UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA, SAN DIEGO

Altered Civic Participation in the U.S. Census as a Dispute to the Myth of Equal Citizenship

A dissertation submitted in partial satisfaction of the requirements for the degree Doctor of Philosophy

in

Communication

by

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The Dissertation of Jahmese Meolla Fort is approved, and it is acceptable in quality and form for publication on microfilm and electronically:

Chair

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DEDICATION

I am deeply indebted to Spelman College and my alumnae sisters, this institution and network have charged me to be a *scholar activist*, that is, to have my scholarship have real implications for my communities. It is personally important for me to produce work that my family and community will find relevant and accessible. I hope that I have succeeded in accomplishing these goals.

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It is to you all that this work is dedicated.

EPIGRAPH

The theory behind our tactics: "The white man is always trying to know into somebody else's business. All right, I'll set something outside the door of my mind for him to play with and handle. He can read my writing but he sho' can't read my mind. I'll put this play toy in his hand, and he will seize it and go away. Then I'll say my say and sing my song."

Zora Neale Hurston

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ABSTRACT OF THE DISSERTATION

Altered Civic Participation in the U.S. Census as a Dispute to the Myth of Equal Citizenship

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This dissertation is an inquiry into notions of citizenship and participation. Dominant definitions of these two ideas are insufficient for interpreting unconventional forms of civic behavior. Especially interested in finding ways of interpreting nonparticipants in terms beyond “apathetic” or “poor citizens,” this research takes the 2010 U.S. Census survey as the main site of inquiry.

The year 2010 marked the U.S. Census Bureau’s most expensive and expansive communication campaign to encourage full participation in the survey. That year also

hosted numerous examples of opposition to the survey. Observations of moments of unconventional interactions with the census led to my development of the concept of altered civic participation. Defined as moments that call attention to unequal experiences of citizenship among the U.S. population through intentional, ephemeral, expansive, consequential and optimistic actions; this concept helps expand existing definitions of citizenship by way of an expanded definition of participation.

Recognizing altered civic participation as meaningful and political requires a paradigmatic shift from politics as a consensus finding process among equal citizens, to politics as a process of dissensus through which overlooked portions of society exert their significance (Ranciere 2010). This overlooked population becomes apparent by beginning from a critique of citizenship in America as elusive in substance even when attainable in title. Altered civic participation is a political response to limited substantial citizenship, a tactic for marginalized U.S. residents to participate in the struggle over equal citizenship given limitations to nominal and substantive citizenship (Glenn 2002). In pursuit of the questions "why and how do people alter their engagement in civic opportunities," the 2010 boycott of the survey by Latino immigrants and clergy, and the submission of fictional information are the empirical cases analyzed. This dissertation explores the utility of altered civic participation as a concept for understanding moments of unconventional civic behavior among America's marginalized groups.

Introduction

Rethinking Civic Participation

Committed to counting the entire United States population, the 2010 Census Survey relied heavily on its $371 million Integrated Communication Campaign. The campaign was an effort to increase participation by raising the public's awareness of the survey's uses and assuring them of its confidentiality (Bucci 2012). The funds were used for a variety of media including posters which were placed on the sides of public buses and the backs of benches. These printed advertisements were also mounted on the glass doors and windows of storefronts, churches, and organizations across the country. All of the posters are dominated by images instead of text. They each feature small print, describing the survey, across the bottom of the poster with a small image of the official form. On its official website, the Census Bureau catalogues posters according to their purpose as either "awareness posters," "fact sheets," "action posters" or "confidentiality posters."

Especially interested in motivating "hard-to-count" populations to complete and mail back their surveys, the Census Bureau published posters specifically targeting ethnic and linguistic minorities. These posters often featured images of individuals in traditional garb, ethnic foods, or culturally specific items. Since one of the tag lines for the 2010 communication campaign described the survey as "a portrait of America," many of the minority specific posters featured multi-generational ethnic families in a domestic setting smiling in the direction of the viewer as if sitting for a portrait.

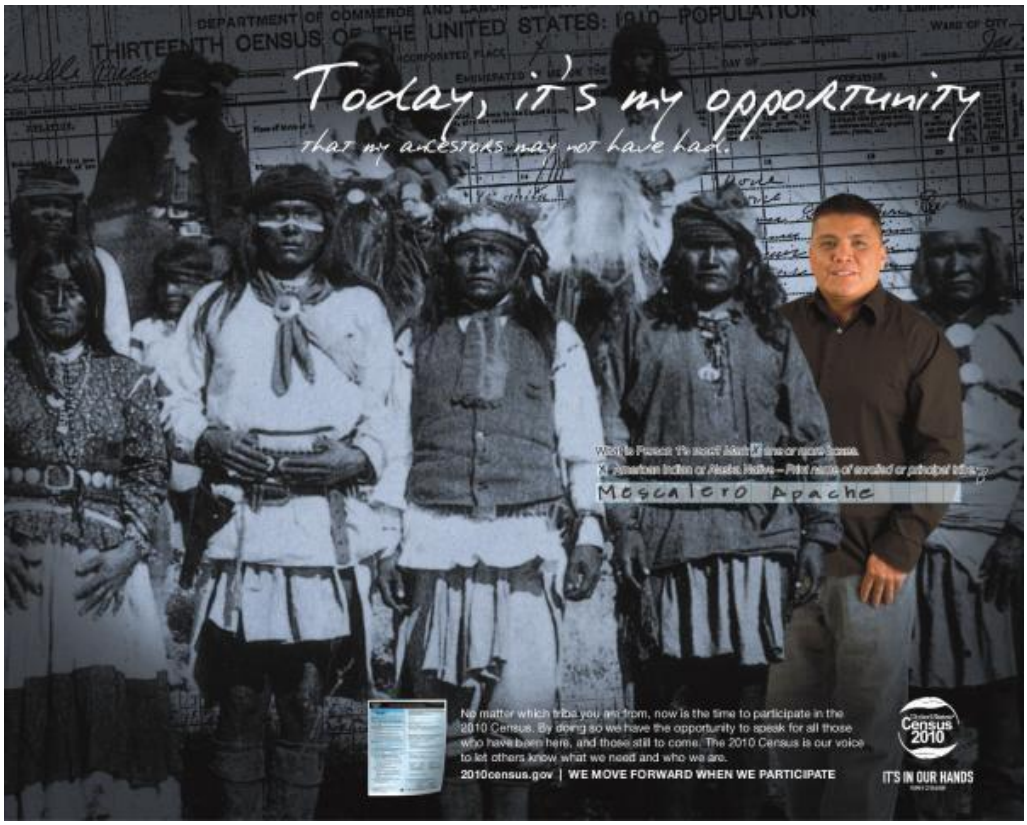

Figure 0.1: "2010 Census Alaska Native Poster" U.S. Census Bureau 2010

Targeted action posters, like **Figure 0.1**, maintain the uniformed census poster composition by having very little text other than the survey description along the bottom portion of the poster and having a large image of ethnically specific individuals. What makes these posters distinct is that they allude to intergenerational trauma instead of multigenerational portraits. The contrast in lighting and attire emphasizes the ancestral focus of this poster's appeal for participation from Indigenous communities, specifically the Mescalero Apache tribe. The advertisement positions the 2010 Census as a unique opportunity for achieving redress for wrongs committed against one's ancestors, gaining inclusion for oneself, and assisting the efforts of the United States, all in one action.

At times referred to as "detournement" or "semiotic Robin Hoodism," culture jamming is an artistic practice that attempts to resist, subvert, and reclaim dominant

images and the ideologies they are believed to symbolize (Klein 2000, 280 & Lasn 2000, 103). Typically used to critique, reform, and resist consumerism, culture jamming, as is the case in **Figure 0.2**, is also used to critique government institutions and practices.

The creators of the culture jammed census poster below are critical of census posters' romanticization of marginalized peoples. Using the same black and gray color scheme, the visual critique uses a historically specific image that renders itself impossible for romanticization, a popular photograph by Eliot Elisofon.[1] With its header text being translated from Japanese to English as "violation of non-disclosure agreement," and accompanied on the *Resist Racism*[2] blog with only the sarcastic text "Trust the government," the poster offers a clear critique of the Census Bureau's romanticized depiction of the nation's marginalized groups. Given the recent admission of inappropriate use of census data for the internment of Japanese Americans, the culture jamming critics avoid romantic depictions of diversity in the U.S. and call attention to the mistreatment of Japanese Americans by the U.S. government in general and their troubled histories with the Census survey in particular.[3]

[1] The photograph depicts 82 Japanese Americans arriving at Manzanar internment camp on March 21, 1942 in Owens Valley, California.
[2] Resist Racism and Eat your carrots is a blog whose contents include poetry by feminist scholars and analysis of news stories discussing the hardships and successes of people of color in America. https://resistracism.wordpress.com/
[3] The release of "After Pearl Harbor: The Proper Role of Population Data Systems in Time of War," by William Seltzer and Margo Anderson confirms long held suspicions that the Census Bureau provided confidential information to other government agencies thus aiding in the internment of people of Japanese descent in America.

