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From the Editors...

Dear Readers,

This marks the fifty-first year of the Virginia Social Science Journal, a multi-disciplinary scholarly journal in the social sciences. This issue is packed with timely topics, including Black Lives Matter, liberal arts education, migration, and a thoughtful essay on ghosts, rum, and archaeology in the Caribbean.

This year's theme, "Gender, Race & Politics," has proven to be somewhat prescient. When we chose the theme in early 2015, we were sure that 2016 was going to be a contentious year in American politics as the country marked the conclusion of the first African American presidency while simultaneously experiencing a campaign in which at least one of the nominees was likely to be a woman.

Well, we were correct about the contentious nature of the political battles of 2015 and 2016! This issue of the journal seeks to demonstrate how the social sciences can unpack racial politics and untangle the intersection of race and gender in the public sphere in powerful ways.

The editorial board thanks the article referees for their thoughtful feedback to the authors. We sincerely hope you enjoy the 2016 issue.

Sincerely,

KIRT VON DAACKE

BRIAN CRIM

Climate Change Skepticism in the Flood Zone? Risk and Risk Perception Among Virginia Coastal Residents, 2010–2013

JESSE RICHMAN & KRISTA ANDREWS

Virginia Social Science Journal | Volume 51 | 2016 | Pages 4–11

ABSTRACT How does life in a coastal flood zone influence sea level rise and global warming beliefs? This study explores the association between residence in a coastal flood zone and climate change attitudes. Surveys of Hampton Roads Virginia coastal residents with varying degrees flooding vulnerability conducted from 2010 through 2013 show that coastal flood zone residents were more likely to perceive global warming as a serious environmental problem (with the exception of conservatives and Republicans), and more likely to believe they were personally vulnerable to sea level rise.

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INTRODUCTION

How does life in a coastal flood zone influence sea level rise and global warming beliefs? This study examines climate change attitudes among individuals who reside in the coastal flood plain – individuals who are arguably the most likely to observe or experience fluctuations in sea level, and the most vulnerable to rising seas. It extends existing work on how experience and vulnerability influence individual beliefs concerning climate change (Myers et al. 2013, Akerlof et al. 2013), and how abnormal weather or temperature influences information seeking and climate change beliefs (Herrnstadt & Muehleger, 2013; Lang, 2014; Joireman, Barnes-Truelove, & Duell, 2010; Li, Johnson, & Zaval 2011; Risen & Critcher 2011; Egan & Mullin 2012; Goebbert et al. 2012; Howe, et al., 2013; Scannell & Gifford, 2013; Zahran et al., 2006) to examine sea level rise and global warming beliefs among individuals who likely have had close personal experience with sea levels. In particular, this study analyzes several years of survey data from seven cities in coastal Virginia. Although there have been many prior studies investigating factors that condition climate attitudes, this study is arguably unique in its analysis of the link between coastal flood-zone vulnerability and climate attitudes.

The main focus is Virginia's Hampton Roads region. This region has experienced rising sea levels in recent decades. Indeed, there is evidence that sea level has increased more rapidly in the Chesapeake Bay and along the adjacent Atlantic coast than the global average (Ezer et al. 2013, Nash 2014). In the region of Hampton Roads Virginia, flood zone residents were exposed to multiple coastal flooding events including Hurricanes Irene (2011), and Sandy (2012). Three of the four highest sea levels ever recorded on the Sewells Point, Virginia tide gauge occurred during the decade from 2002 to 2012 (NOAA 2014). In addition coastal Virginia has experienced substantial sea level anomalies:

"An unusually high coastal sea level (sometimes around 30 to 50 cm above NOAA's storm surge and tidal prediction...) can persist for months; these anomalies often cause floods

during high tides in places such as Norfolk, VA, even during times when there are no apparent storm surges or other weather events to explain these anomalies." (Ezer et al. 2013, p. 12).

During coastal sea level anomalies in particular, residents of the Hampton Roads region experience sea level increases of a magnitude not anticipated for decades in most climate models. Because of these anomalies and the above global average increases in sea level, coastal Virginia provides a useful, perhaps even unique, opportunity to study the relationship between personal sea level rise risk and attitudes toward sea level and climate change in the coastal flood zone.

The next section examines the literature on climate change attitudes, and develops expectations for the empirical analysis. The subsequent section discusses variable measurement and operationalization. This is followed by a data analysis section, and finally by a discussion of conclusions.

EXPERIENCE AND CLIMATE CHANGE PERCEPTIONS

A growing number of studies indicate that personal experience can – to an extent – shape beliefs about climate change. Abnormal weather leads to information seeking about climate change and change in climate change beliefs (Herrnstadt & Muehleger, 2013; Lang, 2014; Joireman, Barnes-Truelove, & Duell, 2010; Li, Johnson, & Zaval 2011; Risen & Critcher 2011; Egan & Mullin 2012; Goebbert et al. 2012; Akerlof et al. 2012; Howe, et al., 2013; Scannell & Gifford, 2013; Zahran et al., 2006). Furthermore, perceived or real personal experience with climate change is associated with changes in beliefs (Akerlof et al., 2013; Myers et al., 2013). If individuals experience, or think they have experienced, climate change personally they are more likely to perceive climate change as a significant threat (Keller, Siegrist, and Gutscher, 2006; Whitmarsh, 2008; Borick and Rabe 2010).

Individuals who live in coastal flood zones are uniquely vulnerable to sea level rise, as even modest increases in sea levels

would likely increase the frequency with which property is inundated by flood waters, potentially producing major economic losses. Nash (2014) provides detailed maps and discussion of these risks in the context of coastal Virginia. Prior work suggests that individuals who live in close proximity to the coast are more likely to express concern about climate change (Milfont et. al. 2014, Howe et. al. 2015), although no previous study has specifically investigated the role of residence in coastal flood zones, as opposed to more general coastal proximity.

The most basic and important expectation tested in this study is that *flood zone residents should be more concerned about global warming and sea level rise than other coastal residents*. This is a logical extension of previous work that suggests those residing nearer the coast are more likely to believe in climate change (e.g. Milfont et. al. 2014). The novel element here is the investigation of how coastal flood zone residence influences attitudes – does flood zone residence further increase climate change concern among coastal residents?

In addition to exploring the impact of coastal flood zone residence, this study investigates the way political attitudes – partisanship and ideology – mediate climate change beliefs in the flood zone. In Virginia politics there is substantial partisan polarization on the issue of climate change. For instance, a 2013 survey of Virginia likely voters (Richman 2013, p. 11) found that 66.4 percent of those who supported the Republican candidate for governor did not believe that “human activity is a major contributing factor in climate change” whereas 88.5 percent of those who supported the Democratic candidate did believe that that “human activity is a major contributor to climate change.” Across the United States, party identification and ideology are strongly associated with climate change beliefs (Borick and Rabe 2010; Dunlap 2008; Dunlap and McCright 2008; 2011; McCright and Dunlap 2015; Schuldt, Konrath, and Schwarz, 2011). Hence, the general expectation that *conservatives and Republicans are less likely to be concerned about climate change than liberals and Democrats*.

It is an open question whether Republicans and conservatives who live in the coastal flood zone will abandon the partisan / ideological resistance to belief in climate change found among their political compatriots who live at higher elevations. Some previous literature suggests that information seeking through partisan news sources (Akerlof et al. 2012; Feldman et. al. 2012; Williams 2011) might lead to motivated reasoning (Kunda, 1990; Hart & Nisbett, 2011) that produces a larger partisan / ideological gap rather than a diminished one. Ideological or partisan attention and motivated reasoning suggest that *residence near the coast and in a flood zone will lead to less of an increase in global warming and sea level rise risk perception among conservatives and Republicans than among other ideological or partisan groups*. But it is also possible that the effect goes the other way: one might hypothesize that a sufficiently intense personal experience could override normal partisan or ideological biases. When it comes to sea level rise, the Hampton Roads region of Virginia is the second most vulnerable urban region in the United States (Nash 2014) and arguably provides the potential for such experiences to occur.

Inclusion of control variables for gender and race in some of the analysis below reflect evidence that both are associated with perceptions of global warming and climate change. Previous studies have suggested males and whites are less likely than females and blacks to see global warming and climate change as a threat (e.g. Davidson & Haan, 2012; Hamilton, 2011; McCright, 2010; McCright & Dunlap, 2011). Some analyses also control for education level, although the previous literature does not provide an unambiguous expectation concerning its effect on attitudes.

A final set of variables involve length of residence. Given the extraordinary frequency of coastal flooding during the years studied, it is unlikely that even short-term coastal flood zone residents escaped exposure to substantial coastal flooding prior to responding to the survey. None-the-less, longer-term residence may be associated with more extended exposure to flooding and an ability to judge increasing levels of inundation. Hence, some analyses control for the number of years respondents reported having lived at their current residence. A related control is for recent arrival at a residence – recent arrivals (less than one year) are much less likely to have had time to assess their risk in detail.¹

METHODS

This study relies upon survey data to estimate attitudes. The primary survey data was collected over a span of four years (2010, 2011, 2012, and 2013) in the Life in Hampton Roads Survey (LIHR), a dataset collected by the Social Science Research Center at Old Dominion University through telephone calls to a random sample of Hampton Roads residents. The survey aims to gauge overall quality of life within the Hampton Roads region. Variables included the individual’s residential status in a flood zone or not, their individual risk perception concerning the effects of sea level rise and the likelihood that global warming is a real environmental problem or an environmental hoax. The survey also included questions concerning race, gender and education levels, and measures of partisanship and ideology.

Three measures of global warming and sea level rise risk were analyzed from the LIHR survey. The first variable assessed whether respondents believed that global warming was a serious environmental problem or an environmental hoax on a 5 point scale (available in the 2010 and 2011 surveys). The second and third were dichotomous measures (available in the 2011 through 2013 surveys) of whether respondents were concerned that rising sea levels in Hampton Roads would “affect you personally” and whether respondents were “concerned about rising sea levels in the rest of the world.”

To assess sea level rise risk, the locations of survey respondents with land-line telephone numbers were geocoded, and then used to identify residences in a high risk flood zone using <https://www.floodsmart.gov/floodsmart/> and national flood insurance program maps. Individuals were dichotomously

¹ A control variable for rental versus ownership did not have statistically significant effects and is omitted from the analyses presented in this study.

