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Articles

Cover Art: "Flight of the Bumblebee"

Alexander Li*

Bumblebees and other pollinators play a vital role in the ecosystem. This particular bumblebee was photographed flying away from a California poppy with a healthy orange pollen sac. The motion of the wings shows the flexibility of the wings and highlights the effect of the rolling camera shutter.

Medium: *Digital photography, iPhone 11.*

Alexander Li (ali5@uoregon.edu) was a human physiology and anatomy and political science major and history minor. He graduated UO in June 2022 with political science departmental honors. He is pursuing a Master of International Affairs at the UCSD School of Global Policy and Strategy.

Letter from the Editors

Kyla Schmitt* and Jay Taylor**

Welcome to Volume 21, Issue 1 of the Oregon Undergraduate Research Journal (OURJ)! As always, we are thrilled to share the enclosed works of art, scholarship, and research that authors and editors alike have worked hard to hone and bring to publication. This winter, we are also delighted to report the progress that OURJ has made as an academic journal and as a student-run campus entity.

Since Fall 2022, the Oregon Undergraduate Research Journal has undergone a number of transformative changes both as a publication and as an organization. We have modernized the look, feel, and content of our publication while expanding our presence on campus as representatives for undergraduate research. As co-editors-in-chief, we have taken advantage of our new dual leadership structure to specialize in our respective domains—Kyla Schmitt in publications, Jay Taylor in outreach—to grow the journal multidimensionally over the past two terms.

Publications, for one, have a new look: we have made the long-overdue commitment to modernizing the format of OURJ issues, embracing a more contemporary journalistic style, adopting a dual-column layout, and integrating the UO's official marketing font set, among other, more subtle, changes. We have also transformed the editorial process, resulting in quicker turnaround times for publications, straightforward but thoughtful engagement with manuscript edits for both authors and editors, and streamlined rounds of copy-editing.

Additionally, OURJ is proud to have grown its on-campus presence, participating in resource fairs and other on-campus events, offering weekly open-access office hours with both editors-in-chief, and collaborating with other closely aligned on-campus research institutions. In tandem with Affiliated Students for Undergraduate Research and Engagement, the Center for Undergraduate Research and Engagement, and the Undergraduate Research Symposium, we can support undergraduate researchers as they develop and grow into fledging academics. The Undergraduate Research Symposium in May presents an exciting opportunity for students to showcase their research; we hope to make that research as accessible as possible via undergraduate publishing.

Of course, none of this could have been possible without the editors-in-chief and staffers who came before us, laying a firm groundwork from which to further build out the journal. We would like to take a moment to recognize their efforts, and another to recognize those of our current editorial staff, who always have a helpful suggestion or insight to posit as OURJ continues to evolve. We are grateful further for the support of UO faculty in helping us to secure continued funding for editors and for projects. Finally, we are grateful to you, the reader, for supporting undergraduate research publication. We are proud to have your readership and to introduce to you the Winter 2023 issue of OURJ!

*Kyla Schmitt is a second-year Clark Honors College student majoring in environmental science and humanities and minoring in English and economics. In addition to working with OURJ, Kyla is also a peer mentor with Affiliated Students for Undergraduate Research and Engagement (ASURE), treasurer of the UO Society for Ecological Restoration, and member of the Ocean and Ice Lab. Beyond the UO, Kyla conducts ecological research on crayfish and their habitats and head-coaches two secondary-school speech and debate teams. Outside of work, Kyla loves hiking and exploring, taking and editing photographs, curating dozens of Spotify playlists, and collecting houseplants.

**Jay Taylor is a senior at UO majoring in linguistics and computer science. They have served as the Financial Coordinator for the University of Oregon LGBTQA3 office and co-president of the UO Model United Nations club and now help lead the Board and Card Gamer's Association for Maximum Nerdery (BACGAMN). Jay discovered a strong interest in research when they presented on the topic of mental health in South Korea at the 2020 Oregon Undergraduate Research Symposium. Currently, their research examines Autism in a new, non-clinical context. They are passionate about learning new languages and teaching, and they hope to make the world a better place through education for all ages and individuals, regardless of background. In their downtime, they enjoy video games, hiking, and playing board games with friends.

Art Feature: "Precipice of Discovery"

Carmen Theresa Sanchez-Reddick*

Aboard the R/V Atlantis, ALVIN awaits deployment with one pilot and two scientists within its hull excited for the unknowns they may encounter on the sea floor. ALVIN, a human-occupied submersible owned by the U.S. Navy and operated by the Woods Hole Oceanographic Institution, represents the leading edge of exploration. This is exemplified by its use in the discovery of the Titanic's location and deep-sea hydrothermal vents, key habitats in an environment without light. Our understanding of the deep sea and its inhabitants remains limited, especially compared to more accessible marine communities. Fortunately, there are marine biologists, including those at the University of Oregon, dedicated to exploring and advancing our knowledge about the deep sea. The Young Lab at the Oregon Institute of Marine Biology, the UO's satellite campus in Coos Bay, Oregon, is dedicated to bringing undergraduates on research cruises that use ALVIN and other deep sea exploration vehicles to participate in multi-institutional, multi-disciplinary research. Undergraduate research allows students the opportunity to gain invaluable skills in bench work, scientific writing, networking, and field-specific methodologies, but it can also instill wonder. Working at sea with leading scientists, I have realized that there is so much we don't know and that there are so many questions left to be answered by the next generation of researchers. By conducting research as undergraduates, we are developing our skills and curiosity to be trailblazers in our respective fields at the precipice of discovery, just like ALVIN has been for the last 58 years.

Medium: *Digital photography, Canon EOS 5D Mark III, Canon Zoom EF 20-70mm lens.*
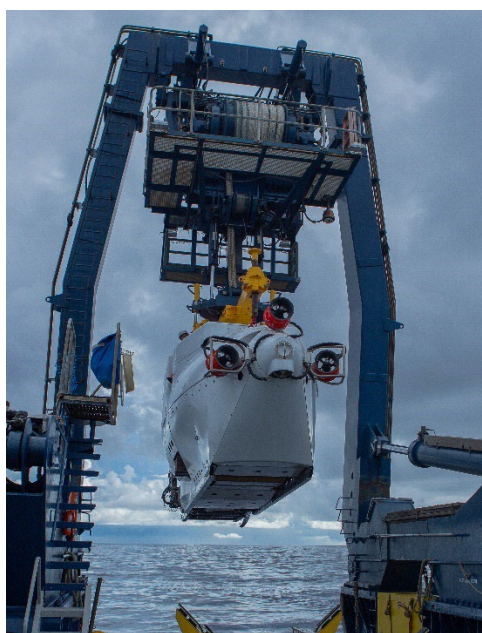
Carmen Theresa Sanchez-Reddick is a fifth-year student in the Clark Honors College majoring in marine biology with minors in chemistry and science communication. Currently, she is working in the Young Lab at the Oregon Institute of Marine Biology as a research assistant, the Sutherland Lab in the Institute of Ecology and Evolution as a science communication intern, and in the School of Journalism and Communication as a Science and Memory Fellow. Her thesis work has earned her honors in marine biology and the College of Arts and Science Dean's Poster Award in Natural Sciences at the Undergraduate Research Symposium.

Journal Editorial: "Undergraduate Research—Catalyzing Learning and Lifelong Success"

Trond Jacobsen*

Since the emergence of colleges and universities in the late medieval period, their primary mission has been teaching and learning. Scholars organized in faculties were paid fees by affluent families to educate their adult children in what we would recognize today as the liberal arts: rhetoric, philosophy, math, astronomy, theology, and law. University-based research—the empirical investigation of the natural and social worlds—first arose over the 19th century with the emergence of distinct scientific fields (e.g., biology, physics, geology) and, late in that century, the social sciences (e.g., sociology, political science, and anthropology).

The role of university research finds its apogee in the American system of research universities expanding after WWII, informed by the lessons of that war regarding the need to organize and fund research at a much larger scale. While there are obvious exceptions such as Cambridge, Tsinghua, and ETH Zurich, most of the world's top research universities are found in the United States, and no country has such a large system of research universities serving a mass population.

This unique accomplishment—one of America's greatest—affords tens of thousands of undergraduate students the opportunity to enrich their traditional university experience—teaching and learning—with the invaluable experience of research. The Association of American Colleges and Universities identifies undergraduate research as one of the most powerful "high-impact" learning practices associated with superior educational, professional, and life outcomes.[1] Students able to take advantage of the opportunity to conduct research benefit from a transformative experience, one catalyzing their intellectual and professional development, opening new opportunities, producing more informed and engaged citizens, and helping institutions better realize their missions.

A wide range of studies and reports demonstrate that hands-on research catalyzes students' intellectual development. One National Science Foundation study of nearly 7000 undergraduates in the STEM and SBES (social, behavioral, or economic sciences) fields found that undergraduate research opportunities improved student academic performance, increased interest in graduate school and, more generally, increased self-confidence and self-awareness while affording a deeper understanding of the research process. These outcomes were particularly strong for traditionally underserved student populations, significantly increasing retention when research opportunities were available early. Overall, positive outcomes were strongest when undergraduates were full participants in research, either independently or as part of a larger group. The specific catalyst seems to be exposure to the culture of research across the planning, implementation, and analysis stages of research; the benefits of informal mentoring and tacit knowledge; and participation in publication or conferences.[2] Another study reports that participation in scientific research improves undergraduates' understanding of the scientific method generally, the

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1. Kuh, G.D. (2008). High-impact educational practices: What they are, who has access to them, and why they matter. AAC&U, Washington, D.C.
2. Susan H. Russell, S.H., Hancock, M.P., & Mccullough, J. (2007). Benefits of undergraduate research experiences. Science, 316(5824), pp. 548–549

*Trond Jacobsen is the Director of Forensics and an Instructor of Information Science at the UO. His prior professional experiences in college forensics, political campaigns, and as a law librarian reveal an abiding interest in how scholarly knowledge is produced, disseminated, preserved, and used - particularly in argumentative or adversarial contexts. He studies these processes in specialized contexts such as legal proceedings, scholarly communications networks, laboratories, political campaigns, cultural heritage institutions, and debate competitions. Jacobsen's dissertation "The Identity of Evidence: Documentary Evidence in the Federal Acknowledgement Process" analyzes how petitioning tribes mobilize records, and how federal officials interpret those records as documentary evidence in an administrative proceeding used to determine whether the petitioners merit tribal status under federal law.

design of research projects, the inevitability of tradeoffs and limitations, sharpened skills in data analysis and interpretation, and more effective oral communication. That study also found non-academic advantages such as greater tolerance of obstacles and appreciation for the importance of evidence and proof.[3]

Participation in research has also been found to enhance career-readiness and awareness of the range of post-graduation opportunities available to undergraduate students: student researchers are more aware of the range of opportunities and better positioned to pursue them, whether at research universities through graduate programs or cutting-edge private sector institutions. I recall as a freshman joining the debate team our collective research the day the new topic came out. About a dozen friends would get rolls of quarters from the bank for the photocopy machines in the basement of the Knight Library. At that time nearly the most recent one to two years all the academic journals to which the UO subscribed were kept in stacks in the basement: "current periodicals" (back issues were in the main stacks). Thousands of journals were on display with the most recent preceding issues stacked behind the most recent. My teammates and I would scour up and down the current periodical stacks scanning each issue for articles with any plausible connection to the topic. I became familiar on a first name basis with a couple hundred leading journals in all areas – sociology, political science, cultural theory, Marxism, history, communication studies, natural sciences. I learned about the enormous universe of scholarship and developed the capacity to link streams of research across journals within fields and across fields, organized under the Library of Congress Classification system. No single course or even collection of courses came close to exposing me in a systematic and informative way about the world of scholarship and the foundational principles on which it was organized.

Those undergraduate research experiences gave me the awareness and ability to effectively and efficiently research any academic or social or political or economic topic under the sun. I learned how to use and navigate government documents – from congressional hearings and report to the specialized information products of executive agencies. I learned how to research law reviews and case law. I learned how to find contact information for government agencies and how to place information requests, including hundreds of successful Freedom of Information Act requests. These experiences, honed over several years as a successful debater, prepared me to work as a freelance researcher and an opposition research specialist in the political arena. I learned that the world was knowable and that I could come to know it. And I learned how to send a constant stream of articles to my teammates staffing the copy machines, to obtain the articles for processing for use as arguments in future debate tournaments.

My scouring of these databases also resulted in an article, which I published as an undergraduate in Covert Action Quarterly, a journal started in the 1970s by former CIA agents dedicated to documenting the impact of American intelligence services on the world. Shortly thereafter, I used my FOIA skills to obtain classified defense department documents about the then-emerging "National Information Infrastructure" in the transition from the Bush to the Clinton administrations, demonstrating the consistency in vision and investment across the two administrations: the public should subsidize the research and development required to build out the nascent internet, but do so in a way that would permit private corporations to reap all the benefits of development while also perfecting the C4I (command, control, communications, computers, and intelligence) required to maintain US military and intelligence hegemony over a volatile world in the early post-Cold War years.

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3. Lopatto, D. (2007). Undergraduate research experiences support science career decisions and active learning. CBE Life Sci Educ., 6(4): 297–306.

I learned a great deal in my courses at Oregon, especially in the Sociology Department, where I earned my degree. But no courses, not even all my courses take together, came close the education that I acquired, applied, and continue to use from my exposure structure of the wide world academic scholarships and my own undergraduate research those experiences produced.

Modern societies, with their complex systems and technologies, benefit immensely when more citizens have experience and competence in analyzing matters of great natural, social, and economic importance—the enduring and transferrable abilities conferred by participation in rich research experiences. These graduates are less susceptible to manipulation and more likely to embrace their responsibilities. As citizens, they are better able to contribute as informed citizens in democratic governance and influence ongoing socio-technical change.

Those institutions prioritizing undergraduate research opportunities benefit as much as their students. Modern research universities embrace a twin mission of teaching/learning and research. Undergraduate participation in research helps these institutions achieve both missions, often improving the quality and extent of the research occurring on their campuses. Reasons for this effect include that strong undergraduate research opportunities help recruit and retain excellent students, providing richer opportunities for faculty engagement, teaching and mentorship, and the creation of a vibrant intellectual culture across the campus.

Undergraduate research is not without challenges, including greater demands on resources, both personnel and budgetary. But those investments and commitments are clearly worth their costs. The strong role of undergraduate research at the University of Oregon and other R1 research-intensive colleges and universities provides enormous benefits to those students and the faculty and graduate students with whom they work and interact. Those opportunities draw high-performing students to the university and graduate better-prepared scholars, citizens, and leaders. Undergraduate research opportunities help institutions like the University of Oregon—and undergraduates like myself, once—fulfill their missions to serve the communities of which they are a part.