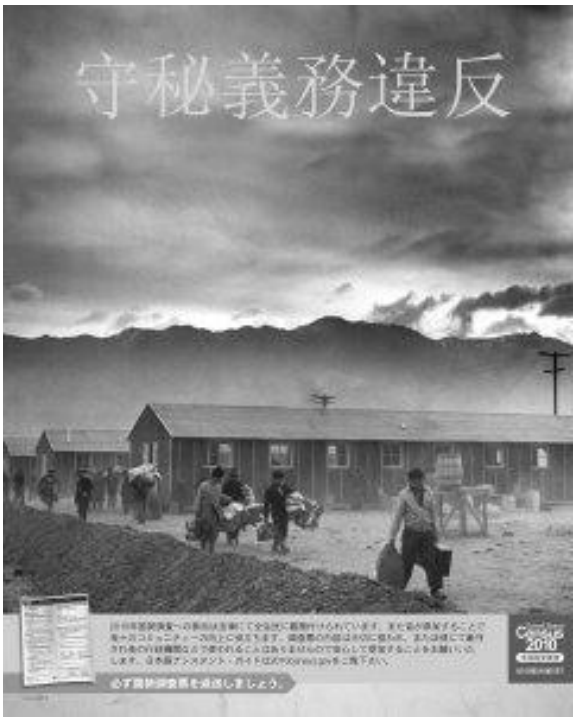

Figure 0.2: "Trust the Government" resistracism.wordpress.com April 1, 2010

Created in 2010, part of the significance of the *Resist Racism* poster is its reflection on an historical example of mistreatment to critique a contemporary request for government trust and compliance. This poster is an example of the extended impact that historical trauma can have on the nation's marginalized groups and their resulting attitudes toward civic engagement for generations to follow (Caruth 1996, Stevenson 2014). Although the photograph was taken more than 50 years prior to the creation of the poster, the poster still eerily reflects the continued struggles of full inclusion of people of color in America.

Where the official poster presents census participation as a possible mode of redemption and redress, the culture jammed version presents an opposing interpretation of the survey as an effort whose intentions should be questioned if not completely

avoided. Such intentionally altered forms of participation in American civic activities constitute the impetus of this dissertation.

Throughout this study, I analyze a variety of moments of altered civic participation. What these moments have in common is that each of them would be considered nonparticipation according to dominant definitions of civic participation. Understanding unconventional participation as meaningful and worthy of scholarly attention requires reconsideration of existing definitions of civic participation.

To participate in civic society is not just to take part in something, but to be knowledgeable and unbiased in the deliberation process central to democracy. Typically defined through the Civic Republican tradition, civic participation in the United States is often indicated by voting, paying taxes, and other activities performed in the traditional civic sphere (Shklar 1991). The influence of Civic Republican thought is evident in U.S. formulations of citizenship as citizenship in the United States is heavily invested in active participation in the interest of a democratic society in order to avoid totalitarianism. However, given the dispersed and diverse population of the U.S., traditional ideals of citizenship and participation are inefficient for describing the political behavior of diverse community members.

Despite Constitutional Amendments extending citizenship to women, people born outside of the country, and descendants of enslaved people, the formal label of citizen and formal access to the deliberative public sphere do not always translate to the substantive citizenship needed to participate. In addition to participation taking particular forms, proper participation, according to dominant models, also takes place in particular settings and at specific times. Such strict definitions of participation coupled with

participation-centric notions of citizenship result in the association of good citizens with civic participation and poor citizens with disengagement from the civic sphere. While this binary-based definition is clear cut and mostly effective, a definition of citizenship that only recognizes the extremes of active participation and nonparticipation is insufficient for accurately identifying the wide variety of civic practices among U.S. residents.

Dominant conceptualizations of participation and citizenship assume equality and shared interests among the citizenry. Sociological and historical works, however, have demonstrated limitations to nominal and substantive citizenship based on one's race, gender and class (Glenn 2004). The main goal of this research is to disentangle the labels of "apathy" and "poor citizen" from practices of unconventional civic engagement and from marginalized groups.

Inspired by the revisionist history of Howard Zinn (1980) and Robin Kelley (1994), this dissertation reinterprets unconventional civic actions that utilize seemingly apolitical resources to make political arguments. Also following in the vein of rhetoric scholar Cheryl Glenn, I argue that meaningful communication is possible through the refusal to speak, silence. Scholars such as Glenn have developed nuanced approaches to analyzing silence and for this reason I also work to maintain critical attention to the communicative potential of unconventional actions. I subscribe to the arguments of scholars like Robin D. G. Kelley (1994) and Catherine Squires (2002) who posit that the differential treatment of people of color in America results in their political activity taking nontraditional forms and transgressing the bounds of the traditional public sphere. Finally the work of Jacques Ranciere informs my approach to considerations of what is considered "politics."

The frameworks championed by these scholars have inspired my shift away from a deficit view of marginalized citizens. These frameworks have also informed my development of the concept of "altered civic participation" as a tool for a more inclusive interpretation of atypical citizenship practices. Instead of adopting a view of participation and nonparticipation as two opposing extremes, I posit that situated between the two dominant poles is the practice of altered civic participation. I define altered civic participation as an intentional mode of engaging in civic activities in unconventional ways which shift opportunities for low level participation into temporary moments of citizen participation and redistributed power.

Breaking the concept into five tenets, altered civic participation is an action that is: 1. **Intentional**, not the result of apathy. 2. **Expansive,** a practice that exceeds conventional civic behaviors and/or the boundaries of the traditional civic sphere. 3. **Consequential,** informed by a logical reflection on historical and recent events that represent limitations to citizenship, both nominal and substantive. 4. **Ephemeral,** results in impermanent experiences of redistributed power. 5. **Optimistic**, performed with hopes of the full inclusion of previously excluded groups.

Grounded in Civic Republican values of community and civic virtue, American discourses of citizenship assume equality among citizens and criticize nonparticipation as detrimental to the nation and individual citizens. By centering the unequal experiences of citizenship among marginalized groups in the United States, this dissertation offers a conceptual intervention into dominant notions of participation and citizenship.

As it effectively defines The United States and the average American, the primary site of this research is the decennial U.S. Census survey (Igo 2007). The decennial census

survey is distinct from other opportunities for civic engagement as the process allows the nation to not only reinforce its territorial boundaries but also define the average American and its deviants (Igo 2007). As it is intended to methodically collect and objectively decipher the data of individuals and their households, the census also provides space for altered engagement and resistance in the forms of fictional census responses and boycotting.

The 2010 Census boycott coupled with unconventional survey responses serve as the main examples of marginalized groups using the census survey as a forum for contesting notions of equality, inclusion and representation. Taking the U.S. Census Survey as the research site, this work offers a review of citizenship and civic participation in the United States and identifies disconnects between citizenship as described in theories of democracy and the lived experiences of those who gained access to American citizenship through hard won means of inclusion. After describing the historical and intended use of the U.S. Census Survey, the analytic of altered civic participation is applied to census false responses and census boycotting. These two interactions are regarded by the Census Bureau as inhibitors to the accuracy of the enumeration process and annoyances to Census Bureau employees.

Characterized by the overarching question of, "Why do disadvantaged groups not participate in efforts that might provide them with added rights or recognition," this dissertation is one avenue of inquiry into this larger question. The conceptualization for this research began in 2010 as the decennial enumeration of the United States was underway. After learning that a friend's roommate was adamantly against cooperating in the process, my research interest was piqued. My initial question was, "Why would

someone, who was in many ways disadvantaged and overlooked, choose not to participate in the survey which could provide resources and recognition?" The question grew in relevance as I began thinking about the practices of non-voters, indigenous tribes who refused Federal recognition, same sex couples who did not seek official marriage, and other groups with access to official recognition and rights who have chosen not to pursue them. As my interest developed, the question of *why* people alter their civic engagement became as central to my research as the question of *how* they do so.

Instead of a quantitative study which might guide this research toward a predictive conclusion, a qualitative research design is adopted which guides this research toward more descriptive insight of unconventional interactions with the census. A mixture of methods including Actor Network Theory, supplemental conversations, discourse analysis, and content analysis allow the questions of why and how marginalized groups alter their participation in the census survey to be informed by the viewpoints of members of those marginalized groups. Methods used also include analysis of popular culture texts, news stories, and official documents in order to inform the question of *why* people alter their civic participation. Finally, Actor Network Theory and ethnography of census documents[4] (Hull 2012) were used to understand the mechanics of the census form and, thus, be able to answer the question of *how* altered participation occurs.

[4] A growing body of communication scholarship acknowledges the importance of non-human agents for understanding communication systems. In this way, I include the census form as an important non-human factor for understanding altered civic participation practices affiliated with the census survey. Matthew Hull (2012) argues that paper documents have been overlooked as important documents when performing an ethnographic study of a bureaucratic institution. In an age of digitization and green initiatives, the census survey is one of few processes still reliant upon a paper form.

The premises at the core of this research are: (1) American citizenship is not equally available to marginalized groups in both name and substance and (2) the expected behaviors of a citizen privilege archetyipical citizens and leave nonnormative U.S. residents legible as either exceptional citizens to be lauded or poor citizens in need of special training and outreach. The critique of traditional participation-based definitions of citizenship offered here and the adoption of altered civic participation as a conceptual tool, will ideally work together to result in a reinterpretation of people who do not participate as expected in civic activities, specifically the U.S. Census. It is suggested that the concept of altered civic participation will inform attitudes toward nonparticipants and encourage more inclusive interpretations of their behaviors. Using this theoretical framework for studying the actions of those typically deemed apathetic nonparticipants might allow new insights to be gained on the everyday politics of members of the population seeking to improve their experience of citizenship in the U.S.

Recognizing these multiple forms of political activity as legitimate civic engagement, broadens the existing Civic Republican notion of civic engagement and, as a result, extends access to the title of 'good citizen' to marginalized groups otherwise deemed apathetic. I recognize that this shift towards a broadened definition of civic engagement may be unlikely on a national scale, but the impetus for this research is a deep dissatisfaction with dominant conceptualizations of participation and citizenship which exclude entire groups from recognition as dutiful citizens and blames them for the decline of democracy (Putnam 2001).

This dissertation calls attention to census enumeration as a civic process that not only reinforces American self-perception but also serves as a medium for individual self

definition in ways that resist the troublesome and exclusionary modes of categorization that are approved by the Bureau. Focusing on the exclusionary core of U.S. citizenship and normative civic behaviors effectively connects fields of study such as communication, popular culture studies, and political theory in a way that illuminates the deep seated connection between the fields.