Table 1. Tabulation of Coastal Flood Zone Residence and Climate Change Attitude

QUESTION	YEAR	FLOOD ZONE (N)	NOT FLOOD ZONE (N)	STATISTICAL SIGNIFICANCE?
Are you concerned that rising sea levels here in Hampton Roads will affect you personally? (Percentage “Yes”)	2013	48.5% (134)	34.4% (349)	$\chi^2 = 8.17^*$
	2012	45.9% (122)	37.3% (351)	$\chi^2 = 2.79 +$
	2011	51.7% (143)	38.3% (350)	$\chi^2 = 7.54^*$
	All	48.9% (399)	36.7% (1050)	$\chi^2 = 17.94^*$
Are you concerned about rising sea levels in the rest of the world? (Percentage “Yes”)	2013	64.2% (137)	62.3% (350)	$\chi^2 = 0.16$
	2012	61.0% (123)	63.8% (359)	$\chi^2 = 0.36$
	2011	72.2% (144)	69.8% (354)	$\chi^2 = 0.71$
	All	66.9% (399)	65.9% (1053)	$\chi^2 = 0.13$
Global warming is a serious environmental problem (coded 1) or hoax (coded 5)? (Mean rating on five-point scale.)	2011	2.5 (142)	2.6 (349)	t=0.90
	2010	2.6 (136)	2.6 (414)	t=0.38
	All	2.5 (278)	2.6 (763)	t=0.94

Note: + p<0.10, * p<0.05

classified as living in a flood zone (high risk area) or not. As a robustness check, the 2013 survey included the question, “Is recurrent flooding a problem in your neighborhood.” There was a statistically significant difference (p<.0005) between the portion of flood zone residents (35 percent) and non-flood zone residents (14 percent) who responded in the affirmative.²

DATA ANALYSIS

The data analysis begins with simple by-year cross-tabulations, and then moves to multivariate regression and logistic regression analyses that permit control for several variables, and more detailed investigation of conditional or interaction relationships. At the forefront throughout is the question of how, in what ways, and in what contexts, residence in a coastal flood zone conditions climate change attitudes. Is residence in a coastal flood zone associated with distinctive sea level rise risk perceptions or global warming attitudes?

Table 1 is the most basic of the analyses provided. It examines no interaction relationships and contains no control variables. Hence, there are limits to what can be inferred from this analysis. The evidence concerning a link between coastal flood zone residence and sea level rise or global warming concern is mixed in this table.

The table provides evidence that coastal flood zone residence

² Self-reported neighborhood experience with recurrent flooding was strongly associated with concern about sea level rise in the 2013 survey (the only survey which included this question). Those who indicated that recurrent flooding was a problem in their neighborhood were almost twice as likely (65.8 percent versus 34.2 percent, Chi-Square 57.8, p<.0005) to indicate that they were “concerned that rising sea levels here in Hampton Roads will affect you personally.” This extended to concern about “rising sea levels in the rest of the world” with 76 percent of respondents who thought “recurrent flooding a problem” indicating concern, compared to 59.4 percent of other respondents (Chi-Square 17.3, p<.0005). However, analysis of the relationship between self-reported neighborhood flooding and climate change attitudes is not a focus of this paper because perception of neighborhood flooding might be caused in part by beliefs about sea level rise risk as appears to be the case with other self-reported climate related phenomena (e.g. Goebbert et. al. 2012, Howe and Leiserowitz 2013).

is associated with concern that one will be personally affected by sea level rise. In 2011, 2012, and 2013 there is a statistically significant relationship between coastal flood zone residence and concern that “rising sea levels here in Hampton Roads will affect you personally.” Overall, 48.9 percent of flood zone residents expressed concern that they would be personally affected while 36.7 percent of residents who did not live in a flood zone expressed a similar concern. The magnitude of the difference is substantial. Analysis of all years of data indicates that flood zone residents were 12 percent more likely than non-residents to express concern. This difference is highly statistically significant (p<0.005). Perhaps it is unsurprising that the link between sea level rise concern and coastal flood zone residence is pronounced when the question asks about concern that rising seas will “affect you personally” since Virginia coastal flood zone residents arguably have good reason to worry that they will be personally harmed by rising seas (Nash 2014).

Flood zone residence is not as strongly associated with the other two measures of climate change attitudes, however. Thus, if an association exists at all, any relationship between flood zone residence and these variables is likely to be conditional, or obscured by the absence of appropriate control variables. Concern about sea level rise in the rest of the world and belief in global warming were not strongly associated with coastal flood zone residence. While in two of three years coastal flood zone residents expressed more concern about “rising sea levels in the rest of the world” than non-flood-zone residents, the difference in attitudes never achieved statistical significance. Similarly, although in both years coastal flood zone residents were slightly less likely than the rest of the sample to see global warming as “an environmental hoax” this difference did not achieve statistical significance.

Table 2 provides an analysis of the extent to which partisanship and ideology condition the association between climate change attitudes and residence in a coastal flood zone. In addition, the table provides strong, if perhaps unsurprising, evidence that ideology and partisanship are linked to climate change attitudes among Virginia coastal residents.

In every instance conservative and/or Republican respondents evidenced less concern about climate change than their liberal and/or Democratic counterparts, with moderate and non-partisan respondents somewhere in-between. For example, 82 percent of respondents who said that they were liberals and/or Democrats indicated that they were “concerned about rising sea levels in the rest of the world” while only 49.6 percent of conservative and/or Republican respondents indicated that they were concerned. These partisan differences are strongly statistically significant ($p < 0.001$). Respondents who identified as Democrats and/or liberals were more than 30 percent more likely to express concern.

The analysis in Table 2 also yields evidence that global warming belief – the degree to which individuals rated global warming a “serious environmental problem” as opposed to an “environmental hoax” -- is associated with coastal flood zone residence for all but conservative or Republican respondents. Among all respondents who were neither conservatives nor Republicans flood zone residents were 0.25 points more likely ($p < 0.05$) to see global warming as a “serious environmental problem.” By contrast, respondents who were conservatives and or Republicans and lived in a flood zone were 0.2 points less likely to see global warming as a serious environmental problem. Partisanship, it would seem, conditions the association between some climate change attitudes and coastal flood zone residence.

The association between responses to the global warming question and flood zone residence varies substantially across party / ideology groups. Among respondents who were neither self-identified conservatives nor self-identified Republicans, flood zone residence was associated with a significantly higher

probability of believing that global warming is a “serious environmental problem.” The mean rating was 2.17 among flood zone residents, an average significantly below the 2.42 average among non-flood-zone residents ($t = 2.3, p < 0.05$). However, among Republican and/or conservative respondents there was no statistically significant difference between flood zone residents and other respondents. Indeed, if anything flood zone residents expressed less concern than other respondents, although that difference is not statistically significant. Conservatives and/or Republicans who resided in a flood zone more often rated global warming a hoax (average 3.25) than their non-flood zone political / ideological compatriots (average 3.05).

Does partisanship and ideology condition the association between flood zone residence and the sea level rise questions as well? And in particular are Republicans and/or Conservatives in flood zones particularly unconcerned about the risks posed by rising seas? There is some evidence that a similar pattern may be present on the personal sea level concern question, albeit to a more modest degree: conservative and/or Republican respondents who lived in a flood zone were only slightly more likely to express concern that sea level rise would affect them personally (8 percent more likely) compared to the two other groupings of respondents (16 percent and 14 percent more likely).

However respondent’s politics does not appear to condition the extent to which coastal flood zone residents express concern about rising sea level in “the rest of the world.” Coastal flood zone residence is not associated with concern about sea level rise in the “rest of the world” for any partisan or ideological group.

Table 2. Political Orientation and Coastal Flood Zone Residence Interaction

QUESTION	POLITICAL ORIENTATION	FLOOD ZONE (N)	NOT FLOOD ZONE (N)	STATISTICAL SIGNIFICANCE?
Are you concerned that rising sea levels here in Hampton Roads will affect you personally? (Percentage “Yes”)	Conservative or Republican	32.6% (141)	24.3% (346)	$t = 1.82+$
	Liberal or Democrat	66.4% (122)	50.7% (367)	$t = 3.13^*$
	All Others	49.3% (140)	35.3% (363)	$t = 2.85^*$
Are you concerned about rising sea levels in the rest of the world? (Percentage “Yes”)	Conservative or Republican	51.0% (143)	46.5% (342)	$t = 0.91$
	Liberal or Democrat	82.0% (122)	81.8% (369)	$t = 0.31$
	All Others	69.8% (139)	68.5% (368)	$t = 0.28$
Global warming is a serious environmental problem (coded 1) or hoax (coded 5)? (Mean rating on five-point scale.)	Conservative or Republican	3.25 (97)	3.05 (256)	$t = 1.22$
	Liberal or Democrat	1.89 (72)	2.19 (195)	$t = -1.72+$
	All Others	2.35 (109)	2.57 (312)	$t = -1.52$
	Non-Conservatives or Republicans	2.17 (181)	2.42 (507)	$t = -2.28^*$

Note: + $p < 0.10$, * $p < 0.05$. Respondents who indicated that they were Republicans, conservatives, or both were coded into one category, respondents who indicated they were liberals, Democrats, or both were coded in a second category and respondents who were in neither of the above categories were coded in the third category.

Table 3. *Multivariate Analysis of Flood Zone Residence and Risk Perceptions*

	EQUATION 1 SEA LEVEL RISE PERSONAL CONCERN (LOGIT)	EQUATION 2 SEA LEVEL RISE GLOBAL CONCERN (LOGIT)	EQUATION 3 GLOBAL WARMING A SERIOUS CONCERN (OLS)
Flood zone resident	0.64 (0.21)*	0.36 (0.23)	0.38 (0.15)*
Conservative or Republican	-0.49 (0.16)*	-0.97 (0.16)*	-0.45 (0.11)*
Liberal or Democrat	0.51 (0.13)*	0.57 (0.16)*	0.38 (0.10)*
Flood zone * Conservative or Republican	-0.18 (0.28)	0.32 (0.28)	-0.49 (0.19)*
Residence < year	0.80 (0.28)*	0.004 (0.3)	0.10 (0.19)
Length of Residence	0.010 (0.005)*	0.017 (0.006)*	-0.001 (0.004)
Flood zone * Length of Residence	0.004 (0.01)	-0.021 (0.006)*	-0.007 (0.007)
Education	0.02 (0.03)	-0.01 (0.03)	0.06 (0.02)*
Female	0.52 (0.12)*	0.88 (0.12)*	0.44 (0.09)*
White	-0.60 (0.13)*	-0.58 (0.14)*	0.05 (0.09)
Constant	-1.46 (0.32)*	-0.43 (0.32)	2.33 (0.21)*
N	1420	1423	1010

Note: * p<0.05 two-tailed.

