likely from someone in the U.S. In Sierra Leone the same paths also apply; however, by the end of the 1990’s and the beginning of 2000, state diamond sales had reached an almost

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negligible amount, while conflict diamond sales were probably at their highest, lining the pockets of rebel forces and allowing the bloody insurgency of the Revolutionary United Front to continue for almost eleven years.

Greg Campbell, author of *Blood Diamonds*, traveled throughout Sierra Leone while, in his words, “[t]racing the deadly path of the world’s most precious stones.” The start of the diamond trail in Sierra Leone begins with the miner. This person could be voluntarily working for a state-run mine, but since most of those were taken over by the Revolutionary United Front, the person is most likely a captured prisoner, man or child, and has been forced into slave labor.

Campbell recounts what he saw in the mines and what he learned about the miner's typical workday. They work from sunrise until sunset with no breaks; in return they will get two cups of rice to feed their withered bodies, and possibly to feed families who are waiting for that food. Throughout the day, they are watched over by vicious foremen who make sure that no one steals even one precious stone. Campbell describes a prisoner of the RUF named Jango who was forced to mine for diamonds; he stopped his sifting for a moment to see what he had discovered and guns were immediately pointed in his face to ensure that he would not steal any of the lucrative gems. Forced labor prisoners of the RUF were constantly on guard because their captors were often intoxicated or drugged up, and would be willing to kill for the smallest infraction.

A source of tension in Sierra Leone seems to be the Lebanese businessmen who found their way into the country in the 1890’s. These people are considered the ‘middlemen’ of the diamond trade and can be government licensed or illegitimate – or both. The Lebanese are often times the ones who trade to major companies in Europe, receiving a pittance for the diamonds

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28 Campbell, 54.
compared to what those companies will sell them for. Although in the 1940’s they did not engage in illicit diamond mining on a large scale, their role began to increase dramatically in the 1950’s. Their job is often to give ‘loans’ to potential mine operators so they can buy supplies and equipment. This is done with the understanding the miner will bring his stones to the people involved with the Lebanese dealer for first appraisal so that they can get the best pick of the diamonds.\textsuperscript{30}

The illicit trade has been going on since the boom in the fifties when individuals set out to mine for themselves and see what money could be made. The miners found the stones, which were then easily smuggled out of the country. Not only could people mine without having a license from the government, which was incredibly hard to come by and required a good amount of palm greasing, but they could also avoid paying an export tax when the goods were smuggled out of the country. Campbell describes how DeBeers, a mining giant, stepped in to buy the diamonds from the miners who were ‘stealing’ them from the government mining company. However, this would mean dealing literally with people from the bush and most London businessmen were very uncomfortable with that. Therefore, the Lebanese become the middlemen once more because they had been dealing with miners since the boom began. It was easy enough for them to strike up deals on behalf of DeBeers, despite both parties knowing the diamonds were illicit.\textsuperscript{31}

Those individuals that wanted the diamonds to leave the country completely undetected used smugglers. Diamonds are so small that one can easily fit a fortune of the gems in the body. Much like drug mules from South America, certain people will swallow the diamonds and hope to discover them later upon their ‘exit.’ Diamonds cannot be detected in the human body, and

\textsuperscript{30} Leighton, 44.
\textsuperscript{31} Campbell, 20.
Campbell describes a number of other ways they have been smuggled, such as in a packet of cigarettes, in the stomachs of parrots, fruit salad, false heels of shoes and the list would not be complete without the story of the woman hiding them behind her false eyeball. 32

It seems that legitimate buyers and sellers can easily delegitimize themselves by turning a blind eye to diamonds that have obviously been stolen or not run through the proper channels. Once they accept such diamonds with the knowledge that they could possibly be illicit or conflict diamonds, the companies become complicit in an illegal sales system, which breathes corruption and allowed a bloody civil war to continue in Sierra Leone for over ten years. Guinea, for example, officially reported from 1993 to 1997 2.6 million carats were exported to Belgium. The Diamond High Council in Belgium, however, reported that they received 4.8 million carats from Guinea.33 One wonders how it is possible for Belgium to import double what the government of Guinea says it exports, and not consider those diamonds to be illegally exported, especially considering that they are probably from an area of conflict.

However, it can’t really be proven that these diamonds come from a country such as Sierra Leone. Once they are in Guinea, it is very likely that one can find a customs official to bribe who will issue a certificate of authenticity stating that the stones originated in Guinea.34 Thus, allowing corporations and individuals in Belgium to wash their hands of any guilt or responsibility. In an industry where greed and corruption reign, one can easily attain the forged documents needed through the use of personal contacts and bribery. Diamonds that were mined in Sierra Leone and smuggled into Guinea, with the flick of a pen become legitimate. Despite companies saying that their diamonds do not come from conflict areas, even the company cannot be sure where the diamonds originated from, and neither can the consumer. The corporations for

32 Ibid, 37-38.
33 Ibid, 41.
34 Ibid, 42.
the longest time have given tacit approval to these methods of deception by not actively trying to put a stop to them.

The diamonds of Sierra Leone have also made their way to Liberia, specifically for arms trading. Campbell recounts a story about a man who was one of the people forced to walk fifty miles to the Liberian border to trade diamonds for weapons. The men in charge of the slave labor would carry the diamonds, which would then be traded for weapons and ammunition. The slave laborers would then be forced to carry one hundred kilo bundles of killing power fifty miles back to their camp. If the ‘mules’ were unable to continue, they were put-down, like animals instead of humans, and their pack was distributed to the rest.35

Once diamonds enter the hands of smugglers, they often look towards legitimate jewelers, appraisers, or companies to purchase the stolen goods. These buyers may or may not realize the origins of the diamonds they are purchasing, however, one can be sure that they are aware of their illicit nature. The buyers will then have the diamonds sent out to various locations to be cut and readied for sale in the West. Once they are neatly placed on the shelves of jewelry stores, men and women enter the shops and unknowingly purchase diamonds that are awash in the blood of the victims of a resource war, fought over those very stones.

The U.N. Security Council has attempted to take steps to stop the sale of conflict diamonds. They wanted all nations to ban the import of conflict diamonds, and set up a system of certification in Sierra Leone in August of 2000. The U.N. created a system that, “[…] would require that certificates of origin be numbered on forgery-proof security paper. A matching numbered label would be placed on the sealed parcels of rough diamonds, with a warning that any tampering would be deemed a violation of the Security Council Resolution […] diamond shipments must contain documents tracking their origins back to a particular mine […]and]

shipped in sealed packages certified by authorities in the exporting nation”.36 They have also imposed harsh penalties for those in violation. However, knowing the depths of corruption, and the ease in which bribery has taken place in Sierra Leone; one must wonder exactly how effective such measures will be in creating a diamond path that is more transparent and safer for all those involved – from the beginning until the end. Organizations and people who make their living off illicit and conflict diamonds will be hard pressed to give up their means of survival.

**The Impacts of Globalization**

Colonization represents the beginning of globalization as it is known today. The International Monetary Fund describes globalization as, “the growing economic interdependence of countries worldwide through increasing volume and variety of cross-border transactions in goods and services, free international capital flows, and more rapid and widespread diffusion of technology”.37 In this definition, interdependence and increasing interaction is emphasized as part and parcel with the impacts of globalization. This phenomenon represents a sharing of technology, opportunities to learn about the cultures of other people and the means to meet and speak with people from other nations. However, globalization has also come to be a modern representation of colonization in which the natural resources of developing nations are exploited, cultures are destroyed and the plights of other nations are ignored by those in the comfortable West.

Philip McMichael outlines a number of aspects that have always put the West in positions of power throughout the globalization process. The Colonial Division of Labor that existed between European states and their colonies involved the extraction of natural resources from the colonies, having them manufactured in Britain, and then having the manufactured goods shipped

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out to the colonies to be consumed by the native people there.\textsuperscript{38} The colonized people never learned how to make use of the natural resources that were in their country or how to use them competitively and effectively on the global market. Instead, their resources were pillaged by the Europeans and then manufactured into goods that the colonized people then became ‘hooked’ on and so continued to buy from Europe.

A huge facet of globalization in the twentieth century has been the Development Project. It began on January 20\textsuperscript{th}, 1949 when Harry Truman announced, “[w]e must embark on a bold new program for making the benefits of our scientific advances and industrial progress available for the improvement and growth of underdeveloped areas”.\textsuperscript{39} The initial goal of the Development Project had good intentions – to improve the quality of life in the Third World. Unfortunately, in making that statement, President Truman created a world in which the West was considered ‘developed,’ and those unindustrialized countries were considered less than their Western counterparts because they were ‘underdeveloped.’ Gustavo Esteva, a Mexican intellectual, comments, “[u]nderdevelopment began […] on that day, two billion people became underdeveloped. In a real sense, from that time on, they ceased being what they were, in all their diversity”.\textsuperscript{40} Estevo is lamenting that Third World countries were then put under one category and formula to become developed, rather than looked at for their individual needs, qualities and cultures.

The Development Project was created during the time of decolonization; McMichael notes that two key ingredients of this were the nation-state and economic growth. Africa was arbitrarily divided into nation-states, based on boundaries developed by Europeans. Different groups such as the Somali and Massai were cut off from others in their groups; these divisions

\textsuperscript{38} McMichael, 9.  
\textsuperscript{39} Ibid, 22.  
\textsuperscript{40} Ibid, 23.
have caused countless wars in Africa, not to mention the genocides in Rwanda and Sudan. A pan-African movement existed, but wasn’t able to gain power because the colonizers still wanted to have an economic sphere of influence in their former colonies.\textsuperscript{41} The second ingredient, economic growth, involved introducing “[…] a market system based on private property and wealthy accumulation”.\textsuperscript{42} Economic growth was also measured according to GNP and a number of policies were undertaken to try to increase this in developing nations; it was assumed that an increase in GNP would inherently increase the quality of people’s lives. This was a deviation from Africa’s traditional practice of sharing wealth communally, however, the First World was using itself as a model for development, and capitalism is more about high mass consumption and the accumulation of personal wealth than a shared community.

In addition to the two ingredients of development, there also existed some key mechanisms to push the project forward, such as national industrialization, import-substitution industrialization, and a development alliance. National industrialization assumed that mimicking the industrialized conditions that existed in the West was the ultimate goal for developing nations. Import-substitution industrialization involved discouraging imports in favor of trying to develop specific goods within the country. They wanted to develop a local industrial base, McMichael notes, therefore, if creating a domestic auto industry they had to generate parts, roads and service stations and industries such as rubber, aluminum and cement. The development alliance stemmed from the forming of coalitions created by the governments of developing nations that supported industrialization. This also involved a move from rural areas of a country to urban so that social benefits could be better organized.\textsuperscript{43}

\textsuperscript{41} Ibid, 24-25.
\textsuperscript{42} Ibid, 27.
\textsuperscript{43} Ibid, 30-35.
Along with the Development Project came the creation of the Bretton Woods institutions, the World Bank (WB) and the International Monetary Fund (IMF), which were created in 1944 in Bretton Woods, New Hampshire. It is the job of the World Bank to make “[…] large-scale loans to states for national infrastructural projects such as dams, highways, and power plants.” However, projects such as those often reflect the priorities of the First World, rather than the needs of the Third. The International Monetary Fund’s job is to grant monetary support when national currency exchanges need stabilizing. These institutions functioned “to stabilize national finances and revitalize international trade (IMF), to underwrite national economic growth by funding Third World imports of First World infrastructural technologies, [and] to expand Third World primary exports to earn foreign currency for purchasing First World exports”. McMichael clearly notes throughout his description of the development project, the key ways in which it was more geared towards bolstering the economies of the First World, rather than developing the Third World. Also, all of the categories and assumptions made dealt with the experiences of the First World, such as the idea that rapid industrialization would most benefit developing nations; not many theories catered to individual countries, but rather introduced a uniform template for the entire Third World to follow.

The Development Project seems like a continuation of this colonial division of labor except that the colonies are now ‘free nations’ who have the same rights as every other country on the global market. Although, the definition of ‘free nation’ seems to differ depending on whether it is applied to a First or a Third World nation. Developing nations lack bargaining power and are often put under the thumb of the IMF and World Bank. They might be able to compete in the global market if they had had equal footing in the first place; however, the years

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44 Ibid, 44.
of colonization in many countries have made them economically disadvantaged and rapid industrialization impractical.

As key aspects of the Development Project began to fade in the 1980’s, new theories emerged on how to effectively globalize and bring Third World nations up to the level of the First World. This task has turned into the ‘project’ of the World Bank, International Monetary Fund, and the World Trade Organization. The goals of these organizations are to loan money for specific public works, promote privatization of nation's economies and to encourage them to enter into free trade with the rest of the world. In the 1980’s Sierra Leone privatized parts of its economy such as agriculture, fishing and banking, but it only seemed to worsen conditions. In keeping with the government corruption that went on in the mining industry, contracts for agriculture often went to privileged elite companies, and people who could further one’s own career. The lack of revenue the government was able to receive decreased its ability to provide public services, or even feed its own people due to the ill effects of privatization.46

When the IMF and WB are able to force austerity on the people of Sierra Leone and outside companies are able to control certain industries, it destroys the sovereignty of that country and the ownership the people have of their own nation. If different international organizations or corporations have a strong foothold in that nation’s economy, then they can essentially control the country. It is here that the golden rule can be evoked – whoever has the gold makes the rules. McMichael believes that the modern understanding of development deals more with dependency than independence. The conditions created under the colonial division of labor are merely being recreated in today’s world.47

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47 McMichael, 12.
The IMF and World Bank often encourage austerity in countries with struggling economies, which ultimately leads to a reduction in the funds given to social programs. The word austerity literally means self-denial. These international institutions are telling these countries and people to deny themselves certain things for a supposed betterment of their economy; unfortunately, they are being asked to deny themselves jobs, food or medical care. These kinds of measures, which take away from a government’s ability to support its people, often causes individuals to take extreme measures in order to survive and can also be cited as another reason why a group of people such as the Revolutionary United Front was able to form.

**Flows Of…**

An important lesson taught by globalization is that events and people are becoming more and more connected. Globalization deals largely with the different flows, whether it is information, capital, manufactured goods, or people. Globalization has indeed made a more connected world, and yes, cultures are being ‘shared’. However, in many instances, it is being done in a commercialized way. People in the West learn about the pieces of other cultures that are cute and marketable, and often not about the struggles of those nations. Other objects that flow in the globalized world are illegal diamonds, slave labor, arms and blood.

The path of a diamond often involves time spent on a global black market. Normally law-abiding citizens will often begin dealing on the black market if their own survival hangs in the balance. If one agrees that poor conditions and forced austerity can push people to deal illegally on the global black market, one can also see how the participation of other countries and corporations in the black market perpetuates its existence. Globalization has forced the people of Sierra Leone into a situation in which they either deal with the options available to them, or they will not survive. The diamonds in particular are so wanted on the global black market that people
are willing to do almost anything to get them in their possession. In the case of the RUF, they were willing to maim and torture their own countrymen to gain control of that market. In *The Anatomy of Resource Wars* Michael Renner notes, “[t]he enormous expansion of global trade and the growth of associated trading and financial networks have made access to key markets relatively easy for warring groups. They have had little difficulty in establishing international smuggling networks, given either a lack of awareness and scrutiny or a degree of complicity among international traders, manufacturers, and financiers, as well as lax controls in consuming nations”.*48 As previously mentioned, corporations and importing nations give their tacit approval of these activities by turning a blind eye, which only deepens the dire conditions in countries like Sierra Leone.

The government corruption, which has been the detriment of modern Sierra Leone, began with the establishment of the Frontier Police, made up of ex-slaves and convicts. They were supposed to protect the people in the protectorate; however, they abused their power by beating and intimidating people. They also used their authority to rape women because there was little those women could do about it.*49 Those making up the Frontier Police represented a first taste for the People of Sierra Leone of what was to eventually become commonplace. These officers represented the normalization of corruption in their country. It is important to remember that these so-called Police would not have had power, if the British had not given it to them.

William Reno, an associate professor at Northwestern University, has written extensively on the subject of corruption in Sierra Leone and states, “[…] from colonial times political authority has been held together through informal alliances among strongmen”.*50 Colonial

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48 Renner, 21.
49 Alie, 139.
authority put these ‘strongmen’ into positions of power, and the independent Sierra Leone is paying the price. They have never had a strong, legitimate government because corruption has been bred into the system since colonial times.

Additionally, predatory corporations and countries have swooped in to have a share in the profits of licit and illicit diamond mining, causing further corruption and instability. Michael Renner discusses the negative impacts of resource extractions in these countries saying that it can lead to “[…] the expropriation of land, disruption of traditional ways of life, environmental devastation, and social maladies […]”.51 All of these problems are staunchly ignored by those causing them, and left up to the native people to fix. He also notes that nations whose main income comes from resource extractions and exploitation are “[…] prone to develop a culture with widespread corruption”. The governments of these countries are able to maintain power because they pay-off a small group people to keep them happy, while dismantling opposition.52 The people see the government as the purveyor of their oppression, and when the people show their displeasure, the government becomes even more repressive when trying to quell rebellion.

The resources are often seen by the nation’s leaders as easy ways to make money, which will allow them to attain and hold onto their political power. Often times, even those that were democratically elected in Sierra Leone were found to eventually succumb to corruption because the systems of patronage were so ingrained in the workings of the government. Diamond mining is also seen as a quick way for an individual to earn money; therefore, other areas that could be developed to improve the nation are ignored in favor of quick answers. Although, one must consider who actually has power in the situations between the ‘government’ and the diamond corporations. Without the buyers, the governments would have no funding; even though the

51 Renner, 8.
52 Ibid, 17.
nation should have the bargaining power, the historical relationships have allowed the buyers and corporations to have a stranglehold over Sierra Leone and their own diamonds. DeBeers, specifically, still holds a monopoly over the diamond trade.\(^{53}\)

\textit{…Diamonds & Capital}

Diamonds and capital flow out of Sierra Leone and into other African nations and the West; however, very little money actually flows back in to benefit the nation. The materials leave the country, while capital flows ‘around’ as pay-offs are made and pockets lined with dirty money, while none of this actually reaches the people. It seems that greed, secrecy and corruption have continued to rule Sierra Leone’s government, concepts that were taught in earnest during colonisation.

The increasingly globalized world, more often than not, positively impacts the companies of the global North, while those who are being exploited receive virtually no benefits, as was the case with the discovery of diamonds in Sierra Leone. There is no real profit to the people of Sierra Leone despite the vast riches of their nation because the government itself makes less money than they should off the diamonds. The money they make usually ends up in the pockets of specific officials or smugglers. Approximately 95\% of the diamonds in Sierra Leone are actually smuggled out – meaning the profits benefit mere individuals.\(^{54}\) It is unbelievable for corporations to claim that they do not purchase conflict diamonds when the majority of diamonds coming out of Sierra Leone are smuggled out of the country and sold illicitly on the black market.

The illegal mining that began taking place needn’t necessarily have happened in such great number, yet the people were not even allowed to use their own natural resources to benefit

\(^{53}\) Ndumbe, 102.

\(^{54}\) Keen, 22.
their country and the colonial government only looked to make a profit. Keen notes “[f]rom 1935 until 1956, a British Company had exclusive rights to diamond mining in Sierra Leone, with Sierra Leoneans legally prohibited from mining their own diamonds. The company, known as Sierra Leone Selection Trust (SLST), was part of the powerful DeBeers cartel, and has its own small security force”. The DeBeers cartel in Sierra Leone is another example of a nation’s loss of sovereignty when a company or organization becomes too invasive. It was because of this monopoly that many people turned to illicit mining. Therefore, the illegal mining began during colonial times, continues today.

Siaka Stevens and his party, the APC, came to power legitimately in 1967, however it wasn’t long before corruption took over and the country itself suffered. He encouraged illegal mining by deliberately ignoring such activities. He also created the National Diamond Mining Company, which he handed down to his successors. These unfortunate choices led to a decrease in diamond exports from 2 million carats in 1970 to merely 48,000 in 1988. This was a serious loss of revenue for the country. As the flow of diamonds through formal means dwindled, the illegal diamond trade flourished with diamonds being illegally purchased by legitimate corporations and smugglers alike.

Even before the ten-year Civil War erupted, the conditions in Sierra Leone were deplorable because of the inability of the government to function. Sierra Leone had become a ‘shadow state,’ the kind of state that uses war as a tool to maintain power and which deliberately misuses economic resources for personal gain, with the people’s welfare conveniently forgotten. Since its independence, Sierra Leone has had to pay off potential rebel forces to keep from being

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55 Ibid, 12.
56 Ndumbe, 92.
overrun, but is often overrun anyway. Additionally, attempts by the IMF and WB to ‘help’ have only made things worse by imposing harsh conditions of austerity on the people.  

Political Patronage, discussed by McMichael, also creates a system of corruption where people’s support isn’t earned through good ideas and policy, but rather through bribery and mutually beneficial exchanges. Patron-client networks like that exist all over Sierra Leone and are one of the reasons for its instability. The Government became so steeped in paying off people and garnering favor, that they spent all their money on illicit activities and left none for social services for the people.

The instability is why there have been countless coups, overthrowing democratically elected governments, and overthrowing other coups. The worse rebellion began in 1991 when the Revolutionary United Front invaded Sierra Leone and brought down a ten-year reign of terror. This phenomenon will be discussed in greater detail under flows of Violence. However, it is important to note that diamonds have often paid for rebellions and wars like that of the RUF. It is estimated that 25-125 million dollars in diamonds were traded under the Revolutionary United Front to pay for their war. Companies knowingly purchased diamonds that were funding a monstrous rebellion in which people were brutally maimed, raped and killed.

...People

The civil war of the Revolutionary United Front, along with diamond mining, also caused an incredible flow of people. The people flow out of the country because of the Civil War; people are kidnapped and moved around and out of the country for military actions and training, and people move to mines so that they have ways to work. The corporate world is so concerned

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57 Renner, 22.
58 McMichael, 35.
59 Renner, 7.
with capital and diamond flows that it forgets there are people mining the diamonds that are earning their profit. Or, more alarmingly, the corporations are aware, but just don’t care.

