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The Architecture of Violence in the Lives of Young Latinas

by

Clarissa A. Rojas

DISSERTATION

Submitted in partial satisfaction of the requirements for the degree of

DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

in

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in the

GRADUATE DIVISION

of the

UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA, SAN FRANCISCO

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by

Clarissa A. Rojas

IN GRATITUDE

In prayer, blessed be the moments made possible through gestures of love, kindness, generosity, and the divine. It is not the will of one or two, but the blessings of the entire universe that make them possible. For this I am eternally grateful. I bow in gratitude of the gestures and offerings granted that inspired location in the fleeting moments of these pages.

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ABSTRACT

THE ARCHITECTURE OF VIOLENCE IN THE LIVES OF YOUNG LATINAS

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This dissertation considers violence in the lives of 5 young Latinas in San Francisco's Mission District. Through critical ethnography, longitudinal interviews and phenomenological case narratives, this dissertation traces the ways these young Latinas endure violence in the streets and in their homes through intimate violence, gang violence, military invasion, family separation, and more. The community based research approach applies grounded theory, decolonizing and liberatory research methodologies intent on doing justice through the research process. A nexus of transdisciplinary theoretical frameworks including Chicana and Black feminisms, feminisms of color, postcolonial, and neo-Marxian theories and feminisms anchor this dissertation.

Whereas the substantial body of research on this issue posits violence as an (pathologized) aberrant behavior occasionally encountered, these young women concur that violence is a daily reality they experience everywhere, coming from multiple directions and appearing in multiple ways, spanning from state violence to intimate violence. These findings lead to a proposed model to consider the social "architecture of violence" from the vantage point of Latinas and women of color. The model addresses the core roots of manifestations of violence, including physical, ideological and spiritual manifestations of violence. I argue that individualizing, racialized, colonial and heteropatriarchal narratives of medicalization and criminalization inform the dominant approaches to the study of violence and to corresponding movements and policy interventions, thereby reproducing violence against women of color and people of color. Instead, I propose we consider the intersecting social forces of inequality, state and economic arrangements, institutional violence and individual complicity with said social violences to better understand and therefore prevent violence. The model situates the social "structuration of violence" in order to facilitate the interrogation and accountability of all parties responsible in the deployment of violence, including the macro-structural and institutional conditioning and conjuring of intimate and interpersonal violence. This approach to the study of violence against women builds on models of state and structural violence, and furthers them by introducing intersectional analytical frameworks that consider the ways violence is produced at all levels through what I call the "archetypes of violence," that is the intersecting deployment of racial, colonial, class, and sex/gendering/heteronormative violence that are endemic and co-constitutive of social processes of inequality.

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A PREFACE

windows in the confines: violence comes and violence goes

I was ten or eleven years old. He was twice my size and about four times my age. I can still see his hand slicing across the air between us as if it were captured in some slow motion memory game inside my head. Sometimes all I see is his hand, it is separate from his body, as if it is its own machine with its own intent and mission. It's headed in my direction. Probably happened real fast, had to, because it eventually arrived dead pressed against my face with such fierce force that it landed me a bloody nose. There are never any reasons for this sort of thing, always a slew of conditions and somewhere a choice that was made. The stifling heat of summer approaching a desert valley slapped against the car windows and for an instant I lost my breath to shock. I sat quietly, obediently, afraid. I felt a sordid relief at the site of my blood. Its vivid color stood against him as some corporeal judge claiming culpability in spite of the impunity of fathers. Let him bleed inside at the sight of the progeny he flailed; let him taste the bitter iron of the blood he errantly spilled. My rage fled far beyond the confines of an immobilized car stuck in line waiting to cross the border.

We were leaving Mexicali and on our way to the U.S; there was no way out. A big tank of metal held us, searing under the afternoon sun. I thought about running, a part of me did. But I had to sit there and wait, forging in the midst of silence a solemnity of feigned compliance. Fear and rebellion uncomfortably stirred into each other, sweltering beneath the surface; my heart pounded. I waited. Transgression seems but never is bigger than the self. I found my breath and noticed there were cars all around. Did anyone see? Nothing ever happens just to you. What did just happen? I couldn't understand, can anyone? Do they know? Did they see it? I want to hide. I wish I could dissolve into a seed of dust sitting on the car seat and easily taken out the window on the back of a migrant wind. Anywhere but here.

The line moves slowly and I withstand. I dream of arriving in my mother's arms, it's where we were headed, to see her. Tears come to my eyes for the first time, I don't want her to hurt at the sight of me. Undoubtedly she will; I breathe deeply and focus on something else outside the car, far away and irrelevant, anything to keep my eye, my mind quiet and away from the treachery of suffering. I see a fence, I see a palm tree, I see writing on the fence. I stare as if in those objects I could find salvation. I don't remember crossing or the border patrol interrogation, but I remember my father's nervousness from the moment he realized what he had done, to the moment he sat in front of the border patrol agent and declared he was not an American citizen, to the moment he saw my mother. Violence comes and violence goes.

July 17, 2007 Oakland, California

I am marked by the color of my skin/these bullets are designed to kill slowly.
Lorna Dee Cervantes

He made me a hole, he made me a woman.
Cherrie Moraga

Violence arrives, materializes on bodies in the tragedies of transgressions. It wields and carries power, yearns for submission, and maneuvers a tide of disciplining organization on the social and body politic. It arranges and marks body(ies) and the world, carving territories, genders, races, classes, and nations upon bodies and lands. This story, and the writing that follows, is as much about understanding the manifestation of violence, from where and how it emerges, to where and how it arrives and is experienced, as it is about affirming the way so many of us live with violence, find meaning, healing, resist, survive and live in light and in spite of violence.

The study of violence is often approached through a bifurcated lens that focuses on victimization and grievance, on the injury endured by those on the receiving end. Conversely, the focus is just as often on the individualized deployment of violence, how, by whom and why violence is unleashed. All analytical orientation carries the traces of power; as such, the scribe's interpretation carries the potential to re-inscribe victimization in the text, and often does. Similarly, the violent offender(s) may also be transfixed as such, objectified and operationalized as criminal perpetrator(s). Undeniably, recounting and accounting for the multiple forms of violence wielded is indispensable work, as is developing structures of understanding, prevention and accountability for violence, but what is missed in much analytic work is a valuing of survivors as full and dignified human beings who are marked and shaped in different

ways by the violence they endure and encounter, but who also live full lives in spite of the violence.

Without excusing it, minimizing and denying it, violence is a moment that many of us learn or intrinsically know how to live beyond, if we do, in fact, live beyond that moment. In this framework, the magnitude of the injuries of violence are underscored and not belittled, and neither is the holistic and complete lives/communities that experience it. I write against the grain of re-victimizing analytical exoticization of victimization, and as well against the grain of dominant narratives and ideological traces of racialized and brutal violent perpetrators, two analytic tendencies that fuel each other and concurrently fuel racialized hierarchies. While the first reproduces the subordinated location of the victim, thereby conjuring a context for further victimization, the latter focus often obfuscates the ways those who commit violence are themselves victimized by multiple forms of violence, including racial, structural, and military violence. Any profound and earnest attempt to elucidate wisdom toward the eradication of violence considers this irony because the sequencing, multiplicity and interrelatedness of violence are considered.

The story above speaks to the taxing impact of the violence I endured, a violence that manifested in the exact geography of the space where the first world violently crashes onto the third, the US-Mexico border. Such intersections are the conditions and begetters of violence; hence, I do not interpret the deployment of my father's violence in the material space of the deployment of neo-colonial violence as coincidental. This suggests the interrelatedness of multiple manifestations of violence that are never neatly

just state/structural or interpersonal, raced or gendered, but a confluence of emergent trajectories that actively contrive violence.

The story also alludes to my father as both transgressor and transgressed, thereby disrupting the totalizing and indelible ascription and assignment of violent offender. Thus, responsibility and accountability are ascribed while the purveyor of violence is presented with the choice to assume them. This choice ushers in the possibility of redemption, allowing for the violator to recapture the humanity he lost while attacking another's. In this potential redemption lies a seed for the prevention of violence if the cycle of violence is responsibly curtailed. In addition, the macro-structural organization of the neo-colonial violence that marks passage through the US-Mexico border is signaled simultaneously as co-constitutive of my father's and as its own form of deplorable violence.

The crux of all of this is a framework that posits the temporality of violence; it is endured in the moment, as it is surpassed in the moment. Injury, grief, rage are experienced and the moment ends. Although the potential for a long legacy of consequences exists in the aftermath (these might include the remains of trauma on the body, spirit and mind, jail, family separation, etc.), the violent incident has transpired. Survivor and violator and others affected make a choice at the end of the moment and thereafter to release the hold of its imprint on them and acquiesce toward its ephemeral attribute or to remain caught in the web of suffering. Of course such choices are deeply affected by and couched in political and biographical history, life options, quality of accountability, real considerations for safety and conscious intentions toward the prevention of further violence.

The moment of violence is also multi-dimensional; the windows metaphor enters here, suggesting that violence is simultaneously a moment where an oppressive assault is endured and one where our attempts to find hope, survival, and even liberation are invoked. These seemingly disparate dimensions appear equally present even in the midst of such destructive moments. Windows, as violence, have the potential to confine and define the material space (body), and as well, they offer the possibility to transcend through the confines of what is always and ultimately transitory. This approach is survivor-centered, not forging or dismissing the suffering exacted through violence, as it is also centered on the eradication and prevention of violence, which insists that humanity be rendered, searched and re-claimed to, by and for all.

This dissertation undeniably grows out of my own experiences with violence, my own study, healing understanding and political organizing against violence. As such, it sets out to consider the pervasive, multi-dimensional, and interrelated barrage of violence young Latinas endure, and as well, to listen to the resolute vitality of young Latinas, to honor their spirits as they are, to speak of their dignity and the whole of their humanity with love. It is here, I believe, in this more holistic approach, that we can at once hear the tonality of nuances of survivor agency and experience, asses the range and toll of violence, declare those responsible, inspire accountability and hopefully conjure pertinent understanding of the presence and toward the eradication of violence in our world. It is here that we can imagine, potentially even forge, a world without violence.

CHAPTER 1

introduction

*me raja. it splits me.*¹

introduction

“*Me pintaste blanco!*” “you painted me white!” I yelled, tugging at my father’s sleeve as he ate with his friends at the dinner table. He spanked my behind and left his handprint “painted,” as I could surmise, in white on my body. I rebuked him and asked him how he would like it if someone had done that to him. Barely a year old, without a developed understanding of what had taken place, I knew at a profound level that a transgression was committed, an injury inflicted and that an intervention was required. My experience was in no way unique and most children share a transformative rupture in their lives from the time without to a time with violence. As I grew older, immigrated, and came out as a lesbian; my world shook in the presence of the fault lines of violence.² I count the experiences with displacement, partially effected through the deleterious encroachment of neo-liberal policies, with the racism I encountered once I arrived in the United States and with an incessant heteronormativity, as the sequelae of violence that continues to rupture and code my daily experiences and understanding of violence. I navigate a continuum of experiences with violence spanning from daily to exceptional,

¹ Gloria Anzaldua

² Tomas Almaguer’s significant contribution to the study of race *Racial Fault Lines: The Historical Origins of White Supremacy in California*, positions the metaphor of fault lines to anchor his analysis of the social structuration and significance of race. His language signals the volatility of racial domination/stratification and its deep seeded roots that erupt into painfully obvious inequities. The visceral manifestation of seismic motion and eruption are useful to signal both the embedded social structuration of violence and the constant and explosive manifestations of violence. The metaphor can also be extended to reference patterned activity, such as is measured in seismic motion. The chapter(s) that follow address both of these aspects of violence.

aggressions to aftermath, from survival and resistance to healing and emancipation. Without denial, my life has been etched by the pervasive magnitude of violence.

As stated in the preface and signaled in the introductory paragraph, my own struggle with the menacing affliction of violence, my survival and aspiration toward transformation through and out of such experiences beckons me to try to make sense of violence. Said history and subjectivities are deeply present in this research and the frameworks through which it emanates. Thus, my approach to this study of violence juxtaposes the reality of transgressive personal and collective injury with the profound vitality of the survivance of violence and the regeneration of the personal and collective body/mind/spirit.³ This work is endowed with an undying love and quench for justice; it dreams and believes that a world without violence is possible. This work aims wholeheartedly to position itself as a stop on such a path. Each thought carefully invokes the simultaneous tragedy, loss, resistance and survivance that code the pervasive experience of violence.

Filled with integrity, these words I put on paper are also filled with humility, recognizing as Gnawls Barkley confesses in his song “Crazy,” “truth is, I’m only guessing...it’s just a thought...”⁴ This work is an attempt to decipher some understandings of violence based on who and what I’ve known, learned, and the voices of

³ The split and refusal to separate these dimensions of the self speaks to the historic legacy of artificial, colonial and Cartesian Eurocentric scientific sequestering of the spirit from the body. The slashes remind us of this legacy and its continued manifestations. As Yvette Flores-Ortiz astutely argues, such analytic tendencies are still present in contemporary academic understandings of violence and its aftermath, and they dangerously obscure how violence is experienced as a holistic attack on the self with dimensions, impact and effects on the continuum of stated dimensions. (Flores-Ortiz, 2003)

⁴ I recognize the fissures and problematics inherent in attempts at iteration, knowledge production, in the wielding of language and the weight it mounts. I will critically consider and self-reflexively problematize some of the central conceptual turns from which my ideas emanates. Such careful and conscientious trepidation structures my humble proceedings, failing to do so would render me culprit to the tactics of hegemonic ideological production, a thing endemic in the production of violence. (Althusser, ; Derrida, 1996; Foucault)

the young women who also shape this work. I am not a lone thinker along this journey. I write with the wisdom, voices and inspiration of many. I listen to the continuum of voices of so many survivors who shared the most intimate details of their lives throughout my work in the movement against violence. I write alongside the lessons of many years of experience working with survivors, educating in the community and building organizations to address and resist violence. I write with so many sisters, teachers, intellectuals, organizers and fierce resisters in the struggle against violence. I write with the young women whose voices, stories, and lives shape this work and inspire hope at the most profound of levels. Their words on paper, in chants, speeches and song are with me, a part of me. I write defiantly, with the penchant of a cultural tradition that speaks in poetic refrain and storytelling, in metaphor, refuting the chains of disciplinary aesthetics. I write self-reflexively, turning gaze upon my gaze. I proceed cognizant that this work is a localized read, emanating and constructed, interpreted, gazed and scribed from particular subjective locations, which I will endeavor to remain transparent throughout this journey. I write with the hope of the children in my family and communities. I do not write alone. And I am not in this struggle alone. We are all in this struggle. Whether we recognize that or not.

Washing one's hands of the conflict between the powerful and the powerless means to side with the powerful, not to be neutral. (Freire, 1982)

I write because another world is possible, *un mundo donde caben muchos mundos*, a world made up of many worlds.⁵

⁵ The reference to many worlds reminds us of the cherished and respected many cultures and peoples of the world. It speaks against the backdrop of a usurping and destructive globalizing force of western cultural imposition that threatens these enriching differences. Latin American cultural traditions, including the Zapatistas, invoke this metaphor. Zapatistas, (Wilford, 2007)

At the turn of the 20th century, W.E.B. Dubois remarked that the “color line” would be the principal problem for the century to come. (Dubois, 1989) A little over a century after the fact, his prophetic vision resonates with historical precision that yes, the color line remained and remains a salient feature of social organization in the United States, and globally. Since then, sociologists have moved DuBois’ query into the 21st century by noting that in addition to concern over the effects of the color line, inquiry into the color line itself, the very production of race and racism, is crucial to not only understanding this phenomenon and its persistent anchoring and social structuration more deeply, but also in guiding our path toward building a more just society.(T. a. M.-K. J. Almaguer, 1999) In both content and manner, his bold read of the sketch of society assigns me with the task of continuing inquiry into racial formation processes, for it remains a central social divide producing and re-producing marked inequalities and injustice, and/or as I posit, violence. The slash signals a tension and compelling relation between social processes of inequality and violence. This dissertation commits to studying violence and/in its interrelatedness with social injustice/social inequities. How is violence participant in the production of social inequities and conversely, how do social inequities produce violence? Are social inequities structured, reproduced and legitimated through violence? What do social processes of inequality, such as processes of racialization tell us about violence as process (pattern), ideology, symbolic, imaginary and structured materiality? As the self-reflexive narrative has alluded, experiences with violence are multiple and complexly aligned and produced in relation to social inequities. The specialization that has usurped practices in the study of violence is a tendency, I argue later, that has led to myopic *mis*interpretations that obfuscate important

understandings that surface when we consider multiple manifestations of violence in relation to each other and to social processes of inequality. This dissertation considers the production and reproduction of violence, ideologically and/with materiality, the social structuration of violence *and* the experiences and effects of violence vis a vis social processes of inequality. Additionally, it engages discussion of what we do with violence, how we interact, resist, heal and engage with violence and its effects. It interrogates our role in the social organization and production of violence and as social actors engaged with the effects and reproduction of violence. This is not a neat and easy polemic divide and many of us find ourselves located somewhere along these continua, caught in the quagmire of an omnipresent violence, ideally striving daily toward justice and peace.

The second section of this dissertation offers a humble effort to posit a series of phenomenological case narratives that present the experiences with violence of a group of young Latinas living in San Francisco's Mission District. I juxtapose the young women's narratives with literary textual references from Chicana/Latina memoir, autobiography and fiction; these voices, in concert with the young women, vividly express the intricacies and complexities of violence in the lives of young Latinas. I proceed in this endeavor with utmost caution. This work remains painfully aware of the legacies of unjust and dangerous research practices in communities of color. (Jones, 1993; L. T. Smith, 1999; D. Williams, 1994) It moves with humility and is persistently critical and self-reflexive of the epistemological and ontological underpinnings that construct the research questions, project, direction and process. These methodological and epistemological inquiries that ask how the production of knowledge is tainted with

ideological processes and potentially violent themselves are critical steps in any research project concerning itself with empiricity.

beginning steps: what is violence?

Sadly, most violence is not senseless at all.(N. Scheper-Hughes, Philippe Bourgois, 2004)

p. 3

What is violence? Such an inquiry emerges as an appropriate place from where to commence in demarcating that with which this dissertation concerns itself. However, as is the case with most attempts to ascribe language to social phenomenon, the failures, limitations and inventions of language resound. In this sense, language is the beginning steps for the yet to come and has already been. (Barthes, 1968; Derrida, 1981; Lacan) Language carries the weight of the presence of the past imaginary into the contemporary, and the power of ideology, historical trace and subjectivity weigh heavily, tugging incessantly at terminology.(Lacan, 2001; Perez, 1993) Language produces and is produced in social context. The direction toward phenomenological analysis also reminds that language is the vehicle through which meaning is ascribed and experience and reality conjured.(Lacan) Both language and social phenomenon slip in mired liminalities with boundaries and centers that move with malleability to thresholds of time and historical forces. As well, conscious of the force and temporality of violation, of the backdrop of and endured survivance, I recognize precision as mythical aim, a constant pursuit. When it comes to violence, language will always fall short. Yet language carries the potential of voice and with it, the potential of transformation. To begin again. Words conjure beginnings. Thus, I maneuver and speak around the topic with caution, humility

and integrity, cognizant of the traces, iterations, silences and voices that surround it. I continue to move reflexively, conscious of the productive and transformative powers of language and critically reflexive of the purview of subjectivities that demarcate my own gaze and scribing upon the topic. In this light, I propose some initial impressions on violence. Greater detail and a proposed framework to study the organization and production of violence appear in the next chapter. Chapter 3 addresses ideological/epistemic violence and chapter 4 considers the historical traces of dominant narratives of violence, with a critical eye toward the ascent of dominant narratives and the disconcerting, dangerous, and even violent policies and interventions they yield. (C. Rojas, 2006)

In a speech on the topic of violence, the Dalai Lama related a story about the relation of all living things.(Lama, 2005) He said most humans when presented with a real flower or a fake flower will “lean towards the real flower” because a characteristic of life, of living beings, is to cherish life. In this framework, nonviolence, or justice and peace, is the protection, love, affection and compassion toward living things; it is the practice of reverence for life, of honor and respect for the integrity and dignity of all living beings. Violence is the destruction, injury, or transgression committed against the integrity of life; it is hurting life in all its dimensions. Etymologically, the term violence references the Latin *force*, the action of which is *violation/to violate* which speaks to the breaking of dignity.(Webster) I propose an open and broad approach to understanding violence as transgressions committed against the integrity and dignity of spirit, mind and body, of self, community(ies), land and living beings. Such an open interpretation allows for the pertinent and useful analysis of exploring the interrelatedness as well as

situatedness of manifestations violence. Violence is deployed through methods that include ideological and epistemic violence, spiritual and material (physical) violence. Violence produces and references power asymmetries; it is an exercise in the production, maintenance or intensification and legitimation of dominance. The harm produced through violence need not be intentioned, though sometimes it is, the intentioned is the establishment or pursuit of domination in the aim of forced subordination and submission of the other. (Corsi, 1996) The pursuit of domination is patterned as processes that are temporal, shaped by sociohistorical and political forces.(Omi, 1994)

Violence implies a search for the elimination of obstacles that oppose the exercise of power through the control of a relation obtained by the use of force.(Corsi, 1996) p.23

Violence, from what I have lived, learned, and studied, is structured in the social landscape and is, rather than an aberration of it, an orchestrated element that is very much a regular part of it. (Davis, 2000; H. Pinderhughes, 1997; N. Scheper-Hughes, Philippe Bourgois, 2004) To that extent, I recognize that violence is organized and appears/surfaces from embedded and entrenched social geographies, rooted in unequal social arrangements, processes and institutions. As much as the study of violence requires close observation and transcription of the social map, conversely, the study of violence can also inform the study of society. Both the regularity and patterned irregularities of violence, the adaptations and instabilities of form and effect can reflexively yield greater understanding of the function and arrangement of social structures and institutions, as the deployment of violence is channeled through these media. Violence is organized and deployed through state, institutional, and individual means; these means are all constituted in one another.

The macro-structural organization of violence through state and economic structuration is the very foundation and the backdrop against which all forms of violence play out. Such an approach rests on neo-Marxian formulations of the state and the economy and is informed by the contributions of Habermas, Poulantzas, Offe and Althusser.(Althusser, ; Habermas, ; Offe, 1996; Poulantzas, 2000) Marx' initial instrumentalist formulation recognized the state as an instrument of violence in the hands of the ruling class, deployed to effect dominant relations.(Marx & Engels, 1978 [1888]) Trotsky further proclaimed in 1918 at Brest Litovsk, that every state is based on violence.(Trotsky, 1918) The Weberian tradition recognizes the state as an inherently violent entity that claims, legitimates and maintains its existence through violence. (Trotsky, 1918; Weber, 1946) Many scholars of state violence largely follow a Neo-Marxian and Neo-Weberian tradition of interpreting the state as inherently violent while realizing more autonomy and self-interest for the state than traditional formulations allow. (Arendt, 1969; Benjamin, 1968; Clausewitz, 2003; Scheper-Hughes, 2004; Tilly, 2004; Ungar, 2002; Weber, 1946) Neo-Marxian and neo-Weberian scholarship specifies that the state provides a framework for social structures; here we recognize its involvement in the regulation and organization of society so as to promote the conditions of economic growth while promoting its own interests.(Habermas, 1994; O'Connor, 1973; Offe, 1996) The state engages with the populace through institutional arrangements; institutions are charged with the task of deploying much of this violence. Althusser distinguishes the institutions of force as the Repressive State Apparati.(Althusser) Institutions are often erroneously considered fixed entities on the social landscape, but instead they too, as formations, are malleable to historical pressures

and forces, and they are in need of constant reproduction and legitimation. (Jepperson, 1991) Institutions and the state are legitimated through the production of ideology that sustains and normatizes the values and principles of the state and dominant structures. The state's additional task is to maintain itself through legitimation.(Habermas, 1994; Offe, 1996) Althusser classifies as Ideological State Apparati, the institutions responsible for disseminating this legitimating knowledge, such as schools, religion, nonprofits, and media. (Althusser) Further, I argue that institutions charged with the task of producing and disseminating legitimating knowledges also produce and deploy ideological violence, one of the often minimized and overlooked methods through which violence is deployed. Ideological violence includes epistemic violence, the imposition of dominant knowledges at the expense of silencing subaltern knowledges; ideological violence is knowledge that conjures and maintains unequal relations of power.

Critical race theorists apply these neo-Marxian interpretations to posit the key role the state plays in the production, reproduction and organization of racial formation processes. (T. Almaguer, 1994; T. a. M.-K. J. Almaguer, 1999; Althusser, ; Fredrickson, 1981; Omi, 1994; H. Winant, 1995) Their contributions pivot around the centrality of the state's sanctioned "legal" reproduction of inequality and violence. (Crenshaw, 1995b; Davis, 1981; Kennedy, 1997; D. Roberts, 1987, 1997; P. Williams, 1997) Lastly, scholarship on the state's legacy of colonial and neo-colonial violence also shapes my approach. (Davis, 2003; INCITE, 2006; D. Roberts, 1997; A. Smith, 2005; Sudbury, 2005; Trask, 2006) Historian Richard Slotkin reminds us in his review of western "expansion" that the very nationhood of the United States not only emerged out of historic violence (genocide, displacement/forced migration) but is persistently

“regenerated through violence.” In other words, violence re-emerges in the process of constantly reproducing an ever changing American “nation” and national identity. (Slotkin, 2000) These efforts to reinvent and reconstitute racial and colonial hierarchies exist amidst the fissures and discontinuities of history prompted by the interlocation between the social system and forging identities and subjects, themselves being constituted and reconstituted and simultaneously constituting and reconstituting the social system.(Foucault, 2002)

First, individuals are constituted in this structural context. That constitution conjures and structures complicity with the socially structured violence and production of violence, a complicity that engenders and is furthered by deploying violence themselves. Such an “individual” choice is always embedded in institutional and archetypes of violence and emerges within the context that structures and produces violence and the individual; hence I present the term in quotes to signal the instability and deterministic individualization of violence, forging a differential aperture amidst the dominant individualizing tendencies in the study of violence. (INCITE, 2006; C. Rojas, 2007; N. Scheper-Hughes, Philippe Bourgois, 2004) I am not eradicating individual agency altogether, nor the possibility of defiance and cultural intervention toward nonviolence, I am signaling the often-missed overbearing context that constitutes and codes the violence deployed by individuals (usually deploying violence in groups and institutions). But individuals too constitute the social system, a feature demarcated amidst the tension between complicitous work toward its reproduction and legitimation and/or resistance, disinvestment and social transformation.(Foucault) Raymond Williams argues that structures live in and through humans, not just vice versa. (R. Williams, 1976) p.305

Here he reminds us that structures are porous, malleable, temporal and transformative, contrary to connotations that might imply rigidity, fixation, and permanence.

There are multiple forms of violence that are deployed at the state, institutional and “individual” levels. Violence is deployed through distinct and interrelated, co-constitutive and intersecting *forms* of violence like domestic violence, war and occupation, genocide, incarceration, gang violence, sexual violence, poverty, etc. (INCITE, 2006) Forms of violence manifest and are shaped and intended through the archetypes of violence that structure, produce and reproduce and legitimate social inequities. The structuring of unjust relations requires the use of violence and continually calls upon it in maintaining and legitimating structured domination. For example, colonial violence provides context, coding and directive for the production and deployment of genocide, sexual violence, and war and occupation. Violence always is played out against the backdrop of the archetypes of violence, which include colonial violence, sex/gender/heteronormative violence, poverty and neo-colonial violence, and racial violence. Each form of violence has a corresponding set of *types* (tactics) of violence it deploys, such as mass murder, starvation, illness, threats and intimidation, rape, etc. These types (tactics) of violence are also interrelated and co-constitutive. One type of violence reinforces the efficacy of another type of violence, and they act in disordered order as elements of distinct and co-constituted forms of violence bent on the production and reproduction of relations of dominance. Forms and types of violence, as all manifestations and structurations of violence, are also cyclical; violence is patterned, since it appears from, through and within the social landscape; it is susceptible to the historical forces that shape the landscape. The language of cyclicity and patterns

speaks to the ways both violence and the social map and the macro/micro processes and institutions that carve and produce it, shift and change over time. Manifestations of violence (forms and types) are also culturally coded and produced, a phenomenon that invites the historical lens in the task of substantive interpretation.

violence is constant, violence is context: violence is everywhere, violence is society

*Modern history is a state of siege.
The tradition of the oppressed teaches us that
the state of emergency is not the exception but the rule.
(Benjamin, 1968) p. 256*

It is insufficient to study the context where violence appears or surfaces. I suggest that violence is the context. Rather than interrogate how and why society is violent, I propose we begin our inquiry from the very location that recognizes the contemporary social landscape as inherently violent. A historical legacy and constant, violence is and has been the political context in much of the world in the recent post-and neo-colonial history, and certainly in the Americas since European colonization invaded these lands and peoples more than 500 years ago. (Castañeda, 1990; A. Smith, 2005; Taussig, 1984; Trask, 1999.) Violence is the constant, violence is the context. As Angela Davis poignantly argued in her opening address at the first Color of Violence conference, violence is constituted in the very fabric of society.(Davis, 2000) Neither anomaly nor unexpected aberration in the order of things, violence is the knife that cuts (conjures borders/class and race relations/divides) *and* the thread that sews this racist imperial nation together; violence *is* the order of things. Those of us that experience violence see it everywhere. *Me raja. It splits me.*(Anzaldúa, 1987) Anzaldúa's metaphor conjures her own embodied experience of the violence of a "US" expansionist border that

signaled the colonial splitting of border lands and peoples. The early part of this 21st century, coded by a political context of war and femicides, of death and destruction on a mass scale, deployed and actualized, inexorably testifies that violence is everywhere.⁶ Unable to turn away from it, or rather, encountering it everywhere, violence, it appears, is daily growing to become *the* problem of the 21st century.

violence simultaneously begets and is provoked by injustice

With the establishment of a relationship of oppression, violence has already begun... There would be no oppressed had there been no prior situation of violence to establish their subjugation. (Freire, 1982) p.37

“A rising tide of inequality breeds violence.”
(Farmer, 2005) p.xxvii

Most violence is not deviant behavior, not disapproved of, but to the contrary, is defined as virtuous action in the service of generally applauded conventional social, economic and political norms. (N. Scheper-Hughes, Philippe Bourgois, 2004) p.5

Violence creates and separates nation-states, slices us into genders and sexes, Global North and South, distances the suburbs from the inner cities, brown and black from white.⁷ Indeed unequal and oppressive social arrangements are engendered through acts of violence. (Freire, 1982) p.26-40 It takes violence to breed injustice, it takes

⁶ This understanding of violence emerges from Paolo Freire’s poignant work recognizing the centrality of violence in the creation of unequal relations/oppressive inequalities. (Freire, 1982) It also owes a great deal to those that have framed and furthered the notion of structural violence to better decipher the ways oppressive structures and systems generate disease and/or injury quickly or over time, thus proving that exploitation is not only a form of violence but is inevitably intertwined and interdependent with other forms of violence, such as hate violence, occupation and war. (Farmer, 2005; Galtung, 2004; N. Scheper-Hughes, Philippe Bourgois, 2004) Lastly, it emerges from countless conversations, conferences and publications with the women of INCITE: Women of Color Against Violence who insist politically and pragmatically on centering the experiences of women of color who live in the structurally subordinated margins of race, class, gender, and nation in order to better understand violence and certainly to better create strategies to end violence. (INCITE, 2006)

⁷ For discussion on the production of normatively sexed bodies and gendered subjects through medical violence, specifically through sex assignment surgeries, see Cheryl Chase, “Hermaphrodites with Attitude: Mapping the Emergence of Intersex Political Activism,” *Gay and Lesbian Quarterly*, Vol. 4, No. 2 (1998): 189–211

violence to keep injustice. Violence simultaneously begets and is provoked by injustice. It is parent and offspring to inequality; it is stitched into the inner workings of inequality. Violence is a feature of injustice. Violence is ubiquitous to injustice. Thus, it is everywhere, and those most brutally surviving in the trenches of violence are those relegated to the margins, those whose lives are deemed dispensable, those painfully existing as subordinated classes, races, nations, and sexes/genders/sexualities, and especially those enduring multiple subordinating intersections. Latinas, women of color and indigenous women know this; we live this. (La Duke, 2005; Marcos, 1997)

Furthermore, it takes violence to maintain the dominant social order. Violence is indispensable in the legitimation and maintenance of inequality. Violence is socially structured and socially sanctioned in so far as it maintains dominant social arrangements.(N. Scheper-Hughes, Philippe Bourgois, 2004) The state carries a principal responsibility to organize and maintain unequal social processes and arrangements; it is therefore primarily the responsibility of the state to organize violence.(INCITE, 2006; Omi, 1994; A. Smith, 2005) All social institutions sanctioned by a dominant social order are violent in so far as they are endowed with the responsibility of institutionalizing inequality through the orchestration and deployment of violence. A continuum of violence manifests at the roots of social processes of inequality through what I term archetypes of violence. Archetypes of violence are patterned violences that conjure and maintain inequality. The archetypes of violence makes inequality possible and are effected by social processes of inequality. Social processes of inequality are inherently violent. Inquiry into violence necessitates interrogation of structured processes and inequalities and vice versa. The pages that follow consider the structuration of violence

through various forms of violence (i.e. domestic violence, war, gang violence, genocide, etc.) which are effected through the deployment of tactics of violence (i.e. beatings, surveillance/stalking, starvation, emotional abuse, etc.) and are organized and deployed largely by the state and by social institutions, groups and people charged with the production and reproduction of inequality. Any kind of violence can be classified into a strategic methodology of violence that includes ideological, spiritual and material/physical methods (strategies) and multiple methods are usually deployed. There is an interdependent and co-constitutive relation, as has been discussed, between distinct methods of violence, as there is between forms and tactics of violence.

To say that violence begets and is provoked by injustice points to both the ideological premises, foundations, traces, productions, and reproductions of inequality and simultaneously to the material deployment of violence; the two are interdependent methods of violence requisite in the production, structuration, and maintenance of an unjust social order.(Althusser) Scholars in the study of racial, colonial, and gendering processes have historicized this simultaneous organization in the deployment of ideological/epistemic and material violence. (Omi, 1994; Said, 1978; Spivak, 1988) To say that violence is provoked by injustice reminds us that deep-seeded efforts to maintain such social arrangements produce violent ideologies that legitimate them and the continued material violence necessary to maintain them. Ideological referents that I call ideological violence coexist alongside and code the deployment of material violence, the two are interwoven. Individuals do not exist outside of an unjust social order and the social institutions charged with deploying multiple forms and types (tactics) of violence. It is therefore necessary to consider the actions of individuals within the set of violence

practices in which his/her actions are embedded.(Althusser) Violence that is not fully interrogated and analysis that is prematurely arrested at an individual or an individual's action(s), will fail from interpreting the pattern, the archetypes of violence and certainly from interrupting or preventing it.

violence is about power

Violence is synonymous with abuses of power. (Corsi, 1996)

The logic of the prior assertions that depict violence as central to the production and reproduction of inequality rests on the understanding that violence is concerned with power. Violence is requisite to conjuring inequality. As Corsi asserts, violence is about instilling and reinforcing unequal power relations.(Corsi, 1996) Building on the work of many scholars on the subject of violence, I relate that violence is centrally about power. It is directed at the pursuit of establishing, maintaining or furthering asymmetries of power in structural, social and intimate relations. (Castañeda, 1998; Corsi, 1996; Farmer, 2005; Griffin, 1979; N. Scheper-Hughes, Philippe Bourgois, 2004; A. Smith, 2005) Violence is deployed as part of a search for the elimination of any obstacles that might oppose the exercise of power through the control of relations obtained conditioned by force. (Corsi, 1996) Paul Farmer considers “structural violence” the effects of inequalities manifest through structures of economic and political power that actively disenfranchise, impoverish, and often slowly and mutedly kill the marginalized masses.(Farmer, 2005) This terminology relates that violence is structured “by historically driven structures and forces that conspire...to constrain agency.”(Farmer, 2005) p.40

Foucauldian analysis of power affords the interpretive gaze that scribes power as multiplicitous, multidirectional and circuitous. (Foucault) I argue that it is this understanding of power that can facilitate analysis of violence that is at once neo-Marxian, feminist, anti-colonial and anti-racist, as well as macro-meso and microstructural. Foucault takes on notions of unidirectionality, one dimensional and directional assertions and arrangements of power; this provides important analytical backbone and mirrors notions of intersectionality, mestiza and black feminist consciousnesses.(Anzaldua, 1987; Crenshaw, 1995a; Hill Collins, 1998) This approach asks us to consider (many, intersecting) relations of power.(Anzaldua, 1987; Derrida, 1981) In line with deconstructivist approaches, this approach also ruptures supposed binaries of power that dislodge the power position of the norm(ative), consider resistance and potentially enlist the possibility of voice in Farmer’s “voiceless” mass victims of the “pathologies of power/structural violence.”(Farmer, 2005) The insurgent and resistant agency against the backdrop of, and in constant engagement with, structured domination and violent constraint of agency, methodologically and epistemologically allows the transformation from victim to survivor. It allows this research to arrive at attempts to scribe what we do with violence. Of course, Foucauldian emphasis on the technologies of power manifest through micropractices can also facilitate analysis of the ways we decide to engage, reproduce, participate and deploy violence. Without sacrificing or belittling the need for analysis of the structured organization and deployment of violence, of the social processes of injustice that code violence, these foucauldian contributions help to understand the way all relations of power are complicitly interwoven/interconnected. In this way, we can better ask how it is that domestic

violence is conditioned and produced through macro, meso and micro level processes. How are power and dominance at macro-structural (state) and institutional levels operationalized through the intimate practices of violence?

Lastly, as Foucault and many have asserted, power is implied in knowledge. It finds legitimation through discursive practices.(Foucault) It is the ultimate quest of power and the deployment of violence to urge its object to relinquish itself.(Foucault)

The settler only ends his work breaking in the native when the latter admits loudly and intelligibly the supremacy of the white man's values.
(Fanon) p.43

Power relies centrally on the construction of knowledge that then enlists participating practices by conjuring the normativity of unequal social structurations and relations. As stated earlier, violence is always already ideological and material. The later can only be operationalized, makes sense, and even appears just in so far as the logic of ideological violence is able to hold it. Why soldiers kill constructed (and often racialized and feminized) enemies. Foucauldian analysis asks to consider the work of knowledge construction and production in relation to power.

I also build on the work of Angela Davis, Spivak, Foucault, Said, Gramsci and Althusser, by exploring how the trope of violence is wielded and structured as an ideological weapon, itself complicit, a participant in legitimating and reproducing violence.(Althusser, ; Davis, 2000; Gramsci, 1999; Said, 1978) Spivak, for example, writes specifically about epistemic violence as an ideological strategy conjuring, legitimizing, and deploying colonial dominance and violence. (Spivak, 1988) The narratives of orientalism and tropicalism further elucidate these assertions.(Said, 1978) Violence is wielded as knowledge through the organization of dominant discourses of

violence. Asking how, why and through whom narratives (of violence) are made dominant will help decipher the mired terrain of meanings of violence and the significance of said meanings and the ways they conjure and reproduce violence.

the ascent of (mis)understandings of violence

The tropes of dominant ideological narratives on violence emerge from/within what I later term the archetypes of violence in the “United States” and have historical roots and contemporary manifestations that strategically use the marker of “violence” to code the brutality of the racialized other. Dominant narratives of violence are themselves a manifestations of violence. Thus violence is rhetorically constructed by dominant ideological formations as an aberration, deviant from the normative peaceful and safe (white) society. In light of its widespread and growing presence, violence is most often considered an aberrant, pathological behavior and an infrequent, anomalous occurrence. (Castañeda, 1998; H. Pinderhughes, 1997) Culpability lies in individuals and pathologized cultures that are deemed backwards and violent by colonizing and racializing narratives.(Fanon, 1963) This is the media representation and the language of policy on violence, and we have all come to internalize the references that assign the black and brown racialized other and disenfranchised multitudes as purveyors of violence and the innocent, white civilians as the victims of their violence.

The trope of violence ideologically rests on the obfuscation of particular forms of violence, especially structural and systemic violence, and the state, in particular, escapes urgent scrutiny. Even during times of brutal warfare, the reality of the invader’s violence is routinely kept from mainstream discourse. The state instead protects itself from

scrutiny by branding “violence” onto the actions of the subjugated, racialized other while it evades branding its own actions as such. Raymond Williams critically interrogates in his *Keywords* that “violence” is typically attached to terrorism, while the morally justifiable banal terminology of “force” and “defense” is attached to the same actions when performed by the state-legitimated work of armies.(R. Williams, 1976) For example, a recent *New York Times* headline read: “Bush asks Iraqis to stem violence.” This headline not only rests on the obfuscation of severe military violence being waged by the United States (Bush), but it goes so far as to posit Bush as a peacekeeper while Iraqis are branded violent. This is not new, and there is indeed a long history of the usage of violence as an ideological tool to mark the resistant, recalcitrant, criminal colored other. This is one of the ways Angela Davis is concerned with violence as a powerful ideological conductor. (Davis, 2000) Dominant narratives become dominant in so far as they maintain and legitimate the dominant group. In the ordered arrangement of oppression and racial hierarchies, it is no surprise then that the violence of dehumanization, of genocide and military and police occupations is evaded while those concerned with insisting on their own humanity, asserting their survivance and quest for reclaiming dignity by resisting social order are deemed violent “terrorists.” Lastly, the branding of “violence” legitimates extension of criminality and surveillance, therefore institutionalizing the control, containment and surveillance of communities of color, a necessary project to maintain white supremacy and further legitimate colonial occupation.

A response to the question, “what counts as violence?” should consider questions of epistemology and ontology through engaging subjectivity, thereby asking who is

responding to the question and what are the epistemological and ontological underpinnings for that particular response. My years working in the anti-violence movement taught me that it is key for someone who is experiencing violence to be believed, for part of the narrative constructed through the archetypes of violence conveys that those experiencing violence are not to be believed, and/or are responsible for the violence themselves. This ideological maneuver re-victimizes the victim, and asserts a dominant narrative of violence that replaces the silenced subaltern narrative while it reinforces the structured dominance of the archetypes of violence.

This research is situated in the context and talks back to existing racialized discourses of violence, discourses that negate the role of the state as grand perpetrator of violence, and that simultaneously pathologize and exacerbate certain intimate and individualized experiences with violence while obfuscating many other experiences women of color and our communities share with violence. Such a context is deeply dangerous to women of color because it curtails our interventions and our healing from the multiple forms, types and the patterned violence we encounter. Angela Davis and INCITE have argued that when one places the experiences of women of color with violence at the center of analysis, exploring the multiple forms of violence which often escape its nomenclature, the story that emerges is quite different, violence becomes the stitching of the daily patterns of the fabric of society.(INCITE, 2006) When we consider the experiences of women of color centrally, we begin to see the regularity of violence in our lives, the multiple locations from which we experience violence, the multiple faces that deploy violence, and as well we begin to see how people live side by side with violence on a daily basis and learn to survive and resist in its midst.

This research is critically situated within the problematic polemics of the production of knowledge, discourse, and ideology on violence. It remains steadfast in recognizing the multiple levels of social structuration of the deployment of violence and the co-constitutive interrelatedness of these multiple manifestations of violence. Here, political economy is far more than merely context, but an active transgressive ingredient in the concoction of violence.

This dissertation centers the voices of young Latinas living in San Francisco's Mission District in order to better understand violence and in particular, to share these young women's experiences living with violence. Young Latinas live at the intersections of multiple axes of subordination, which translates to a heightened experience with violence that places them in regular danger to their physical, emotional and spiritual wellbeing. Often undocumented, immigrant and working class, young Latinas bear the brunt of living at the crossroads of interpersonal, structural, and macro-structural forms of violence that rears its head in the way of policy, law and immigration enforcement, poverty, intimate violence against women, gang violence, and much more. Young Latinas in San Francisco's Mission District, as in many inner cities throughout the "United States," on the "U.S."/Mexico borderlands, and throughout the Americas, are under unrelenting, daily attack.⁸ The scope of violence that young Latinas report commonly experiencing includes child abuse (sexual, physical and emotional); racism; poverty; war, military invasion and gang violence, police, border patrol and Immigration and Control Enforcement (I.C.E.) agent violence; street violence and sexual harassment; school violence and sexual harassment; rape and intimate violence against women; stalking;

⁸ The quotations around "United States" serve as historical reminder that the United States as government and nation violently imposed itself onto existing sovereign nations and for this reason is considered by many to be an illegitimate government.

criminal justice system and child protective services/foster home system violence; and even femicide. Their experiences depict a world where violence is constant, consistent, stitched into the fabric of their daily lives. These young women live violence as the very suture of their world, of their lives. Violence here is coded as daily and with regularity. It is as much a part of their intimate relationships as in their families. And the state is central in organizing and deploying the violence young Latinas experience. Young Latinas are under constant threat and attack and their stories beckon to be told; lives could be literally spared if their stories were heard. Nonetheless, they remain silenced by dominant narratives of violence that either omit their voices or posit them as transgressors while privileging white women's experiences with interpersonal violence as the normative narrative of violence.

This research posits phenomenological case narrative focused on young Latinas' lived experiences with violence. A more open-ended approach such as this allows for careful and dedicated attention to the voices of young Latinas. The narrative structure yields the range of experiences and interpretations to surface more readily and allows for the writer and reader to remain in closer proximity to the speaking voice and spirit. It also invites the consideration of the nuances that give violence its meaning for these young Latinas. As Scheper-Hughes and Philippe Bourgeois posit, "the social and cultural dimensions of violence are what gives violence its power and meaning," and these factors are more readily ascertainable in such a presentation. (N. Scheper-Hughes, Philippe Bourgeois, 2004) These young Latinas pose a wisdom with regard to violence that could contribute toward greater understanding of violence against Latinas, of violence against

young women, and against women of color and violence in all its manifestations. This research engages the following questions:

1. what are young Latinas' experiences with violence?
2. how do young Latinas experience violence?
3. how do young Latinas live with violence? How do we engage, negotiate, resist, survive, and heal violence?

These questions set out to identify the myriad manifestations of violence young Latinas experience, to explore the relationship between these different forms of violence, to consider the social, political, and economic intersections that situate and produce these experiences of violence, and to listen to how young Latinas experience, interpret, live side by side and give meaning to violence.

is her spirit clean? does she have a good heart? (L. T. Smith, 1999)

the treachery of research

Throughout the research process and still, I remain deeply conscious and careful with regard to the treacherous history that the project of research wields, for it is a violent history deeply imbued in the projects of colonialism, patriarchy, racism, and capitalism. I tread lightly, conscientiously, and in full recognition of such a history and of the project of my research vis a vis my commitment to justice and the community. As Linda Tulwahi Smith maintains:

research is probably one of the dirtiest words in the indigenous world's vocabulary... it is a history that still offends the deepest sense of our humanity... one of the ways in which the underlying code of imperialism and colonialism is both regulated and realized. (L. T. Smith)p.1 and 7

Edward Said's notion of orientalism invokes similar concerns about the production of knowledge. Scheper-Hughes and Bourgois go so far as to call applied anthropological research a "stepchild of colonialism" and social and cultural anthropology the purveyors of a "toolkit" for apartheid in South Africa. (N. Scheper-Hughes, Philippe Bourgois, 2004) p.8 The recent quandaries regarding the role of anthropologists in supporting the war efforts in Iraq bring these critical inquiries into the contemporary period. Of central concern here is the relation (and technologies) of research vis a vis entrenched racial and other hierarchies and the subordination of research subjects, in particular, those already marginalized through race, class, nation, and gender structures. The concern also applies to the ways the researcher(s) is positioned to benefit, the way funding streams maneuver research, and the way alliances are forged between researcher and political institutions, the state, university administration, etc. (Washburn, 2005) Lastly, the concerns raise questions about the violence that research can wield in process and effect. My approach to this research remains fully conscious of my limitations as researcher to ever fully know the community I research, of my relationship to structures of power, and of my concern with the safety and disruption of hierarchical structures in, through, and as a result of the research process. As in Said's commentary on orientalism, and increasingly within the paradigm of advanced capitalism since knowledge production is tied to imperial colonial interests, therefore the pursuit to know is implicated in the pursuit to own, and it must be critically assessed and developed in full light and consideration of this historic dilemma.

The chapters on ideological violence and the narratives of violence address the concerns and limitations with knowledge production and, specifically, with knowledge

production on the subject of violence. Such a concerted effort to weigh these sets of concerns as the backdrop against which knowledge is critically produced and expressed will yield a more honest account that remains self-reflexive, aware of the context of knowledge production, and of its own limitations. This sort of reflexive inquiry for the researcher is best done through a community based research approach, which is both an attempt to challenge power inequities in research relations, and a pragmatic way to engage the community at all stages of research so as to more deeply arrive at the crucial sets of questions that emerge from the community vis a vis the investigated issue and the research itself.

With these concerns in mind, I have searched carefully for methodological direction and guidance in the development and interpretation of the research, in my own attempt at knowledge production on violence. This research, thus invites innovative methodological approaches that weave together community based research, grounded theory, phenomenological and narrative practices with decolonizing methodologies. The use of extended narrative within a phenomenological approach gives research subject(s) the space and page to speak for themselves rather than be spoken for. Grounded theory potentially asserts the research subjects' voices in shaping understandings and conclusions. Decolonial imaginary historiography recognizes both the time lapse in the retelling of events and the pitfalls of dominant interests in the reconstructive elements (practice). Phenomenology and semiology caution on the limits of interpretation by directing us to the meaning ascribed by the speaker and exposing the variation of signs. Participant observation metamorphosizes the mythological objective detached observer as it conjures a transparent embedded observer, who, contrary to many schools of thought in

ethnography, is deeply conscientious and candid of his/her own outsidership. My goal is to arrive at insightful findings about violence by deeply and humbly listening to what young Latinas have to say and by adhering to an unswerving commitment to justice through the entire research process. It is justice and liberation that are the overall guiding forces for this process of knowledge production, and the pursuit of knowledge or concern with disciplinary gaze are at most secondary. Both the centrality of ethical questions concerned with inequity and injustice and the recognition that the research design (technologies) and methodological direction must also reflect a just orientation invites methodological innovations in light and in spite of the treacherous history of research. The fifth chapter of this dissertation, entitled “is her spirit clean: toward liberatory methodologies,” is devoted to careful exploration of these concerns and inquiries and to documenting this methodological approach.

The other side of the plight of academic inquiry’s racist and colonial obsession with naming and scribing the other, is an attempt just as dangerous, to erase the other. (A. Smith, 2006) Thus, the colonial interest to disappear the other leads to a tremendous absence from research as well, another form of objectification because the backdrop against which comparison/study of the other will always emerge is the centrality of the Eurocentric research subject. So the alternate layer through which racism and colonialism operate is to actively exclude research about the other. It is then, not surprising to note that research on Latinas is sparse. As well, it is not surprising in light of this context that the research that does exist, centers on cultural deficit models that position young Latinas against white adolescents in order to assess risk (for pregnancy, dropping out of high school, having a boyfriend who is a gang-member, etc.). The dearth

and disconcerting approaches in research on young Latinas prompted Bianca Guzman and Jill Denner to collect all the articles they could find (and there weren't many) and publish an anthology of research that empowers the research subjects by exploring how young Latinas successfully negotiate the challenges of racism, poverty, immigration, etc. (Guzman, 2006b)

Further, research that sets out to study young Latinas' experiences with violence is mostly absent from the literature on violence. Especially absent, is research that addresses the complexity and multiplicity of young Latinas' experiences with multiple forms of violence, including structural and intimate manifestations. The majority of the research that does exist, tends to focus exclusively (and discretely) on domestic violence, child abuse or teen dating violence. Although the need for adolescent and culture-specific studies on violence has been acknowledged, there is a paucity of research related to violence and abuse against young Latinas. (Torres, 1991) As is the case with all research on violence, the dominant frameworks posit psychologized, medicalized and biologized approaches. (N. Scheper-Hughes, Philippe Bourgois, 2004) This literature tends to concern itself with prevalence; however, the current national surveillance systems of measurement lack in precision as underreporting is extremely common in violence against women, and national statistics tend to rely on figures derived through involvement with the criminal justice system. The best available data suggests that intimate violence and abuse against (all) young women is widespread in the "United States:"

- Women ages 16-24 have the highest per capita rates of intimate violence and abuse. (Rennison, 2003)

- More than half (54 percent) of the female survivors of sexual assault identified by the survey were younger than age 18 when they experienced their first attempted or completed rape. (NCJ, 2000)
- Although 8-24 year-olds comprised only 11.7% of the population in 1998 and 2002, they were the majority of victims of violence committed by a significant other (42%). (Durose, 2005)

Not only are the rates of intimate violence and abuse against young women staggering, but adolescence proves to be a critical time for the development of relationships that later in life result in escalated violence. More than half the deaths that were the result of domestic violence occurred within relationships that began as teenagers. Clara County Domestic Violence Council, 1998) Therefore, intervention and prevention of violence in this particular age group is critical in moving toward an end to intimate violence against women.

Other forms of violence against young women, such as macro-structural, state-organized, and economic forms of violence are almost entirely absent from the literature. Sista to Sista, a community organization in Bushwick, New York, polled young Latinas in their community to better understand their experiences with violence. Prompted by the murder of two young women of color by police officers, they polled 400 young women and 64% of them felt their community was not safe. In a video they later produced on the same topic, random young women were stopped in Bushwick neighborhood streets and asked if they had experienced sexual harassment by police officers, most agreed they had experienced or witnessed this form of violation. One young sister read a poem called “when the cops get out tha hood” that called out the continuum of police violence young women suffer.(Sista, 2006)

There is an even greater dearth of research on violence and abuse against young Latinas that considers the relationship between structural and historical factors and the presence of other forms of violence within this community. Research must be relevant to the community being studied. (Marín & Marín, 1991) According to Yvette Flores-Ortiz, “Latinos must deal with a complex interaction of experiences that contribute to family violence, including: migration, acculturation, under-employment, under-education and economic stress.” (Flores-Ortiz, 1993) The absence and dearth of this kind of research limits our current ability to develop effective strategies for the prevention and intervention of all forms of violence against young Latinas. With this understanding, I have purposefully chosen to apply theoretical frameworks that best guide this sort of research by keeping its development tied to Latino historical concerns and cultural frameworks. To that end, Chicana Feminist, Women of Color and Third World Feminist, Anti-Colonial and Post-Colonial, and Neo-Marxist theories will frame this study of violence against Latinas.

The pivotal contributions of women of color scholars and activists that led to the emergence and insurgence of “U.S. third world feminisms,” “women of color feminisms,” and “chicana feminisms” onto theoretical, academic and social movement landscapes, insisted on the intervention engendered in the very lived experiences of women of color. They posit that processes of race, class, and gender are imbricated, inseparable, co-constituted in defiance of recurring problematic epiphenomenalizations made by patriarchal, capitalist, and white supremacist analytic tendencies. These complications provide further insight not only to help us transcribe the text of societal arrangements of race, or of gender and class but they give us access to a new language

through which we can better understand the social vernacular. Such approaches are key to framing the proposed dissertation research in so far as they insist on analysis that is committed to considering the complexity of intersecting social forces and on assessing their interrelatedness. As will be described in the following chapters, these contributions help frame and interpret this research, guiding and giving texture to this humble attempt at interpreting violence in the lives of these young Latinas.

In addition, the specific approaches of Chicana Feminist theories contribute significantly to the framing of this research. Gloria Anzaldua's notion of *mestiza* consciousness calls into question the violence of dualistic hierarchies that fix us into binarious categories that conjure oppressive processes of gendering, classing, and raceing. As she does this, she asserts the agency of the muted third space, the rupturing voice that struggles to negotiate its existence within, in response, and in resistance of bifurcating processes. Norma Alarcon's contributions to Chicana Feminisms build on Anzaldua's work by tracing the ways political, ideological and discursive struggles are mapped out onto Chicanas and how they as social actors, function as a critical site to challenge hegemonic social organization. This is useful in exploring the cultural and historical dimensions of gendered violence in the Latina community, the social location and experience of violence for Latinas, and in asserting the ways Latinas make sense and exist in spite and in light of violence. Emma Perez' notion of the decolonial imaginary reminds us that emancipatory projects within the Chicano community are imbued with the trajectory of misogyny, and we should always be heedful of this potential polemic. Lastly, the work of neo-marxists and transnational feminists who insist on centering the historical trajectory and influence of colonial and neo-colonial invasions and processes

will be helpful in understanding processes of migration, dislocation and military violence and invasion in Latin America, a context that deserves imminent attention in the exploration of violence against Latinas. The chapters on the young women carefully consider these theoretical frameworks in the study and analysis of the violence they encounter.

Research that centers the voices and range of experiences of young Latinas with violence is not only long overdue but imminently necessary. Violence is escalating, given the heightening disparities arising out of this phase of advanced globalized capitalism, a tremendous surge of violence has surfaced that carries young Latinas as the primary target. After the passage of neoliberal agreements with the “United States,” a wave of unspeakable acts of mutilation and savage destruction of young women’s bodies surged in Mexico and in Guatemala, most notably in Juarez, Mexico. (Fregoso, 2003) In addition, the increased militarization of the “U.S.”/Mexico borders and increased immigration enforcement throughout the “United States” exposes young Latinas to a greater risk of sexual harassment, assault and deportation. (Falcon, 2006; Saucedo, 2006)

In an age of transnational movement and migration, violence follows suit; it too migrates, discriminately aggressing the most marginalized. It is here that the violent repression suffered by Tzeltal and Tzotzil Indians in Chiapas, Mexico and gang violence in Central America emerges.(Marcos, 1997) In addition, the stresses of living in occupation have been documented to magnify intra-familial and community violence, manifesting in particular, in forms of child abuse and other forms of intimate violence against women. (C. Rojas, Margo Okazawa-Rey, and Marisol Arriola 2002; N. Scheper-Hughes, Philippe Bourgois, 2004; Shalhoub-Kevorkian, 2004) Many liken the increased

militarized, border patrol and law enforcement surveillance and assault of Latin@s and immigrants to the experience of occupation, and, as these young women report, a similar effect is noted.(Falcon, 2006) In addition, many countries in Latin America have experienced foreign colonial and neo-colonial invasions, in the 20th century by the “United States,” which have often triggered internal wars and conflicts. Some of the young women interviewed are from these countries and they have had direct experience with the brutality of war. Violence is interwoven into their lives; it arrives from every direction, and young Latinas openly discuss violence in the streets, in their homes, in their schools, on the bus, etc. The recognition of their very experiences with multiple forms of violence leads to a specific consideration of the interrelatedness of different forms of violence. In honor of these young women’s lives, this research aims to demystify violence not through specialization, which has been the trait of recent approaches that compartmentalize violence, but through understanding experiences with violence through a more holistic and complex lens. Such an approach has the capacity to extend our understanding of violence toward closer proximity of the experience of violence, and thereby potentially ascertain more thorough analysis into the vast and intricate ways violence is weaved into social patterns and organization.

This research seeks to listen to voices that are silenced and undocumented; it sets out to assert the agency of young Latinas by disrupting the naturalizing notions that silence young Latinas, in research, public policy, and beyond. Centering their voices in emergent research about them is key in order to reach toward accountable, effective and viable contributions. (Galindo, 1999) Chapters 3 and 4 maneuver against the dominant literature that approaches the study of violence from a positivist psycho-biological

framework and critically interrogates the way ideology is produced around violence and the violence simultaneously inherent in the production of such ideology. The chapters on the young girls assert the multiple manifestations of violence against Latinas and explore their interrelatedness. They attempt to insert silenced and subordinated narratives of violence against women and to challenge faulty universalized misrepresentations of violence against women, tasks which will contribute to our understanding of violence in and against this specific community and potentially serve toward engendering an end to violence against women.

Additionally, the young women's chapters introduce the young women by providing demographic information, shared and unique circumstances, the context of their neighborhood, and any other salient stories. They then provide a closer examination that attempts to reconcile the backdrop of the criticisms raised in Chapters 3 and 4 with the way these young women experience violence. The second Chapter, "the architecture of violence: why it just happens," introduces an analytical model emerging from the young girls and my own stories in concert. The final chapter is both a summarizing account of the dissertation and considers implications of the findings and for future directions in research, movement building, and toward envisioning and creating a world without violence. It is my hope that this research will provide important data that could potentially inform the development of new and existing prevention and intervention strategies that could contribute to minimizing and someday ending the violence young Latinas encounter.

CHAPTER 2

the archetypes and the architecture of violence: why “it just happens”

the time before and a time with violence

*I wrestle with the ghosts
the grip of force
at thresholds*

*fence corrodes
cuts into land
humanity severed*

the end of love
*also its beginning
I wrestle with ghosts*

*What if the disappearances, the piling up of civilians in common graves,
the anonymity and the routinization of violence and
indifference were not, in fact, an aberration?”*

(N. Scheper-Hughes, 2004) p.177

*A student emailed me today. She apologized for missing class.
Her cousin and a close friend of hers were recently killed around the corner
from her house. Gang violence. She said she can't focus on much but the
only thing she seems to be able to focus on is surviving the war zone in her
block. And helping her family through the tragedy. She said
it's hard to look forward to the next day.*

The pervasive magnitude of the violence that surrounds and arrives most brutally on the bodies, minds and spirits of those most disenfranchised, continues to drive my determined search for ways to interrupt the suffering. As a survivor and a member of many communities set up to struggle against its ubiquitous, menacing barrage, I am confident there is another way to live and somehow, we will find it. This chapter is born in this light; amidst the tragedies, it swims in the waters of hope. Here, I will simply

propose a framework through which we can study the patterns, formations, structurations and manifestations of violence, the architecture of violence. This framework emerges out of the logic of the first chapter that positions violence as a regular and embedded feature on the social landscape instead of its frequent representation as an anomalous rupture. It also consistently engages the understanding that violence is orchestrated and organized through and along axes of inequality. Consistent with my work thus far, I am clearly the subject constructing this framework through my own refractive lens, and I am also thoroughly informed by the work of so many, and in particular, las juvenes that shape the scope of this research. I aspire to arrive at a place where we can learn a little more about why violence increasingly has become so normative and manifest, and why, as Vanessa alludes, we “just run to violence.” In this way, we may begin to unearth why, as Tatiana conveys, “it just happens.”

archetypes of violence

The ultimate kind of power is violence.
(Mills, 1957) p.171

“The cloaked violence of economic domination, of capital-labor relations of the great North-South divide...”(Farmer, 2005) p.11

I begin with positioning the backdrop against which all violence unfolds. At the foundational levels of social organization, preliminary though endemic to structuration, lie the archetypes of violence. Archetypes function as a sort of model from where replicas emerge. What is yet to come is patterned in relation to the archetype. Archetypes are pervasive ideas emanating through the weight of the symbolic and

conscious past. Jung refers to archetypes as the collective unconscious, our minds becoming memories for that which came before and producing prototypes under their influence.(Jung, 1981) Archetypes hold incredible power in the history and consciousness of a people through featured representations in the cultural domain. Aida Hurtado, in her research on the deployment of archetypes in Raza cultural productions, posited that archetypes are at the core of gender dynamics and oppression in Raza communities.(Hurtado, 1998; Rebolledo, 1995) Alicia Gaspar de Alba wrote that archetypes are a kind of a weapon that construct our daily realities and choices.(Gaspar de Alba, 1998) I further suggest that archetypes serve the project of hegemony; through them, we arrive complicitous at the reproduction of social arrangements. I suggest a nuanced approach to the terminology that asserts its sociological dimensions and analyses, its effect and modeling of social realities, its structuration and its contribution to the production of social meaning and signification.⁹ The Jungian reference and my terminology also responds to Tatiana and Vanessa's commentary regarding the internalization or interpellation of violence, how we are conditioned toward the use of violence with regularity.(Althusser, 1971) It seeks to explain how and why violence becomes normatively deployed, how thoroughly structured it is, and how the production of violence and people who commit violence emerges.