Art Feature: "Clouds over California"

Alexander Li*

I took this picture flying out of Los Angeles. As the plane climbed, watching the different clouds roll over the hills and against the blue sky was inspiring. Seeing the clouds cast shadow across each other from a high angle was a wonderful sight.

Medium: *Digital photography, iPhone 11.*

Alexander Li (ali5@uoregon.edu) was a human physiology and anatomy and political science major and history minor. He graduated UO in June 2022 with political science departmental honors. He is pursuing a Master of International Affairs at the UCSD School of Global Policy and Strategy.

Meet the Editorial Board

Kyla Schmitt, Editor-in-Chief – Publications

Kyla Schmitt is a second-year Clark Honors College student majoring in environmental science and humanities and minoring in English and economics. In addition to working with OURJ, Kyla is also a peer mentor with Affiliated Students for Undergraduate Research and Engagement (ASURE), treasurer of the UO Society for Ecological Restoration, and member of the Ocean and Ice Lab. Beyond the UO, Kyla conducts ecological research on crayfish and their habitats and head-coaches two secondary-school speech and debate teams. Outside of work, Kyla loves hiking and exploring, taking and editing photographs, curating dozens of Spotify playlists, and collecting houseplants.

Jay Taylor, Editor-in-Chief – Outreach

Jay Taylor is a senior at UO majoring in linguistics and computer science. They have served as the Financial Coordinator for the University of Oregon LGBTQA3 office and co-president of the UO Model United Nations club and now help lead the Board and Card Gamer's Association for Maximum Nerdery (BACGAMN). Jay discovered a strong interest in research when they presented on the topic of mental health in South Korea at the 2020 Oregon Undergraduate Research Symposium. Currently, their research examines autism in a new, non-clinical context. They are passionate about learning new languages and teaching, and they hope to make the world a better place through education for all ages and individuals, regardless of background. In their downtime, they enjoy video games, hiking, and playing board games with friends.

Sarah Beaudoin, Senior Editor

Sarah Beaudoin is currently in her senior year in the Clark Honors College, majoring in chemistry and also studying biology and science communication. Outside of classes, she lives in a sustainability-based and multigenerational co-op, volunteers for campus organizations such as the Climate Justice League and in the larger community of Eugene, and does research in the Boettcher Lab. In the lab, Sarah conducts electrochemical and physical chemistry experiments to better understand water electrolysis with the hopes of producing hydrogen fuel to mitigate the need for fossil fuels. Sarah is originally from rural Enterprise, Oregon, and enjoys biking, gardening, sewing, backpacking, and ceramics in her free time.

Alexander Aghdaei, Editor

Alexander Aghdaei is a freshman at the University of Oregon majoring in data science and political science. Much of his academic and career interests have revolved around his past involvement in local and statewide campaigns and work as a communications analyst for Stand for Children. His research interests revolve around the application of statistical methods with an emphasis on comparative history and international relations, including a recent focus on applying natural language processing. Outside of academics, Alexander is an avid ultrarunner/mountaineer, amateur game developer, and proud dog dad of a miniature Australian shepherd named Sofie.

Teagan Furbish, Editor

Teagan Furbish is a Clark Honors College senior majoring in Biochemistry and specializing in plant molecular biology. Passionate about discovery in and preservation of our ecosystems, Teagan has worked on research projects spanning from landscape ecology to electrochemistry. Currently, she is working to engineer proteins for artificial gene expression in chloroplasts. With a deep interest in science communication, she hopes to use oral and graphical means to relay the findings of complicated studies to people of all academic specializations. Toward this end, she helped to found the "Climate Justice Network" podcast at UO. Extracurricularly, Teagan leads rock-climbing education trips for women, competes as a part of the UO climbing team, and teaches yoga. In her free time, Teagan loves to read, embroider, slackline, swim, and explore the outdoors.

Rowan Glass, Editor

Rowan Glass is a senior transfer student majoring in cultural anthropology and minoring in Latin American studies and history. A combination of lifelong wanderlust and academic research commitments have taken Rowan far afield across Latin America and the former Soviet Union. Aside from editing with OURJ, Rowan is engaged in long-term ethnographic research with the Kamëntsá people of the Sibundoy Valley, an ecologically and culturally unique crossroads between the high Andes and the vast Amazonian lowlands of southwest Colombia. Rowan's research in Colombia focuses on the intersection of cultural and territorial autonomy among the Kamëntsá as they fight for cultural survival and ecosovereignty over their ancestral territory. Similar themes animate Rowan's interest in subaltern resistance movements around the world; he is currently preparing to intern with several NGOs in Senegal this spring. Apart from his research and travel interests, Rowan enjoys photography, creative writing, and indie films.

Household Troubles: Japanese Women's Conceptions of Self (1603–1868)

Miya Gibson*

Abstract

This paper examines how Japanese women's conceptions of self were shaped by the stem family structure during the Tokugawa period (1603–1868). Stem families, also identified by historians with the Japanese term for "house," ie, were diverse structures of kinship and economic support. They typically—though not always—consisted of a male household head, multiple generations, and a single heir. In most cases, the stem model was cyclical, ensuring that household headship and assets would be passed down. The Tokugawa period represented a unique historical shift; whereas previously only the samurai class adhered to the ie structure, during the Tokugawa period, households of all classes generally adopted this form of family organization. The ie was important because it delineated certain roles and expectations for different status groups. For women in particular, this role was often complex, contradictory, and open-ended. Two normative characteristics of Tokugawa-era families were filial piety and collective possession. These two values particularly shaped the roles and expectations of household women. Using Noriko Sugano's research on the Official Records of Filial Piety (1801) and Amy Stanley's Fashioning the Family: A Temple, a Daughter and a Wardrobe (2019), this paper asserts that women were encouraged to think about their identity in terms of membership within a larger group.

I. Introduction

The family was a fundamental social and political unit of kinship for people in Tokugawa Japan (1603–1868). During the 17th century, the stem family—also used interchangeably with the Japanese term for "house," ie—would become the dominant household structure, even for families outside of the samurai class. Stem families consisted of a male household head, his parents, his spouse, and their children.[1] Although they generally spanned three generations, stem families were relatively small, especially when compared to the flexibly large warrior families of Japan. This paper argues that the stem family was a tradition of support that encouraged women to think about themselves and their identity in terms of membership of a larger group, a norm that impacted them more than any other household group.

The first part of this paper analyzes the influence of Confucianism and Confucian scholarship in Japan to provide context for societal expectations for women. This analysis is followed by a discussion on how Confucian values translated into the stem family structure. Using Dorothy Ko's research on women and Confucian cultures in East Asia as well as William McCullough's research on marriage institutions in premodern Japan, this paper identifies filial piety, a principle of respect and care for parents and elders, as the most significant tenet of

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[1] Berry, Mary Elizabeth, and Marcia Yonemoto, eds, What Is a Family?: Answers from Early

Modern Japan (University of California Press, 2019), 5.

Miya Gibson (miyag@uoregon.edu) is a fourth-year student at the University of Oregon studying History. She also has interests in Linguistics, Food Studies, and Cosmetology.

Confucianism for Tokugawa-era women. The stress on "filial women" is unmistakable in the emergence of texts in the mid-to-late Tokugawa years concerning a woman's place in the home and in greater society.[2] One of these texts was the *Official Records of Filial Piety* (1801), a book published by the Tokugawa shogunate (hereditary leader and his administration) to document "good" and "virtuous" acts by real people. Drawing from Noriko Sugano's research on the *Official Records of Filial Piety*, this section concludes by asserting that filial piety was one of the normative characteristics of stem families that encouraged women to think about themselves in terms of membership.

The second part of this paper uses Amy Stanley's *Fashioning the Family: A Temple, a Daughter and a Wardrobe* (2019) as a case study for unfilial women who formed possibilities for themselves outside of the home. Stanley's research pieces together the life of a young commoner woman named Tsuneno following her escape from her hometown in Echigo province—contemporary Niigata Prefecture—to the capital city of Edo, pawning family possessions and divorcing multiple husbands along the way. Tsuneno's character, which was the antithesis of filial female exemplar, demonstrates how the survival of the home was significantly vested in women. Her story also identifies collective possession as a second normative characteristic of stem families. Collective possession was the unspoken rule that household assets were owned collectively by members, rather than individually. Although Tsuneno was pawning her own clothing, they were marked by family, creating a household dispute over their ownership. Stanley's research suggests that even women who were physically removed from the home shared a common

conflict of negotiating the needs of themselves through the needs of the household.

2. Women in Stem Families

In the stem family formation, household headship was given to the eldest son, who acquired the bulk of assets, including the primary residence, hereditary titles, and the responsibility of maintaining the ie.[3] Non-inheriting daughters were married and placed into the household of other family lines, while non-inheriting sons became new heads of branch lines.[4] The significance of this arrangement was that it could "replicate itself indefinitely"[5] while offering a diversity of possible arrangements. Instead of an uncompromising conjugal structure, the stem family is best thought of as a flexible social and economic support group. However, the stem family was a historically identifiable family structure from the beginning of the Tokugawa era.[6] There was not one model of family, but Tokugawa people's life courses seemed to be notably affected by the space they took up in the home.

This was definitely the case for women, who had the unique experience of maintaining the identity of their parents' household while simultaneously committing themselves and their emotional ties to a second, third, or even fourth home, whether through marriage, divorce, or adoption. Despite non-inheriting sons also leaving the home for a new place of residence, it was women whose sense of identity was thwarted by the social changes of new names, spaces, and legacies. Consequently, women were confronted with a multitude of identities, all linking them to the structure of household in ways men were not. When incorporated into the home, women were regarded as important members in its success and

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[2] See Kaibara Ekken's Onna Daigaku "The Greater Learning for Women" (1729).

[3] Berry, *What is a Family?*, 5.

[4] Ibid., 5.

[5] Drixler, Fabian. *Mabiki: Infanticide and Population Growth in Eastern Japan, 1660-1950*. 1st ed., (University of California Press, 2013), 62.

[6] Yonemoto, Marcia. *The Problem of Women in Early Modern Japan*, (University of California Press, 2016), 11.

longevity. Conversely, an independent woman, especially an economically independent woman, was inconceivable.[7] This is one of the puzzling ironies of women in early modern Japan. Agency was dependent on household membership, but women were also conceiving possibilities for themselves unaccompanied by the home.

This paper relies on anecdotal evidence from the lives of few Japanese women and is therefore exceptionally limited. For this reason, self-conception is used loosely to describe beliefs and ideas women held about themselves that were affected by structures like the household. The stem family is worthy of investigation because it did not simply impose limits—it also exalted women in notable ways. If women's identities were tied to household names and they performed specific roles in the home, the stem family undoubtedly affected women's sense of self. As much as the household was central to the construction of women's identities and experiences, they were not just victims of a larger patriarchal architecture. They were important members of the household who negotiated divisions of labor, headship, inheritance, and survival, making Tokugawa women experts in their own sphere of influence.

3. Confucian Ideology and the Proliferation of Filial Exemplars

Confucianism can be defined as an ethical system that represents hierarchical human relationships based on "three bonds" and "five relations." The three bonds are between ruler and minister, father and son, and husband and wife.[8] Mencius' (372–289) five relations define filial piety between father and son, loyalty between ruler and minister, differential harmony between husband

and wife, precedence between elder and younger siblings, and trust between friends.[9] Filial piety was a virtue of respect, and as will be seen, it could be linked between other members of the household. In China, between the Han dynasty (206–220) and the Tang dynasty (618–907), lawmakers adapted the "patriarchal family paradigm,"[10] which was characterized by Confucianism and aimed to shape Chinese families. The beginning of the patriarchal family paradigm's growth in Japan can be dated back to the Nara period (710–794)—which was concurrent with the Tang Dynasty in China—when Japanese scholars joined embassies on extended educational expeditions to the Tang court and returned to Japan with materials such as literary classics, encyclopedias, medical works, musical instruments and other technology.[11] The transmission of Chinese texts was critical for Nara courtiers who felt that Chinese classics had practical application in governance, ritual and everyday life.[12] This process of synthesizing Chinese texts, selecting important tenets, and codifying filial and patrilineal attitudes in law and literature would continue to dominate the spaces of Japanese thinkers for years.

During this period, two different developments informing Confucian influence on pre-Tokugawa families can be observed. Firstly, a male-dominated political sphere would emerge, as facilitated by patrilineal systems encoded during the Nara period.[13] Eighth-century criminal and administrative codes, for example, delineated roles for residential unit heads and their wives and redefined repudiation to allow a stronger patriarchal paradigm.[14] The stress on gendered functions between male and female courtiers would eventually place women in subordinate positions with less political influence, mirroring

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[7] Yonemoto, The Problem of Women in Early Modern Japan, 5.

[8] Goldin, Paul R. Confucianism, (London: Taylor & Francis Group, 2015), 25-26.

[9] Ko, Dorothy, Haboush, JaHyun Kim, and Piggott, Joan, eds. Women and Confucian Cultures in Premodern China, Korea, and Japan, (University of California Press, 2003), 27.

[10] Sekiguchi, Women and Confucian Cultures, 27.

[11] Ibid., 13.

[12] Ibid.,13.

[13] Ibid., 17.

[14] Sekiguchi, Women and Confucian Cultures, 40.

the development and specialization of female roles in non-elite families, such as the housewife.[15] As the political power of men was strengthened, the political freedom of women was effectively weakened. The second development was the increased power women held in affairs related to kinship and marital practices.[16] During the Heian period (794–1185), women were permitted to obtain a divorce, and there is no evidence that having multiple subsequent husbands was viewed as socially or morally unacceptable.[17] Heian nobles also had a custom of matrilineal succession of property and residence.[18] Given Heian couples' preference for residence at or near the wife's parental home or residing at a house separate from either spouses' parental home, female ownership of property and household assets was not unlikely.[19] Though pre-Tokugawa Heian families housed a small and elite minority of women, the possibilities for these women deviated significantly from traditional Confucian norms. Thus, economic autonomy and control over aspects of kinship and marriage could coexist with filial and patrilineal ideals of Confucianism. While there are seeming contradictions, Japanese families were not imitations of Chinese Confucian models. Rather, Confucianism was one of many cultural knowledge systems in Japan under which women performed a "delicate balancing act."[20]

The institutionalization of Confucian thought would continue into the Tokugawa period by the shogunate. In accordance with their ancestors, the shogunate understood that the stability of government, tradition, and everyday life was contingent on maintaining an ideal social landscape.[21] In order to accomplish this, Confucian education of moral virtues such as filial piety was disseminated through written texts. More specifically, the shogunate would produce a series of filial "exemplars" in the *Official Records of Filial Piety* to promote the state's ideological goals while sanctioning individual attitudes and behaviors. In 1789, the military requested names and accounts of individuals who had demonstrated "good deeds," and in 1801, these individuals and deeds were organized into a book which was published for the general public.[22] The timing of its release meant that not only commoners, including peasants, merchants, and artisans, were able to acquire the text, but also that a majority of women were able to read it.[23]

Noriko Sugano's research on the *Official Records of Filial Piety* found that the overwhelming majority of female exemplars in the book relate to filial acts and chastity.[24] For women, filial piety included respect, obedience, and care for both parents and parents-in-law. Sugano also compiled a list of seven virtuous acts which recurred frequently under the category of filial piety.[25] The stories of exemplary women in the *Official Record of Filial Piety* illustrate that female filiality tended to be conditional. This is illustrated in the story of a woman named Myoki from Higo Province—contemporary Kumamoto Prefecture—who was commended in 1685 in the *Official Records of Filial Piety*.[26] Myoki's family suffered from economic hardship after her father fell ill, leading her to raise her younger brother and take control of household finances. Filial exemplars were media representations of ideal women. They maintained that household membership was the primary way in which women should think about themselves. In this way, stories like Myoki's tended to favor narratives that stressed certain virtuous acts while

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[15] Ibid., 17.