The diamond industry is one of the largest employers in Sierra Leone. However, there are not enough spots for everyone to have a job and since mining began, many other industries have taken a backseat, whereby decreasing the availability of other jobs, such as those in agriculture. In the 1940’s a youth culture of rebellion began to form, made up of those feeling disenfranchised and left behind. Initially these youths were used as ‘foot soldiers’ for different political groups, but these ‘lumpen’ youth were what was to become the foundation of the Revolutionary United Front of the 1990’s. These lumpen youths were considered to be a part of the lower class of society and largely uneducated. This began to change around the time of independence, middle-class and college-educated individuals became involved in the lumpen culture, which politicized and organized a previously rag-tag group.60

The Revolutionary United Front (RUF) received its doctrine in the 1980’s from a group of radical university students who had been expelled. The teachings of these students appealed to the lumpen youth and others who felt as though they had been forgotten. The All People’s Congress (APC), who was in power at that time, was despised because of its widespread corruption. It was these youths, on the margins of society, who felt the corruption most acutely because they saw no probable future for themselves in normal society. The work available involved diamond mining, in which young diggers were directly tied to and at the mercy of the whims of their patrons.61

These youths would often get involved in smuggling and stealing diamonds in order to make a living. Additionally, the initial boom of mining in the 1950’s caused “[…] major

migrations and produced a ‘floating’ population who could not easily be controlled”. Despite working in rich alluvial diamond fields, people were not allowed to keep any of the spoils for themselves, and were forced to endure subsistence wages and living. These movements made people restless and the restrictions placed on them were causing increasing feelings of anger and hostility. Even after independence, when the colonizers were no longer in control and mining licenses could be given out, they were only given to those elites who could pay or had connections.  

The RUF began its insurgency in March of 1991, which led to countless numbers of displaced people. Although this organization claimed it wanted to bring something back to the people, their real goal was to pillage and gain control of the country’s diamond mines. Renner notes that this group, “[…] claimed more than 75,000 lives, turned a half-million Sierra Leoneans into refugees, and displaced half of the country’s 4.5 million people”. Those refugees left the country throughout the civil war, which lasted from 1991-2001, and many are just now starting to return with the hopes that this new democratically elected government will have greater success than those of the past.

Not only were people forced to leave the country, but also some were forced to fight on behalf of the RUF under threat of death if they did not comply. Many young children were kidnapped and forced to watch, or even participate in, violent acts against their own families in order to harden them for guerilla warfare. Some children were used as slave labor in the diamond mines. They were indoctrinated, brainwashed, into believing that fighting for the RUF was the right cause and were threatened with death or dismemberment if they tried to escape. The

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62 Keen, 12.
63 Renner, 22.
children were paid in drugs and the spoils of illegal mining. Now there is a whole generation of youths who have grown up with the civil war as their childhood memories, having witnessed, and sometimes participated in, mass atrocity. Major steps need to be taken if Sierra Leone expects to create a healthy society after such a tragic war.

...Arms

Along with the flow of money, diamonds and people, arms flow in an increasingly complicated web of illegal cash and weapons being bought and sold within Africa and Europe. There is a specific outflow of diamonds that directly corresponds to the inflow of arms. This has been connected to other African nations and many Western nations who do not regulate as stringently as they should where their arms sales actually end up. These nations may unknowingly provide groups such as the RUF with weapons to begin and perpetuate inhumane armed conflicts.

A map made in 1990, in *The Anatomy of Resource Wars*, distinctly shows weapons originating in Bulgaria and Slovakia entering Senegal, and then continuing until they’ve reached Sierra Leone. The same path follows from Libya and Slovakia to Liberia, and from the Ukraine to Burkina Faso, through the Côte d’Ivoire into Sierra Leone. Renner notes that the RUF was able to sustain itself through its control of the diamond fields. Since Sierra Leone produces diamonds of such high quality, they are often coveted by diamond buyers, and can be used as leverage to gain arms (Renner 24).

Even the government of Sierra Leone, during the civil war, was willing to trade diamonds for arms. A company known as Rex Diamond was given certain concessions in diamond rich

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64 Clapham, 179.
65 Renner, 24-25.
areas in Sierra Leone, in exchange for selling ammunition to the government.\textsuperscript{66} Many other countries have companies that have been found to be complicit in the continuation of the civil war because of their shady dealings with the government and the Revolutionary United Front.

\textit{…Violence}

The summation of these different flows, diamonds, people, money, and arms, ultimately leads to an incredible flow of violence. When the Revolutionary United Front took over, violence and terror were their means of rule. Despite being a ‘globalized’ world, much of the world was either unaware or merely watched as Sierra Leone was torn apart by this civil war. Yet, international companies were still willing to deal with diamonds coming from Sierra Leone and Liberia, knowing that these were conflict and illicit diamonds. By doing so, these companies allowed the violence to continue.

Of course, the perpetuation of violence is a global effort, as was seen during colonial times with the Frontier Police the British had placed in power. This group of criminals terrorized people and wielded their power tyrannically. Currently, oil companies train local people to act as their own private security force to guard their oil assets. These ‘Western trained’ groups have participated in a number of human rights violations.\textsuperscript{67} Additionally, in 1989 a group from Texas known as Sunshine Broulles, came into Sierra Leone to mine diamonds, but was also willing to train a security force to weaken other elite’s holds on the diamond mining business.\textsuperscript{68} The United States and its company may have participated in the training of future terrorists.

Doug Farah, a journalist for the Washington Post, went to Sierra Leone to look for connections between the illegal diamond trade and Hezbollah. What he discovered was a connection between the conflict diamonds of Sierra Leone and one of the worst assaults to ever

\textsuperscript{66} Ndumbe, 100.
\textsuperscript{67} Renner, 20.
\textsuperscript{68} Reno “Markets”, 60.
occur on the United States, the terrorist attacks of September 11th, 2001. In speaking with members of the Revolutionary United Front, Farah discovered that at least two of the FBI’s most wanted members of Al Qaeda had been in the diamond rich region of Kono in Sierra Leone. Months before the attacks, the Revolutionary United front doubled its mining efforts. This was in early 2001, when the disarmament had begun and illegal mining was supposed to have ended. However, the UN peacekeeping forces ignored the mining because it was only their job to ensure the disarmament. Diamonds were mined by the RUF and sent to Al Qaeda, allowing the terrorist organization to have millions of dollars worth of the most mobile form of currency in the world.69

Resource wars are often found to be more violent than most because the armed groups wish to gain control of specific resource areas, therefore their most effective means of doing so is “[…] extreme and conspicuous atrocity,” that will essentially terrorize the citizens into complying with their demands. The very fabric of society is ripped away during these resource wars because of the outlandish violence inflicted upon people. They often enlist children as fighters and make them commit despicable acts against their relatives so that these children will never be accepted back into their communities, and therefore find their only refuge with their terrorizers.70

The fact that children were used to commit atrocities is one of the most disturbing aspects of the civil war. Children were not only enlisted by the rebel RUF, but also by the national army. They were expected to behave just as brutally as adults and those fighting with the RUF also “[…] took part in many atrocities, including the amputation and the disembowelment of pregnant

69 Campbell, 186-194
70 Renner, 13-14.
women”.

Actual war camps exist in Sierra Leone for the victims of amputation to go and escape torment. One of the favorite activities of the RUF was to amputate the hands of their victims so that people would know who had committed crimes against their organization.

**Denial and the Diamond Fetish**

It can be ascertained that Marx would have plenty of scathing things to say about the diamond industry. A diamond is a stone with little inherent value, for which the most logical use is cutting certain kinds of metal. However, different people and corporations have given the diamond its significance and current value. Marx discusses a concept known as the commodity fetish in which the producers of products are separated from the consumers. One of the aspects of the diamond trade that is to be lamented is that the majority of people are unaware of where their diamonds come from, the conditions of those mining them or what diamond sales actually support.

The fetishism of commodities is defined as, “the process by which the products of human labour come to appear as an independent and uncontrolled reality apart from the people who have created them”. This disconnect was problematic for Marx, but has become an integral part of modern daily life. The commodity fetish is a double entendre because along with Marx’s definition, is the more standard definition of a fetish. A fetish is when special meaning or power is given to an object that it does not innately have. The United States clearly has a diamond fetish as they consume 80% of the world’s diamonds. Companies like DeBeers have made the diamond into a symbol of love and eternity. A man cannot genuinely love a woman unless he buys her the biggest diamond he can afford, and society plays into that norm. If a woman were to

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71 Abdullah, 240.
73 Campbell, 198.
say that her engagement ring was a cubic zirconia or a sapphire, it would immediately be assumed that her fiancé was either too cheap to buy her a real diamond, or didn’t really care about her.

The commodity fetish and globalization go hand in hand with keeping certain peoples oppressed, and others detached. The more commodities become desirable, the more need there will be to increase the social labor behind it. These workers labor privately so that their goods are sold publicly by someone else. They are thus entrenched in a world of commodities rather than people. Also, the consumers never come into contact with the people who actually produced their commodities; therefore, they are never really conscious to the fact that the products they purchased were created through the labor of others. This ‘blind eye’ trend is known as commodity fetishism. Turning a blind eye is a common expression that is associated with denial, which will be discussed in the denial section. The combination of the ‘meaning’ behind the diamond and the inability to see the real people involved in its production allows people to live in denial about the goods they consume. Corporations provide the consumer with an image of diamonds that say “love” and “devotion” rather than the slavery, hardship and death that the sale of diamonds have caused. As previously stated, the buyer only has to face a smiling jeweler, rather than the starving laborer who extracted the diamond from the earth.

Further deepening one’s ability to detach and separate any humanity from the objects purchased, is the availability to the consumer to purchase their diamond ring online. Countless websites exist where one does not even have to interact with another human being, let alone put a face to the commodity. One can visit the site www.adiamondisforever.com and design one’s own diamond necklace, or even one’s own engagement ring. It gives recommendations for what other people are buying for anniversaries and special occasions. When one enters the design gallery

74 Bottomore, 101.
one is greeted with the phrase, “what you really wish upon”, and sees diamonds sparkling like stars in the background. The site also states that “only the brilliance of a diamond can illuminate a woman’s beauty”. A woman would have to feel incomplete if her fiancé doesn’t buy her a beautiful engagement ring. Whether individuals want diamonds or not, in the United States others would consider it a travesty for a man not to buy a woman a real diamond ring; the bigger the diamond, the more he loves her.

The aspect of the commodity fetish that Marx found the most repugnant was the separation of the producer from his good. This separation allows the consumers to feel as if their possessions have appeared out of thin air, and therefore, they remain in a state of denial about their origins. The ability of people to not acknowledge where their possessions come from is a form of denial practiced throughout the world. Stanley Cohen author of States of Denial: Knowing About Atrocities and Suffering discusses in great detail different forms of denial and how it plays into the lives of average people. He determines that there are three main types of denial: literal, interpretive and implicatory. In some cases, denial is what helps a person live a life that is not constantly confronted with the horrors of the world, in others it can make a person complicit with all of the injustices.

_Literal denial_ is exactly what it sounds like, actual denial of the facts that something happened, a belief that it is not true. A person stating, for example, that his or her diamond absolutely could not have helped to cause mass suffering in Africa, despite the evidence, would be in literal denial over the potential harm that the diamond purchase could cause. Cohen states that _interpretive denial_ is when “[…] the raw facts (something happened) are not being denied. Rather, they are given a different meaning from what seems apparent to others.”\(^{75}\) Cohen uses the example of when someone claims that what happened wasn’t actually ‘rape’. The facts are

there, but it’s not as bad as it seems. *Implicatory denial* does not, “[…] deny either the facts or their conventional interpretation. What are denied or minimized are the psychological, political or moral implications […]” that follow.\(^7^6\) For example, during the reign of the Revolutionary United Front, people may have been informed that conflict diamonds were all over the global market; however, they might say that they have nothing to do with the crimes being committed, so why should they not buy diamonds? Implicatory denial allows people to rationalize away any feelings of guilt.

Implicatory denial seems to be used quite a bit in the diamond trade. For example, buying diamonds from a murderous rebel force isn’t bad because someone else would have done it anyway and there is nothing that can be done. *Official denial* also seems to run rampant in the diamond trade. Cohen defines official denial as “[…] public, collective, and highly organized […] denials that are initiated, structured and sustained by the massive resources of the modern state: the cover-up of famines and political massacres, or deceptive violations of international arms boycotts”.\(^7^7\) In the modern age, large corporations seem to have almost as much power as individual nations; they rarely acknowledge their own ‘accidental’ complicity in world atrocities. Countries where diamonds are smuggled into from Sierra Leone deny the existence of a black market or any knowledge of illegal sales, while Belgium purchases gems from a country whose mines were closed down in the eighties, yet they claim the diamonds are not illicit.\(^7^8\)

Additionally, there exists *cultural denial* in which, “[…] whole societies may slip into collective modes of denial […] and] arrive at unwritten agreements about what can be publicly remembered and acknowledged”.\(^7^9\) It is especially easy in the United States to talk about people

\(^7^6\) Cohen, 7-8.
\(^7^7\) Ibid, 10.
\(^7^8\) Ndumbe, 99.
\(^7^9\) Cohen, 10-11.
in Sierra Leone as ‘over there’ and ‘foreign’, thereby keeping themselves from feeling empathy towards a culture that is so different. However, this is clearly not the case and the connections between consumers, buyers, sellers, rebels and miners have been made clear. Greg Campbell ends his book in a statement which shows that ‘they’ are not as far off as people would like to imagine. He states:

“If nothing else, the story of Sierra Leone’s diamond war has proven unequivocally that the world ignores Africa and her problems at its peril. Just like global commerce and the widening reach of terrorism, events far from home often have very tangible impacts. Sierra Leone has shown the world that there is no longer any such thing as an ‘isolated, regional conflict.’”

“Perhaps there never was”. 80

A powerful statement, and Cohen clearly feels that part of the reason people do deny events and connections is because of the implication of guilt that comes with the recognition that a person can either act, or remain neutral. 81

Cohen also discusses that the best way to combat denial is through acknowledgment. It seems that living in denial is almost the preferred state of being because then one is not faced with the pressure of making the decision to live with one’s guilt, or to act. Different organizations make it their goal to combat denial, and compel people to recognize the problems plaguing the world. Cohen discussed Amnesty-Oxfam and how their agenda is to, “[…] transform ignorance into information, information into knowledge, knowledge into acknowledgement […] and finally acknowledgement into action”. 82 Global Witness is an organization that fights human rights abuses through showing how they are linked to and funded

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80 Campbell, 225.
81 Cohen, 13.
82 Ibid, 249.
by resource conflicts. The homepage of their website describes their mission: “Global Witness campaigns to achieve real change by challenging established thinking on seemingly intractable global issues. We work to highlight the link between the exploitation of natural resources and human rights abuses, particularly where the resources such as timber, diamonds and oil are used to fund and perpetuate conflict and corruption”.83

The effects of the commodity fetish are that complacency and denial become acceptable. Since people continue to buy products that were made through systems of injustice and slave labor, companies will continue to produce those products. These abuses are continuously ignored and create a loss of community and dignity for a huge portion of the world. However, organizations like Global Witness help to combat denial, and promote the acknowledgement of the many linkages between people and events. One of the positive impacts of globalization is that people now have the means to become aware of injustices when they occur. Global Witness uses the same kinds of technology that corporations use, except they use it to make a positive impact. The ability of activists to have their messages flow throughout the world is also a part of globalization.

**Conclusions**

Sierra Leone is a nation that has great opportunities in its future. In 2007 it will hold the second election since the Revolutionary United Front gave up power, and if the government becomes genuinely legitimate, the nation may be able to thrive on the global market through the sales of diamonds and other goods. However, if patron-client relationships, bribery and corruption continue, the nation may begin once again to unravel.

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The history of Sierra Leone looks like that of many colonized nations: indigenous systems of self rule, colonization, exploitation, independence and continued exploitation. The exploitation occurred with the extraction of a valuable natural resource, the diamond, and continued with the ushering in of the development age. Globalization is making it increasingly more difficult for people to deny that the events in one nation can ultimately impact the rest of the world. Also, the conditions that exist today are not part of some random series of events, it has been purposeful decisions made throughout history that have created the situation the world is in today. A situation in which the First World has a clear advantage over the Third World, and the First World often lives in denial of the issues that plague developing nations.

The world did not merely watch as Sierra Leone was torn apart by a civil war – the world did not even know. It wasn’t until Global Witness released their report in 1999 that the world took notice. The most important thing that people can do to combat their own denial is realize, as Campbell eloquently states, that there has never been any such thing as an ‘isolated conflict’. With the discovery that the Revolutionary United Fronts sale of diamonds funded a terrorist attack on the United States, the First World needs to realize that issues in the developing world can no longer be ignored as problems that occur ‘over there’. What used to be distant lands are now as close as a plane ride, or even our computer screens. The world is connected in a way like never before, and it is the job of every person to become a global citizen. Once people are informed, they have the ability to choose what they wish to support, or what they wish to deny. Separating oneself from the world is just another way to cut one’s self off from caring, and to deny one’s own role in the events of the world.
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Jeffrey Campbell challenged his congregation at the Unitarian Universalist Society at Amherst, Massachusetts (1967-1974), to practice the beliefs it preached. His ministry weaved spirituality and political activism into one religious plan of action – an act directly in line with Unitarian Universalist values. However, research suggests that Campbell’s skillful integration of Unitarian Universalist religious beliefs with its social vision unnerved many in his congregation, which, despite its progressivism, feared radical social change. This socio-historical analysis, therefore, explores both the Society’s and Campbell’s struggles to resolve the tensions between their faith and their social gospel.
Resolving the Religious and the Political: Jeffrey Campbell’s Ministry:
Unitarian Universalist Society at Amherst, 1967-1974

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Introduction:

“If the [Unitarian Universalist Society at Amherst, Massachusetts (Society)] were an orchestra, we traded Beethoven for Lawrence Welk,”¹ asserted Paul Rogers, an Amherst attorney and former colleague and friend of Jeffrey Campbell’s. Lawrence Welk, whose musical series, The Lawrence Welk Show, was criticized for its brand of easy-listening, “champagne music” and its popular but “old” acts represented an obsolete musical tradition². Many of the show’s critics blasted Welk for his “too square, not hip, [and] corny” style of music; essentially, Welk produced an outdated sound.³ By comparing Welk’s mundane musical style to Beethoven’s revolutionary, vintage style in classical music, Paul Rogers meant to underscore the magnitude of the Society’s loss when Campbell left Amherst. Metaphorically speaking, the Society at Amherst, Massachusetts, traded a radical Ministry for a complacent one, a cutting-edge leader for spiritual conservatism.

In 1966, when Campbell spoke at the Society every Sunday as an interim minister, Paul Rogers participated in the Society’s Board, and affirmed that Campbell’s “severe intellectualism”⁴ was one reason he positively referred Campbell to the Society’s search committee, which had spent months searching for a new full-time minister for the Amherst Society. Rogers also admired Campbell’s rich sense of humanity, extolling him as “one of the truly beautiful people that I’ve known in life; he was there for me when I had some trying

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¹ Paul Rogers, interview by Steve Peraza, Amherst, Ma., 17 July 2006.
⁴ Rogers, “Interview.”
times.”  

Rogers ultimately argued that Campbell contributed progressive thought, a spirit of social activism, and impassioned compassion to the Society.

Roger’s praise of Campbell, however, was couched in a critique of the Society’s decision to terminate Campbell’s ministry in the fiscal year of 1973-74. Rogers recalled that Campbell loved his ministry, but that his congregation feared the social vision Campbell preached from the pulpit: “He challenged the congregation to commit to their beliefs, to live up to the ideas of the faith they endorsed.” He conceded that the Society’s decision, regardless of the “Report of the Ministerial Liaison Committee,” which delineated the reasons the Society desired a new minister, stemmed from a failure of religious praxis, i.e. an inability to apply Unitarian Universalist religious values to the social (and political) venues in which they participated. Unsurprisingly, Rogers metaphorically portrayed Campbell’s skill as a minister to the musical genius of Beethoven, and laments that Campbell’s successor as minister to the Society offered more of the old, religious status quo. Rogers, who lobbied for Campbell’s installation as minister, consequently defected from the Society upon Campbell’s termination in 1974.

Paul Rogers, however, provided only one side of the story: Carol Rotherey, on the other hand, argued that Campbell, despite riveting sermons, fell short of fulfilling his organizational duties as the primary minister of the Society. Rotherey, who admitted that she did not know Campbell well, but that she worked for the Society as a committee coordinator (for the Sunday Service Committee, which taught Sunday school) and as an administrative assistant, recalled that Campbell’s “life was really the Putney School.” Campbell taught at the Putney School in Putney, Vermont, as a full-time English teacher (in residence), and Rotherey asserted that this career engagement precluded Campbell’s full commitment to the Society and its administration.

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5 Rogers, “Interview.”
6 Rogers, “Interview.”
7 Carol Rotherey, interview with Steve Peraza, Amherst, Ma., 16 July 2006.
and congregation. Campbell, who was formally hired as a part-time minister, simply could not be in two places at once. Therefore, Rotherey remembered Campbell’s powerful orations on Sunday, but also detailed how little Campbell committed himself to the Society beyond his pulpit prowess.  

She also cited the Society’s financial and congregational crises in the late ‘60s and early ‘70s as legitimate reasons for the Society to demand more from Campbell. As the Society struggled to finance its building and grounds and to keep the congregation’s membership stable, Rotherey pointed to Campbell’s absence in the face of these tough organizational issues (especially for the Society, a nonprofit organization) as valid rationalizations to pursue another, more institutionally-committed minister to lead the Society. Campbell thus stretched his services too thin, working two time-consuming jobs, and failed to tend to his organizational duties within the Society at a time when the Society needed his institutional guidance the most.

Rotherey’s assertions added more complexity to the rise and fall of Campbell’s ministerial career at the Unitarian Universalist Society at Amherst, Massachusetts. Though she, like Rogers, discussed Campbell’s powerful message each Sunday as a positive contribution to the Society, she also recognized that the Society needed more than a “hired gun” to speak on Sundays. For Rotherey, Campbell’s duties exceeded the delivery of a powerful sermon, and, despite the importance of Campbell’s message on Sunday, his failure to stabilize the Society’s financial and congregational problems outweighed the successes he attained from his rhetorical genius. Essentially, Campbell spoke well, but he did not lead.

To complicate tensions between Campbell and the Society even more, the years in which he preached at Amherst proved some of the most tumultuous years in modern American history.

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8 Rotherey, “Interview.”
9 Rotherey, “Interview.”
Considering that Campbell’s tenure at the Society ran concurrent to the Civil Rights Movement and the Vietnam War, many of his sermons focused on the evils of society evidenced by racism and by global warfare. Many of the challenges Campbell issued to his congregation involved sociopolitical activism in the name of religious faith, i.e. asked that the religious community proactively work toward a more egalitarian, pacifist society. Though in line with Unitarian Universalist notions of ‘Peace, Justice, and Liberty,’ these challenges also threatened the status quo of the congregation; they demanded that the Society’s members live what they believe in spite of national debates about the legitimacy of racial tension and anti-war sentiments. These demands alienated his congregation, who, at this time, preferred institutional guidance and traditional spiritual leadership to a radicalized Ministry.