Table 3 reports the results of multivariate analyses that control for gender, education, race and length of residence. As in Table 2, each analysis pools responses across survey years. The three dependent variables are (Equation 1) response to the dichotomous question: “Are you concerned that rising sea levels here in Hampton Roads will affect you personally?” (Equation 2) “Are you concerned about rising sea levels in the rest of the world?” And finally (Equation 3) a five point scale bounded at one end by the view that “global warming is a serious environmental problem” and on the other by the position that “global warming is an environmental hoax.” Each of the three dependent variables is coded so that higher (positive) values indicate more climate change concern.

One key take away from Table 3 is that flood zone residence tends to be associated with heightened concern about climate change. In both Equation 1 and Equation 3, flood zone residence has a statistically significant (p<0.05 two tailed) positive association with climate change concern. Coastal flood zone residents were more likely to indicate that they thought global warming was a serious environmental problem, and more likely express concern that rising sea levels would affect them personally. The association between the third climate change variable – concern about rising sea levels in “the rest of the world” and coastal flood zone residence also approaches but does not reach standard levels of statistical significance (p=0.124).³

A second take away is that the magnitude of the relationship between coastal flood zone residence and climate change attitudes is often conditional. In Equation 2, length of residence had a strong positive association with concern about sea level rise in the rest of the world except among coastal flood zone residents. And in Equation 3, there is evidence that flood zone

residence is not associated with belief that global warming is a serious environmental problem among conservative and/or Republican respondents.

Several other variables have intriguing associations with climate change concern. Equation 1 shows that there is a substantively large and statistically significant relationship between having recently moved to a new house and concern that sea level rise will affect the respondent personally. A plausible interpretation of this association is that individuals who have recently changed residence in a region in which almost no properties are far above sea level and real estate agents have limited obligations to disclose hazards (Nash 2014) are for a time particularly concerned about the risk of flooding and sea level rise – they do not yet have a sense of how vulnerable their new residence is, and this prompts concern. If this interpretation and these results can be replicated in other studies involving similar contexts, it suggests that a key time to educate individuals about actions aimed at increasing resilience and preparedness for sea level rise and flooding might well be in the period shortly after they have moved to a new residence.

Both personal concern about sea level rise (Equation 1) and concern about sea level rise in the “rest of the world” (Equation 2) also provide evidence that length of residence is associated (significantly) with increased climate change concern. This may reflect the ability of those with a longer-term perspective to see worrying trends, and an increased likelihood of having experienced flooding in the coastal cities of Hampton Roads. There was no statistically significant relationship between belief that global warming is a serious environmental problem and the length of residence variables in Equation 3, however. This null result is puzzling in light of the significant relationships identified between length of residence and climate change concern in Equations 1 and 2. Perhaps this reflects the particular opportunities long residence in Hampton Roads provides to observe changes in sea levels (the focus of the dependent variables in Equations 1 and 2).

³ Perhaps the phrasing of the question encouraged respondents to ignore personal vulnerability: “Are you concerned about rising sea levels in the rest of the world?” frames the question in a way that arguably limits the influence of personal vulnerability.

Given the results from Table 2, and the long history of similar findings in the literature, it should come as no surprise that political partisanship and ideology have a strong association with climate change attitudes in all three equations. In all three equations the coefficients show that respondents who indicated they were liberals and or Democrats expressed a significantly higher level of concern ($p < 0.05$) than the omitted category (ideological moderates without a Democratic or Republican Party affiliation). And it is also unsurprising that conservative and/or Republican respondents expressed the least concern about climate change.

Perhaps more intriguing is the evidence for an interaction between flood zone residence and the conservative/Republican variable. In Equation 3 the statistically significant interaction coefficient for the variable “Flood zone * Conservative or Republican” arguably provides some evidence that flood zone residence does not lead conservatives and/or Republicans to adopt heightened levels of concern about climate change, unlike other flood zone residents. In Equations 1 and 2 this interaction coefficient is not statistically significant, however, so evidence for an interaction is clearly muted and ambiguous.

Race is strongly associated with climate change attitudes in two of the three equations of Table 3. Respondents who identified as white were significantly ($p < 0.05$) less likely to express concern about sea level rise in the “rest of the world” or to indicate a concern that sea level rise would “affect you personally.” However, whites were not more likely to believe that global warming is “an environmental hoax,” marking one exception to the pattern of lower levels of climate change concern among whites.

A similar pattern pertains for gender: women were more likely than men to give survey responses indicating concern about sea level rise in the “rest of the world,” and concern that sea level rise would “affect you personally.” Women were also more likely to give responses indicating that sea level rise is a “serious environmental problem.” In all three equations the gender coefficients achieved standard levels of statistical significance ($p < 0.05$). In Hampton Roads, Virginia women are more concerned about climate change than men.

DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSIONS

This study finds that coastal residents who reside in the areas most vulnerable to risk of coastal inundation often have higher levels of concern about climate change. This result is arguably important – it suggests that experience with and vulnerability to coastal flooding may well influence individuals to change their minds about the risks posed by climate change, a precondition for political or other action.

One might argue, however, that most Hampton Roads residents are to a degree exposed to coastal flooding whether or not their home is physically located in a high risk flood zone. Indeed, the effects identified here likely reflect only one aspect of a broader pattern of increased climate change concern among those closer to the coasts, as has been reported in previous research (Milfont et. al. 2014). But this likelihood highlights what is new

in this study – the result that even among coastal residents residence in a high risk flood zone is often associated with increased climate change concern. Appendix 1 briefly explores the association between residence in a coastal county or city and climate change attitudes.

This study replicates and extends existing work on the relationship between personal experience with climate change and environmental attitudes. By utilizing geographic data on flood zone residence, the research design bypasses the risk of biased self-perceptions of vulnerability or experience with climate change – doubtless many of the individuals in coastal flood zones who responded to the survey had personally experienced coastal flooding events. And indeed there is evidence that longer-term residents tend to perceive greater sea level rise risk. Personal vulnerability did influence attitudes, with a larger portion of respondents from coastal flood zones expressing concern about their personal vulnerability to sea level rise, and a tendency for those residents (especially those who were neither conservatives nor Republicans) to be more likely to see global warming as a serious environmental problem. These results appear to affirm in a new context the important role that personal experience can play in shaping environmental attitudes.

APPENDIX A: CLIMATE ATTITUDES AMONG NON-COASTAL RESIDENTS

This study focuses on climate change attitudes in Hampton Roads Virginia, the second most vulnerable region when it comes to sea level rise in the entire United States (Nash 2014). A potential limitation of this study is therefore the fact that all residents in Hampton Roads arguably face substantial risk from sea level rise, and in the region there are opportunities to observe nuisance coastal flooding on a regular basis while traveling frequently inundated roads, opportunities readily available even for those who live on relatively high ground. All seven cities surveyed are categorized by NOAA as coastal counties (Wiley undated). Hence, the evidence for effects of coastal flood zone residence observed in Hampton Roads likely stack on top of similar effects that play out to a greater or lesser degree for many residents of Virginia coastal counties and cities. Table A.1. examines responses to the one climate change question asked in a statewide survey of likely voters taken in 2013 (Richman 2013). The question was “Do you believe human activity is a major contributing factor in climate change?” and the response categories were dichotomous – yes or no. To focus on the question of whether the climate change attitudes of non-flood-zone residents of coastal cities or counties differ from than those who live far inland and hence face little sea level rise risk. Residents of coastal flood zones were relatively rare in this state-wide sample (47 cases) are excluded from Table A.1. in order to focus on the way climate change attitudes are influenced by residence in a coastal county. Coastal cities and counties were identified using the categorization provided by Wiley (undated).

Table A.1. provides some evidence that coastal residents are more likely to see human activity as “a major contributing

Table A.1. Climate Attitudes in Virginia Coastal and Non-Coastal Residents (Coastal Flood Zone Residents Excluded)

QUESTION		COASTAL	NON-COASTAL	TOTAL
Do you believe human activity is a major contributing factor in climate change?	Yes	165 (64.7%)	93 (55.7%)	258 (61%)
	No	90 (35.3%)	74 (44.3%)	164 (38.9%)

factor in climate change.” The difference between coastal and non-coastal residents is 9 percentage points, and this difference is on the margins of standard levels of statistical significance ($p=0.04$ Fisher’s exact test, one-sided, Chi-square = 3.45, $p = 0.6$). Thus, there is reason to think that coastal residents, even those who do not live in high risk flood zones tend to be at least somewhat more likely to see a human causal role in climate change than non-coastal residents.

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A relationship between climate change attitudes and coastal residence such as that suggested by Table A.1. has been demonstrated in the literature already. The novel aspect of this study involves further subdividing Hampton Roads Virginia coastal residents by flood zone to investigate the degree to which even among coastal residents, different degrees of proximity to sea level rise risk condition climate change attitudes.

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“Demand Something to Fulfill that Need”: Student Consumers, Liberal Arts Education, and the Dilemma of Modern Womanhood at the Seven Sisters Colleges, 1915–1930

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ABSTRACT Elite women’s colleges were in flux in the 1910s and 1920s. Some critics argued the liberal arts should be replaced with a “womanly” curriculum. Others sought to combine the liberal arts with some consideration of women’s likely domestic futures. Students took an active role in this debate. Buoyed by discourses that emphasized their status as modern women and their influence as consumers, students fought to shape their educations. This desire constitutes an unexplored aspect of 1910s/20s college life. That women’s college students felt entitled to greater social freedoms is well-documented, but this attitude of entitlement and individualism also led them to claim similar freedoms in charting their lives *after* college, including the ways in which they were trained for married or professional life.

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In October 1926, a junior at Wellesley College, surveying her college’s strict liberal arts curriculum, pleaded with college authorities for “a little mingling of the sand with the star-dust,” and suggested that many aspects of Wellesley life and education would benefit from a more thorough and practical approach (“Discussions,” *Wellesley College News*, October 7, 1926). Three years earlier, a Barnard senior had grumbled of her education that “[t]heoretical knowledge...is worth very little if we haven’t actually used it in solving problems while we are in college” (“After the Conference is Over,” *The New Student*, February 10, 1923). These students were not alone in their discontent. In the early decades of the twentieth century, conventional wisdom held that women’s higher education had to change. Some critics argued that the liberal arts should be replaced with, or severely tempered by, a more “womanly” curriculum akin in some way to the new field of home economics (“Is a College Education the Best for our Girls?” *Ladies’ Home Journal*, July 1900; “Domestic Science in the Schools and Colleges,” *The North America Review*, August 1909).