Under girding all manifestations and the structuration of violence are the archetypes of violence. The archetypes of violence are social processes and forces, formations and projects of inequality that include colonial/neo-colonial violence, racial violence, sexed/gendering and heteronormative violence, and the violence of poverty and

⁹ In my usage of archetype, I do not intend it as the notion of an epitomized character (unitary and fixed figure) onto which follow-up characterizations are modeled. Rather, I mean it as a social dimension: multiplicitous, complicated, evolving, and transformative.

racial formations.¹⁰ The archetypes of violence impose power into relations and teach violence as methodology in the pursuit of power. As distinguished from social processes of inequality, archetypes of violence highlight the organization of force and coercion occurring in the pursuit of establishing and maintaining unequal relations. As Mills rightly postulated, violence serves power. If Foucault once argued that power is implied in knowledge, I propose, as others have before me, that power is implied in violence. (Foucault, 1977)¹¹ Violence is a means to domination. This is why, as referenced earlier, there is nothing senseless about violence at all; violence is not about loss of control but rather, it is about the pursuit to gain control.(Das, 2004; Pence, 1993; Taussig, 1984) As Herbert Dreyfus astutely positions: “between violence and rationality there is no incompatibility.” (Dreyfus, 2003) Omi and Winant critique the wrongful turns in the interpretation of race by arguing that if we cease analysis at behavioral and individual levels in the study of racial inequality, as an aberration in the behavioral schema that can be treated through education, righted through learning that might dissolve ignorance, we dismiss the critical role that power plays in the interest of maintaining unequal racial relations.(Dreyfus, 2003; Omi, 1994) Similarly, if we understand violence as a means to domination, then the idea that if we live in a world of reason, violence can be abolished, or if we change behaviors, violence can be abolished, will be insufficient because violence will persevere as means to power, unless the concern to cease violence becomes

¹⁰ I use the term *gendering* violence to denote the production of gender through violence, gender-making through violence, as in the earlier reference to Cherrie Moraga’s words, “he made me a hole, he made me a woman.”

¹¹ Although Foucault would disagree with that analogy, he denied power as that maintained by brutal force, but rather conceived of power relations as only formed, “exercised” upon free subjects. Slavery, he argued, is instead of a power relation, a relationship of constraint. (Cahall, 2000) “Knowledge,” for Foucault, “is a means to domination.”(Foucault, 1977) p. 77 Foucault distinguishes between “primal acts of violence” (like slavery) and the more recent productions of docile bodies through disciplining practices (in armies, schools, hospitals, insane asylums, factories, etc.).(Foucault, 1977) p.139 Andrea Westlund raises an important critique of his work, which is implied in my presentation, that many of the world’s subjugated, including (her focus) survivors of domestic violence, are simultaneously violated through so-called pre-modern and modern deployment of violence.(Westlund, 1999)

concerned with power itself. The study of archetypes of violence is concerned with the organization of power relations at the most fundamental levels of societal formation. I suggest and propose that it is here, in the study of archetypes of violence, that we may pursue to unearth the roots of all violence, and it is here that we may find solutions and envision (a) different, just and peaceful, world(s).

The first danger in unequal power relations lies in the inscribed continuity of violence, arriving after the initiating violence necessary to carve unequal relations of power. Archetypes of violence enlist the participation of social actors and institutions (the state, economy, social institutions and groups and individuals) to deploy violence. The second danger lies in the systematic practice of indoctrination, “education,” that yields the mass deployment and our complicit participation and consent to violence, its legitimation.(Gramsci, 1999) An element at play in this process is what Althusser refers to as interpellation, the way we come to internalize that which is against our very survival, that which is intent on producing our subordination. Interpellation speaks to how we are conditioned (primarily through ideology) as the subaltern subject to be complicit in our own subalternity, in the violence.(Althusser, 1971; Gramsci, 1999; Spivak, 1988) This chapter and the next address the social forces of interpellation: the archetypes of violence, the structured architecture of violence, and the production of ideological violence and dominant narratives of violence.

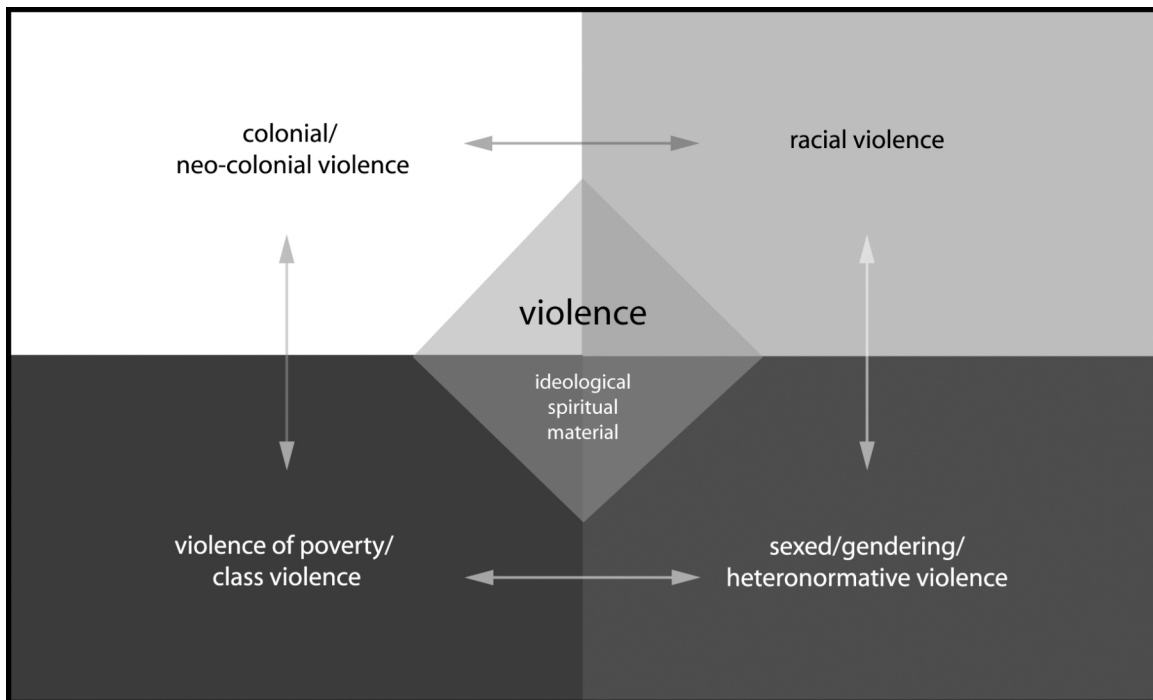
Studying archetypes of violence assists not solely the interpretation of violence, but the interpretation and assessment of the specific ways violence functions to produce, reproduce, and maintain social processes of inequality. I suggest that social processes of inequality manifest and exist through violence. Archetypes of violence deploy violence

through ideological, spiritual, and material (physical) methods. These methods of violence contain a continuum of myriad manifestations of violence that will be discussed in further detail later in this chapter. The methods of violence are interdependent and co-constituted because they both emanate from and are engaged in the production and reproduction of the archetypes of violence. Although we can distinguish between different methods of violence, and their function and utility, we can recognize that the effects of all methods are all just as real and deleterious. In addition, their interdependence is orchestrated, as will be discussed in the example that follows, as material violence often necessitates ideological violence to legitimate it. Archetypes of violence are social forces enacting material, spiritual and ideological violence on and through the social map in order to produce and maintain processes of social domination.

As can be seen in Figure 1, archetypes of violence include colonial/neo-colonial violence, racial violence, sex/gendering and heteronormative violence, and the violence of poverty/class formations. Archetypes of violence shape the deployment of multiple manifestations of violence and the institutions and people charged with structuring the deployment of violence. Because archetypes of violence are embedded as features of social formations and processes of inequality, they are historically patterned, malleable, and temporal. There is historical specificity and continuity in the deployment of archetypes of violence and all the violence they condition. Archetypes of violence mirror the production of social processes of inequality in their temporality. Violence is never static; in meaning, organization, deployment, effect, violence shifts and changes over time. Violence is a historical subject; it reinvents itself. It is marked, coded and

deployed in time and along with corresponding social relations and structurations of dominance.¹² (T. Almaguer, 1994; Omi, 1994)

Fig. 1 the archetypes of violence



Another important shared characteristic of both social patterns of dominance and archetypes of violence is that they are interdependent and co-constituted with one another. Crenshaw would term intersectionality and Gloria Anzaldúa would term *mestiza* consciousness, while Patricia Hill Collins terms black feminist standpoint, the ways that sex/gendered, classed and racial unequal relations intersect to produce particular ontological experiences.(Anzaldúa, 1990; Crenshaw, 1995a; Hill Collins, 1998) Indeed

¹² Although I have previously argued that all forms of dominance require and produce violence, I wish to distinguish archetypes of violence from social processes of dominance so as to study more closely that particulars of this feature of dominance, but not so that the study of violence is set up to explain the exhaustive detail in the construction and organization of power relations.

much of Chicana feminist theories, black feminisms/womanisms, third world and women of color feminisms emerge from similar logic. Although the analysis I posit builds from this wisdom, it is also speaking to the ways these processes are interdependent and co-constituted in organization and inception, in addition to the experiential level (the ways they impact people's lives, the effects they produce.) My focus is on the additional dimensional analysis that considers, for example, how colonial processes intersect sex/gendering processes and the ways these processes maintain and reproduce each other. I propose here analysis at the level of relations of power. Perhaps a useful analogy is that similar to a neoliberal political arrangement, where the elite of nations collaborate to expand respective profits. In an era of heightened "global" economy and (unequal un) free trade, the elite of trading nations are made increasingly interdependent. I suggest that the dominant in social relations of dominance function collaboratively and are invested in their mutual reproduction in order to secure their own steadfastness and power. Violence and power function like conglomerates: they are strengthened in their alliance, emerge and become conjoined while maintaining distinct duties. Sexual violence emerges with and through colonial, racial and economic violence.

The methods of violence are included in Figure 1 to remind us that violence is deployed through distinct yet interrelated methods that include the ideological, spiritual and material deployment of violence. The dominant narratives on violence concern themselves overtly with material/physical violence, as was discussed in chapter 1 and for that reason, I give special attention in the chapter that follows to the study of ideological violence. The spiritual element should not be forgotten because violence is also deployed spiritually. We are all spiritual beings and transgressions committed against us have a

toll on our spirits. Referencing this method of violence asks us to consider this often ignored aspect of both injury as well as potential site for recuperation and healing. The spirit wounds of colonialism are often addressed in Native literary and cultural texts.(Bratt, 1996; Neihardt, 1932; Silko, 1977) There are specific forms of spiritual violence, which impose a particular religiosity onto a people in order to silence or contain their spiritual beliefs and practices and/or utilize religiosity in the practice of other forms of victimization such as the reproduction of heteronormative violence and re-victimization of survivors of intimate violence. (T. West, 1999) Andrea Smith considers spiritual and cultural appropriation, which might include adopting or stealing another culture's spiritual belief systems, spiritual artifacts, or sacred sites, as a kind of spiritual and sexual violence.(A. Smith, 1998, 2005) Let's consider more closely the example of colonial violence as an archetype of violence to help us explore these notions in further applied detail. After the close interrogation of colonial violence, the subsequent pages consider the structuration of the archetypes of violence, which leads to the production of manifestations of violence.

colonial violence

Colonization was the historical process, genocide the official policy.
(Trask, 2006)p.81

Colonial violence includes all violence deployed in the process toward establishing and maintaining a colonial relationship. Colonial violence is necessary to begin the colonial relation; colonial violence is necessary to maintain the colonial relation. Colonialism is the process through which a nation sets out to dominate

another/territory. In the colonial process, indigenous peoples are subordinated through the creation of racial hierarchies and racial violence. Initially, genocide or other mechanisms of (ethnic) cleansing and depopulation of the land are administered; these may include forced and coerced displacements/migration.¹³ Settler colonies or administrative dependencies are then created. Colonizers dominate and extract resources from the “colony,” including land and other natural resources, as well as labor resources. This material usurping and profiting schema is organized through violent means and as well produces class violence/poverty.(Taussig, 1984)

Colonial violence, as all archetypes of violence, is also deployed ideologically. Colonial regimes impose socio-cultural, juridical, economic, medical, religious and linguistic structures and knowledge systems on the indigenous inhabitants in order to further assert and to inspire a willingness to accept their subordination.(Fanon, 1967b; C. Rojas, 2006) Gayatri Spivak terms this epistemic violence.(Spivak, 1988) The ideology of Eurocentrism remains as that “single and universal regime of truth and power” that European colonization set out on a global colonial imperative to align the world under. Processes of colonization have been central in the ordering of society (race, class and gender) and the creation of nation-states; this section will briefly introduce the ways colonial violence has functioned as a necessary element in colonial processes. The work

¹³Statistical analysis of the massacres of indigenous peoples through colonization of the Americas points to an overwhelming majority of the population being exterminated.(Stannard, 1992) In addition to massacres, inhumane working conditions and the spread of disease contributed to a depletion of the population. In Palestine, where the Zionist ideological refrain that infected American popular consciousness was that the state of Israel was created on a land without a people, for a people without a land, functioned alongside massacres, tortures, and the brutal conditions of occupation to create the largest refugee population in the world.(Makdisi) Through colonizer settlements and displacement, the Jewish population of Palestine jumped from 3-5% in the late 1800's to current figures that cite anywhere from 30-40%. In a global economy, the depopulation colonial and neo-colonial strategies also allows the maneuvering of labor resources.(Stannard, 1992) Deciphering the way force and coercion condition migration patterns helps to consider the organizing force of the colonial and neo-colonial objective and process. Much immigration policy and analysis fails to take these elements into consideration, and thus often reinforces the colonial relation through such policies as criminalizing and discriminatory/preferential racialized immigration policies, enforcement, and deportation.

of Aime Cesaire, Albert Memmi, Frantz Fanon, Edward Said, Haunani Kay Trask and Incite will help to map colonial violence and its intersection with racial, class, and sex/gendered/heteronormative processes and violence.

Haunani Kay Trask, leader and scholar in the Hawai'ian Sovereignty Movement declared, "I am NOT an American. I am NOT an American. I will DIE before I am an American." (Trask, January 1993) Her denial of an American identity is a denial of the colonial relationship that such an identity imposes on her. Her commitment to death before acceptance of the colonial relationship evokes the very ways the colonial relationship is itself a murdering process. In fact, she posits, 95% of native Hawai'ians were exterminated by English colonizers. Trask asserts, "colonization was the historical process and genocide the official policy."(Trask, 2006) p.81 The United States army invaded Hawai'i in 1893, overthrew the monarchy, and established a "puppet regime" friendly and accountable to the colonizer. In spite of written protest from nearly all indigenous Hawai'ians, the "puppet regime" annexed Hawai'i to the United States.

Culture was used to dislocate indigenous Hawai'ians from their ontological and epistemological bases, making the Hawai'ian language illegal and instituting other policies of cultural suppression. Control over culture, the imposition of Eurocentric culture, and the simultaneous dislocating of existing cultural practices are central forms of ideological/epistemic violence deployed in the colonization of Hawai'i, where white missionaries forced native Hawai'ians to adopt religious views contrary to native culture so as to carve a space for the colonial relationship.(Trask, 1999.) As Trask proclaims, "the inferior must be made to feel inferior every day, to suffer their subjugation, to be dehumanized in accordance with the colonizer's rules."(Trask, 2006) p.85 Albert

Memmi relates that the culture of the colonizer permeates the colony in order to condition the colonized to accept their inadequacy.(Memmi, 1991) p.94 Cultural violence, a form of colonial ideological violence is used strategically to adhere the colonized to the colonial relationship. Culture and other ideological methods of colonial violence are necessary instruments in maintaining the colonial relation because as Memmi attests, colonial relations will lead to their own demise as the system that entrenches them necessitates a rigidity that is difficult to maintain over time.(Memmi, 1991) As Franz Fanon attests, “the colonialist bourgeoisie, when it realizes that it is impossible for it to maintain its domination over the colonial countries, decides to carry out a rearguard action with regard to culture, values, techniques and so on.”(Fanon) p.44

I present Trask’s specific consideration of colonial violence in Hawai’i because the applied and particular observation of colonial dynamics reminds us that colonial violence, as the process it inaugurates and from which it emerges, is a patterned and dynamic sociohistorical formation and phenomenon. It is particular; it is shaped and defined by the geo-political, cultural and historical forces of the particular situation. Memmi and Fanon’s commentary reminds us that colonial violence is temporal; it is not to be conceived as a never-ending phenomenon, but instead, we are reminded of its historical specificities and conditioning. Colonial violence, as the colonial process, has particular beginnings, mutations, ruptures and endings that are crucial to consider in the study of violence.

As referenced earlier, colonial violence intersects with racial, class, and sex/gender/ heteronormative violence and social processes. The historical record reveals that contemporary racial ideologies, structuration and violence were constituted amidst

European colonial invasions.(Omi, 1994; Takaki, ; Zinn) Processes of European colonization in the Americas (and throughout most of Asia and Africa) have historically been racial projects. Colonial processes have been conceived, deployed, legitimated and maintained through structured racial hierarchy. Howard Winant posits that racism is indeed a project of class formation and an ideology for legitimation of the nation-state and colonial expansion.(H. Winant, 1995) Trask's representation of the stark realities of colonization evokes a racialized strategy of clear oppression and marginalization of indigenous populations and an intent on domination set forth through racial violence. Racial violence is all violence used to construct, precipitate and maintain racial hierarchy. Albert Memmi argues that racism is ingrained in every colonial institution in order to establish the inferiority of the subaltern. In the colonial situation, Memmi furthers, "all efforts are directed towards maintaining social immobility and racism is the surest weapon for this aim."(Memmi, 1991) p. 74

Frantz Fanon's contributions to analysis of colonialism also relay racial structuration and violence as a component of colonialism. He comes to see colonialism as a racializing process. (Fanon) While deciphering the marginalizing economic, racial, political and social processes of colonialism, Fanon considers the way these processes and marginalizations are internalized by the subjugated identities.(Fanon) In language reminiscent of Trask, he posits, "the colonized man is in a constant struggle against the omnipresence of death "this ever-menacing death is experienced as unemployment, mortality rates and an inferiority complex and the absence of hope for the future..."(Fanon, 1967a)

Further, Fanon posits that although the colonial relationship is initiated by military invasion, culture and ideology work to maintain and legitimate the persistence, and even the need, for the colonial relationship. Thus, an array of colonial institutions, including for example medicine and the legal system, work alongside (out of, with, through and because of) the state and become central locations for the dissemination of values and colonial ideologies and violence.

Fanon relates the example of an Algerian man receiving medical treatment. The European doctor faced a “non-compliant” patient who would not divulge any information about his health. The doctor then turned to the patient’s body to attempt an assessment from the physical presentation. Instead he found the body reluctant, completely tensed muscles unwilling to allow the penetration of the medical gaze and intervention. This Algerian man knew he faced not only a doctor but the colonizer, so he resisted. He knew that the doctor is economically invested in maintaining colonization and structures of oppression. “In the colonial situation, going to see the doctor, the administrator, the constable or the mayor are identical moves.”(Fanon, 1967a) All players and corresponding institutions and processes in a colonial situation carry the potentiality of violence that is invested in the decimation or denigration of the colonized.

Because colonialism is anchored in racial hierarchies, Aime Cesaire comes to see racial liberation as a necessary component in colonial liberation. Further, Cesaire’s work with regard to the intersection between class and race detail his bold move against the Communist Party, arguing that racism cannot be subordinated to class in the colonial situation. (Cesaire: letter to Maurice Thorez (October 1956) In many ways, colonialism set the context for the emergence and rise of capitalism; in other words, capitalism rose

through the resources extracted and wealth gained through colonialism, and it also worked to further organize the colonial project along class, racial and national lines. However, “Marx found it difficult to make adequate sense of the commitment of members of the international working class to specific national cultures...”(Calhoun) p.xviii Marx asserted a somewhat totalizing and universalizing, reductionist account of capitalism that asserted that “the working man has no country.” Ironically, his very rhetoric of difference and inequality actively repressed difference and inequality. Stuart Hall claims Marxism is a Eurocentric conceptual formation:

Marxist theory suggested that capitalism evolved organically within its own transformation, whereas I came from a society where the profound integument of capitalist society, economy, and culture had been imposed by conquest and colonization. (Hall, 1991)p.280

Trask traces Hawai’ian colonial history that reveals the manner in which white businesses in the “United States” led colonial efforts in Hawai’i by colluding with the “US” government to overthrow the indigenous movement.(Trask, 1999.) Models of internal colonialism furthered by African-American and Chicano scholars elucidate the relationship between colonial, racial and class violence. Chicano Movement and Mexican histories posit that the southwestern United States was invaded and stolen through the United States’ colonial enterprise. According to some Chicano scholars, the “conquest of the Southwest created a colonial situation.” (Acuna, 1972) Acuna describes that colonial processes typically involves a military invasion from an external nation/state whereby force is used to impose an involuntary subjugation of indigenous inhabitants. Additionally, the structuration of social systems of governance and colonial cultures and

values are imposed while systemic efforts to exterminate the indigenous culture are engaged. It is the goal of colonial relationships and violence to subdue the colonized into political and economic powerlessness. Lastly, missionary ideologies and other legitimating ideologies are deployed to legitimate colonial invasion. Although this was the historic case for the “absorption” of the Mexican territory, Acuna contends that the terms of struggle have shifted because Mexicanos are no longer outside the state/nation but have been usurped into the United States, thus he introduces the model of internal colonialism to assert that Mexicans remain colonized in every way, only colonial subjugation is taking place within the same country.(Acuna, 1972)

Robert Blauner is known for his key contributions to the model of internal colonialism and his analysis of racial hierarchy. Blauner historicizes that European colonial invasion was a project through which classifications of race and hierarchies were created and structured. His approach focuses on African-Americans as internal colonies within the geographic boundaries of the United States whereby the structured system of racial domination maintains racial subjugation of African-Americans. His model also relays the intersection of race and class, as he asserts that capitalism points to the importance of economic institutions and “if there is one key to the systematic privilege that undergirds a racial capitalist society, it is the special advantage of the white population in the labor market.” (Blauner, 1972, p. 23) He argues that internal colonialism efforts rely on ordering economically disadvantaged communities/colonies within the United States. He also posits that culture serves as a tactic to acquiesce the colonized into the colonial relationship. The internal colonialism model works to elucidate the violent and invasive imposition of racial hierarchies, the material conditions

(poverty) of racial hierarchies and the ways culture is wielded as a tactic to legitimate unjust colonial relations.

The contemporary organization of the deployment of sex/gender/heteronormative violence and their corresponding gendering and heteronormative social processes are relatively recent formations. Certainly sex/gender formations, like all patterns of violence and dominance are constantly mutating, shifting and changing along the patterning of socio-historical developments. They are also Eurocentric frameworks imposed through colonial and neo-colonial violence onto colonized peoples. Multiple arrangements of sex/gender/sexuality are pervasive throughout indigenous communities in the Americas, Asia and Africa that do not produce patriarchal social arrangements, violence against women and homophobia and transphobia.(McMullin, 2005) Colonial processes are gendering processes that not only restructure indigenous sex/gender frameworks and epistemologies, but also feminize “empty lands” for the taking, the conquered for the raping, while asserting a violent, conquering and rapist masculinity that further shapes the subordination of women through domestication. (Anne McClintock, 1995; Mies, 1986)

Additionally, the work of INCITE finds that gendered violence has functioned toward the successful implementation of colonial and racial violence and genocide. INCITE argues that “we cannot wait to address gender violence until after we address racism,” and vice versa, because both forms of violence function toward the same ends.(INCITE, 2005) In her significant contribution to the study of the intersections between sex/gendering violence and colonialism, Andrea Smith posits “because sexual violence has served as a tool of colonialism and white supremacy, the struggle for

sovereignty and the struggle against sexual violence cannot be separated.”(A. Smith, 2005)p.137 Smith’s text relates that sexual violence has been used as a tool of colonialism by deeming certain people inherently “rapeable” through state policies that range from environmental racism to sterilization abuse. Antonia Castaneda’s historicizing of the missionization process in California has also highlighted the particular ways sexual violence functioned to strategically in colonial efforts. (Castañeda, 1990) This scholarship affirms the imminence of a framework for understanding violence that recognizes the profound and historic co-constitutivity of gendering and colonial violence.

Similarly, we can map the co-constitutivity of racial and colonial violence, as Edward Said’s notion of orientalism demonstrates in the specific case of European colonial invasion of West Asia and North Africa, ideological constructs of colonialism inscribed a racialized “orient” other. Thus, the “orient” comes to signify a system of representations of the inferior and exotic other shaped by the political forces of colonialism. He urges us to recognize that colonialism “lingers where it has always been, in a kind of general cultural sphere as well as in specific political, ideological, economic, and social practices.”(Said) The specific contours of colonial violence today glare with the agenda of the conjured “the war of terror.” It is estimated that more than 1 million Iraqis have been killed over 4 million displaced since the recent military invasion—this, in addition to the many more hundreds of thousands killed through economic sanctions and the Gulf War invasion in 1991. (L. Roberts, Riyadh Lafta, Richard Garfield, Jamal Khudairi, Gilbert Burnham, 2004) The violence of torture, detainment, rape, starvation, curfews and containment, displacement, unemployment, poverty and illness are also

routinely administered as tactics of the occupation. Additionally, the violent methodology of a deleterious racist orientalism is administered to at once frame, legitimate and produce the occupation and to maintain it. (A. Smith, 2006) These various and multiple types of violence are coordinated to produce a pattern of violence that yields the result and maintains the very colonial relation they also produce/reproduce. All methods of violence are interdependent and material and military violence need ideological violence to legitimate them. Ideological violence is a hegemonic requisite; it is the violent imposition of a dominant narrative that displaces and subjugates other narratives and knowledges while it legitimates further violence and injustice. The coercive tendencies of ideological violence enlist our participation in one of the bloodiest episodes in world history. A war could not be without acquiescence to the logic of war. The premise, trace and epistemology of orientalism buttress the logic of the War on Terror. The logic of violence, the logic of inequity, of power and hierarchy, also serves as requisite to the deployment of material violence. The “War of Terror” is a 21st-century invention of an ideological weapon wielded to maneuver public consent of abhorred attacks on humanity. Aimé Césaire, teacher of Frantz Fanon and one of the most important voices deciphering colonialism, posits that the ideology of colonialism is an ideology of racial and cultural hierarchy and the distribution of this ideology is as essential to the colonial policy as is brute force and subjugated labor. (Cesaire)

Lastly the ontology and epistemology of war, death and destruction on a mass scale produces particular normative narratives of violence that further legitimate them and the social order the war is bent on producing, reproducing and maintaining. Conversely, knowledge, ‘common sense,’ and narratives gain currency, legitimation and

dominance in so far as they further legitimate the war and augment the techniques that aggravate war and unjust colonial relations. Police, immigration and border enforcement, legal institutions, the military and media, religion and education institutions function as apparati cohering to produce, re-produce and maintain colonial violence.

To signal colonial violence as an archetype of violence is to refer to the continuum of various methods and manifestations of violence, the historical aspect of their deployment, and to the pointed orchestration vis a vis the particular social axis of inequality it produces, reproduces and through which it is effected. The term also signals the intersections with/between other archetypes of violence. Archetypes of violence include colonial/neo-colonial, racial violence, sexed/gendered and heteronormative violence, and the violence of poverty. As discussed earlier and demonstrated in the aforementioned analysis, these are not mutually exclusive, but rather interdependent manifestations of violence in that all social processes of inequality are interdependent and co-constitutive. Colonial violence is also racial, gendered, heteronormative and creates wealth and poverty. Colonization is shaped by racial, gendered, heteronormative and class formations. The corresponding archetypes of violence produce, reproduce and maintain and are also produced, reproduced and maintained by unjust and unequal social hierarchies and relations at macro-structural, meso and micro levels of societal organization. Archetypes of violence are the necessary ingredient in establishing structured dominant relations because archetypes of violence are intent on subduing and subjugating. Archetypes of violence emerge out of the very pursuit of power. They are the backdrop against which all violence manifests and unfolds, and against which all violence can be understood. Colonial violence and the archetypes of violence function as

prototype; they produce people accordingly. Colonial and racial violence don't just happen to people; they condition people. The decisions people make are structured through the structuration of the archetypes of violence. Colonial trauma remains alive as memory and through recurring exposure to its ravenous threshold, and the decolonizing and liberatory process involves assessment of the most profound forms of structuration and internalization of the archetypes of violence.

the state, the economy and the archetypes of violence

(The state is) the rule of men over men based on the means of legitimate, that is allegedly legitimate, violence.(Weber, 1946) p.1

As discussed in the previous chapter, scholars of systemic structuration of (racial) inequality have agreed that the state is a central producer for racial ideology and organizer of racial processes and formations. The state is charged with the primary task of maintaining the structured social order and is therefore inherently violent. (Lenin, 1966 ; Marx, 1978 [1946]; Trotsky, 1918; Weber, 1946) According to Ungar, “The state is saturated with violence” (Ungar, 2002) The state includes institutions and the laws that legitimate it, along with its violence. (Jessop, 1982; Skocpol, 1982) Ungar’s statement relates the violent practices of state institutions like the courts and prisons and their sanctioning through law. The law functions as a symbolic representational and systematically structured institution that produces knowledge about many things, including violence.(P. Williams) As will be discussed in the chapters that follow, the law and its rhetoric functions as an escape plan through which the state escapes urgent

scrutiny of its violent practices, its relation to the archetypes of violence and the ordering of violence.

Ungar's statement that the state is saturated with violence rests on Marxist understandings of the state as an instrument of violence deployed by the dominant class to assert power. (Arendt, 1969) In this light, violence is seen as a tactic in the pursuit of power, a tool of domination deployed centrally by the state. (Freire, 1982) Violence is instrumental.(Arendt, 1969) Violence is a continuation of processes of domination; it comes to be seen as an extension of politics. (Clausewitz, 2003) To the extent that the state plays the central role in shaping, organizing and legitimating social processes of inequality, archetypes of violence are centrally organized by the state. The state legitimates archetypes of violence (and their corresponding manifestations of violence) by socially condoning them through laws. For example, detainment, torture at Guantanamo, and family separation of undocumented immigrant families, even military invasion are all made legitimate through laws. The state provides the necessary rules that set the foundation for institutions in their assignment of normalizing and organizing the populace. (W. Scott, M. Ruef, P.J. Mendel & C.A. Caronna, 2000) The state organizes violence and conditions people to accept and deploy it largely through the organization of institutions.

The face of the state, the economy, and their relation is undergoing constant transformation as capitalism intensifies in a neoliberal, globalized, late/advanced capitalist moment. It would be naive to posit the state or the economy and their relation as fixed entities. These formations are constantly reinventing themselves and restructuring their relation/alliance. Neo-marxists bringing the legacy of Marxian

frameworks, analysis and critique into the contemporary and 20th century state/economy formations, vary in their opinions about the function and relation of these entities. What is critical for my analysis and presentation of their relation to the production of violence and to the archetypes of violence is firstly not to undermine the power of the state in organizing society and its legitimacy in this set of tasks and in the legitimacy of its deployment of violence. In this way, I suggest that the state through policy, practice, social (and institutional) organization and ideology coordinates the archetypes of violence.

Secondly, against the backdrop of Wallerstein's world systems analysis and the workings of a global market in relation to dominant nation states and their neoliberal organization, I concur that the state is invested politically in maintaining the locus and the (increasing) accumulation of wealth in alliance and allegiance to itself.(Wallerstein, 2000) This is one of the many ironies of the "ghost" of the vanishing state in the global markets; it remains diligently setting agenda toward its own sustenance. In this way, I correlate with structuralist neo-Marxists O'Connor, Offe, and Habermas. This orientation furthers that the intensification of class inequalities, violence and poverty, are vested structured interests buttressed by the state.

Thirdly, as has been postulated elsewhere, as capitalism intensifies, so does privatization, and I posit that in an increasingly privatized arena, more and more aspects of public/state domain, duties and responsibilities will (and have) increasingly be usurped by private interests. The recent conflict over how and where to hold Blackwater (private) security violence in Iraq accountable showed that there are over 100,000 private contractors in Iraq.(A. a. P. v. Z. Rubin, 2007) However, whereas the state produces

ideology (through laws, practices, rules, etc.) that continues to legitimate its violent practices, and the discourse of a legitimated violence, violence that emerges from outside of the state is not equally legitimated. The same casualties that Blackwater is repudiated for having committed have been effected by the US armed forces throughout the legitimated course of war (which has its own legitimating crisis underway). The trend thus far points to the increasing ways private industry deploys violence typically reserved for the state (through private securities and prisons, for example).¹⁴ This, in addition to the ways the private sector/global economy deploys, organizes and structures what Farmer and others have termed structural violence, the violence of poverty, the greatest killer of humankind.(Gilligan, 1996) The violence of poverty is of course a gendered and racialized phenomenon that safeguards, protects and privileges men and in particular, white/european men in the global north. Thus the state and the economy both play distinct but central roles in the organization and structuration of violence. They also produce the structures that condition the production of violence between individuals, which will be discussed in the analysis that follows on the role of institutions in the organization and deployment of violence.

institutions and the structuration of violence

The preparations for mass killing can be found in social sentiments and institutions from the family, to schools, churches, hospitals and the military.

¹⁴ The Blackwater murders seem to be highlighting a crisis in the organized manner through which accountability for violence is measured and effected. In other words, whereas the state has military courts and other means that give the pretense that laws are respected and accountability is justly issued to those that do not, private industry has no such accountability channels. In fact, Blackwater's agreement with the United States government holds that they are not subject to Iraqi laws and there is doubt as to whether as civilians they can be tried in US military courts, raising the question that these 100,000 contractors in Iraq are running around with no accountability mechanisms to respond to. This appears to me as a crisis of legitimation of state, state sanctioned, and private sector activities that speaks to the current moment in the relation between the state and the economy sector. (J. White, 2007)

They harbor the... 'genocidal continuum' that push social consensus toward devaluing certain forms of human life and lifeways.
(N. Scheper-Hughes, Philippe Bourgois, 2004) p.22

It is through institutions that the everyday violence perpetrated against those excluded by the system is organized and deployed. It is through institutions that all forms of violence are made tangible through material and ideological means. Everett Hughes distinguishes institutions from other forms of social interaction by recognizing the organizational and established form(s) of institutions.(Hughes, 1968) Institutions are constantly evolving entities with malleable boundaries and shifting duties, practices, and priorities, and it is therefore important to historically locate my assessment of the structuration of violence in the contemporary moment. Social institutions are interdependent and function collaboratively to buttress (maintain) the social order. Institutions are the vehicles through which the state organizes, touches and produces (constitutes) “people,” “violence,” “ideology,” etc. Hence, the archetypes of violence find a social anchor and location amidst institutions, where they are actively deployed. The work of Gilles Deleuze is pivotal in exploring the relation between institutions and social forces of inequality. In his thesis, institutions are what cement and give social relations of power teeth through which to masticate, mold and devour the social landscape, and people.(Deleuze, 1984) Deleuze sees institutions as agents of integration, stratification and differentiation of social forces and social relations of power; they assemble social forces and their relations of power into grounded forms.(Lazzarato, 2006) To this end, institutions are coercive and regulative.(W. Scott, M. Ruef, P.J. Mendel & C.A. Caronna, 2000) The output and the practices of institutions, in their aim toward accomplishing said tasks, is violence. Institutions exist to normatize and effect

violence; institutions exist for and through violence. Conditioned by the archetypes of violence and orchestrated and sanctioned by the state and the economy, institutions organize and deploy violence. Additionally, institutions constitute people toward violence, and they produce a violent social landscape. Institutions implicate and are implicated in people and vice versa. They are so thoroughly implicated, and recognizing this facilitates our presentation of violence by considering the ways distinct forms of violence are deployed and structured at macro, meso, and micro levels simultaneously. That much organization is necessary in order to maintain the logic and functioning of such a violent society.

Institutions reflect the social landscape, that is to say, they mirror the normatized relations and society's structured (unequal) stratifications.(King) Institutions are invested in their own legitimacy and maintenance and in order to maximize this potential and increase resources and survival capabilities, they produce normative cultural logics that incorporate socially legitimated rationalized elements in their formal structures.(W. Scott, M. Ruef, P.J. Mendel & C.A. Caronna, 2000) The daily practices and organization of institutions legitimate and reproduce unequal social arrangements. In medicine, standards, models of care, and organizational practices, processes and structuration legitimate, reflect and reproduce, for example, racial & class and gendered hierarchies and racial and class and gendered violence.(King, ; Waitzkin) Institutions adopt and reflect the institutional logic they are charged with diffusing.(W. Scott, M. Ruef, P.J. Mendel & C.A. Caronna, 2000) The institution of medicine reflects capitalist class and racialized hierarcical structures with an imposing elite corporate/upper class that makes health policy and an exploited class, largely made up of women of color and our

communities, that is responsible for janitorial and lower ranking nurse and administrative work.

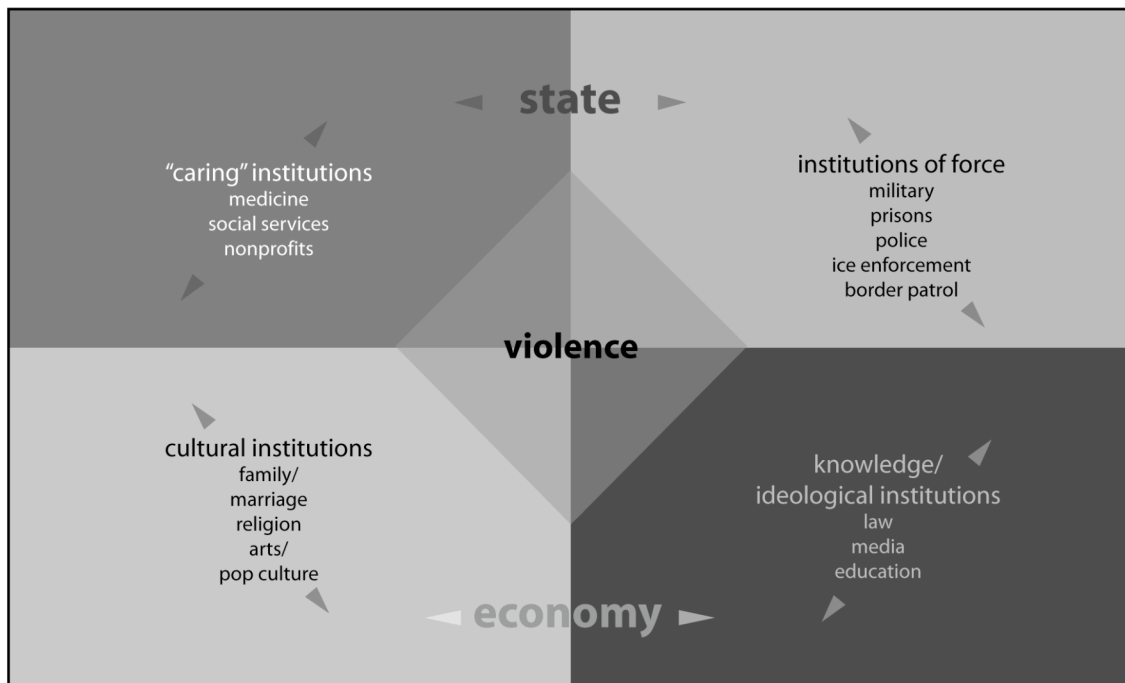
Carmichael and Hamilton, who coined the term institutional racism, describe the ways dominant groups systematize racism through institutions by often covert means.(Carmichael, 1967) It is critical to consider the role of institutions in the production, reproduction and legitimation of violence in that such a gaze facilitates and prioritizes strategies that address and aim to transform fundamental and systemic processes that structure and organize violence into the social landscape. Institutional analysis is pertinent to the study of the social organization and production of violence because it shifts focus from and individual (racist) act to the structural processes. Thus, we find that institutional racism and racial violence exists even when the individual effecting policy harbors no racial prejudice (not about intent, but about effect and practice).

Louis Althusser's significant contributions to the study of institutions inform my efforts to ground the specific role that institutions, themselves always evolving, maneuver in the production and deployment of violence. Speaking with and against Marx, Althusser launched himself to explore the relation between (economic) base and superstructure (ideology, institutions) against Marx' deterministic and reductionist tendencies toward the economic base. Indeed, the work of Neo-Marxians, post-structuralists and post-colonial theorists has empowered, if you will, the dimension of the superstructure in its irreducible role in producing and maintaining relations of power and the economic base itself. Althusser does not altogether disregard Marxian instrumentalist

treatment of the state and deterministic tendencies; he invokes the state’s repressive duties as manifest through what he terms the Repressive State Apparati. (Althusser, 1971)

Figure 2 demonstrates what I term the structuration of violence; the visual intends to reveal the key role that institutions play in the organization and deployment of violence. Althusser’s consideration of the Repressive State Apparati as institutions that forcefully repress the subaltern informs my approach to naming “institutions of force” as those institutions whose expressed and visible violence is socially condoned and legitimated, for it is considered state violence that serves the function of “keeping the (social) peace.” I argue, however, that this discursive subterfuge allows state violence to go unchecked and unquestioned. These institutions are charged with keeping the (violent and unequal) social order. They are conditioned by archetypes of violence.

Fig. 2 the structuration of violence



In addition to repressing the subaltern, the state's additional task is to maintain itself through legitimation.(Habermas, 1994; Offe, 1996) In order to establish a hegemonic social order, it is vital to enlist the consent of the subaltern. Institutions are often erroneously considered fixed entities on the social landscape, but instead they too, as formations, are malleable to historical pressures, forces, and instabilities and they are also in need of constant reproduction and legitimation. (Jepperson, 1991) Institutions and the state are legitimated through the production of ideology that sustains and normatizes the values and principles of the state and dominant structures. All institutions produce violent ideologies that legitimate them and the social order. Althusser classifies as Ideological State Apparati, those institutions responsible for disseminating this legitimating knowledge, such as schools, religion, and media.(Althusser, 1971) I term institutions of knowledge and ideology, those institutions charged with the task to produce, issue and disseminate the consentizing ideologies (as opposed to Freire's concientizacion).(Freire, 1982) In this conceptualization, this set of institutions is charged with maintaining and legitimating, through discursive practices, the social processes and formations of inequality and the archetypes of violence. The responsibility of these institutions is therefore the deployment of ideological/epistemic violence, such as the colonizing orientalism, which also function to maintain other institutions, including the institutions of force. The chapter that follows looks more closely at ideological violence and institutions of knowledge and ideology.

Ideological institutions are closely related to cultural institutions. The expressed legitimated function of ideological institutions is to "educate" through knowledge that is also legitimated. Cultural institutions conjure and deploy violence in a slightly distinct

manner. In order to understand the organization of violence, we must also consider the integral way that culture configures violence. Since culture includes those sets of values that a society agrees upon, in order to be maintained and legitimated, violence must therefore be culturally conditioned as a value. Cultural institutions do the work of conditioning violence as a value and structuring intracommunity relations in violent hierarchies. Cultural institutions include family/marriage, religion, the arts/pop culture, etc. These institutions produce ideological and material violence, as all institutions. They are central in diffusing what Gramsci terms the *national popular*, common sense, and they are central sites for the construction of hegemony.(Hall, 1996a) The work of Pierre Bourdieu highlights the seminal way culture and cultural institutions produces knowledge that maintains and reproduces violence and an unequal social order, the way power operates through culture. His notion of the habitus focused on the practices, beliefs and manners that create social inequities. Beyond the base (economy), it is “cultural capital” that recreates the social order.(Bourdieu) (Bourdieu, 1990b) The Frankfurt school also informed (and prioritized) the role that cultural institutions play in organizing and maintaining an unequal social order.(Adorno, 2000) Cultural institutions also point out the ways institutions provide meaning to social behavior through cognitive, normative and regulative structures and activities.(W. R. Scott, 1995)

Lastly, I term “caring institutions” those institutions that produce and practice violence through subterfuge. They express care (especially for the subaltern, disadvantaged, poor, etc.) while delivering continued suffering through the deployment of material and ideological violence that protects and enhances the social order that produces such suffering. Arthur Kleinman in his work on the violence of everyday life,

reminds us that “social suffering is also seen in the response to human problems by the institutions of social policy and programs that are in principle organized to ameliorate the problem.”(Kleinman, 2000) p.226 These institutions include medicine, social services and nonprofit organizations. Some institutional collaborations have been studied as “complexes,” signaling a relationship of shared interests and function that might exist between the state and the economy and manifest through that particular institution. These institutions include the military industrial complex, the prison industrial complex, the medical industrial complex and the non-profit industrial complex.¹⁵ In this way, we are reminded how integrally the state and the economy collaborate toward the production and ordering of social institutions, which are key to deploy the ideological and material violence necessary to maintain the social order and social processes of inequality, social relations of power. The medical industrial complex vis a vis its racist organization, deploys racial violence while it professes care for communities of color, through for example, violent medical treatments, medical experimentation, and the withholding of care.(C. Rojas, 2006)

Couched in a deceptive framework of benevolence, (western) medicine is a violent institution that has been dangerous to the health and well being of women and people of color since its imposition. This is medicine’s double discourse of care: expressed interest in the provision of care, while making people of color sick.

¹⁵ Eisenhower first used the term Military Industrial Complex to refer to the expansion of the political economic institutional sector named. C. Wright Mills provided the first sociological study of the Military Industrial Complex. (Mills, 1957) The term Medical Industrial Complex reveals the mutual interests of capital and the state in the expanding institution of (western) medicine. As with the Military Industrial Complex and the Prison Industrial Complex, the Medical Industrial Complex acts to rationalize the state and heighten profits while asserting the dominance of medicine in society. (Navarro 1976 and 1999, Ehrenreich and Ehrenreich, 1971, Estes, C. Harrington, C. and Pellow, D., 2000) For example pharmaceutical companies drive state organized infiltration and genocidal attacks on communities of color, as in the assaults on Puerto Rican women’s reproductive systems in the development of the birth control pill. (García, 1982 and Lopez, 1993) The medical-industrial complex (MIC) refers to the health industry, which is composed of the multibillion-dollar groupings including doctors, hospitals, nursing homes, insurance companies, drug manufacturers, hospital supply and equipment companies (technology).

Historically, medicine has always worked for the colonial state; for example, institutional practices quelled indigenous resistance by drawing indigenous communities into colonial structures and relationships. Medicine arrived in the Americas, and throughout the world, as an integral arm of European colonial invasion: land grants were given to doctors who settle areas and develop medical institutions. And medical institutions served as sites where indigenous communities were actively subordinated, regulated, tracked, and counted of indigenous communities. As Fanon argues, medicine makes colonial interests palatable so that slowly, over time, we are “reduced to saying yes to the innovations of the occupier.”(Fanon, 1967a)

This “provision of care” subjugates women of color and our communities by negating indigenous knowledges of the body, health, and healing and by superimposing western values and colonial racist epistemologies and figures (e.g., the all-knowing patriarchal doctor). Thus, the power of healing from women and indigenous communities is displaced.(Ong, 1999) bell hooks reminds us, “conscious of race, sex, and class issues, I wondered how I would be treated in this white doctor’s office. Through it all, he talked to me as if I were a child ...”(hooks)

Medical violence is deployed from etiology (diagnosis, naming of disease and establishment of cause), to prevention (or lack thereof), treatment (“care” potentially injurious or unavailable), and research (treating people of color as guinea pigs). (King, 1996) And as discussed earlier, the MIC buttresses racist and colonial state needs by surveilling and reporting on communities, regulating human bodies, and by further dominating the colonized. Additional forms of medical violence—such as active exclusion and withholding of treatment—also emerge, and become tools of social

control; the MIC determines who is treated, who lives, who dies. Even if treatment is provided, violence persists, as the delivery of medical “care” is still rife with racism, classism, and sexism, as well as state and colonial interests and structures. For example, historically the “sick role” has been assigned to marginalized communities in the US, as it implies “deviance” in need of medical intervention. Through medicine, colonial racist archetypes of the “diseased and uncivilized” other were legitimated, and the “other” was created.(Ong, 1999) Medicine’s professional and eurocentric shroud confirms and grants the authority to define sickness, name the sick, identify the “healthy,” and prescribe what is biologically normal and what is not, thereby discerning between what should be called “natural,” and what should be called “unnatural.”(Freidson, 1970)

“Drapetomania” stands among the first medical diagnoses in the United States. Samuel Cartwright, a physician in New Orleans defined it as “the desire for a slave to run away.”¹⁶ Among the causes listed were laziness and poor intellectual capabilities.(Brown, 1990) Only slaves were able to contract this “disease,” much like only slaves were able to violate the first criminal laws enacted in this country.(Kennedy, 1997) In the *New Orleans Medical and Surgical Journal*, Dr. Cartwright argued that the tendency of slaves to run away was a treatable medical disorder, believing that with “proper medical advice, strictly followed, the troublesome practice that many Negroes have of running away could almost entirely be prevented.” Whipping was prescribed as the most effective treatment of the disorder and amputation of the toes was prescribed for cases that failed to respond to whipping.(Cartwright, 1851) This is an early example of the violence of western medical thought and practice. First, an ideological marker of disease is inflicted on a resistant slave’s plight to recapture his/her liberty and humanity; then, an ideological

¹⁶ “An irrestrainable propensity to run away.” The term derives from Greek *drapeto*, to flee and *mania*, obsession.

shift displaces consideration of an unjust social order, replacing it with a medical diagnosis present in an individual and curable under the jurisdiction of medical purview. Finally, as a result, slavery is legitimized and buttressed by medicine.

Given this history, it's not surprising that people of color—especially poor people of color—often have served as the guinea pigs of the Medical Industrial Complex, suffering poor health and death as consequences.(Washington, 2006) Among the most flagrant historic examples of the MIC's use of poor people of color as guinea pigs is the Tuskegee syphilis experiment. In 1932 government doctors began a study on the effects of the illness. Their project deemed “expendable” the bodies of southern Black sharecroppers by withholding treatment and lying about treatment; for example, excruciatingly painful spinal taps were performed under the guise of treatment. While the medical community failed to note any wrongdoing, the research project continued for many years.(Jones, 1993)

Well into World War II, the lead scientific investigators even secured government exceptions from military recruitment for the research subjects, because the military provided treatment for syphilis. As a result, nearly one hundred men died and many more lived with chronic and serious health complications. Indeed “the burden of scientific investigation has rested on those that are socially and therefore medically disenfranchised.”(“The Deadly Deception,” 1993) In Puerto Rico in the 1960's, birth control pills three to four times the hormone dosages of today's birth control pills were tested on women without their consent. Many were killed and injured while being used as guinea pigs. Eugenicist Margaret Sanger, the mother of the (western interventionist) birth control movement and founder of Planned Parenthood, went to Puerto Rico to support

“administering physicians.”

As the aforementioned example demonstrates, institutions are the central entities through which violence is structured and deployed. The institutions of force, ideological and cultural institutions, and the caring institutions are coordinated through state and economic forces to maintain and reproduce systematic relations of dominance. The structuration of violence helps assess how different manifestations of violence are interrelated, reminding us that the social actor is institutionally constructed. (W. Scott, M. Ruef, P.J. Mendel & C.A. Caronna, 2000) It displaces the individual/institutional dichotomy of violence and in its place asserts the intersections of interpersonal modes of violence such as rape, domestic violence and hate violence with macrostructural violences such as economic and spiritual violence, colonization, prison, and homophobia. The approach that gazes at all violence through the lens of the structuration of violence looks at processes of systematic violence, rather than a debilitating fixation to gaze upon the solitary act of violence, for that will burden our inquiry and our pursuit at finding viable interventions by granting at most, partial answers. But let us not forget, that it is people who people institutions. As Patricia Hill Collins reminds, “power is annexed from the bottom.” (Hill Collins, 1998)

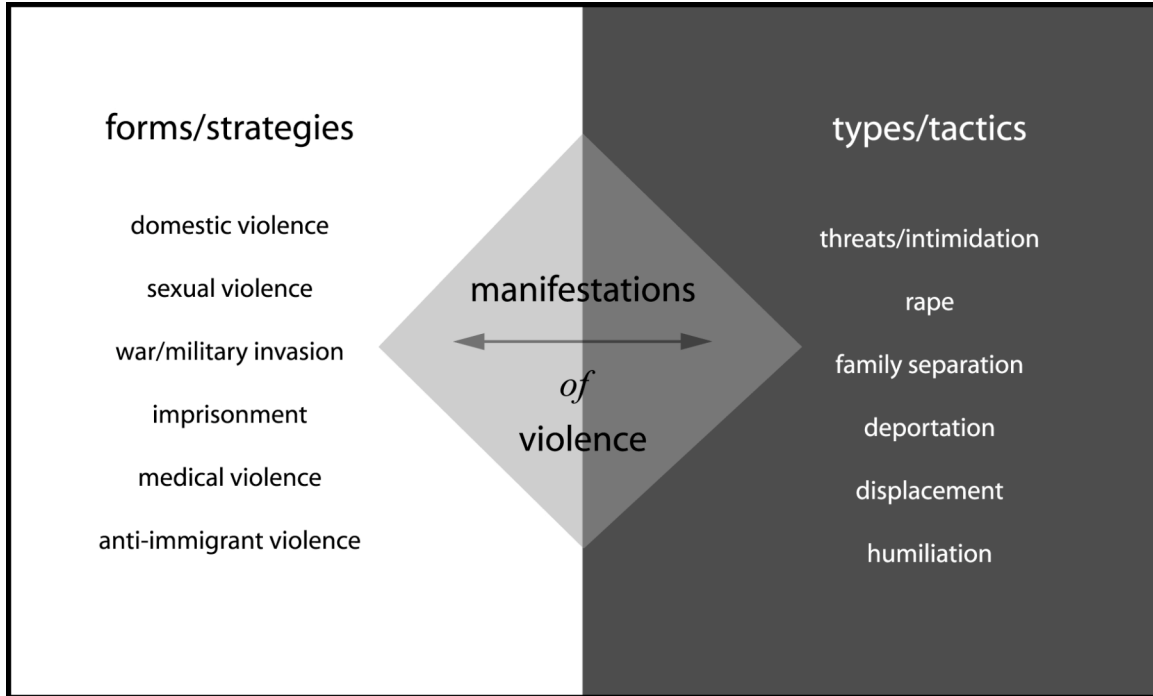
It is the people's support that lends power to the institutions of a country and this support is but the continuation of a consent that brought the laws into existence to begin with.
(Arendt, 1969)

manifestations of violence

*There is no primary impulse out of which mass violence and genocide are born,
it is ingrained in the common sense of everyday social life.*
(N. Scheper-Hughes, Philippe Bourgois, 2004) p.21

My efforts persist in my attempt to decipher what Angela Davis terms the “suturing” of society with violence. After considering the archetypes of violence, the social processes that demarcate the ways violent hierarchical social relations are patterned, and further exploring the way the state and the economy embed these archetypes onto the social landscape and imaginary, namely, through institutions, it seems necessary to then study what some of the detailed forms of violence, the specific strategies and tactics, through which violence is deployed and experienced. Figure 3 offers a way to begin to consider these specific manifestations of violence. I use the term “form” or “strategies” of violence to describe the patterned organization of kinds of violence that can be grouped into a particular category because of their shared aim. Types and tactics of violence are the specific violent acts deployed in an organized manner in order to achieve the goals of particular dominant relations as can be deciphered by the corresponding form/strategy and the archetypes of violence that code all forms and tactics of violence.

Fig. 3 manifestations of violence



Forms (strategies) of violence

Forms of violence are the organized ways through which specific institutions function to organize and deploy the types (tactics) of violence. Forms of violence include domestic violence, sexual assault, war/occupation/colonial invasion, genocide and femicide, gang violence, imprisonment, law enforcement violence/police abuse, border violence, deportation, child abuse, medical violence, etc. Forms of violence are patterned, cyclical (historical), and include multiple tactics of violence that also span from ideological, to material/physical and spiritual methods of violence. Institutions play a critical role in producing and maintaining forms of violence, even when the form of violence is deployed by an individual. As mentioned earlier, individuals do not exist, or deploy violence, outside of the social context. Their complicit participation in archetypes of violence is enacted through their choice to deploy and engage in specific forms and

tactics of violence and by reinforcing the violence of particular social institutions. For example, Latin@s that enlist in the army, as police officers and border patrol agents are complicit participants in colonial, sex, class and racial archetypes of violence.

Archetypes of violence undoubtedly produce a racialized poverty that shapes their (in)access to citizenship and their options and choices. Archetypes of violence produce certain forms of violence, which produce certain types (tactics) of violence, and they embody and buttress the institutions that organize the specific form of violence, as well as the social conditions and patterns that invent and condone the violence. Someone who abuses an intimate partner is a complicit participant in archetypes of violence because intimate inequality emerges from, buttresses and reproduces social processes of inequality. Archetypes of violence assert power and dominance locatable throughout all levels of sociological analysis, including macro and intimate levels. They also maintain the corresponding institutions responsible for organizing this form of violence, these include the institution of marriage, the family, increasingly the law, the prison industrial complex, immigration, etc. Forms of violence are also interdependent and co-constitutive as will be discussed further in the example of domestic violence that follows. Distinct forms of violence collaborate to maintain and reproduce the archetypes of violence.

domestic violence

Where violence is the constant and the context, multiple patterned manifestations, methods and types of violence are co-constituted, carried out in a cohesive manner that drives the mission of empire and its hues of a heteronormative, white supremacist, patriarchal, and capitalist order. (A. Smith, 2006) This co-constitutive element of

violence should not be undermined by our analytical frameworks. Domestic violence is produced in pursuit of unequal intimate relationships, and it emerges marked by the requisite violence of an unjust social order and its persistent pursuit in the production/reproduction of social inequality. Our intimate relationships are conditioned by the institutions that surround us. Macro-structural and social violence carve the trenches from where domestic violence emerges. Women in Chiapas, Colombia, Palestine, India, and Nicaragua have all conveyed to me that as they see military violence escalate, they also see forms of intimate gender violence escalate within their communities, relationships and families. (Enloe, 2000; C. Rojas, Margo Okazawa-Rey, and Marisol Arriola 2002) Forms of violence are thus historical, shaped by political phenomenon and the temporal arrangement of social processes of inequality.

Scheper-Hughes posits, and Nada Elias concurs, “the family is one of the most violent social institutions,” and it functions as such as a result of larger social, political and economic organization. (N. Scheper-Hughes, Philippe Bourgois, 2004) However, in a protective move, the state cites the exclusive primacy of gender oppression in its ideology on domestic violence. Without denying or minimizing domestic violence as a feminizing project that utilizes and operates through, and constitutes, social structures and processes of gender inequalities, a singular and totalizing emphasis on gender is dangerous in so far as it obscures how other Archetypes of violence such as colonial, racist, and poverty, are implicated in the production of domestic violence, not just as effects but as constructive forces. For example, the feminization and racialization of poverty does far more than create additional barriers for poor survivors of domestic violence who are women of color; these archetypes of violence are actually constitutive

elements in domestic violence. An analytic framework that obfuscates this co-constitutivity also functions to protect state-sanctioned and/or deployed violence and to conceal the role of the state and its institutions in the production of domestic violence. The framework I posit insists that all responsible parties be held accountable, including the state, and the institution(s) and individual(s) who legitimated and made the choice(s) to attack, albeit conditioned institutionally. It is a framework bent on identifying the root causes, trajectory, organization and manifestation of the entire magnitude of the production of violence, for it is here that we might find viable possibilities for the intervention and prevention of violence. As such, this framework remains keenly cognizant that people people institutions and we make conscious decisions to buttress them and unequal social arrangements by choosing to deploy violence. All of the contextual considerations that might have us understand the discriminatory peopling of the United States Army with people of color still leads us in ascertaining colonial/neo-colonial violence, to assign accountability to the person that enlists and takes weapon to chest and kills, very likely, a child.

types (tactics) of violence

Types/forms (tactics) of violence include rape, murder, threats and intimidation, house demolitions, evictions, separation of undocumented families, ICE raids, surveillance/stalking, starvation, withholding medical treatment, etc. Types (tactics) are also interdependent and co-constitutive; multiple types of violence might be deployed in one particular form of violence. As well, the same type of violence might be deployed by multiple forms of violence. Types (tactics) of violence are also historical and shift and

change according to the tide of history and the political needs of the current dominant social order. Institutions organize types (tactics) of violence and their deployment, such as immigration judges/ICE officials that decide to separate families. Cultural institutions condition the type of violence deployed, which is why certain forms of violence. Again, individuals embody institutions, making choices along the way to participate with complicity in the maintenance/production and reproduction of archetypes of violence, an unjust social order, and the institutions charged with effecting and maintaining it. But it is always important to balance accountability of the individual with a recognition of the archetypes, state/economy and institutions that conditioned that choice.

the space/place of violence

The metaphor that titles this chapter references the notion of place, of structures and edifices. This metaphor is useful in exploring the organization and institutionalization of violence. Architects must always maintain awareness of the threats that the potential natural (forces) catastrophes pose; there are always looming winds, earthquakes, and fires. It is the architect's responsibility to build structures that will prevent catastrophes, such as "when the levees broke."¹⁷ Similarly, the work of understanding violence asks that we consider the strong presence of social forces that condition, shape, and give rise to violence.

The metaphor is also useful in reminding us that there is always a space/place of violence, and that our work in understanding and preventing violence is as much about

¹⁷ Recent critical scholarship and movement discussions regarding Hurricane Katrina in New Orleans challenge the "natural disaster" characterization of the catastrophic aftermath by recognizing the "man made mistakes" that could have prevented the tragedy. The focus on the levees reminds us of the socio-political implications that led to the levees breaking.

understanding the violence as it is about understanding the space/place of violence. This sort of inquiry leads to asking questions such as, whose bodies, lands, communities are likely to become targets? What are the biological, material and geopolitical sites of deployment, what, whom, how and *where* does violence target and why? It is one additional level of inquiry into understanding violence that can provide important answers to our ongoing study of violence.