Rogers and Rotherey’s ambivalent perceptions of Campbell’s ministry, coupled with the ideological pressure Campbell mounted on his congregation in response to America’s political crises in the late ‘60s and early ‘70s, resulted in a tense conflict between Campbell and the Society, one which would end his stint in Amherst. The conflict represents a crisis of the religious and the political – a stark imbalance between what Campbell and his congregation believed in religiously and how to apply these beliefs in a praxis that would affect the social and political realms of society. On the one hand, Campbell urged that faith becomes complete with ‘works’ that reflect one’s commitment to his/her faith; he wanted to practice what he preached in and out of the Society. On the other hand, the congregation feared radical, ‘rock-the-boat’ rhetoric and action, and much preferred to run a stable institution that would achieve ‘revolution’ by modeling progressivism within their institutional community. No resolution to the vacuous conflict emerged; Campbell lost his position, and the Society continued to struggle with paucity of membership and financial instability.
Qualifying the “Religious” and the “Political”:

Though Campbell’s Ministry at the Society predated most of the Unitarian Universalist literature on its code of beliefs, the seven guiding principles to which the Unitarian Universalist Society at Amherst, Massachusetts, adhered have been the same since 1961. These guiding principles included:

1. The inherent worth and dignity of every person;
2. Justice, equity and compassion in human relations;
3. Acceptance of one another and encouragement to spiritual growth in our congregations;
4. A free and responsible search for truth and meaning;
5. The right of conscience and the use of the democratic process within our congregations and in society at large;
6. The goal of world community with peace, liberty, and justice for all;
7. Respect for the interdependent web of all existence of which we are a part.

The first three principles stressed individualism and social equality; they also proffered that spiritual development hinged on the perpetuation of justice and compassion in the congregation and community. The fourth principle addressed the Unitarian Universalist attention to intellectual growth: It challenged believers to apply reason to everyday life and seek meaning from everyday experience. The fifth and sixth principles discussed political notions of peace, democracy, and global community construction: on the one hand, conscience and democracy drive the community ethic in the congregation, and on the other hand, the faith encourages this

10 “Unitarian Universalist Association Principles and Purposes,” Unitarian Universalist Association [database online], http://www.uua.org/aboutuua/principles.html, cited 19 July 2006, 1. The Unitarian Universalist Association (UUA) formed in 1961, and the Unitarian Universalist Society at Amherst, Massachusetts, prescribes to the religious tenets proffered by the UUA.

11 Ibid, 1.
community ethic to effectively pursue the same goals of justice and liberty in the society at large. Finally, the seventh principle, like the fourth, spoke to the Unitarian Universalist faith in intellectualism, as well as to its hope in a global community, advocating a cooperative interdependence of nations across the globe – an interconnectedness based on a shared human essence.

Social equality, peace, justice, individualism, intellectual and spiritual growth, global compassion and community – all of these emerged as central themes in the Unitarian Universalist faith. These themes, amongst others, also showed how easily Unitarian Universalism’s seven principles could result in the integration of religion and politics. Unitarian Universalism articulated the blueprints for a religious community with a political character. Its religious essence derived its spirit from sociopolitical activism, i.e. from a drive to apply these seven principles to social and political venues that help create a better society. Weaving spiritual notions of existence and human interconnectedness with the democratic spirit and the pursuit of global equity, the Unitarian Universalist Association delineated a religion that could potentially mobilize its congregation(s) in an effort to make social change.

Unitarian Universalists also promoted themselves as a “non-creedal” religion: “We do not ask anyone to subscribe to a creed.”12 “Non-creedal” meant that no book or doctrine conveyed religious authority in the Unitarian Universalist faith. For Unitarian Universalists, only the reasoned mind, shaped by one’s conscience and its rigorous reflection on personal experience, created religious authority. In other words, no idea, individual, or institution reigned

in the Unitarian Universalist faith; only its members prescribed the religious legitimacy of their faith: “Authority and responsibility are vested in the membership of the congregation.”

Unitarian Universalism refused any creed specifying a God, holy book, or autonomous institution as dominant in the faith, and, in turn, empowered its congregation to make the pertinent religious decisions within the community. Its guiding principles represented ideals that would bolster both the congregation’s push for a better Unitarian Universalist Society as well as citizens’ push for a better society at large. Within their institutional structures, then, ethics were used, and these ethics became religious prescriptions when applied to the development of the community; religion and politics were thus integrated to communicate a social gospel and to encourage the development of a compassionate community. On the one hand, Unitarian Universalists applied their political spirit to the democratic functioning of their Society, and on the other hand, they nourished an altruistic, ethical spirituality as the means to achieving their goals of Peace, Justice, and Liberty in the society at large.

Notions of the “Political” in this sense were fluid; in that Unitarian Universalism deployed its spiritual beliefs both to negotiate organizational issues within their local congregation and also to address political issues and structures outside of the religious community. By the same token, notions of the “Religious” were also fluid; in that Unitarian Universalism saw its faith as intimately related to the realization of social and political justice in the congregation and in the society at large. Finally, the faith also provided a reasoned methodology for the accomplishment of social change within a religious philosophical framework: First, one applied Unitarian Universalist beliefs to one’s congregational ethic, and then second, to the community at large. In these ways, the cultivation of a religious and political awareness within a Unitarian Universalist institution led to the development of a more equitable

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13 Ibid, 1.
and compassionate global community; the religious would affect the political as the congregation was used as a microcosm for the broader global community. Religion and politics thus merged into one comprehensive spiritual approach to enhancing human society in line with Unitarian Universalism.

As a result of this apparent nexus of religious and political notions, Jeffrey Campbell’s Ministry at the Unitarian Universalist Society at Amherst, Massachusetts, specifically its radical attitude toward the achievement of religious ideals in political contexts, did not stray far from the Unitarian Universalism’s purpose “[to] devote its resources to and exercise its corporate powers for religious, educational and humanitarian purposes …. [and] to serve the needs of its congregations, organize new congregations, extend and strengthen Unitarian Universalist institutions and implement its principles.”14 A progressive approach to institution-building characterized the Unitarian Universalist Church; achieving humanitarian ideals in faith and in praxis represented the means to creating more positive institutions. This progressive approach, complete with its focus on humanitarianism, was treasured in Campbell’s Ministry. He demanded that his congregation complete its faith with meaningful works that would help create a better society and community, and he used religious and political contexts and issues to fuel his spiritual mission and to expand his vision from his congregation to his broader American community.

Resolving the Religious and the Political

While preaching for the Unitarian Universalist Society at Amherst, Massachusetts, Jeffrey Worthington Campbell radicalized the minister’s position in line with Unitarian Universalist principles. His Ministry skillfully integrated religious and political themes in a proactive effort to raise social consciousness and to inspire social activism amongst his

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congregation. Using the modern Civil Rights Movement and the Vietnam War as the focal points of his political critiques on society, Campbell dared his Fellowship to apply their Unitarian Universalist faith to their works, i.e. to affect sociopolitical change according to the religious principles they held dear. Essentially, Campbell saw no distinction between the religious and the political; he promoted religious decision-making that affected both the social and political realms in society.

The Unitarian Universalist Society at Amherst, Massachusetts, on the other hand, recognized, and abided by, the distinction between the religious and political realms. The Society identified itself as a religious community devoted to Unitarian Universalist values. In line with their commitment to Unitarian Universalism, they sustained their organization, which as a non-profit institution primarily committed to fundraising efforts in order to finance their buildings and grounds, personnel, and operating budget. To preserve their institutional framework, the Society submitted to the mandates of their congregation, on whom they relied for financial contributions. For all intents and purposes, the Society submitted to their institutional needs, and distanced itself from the broader sociopolitical arena.

The Society refrained from entering the political realm primarily because its focus was not political power but rather an ethical society. Though Jeffrey Campbell, and many others, argued that an ethical society hinged on ‘ethical’ political decisions, the Society’s mission as a religious community did not include conventional forms of political activism. The Society was a place of worship just as City Hall was a place of political pondering and commercial exchange; they maintained this division in order to focus their resources on their faith and its institutional framework - not on the local or national political agenda. For the Society, then, the nexus Campbell weaved out of his political and religious sensibilities did not materially exist; there was
no resolving the two in organizational form, because the Society only intended to operationalize its code of beliefs within its own religious community.

As a consequence of these conflicting views about the relationship between the religious and political realms in society, Campbell and the Unitarian Universalist Society at Amherst, Massachusetts, never saw eye-to-eye philosophically. This philosophical inconsistency emerged as the main fissure point between the two in 1974, when the Society fired Campbell. Jeffrey Campbell challenged his congregation at the Unitarian Universalist Society at Amherst, Massachusetts (1967-1974), to practice the beliefs it preached. His ministry weaved spirituality and political activism into one religious plan of action – an act directly in line with Unitarian Universalist values. The Society at Amherst, Massachusetts, theoretically desired the same goal; however, the budgetary crisis they faced called for an immediate solution to their institutional needs. As a result, the Society sought financial relief and institutional guidance between 1967 and 1974, not the revolutionary raucous of a dynamic minister. Though other contentious issues contributed to the conflict, at the heart of the dispute was Campbell’s radical approach to the Ministry and the Society’s fight to save its institutional legitimacy: two goals that clashed every step of the way. These two different logics, Campbell’s nexus of the religious and the political, and the Society’s sharp division of the religious and the political, damaged the relationship between the two parties and resulted in Campbell’s termination as minister.

Dissecting Campbell’s Radical Ministry:

Campbell’s ministry evolved in three parts: his installation, ministerial performance, and termination. Its radical spin centered on the use of religious ideals to pursue sociopolitical changes in the congregation and in the society at large. To operationalize his radical Ministry, Campbell created non-religious institutions to address social and political issues affecting
America, as well as redefined institutional media productions to integrate religious ideals with sociopolitical activism. From his installation to his termination, Campbell believed that the Unitarian Universalist faith had the philosophical foundation to become a religion with a political character, and he complemented this belief with an institutional praxis dedicated to upholding Unitarian Universalist principles in the society at large. This radical Ministry, though intended to galvanize the congregation and administration at Amherst in the name of social activism, would ultimately alienate Campbell’s followers, who sought a more conservative spiritual revolution.

**Installation:**

From the onset of Campbell’s ministry, neither the Society nor Campbell shared a clear understanding of the expectations each had for one another. Initially, the Society sought a full-time minister, applying to the UUA’s national office in Boston for a minister who could both help assuage the financial difficulties they faced as well as increase and cultivate a strong membership. While the Society sought a new minister, Campbell delivered weekly sermons. Consequently, when President of the Unitarian Universalist Society at Amherst, Massachusetts, in 1966, Phillips R. Jones, wrote to Campbell on September 20, 1966, he did not discuss offering a full-time position to Campbell, but rather thanked him for his acceptance of “interim” service and delineated the contractual terms by which his ministry would continue:

The Board of Trustees was pleased to hear…that you are willing to take our Sunday morning services during the interim period which lies ahead of us.

We are presently prepared to offer you an honorarium of $50 plus travel expenses at $.10 per mile for each Sunday; I hope this meets with your approval.
I have suggested…that…an occasional alternate speaker [be lined up], both as a relief to you and to provide variety in our program…

I personally am looking forward to hearing you speak this Sunday, September 25th, as I know many others are. I’ll see you then.\textsuperscript{15}

Clearly, President Jones envisioned Campbell as a visiting minister, a free-lance speaker who would address the Society on Sundays while it sought a full-time minister. Campbell’s duties were minimal, and his pay was contingent upon his orations: Campbell was to preach on Sunday for fifty bucks and some travel perks. In this way, Campbell could speak consistently at a small cost to the Society, all while the Society continued its search for a new minister and provided Sunday “variety” as it auditioned ministerial candidates. No mention of full-time service, or the potential for a subsequent job offer, proved that the Society wanted Campbell as a ‘substitute’, rather than as a permanent, minister.

Campbell’s tardy, but powerful response to President Jones’s letter arrived some three months later, after having preached to the Society on a number of Sundays. He articulated rather plainly that he never envisioned himself as merely “interim” and never concerned himself with a “worthy” compensation. For Campbell, his ministry was one of passionate thought and of an intimate connection to his duties as a minister:

Professional ethics up to this point has prevented me from a more direct approach to the question of my continuing my present relationship to the Unitarian-Universalist Society of Amherst, Mass. …

\textsuperscript{15} Phillips R. Jones to Jeffrey Campbell, 20 September 1966. Unitarian Universalist Society at Amherst, Massachusetts Records, Jones Library.
I have not considered the present relationship which involves responsibility one Sunday Morning service per week, as in any way onerous upon me. I have not in my mind been serving merely as a stop gap until a full time minister might be secured unless this was in the mind of the Committee.

Should the society so desire I would be delighted to continue the relationship indefinitely. Financial relations are entirely satisfactory. I don’t mind saying that had the figure been less I should have preceded exactly as I have been doing.

I enter this statement only because I have been given to understand that the question of my feelings in this matter has come up and I want to help clarify.16

In his letter, Jeffrey Campbell voiced his commitment to the Unitarian Universalist faith and organization as both a professional and as a believer. On the one hand, Campbell responded to President Jones’s invitation and contract with humble service – the key to professionalism. Rather than boast of his own qualifications, or demand more responsibility and better compensation, Campbell offered continued service, thanks for what he was paid, and a ‘vote of confidence’ to the institution that, regardless of the money he received or any ulterior motives of the Society’s search committee, he had committed to his ministerial role and loved it. On the other hand, Campbell’s religious praxis spoke louder than his written word: Campbell had already preached for the Society for more than eight weeks. As a result, his letter confirmed his willingness to continue a job well-done, not his acceptance of a “stop gap” position. This praxis illustrated the way Campbell understood the integration of faith and works. Instead of speaking

16 Jeffrey Campbell to the Unitarian Universalist Society at Amherst, Massachusetts, Ministerial Search Committee, 4 December 1966. Unitarian Universalist Society at Amherst, Massachusetts Records, Jones Library, Jones Library.
his commitment, Campbell physically proved it in the pulpit and let his performance determine whether he and his congregation had grown from his service.

Ultimately, Campbell made believers out of the Society. His work won him praise, and an invitation to continue preaching for the Society in a more permanent capacity. President Jones’s letter in response to Campbell’s showed the latter plainly:

Thank you so much[, Jeff,] for your written statement of December 4th clarifying the extent to which you are willing to serve our Society.

I read the statement to the Board of Trustees on Monday night, and it was evident that most, if not all of them, were as delighted as I that you are enthusiastic about the prospect of continuing your relationship with the society.

If we have seemed a bit cool and reserved in the question of whether you are now our minister or simply our regular guest speaker, I apologize for that; there has been the question of exactly what kind of program is desired by the majority of our members, and the officers of the Society have been hesitant to move in any particular direction without a clear picture of majority sentiment.

I believe that picture has now been provided by the recent survey of our Committee to Recommend a Minister, and that an important ingredient in it is the impact you have had in these recent weeks. Although it is true that most of the people have expressed a preference in the abstract for a full-time, resident minister, I believe that many of these same people would prefer Jeffrey Campbell part-time to anyone else they know on a full-time basis – quite aside from the economics of the situation.17

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17 Phillips R. Jones to Jeffrey Campbell, 8 December 1966. Unitarian Universalist Society at Amherst, Massachusetts Records, Jones Library.
Most apparent was Jones’s willingness to admit Campbell’s positive impact had swayed a number of the committee members to reconsider Campbell’s effectiveness as a preacher. Although Jones made no qualms about the desire that many committee members had for a full-time minister, the insistence that many of those members were willing to accept Campbell’s part-time status as a legitimate alternative to the other full-time candidates they had researched suggested that Campbell’s professionalism and committed faith penetrated the institutional demands of the administration.

Nonetheless, Jones did highlight the precariousness of the search committee’s decision to install Campbell as a part-time minister. The committee was internally divided, split between their favor for Campbell and the institution’s need for a full-time minister. This split, mentioned Jones, resulted in an institutional fear to embrace Campbell’s Ministry. As Jones finished the letter, the depth of this split became clearer:

The Board of Trustees has called for a Parish Meeting…Sunday, December 18th. The major agenda item is the report of the committee to recommend a Minister. The results of the survey will be reviewed and several alternatives more-or-less consistent with these results will be presented. The Board intends to recommend one of these alternatives. After this meeting we hope to have a clear mandate for charting the course of the Society and for speaking frankly with you about our future plans…

In other words, Jones had no intention of confirming Campbell’s future with the Society; his performance, though extolled, was still subject to review. And the review that Campbell
faced was far from one of his pulpit performance and social vision, but rather one of institutional need and “the economics of the situation.”

The Society loved Campbell’s religious performance as a minister, yet they were split about the organizational ramifications of accepting Campbell as a part-time preacher. President Jones and his committee members recognized that Campbell would succeed as the Society’s spiritual leader, but the Society also needed an institutional leader, one who would commit full-time both to religious development and to the institutional upkeep and financial survival of the Society. Regardless of Campbell’s written and spiritual commitment to the Society, many demanded Campbell’s institutional and political guidance, which, they felt, would suffer due to his full-time teaching position and residence in Putney, Vermont. Resolving the tensions between spiritual leadership and institutional survival, from the onset, concretized as the Achilles heal of Campbell’s Ministry and of the Amherst congregation.

This Achilles heal tore as early as 1966, before Campbell had won the position as the Society’s primary minister. President Jones’s praise of Campbell certainly did not outweigh his concerns that many on the committee would fail to re-instate him due to the institutional crises the Society faced at the time. Jones’s letter proved ambivalent and ambiguous – very different from Campbell’s affirmative letter of commitment some days earlier. This ambivalence and ambiguity would last nearly two more months, as the Society’s protocol, i.e. the process of “recommending a Minister” and surveying congregational responses to ministerial candidates, dragged on (and as Campbell continued to preach as a ‘stop gap’ minister). The Society, therefore, did not formally install Campbell as its minister until December 15th, 1967.

Three days before his installation, December 12th, 1967, the Society submitted ads to the Springfield Gazette, the Union and Daily News, the Amherst Record, and the Greenfield
Recorder-Gazette, all advertising Campbell’s ‘Installation Service’ on December 15th. Specified in the ad was Campbell’s history with the Unitarian Universalist Society at Amherst, Massachusetts: “Mr. Campbell, after serving as interim pastor for several months, was called to become permanent minister last February.” Campbell was expected to create the program for the service; hence he chose the Dr. and Rev. Mrs. Donald Harrington, “ministers of the Community Church of New York City and long-time friends of Mr. Campbell[,]” as his principal speakers and “The Hebrew Song of Hope” and “The Negro National Anthem,” written by James Weldon Johnson and composed by Rosamund Johnson, as his musical selections. Other speakers at the Installation Service included Harry T. Allen, the president of the Society, and Rev. Glenn Canfield, the executive secretary of the Connecticut Valley District.

On December 15th, 1967, Campbell’s radical Ministry began, as members of Campbell’s and the Society’s spiritual family celebrated his formal installation as minister. Still, the apprehensiveness of the institution clashed with Campbell’s eagerness to progress the faith; the expectations each had for one another did not match. The fault line at which Campbell and the Society’s professional relationship would split had already sent tremors throughout the Society. As Campbell’s Ministry progressed, the initial clash of expectations evolved into a philosophical fissure between the two parties, one that quaked under the pressure of two divergent logics concerning the relationship between religious and political agendas in the Society. Essentially, the Society’s tentative installation of Campbell set the stage for what would become a tenuous relationship between itself and its new radical minister.

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18 Unitarian Universalist Society at Amherst, Massachusetts, “Installation Service article,” 12 December 1967. Unitarian Universalist Society at Amherst, Massachusetts records, Jones Library.
19 Mrs. Donald Fennessey to Eric Henry 5 December 1967. Unitarian Universalist Society at Amherst, Massachusetts records, Jones Library.
Campbell’s Ministry:

Jane Allen, wife to Harry Allen, the president of the Society and a speaker in the Installation Service, and good friend of Campbell before and after his term as minister for the Society, recalled that Jeff Campbell’s Installation “wasn’t a formal thing.”\(^{21}\) A member of the search committee, she remembered that Campbell’s formal ministry as a half-time employee of the Society “just popped up,”\(^{22}\) not in the least because Campbell “spoke like velvet was flowing out of his mouth.”\(^{23}\)

Janice Stevens, a former secretary of the Society and colleague of Campbell, also offered her praise for Campbell’s eloquent sermons. His “inspiring use of language,” she said, left all in his congregation with the sense that “he was industrious,”\(^{24}\) in his commitment to his faith and his work. Stevens also asserted that Campbell was well-versed in classic literature and in the techniques of theater\(^{25}\), enough to conquer extemporaneous speaking and deliver powerful thoughts in riveting oral presentations: “[Jeff Campbell had] such a brilliant mind: he [rarely] used notes; he came off the top of his head.”\(^{26}\)

Both Jane Allen and Janice Stevens articulated the strengths they remembered in Campbell’s ministerial performance, namely, his intellectual prowess and excellent oral communication skills. In the same breath, however, both Janice Stevens and Jane Allen mentioned the immanent tensions between Jeff Campbell and his administration and congregation at the Society. Janice Stevens voiced the Society contentions, three rather administrative issues: first, members of the Society perceived Campbell’s absence due to his

\(^{21}\) Jane Allen, interview with Steve Peraza, Amherst, Ma., 16 July 2006.

\(^{22}\) Allen, “Interview.”

\(^{23}\) Allen, “Interview.”

\(^{24}\) Janice Stevens, interview with Steve Peraza, Amherst Ma., 15 July 2006.

\(^{25}\) Stevens, “Interview.”

\(^{26}\) Stevens, “Interview.”
commitments at Putney as a sign of disinterest. Second, the congregation perceived Campbell’s absence, as well as his intellectual ferocity at the pulpit, as self-aggrandizing and self-righteousness. Finally, the Society suffered institutional crises, namely financial struggles and dwindling membership numbers, which Campbell failed to effectively address.

Jane Allen, on the other hand, recalled Campbell’s side of the conflict. She argued that Campbell “loved preaching here.”\(^2^7\) Citing Campbell’s instrumental role in organizing their Sunday Morning Breakfast Group, which addressed the Kerner Report and racism in Amherst, Allen posited that, for Campbell, preaching was intimately connected with sociopolitical action.