Others sought a more nuanced evolution of higher education that would prioritize the liberal arts but combine it with some coursework aimed at women’s likely domestic futures (Radke-Moss, 2008; “Three Thousand Sensible Girls,” *Ladies’ Home Journal*, May 1900). Elite women’s colleges—especially the northeastern colleges that would come to be known as the “Seven Sisters” (Barnard, Bryn Mawr, Mount Holyoke, Radcliffe, Smith, Vassar, and Wellesley)—were not the exclusive focus of this debate, but as nationally prominent institutions, and among the very few women’s institutions that rejected home economics, they received disproportionate public attention. These criticisms were only sharpened in the post-World War I era as hostility against women’s colleges—damned as irrelevant at best and socially and psychologically harmful at worst—grew increasingly acute (“Enemies of the Republic,” *The Delineator*, June 1921; “Calls Western Education Best for Nation’s Women,” *New York Times*, July 1, 1923; “The Case for Coeducation,”

Forum, November 1923; “Why Educate Women?” *Forum*, March 1929; “Spinster Factories,” *Forum and Century*, May 1932).

This curriculum debate is a minor feature in most histories of women’s higher education, and the little attention it receives focuses, almost entirely, on the ways public opinion affected college policy (Gordon, 1992; Horowitz, 1984; Solomon, 1986). Historians have paid less attention to the viewpoints of actual students. A cursory examination of student and alumnae publications makes clear that, by the 1910s, students at all of the Seven Sisters were actively seeking to reshape their educations—not only expressing discontent with the status quo, but forming student curriculum committees and articulating informed plans for change.

Historians such as Paula Fass (1979) and Helen Horowitz (1984) have documented and analyzed new student attitudes that emerged in the mid 1910s and especially in the 1920s. In line with a broader national trend, women’s college students became more focused on an off-campus social life that revolved largely around men. These social activities, and the freedom with which to pursue them, eclipsed not only the homosocial activities, rituals, and traditions that had for two generations been the mainstay of life at the Seven Sisters, but became more important than academic life as well. These attitudes translated into less engagement with and commitment to college life and, presumably, to college education itself.

It is not my intent to challenge the overall structure of that narrative. But in focusing so much attention on the students’ individualism, sense of entitlement to greater social freedoms, and prioritizing of domestic over professional futures, historians have failed to appreciate the important and nuanced ways in which these students *did* remain committed to academic life and the extent to which they expected their educations to prepare them for the futures of their choice.

Certainly, student grumbling about the curriculum was not new, but the aggressive attitude that underpinned the complaints of the late 1910s and 1920s represented a definite change from the more circumspect and deferential approach of previous generations. Buoyed by popular discourses that emphasized their status as modern, newly-enfranchised women, as well as their power as consumer citizens, students envisioned futures that combined professional and domestic pursuits, and called loudly for new courses and areas of study that would better reflect their vision of what a college-educated woman could be (“Thoughtful Selection,” *Smith College Weekly*, April 23, 1913; *Smith College Weekly*, October 20, 1920; ; “Progressive Higher Education,” *The College News*, March 21, 1928). Examining student interest in the curriculum not only illuminates a little-studied area in the history of women’s higher education, it also increases our understanding of this new spirit of individualism and self-determination among students—because that same attitude that led to demands for greater social freedoms was at the root of students’ engagement in curriculum reform as well.

Concurrent with the growing student interest in curriculum reform at the Seven Sisters was an ongoing, and very heated, public debate about what constituted an “appropriate” or “proper” woman’s education. One of the American public’s most enduring preoccupations with women’s colleges has concerned their curricula. After all, it was the announcement that they would offer to young women the same liberal arts program as was taught at Harvard, Yale, or Amherst that had rendered the Seven Sisters so immediately sensational in the first place. But by the 1910s, with college-educated women moving more and more into the professions and their marriage rates falling, a genuine backlash against women’s colleges was underway (Horowitz, 1984; Smith-Rosenberg, 1985). In a 1913 speech, one Columbia professor assailed the women’s colleges as impractical to the point of being harmful, proclaiming:

The most backward educational institutions in this country today are women’s colleges. They are worse than primary schools. They are dealing with stuff that never counts in life. In fact, they contend at Vassar, which is typical of other women’s colleges, that the further you get from real life and usable knowledge the more cultured you become (“Churchmen, Scientists,” *Los Angeles Times*, September 21, 1913).

A few years later, a noted industrialist concurred, calling women’s college students, “thoroughly ignorant of the things they should know” (“A.B. See Would Burn all Girls’ Colleges,” *New York Times*, November 23, 1922).

These two men might have been especially hostile, but their general argument found many adherents. In 1927, a more even-tempered critic wrote to the *New York Times* that women’s colleges indeed had a critical role to play in society, but it was not to educate women identically to men. Rather they were to “train their students to be gracious and intelligent wives and mothers” (“Lack of Originality,” *New York Times*, November 6, 1927). Critics pointed to co-educational colleges and universities, especially the large state schools of the South and the Midwest, where home economics was firmly entrenched, and suggested to the women’s colleges that they’d be better off

proceeding in that direction. These schools, they claimed, not only prepared young women to be accomplished and efficient homemakers, they also instilled a pride in traditional “women’s work” (Mina Kerr, “Home Economics in a College of Liberal Arts,” *Smith Alumnae Quarterly*, November 1916; Eva vom Baur Hansl, “Parenthood and the Colleges,” *Journal of the American Association of University Women*, January 1922). Even some of the colleges’ presidents, such as Henry Noble MacCracken at Vassar, and William Allen Neilson at Smith, recognized student dissatisfaction and wondered if the time had come for a more “womanly” approach to women’s higher education (Daniels, 1994; MacCracken, 1950; Thorp, 1956).

Students at the Seven Sisters were indeed dissatisfied, and they also were fond of using words like “inefficient” and “impractical” to describe their colleges’ curriculum, but, significantly, both their complaints and their suggestions for change were very different from those voiced in the national, more public, debate. Students did occasionally wonder if a program of study that so completely ignored their likely futures as wives and mothers made much sense, and campus newspapers of the period do contain the odd query about “domestic” training. But there is no evidence to suggest that the dominant feeling on *any* of the campuses was that a more “womanly” curriculum—and certainly not the home economics program popular at so many state universities—ought to replace the liberal arts, or even share equal billing with it.

What frustrated and increasingly angered students was how little say they had in determining their own courses of study within the existing curriculum. Coming of age in the heady late 1910s and 1920s—an era much preoccupied with the possibilities of modern life in general and for the modern woman in particular—students demanded a control over their educations commensurate with the control they now exercised, at least in theory, over their post-collegiate lives. This attitude clashed with the established curricula at all of the Seven Sisters, which in the 1910s mandated study of a wide array of disciplines over a four-year period—an approach that might have made the students “well-rounded” but left them with little time to study a chosen field in any real depth. Many students feared that this would leave them little better prepared for a profession than they had been upon entering college. The frustration expressed by one Bryn Mawr student, exclaiming in 1915 that, “[t]o come through four years of college and still be completely in the dark as to what one’s ‘proper’ job may be seems incredibly stupid,” was typical (*The College News*, March 11, 1915).

Other students felt that the current system not only left them ill-prepared for postgraduate life, but was also so poorly-focused that it could not claim to be much of an education at all. In 1924, a Vassar senior complained of the typical college program, “Most courses make a pretense of having as their aim the development of thinking power, but few live up to it. After four years of this game of brain-stuffing, the student has a college education” (*The New Student*, January 5, 1924). Two years later, a Wellesley junior acknowledged the abstract benefits of so wide-ranging an education, but took her college to task for the superficiality of its curriculum, asking, “does a

group when it is trying to solve a practical problem come to a conclusion of worth by wandering through generalities and indulging in abstractions?" ("Discussions," *Wellesley College News*, October 7, 1926). Even at Radcliffe, where distribution requirements were less draconian than at the other colleges, there was significant unhappiness. A student writing to *The Radcliffe News* in 1921 spoke for many of her contemporaries when she observed:

Somehow, there seems but little room left for the courses [students] really want to take. As a result, they usually have to do without some knowledge that they hoped to get in their college course (*The Radcliffe News*, March 18, 1921).

Such concerns were not unfounded. A visitor to Bryn Mawr told students that real world experience was more valuable than even the most intensive academic training ("Mrs. Reed Says..." *The College News*, May 11, 1921). Several years later, a guidance counselor at Barnard expressed to the *New York Times* that, "The college woman who succeeds in business today owes her alma mater very little thanks. She is the victim of one of the most perfect systems of unpreparedness and misguidance ever devised" ("College Girls Held Unfitted for Jobs," *New York Times*, August 27, 1933). For students coming of age in the business-oriented 1920s these comments and others like them were troubling.

Students also voiced dissatisfaction with the lack of attention the colleges paid to actual pre-professional training, though it is unclear exactly what they would have liked to see instead. Certainly the opinion expressed in a 1916 Bryn Mawr editorial—that "College training should undoubtedly help us to be wage-earners"—would have been popular on all of the campuses (*The College News*, November 15, 1916). Another piece suggested "an Introductory Course in Jobs," which would familiarize students with the growing possibilities for women in the workforce and what courses might best prepare them (*The College News*, March 11, 1915). But these were not calls for actual vocational training, as it existed in many other colleges and universities, so much as an expression of general discontent with the current offerings. A request from a Vassar junior for "vocational instruction which will fully prepare and equip the student for some specific kind of work after graduation," was typical of the students' impassioned, but vague, calls for action (*The Vassar Miscellany*, October 30, 1914). Based on comments in the student press and articles in alumnae publications, students wanted their colleges to make available to them more pre-professional resources—such as campus vocational offices and college-sponsored vocational conferences—and they enthusiastically publicized such resources where they existed (*The College News*, December 19, 1917; *Smith College Weekly*, November 30, 1921), but actual vocational training did not much interest them. As with any modern consumer, students wanted to know what options were open to them, so they could then make informed decisions for themselves.

It is difficult to say just how many students at the various colleges were actively engaged with curriculum reform, but the level of coverage devoted to it in the campus press and alumnae publications would indicate that the issue at least

elicited widespread interest. As a 1915 front-page story in the *Smith College Weekly* put it:

One needs only to ask at the table some day, 'Do you think that Latin or Greek should be required for freshman?' or, 'I think that everyone should be made to take a course in Zoology.' In nine cases out of ten the discussion that follows will be a lively one ("The Curriculum," *Smith College Weekly*, February 24, 1915).

Interestingly, individual student concern was not limited to their respective colleges. Campus newspapers frequently reported on the issue's progress at other institutions, and especially at other women's colleges. In 1922, the *Smith College Weekly* related in great detail Barnard's proposed new curriculum ("Barnard Students Plan New Curriculum," June 1, 1922). The following year, the *Bryn Mawr College News* reported that students at Mount Holyoke had presented a model of their ideal curriculum to their professors—who had, so it was reported, received the plan with delight ("Kicks and Kicks," January 17, 1923). Such stories kept the community informed, communicated to the faculty and administration that the students were in earnest, and, possibly, put pressure on the curriculum committees push aggressively for change.