[16] Ibid., 18.

[17] McCullough, William H., "Japanese Marriage Institutions in The Heian Period," Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies 27, (1967), 136.

[18] McCullough, "Japanese Marriage Institutions in The Heian Period," 141.

[19] Ibid., 137.

[20] Ko, Women and Confucian Cultures, 18.

[21] Sugano, "State Indoctrination of Filial Piety in Tokugawa Japan," 171.

[22] Ibid., 172.

[23] Ibid., 172.

[24] Ibid., 173.

[25] Ibid., 173.

[26] Ibid., 186.

neglecting others. Myoki was not represented as a "de facto head of household";[27] rather, her intelligence and leadership were manipulated into a narrative about devotion to family and having household success in mind.[28] If the self was defined by belonging, the stem family structure helped create the terms under which women should think about their individuality.

4. Inside and Outside the Home

Within the stem family, everything belonging to the house, both tangible and intangible, became part of a pool of household possessions. Despite this collective ownership, there were unspoken rules about the allocation of these household possessions. Some possessions—like property, for example—were assumed to belong to the male household head.[29] Other possessions—those that were not heirlooms or shared equally—could be a bit more ambiguous as to which member of the household they belonged to. This was particularly true of clothing, which was especially obscure because it represented the production and consumption of household women.[30] Inside the home, women were responsible for purchasing materials and producing, repairing, and managing the family's wardrobe. Outside of the home, the clothing both styled and worn by women were a display of the family's wealth, sense of fashion, and worldliness.[31] This positioned household women as critical social players in the maintenance of a good family reputation.[32] Clothing also became a key commodity during the Tokugawa period because it allowed poor, rural communities to create household investments. The transition from expensive durable materials to cotton textiles—which were cheaper, more

accessible, and in need of frequent replacement—bridged the economic gap between city families and rural farm families.[33] In this way, new textiles evened the playing field by expanding the types of property poorer households could own. They also blurred the lines between individual craft and collective ownership.

In Fashioning the Family: A Temple, a Daughter and a Wardrobe, Amy Stanley examines one household where collective ownership was complicated by a young woman who rejected the female filial exemplar. Stanley's work covers a brief part of twenty nine year old Tsuneno's life where she exchanged letters with her family in Ishigami Village in Echigo Province. The story also follows Tsuneno's older brother, Giyu, a head priest at the Rinsenji temple to whom most of the letters are addressed.[34] After one failed marriage, Tsuneno was preparing to be married again in 1833.[35]

In the weeks leading up to her marriage, Tsuneno and her family would procure a sizable wedding trousseau. Cataloging shopping lists, purchasing new materials, and tailoring garments was a household effort that depended on the collaboration of all members.[36] Tsuneno would find herself divorced yet again, and the trousseau would follow her through a third marriage and a third divorce. Although the reasons for this divorce are left out of Giyu's records, marriage may not have been a part of Tsuneno's plan. In 1839, Tsuneno made the bold decision to run away to Edo, bringing with her a substantial portion of her wardrobe, which she knew she could pawn in the city to cover her living expenses.[37] For women, leaving the home was considered socially and economically disastrous for both the woman and her family.[38] When Tsuneno arrived in Edo and

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[27] Ibid., 186.
[28] Ibid., 186.
[29] Ibid., 5.
[30] Stanley, Amy, "Fashioning the Family: A Temple, a Daughter, and a Wardrobe," (University of California Press, 2019), 174.
[31] Stanley, "Fashioning the Family," 175.
[32] Ibid., 175.

[33] Ibid., 175.
[34] Ibid., 176.
[35] Ibid., 177.
[36] Ibid., 177.
[37] Ibid., 180.
[38] Ibid., 184.

pawned her clothing off, she effectively used her wardrobe as currency, threatening the normative structure of collective ownership which characterized the stem family.

Of Sugano's collection of seven virtuous acts from the *Official Records of Filial Piety*, Tsuneno rejected more than half, making her an excellent example of an unfilial daughter according to the terms of the Tokugawa shogunate. She rejected the stem family structure and the female filial exemplar in two main ways. Firstly, Tsuneno gained some degree of economic independence by claiming ownership of her craft. Her ability to capitalize on her wardrobe destabilized the institution of clothing as a shared household asset. Later, however, Tsuneno's funds began dwindling, she lacked clothing to use as social currency and thus struggled to be considered employable.[39] Returning home years later after another failed marriage would reinforce the meaning of collective possession for Tsuneno.[40] A second way in which Tsuneno was unfilial was by refusing to be a part of a household. The back-and-forth of multiple failed marriages met with her family's efforts to quickly marry her away may have created an environment in which Tsuneno did not see the value in membership to a longstanding tradition. Her independent life in Edo was by no means glamorous, but she did subvert the stem family structure by refusing to be part of the household physically, and to a great degree, economically.

5. Conclusion

The household was an important physical and social structure that shaped the lives of Tokugawa women. This paper was confined to analyzing the lives of young women who were socially perceived as daughters. In brief, daughters were sources for household trouble because they represented something ambiguous. Two important characteristics of stem families concerning

daughters are filial piety and collective possession. These normative characteristics of stem families particularly seemed to encourage women to think about their identity in relation to the household. Although filial piety was not directly imposed by the shogunate, Noriko Sugano's research on the *Official Records of Filial Piety* suggests that women were in constant encounter with media representations of filial female exemplars. These female exemplars demonstrated that women should negotiate the needs of themselves through the needs of the household. Amy Stanley's research in Fashioning the Family: *A Temple, a Daughter, and a Wardrobe* highlighted some of the other ways in which women's lives could be imagined. Although these examples frame Japanese women's experiences as binary—where women could be one or the other: filial or unfilial—the fact of the matter was that everyday women experienced lives dramatically different from Myoki or Tsuneno. Although four-times-divorced Tsuneno is on the more extreme end of cases, her story is the perfect example of the countless possibilities and alternative life courses that existed for contemporary Japanese women.

Representing the experiences and inner workings of how women may have been thinking about themselves is an impossible task. Self-conception is typically not a historiographical exploration. However, thinking about how people's perceptions of self may have been affected by the "everyday" structures of life is useful for understanding the conflicts of premodern women. The home was a physical space where women spent much of their time forming emotional relationships and community, but it was also a space for making difficult and fraught life decisions that often complicated families. The main discovery of this paper is not that Tokugawa women were victims of patriarchy or Confucianism, but that women had possibilities for subverting, working in, and succeeding within

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[39] Ibid., 183.

[40] Ibid., 185.

an ideological system.[41] Roles and expectations were sometimes ambiguous, but the stem family structure seemed to inform women that membership and incorporation into a support group was the most obvious way of thinking about the self. The lack of visibility behind this logic, however, has larger implications for constructions of gender in Japan.

Women in the Tokugawa period engaged with gender based on a series of actions that were more or less in their own interests. In Marcia Yonemoto's *The Problem of Women in Early Modern Japan*, she discusses how in present day Japan, workplace discrimination and structural biases result in polls from women that favor women's preference to stay at home.[42] She argues, however, that "nonaction"[43] is the very basis of choosing not to take part in a political system where advancement yields very little return for women. Modern women and their Tokugawa predecessors engage in the same system of negotiation through structures that encourage membership. The degree to which women have the choice to participate was arguably greater in the past ie system than in modern-day Japanese institutions. Although the home was a significant place for gender socialization, those gender-based constraints were not regulated legally or explicitly in the way modern Japanese society does.[44] Thus, women will continue to act in unexpected ways as long as Japanese society includes women in adverse and violent ways. As Yonemoto asserts, gender history is no longer "compensatory."[45] Narrating the lives of Tokugawa women and women today is not enough to contribute to the ongoing discourse on gender equality. The idea of reconciling a prescribed social role with one's individuality is not a challenge distinctive of Japanese women in the present or of Tokugawa women of the past. Thus, the stories and strategies of Tokugawa women should be seen as reflective

of our own complex problems and how we conceive the self.

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[41] Ibid., 221.

[42] Ibid., 222.

[43] Ibid., 222.

[44] Ibid., 222.

[45] Ibid, 223.

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Chai as a Colonial Creation: The British Empire's Cultivation of Tea as a Popular Taste and Habit Among South Asians

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Abstract

For Indians, chai, or spiced black tea, is a sign of hospitality, served within families, workplaces, and at train stations. While most Indians now perceive chai to be an essential and unquestionable part of daily life, this was not the case until the early twentieth century. While today, masala tea (or masala chai) is seen as a traditional South Asian custom, my findings suggest that the habit of drinking tea was actually thrust upon Indians through a colonial apparatus of the British Raj that utilized indentured labor, plantations, and exploitative trade practices. In this research, I deconstruct the misunderstanding that tea is native to India by gathering records of the first tea plantations and advertisements designed to popularize tea in India. I also present evidence of British establishment of tea and sugar plantations, which preceded the mass production and distribution of chai for export and internal use. Lastly, I analyze advertisements that were used in the British campaign to popularize chai in India. The tea trade exemplifies the short and long-term inequalities that resulted from British occupation in South Asia, as it was a key factor in motivating and funding colonial expansion and in solidifying colonial control. Beyond colonizing land and bodies through tea, the British succeeded in colonizing Indians' aesthetics and taste.

1. Introduction

Tea—or chai, as it is known in India—is a daily staple for billions.[1] In 2021 alone, India produced 1.26 million metric tons and consumed 1.09 billion kilograms of tea. Indeed, most Indians drink chai several times a day. Chai is a sign of hospitality, shared with families, in workplaces, and at train stations. Most Indians today perceive chai to be an essential and unquestionable part of daily life.

The Indian style of drinking tea is known as masala chai, which refers to a mixture of black tea, milk, sugar, and spices that differ in composition and proportion from region to region in South Asia. Although many consider masala chai to be a traditional Indian drink, often attributing the "exotic" flavors of the spices to its indigenous roots, this is a historical misconception. Colonialism and the British Empire had a direct role in the introduction of tea to India; the commodities of sugar and tea were mass-produced in Indian plantations due to British demand and colonial interference. Colonial business entities such as the East India Company, Lipton Company, and Tea Market Expansion Board sought to popularize tea among Indians to maximize profits by establishing a new market.[2]

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[1] Statista Research Department (2022). "India: Consumption Volume of Tea 2021" [Online]. Available: https://www.statista.com/statistics/870829/india-consumption-volume-of-tea/ [2022 May].

[2] Billie Cohen, "The True Story behind England's Tea Obsession."

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Due to its prominence in the daily cultural practices of modern Indians, the preparation and consumption of masala chai is commonly assumed to be a long-standing historical tradition of South Asia. However, this habit of tea— of production, consumption, and ritualization— was actually thrust upon Indians through a colonial apparatus of the British Raj—or British Empire— that utilized indentured labor, plantations, and exploitative trade practices.

2. Tea as a Commodity in Victorian England

To fully understand the popularity of chai in South Asia as a result of British influence, it is important to first analyze the sources of demand for tea in England. The industrial revolution and urbanization in England were key catalysts for tea demand, and therefore, for production in India. However, before tea became accessible and popular amongst England's working classes, it was an expensive and luxurious beverage, served and prepared only for the elite. Tea was first introduced to England in the 17th century. When the Portuguese princess, Catherine of Braganza, married England's King Charles II in 1662, she brought with her loose tea leaves as a part of her dowry. Catherine of Braganza had a habit of drinking tea regularly, which quickly became popular within the court and among aristocracy.[3] Edmund Waller, a renowned poet during this time, composed a poem entitled, "Poem on Tea," for Princess Catherine's birthday, which accredited her with the introduction and popularization of tea within the English court: "The best of Queens, and best of herbs, we owe / To that bold nation, which the way did show / To the fair region where the sun doth rise, / Whose rich productions we so justly prize."[4]

By the end of the 17th century, tea was very popular amongst the English aristocracy.[5] Picking up on this increase in demand, the East India Company, founded in 1600, fueled the popularity of tea by supplying tea to England through purchases of tea from Singaporean and Hong Kongese vendors.[6] The ritualized English tea drinking habit consisting of porcelain cups and saucers, sugar spoons, and teapots that is well known today was adapted from Portuguese, Dutch, and Chinese tea customs.[7]

While tea was initially an "exotic luxury", by 1730, a reduction in taxes and increased trade with China made tea affordable for almost everyone.[8] Throughout the eighteenth century, growth in accessibility and popularity made tea a part of everyday life for all British social classes.[9] No longer was tea only popular amongst aristocratic men in coffeehouses – it was redefined as a common drink associated with home life, domesticity, and family.[10] By the end of the eighteenth century, tea became known as England's national beverage.[11]

As tea increasingly became a domestic commodity, Britons became suspicious of the foreign origins of tea, especially the fact that it was sourced from China. English citizens began to notice the contradictions of calling tea a "national drink" when it was cultivated in China, a place that was perceived as an inferior "other."[12] As Fromer

[3] Cohen, Billie. (2017). "The True Story behind England's Tea Obsession - BBC Travel" [Online]. Available: https://www.bbc.com/travel/article/20170823-the-true-story-behind-englands-tea-obsession [2022 May].

[4] Edmund Waller, (c. 1662). "Poem on Tea." Cited in Billie Cohen (2017).

[5] Billie Cohen, "The True Story behind England's Tea Obsession."

[6] Rosen, Diana, Chai: The Spice Tea of India. (Canada: Storey Books, 1999, 10).

[7] Billie Cohen, "The True Story behind England's Tea Obsession."

[8] Collingham, Elizabeth, Curry: a tale of cooks and conquerors. (New York: Oxford University Press, 2006, 191).

[9] Fromer, Julie E, ""Deeply Indebted to the Tea-Plant": Representations of English National Identity in Victorian Histories of Tea," Victorian Literature and Culture, Vol. 36, No. 2 (2008), 531.

[10] Fromer, Julie E, "Deeply Indebted to the Tea-Plant," 531.