What the Society and Campbell faced was a chasm between the religious and the political, and the repercussions of having, on one side, a minister committed to the socio-religious, and on the other side, a congregation committed to the institutional and apprehensive of the political. This consistent tension stemmed from that which riddled Campbell’s Installation: Campbell and the Society did not share the same opinion about the ways a ministry in the Unitarian Universalist tradition operated; they had different expectations of one another.

Whereas the Society sought a full-time minister for institutional and political needs, Campbell sought the pulpit to execute his social vision; one integrated with the ethical values he truly believed anchored the Unitarian Universalist faith. As his Ministry developed between 1967 and 1973, these divergent starting points concretized as polarities: Campbell focused on the intellectual and political focuses of his religion – an ethical philosophy that wedded spirituality and political voice; the Society built on the progressive, organizational focus of its religion – a nexus of financial prudence, institutional duty, and political neutrality. Ironically, Campbell’s religion was most essentially political, seeking social change within a religious context, and the

\(^{2^7}\) Allen, “Interview.”
Society’s religion was most essentially institutional, seeking organizational stability at the expense of political and social activism. Both sought to perpetuate Unitarian Universalist values.

**Campbell’s Radicalism:**

Campbell’s sense of a radical Ministry directly related to the principles of Unitarian Universalism that he held dear. For example, the Sunday Breakfast Group, created to discuss the Kerner Report and the effects of racism in the Amherst community, represented a non-religious social institution driven by Unitarian Universalist principles. Issues of justice, peace, and equality, three values discussed as part and parcel of Unitarian Universalism’s guiding principles dominated the group’s discussions of American race relations. In this light, at least three of the seven principles were applied to sociopolitical issues affecting those inside and outside of the Society: the inherent worth and dignity of every person; justice equity and compassion in human relations; and the right of conscience and the use of the democratic process within Unitarian Universalist congregation and in society at large. Clearly, then, Campbell attempted to integrate the religious and the political in his activities outside of his Ministry. He spearheaded a social institution, one separate from his religious organization, which would apply religious ideals to the resolution of sociopolitical problems facing his congregation and the Amherst community.

Another example of his philosophy in action entailed Campbell’s advocacy of the broadcast series, “Point of View.” Although the broadcast series represented an institutional media production, one financed primarily by the Society, it also embodied what Campbell saw as evidence that the Society was “fulfilling its responsibility to the quality of life in the whole outside community.”

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applying the principles to the sociopolitical issues debated within the society at large. Despite the radio show’s connection to the Society, its purpose, as Campbell saw it, was to raise awareness and to challenge the broader community to enhance its own quality of life using the Unitarian Universalist faith as a catalyst for social development.

Both the Sunday Breakfast Group and the “Point of View” radio broadcast series represent non-religious institutions Campbell endorsed over the course of his Ministry. Most essentially, they were two radical elements within his Ministry; they sought to integrate the religious and the political by using religious belief to affect social debate and immediate social change inside and outside of the Society. They also contextualized Campbell’s institutional efforts to radicalize his Ministry. The sociopolitical spin Campbell weaved into the Sunday discussions and into the radio shows filtered into his ministerial performance: Campbell’s non-religious institutions discussed issues that he intimately weaved into his Ministry as part of a religious institution.

Campbell integrated the religious and political within the Society through his unconventional approach to his Minister’s Reports in the Society’s Annual Reports and through his persistent attention to political issues in the Society’s newsletter, the Amherst Unitarian. In the Annual Reports, pitched at the Society’s Board of Trustees, Campbell attempted to re-inscribe the Minister’s Report to suit his style of Ministry - a religious approach intimately connecting both the Society at Amherst and also the society at large. Suggested by Campbell’s refusal to plainly report his ministerial expenditures and guest appearances at religious functions, Campbell’s style of reporting and its content would change the focus of the Minister’s Report from institutional to socio-religious (by paying more attention to the quality of life within the congregation and the society at large than to the cost of his ministerial services). In the
newsletter Campbell addressed the larger community, defending racial integration and advocating an end for the Vietnam War. Rather than fill the pages of the Amherst Unitarian with spiritual notes and congregational stories, Campbell chose to raise social consciousness and challenge conventional thought with his notes to the Society.

The Unitarian Universalist Society at Amherst, Massachusetts, and Its Institutional Resistance to Campbell’s Ministerial Radicalism:

Both these efforts, his writings for the newsletter and his unique Minister’s Reports, were part and parcel of his radicalized Ministry. Campbell’s radical efforts at times earned commendation from congregational members, like Paul Rogers and Jane Allen, for its unique integration of Unitarian Universalist principles and broader sociopolitical issues. However, these efforts also sponsored a fractious relationship with the Society’s institutional framework. Campbell’s radical Ministry arrived at a time in which the Unitarian Universalist Society at Amherst, Massachusetts, suffered from financial troubles and dwindling congregational membership. His Ministry also coincided with America’s most tumultuous modern political period, advocating racial equality and American pacifism when such ideals were hotly debated and frowned upon by many American citizens. As a result, Campbell’s radicalism did not receive an extensively warm welcome; his Ministry instead alienated him from many in his congregation and many on the Society’s administration.

Ultimately, the Minister’s Reports trace Campbell’s radical attempts to re-create what he believed a minister should address as part of a Unitarian Universalist institution. They also show how, over the course of seven years, his radical attitude toward his Ministry weakened in the face of institutional pressures to conform to conventional reporting. Similarly, Campbell’s writings for the Amherst Unitarian articulated Campbell’s political leanings and philosophical
interconnecting of religious and political ideals more specifically than his Minister’s Reports.

Still, the institution’s efforts to curb Campbell’s political position and to neutralize his Ministry’s radicalism also surfaced in relation to Campbell’s writings: the Society effectively censored Campbell’s social gospel by limiting the amount of space he received in the newsletter to discuss socio-religious issues. Both Campbell’s institutional efforts to change the role of minister from one of institutional commitment to one of socio-religious commitment resulted in an institutional backlash and eventually in termination of Campbell’s Ministry.

**Campbell’s Minister’s Reports: 1967-1974**

Campbell’s Minister’s Reports reflected Campbell’s push to revise the minister’s role within the Unitarian Universalist Society. In the yearly reports published by the Society, Campbell defiantly responded to the Board’s demands for a more institutional approach to his ministry, a sure sign that the tension between minister and Fellowship Church had embittered since Campbell’s installation. Campbell fired his first shot at the Society in his ministerial report for the fiscal year of 1966-1967:

> Surely this cannot be a Pastor’s Report. Does one list the number of miles traveled, trips made, thoughts shared, utterances uttered? Can spontaneous feelings of sympathy, alertness to human needs be itemized? Has anyone the gall to “report” on these occasions?

> No, this has got to be a Report on the quality of life of the Fellowship. Here I feel at home. That Fellowship has demonstrated a willingness to listen and to consider openly
approaches and interpretations to controversial issues with…intellectual honesty…This I can report.29

Here Campbell intentionally attempted to begin a redefinition of the “Pastor’s Report” section on the Annual Report of the Society. Explicitly, he argued that for him, as a spiritual leader, the report should center on the ‘quality of life of the Fellowship’ rather than on his institutional and financial maneuvers within the Society. Implicitly, he criticized all previous “Pastor’s Reports” for focusing on minute institutional and financial details, like ‘miles traveled’ or ‘trips made.’ Clearly, Campbell rested his ministerial acumen on social uplift in spite of the institutional needs of the Society, and, since he felt passionately about the change, he developed his report according to his understanding of what a minister must do.

Campbell continued his onslaught of the status quo by reporting on his congregation’s attitude toward him and toward social action. In this vein, he commended those in the congregation, as well as those on the Executive Committee, for their support. He noted that seven or eight new members joined the Society, and proffered that, given the “very lack of emphasis on formality and pressure ha[d] increased the at-easeness with which these friends could identify,” more newcomers confidently filled the ranks. Campbell also noted that the Society’s reinstatement of the “Point of View” broadcast series, dedicated toward creating social awareness amongst Amherst citizens; its creation of a Social Concerns Committee, committed to “exploring some all-important realms concerning the sidetracking of underprivileged minorities from opportunities that by right of citizenship are theirs;” and the cooperation of his secretary in the publication Amherst Unitarian, a newsletter provided by the Society – all of these for

Campbell showed concern, amongst the Society’s members, for the quality of life he intended to cultivate. Finally, he ended his report with one last jab at the former schema for a Pastor’s Report, implicitly claiming that the latter was worth less than his delineation:

Finally: My strongest oath is the following, “May I never make another friend if what I say is not true.” I invoke this when I say that no responsibility or obligation of mine in relation to the Society has been unattended by that quiet quality of joy and satisfaction that is always part of relation to the genuinely worthwhile.30

Essentially, Campbell defined his ministerial role as he saw fit. His notions of what a minister should report to his congregation did not match those of the Society, and so, rather than conform to an agenda he found less worthwhile than his own, he altered the schema of his reports. Campbell offered this new schema with praise for his non-religious institutions as well. In essence, his schema included reporting the spiritual development of both his congregation and his community. In this first report, then, Campbell offered his radical take on the ministerial position as well as located its radical elements, identifying his Ministry as one of religious faith and of social activism. This initial revision of the Pastor’s Report, complete with its implicit attack on the institutional demands of the Society, would result in more fractious debates, evidenced by Campbell’s disillusioned tone in subsequent minister’s report.

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In the Annual Report for the 1967-68 fiscal year, Campbell continued to revise the Minister’s Report, privileging the religious community over its spiritual leader from its opening words:

[Ministerial Reports] are not designed to pinpoint or list the activities of an individual. Their task is to present what has happened in the life of a religious community. Often such development may be linked to specific actions of a minister, but even then importance must go far beyond such actions. Always and forever it is the life of the community that counts.

In essence, Campbell took the next step in redefining his role as minister, asserting that the ‘quality of life of the religious community’ deserved a report concerning the community’s actions, not the actions of its minister. Again, this hopeful defiance stood as an implicit critique of the Society; Campbell disagreed with the Society’s notion of a ministerial report as an institutional and financial updates. Campbell’s reactive critique also suggested that the Society had pressured him to conform to its conventional style of reporting, which was more institutional in scope.

Still, Campbell refused to adhere to convention, and continued to delineate his report according to his own ministerial vision. He began by discussing the Unitarian Universalist faith’s opportunity to address national tensions surrounding racial crimes, like the assassination of Dr.

31 Though no formal records discuss the title change from “Pastor’s Report” to “Minister’s Report,” one can surmise that Campbell’s re-inscription warranted a formal change in the name given to his yearly report. Campbell, of course, identified as a minister, not as a pastor; hence, his insistence that the report better reflect his duties as minister could very easily have resulted in the name change.

Martin Luther King, Jr. In this vein, Campbell reported that his participation on a panel at the University of Massachusetts at Amherst, as well as the expansion (in members) of the informal Sunday Breakfast Group both helped the Fellowship reach out to the national community and also raised the social awareness of those within the Fellowship.\footnote{Society at Amherst, “Annual Report, May 1, 1967 – April 30, 1968,” 1-6.}

In another vein, Campbell explained his hopes for his faith in their deliberations over the validity of the Vietnam War. For Campbell, the process by which his Fellows followed painstakingly democratic avenues to generate a “formal position” on the Vietnam War showed the importance of his brand of “applied” Unitarian Universalism:

The Society took a formal position on the nation’s policies in the Vietnam War. Only those close to our Fellowship will know the soul searching that went into this action, the panels, the discussions, secret ballots and private conversations…The experience did not of necessity leave us happy; it did leave us with a fresh understanding of the nature of applied religion.\footnote{Society at Amherst, “Annual Report, May 1, 1967 – April 30, 1968,” 1-6.}

Here, Campbell’s notion of “applied religion” encapsulated his vision of ministerial duty. Even if the sociopolitical actions to which his Fellowship applied its religious ideals did not yield a clear consensus on one or another political issue, the fact that they applied the democratic spirit inside and outside of the Society to address an issue that affected all Americans spoke to the constructive integration of religion and politics. The Society could not agree on an anti-Vietnam War statement and policy, but it certainly agreed to deliberate the issue as a function of their liberal faith.
Campbell delineated both his discussion of Vietnam, as well as his discussion of race, as new additions to a radicalized Minster’s Report. Again, Campbell drew on notions of community to convince his colleagues that his job was spiritual and sociopolitical, and to advocate for the essentiality of spreading the Unitarian Universalist social message through the media productions the Society financed, extending his message to those outside of the Society as well as to those within it:

I count these occasions important because they were opportunities to contribute to the thinking and understanding of a section of people outside our Fellowship. We do have very important things to say, and it is essential to get them said. Both our Newsletter and “Point of View” broadcasts come under this heading…35

Three issues emerge here as critical to Campbell’s radical efforts. First, he proffered that his ministerial duties were communal, so much so that his responsibility included both those within the Society and those outside of the society. Second, Campbell advocated the Society’s media productions as, first and foremost, signposts upon which to hang the Society’s social vision and its claims of sociopolitical legitimacy. Finally, he introduced his ministry as one of religious beliefs applied to sociopolitical contexts.

These three issues were reported against the backdrop of Campbell’s desire to relinquish his required financial/ institutional duties. Proof of Campbell’s frustrations with budgetary and institutional concerns surfaced in his conclusion to the Report, in which he attempted to resolve the religious and political within the Society:

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Finally: Are we becoming a church of political action? Are we differentiated from a series of committees on social causes? ... Murmurings have in truth come to my listening ear. The annual budget struggle I am told was more tense than usual. I do say that all my adult life and study has shown me that movements must expect a stage at which their religious relevance to the needs of the times can be measured in inverse ratio to their financial stability.\[^{36}\]

In other words, Campbell believed, first, that he had begun a movement in which the standard of success was not financial in form but rather socio-religious and proactive, and second, that measuring the success of the society by budgetary dealings would ignore the accomplishments of the movement. He premised these assertions by welcoming the sociopolitical realm into his religious ministry, hence underscoring his commitment to applied religion and to the uplift of social awareness within the Society and in society. In many ways, Campbell began to articulate a radical ministry dedicated to the upbraiding socio-religious complacency and to the integration of religious and political themes in the Unitarian Universalist faith:

Understandably people confused and genuinely frightened by the clashes of rending strife that make up this revolutionary decade may want to “get away from it all,” and there is need for understanding hands on shaking shoulders, but a Unitarian Universalist

\[^{36}\] Society at Amherst, “Annual Report, May 1, 1967 – April 30, 1968,” 1-6. (emphasis his own)
Fellowship will say enter the warmth of our Meeting and there find strength, courage, and understanding to tackle the age as a full man or woman.37

Put simply, Campbell captured the revolutionary ethos of the era and integrated it with his ministry, demanding that belief not stay at the level of the abstract, but rather enters the entire social organism within which the Unitarian Universalist Fellowship was just one part. In line with his Unitarian Universalist faith, then, Campbell saw his Fellowship as politically connected to the broader society, in that the issues that affected the community could be addressed by the principles proffered by the faith. As a result, Campbell interpreted his faith as one which demanded that its believers commit to the execution of its principles both within the institution and outside of it. The religious and the political, thus, could not be divided; for their integration was precisely the strength of Unitarian Universalism.

As the years continued, Campbell’s fight to radicalize the ministry deepened the division between him and the Society. In the Annual Report for the 1968-1969 fiscal year, Campbell’s battle to redefine the role of the minister in the Unitarian Universalist Fellowship all but erupted. The ministerial report in the 1968-1969 Annual Report not only began with a name different than that of both the previous years, “Report of the Minister,” but it also began with a disclaimer:

The following minister’s report appeared in a late issue of the newsletter. I submitted it in hope that it could contribute to a picture of the Fellowship at its effective end of year. As I review it, I feel it has said the things I believe to be important.38

Here, Campbell solidified his defiant stance by asserting that he would report what he believed to be of importance – and not what others thought he should report as important.

Campbell, implicitly, also revealed his frustration with the institution, which, one may assume, had informed him of their dislike for his style of reporting. Namely, Campbell provided a report that had already been published, refusing to write a new one - a good indication that he found no importance in the style of reporting the Society demanded. It also indicated that he had grown tired of attempting to carry out their wishes.

In lieu of his disclaimer, Campbell asserted his will to fight for the re-definition of the ministerial role, and thwarted any confusion about whether or not he stood at odds with the Society in its institutional context. Campbell continued his diatribe against the status quo by labeling his report, “The State of the Nation,” a sarcastic way of arguing that the Society’s pressure was aimed at making his report a political document: “The title should suggest that the following comes as close to being the Minister’s Report as I can bring my mind to conceive.”

Mocking the Society’s institutional motives, he continued:

If I were to function on this level I would say that the car’s mileage has passed its forty-sixth thousand in two years, at least 75 per cent of which has been spent on Route 91. I can thus honestly “Report” that on a number of occasions the body was delivered to the appropriate spot. But anything of importance must deal with what happened after that. I dare anyone to try “reporting” that in significant terms.39

By the end of the first two full paragraphs of his report, Campbell had spurned his colleagues for what he considered their attention to insignificant issues, as well as affirmed that

he would continue to “report” as he saw fit – as a spiritual ethnographer discussing the interpersonal and religious interrelations of those within the Society. From the onset, Campbell offered a disgruntled response to the Society’s criticism of his unorthodox ministerial reports. His dislike for the conventional method of ministerial reporting stemmed from a lack of attention to the quality of life within the Fellowship. From Campbell’s perspective, the Society at Amherst did not allow its minister to report on the spiritual growth of his congregation. No report of his expenditures and guest appearances could cover the spiritual development of Campbell’s Fellowship: these institutional details were simply not important enough to overlook the religious and sociopolitical efforts of Campbell’s congregation.

The rest of his report praised the successes of the Fellowship in their spiritual and progressivist development, while, at the same time, critiquing the Society’s hang-up on financial issues. He began with the budget, claiming that, though important, it did not warrant his attention as much as the ‘quality of life’ within the Fellowship did:

I know the original budget was not met in financial terms. Treasurers and accountant would look at round figures and draw conclusions. But I am neither. My statistics must deal with the quality of group experience undergone by the Fellowship. I do not disassociate the two. But I must make my appraisal in terms of the functioning group and there my figures are both up.40

Campbell’s purpose in reporting the ‘functioning’ of the group, however, was not wholly abstract and religious. As he mentioned later in that paragraph, the importance of creating a constructive group dynamic and a stronger spiritual essence would bolster members’

contributions to the Society’s endowment. In other words, the socio-religious growth of the Fellowship would result in better fundraising projects – a bonus to those fearful the budget would collapse in crisis:

[The Fellowship’s] support of the budget was not small or inconsequential in terms of their numbers…. To ask those whose lives and thinking have not been affected to contribute as though they had been would belie every principle on which I have ever conceived of a Ministry.  

In Campbell’s mind, then, he could be criticized for privileging ministerial duties over administrative ones, but he could be condemned for ignoring or omitting them. Though he did not find institutional spending central to his vision of the “Ministry,” he did have a plan of action by which he could help the financial development of the Society. Campbell, thus, tried to relate his sociopolitical spirituality to his institutional duty, albeit brief and inconclusive. He believed that a strong spiritual core within his congregation was the only remedy to the declining membership of the Fellowship and its subsequent financial woes.

Campbell did not share the Society’s apprehensions about the integration of the religious and political in his Ministry. Unsurprisingly, then, Campbell chose his media and discussion groups, i.e. their success as thought-provoking and spiritually significant institutions within the Society, as the primary discussion topics in the rest of his report for 1968-1969 – a slap in the face to the worried institution. He mentioned his “Sunday Breakfast Discussion Group “with its emphasis on a thoroughgoing Middle Class understanding of the American Dilemma of race relations” as central to the development of a new commission within the town of Amherst’s local

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systems of governance, a commission which would evolve into the Citizen’s Review Commission “appointed to study all aspects of Amherst life in relation to the Government’s Kerner Report.” Coupled with the continued success of Campbell’s “Point of View” broadcast series, which he argued “was not without effect in sharpening ideas, raising questions, and contributing a needed stimulus to the life and thought of [Amherst],” Campbell continued with his revolutionary spirit. Essentially, Campbell had fully developed a system of reporting dedicated to his socio-religious mission and its importance as an awareness-raising sociopolitical device created to galvanize society as well as the Society.42

The largest portion of the report, however, belonged to Campbell’s critique of the Society’s budgetary focus and its irrelevance to the operation of his ministry: “My big worry again is not financial.”43 Campbell’s focus underscored the importance of applying a spiritual bend on sociopolitical relations in the broader community. The Society’s demands, however, specified the need for a spiritual leader that would both adhere to the mandates of the institution, like conventional reporting, as well as provide assistance in bolstering its operating budget. The result was an annual report committed to the financial dealings of the Society and a minister’s report that undermined the Society and its institutional direction:

If eight-tenths of our resources must be assigned to housekeeping budgets, we become so involved with means, that ends just do not enter our ken. Some morning we may wake up and ask “What is this all about?” That question never occurs to those involved in actively working to shape the understanding and life experience of a whole community. I am

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convinced that this is the very reason liberal religious fellowships are drastically needed in our time.44

Campbell clearly resisted the political structure of the Society: his diatribes on their ministerial reports defied their organization in the name of his religious mission. The Society clearly resented Campbell’s persistent defiance: Campbell’s curt comments about the insignificance of budgetary issues and institutional reports suggested that the Society’s administration had critiqued his philosophical delineation of institutional events, programs, and issues. Again, both parties in this heated debate sought different ends and found no common ground upon which to wage their war. Campbell’s response was simple enough: “Budgets be hanged!”45

By this time Campbell’s radical Ministry had concretized into one that privileged the religious and the political over the administrative and institutional. By his third Minister’s Report, Campbell had begun to radicalize his Ministry through the use of non-religious institutions, like the Sunday Breakfast Group and the “Point of View” broadcast series, to apply Unitarian Universalist principles to pertinent political issues affecting his community. He had also challenged the Society to revise its perception of the minister as an institutional leader. Campbell argued that the minister should address quality of life issues, both for his congregation and for his community at large. Both inside and outside the Society, essentially, Campbell initiated what he perceived as a movement that would integrate the religious and the political and catalyze believers and citizens to advocate a more equitable society.