Chapter Outline

1) Beyond *Poor* and *Proper*: American Citizenship Practices among Diverse Peoples

Citizenship typically refers to the formal designation of a person who is a member of a nation. A citizen demonstrates such membership by fulfilling duties and gains benefits from such membership by enjoying protections and rights bestowed by the government of that nation. Two main aspects of this dissertation make the term "citizen" troublesome. The first aspect of this dissertation that complicates the use of the term "citizen" is the census process. The U.S. Census survey does not delineate its enumeration based on formal citizenship but rather residence in the United States. The second element of this research that troubles the term "citizen" is the argument that formal citizenship and substantive citizenship are distinct forms of membership. To address these challenges, I will use the term "community member" as a term of clarification. Grounded in Civic Republican explanations of civic life, civic virtue is described as coming into fruition based on the communal deliberation activities of "community members." I find this language less fraught with the legal and experiential challenges that "citizenship" presents.

The first chapter is an exploration of terms that ground my research, namely civic engagement, citizenship, and substantial citizenship. As it is a literature review, the data

included in this chapter are works in the field of political science. Guided by the questions, what is a citizen and who has access to recognition as a "good citizen," I argue that civic participation, race, class, and gender are all inextricably and problematically linked within traditional theories of citizenship. This discussion of citizenship in a diverse polity demonstrates the necessity of an analytic that exceeds the unproductive poor/proper citizen dichotomy which unequivocally labels marginal peoples "poor citizens." This review of citizenship literature illustrates biases within canonical works of political theory and questions the power relations couched in Classic and contemporary preferences of particular forms of civic participation.

2) Altered Civic Participation: A Conceptual Intervention into Civic Participation

With the first chapter critiquing the dominant concept of citizenship for its entanglement with class, gender and race privilege; the second chapter focuses on the responses to marginalization caused by such notions of citizenship. I argue that some practices of civic non-participation among non-archetypal community members can be understood as an *altered* form of civic participation resulting in temporary gains in equality. This notion of altered civic participation is one that remains at the foundation of claims made in the remainder of the dissertation. Analytically, I draw on the works of James C. Scott, Robin D.G. Kelley, and Jacques Ranciere, among others, who argue that political action expands beyond the traditional political sphere. This chapter highlights the political use of silence as an exemplar for atypical modes of altered civic participation; nontraditional tactics in response to limited access to and faith in traditional civic behaviors for redress, recognition, and representation.

3) Multiple Meanings and Histories of the U.S. Census Survey

The third chapter of the dissertation focuses on the specific site of the U.S. Census Survey and makes the argument for why census participation is a revealing index of civic engagement. The chapter presents multiple interpretations of the survey and complicates the dominant narrative of its uses and purpose. Building on census documents and historical research to understand the survey's multiple meanings reveals that the survey is more than an objective enumeration, but is also involved in creating and reaffirming notions of belonging, humanity, access and citizenship. Analyzing the census process as a storytelling practice presents a unique entryway into the importance of seriously addressing various interpretations of the process instead of writing them off as paranoid conspiracy theories. Championed by Critical Race Theory, the concept of "counterstories" is useful for understanding how the U.S. Census Survey, as the topic of dominant stories and counterstories, signifies multiple ideas to disparate groups. If dominant stories serve the nation building project by "forgetting" the details important to outgroups, then, counterstories reassert the importance of details overlooked by dominant tellings. This chapter offers a history of the U.S. Census Survey by juxtaposing the dominant history of the census to its counterstories.

4) When Walls Fall: The Revealing Results of Altered Survey Responses

In chapter four, non racial responses to the "some other race" census question are analyzed. Borrowing from Actor Network Theory, the medium of the census is looked *at* instead of *through.* This change in perspective reveals the census enumeration process as a convention that encourages particular interactions from its users. It also reveals the race question as a field that unintentionally served as a space for dissident respondents to

challenge the possibilities listed on the form and contest the unbalanced power relations between respondents and the U.S. government. Through their altered civic participation, these census respondents are able to engage in debate over identity and belonging, and make visible the unchallenged ideologies that enable the continuity of the enumeration process. Analyzing these unintended responses as moments of interrupted mediation reveals the political potential of such actions and exposes the census as a questionable process instead of one to be taken for granted.

5) Adjusting the Register: Boycotting as a Method for Correcting the *Miscount*

Chapter five of this dissertation discusses the events surrounding the 2010 Census Boycott organized by the National Coalition of Latino Clergy and Christian Leaders (CONLAMIC). Without access to the group's members, the chapter relies on content analysis of news stories and discourse analysis of comments sections of electronic forums and texts. Analyses of these documents are guided by the definition of altered civic participation as Intentional, Optimistic, Consequential, Expansive, and Ephemeral. As the second of two empirical chapters, this chapter applies the theoretical intervention of altered civic participation to analyze its applicability, accuracy, and utility.

6) Conclusion: The Posture of Protest - Colin Kaepernick and Altered Civic Participation

Finally, this dissertation concludes with a demonstration of how altered civic participation might be applied beyond the U.S. Census Survey. By means of an analysis of San Francisco 49er's quarterback, Colin Kaepernick, kneeling during the National Anthem in 2016, this chapter demonstrates the applicability of altered civic participation as a conceptual intervention into dominant theories of citizenship and participation.

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Chapter 1

Beyond *Poor* and *Proper*: American Citizenship Practices among Diverse Peoples

Friendly conversation came to a hush when a Census commercial[1] began to play as I watched television with friends in 2010. Despite the busy urban street scene and moving mouths of the actors, the advertisement was oddly quiet. Someone checked the volume levels to see if the mute button had accidently been pressed, but the volume hadn't been changed. Now even more perplexed by the inaudibility of the actors, we continued watching the commercial as people of color filed from their homes, businesses, and city buses into the street, silently shouting in unison. A young Black man in the ad, who had been filling out his Census survey and watching his neighbors assemble outside his apartment building, finally leaves his windowsill with survey in hand. Walking into the street, he drops the survey into the nearby mailbox and immediately a Black adult male narrator says, "The U.S. Census survey can make your voice heard." The voices of the young man and his neighbors became discernible as they chanted their collective needs for, "schools, community centers, transportation, [and] hospitals." The narrator goes on to explain that, "with more participation, the more your community can benefit from over $4 hundred billion per year in federal funds." Continuing his appeal for full participation, and emphasizing the potential for positive community impact possessed by each individual, the narrator concludes by stating, "We can't move forward until you mail it back, 2010 Census."

[1] This commercial was created by the GlobalHue Advertising Agency, one of the agencies contracted by the U.S. Census Bureau in 2010 in an unprecedented attempt to create an extensive and diverse communication campaign to encourage census cooperation especially among "Hard-to-Count" groups.

The silent chanting in the commercial begins with a working class African-American woman who stands alone boldly in the middle of an urban street. It soon spreads to include a male youth who was sitting on the stoop of his home, a graying man who was sitting on a park bench, college age students, a father with his child, and numerous others in the area. The final scene illustrates a moment of collective civic participation as the group, made up of various identities, leaves individual pursuits behind to join together and vie for the needs of the greater good. Thanks to the Census survey and the opportunity it affords for all voices to be heard, what would have been a typical scene of community members and their individual preoccupations was transformed into a triumphant moment of collective civic engagement.

This census commercial inspires a mood of empowerment by highlighting a path to equal recognition for peoples with tenuous histories within the United States. Through its contrast of sound and silence, the advertisement draws a distinction between voice through participation as empowering and silence through nonparticipation as debilitating. Although the Black woman is the first person to appear onscreen and the first person to begin chanting in the street, the audience is made to identify with the young Black man. Our view of the street scene shifts from overhead to eye level as he moves from his upper level apartment windowsill to the street with his neighbors. In addition to our viewpoint, our sense of hearing is also tied to that of the young man. He is initially unable to hear his neighbors' chants, but after he completes and returns the survey, he is not only granted the ability to hear but also included in the body of people whose voices and requests for resources can be heard by the government. By linking our experience of the street scene with the young man's, the audience is made to enjoy his accomplishments of gaining

inclusion with those of his community involved in the chanting and share his pride in helping one's community and country "move forward" by mailing back the 2010 Census survey.

The mood among my group of friends watching television shifted from the empowerment and possibility inspired by the commercial to outrage and confusion when one of my friends, George,[2] explained that he didn't care how "good *they* made it look," he refused to fill out the survey. Though unpopular and uncommon among our group of friends, George's sentiments were not unprecedented.[3] He said that he would not be cooperating with the door to door census takers and had even gone to his neighbors to tell them that they should not offer any information about his household if the census takers were to ask. After hearing the commercial's plea for complete community participation and its accompanying promises of incentives like federal funding for participating communities, George's refusal to cooperate received mixed responses from our friends, most of which were unsympathetic.

Some told George that he had no right to be upset about the deteriorating state of his community given his nonparticipation while others asked admonishingly if he would be against utilizing the resources that came to the community as a result of others' participation in the survey. Still others blamed George and people who refused to take advantage of opportunities to engage civically for the neglect that fell upon their

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[2] An immigrant to California from Belize, George is an older gentleman who runs his own plumbing business, rents rooms of his home for additional income, and grows a portion of his own produce in his backyard. On several occasions he expressed a profound distrust of federal government initiatives and maintained that the particulars of his household were of no concern of the government.

[3] In 2010 Reverend Miguel Rivera, president of the National Coalition of Latino Clergy & Christian Leaders, called for a boycott of the 2010 Census survey by Latino immigrants and their supporters. The goals of the boycott were to avoid heightened policing that might result from providing information to federal agencies and to disrupt Congress' funding until immigration reform was adequately addressed.

community compared to areas with more "responsible" residents. Those who came to George's defense considered his lived experiences as an immigrant and person of color and posited that he was within his right[4] to refuse cooperation with a government that had failed to fulfill its promises of equality and nondiscrimination.