Violence is deployed in and on particular locations. It is not random. There are particular bodies, lands that conjure the geo-political terrain and that mark the location where violence is deployed. These include neighborhoods, the streets, schools, buses, the home, borders, the global south, cyberspace and media channels of communication, etc. The particularity of transitory spatial forms, which are in the midst of undergoing daily reinvention/renovation are an important analytical axis in so far as they reveal the stark interplay between form and content and how it is that the structured space conjures the domain of violence, and vice versa. Hence, the space/place of violence is temporal; it is constructed and exists as the location of violence in the specific historical moment, with relational historical traces that code both the historical former and the projected effects yet to come. In the city of Juarez, Mexico, where the rise of murdered, raped and disappeared women continues to escalate since the 1990's, Lourdes Portillo characterized the very important contextual production of Juarez as globalized border city sitting painfully between first and third world. Thus, Juarez, she posits, "to some north Americans, it is where everything illicit is available. To Mexicanos, it is where Mexicans live and work."(Portillo, 2001) This reflection on the clash of meaning and subjectivities vis a vis the production of the Juarez landscape reveals tremendous insight that would

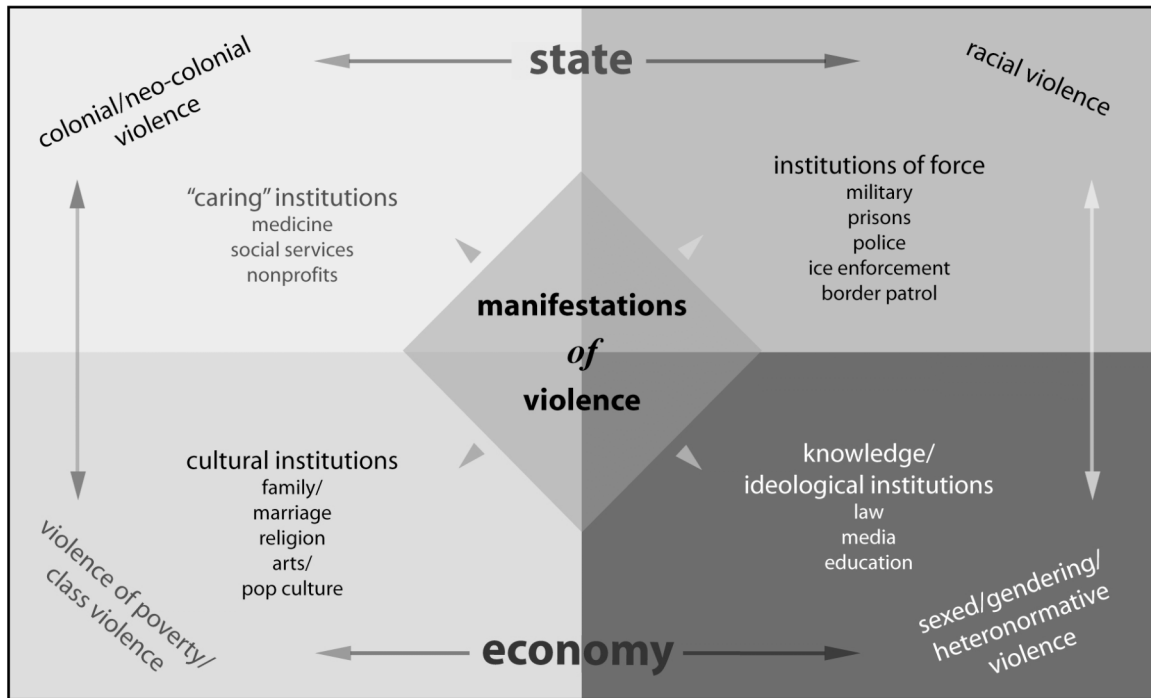
help to decipher not just greater understanding about the city of Juarez, the particular space/place of violence, but about the production of Juarez as a space/place of violence materially and ideologically. Careful mapping of the space/place of violence can lead to answers about the specifics regarding type, form, and pattern of violence, as well as how institutions are involved.

The space/place of violence is a liminal space where agents and actors offer up the possibility of social transformation and the archetypes of violence code and linger the moment like a forceful storm bends the trees that line the crossroads. A critical ethnographic approach to the important phenomenon of space/body in the deployment of violence follows in the chapter titled *Las Jovenes*. Here ethnographic rendering serves to explore the cartography of violence.

Figure 4, the architecture of violence is an amalgamation of the various elements in the social organization of violence; it serves as a visual landscape to assess the organization of violence in society. It concerns itself with shared colonial experiences but is also located in the specific socio-political organization that “U.S.” histories and political contexts have ushered in. It is my humble approach, informed by many, but also limited by my vision, experience and understanding. It emerges undeniably from my perspective and how I interpret the place of violence and the world from which it emanates. It is my hope that this analysis will move us toward greater understanding and better solutions of this widespread phenomenon that wrecks havoc and carnage among the sufferers, mostly the disenfranchised, the marginalized, the subaltern. The archetypes of violence and the architecture of violence remind us that it is not sufficient to stop our interrogation, interpretation and investigation of violence at the level of the actor and/or

act(s) of violence; instead, we must decipher the patterned historic imbrications of manifestations of violence, consider their social structuration and unearth the archetypes of violence that shape the deployment of all violence.

Fig. 4 the architecture of violence



CHAPTER 3

ideological violence

*The most readily accepted designation for Orientalism is an academic one...
Orientalism lives on through its doctrines and theses about the Orient and the Oriental.*
Said. 1979, p.2

There is a vastly understudied and muzzled methodology of violence. Violence is overwhelmingly presented in its physical and material manifestation, as the deployment of physical or military force, for example. This chapter addresses the topic of ideological violence, an often overlooked and minimized representation and manifestation of violence. I choose to focus on this method of violence because it inspires and conditions all manifestations of violence. It is indeed the root, the conditioning, and the remains of violence. We suffer tremendous casualties far past the moment of assault. As many survivors of intimate violence relayed to me over and over again in counseling, “the bruises go away after a couple of days, the emotional wounds dig deeper and linger.” In addition, material violence is conceived through ideological violence; the preparation predates the moment of assault because it is patterned through the archetypes of violence (this does not necessitate a conscientious process for the aggressor), thus referencing my earlier point that violence is not random. Western analytic frameworks that isolate the ‘violent’ act in its material manifestation function to freeze the particular moment of violence, to bring a myopic attention to it at the expense of capturing or interpreting, indeed obfuscating the pattern of violence through which the ‘incident’ emerges. These frameworks thus set the context for a myopic reduction for the interpretation of violence as an individualized phenomenon, where the individual(s) involved are seen as culprits who carry the act and the potential prevention (through behavioral modification). This is

frankly devoid of analytic reference to the social structuration of violence, and if this analytical element emerges it is not to express and understand the root ideological formations of the conditioning of violence and the archetypes of violence, the patterning of violence, but only in so far as to explore the behavioral individualized phenomenon which might have sociological influence or contributing factors in the development of the psychology of an individual and their predilection toward violence. My interest in this chapter is to study ideological violence as a key methodology of violence, and to consider ideological violence in relation to material violence. How are the two interdependent? I propose we challenge ourselves to steer away from a narrativized preoccupation that separates material from ideological violence by instead addressing and exploring their co-constitutivity.

Inherently, all violence is ideological, for violence functions alongside the ideological formations that inspire, arrange it, give it meaning and legitimate it. It is through ideology that violence wields *successful* blows. Ideology is the necessary ingredient for violence to effectively carve out relations of dominance. Ideological violence is knowledge that reproduces the archetypes of violence, conjures unequal relations of power, and maintains them. Ideological violence also includes knowledge that is produced to legitimate other methods of violence.

Ideology gives violence its teeth; ideological violence is to violence as the superstructure is to the base, absolutely necessary to conjure and maintain oppression. Ideological violence is to violence as the signified is to the signifier; it provides meaning, context, and an anchor for interpretation. In order for violence to be *useful*, it must carve dominance into social relations; ideology is a vehicle that accomplishes this. It is also

through ideology that we grow complicit in the violence committed against us; it is through ideology that we grow complicit in the archetypes of violence by enacting violence against our own communities.

Althusser signaled educational institutions as the primary ideological institution in the 19th and 20th centuries. Further, institutions of higher learning are primarily responsible for the production and dissemination of ideology. This chapter critically considers institutions of higher learning as sites for the production and dissemination of ideological violence. An account of ideological violence in the War on Terror and a self-reflexive script of my own affronts with the ideological violence of higher ed. reveal the structuring of ideological violence, its deployment and its co-constitutivity with material violence. The next chapter concerns itself more specifically with a specific and central example of ideological violence that organizes the way we think about the subject of violence. The production, suppression and domination of particular narratives of violence has dire consequences that often reproduce violence while narrativizing an opposition to it or a pathway away from it.

thoughts on ideology

The pursuit of relevant background considering conceptual formations of ideology is key to the discussion of ideological violence because it asks us to consider the subject of ideology and how it functions. In particular, the study of ideology as precursor to inform our study of ideological violence elucidates the relations between ideology and power, and the manner in which ideology manifests in the social structure. I begin with Marxian frameworks that posit ideology rather simply as notions of false consciousness,

lies and fictions produced by the bourgeoisie to maintain class dominance. Stuart Hall references Gramscian interpretations of this notion as the one sidedness of truth/one-sided consciousness.(Hall, 1996a) When Gramsci takes up ideology, however, he signals the way ideology goes beyond just being an idea, by discussing how it is operationalized through the provision of an orientation for action.(Gramsci, 1999) Gramsci is the first to deeply hail the central role ideology plays in orchestrating hegemony. Through cultural diffusion, he argues, ideology “permeates everything.” (Gramsci, 1999) p.243 Althusser updates Marxian and Gramscian notions of ideology by inserting Lacan’s notion of the imaginary. “Ideology represents the imaginary relationship of individuals to their real conditions of existence.”(Althusser, 1971) p.109 Whereas Marxian frameworks on ideology rest on notions of a “true” and “real world” that ideology (false consciousness) sets out to hide, Althusser, in contrast argues that ideology does not reflect the real world but refracts or represents the imaginary relationship one has to the real world. That thing (fixed and real for Marx) that ideology misrepresents is not so fixed and real because we depend on language to establish our reality and language is slippery, contextual and transformative. Thus, Althusser argues, we are always haunted by ideology, implicated in an ever-shifting ideology.

I develop my discussion on ideological violence in conversation with these conceptual formations of ideology. To Althusser, “ideology has a material existence.”(Althusser) p.112 This is so because ideology must exist through a particular apparatus and set of practices; ideology manifests through actions. In the process, through practices, ideology constitutes subjects, what Althusser terms “interpellation.”(Althusser, 1971) p.115 The subject is constituted as the subject through

ideology.(Althusser, 1971) p.116 Because it constitutes subjects so thoroughly, ideology conjures our very reality and we come to believe ideology as truth, often without conscious deliberation. Thus, Althusser finds an ideology that is more pervasive and more material than had ever been acknowledged. Actions and historical processes (the material) which seemed to occur outside of ideology, are actually taking place within it.(Althusser, 1971) p.118 Ideology produces the subaltern. In Gramsci's usage of the term, the subaltern (proletarian) is produced through the silencing of its narrative and the imposition of the bourgeois narrative. As Edward Said astutely states, the very material conditions of orientalism emerge through orientalist ideological formations. As it constitutes the subaltern, ideology conjures our consent; we go willingly. According to Althusser, "the individual is interpellated as a (free) subject (not because this is a lie, but) in order that he shall submit freely to the commandments of the Subject, i.e. in order that he shall (freely) accept his subjection, i.e. in order that he shall make the gestures and actions of his subjection 'all by himself.'"(Althusser, 1971) p.123 As Loretta Ross argued in a plenary at the "U.S." Social Forum, "nobody can make a slave of you without your permission."(Ross, 2007) Further, as it constitutes compliance, ideology constitutes complicity with the archetypes of violence; we go willingly by enacting violence against our loved ones, our communities, another. And worse, through ideology, we come to believe that our oppression, the violence imposed on us, and the violence we impose on others, is right, just and legitimate. Ask most soldiers serving in Iraq. (Antoon, 1994)

structuration of ideology

In the prior chapter, I proposed a framework that visually depicts the structuration of violence. I suggested that violence is anchored and reproduced ideologically through cultural and knowledge/ideological institutions. The first includes religion, art and pop culture, the family and marriage/intimate relations, among others, and the latter includes the law, media and education. My formulations build on Althusser's work on Ideological State Apparatuses (ISA's), the structural anchor where ideology is disbursed and subjects are produced. He distinguishes ISA's from the Repressive (visually/materially forceful) Institutions, to point to the subterfuge that the appearance/representation of freedom conjures our own compliance in our oppression. In Althusser's formulation, the dominant ISA, which has replaced the Church, is the educational apparatus.(Althusser, 1971)p.103-4 Education indoctrinates the ideology necessary for the reproduction of the class system. In Althusser's framework, the other ISAs contribute to legitimating the dominant ideology, which is produced by education. This is why it is of utmost importance for the educational environment to obfuscate ideology and appear as "a neutral environment purged of ideology."

the ideological violence of racism

Race is a concept, not an untouched static category by which human beings (bodies) are biologically, or "naturally" separated. In fact there is actually no biological basis for distinguishing between racial groups.¹⁸ The work of Fredrickson asserts that race be taken out of biology and be considered a sociological problem, a formation.

¹⁸ According to David Williams, "there is more genetic variation within races than between them and racial classification schemes do not represent biological distinctiveness." (D. Williams, 1994)

(Fredrickson, 1981) Omi and Winant understand race as ideology, a social construction, a malleable set of categories that shifts constantly with the tidal history of socio-political and economic waves.¹⁹ Omi and Winant term the sociohistorical process through which racial categories are created, inhabited, transformed and destroyed as racial formation. (M. O. a. H. Winant, 1994) Calling attention to the historical process through which racial categories are created and re-created help us to ascertain their malleability and social character while understanding the process of their articulation and deployment. Audrey Smedley's work expands consideration of race with regard to ideology. She frames race as a knowledge system: "a way of knowing and looking at the world and rationalizing its contents." (Smedley, 1993)

Omi and Winant also document religious and scientific institutions as central in the production and dissemination of racial ideologies. What they term the "evolution of modern racial awareness" rests on historical markers of religious justifications for racial differences (marking whiteness as godlike and others as heathens). It also rests on scientific notions that remove race from historicity while invoking scientific criteria that to justify a "natural," essential and objective racial hierarchy. (M. O. a. H. Winant, 1994)

Smedley's analysis of the "racial world view" in the United States also posits the centrality of scientific classifications of human groups that are differentiated as "exclusive and discrete biotic entities" with inheritable qualities. As racial classifications are deemed "innate and unalterable," so racial hierarchies come to be seen as innate and

¹⁹ For Omi and Winant, and those daily living the experience of racism's mark of subjugation, race is not exclusively an idea, imagined reality. They caution against running away with this notion while ignoring the way, for example crisis of meaning occurs when someone's race cannot be "identified," this affirms the way society is so thoroughly racialized that we cannot adhere to "imagined" racial categories without recognizing their structured anchoring in society. (M. O. a. H. Winant, 1994)

unalterable. Lastly, She also references the belief system with regard to race that asserts racial differentiation as God's creation. (Smedley, 1993)

Discourses and ideologies of race are thus contested sites, continuously being made and re-made. However, these sites are imbued with power and categories/constructions of race are connected with social structures of domination (social institutions) that assign power and status to groups according to their "race." Omi and Winant argue that the very work of deciphering the meaning of race invokes social structural analysis. Racism is the connection between social structures of domination and the racial categories used to distribute power and privilege differentially. Racial projects, like slavery and the colonial invasion of the Americas, do the work of racism by organizing the structures and events of everyday life so that we begin to expect racial differences to explain social/political/economic differences. Racial projects are the conduits through which racial meanings are constructed and disseminated. (Fredrickson, 1981; M. O. a. H. Winant, 1994)

Omi and Winant remind us that racial projects function in so far as they are institutionalized. Carmichael and Hamilton's coined conceptualization of "institutional racism" reveals the systematic perpetuation of racism through social systems and institutions. (Hamilton, 1967) Gary King builds on this work. According to King, "institutional or systemic patterns of racism are legitimated and promulgated through accepted standards, criteria, and organizational processes within the medical health complex" (for example). (King, 1996) The paradigm of "institutional racism" is useful in understanding race in so far as it shifts the focus from a narrative of race as individualized actions and behaviors and instead insists that we consider structural

processes. “Institutional racism exists,” they argue, “even when the individual effecting policy harbors no racial prejudice.” Racial supremacy is so entrenched mechanistically in society that race fails to be explainable through assessments of intent.(King, 1996) Further, King helps to reveal the interdependence of institutions when he posits that credentials in one mean access and entry into another. (King, 1996) Their inter-relationship is orchestrated so that the omnipresence of race is inescapable throughout societal institutions. Thus, formulations for change, according to theories of institutional racism, must focus on the fundamental transformation of systemic processes and the institutionalization of social inequities. (King, 1996)

The state-based institutions of criminality, what some have termed the Prison Industrial Complex, (including law enforcement, criminal courts, prisons, etc.) also racialize in multiple ways. (Davis, 2003) The historical roots of the criminal justice system are racially coded in a system of slavery. The original Penal Code in this country consisted of 14 laws that could only be broken by slaves, among them learning to read, walking with a cane, and neglecting to step out of the way when a white person approached. (Kennedy, 1997) The historically disproportionate police surveillance of communities of color makes police harassment a unique race-based phenomenon and rests on ideological constructs of what counts as crime and who is a criminal, constructs historically coded in racial terms. (Davis, 1981; Sudbury, 2005)

paradoxical indictment: ideology and knowledge production and/as violence

Any attempt to understand violence arrives with the paradoxical indictment that violence saturates and surrounds the quest to know. If we consider the structuration of

violence proposed in the last chapter, we recognize a thorough social organization founded upon violence and reproductive of violence, where all institutions, communities, people are implicated, albeit in different and historically specific ways and relations that will be studied in further detail in the chapters on las juvenes. There is then no place of non-violence from where to construct knowledge about violence. Every institution, we, are all implicated. Ricoeur posits similar notions in discussing ideology by positing that all knowledge is shaped by ideology; since ideology is the glue that orders the social order, then there is no non-ideological place from which to construct knowledge. In particular, the aforementioned responsibilities assigned to ideological institutions highlight the saturation of ideology in educational institutions, which are also considered sites for the production of ideology. Ideology and violence are separate and distinct processes, however, educational institutions carry the primary burden of producing and disseminating (violent) knowledge through violent processes.²⁰ Chapter 5 will focus substantially on the potential pitfalls of research design by problematizing methodology and the legacies of colonialism and capitalism in the production, ownership, and suppressing of knowledge and research subjects. This chapter navigates both sides of the paradox, pursuing heightened understanding of violence while conscientiously scribing the moments toward knowledge, the pursuit and production of knowledge on violence as a process mired in violence²¹.

²⁰ Here I am referencing violence as that which maintains the archetypes of violence, that which perseveres in ordering dominance into social relations through multiple methodologies, strategies and techniques.

²¹ An additional dimension to the paradox is that the pursuit of knowledge on the topic of violence is often carried out under the assumptive qualifier that such a pursuit is inherently non-violent.

the violence of nomination

The heart of a deconstructive endeavor: the violence of writing, the violence of founding, of in-stating, of producing, of knowing.
(Grosz, 2003) P. 139-140

Edward Said's work on "orientalism" asserts the way discursive productions of the Orient provide foundational precepts for ensuing colonial invasions and relations.

And far from being exclusively an intellectual or theoretical feature, it made Orientalism fatally tend towards the systematic accumulation of human beings and territories...reconstructive precision, science, even imagination could prepare the way for what armies, administrators, and bureaucrats would later do on the ground...the vindication of Orientalism was not only its intellectual or artistic successes but its later effectiveness, its usefulness, its authority. (Said, 1978)p.122-23

Critically, myth, argues Said, bound and legitimated by institutions, conjures colonial relations. (Said, 1975) Myth, and its ensuing structurations and institutionalizations, is a key payer in colonial violence. And myth is fundamentally language that intersects with power through institutions for its legitimation and dissemination.

Violence is integral to the process of naming; in this process, the thing is introduced to an ambit of representation, and a system of ordering ensues. Here difference emerges as cutting, "the marking of the earth," the tearing in nomination. Thus the nominative act of naming and reconstructing the orient (which emerges only after an obsolescence or erasure) as other, distinct and operationalized as fixed opposition to the Western normative, is itself an act of violence which then leads to a material cutting of the earth through imperialist quests. Derrida situates power in relation to difference and the production of difference.(Derrida, 1996) *Differánce* is itself a marking

of the relationship between power and difference, for it infers the ability to defer and differ.²² Derrida used the concept in relation to the “assemblage” of language, itself a system created, transformed by, indicative, and in turn transformative and replicative of power (formations). According to Grosz’ interpretation of difference, the everyday violence of sexism, racism and colonialism “is itself a consequence of an entire order whose very foundation is inscriptive, differential and thus violent.” (Grosz, 2003) This foundation requires structural force for its continued existence and relevance; Derrida calls this the “paradox of iterability,” that naming requires repetition and force, hence the utility of law enforcement in legitimating law. His conceptualization can be adopted as a helpful tool in attempting to understand power as emergent through social structural arrangements and power as always a differentiating and temporalizing force. *Différance* is ultimately about power; it is the movement by which a system of reference becomes historically and materially constituted as a fabric of differences.(Derrida, 1996)

Edward Said purports similar conceptualizations on violence, knowledge, ideology and social structuration in his notion of orientalism. Here he demonstrates in the specific case of European colonial invasion of West Asia and North Africa, how ideological constructs of colonialism were deeply inscribed and inscribing a racialized “orient” other. Thus, the naming of the “orient” is in and of itself a tearing from the non-other, all things European. Derrida would reference this naming as foundational or inscriptive violence. The “orient” then comes to signify a system of representations of the inferior and exotic other shaped by the political forces of colonialism. Said’s work in

²² The vantage point from which we assess power has everything to do with how we come to understand its life. (Okazawa-Rey, 1997, Hill-Collins, 1990) The concept of *différance* indicates difference as discernable distinction and inequality and simultaneously relates temporality: differentiation is subject to its systemic manifestations which in turn relate the very act of differentiation to the legacy/traces of prior differentiations and in so doing, defer differentiation to always occurring in relationship to a prior. (Derrida, 1996)

Orientalism reminds us that “*The most readily accepted designation for Orientalism is an academic one...Orientalism lives on through its doctrines and theses about the Orient and the Oriental.*”(Said) He urges us to recognize that colonialism “lingers where it has always been, in a kind of general cultural sphere as well as in specific political, ideological, economic, and social practices.”(Said) Just as law enforcement provides repetition, hence legitimacy, to the law, so, these institutions, through practice, provide legitimacy to orientalism. In his work, Said testifies to the importance of studying violence in its material manifestation while tracing the development of its ideological underpinnings, what I am referencing ideological violence.

An assessment of Derrida’s and Said’s approaches would conclude that violence emerges on three counts: an initial erasure of the subject, an objectification/othering/subordination of the other, and the institutional technologies necessary to maintain and legitimate this order. The first two are clearly ideological forms of violence and the second includes material and ideological violence, and a resulting circuitous relationship between these forms of violence ensues. Gayatri Spivak uses the term epistemic violence (an “overhaul of the episteme” as referenced by Foucault vis-a-vis his study of constructions of sanity in the late 18th century in Europe) to articulate the ways in which colonialism constitutes the other through the practice of “the obliteration of the trace of the other in its precarious subjectivity.” (Spivak, 1988) p.24-5

ideological violence, educational reform and ‘securing baghdad’

As an example to help us study the way ideological violence is deployed, I will

consider the case of ideological violence as it is operationalized through the project of ‘Iraq reconstruction.’ Immediately following the military invasion, the US set an agenda for ‘Iraq Reconstruction’ that included a swooping revamping of education in Iraq. Second only to electricity and water and sanitation, education ranked as top priority at an estimated \$4.81 billion expenditure, according to the United Nations/World Bank Joint Iraq Needs Assessment Report.(World Bank, 2003) The US’ priority course of action, announced shortly after ‘securing Baghdad’ included ordering new textbooks for all schools, building new schools, and training Iraqi teachers in pedagogy and curricular content. It hoped to accomplish this within a few months, in order to have the new school year reflect the new ‘reconstructed’ school system. Bechtel financed opening new schools and the World Bank funded new textbooks and teacher training. The new textbooks were to reflect a marked absence of all ‘propaganda language,’ and according to Fuad Hussein, the head of textbooks revision for the US-led ministry of education, “anything anti-American, we considered to be propaganda.” The group was also tasked with deleting any controversial items, including references to America, Shias, Sunnis, Kurds, Kuwaitis, Iran and Israel. {Asquith, 2003 #291} Swiftly, by the fall of ’03, more than 8.7 million textbooks were printed and distributed and by February, ’04, more than 32,000 were trained in school management, teaching methods and content.(Development, 2004)

This course of action, deemed an emergency and acted upon urgently, is utterly disconcerting. Why was educational reform, in particular textbook revision and teacher training, in the midst of such other vital urgencies was provoke, such a top priority? This US reconstructive tactic elucidates an ideological discursive practice orchestrated by

the state for the purpose of developing hegemonic control over an occupied people(s). Gramsci's notion of hegemony extends Marxist analysis to highlight the way the culture and productions of the dominant group, through an array of social institutions create what comes to be known as "common sense." It is this process, according to Gramsci, that leads to group domination.(Hennessy, 1993) "The consent of the ruled is an "educated" consent, achieved through education by the educator (the state)."(Gramsci, 1999) Gramsci's notion of hegemony adds that consent is manufactured in the masses through the widespread diffusion of dominant ideologies, which is referenced in Chomsky's notion of "manufacturing consent."(N. Chomsky, Herman, E., 1988) Undoubtedly, supplying textbooks and 'educational reforms' that inscribed western and ontological discursive formations was such a vital task because of its presumed efficacy in attaining mass consent for the legitimacy of US domination.

I consider the systematic 'educational reform' as ideological violence because it inspires, arranges, conditions (gives meaning), and legitimates other forms of material violence, such as continued suppression of the violence of the Israeli occupation. Ideological violence is deployed when particular narratives ascend to dominance while actively suppressing others, thus creating a subaltern reality and narrative whose validity is constantly suspect. Ideological violence ascribes power and dominance through narrative. Ideological violence functioned here, through the 'educational reform' project in order to 'secure Iraq.' Military violence is insufficient to fully 'secure Iraq' in a colonial relationship to the U.S. The goal of colonial domination requires Iraqi complicity; as Loretta Ross argued at the US Social Forum in 2007, "they can't make you a slave without your permission." 'Educational reform' is an attempt to enlist support

and complicity from Iraqis and to acquiescing to the colonial dominance relationship.

It is also important to highlight that ideological violence is often deployed through subterfuge. In the case of Iraq ‘educational reforms,’ the rhetoric of minimizing conflict and propaganda was consistent with rhetoric that positioned ideological and material invasion as a pacifying intervention in violence, a notion central to the project of invading and ‘rebuilding Iraq,’ that justified establishing a ‘juridico-democracy’ that would ostensibly end violence. (Esmeir, 2007)

It is compelling that textbooks figured so prominently in educational reforms, and this points specifically to ways in which textual nominations serve tactically as a type of ideological violence deployed in the pursuit of establishing colonial/neo-colonial dominance. In “The Time of Violence: Deconstruction and Value,” Elizabeth Grosz assesses the constitutive role of violence in knowledge production. Grosz remarks that Derrida’s notion of deconstruction in Derrida’s own eyes, rests on assessing the violence inherent in language production as well as the way violence is then made normative through language, law and discourse.(Grosz, 2003)

further thoughts on power, knowledge, difference and ideological violence

Knowledge is power because knowledge about x produces an effect on x.
Habermas

How and why are power and violence arranged through knowledge? Derrida, Said, Foucault and Spivak’s work rests on Nietzsche’s formulations of the role and centrality of ideas. To Nietzsche, the world is a product of man’s imagination, and at most his “erroneous conceptions.” (Nietzsche, 1984) He asserts that we can only guess in the naming process at what the essence of a thing is and it is usually an erroneous guess that

leads to inscribing essence and meaning to the thing. This naming process, the “fantasy” is never fixed for Nietzsche, as for both Said and Derrida, for whom it is “becoming;” it is contextual, historically specific, and temporal: always “evolving.” (Nietzsche, 1984) The task he sets forth is an entire abolition of the essence.²³

For Foucault these ideas emerged in the late 18th and 19th centuries in Europe as products of discursive practices and were the outcomes of struggles for power. Knowledge, the episteme became an effect of contesting power relations; thus Foucault highlights the insidious relation of knowledge to power. (Foucault, 1980) According to Foucault, power conditions and is also an effect of difference. Power exists through difference. Power at once differentiates and is differentiated. Power creates subjects and acts on them by differentiating them. The work of differentiation occurs through the relationship between power and knowledge, which to Foucault is central to understanding power. Foucault relates,

I have been trying to make visible the constant articulation I think there is of power on knowledge and of knowledge on power...the exercise of power creates and causes to emerge new objects of knowledge and accumulates new bodies of information...the exercise of power perpetually creates knowledge and conversely knowledge constantly induces effects of power. (Foucault, 1980)

Foucault understands power and knowledge as co-constitutive, emergent in and through each other. Power cannot exist without knowledge but rather exists through knowledge and knowledge itself constitutes power relations. Knowledge cannot be divorced from the regimes of power through which it exists and which it manifests. As Habermas succinctly stated it: “the formation of power and the formation of knowledge compose an indissoluble unity.” (Habermas, p.85)

²³ I should note that Spivak evokes the ways through which strategic essentialism can serve to challenge

Foucault gives primacy to the temporality of domains of power. He acknowledges that “how knowledge and power come together is historically specific and may vary significantly across domains...” (Rouse, 1994) According to Foucault, the 18th century ushered in a transformation where the prior organization of power through “sovereignty and juridical discourse was intersected by disciplinary/biopower” and newly formed (highly concealed) microcenters of power emerged. (Diamond, 1988) He defines these centers of power as engaged in processes of regulation, surveillance, and labeling. (Foucault, 1980) The definition of a problem as a problem leads to the need for study, surveillance, monitoring and control. Thus, practices of surveillance and policing emerged within medicine, the criminal justice system, education, etc. (Foucault, 1997b)

According to Foucault, power in the 20th century exists, is legitimized, and codified through science. Science, as knowledge and discipline authoritatively defines and differentiates and in so doing creates the normal and the abnormal subject. Medicine, education, and sexuality gained ascendance as normalizing disciplines and prescriptive technologies through which power operates. (Diamond, 1988) These processes led to a transformed “normalized”/normative society. According to Foucault, the birth of biopolitics ushered in a context where normativity could manifest. The concept of population actively demarcated distributions and was thus quantifiably able to identify curves of normalcy and abnormality. (Foucault, 1980; Rouse, 1994) The Human Sciences took a central role in defining normal from abnormal and contemporary concepts of illness and criminality. A shift in power relations occurs with this transformation and the pre-18th century formulations of power through sovereignty and obedience transforms into power formulations of domination and subjugation. Foucault is

centrally concerned with the way knowledge/subjectivities and people/subjects are produced through the practices of institutions (disciplining and production of knowledges). Said practices shape and are shaped by societal arrangements and historical formation, and ideology emerges as the critical variable in the deployment of subjugation.

The human sciences and the panoptical form of supervision is permitted to penetrate into all the pores of the subjugated body and the objectified soul, it is condensed into a new, precisely modern power complex. (Habermas)

Habermas reminds us that science, a legitimated sociological force and institution since the Enlightenment turn, has become an integral vehicle through which the subaltern is surveilled, controlled and subjugated. Gramsci's earlier reference to the way ideology permeates everything through cultural institutions is furthered in this era through educational institutions and in particular, science.

Building on Gramsci's work, Patricia Hill Collins sees hegemonic power as centrally organized through the manipulation of ideology, culture and consciousness. In relating black women's experience, and resistance to racial and gendered oppression in the United States, she finds that hegemonic power links all domains of power, which include the structural domain (social institutions), the disciplinary domain (organizational practices and surveillance) and the interpersonal domain (everyday practices). According to Hill Collins, hegemonic power sets out to displace the subordinated epistemologies and replace them with hegemonic ideologies that legitimate the practices of the domains of power. The latter domain (the interpersonal) is so systematized and routinized that it is

hardly recognized. The intersection of these domains of power manifests differentially for different groups according to intersections of race, class, gender, and sexuality, and it is the shared experiences at these intersections that leads to Hill Collins' conceptualization of standpoint epistemologies and the revised situated standpoints. (Hill Collins, 1998) For Hill Collins, ideological violence (my application) legitimates the structural organization of power, and it does this through the assumptive routinization of practices carried forth at the level of everyday practices. Thus, ideology permeates everything, and is made material through structuration and daily living.

homing ideological violence: the university

This section provides a reflexive narrative account of my experiences navigating, surviving and resisting the organization, production and deployment of ideological violence in the university. This particular institutional account serves to gain greater understanding of the methodology of ideological violence through the interpretive experiential inscription of a Chicana/Latina scholar/activist. Framed in a post-colonial feminist analysis, I will weave through experiential interpretive accounts and “systematic introspection,” in my attempt to locate ideas emerging strategically from my experience as a graduate student while organizing in the antiwar movement in the period after the declaration of the War on Terror. (Geddes, p.113) I borrow from interpretive interactionist methodology and trace my voice, emotions, and actions.²⁴ (Ellis, 1991, Ronai, 1992 and Karp, 1986, p.21) It is my hope that such a reflection/revelation might

²⁴ In order to facilitate reading through different *voices*, I have used different fonts to distinguish between voices. Each voice will be represented by the following fonts: *Interaction, journal entries/internal interpretations*, supportive references, further interpretation. I thank Carol Rambo Ronai's for her eloquent example and inspiration of roaming through reflexive processes and the forging of *self*. (Ronai, 1992)

expose a detailed interpretation of the production of racism and colonialism within academic institutions as they are experienced, understood and made sense of by a Mexicana/Chicana graduate student, and ultimately, that such recognition might drive further efforts to challenge racism and ideological violence in academic institutions. This writing is ultimately a political project guided by a pragmatist fervor that locates politics in the everyday experiences of ordinary people. (James and Cooley) The structures of knowledge production are the backdrop against which racism and colonialism are experienced, power is unmistakably imbued throughout structures, experience, and meaning production. (Simmel, 1908) As Said references in the introductory quote, the academy has been a treacherous and deleterious site for the subaltern; it has been the locus of power, the very place where power finds and scribes its legitimacy.

i wrestle with the ghosts in you

I had a hard time in graduate school. The gripping tentacles of the academy gnawed at my sense of self, wisdom, integrity, and my commitments to community, family and social justice praxis. Attending graduate school in the early 21st century was undoubtedly participating in a neo-colonial enterprise. The institution legitimated itself as primary and dominant, relegating everything outside of it a distant secondary status. Community, artistic expression, activism, spirituality and family/relationships were belittled in importance, relegated to points of penalization if ever they interfered or caused “distractions” or absences. The Eurocentric canon, considered the “classics,” dislodged indigenous and non-western wisdom. My direct experience conveyed that the academy serves a particular duty in maintaining a racist and colonialist structure and

system, and it is in direct opposition to efforts to eradicate such a system; it produces violent knowledges and disciplines its members accordingly.

One day she will realize she is at war with herself.

I split myself into bits and pieces, a 21st century coyolxauqui, dismembered by the blades of a neo-colonialist institution of higher ed.

The University is a site of knowledge production, a “régime of truth” that is imbued with an affinity and dependence for the project and logic of a colonizing racist capitalism. (Cordova, 1998) p.17 (Foucault, 1977) p.131 Marxist depictions of ideology remind us that ideas emerge from and reflect the material conditions (historical materialism) in which they are birthed, and therefore dominant class ideas are dominant and do the work of maintaining and legitimating class domination.(Marx, 1978 [1932]) Marx writes, “the ruling ideas are nothing more than the ideal expression of the dominant material relationships...” (Marx, 1978 [1932]; Marx & Engels, 1978 [1888])

The current intensified racialization of Arab and Muslim peoples through the subterfuge of the “War on Terror” has exposed the neo-conservative entrails and corporatist neo-colonialist allegiances and directives of public academic institutions of higher learning in this country. To cite but a few such exposures: the dismissal of Professor Sami Al-Arian at the University of South Florida for publicly denouncing the state of Israel, the spinning of anti-colonialist, anti-Zionist pro-Palestinian education as anti-semitic and hateful “propaganda,²⁵” the racist construction and quelling of peaceful

²⁵ Through such acts of radical education, SJP and GUPS invoke Spivak’s request of the need to explain “how the (Zionist) narrative of reality was established as the normative one.” (Spivak, 1988, p.25) Anti-Arab Discrimination Committee, San Francisco letter denouncing Oceanside High School Principal’s racist remarks at an educational assembly; Students for Justice in Palestine Report Back.

demonstrators as violent and disruptive “terrorists,”²⁶ Governor Grey Davis proclaimed an affirmative intervention into “hate on California’s college campuses,”²⁷ Ward Churchill’s dismissal from the University of Colorado, the denial of tenure to Norman Finkelstein, and the censure of the Palestinian mural at SFSU.²⁸ The racist narrative of the “War of Terror” is playing out on college campuses throughout the U.S.²⁹ The creation of a Task Force at San Francisco State University intended to deal with “anti-Arab racism” on campus has instead been driven by the primary aim of easing the discomfort/unsafety of the growing sophistic Zionist and their interminable call for comfort/safety and the secondary aim of securing safely investments from pro-Israel, Zionist P.A.C.’s, corporations and families.³⁰

In a time of war, structure and its reified binarious representations, thoughts, beliefs and actions emerge, veiled as indispensable amidst looming danger, fortified by spoonfed media fills of fear; you are urged to vehemently stand your side and unquestionably defend *your* side. War is a time when time is held suspended in air and all we see is already interpreted for us, dissent is always already dissented. War is a time that reveals most wretchedly the inner workings and embedded obligations the academy holds to the state. The entrails of the ever-growing need for private

²⁶ Students for Justice in Palestine report back, General Union of Palestinian Students report back. Also, the prohibition of all SJP activities at UC Berkeley that was implemented in April followed the Chancellor’s receipt of several letters and phone calls from pro-Israel funders, such as Robert Haas, who threatened to pull their funding from UC Berkeley unless something was done to block SJP’s organizing activities.

²⁷ Letter from Gray Davis, appeared in San Francisco Chronicle, June 4th, 2002. His rhetoric, in line with other rhetoric isolates incidents of hateful speech directed at pro-Israeli students without considering the context of the colonization of Palestine.

²⁸ SFSU President Corrigan vetos the Student Union approval of a Palestinian mural on campus. This marks the first veto and override of student consensus of public art in the history of the campus. After over a year of costly and demoralizing delays, a censored version of the mural is allowed to be painted. The censored version eliminates Palestinian agency by eliminating an image of Handalah, Naji al Ali’s cartoon figure of a Palestinian refugee holding a key, symbolizing a right of return, and writing with a calligraphy pen, symbolizing the power of the written word in maintaining Palestinian culture and history alive.

²⁹ SFSU President Corrigan pleaded with students on campus: “this is not a war, this is a college campus!”

³⁰ GUPS report back, as a result, GUPS has decided to create its own community task force to investigate the treatment of Arab students and organizations on campus.

funding along with the state's regulating bureaucratization are spilled on the lawns and concrete sidewalks of college campuses all over the United States.

Among the many experiences that taught/taut me well.

A background in Ethnic Studies presented me with a critical eye toward the subject of social science research methodologies. I studied the rise of scientific research in Europe in the 16th century as the very displacement of Arab knowledges (Said), the centrality of science as a creative source of our contemporary understanding of "race" as a classificatory system (Omi and Winant, 1994), and science and medicine as a vital tool in colonization through active displacement of indigenous knowledges (Fanon, 1978). In fact, scientific research itself has long been a purveyor of physical violence and torture to communities of color. I actually entered the Medical Sociology program at UCSF following my exposure to David Williams' work and his magnificent efforts at documenting the exploitation of communities of color *vis á vis* scientific research.(D. Williams, 1994) Recognizing such a legacy makes me (euphemistically) skeptical of social science research methodologies.

I had no "formal education" in community based research and really just started "doing it" with a critical and justice orientation and some brief research in methodology. I looked forward to the opportunity to engage with the contemporary debates in the field regarding best practices, ethical concerns, negotiating research subject/investigator relationships, design research that is cognizant of the violence of research, etc. I was terribly disappointed to find that the qualitative research methodologies course in SBS was missing a racial analytical lens, and I found it

increasingly difficult to bridge my identity as a community-based researcher and radical activist with my identity as a graduate student. In response, I began to slowly disengage from the course, relegating it as less than a priority in my life than my work through community based research and my activist work. Both of these commitments granted me the education I was looking for, and I felt discouraged by the fact that such an education was missing from my Qualitative Research methodologies course.

Two weeks later while attending the very same class, a guest lecturer rambled on, interrupted only by me, with provincial racist essentialisms of Native American peoples. She went on about “their concept of time,” and “the way they are.” This appears most bizarre to me in light of a context of significant erasure of indigenous knowledges and of the use of scientific research to colonize Native Americans. I am livid that this is being presented as a formal lecture in our course, and significantly more livid that the professors of the course did not feel the need to interrupt her.

Another two weeks later, in October 2001, I co-organized a gathering for women of color in the Bay Area to come together and mourn the tragic loss of our peoples, lands and bodies through the violence of colonialism. The “Dead of All Times” was a direct outcry from the communities under attack to “Stop the Wars Against our Peoples!” The memorial/protest included spoken word, dance, musical and multi-media performances by women of color speaking out against war. A mixed media installation historicizing and depicting survivor narratives of the multiple attacks on women of color and our communities was erected throughout the Lake Merritt columns. It was a historic gathering and moment for women of color. I wrote my

Professor an apology in advance, saying I deeply regretted having to miss the class, but I was organizing an event that conflicted with the course's scheduled class meeting. Her response came to me as an outright threat, indicating my absence would lead to "suffering the (unnamed) consequences." I spoke with other colleagues who had also missed a class for "business," however their business carried the legitimacy of academic professionalism and therefore was met with glowing "good lucks" and never resembled any sort of threat.

After that and similar experiences, I began to see myself as having priorities and commitments outside of school that made no sense, or at least no good sense to "school." Against the backdrop of appropriated forms of (the lip service of) emancipatory knowledges and resistance discourses, the praxis on campus was inconsistent with these approaches. I had begun embracing an identity as an "activist intellectual," one who believes in educating and being educated by struggling peoples, organizing and being organized by resisting groups, and an "organic intellectual," one who revels in the life of the mind yet "relates ideas to collective praxis." (Gramsci, 1999; Mills, 1957; C. West, 1999) But the meaning I deduced from my interactions with members of the academy related that embracing such an identity was not sympathetic with my academic career. The practices of a colonial and racist professionalized university made severe interventions into such convictions, stipulating clearly, that there is no room for *that* kind of work, for *that* kind of work is *not* academic and *deters* me from my studies. *That* kind of work for a woman of color is *survival* kind of work, and there is no other way to be a conscious academic than to commit oneself to community work, for as an academic, one is

undeniably and critically situated within the colonial ventures and practices of academia.

Every quarter I learned a new lesson that disrobed the practices of the academy as mired in colonial, orientalizing fictions, and I found that I often stood antithetically to its dogmatic theoretical adoptions of anti-racist and anti-colonialist language. Each lesson became the very sustenance of my education, perhaps as never before. The ruptures of 9/11 and the aftermath of 9/11 and the meaning and action I construed from and in response to these events marked the historical moment that would forever transform the way I moved through academicization, the way I interpreted academicization.

the making of intelligentsia: agents in ideological violence

And then there's that whole business about privilege and power and how a special group of "chosen few" get to represent the non-chosen people and sit in a room all day and debate notions of this or that. Such is the development of Chomsky's "intelligentsia," who will influence and direct the future of this nation and the world. So, the first tactic of neo-colonial co-optation follows script with the way Eurocentric canon is reproduced: have the chosen few believe their ideas are smarter than anyone else's. So you stop talking to family and community because they can't understand those big words and look at you funny. You internalize the new language of power. Ego rises. Don't worry, zapatismo saved my life. More on that later.

Mills reminds us that the elite share a notion of their inherent worthiness of elite status; they come to see themselves as naturally superior. They maintain unity through a shared class consciousness: “nowhere in America is there as great a class consciousness as among the elite, and nowhere is it organized as effectively.”(Mills, 1957) Mills argues that one is not born an elite, one is made an elite. (Beauvoir, 1964) Noam Chomsky has addressed the development of “technical intelligentsia,” a kind of power broker situated somewhere between the pursuit of knowledge and the quest for power developed toward the end of 19th century in Europe and later in the U.S. These figures acquired access and centrality in the construction of society through planning and investigation.(N. Chomsky, 2007) When addressing students at MIT, Chomsky noted:

The community of technical intelligentsia, and weapons designers, and counterinsurgency experts, and pragmatic planners of an American empire is one that you have a great deal of inducement to become associated with. The inducements, in fact, are very real; their rewards in power, and affluence, and prestige and authority are quite significant.

Indeed, in *The Power Elite*, Mills cautions the seeming cooptation of intellectual thought into the reigns of the new corporate and military complex. Here enter the academic industrial complex, the entity summoning the wells of privatization financing in ever-so-greater-sums toward the production of purportedly unbiased, “freely” produced knowledge. Whereas the university as site of knowledge production is often located outside the potential influence of capital or state interests, the academic industrial complex reminds us that the university exists, is invested, and indeed serves said capital and state interests.

still, knowledge is liberatory

Knowledge can be understood from the perspective of its liberatory and hegemonic potential (in later Gramscian thought, hegemony comes to be understood as the organized revolution of the subaltern) and its necessary connection to praxis. (Marx) Knowledge plays a key role in the empowerment of oppressed communities. Hill Collins argues that marginalized groups are impeded from knowing their standpoint. The process of standpoint formation and self-definition is then an empowering one that will facilitate social change partially through the rejection of dehumanizing and objectifying knowledges. Deconstructivists posit criticism as a liberatory step. Beyond that, standpoint is also a vehicle for collective political action: Hill Collins recognizes standpoint as the ability to nurture collective consciousness necessary for social movement. It is relevant in this conceptual orientation and utility to Gayatri Spivak's notion of 'strategic essentialism.' The marginalized are agential and power can be understood as energy that can be fostered through creative acts of resistance.

One distinguishing feature of Black feminist thought is its insistence that both the changed consciousness of individuals and the social transformation of political and economic institutions constitute essential ingredients for social change. (Hill Collins, 1990)

Thus, there is an endemic tension at the crux of this dissertation, that is, that the practices of intellectual research yield the possibility of tremendous access to social power and privilege, to participation in the orchestration of the ideological violence and that, on the contrary, my research and work is about liberation and ending violence. This

tension is not solvable. The pressure of power to acquiesce is present and constant and I can only respond and conscientiously and cautiously progress in lieu of these co-optive dangers that loom. Among these dangers, lies the deeply problematic asymmetrical hierarchical relation that emerges between those who “study” a phenomenon and those who “live it” and those who “organize” toward social change. The wisdom of research subjects (those who live the phenomenon) and social change actors (organizers) is belittled in relation to the supposed studied and learned scholar. This hierarchy rests on the division enacted through unequal assignments of power, which rests on ideologically and materially conjured divisions among subjects: that scholar is not the community under investigation or social change actor. That scholar wields the power to ultimately interpret. That scholar produces ideology. This is one of the pulls in the tension, one of the ways ‘the war’ referenced earlier (“she is at war with herself”) is internalized. Is it possible to be researcher and research subject? Is it possible to exist within the very frameworks that produce ideological violence, to utilize and deploy some of the very same tools of ideological violence while attempting to produce rhetoric against violence? Exactly how is Gramsci’s notion of an organic intellectual actualized, and what are the organic intellectual’s limitations?

I move forward in my work with honest reflection of this problematic, that is, I recognize the co-optive power wielded within academic institutions but also increasingly in social change work through the Non-Profit Industrial Complex, (INCITE, 2007) For the scholar committed to principles of justice, the social problem/injustice (violence), the suffering, shapes, complicates, and informs the research. S/he resists the split, heals the divide and negotiates the pressures driven by ulterior motives to dissipate social change

work and colonize while normatively institutionalizing resistance. As has been argued by many, and eloquently by Paolo Freire, wisdom necessitates action and dialogue, and the intellectual pursuit must be guided not just by principles of justice but also by praxis. (Freire, 1982) Thus, this analytical endeavor in the study of violence is rooted in praxis, where a set of motivating principles of justice are daily practiced, as it is rooted in the experience of surviving violence. We might surmise that knowledge is morphed into ideology through its relation to power, as well, Derrida suggests that the only space where violence fails is the space of generosity. It seems that these two concepts can serve strategically in my desire to navigate through knowledge production with an anti-violent praxis.

CHAPTER 4

narrativized subterfuge: myopic (mis)interpretations of violence³¹

*All oppressive control is violent because it attempts to erase selves that are
dangerous to the maintenance of domination over us.
Maria Lugones*

*There is a very old wound in me
between my legs
where I have bled, not to birth
pueblos or revolutionary
concepts or simple
sucking children
but a memory of some ancient
betrayal.
Cherrie Moraga*

*Our names: branching leaves of divine speech,
birds that soar higher than a gun.
Mahmoud Darwish*

An inconsistency, a persistent dissonance recurs in my study and activist work against violence. That dissonance has to do with what have emerged as the dominant modalities for studying violence and their corresponding policy and movement interventions and directives. Early on in my study and involvement with the anti-violence movement, I recognized that not all forms of violence, all experiences with violence, and all communities experiencing violence were equally represented in the theoretical frameworks and research literature, nor in the social movement strategies and/or policy formations addressing the topic of violence. I myself felt the dissonance quite personally. While I was employed at an anti-violence organization, an undocumented immigrant woman was brutally assaulted by immigration enforcement

³¹ Against the grain of a dominant discursive formation that commonly questions the credibility of survivor testimony of the experience of violence, I call into question the ideological project of dominant knowledge formations and policy and movement interventions in violence.

agents. As an immigrant to this country, I myself had experienced racial violence multiple times (which will be discussed in further detail in the chapter on violence against Latinas), and I felt strongly that the anti-violence organization I worked for was in a keen position to respond to this violent attack. My efforts to organize a stance against state violence against immigrant women were deemed irrelevant to the work of a domestic violence (anti-violence) organization, and I was cut off in my tracks. Consequently, I was reminded that state violence against undocumented immigrant women was not a concern for an organization fighting domestic violence. This was one of many similar experiences that signaled to me the systematic maneuvering of the term violence, what counts as violence and what doesn't, and whose stories and experiences with violence count and whose don't. Such maneuvering seemed to have ideological underpinnings and interests. The work of this chapter is to elucidate a particular kind of ideological violence that is deployed through the production and organization of knowledge on violence. In the study of violence, this is a central concern because the patterns of the production and organization of knowledge on violence lead to carving out particular interventions, policies and solutions.

All violence endures partially through the deployment of a particular kind of ideological violence, that is, the production and diffusion of knowledge regarding the subject of violence. Popular 'common sense' on violence, how we come to think through and make sense, understand and interpret violence, is conjured not outside in some mythical place where violence does not exist, but within the very trenches of violence. As was discussed previously, the production of violence emerges through the archetypes of violence, that is, the intersecting axes of colonial/neo-colonial,

sex/gendering/heteronormative, racial, and capitalist violences. So too, the production, organization and dissemination of knowledge on violence is intimately embedded in the archetypes violence, and it is structured and deployed through the architecture of violence. As the aforementioned story suggests, not all forms of violence, not all experiences of violence, are treated equally. There was no anti-violence shelter the undocumented immigrant woman could flee to, and her story was actively silenced. Thus, there are multiple and contentious or competing narratives (stories) and experiences with violence. Some stories are given credibility, resources, and ascendance to the mainstream popular consciousness, while others are not. By suggesting that the production and dissemination of knowledge itself is embedded in the archetypes of violence and structured in the architecture of violence, I am suggesting that the production and dissemination of knowledge of violence functions in accordance with and reproduces the archetypes of violence. Therefore, narratives of violence that challenge the archetypes of violence and/or the architecture of violence are silenced, while those that reproduce it are given dominance. Knowledge on violence is made dominant in so far as it reproduces the archetypes of violence; the dominant narratives on violence therefore are made dominant in so far as they resonate with the social dominant ideological interests.

In this way, dominant narratives on violence deploy epistemic violence, a particular type of ideological violence that silences particular narratives of violence. The silenced narratives are subjugated in so far as they represent the voice of the subaltern and in particular, as the earlier story revealed, in so far as they reveal the role of the state in the deployment of violence, especially against the grain of the state's narrativized opposition

to violence (it was funding the anti-violence organization I referenced). Instead, dominant narratives on violence superimpose ideology that is incessantly focused on the myopic hyperindividualization of violence, so as to divert attention from the archetypes of violence and the macro-structural organization and deployment of violence.

The words of Mahmoud Darwish, Cherrie Moraga and Maria Lugones speak amidst the muting forces that through subterfuge set out to revictimize by dis(re)membering the legacies and tragedies of violence in the past and the recurring presence of the past. While couched in the rhetoric of violence interventions and the pursuit of non-violence, these dominant narratives themselves deploy what I have previously considered ideological violence. Angela Davis once taught me that (the discourse on) violence has been an ideological conductor that racializes the other as violent while it names the structured and everyday domains of whiteness and white supremacy, non-violent. The racialization of the rhetoric on violence explores the ways the rhetoric on violence is co-constituted with racial formation in that the racialized other is essentialized as inherently violent. Additionally, the rhetoric of violence is racialized in so far as it negates, subjugates, or reconstructs the experience of racial violence as aberrant and occasional rather than systemic and structured. The dominant narratives of violence I will critically consider in this chapter are broadly organized into myopic individualizing approaches to violence that include criminalizing and medicalizing narratives. In addition, white feminist and non-profitized narratives, also individualizing narratives, emerge through and with the criminalization and medicalization of violence. Racializing, colonizing, and heteropatriarchal discursive formations on violence that revictimize women and

communities of color gain ascendance and legitimacy namely through their articulation in criminalizing and medicalizing narratives.

As discussed in the previous chapter, particular institutions charged with the task of producing and diffusing cultural and ideological knowledges, namely, education and the media, are central sites to consider the narrativized subterfuge of dominant ideologies on violence, for those narratives of violence which ascend to dominance emerge, are situated and traverse these institutions. We are reminded, as Foucault critically argues, that there is no ubiquitous “truth,” rather, truths are made, made dominant, through power, and through the particular ideological and cultural institutions responsible for producing and engendering consensus to conjure ‘common sense’ on violence. My choice to speak about the “narratives” of violence and the “narrativization” of violence sets out to remind us that all forms of knowledge are stories, and even the state “official” rhetoric, or the most illustrious researcher’s findings are still stories about violence. The best of the Russian formalists teach us the tenets of narratology, a manner to move through the text assessing meaning and ideology at play in the story. Deconstructivists teach us to look at the construction of the social in language, and in particular, Derrida teaches us to look at power in the stories people tell through language. When we debunk the naturalized knowledge on any topic, a survival strategy feminists and anticolonialists have perfected for their own survival, we come to see a story with particular interests and investments and subject locations. I seek to illustrate the ways certain stories of violence gain dominance because of what they coincide with, as well as to consider the ideological work (and violence) that dominant narratives on violence produce.

The chapters that follow will speak against the silences imposed by the dominant narratives on violence. Las juvenes and literary, autobiographic quotations, and self-reflexive journal writing from the marginalized subaltern voices will speak their “truths” in the retelling and conceptualization of violence, speaking loudly against the grain of the master narratives on violence. In content and in critique, it is my hope to express the constant contestations and speaking of the subaltern in the midst of tremendous silencing colonial, racist and heteropatriarchal forces that utilize “violence” ideology in order to maintain unjust social relations.

methodological direction: leery of the litany of indictments on the study of violence

In light of the prior discussion on violence contextualizing the production of knowledge, I proceed especially humble, grounded.

Every writer holds an infant in their arms. We give birth to words, ideas, images, that once on paper fly from the page onto lives of their own. And their journey continues long after the thoughts, emotions and insights of the moment have passed the writer. I walk humbly and conscientiously, hold thought and the possibility of this life birthed very gently, and in special consideration of the topic I address, I write gently, trying not to disturb even the keys too much as I type late into the night of morning. You see I know how words can injure, conjure pain, disenfranchisement, colonize minds. I know how words can silence. I know how words can fall into bed with the least likely and unexpected bedfellows, and the step toward ideological dominance is always only just a step away. The violence of words we learn as children.

I don't feel comfortable writing scientifically about violence. Too much of the experience seems fractured, belittled, dishonored. I don't feel comfortable studying violence. The greatest wisdom on the subject seems to emerge from directly experiencing it. Disciplined study often emerges anachronistically, experience is temporal and investigation is devoid of the context and particulars of that experience. The best research approaches the subject but it is always outside/other. Mired in its own context and particulars. Findings are constructed. They are particular. We build knowledges like fountains: they're pretty to look at, sometimes waste resources, and we would like them to captivate the imagination, but utility is often secondary. The aesthetics of career often take center stage. We are made complicit.

But I write, I study, I interpret. Knowing that what I know is limited by the dailyness of my life, of class, nation, sex, race and the ways they create and embody me. For now, this is my way. This is my life. As love, violence remains among the greatest mysteries to those who encounter it. I struggle with writing it, worried the objective and undeniable reality of word on paper might be entirely wrong. Worried I might do more violence than heal or stop it. But I must write it. There is no other way. Violence screams to swallow us every day more and more. In this sinking boat, the pen is an oar. In the face of extinction, I row. I don't presume to know the cartography of the sea, it has a will, fury and face all its own. I row unsure whether the tools and techniques of my training have prepared me for the tumult of the bellowing sea. In the face of violence, we live. I write.

Litany of Paradoxical Indictments in the Study of Violence

This dissertation situates an academic intellectual endeavor in the imperative and impending catastrophe that is violence in its material manifestation on the landscape of the sufferers. I wrestle with that. It is a disconcerting juxtaposition: the practice of meandering around a topic (violence), of recognizing its force as an idea and engaging it as such, exploring that idea further, then scribing and interpreting the idea, juxtaposed against the timely consequence and tragedy of extant violence. Investigation is separated from material risk or suffering. Temporality is key. Time can mean luxury and life. This is the first paradoxical indictment in the study of violence.

Second indictment: The practice of intellectual inquiry is embedded and institutionalized in projects of power and violence, situated within state, capitalist, colonial and normative institutions of higher learning. I am deeply conscious, even disconcerted, that my location within an institution of higher learning is anchored in certain locations, interests, and commitments. I am deeply conscious of the pressures toward complicity, the ways the institutionalization process functions to direct your energies toward and not against dominant social structures and the violence they commit. I set out to scribe the experience of violence in light of the realization that such an act carries the potentiality of revictimization. Silencing the voice of the survivor(s) with the voice-over of the writer.

Any attempt to understand violence arrives with the paradoxical indictment that violence saturates and surrounds the quest to know, yet knowledge creates the possibility for transformation through potential discernment of a liberatory wisdom. Chapter 5 will focus substantially on the potential pitfalls of research design by problematizing methodological direction and inspiration, in particular by considering legacies of

colonialism and capitalism in the production and ownership of knowledge and research subjects. This chapter navigates both sides of the paradox, conscientiously pursuing heightened understanding of violence while scribing the moments toward knowledge, the pursuit and production of knowledge on violence as pulled by a force to reproduce and maintain violence. The path of inquiry that wrestles with and negotiates these tensions is a conscious path toward justice. Analysis of ideology is a key tactic in interpreting the relation between an idea and violence. How and when is an idea, or does an idea become, or practice violence? How is it couched in violence? How do ideas effect violence? As I walk in the production of ideas, I must consistently face the mirror and ask, “is her spirit clean?”

ruminations on violence: “don’t believe what you think”

My Tia Alba called me up today and said: “don’t believe what you think.” In other words, be critical of what you think; figure out how you came to know what you know about what you think you know. In this way you may be able to at least figure out whose stories shape what you think you know. And remember, all stories aren’t created equal.

Violence as a concept slips and slides away from and toward nomenclature. Conceptually, it is slippery, evasive, and yet materially, it arrives as particular; it arranges and marks the body(ies) and the world, carving territories, genders, races, poverty and nations upon bodies and lands.

Many years ago, I worked in the anti-violence movement doing popular education trainings on the subject of domestic violence. I worked predominantly in the mostly Latino neighborhoods in San Francisco, Redwood City, East Palo Alto, and San Jose. I began each training session by asking, “What is violence?” This opened a group exercise

on defining violence where I offered a series of scenarios and let the discussion emerge as participants aimed at classifying each case as “violence” or not. The discussion that followed was an often heated and polemic attempt to define violence. There was typically little agreement, and the conversations were lively. It wasn’t long before I noted a common trend emerging: most men classified fewer proposed cases as violence, while most women classified most proposed cases as violence. I noticed this was especially true when the case scenarios involved ideological methods of violence, including verbal, emotional and psychological forms of violence, such as name-calling and humiliation and sexual harassment in the streets. Researchers found the same was true for the Latin@ adolescents they interviewed in an explorative study on dating violence in teen relationships. (A. Smith, Winokur, K., & Palenski, J., 2005) Most of the young men “named” fewer things as violence than most young women.

The aforementioned example points to how competing narratives on violence emerge. In particular, it discerns that gender might play a significant role in defining violence among Latin@s. The example testifies that violence is not an objective classification, but rather, one situated and emergent in culture, context, and social location, which provide corresponding meaning, definition and experience to violence. Indeed, there are countless definitions of violence, but the task of this analysis is to critically interrogate the social locations that engender particular definitions, and to discern how and which particular definitions and interpretations of violence ascend to dominance. In other words, how do intersections of race, class, gender, and nation conjure dominant ideologies on violence, how do these intersections produce particular experiences of violence (vis a vis the archetypes of violence) that are silenced and

subordinated? Thus, the category of violence and what its nomenclature designates is not stable or fixed, but evidently contested along the social hierarchies of race, class, gender, nation, etc. Power acts through the social structuration of inequality via ideology to suppress certain narratives of violence and to conjure a set of dominant narratives. Epistemological analysis assists in ascertaining the partiality in these narratives, and a study in subjectivity will prove deeply useful in so far as subjectivity can help to ascertain the relation of social location to power and social inequality. It is of no surprise that since these social hierarchies are themselves in constant historical mutation, metamorphosing across time and space, then the moment of interaction with the language of violence will itself be always alterable. Lastly, consistent with patterns of race, class, nation, and gender, which also rely on contextual ideological rubrics, violence as terminology emerges as also malleable, shifting and changing over time.(Omi, 1994)

Though we cannot dismiss or epiphenomenalize, rather we must centralize, the history and patterns of dominance in the production of dominant narratives of violence, such an understanding will allow us to glean the moments and spaces where the subaltern speaks and asserts their experience against the pressures and forces intent on its demise, muting and mutation.

Truth is a thing of this world: it is produced only by virtue of multiple forms of constraint. Each society has its regime of truth, that is the types of discourse which it accepts and makes function as true...Truth is centered on the form of scientific discourse and the institutions which produce it...it is produced and transmitted under the control, dominant if not exclusive, of a few great political and economic apparatuses (university, army, writing, media).(Foucault, 1980) p.132

Foucault's work in *The Archeology of Knowledge* posits that discursive formations occur somewhere between power and knowledge, whereby institutions employ particular forms of knowledge that become authoritative and are useful in the pursuit of domination, while a potential contentious critical knowledge remains engaged asserting a different epistemic context through which the dominant narrative is exposed and resistance to it is engaged. These Foucauldian notions will prove useful in posing the questions that ground the analysis in this chapter as well as in forging the specific analysis of violence against Latinas in the chapter that follows. Ideology also reminds us that while knowledge can be used to legitimate power arrangements, it can also be used to deflect attention from, to mystify certain understandings and positions so as to further buttress the position of the dominant.(Mckinlay, 1997) This will prove particularly useful in mapping the state's orchestrated slippage out of the realm of scrutiny vis-a-vis its use of violence.