[11] Fromer, Julie E, ""Deeply Indebted to the Tea-Plant,"" 531.

[12] Fromer, Julie E, "Deeply Indebted to the Tea-Plant," 537.

notes, "the desire for a safe, British-controlled source of a commodity that had become necessary to daily life helped spur the expansion of the Empire."[13] In this way, tea was a direct impetus for colonial expansion.

In addition to social unease about China, Britain had begun losing money from importing expensive tea from China. Attempts to negotiate trade by selling British products to China failed. Thus, gaining dominance in economic relationships was a key motivator for Britain to produce tea within its own colonies.[14]

The rising demand for tea among the English working classes, an inability to finance continual imports tea from China, as well as governmental and social efforts to nationalize tea as a British drink set the stage for the introduction of tea cultivation in India. Britain's colonial control over Western India and strong navy gave them the means and the power to instigate tea cultivation in India, and their doing so would permanently shift the tea trade.

3. Stolen from China, Grown in India

Britain's thirst for tea led to insidious measures to obtain knowledge of Chinese tea cultivation, establish plantations in India, and maintain profit margins. Aware of British subjects' demand for tea, Queen Victoria commanded that tea be grown within a British colony. Upon discovering tea leaves in the northeastern Indian state of Assam, Queen Victoria sent British expeditioners and botanists to cultivate tea in India. Charles Alexander (C.A.) Bruce, Major Robert Bruce, Lord William Charles Cavendish Bentinck, and English botanist Robert Fortune, all of the East India Company, were the first five pioneers of tea sent

to Assam to cultivate tea in India, and each would have a unique and profound impact on the development of the tea trade.[15]

Robert Bruce is accredited with the "discovery" of wild tea plants in the Beesa Hills of Assam. In reality, an Indian, Moneram Dewan, showed the tea plants to Bruce.[16] Because Assam borders China, some hypothesize that Buddhist monks introduced the tea bush from China to Assam during a journey between India and China, as the monks historically cultivated tea leaves as a part of prayer and meditation practices.[17] Robert Bruce's brother, C.A. Bruce, was appointed as the first Superintendent of Tea Culture. Although C.A. Bruce was not educated in botany, he used his experience as an explorer to experiment with planting and cultivating tea leaves. After picking the leaves, Bruce would wither them in the sun and dry them using charcoal fires.

One of the first pioneers sent to Assam to cultivate tea in India, Robert Fortune is known as the "spy who stole China's tea empire." The East India Company recruited Robert Fortune to smuggle tea leaf seeds to India, effectively establishing tea production in India.[18] Fortune first traveled to China in 1842, and during his time in China, he became familiar with the Chinese tea preparation style. Between 1842 and 1851, Fortune sent back 12,000 tea seeds which were added to the existing Himalayan plantations in Darjeeling.[19] Due to this thievery, "India surpassed China as the world's largest tea grower."[20]

Beyond stealing, adapting, and implementing the Chinese methods of growing tea leaves in India, England and the East India Company looked to finance their tea-growing endeavors in India by destabilizing China in order to secure a monopoly over tea growth. To gain this control (and funds),

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[13] Fromer, Julie E, "Deeply Indebted to the Tea-Plant," 532.

[14] Rosen, Chai, 11.

[15] Rosen, Chai, 10.

[16] Rosen, Chai, 10.

[17] Rosen, Chai, 13-15.

[18] NPR Staff, (2015). "Tea Tuesdays: The Scottish Spy Who Stole China's Tea Empire" [Online]. Available:

https://www.npr.org/sections/thesalt/2015/03/10/392116370/tea-tuesdays-the-scottish-spy-who-stole-chinas-tea-empire [2022 May].

[19] Rosen, Chai, 19.

[20] NPR Staff, (2015). "Tea Tuesdays: The Scottish Spy Who Stole China's Tea Empire" [Online].

the British used opium. The East India Company took control of the Bengal opium market and greatly expanded production by forcing farmers to grow more poppies, and even providing them with new cultivation techniques.[21] British landlords coerced Indian farmers to grow opium under brutal conditions: "[l]ocal landowners forced their landless tenants to grow poppy; and peasants were also kidnapped, arrested and threatened with destruction of crops, criminal prosecution and jail if they refused to grow the crop."[22] These harsh and immoral tactics allowed the British to reach unprecedented levels of opium production to fuel the highly profitable opium trade.

The funds that Britain gained from the Chinese addiction to opium also helped to support tea trade in India. Although the opium trade was illegal in China, the British sold opium to traders who smuggled it into China. When the Chinese government attempted to retaliate against illegal opium smuggling, Britain reciprocated, marking the beginning of the Opium Wars. With a strong navy and military, the British won the opium war, forced opium trade to become legal in China, and captured the island of Hong Kong.[23] This victory undermined Chinese leadership and set the precedent for a nationwide opium addiction crisis, destabilizing the Chinese government and strengthening Britain's colonial power over Indian economy, and later, culture.

The lengths to which the East India Company and the British Empire went to secure tea as a "domestic" product highlight the economic greed and colonial power of the British Empire. The British sought to further capitalize upon this market by mass-producing tea in India through any means possible, which, more often than not, further fed the Indian and Chinese addictions to

tea and opium. These aggressive actions underscore that British interference in China and India was not only about tea; rather, it was also about securing political and social power through trade monopolies and political destabilization across major Asian countries. The East India Company and British Empire not only secured tea profits for themselves, but also instituted customs, treaties, and laws which enforced long-lasting power dynamics. Western power persists today while countries such as China and India struggle to recover from colonial practices (namely economic and infrastructural) which lead to destabilization and lack of development (namely economic and infrastructural).

4. Cultivation of Tea in India

British success with tea cultivation in India flourished due to exploitative plantation practices and indentured labor with conditions scarcely better than slavery. The first tea estates were established in Assam in the 1830s using Chinese tea plants.[24] Britain annexed Assam in 1838 for the purpose of commercial tea cultivation.[25] Though tea plantations were first developed in Assam, the British East India Company also identified Darjeeling as a prime location for tea cultivation and established the Darjeeling tea industry after the 1850s. The East India Company already had control of West Bengal during the 18th and 19th centuries, and Darjeeling was conveniently located in the Himalayan foothills, at the northmost end of West Bengal. Darjeeling plantations were sometimes favored over those of Assam because their black teas had a higher quality aroma. Additionally, Darjeeling soil and climate was favorable to tea leaf growth, an

[21] Rowlatt, Justin (2016). "The Dark History behind India and the UK's Favourite Drink" [Online]. Available: https://www.bbc.com/news/world-asia-india-36781368 [2022 May].

[22] Biswas, Soutik (2019). "How Britain's Opium Trade Impoverished Indians" [Online]. Available:

https://www.bbc.com/news/world-asia-india-49404024 [2022 May].

[23] Rowlatt, Justin (2016). "The Dark History behind India and the UK's Favourite Drink" [Online].

[24] Rowlatt, Justin (2016). "The Dark History behind India and the UK's Favourite Drink" [Online].

[25] Rosen, Chai, 19.

economic advantage for the British plantation owners in terms of both marketing, and ease of production. [26]

Prominent British colonist, Robert Fortune, strongly supported the establishment of these plantations in Assam and Darjeeling. He argued that "tea crops would materially enhance the culture and comfort of Indian men and women."[27] In his published travel journal, *Journey to the Tea Countries of China*, Fortune asserts that "to the natives of India themselves the production of [tea] would be of the greatest value... his dwelling house is a mere mud-hut... If part of these lands produced tea, he would then have a healthy beverage to drink...he would have the means of making himself and his family more comfortable and happy."[28] Fortune's tone is blatantly disdainful towards impoverished and 'backwards' Indians, and is a reflection of British colonial racism and justification of Indian labor for tea growth. A key player in bringing tea leaves to India, Fortune's vocal support for the use of Indian labor on tea plantations may have catalyzed and justified the strategies used to recruit Indian laborers.

Slave labor had already been banned in the British Empire by the 1830s when these plantations were established. As a workaround to employing slaves, the East India Company and tea estate owners used indentured labor, which involved a contract that bound laborers to tea estates for certain periods of time.[29] The British use of unethical, exploitative, forced, and slave-like labor aligns with a broader pattern of colonial practices across the world, and their strategy of using indentured labor on tea plantations stimulated mass production and strengthened the commerce of tea as a commodity. Thus, the introduction of tea to the Indian Subcontinent was

forceful and unethical, contrary to the misconception that tea natively grows in India.

Tea cultivation, which includes plucking and processing, is extremely labor-intensive, and contracts were strictly binding in order to prevent laborers and families from leaving the plantations. Estate owners went out of their way to recruit cheap labor because of the long-term cost benefits. For instance, fewer than 25 families lived in Darjeeling in 1839, so the British imported laborers from other cities and villages.[30] The East India Company specifically recruited labor from Nepal, including Gurkhas, into Darjeeling. Darjeeling tea gardeners even developed the Sardari system, in which they sent Sardars to Sikkim and Nepal once per year to recruit laborers. Sardars were paid 10 rupees for their work, and they would often recruit entire families, which was highly encouraged. Because women and children were regarded as better pluckers, perhaps due to defter fingers, the British benefited from familial employment in which they paid less for more labor. Tea cutting was considered "women's work," a rhetoric which defended dismal working conditions for women on tea plantations, and subsequently their children who followed them around. In this way, the British tea plantation owners' exploitation created a new gender precedent.

This strategy of incorporating Nepalese labor used by Darjeeling tea estate owners was seen as easier to manage than the Assamese labor system, in which estate owners indentured laborers from tribal areas such as Santhal Parganas and Chota Nagpur.[31] Darjeeling tea estate owners encouraged individual spare-time cultivation among indentured laborer families, even granting land for these activities. Estate owners instituted

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[26] Akhtar, Sadia, and Song Wei, "British Colonization and Development of Black Tea
Industry in India: A Case Study of Darjeeling," *Advances in Historical Studies*, Vol X, No. 4 (December, 2021).

[27] Fromer, Julie E, ""Deeply Indebted to the Tea-Plant,"" 539.

[28] Fortune, Robert, "Journey to the Tea Countries of China," cited in Julie E. Fromer, *Deeply Indebted to the Tea-Plant* (2008), 394-5.

[29] Rowlatt, Justin (2016). "The Dark History behind India and the UK's Favourite Drink" [Online].

[30] Akhtar & Wei, "British Colonization," (2021).

[31] Akhtar & Wei, "British Colonization," (2021).

welfare programs such as providing housing and farmland to laborers and establishing an educational system for their children, all in an effort to encourage laborers to stay. Thus, they succeeded in establishing a plantation economy in Darjeeling.

However, these so-called social welfare actions did not mask the poor sanitation, limited water access, and lack of medical treatment that plagued plantations.[32] Many laborers contracted malaria, a disease leading to an enlargement of the spleen, so when their employers kicked and beat them, their spleens would rupture, causing death. There were very few medically qualified doctors on the plantations to treat diseases such as malaria or other ailments.[33]

Some estate managers offered bags of money in villages to retain and attract workers, but they were unable to do so when the villagers discovered the poor working conditions. To prevent families from leaving, Darjeeling plantations employed a paramilitary force called the North Bengal Mounted Rifles.[34] Estate owners also hired contractors called "coolie catchers" to find runaway laborers and recruit poor peasants for tea plantation labor.[35] The tea produced in Assam became known among plantation workers as "bitter tea" due to the suffering and labor that went into producing the tea leaves.[36]

The same abysmal living and working conditions instituted by the British Raj persist today on tea estates in Assam. Malnutrition, overflowing toilets, chemical exposures, and even child labor, can be found on the tea estates that supply leaves to Lipton, PG Tips, and Tetleys and Twinings.[37] The establishment of a plantation economy has impacted generations of plantation workers, and continues to impact them to this day.

Women and children faced the brunt of exploitative labor practices due to Western gendered expectations of labor quality payment, in which they were expected to produce more tea for less pay. British development used strategies of kidnapping, instigated gender-based inequities, institutionalized structural poverty, and furnished unethical labor conditions. British plantations have destabilized lives and communities to fuel profit and fulfill the promise of a "domestic" tea product.

As novelist Mulk Raj Anand noted in his 1937 novel *Two Leaves and a Bud*, the perfect phrase "to describe the contents of a cup of tea [is]: 'The hunger, the sweat and the despair of a million Indians!'"[38] The establishment of plantations, and even development of infrastructure such as railways, would not have been possible without thousands of indentured laborers bound to the land under inhumane conditions.

5. Tea and "Development"

The first chest of Indian-produced tea from Assam was sold by the East India Company in 1839, but the quality was poor and failed to impress buyers. Eventually, the quality improved and tea plantations began to pay off for the British. The Indian tea industry became stable and profitable in the 1870s.[39]

British tea associations established a new railway line to expedite the process of tea leaf export in the 1880s. Since tea auctions were primarily held in Calcutta, where tea sellers exported their product to Europe and Tibet, the 'Darjeeling Himalayan Railway' line connected Calcutta and Darjeeling. Thus, the establishment of the railway line increased the efficiency of the

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[32] Akhtar & Wei, "British Colonization," (2021).
[33] Collingham, Curry, 193.
[34] Akhtar & Wei, "British Colonization," (2021).
[35] Collingham, Curry, 193.
[36] Rosen, Chai, 19.
[37] Rowlatt, Justin, and Jane Deith. (2015). "The Bitter Story behind the UK's National Drink." [Online]. Available:

https://www.bbc.com/news/world-asia-india-34173532. (2022 May)
[38] Anand, Mulk Raj, *Two Leaves and a Bud*, (Bombay: Kutub-Popular, 1937).
[39] Collingham, Curry, 193.

latter part of the tea trade process and strengthened British control over the tea industry. The railway also helped the British to market the tea to Tibetans, who mainly sourced their tea from China, by increasing ease of transportation access. Thanks to these progressions and other infrastructure developments such as road pavement and tea gardening machinery, British-controlled Indian tea trade commercially flourished.[40]

The push for development in India may have been a residual of the nearly concurrent Industrial Revolution in Great Britain, or perhaps it was an attempt to demonstrate British industrial "advancement" in colonies. However, there existed a disconnect between the success of tea estate owners and that of South Asian laborers. British profits grew, but wages and living conditions of plantation workers did not reflect this prosperity. British industrial developments sought to increase efficiency and profits, not the wellbeing of individuals or communities, yet they were framed as benevolent efforts to mask the poor treatment of Indians.[41] Not only did Indian laborers not materially benefit from the Empire-driven development and industrialization in India, they were actively disadvantaged through indentured labor, reinforcement of class hierarchies, and export of Indian money and goods. Ultimately, one must juxtapose the long-lasting structural inequalities as a British legacy with their oft-praised legacy of development.