Noble as Campbell’s efforts were, the Society resented his revolutionary Ministry as it progressed. To begin with, the Society needed a full-time minister to satisfy its needs both on Sundays and during the week as an institutional leader. Campbell’s part-time service did not suffice. Secondly, Campbell, who offered little more than critique of the institutional functioning of the Society, audaciously criticized the Society’s efforts to meet budgetary needs. Thirdly, Campbell’s pulpit performances and written diatribes stole the focus away from the institution’s strife and displaced it on societal issues, detracting from the Society’s institutional urgencies. Why would the Society embrace the fight for racial equality or for global peace when it’s operating budget and personnel were disintegrating?

Alongside the Society’s needs on an organizational level, the Society had grown weary of Campbell’s radical message. The budgetary crisis they faced called for an immediate solution to their institutional needs. They feared that a declining membership and lack of funds to pay for personnel, most importantly, a full-time minister, could catapult them into bankruptcy, forcing them to relinquish their status as a Society. As a result, the Society sought financial relief and institutional guidance, not the revolutionary raucous of a dynamic minister. They feared that Campbell’s fight for racial integration and struggles to bring an end to the Vietnam War would instigate further congregational loss and repel prospective members to the Society. In the Society’s eyes, Campbell’s radical Ministry negatively affected the Society’s public relations: his radical focus pushed less-politically inclined members away from the faith.

Campbell’s radical tactics jumped over the ledge in the Annual Report for the 1969-1970 fiscal year, “descending to depths that [appeared] vulgar.” Campbell mentioned vulgarity...
because, instead of reporting the elements of his ministry that he found meaningful and constructive, he merely provided the calendar of events for the year:

I am sharing the year’s calendar. It will at least indicate places and times at which the body was found. I am not suggesting that anything miraculous took place by reason of the coincidence. I do know that in matters concerning the creation of peace, the creation of understanding regarding racial conflicts by which our society is torn, I have been in a position to do good and useful things with some slight effect.47

In other words, Campbell gave in to the demands of the Society - sarcastically. Whereas in the last annual report Campbell’s disclaimer demonstrated his rejection of the Society’s demands, to show his resentment toward the Society’s institutional infatuation in 1969-1970 he produced a report comprised of dates and activities his “body” attended. Again, his “body” was not what Campbell found important; the latent criticism he unveiled, then, was that the Society concerned itself more with meaningless indicators of service than with concrete evidence that the Fellowship had grown.

Campbell’s cynical introduction to the report also voiced his concern with the Vietnam War and with the Civil Rights movement. Suggested by Campbell’s opening is that “peace” and the resolution of “racial conflicts” represented the second-place winners of institutional attention. Yet, for Campbell, these issues were of the utmost importance. Implied, then, is a deepening divide between Campbell’s Ministry and the Society’s organizational direction. Though the split had already emerged as one in which Campbell sought to revolutionize his report in an institutional setting that asked for a different kind of discussion of the Society, his report for the

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1969-1970 fiscal year evidenced that split as a political one separating Campbell’s Ministry and the Society’s administration.

Campbell’s revolutionary ethos therefore filtered into the political realm, within which the members of the Society were unprepared to give credence to his radical ideas. Considering that the Society was suffering a financial crisis, radical ideas may have undermined their fundraising agenda; therefore, a minister who proselytized a radical point of view threatened the growth of the organization as a whole. This internal threat could potentially unravel the organization, rattling its financial foundations. Despite Campbell’s consistent adherence to Unitarian Universalist values, his push to operationalize his religious values alienated those in the institution: his colleagues knew that praxis of progressive thought at a time as tumultuous as those they faced may not assist in the successful maintenance of a nonprofit organization like the Unitarian Universalist Society at Amherst, Massachusetts.

Facing these criticisms and tensions, however, did not faze Campbell who politicized his socio-religious stance even further in his introduction:

Unitarians maintain that human personality is in its own right sacred. We all know how easy it is in an artificially structured society to act as though this value was not held. I have seen my job as one of stimulating awareness of the divinest truth we know on platform, in school, in pulpit, on the air, and in a multitude of human contacts. I have tried faithfully to operate under this discipline wherever I have been.\(^{48}\)

Again, Campbell jabbed at the Society for not staying true to its spiritual mission.

circumscribe the scope of his ministerial report. In response to the Society’s pressures, he vowed that the values maintained by his faith, first and foremost, were the elements to which he would attend, sacrificing all other institutional demands. He concluded his harangue, stating, “The enclosed calendar can inform members…of situations and occasions in which this could happen… [, but the] important elements can never be measured.”

The annual report in 1969-1970 spoke volumes about the fissure between Campbell and the Society. The Society’s pressures had finally worn down the spiritual revolutionary. His professionalism nearly disappeared; his critiques emerged concise and cogent, not masked in a radical message. In Campbell’s mind, the Society attacked his profession, his personality, and his religious mission, and, despite constant resistance to the institution’s encroachments, Campbell had lost his cool trying to defend his ministerial style.

The Society cracked Campbell’s resistance, and, for the first time in his stint with the Unitarian Universalist Society at Amherst, Massachusetts, received a report that discussed institutional dealings. Campbell’s provision of his calendar came as a sarcastic answer to institutional demands. Nonetheless, one might argue that Campbell’s report for the 1969-1970 fiscal year proved more useful to the Society, providing key information for their records. It recorded how many weddings over which Campbell had presided. It dated Campbell’s ministerial trips to conferences and other speaking events. The calendar also spoke to Campbell’s media productions, committee meetings, panel discussions, and sermonic titles. All these tidbits of information that Campbell found insignificant in the report of a minister worked to answer a number of institutional questions, like where the minister spoke; how many events the minister attended outside of his Sunday service; which congregation members the minister served in his pastoral duties; and what programming consistently occurred. These details were crucial to the

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organization, especially considering their need for good advertisement and successful fundraising. Though Campbell found this information redundant and lifeless, the institution very well may have used this information as life-support\(^50\).

By the time Campbell submitted his final report in the fiscal year of 1970-1971, he had given up all but his criticism. In his last Annual Report, he left out his social commentary and replaced it with a somberly written discussion of the Society’s “housekeeping.” Indicative of his loss was the first line of his report: “The year nineteen seventy-one has not been a good year for the proponents of Liberal religion.”\(^51\) His introduction continued to discuss the national trend of “the ‘put-up or shut-up’ stage”:

The national pull back on Civil Rights, the increasing extension of Police State spying supported by National Government agencies, the progressive crushing of hope and faith in human dignity and responsible democracy; all these have been sledge hammer blows at values shared by Unitarian-Universalists.\(^52\)

Sensing the loss of his community’s will to revolt against national systems of oppression Campbell lost the wind from his spiritual sails and lamented that, “Perhaps all this is the reason why the positive gains we as a local society can record fall largely in the area of more imaginative and intelligent use of our building facilities and other resources.”\(^53\)

At this juncture, Campbell had lost the war he waged on the Society. In his sixth ministerial report, Campbell could only discuss the ways the Society advanced their institutional

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\(^50\) Unitarian Universalist Society at Amherst, Massachusetts, “Annual Report, May 1, 1969 – April 30, 1970, 1-6
\(^51\) Unitarian Universalist Society at Amherst, Massachusetts, “Annual Report, May 1, 1970 – April 30, 1971” (University of Massachusetts at Amherst, Jones Library, Photocopy.), 2.
framework, specifically their physical location, to advance the comfort of their congregation. For Campbell, this development, in and of itself, represented defeat. For the Society, it represented a marvelous change.

One can easily infer that the Society desired a report from its minister that provided what the 1969-1970 and the 1970-1971 reports gave: documents that spoke to the self-preservation and advancement of the institution. Just as the last report was a calendar of events, this report was delineation of programs coordinated by, and singularly involving, the Society and its members. For example, Campbell mentioned the Society’s decision to host summer sessions in which intellectual and spiritual issues were discussed; the ‘revival’ of “Pot Luck suppers;” new arrangements for the pews and decorations within the church; the re-establishment of religious education and Bible studies; the resignation of Campbell’s secretary, Mrs. Donald Fennessey, who left the Society to teach in a middle school; and struggles the Society had securing volunteers for janitorial service in the Society. All these undertakings of the Society had never before been published in Campbell’s report; they took the place of his radical reporting.

Campbell’s push to revise the ministerial reports found a brick wall in the institution’s administration, and, by his last report, had transformed from an offensive diatribe to a defensive suggestion. In one issue that Campbell reported, he mentioned that the Board at Amherst had unduly censored a member’s perspective on the Vietnam War, which, he felt, suggested that the Society had traded its progressivism for repression:

When as a Society, this Board felt obliged to close the columns of our bi-weekly bulletin to the viewpoint of a member concerning the East Asia war and it’s financing, we took a step on lines that run contrary to our entire Liberal tradition. The airing of all views, the

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effort to present any and all sides of a question has been the bedrock to our heritage…[If] this is no longer true…we need to recognize the fact as a full Society taking complete responsibility for our change of course.55

In his second major critique of the Society, Campbell responded to a criticism one member of his congregation had of his sermonic style: “My blood chilled this year when one very perceptive member of our ranks reflectively observed, ‘Perhaps all [the congregation members] want is a “good sermon.”’” Campbell responded with his wits and a broader critique of the Society:

I chilled because I know that no sermon delivered under such circumstances can ever be “good.” It would mean that hearers and preacher alike were without sense of direction or purpose, and the contracts betwixt Heaven and Hell on our earthly planet had been extinguished for all significant time.56

A member of the Society implicitly charged Campbell with delivering ‘bad’ sermons – ‘bad’ in a non-religious sense. What Campbell defended, however, was not his ability to speak, but rather his willingness to challenge his ‘hearers’ and their beliefs – his push to make the congregation act out their beliefs. Whether his critic intended Campbell to defend his ministerial style or his sermonic delivery, one cannot ascertain from Campbell’s report, but Campbell certainly used this critique as an opportunity to address his style of Ministry, the sociopolitical

content of his Ministry, and the importance of having a leader who does not accept the
complicity of his congregation.

Altogether, Campbell’s disillusionment with the Society had run its course, and, just like
social critics across the country, Campbell had reached the ‘put-up or shut-up stage’ in his
ministry. He chose to put-up, refusing to abandon his critical lens. Yet, despite his resilience, the
theoretical battle fought in the pages of the Society’s Annual Reports had polarized the minister
and the Society. What began as a victorious spiritual crusade for Campbell ended as a bitter,
mud-throwing brawl of wits in which the institution prevailed. No one discredited the value of
Campbell’s message, nor did they deny that the Society’s function as an organization at times
detracted from its spiritual mission. But Campbell’s diatribes did little to formally change the
Society; the Society’s institutional frameworks, even in times of crisis, stood fast in the face of
its critical spiritual leader. The institution’s final victory came in two forms, first, the censorship
of Campbell’s media productions, and second, the termination report accepted by all its members
in which the Society requested a new minister.

**Campbell’s Writings for the Amherst Unitarian:**

Campbell’s attempts to radicalize the Minister’s Reports directly corresponded with his
efforts to integrate religious and political themes in the Society’s newsletter, the *Amherst
Unitarian*. As discussed earlier, the newsletter had long been a media production designed to
connect the Society and its minister with its congregation, usually through spiritual notes and
stories about the religious development of its congregation. Campbell added his radical spin to
this religious media production by discussing the religious beliefs of Unitarian Universalism as
they related to the contentious sociopolitical issues affecting the Amherst and national
communities. Such issues as racial discrimination and political activism calling an end to the
Vietnam War dominated Campbell’s writings, which attempted to counterbalance what he saw as political problems with religious resolutions for social action. Unfortunately for Campbell, this radical approach to the Ministry and its literary arm was not always well-received by the Society, and, once the minister and the Society’s administration polarized, the Society effectively silenced Campbell’s radical message, all but eliminating his column in the newsletter.

Many loved Jeffrey Campbell and his socio-religious challenges, while also positing his revolutionary zeal as a detriment to his ministry. Dr. Gage, for example, a friend of Campbell’s for over 50 years, as well as president of the Board of Trustees at the Unitarian Universalist Society at Amherst, Massachusetts, remembered him fondly as a “genuine person – no pretense about him.” Highlighting Campbell’s intelligence and excellent speaking skills, Dr. Gage added that Campbell “was good at sensing a need [, and] he wanted something done with the resources we had – no dreaming.” In this same discussion, however, Dr. Gage mentioned that “[Campbell] was not making it easy for [the Society] to accept God in a peaceful way.” Gage remembered that Campbell’s “aim was social activism,” and that, as a result, the “Congregation was tired of being challenged to do something.” In his process of re-inscribing the minister’s role in the Fellowship “nothing fazed him;” Campbell tirelessly “[got] people to think about social needs [and] appropriate actions to change the world.” Yet, just like Campbell’s tenacious approach to revolutionary ministry, the Society’s contentions with a radical minister were “not easily set aside.”

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57 Dr. Robert Gage, interview with Steve Peraza, Amherst, Ma., 18 July 2006.
58 Gage, “Interview.”
59 Gage, “Interview.”
60 Gage, “Interview.”
61 Gage, “Interview.”
62 Gage, “Interview.”
Jan Stevens, the clerk who dispersed the Ministerial Liaison Committee’s decision to terminate Campbell’s service, articulated the same ambivalence toward Campbell. On the one hand, she recalled Campbell’s “brilliant mind” and his challenging sermons for which “he didn’t use notes.” On the other hand, she admitted that, although Campbell “[didn’t] want to leave [the Society at Amherst],” that many in the congregation perceived his absence during the week as disinterest, his intellectual discussions as his attempt to be “above the organization, and the Society’s dwindling membership and budget as a function of his lack of attention to the Society’s institutional upkeep.”

John Barbaro, however, a clinical psychologist in Amherst and a friend of Campbell’s between 1967 and 1984, recalled that Campbell’s best contribution to the Society was in fact his critical glances against the local and national status quo on the War in Vietnam and on racism. “He liked to laugh, but he could get really serious,” said Barbaro, who complimented Campbell’s severe intellectualism and perusals of Shakespearean literature, as well as Campbell’s masterful integration of these literary and sociopolitical themes as foundational elements within his spiritual schema. Most specifically, Barbaro remembered that Campbell’s “diatribes against the Vietnam War” brought him to the services in which he spoke, and convinced him to secure Campbell’s friendship. For Barbaro, then, Campbell’s religious and sociopolitical message was reason enough to attend the Unitarian Universalist services and, in future years, to ask Campbell to oversee his wedding reunion and his children’s “Naming Ceremonies.”

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63 Stevens, “Interview.”
64 Stevens, “Interview.”
65 John Barbaro, Interview with Steve Peraza, Amherst, Ma., 15 July 2006.
66 Barbaro, “Interview.”
67 Barbaro, “Interview.”
68 “Naming Ceremonies” are services at which Unitarian Universalists’ children are “christened” as Unitarian Universalists. Much like a baptism, a minister presides over a ceremony at which the children of believers are introduced to and welcomed by the Unitarian Universalist faith. Barbaro, “Interview.”
Campbell’s religious and sociopolitical message found its true home in the pages of the Amherst Unitarian, a newsletter mailed to Unitarian Universalists from the Society’s headquarters in Amherst. In these newsletters, Campbell committed himself both to creating a consistent venue through which the issues and concerns affecting the Society could be voiced as well as to cultivating a community ethic that allowed for the discussion of contentious sociopolitical debates affecting the Society’s local and national community. As Dr. Gage noted, Campbell believed in the nation’s redemption: “[Campbell] really believed America would pick itself up and evolve into something better.”

This “something better” proved to be an America without violent wars, without racial discrimination, and without economic inequality. These three issues Campbell attacked most plainly in his brief submissions to the Amherst Unitarian. Though many of these newsletters were not archived before 1968 and after 1971, a random sample of them still reveals Campbell’s persistent critiques of both American society as well as socio-religious complacency within the Fellowship. In one brief essay, Campbell summed up his stance on the Vietnam War, succinctly arguing that American violence in Asia was indeed American tyranny: “Accounts of the behaviour of [American] troops [during the Vietnam War] report little difference from the actions of the Nazi forces in Central and East European countries.”

Campbell wrote this assertion in response to President Nixon’s “boasting that he ‘brought our boys home from Vietnam on their feet rather than on their knees.’” Campbell’s message was clear: American soldiers, after wreaking havoc on the Vietnamese people, should be nowhere else but ‘on their

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69 Gage, “Interview.”
70 Jeffrey Campbell, “On Our Knees,” Amherst Unitarian, (University of Massachusetts at Amherst, Jones Library, circa 1971).
71 Campbell, “On Our Knees.”
knees’, praying that their sins against humanity can be absolved in the wake of such a political disaster:

If we still count ourselves in any sense of the word Christian or even a civilized nation, the only way our troops could come home is on their knees. I assume that the phrase indicates a mood of humble contrition for the years of atrocities for which they were responsible. If our President speaks for the contrary, I can only visualize a punch-drunk, swaggering bully spouting “Victory with Honour,” and thereby demeaning both words out of our vocabulary.72

This passage particularly highlighted the ways in which Campbell wove his spiritual and political inclinations and his ministerial role toward the Society. Clearly, Campbell fought intellectually for a pacifist society, suggesting that a swaggering bully could never right the wrongs of atrocious human behavior. This sentiment, one must infer, related directly to the Unitarian Universalist belief in the value of each human being and the personality each holds dear to his/ her identity – and thus directly to his congregation at the Society. Yet, his comments did not speak solely to a congregation making sense of the Vietnam situation; they spoke to a broader community, a national one. He criticized Nixon, not as an enemy to the Society, but as an enemy of the State, and thus asserted his critique more as a social criticism than as a religiously guided assessment of America’s wrongdoings. Campbell spoke to a Middle Class audience about reckless President they helped to elect and his feckless notions of ‘victory and honour.’ Aside from its publication in the Amherst Unitarian and its local readership, his message did not solely relate to his congregation, nor did it resolve itself within the beliefs and

72 Campbell, “On Our Knees.”
values that Unitarian Universalists embodied. Campbell’s “diatribe” functioned as a wake-up call to his congregation and the broader community, a “CNN report” warning all of society to mount its spiritual juggernaut in counter-attack against the political forces undermining the social values the nation held dear.

When discussing the issue of racial equality and the Civil Rights Movement, Campbell clearly articulated an integrationist stance that centered, not on racial tolerance, but rather on human fraternity and community. In one newsletter, Campbell criticized African American nationalists who believed that integration would only come once African Americans had built their own nationalist community and uplifted its communal self-esteem:

[The Black Nationalist asserts that] Blacks cannot and should not immerse themselves in concepts that deal with the “universal worth of all Mankind” while they still see themselves as “worthless niggers” nor can they spend a lot of time with formulations concerned with the idea of the Community of Man…

I have yet to meet the man…to whom I can deed the right to determine at what stage I am ready to formulate and affirm any concept of humanity dictated by my own experience and understanding….

If, out of the welter of fear, hatred and confusion abroad in the world, any man or woman has attained a view of universal worth of Mankind let all races and colors stand back and acknowledge the sanctity of the ground on which he stands.73

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73 Jeffrey Campbell, “Oh, Not again…,” Amherst Unitarian, (University of Massachusetts at Amherst, Jones Library, circa 1971).
Here, Campbell laments that many Black nationalists had marginalized humanity to fight for the uplift of their race. Though he did not condemn their efforts to bolster the Black community’s morale, Campbell refused to agree that this sense of communal progress must come at the expense of integration. Whether or not African Americans had overcome the internalization of inferiority, Campbell believed that African Americans should not hoist their racial battles above the global battle to improve humanity. And the improvement of humanity did not discriminate against whites; Campbell cogently argued that a united front against American racism would be the only opportunity for Americans and those in the world to overcome the horrors of racism.

Again, Campbell’s sociopolitical stance on racism in America, despite its location within a Unitarian Universalist newsletter, spoke to more than just his congregation. Essentially, his view of integration and Black Nationalist discourses thrust his congregation into the national dispute over racial equality and civil rights. His article certainly pertained to the racial battle being fought within the Unitarian Universalist Association; however, he inscribed it as a mere microcosm of what the national debate on race entailed. For Campbell, the local tensions concerning race shed light on the national issue, and as the spiritual leader of a Fellowship committed to principles of human fraternity and each individual’s self-worth, Campbell found his role to be one of a socially conscious catalyst, determined to use his spiritual training to affect sociopolitical change.

As the two dominant issues affecting American society between 1967 and 1974, racial discrimination and debates over the Vietnam War demanded Campbell’s sociopolitical and religious attention. Ending racism for Campbell fell within the auspices of at least three of Unitarian Universalism’s guiding principles: the inherent worth and dignity of every person;
justice equity and compassion in human relations; and the right of conscience and the use of the
democratic process within Unitarian Universalist congregation and in society at large. Ending the
war in Vietnam also spoke to principles Unitarian Universalism held dear: the right of
conscience and the use of the democratic process within our congregations and in society at
large; the goal of world community with peace, liberty, and justice for all; and respect for the
interdependent web of all existence of which we are a part. Because these two issues bore direct
connections to principles Unitarian Universalism hoped to transcend in society, Campbell saw no
other option than to integrate religious and political themes in an effort to raise social awareness
and to encourage social activism. The Amherst Unitarian provided a perfect venue for him to
articulate this radical nexus of ideas.

As spiritually astute as Campbell’s socio-religious vision in the pages of the Amherst
Unitarian may have been, his readership grew weary of its political bend. As was the case with
Campbell’s ministerial reports, many in the Society disdained Campbell’s persistent push of the
political button, especially against the backdrop of his refusal to take up the political reigns
within the Society - as they expected of him. Whereas Campbell saw his role as one of
professing Unitarian Universalist values and applying them to real life issues, the Society
expected Campbell to cultivate the spiritual growth of his congregation, first, and to collaborate
with the Society’s internal power structure to maintain the organizational coherence of the
institution both politically and financially, second. Campbell’s refusal to adhere to these
demands anticipated the Society’s unanimous decision to terminate his Ministry.

The Society’s first deathblow struck at the heart of Campbell’s sociopolitical
proselytizing: the Society censored Campbell by limiting the space on which he could deliver his
socio-religious vision. Though Campbell did not sound off on the Society’s tactical suppression of his message, Paul Rogers certainly did:

I have just received the Amherst Unitarian for May 16, 1963. Its most prominent feature, as far as I am concerned, is that shared by practically all previous “redesigned” newsletters – namely the relegating of the thoughts of Jeff to something equivalent to a classified ad. Our minister was allotted in this latest issue the grand total of 16 words with which to perform some sort of magic.

…For crying out loud! Reduce his sermons to every other Sunday, take away his column in the newsletter, and there isn’t much else we could do to hamstring him except maybe to have him bound and gagged.