Teresa Córdova's criticism in "Power and Knowledge: Colonialism in the Academy" refers to Michel Foucault's notion of "a regime of truth," which in Cordova's reworking is critically linked to dominant class and race interests.(Cordova, 1998) This is "where knowledge serves a legitimation function to maintain those interests." And we are driven to ask, how have we all and how have oppressed communities subscribed to dominant narratives on violence as legitimate knowledge? How do dominant narratives on violence purport universality? And lastly, as Córdova states, how does such legitimating objectivity appropriate our ability to define violence for ourselves, to construct our own methods for resisting through retelling violence? What are the ways in which violence has served as an ideological tool? What are the multiple meanings

ascribed to violence? Which narratives gain dominance and why? What is the relationship between narratives of violence and the state? What comes to count as violence and what does not count as violence? What is the work of both dominant and subaltern narratives of violence? What contesting and counter-hegemonic knowledges surface to engage and resist the legitimacy/authority of the dominant ones?

Hayden White introduced the central criticism of “metahistory” to relay the way narratives are conjured in relation to power, in particular, in the development of historical discourse.(H. White, 1974) That is, he problematizes the way historical discursive productions engage and mirror sweeping universalisms. These universalisms are conjured against the backdrop of an erasure of subjugated particular knowledges that are strategically silenced.(Spivak, 1988) Marx reminds us of the process through which the dominant class asserts its interests as universal in order to secure its power, which rests on its ability to evade the particularity of its ideas and interests while fomenting widespread adoption/adherence through universalization. (Marx, 1978 [1932])

The field of inquiry known as the sociology of knowledge asserts that knowledge is socially produced, it does not emerge from or speak from some sort of essential pre-existing natural order or natural “Truth.”(Mckinlay, 1997) Further, Derrida’s deconstructivist legacy reminds us to look toward everything as the text, to question the logic and meaning at work. These assertions and those that follow challenge Marxist tendencies toward a fixed knowledge and singular “Truth” and take these issues in important directions. Stuart Hall also contributes to notions of ideology through his concern with the way ideas become a “material force.” He is interested in analyzing how particular sets of ideas attain dominance. As Angela Davis posits with regard to violence

as an ideological tool whose meanings are mutating, Hall's approach replaces the notion of fixed ideological meanings and class-ascribed ideologies with the concept of ideological terrains of struggle. Different classes and social groups, argues Hall, deploy "mental frameworks" (inclusive but not limited to language, concepts and systems of representation) in their process to decipher the functioning of society.(Hall, 1996b) Hall also suggests that ideological struggles are part of the struggle for hegemony and they become "effective" only when they connect with powerful social forces.

According to Patricia Hill Collins, dominant groups suppress collective thought in order to inhibit the possibility of resistance. Dominant groups then attempt to replace subjugated knowledge with knowledge that sanctifies power arrangements in their favor.³² Hill's position resonates with Mills' work on the power elite vis a vis ideology and knowledge production; her approach mirrors Mills' commitment to understanding knowledge as liberatory and oppressive; they see knowledge as intricately related to power. They both recognize that power manifests through the imposition, limitation, and displacement of knowledge. (Collins, 1990; Mills, 1957) These theoretical foundations, from Marx to White, to Gramsci, Derrida and Hall, and Mills and Hill Collins, provide direction for my analysis of the narratives of violence, and a combination of these approaches will allow me to consider the narratives of violence, and in particular to critically assess the ascent to dominance of particular narratives and their social structuration, as well as the subjugation of certain narratives of violence.

The formation of power and the formation of knowledge

³² Invokes Gramsci's concept that "we go willingly," the manifestation of the project hegemony is that we believe the ideology that legitimates and reproduces our own oppression. (Gramsci, 1971) Gramsci also referred to the "traces of ideological systems and sedimentations" that not only coerce but actively organize "so as to command and win the consent of the subordinated classes." (Hall, 1991)

compose an indissoluble unity. (Habermas, p.85)

the genealogy of dominant narratives on violence

When I posit the dominant narratives on violence as embedded in the archetypes of violence, I am speaking directly to why and how these particular narratives become dominant. In so far as they collude with co-existing racializing, gendering, and classing projects and violences, the particular narratives on violence become dominant. In this way, the rhetoric on violence, knowledge on violence itself functions to reify the archetypes of violence. Thus, the dominant narratives on violence are racializing and heteronormative projects that work in concert with other racializing and heteronormative projects.

The first dominant narrative I consider is what I term the myopic hyperindividualization of violence. This (mis)interpreting strategy homes in on the production of violence at the individual level. Other dominant narratives emanate from and revert from this principal strategy. The dominant research literature on violence is organized scientifically under rubrics that support this hyperindividualization of violence. I will discuss this literature further under the general rubric of medicalized narratives of violence, which includes psychological and sociopsychological models. The narrativization of the hyperindividualization of violence acts specifically to detract attention from the organization and production of violence at macro-structural levels and from the archetypes and the architecture of violence. In particular, the state's role in producing and organizing violence escapes scrutiny if we focus on the locus of the individual. The state figures quite prominently in my analysis of the dominant narratives for this reason, and because it typifies one of the consistent dissonances in formulations

of violence within and outside of the West and the “U.S.” In addition, if dominant narratives are made dominant in so far as they reproduce and legitimate the architecture of violence, it is no surprise that dominant narratives of violence are not “calling out the state’s role,” since the state is a central organizer of violence. The criminalization of violence is another dominant narrative of violence that has gained such pervasive dominance the term crime is often used interchangeably with the term violence. This narrative also functions to distract attention to state violence by locating the responsibility for violence on the individual in addition to narrativizing the state’s opposition to violence. When someone is charged with a violent crime, it is in fact the state that is positioned as the plaintiff prosecuting the “offender.” In turn, ideologies of violence that buttress the criminalization and medicalization of violence also contribute to the continued racialization of violence and the individualization of violence. These dominant narratives also act to obfuscate and deflect attention from subjugated narratives of violence that propose different analytical frameworks for violence and position the state responsibility as a purveyor and organizer of violence. The dominant ideologies of violence also work to legitimate and maintain dominant relations; in process and effect, the racialization of violence reproduces the subordination of people of color.

Competing forms of knowledge with regard to violence can be seen as those that center the role of the state in the production of violence and those that deflect the state in the production of violence, namely by asserting violence as an anomalous, aberrant mostly individualized pathological behavior or on moralistic grounds, considering forms of resistance to the state as violence. Here, I will consider both. I highlight the macro and micro levels of analysis vis a vis violence as the extremes that are strategically

bifurcated through ideology on violence. It is my intent to call into question the ideological work of (and the social forces involved in) pushing toward micro-level formulations of violence, to make visible the macro-structural production of violence and to explore the co-constitutive relationship between macro and micro level formulations of violence while challenging their disparate treatment. The theoretical foundation for my inquiry holds that, as Howard Pinderhughes posits in *Race in the Hood*, we must understand violence as a “process that is the result of the combination of structural, social, psychological, and cultural factors.”(H. Pinderhughes, 1997) Similarly, as I argued in the architecture of violence analytic model I propose, any exploration into the production of violence must recognize the role of the state, the economy, and social institutions in the production of all forms of violence, even those enacted by a particular person/member of a group. This leads us to greater understanding of the relationship between structural factors, historical context, political and social processes which condition violence at multiple levels. Yet, my concern also leads me to explore how and why some narratives of violence gain dominance while others are silenced.

In my international work on violence against women, I have constantly arrived at a central distinction between conceptual formations of violence against women in the west, predominantly in the U.S. and those in the global south and outside of the U.S. When speaking with activists and scholars from many countries in Africa, West Asia, India, and Mexico and Central America, I have found a central distinction in their violence frameworks, and that is the role of the state in the production of all forms of gender based violence.³³ In contrast, inside the United States and in many Western states,

³³ Later in this chapter I will address the threat these alternate ideologies face through the increased funding made available from the West that carries with it the imposition of ideological underpinnings in the interpretation and intervention of violence.

some careful maneuvering of the state and ideology regarding perceptions of violence against women commonly slip the state out of the equation, at times, even going so far as to position the state as allied with women. However, within the United States, when women of color are positioned centrally in interpretive frameworks to understand violence, the state figures prominently, as can be seen in the work of INCITE: Women of Color Against Violence, and in particular, in *The Color of Violence* anthology.(INCITE, 2006) Still, I was recently at a statewide meeting of leaders in the anti-violence field and the mostly white feminists in the room looked at me like I was crazy when I began to critically assert the role of the state in the production of violence against women. I addressed the routine law enforcement abuses women of color experience as forms of state violence, and I talked about mandatory arrest policies and anti-violence movement collusion with law enforcement as having deleterious consequences that potentially place women of color at risk for further victimization. Clearly, those communities most marginalized by patterns of globalization, capitalism and racism, recognize more readily state involvement in the violence they experience; most women of color in the room approached me after the group discussion and expressed agreement with my approach to calling out state violence. The white feminists in the room still looked at me like I had landed from another planet and asked for proof and researcher citations while they continued to wield the dominant narratives on violence that individualize violence and position the state as invested in nonviolence. They're not alone. This has regrettably become the dominant narrative on violence against women; the state has successfully positioned itself as an ally to the movement against domestic violence. Such an ideological formation repeatedly reduces violence against women to a micro-level

analysis of violence while simultaneously epiphenomenalizing egregious macro-structural formations of violence, like law enforcement abuses, and further, dismissing the interrelatedness all manifestations of violence. It is exactly this reality that led to the de-funding of San Francisco Women Against Rape by San Francisco's Department on the Status of Women, a self-pronounced committed feminist leader against violence against women, when it decided to take a political stance on the way state military occupation (in Israel) deploys sexual violence against Palestinian women as an occupation strategy.(C. Rojas, 2007) A study of the vernacular of violence against women, the way dominant narratives posit causation will demonstrate how the state "slips" out of the rhetoric. The critical analysis of dominant narratives that insists on recalling the architecture of violence, the interrelatedness of the archetypes of violence and the role of the state in producing, organizing and deploying violence, will help to reveal why San Francisco Women Against Rape got de-funded. It is my hope that this work will contribute to a growing body of knowledge that challenges social movements intent on ending all forms of violence to remember the architecture of violence, and remember, the state, is no feminist ally.

The texture of my analysis rests on serious consideration of the ideological formulations of violence and how they are deployed. I therefore begin the journey, which unfolds throughout this chapter, by exploring the distinctiveness, utility and deployment of the term violence and the ways in which the various historical processes of race, colonial, sex/gender and class processes have refereed and interfered in these formations. I consider the role of violence in colonial and racialization processes and as well, the ways in which ideological formations of what constitutes (and does not constitute)

violence, are shaped by these processes. Here, the state plays a critical role in so far as it endows itself with the task of organizing racializing criminalizing projects, colonial military invasions and neo-colonial economic and class based capitalist arrangements. So I ask, where does the state situate itself with regard to violence and how do dominant ideological formations of violence place the state in relationship to violence?

figuring the state in the architecture of violence

In an earlier chapter discussing the architecture of violence, I assessed the critical role the state plays in producing and maintaining violence, and the way the state organizes the archetypes of violence (the intersecting racial, sex/gender/sexuality, class, nation violences). Historian Richard Slotkin reminds us in his review of western “expansion” that the very nationhood of the United States not only emerged out of historic violence (genocide and displacement/forced migration of American Indians) but is persistently “regenerated through violence.”(Slotkin, 2005) In other words, violence re-emerges in the process of constantly reproducing an ever changing American “nation” and national identity. In his current work considering violence against gay, lesbian, bisexual and transgender folks, Mark Ungar adds that the expansion of the state leads to a more efficient and routine use of violence that is particularly deployed against marginalized communities, such as queer communities.(Ungar, 2002)

Gramsci also felt first hand the iron fist of the state under Mussolini, which led him to explore its punitive and repressive tendencies.(Gramsci, 1971) p.246-7 In this light, Gramsci considered the state’s role as “watchman or interventionist” with the purpose of protecting class interests. Through the state, “hegemony is protected by the armour of coercion.”(Gramsci, 1971) p. 263 Gramsci begins to formulate and articulate

what later Althusser further develops as the dual directions of the state: organizing the repressive apparati and the ideological apparati. This chapter considers ideological violence and the production of narratives on violence as also violent and Gramsci's analysis of the state's work in the coordination of ideological violence provides the theoretical underpinnings for this discussion.

As Gramsci understood it, hegemony cannot be constructed or maintained on one front alone, i.e. economic domain, there must be a degree of mastery over a whole series of different positions at once.(Hall, 1996a) Thus he explores the interrelationship of religion, the state and party and asserts that one passes into the other throughout the historico-political development process. Gramsci argued that in light of late 19th century and early 20th century state formations, the state could no longer be conceived simply as an administrative or coercive apparatus, but must also be considered as educative and formative. For Gramsci, the state “plays a pivotal role in the construction of hegemony, for it is “where the bloc of social forces which dominates over it not only justifies and maintains its domination but wins by leadership and authority the active consent of those over whom it rules.”(Hall, 1996a) p.429 Thus, the state becomes a critical location in society from which hegemony is ultimately exercised. As Stuart Hall interprets Gramsci, the state “is the point of condensation because it condenses a variety of different relations and practices into a definite system of rules.”(Hall, 1996a) P.428 Still a committed Marxist and communist party leader and witness of the rise of industrialization within Italy and its precarious effects on his southern Italy, Gramsci argued that the state “conforms a civilization to the necessities of the continuous development of the economic apparatus of production.”(Hall, 1996a) p.428

The law, according to Gramsci, together with schools and other institutions, are the State's instrument for creating and maintaining society and citizens, as well as for promoting and/or eliminating given customs and attitudes. Thus, he sees the State as having an educative and rationalizing purpose for civilization, and therefore culture and ideas (i.e. the national popular) have an increased role within the state. The state educates and rationalizes positively through formal educational institutions and negatively through the court systems so as to "bring the masses to a level corresponding to productive forces that will sustain "the interests of the ruling classes" and their "political and cultural hegemony."(Gramsci, 1971) p.258 Thus, the consent of the ruled is an "educated consent," achieved through education by the educator (the state). Lastly, for Gramsci, the state as organizer and purveyor of violence is understood by considering the state as producer and maintainer of hegemony and through its repressive and punitive tendencies.

Foucault helps us extend Gramsci's exploration of the ascent of dominant ideologies through 'consent' by exploring the ways the state reaches the dailyness and most intimate aspects of our lives, constructing us as subjects through practices. Foucault's conceptualization of power as omnipresent throughout the social, visually represented as a grid with multiple centers of power helps us consider the state and Foucault's consideration of its practices. Foucault's concept of governmentality (government rationality) echoes Weber's notion of the "iron cage" by arguing that the practices of regulation and rationality are not solely in possession of the state and deployed by the state but exist well beyond the state.(Foucault, 1991) Through governmentality, the whole workings of power and all social relations are imbued with practices of governmentality, of regulating and monitoring. Foucault is concerned with

the governmentalization of the state (and social) and not the *etatisation* (state centralization) of society. Government is for Foucault, the contemporary state formation and governmentality targets population, operates through political economy formations and works as an apparatus of security. For example, American neoliberalism, argues Foucault, extends the rationality of the market to areas that were not exclusively or primarily economic, i.e. the family and birth policy and penal policy.

“The new methods of power are not ensured by right but by technique, not by law but by normalization, not by punishment but by control, methods here are employed on all levels and in forms that go beyond the state and its apparatus...”(Foucault, 1991) p.149

Under Foucault, the state then becomes a development emerging out of Rousseau’s conceptualizations of pastoral power and through the development of population (18th century marks birth of “biopolitics”) and organized as a “watchdog,” dedicated to the surveillance of its family (populations) and holdings (property).³⁴ (Bernauer, 1994; Foucault, 1997b) p.147 The state, for Foucault, studied from the prerogative of its practices comes to be seen as an arrangement of practices, an ideologically violent formation. (Faubion, 2000; Habermas, 1994) p.81, p.xiii These formulations help us to understand the way dominant ideological formulations on violence become dominant through normativity and the practices that normativize particular conceptualizations of violence.

³⁴ Birth of biopolitics means “the endeavor in the eighteenth century, to rationalize the problems presented to governmental practice by the phenomena characteristic of a group of living human beings constituted as a population: health, sanitation, birthrate, longevity, race...” (Foucault, “Birth of Biopolitics” p. 73).

Lastly, Mills, who considered the state a central organizing force in socio-historical formations saw the state as organizer of violence through his consideration of the war effort. Throughout the 20th century, the social order transformed so as to encompass a particular commitment to maintaining war. In order to maintain their power, Mills asserts, the elite must act as “professional organizers of considerable force,” maintaining a keen interest in a “permanent war” because “war and the preparation for war...is a perfectly marvelous way of solving and of ditching all sorts of problems.”(Mills, 1957) p.296/241 Violence then is used by the state and power elite to maintain legitimacy among the masses. Since the New Deal and WWII, Mills argues, corporate heads have come to dominate the economy of the war effort. The state’s power elite has rescinded some power to the enlarged military state existing post-WWII in the United States. “Virtually all political and economic actions are now judged in terms of military definitions of reality: the higher warlords post-WWII have ascended to a firm position within the power elite.” This transformation occurred because of a lack in intra state organization and efficacy regarding international problems and war combining with a historical post WWII orientation toward external issues and war led to the insurgence of economic and military leadership in shaping the permanent war economy and private corporation economy: “not politicians but corporate executives sit with the military and plan the organization of the war effort.” (Mills, 1957, p.276) In this new state formation, society is shaped by a historically unique relationship between those guiding the means of production and those guiding the means of violence.

The articulation of war and violence methodologies emerge as the pinnacle of narrativized subterfuge (subterfuge enacted through the production/dissemination of

narratives) when they are posited as methodologies of non-violence. Foucault follows Millsian inclinations regarding what Foucault terms the emergence of “historico political discourse” which presents war as the cipher to peace. Thus increasingly, war becomes the “permanent basis of all the institutions of power.”(Foucault, 1997a) p.61

Increasingly, the reason of the state becomes concerned with matters of the defense of society, such historical formations, for Foucault reproduce binarious knowledges (and realities as could be argued with the raising of the “Iron Curtain post WWII” stretched between the US and USSR and itself among the greatest prophylactics for self examination.)(Mills, 1957) As Mills, Foucault sees such a formation increasingly becoming reliant on capital for powerful armies require manpower and (arms) production. Increasing private/public shared enterprises are foreshadowed by Mills and expected according to Foucault’s notions of power arrangements. Indeed, physical force lies unspoken behind so many social relations, and war comes to be politics pursued by other means, and techniques of regulation (ideological violence) abound!

**the silence on state violence:
the legitimation of state violence and its narrativized opposition to violence**

How are we to distinguish between this force of the law...and the violence that one always deems unjust? What difference is there between on the one hand, the force that can be just or in any case deemed legitimate, not only as an instrument in the service of law but the practice and even the realization, the essence of droit, and on the other hand the violence that one always deems unjust? What is a just force or a non-violent force?”(Derrida, 1990) p. 927

In “Critique of Violence,” Walter Benjamin troubles the line between legitimized or justifiable force (non-violence) and excessive force (violence). He asks for what and

how legitimation occurs so that one comes to be seen as violence and the other as not.(Benjamin, 1978) Derrida and Benjamin posit the central questions this chapter considers, how is it that some things come to count as violence while others, perhaps just or even more brutal, escape its nomenclature? Throughout this dissertation, I have asserted the many historical examples that present the myriad manifestations of violence the “U.S.” state has conjured from inception (depopulation of lands mainly through genocide and forced migration), to expansion (manifest destiny and the litany of colonial invasions), to profiteering (slavery, the prison industrial complex and migrant labor), etc. Violence has codified state functioning, development and growth. However, such deployment of violence has often evaded classification as violence, namely because the violence was performed by the state in the interest and service of state function and power. In light of the historic constancy of state violence, the period beginning in the 1960’s is a compelling time period to examine the way the state brought attention to the issue of violence in such a way that it evaded attention on itself through the production and dissemination of the current dominant narratives on violence. In this particular time period we find key maneuvers of policy that provide foundational underpinnings for the logic that would guide the development of contemporary narratives on the criminalization, the medicalization, and the nonprofitization of violence.

Among the many significant changes taking place in the 1960’s, a pivotal shift emerged with the advent and expansion of media communications. The once military technology created what Noam Chomsky considers one of the greatest tools to manufacture consent, the television, and television proved to be a key tactic in ‘educating’ popular consciousness on myriad topics, including violence. Produced and

controlled imagery and analysis on violence navigated the circuitry of the nation by way of ‘the tube.’ But what we came to know as violence, to see as violence on television and in the media hardly reflected the prior conversations on the state and violence. For example, in the contemporary period, the nightly news comes to report a grave concern over occasional cases of “violence” in the schools (shootings) and not over the “violence” committed by US troops in Iraq. Instead, the discourse on violence is somehow slipped out of the domain of the state, unless the state is positioned as the potential victim or target. And this state discourse on violence was brought to more and more people instantaneously. Some historical markers might help us decipher why the interests of the state were particularly directed toward controlling discourse production on violence. The state’s involvement in the Vietnam war was seriously contested by the anti-war movement in the 1960’s, which made it strategically necessary and politically expedient to deflect attention from state violence in Vietnam. Concern over the violence of “protests” and “riots” in the 1960’s became a way to slip the state out of scrutiny (while the state was actually effecting tighter mechanisms of military and police control) while positioning it as victim and simultaneously inscribe resistance to the state under the rubric of violence. Of course the state’s concern with the threatening rise of social movements of protest, the civil rights movements, the Black Panther Movement, the women’s movements and many others also plays into the timing of its strategic maneuver with regard to violence. Attempts to control seemingly “unruly” violence has always served as a promising ideological tool through which to ascertain public consent over increasing social control and encroachment of citizens’ rights. In fact, it was in direct response to “urban riots” that the state commissioned the predecessor to the first body to

ascertain the “problem of violence” in America. The predecessor was the National Advisory Commission on Civil Disorders, thus a link between Civil Disorders and Violence was established when just a little less than a year later, Johnson also established The National Commission on the Causes and Prevention of Violence.(Albert J Reiss, 1993) The tasks of the Commission were:

*To investigate and make recommendations with respect to:
(a) the causes and prevention of lawless acts of violence in our society, including assassination, murder, and assault, and
(b) the causes and prevention of disrespect for law and order, of disrespect for public officials, and of violent disruptions of public order by individuals and groups. (Albert J Reiss, 1993)*

This ideological maneuvering of violence affirms d’Entreves’ assertions that violence comes to be seen outside the jurisdiction of the state, as “lawlessness,” the absence of the state. Mills reminds us “how did civilians rather than men of violence become dominant?”(Mills, 1957) Arendt references Alexander Passerin d’Entreves’ *The Notion of the State* in his assertion that it is the legitimation of violence by the state, as legal, sanctified violence that excludes its practice from the very nomenclature violence. Instead, because of its legitimation, violence here becomes symbolically and materially, law, and the gaze is turned beyond the state where non-state violence becomes synonymous with violence while state violence no longer stands as violence. (Arendt, 1969) And the state escapes scrutiny with regard to violence. The commission goes further than this by considering violence as the “disrespect” of the law and public officials. The commission was clearly assigned the task of quelling popular uprising which could potentially pose a threat to the state and instead, violence was assigned to control and tag myriad resistant activities as criminal.(“National Commission on the

Causes and Prevention of Violence," 1969) The commission was also set up in response to The National Science Foundation's Program on Law and Social Sciences, which was interested primarily in studying violent behavior, and the National Institute of Justice, which sought assistance for preventing violent 'crime.' To ensure these issues would be steered properly, the panel membership consisted of participants interested in violent criminal behavior. The panel's work was then narrowed to understanding and controlling violent behavior that is deemed criminal.(Albert J Reiss, 1993)

This historic panel's work ideologically marked violence as criminal and behavioral. This sets violence as an expression of opposition to the state and law, a crime, and behavioral, both frameworks which are rooted in the individual. In this swift move, the state slips out of the realm of violence and a move toward the criminalization of violence and individualization of violence is made. As this discourse detracts attention from a violence that is constituted in macro-structural formations such as the state, and as it affirms the behavioral aspect of violence, another assertion is made about violence, that violence is an aberration, an occasional eruption of pathological behavior working against the presumed grain of normative society. Violence is anomalous. Indeed sociological frameworks of violence posit violence as deviance, statistically considered a behavior against the norm of society (a normatively non-violent society?).(Levine, 1996)

These dominant approaches have led to the criminalization of the aberrant violent offender; they posit prisons as way to intervene and even end violence, and the trends of the end of the 20th century show how this method of "prevention" has been instituted within the parallel interests of an expansionist Prison Industrial Complex.³⁵ Between

³⁵ According to Critical Resistance, "In the last 20 years the United States has built more prisons than any country during any period in history." Recently, in 2007, the largest single policy for prison expansion was passed in the state of California. AB 900 was recently

1975 and 1989 a tripling of the average prison time served for a violent crime took place.(Council, 1993, p. 6) p.6 We need not look any further than the pervasive assignment of “violence” to racialized and criminalized categories such as “terrorist,” and “rapist” to recognize that the state places violence outside of its jurisdiction while still maintaining the silence of state violence deployed through the military and the prison industrial complex (PIC). And yet, with the expansion of state violence well on its way, dominant narratives of violence posit the state and society (though not exclusive from one another) as non-violent. Under the guise of these ideological constructs of violence then, non-violence is normative while anomalous, criminal and pathological violence must be quarantined and controlled. While the work of this ideological understanding of violence has in effect incarcerated many more people (predominantly people of color) for longer periods of time, it has failed to “prevent” violent crimes as violent crimes rose while more people were in prison for violent crimes.(Council, 1993) I came across an interesting article that considered “prison violence,” the author ordered this form of violence as “violence in special places.” Even this formulation of violence that begs to consider the state fell short when its focus evaded state violence and the violent practices of prison institutions and instead focused on psychosocial causes and spatial (crowded conditions) causes of “prison violence.”(Council, 1993)

the state and gendering violence

The state is a thoroughly organized patriarchal entity, prohibiting women from full participation in the democratic process; the state therefore structures the political

signed by Governor Schwarzenegger, and it authorizes the construction of 53,000 new prison and jail beds in California.
http://fclca.org/curnews/actionalerts/2007/prison_beds0407.html

dependence of men and women while excluding them full citizenship.(Barrett, 1980) As was discussed earlier, the state also organizes economic violence against women that makes women dependent on men and the state.(Mink, 1990; Pearce, 1990) The state's ordering of economic violence through differential wages for women and men and the organization of unpaid labor that women are assigned keeps women from establishing economic independence. (G. Rubin, 1994). Socialist feminists also note the organized exclusion of women from the labor force begins with the very naturization of the worker as male, hence the need to demarcate the 'female' worker.(Eisenstein, 1990)

The state's child custody laws, marriage and immigration laws also structure heteronormativity and the subjugation of women by for example issuing visas (H4) that prohibit the wives of skilled professionals from working or obtaining drivers' licenses. (Bhattacharjee, ; Lindsley, ; Rich) Immigration laws have also historically favored legalizing male immigrants over their female counterparts, under for example IRCA (the Immigration Regulation and Control Act of 1986, agricultural jobs typically populated by women, termed agricultural support jobs, were excluded from accessing immigration status. The state's co-constituted relationship with heteropatriarchal institutions like the Church, medicine, and prisons³⁶ translates into a legitimation of the sex/gender/sexuality system and the deployment of multiple attacks on women.(MacKinnon, 1989)

The state's war practices, and its normative militaristic culture that is only heightened by war, exacerbate sex/gender/sexuality heteropatriarchal dichotomies which lead to increased attacks on women, rape, domestic violence, and hate violence against queer folks.(C. Rojas, Margo Okazawa-Rey, and Marisol Arriola 2002) The expansion of a militarized state and the waging of war reinforces heteropatriarchy and lays a

³⁶ See Juanita Diaz Cuoto's seminal article on the systematic gendering of inmates in New York prisons.(Diaz-Cuoto)

foundation for violence against women. All military establishments hold the unique characteristic of institutionally legitimizing the use of violence and the training of humans to kill other humans. This violence is normalized by dehumanizing and feminizing the “enemy,” then “hunting them down” both in rhetoric and in practice.(Enloe) In a state of war, the military extends its legitimacy of violence to other social spheres, where the practices of war become the practices of intimate relationships. The violence of war is not limited to the battlefields drawn in the Pentagon but extends to the battlefields drawn in the bedroom. Patriarchy, the state and institutions like the family are intertwined with militarism. Militarism promotes heterosexist patriarchal values by fostering what Cynthia Enloe calls a “militarized masculinity,” which emphasizes emotional detachment, relationships of domination, and physical aggression.(Enloe) Women are encouraged to be “patriotic” by being proud mothers who persuade their sons to go to war, devoted wives who wait patiently for their return, and bar women who provide “rest and recreation.” Femininity looms as steadfast allegiance to “militarized masculinity.” The policing of these gender roles is also heightened and the potential for increased attacks to gays and lesbians and those rupturing the sex/gender/sexuality system emerges. According to the L.A. Gay and Lesbian Center, homophobic hate violence was up 50% in Los Angeles a year after the War on Terrorism was declared. (INCITE, 2003)

Militarism is a male-dominated, sexist system, even when women are involved in it. The myth is that the military supports women’s liberation by admitting women into military and combat positions. However, women’s participation in the military actually leads to a heightened risk of rape by male members of their own military. A recent report

released information withheld by the state that many American women soldiers were dying of dehydration complications because they ceased drinking needed water so they wouldn't have to go to the bathroom in the middle of the night, which they felt would likely lead to their chance being raped by their own military "brothers." (Cohn, 2006) Increased rapes were documented in 22 countries that suffered invasion in the 1990's.(Enloe) The militarization of the U.S. border has led to an increase in rapes committed by border patrol agents.(Falcon, 2006) In addition, the Miles Foundation reports rates of domestic violence as 2 to 5 times higher in military homes.(C. Rojas, Margo Okazawa-Rey, and Marisol Arriola 2002)

The financing of expensive military invasions often comes at the cost of tremendous cuts to social services and this intersects with the feminization of poverty to further impoverish women. The Census Bureau reported that the number of people living in poverty after war rose significantly. State military institutions are intricately tied in practice and organization to domestic surveillance and policing institutions. The state organization of the prison industrial complex promotes gendering violence. Female inmates are made to be dependent on guards, of which more than 70% are men. As well, women are regularly coerced into sexual relations to avoid punishment or to access needed products and services. A recent report by Amnesty International demonstrated that correctional officials subjected prisoners to rape, sexual assault and groping during body searches.. The delivery of medical services in prison has also been documented as a recurring site for the delivery of sexual violation. (Davis, 2003) As the Prison Industrial Complex grows, the numbers of women in prison have doubled since 2001. "The Department of Justice's Bureau of Justice Statistics reports that, in 2004, allegations of

staff sexual misconduct were made in all but one state prison and in 41% of local and private jails and prisons.”(International, 2004)

narrativized opposition to gendering violence

All this and yet the state posits itself as friendly, allied and even interested in the liberation women? Still, the state positions itself as indispensable in the fight against violence against women, the key player in the liberation of women. I recall the recent posturing of the state’s interests in liberating Afghani women through “Operation Enduring Freedom,” among the many state narratives setting out to legitimate the invasion of Afghanistan. In her incisive article, journalist Sonali Kolhata reminds us that Bush has widely proclaimed the successful liberation of Afghani women against the backdrop of the death, destruction, starvation and poverty that wars deploy.(Kolhatakar, 2002) Clearly, Bush’s political directives in foreign and domestic policies have been anything but feminist. Additionally, fundamentalism has been long historicized as an outcome of military invasion and colonial occupation that heightens violence at multiple levels including rape; does this lead to the liberation of women? And doesn’t the mere plight of liberation and feminism imply a practice of autonomy and self-determination? Military invasions heighten violence against women through genocide, the desutrction of the social infratructure, impoverishing of the country, and crippling of food and water supplies and the environment. This should be common sense, but Bush’s narrativized opposition to patriarchal violence against Afghani women was loud and strong. And so we went to war.

In fact, a cursory read of the literature on feminism, especially popular forms, shows a predominance of articles that posit an alliance with the state and the notion of a feminist state. This is an outcome of liberalist discourses of feminism whose roots lie in Mary Wollstonecraft and John Stuart Mill's classic arguments on the request of rights for women under the state.(Mill, 1869; Wollstonecraft, 1792) Indeed, as they posited, and the legacy, continues, rights-based approaches stand on a framework of discrimination that argue for an appeal of the state that will in turn lead to the granting of rights to correct a discriminatory irregularity in the system. (Mill, 1869; Wollstonecraft, 1792) At its crux, liberal feminism is an individualist project (rights are an individual framework) that shapes the dominant narratives of feminism and the feminist movement, as can be seen in the work and political priorities of the National Organization of Women.

Such an approach, as has been challenged by Alison Jaggar and countless others situated in radical, social, Marxist, postmodern, and anti-racist feminisms, does not recognize the state organization and interest in maintaining and structuring the sex/gender/sexuality system.(C. Estes, 2004; Jaggar, ; Sandoval, 1998) In essence, this version of feminist scholarship and understanding is complicit with Patriarchy and "sleeps with the enemy." As such, it lies in dangerous territory and is positioned strategically to maneuver the state's invested co-optation of a radical feminist social movement. This version of the movement has also been understood in terms of its allegiance to white supremacy (a white, eurocentric model that benefits white women over other women) and capitalism (promotes the "professionalization" of women and benefits middle and upper class women over poor and working class women). In doing so, this particular version of feminism distinctly separates itself from recognizing the

intersection of class oppression and race oppression with gender oppression and the role of the state in organizing these intersecting oppressions.

This discussion will help to understand the role of the state, co-optations of the feminist movement and the dominant narratives on gendering violence. This genealogy will mark the problematic ascent of dominant narratives of violence against women that posit the state as invested in ending violence against women. A closer interrogation of the narratives surrounding the issue of domestic violence follows, with specific attention on the criminalization, medicalization and individualizing (mis)interpretations of violence and the narrativized subterfuge of knowledge on domestic violence.

As has been discussed, discourses of violence are situated and produced amidst specific political and historical interests and contexts and moved by specific motivations. So it is compelling to note that the dominant narratives on violence against women do not consider the screaming intersection between state and interpersonal violence.³⁷ In fact anti-violence groups who do consider these intersections are considered a threat and have had to endure organized attacks.³⁸ When the state defines violence against women, they exclude from the definition among the most egregious attacks in the history of the human experience, dismissing, for example, the experiences of colonial and racist violence. In fact, the state narrative on violence against women excludes just about every form of violence, including military and medial violence.³⁹ In this particular case, I am referring to the state narrative on violence against women as emergent in the state agency devoted

³⁷ For further information see the work of Nadera Shelhoub Kevorkian, Nada Elias, Margo Okazawa Rey, and Cynthia Enloe and recent findings that U.S. female military personnel have been dying from withholding their urine for fear of being raped by men in their own armies if they went to the restroom in the middle of the night. You can find Marjorie Cohn's report titled "Military Hides Cause of Women Soldiers' Deaths" at www.truthout.org/docs_2006/013006J.html. Also attacks on INCITE and SFWAR, funding an otherwise.

³⁸ INCITE endured attacks that included attempts to prevent and disrupt the Color of Violence Conference, de-funding; and San Francisco Women Against Rape endured years of harassment and de-funding. These attacks came in response to the organization's political analysis that considered the violence of colonial Israeli occupation in the continuum of violence against women.

³⁹ See the Office on Violence Against Women website: <http://www.usdoj.gov/ovw/>

to organizing anti-violence against women work, the Office on Violence Against Women. When we ask the question “what counts as violence against women,” we come to find that the state’s narrative not only fails to have our experiences as women of color in mind, but it also fails to represent the complexity of violence against us. In doing so, it fails to address the roots of domestic violence, and therefore fails to potentially arrive at any real solutions to domestic violence.

State interests in promoting particular epistemologies of violence begin to surface when we note that domestic violence and sexual assault alone (disparate, separate) are considered an exhaustive list of acts of violence against women. What are the state’s interests in focusing on individual forms of violence, violence taking place between individuals? Is this the mapping of an escape plan so as to evade the likely scrutiny it would face for its historic and enduring genocidal practices? What about interests that lie in producing a racist, sexist and heteronormative discourse on violence that works to purport men of color as hyper-violent, legitimating the racist practice of containing, detaining, invading, criminalizing and splitting our communities?⁴⁰ The ideological work of a hegemonic discourse on violence against women that avoids many other prevalent forms of violence, particularly those experienced by women of color and our communities, sets up a pretense to address violence while simultaneously protecting white supremacist, patriarchal and capitalist social arrangements and the state while continuing violent attacks against us. This line of questioning begins to reveal not only the state’s complicity in maintaining domestic violence, but the state’s interests in maintaining domestic violence. This is the state’s double discourse on violence against

⁴⁰ Gayatri Chakravorty Spivak stated that colonialism (at least in the mind of some colonizers), as in the invasion in Afghanistan, involves “white men saving brown women from brown men.”(Spivak, 1988) Also see “The Forgotten –Ism” in *The Color of Violence*.

women, expressed interest in care, definition and intervention of certain forms of violence (individual) while dismissing and negating other forms of violence (i.e. state-based).⁴¹ Is the State *really* interested in ending or even intervening in domestic violence? A closer look at recent moves to intervene in domestic violence through the medical system, the increasing medicalization of domestic violence, shows that women of color are further positioned in harm's way by spurious interventions with interests other than our safety in mind.

The current dominant narratives on violence against women give primacy and nearly exclusivity to domestic violence and specific forms of sexual assault). It is these two forms of violence that have become the common vernacular with regard to violence against women and in fact, the state's agencies addressing violence against women, including the central Office on Violence Against Women, formed in 1995 and housed under the Department of Justice, isolate domestic violence and specific forms of sexual assault in their discussion and approach. Their work and ideological approach is diffused through the more than \$1 billion in funding that the office administers.⁴² These definitions and approaches to violence interestingly highlight individual and interpersonal, micro level forms of violence against women, while macro- and meso-structural attacks on women, including state and capitalist formations and institutional violence against women as was addressed earlier, are given the slip. When state interests define violence against women, they exclude from the definition among the most

⁴¹ Another double discourse on violence exists with regard to the state's narrative on other forms of violence. The headlines read today: [Bush Urges Iraqis to Stem Wave of Violence \(AP\)](#) (Feb 26, 2006). Bush's comment addresses Iraqi violence while dismissing the U.S. military invasion as violent. This also exists with the prison industrial complex, where prisoner violence is noted while the many institutional acts of violence that prisoners endure is ignored. These double discourses are also racialized as they are specifically intent on pinning the tag of violence onto people of color while the violence of white supremacy and colonialism is evaded.

⁴² see INCITE's historic conference and forthcoming anthology *The Revolution will Not be Funded: the Nonprofit Industrial Complex* for the ways in which state, foundation and corporate (not necessarily distinct categories) funding has guided and co-opted social movement ideology and work over the last 20 years (since the Ronald Reagan empire!). (INCITE, 2007)

egregious attacks in the history of the human experience, dismissing our experiences of colonial and racist violence. In fact, the state narrative on violence against women excludes just about every form of violence, including military and medial violence, except for domestic violence and sexual assault, two forms of violence that are kept separate and isolated from even each other structurally and ideologically.

A focus on domestic violence will allow us to trace the genealogy of understandings and ideologies, consider the ascent of certain approaches as dominant, and map how this all took place and what ideological and material work is furthered by these approaches.

domestic violence

As discussed earlier, domestic violence is an intimate enunciation of inequality. It is produced by the archetypes of violence and organized and deployed through the architecture of violence. It emerges from the interrelationship of complex systems of inequality, namely the intimate enunciation of the intersection of sex/gender/heteronormative, racial, class, and colonial/neo-colonial systems and hierarchies. The incessant reduction of domestic violence to its gender base, without of course denying domestic violence as a gendering violence, obfuscates the systemic intersections of race, class, gender, sexuality, nation, and colonization that demarcate the site of domestic violence.(Flores-Ortiz, 1993; Richie, 1999) For women of color, such obfuscation denies us of our experience surviving violence at the intersections, and it therefore denies us potentially, of our safety. Domestic violence is always emerging from and re-producing class, sex/gender/sexuality, race and nation. Further, as long as

social arrangements are structured unequally, as long as hierarchies of race, class, gender, etc. exist, our intimate relationships will produce unequal relations. When Audre Lorde relates, “we were never meant to survive,” she is referencing a set of social processes that are co-constitutive, reinforcing, informing and shaping each other hell bent on our destruction. Particular manifestations of attacks on our lives, such as domestic violence or “the war of terror” are borne out of the convergence of these processes. Domestic violence is an intimate enunciation of their intersections; it manifests in *and* is produced by the intersections of sex/gender/sexuality systems, racial systems, class systems, and colonial/neo-colonial systems. It is an escalating pattern of abuse where one partner sets out to dominate, control and have power over another, where the practices of war, colonization and racism become the practices of relationships.(C. Rojas, Margo Okazawa-Rey, and Marisol Arriola 2002)

In addition, domestic violence is a widespread phenomenon that affects nearly 1 in 3 women in the United States.⁴³ Domestic violence wrecks our communities and the lives of women and children. Domestic violence expresses in the most intimate way, an intimate relationship, the least intimate aspects of society, violence. Dominant narratives on domestic violence posit a hyperindividualized rendering of violence when they consider it the victimization of one person by another. The literature that follows will posit a sampling of the most salient approaches to this issue. Recent studies show that women make-up approximately 93% of those victimized by domestic violence.(Fund, 2003) In a liberalist feminist move, the common vernacular on what is domestic violence, as well as the state’s ideological approach cite first and foremost the exclusive

⁴³ 31% of American women have been physically or sexually abused by a husband or boyfriend in the past year. (Commonwealth Fund, 1988) Note, although there is a long and wide debate as to terminology around this issue, I use domestic violence because it is the language under which this form of violence is most often understood by a larger segment of society.

primacy of gender oppression in the analysis, at the expense of recognizing how other central social processes as well are implicated in the production of domestic violence, not just as effects but as constructive forces. For example, the feminization of poverty, the racialization of poverty don't just create additional barriers for poor survivors of domestic violence who are women of color, these social processes are actually constitutive elements in domestic violence. Reducing domestic violence to merely a gender based phenomenon and failing to recognize the intersection between racial, class, and gender processes that is key to understand the way domestic violence emerges and endures does the ideological work of detracting attention from state, economic and institutional forms of violence against women. It is a simplistic understanding of violence that actually legitimates other forms of violence against women, such as state violence and will never reach the possibility of the prevention of domestic violence.

Additionally, domestic violence, what seems to be the state's primary concern regarding violence against women, is deployed interpersonally at the micro-level, which facilitates the assignment of responsibility to the individual "perpetrator" and the individualization of violence against women can be forged, again, in a move that deflects from structural violence against women. It is in this context that the history of domestic violence research sits and is produced, not to mention directed (by funding streams!).

the criminalization of domestic violence

In yet another move to align itself alongside the battered women's movement, the state increasingly came to see and structure domestic violence as a crime. Structuring domestic violence as a crime did two things, it positioned the perpetrator as the

responsible individual party while it positioned the state against this perpetrator, thereby allying itself alongside battered women. This approach naturalized violence as a crime, and thus emerged the modern day vernacular on “violent crimes and hate crimes” that is employed by nearly all inside and outside the movement. Violence is not naturally a crime, so we ask, why a crime? Whose interests are being served in constructing violence as a crime? This approach also purported that prisons were the solution to domestic violence, an approach that has been proven to the contrary. Interestingly, this development emerged alongside the growth of the Prison Industrial Complex and the heightened criminalization of domestic violence through mandatory arrest policies, development of new crimes and steepening sentences for existing crimes occurred alongside a historic deepening of the criminalization of society through new crime legislation, especially through the War on Drugs and through 3 strikes laws. This heightened criminalization was ushered into policy through the Violence Against Women Act in 1994 and further in the Violence Against Women Act II of 2005, merging in policy the interests of the state to heighten criminalization, populate the cheap labor force of the PIC, control the changing demographics of whites to people of color by quarantening more people in prison (over 2 million people, the largest number of incarcerated people in any country), deflect attention from its role in the production and re-production of domestic violence with the interests of an anti-violence movement.

The historical development of this approach follows below and we can witness the development of yet another strategic move to deflect the state’s role in conjuring the archetypes of violence and domestic violence. In the mid 1970’s, battered women began successfully suing police departments for their inaction and recalcitrant involvement in

domestic violence. A turning point occurred in 1976 when The Center for Women Policy Studies received a grant from the Law Enforcement Assistance Administration, the first federal monies available to address domestic violence. The Center published *Response*, a newsletter that would reach a national audience with the hope of fostering support for the funding's objective: improving criminal justice prosecution rates of domestic violence. (Schechter, 1982) Accepting LEAA funding (there's that funding influence!) meant furthering the ideology that criminal justice was a viable way to solve violence against women and thus began the state-initiated, state-sanctified criminalization of domestic violence. Through this newsletter and funding, the interests of the criminal justice system and the battered women's movement were made to look compatible and domestic violence came to be seen increasingly as a crime. A strong system-based domestic violence response was pitched to the targeted agencies chosen to "respond:" the criminal justice system, hospitals, and social service agencies.

One of the dangerous effects of the criminalization of domestic violence is that it has hindered grassroots organizing and community creative thinking about real solutions to domestic violence. Instead, the now assumed response and way to "deal?" with domestic violence is "call the cops," something that doesn't work too well for communities already under attack by the racism of law enforcement, immigration laws and enforcement, and the prison industrial complex. Additionally, mandatory reporting laws are pervasive throughout the country. They require an arrest be made if there is a domestic violence call and these policies actually re-victimize the survivor by either arresting her (if she so much as scratched her abuser in self-defense), or arresting against

her consent. Showing the true colors of the state, INCITE and Critical Resistance's Joint Statement posit that the criminalization of domestic violence:

MAY deter some acts of violence in the short term. However, as an overall strategy for ending violence, criminalization has not worked. In fact, the overall impact of mandatory arrests laws for domestic violence have led to decreases in the number of battered women who kill their partners in self-defense, but they have not led to a decrease in the number of batterers who kill their partners. Thus, the law protects batterers more than it protects survivors. (INCITE, 2004)

In sum, through the criminalization of domestic violence, the State has maneuvered a dominant narrative that evades its own scrutiny. In addition, criminalization allows the state to further its goals in maintaining and re-creating social hierarchies based on race and gender. The criminalization of domestic violence also includes the ways the state fosters dependent relationship with social movements, by funneling large amounts of money that require participation and support of law enforcement and criminal investigations.(1994) Thus, an individualizing, white supremacist version of anti-violence that situates the state as anti-violence becomes the vernacular.

the medicalization and nonprofitization of gendering violence

The dominance of biomedical and individualizing narratives on violence has been partially disseminated through the non-profitization and the medicalization of social movements. These caring institutions profess care while delivering the subterfuge of violence. The non-profitization of social movements emerged over the course of the last century but gained an accelerated pace as an attempt to co-opt thriving grassroots social movements around the 1960's and increasingly in the 1970's and 80's.(A. Smith, 2007)

Social movements began more and more to look like mini-models of corporations as they ascertained nonprofit status that formally tied them to the state through the 501(c)(3).

The bellows distribution of state and foundation moneys directed community organization efforts to adhere to criminalizing and individualizing ideological formation of violence. Private and state funding streams shared ideological underpinnings and required their funded programs to follow suit.

Gramsci's analysis contributes to this section because the move to incorporate social movements into state directives through nonprofitization can be seen as a hegemonic move. Gramsci's notion of the 'historical bloc' notes that co-optation and nominal inclusion and representation of subordinate ideas/causes that furnish the façade of democracy while placating the demands of the dominated are key in establishing subaltern consent to domination. In addition, Gramsci outlines one of the state's central purposes as winning the consent of representatives from both oppressed and dominant classes through the granting of specific concessions or compromises, thus fostering hegemony and the willingness to "go along" of the masses. The state transformations that occurred through the Civil Rights Movement in the United States as well as the New Deal and the Great Society can be considered in this light, for they all expanded the reach of the state toward "assisting" the marginalized, hungry, poor, and discriminated against/"minorities." It is here that through the concept of hegemony, we begin to recognize that Gramsci, as O'Connor, solves a problem with Marxist theory with regard to the state's instrumentality to economic interests.

Foucault is concerned with how "structures of domination within a society operate through more local, low level, capillary circuits of power relationships,"

constituting subjects and subjectivities. Thus, Foucault studies the way that social formations emerge and are shaped by the development of the social forces of acts, practices, and thoughts. (Rabinow, p.384) Although institutions are concerned with these matters, many times they are the purveyors/deployers of such matters, under Foucault, they come to be seen rather instrumentally; power is not contained within institution nor arises from institutions but rather, through their practices. Not only is power circulating and somewhat diffuse but in fact there are multiple manifestations of power: legal, administrative, economic, military, etc.(McHoul, 1993) “What they all have in common is a shared reliance on certain techniques or methods of application, and all draw some authority by referring to scientific ‘truths.’”(McHoul, 1993) p.65 Both Foucauldian and Gramscian frameworks shape the study that follows of the medicalization and nonproftization of gendering violence. In particular, I suggest that we consider the macro-structural forces at play in conjuring particular narratives of gendering violence, as well as the ways these forces act through (medical and state) institutions to encourage certain disciplined relationships to the issue of violence. Ultimately, as Althusserian frameworks might intersect with Foucauldian frameworks, the subject is conjured through the practicing of particular institutions through interpellation, whereby we inhere and reproduce the normativity of particular narratives of gendering violence.

the medicalization of violence

**Medicalization is among the most potent social forces shaping
the latter part of the 20th century...**
Clarke, 2004

on medicalization

The process of medicalization allows us to understand the purview of medicine, the object of medical inquiry (disease/illness) as “not necessarily inherent in any behavior or condition, but as constructed.”(A. Clarke, Estes, Carroll and Beard, Renee, 2002) Just like we can call into question what, when and why something is considered a crime, we can also call into question what, when and why something becomes a medical issue. Reflection on medicalization processes allows us to critically consider the ways medicine, as a tool of social control, is extended to more and more aspects of our lives. This extension comes with the specific interests of what has come to be known as the Medical Industrial Complex, that is, the chiasmus (relationship) between medicine, capital, and the state.(C. L. Estes, Harrington., and Pellow, D. , 2001; Navarro, 1976) The structured goals of the Medical Industrial Complex are to heighten profits, legitimate the state and maintain medical dominance so as to perpetuate racism, classism, and heterosexism. The institution of medicine is organized, structured to both reflect and reproduce society’s class, racial and gendered hierarchies, and as it mirrors injustice, it also produces ideology that legitimates it.

For example, racist and capitalist class structures are evident in medicine when we notice an imposing elite corporate/upper class that makes health policy and runs the business of medicine and an exploited class that does the low-wage dirty work including janitorial and lower ranking nursing and administrative work. Not surprisingly, class lines in medicine are also racial lines and people of color are overrepresented in the exploited groups. A close look at the process of medicalization illustrates systemic legitimation, or

hegemony maintenance, and the contributions of a particular institution (medicine) to maintaining inequality.

Furthermore, the medical gaze imposes a unifactorial disease model onto the social problem that focuses on an individual pathology, and medicine sets out to deflect attention away from social injustices.⁴⁴ Social phenomenon come to be understood as medical problems to be solved by medicine, often thought of as medicine's habit of turning "badness into sickness." (Conrad, 2000) Not coincidentally, medicine intensifies social control by expanding medicalization during times of social protest. For example, state expenditures on public health usually rise during periods of social protest (as they did in the late 1960's and 1970's), while cutbacks in public health services were instituted in the early 1980's, following a decline in social protest by low-income communities. (Waitzkin, 1989) The inner workings of the Medical Industrial Complex, that is the chiasmus (relationship) between medicine, the private sector, and the state, become increasingly clearer: the structured goals are to heighten profits, legitimate the state and maintain medical dominance in order to perpetuate the prior.

The notion of medicalization is then useful in mapping out the co-optation of a social movement through the transformation of a social issue into a medical problem. It is imperative that we recognize that reliance on the medical industrial complex is deeply problematic, as its unjust institutional structure and racist, classist, sexist interests come along with the package. What then does the medicalization of domestic violence mean for our safety as women of color and what does it imply for our movement's goal of one day eliminating domestic violence?

⁴⁴ Public health approaches make important attempts to bring the social back into analysis in considering questions of health and illness, but still, the dominance of a medical model that treats this issue as secondary is the point under consideration.

the medicalization of domestic violence

Medicine is increasingly occupying the space that shapes approaches to intervening in and eliminating gendering violence. At the twilight of the 19th century, the courts began to recognize the criminality of wife assault. In 1890 the North Carolina Supreme Court prohibited a husband from assaulting his wife, and in 1894, in *Harris v. State*, the State of Mississippi overruled a husband's right to administer moderate chastisement to his wife.(Lemon, 1986; Martin, 1976) Just two decades later, with the dawn of the 20th century came the creation of "Family Courts," whose intent was to resolve "marital disputes," a term critiqued for minimizing the severity and lethality of domestic violence.(R. D. Dobash, R., 1982) The development of "Family Courts" signaled a noted diversion away from the recent criminalization of violence against women. This diversion would last through the end of the century and would introduce psychiatry as the mitigating agent in such "disputes." The emergence of psychiatry's central role in understanding and responding to violence against women marked the initial phase of the medicalization of domestic violence, and through carve and chisel the battered woman would materialize as patient.

Well into the second half of the 20th century, psychiatry would hold center stage in the arena of domestic violence. The dominant narratives Psychology afforded were theories of female masochism, an integral aspect of female psychology that led to women interpreting the suffering of violence as a sexually gratifying experience, an experience that women actively sought out. Battered wives, claimed an article in the *Archives of General Psychiatry*, a journal of the American Medical Association, have a masochistic need that is fulfilled by their husband's aggression.(Snell, 1964) To that end, women

were understood to “provoke” their husband’s abusive behavior through nagging, assertion of disagreement, and withholding of sex. Until the Women’s Movement takes hold, wife assault is understood predominantly under the psychiatric model. This is problematic on a number of fronts, as these re-victimizing theories purport, including the shift that occurred with the psychiatric model to understanding violence as a behavior rooted in an individual and therefore decipherable and solvable in the individual. In order to promulgate this notion, law enforcement and the courts were deemed inadequate to handle domestic violence, and psychiatry dominated response to the issue.

Not until the late 1970’s would an increase in police response take place, and even then, their role would be significantly altered by the dominant psychiatric model. Police attended “psychological sensitivity trainings” and were accompanied by mental health professionals on family crisis calls. Counseling was identified as the most vital vaccine against domestic violence so mental health professionals provided family counseling while police officers played out the role of mediators and peacemakers rather than enforcers of the law; police officers were actually trained to discourage and avoid arrest in marital disputes. (Martin, 1976) Although the laws were on the books, in the early 70’s domestic violence was largely ignored by the criminal justice system; there was minimal prosecution and limited law enforcement involvement.

In the mid 1970’s, battered women began successfully suing police departments for their inaction and recalcitrant involvement in domestic violence. A turning point occurred in 1976 when The Center for Women Policy Studies received a grant from the Law Enforcement Assistance Administration, the first federal monies available to address domestic violence. The Center published *Response*, a newsletter that would reach a

national audience with the hope of fostering support for the funding's objective: improving criminal justice prosecution rates of domestic violence. (Schechter, 1982)

Accepting LEAA funding meant furthering the ideology that criminal justice was a viable way to solve violence against women and thus began the state-initiated, state-sanctified criminalization of domestic violence. Through this newsletter and funding, the interests of the criminal justice system and the battered women's movement were made to look compatible and domestic violence came to be seen increasingly as a crime. A strong system-based domestic violence response was pitched to the targeted agencies chosen to "respond:" the criminal justice system, hospitals, and social service agencies. These same agencies as well as activists and academics were invited to participate in the United States Commission on Civil Rights' *Consultation on Battered Women: Issues of Public Policy* in January 1978. Shortly thereafter, the categories "battered spouse" and "battered woman" were added to the international classification of diseases' Clinical Modification Scheme. (Dobash & Dobash, 1982)

Evan Stark and Anne Flitcraft's research ushered in early rationalization for the relevance of medicine to domestic violence. Their research on hospital interventions in domestic violence viewed the health care setting as a site to further the empowerment of battered women. (E. Stark, Flitcraft, A., Zuckerman D., Grey, A., Robinson J., Frazier, W., 1981) Although they did recognize the patriarchal history of medicine and its impact on the doctor patient relationship, specifically the legacy of physician dominance, they nonetheless saw medical service delivery as an idyllic site to intervene in domestic violence.⁴⁵ (Parsons, 1964; E. Stark, Flitcraft, A., Zuckerman D., Grey, A., Robinson J.,

⁴⁵ As David Meyers eloquently states, the medical field is coded by a historic legacy of a "paternalistic approach of physicians to the patient and family." The struggle to assert patients' rights in the second half of this century, such as the struggle for patients'

Frazier, W., 1981) Their work provided an important foundation for the medicalization of domestic violence, and they would continue to advocate vigorously to bring domestic violence to the medical arena. In fact they were key presenters at a groundbreaking conference put forth by Surgeon General C. Everett Koop in 1985 to promulgate domestic violence as a public health issue. Shortly thereafter, the Center for Disease Control (CDC) would begin funding research on domestic violence, and the American Association of Obstetrics and Gynecology began its initiative to educate physicians on domestic violence screening and referral.

As stated earlier, the latter part of the 20th century noted the emergence of federal funding that encouraged a strong system-based domestic violence response. Initially, this funding was geared toward increasing law enforcement response to domestic violence.(Schechter, 1982) Criminal justice agencies, medical institutions and social service agencies were all called to respond to domestic violence. In 1978, the United States invited these agencies along with activists and academics to participate in the United States Commission on Civil Rights' "Consultation on Battered Women: Issues of Public Policy." This marked a historic first: a state-coordinated assessment of domestic violence. Although mainstream medicine had given some prior attention to the issue of domestic violence and laws did exist on the books deeming it a crime, this new funding—combined with new policies and criminal legislation—jump-started the criminalization, social servicization and medicalization of domestic violence. Shortly thereafter, the categories "battered spouse" and "battered woman" were added to the international classification of diseases' Clinical Modification Scheme.(E. D. a. R. Dobash, 1979) And

informed consent, emerged out of the medical field's traditional disregard for patients' wisdom and autonomous decision-making regarding medical procedure and care. (Meyers, 1990) See Talcott Parsons' work on the subject of physician dominance.

a few years later, the Center for Disease Control (CDC) began funding research on domestic violence, while the American Association of Obstetrics and Gynecology began its initiative to educate physicians on domestic violence screening and referral.

In 1992, during his tenure as president of the American Medical Association (AMA), Robert McAfee started the AMA's initiative against family violence. Later that year the AMA released its "Guidelines for the Screening of Domestic Violence." That same year, the US General ranked abuse as the leading cause of injury to women aged 15-44, and the Family Violence Prevention Fund in San Francisco was funded by the Department of Health and Human Services as the National Health Resource Center. Since then, the Family Violence Prevention Fund/National Health Resource Center has played a central role in efforts to medicalize domestic violence within the antiviolence movement. For instance, a 1993 study by the organization found that most battered patients were not identified as such by emergency staff and that emergency staff were not trained in identification or referral procedures. This research study ushered in two policies, enacted first in California then throughout the US, which drastically extended medicalization. AB 890 required health care providers receive training in the detection of domestic violence and required hospitals to adopt written policy on how to treat battered people. The second law, AB 1652, required medical practitioners to report to the police when the patient sustained an injury that was the "result of assaultive or abusive conduct" and/or "the injury is by means of a firearm." Failure to report would impose criminal penalties for the attending physician. The latter policy buttressed the implementation of the former.(Hyman, 1997)

Other key events to further medicalization included the annual “Health Cares about Domestic Violence Day,” and the manual *Preventing Domestic Violence: Clinical Guidelines on Routine Screening*, sponsored by the American Medical Association (AMA), American Nursing Association (ANA), and the American College of Physicians (ACP). The Family Violence Prevention Fund/National Health Resource Center and they coordinated these efforts. The FUND/NHRC also issued the “State-by-State Report Card on Health Care Laws and Domestic Violence,” funded by the US Department of Health and Human Services, which shamed states for their poor performance enacting laws that “help doctors and nurses aid victims,” or rather, shamed states into crafting policies that medicalize domestic violence.

By the late 1990’s, the Medical Industrial Complex came to be seen as a crucial site in responding to the domestic violence “epidemic.” We were often reminded, in press releases, reports and other propaganda, that “medical practitioners are often the first, and sometimes the only, professionals to whom an abused woman turns for help...”(*San Francisco Domestic Violence Health Care Proposal*, 1997) p.1

Interestingly, just as the criminalization of domestic violence directly supported the growth of the prison industrial complex, the medicalization of domestic violence heightened as the corporatization and privatization of health care gained velocity. (W. Scott, M. Ruef, P.J. Mendel & C.A. Caronna, 2000) In order to more deeply ascertain the effects of the medicalization of domestic violence on women of color, it is important to first consider the ways the institution of medicine itself has historically threatened our safety.

Since both institutions of force and caring institutions are organized and constituted through the state, I have found that criminal approaches are typically followed by medical approaches. In Irving Zola's work we also see these institutions both play key roles in the controlling and surveillance of populations; violence has served as an excellent strategy through which to legitimate this functioning. (Zola, 1997) In 1985, the National Academy of Sciences and the Institute of Medicine published *Injury in America: A Continuing Public Health Problem*. (National Research Council and Institute on Medicine, 1985) This text asserted that violence is a central yet unspoken public health issue, accounting for more lives lost than heart disease and cancer and the leading cause of death for youth. (Forge, 1991; National Research Council and Institute on Medicine, 1985) It urged funding streams to support the study of violence and for centers on injury and violence to be housed in both the Center for Disease Control and National Institute on Health (as they currently are). Both this report and the important Rosenberg and Fenley text, *Violence in America: A Public Health Approach*, as well as the centers for the centers on injury and violence, evade the violence of the state and what comes to count as violence in their framing, is interpersonal forms of violence such as homicides, child abuse, assaults and rape (an individualized ideological formation of sexual assault that does not account for the way rape is deployed as a weapon of war or other ways the state is involved in sexual violence such as through the provision of medical services in state prisons.) (Davis, 2003; Enloe, ; Fenley, 1991)

dangerous to our health: a critical look at the medicalization of domestic violence

An abused woman cannot depend on a violent partner to care for or respect her. Given the prior discussion earlier in this paper on violence against women of color, can

women of color depend on the Medical Industrial Complex for care and respect? In fact, can women of color come instead to expect re-victimization when coming into contact with the MIC? Countless stories and research point to how survivors of rape are re-victimized through medical intervention. Re-victimization takes place when autonomy and self-determination are restrained and safety is threatened.

for some women it was clear that the process of virginity testing was as significant a trauma as the sexual abuse...almost all interviewees described the trauma experienced yet medical personnel and law enforcement officials still insisted on this, why?(Shalhoub-Kevorkian, 2004) p.1192

As in an abusive situation, survivors are deemed irrelevant. Material evidence must be collected from their bodies now objectified and invaded, penetrated by medical intervention because there is an underlying assumption that they are not to be believed. The now common mandatory reporting policies also deem the survivors inaudible and irrelevant by insisting that criminal charges be imposed without her authority, even against her will.("Penal Code 11160-11163,") Bias in reporting has been demonstrated in child abuse reporting where medical providers reported low-income families and people of color at higher rates. This bias is consistent with analysis that points to the role medicine plays in surveilling and reporting communities of color. Similarly, bias in domestic violence reporting can also come to be expected.(Hyman, 1997) In addition, a study of physicians found that emergency care providers were more likely to conform with mandatory reporting policies than private physicians. Since the uninsured poor communities and communities of color were more likely to seek care in emergency care facilities, we are also more likely to be reported.(Rodriguez, 1997)

Mandatory reporting policies are extremely dangerous to immigrant women because the immigrant experience is one that already swarms with an incessant and overwhelming fear of deportation and inaccess to care and services. When services are available, the fear of deportation is so pronounced, particularly in an era where violence against immigrant has become a prevalent political platform, that immigrants are likely to deter care because of the strong link to law enforcement.