By the middle of the 1920s, student curriculum committees could report some successes. Course requirements at all of the colleges had been loosened, at least a little bit, making room for a new system of "specialization," (a predecessor to the modern major) and freeing up more time for student electives. The extent to which real change was due directly to student agitation and committees is another matter. Faculty members at all of the Seven Sisters had also long expressed frustration with the old system, and, by and large, administrators recognized that the colleges would have to adapt some aspects of their curricula if they were to survive in the hostile environment of the 1920s (Daniels; MacCracken; Thorp). Nevertheless, historians should not overlook student engagement with this issue. Contrary to their frivolous reputations—unfocused and immature girls who had lost interest in academic life and could not wait to flee the campus on weekends—numerous students cared enough about their own educations to take concerted and informed action. But, unlike previous generations of students, who were more deferential in both their complaints and in their suggestions for improvement, this generation saw it as entirely right and proper that they should take the lead in bringing about desired changes, and believed they had the right to expect results. A 1920 letter to the *Smith College Weekly* summed up this new attitude very well. After cataloguing the impracticalities of the curriculum, the student explained, "[f]ar be it from anyone to decry the prevalence of liberal arts courses; but there would be more and greater interest in those very courses if they could be used and applied through the medium of practical courses." Foreshadowing later generations' emphasis on the student as paying customer and the university as purveyor of services, this student made clear the connection between the modern woman, the modern student, and the modern consumer. Warning that, "Women are going to need something tangible... they are going to demand something to fulfill that need. If they cannot get what they want at college they will go somewhere

else for it" (*Smith College Weekly*, October 20, 1920), she claimed for her generation the right to chart its own path and put the colleges on notice that the relationship between administration, faculty, and students had forever changed.

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Whose Lives Really Matter: The Invisibility of African American Women in the Political Discourse of the Black Lives Matter Campaign

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ABSTRACT When George Zimmerman was acquitted in July 2013 for killing Trayvon Martin in 2012, three African American women launched the Black Lives Matter campaign to bring attention to this perceived miscarriage of justice. The campaign spread to incorporate other incidents where African American men and boys were being killed by law enforcement. Excluded from the marches and political discourse were African American women. Their invisibility and marginalization is not new and is rooted in the fabric of the American political system due to the intersectionality of multiple oppressions of race, sex, and gender. For African American women's lives to matter, a paradigm shift that dismantles the existing tools of oppression is needed that extricates them from the periphery to inclusion, visibility and empowerment.

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INTRODUCTION

The “awareness to be Black and female is to be political” argues Mary Burgher. She also points out that the “vital dimensions (of the Black woman) have been ignored, lost, overlooked, or perverted, by critics and scholars...handicapped by preconceptions, biases, naiveté, and ignorance” (Burgher, 12). African American women have played central roles in every social and political struggle and movement in the United States since its inception. Despite immersing themselves in these struggles and movements and being agents of change, African American women are often historical footnotes and afterthoughts, generally pushed to the periphery of discourse and policymaking in reality. Exclusion from the Black Lives Matter Campaign is the most recent example of African American women's issues being ignored. This erasure of African American women from inclusion in American political discourse is not a new phenomenon.

THE BACK STORY

Recently, thousands of citizens have been marching for justice on behalf of Trayvon Martin, Michael Brown, Eric Garner, Tamir Rice, and Freddie Gray. All these men and boys were unarmed and killed by law enforcement, with the exception of Martin who was killed by a self-proclaimed neighborhood watchman allegedly defending himself under Florida's stand your ground laws. As a result of these deaths and many more, the Black Lives Matter Campaign was launched by three African American women—Alicia Garza, Patrisse Cullors and Opal Tometi. It is important that attention be given to the injustice of the criminal justice system and the miscarriage of justice when African men and boys are targets of violence. Clearly procedural justice, inherent bias, and the racial implications behind these deaths require the voices of the community to be lifted in

protest and concern. However, many unarmed African American women have been killed directly by the police or while in police custody, or they have been physically abused by law enforcement officials.

The state of Texas appears to be ground zero for exposing the invisibility of African American women in the American political system as the discussions of Black Lives Matter movement traverses the nation. Twenty eight year old Sandra Bland is the latest tragedy in the criminal justice system to be victimized. What was her crime? She dared to raise questions with a police officer during a routine traffic stop when she failed to signal during a lane change. She ended up in jail and was dead three days later of an apparent suicide with drugs in her system. Fourteen year old Dajerria Becton of McKinney, Texas attended a pool party and ended up being pushed to the ground with Officer Eric Casebolt restraining her with his knee in her back and his gun pulled on other teenagers. Fortunately, no one was seriously injured or died that day. In 2012, twenty seven year old Shelly Frey was shot and killed by an off duty Sheriff's deputy at a Houston Walmart for allegedly shoplifting. In 2014, forty seven year old Yvette Smith of Balstrop, Texas was shot and killed when she was ordered to come out of her house by a sheriff's deputy who claimed that she was armed (*Association of Black Women Historians Statement*, July 28, 2015; *Huffington Post*, February 13, 2015). These women and young girl were victims, but were rendered voiceless and invisible as part of the Black Lives Matter campaign and within political discourse overall.

Over thirty years ago in her seminal work, *Sister Outsider* (1984), Audre Lorde clarified the reality for African American women and children in the American power structure as being “stitched with violence and with hatred” (119). She further argued that white feminists feared that their children would grow up and join the patriarchal society while African Ameri-

can women “fear our children will be dragged from a car and shot down in the street, and you will turn your backs upon the reasons they are dying” (119). How fortuitous that Lorde’s statement rings true in 2015 as African American men and women are the targets of violence while so many policymaking voices remain silent.

Although launched by three women, the Black Lives Matter campaign has conspicuously missed the names of the many women who have been killed or abused by the criminal justice system. Since the shooting death of Trayvon Martin in 2012 by George Zimmerman, several unarmed African American men have been killed by law enforcement. The names of the men and boys are well known. Following their deaths, there were numerous protests and marches with the chant of “Black Lives Matter.” And, indeed, they do. However, there have not been marches and protests for Michelle Cusseaux, Aiyana Jones, and Kathryn Johnston, African American women and a young girl, all killed by law enforcement.

Michelle Cusseaux suffered from depression, bipolar disorder, and schizophrenia and was shot by police officers in Phoenix, Arizona who claimed she charged at them with a hammer. The four officers had a court order to transport Cusseaux to an inpatient mental health facility (*Reuters*, 2014). Given the circumstances of her illness, a reasonable reaction of four police officers sent to assist a mentally ill woman should have been expected. Aiyana Jones was seven years old and slept with her grandmother on the sofa in her home when she was shot and killed by a Detroit Special Response Team police officer when they entered the wrong apartment. Kathryn Johnston was ninety two when police officers broke down her security gate, entered her home, shot and killed her based on false information. The officer in the Jones case was charged with involuntary manslaughter, but the case was dismissed following two mistrials. Three officers were charged related to the death and the subsequent cover up in Johnston’s case and served time in prison. The City of Atlanta also paid a settlement to her family (*Reuters*, August 15, 2014; *Huffington Post*, 2015).

Other cases involved Natasha McKenna and Sheneque Proctor. Both died while in police custody; McKenna from a stun gun shock in a Fairfax, Virginia jail and Proctor from an alleged drug overdose in a Bessemer City, Alabama jail (*Washington Post*, April 28, 2015; *Weld for Birmingham*, December 2, 2014). The lives of these and other African American women have gone virtually unnoticed, while mass mobilizations have occurred for Michael Brown, Tamir Rice and Eric Garner. The Black Lives Matter Campaign has been an important political and social movement designed to empower African American people to rebuild a liberation movement that validates black lives, especially to address issues of state violence. The inclusion of the abuse and deaths of African American women in the movement is a necessity for its continued success.

African American women are targeted by law enforcement on a regular basis, but it has been noted that they are “erased from our demonstrations, our discourse and our demands” (*Washington Post*, May 20, 2015). Activist Christa Noel founded Wom-

en’s All Points Bulletin as a means of protecting women against the violence of law enforcement when she found herself as a victim of that violence. This violence and crimes against women are suppressed while being systematically applied to African American women. “The demonization of women of color strips them of their innocence, casts them as “undeserving” of public sympathy and support, and labels them as the aggressors in policing encounters. Every assault on women of color showcases the expendable nature which police openly view their bodies” (Noel and Perlow, 2014, 14). This subjugation of African American women in the political system is woven into the very fabric of the body politic. Being erased from the Black Lives Matter Campaign is merely an extension of a significant historical exclusion and marginalization.

A HISTORICAL PERSPECTIVE OF INVISIBILITY

The invisibility of African American women in political discourse is not new. Although African American women have been in the vanguard of social and political struggles and movements in each historical period, the push to the periphery of social and political dialogue is rooted in the very history of American society. The dynamics and multiplicity of oppressions were long recognized and called for what they were by the sage Sojourner Truth in her 1851 speech “Ain’t I a Woman?” at the Akron, Ohio Women’s Convention. She had to own her abilities as a woman and as an activist fighting for her right to be heard among abolitionists wanting to end slavery and women wanting to vote. The voice of Sojourner Truth was critical to making African American women visible at a time when African American people as a group did not have a voice.

Sojourner Truth, Maria Stewart, Harriet Tubman, Frances Ellen Watkins Harper and others were advocates for freedom and justice in the abolitionist movement. Given the existence of slavery, the racist foundation of American society was well established. Bell Hooks points out that white women were part and parcel of the society that benefitted from the racist construct of a slave society. They not only supported and advocated the ideology, but were themselves oppressors (Hooks, 2000). During this era, fighting racism took precedence over sexism as the abolitionist movement and anti-slavery protest were the center of vocal opposition.

Objecting to their treatment at the 1840 World Anti-Slavery Convention in London, Elizabeth Cady Stanton and Lucretia Mott organized a convention in 1848 in Seneca Falls, New York. This meeting attracted two hundred women and is credited with being the start of the women’s rights movement in the United States. As women, Stanton and Mott had not been allowed to be on the convention floor at the anti-slavery convention and were compelled to organize a movement to demand equal rights for women. The Seneca Falls gathering was an important step in the women’s movement. It was one of the first organized efforts that delineated the issues and concerns of women for equal rights. Stanton drafted a Declaration of Sentiments and Grievances petitioning for the rights of women, notably the right to vote. However, omitted from the Declara-

tion was any mention of slavery or race, although it is argued that many of the ideas that led to Seneca Falls were spurred by abolitionism (Seneca Falls Convention, 1980, 124).