6. Popularization of Tea Amongst Indians

Having perfected their exploitative tea cultivation strategy and developed the infrastructure to support its production, the British next looked to expand their market by selling tea to Indians themselves. The aggressive marketing techniques

of the British Raj are the primary reason that tea is popular amongst Indians today and were the catalyst for the creation of what is now known as masala chai. Indians did not widely consume tea until the early twentieth century; until the early 1900s, tea was regarded primarily as an herbal or medicinal blend.[42] This lack of recreational consumption is largely due to economic barriers: tea, and the included "paraphernalia" such teapots, cups, saucers, sugar bowls, and milk jugs, was too expensive for most people.[43]

In 1901, well after the tea trade had become profitable for the British, the Indian Tea Association, a British Empire-sanctioned tea company, realized that Indians themselves could be consumers of tea and thus began their marketing campaign. They employed a superintendent and sent "smart European travelers" to persuade grocers to stock more tea. It took about 13 years to make progress in convincing Indians to purchase and drink tea. The Indian Tea Association finally had a breakthrough during World War I, when they began instituting tea stalls at factories, coal mines, and cotton mills. By 1919, "tea canteens" became an integral part of industrial settings in India. These WWI-era laborers received tea breaks, helping establish the habit of tea-drinking as a break-time activity. Campaigners also attempted to introduce tea directly into Indians' homes, even employing lady demonstrators to appeal to religious families. Demonstrators' habits of visiting houses at the same time everyday contributed to establishing a temporal inclination, a habit of drinking tea every day at the same time. The caffeine in chai did the rest of the work in creating a habit out of drinking tea at the same time.

Public demonstrations with cinema performances also attracted curious clientele.[44] The marketing campaign temporarily stopped during WWII, while the Tea Association supplied

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[40] Akhtar & Wei, "British Colonization," (2021).

[41] Akhtar & Wei, "British Colonization," (2021).

[42] Collingham, Curry, 190.

[43] Collingham, Curry, 190.

[44] Collingham, Curry, 197-9.

chai to Indian troops fighting in Europe. They set up tea stalls for the Indian troops that included Indian songs and letter-writers, thus associating tea with home and nostalgia for India. Hot tea was also a comforting drink for soldiers and traumatized veterans. After the war, the habit of drinking tea remained amongst those involved in the war.

While the war increased habituation, a key turning point for tea distribution to Indians was the introduction of tea to railway stations. Guided by colonial authorities, the Tea Association gave local vendors kettles and tea, along with instructions for tea preparation, at railway stations, notably at Punjab and Bengal railway junctions. Railway station tea was affordable and sold by both Muslim and Hindu vendors, making it appealing to railway patrons of all socioeconomic classes and religions, thus eliminating boundaries which may have hindered profits. Oftentimes railway station vendors ignored the Tea Association's instructions for preparation and added milk and sugar to the tea leaves. Perhaps the milk and sugar appealed to north Indians because the drink then resembled lassi, which is a popular North Indian drink. Vendors also added their own spices to make tea more palatable to their customers. The Tea Association disliked "spiced tea" because it meant that vendors used fewer tea leaves and tried to discourage the addition of spices.[45] Nonetheless, Indian customers preferred "spiced tea," or masala chai, so vendors continued to sell their adaptation, despite it being labeled by the British as an "unsavory and badly prepared decoction."[46]

7. Advertising Tea

Advertisements were an avenue through which tea companies and the Indian Tea Association heavily marketed their products to Indians from different

walks of life. Analyzing these examples yields an understanding of how tea became a prominent South Asian staple. As mentioned earlier, historian Collingham writes that "in India, [tea] remained firmly in the category of herbal remedy... and the tea loving British were forced to carry their own supplies of tea leaves when they traveled into the Indian countryside, as it was impossible to buy tea there."[47] Taking into account this background, it appears that the Figure 1 advertisement from the Hindustan Times, approximately 1940, appeals to the Indian perception of tea as a remedy or medicine. The use of the verb "relieves" with respect to tea portrays it as a concoction with the ability to alleviate some sort of illness or condition. In addition to appealing to existing Indian perceptions, the advertisement attempts to shape Indian lifestyle ideals. It identifies "lassitude"—fatigue—as a key problem, highlighting a British perspective towards so-called issues in need of a remedy. While lassitude is hardly a malady, the framing of it as such reveals colonial ideals and expectations of efficiency and labor from Indians. In the image, the consumption of chai is correlated with academic prowess, energy, and success. Overall, the advertisement depicts a scene of domestic, upper middle-class contentment for Indians to strive towards.

Figure 1. Source: Priya Paul Collection, c. 1940.

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[45] Collingham, Curry, 195-8.
[46] Tea Association Records, cited in Elizabeth Collingham Curry: a tale of cooks and conquerors. (New York: Oxford University Press, 2006, 197).

[47] Collingham, Curry, 193.

The Tea Board of India, a British colonial authority, and its tea corporations sought to capitalize on profits, thus they attempted to appeal to Indians from diverse walks of life. In Figure 2, by referring to Brooke Bond tea as dilchaspi ka kendra, or the "centre of attraction," the brand frames tea as a novelty. The illustration of individuals in folk settings enjoying tea is inviting and paints a fantasy of an ideal celebration to entice those not otherwise interested in tea; specifically, the ad targets Indians living in rural settings, who may not feel obligated to incorporate tea into their pre-existing routines.

Figure 2. Source: Priya Paul Collection, c. 1920-30.

The advertisement in Figure 3 appeals to nationalist sentiments and the independence movement in India. The charkha, or spinning wheel, in the advertisement was a prominent symbol of the independence movement (and often associated with Gandhi). The term "swadeshi" encapsulates the idea that domestic or local products should be supported and was associated with the Indian independence movement. In tandem with the woman sipping tea, the Indian Tea Market Expansion Board depicts tea as a grassroots Indian drink. The ad subtly implies that profits would go directly to those who cultivate and produce tea. This ad equates tea with being intrinsically Indian, a foundation for the misconception which persists today.

Figure 3. Source: Priya Paul Collection, n.d.

The Lipton's Tea advertisements in Figures 4 & 5 depict happy tea plantation workers, notably women. The ads gloss over the arduous reality of cultivating and processing tea, as well as the history of oppression of Indian workers since the beginning of British colonization, making chai seem like a responsibly-sourced local beverage. Consumers would be less inclined to consume a product if it were associated with suffering and poor worker conditions, as tea production was. These ads soften the reality of tea production and make tea feel like a personal, hand-delivered drink. Ironically, Lipton's Tea is one of the brands that has come under fire to this day for unethical working conditions in the tea industry.[48]

Figure 4. Source: Priya Paul Collection, c. 1940.

[48] Rowlatt, Justin (2016). "The Dark History behind India and the UK's Favourite Drink" [Online].

Figure 5. Source: Priya Paul Collection, 1937.

Many advertisements, such as those depicted in Figures 1, 3, and 6, featured images and symbols of domesticity, familial contentment, social life, and nationalism; these ads worked to reproduce Industrial Revolution-era English ideals amongst Great Britain's Indian colonial subjects, granting the British a greater degree of sociopolitical control over Indians. Many of these advertisements, such as those in Figures 3, 4, and 6 notably target women, who are regarded as moderators and authority figures in domestic and household affairs. In targeting women as homemakers, British commercial entities and the Indian Tea Market Expansion Board further attempted to instill the ideal that tea was an avenue to achieving aspirations of domestic and social happiness and established "tea as a 'drink of unity.'"[49] In this way, these commercial entities endorsed a need for a routine and instigated a culture surrounding tea.[50]
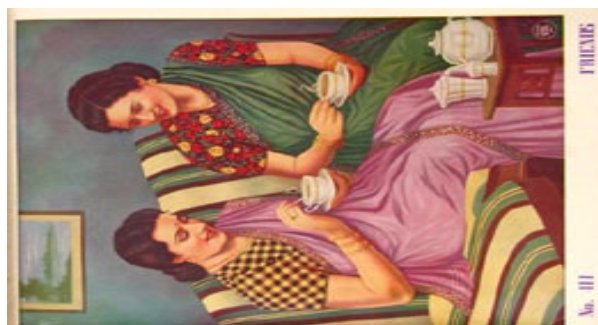

Figure 6. "Friends." Source: Priya Paul Collection, 1940s.

Some advertisements, such as the Brooke Bond Darjeeling tea ad in Figure 7, used famous film actors to popularize tea. The advertisement headline in Figure 7 translates to "the favorite of thousands," and references the 1976 movie Filmi Duniya to incorporate tea into the pop culture lexicon. Bollywood is a quintessential aspect of Indian culture and national identity, and incorporating tea into films and actors' lives made tea seem like a quintessential part of Indian life.

Figure 7. "Brooke Bond Supreme Darjeeling Tea." Source: Priya Paul Collection, n.d. Translation: Liked by millions. Filmy World. The filmy magazine with maximum number of copies sold all over India. Available at every book stall.

The Hindi-language advertisement from the newspaper Sudha in Figure 8 once again emphasizes family and domesticity, as well as appeals to nationalist sentiments. The use of Hindi language in the poster makes it more accessible to non-upper-class Indians who may not have understood English. The advertisement primarily targets women, cementing domestic values and expectations. are the main aspirational themes of this advertisement. The aspirational tone of the advertisement insinuates that tea as a product must continually be consumed to fulfill goals of civilization, culture, and modernity; it submits Indians to the impossibly high standards of the British framework of life and domesticity.

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[49] Nijhawan, Shobna. "Nationalizing the Consumption of Tea for the Hindi Reader: The Indian Tea Market Expansion Board's Advertisement Campaign." *Modern Asian Studies* 51, no. 5 (2017): 1229–52. doi:10.1017/S0026749X16000287.

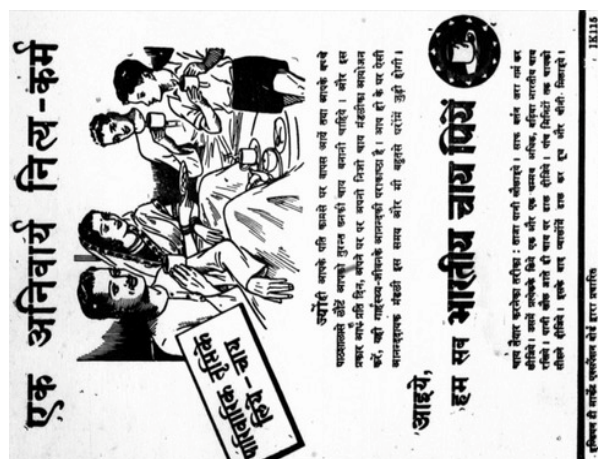[50] Shobna, "Nationalizing the Consumption of Tea," (2017).

Figure 8. Source: Sudha, May and July 1940, January and July 1941. Translation: Teatime: 'An indispensable routine. For familial gratification—tea. As soon as your husband returns from work and your children come home from school, you should prepare their tea. In this manner, you should also organize your private tea circle everyday in your home. This is the climax of happiness in domestic life. At this time, the pleasurable gathering in your home is also taking place in many more homes. Come, let us all drink Indian tea.' [51]

British Raj historian Collingham notes that "tea entered Indian life as an integral part of the modern industrial world that began to encroach on India in the 20th century."[52] Today, everyone in India drinks tea, whether rich or poor. But the "very poor…use it as a way of staving off hunger… [Tea] is invariably milky and sweet. This makes it popular with the calorie-starved laborer."[53] This quote introduces the role of tea in the lives of the starving labor class. The British Raj and its oppressive policies are directly responsible for creating distinct and disparate socioeconomic classes, such that there exists such extreme poverty that individuals and families must subsist on a milky and sugary drink to fill their stomachs. Tea is a "food" of poverty, replacing legitimate sources of nourishment with the hollow energy of caffeine. In today's world, tea actually contributes to food deserts: labor or working classes rely on tea for a quick meal, as due to its easy accessibility and low cost compared to food. Chai is consumed to stem hunger. Tea plantations occupy valuable farming land which could produce nutritionally valuable food. Despite existing indigenous practices of consuming vegetables and grains, the consumption habits and rising prices of fresh produce inculcated by the British compel the poor to instead brew and rebrew the same tea leaves as a watery, insufficient meal. With little nutritional value, tea does more harm than good as a dietary staple – for the poor, tea is often more of a curse than a blessing.

By the end of the 20th century, Indians drank about 70 percent of the 715,000 tons of tea produced in India.[54] Thus, by marketing tea to Indian labor and working classes, the Indian Tea Association and Indian Tea Market Expansion Board helped transform "tea" into "masala chai," a drink whose flavors feel familiar and intrinsically Indian to consumers even today.

8. "Byproducts" of Tea

The popularization of tea in Britain and India has both negative and positive byproducts. An increased demand for sugar, and labor to produce it, reinforced colonization and British imperialism. The British subtly weaponized tea by using it to reinforce cultural boundaries among different Indian communities, though many communities found common ground while sharing a cup of tea.

Tea was enjoyed with sugar in Industrial Revolution-era England, especially by the working classes, who drank tea with sugar as a cheap source of calories. Godoy writes for NPR, "The fad for tea came in just as sugar was under attack and had started to fall out of favor. By creating a new and lasting use for this sweetener, tea helped buoy demand for sugar from the West Indies." This demand for sugar perpetuated slavery in the West Indies. The wealth that Britain gained from importing and distributing tea and sugar funded its navy, further cemented it as a colonial power,

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[51] Shobna, "Nationalizing the Consumption of Tea," (2017).
[52] Collingham, Curry, 195.
[53] Collingham, Curry, 199-200.
[54] Collingham, Curry, 199-200.

and contributed to a positive feedback loop.[55]

Another byproduct of tea in India arose from the British Raj using tea to reinforce cultural divisions of religion and caste. The Tea Association was very careful and intentional to "accommodate" religious differences by equipping both Muslim and Hindu and high- and low-caste vendors with tea. However, this reinforced divisions between the different castes and religions by setting standards of specific vendors from which customers of different backgrounds could buy tea. This strategy played into the larger British colonial strategy of "divide and rule" and communalism in India.[56]

However, post-colonialism, tea often plays the opposite role than that which the British intended. Because tea has become such a cultural touchstone in India, tea can be a way to bridge cultural differences among communities. There are many different accounts of inter-caste/inter-religious spaces in which tea is consumed.[57]

9. Conclusion

Contrary to popular belief, the widespread popularity of masala chai in India is a relatively recent phenomenon arising during the past 200 years as a direct result of British colonization. The flavors which are so distinct to Indian chai were only recently established and ritualized. The transformation of tea from an aristocratic drink to an accessible working-class beverage during the Victorian era in England, followed by a surge in popularity, demand, and nationalism during the industrial revolution, drove the effort to cultivate tea in India. Similarly, in India, tea became popular among the laboring class in industrial settings such as factories or along train stations, transforming it into a cultural commodity rather than a medicinal drink used in Ayurvedic/spiritual

practices. Aggressive advertising campaigns popularized tea amongst Indians; these cemented tea as a cultural staple and creating a new market for British exploitation. This campaign succeeded with Indian soldiers during WWI and among working class communities, notably in industrial settings and railway stations. Advertisements appealed to women and projected goals of domesticity and familial contentment, aiming to ingrain tea as a daily habit.