Because one is an immigrant, as an illegal in this country one believes that in the moment in which one will ask for help...they will return you to your country and this is something that perhaps we the Latina women are obligated to put up with—this type of violence—for fear that we will be deported. (Rodriguez, 1997)

Immigrant women already faced the socio-cultural stresses present in experiences of migration and displacement in addition to struggling to survive an encounter with a white American hegemonic culture, factors which exacerbate the lethality of domestic violence that was already present in the country of origin. Now if we consider mandatory reporting policies in addition, immigrant battered women face grave danger.(Flores-Ortiz, 1993; Hogeland, 1990) The curiously intertwined historic relationship between the Prison Industrial Complex and the Medical Industrial Complex, as exemplified by mandatory reporting policies and rape evidence collection practices, demonstrates their complicit relationship in promoting ideology and institutional practices that maintain structured oppression and violence against women of color.

The medicalization of domestic violence means embedding domestic violence within the context (Medical Industrial Complex) of a violent institution against women of color and is actually invested in maintaining domestic violence. In other words, to the

extent that the Medical Industrial Complex is organized in a manner that reflects existing structured inequalities, to the extent that the Medical Industrial Complex is invested in maintaining and legitimizing and producing the existing sex/gender system, racial system, and class system, and to the extent that domestic violence is a product of the interaction of those systems and intimate relationships, the Medical Industrial Complex is invested in maintaining domestic violence.(Waitzkin, 1989)

Medicalization allows for the problematic shift from understanding domestic violence as emerging from a set of structured inequalities and social formations to understanding violence as a patient who is presenting with an injury/health complication that can be addressed and cured by the presiding physician. “The narrowing of the analysis of sexual crimes to evidentiary, medical and legal aspects strips away context of oppression.”(Shalhoub-Kevorkian, 2004) p.1195 The response turns to how to sensitively respond to the battered woman (improve efficacy of service delivery), how to best recognize when abuse is the cause of her injury, or when domestic violence might contribute to or cause a myriad of additional medical complications (i.e. depression, headaches, nausea, etc.), as well as how to train medical professionals in these inquiries. And there has been prominent coverage both in current medical research and in medical conferences on these topics.(Association, 1998) This response ultimately deters the gaze from deconstructing a socially produced phenomenon, and reorients us to focus on the problem as occurring to an individual (although the medical community would admit there are many individuals facing this problem.) Through this act, the ontology on which the battered women’s movement, a social movement was based is painfully dismissed. The oppositional epistemological formation of a social movement is swallowed up and a

prescription (for the promulgation of domestic violence) is rendered while the ontology of social change is quietly sent into oblivion.

My concern is also of a timely nature, for the pace further extending the Medical Industrial Complex into domestic violence is gaining voracious velocity. This year, I attended the 1st ever “National Conference on Health Care and Domestic Violence,” sponsored by Fund/NHR which was a cornerstone in the medicalization of domestic violence with its epithet: “Domestic Violence is a health issue of epidemic proportions in the United States.”(Fund, 2000) The conference organizers read like a conference on leukemia would read, with nearly 20 national medical associations, the CDC, DHHS, the National Center for Injury Prevention and Control, and Public Health Services, signaling the medicalization of domestic violence. The roster of organizers mirrored the roster of participants, and the experience of attending the conference left me wondering where all the thousands of battered women’s advocates and movement organizers I saw this summer at a national conference in Oregon were. The class, race, and gender mix at the conference was significantly different than the prior conference with nearly as many men as women participating; a glance at the list of participants led me to struggle to find at least one without an advanced post-graduate education, and just as difficult to find were the people of color in attendance. This moment was one of the first times I noticed the problematic medicalization of domestic violence, as social change dissipated into the background and sensitivity, risk and assessment took center stage. The professionalization of a movement was underway. This conference marked one of many important developments to further expand the medicalization of domestic violence with the goal of increasing medical intervention and assessment of domestic violence.

Other keystone events to further medicalization included the “First Annual National Health Care Providers Respond to Domestic Violence Day,” or its renaming “Health Cares about Domestic Violence Day,” which released the manual *Preventing Domestic Violence: Clinical Guidelines on Routine Screening*, sponsored by AMA, ANA, and ACP. Also this year, the Fund/NHRC issued the “State-by-State Report Card on Health Care Laws and Domestic Violence” funded by the US Department of Health and Human Services, which shamed most states for their poor performance on enacting laws that “help doctors and nurses aid victims of domestic violence,” or rather, shamed states into crafting policies that medicalized domestic violence. (Fund, 2000) This activity in particular highlights the state’s role as profit protector, in light of the recent funding that domestic violence victims cost health plans more.⁴⁶ Here domestic violence survivors are confirmed as exploitable for the sake of profit. This activity also elucidates the state’s involvement in maintaining medical dominance.

The most recent direction the medicalization of domestic violence has taken is toward assessing the risk factors associated with domestic violence. This study, which has propagated a focused attention on risk factors, has resulted in problematic findings that cite the unemployed and the undereducated at greater likelihood for experiencing domestic violence. Risk factors are constructs that are strategic weapons wielded by medicalization to justify surveillance and regulation that maintain stratification based on sex/gender/sexuality, race, and class. The work of risk factors is to transform medical interaction with the identified risk group, and the spread of the transformed understanding of those belonging to “at risk” group will quickly dissipate to other

⁴⁶ “Intimate Partner Violence Against Women, Do Victims Cost Health Plans More?” finds that health care costs are 92% higher for victims of domestic violence than for women who are not victims of this violence. (Wisner, et al., 2000)

institutions.(A. Clarke, Jennifer Fishman, Jennifer Fosket, Laura Mamo and Janet Shim, 2004) Risk factors are therefore a tool of medicalization with a sharp edge for recreating the structured oppression.

I write this as a cautionary statement to remind those of us committed to ending domestic violence that our language, tools, interventions, and solutions for doing so must arise out of the oppositional practices that truly defy it, rather than the breeding ground, which utters its iteration. We must clearly expose the intent of the Medical Industrial Complex, its chiasmic countenance made up of the private sector, the state, and medicine and the MIC's promulgation of structured violence and oppression. The medical model treats the social and systemic cause of the *disease* epiphenomenally, reducing the understanding, treatment, intervention, and prevention of the disease to an individualistic process.ⁱⁱ Similar to the criminal justice system, when crime occurs, it is the individual who is blamed, not society. Medicalization is a tool of the MIC used to heighten profits, rationalize governance, maintain medical dominance, and legitimate and reproduce the structures of inequality. Critical inquiry that posits the lived experiences of women of color centrally in the formulation of analysis can dislocate the assumption that medicine will heal and assert medicine as an institution of social control.(Zola, 1997) Such critical inquiry can ultimately work to subvert dominant ontological formations in efforts to reassert an ontology of the oppressed.(Sandoval, 1998) We can make a tremendous inroad in the fight against domestic violence by revealing an exposed presentation of the imperative mandates under which the MIC operates and propagates structured violence and inequality, and therefore domestic violence. If domestic violence arises from the

iteration of inequality, its demise rests on the demise of inequality and the MIC is structured unequally and intent on maintaining inequality.

It is critical to interrogate the calls all over the United States for a “system-based” response to domestic violence; it is this very call that gave heed and runway to medicalization. Indeed, the state-coordinated domestic violence response movement vehemently prophesies a collaboration of “system” entities as the requisite vehicle to do away with domestic violence. How does this prophecy stand ground when we begin to recognize domestic violence as an outgrowth of the very systems being called in to guide its demise?⁴⁷

sinking the movement: the nonproftization of the violence against women movement

After over 10 years in the antiviolence movement, I reflect in awe at the courage and leadership of so many sisters across the generations who have given and continue to give of their hearts to create more just and peaceful communities, to stand in solidarity with a sister going through it in the middle of the night. My work humbly rests on the strategies for survival unearthed by many who call out violence against women, insisting on dignity and humanity for all. In that spirit of calling out, I recall a few moments when I witnessed the movement sinking, when I noticed that our practices had become inconsistent with our vision; when we were usurped by capitalism and the state and became complicit with the violence of racism and violence against women (not mutually exclusive forms of violence, but rather interrelated and interdependent forms of

⁴⁷ Kathryn Morgan furthered the construct of medicalization by characterizing the dialectical relationship between medicine and a public that actively accepts and participates in its advancement. (Morgan, 1998)

violence.⁴⁸ These “sinking the movement” moments speak specifically to how funding steered our labors toward reproducing instead of eliminating violence against women.

1995. While working in the “Latina program” at the Support Network for Battered Women, I learn that an immigrant Latina has been brutally beaten by “la Migra” (immigration law enforcement). I approach the executive director with an op-ed I wrote on behalf of the program that speaks out against all forms of violence against Latinas, including both domestic violence and anti-immigrant state violence. (The executive director’s approval is needed prior to publishing anything.) She tells me the board would never allow such an opinion to represent the organization because it is not allowed to take a political stance and “this” (the INS beating, not domestic violence) is clearly a political issue.

1997. After a racist and professionalist takeover of La Casa de las Madres, the new white managerial and directorial staff explicitly hire with a bias toward specialized and licensed degrees, while queer and immigrant Latinas are targeted for harassment. Many of us gather at a forum in New College, in San Francisco, where we tell our stories and critically assess the professionalization of the domestic violence movement and the increasing divide between social work and social justice.

1998. An attempt to rule out bilingual education is underway with the Unz Initiative (aka Proposition 227) in California, a measure that would seriously impede Latin@s’ access to education and employment. I work with Sor Juana Inés: Services for Abused Women, a Latina organization assisting predominantly Latina survivors and their families. While exploring ways that Sor Juana can take a stance, I am reminded at a meeting of the state’s Maternal and Child Health funders that agencies will risk losing their funding if they take a political stance. I go back and read the bylaws and find that upon accepting funding, agencies forfeit their right to take a stance on political matters especially those pertaining to elections.

2004. INCITE was granted over \$150,000 by the Ford Foundation to fund the Color of Violence III Conference and Sisterfire, a national tour of women of color artists against violence. I served as co-coordinator for the tour that was planned over the course of 2 years, and after hiring staff and arranging logistics that you can just imagine, with a little over a month before the tour is set to start, the Ford Foundation comes across INCITE’s statement in solidarity with Palestinian resistance and reneges all funds.

⁴⁸ For further discussion of the intersection of the violence of racism and violence against women, see the work of Antonia Castañeda and Yvette Flores-Ortiz, and INCITE! Women of Color Against Violence, ed., *Color of Violence: The INCITE! Anthology*, (Cambridge, MA: South End Press, 2006).

2005. After facing over a year of threats to its very existence, not to mention threats directed at staff, San Francisco Women Against Rape loses most of its city funding as well as some foundation money. Many point to the harassment and loss of funding as a Zionist response to the organization's stated position against Israeli-imposed colonial violence and sexual violence against Palestinian women.⁴⁹

Let's take a closer look at how these moments reflect the sinking of the movement, diverting movement work toward a project that colludes with violence against women.⁵⁰

antiviolence organizations reproduce racial violence against women

In the first case scenario, we note the existence of a “Latina program.” Now a staple in many antiviolence programs, ethnic- or race-specific specialty programs exist within a larger “general” operation. Embedded within this organizational strategy is an assumption of universal whiteness. Within many antiviolence organizations, the distribution of resources (salary, benefits, and travel, for example) is consistent with the racial disparities that shape this process in the larger society; more often than not, the programs serving communities of color within larger organizations receive the smallest share of their organization's economic resources. Since most antiviolence organizations have become hierarchically ordered, decision-making power is another significant resource that is doled out unequally. Although this arrangement seems inconsistent with organizational objectives to foster and promote relationships in which power is shared equally and not abusively, it nonetheless perseveres, and, again, inequality manifests

⁴⁹ For further discussion on Zionism, please see *Color of Violence*, specifically Nadine Naber, Eman Desouky, and Lina Baroudi's “The Forgotten –ism: An Arab American Women's Perspective on Zionism, Racism, and Sexism” and Nadine Naber's “A Call for Consistency: Palestinian Resistance and Radical US Women of Color.”

⁵⁰ My observations stem from my own direct personal experience working in the movement and the emergent patterns noted from countless conversations and statewide and national meetings. These formations are not present in every organization; rather, such organizational structures have become dominant and mainstream within the antiviolence movement as a whole.

itself across racial lines.

The existence of “special” and “non-white” programs emerges from the logic of the liberalist project of multiculturalism. While there are clear racial hierarchies structured into organizations, these programs are developed under a multiculturalist model that renders race marginal by heralding the primacy of culture. Multiculturalist ideology is a remnant of early-20th-century modes of studying ethnicity, which were modeled on the experiences of white European immigrants who, through processes of assimilation and acculturation to dominant culture, became new white Americans. Although this model is mute on the issue of race—a silence that is part and parcel to the project of whiteness—it often conflates the experiences of communities of color with the experiences of white European immigrants. Thus culture becomes the dominant framework in establishing support to communities of color, yielding the institutionalization of “culturally competent” services across domestic violence organizations. Cultural competence models also falsely assume that culture is fixed and static, often dismissing great heterogeneity and inequalities internal to a particular nation, race, or ethnicity. While culturally specific services and programs might appear to address the injuries of racism, this organizational strategy actually displaces race from the broader analysis—effectively ignoring the power structure of white supremacy and the structured subjugation of people of color, which effects countless forms of violence against women. By adding a program ostensibly designed to serve the needs of a given community of color, the larger organization avoids direct accountability to that community. In other words, the organization’s own white supremacy remains intact and fundamentally unchallenged, as are the countless forms of violence against women perpetuated by racism.

Further, as this example illustrates, the larger organization's white supremacy clearly shapes all its work, programming, and decision-making, including its "specific" projects. Certainly, institutional white supremacy dictated the work of the "Latina program," with the Support Network for Battered Women taking a position that silently supported state racist violence against Latinas by muzzling an attempt to publicly denounce it. Thus, "culturally competent" and/or multicultural organizational structures collude with white supremacy and violence against women of color, namely because this logic enables organizations to dismiss the centrality of racism in all institutions and organizations in the United States. These structures also help protect the state, whose Department of Justice was at once responsible for the brutal beating of a Latina immigrant and the funding of several staff positions and programs at the Support Network for Battered Women, including my own.⁵¹ Conversely, this funding relationship encourages the organization to privilege its own "fiscal well-being" above all else, including the imperative to challenge state violence against women. Here, as the Sor Juana Inés example affirms, we see the paradoxical depoliticization of movements to end violence against women, an insidious process that obscures and protects the tyrannies of the state while diverting these movements' energies away from projects of resistance.

the non-profitization of the antiviolence movement

In her speech at the 2004 conference *The Revolution Will Not Be Funded*, veteran antiviolence activist Suzanne Pharr pointed to the significant injuries progressive social movements incurred through McCarthyism, COINTELPRO, and as an effect of establishing an alliance with the state by joining the non-profit sector. At first, she said,

⁵¹ Violence Against Women funding is administered through the Department of Justice, which, up until the creation of the Department of Homeland Security, also housed and administered immigration enforcement.

women doing antiviolence work sought tax-exempt status for shelters. But the price of achieving non-profit status became obvious early on as organizers were taunted with lesbian-baiting and misogynist jokes—and as funders demanded of the institution certain policies and practices, including professionalization. Soon funders were expressing their preference for degree-bearing professionals instead of community organizers; organizations were expected to have hierarchical structures; and therapeutic social services were funded over popular education work. Ideologically, violence against women became more and more a behavioral, criminal, and medical phenomenon, rather than a social justice issue. When violence against women is understood this way, interventions and attempts at prevention are overly reliant on therapy and the courts—all individualized methods of intervention that fail to address and combat the social organization of violence against women. These methods are also inextricable from institutional arrangements that carry steep histories of racism like the medical industrial complex and the prison industrial complex; as a result, the re-victimization of women of color becomes more likely.(Richie, 1999)

Ronald Reagan, a key player in the emergence of the fourth world war, made massive attempts to extend privatization to social movements and academia.⁸ Through the non-profitization (a kind of corporatization) of social movements, a non-profit organization's economic structure, survival, and identity (that is, tax classification) became a dominant aspect of the organization. Ideologically, and in practice through the strict regulation of finances, the “rest” of the organization's work is understood as a consequence or byproduct of the funding. As organizations became non-profitized they began to lose political autonomy (from the state and funders), and their sense of

accountability shifted from their constituents to their funders. The movement was literally split in two when funding came in to work discretely on either domestic violence or sexual assault, but not both, as if they were so neatly divisible and mutually exclusive. (In reality, sexual assault is one of the most common forms of domestic violence, and most survivors of sexual assault knew their assailants prior to the attack.⁵²

Moreover, executive directors and managers are often given tyrannical say and power while hierarchies are entrenched, usually in line with social axes of inequality such as class, race, nationality, sexuality, and ability. The growing heterosexist and racist harassment pointed to this entrenchment at La Casa de las Madres, and the INS incident at the Support Network confirm the tangible power inequality. Ironically, it appears that our corporate-modeled hierarchical organizational structures are actually reproducing the same cycle of violence we seek to eliminate.

Through funding and non-profitization, the movement was called in to sleep with the enemy, the US state, the central organizer of violence against women in the world. In an effort to maim the movement, the state made its interests seem compatible with the interests of women. As Patricia Hill Collins observes, “Domination operates not only by structuring power from the top down but by simultaneously annexing the power as energy of those on the bottom for its own ends.”(Hill Collins, 1990) Through policy, ideology, and the NPIC, the state began to break into pieces the radical social justice agenda of the movement against violence against women. First, by prohibiting non-profits from engaging in “politics,” it separated interpersonal violence against women from state-based, economic, and institutional violence against women. This

⁵² See the following: Jennifer Washburn, *University, Inc.* (New York: Basic Books, 2005) and Andrea del Moral, “The Revolution Will Not Be Funded,” *LiP: Informed Revolt*, April 4, 2005.

individualization of violence excluded the experiences of women of color surviving the multiple forms of state violence.(Garfield, 2005) Then the state splintered anti–sexual assault work from the movement to end domestic violence, while certain state-based forms of sexual assault were kept out of the discourse of violence against women (for example, militarized and prison sexual assaults, militarized border rapes, and sterilization and other population control practices).⁵³ The production of knowledge consistent with this agenda is a key strategy to get us to “buy” the line and to further the project of the non-profitization, professionalization, and social servicization of the antiviolence movement while escalating the criminalization and medicalization of violence. Academic research, under attack by “academic capitalism” and the extension of privatization to academia, has become increasingly dependent on federal and foundation funding. This funding develops a problematic allegiance to the state and foundation capital and steers the production of knowledge toward those ends. It is in this aforementioned context that the history of domestic violence research is produced. Thus, the historical legacy, the trends and directions in the literature on domestic violence, for example, reflects the trends and directions of the “sinking movement” in so far as they follow the subterfuge of the state’s ideology on violence against women.

the domestic violence canon: research, the state and the dominant narratives

Interestingly, the central tenets of the frameworks for understanding domestic violence provide the logic necessary to legitimate the criminalization, medicalization and

⁵³ See the following: Cynthia Enloe, *Maneuvers: The International Politics of Militarizing Women’s Lives* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2000); Sylvanna Falcón, “Securing the Nation Through the Violation of Women’s Bodies: Militarized Border Rape at the US-Mexico Border,” in *INCITE! Color of Violence*; Andrea Smith, “‘Better Dead than Pregnant’: The Colonization of Native Women’s Reproductive Health,” in *Policing the National Body: Race, Gender, and Criminalization*, ed. Jael Silliman and Anannya Bhattacharjee (Cambridge, MA: South End Press, 2002).

nonprofitization of domestic violence. The theoretical canon on domestic violence still produces individualizing narratives of violence that evades analysis of macro-structural and state violence. As I asserted earlier, the development of a criminalized domestic violence (and other forms of violence) grew out of a behavioral and psychological model for understanding domestic violence (and other forms of violence). Dominant academic research into domestic violence was chronologically followed by the contributions of sociological and feminist interpretations, that although shifted the lens slightly toward considering social forces, still maintained a clearly deterred gaze away from socially structured inequalities and the macro-structural organization and deployment of domestic violence.

The first attempt at deciphering domestic violence on a national scale took place in 1975 when Straus, Gelles, and Steinmetz conducted the first National Family Violence Survey that measured the prevalence of violence in families. (Gelles, 1980) The survey was conducted by Family Research Laboratory at University of New Hampshire, and interviews were conducted among households in which at least one couple resided using a national probability sampling technique. This first study produced findings that would guide future research and attention to the issue, namely, that the severity and prevalence of domestic violence was so high that women faced the greatest risk of assault and physical injury at the hands of their partners. This study proved a pivotal shift and provided the logic necessary to make domestic violence the state's focus on gendering violence. The study was repeated in 1985 to see what had changed. Both studies also tracked demographics, marital/divorce behaviors and attitudes about various aspects of

life. This directed future research to be concerned with the behavioral aspect of domestic violence, not a new perspective, and still the old framework persisted.

psychological framing

The psychological model focuses on each individual involved and looks at their personality characteristics as the primary determinants of violence. This approach has also been labeled Intraindividual Theory by Kantor and Jasinski. (G. J. Kantor, J. , 1998) Factors such as mental illness, personality defects, psychopathology, sociopathology, alcohol and drug misuse or other intra-individual deviances are looked upon as the causative agents for domestic violence. This theoretical approach to violence, sometimes referred to as Interpersonal Violence Theory, proposes that those involved in a domestic violence dynamic face psychological/behavioral problems disproportionately, and these problems give rise to the abuse. (E. Stark, Flitcraft, A., Zuckerman D., Grey, A., Robinson J., Frazier, W., ; E. a. F. Stark, A., 1991) Specifically, this theory purports that domestic violence arises among adults who do not possess the skills necessary to cope nonviolently with the challenges, conflicts and stresses that emerge in life. The lack of such coping skills can be attributed to personal, psychological, and/or family history. Those individuals who are missing non-violent coping skills are prone to respond violently to a perceived crisis in their lives. To that end, a litany of personality characteristics and behaviors creates a profile identifying those prone to missing non-violent coping skills. Among the personality characteristics that would lead to the identification and even prediction of domestic violence are low self-esteem, immaturity, hostility, poor communication skills, and low levels of empathy; and among the

behaviors are depression, substance abuse, and a history of child abuse.(R. G. Straus, S., Steinmetz, K., 1980)

A critical line of interrogation into Interpersonal Violence Theory argues that “pathological” behaviors and personality characteristics occur in those surviving domestic violence mostly after the onset of violence and did not exist prior.(E. a. F. Stark, A., 1988) Reiterating my earlier critique of the dangerous turn one makes when driven to understand domestic violence through psychological theories is that this theoretical approach clearly obfuscates a sociological one that would demystify the social-structural causes of domestic violence. “The psychiatric model serves as an ideal smokescreen to blind us from considering social organizational factors that cause family violence.” (R. C. Gelles, C., 1990)

sociological frameworks

The sociological theoretical approach emerged as a result of the transformations occurring in the sociological discipline in the latter half of the 20th century, namely, the rise in conflict theory as an oppositional discourse to consensus theory. The transformation of the discipline was mirrored, if not ushered in, by the social protests of the 1960’s. The women’s movement then gave critical attention to the social causative agents of domestic violence. According to sociological theories, social-structural variables explain the presence of domestic violence. To that end, domestic violence began to be understood by feminist sociological theories as having roots of causation in the sex/gender system that oppresses women. This perspective posits that the subordination of women in the patriarchal family is necessary to maintain a patriarchal

social structure, and men engage in domestic violence in order to maintain the subordination of women. (Campbell, 1992; E. D. a. R. Dobash, 1979; Pagelow, 1984; stark, 1996) This theory proposes that men utilize a power and control tactic, with violence being one of those tactics, to maintain hierarchical power in the household. According to the feminist approach, the study of family dynamics is secondary to gender relations (socio-structural causes) in the production of domestic violence. (E. a. F. Stark, A., 1988)

This intervention in the literature on domestic violence was critical because it looked at the role of power and social organization (along sex/gender axis) as a contributing factor to domestic violence. However, this analysis did not focus on the state's organization of patriarchy and gendering violence; although taking into consideration the social element, domestic violence was still understood as deployed by individuals.

Feminist interventions in sociological theory also critique the line of questioning that psychological theories follow in investigations into domestic violence. As stated earlier, sociological theories go beyond the individual to understand the social context in which the individual appears, and how it is that said social context corroborates in the production of a domestic violence dynamic. Feminist sociological interventions allow us to understand domestic violence, its perpetration and survival through a gendered lens. Susan Schechter says "Examining why men are violent does not explain why men act violently toward a specific target, women, or within a specific context, their home, nor can it tell us why some men are violent solely to their wives." (Schechter, 1982)

Among other sociological theories are those that focus on other social-structural variables beside gender, such as poverty, ethnicity, education rates, and dysfunctional families. According to these theories, the interaction of social-structural factors produce a specific social location that fosters domestic violence through the creation of subcultures that condone and even produce behaviors that create a domestic violence dynamic. These approaches tend to look for and address cultural variables that might participate in the production of domestic violence. (G. Kantor, Jasinski, J., & Aldarondo, E. , 1994) These theories are particularly problematic, similar to Moynihan's "culture of poverty" framework, the racialization of the rhetoric of violence enters here through the demonization of particular cultures that tends toward the essentializing of large and complex (racial) social groups. In this way, sociological theories become racial projects in the classic Omi and Winant construct in so far as they assign increased propensity toward "criminal activity" to certain ethnic/racial groups/cultures.

Consistent and affirming these approaches, the American Sociological Association (ASA) published the report, *Social Causes of Violence*, in 1996, based on a meeting held in 1993 that convened about a dozen mostly criminologists, social policy analysts, and other sociologists. Although domestic violence is referenced, it is not the principal presentation of violence that frames the approach. Gender analysis is marginalized and domestic violence is considered mostly in the Family Violence framework. The approach remains individualizing, collapsing violence with both medicalizing behavioral and criminal modalities. State violence is mentioned once quite peripherally, in a footnote; policing is framed as a social response to violence rather than a causal factor. Communities are held responsible for violence, and the economy is

considered a factor in so far as poverty functions to deteriorate communities that give rise to gang violence as a coping mechanism to desperate economic situations. Thus, the approach offered by the ASA is for the most part consistent with the dominant narratives, on violence and therefore protects state interests by evading the state's role in the organization and deployment of violence.

psycho-sociological approaches

Murray Straus advanced the notion of understanding domestic violence as occurring out of a combination of previous theoretical frameworks. He argued that the cause of domestic violence could be assessed more effectively by combining psychological factors (like uncontrolled aggression), cultural factors (customs and rules that condone physical altercations in intimate relationships), and structural factors (the organization of society which allows for extraordinary stresses such as unemployment or isolation). Combining these factors, he argued, would lead us to a more comprehensive understanding of what causes domestic violence. (*M. Straus, 1977*)

Sociopsychological theories include social learning theories which propose that violence is a learned behavior and those exposed to it early in life will have a greater likelihood of engaging in violence. Often termed Family Violence Theory, this approach creates one single theoretical model out of the integration of two other theoretical frameworks, the psychological and sociocultural theories. This theory proposes that violence is learned in childhood and passed on generationally. It insists on recognizing the role that cultural institutions play in supporting/colluding with the violence, and it focuses on the specificity of the family unit so as to differentiate family violence from other types of violence. The Family Violence Theory posits that stressful events in life

are responsible for inciting family violence. For that reason, those populations deemed most likely to experience stressful events in life are deemed most likely to engage in income families, and substance abusers. In addition, the interaction of social-structural factors lead to a social location that discriminately produces conflict; for psycho-sociologists focused on conflict approaches, the greater the conflict, the greater the likelihood that domestic violence will emerge. This theory places domestic violence as one of many presentation of violence in a family setting, and one theoretical model, the psycho-social is used to explain them all, including elder abuse, child abuse, and sibling abuse.(R. G. Straus, S., Steinmetz, K., 1980)

Critics of the Family Violence Theory argue that the vast majority of abused children do not become violent adults and the vast majority of adults involved in a domestic violence dynamic were not abused as children.(E. D. a. R. Dobash, 1979; E. a. F. Stark, A., 1988; Zigler, 1986) Feminist interventions critique the psychosocial model arguing that the approach fails to answer why men as a group exert violence toward women as a group.(Schechter, 1982) Critiques of this sort of theoretical approach, which understands domestic violence as a response to “marital/relationship conflict,” posit that it loses sight of the power differentials within the parties engaged in a conflict. In addition, if conflict led to domestic violence, then every relationship experiencing conflict would result in domestic violence. Feminists critique this notion saying that a prescription in the belief that it is legitimately acceptable to hit women is what differentiates those relationships that result in domestic violence from those which do not. (R. G. Straus, S., Steinmetz, K., 1980)

As was posited earlier, the state is a central organizer of racial formation processes in the United States, so committing to theoretical frameworks on domestic violence that center the intersection of race and gender and class processes would mean considering the role of the state as well in the production and persistence of domestic violence. It is not surprising, in this light that the state and dominant narratives on domestic violence have managed to elude such research and I don't know how much money state agencies would make available for such research, nor what this sort of research would mean for potential funding. Thus the impetus toward a focus on micro-levels of violence against women, and employing behavioral individualistic theoretical models that do not fully account for the way racial formation processes shape violence against women can be historicized in the research literature, in the still dominant psychological organization of domestic violence "services," and in the common vernacular on violence against women. And the state can posture itself as compassionate protectorate invested in ending domestic violence.

Thus, dominant ideologies of violence that posit the state outside the realm of scrutiny with regards to violence are orchestrated through the state and the participation of multiple social institutions and their widespread dissemination through medical school and university courses, research and publication on violence, through media representations of violence, through funding of research and interventions in violence, etc. Slowly, these dominant narratives that resonate with state interests become the vernacular on violence. Gramsci offered the possibility of counter-hegemonic moves. He posits, for example that "organic intellectuals" are capable of resisting co-optation and contesting the legitimacy of unequal social arrangements.(Gramsci, 1999) The work

and intellectual inquiry of organic intellectuals is rooted in a critical location that discerns the dominant interests, the voices and experiences of the marginalized, and develops research frameworks in light of this. The chapters that follow will traverse far away from the dominant narratives on violence that through racializing, colonizing, and heteropatriarchal discursive formations on violence revictimize women and communities of color. The chapters that follow will seek to position the voice of subjugated narratives grounded in a politic of survivance of violence that is clearly macro-structural and intimate at once. Their voices will speak against the frameworks that set out to criminalize and medicalize them in yet another victimizing move.

CHAPTER 5

“is her spirit clean?” toward liberatory methodologies

Of what had I ever been afraid? To question or to speak as I believed could have meant pain, or death. But we all hurt in so many different ways, all the time, and pain will either change or end...My silences had not protected me. Your silence will not protect you...What are the words you do not yet have? What do you need to say? What are the tyrannies you swallow day by day and attempt to make your own, until you will sicken and die of them, still in silence...the machine will try to grind you into dust anyway, whether or not you speak...we can sit in our safe corners mute as bottles and we will still be no less afraid...while we wait in silence for that final luxury of fearlessness, the weight of that silence will choke us...And where the words of women are crying to be heard, we must each of us recognize our responsibility to seek those words out, to read them and share them and examine them. (Lorde, 1984)

Sister Audre Lorde’s words open the space where this chapter begins because this chapter’s content, its expected content, most closely and most dangerously mirrors the intentions, problematic and violent, of the research agenda, and of the disconcerting institutional paradigms of higher learning. Her words, taken from the text, “The Transformation of Silence into Language and Action,” speak of the silencing “machines” that mute women’s experiences. Audre challenges the reader/listener (this text was originally a speech delivered at the MLA in Chicago in 1977) to rise as the mitigating agent, to take on “the machines” by speaking, seeking, reading and researching those words. This opening reference simultaneously signals the pitfalls of research and its transformative and liberatory potentials.

At the end of fourteen years as a student in higher education, Audre’s words remind me of the draconian lashings of the academy. As Renato Rosaldo uttered in his text *Culture and Truth: The Remaking of Social Analysis*, the trappings of

institutionalized racism are deeply entrenched in institutions of higher learning.(Rosaldo, 1993) When members of previously excluded groups are admitted into the academy, it is as if they are told, “Come in, sit down, shut up. You’re welcome here as long as you conform with our norms.”(Rosaldo, 1993) p.x There is a “grinding machine” in every institution. The design and purview of research are not exempt from the institutional footings from which they emanate. Procedurally, in origin, and effect, academic research is invested in the silencing and “grinding” of the other. The institutional pressures toward this end shape research design, process and findings in a significant way. My purpose in this chapter is to suggest possible ways to mitigate, challenge and resist these pressures toward the potential of conjuring research that is wholeheartedly invested in the wellness of research subjects and marginalized communities and in the move toward a praxis and vision of liberation.

a note on violence and research

Foucault once said that violence is an invasive move forward with unwarranted intrusions in the lives of people, wait, I’m sorry, I’m mistaken, he actually said that about research.(Foucault, 1980) In his work he always cautioned, actually emphasized, that power is present in all social interactions. He also devoted himself to exposing the entrails of scientific investigational processes (human and biological sciences), challenging the origin, praxis and power of academic inquiry. (Foucault, 1970) Lavinias likened the act of research with altering, violating, fragmenting and dismembering. On the other hand, many have said that research is “a caring act:” “one learns to know only what one loves...”(Goethe in (van Manen, 1990) (Benner, 1989) Van Manen argued that

phenomenological research is a practice of caring: “a caring attunement, a mindful wondering of what it means to live a life.” (van Manen, 1990)

I include the two perspectives because they resonate with the subject of this research project. The technique of academic research is quite distant in development, scope, and application from the experiences of the young people of color we interviewed. And although careful consideration might be taken toward bringing the design and practice ever closer and capable of greater resonance with the research subject, the participant, the two are always two different entities with different historical and sociological locations and one is urgently pressing toward greater togetherness. It is the “pusher” who usually holds a great deal of power as the researcher, over the subject, the person *under* investigation. “The research situation often places the researcher in an overtly powerful position vis-à-vis research subjects, and this inequality is exacerbated by the researcher’s often necessary relationship with access providers who may have control over other research subjects.” (Lal, 1996) Lastly, it is the voice of the researcher that filters, if not translates or speaks for, the participant.

Do our efforts to liberate end up reproducing injustice?(Lather, 1991) Violence is not only the potential effect of research, it could be reproduced through the entire research process. What then are the political and ethical convictions for research on the subject of violence? How do we formulate nonviolence into the research process and project? If warfare, as Margaret Mead argued, is “an invention,” how do our concerns with violence and war keep us from reproducing it in the research process/project? (Nordstrom, 1995) p.3 The debate that is currently underway regarding the role of researchers in the War on Terrorism, specifically in Iraq, interrogates the very dangerous

ways through which research can facilitate the production and deployment of violence. What are the ethical commitments to the safety of researchers and research subjects that researchers must adhere to? Clearly there are historical markers that are replete with narrating the many ways research has not practiced safety but conversely, facilitated endangering research subjects, communities and deploying violence. (Washington, 2006) As Zulaiba reminds us in her piece, "The Anthropologist as Terrorist," she is "plagued" with the reality that ethnography is critically about "looking into" violence, not undoing it. (Nordstrom, 1995) p.207 Whether silently scribing it, crafting research that justifies or legitimates it, or producing research that itself deploys violence in the process, research about violence walks hand in hand with the potential production or reproduction of violence. The implication of violence in research, even for the most careful and ethical research about violence, cannot be ignored. It is critical that we consider, as Bourgeois and Scheper-Hughes posit, "When the anthropologist is witness to crimes against humanity mere scientific empathy is not sufficient." (N. Scheper-Hughes, Philippe Bourgeois, 2004) p.27 They posit that researchers must critically interrogate their proceedings, "At what point does the anthropologist as eye witness become a bystander or even a co-conspirator?" The methodology of spirit and the methods stirring for liberation should be operationalized in the study of violence with the careful caveat that violence is always already potentially implicit in research.

starting from where you know

The principal tactic of reflexive consideration of place, particularity, positionality and subjectivity is first and foremost in approaching liberatory methodologies. A few years back, I started assigning students in every class an initial paper to write before even

picking up the first piece of reading in the course. The assignment is an exercise in reflexively exploring subjectivity, and I've never stopped. Every class I teach, no matter the content, begins in this way. We all walk through any (malleable) field of knowledge with a set of life experiences, conjured subjectivities, ontological and epistemological formations that color the landscape. The fields are different, depending on subject positionality and those of us that have struggled against the claws of wickedly supremacist ideologies, know that every (masquerading) universalism wields a particular set of interests and identifying them could potentially translate to our very survival. As I do with the students in the classes I teach, I suggest beginning with the precise practice of reflexive epistemological inquiry, drafting the genealogy of our conceptual formations regarding the subject of research. Adele Clarke suggests that epistemology and ontology are joined at the hip; I would add that when this is so, subjectivity is the hip. (A. Clarke, 2005) The social structures involved in the production of epistemology and ontology imbue subjectivity; they are, conjure the conjoining forces. Starting from where I know asks me to critically interrogate my own presuppositions on the subject and further, to consciously wrestle with the limits and lenses of my subjective locations, positions, wisdom, skills, etc. Everything about how I envision and set out through process, interpretation and findings requires a clearly contextualized praxis that is compelled toward making researcher as visible as subject, as well as the vector of power that intersects their relation to each other and the social landscape. Humbly, my aim is moving toward (the participant's) truth. As a researcher, I know this is always a movement toward, (or away from), to the best of my subjective possibilities.⁵⁴ I know

⁵⁴ Heidegger once said that "possibilities exist for us by virtue of our situatedness." I reference this to locate the situatedness of researcher in its ability to implicate and shape the research process. (Leonard,

my “truth” and the research subject’s is a transitory and imprecise location because situatedness can surface in transit, sometimes emerging in multiple locations along conflicting axes; the ubiquitous and omniscient claims to truth as the domain of the researcher must be challenged. In this shaky ground of morphing, multiple and multiplying truths, the stated goals, praxis and vision of pursuing wellness and liberation for research subjects and the issue of investigation act as steadying factors, although they are not immune from the faultlines present of particular (dominant) positionalities and the pressures of institutional interests. Feminist and black feminist research methodologies suggesting the model of situated knowledges and situated standpoints further elucidate this primary moment in the praxis of liberatory methodologies.(Haraway, 1991; Hill Collins, 1998) I suggest that committed study in subjectivity(ies), situated reflection, serves as a compass along the journey of research. For the stated reasons, the research process can be a disorienting experience for researcher and research subject alike who traverse worlds and “vectors of power” that highlight their respective mobility or immobility, access and inaccess, and the compass is a vital tool along the journey. (Narayan, 1993) The compass tool, the self-reflexive subjective analytical device, serves to remind that when one is lost, or at a loss, the best bet is to start from where you know.

methodology of spirit

While reading Linda Tuhiwai Smith’s pivotal text, *Decolonizing Methodologies*, I came across a phrase that precisely arrived at the location my thoughts and concerns on the subject of research had foggily hovered around. She asked a simple, yet transformational, question that seemed to reach the heart of my methodological

1994)

quandaries: “Is her spirit clean?” This inquiry marks the second step toward liberatory methodologies. While reflexive analysis regarding the researcher’s situatedness and subject positionality marks an important first step; it needs to be followed with further reflection that moves beyond epistemological interrogations into ontology(ies) and subjectivity(ies). In addition to scribing the researcher’s subject location(s) (material and ideological), a following question emerges that is an attempt to reveal the place(s) of her spirit. In addition to the step, start from where you know, follows, the methodology of spirit, a step focused on honest assessment, cleaning, and grounding the researcher in the place of her spirit. Reflection on intentions, institutional obligations and pressures, career interests, and other additional subjective affiliations, is the beginning step of the methodology of spirit. This is the clearing stage. It is a state of critical reflection and detoxification; we are all implicated and institutional derivatives, after all. Deeper reflection about the perceived goals and intended outcomes of the research project (this is not guessing at findings as much as it is honestly assessing the kind of impact this research is constructed and envisioned to effect.)

The next step involves listening. The researcher is invited to listen to one’s spiritual directives about the research: what does my spirit ask of me? What does my spirit ask of this research? How does this research serve my spirit, and recognizing the interconnectedness of all spirits, how does it serve all spirits? If the research or researcher(s)’ spirits are not “clean,” the methodology of the spirit then asks the researcher(s) to excuse one’s self (themselves) from the research, as it might likely injure and/or further the victimization of any one or any community(ies). The researcher has

the option of stepping aside from the research temporarily, while cleaning one's spirit, or re-envisioning research.

The return and commitment to just research in the methodology of spirit then asks the researcher to proceed humbly, with integrity, courage, openness, respect, autonomy, resistance, and responsibility (H.I.C.O.R.A.R.R.) Whereas situatedness functions as a kind of a compass along the research journey, marking material and ideological locations, H.I.C.O.R.A.R.R. functions as the necessary nourishment along the way, it is the water the spirit drinks to sustain itself, to stay clean and strong throughout the research journey. There are two (and maybe more) initial considerations while committing one's self to Humility: the first is to remember the limits of researcher's perception and knowledge (it is possible that we have it all wrong!), and the second is to challenge the hierarchical relations between researcher and research subject by remembering we're all the same, not one is better than another. Thus, the methodology of spirit asks us to move humbly forward, or backwards with our ideas. Integrity is critical and might appear to contradict Humility, but it doesn't. Integrity asks us to believe in our spirits and remain consistent with them. Integrity asks the researcher to move in an honorable and sincere manner, and to proceed with discipline and care as we develop and stand by our ideas and the wisdom emerging through the research. Practicing Integrity requires Courage, for at times, our spirits might arrive at ideas that challenge and fall outside of normativity, that take on great opponents. Yet in the face of this struggle, we must persevere courageously with what we find. This, after all, is the only way change ever arrives. Openness is key to continue with the methodology of the spirit, for openness allows greater interconnectedness of spirits, and therefore increases the possibility of reaching greater

truths. We must remain open to ideas. Respect emerges here as the after-thought in the practice of Openness, for Respect allows us to value ideas and experiences emergent from subjectivities divergent from our own. Autonomy follows Respect because in practice, Autonomy allows us to disinvest from the ways we have been trained to think, which might silence or minimize certain ways of knowing, especially those that challenge oppressive structures and social orders. The practice of Autonomy leads us to Resistance because the wisdom gained through autonomy might ask us to challenge oppressive structures. The concluding sip of H.I.C.O.R.A.R.R. invites us to persist Responsibly, for once our eyes have been opened to the truths gained through the methodology of the spirit applied to the research process, our work and lives might be asked to change accordingly. We are thus challenged to accept Responsibility for the ways our lives must change in order to demonstrate consistency with the gained wisdom. And the beauty of water is that it reminds us of the fluidity of things, and so we continue practicing H.I.C.O.R.A.R.R. throughout the research process. Sometimes the ordering of the sips (steps) changes and sometimes it remains the same. The point is to remain committed to the practice; just as water nourishes our bodies, H.I.C.O.R.A.R.R. nourishes our spirits in/and the research process.

The last step in the methodology of spirit builds on the last sip of H.I.C.O.R.A.R.R., Responsibility. It is the place of just action. Critics have raised concerns over the limits of research that claims commitment to justice but falls short of action.(Denzin, 1997) The methodology of spirit asks us to be cognizant of how our research is involved in making, not just reading, or interpreting the world. As Denzin posits, “the worlds we study are created in part through the text that we write and perform

about them.”(Denzin, 1997) p.xiii Situating ourselves as researchers in praxis implies both recognizing the power we wield in the construction of knowledge and worlds and moving forward in a manner consistent with the political vision and aims that ground the research. Responsibility also implies committing self and work to personal and collective transformation emergent through the learning experience of the research, so that what is learned is not sequestered on the page but comes alive as part of our daily lives, informing and shaping decisions and social movement. It is vital to consider the tremendous depoliticization forces stemming from academic, state, and funding processes that steer research away from aiming toward these potential transformations. Maintaining clarity of vision and consistency with regard to the politicizing processes involved in the development of the research, the findings, publications and effects (policy, grassroots social change, etc.) is key. Consistent politicization processes and just action research is facilitated by maintaining a strong footing in community processes, histories and accountabilities.(L. T. Smith, 1999)

researchers as mitigating agents, healers, justice seekers, and change makers

The underpinnings of research are unjust; the procedures of research are mostly unjust; the effects of research are likely unjust. Let’s be clear about the task at hand. How does one move through the work of research when institutional affiliations tied to state, economic, racial, colonial and patriarchal interests fund, organize and produce research? “Researchers are trapped between the material and social relations of research production.”(Oliver, 2002) p.12 Researchers must move very carefully, conscientiously and with great anchoring and hope. Our positionality as researchers stands to potentially mitigate the danger and injury research can conjure through procedure and effect.

Anchoring our positionality in efforts set on conjuring and constructing wellness and healing for communities in both research process and effect serves to transform the pitfalls and dangers into collective and personal healing. Wellness is belittled by ongoing unjust social arrangements and the reproduction of violence; hence, seeking justice through research is a key ingredient in the wellness quest. Our research is always embedded in particular political processes (and constructing them), and we must ask of our research to conscientiously produce (ideological and material) the change that adequately reflects and is consistent with the vision for justice that we seek. One way we might do this is by critically engaging the researcher/researched continuum. This entails dislodging the bifurcation of researcher from research subject, a process that involves critical assessment and interrogation of the power that positions both in hierarchical relation to each other. The methodology of spirit can also facilitate the oppositional framework by elucidating the metaphysical interconnectedness of spirit and matter. A challenge to the oppositional, bifurcated and hierarchical positioning of researcher/researched can potentially re-position both as subjects involved in the joint production of knowledge about a particular issue, shaped and informed by the particulars of said subjectivities.

The Methodology of Spirit suggests developing research frameworks and projects that are conscientiously grounded in the places we inhabit, the socio-political locations that demarcate our lived experience and inspire our subjective lens. It offers situatedness as a compass tool to navigate through the research journey. H.I.C.O.R.A.R.R. serves to remind us of the ways we can proceed with integrity, humility, respect, and responsibility in the process of producing just research. Lastly, conceiving of research as praxis from

the inception, through the production of research, publication and application, helps us to conscientiously weave the impact and effects of the research process and project. Thus, we find that ultimately, a methodology of spirit serves as the glue to bind the ideological and material dimensions of the research to the spiritual, proceeding in a holistic way toward social transformation.

method stirring for liberation

Research is one of the ways in which the underlying code of imperialism and colonialism is both regulated and realized.
(L. T. Smith, 1999)

The question of methodological selection or, as most appropriate in the current qualitative period, methodological direction, is not an afterthought to a pre-formulated research objective. Method is never epiphenomenal but shapes, informs and directs research. In this way, research itself is shown to be anything but natural, constructed from the very core and continually a project of researcher, research subjects, context and meaning. Findings do not arise in the classic archeological model where objects of truth and the history of man and culture are unearthed. Findings emerge as we create the possibility for them to emerge and then follow suit by noticing them and finally ascribing meaning. Selecting or deciphering methodological direction is less the historic quest to find the research pathway that will attain the greatest truth, the one and only objective Truth.

When sociological inquiry recognizes and is concerned with a particular social issue it is addressing, and furthermore, when it foregrounds and is deeply concerned with the ways through which sociological research can itself be violent, asserting an abusive power that compounds existing social inequities and oppressive relations and structurations leading Spivak to ask the pivotal “can the subaltern speak?” and lastly, when sociological research is activist in so far as it actively sets out to have an impact that transforms or facilitates transformation of the particular problem in question; methodological design then becomes a matter of how to practice and unfurl a process that is guided by key ethical and political convictions and commitments. Articulating these

convictions and commitments in a clear manner through the inception of the research, and continually, helps to wed the integrity of the research process to the ethical commitments, and in this way, the research design itself and the process can *practice* such ethics. This becomes crucial especially for research that focuses on highly transgressive, intimate, and injurious subjects, such as violence, where the research design and process can become, in and of themselves, sites of transformation, healing, and resistance. As Nordstrom and Robben write, “what legitimacy do (we) have to speak for others, in particular victims of violence?”(Nordstrom, 1995) Similarly, especially when the community participating in investigatory procedures is socially, economically, and/or politically marginalized and has suffered the burdensome cost of exploitive research practices, articulating a set of ethical principles to guide the research is vital.

The current intellectual period offers much in the way of challenging the primacy and distinctiveness of particular disciplines, and similarly, of pertaining methodological orientations. I was raised and trained in critical interdisciplinary studies that call into question the fixed boundaries of academic disciplines. The insurgence of feminist, post-colonial, ethnic and queer studies approaches onto the intellectual landscape, map the resistant voice of the subaltern that challenges discriminatory bifurcations in all things, in categories of social organization such as gender, and in the disciplines themselves. The work of Anzaldua, Homi Bhabha, and Derrida reminds us of the frailty and fiction of dualistic binarious conceptualizations and social formations. Instead, these insurgent voices have named the muted fissures, the silenced porosity, the borderlands. Such an intellectual exercise is rooted in the learned lessons of marginality, the lived experiences of those on the margins, and hence emerges as critiques and contributions made through

the projects of ethnic, post-colonial, feminist and queer studies. As a result, relationship to the sanctimony of distinctive disciplines, to the slicing of bodies and minds, is re-organized and particular disciplinary technologies (the methodological, interpretive, analytical tools, traits and techniques of a particular discipline) are useful firstly in their relation toward developing a just research project, practice and relationship(s), and secondly, in their utility in the pursuit of understanding and meaning. Justice and liberation, rather than knowledge and relation to discipline, are simultaneously the goals and the practices of the research. As the epistemological basis of disciplines are rigorously challenged in the current period, so too are their ontological formations, inclusive of methodological practices. Both the centrality of ethical questions concerned with inequity and injustice and the recognition that the research design (technologies) and methodological direction must also reflect a just orientation invites methodological innovations.

The imposition of discipline and of corresponding methodologies, especially over the primary concern of liberation and justice, is oppressive in this light. Method stirring for liberation offers possibilities to both free ourselves from the confines of discipline and the limits of prescribed methodologies, and as a pathway to open the boundaries of discipline and methodology so as to engage the wide array of potential practices that more fully reflect the holistic lived experience, the holistic self(ves) as researcher(s) and research subject(s), their complexities, as well as the holistic issue being investigated. This approach allows the researcher to move in and out in a fluid and unrestrained manner, in so far as it might be useful in the research plight to adhere to a set of ethical research convictions. The term speaks to the way research itself can be liberatory by

opening the practice of investigation to include multiple, at times intersecting, methodological approaches. The key question in method stirring is, how can this research design and practice, model and be experienced by all as a liberatory experience? Denzin has a similar concept when he posits that a blurring genre phase has emerged in methodological inquiry after the postmodern turn, where guiding questions of ethical research are not asking how we best arrive at the objective truth in a particular question, but instead are concerned with questioning how to proceed in a conscientious manner, intent on disrupting the power and legacy of the researcher (committedly setting the research relationship on a path toward equanimity) and intent on transforming society toward greater justice. As the projects of post-colonial, ethnic studies, queer and women's studies assert, the boundaries of discipline fail in utility when pursuing liberatory epistemologies. Similarly, the value of the story narrative is tantamount in so far as it strategically intervenes in research power relations. Reflexive story narratives that turn the gaze back onto the researcher are useful in so far as they account for disclosure, positionality, and meditation upon the subjective orientation of the research vis a vis the researcher, while they can also document the ways the research transforms not just research subject, the world out there, the particular issue being investigated, but the researcher as part and parcel of the world and of the research. Beyond recognizing researcher(s) as scribes of the tale s/he/they chooses to tell, representing the data as s/he/they elects, the researcher is made through the research. Thus, the researcher emerges not as objective and distanced onlooker, but as imbricated into the very research s/he/they weave(s). With this practice, subjectivity is heightened and objectivity, that pesky word that painfully disguises dominant interests, grows transparent.⁵⁵

⁵⁵ Here I am building on Hayden White's work in *Metahistory* that argues for historical methodologies to

As the story of this research unfolds, stirring methods for liberation will direct research toward just practices by bringing the researchers into the gaze of the research and by opening the methodological channels of investigation beyond the boundaries of discipline to reflect just relations and pursuits and therefore the needs of the research project and people. For example, the use of extended narrative gives research subject(s) the space and page to speak for themselves rather than being spoken for, grounded theory potentially invites research subjects themselves to shape understandings and conclusions, decolonial imaginary historiography recognizes both the time lapse in the retelling of events and the pitfalls of dominant interests in the reconstructive elements, phenomenology and semiology caution on the limits of interpretation by directing us to the meaning ascribed by the speaker and exposing the variation of signs, and participant observation metamorphosizes the mythological objective detached observer as it conjures a transparent embedded observer, who, contrary to many schools of thought in ethnography, is deeply conscientious and candid of his/her own outsidership.

Lastly, method stirring for liberation also recognizes the limitations of research, that the scripted knower does not know best, and that the intent to do good and effect change from the subject position of the researcher might not be in line with the community's desires, intentions, cultures, etc. Method stirring for liberation engages in serious conscientious critique of the multiple ways research harnesses power in the researcher and usurps the participant(s)' power. Critical interrogation about the perspective, interests, motivations and people designing and implementing the research as well as questioning and disclosing who stands to benefit and gain from research and how

reveal the historian as interpreter and narrator, rather than objective scribe of the past as it actually occurred. In this way, the ideological underpinnings often subsumed in the writing of history are brought into relief. White, 1976.

is a necessary step in ethical and committed research. As Linda Tuhiwai Smith invites us to ask about the researcher: “Is her spirit clean? Does she have a good heart?”(L. T. Smith, 1999) This sort of reflexive inquiry for the researcher is best done through a community based research approach, which is both an attempt to challenge power inequities in research relations, and a pragmatic way to engage the community at all stages of research so as to more deeply arrive at the crucial sets of questions that emerge from the community vis a vis the investigated issue and the research itself. Community based research models also invite the research to be situated and contribute to the community’s actions around a particular issue so that social change and action is very much a part of the researcher’s work in as far as it is keenly wedded and guided by the community. As Nordstrom and Robben add, we (researchers) must “speak out against the injustices we encounter.”(Nordstrom, 1995)

The transdisciplinarity invoked by the methods stirring for liberation model challenges investigatory discourse formations that privilege the isolated and singular gaze of intradisciplinary tools and methods. In so doing, it simultaneously challenges the potential rubric for the emergence of investigative foundationalism that privileges one way of knowing or assigns the principality of a particular reality (or interpretation thereof). These critical moves dislodge the centrality of disciplinarian discourses that are rooted outside the communities being studied and often arrive conjured consistently through the archetypes of violence, in the particular ways that colonial, racial, sex/gendering/heteronormative and class violence intersect to produce a particular disciplinarian gaze, location, and affiliated investments and interests. In this transdisciplinarian move, methods stirring for liberation also suggests problematizing the

very boundaries of methodological specificity with regard to its distinct bifurcation from the theoretical underpinnings and directions of research. As Clarke and Smith have argued, theory becomes an inseparable dimension of methodology.(A. Clarke, 2005; D. Smith, 2005) It is thus the space between theoretical and methodological direction, where methodology and theory clearly infuse and enunciate each other, that method stirring for liberation is situated. This is so because the entire project of method stirring refocuses the research on the issue and community at hand, as well as on justice; in this light, all other commitments and obligations to purifying notions of disciplinarity or methodology or theory become secondary and questionable. It is the concern for wellness and the pursuit for justice wed through the research process and the convictions to community and issue that drive method stirring for liberation. Whereas methodology of spirit provides the compass and nourishment through the research process, method stirring for liberation provides the technical maneuvering; it is the vehicle of the journey. Conjoined, methodology of spirit and method stirring for liberation potentially guide one toward conscientious, committed and transformative movement.

overview of research, design, setting, collection and analysis

This research project asked me to humbly sit and talk with young Latinas living in San Francisco's Mission district. The study emerged as a community based research project led by Dr. Howard Pinderhughes. A research team of community members and academic researchers collaboratively developed and implemented the research design. Initially, we adhered to a grounded theory approach to conjure theories about how young

people of color understand violence. Our project goal was to have young people share with us, through in-depth interviews, how they think about and interact with violence. Our hope was that this longitudinal study of the lives and experiences of young people with violence would help identify the types of violence young people survive and/or perpetrate and help examine the social context in which violence occurs. The details of their experiences we hoped would inform the development of theories about how violence is experienced and interpreted.

This dissertation interprets and analyzes data I collected as research project coordinator and interviewer for the aforementioned larger project. I will focus on data garnered from the interviews conducted with Latina participants in order to identify the types of violence these young Latinas experience and the interrelatedness of the multiple forms of violence they experience. The analysis also focuses on the interpretations and meaning the participants assign to the violence in their lives, and phenomenological case narratives will allow careful consideration of these meanings. Socio-political and historical vectors of violence that intersect the participants' immediate experiences will serve to illustrate the intersecting multi-dimensional layers of violence in the lives of these young Latinas. In addition to the interviews, ethnography, specifically through participant observation in the interviewee's neighborhoods, along with census data and the review of relevant community historical documents will provide additional data to consider while listening to the young women's experiences. Literary analysis, socio-political and historical analysis of central texts exploring the experiences of Latin@ immigrants, of queer Latin@s, of military invasion and repression, and of femicide and other forms of gendered violence against women will also be considered in order to best

represent the context in which these voices surface and the complexity of violence in their lives. Consistent with a methodology of movement (methodology of spirit and method stirring for liberation), the gaze of the researcher will zoom in for phenomenological interpretation, pan out for consideration of socio-historical processes, walk alongside participants guided by grounded theory approaches, and incessantly turn on itself for mapping situatedness.

design

community based research: the research team

The formulation of the research questions was accomplished through a community based research process that invited members of the researched community to participate early on in the designing of the research. Community members with differing levels of experience, exposure, and expertise to the general subject of youth of color and violence were invited to participate, but who lived and worked in the community. My specific contribution to the research design and process arose out of my personal experience and my academic research and community work with intimate violence against women. Other team members had direct and work experience with street, school and gang violence. We were all somewhere on the outsider/insider continuum, but remained very cognizant of the power assigned to us as researchers and in particular, of the criteria that positioned us toward outsidership.

According to the basic tenets of community-based research, the community-based research approach invited community members to participate early on with the research design and tools. (University of Washington, 2007) Community members continued

throughout the duration of the research project, interviewing youth and making crucial contributions to the direction of the project and the analysis and interpretation of the data. The community-based research strategy can serve as a tool through which to challenge the binarious construction of researcher/research subject because the researchers hired were also members of the same community. Additionally, working collectively as a team of researchers was consistent with collective pursuits that challenge the methodological individualism that often structures the research process. Instead of an individualized framework of researcher and research subject, a team of researchers together worked to interpret data, share analysis regarding emergent patterns in the data, and continue with the on-going reconstruction of the research process a feature necessary to consistently adhere to grounded theory approaches.

Cognizant of the long history of research abuse on communities of color, community based research models prove useful in guiding the research project under the principle of doing no harm while enhancing wellness to the research participants. Consistent with this goal and with aspects of decolonizing methodologies, the research project design and process set out to do the community well by providing resources and mentorship to interviewees throughout the interview process as was directed and pursued by the community members who participated in the research. Several of the team members had a background providing mentorship and counseling and were doing work directly focused on improving the conditions facing young people, and this criteria was key in developing the research team. Thus, the principles of community participation throughout research process and of engendering community wellness through community agency were adhered to throughout the research. This kind of intervention in the research

process truly shaped my early research experience, and I found it to be a vital aspect in the pursuit of practicing just research endeavors. In particular, the location of the researchers in praxis in the community, pursuing efforts reflective of the research concerns/issue, allowed the research process to continue in practice of the liberatory aims toward which it aspired. Pairing investigators with shared experiences as the participants does not necessarily function to “level the playing field,” as that would be a difficult prospect, but to increase understanding, sensitivity and rapport with participants. Smith’s decolonizing methodologies approaches speak boldly to the way in which like researcher communities carry increased and nuanced cultural understanding of symbols and references which inform and shape a researcher’s ability to read the research subject’s level of comfort and safety; this, in turn, mitigates or even interferes in the potentially abusive research relationship.

tools

The research team spent the first year of work developing the research areas of study consistent with the research objectives and developing the corresponding interview tools and guide. Our first step included drafting a collectively obtained set of research areas that included areas in the youth’s life, such as relationships, family, school, pop culture, drugs/alcohol, etc. We developed approximately 25-100 questions of information pertaining to each area that we thought would lead to pertinent responses for the general research study goals. Consistent with the self-generative aspects of grounded theory research models, these questions led directly to developing a research interview topics guide that would that would serve to loosely structure the interviews and remind

interviewers of the information the research project sought to ascertain. Each interview could focus on particular areas, or recurring ones, depending on the current life experiences the youth had to report on. The guide was not intended as a prescribed tool for each interview, but rather, interviewers committed to let the young person's emotions/recent life events at the time of the interview guide the interview; the interview guide tool would be called into action as it was deemed useful in response to the participant's presentation. This model was shaped with grounded theory strategies of concept modification and integration, allowing the research to shift directions as guidance emerged from either the participants or the research itself. Researchers also kept detailed field notes about the research/interview encounter, including ethnographic observations. Researchers/interviewers worked with the guide, as well as the field notes and a demographic survey, to develop an interview that was consistent with the participant's experience.

entrée: unwarranted intrusions

This is odd terminology, entering. It is rooted in the heteropatriarchal symbolic. Nonetheless, as the language of research goes, entry was facilitated by the community based research aspect of the project facilitated because the research team consisted of community members that had established relationships with the same communities. Entrée was also eased through the researcher's membership in the same racial/cultural group, which built trust by tapping shared experiences with marginality and utilizing shared cultural referents.⁵⁶ I met with school counselors, community members I knew who worked with youth, posted flyers, and made public presentations at schools and

⁵⁶ Hill Collins, P. *Learning from the Outsider Within*. Social Problems. Vol. 33, No. 6, December 1986.

youth community gatherings. Public education became a key strategy in participant recruitment, as will be discussed later, and this activity in particular, brought important reflection time for young women on the topic of violence.