Attendance at the convention was revealing as well. There were white women and white men present and one prominent African American man, Frederick Douglass. Many of those present at the convention were veterans of the abolitionist movement and from wealthy backgrounds. There were no African American women, the most oppressed of all groups. The issues of non-white women, enslaved women, or working class women were not addressed by those at the convention. Feminist scholar Gerda Lerner emphasized that Stanton's Declaration of Sentiments addressed how mankind mistreated women; however, the document did not speak to exploitation and abuse of working or non-white women. On that subject, the document was silent and indifferent. The Seneca Falls movement had its origins in the life experiences and realities of the wealthy (Lerner, 1969, 13).

The invisibility of African American women continued with the passage of the Fifteenth Amendment. Here was an opportunity to provide all African Americans and women the right to vote after the abolition of slavery (13th Amendment) and the granting of citizenship (14th Amendment). However, the debate over the Fifteenth Amendment became race based and a line of demarcation was drawn between abolitionist allies over who should obtain the right to vote, women or African American men? Suffragists Susan B. Anthony and Elizabeth Cady Stanton refused to support passage of the 15th Amendment because it would elevate the "lowest orders of manhood" over "the highest classes of women" (DuBois 1987, 850). They ceased all rhetoric in support of African Americans and directed their attention to achieving the right to vote for women. The discussion over passage of the amendment was between African American men, white women, and white men. The group excluded and dismissed from this debate were African American women who found themselves, once again, on the outside of a dialogue that clearly impacted their lives. Writer, poet and abolitionist Frances Ellen Harper, however, noted that race took precedence over sex in the debate over the 15th Amendment. Sojourner Truth disagreed. Her reaction to the Fifteenth Amendment was as follows:

There is a great stir about colored men getting their rights, but not a word about the colored woman; and if colored men get their rights and not colored women theirs, you see the colored men will be masters over the women, and it will be just as bad as it was before...I am glad to see that men are getting their rights, but I want women to get theirs, and while the water is stirring I will step into the pool... (Lerner, 1973).

As the Constitution was initially framed in 1787, African American people were counted as three-fifths. With the passage of the Fifteenth Amendment with voting rights being given to African American men in 1870, African American women found themselves going from three-fifths to zero (Locke, 1990). This legislation served to reinforce the patriarchal foundation of

the American political system and ignite the flames of racism among white women suffragists. As Stanton and Mott had excluded African American women at Seneca Falls in 1848, Mott and Susan B. Anthony demonstrated only an interest in white women's suffrage in 1870.

As the United States was on the brink of the twentieth century, Anna Julia Cooper (1892) identified the exclusion and invisibility of African American women as the result of race and gender. Cooper was a political activist who was critical of both African American men and white women for their omission of African American women from respective movements. African American men were sexist while white women were racist. As she pointed out over a century ago, African American women were confronted by "both a woman question and a race problem" (134). Cooper felt that it was important for African American women to participate in social and political movements so that they would know when and how best to deliver their influence (143). She clearly wanted African American women out of the shadows of invisibility and the margins to take control of their lives and shape their future.

As a consequence of exclusion from mainstream American society, African American women organized their own suffrage groups and clubs. Women like Ida B. Wells Barnett were one of the first to establish an ideological direction of the organized movement of African American women. She was one of the first to openly disclose the habitual sexual abuse of African American women by white men. In her view, any organized movement of African American women must perforce be a defense of African American womanhood concomitant with the defense of the entire African American community. All African American people had to be protected from the oppression imposed by the growing development of Jim Crow laws in the aftermath of Reconstruction. Unlike white suffragists, the concerns of activists like Wells, Mary Church Terrell, Mary McLeod Bethune and others of the early twentieth century were not confined to their own particular sex or class, but to the entire African American community. Issues like lynching, suffrage, education, and improved health conditions impacted the entire community and were not just gender based. Jim Crow laws had eliminated men from the voter rolls and women had not yet obtained the right to vote. Lynchings were rampant and educational opportunities were lacking (Locke, 1984, 58). The struggle for visibility and to matter in the American political system pushed African American women into unprecedented, and often unappreciated, leadership roles.

In 1944, Howard University law student Pauli Murray and several of her classmates participated in a sit-in at Thompson's Cafeteria in Washington, D.C. That demonstration was a short term success because the cafeteria began to serve African Americans. However, the president of Howard feared retaliation from a Southern dominated Congress and ordered the students to cease any further activities. Without the added pressure of further demonstrations, the cafeteria reinstated its segregationist policies (Olson, 2001, 21). History has generally erased Murray's defiant actions and leadership with that of the other women

who joined her at that historic moment in time. The Greensboro sit-ins are those remembered as significant and important because they spurred similar actions across the South. However, there was a movement led by a woman decades before in the person and action of Pauli Murray. She would continue to challenge the status quo of patriarchy and racism in the civil rights and women's movements that were to follow.

The exclusion of African American women continued during the Civil Rights Movement. From Claudette Colvin to Fannie Lou Hamer, the many women activists of the movement may well become historical footnotes but for the efforts of African American feminists and scholars who keep their names alive. Faced with the dilemma of dichotomous oppression, racism and sexism, African American women had to determine how they could best organize themselves and distribute their energies among their various problems. They had to also pursue strategies which would reduce conflict among their many interest and goals (Locke, 65).

Clearly, the names of African American men are more well-known than that of African American women coming out of the civil rights movement, despite the fact that women were prominent community organizers and leaders. Many male leaders were unwilling to see women's problems as identical to their own and saw the position of women as secondary to that of men. In many ways African American women were exploited and viewed as "errand girls whose job it was to perform clerical duties. However, when it came time for the important speeches to be given, it was men who appeared at the podium. African American women found themselves constrained by demands that they step back and push African American men into positions of leadership. They were made to feel disloyal to racial interests if they insisted upon women's rights (Locke, 69).

Despite this, women were powerful leaders, organizers, strategists and foot soldiers. They were the primary fundraisers operating behind the scenes. But, men definitely had the edge, being in the public eye and being the negotiators with the power structure and the press. For women, making significant contributions to the cause was more important than receiving personal accolades (Olson, 125). But, there were well known women leaders like Rosa Parks, JoAnn Robinson, Fannie Lou Hamer, and Ella Baker. There were others, not so well known, whose defiance paved the way.

At age 15, Claudette Colvin was arrested for violating Montgomery, Alabama's bus segregation laws. She did so in March, 1955, nine months before Rosa Parks' famous stand. She was also a plaintiff in the lawsuit that ruled Montgomery's bus segregation laws unconstitutional. Colvin had to eventually leave the city and state after being labeled a troublemaker. When asked about her role she replied "our leaders is just we ourself" (Olson 127). Colvin's leadership in early 1955 paved the way for others who followed in the latter stages of the civil rights movement.

Not all women's voices were silenced during the movement.

The issue of the multiple jeopardies faced by African American women tended to surface as the struggle progressed. Pauli Murray expressed concern over the lack of African American women's presence and voices in the civil rights struggle, either as leaders or policymakers. She knew women were an integral part of the movement, but were not at all visible. She stated that African American women could not "postpone or subordinate the fight against discrimination because of sex to the civil rights struggle but must carry on both fights simultaneously. She must insist upon a partnership role in the integration movement..." (Olson, 287). Outraged at the omission of women from the program, Murray wrote to one of the organizers, A. Philip Randolph, stating that she had:

been increasingly perturbed over the blatant disparity between the major role which Negro women have played and are playing in the crucial grassroots levels of our struggle and the minor role of the leadership they have been assigned in the national policymaking decisions. The time has come to say quite candidly, Mr. Randolph, that 'tokenism' is as offensive when applied to women as when applied to Negroes (Azaransky, 62).

Despite Murray's plea, the most accomplished was a tribute to African American women, written by a man and delivered by civil rights activist Daisy Bates. Women's participatory roles were that of entertainment—Marian Anderson and Mahalia Jackson both sang.

Overlapping and following close on the heels of the civil rights movement was the gender based women's rights movement. African American women found themselves faced with the either/or dilemma of deciding between two oppressions, racism or sexism. Given their role in the labor market with earning less, there was also a class stratification issue. In the two major political and social movements of the 1960s and 1970s, they were clearly faced with "all the women are white and all the blacks are men" syndrome (Hull, Scott, Smith, 1982). African American women still found themselves defined as "other" and excluded from political discourse in the feminist movement.

African American women found it difficult to build bridges and form partnerships in movements where they were being marginalized and being openly discriminated against, whether on the basis of race or gender. Because they were invisible, their needs and rights were being ignored and dismissed. As in the early 20th century, African American women formed their own groups and organizations. The National Black Feminist Organization was formed in New York in 1973. Although the organization was short-lived, 1973-1976 (with some chapters lasting through 1980), it had over two thousand members and was successful in revealing the predicament of African American women across the United States. They were able to expose issues of low wages for domestic workers and sexual harassment in the workplace. Most importantly, it was the first national organization to tackle and expose the issues of racism and sexism within the civil rights and women's movements and their lack of inclusiveness (Mjagkij, 362).

African American feminist scholars began to address intersec-

tion of racism and sexism as well as the challenges of class for poor women. In her book *Ain't I a Woman* (1981), Bell Hooks states that in examining the “woman’s question” most discussions were inaccurate, biased or distorted. This is generally due to an assumption that African American women should be able to disconnect sex from race and race from sex. Hooks also clarified that although white women were victimized by sexism, they could assume the role of oppressor in their relationship to African American women. Further, when issues of race are discussed the focus tends to be on African American men and when sexism is discussed the focus shifts to white women. That erases African American women from the discussion. Thus, all the women are white and the blacks are men.

When reflecting on the various levels of oppression, whether race, sex, or class, it is difficult for African American women to separate the concurrent oppressions. Crenshaw (1989) developed the term intersectionality to explain and clarify the multiple levels of oppression experienced by African American women. She observed that African American women were regarded either as too much like women or African American men and the compounded nature of their experience were absorbed into the collective experiences of either group. On the other hand, African American women were viewed as too different, in which case their Blackness or femaleness sometimes placed their needs and perspectives at the margin of the feminist and Black liberationist agendas. Consequently, this resulted in a situation where they were defined as “other” and erased from those movements on any terms they may have set for themselves.

Patricia Hill Collins (1990) explains that the theory of intersectionality is central to black feminist thought. She points out that African American women do not have the ability to indulge in isolating one oppression from the other because of the intersecting nature of those oppressions and their implications for black women’s lives. It is not either/or, but both/and, plus more. African American women have a self-defined standpoint. As a result, their experiences create different realities, different levels of consciousness, and a different worldview from other groups.