The opinions expressed by this group of friends are characteristic of two of the dominant paradigms for interpreting civic behavior; these paradigms categorize citizens as either proper citizens who engage in the public sphere responsibly or poor citizens who are lacking essential civic qualities. Civic participation, as a characteristic of citizenship, exists uncomfortably within a dichotomy between proper participatory democracy and justifiable resistance. It is often used as the axis upon which the civic behavior of marginal citizens is labeled either poor or proper. In the case of George, he could either be labeled a poor citizen due to his unwillingness to participate in the Census or named a proper citizen for holding the government accountable through protest. My interest in this topic is not to support or oppose stances like the one George took against Census participation, but rather to tend to the actions of those who fall outside the poor/proper citizen paradigm. The knee-jerk reaction of attributing George's neighborhood's lack of resources to his noncooperation leaves a conceptual gap for a heuristic attentive to causes of his discontent and the effectiveness of his protest. Through a review of citizenship literature, I seek a mode of conceptualizing George's decision that neither argues for a need to correct his noncompliance nor justifies his nonparticipation in light of the social inequalities he has experienced.

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[4] John Locke is an influential political theorist whose "Second Treatise" text presents the social contract model and describes a government limited by an agreement with citizens that places the power to alter the government within the hands of the people.

The hostile response George received for his nonparticipation in the 2010 Census survey is a particular instance of a wider routine of civic participation being used as the criterion for distinguishing poor citizens from proper ones. Where George is labeled a contributor to the deterioration of his neighborhood because of his nonparticipation, scholars like Robert Putnam (2001) go further by attributing American democracy's decline to peripheral citizens, like George, who fail to abide by Civic Republican norms. The importance of civic participation for determining a proper citizen becomes especially evident during moments of nonparticipation. For instance, at different historical moments and to different degrees, hysteria has surrounded evaders of military drafts, tax evaders, nonvoters, people who avoid jury duty, and even those who litter[5] because of their refusal to participate as prescribed. Through multiple and various tools[6] individuals are deemed deviant and trained to behave according to the status quo. With hopes of steering nonparticipants toward active participation, citizens are depicted as ill-equipped through television commercials, socially demonized by peers, and criminalized by law[7] if they fail to participate as prescribed.

Civic Republicanism and social protest, the two dominant paradigms for understanding the civic participation practices of marginal peoples, are not wholly satisfactory because they, respectively, ridicule individuals' inaction turning a blind eye to the systemic causes of that behavior and position inclusion as the ideal rarely questioning the dynamics of power and discrimination couched therein. For these

[5] According to Don Lemon's 2013 discussion of ways the Black community can progress, littering, lack of education, sagging, the N-word and out of wedlock children are the main inhibitors of progress.
[6] In Foucault's "Governmentality" essay, he argues that the role of government has become increasingly dispersed in terms of enforcers and varied in terms of tactics.
[7] Noncompliance and false answers on the Census survey are punishable by a fine of up to $500 according to the United States Code, 2006 Edition, Supplement 5, Title 13, Chapter 7, Subchapter II, Section 221.

reasons, I can neither say with Robert Putnam and George's critics that nonparticipation is the cause of poor social circumstances nor can I triumphantly claim the political "agency[8]" of those disengaged from civic matters.

This chapter presents a review of citizenship literature in order to analyze the tradition of civic participation which some, like George, have historically been refused, hesitantly offered, and have eventually chosen to forego. The biases found in canonical works help contextualize contemporary nonparticipation of marginalized peoples within an ongoing history of exclusion. The definitions provided by classic citizenship literature offers context for understanding the linkages between civic participation, formal citizenship, and race, class, and gender bias. Knowledge of this history makes the exclusionary practices that have been obscured by inclusive rhetoric and neoliberal technologies of citizenship[9] plain. Because it offers a historical and theoretical foundation for understanding contemporary preference shown to particular community members[10] and value placed on certain forms of civic participation as opposed to others, I begin my literature review with Aristotle's discussion of participatory citizenship.

Instead, I turn to the concept of *politics* as described by Jacques Ranciere for the balance it strikes between dominant discourses of politics. Ranciere acknowledges the

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[8] Scenes of Subjection, by Saidiya Hartman, suggests that attention to systemic inequality is important but argues that scholars should refrain from playing the agency gatekeeper, choosing which groups are considered powerless and which are agential. She also warns of the potential of the notion of agency to flatten important differences between actors by uncritically deeming traditional participation and resistance equivalents.

[9] Barbara Cruishank refers to discourses, programs and other tactics that encourage individuals to govern themselves as "technologies of citizenship" in her book, The Will to Empower. She states that these technologies transform subjects into citizens.

[10] In order to signal distinctions between the legal status of "citizen" and U.S. residents who may or may not have the legal status of citizen, I will use the term "community member" which is inclusive of all U.S. residents.

effects of social "wrongs[11]" caused by hierarchical power dynamics and emphasizes the ephemeral character of politics and resistance. By tending to the dynamic qualities of politics, Ranciere avoids the dangers of flattening the differences between prescribed actions and resistant ones.

The Archetypal Participant: Classic Citizenship Defined

The legal rights and civic duties known collectively as *citizenship* emerged in Athens, Greece during 5th century BC. Prior to this period, similar social and political memberships were organized on a much smaller scale. As small communities became incorporated into larger tribal hierarchies, ruled by tyrants and monarchs, and eventually became republics run by citizens, the site of governmental authority expanded from a single leader to a larger body of citizens. The shift in community size also altered the role of residents from subjects of rule to citizens possessing authority to rule. These shifts not only made the direct participation of citizens possible, but also made such participation an expectation. Athenian citizenship marks a distinct shift to a participatory government, serves as the foundation of Western citizenship practices, and has influenced political thought across eras and locales. For these reasons, I subscribe to the common practice of beginning my review of citizenship in the Greek polis as described by Aristotle.

Aristotle's *The Politics* presents one of the earliest discussions of Athenian citizenship. Writing in 4th century BC, the relatively recent shifts in Greece's social and political organization from small communities to a larger republic, urges Aristotle to define a constitution. He begins this task by defining the smallest part of a state, the

[11] According to Jacques Ranciere, the moment of a "wrong" is the moment when a society which has imposed hierarchical categories upon the population fails to recognize the equality of a marginal subset of people.

"citizen absolute." Explaining that a citizen absolute is the essential citizen without need of terms to qualify his status as citizen, Aristotle writes, "Boys not yet old enough and old people who have retired from duty may be termed citizens in a sense, but only with the addition of 'not fully' or 'superannuated' or some such word clear in its context." He explains that, "What we are looking for is the citizen absolute, without any qualifying word" (Aristotle 102). Aristotle uses age as a marker to delineate between absolute and derivative citizens. Also evident is the maleness of an absolute citizen according to Aristotle.

Arguing the urgency of an accurate definition of a citizen, Aristotle posits that existing definitions of a citizen either do not apply to a democracy like Athens or are "too wide." An example of a definition of a citizen which he finds inadequate is: "those who have access to courts of law, who may sue or be sued" (Aristotle 102). The reason for Aristotle's dissatisfaction with this definition is its lack of precision since, so long as they can appoint a citizen to sue on their behalf, foreigners, women, and other groups purposefully excluded from citizenship may enjoy the possibility of partial access to citizenship status. While Athenian citizenship is noted for its unprecedented inclusion of ordinary citizens into the governing of the republic, Aristotle's description of a citizen absolute illustrates the discriminatory foundations of Classic citizenship.

Moving toward a more specific definition of citizenship, Aristotle suggests that, "what effectively distinguishes the citizen from all others is his participation in Judgment and Authority" (Aristotle 103). Unlike membership in a clan where authority is located in a single leader chosen by ritual or lineage, citizenship in a state allows and requires a citizen to "rule and be ruled," to not only be the subject of government but also

participate in its functioning and possibly even become the authoritative figurehead of the state. Aristotle's emphasis on a man's participation in judgment and authority not only identifies the spheres where his participation is recognized but also adds active participation to the growing list of qualities, including sex, nationality and age, upon which one's propriety as a citizen depend.

In addition to defining the citizen absolute as one who actively participates in ruling the state, Aristotle also distinguishes between a citizen and a "good" citizen. He argues:

> A citizen is one of a community, as a sailor is one of a crew and although each member of the crew has his own function and… therefore his goodness at that particular job, there is also a type of goodness which all the crew must have…Similarly the aim of all the citizens, however dissimilar they may be, is the safety of the community, that is, the constitution of which they are citizens. Therefore the goodness of the citizen must be goodness in relation to constitution.
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> Aristotle, 107

Aristotle uses this metaphor to draw parallels between a ship having men who have various interests as they perform various jobs and a republic having the same. He argues that a single sailor, like a single citizen, might do his particular job well but it is not until his work is guided by the intent of achieving the greatest good of the community that his "goodness" as a citizen is achieved. This metaphor instructs citizens to disregard the particularities of their individual identities and instead focus their energy on promoting the progress of the entire group. The passage also adds one's motives to the increasingly specific, and thus increasingly exclusive, list of desirable qualities of a citizen which includes maleness, young adult age, and participation.

The Politics, by Aristotle, is a foundational doctrine of citizenship literature. In addition to defining a citizen and outlining the actions expected of good citizens, Aristotle illustrates the age, sex, and behavioral characteristics that determined Classic citizenship. Aristotle's "citizen absolute" category seems to re-emerge in contemporary moments such as when George said that he did not plan to participate in the Census regardless of how good "they" make it look. The "they" in his statement can be interpreted in numerous ways. Among them are the commercial's writers, absolute American citizen, non-hyphenated Americans,[12] and those who do not require terms like immigrant, elderly, or indigent to qualify their citizenship status. Bearing in mind the exclusivity of the Classic definition of citizenship, contemporary expectations of "proper" citizens can be understood as part of a lengthy trajectory of such discriminatory practices.

Aristotle's model of citizenship helped set a historic precedence for the bias embedded within civic participation ideals. While it is logical to expect citizens of a democracy to have adequate involvement in democratic decision making efforts, the ongoing correlation between these actions and whiteness, maleness, age, and class status are often obscured by claims of equality, inclusion, and tolerance. Continuing this review of citizenship literature, I am especially attentive to issues of accessibility to the prescribed forms of participation for peoples whose characteristics do not match the native born, white, male archetype described by Aristotle.