The parental consent processes took a little longer because the parents sometimes wanted to meet and discuss the matter several times to ensure their daughter's safety, etc. Since I was working with immigrant Latino families, success in garnering the families' consent was aided by a shared cultural familiarity with me as a Mexican immigrant who also spoke Spanish. This cultural familiarity facilitated trust-building with the parents. Latino families appeared concerned for their daughter's welfare. The parents expressed to me that the establishment of a relationship to an older and educated Latina who could provide support, and maybe mentorship for their daughter, was something that they really felt might help to improve their daughter's wellbeing and/or assist them through difficult times. The development of my relationship with the young women I interviewed was facilitated by the trust their parents garnered. It was also aided by cultural familiarity, for example in interviews, we would frequently code-switch back and forth between English and Spanish. In addition, the youth I interviewed live in the Mission, where I also lived and participated in community organizing. My familiarity with their surroundings and geographic and school references also helped establish rapport. References were often made to parks nearby or certain eating establishments and the participants expressed relief that I knew the location they were referring to or had eaten those same hamburgers or tacos. I also have a background in counseling and found that applying counseling skills such as active listening and reflexive language really helped develop trust and

openness in participants so that the participant would feel safe. The participants' increased sense of safety facilitated the disclosure of sensitive and intimate information.

research participants (sample)

The research participant sample was established to be a small pool of participants. Because the research involved longitudinal in-depth interviews, and as well because of the commitments to wellness for the community and research participants, we adhered to a small sample size so that we could successfully track participants over time and develop mentoring relationships as needed. The small sample size also opened up the possibility of developing phenomenological case studies, and we found phenomenological analytical inquiry emerging more and more in data analysis, which will be discussed further in the data analysis section.

Recruitment for this study took place over the course of almost a year. Outreach was a central activity the second year of the research project. The research team spent hours flyering and spreading the word about the project, talking with youth, giving public speaking presentations to youth on the subject of violence, and attending youth activities. We recruited through high schools, youth community programs and other community agencies. Since the research team was also made-up of local community residents, we each reached out to our extended community networks in our search for participants. Snowball sampling was also used. We invited Latino and African American youth ages 14-16 to participate. We also established that we wanted to ensure research participation of a cross-section of youth that would also include immigrant, queer, and gang-affiliated youth so as to encounter a wide range of possible experiences with violence.

The team chose to interview young folks of color because we recognized that although policy is pervasively posited throughout local, state, and federal levels addressing the issue of violence in their lives, and while academic research is well versed on the subject of violence and youth, the direct voices and experiences of young women of color and violence remain at best marginally represented in these arena. We chose to focus on the inner city ethnic neighborhoods where youth of color most likely live in cities such as San Francisco.

Lastly, we also chose a diverse range of youth who reported high, moderate and low to no engagement with violence. This cross section would ensure a broad representation across the board in terms of direct experience with violence; we safeguarded against the pitfall of only interviewing young folks that had either high levels of engagement with violence or no engagement, which would yield experiences that would not necessarily be representative of the different experiences young people have with violence.

This dissertation focuses on 5 Latinas interviewed: Ester, Maria, Vanessa, Christy Anna and Tatiana. They include a range of experiences, including immigrant, US born, queer, and they are all working class Latina youth of Central American and/or Mexican descent, living in the Mission district in San Francisco. The size of the sample steers the research away from formulating generalizing grand narratives about the experiences of Latinas and instead, through phenomenological case studies, seeks to gain meaning and understanding from how these participants interpret and map their experiences with violence.

data collection

“stories are habitations. We live in and through stories. They conjure worlds.”

(Benner, 1994)

Because no single measurement can adequately capture the complexity of violence in the lives of young Latinas, we must foster the development of new, previously overlooked, avenues of study that recognize the existence of such complexity. Long interviews ranging from 1 to 2 hours and held in Spanish, English and Spanglish allowed the participants to generate the comfort and agency needed to share their stories about violence and their lives. During the first interview, participants completed a questionnaire form from which a basic biographical sketch could emerge that included age, sex, grade in school, race, ethnicity, languages spoken in different settings, religion, housing situation and location, class background, and information pertaining her recent experience/exposure to violence. This provided a set of demographic data that was useful in gaining greater understanding for each participant’s set of experiences and trajectories with violence.

Semi-structured and open-ended interviews were used, again to allow for enhanced participant agency in creating their narrative, in their storytelling. The interview guided served as background reminders for subject areas to track, specifically in the areas of participant’s relationships, interests and activities, hopes and aspirations, experiences in frequented locations (such as school, home or the streets) and typical days, encounters with violence and coping strategies; however, each interview really began as a conversation attempting to unearth what seemed imminent and meaningful to the participant at a given moment of time. As a researcher I was conscious and cautious of

the ways through which particular phrasing and asking of questions could influence the respondent's answers so I really emphasized open-ended questions. (Baker, 1992) The research team was committed to practicing strategies of participant empowerment and to this end, participant comfort, safety, and informed consent were part of the interview dialogue. To ensure confidentiality, each participant was assigned a pseudonym that was used in the data. They were notified that some of the questions might be difficult/painful to respond. Youth were advised that their participation was voluntary and that they could therefore end their participation in the study at any time and/or refuse to answer any questions. They were reminded they had the power to stop and/or withhold information, as they deemed necessary.

Each interview was tape-recorded and transcribed and field notes were taken immediately after each interview. Interviewees were paid \$25 per interview. In between interviews, I and other interviewers checked in on participants' wellbeing. The phone check-ins worked as a technique in between interviews because early on I learned that much that is relevant to the research can transpire between interviews (sometimes two weeks, sometimes two months) and a phone check-in would allow me to take note of any events relevant to the research that might be useful to further explore within future interviews.

There were no physical risks to the participants; however there was the possibility of some psychological discomfort resulting from the discussion of painful experiences and memories. There was no risk of lasting harm or injury from the interviews.

Referrals to community agencies providing services to survivors of violence as well as

support were offered as necessary. Study participants were informed of the researchers' status as a mandatory reporter of child abuse, homicide/suicide, and elder abuse.

The interviews explored how participants engage with the world around them, conceptualize violence in that world, and provide meaning to their experiences, the world through their eyes, as it were. Before each interview, I would review the prior interview's field notes and ascertain where we might have left off, and then I would glance through the interview guide to see what relevant categories and subcategories might be useful to bring up. This review before each interview proved very useful as I quickly found out glancing at the form during the interview had the unfortunate consequence of frustrating the interviewee. Each interview did begin with an informal check-in where the participant was asked if there was anything on her mind she wanted to talk about. If she said yes, then we would move forward to the direction she headed, and if she said no, I would review a few things about the prior interview and where we had left off and ask if anything had changed regarding the topics addressed. If she said yes we would take that lead and follow her presentation of the changes and if she said no, I would suggest another possible direction/category we could discuss. The interviewee's responses guided the content of the interview. Although they were asked about their family, their home, and about violence in their intimate relationships, the interviewee took these themes/topics to wherever they deemed relevant. Under the large rubric of violence, the content of the interviews really varied, because the participants shaped the direction of the interview by deciding what topics they wanted to lend more or less time to. This approach mirrors practices of phenomenological inquiry in that the researcher is guided by the interviewee for direction as to what seems significant and meaningful to her. It is guided by grounded theory approaches because each interview and the emerging subjects discussed as well as possible analytical threads that might be found linking more than one interview and interviewee's shared experiences remained open throughout the research process, allowing for a more organic presentation driven by the participants themselves. This last point, that the participants really guided the direction of the interviews emerges from decolonizing methodologies approaches which remind us to cautiously and critically nurture and engender participant agency throughout the research process, so rather than being told what to respond to and what is important to them, participants maintained the power to choose what was meaningful and what concerned them.

The interviews were conducted in private and public spaces. Vanessa's interviews, for example, were conducted in a public setting, a taquería near 24th and Mission, an area where many Latino high school students hang out. We would meet mid afternoon after school, to facilitate their participation and to avoid lunch and dinner rush hours, so as to minimize background noise. If there was an interruption, however, I often allowed the participant to follow it wherever she wanted. This really helped make the interview feel like a moment in one's real lived experience, filled with all the likely distractions that might arise in a setting as this, which allowed me to gather insight about what intrigued, moved, concerned the participant and how she reacted to different social

encounters/situations. The familiar and public environments were reported by the participants as places where they felt safe. The interviews that took place in a private setting were usually in the participants' homes. This allowed additional insight into family dynamics in the home; however one participant did comment that she felt uncomfortable divulging certain information with her parents nearby. Notes on the ecology of the home space reveal the cultural priorities, usually around the primacy of family and food, which were evidenced in the appearance of family pictures throughout and the participants' generosity with food.

Situating my interviews in the Mission District also allowed me the opportunity to collect data through participant observation and dedicate some time to ethnographic description of the research setting neighborhood and context in which these young women were situated. Lastly, I found it very important to extend the analysis beyond the immediate neighborhood to attempt to enlist the patterns of macro-structural processes in the production of the violence these young women discussed and experienced. To that extent, I read literary, historical and socio-political narratives of violence experienced by Latinas, young Latinas, and Latina immigrants. I looked specifically at the ways in which the state, the economy and patterns of imperialist military invasions as well as immigration policies and enforcement coded and engendered Latin@s' experiences with violence in the 21st century. I researched among the most salient literary novels, historical, journalistic and political essays, and works of creative nonfiction and memoir by Chicanas/Latinas to ascertain a collection of first person narratives on the subject of violence that would interface with the young women's narratives, thereby providing a more profound analysis of the deeper political and historical context in which the

violence these women experience surfaces. Methodologically, my selection and reading of these texts was guided by the approaches that Hayden White and Emma Perez have contributed, which challenge the reader to consistently question the positionality of the historian/writer/archivist as central to the story being depicted, and to challenge the meta, grand, and universalizing approaches to the writing of history with a committed practice to such a positionality, a tactic that reveals the scribe behind the shroud, often of colonialism.(Perez, 1999; H. White, 1974) For this reason, the literary and historical texts I used were Latino/a centered texts/histories that situated that positionality as central in the analysis and historicizing project. Additionally, as Perez adds, I consistently critically considered even within texts already positioned against such a narrative, the ways in which dominance, power, and violence were reinscribed in these very same texts. These texts function then as both context and their own dynamic entity intersecting strategically with both the realities in the streets of the Mission neighborhood and the realities of these young women's experiences with violence.

analysis/interpretation

In light of the prior presentation and discussion of stirring methods for liberation, I find that one of the ways I can best strive for accountability in my interpretation of the data is by exploring the participants' voice through her narrative. Phenomenologists use narrative to more truthfully explore the participant's voice. As well, a transparent researcher, whose voice is made audible through self-reflexive narrative, can facilitate accountability to the research subject and project by positioning their voice. According to Jayita Lal, researcher reflexivity is best presented as a contextualizing/localizing tactic

that explores the relationship to the participant's contextualized/localized subjectivities. (Lal, 1996) I took effort to note and reflect on my strong emotions that were conjured in response to certain interviews or events so that my own recognition of my involvement in understanding and documenting the participant's experiences would be documented and considered. I noticed and wrote memos about my gaze as researcher, my situatedness and how that effected the research. I asked myself questions with regards to my conflicting role as researcher/mentor/advocate. I arrived at the conclusion that my awareness of that conflict was crucial for me to move through the research as ethically as possible.

The first step in data analysis was the practice of writing field notes where I took notes describing the field site, anything meaningful about the participants' presentation or demeanor, significant insights, shared moments and the flow of the interview. These field notes became an important activity where I took note of key insights and salient issues; I also used this activity to track any problems with interviews and to remind myself to follow-up at the next interview on events that could be further explored. Lastly, I reflected on the efficacy of my interviewing style and technique that really helped with improving my interviewing skills. My notes for this section repeatedly urged me to "listen more, let the interview guide itself, let go of my own questions." This section was also instrumental in the more developed exercise of reflecting on my role as a researcher, exploring my subject positionality and emotions in relationship to the research issues and participants. Through this exercise I was able to acknowledge my own experiences with violence, with immigration, with racism, with counseling survivors of

domestic violence and the way in which these experiences informed the research questions and process.

As I transcribed, I became very concerned with the tape, and I found myself relying not just on the transcriptions but listening over and over again to the tapes where I could more fully capture the details of intonation, mood, and gesture. I sat with the data, immersing myself in the young women's voices. Poland raises critical concerns for researchers to consider in their process of transcribing by highlighting transcription as an interpretive activity that has stark limitations in its efforts to truly capture the "full flavor of the interview as a lived experience." (Poland, 1995) Although Poland also warns of the limitations of the audiotape, I nonetheless found it extremely useful in getting to know the participant more intimately.

I began taking notes on early analytical hunches and again immersed myself in the tapes and transcripts. I wrote situated analysis memos, analytical memos and compiled notes on emergent themes. When I began my analytical memos, I really worked on staying close to the text and the tapes, really listening to her voice and letting analysis emerge from there, from the inside-out, consistent with close-reading literary methodologies and phenomenological directions. The emergent themes memos I put together also helped me to stay close to the participants' words and start from there. With each memo I got deeper into the way these young women lived with, experienced and assigned meaning to violence.

The data analysis process led me toward considering aspects of phenomenology for my research. Our attempt to gain understanding for their understanding of violence led to it feeling increasingly imminent to consider "what lies at the ontological core of

(the participant's) being.” (van Manen, 1990) Questions concerned with the pre-reflective lived experience, how, for example, young folks were immediately experiencing violence, surfaced with saliency within the interviews and in data analysis meetings. Van Manen once said that “theory can only make room for itself once praxis has settled.” (van Manen, 1990) Similarly, as might seem obvious when clearly stated, the path toward an assessment of the lived experience proved primary to the development of theories about those experiences or about conceptualizations connected to those experiences.⁵⁷ Similarly, inquiry into the meaningfulness of violence in their lives seems vital to do justice to their dignity and voices. The processes of phenomenological inquiry also seem particularly suited for the subject because phenomenological approaches are committed to giving voice to the participants’ unique human experience. Nancy Scheper Hughes said that “phenomenology brings into nearness that which tends to be obscured...” (Scheper-Hughes, 1992) Indeed, phenomenology seems to offer a moment of humanization, a moment of voice, which can be a key practice in telling the stories especially of those at the margins. Language is a central tenet for studying phenomena within specific socio-cultural contexts, and language is symbolic power that creates reality through words. (Bourdieu, 1990a) Theoretical frameworks have acknowledged that perceptions of violence directly affect behaviors involving violence. (Landenberger, 1989; Mercy & O’Carroll, 1988). The study affords a number of young Latinas an opportunity to examine the words they use to think and talk about violence; this practice could contribute to self-reflection of the effects of their language on themselves and others.

⁵⁷ I actually see a much more fluid relationship between ontological and epistemological formations (and vice versa) and am highlighting ontology because it seemed secondary in the original research design, and deep consideration worked to allow its relief.

The community-based research model persisted through the analytical stage and the team met for regular analysis meetings. We began with devising a coding schema that in part emerged from the data itself and was combined with some preformulated paradigmatic family of codes. I guess you could call this a happy Strauss and Glaser marriage, not to open up that debate around classical grounded theory and its impending innovations, or as such asserted by Glaser. The coding remained open to innovation as we progressed, and we literally coded together, and adjusted and commented as we went along. These analysis meetings were mostly centered on fruitful discussion of emergent trends and patterns, as well as concerns and support regarding the youth's predicament and/or the participant's expressed need for intervention/support. I continue to meet and discuss this research with members of the research team and plan on doing so through the writing, publication and application of the research.

The review of literary and socio-political and historical texts will provide a deepened analytical exploration of the subject of violence in the lives of young Latinas. A cross-sectional analysis that considers multiple layers/levels of sociological analysis in the production of violence will help in the specific consideration of the ways in which multiple manifestations of violence are interrelated. It will also provide additional context through which we can better understand the lived experiences of young Latinas. Analytical memos will serve to assist in the development of emergent trends with regards to the interrelatedness of violence and the ways these contexts engage and interface with the young women being interviewed.

In closing, this research can potentially provide a set of voices concerning the issue of violence in the lives of young Latinas that has historically been silenced by the

workings of policy, race, class, gender, and age discriminators. The experiences these young women face compel me to continue this important work. After listening to their voices over and over again, I am reminded that much has to change in our society if we are to envision a life where violence is no longer in the lives of young Latinas, and that, quite candidly, is the central concern guiding this research. This research emanates both from the stories of the young women and from my life work to end violence against women of color. It is a “case of 6” of sorts, an attempt to represent these voices and their intersecting, ever-present socio-historical dimensions.

CHAPTER 6

las juvenes: violence is everywhere

*For to survive in the mouth of the dragon we call america,
we have had to learn this first and most vital lesson—
that we were never meant to survive.
Not as human beings.
(Lorde, p.42)*

I can't pretend I'm not here, that it's not me listening through all the years of weathered subjectivity etched in me by the texture of time brought upon by moments of grief, fear, rage, wonder and epiphany. I have buried many and yet I am here. I can't pretend their voices aren't the backgrounds against which your voice carries. I can't ignore the waves of loss that at times mute your words or would have them say something different. I have a different life. I want to trust that I will pick up the phone and call and you are still alive. The most justice I can do in this exercise is to remind myself and all those reading these words, that I am here and you are not, that I am writing about your life with the patience and access of a doctoral student, that I do not face the barrel of a gun, the cold jail cell walls, just the page.

This chapter was the hardest to write. I imagine myself with the responsibility of a nurse handling the body of an infant or a woman in a coma. I am given that much power by the institutional practices that yield my work as a researcher. And I madly set forth to vindicate, dissolve this power, illusory and material. I listen to the voices of these young women over and over again and know it is ultimately me taking the masterpiece of their lives and spirits and attempting to represent them on paper. Much like the infant or woman in a coma, it is not they who decide how their bodies are handled; these young women do not decide what words will speak their experiences. It is I. One should not be given that much power. I know that research trails close to the

violence of speaking for someone; the worst kind of ideological violence: silencing agency, denying one's power to represent one's self, muting voice. Research stands potentially against the very praxis of self-determination. My eyes are open to the power I wield with these words, and this requires that I commit the integrity of my spirit to remain and practice cleanliness of heart and humility as I progress. I affirm that the choices I make for what to write are capable of honoring and supporting these young women, respecting their will and self-determination. Methodological direction that is dedicated to justice and self-determination can lead in this regard. I will do my best to follow liberatory methodologies in the pages that lay ahead.

Jayati Lal, in "Situating Locations," posits a set of concerns about "locating the research subject" and the researcher. These concerns relate that the practice of reflexivity as a researcher in terms of how "the other/research subject" is being situated is not enough, but rather she suggests situating one's self not merely as a reflexive exercise (which, according to her, further silences/objectifies the research subject), rather, as a contextualized/localized researcher exploring the relationship to the research subject's contextualized/localized subjectivities. This insight facilitates moving forward with the kind of integrity, transparency and just motivations I intend.

Additionally, the case narrative structure, which will serve as the tool to represent the voices of the young women, allows for greater accountability to the voice of the interview subject because in form, it provides an account that directly presents the speaker's voice. Phenomenologists' use narrative to more truthfully explore the participant's voice: "stories are habitations. We live in and through stories. They conjure worlds." (Benner, 1994) My approach to phenomenological inquiry, as noted in the earlier chapter on methodology, will broach both grounded theory approaches with phenomenological approaches. In this way, much like the debates within literary criticism on the dangers of formalist close readings of text, the research process will consider the larger macro-structural forces and world in which the story being told is

couched and how the story might even be shaped by it, and as well, it will allow for intertextual read that comparatively will yield common or shared truths and meanings for the young women.(Jasinski, 2001) Lastly, such an approach will also facilitate my intention toward humility and accountability; there is no way I can interpret the one meaning the young women intend and there might even be multiple and contradictory meanings present in the text or for them, and my interpretation of the text always manifests through my subject location as researcher and my corresponding epistemological assumptions.

In order to substantiate these methodological claims, I will move forward conscientious of the narrativity of my interpretation of the young women's narrative. The very act of interpreting is a kind of storytelling. Deciding methodology is always a matter of deciding what story to tell and how to arrive at the story. So, their narratives will appear next to mine. My reflections, responses and emotions taken from field notes, journal entries and situated memos and the more elaborate interpretative writing I set out to draft in this dissertation, will reveal the craft of this particular kind of storytelling. These efforts aim toward presenting a transparent researcher, and they may facilitate accountability to the research subject and project. They also challenge the dominance of one particular narrative/voice in the writing up of research findings. Ultimately, it is these voices in concert that have led to the insight this dissertation relates. I am not interested in moving mountains; at this point my intent is to put notes onto paper and create a harmony that tells a story. Melodies inspire; they don't beat over the head; they gently fall into your heart. That is the way change happens, with our hearts. No matter how much we understand the intricacies of the social structuration of violence, our heads

fall heavy with analytic precision and the weight of historic retrospect. But we will not necessarily be any closer to healing violence. The injuries rest in our hearts, for centuries and generations they have found a home there. My intention with sharing these stories, the voices of Tatiana and Vanessa and my own, is to remind us of the way we hurt, survive, strive and heal. The pages that follow weave the voices of Tatiana and Vanessa's stories with my own; I invite you to listen.

Vanessa and Tatiana are two young Latinas growing up in the Mission. Their narratives reveal, that for them, violence is the constant and violence is the context of their lives. The predictability of violence emerging at an everyday capacity yields its constancy, and moving through the step of analytically pursuing the context of violence, their experiences relate that violence *is* the context of their lives. As Beth Richie puts forth,

while each woman's story is important and insightful, none represents 'an isolated case' or 'odd aberration.' Indeed when taken together, the women's stories clearly portray a series of circumstances that had many shared dimensions, and many of the women assigned like meanings to comparable events. (Richie, 1999) p.132

What does shifting our orientation as scholars pursuing further understanding on the topic of violence do to our findings when we stop searching for the context of violence and instead assume violence is the context? A closer look at their life experiences will afford the reader insight into the tremendous resilience emerging across the landscape of lives chiseled by the everyday experiences of violence. We would be mistaken if we read their lives against the grain of this survivance, or if we treated their resistance epiphenomenally, for as the violence is chiseled ubiquitously, so is their will and determination to persevere. When we fail to consider violence as the context, we are at

risk of pathologizing the aberrant, rather than documenting and humanizing the constant and everyplace.

vanessa

**“our house fell down:”
displacement, war and violence
somewhere between el salvador and the mission**

*Nothing but your shadow.
It suffices for us to thank you for worrying about us.
Your silent “Hi, how are you” and your invisible body.
We don’t see you, but we sense your presence, Justino. That’s enough.*
Manlio Argueta (Argueta)

*...que lejos estas del suelo donde he nacido
inmensa nostalgia invade mi pensamiento...
How far you are from the land of your birth
immense nostalgia invades my every thought...
Cancion Mixteca, Mixtec Song, J. Lopez Alavez*

Vanessa’s life and her experiences with violence emerge through the historical web of colonial and neocolonial invasions experienced by the people of El Salvador. Vanessa was born in El Salvador, and, like many Salvadorenos, she left in the 1980’s with her parents to settle in San Francisco’s Mission District. Salvadorenos fled El Salvador mostly to escape the civil war and military repression that peaked through the 1980’s and early 90’s. Vanessa is 16 and in the 11th grade and like many young people from El Salvador or with parents from El Salvador, she has grown up here and there. Although she mostly lives in the “United States,” she remains deeply connected to El Salvador and expresses anxiety and grief when faced with obstacles to her path to return. The experience of dislocation/displacement from her home of origin is a form of colonial violence, which exists in many examples of colonial invasions where extermination

policies like ethnic cleansing, military repression, economic policies that conjure extreme poverty, and certainly the violence of war make it unbearable to remain. Vanessa's experiences with violence include the violence of war, displacement, structural and economic violence, child abuse, and street violence. These multiple manifestations of violence are not only interwoven experientially in Vanessa's everyday living, but they are also co-constituted, interrelated according to ideological and material organization and deployment; one conjures and constitutes the other. They manifest in specific localities, El Salvador, the Mission, and in the spaces in between, where Vanessa both suffers and resists, perseveres in the liminal space of translocality many refugees inhabit.

A brief historical review of seminal moments tracking the trajectory of the organization and deployment of colonial and neo-colonial violence in El Salvador is critical to understanding the complex interrelatedness of the multiple manifestations of violence Vanessa endures. From 1980 to 1992, the people of El Salvador endured a 12 year civil war that resulted in the displacement of more than 25% of its population and led to the killing of more than 75,000 people, with approximately 8,000 disappeared (from a country of 6 million inhabitants). According to the conservative 2000 Census figures, there are 1.2 million people from El Salvador living in the United States.(Census, 2000) Whereas just under 35,000 migrants arrived from El Salvador in the 1970's, the figure sharply increased to nearly that every year throughout the duration of the Civil War, with the figures continuing to rise in the post-war period of the 1990's.(Homeland Security, 2004)

The war emerged within a long historical context of colonial invasion of Central America and El Salvador in the 1520's. After the colonial invasion, the Spanish set up a

brutal colonial regime that severely exploited peasants and workers. Systematic genocide, slavery (encomiendas), and rape endured, leading to 90% of the contemporary population of El Salvador being a mixture of indigenous and European blood. In 1821, the state of El Salvador declared its independence from Spain, and developed an ejido system, whereby peasants were allowed to own collective lands. The “United States” saw the victories against Spanish colonial systems as an opening for their colonial and economic interests, and ushered in the Monroe Doctrine foreign policies, which mirrored the Manifest Destiny domestic policies in its expansionist ideology. The Monroe Doctrine set out in 1823, to keep European interests out of the Americas by warning Europe that any invasions into the transcontinental Americas would be considered a threat to the safety of the “U.S.” This policy was further developed when Teddy Roosevelt added to it the “Roosevelt Corollary,” which stipulated that the “United States” held the right to interfere in Latin America in order to stabilize economic affairs, as the “U.S.” deemed necessary. Reminiscent of European colonial ideological violence, Teddy Roosevelt’s “cowboy diplomacy” set out to bring civilization to the “uncivilized and backward economies of Central America,” by force. The United States sought to coordinate the successful political allegiance of the region in order to secure the potential for profit that could be yielded by its fertile lands. The banana republics emerged and El Salvador thrived as a coffee producer.(Nieto, 2003; Perez-Brignoli, 1989) The exploitation of peasants was common practice and policy. The suffering was heightened in the late 1920’s-30’s by the “U.S.” Depression’s impact on the stability of El Salvador’s coffee industry/economy. Peasants organized and led an insurrection with prominent figure, Farabundo Marti, and Martinez’ military dictatorship issued the massacre, “La

Matanza,” of an estimated 10,000-30,000 people, including Marti, in 1932. (Consalvi, 2002; Perez-Brignoli, 1989) The U.S. responded by developing the Good Neighbor Policy that allowed FDR to “turn the other cheek,” to brutal dictatorships in Latin America. It posited that the United States respects its neighbors and will not intervene, although it continued to send military aid. Oligarchical structures and military dictatorships ensued and as repression again peaked prior to the 1980’s, resistance groups called popular organizations organized under the umbrella of the FMLN (Farabundo Marti Liberation Front). Archbishop Romero wrote to President Carter begging him not to send military aid to the brutal junta, which was attacking those fighting for the most basic human rights.(N. Chomsky, 1993) The military repression and violence steepened and Archbishop Romero was killed within weeks after writing the letter. His assassination was a catalyst, and the civil war emerged with the FMLN stating, “revolting conditions create revolutions.”(C. Menjivar, Nestor Rodriguez, 2005; "Women In War: Voices from the Front Lines," 1990) The civil war raged for over 12 years, and the military repression was aided by United States economic and military support, as Ronald Reagan set forth the renewed American venture into Central America, “Let us be bold and spread the American enterprise throughout the hemisphere.” ("Women In War: Voices from the Front Lines," 1990) According to Aldo Lauria Santiago, “tortures, massacres, beatings and rapes, then, would all be but side effects of a regime’s efforts to remain in power by obliterating its opposition.”(Santiago, 2005)

Salvadorans left their country en masse during the twelve-year conflict there. The overwhelming majority of them left for reasons related in some way to the civil war. Some of them were persecuted because of their active membership in the wrong political group; others belonged to social groups that the opposing armies deemed enemies and, thus, feared

for their lives....they left because of the immediate violence surrounding their everyday lives.(C. Menjivar, 2000)p.232

Many displaced migrants from El Salvador settled in the United States because of provisional measures that allowed them legal access to the country. However, because of the “United States”’ recognition of El Salvador as a democracy, political asylum and refugee status, legalization status was mostly denied to people from El Salvador and many remained as undocumented immigrants. Still, fearing being sent back to El Salvador if they stayed in Mexico, many continued north. The top destination was San Francisco, and in particular San Francisco’s Mission District, where nearly half of the Latino population is from Central America and most are from El Salvador.(McBride, 1999) San Francisco had seen initial migration as a result of the displacement of the 1930’s after the massacres. The coffee trade moved up the Pacific and many came into initial contact with San Francisco.(C. Menjivar, 2000) The war’s violence produced mass displacement, another form of violence common to Salvadorens. Displacement is a form of violence that separates families across continents, people from their landbase, cultural communities and languages, and produces severe loss and disorientation. Marta Benavides, who worked with the Ecumenical Committee for Humanitarian Aid under Archbishop Romero, has this to say:

Voluntary exile. What a contradiction! What an irony! None of us want to be anywhere but home. Who would voluntarily choose to be banished and estranged from home? (Benavides, 1988) p.131

Gloria Bonilla was a university student when her house was raided by the military. She fled to the United States, and shares:

There is no medicine or drug to take care of heartache and homesickness, not even here in the United States where there are drugs for almost everything, mostly for pain.(Bonilla, 1998)p.35

Vanessa's story recounted her loss as well. She still has family there and speaks very intimately of them and of her return trips to El Salvador. She declares how much she "likes to go back" and how much she "misses" El Salvador. Her sense of self in relationship to the land is very much connected to El Salvador as the place where she spent much of her childhood and her summers. Vanessa also identifies herself as Salvadoran instead of Latina, expressing the predominance of her national affiliation over one imposed by a "U.S." political context interested in displacing national affiliation with a singular ethnic blending term, a common feature in Central American immigrant identity formation.(Oboler) Further, Vanessa expresses concern and preoccupation over wanting to return. In a tone that reveals sadness and fear, she references the recent earthquake that destroyed her home in El Salvador, "Our house fell down," she says. The prior had taken her family's house and in the recent earthquake, her grandmother had also lost her house. She expressed grief at the loss of her grandmother's house. She seemed to have laid roots in that home and the loss was significant. It seemed painful to her that instead of the typical return every 3 months, 1 year had passed and she exclaimed, "I want to go back—yeah!" but "I'm waiting, don't have money..."

Vanessa expresses a strong emotional and physical relationship to the land. She strives to be able to return and the material return is essential for her, but she also perseveres with El Salvador as a continuing presence in her life through nostalgia, contact with family, and the pursuit of returning. The earlier quotation from Manlio Argueta's classic novel about the life of women during the war in El Salvador, *A Day in the Life*, reminds us of the ghosts that haunt the memory of Salvadoreños. In the story, the ghost reflects the spirits of the deceased, but in the context of Vanessa and so many displaced

Salvadoreños, the ghost is also embodied as El Salvador, that mythical spiritual figure and force that perhaps escapes the tangible grasp and material embodiment. “Nothing but your shadow,” Argueta posits as a mother addresses the spirit of her deceased son, “...your invisible body. We don’t see you, but we sense your presence your presence...That’s enough.”(Argueta, 1983) It is in this way that Vanessa holds, like many migrants and displaced peoples, emotionally, psychically and spiritually hold and negotiate the simultaneous reality of the contemporary physical location, and that of one’s past/ancestors. In the minds of migrants, borders fade, as we coexist psychically often in reference to more than one geographical location. Yet the material realities of the constraints and terrain of difference and distance and the lack of resources necessary “to get one physically there” remain. The paradox of globalism: borderless economies and barricaded borders, borderless psyches and barricaded bodies, imagined and material translocalities. (Andreas, 1999; Manz, 2000) As a migrant myself, I know the struggle of displacement well, as Homi Bhabha terms it, the struggle of “the unhomely.” My life experiences with migration inform my ability to conjure meaning from Vanessa’s words, and they allowed me to connect with her on what she expressed as an important and foundational aspect of her lived experience. It is through liminality, the meeting place of (cultural and national) difference that those of us displaced by colonial violence (ideological and material displacement referenced here) conjure our imagined productions of identity, home, and belonging in the postcolonial moment(s).(Bhabha, 1994) It is in the “haunting” “unhomely” spaces between dominant and resistant social formations that one finds the location of culture, breath, that one survives.(Bhabha, 1994)

*...the skin of the earth is seamless.
The sea cannot be fenced,*

el mar does not stop at borders.
(Anzaldua, 1987) p.3

amor de ángeles,
migrant love

i.
silence
de puertas

you stand
al otro lado

wooded muted
angel

so I dream
you

ii.
blankets
fly against pale desert skies

aquí bailo
para ti

en este lado
de la puerta

The discussion thus far yields consideration for the violence of war and of displacement and family separation, two key strategies and forms of colonial violence, as is addressed in the architecture of violence chapter. The framework of colonial violence is critical to understand the experience of surviving displacement and war because it facilitates consideration of the patterning of multiple manifestations of violence deployed for the purpose of carving or maintaining colonial relations. The historical pattern expresses a relation of colonial dominance between Europe and El Salvador, followed by

the United States and El Salvador, whereby one country seeks to control by power and to usurp the natural resources of the colonized land for the profit of the colonial power.

Material and ideological violence, as addressed in chapter 2, are deployed in the colonial process. In El Salvador, the brutal violence that people endured is documented and still under investigation, and it continues to shape the socio-political landscape.(C. Menjivar, Nestor Rodriguez, 2005) Daniel Santiago, a Catholic priest, published an article in *America*, a Jesuit journal that related the terrorizing violence in El Salvador:

People are not just killed by death squads in El Salvador -- they are decapitated and then their heads are placed on pikes and used to dot the landscape. Men are not just disemboweled by the Salvadoran Treasury Police; their severed genitalia are stuffed into their mouths. Salvadoran women are not just raped by the National Guard; their wombs are cut from their bodies and used to cover their faces. It is not enough to kill children; they are dragged over barbed wire until the flesh falls from their bones, while parents are forced to watch. (N. Chomsky, 1993)

Additionally, the war and the postcolonial conditions under neoliberal policies like CAFTA (Central American Free Trade Agreement) have impoverished the country and restructured economic and gender relations within El Salvador. Somewhere between 25% and 40% of the households in the postwar period were led by women, as most men were either killed or forced into exile.("Women In War: Voices from the Front Lines," 1990) The nation's unemployment rate is 50% and over 50% of the country lives in poverty.(Muller, 2005) Neoliberal policies that continued the stark economic conditions in the postwar period, have yielded the people of El Salvador as the most profitable export, with migrant workers sending remittances that were are to 20% of the GDP.(Mahler, 2006) The postwar neo-colonial period has also witnessed a dramatic victimization of women, the largest targets of violence, with over 1,000 women murdered between 1999 and 2005.(Hufstader, 2005) In 2003 alone, there were nearly 250 women

murdered by their husbands/partners. In 2005, the number rose to 323.(Hufstader, 2005; Muller, 2005) Statistics rate the problem of violence in Latin America as most concentrated in El Salvador, with Colombia, also a country ravaged by civil war, trailing closely behind. The case of violence in El Salvador points to the interrelatedness of the archetypes of violence and the multiple derivative manifestations of violence. In El Salvador and in the experiences with violence of Salvadoreños, we see clearly the co-constitution of colonial violence, military state violence, economic and neocolonial violence, and gendering violence. Here we may find some answers as to why Vanessa's mother, as Vanessa exclaims, "just runs to violence."

Vanessa relates some of the ways the violence in El Salvador affected her family. Her uncle was killed when he attempted to intervene in a domestic violence situation. Her father saw many killed and the family lost many loved ones during the war. Military state and colonial violence increase rates of domestic violence and child abuse.(C. Rojas, Margo Okazawa-Rey, and Marisol Arriola 2002) Vanessa has endured physical assaults from both of her parents. The structural and economic violence of poverty that Vanessa's family and most Salvadorans fled, has led to the additional displacement as a result of natural disasters. Those most affected in natural disasters are always the most economically and racially disenfranchised. In a conversation with Victor Perera, the Cakchiquel Mayas in Guatemala, another region that suffered devastating consequences after earthquakes, asked, "why were so many naturals killed and so few ladinos?"(Perera, 1993)p.271 As cultural workers, scholars and local movement leaders have argued in the case of the tragedies of Hurricane Katrina, the real disaster was man-made in the aftermath of the "natural" disaster. By rephrasing the New Orleans experience as "when

the levees broke,” they remind us that structural inequality carves the responses to natural disasters, so that dominant interests persevere while poor and marginalized communities suffer the greatest toll, loss and humiliation in the aftermath.(Lee, 2006) Thus, when Vanessa utters “our house fell down,” with fear and mourning in the tone of her voice, the loss of her home is historically referencing her and her family’s multiple displacements through war, colonial and neocolonial economic violence. Although I cannot say she consciously implies this, her statement functions as a powerful metaphor invoking the tremendous casualties of the war and the toll and impact of American foreign policies, colonial, economic, and gendering violence in El Salvador. Vanessa’s salient emotive connection to El Salvador remains a source of strength, survival and resistance against the great toll of these tragedies, and just as her face lights up when remembering or thinking of going to El Salvador, I am sure her spirit finds breath, respite and healing in her ability to maintain this connection.

the mission

Vanessa’s other home, and where she also grew up, is in the predominantly Latino inner-city neighborhood of the Mission, where she negotiates a completely different urban reality than that of her other home in El Salvador. The largely Latino neighborhood is nestled between 14th and Cesar Chavez Streets and Valencia and Potrero Avenue. With nearly 780,000 inhabitants, San Francisco is one of the most densely populated cities (it is only 47 square miles), and the Mission neighborhood is one of its most densely populated neighborhoods. (Census, 2000) An admittedly undercounted 15% of San Francisco’s inhabitants are Latino, (undocumented immigrants are routinely undercounted), and most of this population lives in the Mission neighborhood, one of the

poorest in the city.(R. Pinderhughes, Moore, J., 1993) Approximately 50% of Latinos are of Mexican ethnic origin and Central Americans are the second highest Latino ethnicity.(R. T. Pinderhughes, Fred; Wong, Amy; Webster, Ray; Kerr, Courtney, 1996) Large numbers of Central American refugees fleeing US military invasions and financed civil wars have fled to the Mission District in San Francisco.

Vanessa's interviews were conducted in a public setting, a taquería near 24th and Mission St., an area where many Latino youth hang out. 24th and Mission is an important focal location in the Mission District; it is the meeting place of principal street lines, bus and Bart lines. This spot comes alive with colorful murals, young people getting out of school, the young flower sellers, the tamaleras, and the immigrant and after work anti war rallies and vigils usually organized by local groups Latinos Contra la Guerra, Mujeres Unidas, and Deporten a la Migra. Vanessa expressed feeling comfortable with this interview location, and the site also served to trigger memories of past events that took place within proximity to the taquería. We were also able to sit and eat, which relaxed the interview and increased openness and trust. In addition, the public location was a great location to do ethnographic research and not only did I also frequent these locations regularly as a local resident, but my engaged observation of the research participants in their environment, existing in the social ecology of this public place, allowed me additional valuable insight to her and to the space, and her in and with the space. I collected data through participant observation and dedicated some time to ethnographic description of the neighborhood and context in which the young women were situated. I lived right up the street from where many of the youth attended school, and I observed school and after school youth activities. Because I also lived, ate, slept, and hung out in

those very same streets, I understood that lived experience more profoundly. The visual landscape to be deciphered through ethnographic analysis was not foreign to me, but instead a very familiar, dynamic, living entity with which I too lived side by side. This additional data allowed me the opportunity to feel the pulse of the neighborhood, to witness the flow of inhabitants in their quotidian activities and concerns, and to begin to scribe the screen or canvas, the local context, where the young women's voices, and lives, emerge. Living in the neighborhood allowed me regular access to practicing many of the techniques of ethnography on a regular basis, such as engaging in conversation with local community members, conducting first hand observation of daily interactions, and working and organizing with community members. Yet, I was consciously an outsider as well, not a working class, inner city young Latina growing up in the Mission but an adult, pursuing postgraduate education and a university instructor. My outsiderness was evident, and I wrote reflexive memos on positionality that allowed for this vivid detail to remain salient throughout the research process. The wisdom of feminist, decolonial and emancipatory methodologies, such as critical ethnography and standpoint epistemology, beckoned me to critically incorporate the way the power of hegemony is made operative through the research process and the researcher, into the field of analysis and the formulation of knowledge.(Hill Collins, 1990; Thomas, 2003) Conscientious of research and its legacies of ideological violence, or as Thomas posits (per Bourdieu), "symbolic violence," I progressed rooted to a reflective critical analysis that considered what my readings or interpretations of research subjects (local landscape, culture and people, along with interviewees) as potentially, wrong. This freedom to be wrong, garnered by a liberatory research process, allowed me to consider multiple sites of

information and interpretational possibilities, so that through comparative analysis along with critical empirical assessment of the patterning of inequality and oppression, I might not necessarily find truth, but do truth justice, practice doing justice to truth.(Thomas, 1993)

Like most Mission residents, Vanessa speaks Spanish at home, and she's Catholic. Over 90% of families living in the Mission speak Spanish at home.(R. T. Pinderhughes, Fred; Wong, Amy; Webster, Ray; Kerr, Courtney) Vanessa goes to Church once a month. Her mother is a housekeeper; the Mission is home to most domestic workers in San Francisco. Vanessa doesn't expect she'll get a college degree, and she's thought of dropping out of school, like a significant majority of high school students in the Mission. Latino drop out rates are nearly double the district average drop out rate, and the college attendance rate is nearly half that of the district average as well. (R. T. Pinderhughes, Fred; Wong, Amy; Webster, Ray; Kerr, Courtney)

Vanessa is clearly situated within her Mission neighborhood. She frequently discusses "walking around the neighborhood" in order to get to school, to hang out with her friends, to get picked up by a guy, or just simply in order to "walk around the neighborhood." People in the neighborhood know her and some bar owners even let her and her underage friends in for a drink. When relating her experience of just walking down 24th St., Vanessa shows a glimmer of the warmth and excitement that is similar to the glow she gets when addressing El Salvador. This place clearly means a lot to her. She reciprocates a sense of vibrancy and life that the city offers her; the Mission and her are co-constituted, their energy is imbued in the other. The streets, the vendors, her friends under a certain set of only Mission skies and her spirit coexist in a magical way.

She gets something from the Mission that helps her endure, survive. She expresses a profound sense of rootedness in the Mission, a sensibility that is mirrored in Tatiana's testimony. Having both experienced multiple displacements from home (country, family, neighborhood, etc.), their sense of wonder and delight for their neighborhood is obvious in the language and tone with which they recall or depict the dailyness of living in the Mission.

But the Mission is also a dangerous place. The Mission District and Bayview Hunter's Point usually share in the city's highest homicide rates, and the continuum of the deployment of violence is constant.(Marquez, 2005) Violence is everywhere and everyday in the Mission. Structural violence shapes meager possibilities for the Mission's Latino/a residents, and few are able to escape the imposed measures that strike poverty, poor educational achievement, and police violence ushered in largely through city and state economic and social policies. Richard Marquez calls this continuum of violence, "the deplorable socio-economic conditions confining thousands of San Franciscans to a meager existence, indebtedness and a socially-segregated apartheid."(Marquez, 2005) The continuum of violence in the Mission mirrors the violence experienced by third worlds countries like El Salvador, which is why many consider urban immigrant centers "third worlds within," analysis that builds on the analytical models of internal colonialism. In the last year alone, Vanessa has lost 3 people close to her to violence and one was seriously injured. When asked about her experiences with violence, she begins by talking about being harassed at school and by drunk men while walking down the street in the Mission. She's also been involved in 3 fights in the last year. She has sustained injuries from the fights, which took place in the

streets. When asked if she will still be alive by the time she's 25, she responds, "hopefully." Her response reflects that she is conscious of the threat of violence and the risk and dangers that surround her. In a competing narrative between mother and son, two San Francisco residents bemoan the loss of yet another loved one; when mother seems shocked at the regularity of violence and killing, her son, who has grown up in the Mission most of his life, responds, "Mom...this happens." He understands that violence in the Mission, happens, it is no anomaly in the social structure nor in the daily lives of young people.(Campell, 2007)

a day in vanessa's life

This morning she was abruptly awoken as her mother pulled her out of bed, unexpectedly yelling at her for coming in late the previous night, when she had told her she could be late. She leaves her house. Walks into the loud noise of heavy traffic, honking cars, buses lifting and starting, people yelling, laughing, talking, the sun is bright and scorching down. It's 7:30am and the old drunk on the corner yells to her "a donde vas chulita?" She notices two children playing. She goes to school and faces her harassing teacher and her friends' betrayal. Her friends are huddled in a corner, talking about her, they're gossiping and soon the whole school knows Vanessa's most intimate secrets. She walks to work and gets harassed by gang members wanting her to claim. It's Friday and she goes with her friends to the park, drinks a bottle of Bacardi, refuses crack and heroin but she drinks a whole bottle of Baccardi because she likes to look "gone." She thinks of her boyfriend who is locked up for another year for selling crack. At the end of the night, her friends drop her off at home and she feels humiliated by her

*mom who loses her temper in front of her friends, she's upset that Vanessa has come home drunk.*⁵⁸

Although this is the stark reality of Vanessa's day in the life, as narrated by her, we would be remiss if the recounting of the garish crudity obfuscated the persistent joy in Vanessa's disposition. As I have found in my travels to military occupation sites, undeniably the violence has a tragic toll on the inhabitants, but nonetheless they remain, with stark determination they persevere. It is this kind of fortitude, of determination of spirit, that inspires young boys in Palestine and the "U.S." Mexico border, to throw rocks at the dauntingly brutal military tanks and border patrol vehicles. While in Palestine, I spent some time in Abu Dis, the Palestinian village that borders Jerusalem, and while the encroaching borders (I saw them literally moved on a daily basis, barricades were moved incrementally further onto Palestinian territory) and heightened harassment and violence of checkpoint crossings was within a few feet of their home, the children still laughed, played, joked and sang out loud. There is a resilience, a "Teflon" quality, I have witnessed in youth facing the most terrorizing circumstances and I am reminded that Vanessa, in the midst of the ubiquitous violence that surrounds, also finds joy. She smiles voraciously when talking about her favorite things to do (watch movies and walk down 24th street). These moments of joy, with friends and loved ones are bus passes on a journey to survival, and she finds a place for them in her daily life.

violence is everywhere: crossings with violence

⁵⁸ This text is a combination of my own and her words; this narrative of a day in Vanessa's life depicts only actual experiences she related in her interviews.

The interviews revealed how violence is present in Vanessa's life, how she lives with violence, literally violence as a part of Vanessa's everyday life. Her multiple crossings with violence led to particular responses pertaining to how she lives with, negotiates and resists violence, and how these experiences shape her understanding of violence. Vanessa discussed encountering violence through street harassment, from her parents, in the streets, on the bus, and in school. She also talked about losing loved ones to violence, her uncle to a violent attack during the war in El Salvador and her friends to gang violence in the Mission. Vanessa talked about violence in the movies; she expressed a preference to scary violent movies like *Hannibal*. The following narratives, taken from interviews with Vanessa, reveal some of her experiences with violence, as well as Vanessa responses to violent incidents and how she is informed and shaped by them, how she interprets their meaningfulness in her life.

gang violence:

“everywhere you go, you are going to face gang violence... you can be involved without knowing...”

losing friends to gang violence:

Two of them are gang members. They've been my friends. They got, one got stabbed and he was in the hospital and he had been like a vegetable. His mom just pulled the plug. The other one he got, actually, he got shot...they just shot him. And the other one... like she was caught in the middle or something. Like right now let's say we're standing outside and there is a shooting. That's what happened to her.

response to losing friends to gang violence:

After it happened everybody called me, cuz it was my cousin's cousin and so I was like whoa. I got amazed. At first I was like, nah, you know gang members. Like it never, like it never hit me oh they can actually do that. It changed me. It got me thinking a little more (about) who I'm hanging

around with and that kind of stuff. Even if you are not involved, maybe other people take it the wrong way. And you can be involved without knowing. *So it made you in some ways more afraid?* Uh-hum and watch my back.

Vanessa shares with the interviewer the reality, in her life, of losing friends to violence. In doing so, she also expresses that it could happen to her or to me, the interviewer, violence is that pervasive that if someone, even someone uninvolved in gangs, was just standing on the corner, they could get killed. In an editorial written by a Mission mother fearing for her teenager's safety, the author arrives at the conclusion that "killing is normal in my city." (Campell, 2007) In light of everything there is to relay about the situation, the first thing Vanessa shares with the interviewer about the loss is that her friends were gang members; this seems to matter to her. Vanessa is surrounded by gang violence as her older sister was involved in gangs and she herself was in a gang for a short time during her freshman year. Vanessa relates to us the shift that took place in how she understood gang violence, it seems that gang members were present and a part of life; in a later interview she said, "everywhere you go you are going to face gangs." But these incidents shed light on the danger surrounding gangs, with or without affiliating to them. Her profound comment, "you can be involved without knowing" expresses the reality of danger looming all around and a sense of lack of control regarding perceived or assigned gang affiliation.

Vanessa responded to these experiences by heightening her sense of surveillance and becoming more aware of her personal safety, in her words, "watch my back." Vanessa seems concerned with her safety, and she seems diligent about assessing possible dangerous situations. In light of the loss of control when violence surrounds,

Vanessa's resilient strategies for survival of applying surveillance diligently, is a move to take back the power a young Latina woman is regularly made to surrender by just walking down the street in the Mission. Lastly, Vanessa expresses resilience through change; she demonstrates agentic engagement with the disempowering field of violence. In light of the circumstances, of the pervasiveness of violence, Vanessa diligently reads her environment, takes in information, and makes the necessary adaptations, changes to survive in it.

the 14: the streets on wheels
“I've seen a lot of stuff go down on the 14...”

The 14 bus line is a place where Vanessa knows the possibility of danger looms. The 14 is the streets on wheels. It runs like an artery through Mission Street and the heart of the Mission district. On the 14, one can travel the entire scope of Western San Francisco, from SOMA to the Excelsior. The 14 traverses all of the Mission District and here is where the bus line gains momentum. Young people getting out of school, on their way to see a movie get anywhere from and across the Mission on the 14. I have vivid memories of things I've seen on the 14, some worth remembering, others worth forgetting. Sometimes I couldn't wait to get on the 14, other times I couldn't wait to get off the 14. The colorful characters of San Francisco's eccentrics, the artists, queer and tranny folks, even the homeless, immigrants, the old, all find a home on the 14. They're leaving, coming to and going through the Mission, and for that fifteen or so block ride, the 14 becomes the streets on wheels. Vanessa recounts many experiences on the 14. Among them an experience that led to a violent altercation. While we know the undercurrent to Vanessa's rise to violence is embedded in her and her family's

experiences with war, displacement, economic and neocolonial violence and child abuse in El Salvador and the Mission, her assessment that she has her “mom’s temper” signals a connection to the multi-generational experience with violence. Whereas in another interview, Vanessa expresses concern for how her mother “just runs to violence,” in this incident, Vanessa relates that it is at times necessary to do so.

on the 14:

On the 14, yeah I’ve seen a lot of stuff go down on the 14. A lot of kids get jumped on the 14. All kinds of stuff happens on the 14...

We were on the bus, me and my friend, and I had my cell phone and she had her pager. And they wanted to take my cell away. I don’t know if it was 3 or 5 Samoan girls. And then I didn’t know how to react. I’m the type of person that gets angry right then and there, and I told them let’s get off the bus then, and let’s settle it. And we got off the bus. And like two of them stay and the other 3 went down. 2 of them chickened out. I expected more of it. I’m not the type of person that says okay let’s go and starts fights, I don’t start fights. If it comes to me it comes to me, but like I expected I was going to end up with the cops or something, but nothing happened. Usually, people call the cops and say oh they’re fighting, but nothing happened. We did what we had to do and just walked away like whatever.

reponse: “I could end up dead...I think about it before I do it but I just do it”

I know every time I get into fights I know there is a big risk that I could end up in jail, I could end up in juvie. *You think about that?* Yeah, I think about that. I could end up dead. Maybe they have a gun or something. I think about it before I do it but I just do it...we’re all the same. We don’t start fights unless we have to. Unless someone comes up to us and wants to fight us, alright then but there has to be a good reason. It’s like if it’s over something stupid, nah...we all have my mom’s temper and once we get mad, oh my god, get away...I see it (violence) okay if it is something that you have to do. Let’s say that you’re on the bus, like I said I was in the bus, and then I looked at them and they wanted to get mad at me and whoop my ass and everything. I can’t stand there like a dork and just okay kick my ass. You have to do something about it. So I think that’s when you, when it’s necessary.

In this second narrative, Vanessa shares an experience she had where she got involved in a fight. Again she relates that violence is present all around, she almost expects it “on the 14,” she has seen so many violent incidents. She comments, “if it comes to me, it comes to me,” as if it is just a matter of time. The 14 and the streets in Vanessa’s testimony are constitutive of violence. It seems there is nothing for her that is surprising or unexpected about violence emerging in the socio-political and geographic locations of a bus running through the heart of the Mission streets and the Mission streets themselves. There is an interesting interrelationship that emerges between the bus and the streets because the bus location serves to instigate the violence, to precipitate it, but the young women then leave the bus to fight. The two young women that stay on the bus stay in order to avoid further involvement. The bus delivers the violence to that all-consuming place of violence, the streets. Violence is just another passenger on the bus. When its time arrives, it spills from the bus onto the streets like the roar of the bellowing sea onto the riverbed.

While recounting the scene on the streets after they got off the bus, Vanessa notes that the fight does not escalate as seriously as she had anticipated (2 of the young women did not leave the bus). Vanessa says she “expected more of it.” It is interesting that while recounting her greater expectation, Vanessa presumed the incident would “end up with the cops.” Her statement shows the regularity of police presence in her neighborhood and her framing of their unexpected absence further denotes the irregularity of their absence in the Mission.

In her discussion, Vanessa presents violence as just another aspect of life, another presentation of life. “We did what we had to do,” she says. Vanessa’s language speaks of a compelling toward violence. For Vanessa, there are clear indicators for the use of violence. Violence is something she engages in if she’s angered or in response to other’s violence directed at her. She is acutely aware of the set of circumstances surrounding her engagement in fighting, such as jail or risking her life, but there are still times when violence “is necessary” according to Vanessa, such as when someone else wants to “whoop my ass.” It’s important to Vanessa that in a situation such as this, she do something: “you have to do something about it.”

The only racial identification Vanessa reveals about another group is in relationship to the group of young Samoan women on the 14 who are positioned as a threat to her, they initiate conflict and become her opponent. Racialization is used as an element to construe the difference necessary through which violence manifests. As is described in the archetypes of violence, difference and violence are co-constituted. Heteropatriarchal violence depends on hierarchalized sex/gender/sexuality difference and colonial violence depends on the imposition and hierarchicalizing of national and racial difference. Vanessa’s quick delivery and easy forthcoming with the Samoan girls’ racial identification indicates that within her urban neighborhood reality, it is a common practice to racially identify Samoan girls, the largest ethnic group of Pacific Islanders in San Francisco (H. Pinderhughes, 1997) The design of San Francisco neighborhoods, the social engineering and strategic separation of black and Latino neighborhoods provides important contextual reference for how these common practices of racialization emerge. The culture of the dominant group presides over the particular neighborhoods and clashes emerge between (racial) outsiders to that dominance and dominant groups⁵⁹ (Applied, 1996) I wonder, for example, how this scenario on the 14 would look different if Vanessa and the girls were riding a bus through the Excelsior, which inhabits a large percentage of the Samoan population in San Francisco. Without tending toward hypotheticals, what we do know is that Vanessa was involved in a violent altercation with members of a group she identified as other than her own. Difference and violence, where power and dominance roam, are co-constituted.(Derrida, 1981)

child abuse:

“I am afraid...” the unpredictability factor

⁵⁹ The Bayview Hunter’s Point, for example, was engineered to house African American service members returning from World War II and their families. (Applied, 1996)

“se pone bien violenta (she gets really violent): she just runs to violence”

what happens when you guys fight (her mother)? Se pone bien violenta y eso es lo que tengo miedo (she gets really violent and that is what I’m afraid of). I spent a whole week in bed, cause she got the belt and she beat me up and then I was I, after that I was just like I can’t live here. She got the belt and she beat me up and I had bruises. I couldn’t walk and I was just like I just was like no...and then what bothered me too was that oh she couldn’t wait until we got into the house, she did it in front of my friends (accused her of smoking and drinking).

Well my dad I, yeah we fight. There’s been twice, once that he got mad out of nowhere, like you know other situations and he threw me against the wall and actually beat on me too, but like you know at first that day I hated him I was like wow just you know whatever, but like I knew it wasn’t because of me and I talked to him. He goes oh you know I’m sorry, he even cried to me cause he’s never in his life said he’d touch me...I’m not scared of my dad.

response: I-I don’t know what to expect

With her I’m kind of scared. I’ve been scared of her since I was little. *Do you think you want to go back and live with your mom?* No. *Ever?* Ever. It bothers me cause like I don’t know what to expect from her each day. I see her and like I don’t know what to expect or maybe she’ll be like oh you know just all lovey-dovey whatever and then or she’ll probably be all mad at us and take it out on me. I-I don’t know what to expect.

I will always go to my dad; if any thing happens he’s the one I go to.

Vanessa has experienced physical assaults from both her parents, yet she distinguishes their actions very clearly from the other, a distinction that leads Vanessa to respond to and experience their violence very differently. Vanessa conveys feelings of safety around her father; she feels she can turn to him, in spite of prior physical attacks. She literally expresses not feeling scared of her father. Her mother on the other hand, she characterizes as unpredictable, which appears as frightening and dangerous to Vanessa. She does relay that her father also hit her “out of nowhere” which references her feeling unsafe with the unpredictability of the violence. All of the narratives relay that Vanessa

is concerned with her safety, and that she typically engages in an assessment of the danger and utilizes surveillance “watch my back,” as a tactic to keep herself safe; however, unpredictable behavior is much more difficult to assess, for it is literally, unpredictable. In no other reference to her experiences with violence does Vanessa express or mention fear, either being afraid of violence or experiencing fear during an altercation, even though she is clear it surrounds her. The difference seems to be her inability to see it coming. The unpredictability factor seems to frighten Vanessa to the point where she finds it necessary to remove herself from the situation entirely to maintain her safety.

Gender analysis will help to further understand the child abuse Vanessa is experiencing. Gendered subjectivity/localization is difficult to assess because it appears throughout her text in various ways. One of the most salient features, which I’ll focus on for the purposes of this exercise, is the way in which Vanessa perceives herself as a young woman in relationship to her mother and her (girl)friends. Vanessa expresses highly tense situations arising from these relationships. She feels her mother is highly volatile with erratic unpredictable spouts of violent behavior (against Vanessa); she is untrustworthy and highly punitive and humiliating. Simply put, Vanessa doesn’t trust her and questions her physical and emotional safety around her. Vanessa has gone to live with her father (away from her father) in order to protect herself. Vanessa’s girlfriends have all betrayed her in some way or another, primarily by making up half-truths about her (spreading rumors) or divulging secrets Vanessa had confided them with. Vanessa has felt humiliated by the rumors she has heard and by the secrets that were revealed. Vanessa says she is unable to trust her friends and must “keep them at bay” in order to protect herself. In both of these instances, Vanessa expresses doubts, insecurities, fears, and threats to her safety that arise from same gendered relationships. This reveals possible conflict in terms of her own gendered subjectivity, and as well points to the interpellation of patriarchal and gendering violence that leads to young women feeling unsafe with other women and women deploying violence against other women. The cultural patterns of a heteronormative gendering Latino/a culture conjures oppositional relations among women; as the axiom goes, ultimately a woman is after your man and will do anything to knock out the competition. As Suzanne Pharr argues in “Homophobia: a Weapon of Sexism,” women are recruited to participate in heteropatriarchy through gendering and heteronormative violence against other women. (Pharr) Cultural formations act here along the axes of the archetypes of violence, structuring relation according to the requisite organization to further heteronormative and gendering violences. These formations are acting on Vanessa’s responses to other

girls'/women's actions, as they are also acting on those (young) women and her mother when they "betray her" and abuse her.(Dernersersian, 1992; Trujillo, 1991)

**the gaze of the story turns:
"I lived in the immensity of water"**

After having shared with the reader a glimpse into Vanessa's life and voice, I find it important to share with the reader a glimpse into what concerns coded my interviewing and research process. As much as the interviewer/researcher aims at being invisible in the phenomenological process, the work of feminist research has clearly demonstrated the need to expose the particular subject position of the researcher in order to gain greater depth of understanding of the research.(Haraway, 1991; Hill Collins, 1990; Lal, 1996)

The following excerpt is taken from a memo written after an interview, in it you will notice the drastic difference in tone and concern presented in my rendition of Vanessa's life, as the interviewer with a particular set of life experiences, and later, in her rendition. The practice of phenomenology helped me to listen intently to what Vanessa was speaking and to hear her, and through that I learned. Likewise, the practice of critical ethnography and feminist standpoint, helped to practice reflexive analysis that considered the element of difference and power in the research relation and the historical forces of oppression acting upon the research process. The emotional and reflexive writing that follows undoubtedly frames and shapes my interpretive analysis of Vanessa's crossings with violence. By writing it, I see the frame, my lens, and the practice of bringing researcher into visibility; being clear and transparent with my intentions, fears, emotions, and my own crossings with violence, challenges the power dynamic. It is the situatedness of the researcher, positioned alongside the situatedness of the research

subject, where the gaze of the story being told turns on both, that a potential challenge to the historic supremacy of the researcher lies.

I remember a feeling of hesitance that clouded the return to my car after my second interview with Vanessa. I had sat with her for slightly over an hour and Vanessa had painted for me a momentary still, offering me a glimpse into her daily living. It was raining outside and before I parted, I gave her the money for the interview, offered a hug and we confirmed our next meeting. She stood there, protecting herself from the rain in a seemingly unobtrusive way, with no umbrella or raincoat on hand, she seemed to distill all confidence onto her eyelashes and their ability to keep the water away from her eyes. She did this in the same way she averted the ominous violence that colored the painting of her life; she walked through countless dangerous situations with an unspoken confidence that caused one leg to move after the other and literally saved her life over and again.

But this interview I had seen something different, I had seen a vulnerability, not frailty or fear, but I saw Vanessa as susceptible to the looming violence that surrounded her. I got into my car and instantly began rewinding the tape to prepare it for a second listen when I returned home. As I drove off, I listened to the crying mandolins of Los Lobos, the windshield wipers framing the beats of a Mexican Veracruzana folkloric jarocho son called La Sirena (“The Mermaid”). The song says “en la inmensidad del agua fueron mis habitaciones” (I lived in the immensity of water.)