The dark history of tea exposes the unethical means by which the British pursued socioeconomic control in South Asia. British manipulation of China and the opium trade funded tea growth in India and highlighted the lengths the British were willing to go to maintain control of their power, products, and profits. Tea could not have been successfully cultivated without the exploitation of indentured laborers; it required meticulous, backbreaking work to grow, a task that few were willing to undertake. Entire families were bound to slave-like contracts, forcing them to work on tea estates. Women and children suffered from oppressive colonial gender norms. Sugar as a commodity was encouraged by tea-drinking habits in England, which led to the export of Indians as indentured labor to colonies outside of India to work on sugar plantations. To expedite tea production and selling, the British implemented development initiatives such as railway lines, creating new infrastructure in India that was explicitly under British control.

Today, India is the world's second largest tea-exporter (following China), serving 25 countries across the globe. Still, the vast majority of Indian tea is grown in Assam and West Bengal (Darjeeling).[58] This research paper sparks several questions: if tea is a colonial creation, can it be decolonized? If so, how can it be decolonized? At the very least, Indians should be given credit for

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[55] Godoy, Maria (2016). "Tea Tuesdays: How Tea + Sugar Reshaped The British Empire" [Online]. Available: https://www.npr.org/sections/thesalt/2015/04/07/396664685/tea-tuesdays-how-tea-sugar-reshaped-the-british-empire [2022 May].

[56] Collingham, Curry, 195.

[57] Collingham, Curry, 205.

[58] "Tea Farming in India, Top Tea Manufacturers & Exporters in India - IBEF" [Online]. Available: https://www.ibef.org/exports/indian-tea-industry [2022 May].

creating the masalas of chai, which gives "chai tea lattes" their distinct flavor today. Certain activists even argue that corporations should pay reparations and proceeds to the Indian public, and especially plantation laborers and the poor who drink tea as a meal. Today, the repercussions of the actions the British took to popularize chai persist on tea estates, within roadside tea stalls, and across the world in popular cafe chains such as Starbucks.

It is worth acknowledging, however, that Indians adapted British tea by resisting the preferred corporate fashion of serving it without spices to make a version that suited traditional and cultural tastes. Indians were able to partially reclaim a beverage with a history so fraught with oppression.

British presence in India goes beyond economic and settler colonialism: the British introduction of tea altered society in terms of taste, labor, and hierarchy, and began a new cultural norm. Masala chai became so ingrained in Indian life that it is seen as an intrinsically Indian product today, despite the fact that it wouldn't exist without heavy colonial intervention. Beyond the colonization of land and bodies, through tea, the British succeeded in colonizing Indians' culture, aesthetics, and taste.

I would like to conclude by providing a modern-day personal family masala chai recipe, to show how relevant tea is to the contemporary lives of South Asians, even in diasporic communities. The spices, as well as milk and sugar, all have historical ties to Britain and colonization. The recipe is as follows: Boil water, add ground cardamom, cinnamon, and anise seeds. Add tea leaves to water, and brew for 5 minutes. Add boiling milk and sugar to taste.

Tea is not simply a drink or a product; it never has been. Tea is a political entity, intrinsically tied to colonization, with complex and wide-ranging repercussions in terms of labor, class, poverty, and colonization.

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"Rural folk sing and dance in an advertisement for Brooke Bond Kora Dust, circa 1920s-1930s." The Priya Paul Collection of Popular Art, Heidelberg.

Magic and Identity in Anglophone and Hispanaphone Caribbean Literature

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Abstract

In the late 19th and early 20th centuries, literature in the Caribbean underwent a period of significant development. The word "Caribbean" encompasses such a vast cultural, locational, and linguistic span that it is difficult to make generalizations about trends in the literature produced during this period. As a result, the contrast between Hispanophone and Anglophone Caribbean literature has not been thoroughly investigated. In this essay, I will compare and contrast themes from "Viaje a la Semilla" by Cuban author Alejo Carpentier, "Do Angels Wear Brassieres?" by Jamaican author Olive Senior, and "Pressure Drop" by Jamaican author Oku Onuora. I will also briefly discuss works by Afro-Cuban author Nicolás Guillén and Saint Lucian Derek Walcott. Aspects of these works—such as intended audience, political and social influences, and linguistic form—are investigated. Additionally, Caribbean literature is analyzed through the lens of magical realism. The throughline of this study is whether thematically metaphysical questions of belonging which have been attributed to Caribbean literature by previous scholars are maintained in both linguistic traditions. The import of this literature to explore and maintain cultural byways in the face of a diasporic experience is emphasized.

1. Introduction

Literature in the Caribbean experienced a boom in the late 19th and early 20th centuries. However, the word "Caribbean" encompasses such a vast cultural, locational, and linguistic span that it is difficult to make generalizations about trends in the resulting works. The suspended sense of place many Caribbean peoples experienced due to being part of the diaspora—culturally uprooted and displaced, regardless of whether they arrived in the Caribbean from overseas or were forced to leave—pervades their literary content. In his 2010 meditation on Caribbean literature, Edward Baugh suggests that a sense of longing ingrains locationality in the Caribbean experience, stating, "who I am is a function of where I am, or where I think I am" (Baugh, 2010, p. 8). It is in this sense of where the Caribbean writer thinks they are that

desire and shared experience begin to show their face (Baugh, 2010). Thematically metaphysical questions of belonging, "home," and a sense of liminality are pervasive in Caribbean literature, regardless of language. The experience of suspended cultural roots—the passionate desire for a nurturing place—is the desire at the heart of Caribbean literature (Baugh, 2010).

This experience, which inhibits Caribbean people from feeling that they have cultural roots, has been termed by Baugh as the Caribbean "of the heart": the passionate desire for a nurturing place (Baugh, 2010). In his piece, Baugh differentiates between "West Indian," a term referring to specifically Anglophone Caribbean territories, and "Caribbean," a larger and more all-encompassing term that can include far-flung areas to which large parts of the Caribbean population have spread, such as London and Miami (Baugh, 2010). For the purposes of this

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essay, I will use these terms in this fashion. Additionally, Hispanophone Caribbean literature is represented by Cuban authors in this analysis.

The Caribbean writers reviewed here convey a dysphoric struggle with identity as a result of colonization. This thematic unity can be observed in the use of magical realism, a writing technique that juxtaposes fantastical elements with the harsh realities of life by both Anglophone and Hispanophone authors (Mikics, 1995, p. 372). For instance, Anglophone Caribbean author Derek Walcott, a native of Saint Lucia who employed the use of magical realism, has written that magical realism is "the authoritative aesthetic response to the Caribbean cultural context" (Mikics 1995, pp. 372). Magical realism is historically associated with Hispanophone writers, including Cuban writer Alejo Carpentier, one of Walcott's inspirations (Mikics, 1995).

In this paper, I will investigate the shared thematic elements of Hispanophone and Anglophone Caribbean literature through a case study of select written works. I argue that as a result of Caribbean people's unique diasporic position, a thematically consistent sense of desire for a nurturing place is stylistically communicated in a manner that addresses and manipulates metaphysical aspects such as time, space, and class to unveil the Caribbean identity. The structures of reality explored through the "magic" of unfamiliar origins speak to their lived reality. I will provide a brief historical and cultural overview, conduct a literary analysis of selected Hispanophone and Anglophone works, and briefly analyze magical realism as it pertains to Caribbean literature. Through this investigation, I hope to shed light on the rich cultural analyses that can be gleaned from Caribbean literature and to inspire further study.

2. Historical and Cultural Background

The Hispanophone literary tradition was conceived and developed in areas of the Caribbean (Cuba, the Dominican Republic, and Puerto Rico) which were colonized and held by Spain c. 1500 until they were overtaken by the United States in the 1900s (Torres-Saillant, 1990; Perez-Rosario, 2016). Each linguistic tradition developed directly in response to patterns of colonization (Torres-Saillant, 1990; Perez-Rosario, 2016). The linguistic development of the West Indies toward Anglophile expression was the direct result of British schooling implemented there, an English education. Some West Indian authors identified strongly with English culture as a result of this education (Baugh, 2010; Mikics, 1995). As with everything in the Caribbean, there is crossover; it has not been historically uncommon for inhabitants to move amongst the territories as better opportunities for work present themselves (Giovanetti, 2006). West Indian writers faced the difficulty of a limited or uninterested audience among English readers in the Caribbean (Mervyn, 1967). It was necessary for most to move abroad—primarily to London—to find success (Perez-Rosario, 2016). This relocation influenced who they wrote for, though content tended to focus largely on Caribbean problems (Mervyn, 1967; Baugh, 2010). Linguistic traces of cultural origins show up in both Anglophone and Hispanophone writings. For instance, the Creole in Anglophone Jamaican pieces like "Pressure Drop" by Oku Onuora and "Do Angels Wear Brassieres?" by Olive Senior is still legible enough to the authors' European audiences, while the Spanish used in stories like Alejo Carpentier's *Guerra del Tiempo* suggests a different intended audience (Morris, 1967).

While much Cuban literature of the 20th century focuses on the Negritude movement and heavily features African subtexts, West Indian literature hones in on a blurred sense of identity as a result of being a part of the diaspora, centering its use of language on a European audience. Cuban authors Alejo Carpentier and Hispano-African Nicolás Guillén—perhaps the most notable poet from Cuba—were influenced by the Negritude

movement in Paris and heavily feature its themes in their writing (Mikics, 1995; Sáinz-Blanco, 1987). The Negritude inspiration found in Cuban texts was likely influenced by the increased racial tensions between people of color in Cuba (Giovanetti, 2006).

After Cuba gained independence from Spain in 1898, a period of occupation by the United States significantly impacted the development of Cuban culture. In the early-mid 20th century, Cubans experienced racial confusion that was unmatched in intensity by the rest of the Caribbean (Giovanetti, 2006; Sáinz-Blano, 1987). Although some racial politics existed before this period, as Afro-Cubans and an influx of West Indians were seen to threaten Cuban job security, Afro-Cubans and Hispanic Cubans were united in worker's rights protests and shared common goals (Giovanetti, 2006). In fact, there was a significant degree of distinction between Afro-Cubans and the Hispanic Cuban population reflected in Cuban literature, often superseding any shared connection to Latin America (Giovanetti, 2006).

3. Hispanophone Literature Review

While Anglophone Caribbean writers directed their pens toward Europe, Hispanophone Cuban writers such as Alejo Carpentier integrated literary techniques from Spanish writers using thematic artifacts hearkening to the cultures of ancestral Africa and Indigenous Caribbean peoples (Mikics, 1995). Other Hispanophone Cuban authors used different methods to a similar end. Nicolas Guillén employed the use of region-specific language to communicate directly with a non-White audience in the face of racial tensions following Cuba's independence from Spain (Sáinz-Blanco, 1987). Guillén's use of linguistic elements convey with nuance what authors like Carpentier achieve through broader thematic strategy; Guillén creates an atmosphere that alludes to the complex multicultural Caribbean experience by displaying its artifacts. Guillén uses the 'jitanjáfora' linguistic technique of incorporating African words and

phrases into his writing—even in ways that do not make sense contextually—which contributes to this layered atmosphere when the text is read (Sáinz-Blanco, 1987). For instance, when accompanied with Cuban instruments, the rhythm of Guillén's writing hearkens to traditional African music (Sáinz-Blanco, 1987). Guillén also features African places and religious figures in his texts. With Spanish language, African rhythm and phrases, and a Caribbean setting, Guillén's use of language reaches into the subconscious and pulls up a layered, visceral understanding of the Afro-Cuban identity.

Alejo Carpentier employed magical realism in his 1963 short story collection *Guerra del tiempo*. In the short story "Viaje a la semilla," Carpentier leads the reader through a maze of dreamlike sequences initiated by a scene in which an Afro-Cuban *santero*—a priest of the Santería religion—waves a wand, lights candles, and initiates the turning back of time. While the result of this ritual is made clear in hindsight, it is only when the author casually mentions that "the palm trees lost some of their rings" in the fourth part that the reader fully comprehends that time is moving backwards, that they are witnessing the main character Don Marcial's journey away from both his own death and the dismantling of his estate—which the story begins with—and back to the womb.

Certain aspects of the story seem so steeped in cultural experience that without context, it can be difficult to parse what the author is trying to convey in his layered sense. Take the various artifacts of Caribbean life Carpentier leaves strewn about his scenes: the *santero* who starts Don Marcial's transformation; the *negros* who seem in some senses to be exterior to the story and punctuate with an expression of resistance to colonialism within the confines of the page. The old *traje de chispero*, a costume from a bygone Carnival celebration, greeted with applause by a group of young adults playing dress-up and stealing kisses while playing hide-and-seek. A kind of coded cultural intertextuality is formed

between vestiges of oral narrative and the contemporary literary work through the cultural artifacts Carpentier weaves throughout the story (Mikics, 1995).

In the opening scene, Carpentier lays out the framework for the story and his message in his description of Don Marcial's house. The final phrase of Part I of the short story is *bisagras desorientadas*—dislocated hinges—referring to the doorframe standing absent in the house, which has been dismantled. The foreshadowing implies that the protagonist will be stripped of the life experiences that ornate his own being and return to a reduced state. The vignettes in Carpentier's writing are vivid: perfume oil spilling from the hand of a woman with loosened hair; a jar of water falling to the floor, followed by a flood. Rooting these various splashes of vividity is the metaphorical dislocation of the Caribbean people, interwoven with an expression of a deeper *magia* that may predate colonialism. The verbiage in the opening sequence denotes a grating, uncomfortable experience as the appreciable remains (*restos apreciables*) of the house fall methodically, piece by piece. The *restos apreciables* may be the vestiges of the African and Indigenous cultures which the story is littered with in its depiction of Don Marcial's youth.

The story of Don Marcial is one of privilege. Don Marcial is an entitled heir to a Cuban oligarchy which falls by the time Marical reaches old age. In his childhood, he recalls being pleased to witness his father "punish" (probably rape, unbeknownst to the young Marcial) a young mulata. Generally, the *mulatas* and *negros* in this story are treated as objects from Marcial's perspective and as magical beings from Carpentier's perspective. Neither is necessarily unerring from a 21st-century viewpoint, and it is possible that the European-born Carpentier did not have the insight to fully speak to these dynamics. Yet surrounding Don Marcial's experience are the *mulatas*; the *negros*; the intoxication of the Caribbean in scent, sound, and touch.