Isn’t it time that we let Jeff be Jeff; let him say what there is in him to be said; let him work in his own way to try and help us all create a genuine community of persons…

I hope the Unitarian will become a vehicle for the sharing of serious thought, and will not degenerate into a mish-mash of newsy gibberish. 74

Paul Rogers condemned the Unitarian Universalist society at Amherst, Massachusetts, for limiting Campbell’s space in the newsletter, which, considering the revolutionary message Campbell consistently relayed in its pages, centered predominantly in clipping Campbell’s ideological wings. One can infer that Rogers appreciated Campbell’s efforts to ‘create a genuine community of persons,’ despite its challenges to the religious status quo that the Society aimed to

74 Paul Rogers to the Unitarian Universalist Society at Amherst, Massachusetts, Board of Trustees, 18 May, 1973, Unitarian Universalist Society at Amherst, Massachusetts records, Jones Library.
protect. He also disdained the institutional tactic devised to silence that message, a precise attack on the space Campbell used to articulate the voice of change.

Rogers also noted that Campbell had been subjected to other repressive mechanisms. Campbell’s duties as a speaker had been reduce from weekly to bi-weekly. Indeed, the Society’s budget had been suffering, enough to warrant a cut in the salary given to a minister – so reduced service did not seem completely tactical. However, the Society also demanded more time from Campbell as a minister. One chief reason Campbell’s services were criticized was his commitment to the Putney School, and how this commitment shortened the amount of time he could spend in Amherst performing pastoral care to his congregation. That the Society would cut his time, and his space in the newsletter, suggests that the Society intended to silence him, more than merely to relinquish some of the pressure on the operating budget.

**Termination: Report of the Ministerial Liaison Committee to the Membership of the Unitarian Society of Amherst, 1974.**

The Society’s intention to silence, and ultimately terminate Campbell’s Ministry at Amherst, emerged plainly in the “Report of the Ministerial Liaison Committee to the Membership of the Unitarian Society of Amherst,” in which the criticisms of Campbell’s Ministry were plainly delineated as well as potential alternatives to resolve the ministerial crisis suggested. The report, issued on February 22, 1974, represented the second and final blow to Campbell’s Ministry, and illustrates the ways in which Campbell’s message and ministerial style, rather than the cost of his services, directly influenced his expulsion.

The “Report of the Ministerial Liaison Committee to the Membership of the Unitarian Society of Amherst” was a product of the Ministerial Liaison Committee convened to examine
“the role of the minister as perceived by the minister and by the congregation.”\textsuperscript{75} The Society’s push to re-examine the role of the minister in their organization, according to the report, stemmed from “a gradual decline in membership, in participation, and in financial resources”\textsuperscript{76} suffered by the Society in the five years prior to the report.

Carl Westman, the Interdistrict Representative of the Unitarian Universalist Association advised the construction of the Ministerial Liaison Committee to further investigate the diverse views the Society had of Jeffrey Campbell. Campbell’s advisory committee, created in 1971 to “facilitate communication between the minister and the congregation” reported “a wide range of differences in needs, in preferences, and in what each perceived as the primary function of the Society.”\textsuperscript{77} As a result of these ambivalent responses, Carl Westman proceeded to suggest that the Ministerial Liaison Committee form and report to the Society by February, 1974.

The Ministerial Liaison Committee was comprised of three Society members, one picked by Campbell, the minister, another by the Board of Trustees, and a third by the two appointees themselves. Campbell chose Richard Stevens; the Board of Trustees picked Jean Shepard, and the two appointees invited Margaret Gage. The goals of the Committee were twofold, first, to create a constructive dialogue between Campbell and his congregation, and second, to create a report that will help the Society understand more clearly whether the minister’s role in the Society is positively or negatively affecting the organization. And their method of examination included conferences with Carl Westman, small informal meetings with members of the Society’s congregation, and in-depth conversations with Campbell concerning his view of the Ministry and his role within the Society. Ultimately, the Committee intended “to take the pulse

\textsuperscript{75} Unitarian Universalist Society at Amherst, Massachusetts, “Report of the Ministerial Liaison Committee to the Membership of the Unitarian Society of Amherst, 22 February 1974” (Jones Library, University of Massachusetts at Amherst, photocopy), 1.
\textsuperscript{76} Society at Amherst, Massachusetts, “Report of the Ministerial Liaison Committee,” 1.
\textsuperscript{77} Society at Amherst, Massachusetts, “Report of the Ministerial Liaison Committee,” 1.
of the Society,”78 and in so doing, determine whether Campbell’s Ministry helped or hurt the Society – whether his part in the Society had hit a low point or not.

According to the report, Campbell’s infamy within the Society had grown: Most viewed his Ministry as a problem. Members of the Society criticized his full-time position at the Putney School in Putney, Vermont as the first and most affective problem with his Ministry:

There was substantial agreement among those with whom we talked that Jeff’s residence in Putney and full-time teaching position are an obstacle to his effectiveness as a minister. His severest critics believe that distance begets indifference. His warmest supporters, on the other hand, believe that Jeff has done that is humanly possible to overcome this obstacle by willingness to respond to personal emergencies without regard to time or distance.79

Essentially, one weakness of Campbell’s ministry according to the congregation was Campbell’s full-time commitment to another job. Since his teaching job required that he live in Putney, he could not be a resident minister at Amherst. That he lived in another state struck many in his congregation as reason to believe that he would not make the extra effort to tend to their needs and concerns: ‘distance begets indifference.’

Secondly, the congregation disagreed about the substance and value of Campbell’s Sunday sermons. The report argued that a wide range of responses showed that though many liked Campbell’s sermons, more resisted them because of their political challenges. For example, one of Campbell’s supporters mentioned that “those who claim to be weary of [Campbell’s]

message have never really tried to understand what he has been saying.” Another supporter claimed that “Jeff speaks with such earnestness and conviction, with such warmth and humanity, it’s inspiring.” On the other hand, Campbell’s critics rattled off comments like, “We are well aware of the great ills of the world. We don’t need to be made to feel more guilty.” Another spoke with even less veiled anger, “[Campbell is] a 19th century tub thumper, substituting politics for hell-fire and brimstone.”80

The third contentious point of the report argued that Campbell’s commitment to Putney arrested his ability to act as an organizational coordinator and catalyst for the Society’s programs and activities. Although the Society acknowledged that “dwindling size energies, and commitment” bolstered their organizational projects, they still “believe…that it would be helpful to find a person to act as [a] coordinator…” Campbell, on the other hand, “[seemed] to feel that initiatives should come from the congregation rather than be imposed by a minister-leader on whom the membership leans.”81

In a final area of critique, the report discussed the format of Campbell’s Sunday services. Campbell’s traditional services were blasted as repetitive and un-interactive: “In his traditional role as ‘preacher’ his best does not come through – he needs interaction with people – questioning, challenging to stimulate him.” The minority who supported Campbell’s traditional services asked that the congregation give him a chance to finish his sermon before interrupting him with questions: “Interruptions in Jeff’s sermons by questioners are very disconcerting…[;] it spoils the pace and timing, and interferes with his gradual build-up to a climax.”82

Society members also asked that more outside speakers be brought in to speak at

80 Society at Amherst, Massachusetts, “Report of the Ministerial Liaison Committee,” 3.
Amherst – “creating variety.” This suggestion was made against the backdrop of harsh critiques of Campbell’s “experimental services.” As part of the experimental services, Society members asked that “Jeff…be more a part of the congregation” or that “[Jeff] recognize and support variety.” Others simply condemned Campbell’s attempts to experiment on Sundays: “Experimental services are all right once in a while, perhaps once a month, but people should be warned what to expect. If it’s going to be a ‘sensitivity group’ I’ll just stay home that Sunday.”

Beyond these four areas, the report also discussed Campbell’s interpersonal relations with members of the congregation. Again, the members felt ambivalent toward Campbell’s accessibility as a spiritual confidant:

There have been many expressions of gratitude for the quality of friendship and personal counseling which Jeff has given to our members…Others have not experienced that quality of relationship with Jeff, in most cases probably because they have not sought it.

Members of the Society who supported Campbell “believe that his sermons and readings are of high quality, that every member is a person to Jeff, and that those people who are speaking out against him [used] him as a scapegoat for the Society’s ills.” Conversely, his critics summarized his personal distance from them as “a lack of serious commitment to individuals in the congregation.”

The report concluded with a question and a series of alternatives to consider as members pondered the answer. The question was plain: “[H]ow much of our total program depends on the

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congregation and how much on the minister?” Eight alternatives were provided to satisfactorily address the latter concern – one of which Campbell flatly rejected. The alternatives included:

1. “status quo” – the retention of Campbell as minister under the same contractual agreement.
2. retain Campbell as minister, but procure a student intern who could offer his/ her energies “to come to grips with the problems of a struggling congregation.”
3. find a minister from Amherst – one with a second source of income, no contentious with the “modest” part-time salary given to Campbell, and with no need for a place of residence.
4. procure a “para-ministerial substitute or an executive secretary” who can help coordinate and facilitate organizational programs and activities, and who the Society could afford for his/ her semi-professional service.
5. institutionalize a “Fellowship” in which the services are lay-led and the organizational structures and duties are shouldered by the existing congregation.
6. “turn over our assets to the [Unitarian Universalist Association,” i.e. withdraw from the Association as one of its branches – quit.
7. procure, and pay for, a full-time minister.\(^{87}\)

The eighth option, which Campbell refused, was to reduce Campbell’s pay: “The idea of some, in order to reduce expenses, was to pay Jeff only on the Sundays he spoke, or, if that concept were unacceptable to Jeff, to reduce his salary and our expectations commensurate with

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\(^{86}\) Society at Amherst, Massachusetts, “Report of the Ministerial Liaison Committee,” 5.
\(^{87}\) Society at Amherst, Massachusetts, “Report of the Ministerial Liaison Committee,” 6.
the budget.” Campbell argued that his skills and training offer unique contributions to the Ministry – too unique to receive compensation solely for Sunday sermons. He also argued that a third reduction of his salary would be demeaning to both himself and the congregation88.

Campbell offered these refusals in a letter to the Ministerial Liaison Committee eight days before they issued their report. In this letter Campbell not only refused another pay cut (“I cannot accept any cut as things stand right now.”89), but also explained his perspective of the divide between himself and his congregation. For Campbell, the Society’s decision to evaluate his performance and its role in their organizational crisis signified that “Unhappy people drive out the happy ones”:

Even when the happy are not driven out, their spirits are dampened, their enthusiasm blunted and they are made to feel superfluous and ineffectual. I am afraid that this is happening in our Society. We of our Committee have been trying to kid ourselves that the budget is the problem. I believe the budget is a symptom rather than a cause.90

Campbell argued that the Society’s focus on the budget crisis failed to speak to the heart of the issue: an “inadequate and depressed” congregation. Arguing that liberal thought had taken a serious blow in the Watergate Scandal affecting American politics, Campbell blamed disillusionment with the political systems in America for trickling down into his congregation and causing them to trivialize his contribution to the Society91.

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89 Jeffrey Campbell to the Ministerial Liaison Committee, 8 February 1974, Unitarian Universalist Society at Amherst Massachusetts records, Jones Library.
90 Campbell to the Ministerial Liaison Committee, 8 February 1974, Unitarian Universalist Society at Amherst Massachusetts Records.
91 Campbell to the Ministerial Liaison Committee, 8 February 1974, Unitarian Universalist Society at Amherst Massachusetts Records.
Regardless of his congregation’s disillusionment with liberal thought Campbell refused the cut to his salary because

…a strong American characteristic is to look down on that which is not paid for. If a man does not demand his cut (even in the Ministry) his motives are held suspect and his dignity and strength as a person are downgraded… [A]cceptance of further reductions will not improve the health of our Society; it can only injure it.92

Essentially, Campbell fought for the dignity of his position, refusing to believe that his Ministry failed his congregation. For Campbell, the congregation failed his Ministry, and efforts to cut his salary illustrated institutional attacks on the legitimacy of his position. For him, then, the congregation’s role in the Society must come into question; those unhappy with the Society had become a “minority affecting the spirit of the group” which plunged this ordeal to a dangerous depth at which “the truth or untruth of the accusations [against Campbell were] without importance.”93

Regardless of Campbell’s take on the rupture between him and the Society, the Unitarian Universalist Society at Amherst, Massachusetts, voted to pursue a new minister on March 8th, 1974. Ten days later, March 18th, Janice Stevens wrote Campbell’s termination letter, which read: “In accordance with the decision of the membership reached on March 8, 1974, this is to confirm that your service with us will terminate at the end of our church year, the second Sunday

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92 Campbell to the Ministerial Liaison Committee, 8 February 1974, Unitarian Universalist Society at Amherst Massachusetts Records.
93 Campbell to the Ministerial Liaison Committee, 8 February 1974, Unitarian Universalist Society at Amherst Massachusetts Records.
in June (June 9, 1974).” Though no records specify which of the seven alternatives that the Ministerial Liaison Committee chose as a post-Campbell plan of action, the termination of Campbell’s Ministry was decided unanimously.

Conclusion:

If ‘audacity’ were defined as the ‘confident disregard of conventional thought and of restriction,’ then Jeffrey Campbell’s Ministry embodied audacity. His radical approach to professing Unitarian Universalism involved the integration of religious and political themes, as well as the earnest critique of religious and sociopolitical complacency. In essence, he disregarded the division of church and state, using Unitarian Universalist principles to address sociopolitical issues within the Society at Amherst as well as within society. And he confidently resisted the Society’s institutional restrictions on his radical Ministry, creating Minister’s Reports that delineated what he found important (the spiritual development of his congregation) and writing vicious critiques of racism and of the Vietnam War in the Amherst Unitarian. Both Campbell’s Minister’s Reports and his writings for the Amherst Unitarian represent Campbell’s socio-religious audacity, his will to accomplish the mandates of his faith above and beyond what others believed he as a minister could and should do.

The Society at Amherst did not appreciate Campbell’s audacity. Ambivalence riddled the Society’s perceptions of Campbell’s radical Ministry from start to finish. As Campbell was installed, many doubted Campbell’s candidacy, citing his part-time ministerial status as unsuitable to the full-time ministerial needs of the Society. Over the course of his Ministry, many liked his radical message, but they perceived that message as ineffectual if Campbell could not apply himself to the institutional functioning of the Society. As a result, congregation members

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94 Janice Stevens to Jeffrey Campbell, 8 March 1974, Unitarian Universalist Society at Amherst Massachusetts Records, Jones Library.
sometimes enjoyed Campbell’s radical message in the newsletter, but other times wanted a more traditional, spiritual message in the Amherst Unitarian. Similarly, administrators admired Campbell’s efforts to centralize the institution’s focus on the spiritual development of his congregation, but they desperately needed some of that central focus to be on the self-preservation of the Society itself, which was financially struggling to survive. Finally, many members in the congregation and administrators lamented the termination of Campbell, noting the loss of a dynamic leader and speaker, but many more understood that his lack of institutional leadership hurt the Society more than his radical message and Ministry helped it. Essentially, Campbell and the Society never saw eye-to-eye philosophically or institutionally, and these ambivalent views about the role of the minister and the role of the Society surfaced as reasons the two parties would ultimately sever their ties.

Aside from the apparent audacity of Campbell’s radical Ministry and the Society’s ambivalence toward it, the fractious relationship between Campbell and the Society shed light on two pertinent issues: the tense relationship between religious and political activity and the relationship between faith and praxis. Campbell’s radical Ministry demonstrated that religious and political themes indeed share a common ground. As the seven principles of Unitarian Universalism suggested, religious ideals do have political ramifications. Campbell’s efforts to integrate the religious and the political were not an idealist’s dream, but rather calculated attempts to resolve a religious faith that saw Justice, Liberty, and Peace in society as its ultimate goals. Regardless of the fractious relationship between Campbell’s radical Ministry and the Society at Amherst, the struggle to resolve the religious and the political provided concrete evidence that religion and politics could be integrated constructively.
Criticisms of Campbell’s Ministry stemmed primarily from his institutional oversights and not his radicalism. Many individuals involved with the Unitarian Universalist Society while Campbell preached recalled that his radicalism effectively raised social consciousness and a political spirit amongst his Fellowship. Participation in the Sunday Breakfast Group and praise for his “Point of View” broadcast series testified to the attractiveness of Campbell’s radical message. Many of the critics, however, felt that Campbell’s radical Ministry disserved the Society at that specific time in its institutional history. Between 1967 and 1974, the Society faced financial depression and declining membership; it could not afford to pay for a full-time minister, nor could it afford to lose any more members and financial sponsors. To have a part-time minister that defiantly challenged the institution from within, and, at times, alienated some of his congregation with a radical social message, was simply too threatening to the self-preservation of the institution. 

Campbell understood the institutional crisis differently. He valued the institution for its guiding principles and believed that the execution of these principles would fix any institutional dilemmas the Society faced. For him, the Society could not fail its duty any greater than if it failed to live up to the expectations of the faith as outlined by its guiding principles. Institutional fears concerning its budget or its personnel were symptoms of a Society lacking a strong spiritual core.

The Society, dependent upon its budget and its personnel to sustain its institutional framework, resented Campbell’s oversimplification of the institution’s internal functioning. Indeed the guiding principles of Unitarian Universalism brought the Society to Amherst in the first place, but to keep the Society there required financial savvy and organizational commitment. Regardless of the spiritual growth of the congregation and the community at large,
if the Society could procure the necessary funds to run the institution, the Society’s faithful
congregation would lack an organization and a building within which they could practice their
faith. They would lack a minister, Sunday services, and religious media productions. Essentially,
no Society would exist if administrators did not offer their time and effort to the institutional
upkeep of the Society.

At this point, the relationship between faith and praxis strained for both Campbell and for
the Unitarian Universalist Society at Amherst, Massachusetts. On the one hand, Campbell’s
sense of faith and praxis entailed trust in the legitimacy of Unitarian Universalism’s seven
principles and the execution of these principles within the Society and outside of the Society. For
him, the Society as an organization failed if an institution existed but the seven guiding
principles had not been realized. In this light, Campbell refused to privilege the institution of the
Society over the philosophical underpinnings that brought it together.

On the other hand, the Society’s sense of faith and praxis did not relate to its sense of
self-preservation as an institution. Of course it cared whether or not the seven guiding principles
of Unitarian Universalism were achieved in its congregation and within the society at large. And
at no time did it dispute that the seven guiding principles should be executed both in and out of
the Society. However, its survival as an organization depended on its ability to leave the spiritual
and religious development of the Society to its minister and the administrative and financial
duties to its institutional cohorts. Within the institutional framework, then, issues of finance and
personnel trump issues of faith and praxis; the Society’s administration committed to preserving
the Society as an institution, not to cultivating its religious spirit.

When Campbell used his radical Ministry to criticize the institutional practices of the
Society, he won one battle and lost another. He completely radicalized his Ministry, demanding a
rapid change both to the Society’s sense of the division between church and state and to the Society’s method of organization. Not only did he require that the religious and political be integrated in an effort to foster change in society, but he also posited that the Society’s refusal to embrace its spirituality suggested that the organization as a whole was intrinsically flawed. Campbell completely committed to the Unitarian Universalist faith, even at the expense of its organizations. For him, no organization should exist if it had not internalized its spiritual essence and committed to the achievement of its religious ideals in society. Why have an institution based on religious belief if that institution privileged its budget over its faith?

The Society at Amherst could not be more opposed to Campbell’s position. Campbell had crossed the line: not only did he undermine the value of the Society’s institutional framework, but he also called into question the institution’s religious legitimacy. For the Society, the institutional framework they sustain facilitated Campbell’s radical Ministry more than Unitarian Universalism and its principles. The institutional framework materialized the space in which he preached, the media productions he used to debate contentious issues and ideas, and the institutional reports on which he radicalized his Ministry. When Campbell used the seven principles to criticize and question the legitimacy of the Society as a religious institution, then, the Society perceived his service as counterproductive to their organization. Regardless of the merits of Campbell’s Ministry, its attack on the institutional framework at a time of crisis resulted in castigation and termination.

Ultimately Campbell lived up to his own religious expectations, radicalizing his Ministry in such a way as to use religious ideals to affect sociopolitical activism. Unfortunately for Campbell, his Ministry could not convince the Society to achieve the same radical end. Whether one focuses on Campbell’s radicalism or on the Society’s ambivalence toward Campbell’s
Ministry, however, the integration of the religious and the political and of faith and praxis emerged as the two main issues that characterized this tenuous relationship. And the result of Campbell’s clash with the Unitarian Universalist Society at Amherst, Massachusetts, failed to offer a clear resolution for either of the two issues. Instead, it shed light on the difficulties of running institutions and of aligning one’s religious beliefs with one’s sociopolitical vision. Though religious institutions can mobilize to create sociopolitical movements of change (i.e. religious means can have political ends), Campbell’s Ministry exemplified one attempt that failed. Its failures, however, revealed many of the keys to its potential success in the future.
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Dominicans’ self-identification in the United States is a function of segmented assimilation, where over time those of African ancestry might come to learn and internalize the U.S. racial binary. This study argues that the process/pace/character of segmented assimilation is affected by a variety of factors including the racial and ethnic composition of the community of one’s youth, social class, and education. This research is significant because it focuses on how Dominicans self-identify in a society with a totally different racial system than the one they are used to – a system that confronts them with their blackness. What are the effects of such confrontation?
Too Dominican to be Black, Dark Enough to be Black: Awareness of one’s blackness, without losing ones Dominicaness? Dominicans’ self Identification and Segmented Assimilation in the United States

By

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July 7, 2006
Introduction

I lived in the Dominican Republic until the age of nine, long enough to start formulating a racial self-identity. This self identity was re-enforced by my community and fellow Dominicans. I was always seen as a Triguena, India oscura or just a darker Dominican, but never as Black. The only time I was identified as Black by others in DR and among my family was whenever they wanted to insult me and make me feel like less of a Dominican than the rest of them. I knew they called me negra or prieta or worse, Haitian, to make me feel not just as less of a Dominican and more like a Haitian, but to make me feel less of a human. I remember when I was growing up and got in a fight with my siblings and cousins, they would call me mona (monkey), but I was not allowed to call them monos, because they were not black. So I grew up with the mentality that the worse thing you could call a Dominican was a negro because that would make them Haitians.