I arrived home and dashed through the rain into the building entrance. Filled with emotion, I remained observant. I flew through my front door, sat on the chair overlooking my desk and looked out the front window into the misty late afternoon quickly turning into evening. After a few minutes I got up and placed the tape in the cassette player, adjusting the volume to match her spoken voice level. At the sound of her voice coming from the speakers, I let all emotion surface and this is what I felt.

How can our children go through this? What kind of world do we all create that is capable of placing death, rape, mutilation, intoxication, and abuse in front of a child who hasn’t even turned 14 yet? Who will survive? How do they survive? Will she survive? Will this be the last time I see her? Will I get a call from her father saying, “Vanessa isn’t with us anymore...?” My cousin didn’t survive. He was her age and the same world that clouds her took him down. I am afraid. I am deeply afraid that these regular meetings will lead to Vanessa finding a place in my heart and I won’t know how to protect her from all of this. I won’t be able to protect her. It is not for me to protect her. It is this world that has chosen such a destiny for a young precocious and determined 14 year old. Will she be able to bear through it all, or is that confidence, the same I

once saw in my cousin, a thin layer of youthful arrogance coating a layer of invincibility covering an insurmountable immensity of fear for life and everything that it holds; is that confidence too, impermanent?

I write my fieldnotes amidst the shrilling fear that I now held. I feared for Vanessa's safety, for her life, and for her family. (Memo on self, Feb. 6, 2002)

eyes of Zapata: gotta “watch my back from...from everybody and every second”

To Vanessa, violence is a part of everyday life. Violence is not aberrant, rather it is stitched across many of her social and geographic locations. Because of this reality, Vanessa expresses a very practical orientation to violence, a keen awareness of its utility and dangers that resonates with a degree of normalcy, an everyday occurrence to be mindful and if possible prepared for. Vanessa makes strategic and thought-out decisions about when and how violence is useful, when and how it makes sense, what risks are involved, when it is the only option and when there are other options. To Vanessa violence is not aberrant and out of that reality emerge strategies for handling, surviving, and responding to violence. If Vanessa stopped for one second and lived her life through my subjective lens, she would probably not survive, it is the recognition of the pervasive presence of violence in her life and her will and commitment to live, to keep herself safe and to resist that code Vanessa's daily living and orientation to violence. And Vanessa has identified that in such a context, the practice of seeing violence, of looking out for it, of vigilance and surveillance, of astutely studying from where and when it might emerge is how she keeps herself safe. It is the eyes of Zapata, that ever-vigilant legendary Mexican heroic figure who survived, it is said, countless near death experiences because of his ability to see it all. Since violence is everywhere in Vanessa's life, it could emerge at any moment and watching her back “from everybody and every second” is the way for her to increase her ability to see it coming before it's too late. Heidegger once said that possibilities exist for us because of our situatedness. Vanessa taught me to believe in her, a strong young woman who has found how to take care of herself in light of the violence that surrounds her.

Vanessa's situatedness in violence yields important interventions into knowledge formation on violence. The dominant narratives in violence that posit violence as an individual and aberrant behavior are challenged by her formulations of violence.

Vanessa's multiple and interrelated experiences with violence remind us that the violence is never singular, but a feature occurring along vast historical patterns of social and political formation. Violence is never just individual, but anchored and produced through socio-political means, and these elements must be considered for their role in the

production of violence. The dominant narratives to violence lead to criminalization policies and medicalization, which have proven deleterious consequences for Latin@ youth, as Tatiana's story will further convey. Barry Krisberg, in his book *Juvenile Justice: Redeeming our Children*, posits that juvenile justice policies are sexist and have racial anti-immigrant underpinnings that conjure mythical fear of drug-induced superpredators and gangs. (Krisberg, 2005) What kind of interventions emerge from Vanessa's narrative? What kind of interventions emerge from the analytical strategy of the archetypes of violence and the architecture of violence, analytical frameworks informed by Vanessa's testimony?

Tatiana's story

Tatiana captured me right away. She gave a very direct, explicit, sophisticated and compelling presentation of her life's story with violence. In her interview, she made very clear the logic with which she maneuvered making life and death decisions and surviving and healing the multiple attacks she has endured. In a distant reflective tone, she recalled the many ways violence has been a regular feature in her life, and the way violence has shaped her life choices. Vanessa believes by the time she's 25 she will have spent time in jail. She has already spent time in Juvie. She's lost 2 close people in her life to violence in the last year and she's seen more than 10 people she knows be seriously injured by violence. She's in a gang, claims red, northside, 22B Norteños, and she has been the victim of gang violence. She's also been the target of police violence. She's hurt others as well, including friends, girlfriends, rival gang members and strangers. Last year alone she was involved in more than 12 fights. She's had to seek medical help for stab wounds, bruises, cuts, and head wounds. She's been attacked in the

streets and at school. At times she's carried a gun. She's been threatened and hit by her girlfriend and she has also done the same.

*My heart's on the line with you Tatiana.
It's no surprise to me the things you've been through.
But that doesn't make it right.
As angry as I am for the things you have done, I see the softness in you.
Made hard by this world but as soft inside as always you were.
Just like Cherrie's Tiny and Corky and Cherrie all in one.
Reminds me of the women I too have loved and the ones I have feared.
Maybe I've fallen for you too, across the distance of time, space and the boundaries of
institutional pedigree.
I can't stop listening to the tapes.
Sending prayers into the winter bay skies.
I know the script of your life holds the keys to unlocking this great mystery come over my
life a long time ago.
With your permission, it is time you teach us about violence.*

*we understand the irony of power,
that those who are vulnerable,
in fact are a source of strength.
(Sista, 2006)*

Tatiana spent a significant time of her life away from her parents. She was removed from her home at the age of 11. Her dad is from Guatemala and her mother is part Mexican and part Guatemalan, and she remarked in a form that she grew up without her parents. Tatiana was abused by her father at a very young age; her father also abused her mother. These experiences of family violence and gendering violence emerge within the historical trajectory of the myriad experiences with violence Guatemalans have endured since the European colonization of the Americas in the 15th century through the postcolonial neocolonial "United States" invasions, still underway. In a piece called, "Things Have Happened to me as in a Movie," Rigoberta Menchu, the key Quiche leader from Guatemala, recounts the unbelievable dimensions of the violence her family endured. (Menchu, 1988) In the style of testimonio, a literary genre that sets out to

recount an often silenced collective experience through scribing the narrative of one particular person or family's experiences, Menchu testifies, "my parents were killed in the repression. I have hardly any relatives living...It has been my lot to live what has been the lot of many, many Guatemalans." (Acevedo, 2001) p.19 She recounts the structural and economic violence that killed her brothers. Both were cutting coffee beans, one got sick and had no access to healthcare so he died, and another was working when the fields were sprayed with a deadly pesticide. Still another brother was set on fire while Rigoberta and her mother watched. He had been arrested and tortured along with other native protesters, and the military poured gasoline over the group and burned them alive. This is but a recent moment in the long trajectory of violence in Guatemala. The protracted violence of colonial and neocolonial invasion instilled systematic genocide, torture, and in the case of Guatemala where nearly half of the population is still indigenous, apartheid-like systems of governance and oppression.⁶⁰ (Souriel, 2004)

A review of salient colonial invasions and formations will be useful in order to best ascertain a nuanced meaning of Tatiana's experiences with violence. The Spanish colonized Guatemala and most of Central America in the period following contact in 1518, ensuing for about 300 years (through 1821). In 1562, Bishop Diego de Landa celebrated the infamous auto-da-fe by burning hundreds of Mayan books and codices,

⁶⁰In El Salvador, the current indigenous population is less than 9%. But this figure, as the figures for Guatemala should also be considered within the multiple invasions and genocidal campaigns suffered by the populations over the course of the last 500 years, and growth in indigenous populations in the Americas was also counted in the century after Independence. Population debates are rampant and tend to have ideological underpinnings that favor European conquest, so any discussion of indigenous populations pre and post conquest should proceed cautiously informed by this ideological tendency. In addition, the genocidal campaigns and the effects on population should also be understood in the socio-political and economic context that developed them. For example, where slave trades were high, more indigenous communities were decimated, whereas where the need for laborers was unmet by the slave trade, more indigenous communities were spared death for slavery or similar systematic organization of labor, like *encomiendas*.

which he classified as “superstitions and falsehoods of the devil.”(Perea, 1993) p.1 This moment signaled the vast colonial attack against all things indigenous in Guatemala. After the successful overthrow of the colonial regime, Guatemala shortly incorporated into the newly formed Mexico state, then separated into the Central American Federation which eventually became Guatemala. Shortly after its renewed independence, the same “U.S.” interests that were noted in the case of El Salvador, manifested into the development of neo-colonial impositions like the United Fruit Company, which began in Guatemala in 1999 and is the predecessor of the modern day Chiquita bananas. Indigenous peasant workers were severely exploited in this industry and in the growing coffee fincas. The most recent conquest, which Menchu’s experiences reference, was launched by a genocidal campaign to reclaim power for the United Fruit Company and to quell indigenous uprisings for humane and just working conditions. Its historical roots lay in former Secretary of State John Dulles’ campaign to undermine a president interested in reforming the economy in order to favor Guatemalans.(Nieto, 2003) He launched a global attack on Guatemala’s President Jacobo Arbenz in the 1950’s by couching him and Guatemala as a Communist threat. The CIA staged “Operation Success,” a fabricated coup that ousted Arbenz and replaced him with a military dictatorship under Armas, who restored land and power to the United Fruit Company. In the 1960’s, the “U.S” sponsored a sweeping attack on deemed “terrorist activities,” leading to widespread violence: rape, murder, and displacement. Death squads paid by the United Fruit Company set out to “clean out the undesirables.”(Nieto, 2003) This Washington inspired civil war effort led to the killing of more than 120,000 Guatemalans with nearly 50,000 disappeared. In fact, the usage of the verb “disappear” to account for

those gone missing was first used in Guatemala.(Perea, 1993) Guatemala, like many other Latin American countries, has been the recipient of military aid, training and personnel from the “United States,” and the genocidal atrocities in Guatemala’s civil war, that lasted nearly four decades, were partially financed and organized by the “United States.” “Plan Victoria,” this military offensive attack on indigenous populations, also had colonial ideologically violent components that were known as “Ladinizacion” or “Integracion Social” and set out to indoctrinate indigeneity towards western culture. The land and the people suffered the consequences of the radically altering dislocations from land and from the cultural foundations of their Mayan belief and knowledge systems. In an autobiographic film entitled, “When Mountains Tremble,” Rigoberta Menchu posits that war is fundamentally violent because it is a means to impose one’s will over another.(Yates, 1993)

According to Yvette Flores-Ortiz, Latino families face the complex interaction of key variables constitutive of family violence, including displacement/migration, economic structural violence and the continuous and long-term impact of colonial and neo-colonial violence.(Flores-Ortiz, 1993) Dominant approaches to gendering violence fail to consider many of these traits and quickly place blame upon a scapegoated and targeted racialized patriarchal cultural formation (machismo). These approaches fail to recognize that contemporary formations of gender throughout the Americas have roots in the European conquest that organized sex/gender roles and sexuality along the heteropatriarchal organization we know today. Gender roles were structured through the imposition of religious doctrine and the mass rapes and sexual violence that birthed entire

nations of mestizos throughout Latin America, or in Guatemala, Ladinos.(Castañeda, 1990)

Additionally, Yvette Flores-Ortiz introduces the concept of “culture freezing” as a key variable in the production of gendering violence in Latin@ immigrant families.(Flores-Ortiz, 1993) “Culture freezing,” speaks to the way migration, displacement and acculturation forces impact gender roles for Latin@s in the “United States.” The vast pressures immigrants face to Americanize conflict with a profound desire to maintain their cultural integrity and values. Against the ominous threat of a usurping and imposing white American culture, immigrants adhere to exaggerate notions of cultural values from the respective country of origin, including gender roles. “The immigrant attempts to recreate, in a new context, their ideal of what a Latino family is. This ideal may be based on distorted and rigid notions of Latino culture” (Flores-Ortiz, 1993)p. 172 Flores-Ortiz posits a distinct correlation between “culture freezing” and the making of strict and rigid gender roles. Strict and steepened hierarchical roles conjure and are dependent on gendering violence, as is discussed in the analytic strategy of the archetypes of violence. Having been displaced through conquest and war, more than a tenth of Guatemala’s population, 1.5 million, has emigrated to the “United States,” and the threat to “culture freeze,” combined with the historic patterning of the intersecting archetypes of violence as they manifest for Guatemalan immigrants, condition the production of gendering violence in/of Guatemalans.(J. Smith, 2006)

Further research remains to be done that could extend this notion of “culture freezing” to neo-colonial formations, neo-liberal transnational arrangements and invasions. The imposition of western and “U.S.” American values through globalization

and the neo-liberal policies that facilitate such an imposition, place many nations under attack at risk of developing “culture freezing” responses to these impositions. This element has failed to be studied in the dramatic escalated rates of violence against women during neo-liberal alignment with the “United States.” In Juarez, Mexico, the same year as NAFTA was passed, a tremendous rise in the number of women murdered, disappeared, kid-knapped and raped was noted. In Guatemala, around the passage of CAFTA, a similar rise in the number of women murdered was noted. Gertrudis Monzon, Bay Area activist on the issue of the Guatemala femicides cites that between 2001 and 2006, more than 2500 women were brutally killed.(International, 2005) Indeed, as European colonial invasion once remapped gender in the Americas, so, in the contemporary period, neo-colonial maneuverings are remapping gender yet again. Neocolonial social, economic and political formations re-constitute gender, as Chandra Mohanty reminds us, “global assembly lines are as much about the production of people as they are about “providing jobs” or making profit.”(Mohanty, 1997) p.5 Mohanty argues that the kind of work women are allowed, and the access to the identity and category of worker are highly gendered. She calls this “the persistence of patriarchal/heterosexualizing definitions of womanhood in wage labor,” which she documents in the lace industry in Narasapur, India. We can also see this in the United States, through the kind of jobs female undocumented immigrants are tracked into: domestic work, a job sector which does not grant women access to the category of worker according to proposed immigrant rights legislation like the proposed temporary guest worker programs. Socialist feminists also note the organized exclusion of women from the labor force begins with the very naturalization of the worker as male, hence “female”

worker.(Eisenstein, 1990) As was discussed earlier, gendering violence is co-constituted with colonial, economic and racial violence, and Tatiana’s case narrative evokes this very imbrication through her telling of her lived experience with violence. Tatiana’s experiences with violence emerge within the historical trajectory of colonial and neo-colonial invasions and the narrative that follows, relates her experiences with violence. These narratives speak to the interrelatedness of the archetypes of violence, as they manifest for a young Guatemalan/Mexican woman living in San Francisco’s Mission District, where the largest population of Guatemalans lives.⁶¹

*intimate violence*⁶²

Well, my dad used to hit my mom...That's why they took me away from them...

They did a whole background check on that. I think they had a couple domestic violence...My Dad...

Interviewer: Your mom had called the police on your dad?

Mm-hmm.

Interviewer: Do you remember your dad hitting your mom when you were little?

Yeah. He just stopped hitting her like a couple of years ago.

⁶¹ Tatiana identifies mostly as Guatemalan, but does relate that her mother is part Mexican, a facet of her identity that is worth mentioning in light of national and pan-Latino discourses that tend toward uniformity. My intention is not to subscribe or further discursive formations that erase the instability of racial/ethnic and national identities, but rather, to focus on the context of the legacy of violence in Guatemala as it shapes Tatiana’s current experiences with violence.

⁶² I shuttle back and forth between usage of the term domestic violence and the term intimate violence to depict an intimate abusive relationship through which ideological and physical violence are deployed in order to construe an intimate relation of dominance. I use the term *intimate violence* because *intimate violence* encompasses violence that occurs outside of the home; it is not limited to the “domestic” and in general speaks against the heteronormative assumptions typified by the term. The term *intimate violence* encompasses the experiences of those involved in an intimate violence dynamic who don’t live together, such as teenagers and many other non-cohabitative romantic partnerships. Even when a couple lives together, the violence is not limited solely to the domestic sphere, so this terminology falls short in capturing the full range of the violence. The term *intimate violence* also conveys, in a more meaningful way, the brutal crash and complexity of an emotional and physical relationship that is very close, perhaps loving, yet hurtful and violent. However, I still adhere to the term domestic violence because it has become the popular rhetoric on the subject and many communities, including immigrant and communities of color use this term. My intent is to evoke critique of the problematics of the term while remaining relevant to the language of the interviewees and many communities.

Tatiana conveys that she grew up watching her father abuse her mother. She also confessed that she has abused same-sex partners, and she has also been abused by her “girlfriends.”

I beat on (my) girlfriend until she hits the floor...

(In the seventh grade) *I got a “domestic violence case... because I beat my girl’s ass.*

(About a recent beating, she says twice) *I beat the shit out of her*

Violence in intimate relationships is always an intimate manifestation of all social structurations of inequality. It exists through and because of social inequality that manifests through colonialism and colonial violence, racism and racial violence, capitalism and economic violence, and sex/gendering/heteronormative violence, the archetypes of violence. As Flores-Ortiz reminds us, “We need to clarify the relative contributions of class, gender, and racial factors to the creation of balanced/imbalanced family patterns.” (Flores-Ortiz, 1993) Macro-structural social inequality and violence conjures unequal and violent intimate relations. As long as we have social inequality, we will continue to have intimate relations that are unequal and violent because intimate relationships emerge and are conditioned through the contours of our society. Contrary to the Eurocentric myth of domesticity that pronounce “home” as the safety net away from the rough world “out there,” “home” emerges through the patterning of society. “Home” is always “out there” and “out there” is always “home.”⁶³

If we consider domestic violence as an expression of the interrelationship of complex systems of oppression, namely the intimate enunciation of the intersection of sex/gender/sexuality systems, racial systems, class systems, and colonial/neo-colonial systems; it follows that we will recognize that all ordered and systemic inequalities are involved in the production of unequally ordered relationships. Somewhere along the way we all picked up some skills for engaging in unequal relationships, for pursuing dominance, for how to abuse. Perhaps the dominant narratives on domestic violence that

⁶³ This analysis builds from the second wave feminist rhetoric that the private is political and third wave feminist notions that the private conjures the political. It is also informed by transnational feminist analysis that critically interrogates nation, boundary formations, and western assumptions of the “other.”(Adeeb, 2006)

tend toward the reduction of domestic violence to its gender base, without of course denying its role as a critical marker in domestic violence, obfuscate the systemic intersections of race, class, sexuality, nation, and colonization that demarcates the site of both the cause *and* experience of domestic violence. For women of color, such an obfuscation denies us of our full experience surviving violence at the intersections, and it therefore denies us potentially, of our safety. However, if we see domestic violence as co-constituted through multiple systems of inequality, that means, in order to really take on domestic violence, to really envision an end to domestic violence, we've got to consider that this might mean pursuing an end to all forms of social injustice, so that the very breeding ground of domestic violence is eradicated.

In addition, we must remember that violence doesn't just emerge from inequality but it also conjures it. As noted earlier, domestic violence re-produces class, sex/gender/sexuality, race and nation. Social arrangements that are structured unequally produce and are re-produced and legitimated by unequal relationships; as long as hierarchies of race, class, gender, etc. exist, our intimate relationships will produce unequal relations and unequal intimate relationships shape and reinforce unequal macro-structural relations. We constitute the macro, though of course, I don't want to dismiss the power of the macro in shaping our life possibilities, but I also don't want to negate our agentic possibilities in creating peaceful and just intimate relationships and communities, or the redundant, dreadful alternative.

A narrow voice, in the already narrow field of research into domestic violence in the Latin@ communities, has argued that analysis driven to understand the relationship between prevalence and the structural factors and historical context within which intimate violence arises in each community is necessary, for the majority of the literature treats these factors epiphenomenally and myopically contends to behavioral and cultural/racial pathological models, as chapter 4 discusses.(O'Neill) In other words, the question of prevalence should be placed in the specific historical context of the community under analysis. The National Latino Alliance for the Elimination of Domestic Violence reported in its published findings that "domestic violence happens in the context of a community suffering from a legacy of multiple oppressions, such as poverty, long-term discrimination, and colonization." (Violence, 1999) So how do the structural conditions of the legacy of colonial violence, displacement, migration and structural economic

violence shape intimate violence for Tatiana and her family and what does gender and sexuality have to do with all of it?

To answer that question, we should first refer back to Tatiana's words, to look at what she tells us about intimate violence. Tatiana confessed to growing up watching her father abuse her mother. She also conveys that she has abused same-sex partners, and she has also been abused by her "girlfriends." First, she reveals that she is conscious that her father's abuse of her mother was partially responsible for her being taken from her parents, an issue she conveys repeatedly as a devastating and transformative life experience that lasted 6 years. She also reveals that there was more than one incident, there was a pattern of abusive physical altercations. The violence, says Tatiana, continued throughout her childhood. With her language, "he just stopped," Tatiana conveys that the meaning of the violence to her was one marked with regularity; violence was the constant. Consistent with feminist analysis of domestic violence as a patterned relationship emerging over time, Tatiana's experience with her parents' domestic violence was an arduous and enduring ordeal that severely impacted the family over time.

When speaking of her own experiences with intimate violence, Tatiana conveys (and focuses on) the severity of the physical violence: she says, "I beat on (my) girlfriend until she hits the floor..." Twice, she reiterates, "I beat the shit out of her." As discussed earlier, war and state violence have a direct constitutive role in the production of intimate violence. An escalation of intimate violence has been tracked in militarized societies; this emerges alongside the deepening of gendering divides and the increased deployment of multiple manifestations of gendering violence, such as rape and harassment.

Vanessa's assessment of the severity of the violence seems in line with the severity of

violence that was common and everyday through the civil war: entire villages were obliterated. They disappeared, the way Tatiana's girlfriend disappears when she hits the floor. "When she hits the floor," is an important statement because it shows absolute power, the opponent knocked to the floor disappears, and the goal of domination is achieved. Tatiana's family also faces the pressures of Americanization, and this force combined with the distance from their home country that results from migration, leads to stricter and exaggerated gender roles, as Flores-Ortiz posits. The family also faces the pressures of surviving the violence of racism in a time demarcated by a heightened attack and further isolation of immigrants. Tatiana's family is indeed entrenched in inequality, and it is no wonder, intimate and family relations are also unequal.

In a seeming contradictory and ironic stance, while Tatiana conveys she does not know if or how she can stop what she admits is a problem with violence, in reference to her mother's abuse, she nonetheless affirms:

"I won't let that shit happen"

Things with her parents now:

It's cool. I guess he knows that I'm not going to let that happen anyway.

Interviewer: Because you're grown now, you're going to protect your mom?

Yeah. Hell yeah. I won't let that shit happen.

Yet this maneuver is not entirely contradictory, for her language in regards to speaking about abusing her girlfriend reveals a quest for power and dominance, this statement, which she repeats with emphatic delivery: "I won't let that shit happen" conveys an assertion, or an attempt at asserting a dominant role in the family structure.

Tatiana does not speak about her mother's agency in counteracting abuse, rather, she positions herself in the protectorate role usually reserved for the patriarchal figure. She asserts, "I won't let that shit happen," affirming in her language that she feels she is in control of the situation. Her rise to the cusp of adulthood after a childhood filled with abuse and displacement (removal from her family), is signaled by her return home and her assertion of power in the home sphere. When recounting her experience with child abuse and foster care, she says about this experience:

child abuse and foster care

It was nothing... The next thing you know, they beat my ass so bad that I went to school the next day and put my head on the table, and I had a whooping on my neck. They put me under DHS. I was in foster homes from age 11 'till like now...

response to foster care: "They took me away from them"

It's like I haven't been with them my teenage years. They took me away from them... (Because of) That one time. They were going to give me back, but then they were like, "No." They wanted to take my little brother away. Then I told them that my brother was going different. My dad wouldn't hit him or nothing. It would just be me because I would be the one fucking up. Then they took me away from them. They put me in foster homes. I went to three different ones and kept running away.

Ironically, Tatiana's language for what is grueling long-term child abuse, is "it was nothing." With this statement, Tatiana flips the script and reclaims power and dominance over the situation. I remember uttering those very words to my father as he hit me, telling him to go on, keep hitting, it is nothing, until my brother begged me to surrender. I defied surrendering to powerlessness until I saw the tears in my brother's eyes and knew I had to surrender for him, but even that was a maneuver and decision made in the midst of a beating that reclaimed power and refused to reduce my spiritual power and the integrity of myself to the shameful and pitiful lack of human dignity of a grown man falling to the powerless and demeaning antic of beating his daughter. Survival of self in

that moment potentially rests on one's ability to recognize the powerlessness of the abuser. Tatiana reduces the violence to "nothing," which some might interpret as minimizing of the violence, but given her sense of entitlement and agency with stopping her father's abuse of her mother, I see those words, through my own similar experiences, as empowering moves dislodging the potential for power emerging through the deployment of violence. Tatiana's narrative on being removed from her family through the state agency, the Department of Health Services, positions her quite differently. In the recounting of this experience, she references language with meanings and connotations that express more victimization. Further consideration on the profound impact the removal had on Tatiana might reveal why this might be so, though we would be remiss to forget that ultimately, Tatiana focuses on running away from foster homes, which references another agentic moment in a field of victimization.

The historical and socio-political underpinnings of Tatiana's removal might reveal why this is so. In colonizing countries, and in the "United States," there is a long and documented history of the removal of children from indigenous parents for the sake of "civilizing" indigenous children.(A. Smith, 2005) This is why the United Nations includes in its definition on genocide, the removal of children from their parents by force.(Moses, 2004) This practice persists although evidence mounts that child removal practices mirror criminal justice system practices: more children are removed and for longer periods of time from families of color, as it is true that more people of color are discriminately incarcerated and sentenced for longer sentences.(Dabby, 2005) In addition to overrepresentation of children of color being removed from their families, rates of reporting child abuse in families of color is also more common.(Dabby, 2005; Derezotes,

2001; D. Roberts, 2002) In 2002, I participated in the critical national dialogues on the problematic intersections between the Child Welfare System and the Domestic Violence Movement. My experiences working in the anti-violence system garnered me an insight into the practices of reporting and removal (court proceedings) of children that informed me that children of color were disproportionately removed. As a legal advocate I reckoned with the absolute fear child and parent expressed in the midst of juridical and investigatory proceedings. In the report that came out of the national dialogues, a mother who experienced removal expresses the deepest sense of fear and powerlessness:

I had lots of held in resentments and feelings that I shut down and never expressed. Fear of CPS is always haunting me. I have so many feelings of hopelessness, no control.

(Dabby, 2005) p.9

Without a doubt, this experience has marked Tatiana, as she referred more than once to the language of being taken away from her parents. The tremendous toll that child removal has on families, communities, and entire peoples yields it to be a particular violence tactic that reinforces the supremacy of dominant races and cultures. But we cannot end there, because Tatiana ran away, and kept running away, in defiance of this violence. It is critical that she ran back to a particular place, because removal has always been tied to a sense of belonging to a particular place.

To this day, Tatiana spends most of her time in the Mission. She has such a strong relationship to her sense of belonging in the Mission that after her parents moved away, she returned against their will and at the risk of likely severe beatings. Tatiana's removal from her family was preceded by her family's departure from the Mission. Tatiana grew up on 24th and Valencia and her family's departure was tied to gentrification efforts that emerged with the Silicon Valley boom as more money was

available, rents increased in the Mission District, and professionals were lured in while many lower income families were displaced. Tatiana's first significant removal from her home came as a result of gentrification. The second was through child welfare protective services. Additionally, the context of her family's displacement from Guatemala is key to the ongoing pattern of displacement and dislocation Tatiana and her family experience.

Tatiana, who prefers to speak in Spanish with her friends is also tied to the Mission through her gang affiliation. When Tatiana talks about running back to the Mission, she also references running back to her homeys. Tatiana began bangin' when she was 11 years old. Her family was in gangs and she saw the bangers in her neighborhood with admiration. When she was in elementary school she got banged in by opposing gang (sureños). She first began wearing a red rag in 5th grade, when she was 10 years old. When she was going into 6th grade, she got attacked by an 8th grade girl, fought back and wasn't able to graduate (from elementary school). She says, "that's when I started hatin 'em (the rival gang)." She was jumped into North Side Raza (NSR) in 6th grade"

"why I got into gang-bangin'"

Yeah. I'm doing it because you know, I guess I was raised without my parents for different reasons, you know. I feel that most of us that got in a gang, it wasn't because we were doing good with our family. It wasn't because everything was all good. You know? It was because we were looking for love and we felt comfortable.

response to bangin': "I don't think that our kids need that shit no more"

I don't think that our kids need that shit no more. Truthfully, I don't think my little brother needs that shit no more. Me, I'm already all fucked up. My homegirls are my homegirls. We're already used to this gang. I don't think it's fair for other kids to grow in it just like that.

(She advises those trying to jump in on the harsh realities of gangs) *I let her know why you shouldn't, what you're getting yourself into. People think it's like, "I'm getting jumped in, and after that I'm going to be with my homeys." Fuck it, whatever goes down. I tell them there are going to be time where you're going to do time by yourself. You know what I mean? You're going to have bullets crossing all over your face. You don't know when it's going to happen. I let them know. As soon as you're getting jumped in right now, just by your being here, you're already letting us know that you want to bang. You've gotta let the Surenos know. Know what I mean?*

That means that as soon as we jump you in every second of your life belongs to us. We belong to you. Every bullet that's going to come through us we might take it, we might not take it. We don't know what's going to happen next. That's the whole thing. I let 'em know and stuff. I let 'em know you're going to have problems with your family. You're going to end up running away even though you say you ain't. You're going to end up smoking. You're going to end up drinking. You're going to end up opening your legs. Know what I mean? That's what you see.

Tatiana sees a connection between her removal from her family and her drive toward finding some form of a replacement, which she found in the gangs. Tatiana has discussed or mentioned the way 4 institutions have shaped her experiences with violence: the family, which I situate as a cultural institution charged with the task of disseminating violence; child welfare services, which I classify as a caring institution, expressing care for the safety of children; juvie, an institution of force; and school, an ideological institution. Each of these institutions represent one of the 4 classifications of institutions through which violence is socially structured, and these institutions have had a tremendous impact in Tatiana's life. Indeed the model for the social architecture of violence is inspired by Tatiana's life experiences. The structured intersections of these 4 institutions and these 4 kinds of institutions is how, I argue, violence reaches, shapes, and organizes our lives, deciding our life chances and opportunities. Tatiana was one of many Latina young girls removed from her family through the racist practices of

genocidal child removal policies. Tatiana also recalls that it was at an elementary school that she was first jumped into a gang. It was also the elementary school, Burbank Elementary, that prevented her from graduating, which she mentioned more than once, beginning the common trajectory of dropping out of high school, twice as common among Latino youth. The ideological message this institutional maneuver reinforced was that Latino children don't coincide with educational achievement. A disproportionate amount of children of color are unable to graduate elementary school. Tatiana was also one of many young Latinas to be overrepresented in Juvenile Hall. The phenomena formulating the architecture of violence, as I posited, are the archetypes of violence. We can notice the patterns emerging in Tatiana's life in terms of her contact with institutions. The patterns are in line with the archetypes of violence. The school and the child welfare services institutions can be charged with practicing racial violence because of their discriminatory removal and expulsion rates. These institutions also reinforce the racial subjugation of people of color in the "U.S." through ideological violence that categorizes people of color as unfit parents and children of color as dumb and unable to succeed.

Both Vanessa and Tatiana talked about drinking not recreationally, but hard liquor, with the goal of "passing out." Tatiana admits she has an alcohol problem and that she smokes weed everyday. She says, "I wake up and I gotta have a blunt." About drinking, she says, "as soon as I'm drunk I just want to keep going. I have contests. I can't even walk sometimes, and I'm sitting with a bottle right there." She drinks straight Hennessy. The night before the interview she drank 3 bottles of Hennessy with a couple of friends. She shares that her Dad is also an alcoholic; he drinks every day. Tatiana sees a clear connection between violence and drinking. Gang life, she relays, leads to

drinking. Tatiana shares that “all” of the times she has hit her girlfriend she has been drunk. While retelling one occasion where she “whooped” her girlfriend, she mentions three times that she was drunk. “I only react like that while I’m drunk.” Though she see clearly spells out this connection, she says she won’t stop drinking.

Tatiana further discusses how she sees violence emerge and what she has tried to do to deal with what she admits is a problem with violence that has taken her in and out of jail beginning with the first time at age 11 when she was in 5th grade and choked another girl.

on her use of violence: “it just happens”

I think it's fucked. I don't like doing this, but it just happens.

I beat on (my) girlfriend until she hits the floor...

(In the seventh grade) I got a “domestic violence case... because I beat my girl’s ass.

(About a recent beating, she says twice) I beat the shit out of her

how to stop the violence: “I don’t want to get violated”

There's nothing. Nothing works. I tried going to therapy. I tried going to anger management programs to talk about anger...

(About therapy) That shit is boring, especially when you have some white ass person sitting right in front of you. They ain’t feelin’ where you’re come from. You’re talking about the hood. They’re just writing everything down like, “Huh?” You’re just like, “Man fuck you. You don’t even know what I’m telling you. You can’t feel me.” Then they try to give your advice. It doesn’t make any sense, so it’s like whatever. I just had to go because that was a part of my probation. I don’t want to get violated.

Just as Tatiana believes she will never leave the gang, she will never get out, she also is at a loss for how to deal with her problem with violence. None of the methods used to deal with violence seem to work, she says. Therapy approaches seem to speak an

entire different language, and therapists are unable to understand, “you don’t even know what I’m telling you. You can’t feel me.” Tatiana makes an interesting point at the end of her discussion on intervention methods. She talks about being forced into going to therapy through probationary requirements. She posits tremendous insight on the prevention of violence. I also don’t know how her use of violence can end as long as she continues to be violated (forced into compliance and submission against her will) by the probationary system.

If Tatiana and Vanessa’s stories tell us anything about violence, it is that the solutions won’t be quick overnight fixalls. The legacies of violence, torture, genocide, war, displacement, intimate violence are profound and most importantly, ongoing. These are the patternings of a violence that, as their stories reveal, is everywhere, everyday. At a very early age, Tatiana and Vanessa both encountered its traces. Their lives are carved out of the context of violence. And as much as their lives teach us about the suffering, about the impact on life, their stories also reveal the patterns of survival. Their strategies for surviving physical danger (*ojos de Zapata*) as much as their strategies for resisting victimization through persistence to return home (the Mission, El Salvador), as much as their willingness to remain in spite of the ominous presence of violence, teach us as much about the temporality of the constant violence and about the tenacity of spirit as they do about undoing violence in our world. Tatiana and Vanessa’s stories command that we consider the screaming intersections of multiple manifestations of violence, that we adhere to their truth in recognizing the interrelatedness of these myriad manifestations, and that we renew and commit to our struggle against all forms of injustice, for only then can we truthfully say we’re doing something about violence.

Afterword

Dolores,
at the foot of the giant

pounding pavement
reckless and uninvited
I would've been
could've been
once
a solemn pyre
in the bunch
when it is peeled
broken layer of soot
upon layer of printed words
signaling pedestrians
prohibiting
dangerous
activities like skateboarding
remnants of sudden tracks created
in the midst of pure fear
and darkened circles
of old chewed and spat out
gum

like faces beaten by life
and leaves crumpled and dried
scattered in no particular order

I watched them tear out
the road that led to our house
the one we promised to raise
children hold family in
the one we made love in...

the hidden corner behind the monument
the "Mexican colony" encroaching
los vatos hide out
smoking, shooting up, drinking
the greatest original transnational product
straight from your home mother country
CIA wrapped, sealed and
approved the
best heroin
of your life

behind Dolores
the father of Mexican Independence
hailing from Dolores Guanajuato
came el cura
behind Dolores

en este parque
Dolores parque
palmeras form quixotic windmills
defeated warriors
with ideals larger than these monsters
lie below them on sunny days
only on sunny days

on not so sunny days
dogs with the prestige allowed
the unconscientious
decorate the monster's feet
grounded trunk
with remnants of history
Aquí en San Panchito
we once thought
we could change the world

y la campana de Dolores
nos recuerda
nos recuerda

tantas palmas
and just above
even stronger than them
the army of silicon
slowly moves in
building larger fortresses
of might and reverie
and this patch of green
that holds calls of protest

FREE PALESTINE
DERECHOS PARA CAMPESINOS
Y QUE VIVA CESAR CHAVEZ

FREE MUMIA
DYKE MARCH BEGINS AT NOON JUNE 27, 1999

riveting nations and souls

calls of protest
igniting under the sun
calls of protest
gave no direction
once
and I lie below this
palmera
looks like a windmill
to me
the giant
we could rise up against it
 couldn't we?

CHAPTER 7

the story of ester and maria: two lucky survivors in the innercity madness

prelude to a story

The approach I take in this section departs in form from those that precede it. Hence, I prelude it with this brief introduction to my approach and the rationale behind it; it will function as a guide to introduce the reader to what is to come. My approach is based on a style and praxis clearly situated within who I am, how I see the world and what I do in the world, and it also has a clear, purposeful, meditated and intentional methodology through.

Social scientific writing never came natural to me; I wrestled with it shortly after being introduced to it. I learned the module, the proper and orchestrated delivery of information, the representation on paper of a logically adhered to scientific method, arriving at finite, proven, undisputable *facts*. If the study proves it: “that’s what I found in my research,” claimed a colleague as she shrugged her shoulders dismissing that race as a variable was a significant factor in patterns of drug use and addiction. Still, as a woman of color, I knew better, even if your study “proves that,” I thought to myself, “I know you’re not standing in front of me telling me race in the 21st century in the streets of an inner city neighborhood in a major metropolitan city in the “United States” has little or nothing to do with drug use and addiction.” Those of us marginalized by social dominant forces and their derivative research findings have all had these sorts of run-ins, come across the definitive research study that proves race, or gender really is not a factor worth noting in the study of any particular issue; perhaps it is proven epiphenomenal or

even irrelevant by the study. But we all know better. We certainly know better, and so we lodge critiques, raise questions, and challenge research studies; in fact, close to 80% of the critical reviews of articles I discussed in my core required courses followed this interrogation. I could get a PhD just asking these sorts of questions of the dominant literature in any field, critiquing the epiphenominalization or absence of race or gender, how marginalized realities are either made invisible, denied or further marginalized by sociological analysis. Although it is the content of the research I am critiquing, I also have studied enough literature in the post-formalist age to raise questions about the disparate relation between form and content. Rather, the two tend to inform one another, and, as critiqued earlier, the methodological direction and strategy, and derivative tools of investigation (interviews/guides/surveys) is as much necessarily questionable, as is the interpretation of the data and the conclusions drawn and the way these are represented on the page.

The kind of writing I move toward, which is why I believe I arrived in Women's Studies and Ethnic Studies, and lean toward this body of knowledge within Sociology, differs from the classical presentations of research findings in one significant way. The writing I seek that comes out of Women's Studies and Ethnic Studies approaches in general tends to have a much clearer and identifiable *I*. There is an *I* in the stories, a thriving, heart beating, a real person and sentient person grounded in a particular location and telling a story. There is a person I can metaphorically touch, who speaks through the text, and not some *it*, an object so distant and remote, whose totality of being is represented either by numbers or at most a formulaic selection intended to capture the speak of *it*, or the *it* of *it*, if you ask me. There is a narrator we come to know who is not

universal and obscure in character, but s/he also has a particular location and is in conversation with the research subject(s), not just extracting information like blood getting drawn for the vile on its way to the lab. On the other hand, although I love the *I* in literary texts and have taken a few courses in the study of fiction and creative writing, that *I* is also not real enough for me. It is a figment of someone's itinerant imaginations, and sometimes it is very close to the truth of what matters in life and makes things the way they are and sometimes it is nothing more than entertainment, or an escape to a land far away.

Perhaps I was influenced by Chicana Lesbian autobiography early in my academic development, that genre of literature that not only captured my eye and creative spirit but helped me to survive a very trying period of coming out and negotiating sexuality, family, love and suffering. (Esquibel, 2006; Quintana, 1993; Torres, 1998) Perhaps it was Gloria's spirit, who I breathed and took in every Tuesday and Thursday afternoon I showed up at her back door ready to move through some more work and writing. These liberatory genres, feminist, queer and anti-racist insisted that I show up not covered in some pedigree and outfit that is expected of me, leaving color, spirit, gender, sexuality out of the equation, who I as researcher and writer am, but liberation, I can't believe, was dependent on me showing up with all of me. And so I have struggled, ever since then, barely surviving a feminist methodologies class at UC Santa Cruz in women's studies; I really wanted to write a play for my final assignment. But I have persevered and insisted as many of my foremothers and fathers have before me and Jose Cuellar, ultimate musician academic/anthropologist/musicologist has reminded me, that the disciplinary boundaries have historical roots in imperialist, colonialist and

Eurocentric projects. Even Foucault and so many of the legitimized big names have taken to this approach long after the rise of Chicano Studies and the Plan de Santa Barbara that gave them birth and called upon the need for interdisciplinarity if grounded in spirit and decolonial praxis. Our spirits, if we're grounded there, and true wisdom in my opinion, requires this, move mellifluously through all sorts of expressions and ways of thinking and being. Liberated and liberating knowledge is capable of the fluidity necessary to move through all sorts of utterances that sound analytic and reflective, move in metaphor, drop like a politically astute critique and reverberate like philosophical musings, dream like a poem and are solid and grounded like sociology teachings. And sure, we might have tendencies toward a particular voice, partially a product of the institution, partially us; but the limits, the confines, the insistence and boundaries of suffocating wisdom and knowledge from breathing I am not only charging against, but I incapable of adhering to.

The spirit of these young women, and perhaps my own, seems too resistant to the structures of neoclassical sociological write-ups, and no matter how different the approach, feminist or anti-colonial, their stories still feel confined, constrained, contained. My eyes to this day are deterred from reading the page when I come across an approach that might stumble over objectifying the research subject (in content *and* form). Conscious of the concerns I raised in earlier chapters about the asymmetry of power in research, and the historical legacies of abuse and ideological violence, of the Eurocentric organization of knowledge, I have to say, "I go about things the wrong way." It is perhaps my own spiritual resilience, or queerness, or maybe contribution. I first found out about myself in a high school social science textbook that classified me as a sexual

deviant, and I guess I've been trying to live up to the deviant part my whole life. A brief look at the steps I took to write this chapter in this way might reveal something helpful to understand and interpret what is to come.

before I start

I do all kinds of things before I start writing, just like everybody else. I check every unchecked email, do the laundry, dishes, and clean, check the mail, bank statements, call plumbers, my mother, etc. Before I know it, most of the day has gone by and sure I feel somewhat productive, I haven't stopped since I got up, but the folder on the desktop titled "DISS" has thus far been completely diss'ed, disregarded. The night appears sooner in Fall and that makes it easier for me to get to writing. I don't know why but as I wrote somewhere once before, monsters don't hide in the light of day and all those fears and insecurity trappings, the feelings academics, writers and artists wrestle daily of being an impostor, a fake, not knowing what in the world one is talking about, when they all hide in the stillness of muted nights and their murmurs go home with the people in the streets whose talk quiets after day is done. So sometime between 5 and 7pm I start, slowly at first, check every single email account once more, might even meander to an interesting article I get on the RSS feed. Those are all the to do's of procrastination, the musings of dancing with the feelings of not being good enough, the entrapments of learning English as a second language, of being assumed into mediocrity or stupidity because of your surname. And these to do's take time, but they get more press than the place I go to next in my writing.

It's still before writing, but now I have listened to the data (interview tapes) over and over, read transcripts, taken notes, written memos, read and reread them all, condensed and rearranged them, handwritten and saved on Word. And I sit, with candles lit, maybe light some incense, copal, take some deep breaths, look at the world outside, the trees, the lake or sky or night, the rain or mist; I say a prayer or two, have some conversation with the blessed difuntos (the dearly departed) and my santitos and my diosito, and listen to them all. I take another breath, and look at the pile of paper, notes and scribblings sitting next to me on the couch and stacks of books that surround, and I ask the girls. What do you want me to say? Just like Lourdes Portillo said she once got through making her gripping documentary about the murders in Juarez, *Senorita Extraviada*, asking the spirits of the girls who had passed to guide her editing, what to cut and what story to tell. She says she felt their guidance. So I reach out to las Jovenes and ask their spirits what they want to me to say, what they want to say on paper. And I take a deep breath and listen, and another deep breath. I defer to spirit wisdom, those things you know without knowing how you know them. And I take computer to lap and start writing. And this is what comes out. It is guided by the often forgotten, but sometimes just below the surface, ready to be called on, the methodology of spirit.

thou art in the story

Once I read that a cultural critic most noted for her analysis of literary and artistic works and their symbolic remaking of culture and society through words and images, came upon a story too urgent to tell in her sophisticated academic approach; and a series of journal publications, she felt, might just fall short of exactly what was being called

upon her at that time. Her name was Alicia Gaspar de Alba and the book she decided to write morphed into a mystery novel, a piece of fiction called *Desert Blood*, but it wasn't like other works of fiction. Her book, like those of many Chicana/o and Latina/o writers, was based on factual and legitimated evidence taken from detailed accounts of the murders and disappearances in Juarez, Mexico, including coroner's reports, county records and interviews. She had started to write scholarly analytic papers, but she felt an urgency to say it in a novel. Among the reasons she listed, was that she thought this was the way to reach more people with a truth so hidden and so imminent. And so, the likes of Sandra Benitez writing about the war in El Salvador, as Manlio Argueta, and Juan Luis Urrea, writing about the death of migrants on the U.S. Mexico border, and Tomas Rivera writing about the grueling conditions of migrant field work, Julia Alvarez writing about *las hermanas Mariposas*, found that the best way to tell their story was in a story, that called itself a story. Some stories don't call themselves stories, they call themselves research findings and articles, but they're still a story. These authors brought research archives, historical analysis, oral histories, and all kinds of formal evidence, but they blended them into a story that calls itself a story. The differences between these two kinds of storytelling, are worthy to note, because stories, like art, mostly aim for the heart first and the mind along the way. Research findings mostly prioritize their goal in the opposite direction. Years ago when I began work planning a national tour of women of color artists against violence, a group of us sat and talked about art and social change, and we arrived at the conclusion that the power of art and its ability to change minds and hearts, and therefore movement building, could not be underestimated. Retreating significantly from Marxist and even the more moderate Leninist formulations of art, we

talked about the forgotten and ignored historical figures who challenged society and made a difference with an image people might have since forgotten, but it was that image that got them to think in a way they hadn't thought before. I recall the story about rape my students read that moved them to want to change the world and devise 10 step plans for ending violence against women. I saw that difference in what I taught, people respond differently to words that aim for their heart. And stories have a way of getting you to feel, and no matter how well the facts and figures of poverty are understood by students in the room, what is going to make them want to leave the classroom and begin their plan to eliminate poverty or at least begin to talk about the plan is when they feel what it is like for a child to go to bed hungry, en las casas de carton, in the cardboard houses of the poor.⁶⁴ I think that is why these young women chose to tell a story. Stories inspire, research findings educate and motivate, but it is spirit that illuminates and will endure past the confines and limits of the boundaries of body and mind.

“stand in the place where you live”⁶⁵

I want to point the reader to the distinctive first person narrator in the text which manifests the interpretive analysis of the researcher. While the young women's stories appear through their specific characters, I posit that the narrator is also a character. Rather than an omniscient narrator, akin to the scientist who delivers universal truths, this character evokes a clear familiarity with the lives and locations these young women inhabit. The narrator's characterization, if you will, reveals my own situatedness. As the

⁶⁴ I am referencing Ali Primera's notable lyrics delivered in the genre of nueva cancion. "Casas de Carton" is a song that has been made famous by artists capturing the struggle of the poor and disenfranchised and the tragedies of economic inequality throughout Central America. It is also a song that has been banned by military repressions, for it has become an integral voice in the struggles and insurrections of the most marginalized.

⁶⁵ Lyrics to R.E.M. song "Stand" intended to introduce the concepts of situatedness and subjectivity in this chapter.

story unfolds, the narrator suggests the places I too have lived. The researcher's subjectivity constructs the gaze onto these young women's lives and experiences. In a more nuanced way, the story that unfolds delivers a project similar to that attempted in the last chapter, a delivery of voices in concert; the young women's tonalities and mine conjure a harmony I invite you to hear. Succinctly referencing the prior discussion regarding researcher/research subject asymmetries of power, in this particular write-up, it will be useful to remember the points of juncture and disjuncture between the narrator and the young women and the axis of power that intersects them. The narrator reveals a keen familiarity with many of the experiences with violence, with the neighborhood and the streets, with the cultural values and the experience of migration/displacement. I too have lived many of these experiences. However, there is also a distinct separation/disjuncture that is made obvious in the analytical narration that reveals a kind of access to another *weltaschaaung*. Whether accessed by class location, institutional affiliation (higher ed), or life experiences (i.e. where I've worked, experience in community organizing, etc.), there is a historical analysis in the exploration of power operative in local, national and transnational relations that demonstrates a narrator less focused on day to day survival and with the privilege of gazing upon the social landscape and taking the time to paint a picture.

traición/traducción: the thin line between truth and fiction

Literary scholars charged with the troubling and taxing task of translation have often wondered about what gets lost in translation. Chicano/a literary critics call this the betrayal of translation, that the true meaning of the text (multiple and fleeting) is never

really “capturable.” Meanings change in connotation, denotation and socio-cultural contexts, that the time and perspective of the author’s intentions are never precisely ascertainable, always fall short of attainable. That moment has come and gone, even for the author, who toils through their own translation, an undertaking I strongly advise against, something I have learned out of my own tribulations in these matters. Truth is relational, partial, and therefore always contains elements of fiction; truth is a story someone wove, whether droned in facts or painted in poetry. The word comes from a particular place and that place is true to someone, somehow. Before and after the beakers are measured and the people are counted, the best we always have are guesstimates and informed musings. The work of good science is always getting closer to the truth, and the work of good fiction is always getting closer to the truth. My work here is not to undermine the work of science in eliminating fiction and arriving at the highest possible truth through, for example, adherence to strict ethics and principles of scientific method, though that is a task often worth taking up, my work is to remind us of the contribution of fiction. To suggest that fiction comes from a particular place, and that place has a story to tell, a story that is socially located, breathes and lives in a particular historical moment in a particular geographical space that could potentially elucidate greater truth from the interview data. Further, I challenge the stark division between fact and fiction, researcher and author (of fiction) by suggesting that the art of research calls upon the creative selection of determining the proper representation and organization of data. Researchers too, tell stories, sometimes they are close to the truth, and sometimes they are not. My purpose is to get closer to the truth, in this case, by writing in a style that blends creative nonfiction, testimonio, fiction, and qualitative interpretation. My purpose is to get closer

to the young women's truth, and in this case, this form emerged to speak their words, much like the statues that Michelangelo believed were always hidden within the blocks of stone. The young women's truth is always there, and as his task was to set the figures free, to let them be, so my task is to let the words be written, to interfere as little as possible, and get as close as humbly and humanly possible, to the work of divinity in this particular moment.

I am duly inspired not just by the writers mentioned before who wed fact to fiction, but by the testimonio writers who speak of great tragedies and the bodies that endure them, whose lived experiences and truths mirror those of entire villages and people. My work here is to make a difference, to listen to what these young women want to say and rather than doubt the precision of their inferences and deductions, to assume the value of their words is worth their weight in gold because these young women have a story to tell, and this is the way they have asked that it be told. So here I introduce the story of Maria, Ester and Christy Anna, two young girls living and growing up in San Francisco's Mission District.⁶⁶ This chapter closes with an analytic afterthought that will ascertain in a more literal fashion, what these young women teach us about their experiences with violence, and what contributions that potentially can lead to in furthering our understanding of violence.

⁶⁶ My approach also borrows significantly from creative nonfiction, so I take direct quotations from the interviews of the young women and couch them in the narration of a story that reveals the many dimensions of these young women, and in particular, their experiences and intersections with violence. The story of Maria, Ester and Christy Anna is told in my words, the analytic narrator who speaks in the third person, in their words (which appear in quotations and are presented in the first person), and in italics are my stories that function as windows into locating an identifiable (subjectivity in the) narrator who is making choices about what to scribe, what to leave in and what to leave out and what story to tell. In writing this piece, I adhered to the highest standards of ethical integrity in representing not just their words, but the entire context of the story and the first person narration so as to be consistent with their lives as they presented them during the interviews. This is not only an academic commitment, but an element in the praxis of justice; the pursuit of justice in this research moves through intent and content, so as to do justice to these young women during the research process and in the representation of their voice.

**the story of ester and maria:
two lucky survivors in the innercity madness**

The thing about young people, young women, is that change is perpetual. Every day brings about new possibilities, and young people are closer to this truth than anyone else. It wasn't too long ago they were doubling in size, in words, in capacities within months and days; it wasn't too long ago they had complete and absolute trust in everything and everyone around them. In their teens, bodies undergo daily mutations deeming them unrecognizable even to themselves. They are closer to the source of it all, beginnings and endings, in a way that often gets forgotten and underestimated. It is this quality that takes them closer to the extreme in either direction, that makes the magnitude of the moment at times insurmountable, that makes the newness and the metamorphosis harrowing, unbearable, and confusing. In the dizzyness of days the young ones are remade, this brings hope but with it also tragedy. And so every time I put words to paper attempting to capture a simple and trite, if at all that, dimension of the miracle of these young women's lives, of their survival, I recognize that I am on a moving bus taking a snapshot frame of what I, in the moment, from the comfort of the bus and the confines of my mind, think is worth shooting. These stories are always stories, researcher, writer, sister, takes their words, juggles them, stirs them, marinades and stews them until honestly, who knows how close they are to the source of their truth. Which is why, more than anything, what counts and is as clear as the sunlight spilled onto the Mission streets of their youth, is that my goal is to give their words, their stories and their lives, justice. That they may be heard far beyond the confines of the boundaries where their voices are allowed to travel, that their voices speak as loudly as the spirits that utter them and the city hall woes that bind them.

The year is 2001. The city, San Francisco. But it isn't the San Francisco in the movies, the high Telegraph hills rolling onto Pacific Heights mansions where the streets are quiet and looking over your shoulder is what you do to exercise, not on your way home from school. It is not the San Francisco of a bustling Financial District where suits worry about spilled \$5 lattes on \$500 shoes. It is not the San Francisco of gilded gold leaf atop the peaks of an effervescent City Hall rippling with the prowess of precocious power. It is the Mission District, and we start just a block west of 16th and Mission, the meeting of bus lines and Bart, hookers, junkies, and a lot of people who didn't get enough to eat last night, this morning, all year. And the thing about the Mission post-Silicon Valley boom is that hunger sits side by side with \$100 meal tickets and valet parking. The wrecking ball of city life juxtaposes Pauline's Pizza, a white table-clothed, organic gourmet topped fine diner's delight next to Valencia Gardens, the Mission's housing projects, a pink concrete walled institutional design reminiscent of the best of San Quentin state prison motif, where over 200 impoverished families find a home. The likes of eateries such as these will gleam the cover glamour magazines across the country. The Bay Area section of the SF Chronicle is the best shot at the media folks in Valencia Gardens get. The picture might be of the chalk outlined victim corpse from last night's shooting, or of the yellow police tape restricting the weeping relatives who crowd the scene. But that's just for the cops and robbers T.V. shows guilty of overcasting Latinos as gangmembers and drug dealers. For the most part, Valencia Gardens functions as that hiccup of unnoticed interference on the image delivery of a perfect city because in the Gardens, nowhere is a place and "nothing happened in Jenin," and here, in the Gardens, like in Oaxaca, no pasa nada.⁶⁷ Sure these two coexist in the material reality

⁶⁷ These references are to Shailja Patel's poem "Nothing Happened in Ramallah, Nothing Happened in Jenin," about

of geographic space, but in any other realm they are indeed, separate worlds, and the latter, the Valencia Gardens reality, doesn't quite make it to Hollywood screens, for many, doesn't even exist, and especially not in the words and images of a young girl walking home from school on a Wednesday afternoon.

The sun is drenching on an unusually warm late May day, and Ester feels the pressure of a heavy backpack, an overbearing jacket and a past she left behind, in El Salvador and outside the walls of Valencia Gardens. The courtyard on the South East side of the Gardens is pretty empty, she's beat everyone home. She tries to leave school a little early to avoid the maddening realities of after-school chaos in an inner-city daze. A little out of breath and sweating, Ester walks briskly; she has found a way to stay out of trouble, but she has to be careful, very, very careful. It's clear how careful, because when Ester talks, her language is measured, what she reveals is almost counted and delivered at a very slow churning pace. She speaks in a timid and muted tone. "Every year there is more violence in my neighborhood." So you have to be careful. She stays away from her boyfriend's gang-member friends, "sometimes I see them but there isn't too much communication with them. When I see them I try not to get together with them too much, because no." She goes to John O'Connell High School, and she sees so many fights at school, "bloody ones," and she "feels sorry for them, me da lastima." She says, "I never fight and I never want to fight because I feel like it has no sense." Still, "people have come up to me looking for a fight, that's inevitable." One time, I was talking with my friend outside of my house and there "we were, there are a lot of black people in my

the denial of atrocities committed against Palestinians, and to La Curtiduria's and IAGO's Pochote Cineclub, along with Mal de Ojo TV Collective, who together organized "Oaxaca: Aqui no Pasa Nada," an art show presented in the Mission District's Galeria de la Raza. The art show contradicted the mythic mainstream media renditions that denied the casualties and severity of the military repression in Oaxaca.

house for the last year and this one girl pulled me out and said I want to fight and I said, why? And she said, no reason, I just want to fight and I said, I don't want to fight just cause I like it, and I was resisting like that. She came up to me closer like but she didn't touch me, but she did yell at me. And when she came up to me like that, I felt mad but I knew I didn't want to fight. I (told her) that I didn't like to fight.”

Ester feels very strongly about fighting, about not fighting. She didn't just wake up feeling like this one day, out of nowhere. The Gardens, like the Mission is home to many unhomelys, the cast asides of capitalism, runaways from other countries, refugees of heteronormativity and imperialism, somehow the two must be connected. Ester grew up in El Salvador during the “U.S.” sponsored and financed Civil War that displaced nearly a fourth of the nation's population. She left with her family in 1993. Like many children growing up in El Salvador at that time, she remembers the soldiers coming into her home. “They once went looking for a relative and so they came to the house. Sometimes the soldiers went into houses and would tell them to get down on the floor. My father was very nervous and they threatened them not to lie.” They “saw a lot” of things, even dead people. Ester doesn't talk much about these stories; she says they get her “so nervous, anxious, (she gets) chills because I've seen a dead person (too).” They call it PTSD, what happens when you've been through something scary, a traumatic event, and long after the event, when the threat to your safety is no longer there, your body still feels the reactions of fear. It's like the memory of the event is recorded in your body and you carry it, whether you're conscious of it or not. A lot of people that have survived war or rape or abuse suffer from this lingering fear and anxiety made manifest in through sweats and chills. A deep healing has to happen for all the stuff so many of of

us have seen and been through. My friend Sylvestre likes to put flower gotitas, potions on the palms of the hands of those he cares for; he says it carries them through the cold sweats of nightmarish madrugadas when forgetting the fragments of the memory of war is a luxury. For many people in the Mission, the chill of night descends upon the fears of a yesterday stuck momentarily behind the barrel of a gun and the pounds of scrap metal covering nearly your last breath, explosion remains. So Sylvestre drops flower gotitas, potions and hypnotherapy and gives their children hope when he can find it.

And this is where it all began to make sense, where the magnitude of the violence loomed like the shadows of all the deceased Valencia Gardens and the people of El Salvador have seen. Still in measured speak, as if nothing unordinary was being uttered, Ester begins to recount the tragic underside of the people from the nowhere place. It was “my boyfriend,” she says, “he was in a gang.” He was sureño and “the same day, I was waiting for my boyfriend, and my friend called me and said they’d stabbed him and I couldn’t believe it, and I called his house and spoke to his brother. I just got, I don’t know,” she said. You would be mistaken if you took this for teenage banter and unprecise speech, there are certain times, when there are simply no words. “I don’t know,” conveys much more than any more precise word choice could ever imply. A moment like this lives far beyond the matter of body and precision of words. When you get that phone call, the subtle movement of mountains, the shifting of waves, and falling of leaves halt in defiance of gravity. They move ever so slowly and then stop. Like the words, the thoughts, in that instant we hold the complete awareness that we know absolutely nothing and everything and are absolutely nothing and everything. And just then toward the deep center of the earth, you fall and every ounce of ground that held you

steady on your feet has been pulled out from under you. And then through your feet, rising up to your core, too big, too hot, to be carefully framed into utterable sentences and coherent emotions and you just get, I don't know. The rage of loss burns, the scathing scald of separation. It is fire and fear, the beginning and end and time stands still and you hold a telephone to your ear that no longer can hear, the fire cannot be contained. How will I make it through this moment?

And somehow, we do. In the hardest nights of grief, loved ones adorn pages and walls with the pictures of their departed, los queridos difuntos. "I have a photo album," she says. She wants to share it. Like the Cure's monotonous recitation in their song "Pictures of You," pictures serve to remind us of those that have passed, sometimes, they come alive with the memories of our loved ones, or is it our loved ones who come alive with the photographs? Perhaps this is why the one of measured words, Ester, the one who simply says, it was "so sad (seeing him dead)," made a photo album; perhaps this is why she dreams of being a photographer.

*i've been looking so long at these pictures of you
that i almost believe that they're real
i've been living so long with my pictures of you
that i almost believe that the pictures are all i can feel
the cure*

"He was 14. He was walking home from school and that same day I had seen him." She says he wore colors; "he wore 13." If she could tell him one thing, she says, "I would tell him that some day things could happen to him," to be careful. She wipes below her eyes but there are no tears. Sometimes, even grief is a luxury, the mirage of the wail. He died of multiple stab wounds to the chest. He was on 19th and if you're a sureño sometimes your luck just runs out on 19th.

And this is how Ester grew to be wise with all that would keep her uninvolved in the violence that surrounded her. But she knows there really is no way to keep the violence at bay. It will come and it will find you, but sometimes you do have a choice, “if you really want it,” como dice el Ricky in that soccer song, but don’t be mistaken, peace is no easy matter in the nowhere in the Bay, you have to work at it. If you’re brown and you live in the Mission in San Francisco, you have to work to stay alive, to stay strong, to stay outside of jail, to stay clean, to stay in school. There are no mere occasional statistics of grief and despair striking tragedy upon the unlucky. These life chances are premeditated, orchestrated and deployed in every city and every town in the “United States,” and the Mission is but one of them. The architecture of violence decides the possibilities before you, whether you’re closer to dying or living, and if you have seen the face of death and want desperately to stay alive, you have to work. The cards are stacked against your favor and it’s gon’na take all of you in prayer and daily sacrifice to give it all you got so that the next card brings some peace into your life.