Carpentier utilizes magical realism in a way that is specific to his own philosophy that the reality of Caribbean life is so extraordinary it seems magical. The richness of his language as he describes cultural artifacts and myths within the story demonstrates this magic. The themes of the story are consistent with those of Caribbean literature discussed in other texts: questions regarding the ephemerality of meaning and life are asked without a clear answer; the significance in the life of the protagonist is secondary to the perfume and magic of cross-cultural experience against the backdrop of the Caribbean sun.

4. Analysis of Magical Realism

Carpentier asserted that the "magic" that exists in Caribbean works is rooted in a native cultural history of tradition and belief that finds continuity through colonization, past the gates of liberation, and on into the unknown future. This magic is supposedly unavailable to European writers but inherently exists in Caribbean works (Mikics, 1995).

It is the way in which this fundamental question of identity at the heart of the Caribbean experience is expressed that distinguishes Hispanophone literature from Anglophone literature. David Mikics asserts that the magical realism is the most appropriate form to convey the Caribbean experience in Spanish-language texts due to its dreamlike and ambiguous qualities, that the weight of the various historic events and origins which are impressed so heavily on a lived Caribbean reality are best expressed using this style . Frederic Jameson, building on Alejo Carpentier's ideas, claims that it is the simultaneous coexistence of many traditions, histories, and Indigenous cultures in the "New World" which provide the "magic" in these authors' works. Jameson includes authors like William Faulkner in his definition, stating that in spaces where several cultures or historical periods exist, so too does the potential for magical realist perspectives (Mikics, 1995). In a way, magical

realism is then a form which takes into its defense the reality of the persistence of African and various Indigenous cultural byways in the dominant, colonial culture. Magical realism helps to situate the Caribbean experience itself as a fixed reality that is joined together by various cultural and historical experiences that are being brought through space and time and which color the present while reaching back to the past, a place both of continual transition and remembering.

Importantly, Mikics includes in his discussion of the natural in magical realism a comparison between Derek Walcott and Chilean author Pablo Neruda. Mikics notes that while both Walcott and Neruda recognize the land as imprinted with ancestral happenings, Neruda digs deeper into the experiences of his Chilean ancestors and displays an emphatic understanding, as though he were experiencing their reality through them. Walcott, however, in a manner characteristic of Caribbean thought, expresses confusion at his identity and a distance between himself and any Indigenous identity. Rather than boldly assuming the scars of his ancestors, Walcott describes putting "the shell's howl to his ear" and listening to the ghostly cries of the various peoples who have been forced from their homes overseas to the Caribbean (395). Based on this vignette, the use of Spanish does not necessarily bind the Spanish-speaking Caribbean writer to the Mexican or South American any more than to the European or the African; the searching and dissonance which takes place is unique to Caribbean authorship.

5. Anglophone Literature Review

Yet Carpentier's story lacks some of the weariness of other Caribbean texts. In Carpentier's works, the use of magical realism is clear, and he dips into his understanding of Afro-Cuban religion and pieces from various cultures, including references to Indigenous culture and Santería in order to convey their "magical" permanence. In contrast, Anglophone works such as "Pressure Drop," though also hazy and sun-soaked, do not convey the "magical" as easily. In Jamaican poet Oku Onuora's poem "Pressure Drop," the language, imagery, and content stand inside the despair of oppression, rather than dancing around it as Carpentier's work does. Various lamentations and acknowledgments of the Jamaican experience are expressed in a musical, syncopated lyrical style—which would become known as "dub poetry."

Rather than intimating any dreamlike or distant suffering as Carpentier does, Onuora directly describes the system of oppression from the perspective of the oppressed, who are concerned about having their basic needs met. His explicit and stark style of poetry conveys the harsh realities of poverty and discrimination in three stanzas, which each follow characters dealing with various socioeconomic struggles. Notably, Onuora uses the phrase "pressure drop"—which references the point when the pressure which has been building throughout the stanza comes to a crescendo and drops—to mark the end of each scenario he describes. In the first stanza, Onuora describes a man who is writhing and vulnerable from hunger. He smokes, looks at his surroundings—noting garbage and a dead dog—and exclaims that it is not right. The man is so overwhelmed by his circumstances that he feels he might explode; then, the phrase "pressure drop" ends this stanza. "Pressure Drop" hearkens to the slave ballads of the United States in denoting the hardships experienced specifically by low-income Jamaicans, yet rather than containing themes of hope to overcome one's current circumstances, the stanzas continue to build in tension and to incorporate descriptions of emotional and circumstantial turmoil, ending in a description of a murder before the final pressure drop. The poem could almost be read in a round; the movements described seem to be continual and rotational: pressure builds, then drops, then builds then, drops. The characters here are not able to concern themselves with larger questions of meaning and belonging; they are simply stuck in a cycle of precarious circumstances, looking for a way to eat.

Although Caribbean fiction spans a vast range of places, times, and experiences, perhaps readers can view the other pieces included here as an evolution from conditions of more direct hardship and poverty, denoting an additional piece of the origins of the characteristic liminality in Caribbean writing. The poem is written with nonstandard spelling in a Jamaican dialect and is sometimes difficult to parse without an intimate understanding of Jamaican slang. This suggests that Onuora wrote the poem without the intention of reaching a European audience, which was the standard for Caribbean authors in the 20th century (Mervys, 1967).

The legacies of colonization and a desire to connect with a more genuine identity than that which has been impressed upon them through oppression are the primary driving forces behind Caribbean literature in this period; it is a cultural exploration of the self. Beccka—Trinidadian author Olive Senior's witty child heroine in the short story "Do Angels Wear Brassieres?"—serves as an allegory for the Caribbean mindset toward life and their oppressors. The short story can be read on two levels. On its surface, it is a lighthearted narrative where colonial hierarchies are explicated as an independent-minded Jamaican girl questions the power structures she is exposed to in her interactions with her aunt, mother, neighbors, and religious leaders. On a secondary level, hearkening to magical realism, Senior playfully interweaves the possibility of Beccka as a magical or mythological character, a representative of African values amidst her highly Catholicized and assimilated community. Beccka's neighbor's claim that Beccka is possessed by the devil and Beccka's tongue-in-cheek manner of relating to the world are established at the very beginning of the story. Beccka also "winks at God," who she recognizes in the form of an Anansi spider. The Anansi folk tales are associated with the Akan, a people originating in Africa and later inhabiting the Caribbean via the slave trade, and feature a mischievous god who is capable of using his intelligence to triumph over more powerful enemies. In the vein of devices used by Carpentier and Guillén, Beccka could be said to be an incarnation or representation of Anansi.

In the story, as a response to the neighbor's comments about Beccka's behavior, Beccka's aunt and mother decide to have her sit down with the archdeacon of the church. Senior uses nonstandard spelling to convey a Jamaican dialect both in dialogue and narration. Only the archdeacon, an Englishman who is representative of colonizing or White-influenced forces, speaks without any hint of local dialect. The archdeacon uses phrases like "my dear child!" and "my word!" to respond, in a European-tinged manner, to Beccka's humorous commentary on the Bible. An undercurrent in the story is the use of religion (specifically Catholicism) to bolster and justify colonizing power structures. The efforts of Beccka's aunt and mother to conform to the expectations of the church and society as a whole in order to advance their social standing are seen in their orientation toward the archdeacon. Beccka's mother is noted to be "weeping daily in excitement" that the archdeacon will be visiting them. These efforts go unrewarded, as made apparent by the archdeacon's relative ambivalence toward visiting them: he frequently makes short stops at their house when he is in town solely to take some of their roses, while Beccka's mother's pleads him to grace them for tea. Beccka's absurdist question to the archdeacon during tea—whether angels wear brassieres or not—serves as a foil for the conformity of the adults around her. The inquiry goes unanswered; the adults are flummoxed, and the archdeacon goes home. The young protagonist is often chastised for her intelligent curiosity, for instance, in asking how worms reproduce. She is finally pleased after running away from home and meeting a neighbor who answers her question, admitting that only "as far as he knows," female angels do wear brassieres. The friendship with this neighbor is sustained because he puts off societally scripted responses and thinks from a less constricted perspective.

The interactions between these characters act as a mirror, reflecting the imprint of the slave trade, the eradication of non-colonizing cultures, and the absurdity of some rigid structures in the world through the eyes of a child. Beccka, who might as well be Anansi in child form, throws a wrench into the machine by refusing to fit into it ideologically. Beccka stands out so much against the norms that her aunt even considers drugging her for the archdeacon's visit. Nevertheless, it is in an open-minded and fluid approach to ontological questions (even the silliest of them) that Beccka is pleased. This story exemplifies two qualifying aspects of Caribbean literature. The first is the dynamic and nuanced approach that Caribbean intellectuals take toward ontological and existential questions—the ability to exist in a liminal space and the bravery to investigate it. The second is the acknowledgement of colonial power structures and how these have been historically constrictive forces in Caribbean spaces. With Beccka's character placed adjacent to the Akan Anansi god, Senior's story also slyly nods to the dynamism of Caribbean cultures.

6. Conclusion

Although the audiences these various pieces were written for differ, the bravery to investigate one's locationality, and the longing for a denouement that adequately expresses the complexity of the diasporic experience are central themes of Caribbean literature, regardless of the language in which it is produced. Alejo Carpentier's fascination with Santería and the Negritude movement, along with his upbringing in Cuba, resulted in a rich cultural tapestry within his writing. Oku Okunora's "Pressure Drop" succinctly and powerfully communicates the continual struggle of poverty and oppression. Olive Senior's young Beccka in "Do Angels Wear Brassieres?" flips power structures on their heads, with the brave Anansi girl's intellectually curious take on the world reflective of Jamaican intellectual thought. Utilizing the lens of magical

realism and employing close reading to unearth cultural markers embedded in the texts, readers can more fully appreciate the complexity of Caribbean literature. Caribbean literature holds a wealth of cultural significance; it has been used by Caribbean authors as a primary avenue to explore and maintain cultural byways in the face of a diasporic experience. Further analysis of Anglophone, Francophone, and Hispanaphone Caribbean texts' thematic elements—both discussed and not discussed in this essay—should be pursued in future research.

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A Review on the Effects of Homicide on Co-Victims: Mental Health, Coping, and Race

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Abstract

Presently, there is a limited body of research interested in the effects of homicide on victims' close friends and family; however, it is important to explore the consequences of these tragedies on the living. This report delves into uncharted territory: currently, there is no comprehensive publication that addresses the extensive issues impacting co-victims. The literature review aimed to examine, in their entirety, the recorded effects of homicide on surviving friends and family members of murder victims, hereafter known as co-victims. Following the analysis of seven pertinent articles, the key findings were as follows: six articles focused on the mental health outcomes for co-victims, four articles focused on the coping strategies used by co-victims following the trial and sentencing and how to better support them, and three articles focused on how Black and Latinx communities were disproportionately co-victimized when compared with any other community. Additionally, two articles specifically focused on adolescents and young adult co-victims, while all other articles generally focused on co-victims as a whole or only adults. This report analyzes and discusses the effects of homicide on co-victims in relation to the sociology of mental health, spanning structural strain theory, stress paradigm, and perceived social support. Lastly, the report offers a policy proposal regarding future care practices for co-victims via wraparound services.

1. Introduction

A homicide is defined as the willful or non-negligent killing of one human being by another, typically comprising the smallest portion of violent crimes in the United States, according to the Bureau of Justice Statistics. Still, in America alone, there were 24,576 homicides in 2020, which corresponds to a rate of 7.5 deaths per 100,000 citizens (National Center for Health Statistics, n.d.). The United States has seen a 30 percent increase in its homicide rate between 2019 and 2020, a phenomenon that has caused national and even global concern and has ultimately led to homicide's categorization as a "public health concern" in both the United States and in other countries with similar homicide rates

(Mastrocinque et al., 2014). Studies have shown that the average death by homicide leaves in its wake 6–10 close friends or family members who will become "co-victims" of the crime—heavily impacted survivors (Mastrocinque et al., 2014). This report seeks to minimize homicides' adverse effects on co-victims by better defining the mental health effects that co-victims experience via the sociology of mental health in order to illuminate the different paths to improving co-victims' mental health outcomes.

Prior to the late 20th century, few studies had addressed the effects of homicide on co-victims, although more recently, in the 21st century, studies have begun to address mental and physical health concerns for co-victims. Historically, co-victims have never had specific support structures to

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provide them with the information needed to navigate the criminal justice system (CJS) or the unique kinds of trauma that affect their mental health. Various studies confirm that co-victims face an increased likelihood of being diagnosed with mental illnesses, including post-traumatic stress disorder (PTSD), anxiety disorders, severe depression, and substance abuse (Mastrocinque et al., 2014).

Some recent findings suggest that co-victims may benefit from long-term care for their mental health. These findings also promote the creation of systems that directly support co-victims in managing encounters with the CJS—and the media, in some cases—considering that during the trial and sentencing portions of homicidal crimes, co-victims are often unable to process the grief of losing a loved one. In some cases, the media will cover homicide trials, which can be traumatizing for co-victims; thus, affected co-victims must be supported as the case is being reported on. It is also critical to note that members of Black and Latinx communities have a disproportionately higher chance of experiencing the murder of someone close and requiring resources that are culturally appropriate, such as wraparound services (Bastomki & Duane, 2019). Thus, I find that the mental health effects that co-victims endure merit a change to the current CJS system and the services provided to co-victims in the status quo. Indeed, current research states that co-victims' mental health worsens when interacting with the CJS and suggests that they receive long-term assistance in order to support their process of grieving the homicide of a loved one.

This literature review corroborates many of the current theories of the sociology of mental health, as the effects of homicides on co-victims tie directly back to the sociological lenses of structural strain theory,[1] stress paradigm,[2] and

perceived social support.[3] Each of the three frameworks provide significant insight into an affected individual's quality of life. Thus, by looking through the various lenses, professionals may be able to identify the root of the mental illness and treat it in a way that improves each co-victim's quality of life.

2. Methodology

In order to conduct this literature review, I searched the Google Scholar and University of Oregon Library Online electronic databases to find relevant articles on the effects of homicide on co-victims. To refine my search, I used key terms such as "co-victims," "mental health," "tense relationships," "homicide," "murder," "health consequences," "family," "parents," "siblings," "survivor," "friends," "psychology," "sociology," "biopsychosocial," "service providers," "PTSD," and "trauma." During this search, I narrowed the results down to the seven most relevant studies to develop a literature review; relevance was defined by which articles provided the most notable research on co-victims. The research sites were primarily located within the United States, though a few of the studies were conducted in Western Europe. Each article employed several different methodologies; however, phone interviews and monitoring[4] seemed to be the most common forms of data collection.

3. Literature Review

3.1. Effects of Mental Health on Co-Victimization

Psychological effects on co-victims were the most significant subtheme in this review; six of the seven articles focused on this topic, especially

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[1] A method of understanding crime wherein strain and pressures in society can lead people to commit crimes.
[2] The theory that stressful experiences can affect a person's ability to adapt and result in negative impacts on a person's body and/or mind.