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[12] Theodore Roosevelt's 1915 speech demonstrates American disfavor and exclusion of marginal citizens. He states, "a hyphenated American is not an American at all. This is just as true of the man who put German, Irish, English or French before the hyphen"

Maintaining Classic Elements in Contemporary Expectations of Citizens

Aristotle is emphatic in his argument that a clear distinction between citizens and residents is essential for assuring a level of equality and mutual respect among citizens upon which a functional democracy depends. For him, women, foreigners, old men, and children are necessary for a society to grow and thrive yet unfit to be considered absolute citizens. J.G.A. Pocock, in his article, "The Ideal of Citizenship since Classical Times," is attentive to the normative assumptions made by Aristotle's definition of a citizen. Pocock argues that Aristotle's definition of a citizen and conception of equality among citizens actually excludes a great portion of the population.

While Pocock's critique of Aristotle's definition of a citizen is useful for its attention to problematic exclusions, it is limited in its relegation of such exclusionary practices to the past. Writing in 1998, Pocock distances himself and his contemporaries from the bigotry of classic citizenship by arguing that, "we in our time know [ ] that equality has prerequisites and is not always easy to achieve. For Aristotle the prerequisites are not ours; the citizen must be a male of known genealogy, a patriarch, a warrior, and the master of the labor of others (normally slaves)" (Pocock 33). Pocock's argument that "our time" is far more progressive than a time when citizenship was based on known genealogy and authority over slaves is an inaccurate overstatement. His argument overlooks the continued emphasis placed on genealogy as it relates to access to

citizenship for immigrants[13] as well as the eerily similar limitations to civic participation shared between today's incarcerated population and enslaved persons.[14]

Although Pocock admits that the biases evident in Aristotle's description of citizenship have, "persisted in Western culture for more than two millennia," he maintains the argument that, today, we recognize the flaws in the antiquated thinking that produced such biases and combat such discriminatory practices and beliefs by making genuine efforts to correct them. While overt discrimination is largely discouraged and thought to be a sign of a less tolerant past, scholars like Ian Haney Lopez, Robin D. G. Kelley, and Kimberle Crenshaw demonstrate the persistence of inequitable citizenship practices well into the 20th and 21st Centuries.[15]

Pocock raises the question of whether the biases associated with citizenship are "accidental or in some way essential to the ideal of citizenship itself." Similarly, I wonder if the requirement of particular forms of civic participation have taken on the role of doorkeeper to proper citizenship; if instead of requiring whiteness, maleness, or the other classic markers of a citizen, contemporary peripheral peoples are expected to perform their citizenship in ways traditionally available only to the archetypal citizen. Addressing this concern in terms of gender, feminist scholars like Kathleen Jones[16] argue that instead of explicitly stating that a citizen must be a male in order to properly participate, the

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[13] Ian Haney-Lopez (1997) cites legal decisions as he traces the use of various and inconsistent reasoning to determine the whiteness of immigrant groups in America.

[14] Dennis Childs (2015) analyzes the perpetuity of slavery in America at the hands of the Federal government. He argues that penitentiaries are contemporary plantations which have flourished as a result of the prison industrial complex and the uneven penning of laws and policing of marginal peoples.

[15] Haney-Lopez focuses on unequal legal practices of determining race. In light of ongoing social inequality, Kelley extends the definition of protest beyond overt uprisings. Crenshaw illustrates how the law leaves certain people illegible.

[16] Kathleen Jones (1990) calls for the reorganization of the public sphere to create a truly woman-friendly polity where the specific responsibilities and health needs of women are considered.

forms of participation expected of citizens have remained tailored to males, thus, making women's experience of citizenship peripheral despite their having the official and legal status of citizen. Since those deemed capable of participating in judgment, authority, and ruling are based on racist, classist, and sexist exclusion, it is critical to question the persistence of these biases within foundational models of citizenship and contemporary citizenship practices. I argue that the criticism of civic nonparticipation serves as evidence of the continuity of classic preferences for specific forms of civic participation that are traditionally associated with the elusive archetypal citizen.

Participation and its Multiple Roles: Civic Republicanism and Civic Humanism

With a good citizen defined by Aristotle as one whose actions are motivated by the goal of the continuity of the constitution, one can deduce that a poor citizen is one who does not contribute to the progression of the nation or one who acts against the interests of the greater good. Civic Republicanism and Civic Humanism are outgrowths of this logic. These models of citizenship prioritize the prescribed active participation of citizens because it is believed to benefit both the republic and the citizen participant alike. Proceeding from a discussion of Aristotle's classic definition of citizenship to more recent models of citizenship provides a foundation for inquiring into the process of normative forms of participation being adopted as the contemporary ideal in the United States.

Status as a citizen endows one with legal rights and demands that civic duties be fulfilled in the interest of the larger community. This dyad of rights and obligations derive from two classic political traditions: Liberalism and Civic Republicanism. Because the central research question for this dissertation is interested in expected forms of civic

participation and negative responses to nonparticipation, the scope of this research excludes extensive discussions of the Liberal tradition and emphasizes the Civic Republicanism tradition. Where the Liberal tradition focuses on rights, the Civic Republican tradition highlights the actions characteristic of proper citizenship.

I began my review of citizenship literature with Aristotle and his explicit and unprecedented definition of a citizen. As I continue to review literatures that constitute the ideological grounding of current campaigns for civic participation, I turn to a discussion of republicanism for an explanation of the importance of participation among citizens. Through an understanding of the traditionally central role of civic participation, the level of apprehension expressed in response to civic nonparticipation can be contextualized within an extensive tradition of participation based citizenship.

Although Aristotle's discussion of citizenship in the Greek polis is widely accepted as the genesis of Western citizenship, subsequent political developments taking place in Ancient Rome and Italy during the Renaissance also impacted the development of citizenship in America and the rest of the Western world. Political theorist David Held (1986) offers a detailed genealogy of citizenship models. Held contends that Civic Republicanism, the model of citizenship focusing on one's duties, can be divided into two strands: civic humanist republicanism, also referred to as developmental republicanism, and classic civic republicanism, also referred to as protective republicanism. Both variations emphasize and encourage active participation from citizens in political matters but they differ in their reasoning for such participation. The works of Marsilius of Padua and Niccolo Machiavelli are representative of developmental republicanism and protective republicanism, respectively, and

demonstrate the logic behind the immense interest in citizen participation that characterizes Civic Republicanism.

In his book, *Models of Democracy,* David Held offers a comprehensive discussion of the development of democracy in the Western world. He explains that, following in the tradition of Athenian citizenship, those in the Developmental Republicanism camp view participation as not only vital for the functioning of the state but also as a beneficial process for the citizen himself. Held explains that, "developmental theorists stress the *intrinsic* value of political participation for the development of citizens as human beings" (Held 35, italics original). Praised as a means to self-fulfillment and a necessary aspect of "the good life," political participation within the Developmental Republican tradition is valued for its ability to identify communal interests and facilitate communal efforts. Grounding his discussion of Developmental Republicanism in the writing of Marsilius of Padua, Held explains that citizenship within this model is understood as the means to the ultimate end, which is "the realization of the common good" (Held 39). Given the instrumental role of citizens' political participation, according to the developmental model, hysteria and condemnation might seem like appropriate reactions following citizens' nonparticipation. If civic engagement is esteemed by Developmental Republicanism as essential for being able to bring a common good to fruition, then it might follow that nonparticipation might be interpreted as sabotage of the collective good. Developmental Republican theorists stress the benefits of political participation for the good of the individual and the shared good of society.

The Protective Republican model and the Developmental Republican model both encourage the political participation of citizens. The Protective model does so, however,

not in the interest of the personal development of the individual or the achievement of a collective good in society, but rather as a preventative measure against the threat of tyrannical rule. In his writings, Niccolo Machiavelli (1532) offers warnings about the cyclical nature of governments. He argues that whether a government is organized as an aristocracy or democracy, tyranny will eventually develop and replace the participatory forms of government once enjoyed. For Machiavelli, tyranny must not begin as such but can develop even in societies actively seeking to avoid such rule. For this reason, protective theorists encourage diligent participation and regard it as being of, "*instrumental* importance for the protection of citizens' aims and objectives, i.e. their personal liberty" (Held 35). The Protective Civic Republican tradition posits that citizen participation is necessary for the maintenance of a society that provides individuals the required level of liberty and protection against rule by tyrants.

Since they are both influential arguments in support of citizen participation, this review of both the Developmental and Protective Republican theories informs the following analysis of the logic behind the contemporary vilification of nonparticipant citizens. Thinking back to the criticism that my friend George received for not cooperating in the 2010 Census survey, I recognize that those who argued his ineptness as a citizen did so on the grounds of Civic Republicanism. His failed participation became a symbol of his shortcomings as a proper citizen. He failed to accomplish the developmental goals of personal and community progress. His nonparticipation also signaled his failure to adequately achieve the goals of Protective Republicanism. Where Machiavelli's argument for Protective Republicanism was concerned about the tyrannical rule of the state, contemporary concerns center on the possibility of apathetic citizens

sitting idly by as the government operates unchecked by its citizens. According to Civic Republicanism, the most effective way to ward off the otherwise inevitable rise of a tyrannical government is citizen participation.

Civic Republican theory is noteworthy for its argument for increased civic engagement of citizens. However, the critiques of Mary Wollstonecraft, an 18th century English women's rights advocate, demonstrate the problems of citizenship's association with specific forms of political participation. While citizenship is, by definition, an exclusive status demarcating those who belong[17] and those who do not, Wollstonecraft critiques the unmerited exclusivity of citizenship rights among members of the same society. According to her, voting rights, for example, were unfairly based not on one's merit or rationality but rather on patriarchal customs and institutions that systematically excluded women from civic participation. The concerns of undue exclusion and limited political participation voiced in 18th century England by Wollstonecraft are not unlike contemporary concerns expressed by diverse groups in the United States.