Not only does Ester live a life of violence prevention; she has her own model and way out. Violence happens because “hatred grows,” she says, “people don’t like each other.” The differences that exist between black and brown folks, can turn to violence, but it doesn’t have to. And the home environment has to change because it “sends kids into gangs, kids feel pressured by parents. Parents don’t give them a lot of freedom, they have them so pressured (and) they don’t feel good like that, that’s why they join.” Ester’s parents are very strict and religious, they don’t let her have a boyfriend, so she has to hide the fact that she has a boyfriend. “In my church they don’t let you see someone until you’re ready to get married.” If I had a daughter, she says “I would give her freedom to

date and support her.” “Sometimes I feel pressured,” she goes on, “because (my parents) they don’t let me go out with friends, and sometimes I go out with my older sister and they think that she’s a bad example and that she’s still involved in no good and sometimes they get mad, yeah, they get mad if I go out with her. But they should trust me because they want me to trust them but they don’t trust me so I can’t trust them if it’s like that.” That’s why there’s “no communication” with them; “I know they won’t understand me, that they’re going to scold me...like my mom used to get mad. Many times, the young people aren’t treated right in their house and they start to get in trouble because if in a home parents are, not to say that parents should give free reign because then they’ll take advantage, but it’s important to have communication.” Many immigrant families struggle to find a meeting place with cultural values because the experiences and surroundings of the younger generation differ so substantially from the parents. Culture freezing sets in and parents try to hold on to their recollection of the values from back home, but many times these values are irrelevant to the young people, and many times they’re even exaggerated versions of what “the culture back home” is. So immigrant parents and children have sometimes a seemingly impossible task of attempting to reconcile the great divide of the here and now and the way things were back home. One of the ways immigrant youth, or the children of immigrant parents deal with this divide is by concealing the parts of their lives that they feel might be irreconcilable. Ester’s sister hid the fact that she was pregnant from her parents until the day she had her baby. Ester believes the difficulties at home are connected to why she joined a gang.

Friends also send you into gangs. With “my sister, her friends get things in her head, and friends make her feel she’s worth something.” When you feel like you’re close

to nothing because you can't speak your language at school or because of problems at home, Ester says gangs make you feel like you're worth something. Ester understands well why someone would be drawn to a gang, but her choices not to join are partially informed by her recognition of the consequences that might arise. She references her sister's involvement with gangs; she says, when she was in a gang, "she wouldn't even come home sometimes." She goes on, "she got a record" 'cause she got in trouble and now "our immigration papers are in jeopardy." It could be that the sisters' divergent priorities, with regards to joining gangs, getting involved in illegal activities and becoming a teenage mom, had something to do with her older sister seeing a lot more stuff in El Salvador before they left.⁶⁸

Ester continues discussing her violence prevention plans. She says she would like her mother to be more open. "I would like it to change because I feel that my mother's advice is better than any other person's." The young women's stories converge on this point, Christy Anna later says that her mother was the one that talked her out of leaving the house with a knife to go after a girl she had just fought. The role of the parents is so significant in violence prevention according to two lucky sometimes barely survivors of the inner-city madness. But the conditions of the lives of immigrant Latino parents make it difficult. Migration produces culture freezing and for them to even be there to parent their children is a luxury as they often work double shifts and several jobs. Immigrant Latina mothers are also tracked into raising other people's children.

For Ester, social programs in her community have made a difference. "Social programs" that give us activities and "take us to places like beaches and parks" help us to

⁶⁸ The details of her sister's juvenile record and its impact on immigration, as well as her sister's pregnancy, were revealed outside of the formal interview, so they do not appear in the transcript but are recorded in the interview field notes just after the interview.

not get involved with violence because “it helps with communication and developing friendships and it gives us experience,” you see the outside and your world doesn’t seem so small anymore and there are more possibilities. These programs helped her decide she wants to go to college. Even though her sister dropped out of high school to have her baby when she was 16, and even though Ester has D’s and F’s, she clearly states she is going to finish. She’s never even thought of dropping out of high school. She also has made decisions not to drink alcohol and she believes she will not wind up in jail. Ester is 15 years old and has never gotten involved in a violent altercation. Tonight, I believe Ester is going to be alright. She might hear a gunshot or two in the middle of the night, and it might make her break into a sweat, remembering the things she’s seen, the things her parents have seen, the things that go on in the nowhere places of the Gardens and El Salvador. But I know she’ll be alright. Believing is worth its weight in gold around here, like Ester says, Church helps her get through. She believes it has been part of what kept her out of gangs. Gotta have something to believe to make it through.

And so they survive, the lucky one by one, in the places designed by the sources of violence, the fountainheads, the architects of violence. Critics once argued that the \$500,000+ spent regilding the City Hall dome could have fed the homeless and hungry, could have opened after school programs, but San Francisco, once again, remained entrenched in the fiscal priorities that in the Gardens would likely cost lives. And instead of citing proposals like Ester’s on the front page of the newspaper, the following words decorated the daily news:

Not since the 1920's has the sunlight glinted so brightly from San Francisco's City Hall dome, a shapely structure taller than the 90-foot dome of the Capitol in Washington. The pounds of gold leaf shining...the glow is finally back...San Franciscans will once again be able to step

inside their Beaux-Arts seat of government... And rare will be the person who does not stop in the rotunda to drink in the majesty of one of the country's great interior spaces. "Hall Refit for Pomp and Happenstance," Bill Staggs, Jan. 2, 1999.

The architecture of violence remains, and I too am guilty of driving down Fulton and showing off the best of the city, the golden light of sun that remains on a city so beautiful and powerful that the sun does not set on San Francisco. Even the thickest summer fog doesn't stop the glint of gold on City Hall. Every city is an empire to itself and the blood and sweat and dangling bodies on the scaffolding of the first world, bodies belonging and made of the Third World, risk death with every breath. Just as their ancestors and neighbors were laid to rest while building the glory and majesty of the Panama Canal, so too will the lives of the expendable day laborer economy suffer the toils of unmitigated danger.⁶⁹ But my mother remembers that I also took her to the Gardens and Potrero projects, reminding us of the lives we nearly escaped, and of the vows our lives had made because they are of us.

maria

Maria lives not too far from Ester. She's also on her way home from school. She takes a deep breath and walks into the silence of home. No one's home. No one's ever home. Her mother works as a nanny; since domestic and child care work make-up the largest employment sector for undocumented

⁶⁹ The securing and construction of the Panama Canal for the "U.S." government would serve as a central interest governing the policies of the 19th century that conjured the neocolonial relations between the "U.S." and Central American nations and peoples. In a move that would set the tone for employer/laborer relations between the "U.S." and Latin Americans, laborers suffered illness and extraordinarily unsafe working conditions leading to the death of more than 20,000 laborers.

Latinas, having the time to care and look after her own children is a luxury as unreachable as the gold leaf dome. This job sector has no rights, no privileges nor protections; it is not even considered a legal form of employment, and still, Latina undocumented housekeepers and nannies are in high demand. So, after having gotten up extra early to feed, wash and care for her younger sister, after surviving another day at school, although she did have a good time hangin' with her best friend during lunch, Maria walks in, drops her books, makes a sandwich, sits to watch T.V. for a minute, then briskly gets up to start with the clean-up. Maria cleans hard and deep, that's the way her mother taught her, you can see it in every aspect of her, not a hair out of place, she always looks tidy and presentable. She shares a studio apartment with 6 brothers and sisters and her parents, so there's always cleaning to be done. Still, Maria she says it's "fine" to live in such tight quarters because her sister and brothers will soon move out and the rest of the siblings are sleep together in the living room. It's no big deal. Really. This is Maria's reality and Maria can't even imagine living in one of those mansions her mother works in; wouldn't you get lost? How could you even find each other?

The things Maria doesn't like to remember are her Dad, she reminds herself, "I don't feel nothing for him," and that he "always had a beer," cause he was an alcoholic. Her father now lives in Mexico, much to the chagrin of her two brothers who moved out because they couldn't get along with the replacement. When Maria's mother was pregnant with her, the replacement, Maria's stepdad, began hitting her mother. Although she took beatings while in the womb, somehow, Maria became her stepdad's preferred child, and unlike her brothers or

her sisters, who have also been hit, she gets special treatment, like he once bought her a new sweater. Maria seems nervous; she doesn't want to talk about the violence. But really, Maria was born into violence in a manner more literal than you can quite imagine. Maria's brothers, unlike her, really miss her Dad and she thinks it's their sadness that drove them to join a gang. Maria's brothers fight with the stepfather, to them he'll never be their Dad and they don't like the way he treats their mom. They claim *sureños*, and like Ester sees it, "the home environment sends kids into gangs."

After finishing her homework, Maria "writes a letter" to her brother, who's now in jail, where he'll be for a year, although he won't tell her what he's in for. She "gives him advice" and reminds him of what's important in life. If she could say one thing to her brothers, she would tell them "to work, (to) stop getting involved with playing with drugs and gangs and all that." The most important thing for Maria is "to unite the family," she wishes, they could all be together, "especially during the holidays."

Maria heads over to 19th St. visit her brother; she wants "to 19th St. just to see him and hug him." But her brother "doesn't like to see her out on 19th," he worries that *norteros* will shoot and kill her or her mother." 19th is the cutoff line to the *rojo*, the red. In the streets of San Francisco's Mission District, these are the makeshift boundaries between North and South. And just like the quest for power once defined the borderline at the "U.S." Mexico border through violence, the inner-city streets are carved into us and them with boundaries and agents to protect and defend. And crossing the border at either location, if at the wrong

time and you're from the wrong side, can cost you your life. Still, Maria risks all and heads out from the nowhere land to see the brother she misses. Maria's brother "doesn't work, doesn't go to school and lives in a motel." It's hard for him to come home. Maria gets to see her brother and they talk for a while before she heads back home. She walks back happy that she saw her brother. She generally feels safe in the Mission, but as she's walking, she remembers that fear in the pit of her stomach that she feels every time she hears a siren or a gunshot. "I heard a gunshot last night, and a siren. I got scared, I thought maybe it was my brother. My biggest fear is that he'll get killed." Every time she sees him there's a part of her that thinks that could be the last time, and every night she goes to sleep, she prays that La Virgencita protect him and that he make it safely through another night. She's "seen her brothers high" and she "knows they need help," sometimes that means a detox program or AA and sometimes, since she's Catholic, that means a prayer or two to La Virgencita. Maybe it's her preoccupation with her brothers, or her awareness of the risks that exist in the Mission, but Maria doesn't think about life after high school.

Maria has also struggled to stay uninvolved in violence. She never goes out to hang out with her friends, not since last year when she used to go "like to the movies and to the park." Still, she was hit by a stranger who came up to her out of nowhere. Recently, her friends both got into fights. It was on the same day and they were both fighting black girls. She seemed really worried for her friends, so she intervened. I "grabbed her away from the fight before it was over. I didn't want her to get hit, she didn't know how to fight. I just didn't know what

to do. I didn't want to get involved cause it was at school and they suspend you. My friend was crying, she was shaking, scared...cause the girl was black so maybe she would get all her friends...but that didn't happen." Racial difference often comes up in the fights in Mission schools. But Maria sees through the talk, how people say this and that about black kids, and she eventually becomes friends with the girl that hit her friend Myriam. The teacher put them together in a group to do a joint project in class, and they got to know each other and although at first Maria thought she was "mean," she learned that she was "nice," and now they're friends. Maria, after all, is young and remains willing to the universal declaration that nothing is permanent, that change is probable.

Buddha declares the impermanence of things in observation of the laws of nature, so too the fights and the hatred and the misunderstandings and racism, and life and death, like breath rises, and subsides, like sun, rises in the east and sets in the west. And Maria, the lucky survivor of the inner-city madness, dreams of being a nurse, remembers she loves art and likes it when her best friend "tells her secrets." But not everyone is lucky enough to breathe alongside the laws of the universe. In sheer admonishable arrogance, the laws get twisted by greed and the quest for dominance over all things natural, over countries, oceans and animals, over children, natives and the distraught, over people and universal laws. Throughout the world, the supreme reign over the inhabitants of the nowhere place with the faintest remembrance that the seed of humanity is a heart and compassion yields a lot more bountiful than theft of land, lot and lives.

analytic afterthought

The story of Ester and Maria teaches us a few things about violence and these young women's experiences with violence. First, violence is everywhere for these young women. Their socio-political, economic and geographic location immerses them in a regular and constant interaction with violence. Violence, rather than surfacing as an anomalous irregularity in the order of things, for these young women is stitched across the embryonic development of the worlds they inhabit, of their days and their nights. Violence is stitched into the fabric of their social landscape with recurring regularity. They have suffered violence; they are in this country because of violence; they live where and how they live because of violence; they have lost loved ones because of violence; they fear losing loved ones to violence; and daily, they sometimes barely escape the violence that could cost them their lives. Still, as much as violence surrounds, these two teach us an additional lesson about living within the context and content of violence. They teach us that as much as the pressures exist moving them into the throws of violence, they also push in another direction. Ester and Maria speak to us about the power of healing, of believing, of dreaming, and of working hard to steer clear of violence.

Religion and spirituality surface not just in their story but it also does in Tatiana and Christy Anna's stories. The young women subscribe to recognizing the force of spirituality in protecting and guiding them. Ester sees the Church as one of the places that "helps her a lot" in her path to stay out of gangs. Tatiana relates the moving story of how a santero predicted her safe journey but warned her to take care. The young women channel spiritual energy in their lives in order to stay afloat, survive and heal from

violence and try to stay away from its dangers. However, religion also functions as an oppressive institution in Ester's story. She struggles with the requirement that young women not date unless the relationship is leading to marriage, so she lies to her mother by hiding her boyfriends. She talks about wishing that she were able to have a boyfriend and speak to her mother openly and get advice from her, but the religion stands in the way of that. She says that if she had a daughter, she would allow her to date. Ester speaks to her relationship to the Church as a complex negotiation of the tensions between a keen awareness of the tremendous spiritual energy she harnesses from her religion, and the rules she disagrees with and does not or would not practice.

Although the young women don't address the subject of healing directly, they do show the ways they move on and pick up the pieces from the tragic encounters. Ester made a photo album that is clearly very meaningful to her, why she brought it out to show it at the interview. The photo album memorialized her boyfriend who was killed. This artistic project is connected to her interest in pursuing photography, and it seems she found a way through the loss that has transformed grief into motivation and loss into possibilities, an end into a potential beginning. Maria's efforts to remain connected with her brothers, across institutional divides (one brother is locked-up in prison) and safety zones (she crosses dangerous enemy gang turf areas that could lead to her death if she's identified) is also a way of healing because she is actively resisting the separation, the metaphoric death that institutional, state violence and gang violence would impose on her relationship to her brothers. Instead she resists the separation, maintains her connection to them and dreams of uniting the family, a wish that keeps her crossing 19th St.

Lastly, Ester and Maria also actively work to stay out of violence, to minimize their exposure and experience to violence, and to think about ways to prevent violence for youth. This is a key contribution that emerges in their stories. Against the grain of a pathological lens that would cast them one-dimensionally as victims of violence and a violent context, or one step away from joining a gang or using violence, these young women show us that as frequently as they encounter violence, they also resist and work hard to protect themselves from it and escape it. Ester talks about the way she turns to religion to keep her out of gangs, the way she has de-escalated violence directed at her when a girl was prompting her to fight. It is quite compelling that of all the things she could have chosen to say to her boyfriend that passed away, she says she would tell him “that things could happen to him.” This statement shows the level of preoccupation with protecting oneself and the concern she has about safety, and that awareness could potentially protect that safety. Ester is very aware of consequences; in some ways, she shows that she has seen what became of her sister, and she sets out to make different choices in spite of the pressures sending young Latinas into Juvie, and leading them to drop out of school. Ester goes so far as to devise a plan that she believes could curb violence. Based on her own experience, she argues that connecting young folks to each other and the outside world (outside of their block/school) makes a difference in young peoples’ lives that could lead to violence prevention. She makes a keen observation that difference is a factor in violence when she discusses how violence comes about when people don’t like each other. This is a point that also emerges in Maria’s story, who is so actively resisting violence, that she pulls her friend out of a fight (at the risk of her own schooling and safety), and then she becomes friends with the opposing party who was

Black. Her friendship and openness to this young woman ruptures the foundation of difference and violence because she has remained connected to the possibility of knowing her in a peaceful manner.

Although the architecture of violence conjures few possible escape routes for these young Latinas living in the Mission; they show us just how, thus far, they have managed to carve one out for themselves. The interrelatedness of institutional, intimate, economic, state and colonial violence arranges stark possibilities for survival for young Latinas living in the Mission District, and these young women demonstrate a committed determination to make it through. Nonetheless, we cannot dismiss nor minimize the severity of the consequences and the toll the architecture of violence conjures for these young women. Ester and Maria are resilient, transformative and imaginative young women who embody the lesson that young people are not static but are constantly remaking themselves. This informs our understanding of the way socio-historical patterns impart violence upon young people but also, of the way, they engage and resist, exist in response and reaction to these patterns. Rather than casting young people as contained within a socio-political context, these two stories in particular, impart the way that socio-political context, against tremendous forces and pressures, is also being remade by these young women and the choices and commitments they make and the work they persevere through.

CHAPTER 8

the many-sided faces of christy anna

Christy Anna needed her own chapter. That much I knew. I had an easier time weaving a distinctive pattern out of the other young women's lives. I really struggled with Christy Anna. If I thought I found a pattern emerging, before long, Christy Anna would go in another direction. As I listened to her, I realized that there was something else asking to be told about her story besides the actual content of her story. The inconsistencies spoke as loudly as the stories themselves, and as the interviews unfolded, these clashes in midair and midthought, drastic changes in outlook, formed their own story. The meaning Christy Anna assigned to many aspects of her life, including violence, her relationship to the cops, her father's infidelity, and her own understanding of herself and the persona she revealed, seemed to constantly shift. Christy Anna's story relates the conflicting tensions emergent in her experiences with violence, and these conflicting positions and recurring tensions seemed to ask to be written. Meaning, for Christy Anna, appeared to constantly shift, depending on the day, the circumstance, her surroundings and the people involved. Her stories spoke to the conflicts she negotiates about the subject of violence, about power, about the world around her and about how she maneuvers in the world in relation to them. There seemed to be many sides to Christy Anna, and this chapter will explore the meaning behind these many sides, and what they teach us about violence and the lives of young Latinas.

Christy Anna's story reminds me not to take anything at face value. Statement after statement, she surprised me, taking an unexpected turn and showing another face. As a researcher, I grow frustrated; my patience is tested: I want to find a clear line and

statement. I want to write, “Christy Anna believes x about y.” Isn’t that my quest as a researcher, to arrive at some stated conclusion about her relationship to violence, her experience with violence, her interpretation of violence? Well, it seems, Christy Anna has poignantly pulled the rug from under me. Several statements I start to draft about Christy Anna believing x about y are disproven through a contradiction uttered sometimes in the same breath, later in the interview or in a subsequent interview. Christy Anna pushes me to be a better researcher; she reminds me that I must remain flexible. The spirit of listening I have evoked thus far begs to be applied. I can’t persevere with a perceived quest; there is no particular “gem” to mine for in this data. Every wall I hit reminds me that quest proves elusive. I am redirected; a researcher depends on her ability to listen. There is a canary in every data set and like the miner of yore, if the researcher fails to listen, the toll can be dire. I listen; I am at the end of the writing and I am tired, ready to scribe a story consistent with those I have already interpreted. Instead, I must surrender. I must remain humble and open. When I do, I trust that what I will find is potentially as critical to the study of violence in the lives of young people as anything else I have said thus far.

Christy Anna’s story reminds us that youth are in a transitional and transformative moment in their lives. Values, identities, likes and dislikes are called into question, adopted and surrendered sometimes daily. As Keta Miranda reminds us, “adolescence is fraught with the intensity of living in the moment.” (Miranda, 2003) p.167 As a result, youth live deeply present in the moment, and the moment, changes. In addition, youth of color are exploring the various identifications and disidentifications they will apply in their notions of selfhood in and of their world and neighborhood. Adolescence is that

pivotal time when identity through group belonging is inspired by the social carvings of geography, even in as local a site as a school campus, as we saw in the case of Jena. Young people poignantly negotiate their sense of belonging by choosing who to ally with, who to dislike, what to do and what not to do, whether to listen and adhere to their parents, the cops, or friends, or not. These choices and group affiliation are extremely meaningful to young people.(Miranda, 2003)

For youth of color this process is complicated by an encroaching cultural dominance that represents them in media and policy as delinquency, violence and crime prone. Instead of being tracked into a future filled with career options and the aspiration toward higher education, many youth of color are tracked by teachers, counselors (educational institution), the media, and the state, into “the system,” (juvie/prison, foster care, and probation, etc.) and minimum wage labor pools. Additionally, if the young person or their parents are immigrants, there is the culture freezing responses to a dominant and homogenizing Americanizing culture, and young people have to negotiate the conflicting dominant cultural values, (immigrant) parental cultural values (culture freezing) in their emergent sense of themselves. For all of the young women I interviewed, and for most young Latinos/as, families figure quite prominently in their developing sense of themselves. Chicana feminist psychologist Aida Hurtado updates the notion of “familismo,” that for Latinos/as, families serve as the central socializing force, so members highly value identification, loyalty, and attachment to family.(Hurtado, 2003; Marin, 1991) She frames the concept “becoming family” to highlight the ways Chicano/Chicana families are under constant flux, especially migrant families who might be separated and reunited after long periods of time. Families are not

static entities or units but relations and roles are recreated regularly. In these contexts, young people are constantly remaking their relationship to family, assessing and asserting a constantly shifting role that mitigates against the potentially oppressive encroachments of family hierarchical formations, inclusive of the gender ordering and deployment of ideological, material and sexual violence that is quite common.(Flores-Ortiz, 2003)

Young women's bodies and relationships are also undergoing significant transformation. These changes are marked by gendering worlds and institutions that structure young women's journeys in "becoming females," as Melissa Hyams explains in her study on the gendering in schools.(Hyams, 2006) The notion of "becoming," as used when discussing family and gender phenomena, is intended to highlight youth as a highly transformative moment in the life spectrum; the focus is on young people's agency, and should not fall into ideological trends that see adolescents as not fully human, or "undeveloped," stuck somewhere along the maturation process. The aspect of becoming I wish to highlight is the being in becoming, that young people are existing and negotiating as full participants, social beings whose interaction in the social system and landscape (changing entities and formations) offers the possibility to recreate one's self along the way.

Christy Anna's story teaches us that a young person undergoes daily transformations in their negotiation to emerge alongside and sometimes against, if not through, powerful archetypes of violence and social forces of inequality, institutional pressures including cultural forces, and parents, friends and social groups pulling. The many faces of Christy Anna, her inconsistencies and iterated conflicts, mark the way Christy Anna reclaims agency in the spaces and places between power and

powerlessness; the way she explores, tests, claims, challenges, moves away from, toward and through the said tensions that manifest for this young Latina. Rather than cite the difficulties of living and surviving in this space, a direction that I believe would not be consistent with the way Christy Anna represents herself, I suggest that these negotiations in the midst of transformations are, beyond a method for survival, possibilities for hope, where the resilience of youth perseveres past the confines of material and ideological constraints. The many faces of Christy Anna are a method for survival, resistance, and sites for the possibility for change, for oppositional and transformative consciousness.

on the subject of many faces

**“by your true faces we will know you...
a constant changing of forms”
(Anzaldua, 1987) p.86 and 91**

Jose Esteban Munoz recently added to the genealogy of the studies of the conflict-ridden selves of marginalized peoples engaged in a transformative, and according to Munoz, potentially liberating, dance around the pole of internalized (interpellated) dominant ideologies.(Munoz, 1999) A glimpse into the foundational work of Dubois, Fanon, Anzaldua and Munoz on the subject of the modalities of emergent subjectivity formation in a terrain marked by conflicting histories, interests and locations, will enhance our ability to listen to the many shades and tonalities in Christy Anna’s story.

“Face” is the surface of the body that is the most noticeably inscribed by social structures...we have different surfaces for each aspect of identity, each inscribed by a particular subculture. We are “written” all over...The world knows us by our faces...To become less vulnerable to all these oppressors, we have had to change faces, hemos tenido que cambiar caras “como el cambio de color en el camaleon cuando los peligros son muchos y las opciones son pocas.” Some of us are forced to acquire the ability, like a chameleon, to change color when the dangers are many and the options few.(Anzaldúa, 1990) p. xv

In the spirit of a legacy inspired by Dubois and Fanon, Gloria Anzaldua takes on the challenge of describing the multiple faces/masks Chicanas, mestizas, fronterizas, and women of color embody and/or negotiate against the backdrop of inscribing, socially structured “dangers.” Maneuvering between many faces, morphing “like a chameleon,” is for Anzaldua, the way we survive and mitigate danger, our susceptibility and vulnerability to risk against the violence of oppression. Dubois’ classic work *The Souls of Black Folk*’s opening chapter “Double Consciousness and the Veil” explores the precursor to Anzaldua’s theory of mestiza consciousness, the modality of awakening made possible by the tactical moving between and within faces, borders and prescribed, definitive and oppressive boundaries. At the turn of the 20th century, living in a recently emancipated “United States,” Dubois pleads, “Why did God make me an outcast and a stranger in mine own house?”(Dubois, 1989) p.2 Writing the experience of being black in a white world that hates all things black, Dubois asserts,

It is a peculiar sensation, this double-consciousness, this sense of always looking at one’s self through the eyes of others...One ever feels his twoness, an American, a Negro; two souls; two thoughts; two unreconciled strivings; two warring ideals in one dark body whose dogged strength alone keeps it from being torn asunder.(Dubois, 1989) p.3

Dubois asserts the specific struggle of the challenge unfolding in the midst of an unreconcilable battle emerging between the internalization of the gaze imposed by eurocentrism and white supremacy and the resistant selfhood that clutches her/his own

humanity, agency and selfhood. The experience is one of “warring” clashes, of difference internalized enacting strife difficult enough to barely escape “being torn asunder.” This is the often ill measured rate of ideological violence exacted upon the other. It is ill measured because the battle is internally waged; no physical wounds demarcate these lashings. Rather than idealize the possibility of a picture perfect reconciliation, Dubois’ work resonates with the challenges and conflicts that scribe the African-American experience. Dubois gives voice to the tolls enacted on his community by eurocentrism and racism and in so doing challenges their foundational claims to dominance.

Similarly, in *Black Skin, White Masks*, Fanon sets out to “destroy” the “psychoexistential complex,” the tolls of the ideological violence of colonialist Eurocentric racism, conjured by the juxtaposition of white and black races. (*Fanon, 1967b*)p.12 He argues:

Every colonized people—every people in whose soul an inferiority complex has been created by the death and burial of its local cultural originality—finds itself face to face with the language of a civilizing nation... The colonized is elevated above his jungle status in proportion to his adoption of the mother country’s cultural standards...”(Fanon, 1967b) p.18

It is the very practice of the culture of the dominant that makes the task of survival at times dizzying, negotiating adoption of a certain kind of talk to guarantees one’s survival while maintaining an oppositional stance in order to guarantee the survival of the culture and the self beyond and through the dominant. The location of struggle against this imposing colonial dominance is explored in Fanon’s work, and Chela Sandoval presents a moving analysis of his approach by focusing on the “semiotic technology” inscribed into the very

conceptual framework he sets forth in the title, *Black Skin, White Masks*. (Sandoval, 2000) p.84-5 Fanon brilliantly signals the “epidermalization” of inferiority, by which he means to envision a possibility for hope and transformation through an assertion that liberation is feasible, exists in the soul, within the body beyond the skin; and the conquest of colonization, exacting as it has been, has not been totalizing. Sandoval asserts that Fanon’s “chiasmic” juxtaposition of the metaphors skin and mask signal an instability within the opposing frameworks signaled by black and white, rupturing division through the nomination of a chiasmic unity of differentials, a “racially cyborg body” of black skin and white mask. In this very title, according to Sandoval, we see the brilliance of his project, asserting a racially coded (white) mask that is artificial, constructed, and maneuvered by another external variable which is also constructed by the social, (black) skin. Sandoval sees agency brewing within the maneuverings of this racially coded cyborg. Through these external devices, the colonizer is deceived and the colonized maneuvers a space somewhere between the two paradigms of black and white and skin and mask, a kind of interspace, a “living chiasmic intersection” where they all meet. And finally, she argues, it is this space, undeniably produced out of the “violence of colonial invasion and subjugation” that the possibilities for survival and emancipation emerge.

Out of the contestation of colonizer/colonized selves, cultures, skin, masks and “souls,” emerge the chameleon-like maneuvering that Anzaldua and Fanon reference as the tactical practice of survival. In this location, Anzaldus posits, “rigidity means death...not only does she sustain the contradictions, she turns

ambivalence into something else...”(Anzaldua, 1987)p.79 Similarly, for Anzaldua, there is also an interstitial space that emerges between faces, masks and oppositional scripts, nations, and borders. “Our psyches resemble the bordertowns and are populated by the same people.” (Anzaldua, 1987) p.87The third space of *différance* rises as a morph of oppositional structures of dominance, a tactical maneuvering of the marginalized. Herein lies Anzaldua’s notion of mestiza consciousness:

...mestiza consciousness is a source of intense pain, its energy comes from the continual creative motion that keeps breaking down the unitary aspect of each new paradigm...duality is transcended...(she becomes) a creature that questions the definitions of light and dark and gives them new meanings...in our very flesh, (r)evolution works out the clash of cultures...(Anzaldua, 1987) p.80-1

The pursuit of survival, for Anzaldua, is contingent upon aspiring toward the goal of “seeing through the fictions” of whiteness, and then moving through the confines of that demarcation toward a redefinition of the terms of difference. This battle is waged in our minds, spirits and bodies, according to Anzaldua, Dubois and Fanon. The work of redefining the terms of difference, as Sandoval terms it, differential consciousness, can also be considered then a “methodology of the oppressed,” a strategy for survival emergent through the very experience of marginalization and the demarcated resilience against its incessant thresholds. In her language, the act of “shuttling” between tactics and maneuvers, the meandering movement of the marginalized, is how we survive, how we remain. Jose Esteban Munoz situates the complex notion that for many marginalized communities, it is not an option or a choice to wear a mask. Instead, the survival

strategy becomes a strategy not of morphing self, but of morphing idealized dominant culture notions through what he ascribes as *disidentification* strategies that disrupt alterity through performance and activism.(Munoz, 1999) The disidentification move ruptures the hold of the dominant, opening the fissures for sovereignty and self-determination.

the many faces of christy anna

As a young Latina, Christy Anna lives, is being and becoming, amidst tremendous forces guided by the archetypes of violence, deployed and organized by the architecture of violence. Christy Anna comes into contact with these forces through her multiple interactions with institutions, including the family, school, and the cops. Her development, establishment, and reclaiming of selfhood in the midst of these forces is mired in the threats they pose or impose. Simultaneously, against the threats, Christy Anna demonstrates a keen resilience that keeps her navigating multiple “faces,” identifications and disidentifications with the troubling and dangerous terrain of violence, power, and domination. This navigation of faces emerges as inhabiting contradicting spaces; she makes inconsistent statements. But the inconsistencies speak to her experience living in the very place of conflict and contradiction. In addressing Christy Anna’s story, my purpose is not to move emphatically toward resolution of the conflicts she represents. Christy Anna lives with these conflicts, so, as a researcher, I will also sit with these conflicts, and I invite the reader to do the same. I do not wish to scribe a resolution that could potentially create an ideologized narrative that represents something other than what I hear Christy Anna voicing.

As discussed in the architecture of violence, social institutions entrench the organization of power through the deployment of ideological and material violence. Young women of color are targeted through institutional violence in the schools, in jail, in families, and with the cops. Christy Anna expresses conflicting notions with regard to these institutions.

school

I was a bad ass; I would smoke in the yards. During PE we just be smoking; we cut all the time, we'll get in fights, we'll cuss out our teachers, we didn't do shit at school, my lowest GPA was a 0.7.

I do better now. I still tell my teachers off once and a while. I haven't fought that much, I start shit but, I haven't fought.

This is not a linear shift, a little later, Christy Anna talks about almost getting into another fight at school. School plays a central role in the lives of young people, and most of the young women in this study expressed experiencing harassment, being judged and excluded from school.(Hyams, 2006) School serves as one of the institutions young people come into early contact with, where they are exposed to the archetypes of violence through the ideological violence of the curriculum and, for example, sexual harassment, and material violence. Young people know this, and they often develop conflicting relations with school. Vanessa talked about being harassed by one of her teachers and hating school as a result, but she also talked about how much she liked spending time with her friends at school. Tatiana expressed remorse at being kicked out of elementary before graduating. Christy Anna expresses an interest in adhering to the school's institutional expectations of her, but she also expresses and engages in activities that contradict this interest. She talks about liking and disliking attending summer school. These statements relate the way Christy Anna is conflicted about school. She highlights recollections of noncompliance, recalling the joy (smiling) this brought her, while demonstrating recognition of the pressures to comply. The rules and regulations of school are often experienced as oppressive by young people.(Hyams, 2006) Yet, there are significant forces, including law, forcing

and pressuring young people to comply with these rules. These simultaneous realities are experienced by young people alongside the understanding that school is an important site to connect with friends. In the midst of these multiple realities, Christy Anna maneuvers between positions, at times she “gives face” to the expectations of doing well in school, and at other times she resists the rules and obligations that are expected of her as a student.

jail

An element present in young people’s contradicting relations with social institutions comes from a recognition that they are powerful agents capable of controlling them and exacting limits on their movement and freedom. Young people often resist the disempowering aspects of dominant institutions by negating and resisting the power that is wielded against them, minimizing its control or effect on them. Christy Anna was arrested and spent 3 days in jail. Her expressions in delivery (intonation) and content, signaled contradicting relations to her experience in jail.

(how was it?)

In a way it was fun...like the first day was a bitch...they give you great food, though, for reals. And then you have classes there, you don’t have to pay a...we had p.e. and we played volleyball. So it wasn’t that bad, just when they lock you in your room and you got nothing to do...

Christy Anna flips back and forth between speaking very joyfully about the experience and remembering in a somber and heavy tone, the difficulties of being locked up. Calling the experience “fun” points to the way Christy Anna

puts on a face that minimizes the power this experience is supposed to wield over her. Yet, in this brief testimony, we can see that she also recognizes the moments that did make the experience difficult. One can see Christy Anna maneuvering between “jail sucks” and the forces that pull her toward such a belief, and “jail was cool,” and the forces pulling her toward that statement. She lives both and experiences the effects and the pull from both, so she speaks both sides.

the cops

Harassment by the police is an act of intimidation that has been widely used against communities of color since the inception of law enforcement as an offshoot of the criminal justice system in the United States. The historical roots of the criminal justice system are racially coded in a system of slavery. While still under British rule, the Colonies had an established right to enslave convicted criminals, and whites were quickly exempted from such a punishment. “Captivity and criminal justice seemed to mean the same thing, slavery.” (Jordan, 1968) In the late 1600’s and early 1700’s slavery was written into law when specific statutes pertaining exclusively to slaves were implemented. Indeed the original Penal Code in this country consisted of 14 laws which could only be broken by slaves, among them:

...learning to read, leaving their masters’ property without a proper pass, engaging in “unbecoming” conduct in the presence of a white female, assembling to worship outside the supervisory presence of a white person, neglecting to step out of the way when a white person approached on a walkway, smoking in public, walking with a cane, making loud noises or defending themselves from assaults. (Kennedy, 1997)

In addition, with the evolution of the United States Penal Code came the evolution of discriminatory sentencing for violating it. As Frederick Douglass related in his famous

speech “What to the Slave is the 4th of July,” delivered to the Rochester Ladies’ Anti-Slavery Society in 1852:

There are 72 crimes in the state of Virginia which if committed by a black man subject him to a punishment of death, while only two of the same crimes will subject a white man to the like punishment. (Douglass, 1852)

The aforementioned historical roots of the criminal justice system can also be witnessed in more contemporary treatment of communities of color by law enforcement. Tough on crime and drug war policies heightened police surveillance, police abuse and incarceration of communities of color.(Ritchie, 2006) Anti-gang injunctions, 3 strikes laws, and so-called “violence prevention initiatives” like California’s Proposition 21 further heightened the racialization of law enforcement and the criminal justice system in the 20th and early 21st centuries. These laws increased the direct contact law enforcement is legitimately entitled to have with communities of color, which has resulted in greater police abuse of communities of color.(Ritchie, 2006) The continuum of law enforcement violence ranges from harassment and intimidation to the use of brutal force, rape, and murder.

The disproportionate police presence in communities of color makes police harassment a unique race-based phenomenon. In a recent study, researchers from the University of Florida, Faegin and Lersch found that African-Americans and Latinos made up 97% of the victims of the police brutality records investigated. According to Mumia Abu-Jamal, a noted investigative journalist and author on the subject of police misconduct, the television show *Justice Files* found more than 79,000 cases of police

brutality occurred across the nation between 1981 and 1991, which translates into 7,900 assaults by police every year. (Abu-Jamal, 1995)

Andrea Ritchie, in her seminal article, “Law Enforcement Violence against Women of Color,” argues that the public debate and legal rhetoric regarding police violence is almost exclusively centered on the experiences of young, heterosexual black and Latino men as the subject and victim of police abuse. (Ritchie, 2006) This is juxtaposed against the vivid reality Ritchie documents, that “women and girls and particularly women of color, are sexually assaulted, brutally strip-searched, beaten, shot and killed by law enforcement agencies with alarming frequency.” (Ritchie, 2006) p.139 The tough on crime and anti-drug policies of the last two decades have also increased women of color’s contact with police, which has increased the risk for this kind of abuse.

Christy Anna has come to learn what the cops are all about in her community. And her relationship to the cops reveals an understanding for the kind of law enforcement abuses on communities of color that is well known by these communities. She talks about the cops as if there were a common understanding that they merit hatred. She talks about hating the cops, underscoring that everyone hates the cops. She recognizes their power to “lock her up;” she says, “cops can be bitches.” “I don’t like cops,” she says. She expresses being scared of the cops, “we all got scared.” She gives an account of being psychologically “harassed” by the cops:

the cop thought I was pregnant.

I: Why would he think that?

Cuz I’m fat. And I was like, holding my stomach like this. And he was like, you are pregnant, huh? Tell your parents the truth. I was like, look that’s stupid. I was like, I’m high. Like, you wanna get locked up this and this and that. I was just, whatever.

The cop asserts power by threatening to “lock her up,” which Christy Anna dismisses quite willingly with her response, “whatever,” a statement and move that subverts the cop’s power over her. The cop is also insisting that Christy Anna is lying and is pregnant, which she dismisses by saying, “that’s stupid.” It’s clear that Christy Anna recognizes the ways the cop is attempting to use his power as a cop to intimidate her, but she is not willing to surrender. In these maneuvers, Christy Anna expresses a conscious resistance to the ways cops attempt to wield power over her.

On another occasion, in the midst of discussing the details of a fight, Christy Anna recalls a variation on her clear statements and sentiments against cops. She relates differently to this particular cop because he expresses care, interest and generosity with the young folks at her school. He brings pizza and soda for the basketball team, and lets the kids ride in his car, showing them how the car works. Christy Anna says 4 times that he’s “hella cool.” She says, “he’s always there for the sports. He goes to all of our games, gives us sodas, drinks, everything.” But she clearly states that he is an exception to the norm, that “other than him, I don’t like cops.”

There is an interest that Christy Anna expresses with this cop and his car that points to a rupture in her otherwise normative dislike of the cops. Christy Anna’s positioning is clearly informed by the abuse she’s experienced with cops and the knowledge of the power the institution of law enforcement wields over her life. “The cops” are a looming threat likely to harass and “bust her out,” yet she resists their attacks. She also takes interest in the cop car and in learning to work the car, and in the cop who “cares.” This shows a keen awareness of the state institutional threat law enforcement poses to her and her community’s safety, but it also shows an and openness in getting to

know this particular cop. Christy Anna's life experience and the choices she makes for understanding and relating to cops show that without surrendering to the real threat cops pose, she is also open to the challenge of holding differential and conflicting relations with cops.

violence

Christy Anna also expresses conflicting notions with regard to her involvement in violence, and what she thinks about violence. Her conflicting portray the vivid conflicting constructs of violence in her life. She says:

I don't regret none of my fights...

Probably when I get to high school I will regret the fights I gotten into now...cause like you know you'll be regretting it...

These two statements juxtapose the conflicting views Christy Anna posits regarding violence. On the one hand, Christy Anna comes alive when recounting the fights in which she's been involved. Excitedly, she repeatedly arrives at the conclusion, *I/we beat her/their asses...* There is a part of her that clearly finds value in fighting, but she also remains conscious of the injuries violence is capable of causing. She is interested simultaneously in interrupting violence, in attempting to help someone who is getting "their ass beat," although she might not even know that person well. There seems to be something that Christy Anna feels about a person being injured that leads her to express interest in trying to minimize their injury.

Her conceptualization of violence furthers these conflicting orientations:

...before like I really didn't care you know I was like oh you know it's good to fight, but now I realize that it don't get you nowhere. Like even though like I do want to fight, it's like it don't get you

nowhere, you just, I don't know what the whole point of fighting is. That's what I think now, it's like why do I fight, what's the whole point?

However, her thoughts are interrupted by another situation that inspires Christy Anna moving toward fighting again.

...yesterday I was about to get into a fight...

These inconsistencies with regard to violence show the different sets of values Christy Anna is negotiating. There is a reality in the streets, a reality in the schools, one at home, one represented by the researcher and Christy Anna is negotiating them all. Ultimately, youth move between multiple and conflicting worlds that impart similarly conflicting, derivative world views. (Guzman, 2006a) Their lived experience is a series of negotiations between these worlds and world views. Christy Anna lives amidst conflicting directives about the role of violence in her life. As Anzaldua, Sandoval, and Munoz highlight in their work, Christy Anna practices movement, shuffling between different sets of interests and values. She demonstrates her struggle with identification and disidentification from dominant social institutions and policies. It is this shuttling that perhaps has allowed her survival thus far. Alongside her routine engagement with violence, she has made a conscious decision not to join the 24th Street gang, which she states she often contemplated. Alongside her struggle to adhere to school policies and make it through school, she has joined the basketball and softball teams, clear efforts to stay engaged in the school setting. Alongside her desire to fight, lies her expressed desire not to fight, to recognizing the danger in fighting and

demonstrating a compelling interest in intervening in violence. Christy Anna thinks through the multiple directions and possibilities present in her life, and sometimes engages in more than one possibility; this is where the multiple faces emerge. For example, she expresses how much she likes being a “bad ass” but conversely, how much she dislikes people being afraid of her.

This movement is important to consider when addressing violence in the lives of young Latinas, because the shuttling suggests there is an opening, a possibility to inspire a just path. As we witness youth maneuver between changing roles, practices and expectations in conflicting worlds, we are reminded that youth are constantly remaking and recommitting themselves to different sets of values.(Guzman, 2006b) This approach challenges behavioral pathological orientations to the intervention in violence, which tend to confine personalities toward a future of violence (this is the justification for 3 strikes laws, for example). The morphing, metamorphosing subjectivities of youth serve up the possibility of hope; regardless of the patterns of violence that have constructed them, youth, more than any other age group, remind us, that nothing is permanent and change and healing is not only possible, it’s happening all the time.

CHAPTER 9

the end: a matter of time

At the end of the writing journey there is a brief moment cast amidst multifarious possibilities. Although arrival lingers throughout the journey, and although the writer can be sited as arriving many times over, there is no other time like that at the end of the journey where the physical constraint of tapering pages vehemently summons the writer to arrive. Whereas the weight of the commanding gesture hovers slightly overhead throughout the journey, it arrives with bellowing invocation at this, the dawn of the final chapter. Nonetheless, steadfast, I remain impervious to this demand, for I am reminded that no single volume of words can ever justly evoke the lives, the set of consequences, the troubling realities and the complexities represented in the pages before and culminated in the ones that follow. This work is thus ongoing; it has no end and every presumed ending is yet another beginning, for the time with violence and the lives in violence are far too replete and complex to be wholly represented in the limiting two-dimensional ink of words. Really, the work of the sociologist, the task of interpreter of social phenomena and dimensions, is a feat in continuity, for we are always only grasping at the feet of the world. Occasionally, we touch, arrive, and it is those moments that I hope will provide added insight to our committed work in dissolving violence. This inevitably returns to the place where I began. Starting from the place I know, for there lay my contributions and the framing of this research. From the trenches of violence, I have come to intimately know its emergence is as constant as its dissolution. It is always only just a matter of time. The mine fields are cast, embedded differentially in the

streets, lives, bodies and nations of the poor, black and brown. This is no accident; it is by design. There is a strategy lining the placement of the mines; their placement is guided by the archetypes of violence, and the architecture of violence provides the institutional ligament and the state and economic infrastructure set them in their place. Behind the architecture of the minefields lies a web of coordinated endeavors guiding belief systems, shaping and informing the freedom of movement of bodies and their prescribed likelihood to survive in the mine fields of violence. Still, we remain, sometimes surviving past debilitating and dismembering blows. The end of violence is always only a matter of time.

The picture I have tried to paint about my own and the experiences, interpretations and conceptualizations of violence for the young Latinas interviewed is deeply rooted within the boundaries and limits of my partial gaze and experience. In the earlier chapters of this dissertation and throughout, I challenged the rubric and the potential limits of research on violence. I referenced scholars who consider the violent practices and legacies of research and critically assess the draconian baggage and the continued embeddedness of research in a violent rubric, which not only limits the prospect of research on or about violence, but endangers communities under fire by deploying violence in the process. The rhetoric surrounding the study of violence is rooted in the archetypes of violence, where violence itself, through the construction of explanatory narratives granted ascent to dominance is used as an ideological tool. Thus, the dominant narratives on violence work to demarcate the racialized other as barbarous, as uncivilized native and recalcitrant slave and our corresponding cultures, traditions and populations

are deemed inherently violent.⁷⁰ This narrative, as my analysis suggests, informs policy and the deployment of ideological and material violence so that the faces associated with violence repeatedly surface through media representation as the faces of the colored others. This is the expectation of violence. This is the explanation of violence. This is the face of violence. The violence of the state, legitimated even in massacring, raping and genocidal warfare campaigns, is couched in the narratives of violence prevention, as are the commonplace police assaults on communities of color. Ironically, research on the topic of violence also casts its claim of nonviolence although it is often guilty of the reproduction of the archetypes of violence and the deployment of violence.

The characterization of the dominant narrative of violence casting native and people of color, our communities and cultures, as inherently violent is furthered through the hyperindividualizing approaches I discuss in my critical look at the medicalization of violence and the criminalization of violence. The medicalization of violence extends the western medical model to violence by treating the individual as the cause and potentially the intervention and cure of violence. Psychotherapeutic and psychiatric models emerge to treat the diseased individual through drugs and treatment while the social landscape is left untouched. Violence becomes a behavioral concern, controllable and even preventable at the behavioral realm. In this light, violence becomes an aberrational behavior. Systematically and ideologically, the medicalization of violence, and its institutional roots and practices, and the criminalization of violence are imbricated, along with its institutional roots and practices. Violent behavior is collapsed into the framework of a crime and the doer is branded a criminal. The state faults the individual

⁷⁰ Incidentally, the very etymology of the term barbarian denotes one from an other country, from outside the Greek and Roman nations.

for his behavior and sets out to solve violence at the individual by wrongfully presuming a potential end to violence through criminalizing and penalizing of the individual. The medicalization and criminalization of violence promote the narratives of violence as occasional, irregular and aberrant behavior. They steer analytic and active gaze away from the social landscape, while they further state violence against people of color through incarceration, deportation, and medical violence.

Through this dominant narrativization of violence, I argue that the state, a central organizer of violence against communities of color, escapes urgent scrutiny and the routine and regular forms of violence experienced by communities of color and the young Latinas interviewed, are overlooked. The stories of these young women, and my own experiences, express the routine deployment of violence in communities of color, the vast continuum of experiences, as well as the interrelatedness of these experiences. The analytic model I suggest, the archetypes of violence, seeks to explain the coordinated interrelatedness of multiple manifestations of violence that are organized into the deployment of colonial, economic, racial, and sex/gendering/heteronormative violence. Based on the experiences narrated in this dissertation, and the centrality of the testimony of young Latinas, I propose the architecture of violence to bring the state back into the picture, addressing its role and the economy's in the deployment and organization of violence through social institutions. When discussing the police, the young women expressed similar concerns with regard to the rampant deployment of law enforcement violence they and/or their communities experienced. Tatiana's removal from her parents and the disparate and exacerbated removal of children of color from their parents points to another form of state violence, in addition to the military invasion the young women

from Central America and/or their families experienced. Through the lens of the models I propose, violence is understood not as occasional and aberrant, but regular and to be expected. The young women interviewed all knew this; they all developed mechanisms for responding, preventing, and engaging with violence, as it regularly surrounds them. “Watching my back,” as Vanessa employs it, is not a selective past time, it is a strategy for survival. When violence surrounds, the practice of surveillance can mean survival. Looking through Vanessa’s eyes, applying the models I propose that emanate from our joint experiences with violence, brings, for example, the violation of women in Juarez out of the realm of fiction and unimaginables to the material domain of 1,300 dismembered bodies, and counting.

The historical lens that situates the violence the young women experience within a historical framework of violence positions colonial and neo-colonial invasions, patterns of displacement and migration, poverty, and family and gendering violence as interrelated in the continuum of violence that produces and deploys violence in their lives. Such a historical lens is necessary to understand Juarez as well. The model of the archetypes of violence cites the historicizing of violence as a crucial analytic step in understanding the violence experienced by these young women. Violence cannot be sequestered to a unifactorial analytic framework in cause or manifestation; incidents of violence are patterned. The historical lens and consideration of the interconnectedness of multiple manifestations of violence calls into question the efficacy and relevance of current policy driven, state driven trends to myopically focus on the individual violent behavior as well as to myopically focus on the particular manifestations of violence (the act) conceptualized as separate and isolated from others. Such approaches misrepresent

violence and as a consequence little changes or violence is in some cases heightened. Theories and interventions about violence against us and/or our communities cannot fail to understand the historical conditions and consequences of totality, complexity and interrelatedness of the violence deployed against us. The ideological work of a hegemonic discourse on violence against women that avoids many other prevalent forms of violence, particularly those experienced by women of color and our communities, sets up a pretense to address violence while simultaneously protecting white supremacist social arrangements and continuing violent attacks against us.

Women of color and our communities live the dangerous realities conditioned by the relentless attacks of colonial, gendering, class and racial violence. We inhabit the dangerous intersections of social processes of inequality that deem us less than human and inherently violatable or even rapeable, so white men are granted the uncontested right to invade the bodies of women of color. (Davis, 1981; A. Smith, 2005) When Audre Lorde relates that “we were never meant to survive,” she is speaking to a set of social processes that are co-constitutive, reinforcing, informing and shaping each other hell bent on our destruction. Particular forms of attacks on our lives, such as domestic violence, “the war of terror,” and medical violence are borne out of the convergence of these processes. Domestic violence is an intimate enunciation of their intersections; it manifests in *and* is produced by the intersections of sex/gender/sexuality systems, racial systems, class systems, and colonial/neo-colonial systems. It is an escalating pattern of abuse where one partner sets out to dominate, control and have power over another, where the practices of war, colonization and racism become the practices of relationships and vice versa. Further, violence doesn’t just emerge from inequality but it also conjures

it. Domestic violence re-produces class, sex/gender/sexuality, race and nation. Social arrangements that are structured unequally produce and are re-produced and legitimated by unequal relationships; as long as hierarchies of race, class, gender, etc. exist, our intimate relationships will produce unequal relations and unequal intimate relationships shape and reinforce unequal macro-structural relations. So exploring an end to one form of violence necessitates exploration of the interrelated forms of violence. In order to end violence, we must conceptualize the totality of all forms of violence, their interrelatedness and systematic organization and intervene in all forms of inequality. Prisons and the military remain as violent institutions, and the legitimacy of their violence, even their very existence, must be seriously called into question if we intend to conceive of or even discuss, let alone plan for an end to violence.(Davis, 2003) It takes violence to carve inequality, and the two are predictably intertwined. In order to prevent one, we must prevent the other. Envisioning an end to violence is therefore envisioning an end to inequality.

I stand with the thriving movements of women of color and US third world feminists whose strategic insurgency into the subject of violence is remapping the ideological terrain on which violence stands, showing faulty logic and revealing interests made invisible in the process of posturing a sensitivity alongside state sympathetic interests. The remapping identifies the state as a central organizer of violence; it applies an intertextual analysis of all forms of violence that considers the interdependence and manifestation of multiple forms of violence at multiple levels of analysis and recognizes that it is this diffused orchestration of violence that maintains and legitimates the hierarchies that structure our lives. This analysis also challenges the notion that violence

is an aberrant pathological behavior, infrequent and anomalous and instead recounts its widespread historic and constant presence in the lives of women and communities of color.(Castañeda, 1998) A more color-conscious approach to understanding and responding to violence knows and understands the full history of violence; it reads the intertextualization of violence(s) and builds a Movement guided by such an understanding and reading. As Kimberle Crenshaw relates, interventions against violence against women must take into consideration that the systemic interrelationship of race, gender, class, and sexuality manifests into different lived experiences of violence against women accordingly. (Crenshaw, 1995) Such approaches to the articulation of violence against women of color reveal state interests in affirming and maintaining unequal social arrangements organized on the basis of sex/gender, class and race. These interests posit the law, state and social institutions, and even feminist and anti-violence social movements as conduits to institutionalize, maintain and deploy the continuance of social inequalities and of violence against us and our communities.

This move includes not just opposition to the state but opposition to a white feminist movement that has positioned itself in bed with the state, at the expense of furthering violence against women of color and our communities. White women's movements against violence have led to criminalization and other approaches that strengthen state violence against women of color and our communities. The other element of opposition involves a feminist of color assertion that feminists further anti-intersectionalist approaches that deny consideration of race in the construction of womanhood. Chela Sandoval terms this "Feminism's Great Hegemonic Model."(Sandoval, 2000) Aida Hurtado terms this the "condition of women qua

women.”(Hurtado) Dorothy Roberts also comments that feminism’s focus on gender as the “source of reproductive repression often overlooks the importance of racism in shaping our understanding of reproductive liberty and the degree of “choice” that women really have.” (Roberts, 1997)

The oppositional move calls for a focus on the interconnectedness of oppression. It is an awareness of the interstitial space that adequately articulates the interrelationship between racism, classism, heterosexism, sexism and violence. Beth Richie’s theory of ‘gender entrapment’ in the Black community and Yvette Flores Ortiz’ notion of “culture freezing” in the Latino community inhabit and ruminate that interstice.(Flores-Ortiz, 1993; Richie, 1999)

Beth Richie’s study, *Compelled to Crime: the gender entrapment of battered black women*, gives voice to the experiences of African American battered women who have been convicted of criminal charges. (Richie, 1999) She interviewed 37 women over a period of nine months at the Rose M. Singer Center in Rikers Island Correctional Facility. Through her research with Rikers inmates, Richie developed the model of gender entrapment to describe how African-American women who are marginalized by the intersecting oppressions of race, class and gender as well as battered by their male partners, are coerced into crime by a combination of their culturally defined gender roles, intimate violence, and their racially marginalized social positioning.

Flores Ortiz’ notion of “culture freezing” in the Latino community speaks to the pressures that immigrant Latino families face against the threat of a usurping and threatening dominant americanizing Anglo culture and project. Against this dominant force, Latinos often experience a heightening or exacerbation of their own cultural

practices and subjectivities in order to ensure its survival. According to Flores Ortiz, this often leads to a freezing of cultural norms, including germane and derivative gender roles. The freezing of culture and gender roles translates to an exaggerated hierarchy between genders that precipitates the possibility for the deployment of violence. Thus, understanding and preventing domestic violence in Latino communities, for Flores Ortiz, necessitates analysis of the intersecting racializing projects that make americanization pressures possible.

This research, and the growing research, voices, and movements in which it is situated, dares to dream past the current limits and constraints to how violence intervention and prevention is currently articulated in the dominant narratives on violence. People are holding discussions throughout this country right now about developing community responses to violence against women, about developing models of intervention and prevention that do not rely on violent systems and institutions in the process. It seems like a very short-sighted, or myopic solution to design policy that implements violence as the solution to end violence. What if our models for intervention and prevention did not rely and reproduce violence in the process of striving to this so-called goal of non-violence? What if our models for intervention and prevention of violence practiced non-violence on the way to reaching non-violence? We might actually begin to see an end to violence.

This is where we interrupt the state's message. This is where the INCITE insurgency enters. INCITE is a national activist organization of radical feminist of color advancing a movement to end violence against women of color and our communities through direct action, critical dialogue and grassroots organization. INCITE is committed to efforts that

will move us closer toward global peace, justice and liberation. INCITE was founded in 2000 and organizes under the following tenets, reformulating ideology around domestic violence and inserting our voices as women of color, our experiences with violence and what is likely to lead to true potential justice and peace in our communities. INCITE maintains principles of unity that commit INCITE to:

- Maintain a space by and for women of color.
- Center our political analysis and community action in the struggle for liberation.
- Support sovereignty for indigenous people as central to the struggle for liberation.
- Oppose all forms of violence which oppress women of color and our communities.
- Recognize the state as the central organizer of violence that oppresses women of color and our communities.
- Recognize these expressions of violence against women of color as including colonialism, police brutality, immigration policies, reproductive control, etc.
- Link liberation struggles which oppose racism, sexism, classism, heterosexism, ableism, ageism and all other forms of oppression.
- Support coalition building among women of color.
- Recognize and honor differences across cultures.
- Encourage creative models of community organizing and action.
- Discourage any solicitation of federal or state funding for Incite activities. (this has been modified to include disinvestment from the non-profit industrial complex).

Emerging out of women of color coalitional consciousness, INCITE's narrative on violence and violence against women of color speaks and frames violence and anti violence work from "the trenches," understanding the ways social processes of race, class, and colonialism shape and intersect sex/gender formations to conjure very specific attacks on women of color. INCITE's work considers multiple forms of violence against women of color, as its organizing history attests. This position articulates the state as a central organizer of violence, and the organization divested from state funds intended to direct anti-violence work and co-opt the radical intentions of organizing work. Perhaps

most importantly, INCITE's approach models a keen resistance to the dominant narratives on violence and asserts instead a commitment and practice of self-determination in writing its own script about the violence women of color endure.(INCITE, 2006, 2007)

INCITE's work, although it challenges the ways white feminism has been complicit in furthering violence against women of color doesn't just end there. INCITE builds with communities the practice of self-determination, moving toward frameworks of healing and prevention of violence as can be seen in its work on building community accountability, a model that does not rely on the state in any way to address violence but instead affirms the self-determination of the community involved. Current projects in the SF Bay Area, New York and Seattle, Washington are taking up these approaches in various ways. Sista to Sista in New York has developed a model of prevention and intervention in violence against women called "Sistas Liberated Ground," which claims the neighborhood Bushwick as a liberated zone for women where inhabitants are educated in the streets and in their homes and schools about violence and a team of community member interventionists is trained on response, self-defense and safety tactics. (Nicole Burrowes, 2007) Communities Against Rape and Abuse (C.A.R.A.) in Seattle has been working to implement grassroots community accountability strategies that intervene in incidents of abuse in attempts to engender accountability for abusive actions. (CARA, 2006)

INCITE's work will continue to articulate and organize against the co-opting nonproftization of social movements, the academic industrial complex and its deleterious attacks on women of color, the continued attacks on the displaced survivors of Katrina,

and the War on Terror, among many other fights. (INCITE, 2007) INCITE understands that consistent political resistance to the archetypes and architecture of violence means fighting many fights and coordinating many movements and struggle. INCITE: Women of Color Against Violence has become a movement; it is the largest women of color national organization in the country because its boundaries as an organization are less defined as that and more as a movement, a strategic insurgency, an ideological rupture in the terrain of resistance to violence and movement toward peace and justice. INCITE is a movement of many movements.

The time has arrived for this kind of creative research, dialogue and discussion that is not limited by the dominant narratives of violence and that centers the experiences of communities of color and women of color with violence. This analytic move shifts the conceptual frameworks and factors as has been elucidated in this dissertation, so that the analytic models like the archetypes of violence and the architecture of violence surface. These models will lead to very different solutions and envision an end and intervention in violence in a radically different way, procedurally and in effect. One of the principal strategies, as outlined by Patricia Hill Collins' notion of black women's standpoint is to read in every epistemology and praxis the seeds of dominance and violence. (Hill Collins, 1998) We do not exist out of the context of violence and domination but are produced and situated in it, so the work of envisioning a different reality is the work of cleaning house and practicing something other than dominance and violence every step of the way.

Additional research is also needed that further elucidates the ways the state has organized violence against Latinas, documenting the geneologies of state violence against us and our communities. I intend to continue research that explores the militarization of

the “U.S.” Mexico border and the deployment of violence along the border and a key site for racialization. I think more stories need to be told, research that reveals the ways we experience all forms of violence, how we make sense of them and respond/resist to them. There has been a marked absence in even accepting the theoretical and movement assertions that INCITE, for example makes. There is a latent uptake of positions that would steer folks to an anti-state, anti-racist approach to understanding and resisting, for example domestic violence. Research is needed that is willing to consider an intersectional and intertextual analysis of violence that explores the ways social processes of inequality are co-constituted with violence and the interdependence of multiple and specific forms of violence.

Flores-Ortiz’ poignant approach to the notion of “culture freezing” in the Latino community and its role in the production of violence within Latino families moves in exactly these ways, considering the historical role of multiple forms of violence and the pressures of migration and dislocation on communities and violence. Further research remains to be done that could extend this notion of “culture freezing” to neo-colonial formations, neo-liberal transnational arrangements and invasions. The imposition of western and “U.S.” American values through globalization and the neo-liberal policies that facilitate such an imposition, place many nations under attack at risk of developing “culture freezing” responses to these impositions. This element has failed to be studied in the dramatic escalated rates of violence against women during neo-liberal alignment with the “United States.” In Juarez, Mexico, the same year as NAFTA was passed, a tremendous rise in the number of women murdered, disappeared, kid-knapped and raped was noted. In Guatemala, around the passage of CAFTA, a similar rise in the number of

women murdered was noted. Patterns of globalization are imposing dominant cultural values and practices and research into the ways these patterns and reactions to them are morphing gender roles and producing violence against women is desperately needed.

Additionally, research that historicizes and documents the work of INCITE and the growing transnational movements against violence emerging against the backdrop of heightened rates of violence as a result of globalization and the intensification of capitalist social formations, namely through trafficking, sweatshop abuses, violence at militarized borders, and the War on Terror. Women of color, migrant women and women in the global south are organizing for their survival. I have participated in and researched these trends and will continue to explore the myriad formations through which women are organizing across racial and national difference and the impact these movement formations can have on the multiple forms of violence this dissertation addresses.

Our work to historicize and document violence and even construct, inform and participate in the dialogues toward developing and envisioning an end to violence occur alongside and are embedded in the daily realities of our lives and the dangers we face, and the lives of our communities and the constant deployment of violence that is daily being weathered and hopefully survived. As I write this closing chapter, I think about my own brother who just faced death in the face last week, and thankfully survived, and I think about the young women I interviewed who also continually face similar risks. I remember the way, through tears and fears we survive against the greatest odds, in light of violence. That spirit of resilience that resides in all the survivors gets us through another day and moves us to dream a different world(s) where violence is an outdated

word students find in the dictionary not down the street, in a jail or at home. This is true because as these young women reminded me, violence might be constant and the context in many of our lives, but we are so much more than violence. Violence is no synecdoche for our lives, for all that we are, for all we dream of being. And this is why the end of violence is possible. It is always only a matter of time.

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