In her book *Sister Citizen* (2011), Melissa Harris-Perry addresses the stereotypes and myths that have evolved about African American women. Not only have they had to contend with the many issues inherent in patriarchy and expectations of conformity, but have also had to overcome the assigned roles of oversexed Jezebels, Mammy maids, and strong Sapphires. This mythology “is a misrecognition of African American women which creates specific expectations for their behavior within the American polity” (21). Harris-Perry defines misrecognition as the narrow way in which African American women have been described, most especially through the myth of the strong black woman. This misrecognition of African American women, in Harris-Perry’s view, is intentional and leads to an unrealistic expectation of behavior. It boxes women into a corner, which allows negative labeling and categorization. Thus, African American women must contend with more than just their era-

sure from history or marginalization, or even the intersectionality of oppressions. They are faced with having to deal with the lack of societal recognition of race, gender and sexual identity, but this misrecognition as well.

Through focus group research, Harris Perry found that there are three pervasive myths that account for this misrecognition of African American women: sexual promiscuity, emasculating brashness, and Mammy like devotion to white domestic concerns. In the United States there is a long history twisting the racial and gender stereotypes that entangle African American men and implicate white women. This interconnecting mythology has serious political implications. These implications have long impacted the societal worldview of African American women and contributed significantly to their continued invisibility.

In striving to overcome invisibility and marginalization, African American women have battled the images of the matriarch, welfare queen with multiple children, sub human Amazons, and pancake box Aunt Jemimas who emasculate men. Angela Davis (2012) posits that African American women are held responsible for raising poverty stricken fatherless children whose boys are on a trajectory for the cradle to prison pipeline. Those African American women who are raising their children and building families are labeled as destroying the community. Even more destructive is the notion that African American women are the producers of violent African American men (32). Davis makes clear that this suppression of African American women cannot become the basis of saving African American men. As she observes, “victimization can no longer be permitted to function as a halo of innocence” (31). In 1965, in *The Negro Family: The Case for National Action*, Daniel Patrick Moynihan established the tangled pathology notion of the matriarchal structure of the African American family. As Davis argues, African American women cannot become the scapegoats for what ails the African American community yet again.

Emerging from the civil rights and women’s movements, African American feminists clarified that intersectionality is real and impactful in the lives of women. Through concentric circles, a Venn diagram depicts logical, overlapping relationships, or common elements of relationships. The intersectionality of race, gender and class overlap intricately, impacting the social, political, and economic lives of African American women. The Venn diagram of race, sex and class and the dynamics of those intersections across two centuries has pushed African American women to the margins and erected a wall of invisibility from political discourse. The time has come to change that dynamic.

SHIFTING THE PARADIGM FROM THE MATER’S TOOLS

Over thirty years ago, feminist and lesbian activist Audre Lorde was invited to speak at New York University’s Institute for the Humanities conference. Due to the absence of poor, lesbian, African American and Third World women, and her presence at the only panel requiring input from an African American feminist, Lorde raised this question: “what does it mean when

the tools of racist patriarchy are used to examine the fruits of the same patriarchy” (Lorde, 112-113)? For the women’s movement, this meant that very narrow change was possible, but not wholesale change because white feminists were using the same tools of the system in an attempt to change it. The tools that Lorde referenced were white feminists’ use of the same tactics of oppression which would not eliminate oppression. Tools also meant the patterns of exclusion and indifference that were inherent and systemic in a racist and patriarchal society that had to be exposed for what they were. In Lorde’s view, white feminists were using the very racist and patriarchal tools of exclusion they purported to challenge by ignoring the differences of women of color. She admonished white feminists because “systems of oppression cannot be challenged by woman’s participation in those same systems” (Rollo, 2011).

Lorde’s concern about white feminists ignoring difference led to her observation that “the master’s tools will never dismantle the master’s house... [it] will never enable it to bring about genuine change” (Lorde, 112). What she meant was that change could not be brought about by using the same flawed and narrowed methods that caused the oppression in the first place. That is, white feminists at the conference were not truly interested in change, but finding their place in the existing system, using the same ideologies, thoughts and strategies of patriarchy that ignored the differences of women of color. While white feminists sought means to climb the corporate ladder and break glass ceilings, many women of color still found themselves stuck on sticky floors. Using the master’s tools, that is the tools of the dominant culture, kept the focus on the patriarchal structure and concerns of the master, while ignoring the exploitation of women of color and the causes of that exploitation. As a result, women of color would remain marginalized from a system that chose not to be inclusive. If change was to occur, the differences among women had to be welcomed, embraced, and addressed.

Any attempt to change the American political system with the very tools used for oppression is not likely to exact change. As the marginalized outsiders, African American women’s voices are needed to eradicate the mark of invisibility. A paradigm shift from the master’s tools is needed to bring about real change. In his seminal work, *The Structure of Scientific Revolutions* (1970), Thomas Kuhn defines a paradigm shift as a change in thinking that is often motivated by change agents who help to create the shift. He argued that scientific advancement is not evolutionary, but caused by a world in which there are peaceful interludes interspersed with intellectually violent revolutions. It is a result of those revolutions that conceptual world views are replaced by new world views, thus, causing a paradigm shift. If African American women are to cease being invisible and marginal in the American political system, then they are to be the change agents creating new tools to shift the paradigm and deconstruct the negative impacts of patriarchy that sustains institutionalized and systemic sexism, racism and classism on their lives. The new tools are empowerment, collective strength, and capabilities to be used against the power structure.

When the Black Lives Matter Campaign began, it was in response to a real problem—African American men and boys being the victims of law enforcement and state violence. Unfortunately, the violence being perpetrated in African American communities across the country is seen as an African American men’s issue. In the process, African American women are ignored although they are the ineffable story in this movement. If the gendering of police violence is seen as a social problem that focuses only on African American men, then that means a large constituency group in the American political system does not exist for policymakers. It means that programs like President Barack Obama’s My Brother’s Keeper are missing key constituents affected by the violence spreading across African American communities. The pressure for justice is imbalanced because it has not focused on the lives of African American women who have also died and been abused at the hands of law enforcement.

My Brother’s Keeper was introduced to focus on opportunities for men and boys of color having evolved out of their murders across the country. While one applauds the purpose of the program and its concern for developing programs addressing disparities in education, employment and the inherent biases present in the criminal justice system, it is imperative to note that African American women do not live in a vacuum. African American women experience the same racism and are victimized and exploited by the same political, social and economic system. They have had to survive both racial and sexual violence and are victimized by class oppression. However, there are few and sporadic movements, marches, or programs organized around their victimization. Hence, the politics of domination and oppression continues unabated with a partial agenda. The Black Lives Matter Campaign is a partial construct, a partial paradigm shift in the tool box for justice.

The assumption that African American women and girls are somehow doing well must be challenged. The cradle to prison pipeline is as scary a proposition for African American girls as it is for boys. This begins with the race based punishments that African American girls face in school, a characteristic shared with African American boys. In a study of New York City and Boston, Crenshaw (2015) found that African American girls statistically have a greater chance of suspension and expulsion when compared to other students of the same gender. This in turn results in higher prison rates for African American women, which is three times the rate of white women. This ultimately establishes a negative pattern and direction that contributes to the continued marginalized status of African American girls and women.

Despite the fact that they have been contributors to the labor force, literally, since slavery, African American women have been left behind in the American economy. As the economy recovers from the 2008 recession, the recovery for African American women has not improved as quickly as it has for other groups. In February 2015, the unemployment rate fell to its lowest rate in the nation to 5.5% overall and to 4.2% for white women. However, for African American women, that

rate is 8.9%, double that of white women. By 2010, African American women's job losses accounted for 42% of all jobs lost by women, although they are only 12% of all women workers. They also lost more jobs (258,000 to 233,000) at the onset of the recovery than during the entirety of the recession (*Black Women in the United States* [BWUS] 2015, 2).

African American women are a significant part of labor force participation; in fact, they consistently lead all women in labor force participation. However, they find themselves not shattering glass ceilings, but clinging to the sticky floors. They are challenged by high unemployment and higher levels of unequal pay. Where white women earn seventy seven cents on the dollar to white men, African American women earn only sixty eight cents. They are the working poor, trapped in poverty and overly represented in low wage jobs (BWUS, 2014, 21-23). This has far reaching consequences in that it leads to African American women having both a wage and wealth gap that is shaped by both their race and their gender. Needless to say, this creates vulnerability during retirement. As the data from the BWUS study show, African American women's wages are depressed across every level of education throughout their life cycle (27). Although education is the great equalizer in American society, this has not translated to equal pay. As a high school graduate, African American women earn over \$2000 less than white men who drop out of school with a 9th grade education. African American women earn less than men at every educational level and the disparity increases as educational level increases. They have the lowest level earnings across the board (BWUS, 4-5). The poverty rate for African American women is more than double that of white women (25.1% to 10.3%) and Asian women (11.5%) and slightly more (24.8%) than Latina women (BWUS, 7). This is but one aspect of the systemic tool that has marginalized and erased African American women from political discourse.

Exposure to violence and the criminal justice system is equally as compelling for African American women and girls as for men and boys. The minimization of their lives began in slavery as they were raped and impregnated by white owners who would then sell those children at will. African American women are more likely to be beaten, raped or murdered than any other woman in America. The intersectionality of race, class and gender put them in the position of facing lifelong threats that place them in the path of law enforcement and a political system to which they do not matter.

Andrea Ritchie released the report *Say Her Name: Resisting Police Brutality Against Black Women* to bring attention to the number of African American women being brutalized by police. She argues that it is important to take a gender inclusive approach to racial justice when addressing black lives. "Neither the killings of Black women, nor the lack of accountability for them, have been widely lifted up as exemplars of the systemic police brutality that is currently the focal point of mass protest and policy reform" (2015, 1). Clearly, there is a need for a paradigm shift and a new world view that pulls African American women from the periphery to visibility. Kimberlé Crenshaw

(2015) points out that intersectionality provides a clear way of thinking about identity and its relationship to power. African American women and other invisible groups are able to use intersectionality as a means of advocating for their inclusion, visibility, and empowerment.

As the Black Lives Matter Campaign moves forward, it must do so on an inclusive basis. It is no longer acceptable for African American men and women to operate at cross purposes. Nor can policymakers continue to not see African American women. Although Audre Lorde was referencing the lack of inclusion of African American women at the feminist conference, she more specifically chastised white feminists because they chose not to recognize difference. In the context of Black Lives Matter, African American women's difference by virtue of gender is clearly at issue. It is gender difference being ignored and marginalized. At the 1988 Women and the Constitution: A Bicentennial Perspective Conference, Congresswoman Barbara Jordan put it succinctly: "Life too great—to hang out a sign—For Men Only" (February 11, 1988).