So, I never identified myself as Black, neither did my fellow Dominicans. However, as a 1.5 generation Dominican immigrant in the United States I have come to realize that both Haitians and Dominicans are both seen as Black by the larger predominantly white population of the United States. 1.5 generation Dominican immigrant infers that I came to this country young enough to acculturate and assimilate to the value system and ideologies; however, I came old enough to have internalized the values, norms and ideologies of the Dominican Republic. Since I came to this country very young, I learned the racial binary system of the US, a system that does not recognize my self-identification. As a result, I have to find a way to self-identify in such a system. But even worse, since I have been discriminated against in the US and have learned and experienced what it means to be Black in this country, I have come to internalize and recognize the blackness that is in me and that I never truly saw before.
As a Dominican living in the United States, I am intrigued by the implications that this awareness will have for me as an individual whose life chances are dictated by the racial system in the US and how I am perceived by others. But also, by the fact that my own family does not see in me what I see as natural and obvious: my blackness. This research is allowing me and hopefully others to see that blackness means different things to different people and in different settings. For Dominicans in the Dominican Republic it means Haitians, for me living in the US and as a Dominican, it just means the color of my skin, but for African Americans it means more than just a skin color.

Dominicans in the United States are confronted with their blackness, a blackness that does not exist on the island or at the family home in the States. As a result, they have to find a way of self-identifying within a system that does not recognize Dominicans’ racial identification or formation. The process by which such self-identification occurs for Dominicans in the US is a function and product of location since race is a social construct, social class, and most of all segmented assimilation where over time (generations) Dominicans of notably African ancestry will come to learn and accept, through the US racial binary, their blackness. However, such acceptance of blackness is different than the ascribed racial identification of African Americans as Black.

**Historical Background on Racial Formation in the Dominican Republic**

The ideology of Antihaitianismo has existed since the beginning of the colonial era, where Haitians were perceived as negros and inferior to the population on the Dominican side of the island. Sagas (2000) first introduced the notion of Antihaitianismo in the Dominican
Republic as an ideology that justifies the maltreatment and discrimination against Haitians. Such racism places Haitians at the lower end of the social, cultural and economic spectrum. Throughout history, Dominicans have identified themselves with the Spanish and the Hispanic culture. This notion of Haitian inferiority has been implemented over and over by the Dominican elites and government. The elites, being the whiter portion of the population and the ones in charge of the media and means of communication, introduce and influence the rest of the population on their views and anti-haitianismo ideology (Sagas 2000, 35). The elites have distorted history, according to Sagas (2000) and Bailey (2001), to present Haitians as belonging to an inferior race: a race completely different from the Dominican race. As a consequence, even black Dominicans are not considered Black. Instead they have developed and distorted history to create a Dominican ancestry with the Tainos (Bailey 2001, 607). So Dominicans are Indians, Tainos, not Black. “Emphasizing Dominican Taino heritage is compatible with Dominicans nationalism, a non-black/African-Dominican identity and anti-Haitian sentiment. The popular and official construction of significant Taino ancestry provides an explanation for the *indio* skin color of most Dominicans without evoking their African ancestry…” (Bailey 2001, 692). So that *indio* refers to a phenotype of colors. As Sagas shows, Dominicans would rather be anything else, before being labeled as Black. Only Haitians are Blacks, not Dominicans.

According to Dominicans and their history, Haitians are Africans, inferiors, uncivilized, and practice voodoo (Sagas, 47). Dominicans on the other hand, are Catholic, Hispanic and white. So even dark Dominicans are seen as superior to Haitians because they are Dominicans. “Dominicans and Haitians not only belong to different nations, but to different races all together.” Dominicans see Haitians so different from themselves that even black slaves in DR
thought of themselves as superior to black Haitians.” (Sagas 51). No matter what color Dominicans are, they are considered blanco de la tierra (Torres-Saillant 1998, 135).

DR racial formation heavily rests on the Taino myth; the myth that our ancestry is more Taino and Spaniards than African, when in reality the Tainos were destroyed a short period after colonization (Sagas). As a result, African slaves were bought to the island and integrated with the mestizos and the whole population; hence, the spectrum of color in the island is from white to dark and everything in the middle. However, “schools emphasize Dominicans and Indio integration, not Dominicans and Blacks” (Sagas 74), so the myth was institutionalized (Sagas 67).

Haitian occupation of the whole island in 1822 helped to re-enforce and institutionalized the myth of Taino because Dominicans desperately wanted to differentiate themselves from their invaders. When the Haiti president Jean-Pierre Boyer invaded the Dominican Republic, many of the elites (whites) left the island. Those who stayed made it clear that they were different from the Haitians and were upset to have to give up their lands and power to share it with the masses. The lower class Dominicans, although they saw themselves as different from the Haitians, welcomed them because it meant more equality for them. However, the Haitian government failed to connect the two sides of the island in its 22 years of control, in a nationalistic way. Even poor Dominicans did not identify with the invaders. Haitian authorities destroyed Catholic Churches, causing the loss of priests and in turn decreasing the teachers available at the university. As a consequence, the university was closed. Dominicans felt they were degenerating, that their culture was going backwards and they wanted to put a stop to it. Jose Duarte, Francisco Sanchez and others started the “separist movement” (Sagas 2000, 31). On February 27 they took over Santo Domingo and the rest of the Dominican population joined them and forced out the
Haitian authority. Even black Dominicans helped, especially because Sanchez was strongly opposed to slavery so they felt that slavery would not be reestablished.

At the moment of independence from Haiti in 1844, Dominicans started fabricating the Indians/Tainos ancestry (Sagas, 37). From this moment on in DR, Dominicans do not and cannot see themselves as Black. Black is a level not really applicable to them. As one of the participants that Sagas interviewed pointed out “I am a negro, but a white negro” (37). This means that although they have black skin they are not really black like Haitians are. Dominicans do not really see the blackness in them; it is always a darker version of white, but never really black. “A black Dominican belongs to a different race than a Haitian; Haitians are dehumanized. Black Dominicans on the other hand can be whitened by Hispanic culture, unlike the Haitian who has African culture” (Sagas, 87). So Dominicans do not only see themselves different from Haitians but from any African ancestry in general.

In the Dominican Republic, one drop of white or Spanish blood makes one non-black; no matter how dark one is. “Even the darkest-skinned Dominican is considered not black but indio oscuro (dark Indian) or triguena” (Duany, 1998). Dominicans by the mere fact of their nationality are not black. Being Dominican was equivalent to not being black. So when asked what race one is in DR, we tend to say raza Dominicana. This is one way in which Dominicans formed their national identity in order to differentiate themselves from the former oppressor, the Haitians. This intrinsic difference of what makes someone black in the Dominican Republic and in the United States is one of the reasons why it is so hard for first generation Dominicans to adapt and assimilate in US society.
Differences between racial Identification

In the Dominican Republic versus in the United States

Since race formation in the United States and Dominican Republic are different from one another, Dominicans in the US have to find ways to define themselves and be recognized as such. In DR, the racial spectrum leaves room for those who are neither black nor white; white being at the top of the spectrum and black at the bottom and from Haitian origin. In other words, race and nationality are intertwined with one another, which allow even dark Dominicans to identify themselves as other than black; this allows them to differentiate themselves from the Haitians and assert their Dominicaness. However, once Dominicans come to the US they face the racial binary system of white/black; a racial classification that attributes to Dominicans, due to their dark skin, negative characteristics. Dominicans with African ancestry can no longer classify themselves as they used to in DR. If in the DR they classified themselves as white or other than black, in the US the one blood drop rule places them under the black racial categories. So Dominicans find themselves having to acquire a racial identity different than what they did in DR. What are these new self-identifications that the US racial classification imposed on Dominicans and why do Dominicans accept or reject them? On the other hand, if they do not, why do they not?

US racial formation follows a binary system of white and black and one drop of African descent makes one black or African American “…the dominant system of racial classification in the United States emphasize a two-tiered division between whites and blacks deriving from the rule of hypodescent—the assignment of offspring of mixed races to the subordinate group” (Duany, 148). So in the US most Caribbean people would be identified as black, but “Dominicans tend to perceive themselves as white, Hispanic, or other” (Duany, 148) The reason
why Dominicans self-identify as such is because DR racial formation is based on a spectrum of color with a wide range of colors from lighter to darker and everything in between.

Another big difference between US and DR racial formation is that in DR money whitens (Duany, 1998) people; the more money you have, the less dark you will seem to be to others. “In order for me to marry a Haitian he must have a good [economic] position. The black race is less refined. I would not marry a person darker than I am” (Sagas, 2000, 88). This woman affirms that she will not marry someone darker than her, but yet, she will be willing to marry a Haitian, the blacks, if he is well-off economically. If you are black but with money, you are more like them, better refined. But if you are black and poor you would be mistaken for a Haitian, black, even if you are Dominican. “Haitians can be spotted ‘by the way of living.’ They are poorer than we are… they have terrible homes” (InterPress Service, 2002). Based on these criteria, many dark skinned Dominicans have been mistaken as Haitians. But if you are a rich, very dark Dominican you will not be mistaken as black. In the US no matter how much money you have your race stays the same. So, this is evidence that race is a social construct that means different things to different societies.

**Dominicans’ Self Identification in the US**

Since racial formation and identification in the US and DR are different, Dominicans in the US have to find ways of identifying themselves within the US racial binary. Some of those ways are Hispanic/Latino(a), hyphenated names or acceptance of blackness. However, Dominicans self-identification in the United States is not just a product of being in a different country. Instead it is a product of segmented assimilation whereas segmented assimilation is affected by a variety of factors including the racial and ethnic composition of the community of one’s youth, social class, education and relation of children to parents (Rumbaut 1994).
Different racial and ethnic communities will affect Dominicans self-identification in different ways, causing a segmented assimilation within same generations. What is segmented assimilation and how is it different from classical assimilation?

*Classical assimilation* holds that over time and generations, ethnics will assimilate into the mainstream society: white middle-class. However, assimilation pattern may not hold true for the new flow of immigrants coming to the US, in particular immigrants from Latin American, specifically from the Dominican Republic.

Portes’ (1994) explains how classical assimilation does not apply to non-European immigrants. Although foreign born immigrants and their US born kids will acculturate and seek acceptance from native born, and then achieve social advancement, the question is not whether or not they assimilate, but to what group they assimilate into. According to Porte and Rumbaut (1994) and the study done by Dore-Cabral and Itzigsohn (2000), most Dominicans do not fit and are not able to follow the path of classical assimilation. Instead, all four researchers have found that Dominicans and other non-European immigrants follow a more segmented path. This is what they called *segmented assimilation*. Portes looks at three segmented paths that second generations take. The first path rests on the basis that increased acculturation will lead to integration into the white-middle class. However, as Dore-Cabral and Itzigsohn showed, Dominicans do not fit into the binary racial system of the US so they have to find a way to identify themselves in such a system.

Dominicans and other Latino groups, on the other hand, identify themselves through a panethnicity group such as Latino or Hispanic. So these groups see Latino or Hispanic as a race that is neither white nor black. One of the points Dore-Cabral makes is that although race and ethnicity are two different social terms, they are not mutually exclusive. So that Dominicans in
the US have to find a way to ethnically and racially identify themselves in a society that sees them as black. That new identity is Hispanic/Latino (2000).

Unlike Dominicans who cannot assimilate into the mainstream American society, European immigrants to the US could easily assimilate into the mainstream society because they are seen as white; they could blend in with the rest of the population and avoid discrimination, very few Dominicans can do that. So, their European ethnicity became a leisure identity to them, which did not dictate their assimilated path. Due to their appearance, second generation European immigrants assimilated into mainstream white middle class society. They were able to do this with ease. (Portes, 1994, 4).

*Segmented assimilation* is when same generation immigrants self-identify in different ways or take different assimilation paths. The process of choosing these paths is guided in part by locations, socioeconomic status, and children-relation to parents. In his research on segmented assimilation among immigrant children, Rumbaut found that immigrants do not have a uniform assimilation path but a more segmented path. He also found that location and their mother’s way of identifying has a very high impact of how youth self-identify; usually identifying the way their mother does, unless they were embarrassed by their parents—then their self-identification was more assimilated into mainstream society. The reason why being embarrassed leads to assimilation is that children do not want to be seen as being like their parents. They want to fit in with the other kids and be one of them. The only way they find they can do this is by moving away form their family place of origin and adapting a more mainstream society self-identification.

Another assimilative path that Dominicans take is, especially among recent immigrants, the adaptation of pan ethnic self-identifications. Native born of the US, on the other hand, take
the path of a hyphenated American self-identification. So Rumbaut concludes that assimilation varies between first, 1.5 and second generation. But most importantly the assimilation path is segmented. Some second generations depending on their location are more likely to identify by their national origin; those whose parents are educated and with a high socioeconomic status like Cuban in Miami. So that if your family is very well off economically one is less likely to experience discrimination and more likely to have positive experiences in the US, most of all, one is more likely to feel proud of one’s family, since they have made it in life. However, if your family is poor and you are constantly undergoing discrimination because of who you and your family are, immigrant children are more likely to want to move away from a national identity and adapt some other more acceptable identity in the community they live in. (See Socioeconomic section of the essay).

Furthermore, an experience of discrimination will slow down the process of an assimilated identification, so this group will be more likely to self-identify with a hyphenated or an American identification. Like Rumbaut showed, those who live in inner-cities with various ethnic minorities are more likely to self-identify by pan ethnicity or by hyphenated American but not however, like plain Americans. Another important finding is that of the influence of discrimination in self-identifications. Those who felt discriminated against were less likely to self-identify in assimilated ways, while those who did not experience discrimination were more likely to identify as Americans; and were proficient in English with high educational and career aspirations.

**Locality**

How we define ourselves is influenced by how others see us and think of us, not just by who or what we want to be (Rumbaut 1994, 753-4). Others-ascribed identifications of us affect
our life chances and experiences. Our life chances and experience shape who we are and who we will be. In turn, these factors affect how we self-identify. So we do take into account how others see us when self-identifying ourselves; that is why locality is so significant when determining one’s self-identify. One of the locality problems that classical assimilation did not account for is transnationalism. A lot of Dominican families have homes in the States as well as on the island. So their children are growing up in two different homes. At a conference I attended in Buffalo, NY, a presenter said “the little girl told me that she has a dog in DR and she will be allowed to visit him if she does well in school” (July 14). This presenter was showing how transnationalism is affecting second generation Dominicans. According to her, it causes second generation children to have a mixed identity and confusion over how to identify themselves. However, the transnationalism allows second generations to bring customs back and forth between both nations, affecting the values, norms and ideology as well as racial concepts of both societies. Like Ruben Rumbaut said in “The Crucible within: Ethnic Identity, Self-Esteem, and Segmented Assimilation among Children of Immigrants,” Dominicans are bringing their awareness of blackness to the island.

**Predominately Dominicans or Latinos community**

In communities such as Washington Heights where Dominican culture predominates, Dominicans talk and see each other in the same light as they did in DR. They understand each other and have norms based on the norms in DR. So the environment is very culturally similar to that of DR. “Dominicans household in Washington Heights… 95 percent cooked mostly Dominican food, 88 percent spoke mostly Spanish at home, and well over half listened mostly to Dominican music and watched Spanish television (Duany 1994: 37). They even socialized with other Dominicans during their free time and play dominos on the sidewalk. So Dominicans have
reconstructed so many aspects of their lives in the island, that they are not really faced with the binary racial system of the US. Instead, they understand each other’s race as being Dominicans, not in terms of the US binary system and will be less likely to assimilate to the US mainstream society/culture. In such places, especially first generations do not have to accept the US binary racial system. This might be because they have not had a chance to learn it yet. So that despite how long the first generation has been living in the US, they will identify themselves as Dominican in this environment and their self-identification will not be so affected by the US racial classification (Pessar 1995, 24).

However, what happens when US born children of the first generation live in such an environment? The second generation will have more contact with US mainstream society, which will affect how they self-identify. Unlike their parents, they will be more aware that they are seen not as Dominicans but as black by the mainstream society. This interaction with mainstream white America will force their self-identification to come into conflict, which will lead them to have the urge to fit into both cultures, or the culture they are more involve with. So, the US binary system will play a role in the process of this new self-identification for second generations or even 1.5 generations. As will be discussed later, this new identification is not necessarily a classical assimilation, but a more segmented one.

**Predominately black community**

Furthermore, Dominicans do not always find themselves surrounded by other Dominicans. In New York City, for example, they find themselves in Harlem, a predominately African American community. How do Dominicans self-identify in this kind of community? African Americans do not see Dominicans as one of them; they do not see them as black. Like the Dominican little girl that Bailey (2001) interviewed stated “she thought I was a black who
knew Spanish. I was like ‘I am Spanish.’ She’s like ‘oh my God, I thought you was Cape Verdean or black’” (686). Thus, African Americans distinguish dark Dominicans from blacks by the fact that they speak Spanish; Dominicans do the same in differentiating themselves from black. If a black Dominican speaks Spanish they are automatically taken out of the racial identification of black by the African American communities. “Spanish is treated not just as a language, but as an ethnic/racial identity… if one is Dominican, or Spanish speaking, one does not count as black, regardless of phenotype” (Bailey 2001, 686). That was what the little girl, Janelle, responded when Bailey asked how others perceived her.

However, not all second generation Dominicans preserve the Spanish language. Some of them lose it as they are growing up and depending on with whom they socialize. When this happens, Dominicans are more likely to adapt a pan ethnic identity. An identity that will allow them to stay connected to their parents’ ancestry and history, but which at the same time connects them to the US mainstreams society and culture.

Moreover, since Dominicans do not see themselves as black either, then they do not have internalized the white black dichotomy. “Despite physical proximity, most Dominicans strive to distance themselves culturally from African Americans by speaking Spanish, dancing merengue, rejecting black hairstyles and speech patterns, and associating primarily with other Latinos” (Duany 1998: 162). However, they might choose to identify as Latino just to belong to a bigger ethnic group and be easier to classify then just being Dominican. However, Dominicans identity takes precedent over any other. They might adapt a pan ethnic identity, especially if there are few Dominicans but a variety of other Latin American nationality. They can unite to form a bigger voice.
On the other hand, research has showed that Dominicans in NYC are more likely to self-identify as black then Dominicans in Providence. They concluded that the reason why this is the case is because NYC has a higher concentration of African Americans than Providence. So, Dominicans in NYC see themselves struggling in the same ways as African Americans. They go through similar discrimination due to their skin color and they learned to accept and identified themselves through and by the black community. In Providence, however, the Black population is so small that Dominicans find themselves experiencing similar struggles with other Latinos and Hispanics and not with the Black population.

**Socioeconomic Status and Self-Identification**

As human beings, we try to forgive or distance ourselves from things that bring embarrassment to us, immigrant children and second generation children are no exception. Research has shown that second generation children’s socioeconomic status plays a very important role in how they self identify. One of the segmented paths that Portes talks about is when poverty is preserved immigrants are forced into assimilating into the under class instead of the white middle class. Portes points out that the immigrants and second generations of today face totally different economic problems which will affect the socioeconomic status of immigrants’ children and their assimilation pattern.

Fifty years ago, the United States was the premier industrial power in the world. Its diversified industrial labor requirements offered the second generation the opportunity to move up gradually through better-paid occupations while remaining part of the working class. Such opportunities have grown scarce in recent years as the result of rapid national de-industrialization and globalization restructuring. This process has left entrants to the
American labor force confronting a growing gap between the minimal paid menial jobs commonly accepted by immigrants and the high-tech professional jobs generally occupied by college-educated native elites. This disappearance of intermediate opportunities has contributed to the mismatch between first-generation economic progress and second-generation expectations. (1994)

As a result of this economic gap, children of poor immigrants are more likely to feel embarrassed about their parents, who cannot provide them with the things that native elites have. Most important of all, the new wave of immigrants, (Latinos in particular), that is coming to the US does not find as many opportunities economically as the former European-immigrants did. (Portes and Zhou 1994, 2) As a consequence, it is harder for them and their children to make it in this society. For example, children of Haitian immigrants in Miami cannot first of all assimilate to the classical theory. Due to their location, the main black inner-city of Miami, they have a hard time keeping their parents’ identity.

Native-born black youth [African Americans] stereotype the Haitian youngsters as a docile and subservient to whites, and make fun of the Haitians’ French and Creole as well as their accent. As a result, second-generation Haitians children find themselves torn between conflicting ideas and values: to remain ‘Haitian,’ they must endure ostracism and continuing attacks at school; to become ‘American’ (black American in this case), they must forgo their parents’ dream of making it in America through the preservation of ethnic solidarity and traditional values. (1994)
So second generation Haitians are forced by society to assimilate downward into the black society of America and worst of all, in the process of assimilation they tend to lose their national identity. Since their parents are very poor and have not really made it in America, they feel embarrassed about them and try not to be associated with the failure attributed to them. Rumbaut (1994) found that [if children of immigrants] were embarrassed about their parents—then their self-identification was more assimilated into mainstream society. So instead of identifying as Haitians, they are more likely to identify as black. Two main factors that lead to downward mobility are color and location. A vast majority of the Haitian population is black. As a result they cannot assimilate to the white middle class, just as with Dominicans and other immigrants. Therefore, Haitians, due to their skin color, assimilate into the black community.

Furthermore, if Haitians and other groups who assimilate downward, were to find themselves in a supportive neighborhood, where others and their family were well off and had made it in America, like Cuban-Americans, then second generation children of these immigrants will not assimilate downward, but will opt for a hyphenated names, factors that lead to this are location and community. The Cubans already had a strong community formed in the US and when they first came they had the resources and skills to form a strong supportive community, plus the US government was willing to help them out. Unlike the Cubans, Haitians and other immigrants do not have such communities and that is why they end up in different places in society.

Rumbaut (1994) explains the results he found in a study about Latinos and Asians and how they self-identify. The subjects of the study were divided in half: 50% US born (2nd generations) and 50% foreign-born (1.5 generation). He found that location has a very high impact of how youth self-identify. He also found out that recent immigrants are more likely to
adapt pan ethnic self-identifications than are native born who usually choose the hyphenated American self-identification. So he concludes that assimilation varies between first, 1.5 and second generation. But most importantly the assimilation path is segmented. Some second generations, depending on their location, are more likely to identify by their national origin; those whose parents are educated and with a high socioeconomic status like Cuban in Miami. This is the same as Portes third facto of segmented assimilation: high economic success leads to preservation of national origin values and identity. But those who live in inner-cities with various ethnic minorities, like Haitians, are more likely to self-identify by pan ethnicity or by hyphenated American but not like plain Americans. The main thing we should keep in mind is that although different groups assimilate into different paths, a lot of these groups, like recent immigrants, do not have choices and are forced to downward mobility and assimilation into the underclass.