Calling attention to populations excluded from preferred forms of participation, as Wollstonecraft does, exposes systemic exclusions from equal access and experiences of citizenship especially in terms of race, gender, and class. Instead of romanticizing classic citizenship as all inclusive and framing participation as universally accessible to citizens, it is imperative to recognize the continuity of imperfections and complexities of dominant citizenship traditions in contemporary formulations of citizenship. Canonical citizenship texts introduced ideas about citizenship and outlined expected behaviors that have not

[17] According Benedict Anderson's imagined communities concept (1983), dispersed groups of people adopt shared beliefs and histories that congeal their disparate lives into common membership characteristics.

only persisted but have also been instrumental in the founding and contemporary practices of many countries, including the United States.

Classic Civic Republicanism and America's Founding

The participatory form of citizenship that Held refers to as Civic Republicanism is called civic virtue by historian of political thought, J.G.A. Pocock. Pocock's 1975 book, *The Machiavellian Moment,* presents a comprehensive genealogy of republican thought beginning with Florentine republicanism, as exemplified by Niccolo Machiavelli, and extending to the founding of the United States. By describing disparities between spiritual and secular conceptions of time and discussing how Machiavelli perceived the effects of those disparities on the civic actions of men, Pocock argues the importance of Machiavelli's contributions such as the idea of the inevitable tyranny of a society. In the introduction to the book, Pocock explains multiple interpretations of the phrase "Machiavellian moment." One interpretation is "the moment in conceptualized time in which the republic was seen as confronting its own temporal finitude" (viii). This confrontation with the republic's impermanence is important because of the belief that virtue, fortune and corruption play important roles in the republic's rise, fall and the length of time between those two events. The members and leaders of the republic can influence the level of corruption and virtue within a republic and, in that way, hopefully prolong the existence of the republic. To describe the role of fortune, however, Pocock elicits the image of "Fortune's wheel."[18] Fortune, according to Renaissance thinking, cannot be predicted or controlled by man (Pocock 38). The wheel symbolizes the

[18] The wheel served as a type of warning for leaders and republics to remain virtuous or risk the wrath of fortune. "The wheel that raised and threw down kings was an emblem of the vanity of human ambitions; a wheel that raised and threw down republics was an emblem of the vanity of the human pursuit of justice" (Pocock 78).

continuous rotation of circumstances which causes individuals and nations to rise to greatness and eventually fall.

In addition to intentional alignment with virtue as opposed to corruption, another important lesson that arose from this belief in fortune was a valuing of knowledge about the success and failures of past republics. The cyclical pattern of fortune supported the idea that, "if one knew (w)hat had happened before, one could make predictive statements concerning the combinations in which things would happen again" (Pocock 79). Tracing the continuance of Machiavellian thought into 17th and 18th centuries English and American thought, Pocock argues that Civic Humanism, the strand of republicanism seeking to ward off corruption through the active participation of citizens, influenced America's founding. He argues that America's founders built into the framework of the nation customs to promote virtue and fail safes to avoid corruption.

Bred within a fear of corruption, the United States was founded with hopes of reviving classical virtue in the form of Civic Humanist behaviors of citizens. Pocock explained that a "polity must be a perfect partnership of *all* citizens and all values since, if it was less, a part would be ruling in the name of the whole, subjecting particular goods to its own particular goods and moving toward despotism and the corruption of its own values"(Pocock 75). Calling for moral autonomy of citizens, Pocock specifically warns against citizens becoming dependent on other citizens, since it could compromise the virtue of that citizen and, thus, attract unwanted outcomes of fortune.

In Pocock's concluding chapter of the *Machiavellian Moment*, the role of corruption and virtue on the founding of America is explained. By tracing the continued fear of corruption, Pocock identifies an important correlation between the Machiavellian

tradition and the founding of the United States. John Locke is credited with developing the theory that posits that all men are born equal and with adequate levels of reason. His argument that all men have natural rights to basic needs such as liberty and property was a novel concept that is said to have influenced the foundational frameworks of the United States. Pocock, however, offers an alternative to this conventional Lockean paradigm by highlighting the influence of Machiavellian thought on the process of America's independence.

Pocock's intervention into an oversimplified Lockean narrative of America's beginning is a detailed discussion of the roles of virtue and corruption in the shaping of American Revolution and thought. Pocock argues, "The fear of encroaching corruption helped drive the Americans to the renewal of virtue in a republic and the rejection of the parliamentary monarchy from which, all agreed, some measure of corruption was inseparable; and the confrontation of virtue with corruption constitutes the Machiavellian moment" (Pocock 546). Pocock suggests that the United States was founded at a Machiavellian moment, when a fear of corruption bred the revolutionary behaviors and the political paradigms that have shaped America.

Despite the United States' increasingly diverse population and progressive improvements to orthodox doctrines of citizenship, practices of U.S. citizenship have remained supportive of the same forms of participation traditionally extended only to the Classic *citizen absolute*. Since its 1776 Declaration of Independence from Great Britain, America has prided itself on ideas of equal representation and widespread access to involvement in government for its citizens. The U.S. Constitution, for example, outlines the equality of American citizens. It also, however, reiterates many of the exclusionary

traditions of Classic citizenship.[19] Focusing on instances of altered civic participation among peripheral groups in the United States demands attention to founding texts as they offer the groundwork for understanding typical citizenship and Civic Republicanism in the American setting.

Particular Participation: Rational Deliberation in the Public Sphere

This review of citizenship literature began by examining the maleness, whiteness, social status and participation practices associated with Athenian citizenship as described by Aristotle. I continued by reviewing Civic Republican rationales for political participation as discussed by Held and evidenced by Marsilius and Machiavelli. The following discussion demonstrates the connection between the particular behaviors expected of citizens and the resulting exclusion from meaningful participation experienced by peripheral citizens. Placed together, these works provide historical background for interpreting the normative assumptions made by contemporary campaigns for civic participation and the various barriers to meaningful participation traditionally encountered by peripheral groups.

Aristotle specifies the forms of participation considered constitutive of a citizen. He argued that a person's ability to separate himself from his individual needs and enter into the political realm is a sign of his ability to be an effective citizen. In Germany, centuries later, this separation of public and private also emerges in Jurgen Habermas' discussion of the public sphere. In the midst of newspapers and other forms of media

[19] In terms of finances, land ownership remained a voting requirement in some American states up until the mid-19th Century. Regarding race, people of nonwhite lineage were explicitly excluded from citizenship and, depending on their heritage, only included as late as 1868 with the passing of the 14th Amendment. Less often discussed as exclusionary, but also applicable, are age and birth requirements to exercise certain rights and hold certain offices.

arising and influencing public opinion, Habermas emphasizes the importance of forums that encourage interpersonal and rational debate. Such debate, he argues, helps ensure the achievement of the greatest good for the community by obeying rules that demand the equal consideration of all ideas presented. The public sphere is argued to be generally accessible to all citizens but critics such as Nancy Fraser and Catherine Squires argue that such participation is skewed in favor of the white, male, well-educated, archetypal citizen. Habermas' public sphere model and its critiques are examples of how presumably democratic spaces can effectively exclude marginalized people from participation.

The public sphere is described by Habermas as an equalizing space where men leave behind their particular circumstances and gather into a legislative body where debate about "matters of general interest" can occur "without being subject to coercion." The deliberation that occurs in the public sphere, through "ideal speech situations,"[20] allows different ideas to be presented and discussed in an orderly fashion. Such deliberation is dictated by assumptions that all involved in the debate have the same ability for such speech and will respect all ideas equally and objectively. While it values equality among discussants, the public sphere model also constricts diverse voices by making opportunities for public debate unevenly accessible across different ages, races, genders, and classes.

The manner of "rational discussion" that citizens are expected to abide by in the public sphere effectively acts as a barrier to the participation of non-normative people. Habermas' conceptualization of the public sphere overlooks those who, based on

[20] According to Habermas (1990) it is ideal for everyone capable of speaking to be allowed to introduce their ideas, question other ideas and express their desires without coercion.

discriminatory customs, are denied access to avenues of public discussion. Offering a feminist critique, Nancy Fraser notes the importance of Habermas' public sphere definition while also identifying key limitations to the definition. She contends that Habermas' public sphere model is insufficient for discussing public activity in societies with long histories of social inequality and calls attention to the existence of dominant as well as subaltern publics coexisting and operating in U.S. society. Fraser is also critical of Habermas' expectation that one "bracket" one's personal desires, opinions, and experiences so that one can objectively participate in the decision making processes regarding the public good.

Agreeing with Fraser's argument that oppressed groups often find coexisting but separate spheres for deliberation, Catherine Squires adds that since subaltern counterpublics are numerous and varied, it is necessary to identify distinctions[21] beyond the ones of *dominant* and *subaltern*, used by Fraser, in order to acknowledge the various forms of resistance and participation exercised by peripheral community members. Given the ongoing strain in the United States between Blacks and whites, Squires argues that people of color rarely participate in the public sphere but instead organize their own counterpublics for political action. Demonstrating the desirability of counterpublics, Squires discusses the abolition of slavery and explains that despite legal freedom, Blacks were denied the ability to safely, "voice negative opinions about their condition in the Deep South" (Squires 461). This example illustrates the multiple levels at which marginal groups are limited in their participation. Not only are they passively denied public voice

[21] Squires' major contribution is the argument that there are in fact three different types of counter publics that can be deemed counterpublics based either on the identities of the people included or by the nature of their separation. The three types are enclave, counterpublic, and satellite, which each have varying levels of clandestine practices.

by customs that might make such participation unwelcoming and difficult, but they also face physical violence and other[22] very forceful deterrents from accessing the public sphere. Both Fraser and Squires agree that in the midst of various forms of exclusion from the dominant public sphere, marginalized groups have used counterpublics as an alternate forum for politics. Neither scholar goes so far as to weigh in on the feasibility of counterpublics as long-term solutions to exclusion. They also avoid discussing the likelihood of counter spaces functioning as truly equal alternatives to participation in the dominant public sphere. Their attention to nontraditional spheres of debate, decision making and political action encourage an ongoing interrogation of the miscategorization of withdrawal from the dominant public sphere as apathy.