Lorde astutely noted that it is a tool of all oppressors to ensure that the oppressed are focused on the concerns of the master and that the master utilized that tool to divide and conquer (112). African American men and women in recognizing that all lives matter and are equally important must accept what Lorde recommended then; that is, to move from divide and conquer to define and empower. As in all other periods of history, African American women must engage in a struggle to end racial and gender inequality, fighting against the interlocking oppressions that lead to invisibility, shifting the paradigm from the master's tools to crafting their own.

Alicia Garza, Patrisse Cullors and Opal Tometi began a movement to draw attention to the destruction of African American lives at the hands of law enforcement as a consequence of implicit bias, procedural justice and racism. Black Lives Matter was launched to bring attention to this travesty of injustice in the political system. They note that African American women have been at the forefront of freedom movements without being credited for their leadership roles. As has been shown, this is not new. Irrespective of multiple oppressions and repression by the political system, African American women's leadership and voices will continue to lead, organize, strategize, and be on the front lines of shifting the paradigm to ensure their inclusion in political discourse and policymaking.

African American women are an important factor in the Black Lives Matter campaign as founding members, leading voices, key strategists, and boots on the ground in communities across America. Their inclusion broadens the discussion and the focus of the movement as it did for both the civil rights and women's rights movements. Barbara Beese and Mala Dhondy eloquently articulated the role of African American women some forty years ago when they stated: "As black women in our own collective we have no choice to make between the two movements; we are products of both and not in opposition to either. Our existence poses no division in the class. It poses instead

the potential for a linkage to its power” (James, 8). Crenshaw (2015) posits that intersectional work necessitates collective action to tackle the inequalities facing women of color in the American political and social system. “Intersectionality alone cannot bring invisible bodies into view...we continue...calling for holistic and inclusive approaches to racial justice” (*Washington Post*, September 24, 2015). This is the way forward for black lives matter and racial and gender equality.

African American women are the linkage to power as a consequence of their intersectionality which lays the foundation for shifting the paradigm and establishing a new world view. The struggle that began with Sojourner Truth asserting herself as a woman continues in the 21st century in a fight for recognition with new tools; tools that recognize African American women’s humanity; tools that seek to achieve gender, class and racial equality. Through the collective efforts of men and women and the politics of inclusion, African American women will no longer be invisible from political discourse. As a collective, the tools of their cause become a hammer to knock down the wall of systemic and institutional racism, sexism and classism. Then and only then will all black lives matter.

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Duppies, Rum, and Digging in the Caribbean: My Archaeological Journey

Remarks upon Receiving the Virginia Social Science Association 2015 Scholar Award

FRED SMITH

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RECIPIENT FRED SMITH is an Associate Professor in the Department of Anthropology at the College of William & Mary.

In the summer of 1996 I went to Barbados to prepare a historical archaeological field school in Bridgetown with my students and colleagues at the University of the West Indies, Cave Hill. On the morning of Saturday, July 13, I got a phone call that construction workers in a part of the city known as the Pierhead had unearthed skeletal remains while preparing a site for the expansion of a local shopping mall. The skeletal remains turned out to be human, and further investigation revealed more burials at the site. We spent the day surveying this unmarked and forgotten cemetery, and recording information about the site. Based on the absence of grave markers, the cemetery's location on the periphery of the town, and the presence of a mid-eighteenth century white kaolin clay tobacco pipe, which had been placed in the crook of the right arm of one the deceased, we determined that the graveyard was the final resting place of Bridgetown's slave population.

Throughout the day, construction workers and residents from the nearby neighborhoods monitored our excavation and pondered our work. Some mentioned the ghosts of those buried at the site and the restlessness of *duppies*, the mischievous, and sometimes malicious, spirits of the dead. At the end of the day, we removed the skeleton with the tobacco pipe and began packaging it for proper storage at the University of the West Indies. About that time, someone in the crowd shouted that we needed to pour libations to those buried at the site, and within minutes a bottle of rum was produced for that purpose. The rum was poured on the ground and the pouring was punctuated by requests that the *duppies* "rest in peace" and "leave us alone."

This event was a major turning point in my academic career. Since 1991, I had conducted fieldwork in different parts of the Caribbean and during these visits had the opportunity to observe the central place of rum and other forms of alcohol in Caribbean society. In 1994, as a graduate student at the University of Florida, I was interested enough in the subject to write a short paper on the social history of Caribbean rum for a Caribbean history course. During the excavations at the Pierhead cemetery in Bridgetown, however, I was an actual participant in an event that embodied and expressed centuries of alcohol-related traditions in the Caribbean, which inspired me to pursue further study.

My work has explored the role of alcohol in the Caribbean from the sixteenth century to the present. Drawing on materials from Africa, Europe, and throughout the Americas, I have tried to contribute to the growing field of Atlantic studies and break new ground in using an interdisciplinary approach that incorporates documentary, archaeological, and ethnographic evidence. I investigate the economic impact of Caribbean rum on multiple scales, including rum's contribution to sugar plantation revenues, its role in bolstering colonial and post-colonial economies, and its impact on Atlantic trade. A number of political-economic trends determined the volume and value of rum exports from the Caribbean, especially war, competition from other alcohol industries, slavery and slave emancipation, temperance movements, and globalization.

My work also examines the social and sacred uses of rum and identifies the forces that shaped alcohol drinking in the Caribbean. While the enormous amounts of rum available in the Caribbean contributed to a climate of excessive drinking, levels of alcohol consumption varied among different social groups. The different drinking patterns reflect more than simply access to rum. For example, levels of drinking and drunken comportment conveyed messages about the underlying tensions that existed in the Caribbean, which were driven by the coercive exploitation of labor and set within a highly contentious social hierarchy based on class, race, gender, religion, and ethnic identity. Moreover, these tensions were often magnified by epidemic disease, poor living conditions, natural disasters, international conflicts, and unstable food supplies. While nearly everyone in the Caribbean drank, the differing levels of alcohol use by various social groups highlights the ways in which drinking became a means to confront anxiety.

As an interdisciplinary scholar, my work has been geared toward multiple audiences, especially social and economic historians of the Atlantic world, as well as historical anthropologists interested in colonialism, culture contact, the African Diaspora, slavery, and plantation life. In addition, I've tried to contribute to the growing field of alcohol studies.

I am a strong believer in giving back to the Barbadian community that has helped me so much over the years. Since 2003, I have brought university students from the United States to conduct historical archaeological research at urban domestic and

rural plantation sites in Barbados. The students learn archaeological field methods and work side-by-side with Barbadian students and scholars who are dedicated to the protection, preservation, and celebration of Barbadian heritage. Between 2003 and 2005, I ran the program through Western Michigan University where I served as assistant professor of anthropology. In 2005, I took a new position as assistant (and now associate) professor of anthropology at the College of William and Mary and re-established the program as a study abroad program under the auspices of the Reves Center for International Studies. In 2006, I brought the first group of William and Mary undergraduate and graduate students to Barbados. For six weeks, the students and I worked with local Barbadian scholars and volunteers to conduct archaeological investigations at the George Washington House in the Garrison district of St. Michael Parish. George Washington House was the residence of the young 19-year old George Washington for two months in 1751. This was Washington's only travel during his life outside the thirteen continental colonies and later the United States. George Washington House is a high profile heritage tourism site and museum that opened to the public in January of 2007. Since opening to the public, the George Washington House site has begun to generate sizeable revenues from tourist dollars and expand opportunities for economic development in Barbados. The archaeological work we conducted in the summer of 2006 has contributed to the interpretation of the site and the celebration of George Washington's visit to Barbados. In particular, many of the artifacts we recovered during our investigation are now on display in an archaeological exhibit at the site. Our research in 2006 was showcased in the public media several times, including an article in the *Nation*, one of the two leading newspapers in Barbados. We also received recognition from numerous visiting dignitaries from Barbados and abroad, including representatives from the Barbados Tourism Authority and Mary Kramer, the US Ambassador to Barbados.

In 2007, the William and Mary students who participated in the Barbados Program continued the tradition of conducting archaeological investigations at high-profile tourist sites on the island. We devoted six weeks to conducting archaeological research at St. Nicholas Abbey. Built in 1658, St. Nicholas Abbey is the oldest standing structure in Barbados and it was one of the first sugar plantations established in Barbados. It is one of three Jacobean-period homes in the western hemisphere (the other two are Drax Hall Great House in St. George, Barbados and Bacon's Castle in Surry County, Virginia). Sugar was the key to Barbados' economic success in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, and sugar production made Barbados "The brightest jewel in the English Crown" during that period. Sugar production continues in Barbados today, and the sugar industry is still revered within Barbadian society. St. Nicholas Abbey, therefore, represents the power of the emerging capitalist system in the Atlantic World in the seventeenth century and holds a near legendary status in Barbados today. St. Nicholas Abbey has recently been restored to its seventeenth-century grandeur by Larry Warren, a Barbadian architect and the owner of St. Nicholas Abbey. Warren was interested in using archaeological evidence to help him in the restoration, reconstruction, and interpretation of this prominent historical landmark. The site was recently open to the public as a major heritage destination

in Barbados. It attracts Barbadian school children and foreign tourists interested in learning about and celebrating Barbados' rich heritage of sugar production. The Barbados Program was warmly welcome by the Warren family and our efforts were showcased on *CBC News*, a program of the Barbadian television network. We were also featured in a documentary the tribulations of Irish indentured servants in early Barbados. We have continued archaeological investigations at St. Nicholas Abbey.

In recent years, we have investigated new areas on the property, including a "slave house" in the nearby village of Moore Hill. We conducted archaeological investigations at two outbuildings between the plantation Great House and the sugar factory that was once home to a plantation manager and his family. In 2014, we investigated a field named Crab Hill, where we discovered the estate's slave village. That work is beginning to shed light on the transition from slavery to emancipation in nineteenth century Barbados. The work on Crab Hill is shedding light on the lives of enslaved peoples in Barbados and complements the excavations I conducted at Mapps Cave. The Cave was a cavern and sinkhole complex used by enslaved peoples as a type of tavern and underground sanctuary where enslaved peoples could drink and maintain Old World Traditions. In addition, my students and I have conducted archaeological work at the Synagogue in Bridgetown (the second oldest synagogue site in the western hemisphere), as well as other areas of the city, looking for insights into early colonial life.

I would like to sincerely thank the Virginia Social Sciences Association for recognizing my anthropological and archaeological work in Barbados.

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