**Segmentation theory and its affects on Families**

Since first and second generation Dominicans are, or learn to self-identify in different ways as they acculturate into US society, children of first generation parents can come into conflict with their parents when self-identifying, especially if the second generation is identifying as black. Research shows that over time Dominicans of noticeable African ancestry are more likely to come to terms with their blackness and move away from the ideology that only Haitians are black, due to their acculturation to US culture (source). However, their parents do not see this blackness which can cause the family to unconsciously make negative comments about the racial group that their child self-identifies with because they do not see them as part of such race. As Bailey pointed out “many students reported that their parents made blatantly racist statements against African-Americans as a group and criticized second generation children for talking, dressing or acting ‘black’…” (Bailey 2001, 700-701). Many of the students showed
disapproval of their parents’ treatment of Blacks because they have come to realized that they too can be faced with discrimination and racism by the white population just like Blacks are.

Moreover, as part of this research I interviewed three college Dominica students; it was a discussion group in which we talked about issues of race and self-identification and how they individually deal with it on a daily basis at home as well as outside the home. In this discussion group, I was surprise to find that even though all three participants were of noticeably different skin color, they all self-identified as Dominicans. One of the participants was a 1.5 generation Dominican, and the other two were born in the US; of the two however, one’s father is Puerto Rican, but she has never had much, or significant, contact with that side of her family. So she considers herself 100% Dominican. When I asked them how the way they racial-identify varies from how their parents and the rest of their siblings view them, one of them said that their family sees her as white because of her light skin color and light eyes. However, being born in the US she has grown up with the US binary system of black and white and does not identify herself as white. “I am not white. When I go to SLU, I cannot identify myself with the white population there. We have nothing in common. So how can I be white?” To her being white at SLU was a function of culture and the US binary system. She knows that white in the US is interconnected with European ancestry and no African at all. So she felt she did not fit in such category. However, due to her light skin color, neither the white nor the black population in the US sees her as white. So she opts to self identify as Dominican; surprisingly, she does not even take a hyphenated name; nor do the other two participants. Two of the participants experience transnationalism; they go to the island on a yearly basis and stay very connected to their roots. The third participant, although she does not visit the island as much, her parents are very connected to their Dominican roots; so everything she experiences at home is related to
Dominicaness and what it means to be a Dominican: food, customs, dances, music, etc. So that she defines her identity in terms of how her family sees her and had brought her up to see herself. So while other second generations may opt for hyphenated names, none of these participants did. This shows that location, which is Washington Heights for all of them, and transnationalism plays a role in self-identification.

The 1.5 generation participant does not, nor does her family, identify her as black. Instead they call her “India.” Even though she sympathizes with the black community in the US and understands their struggle, she does not feel that she has been discriminated against due to her skin color, by neither White nor Black. I have never felt like I had to identify as Black, nor would I want to… I was raised that Black was bad, inferiors, ugly, so I guess I do not want to be seen as one of them… even though I know my family was wrong in telling me all these negative comments about Blacks, I still do not see myself as one of them.

All three of the participants made it clear that there was a huge difference between a dark Dominican and a black American. To them race was more then just skin color; it was culture, ethnicity, nationality, etc. So that even if they were darker then what they are, they still wouldn’t self-identify as Black. What this shows is that Dominicans are becoming resistant to the US binary system of black and white and do not want to identified by it. Just like the interviewees that Clara Rodriguez (2000) talks about in her book Changing Race, “Celia is a black Hispanic Panamanian and proud of it. But she is not a black American, and she does not see herself as Black according to U.S. definitions of Blackness” (50-51).

However, unlike their parents, these three participants do not think that Blacks are bad, inferiors, ugly, etc. Instead, they associate with either other Latinos or other African Americans. As a consequence, they have come to learn and form bonds with black people. These bonds and
connections have caused problems between them and their parents, who do not understand why they mix with such people. One of the participants is dating an African American and her mother cannot understand why; she says comments such as “yo no se que Diablo tu haces con un negro. Te fuiste de Guatemala a’ guatepeor. Tu tienes qu tener un self-esteem bien bajo para irte a meter con ese negro, cuando savemos que puedes haver muchisimo major” her mother told her that she is with a black guy because she has a low self-esteem and does not think that she could do better; she also said that she went from bad to worse by dating him. It is very hard for this participant to have a good relationship with her mother when she is dating an African American.

Just like Roxie of 26 years old in the article entitled, “I was scared to tell my parents he was black” (2006) shares with the public her feelings and fear of bringing home a black man as her boyfriend. She tried for as long as she could to prevent her parents from meeting her black boyfriend. She was afraid of how they would react and how they would treat him due to his race. However, she could not avoid the encounter for ever. One day she took him to church and her family finally met him. At first they did not say anything to him or her, but they gave her a look at church that said it all. As Roxie puts it, “what the hell are you doing with a black man” was the message her parent’s eyes sent her. Even thought her family was not happy with her relationship with him due to his race, they would never openly admit this. Instead, they would blame their disappointment with her choice on the differences of culture, customs and traditions. Roxie finally married him and her family got to know him better. Now that they know him they “adore him” and are able to see beyond his skin color. Unlike Roxie, my participants’ parents have not yet come to understand and accept their daughter’s decision.

Parent’s negative attitudes toward black people can prevent second generation or even 1.5 generation immigrants from entering an intimate relationship with a black person. Another of
the participants shared her story of when she was falling for an African American. She was not sure why she did not want to like him, but she knew she did not want to; she ended up liking him nonetheless. However, she was afraid to have any intimate relationship past friendship with him, because she was afraid of how her mother and older family would have reacted to it. She never told her mother she liked this guy and does not think she ever will. As a consequence she is starting to keep secrets from her mother and the relationship with her is suffering.

Even though their parents treat their African American friend with respect, they make it clear that the relationship is not to go beyond friendship. Blacks seem to be good as friends, but nothing more, because it will deteriorate the race, according to first generations. Dominicans tend to want to improve the race by whitening the population by marrying lighter. A darker marriage is seen as inferior and downward mobility in the racial ladder. That is why the participants have had to think twice before entering into a relationship with a black person, and if they do end up having an intimate relationship they are subject to ridicule and insults by their parents.

**Concluding Analysis**

As I said at the beginning of this paper, I never identified myself as Black in the Dominican Republic. However, I came to this country very young and learned the racial binary system of the US, a system that does not recognize my racial-identification as just Dominican. As a result, I have to find a way to self-identify in such a system. Since I have been discriminated against in the US and have learned and experienced what it means to be Black in this country, I have come to internalize and recognize the blackness that is in me and that I never truly saw before. However, my own family does not see in me what I see as natural and obvious: my blackness. So I find myself listening to outsiders make negative comments about black
people which they ascribe to me, and its angers me. Since my life chances are dictated by the racial system in the US and how I am perceive by others I stand up for Black rights and equality and I feel forced to identify with this group, a force I never felt on the island. After a long day at school of hearing how bad black people are supposed to be and all kind of negative comments about black people— after having a heated debate about Black rights and equality, I come home only to find out that my opponents are right at home. My own family is making the same negative remarks that I was fighting against. It does not matter how often I tell my mom that I am Black, when she talks bad about black people, she will always say “tu no cuentas, tu no eres negra. Tu eres Dominicana, no negra. Una morenita lavaita” So in her eyes I am not Black, just because I am a Dominican: my Dominicaness saves me from being Black in the eyes of my family.

The findings of this research, integrated with the knowledge acquired from my Philosophy of Latin American class led me to conclude that I do not have to and should not accept the black and white dichotomy as a way to identify myself. If I do so, my identity will not be an authentic Dominican identity. Instead, it would be an identity based on rules and norms set by a third party. Many critics of Latin American philosophy feel that there is no such thing as Latin American philosophy, because according to them Latin American philosophers work within the framework of Western philosophy. When identifying themselves, Latin Americans do it through the self/other dichotomy which is a very Eurocentric model. So, in order for my self-identification to be authentic I would have to reject, while at the same time understanding the black/white dichotomy (since I live within it).

The reason why I started doing this research was because I was going through some racial identity issues. I saw myself as a true Dominican but at the same time; I was becoming
more and more aware of my blackness, which made me proud of myself. However, I had all different kinds of contradicting identifications made by others about me—every time I heard a new one I would get confused and not know how to see myself. The philosophical aspect of me told me that I am a human being, a Being, plain and simple. But in order to live in society I have to go beyond that. By the middle of the research I was seeing myself as a black Dominican non-African American. Now at the end of it, I see my self as a Dominican who has become aware of her African ancestry, but who does not accept the label of Black. I am not accepting the label of Black because it would mean abandoning the only thing that is truly authentic about who I am; that being the fact that I do not fit into the white/black dichotomy of this country. It was not made for individuals like me.
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It has been demonstrated that nuclear steroid receptors can transiently access an intermediate state, one which aids in the process of ligand binding and unbinding. The discovery of this intermediate has implications in drug design and discovery. The overarching goal of our experiment was to use the intrinsic tryptophan fluorescence of the androgen receptor to search for and characterize an intermediate in the ligand binding process. In our studies, we have produced, isolated and purified a recombinant human androgen receptor in *E. coli*. Currently, research is in progress to gather fluorescence data.
UTILIZING INTRINSIC TRYPTOPHAN FLUORESCENCE IN THE ANDROGEN RECEPTOR: SEARCHING FOR AN INTERMEDIATE IN THE LIGAND BINDING PROCESS

Michael Seaman

26 June 2006
INTRODUCTION

A steroid is a class of hormone which acts as a chemical messenger, sending chemical signals to receptors that activate a signal transduction pathway or act as a transcription factor. Steroids are nonpolar lipids which allow them to enter and exit cells across the membrane. Steroids occurring naturally have rings A, B, C, and D trans fused. This adds to the stability of the compound.

![Steroid ring system](image)

Figure 1: steroid ring system.

All steroids including glucocorticoids, mineralocorticoids, androgens, progestins, and estrogens are derivatives of cholesterol. This steroid is biosynthesized from the triterpene, squalene. The biosynthesis begins when squalene epoxidase, in the presence of oxygen, epoxidizes squalene. The resulting protosterol cation then undergoes several hydride and methyl shifts to form lanosterol which is then converted to cholesterol after 19 enzymatic steps. The steroids of interest, androgens, are secreted by the testes and code for the development of male secondary sex characteristics. Their production is regulated by follicle-stimulating hormone (FSH) and luteinizing hormone (LH) which are excreted by the anterior pituitary gland. Some androgens include Testosterone, dehydroepiandrosterone (DHEA), androstenedione, androsterone (ADT), and dihydrotestosterone (DHT).

Once synthesized, steroids such as androgen, bound to carrier proteins, travel to target cells through the bloodstream. They are too hydrophobic to dissolve in blood and will pass through the plasma membrane of cells and into the nucleus. Once inside, the hormone interacts
with a receptor at the ligand binding domain (LBD). Once bound, the receptor will dimerize and interact with hormone response elements (HREs) on DNA. This interaction facilitates the control of gene expression. The binding of the receptor serves to regulate the transcription of the adjacent genes and control the rate of mRNA production. The androgen receptor is coded by a gene that is more than 90 kb long. The gene codes for a 919 amino acid sequence that is composed of three major functional domains.

It is the ligand binding process which was the focus of this study. To begin, the androgen is subdivided into domains such as the ligand binding domain (LBD), DNA binding domain, and hinge section. The ligand binding domain (LBD) is the domain of interest and was isolated for the experiment. The function of the domain is to bind a ligand via weak interactions such as hydrogen bonding. Upon ligand binding, the LBD undergoes a change in conformation. In some types of nuclear receptors, including the androgen receptor (AR), a ligand binding to the carboxy-terminal domain (LBD) causes a ligand induced conformational change and regulates transcriptional activation functions in the LBD and amino-terminal domain (NTD) which allow for the bound receptor to act as a transcription factor. Generally speaking, ligand binding is thought to be concerted. Recent studies of the estrogen receptor, however, suggest that this may not be the case and have presented evidence for the existence of an intermediate conformation. For example, thermal unfolding of bound estrogen receptor and ligand free estrogen receptor showed stepwise transitions, with the formation of intermediates that were stable between 36-48°C and 34-42°C respectively. The presence of intermediate states during thermal unfolding was confirmed by circular dichroism spectroscopy. It was also demonstrated that this intermediate may consist of discrete globular particles. In addition, another study found that the chemical unfolding of the estrogen receptor LBD follows a two step process. At low
concentration of chaotrope, the LBD undergoes partial unfolding, whereas at high concentration of chaotrope, the domain undergoes a global unfolding. The partially unfolded state of the LBD does not bind to ligands in a stable manner, but it may resemble an intermediate\(^1\).

Studies have verified that there indeed exists a structural and functional similarity between the androgen and estrogen receptor. Functionally, it has been demonstrated that androgen regulated genes have been regulated using ligands such as 17\(\beta\)-estradiol which are specific to the estrogen receptor\(^9\). Furthermore, it has been shown the estrogen receptor LBD and the androgen receptor LBD share a similar structural motif\(^11\). As the estrogen receptor is similar to the androgen receptor, it may be the case that the androgen receptor also possesses an intermediate conformation. The importance of this conformation cannot be understated. It would open up many doors to possible synthesis of antiandrogens and anticancer drugs. Work is already underway in this category. For example, prostate cancer is widespread in men. The current treatment involves nonsteroidal antiandrogens or luteinizing hormone superagonists to block the synthesis of testosterone. Further knowledge of binding mechanisms such as R-bicalutamide will facilitate the development of new antiandrogens\(^8\). In addition, antiandrogens have therapeutic potential in the treatment of BPH, acne, virilization, and male contraception\(^5\). The characterization of an intermediate could lead to drugs which target the intermediate conformation, acting as inhibitors as to not allow the binding of ligands. This would lead to m-RNA not being transcribed which may facilitate discovery of another possible cancer treatment.

**METHODS**

**Protein Expression and Purification.** An expression vector for the androgen receptor LBD (p6P1-AR) was obtained from Dr. Jim Dalton (Ohio State University). A 5ml overnight culture (LB containing 100 \(\mu\)g/ml ampicillin) of *Escherichia coli* BL21(DE3) p6P1-AR was used to
inoculate 750 mL of LB with 100 ug/ml ampicillin. Cells were induced with isopropyl-1-thio-β-D-galactopyranoside to a final concentration of 30 uM at $A_{600} = 0.3$, and the temperature was reduced to 15°C. Cells were left to grow an additional ~16 h, harvested, resuspended in buffer (50mL buffer containing 150mM NaCl, 50mM Tris (pH 8.0), 5mM EDTA, 10% glycerol, 1mg/mL lysozyme, 10 units/mL DNase, 10mM MgCl$_2$, 10mM DTT, 0.5% CHAPS, and 100uM PMSF), and stored at −80 °C. Following three freeze thaw cycles the lysate was ultracentrifuged for 45 minutes at 35000xg. The supernatant was incubated on a glutathione sepharose (Amersham) column containing 150mM NaCl, 50mM Tris (pH 8.0), 5mM EDTA, 10% glycerol, 0.1% n-octyl-β-glucoside, and 1mM DTT for 1 hour at 4°C. Five units of PreScission protease per mg of protein were added to the incubating glutathione sepharose and incubated overnight at 4°C. The eluent was then diluted 3x in a buffer containing 10mM Hepes (pH7.2), 10% glycerol, 0.1% n-octyl-β-glucoside, and 1mM DTT. An HP SP column was prepared according to the instructions. The diluted eluent was then loaded onto the HP SP cation-exchange column. The protein was eluted with a gradient of 50-500mM NaCl dilution buffer at a flow rate of 1mL/min with a fraction volume of 1.5mL. An $A_{280}$ was then performed on the collected column fractions. An SDS-PAGE gel run was conducted to standard procedures on G-sepharose eluent, protein column flow through, HP SP eluent, and column fractions which indicated presence of protein. The 10uL samples were diluted with 10uL of 2x sample buffer and heated for 5 minutes at 90°C. 7uL of standard as well as 12uL of samples were loaded onto the 12% SDS-PAGE (37.5:1 acrylamide:bisacrylamide) at 30mA. From the destained gel, the molecular weight of the separated proteins could be determined using a linear fit from the standard protein values.
RESULTS

**Purification of Androgen Receptor.** Thus far, we have isolated the androgen receptor-glutathione-s-transferase fusion protein.

From the lysed cells of *E. coli* BL21 (DE3) p6P1-AR, the concentration of protein present was determined to be 357.9 mg/mL using a standard curve of diluted BSA. This accounts for approximately 17.9 mg of protein from 8.1 g of *E. coli* cells.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Concentration (µg/mL)</th>
<th>Absorbance</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20</td>
<td>0.0199</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>50</td>
<td>0.0349</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>100</td>
<td>0.0811</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>200</td>
<td>0.1513</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>500</td>
<td>0.3709</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 1: BSA concentration (µg/mL) vs Absorbance at 595nM.

Figure 2: standard protein curve with Y=0.0007 and R²=0.9992.
The cleaved GST-AR fusion protein was then separated from the Precission protease using an HP-SP ion exchange column. It was determined from the resulting graph that fractions 3, 4, 35, and 36 contained protein.

![Figure 3: absorbance of fractions at 280nM.](image)

Using known values for the molecular weight of standard proteins, the weight of the two protein peaks in figure 3 could be determined. This was accomplished after an SDS-PAGE run of glutathione sepharose eluent, protein column flow through, HP-SP flow through, and fractions 3, 4, 35, and 36 to establish what proteins were present.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Protein</th>
<th>Rf</th>
<th>MW (daltons)</th>
<th>Log MW</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Myosin</td>
<td>0.201414</td>
<td>209000</td>
<td>5.3201</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>β-galactosidase</td>
<td>0.35242</td>
<td>124000</td>
<td>5.0934</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BSA</td>
<td>0.446157</td>
<td>80000</td>
<td>4.9031</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ovalbumin</td>
<td>0.733865</td>
<td>49100</td>
<td>4.6911</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Carbonic Anhydrase</td>
<td>0.956853</td>
<td>34800</td>
<td>4.5416</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Unknown</td>
<td>0.618927</td>
<td>67515</td>
<td>4.8294</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Figure 4: standard protein log molecular weight vs Rf with $Y = -0.9964 + 5.4461$ and $R^2 = 0.9527$.

Using the standard curve, the molecular weight of the unknown was determined to be 67,515 daltons. This did not correspond to any protein which should have been present at this stage in purification. The androgen receptor has a molecular weight of 29.98kDa while Precission protease has a molecular weight of 46kDa.
Figure 5: first SDS-PAGE gel showing unknown protein at 67kDa.

Figure 6: third SDS-PAGE gel showing GST-AR fusion protein.

Due to the gel in figure 5 having run improperly, another run was conducted as shown in figure 6 and the molecular weight of the unknown protein was in the 60-63kDa range, which strongly suggested that the protein was uncleaved GST-AR fusion protein.
DISCUSSION

The molecular weight obtained for the unknown protein in figure 5 may be explained several ways. To begin, the gel in figure 5 displays only five protein standards while a typical gel would show seven. This may explain the value of the unknown’s molecular weight. The gel may have run improperly. As this was the case, another run was conducted and the molecular weight of the unknown protein was in the 60-63kDa range, which strongly suggested that the protein was uncleaved GST-AR fusion protein. Being the case, it became necessary to combine the fractions containing protein with the HP-SP eluent and rerun them over a glutathione sepharose column. This served to once again isolate the fusion protein. The GST-AR was then cleaved in a buffer (pH 7.0) containing Prescission protease. The pH may be an explanation for the initial poor separation. The pH of the buffer utilized in the procedure was 8.0 which is exponentially greater than the recommended pH of 7.8. The utilization of the proper pH should result in a favorable separation of the fusion protein. Currently, the eluent has been transferred to an HP-SP column and once again separated. It remains to confirm the results using an SDS-PAGE run.

Following a successful isolation of the androgen receptor, the next step is conducting experiments to detect an intermediate conformation.

Realizing that there may be an intermediate step, the question becomes one of detection. Using fluorescence spectroscopy, detection of the conformation of the receptor can be accomplished. To understand how this may accomplished, it is necessary to first discuss certain amino acids that comprise the androgen receptor. The amino acids tryptophan, tyrosine, and phenylalanine all exhibit fluorescent properties. If the androgen receptor contains any of these, it would be likely to fluoresce. The distinct aromatic properties of these amino acids allow them to become excited and fluoresce upon exposure to a certain wavelength of electromagnetic
radiation. For example, tryptophan ((S)-2-Amino-3-(1H-indol-3-yl)-propanoic acid) has a very strong fluorescence compared to the other two acids. This is due to the extensive conjugation present. Conjugation serves to raise the energy of the HOMO and lower the energy of the LUMO. This results in less energy being required for an electronic transition to occur in comparison to a non-conjugated system. The transition ultimately serves to promote an electron from a $\pi$ orbital to a $\pi^*$ empty orbital. This results in the fluorescence observed\(^2\). Depending upon whether the fluorophore is in the relatively non-polar interior or the polar exterior of the receptor, the fluorescence spectrum will shift. A blue shift will occur in a non-polar environment and will be accompanied by an increase in fluorescent intensity. Red shift, on the other hand, occurs when the fluorophore is exposed to a polar environment.

![Figure 7: tryptophan.](image)

To facilitate detection of an intermediate conformation, initially a sample is exposed to guanidine-hydrochloride (a chaotropic agent). This serves to denature the receptor with increasing concentration of the chaotrope. At some given concentration of chaotrope, if there is no intermediate conformation, the fluorophore in the receptor should simultaneously shift wavelength and intensity. If, however, there is an intermediate conformation, the shift in
wavelength and intensity will not be simultaneous. This effect arises from the intrinsic properties of the intermediate.

If the change in fluorescence intensity is not coincident with a shift in wavelength, it would be necessary to further verify the presence of an intermediate. This may be accomplished through the use of bis-anilinonaphthalenesulfonate (bis-ANS). This chemical acts as an external fluorophore, fluorescing when exposed to the hydrophobic core of the receptor. The optimal environment for bis-ANS to fluoresce in is one which is mostly nonpolar. This would be the environment present in the ligand binding domain of an intermediate conformation of the androgen receptor. Therefore, if there is a spike in the fluorescent levels of bis-ANS at the correct concentration of chaotrope, it would strongly suggest an intermediate conformation.

**CONCLUSION**

Thus far, it has been experimentally confirmed that there is protein present after HP-SP purification. Furthermore, it has been strongly suggested that the protein was, in fact, uncleaved GST-AR fusion protein. Currently, we are in the process of cleaving the fusion protein to obtain highly pure AR for subsequent unfolding studies.
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