Habermas' public sphere model requires citizens' involvement in public debate and decision making in the form of rational deliberation. The rules of rational debate are set by dominant bourgeoisie whites, leaving access to dominant deliberation for people of color obstructed. Since its inception, citizenship has not only required certain forms of participation, but has also required certain physical qualities. The expectation that citizens attend public meetings requires that they have the financial flexibility and leisure time to devote to such gatherings, the cultural capital and aptness to navigate the formalities of public debate, and the presumed ability to be led by reason instead of personal interests. The critiques offered by Fraser and Squires help demonstrate the disjuncture between claims of inclusivity and accessibility and lived experiences of marginalized community members in the United States. The forms of participation

[22] Squires lists, "loss of livelihood, rape, psychological trauma, and death" as possible results of unwelcomed political action by marginalized groups (Squires 461).

expected of all citizens have traditionally been, and continue to be, more feasible for the ideal *citizen absolute* than for a female, queer, person of color, low income, undereducated, or in other ways nontraditional community member.

The Threat of Non-Participation: American Democracy in Decline

Based on deviations from the idealized behaviors of a classic citizen, a trend in political theory has developed claiming that civic participation in contemporary democracies is in steep decline. Attention to this decrease has notably been discussed in the writing of political scientists such as Robert Putnam, Theda Skocpol, and Peter Dahlgren. By subscribing to a classic definition of civic participation, Civic Republicanism based claims of democracy's decline continue the practice of justifying the exclusion of oppressed groups from meaningful and absolute citizenship.

Although American citizenship is no longer technically inclusive of only white, property owning men, it becomes clear that these particular categories are reemphasized based on patterns in which populations are blamed for the decline of democracy in the United States. Developing from the undeniably problematic logic which claims the unmatched superiority of adult, white, males as citizens, contemporary citizenship discourse positions conventional participation as the focal point and dividing line between "poor" and "proper" citizens. Despite their official access to formal citizenship, groups that were once excluded from citizenship based on class, race and gender remain excluded from equal experiences of citizenship. By claiming that the actions of marginalized community members threaten America's democracy, these critiques effectively reinscribe the same lines that have historically categorized whiteness,

maleness, and privileged economic classes as ideal and everyone else as unfit for absolute citizenship.

Published in 2000, Robert D. Putnam's influential book *Bowling Alone* uses social capital theory[23] to contend that American democracy is declining. He presents quantitative data indicating decreasing membership in formal organizations and infrequent involvement in community activities to support his claim that the civic health of America is in jeopardy thanks to widespread disengagement.

Arguing that civic participation can be predicted by one's education level, religion and age, Putnam implies that the national decline in civic engagement is most dramatic among undereducated, non religious, and young portions of the American population. He goes on to blame distrustful and disengaged citizens, as well as changes in the American family structure, suburbanization, increased use of electronics for entertainment, and especially "generational replacement" for the decline of a once effective society. Although generational replacement is his major concern, Putnam argues that his project is not simply a nostalgic[24] one searching for the resurgence of participation levels of the "good old days." Instead he uses quantitative survey data to help legitimate his concern for America's democratic health.

Arguing that civic engagement in the U.S. rises and falls, Putnam calls for a concerted effort to reverse the decline of the last several decades. His suggestions include

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[23] Social capital theory posits that social relationships have value and that consistent interaction between people increases feelings of belonging and the likelihood of individuals completing actions that will benefit the society.

[24] I would argue that even with the data, the project is still nostalgic as it seeks to shape current and future generations' civic engagement after that of past generations. The value placed on joining (as a sign of a healthy citizenry) is a nostalgically derived value which ignores historical events, cultural differences, and other critical shifts that have occurred between generations.

using the internet to reinforce face-to-face communities instead of replacing them, and organizing the workplace to be more "family-friendly and community-congenial." Finally, regarding his central concern of generational replacement, Putnam proposes merging fun and duty. He challenges Generation X and Y Americans to come up with fun ways to encourage future generations to complete their civil duties. Putnam's suggestions are not meant to be exhaustive but rather to serve as initial steps that might lead to more ideas for restoring American civil society for the twenty-first century.

Unfortunately, Putnam's generalized view of participation results in him inaccurately characterizing unconventional instances of participation as inaction. This limitation is evident in Putnam's discussion of decreasing Parent Teacher Association (PTA) membership. He uses PTA membership data to indicate a decrease in parental school involvement. By defining school involvement as PTA membership, Putnam overlooks other parental activities that occur beyond PTA meetings and membership. Focusing solely on membership trends, Putnam arrives at the inaccurate conclusion that parent participation is declining when it is indeed occurring in realms not reflected by the typical survey instrument. This assumed linear relationship between PTA participation and general parental involvement is inaccurate and similar to the inaccurate associations drawn between nonparticipation in specific manners with general disinterest and apathy.

Despite the limitations that normative categories create, Putnam seems unapologetic for remaining unimpressed by forms of civic activity that fall under the radar of positivist data. He mentions the growing trend in youth who are "disenchanted with the government" and choose to make global and local change by "rolling up their sleeves to get the job done themselves" (Putnam 132). In response to this growing trend,

he argues that volunteering should be considered a supplement instead of an alternative "of good citizenship and political involvement" Putnam 132). Putnam's preference for elitist group activities above other group activities exhibit his normative leanings which effectively lead to him mislabeling non-normative practices of engagement as the cause of democracy's decline. While his preference of survey data above qualitative evidence of engagement allows him to compare membership levels across generations, such data are limited, at best, given the fact that not all members of the population participate in the same ways within a single generation much less across generations.

Theda Skocpol is a sociologist whose 2003 book *Diminished Democracy* enters into the debate about civic engagement and the future of American democracy. Primarily, she argues that American democracy is declining as individual citizens are losing influence in the membership organizations that once allowed them to influence governmental decisions. Like Putnam, she praises membership associations for their ability to unite men, and sometimes women, of different backgrounds and create unlikely interactions that force elites to consider the interests of ordinary citizens. Unlike Putnam, however, she is critical of social capital theory's lack of attention to particularities. Skocpol calls for a more tailored approach for explaining political engagement. She argues that Putnam's approach fails to distinguish between joining bowling leagues and political groups.

Skocpol is critical of Putnam's suggestion to increase social interaction in order to reverse the decline in American civic engagement. Arguing that more social interaction might, "evoke warm and fuzzy feelings in all of us," Skocpol points out limitations of Putnam's solution (Skocpol 257). She suggests that, "remedies that ignore issues of

economic inequality, power disparity, and political demobilization – are simply not plausible" (Skocpol 257). While valid, Skocpol's critique does not translate to her own interpretation of data. For instance, similar to Putnam, Skocpol has a clear preference for traditional forms of joining that are typically enjoyed by elite groups. She recognizes the prevalence of nontraditional forms of participation, by acknowledging the probability that surveyed, "contemporary Americans are increasingly doing all kinds of group things they have not brought to mind when asked by pollsters about 'attending club meetings' or 'devoting time to community organizations'" (Skocpol 164). By using the phrase "group things," Skocpol downplays forms of action that are not easily captured by pollsters or surveys, and renders nontraditional forms of participation "things" less worthy of attention. By discrediting the political potential of nontraditional engagement in this way, Skocpol ignores the very inequalities that she faults Putnam for overlooking. Although Skocpol tries to distance herself from his methods, the echoes of Putnam's biases remain evident in her work.

Dividing participants in the debate over the future of American democracy into "worriers" and "optimists," Skocpol situates herself between the two. Worriers are those, like Putnam, who base their uneasiness about the decrease in American civic participation on survey data collected during the 1950s. Optimists, according to Skocpol, are those who are comforted by the Civil Rights Movements of the 1960s as they believe these efforts to be an indication that American democracy has been strengthened and enlarged over the years by denouncing prejudice and including people of color into the political body. Identifying with neither category, Skocpol argues that a much longer history than America's 1950s surveys and 1960s movements should be considered in

order to understand America's current democratic health. She concludes that the shift away from membership groups to profit seeking groups has resulted in a decrease in civic engagement and the decline of American democracy. Putnam and Skocpol take different research approaches yet come to similar conclusions regarding the need for an intentional intervention of Civic Republican ideals for American democracy to reach the levels of engagement it has boasted in the past.

Following the belief that American democracy and engagement are in decline, Peter Dahlgren (2009) contends that new media may be the way to reverse the decline. Where Putnam and Skocpol emphasize the importance of citizens joining membership groups which facilitate diplomatic interactions between various citizens, Dahlgren aims to redeem popular culture as a forum in which interactions occur that might benefit the health of American democracy as well. According to Dahlgren, media, in ways similar to similar to family, school and other institutions, have the potential to socialize the public and mold or destroy one's desire to be politically engaged.

Unlike Putnam and Skocpol, Dahlgren acknowledges the problem that narrow definitions of civic participation pose and the shortsightedness of the dismissal of actions performed outside the dominant public sphere as inadequate and unimportant. He calls for a more accurate approach to citizen participation than one that deems nonparticipation "simply as a failure of civic virtue, to be rectified by promotional appeals to moral uplift" (Dahlgren, 2006). Instead, he argues that media should be used to incite civic engagement among citizens and expand democracy. A major limitation of Dahlgren's argument, however, is that his suggestions for harnessing the socializing potential of popular culture

and media reasserts the assumption that civic virtue is lacking among poor, undereducated, people of color.