[3] The amount of support someone perceives they have from friends, family, and other human resources during stressful times.
[4] Regular check-ins with victims as part of a study.

regarding PTSD and other stress/anxiety-related disorders. Other evidence suggested that there was a greater increase in mental illnesses in adolescent than adult co-victims and that the effects on adolescents' mental health were long-lasting, though they diminished over time (Rheingold et al., 2011; Zinzow et al., 2009).

Distress among co-victims was a common theme within the samples found. One study conducted by Anton van Wijk, Ilse van Leiden, and Henk Ferwerda (2016) theorized that a co-victim's mental health weakens when a homicide occurs, though it gradually rebounds over time. Importantly, the researchers found that the use of long-term services[5] allows co-victims to heal their mental health. They also found that the worst state of mental health occurs during criminal proceedings and hearings and during special seasonal events like holidays, birthdays, and the victim's anniversary of death. Six articles (Bastomki & Duane, 2019; Gross, 2007; Mastrocinque et al., 2015; Rheingold et al., 2011; Wijk, Leiden, & Ferwerda, 2016; Zinzow et al., 2009) concluded that co-victims' most common mental health diagnosis was PTSD. Mastrocinque's (2015) study found that "23.3% of all immediate family survivors, or more than 1 in 5, developed homicide related PTSD after the homicide," which often resulted from the violent nature of the crime and was exacerbated by seeing crime-scene photos and hearing testimonies in court about the brutality of the homicide (Rheingold et al., 2011). The most common symptoms reported were as follows: loss of self, violating devastation, loss of control, loss of innocence, and becoming a "different person" (Wijk, Leiden, & Ferwerda, 2016). The severity of these effects demonstrates why the use of coping skills and other out-patient treatment (i.e., therapy) services are important to incorporate into co-victims' daily lives—these services could help shorten the intense grieving process.

Not only are co-victims at higher risk for PTSD disorders, they are also threatened by other stress and anxiety-related disorders and symptoms (Bastomki & Duane, 2019; Gross, 2007; Rheingold et al., 2011; Zinzow et al., 2009). Adolescents and women are likely to experience more severe symptoms, along with an increase in sleeping disorders and eating disorders, whereas PTSD presents in similar rates across all co-victims (Rheingold et al., 2011; Wijk, Leiden, & Ferwerda, 2016; Zinzow et al., 2009). Mental illness also affected a co-victim's experiences within their environment, resulting in perceptions of "economic stressors, stigmatization, fear of recurrence, anxiety when encountering reminders of the event, negative beliefs about themselves and the world, and feelings of guilt and responsibility," especially for co-victims who were close relatives of the victim (Zinzow et al., 2009). These illnesses, in addition to impacting co-victims' self-perceptions and internal thoughts, also result in behavioral changes, emotional reactions, changes in worldviews, and effects on family dynamics (Mastrocinque et al., 2015).

In their 2015 study, Mastrocinque et al. argued that the process of grief is seemingly longer and more adverse for homicide survivors than for other types of co-victims due to the violent nature to the crime. Mastrocinque and their colleagues found that homicide co-victims do not always conform to average stages of grief and often had a longer grieving period than other types of co-victims. This phenomenon, they posited, may be attributed to the tendency of many co-victims to conceal their grief during criminal proceedings, rendering them unable to process their emotions until after proceedings and sentencing are finished.

3.2. Coping Strategies Used During Trials and Sentencing

Four of the seven journals reviewed focused at

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[5] Professional support from outside resources over an extended period of time.

least portions of their findings on the coping strategies co-victims use during the trial and sentencing phases of the CJS, concluding that various forms of coping—such as spirituality, means making,[6] collective coping,[7] maintaining a connection with the deceased, and concealment—can help lessen the grieving for co-victims. As addressed previously, studies have demonstrated that co-victimization by homicide led to feelings of shock, rage, guilt, helplessness, isolation, elongated or chronic grief, and posttraumatic stress reactions in co-victims. Stemming these destructive reactions is essential, for the manner in which someone copes with stress plays a vital role in determining their mental health outcome (Sharpe & Boyas, 2011). Co-victims often experience the CJS negatively when coping with grief, which is exacerbated during criminal proceedings, when they are treated insensitively, reported about negatively in the media, and are oftentimes unable to access information about the case on their loved one(s). Thus, it is imperative that more research focuses on reforming the CJS to improve the experience for co-victims.

The most-used coping strategies take the form of spiritual coping, means making, maintaining a connection with the deceased, collective coping/caring for others, and concealment (Mastrocinque et al., 2015; Sharpe & Boyas, 2011). Four studies (Bastomki & Duane, 2019; Gross, 2007; Mastrocinque et al., 2015; Sharp & Boyas, 2011) agreed that greater value was placed in relational coping[8] or collective coping, specifically through means of seeking support from close friends and family, than receiving care from formal social networks (e.g., counseling services). However, although familial support seemed more beneficial to co-victims for coping with their grief, wraparound services were extremely important in helping co-victims navigate the CJS and unwanted media attention (Bastomki & Duane, 2019; Gross,

2007). These wraparound services focus on strength-based and needs-driven approaches, which aim to allow co-victims to achieve overall well-being. Bastomski and Duane's (2019) findings noted that Black and Latinx communities were more likely to lose someone to homicide than any other race or ethnicity, but they also had to face more extreme barriers when trying find and receive support. Therefore, an increased utilization of wraparound services may help co-victims cope with their loss, especially while going through the CJS.

3.3. Effects of Homicide on Black and Latinx Communities in the U.S.

There were three articles (Bastomki & Duane, 2019; Sharpe & Boyas, 2011; Zinzow et al., 2009) that focused on the effects of homicide on co-victims belonging to Black and Latinx communities in the United States. Not only are these two communities more likely to know individuals who died due to homicide—members of Black and Latinx communities are murdered over six times more often than non-Hispanic Whites in the United States each year (Sharpe & Boyas, 2011)—but they are also more likely to face barriers in the CJS and the media when trying to navigate various parts of a trial (Bastomki & Duane, 2019). This primarily occurs because the people who tend to become co-victims typically hail from marginalized, disadvantaged, and underserved communities and often do not have the funding or services available to cope with losing a loved one or community member (Bastomki & Duane, 2019).

Through the articles I reviewed, I found that many disadvantaged groups that experience co-victimization at higher rates are more likely to find peace with losing a loved one through cultural and spiritual values, typically in the form of prayer and

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[6] The process by which people aim to understand life events, relationships, and themselves.

[7] Collectively handling stressors via an interconnected network.

[8] Managing one's own stress while also attending to a significant other's emotional needs.

other faith-based practices in their community (Sharpe & Boyas, 2011; Zinzow et al., 2009). Often, Black co-victims must seek support within their racial community and from close friends because the oppression, discrimination, and socioeconomic challenges that Black and Latinx communities have faced in the United States have created a distrust in formal social services like counseling and CJS/media support (Sharpe & Boyas, 2011).

4. Connection to Sociology of Mental Health: A Discussion

There are three concepts in the sociology of mental health that can be used to dissect the effects of homicide on co-victims: structural strain theory, stress paradigm, and perceived social support. Broadly, the sociology of mental health investigates the framework of social and environmental factors on people's mental health within a community. This framework provides indicators for an individual's quality of life, specifically via structural strain theory, stress paradigm, and perceived social support. The structural strain theory falls under the third "leg" of sociological approaches to mental health, correlating with the idea that the social arrangements of a society predict a pattern of distress and can explain why some individuals resort to actions involving crime or deviance. On the other hand, the stress paradigm examines the various types and levels of stress that an individual can experience throughout their lifetime and attempts to explain how these experiences can affect other aspects of the individual's life. Meanwhile, perceived social support functions as a buffering mechanism: social support facilitates the ability to deal with stress. The buffering mechanism refers to the "presence of a social support system [that] helps buffer, or shield, an individual from the negative impact of stressful events," serving a school of thought that believes in perceived social support benefitting individuals

(House, Umberson, & Landis, 1988).

"Deviants" usually come from disadvantaged neighborhoods with low socioeconomic statuses; because of this, when people in disadvantaged communities commit crimes—like homicide— these offenses in turn lead to higher rates of co-victimization amongst their own races/ethnicities and enclosed societies (Aldigé & Burns, 2017; Thoits, 2017). Furthermore, strain on an individual, which is usually characterized by increased stressors, is experienced when ones does not conform to society's expectations. In other words, when co-victims do not conform to the "normal" steps and longevity of grief, they are rejecting conformity through innovation, ritualism, retreatism, and/or rebellion (Merton, 2011). This is often realized alongside the stress paradigm: the more stress that someone endures, the more likely they are to commit a crime, according to Merton's strain theory.

Indeed, co-victimization relates back to both the stress paradigm and perceived social support; when someone loses a loved one, they not only must endure a life-changing event but can also experience the loss as a chronic stressor as well. Co-victimization is an upending event: the survivor must adapt socially within their environment and psychologically within their mental space to living without their loved one (Turner & Brown, 2017). Homicide becomes a chronic stressor when an individual has a constant, trauma-induced stressor that is viewed as "unstable" in the eyes of society. Therefore, in some cases, co-victims with immense legal bills, suffering marriages, or recent unemployment due to the loss of a loved one can be considered to be suffering from a chronic stressor. Both kinds of stressors can increase when a person's perceived social support is low and can ultimately lead to mental illness if exposure to stressors is prolonged (Turner & Brown, 2017).

Perceived social support is a key factor in the well-being of people in a society, especially when it comes to suffering from a traumatic event like losing a loved one. Not only do people who

perceive that they have more social support tend to be less depressed, social support is vital to protecting against stress and factors of stress, like PTSD, anxiety, and depression (Wheaton & Montazer, 2017). Through the buffering effect, social support helps people to "deal" with stress, typically by means of feeling loved and valued or engaging with a network of community members. Social support allows co-victims to grieve properly, especially during the criminal proceedings portion of their journey of losing a loved one (Wheaton & Montazer, 2017). During the situation-specific event of homicide, social support is a vital coping resource, facilitating the grieving process in a way that suits the individual co-victim. When perceived social support is high, co-victims are allowed to grieve autonomously and navigate their stressors without fear of judgement or backlash, leading to better health outcomes in the long-term (Wheaton & Montazer, 2017).

5. Wraparound Services: A Policy Solution

Wraparound services can be broadly described as care that supports individuals struggling with emotional, mental and behavioral problems. However, the term "wraparound" was first used to refer to childcare, particularly to the care of children who were emotionally disturbed or had committed crimes (Mears et al., 2003). Typically, this approach is the opposite of the traditional, service-driven care that is seen within the mainstream mental health industry; wraparound services instead focus on a strengths-based, needs-driven approach. Thus, the service creates a plan that is individualized to the person receiving care and that reflects the person's interests and culture (CDSS, n.d.).

For co-victims, wraparound services can provide community and family-driven support, allowing co-victims to connect with members of their community that are facing similar emotions in the wake of a community homicidal death. This

is beneficial, especially for Black and Latinx co-victims, since these groups tend to live in enclosed communities with other Black and Latinx individuals and therefore could receive services from professionals that share a similar culture and lived experience. Within the legal field, wraparound services inform co-victims about the CJS, including information about how legal proceedings function, an overview of the process of pre-trial and trial events, instruction on communicating with the media, and the tools to better advocate for themselves and the needs of other co-victims around them (Lowry et al., 2020). Furthermore, wraparound services foster collaboration between community agencies and the CJS to develop better co-victim-related programs, including training on co-victim resources, cultural competence, safety, and trauma-informed responses (DePrince & Srinivas, 2014). Thus, upon equipping wraparound staff with various tools to support co-victims, co-victims are able to attain a higher level of perceived social support, which in turn will benefit their mental health in the long run.

However, there are issues that must be addressed within the realm of wraparound services. For instance, not every state provides subsidized wraparound services, which can be quite expensive to the average American citizen. Therefore, communities of Black and Latinx individuals who are systemically economically burdened are often unable to access the support that they need. Additionally, those states that do maintain free or low-cost wraparound services typically only have a system designated for adolescents that need guidance on behavior and mental health—not for adults (or adolescents) who need co-victimization support. Therefore, the most effective policy solution would be to ensure that wraparound services in each state are free or low-cost for citizens of that state to utilize, especially when going through the judicial system. Furthermore, each state that provides wraparound services should make an effort to diversify—both religiously and racially—their

staff, so that various people of different races, religions, and ethnicities can receive services from employees that relate to their background and life experiences. These services would thoroughly help co-victims not only by guiding them through the complex CJS and media apparatuses during the pre-trial and trial phases, but also by providing them with the support they need as they continue to grieve long past the conclusion of the trial, regardless of the outcome.

6. Conclusion

The goal of this report was to establish the evidence on the effects of homicide on co-victims and propose a policy solution based on the evidence gathered. My key findings were that co-victims are likely to suffer from mental illness after the crime, specifically in the forms of PTSD, anxiety disorders, and depression, though other diagnoses like insomnia and drug/alcohol-related illnesses were common as well. These illnesses seemed to be more prominent and aggressive in adolescent co-victims; it was found that adolescents can suffer from developmental issues when a loved one dies from homicide when the co-victim is young. The grief experienced by homicide co-victims tended to last longer than in other forms of co-victimization or loss, considering the violent nature of the death and the prolongment of the grieving process due to burdensome criminal trials and sentencing. Coping strategies during CJS proceedings typically took the form of spirituality, means making, maintaining a connection with the deceased, collective coping/caring for others, and concealment. Accepting familial support tended to be the best form of coping in order to help the co-victim proceed through the stages of grief; however, many co-victims found that they were unable to grieve during CJS hearings, as they were constantly dealing with law enforcement and learning about the legal system. This extended grieving period could be mitigated by providing subsidized wraparound services to co-victims to

help guide them through the CJS and exposure from the media. However, such services have been scarce in Black and Latinx communities, even though these communities disproportionately experience the homicide of loved ones when compared with any other race or ethnicity in America.

Through its cross-application to the literature, the sociology of mental health helps clarify the effects of homicide on co-victims. The structural strain theory proves that strain is common for co-victims, especially disadvantaged survivors, who do not conform to the socially ideal image of grieving, inhibiting co-victims' ability to process their grief—especially if they are unable to access the resources they need. Alongside structural strain theory, the stress paradigm understands that co-victims are more likely to receive mental illness diagnoses of PTSD, anxiety, and depression on the basis that they are undergoing life-changing events and chronic stressors that may ultimately lead to them being viewed as "unstable" in society. However, with a high amount of perceived social support—which can be expanded further by increasing the accessibility of wraparound services—co-victims can both grieve properly and better defend themselves against mental illness.

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