Barred from Preferred Participation: Substantive vs Formal Citizenship

With particular attention to Blacks in the South, Mexicans in the Southwest, and Japanese in Hawaii, *Unequal Freedom* by Evelyn Nakano Glenn discusses the difference between "substantive" and "formal" citizenship. With roots in Locke's social contract theory, formal citizenship, according to Glenn, is a universal status that affords universal equal rights but does not free citizens of other forms of inequality.[25] Membership in the public political community was placed in opposition to the private domestic sphere leaving women, slaves, children and other dependants excluded.

Where Putnam, Skocpol, and Dahlgren, base their pessimistic views of American democracy on memories of a highly active American public, Glenn argues that such memories often overlook the negative aspects of America's past. To illustrate this troublesome remembering practice, Glenn presents the romantic and problematic recollection of a white woman raised in a U.S. southern state:

> By the time I was fourteen years of age, the first set of free-born Negroes were getting old enough to interpret life for themselves…without the well-disciplined experience of their parents, who had not only been slaves, but had passed through the very drastic training of the Ku Klux Klan after the war.
>
> Glenn, 248

Glenn goes on to explain that the myth of a harmonious American past erases the "long history of white repression and violence aimed at teaching blacks to 'know their place'" (Glenn 248). By choosing to only remember the submissiveness of marginalized groups,

[25] Saidiya Hartman points out the systematic exclusion of Blacks from universal rights and Amartya Sen's capability theory discusses the differential access to goods and agency among citizens of the same society.

the various tools that demanded their deference are omitted from the dominant collective memory along with corresponding micropolitics of resistance. Glenn proposes a type of "reading between the lines" which, she suggests, will, "uncover the hidden transcripts of resistance" (Glenn 258). She continues the work of scholars like James C. Scott[26] who acknowledge the gender based, class based and racialized limits placed on political action for citizens and look at the interstices of such oppressive occurrences for points of contestation.

Returning to her discussion of the disconnect between formal and substantial citizenship, Glenn explains that, "the very tenets of republican and democratic ideology, which proclaim universal equality while simultaneously assuming exclusion and hierarchy, have helped obscure the existence of institutionalized systems of inequality" (Glenn 263). Her research on the construction of citizenship makes race and gender inequality perceivable and highlights the historical and contemporary forms of resistance that are often overlooked by non-marginal citizens. Although Glenn focuses on the period between 1870 and 1930, she argues that the various forms of domination used on diverse groups during that period, persist in contemporary America.

Offering the experiences of groups who had once been excluded from citizenship as an example, Glenn points out the irony of one officially being considered an equal citizen but having their avenues for political participation limited as a result of social inequality. Where some take these unequal experiences for granted and romanticize

[26] Scott is well known for his discussion of "hidden transcripts" the oppositional actions of subordinate groups that do not require much, if any, organizing and can be done covertly.

America's democratic past, Glenn focuses on the paradox between the formal discourse of inclusive citizenship and its exclusionary implementation.

Other tactics for regulating the behavior of certain groups also offer further evidence of the tension between traditional Civic Republicanism and American democracy. Describing campaigns that have argued America's need to civilize natives, defeat communism and eradicate terrorism, Sohail Daulatzai (2012) argues that in reality, these discourses have legitimated disciplining actions and added surveillance against specific races, religions, classes, and nations. The state of panic these discourses create work to realign the deviant behaviors of diverse peoples into desirable ones. With large scale physical violence, mass incarceration, and perpetual war coming as a result of democratic discourses of anti-communism and anti-terrorism, the disciplining power of these discourses is made evident. Less obvious, however, is the disciplining function of discourses on civic participation. I argue that campaigns for civic participation and critiques of nonparticipation act as disciplining tools sculpting citizens according to normative citizenship models.

The works of Michel Foucault and Jacques Ranciere offer useful theories for analyzing the power relations between normative and marginal citizens within the American Civic Republican tradition. The Civic Republican tradition and its emphasis on proper participation is embedded in the discourse of the decline of democracy in ways that place the onus on marginalized community members to behave in highly codified and, at times, unfeasible ways. Foucault's idea of *governmentality* is crucial for recognizing the "multiple and varied" forms that power can assume. His idea of power as a dispersed system instead of a top down process allows me to look to official

commercials as well as discussions among one's peers as sources of discipline. Ranciere's conception of politics focuses on dissensus instead of consensus reaching. Instead of focusing on the prescribed participation of everyone as Habermas does, Ranciere argues that politics actually occurs when those who were excluded disrupt the system that excludes them. This act of disruption, according to Ranciere, constitutes politics because it validates the equality of those who are often overlooked and excluded, even if only temporarily. Placed together, these theorists offer essential ideas for attending to instances of nonparticipation among oppressed groups.

Disciplined Participation: Civic Republicanism and Governmentality

The Politics, by Aristotle, is a foundational doctrine of citizenship literature. In addition to defining a citizen and outlining the actions expected of good citizens, Aristotle illustrates the class, sex, and race prejudice with which citizenship was determined. Keeping the Classic archetypal citizen described by Aristotle in mind and moving forward to more recent discussions of civic participation, I find that the preference for archetypal qualities remains operative. These preferences are often obscured by neoliberal communication efforts that remove the blame for exclusion from systemic bias and place it on a lack of personal responsibility among marginalized groups. Aristotle's normative description helps situate contemporary discriminatory citizenship practices within a lengthy trajectory of such practices thus, establishing historic precedence for the bias embedded in citizenship and expressed through civic participation ideals and expectations.

Michel Foucault's "Governmentality" lecture (1979) traces the development of the art of government. Beginning with a discussion of Machiavelli's *The Prince,* he

argues that government has evolved from governing with force and specificity, to governing with a variety of less direct and evident tools in order to reach the most "convenient" end for the society. In the midst of expanding terrains and growing populations, direct involvement from the rulers became unfeasible and government became decentralized. Instead of the prince alone acting as ruler and disciplinarian, governments used more dispersed forms of discipline. The tools became so numerous and varied that each subject came to act as a disciplinarian for their self.

The Civic Republican ideal expressed in the democratic decline rhetoric demonstrated by Putnam, and other scholars, functions as one of many tactics for regulating the behaviors of American citizens. Despite their multilingual and multicultural efforts, contemporary Civic Republican campaigns for civic participation function as pathologizing and disciplining tools praising some citizens and their forms of participation while promoting panic and advocating behavioral reform for others. Clearly valuing traditional forms of participation, such as public debate and voting, above forms of engagement beyond the dominant public sphere, Civic Republican ideals devalue diverse peoples as citizens and encourage normative forms of civic action which are formally accessible but often unfeasible for marginalized citizens. This conceptualization of democracy positions the dominant group of citizens as the unstated norm against which other citizens are measured.

Despite the extension of citizenship to women, Blacks, and other groups once excluded from the status, various social ills have perpetuated these groups' exclusion from meaningful participation in the public sphere. Instead of classifying them as improper citizens for not participating in an ideal fashion, Jacques Ranciere's definition

of politics allows for a different interpretation. Ranciere contends that power is located not only among the few at the top of the social hierarchy, but also among the disenfranchised masses. For him, politics are the moments when the typical stratified order of power is disrupted by systematically marginalized peoples.

Instead of following Habermas' public sphere model and locating politics in the debates and negotiation sessions used to reach consensus, Ranciere argues that politics occur, "because, or when, the natural order of the shepherd kings, the warlords, or property owners is interrupted by a freedom that crops up and makes real the ultimate equality in society on which any social order rests" (Disagreement 16). Defining *police* as more than the department responsible for maintaining law and order in a city, Ranciere, uses the term police to refer to the multiple tools, tactics, and actors who exercise disciplining power. This definition is applicable to the discourse of democracy's decline since the discourse deems behaviors of less educated, nonreligious, young, and nonwhite citizens deviant, while praising the behaviors of the ideal citizen. As a police function, the discourse attempts to stifle nonconformity, and encourage proper participation.

What follows is a rereading of contemporary campaigns for civic participation. Keeping the narrowness of ideal participation in mind, I find that despite advancements in cultural sensitivity and an enlarged democracy, contemporary civic republican campaigns continue the police work of disciplining marginal groups. They point to society's peripheries as the locale of civic lack and deviance and graciously offer a route to respectable civility through mimicking the virtuous behaviors of Classic citizens.

Contemporary Iterations of Civic Republicanism: Disciplining Efforts in Multicultural Advertisements

The differential experiences of marginalized community members has a lengthy history and has been a topic of interest for artists[27], activists, and scholars in various fields. By placing Classic expectations of citizens in conversation with contemporary critiques of unequal citizenship, the persistent limits placed on the substantial citizenship of diverse community members become evident. These standards often result in marginalized groups being read as inept citizens, assigned a low position on a hierarchy of social and political statuses and disciplined[28] accordingly.

Putnam argues that by following the model of joining set by past generations, 21st Century American society will see improvements in civic activity, general trust, crime

Figure 1.1 "Vote or Die" P. Diddy 2004

rates, stress, and the overall state of our democracy. More recent examples of Civic Republican petitions for participation are the 2004 "Vote or Die" campaign, organized by Citizen Change and spearheaded by Sean "P. Diddy" Combs, and the 2010 U.S. Census survey communication campaign. The 2004 Vote or Die campaign is reminiscent of Benjamin Franklin's image of a severed snake, published 350 years prior, bearing the

[27] In his 1935 poem, "Let America be America Again," Langston Hughes concludes by professing that "America was never America to me" positing that despite his official American citizenship, he does not feel like he belongs as a member of the American polis.

[28] My use "discipline" is in line with Foucault's usage. Not necessarily a physical or overt reprimand but often self policing that comes as the result of systems of institutional policing.

words “join, or die.” Franklin’s image was a call for people to either join the strength of the colonies or die on the wrong side of the struggle. The 2004 slogan was printed on t-shirts in patriotic colors and worn by pop and hip hop celebrities with hopes of encouraging a young minority demographic to participate in the Bush-Kerry presidential election. Franklin’s and Combs’ appeals, though separated by centuries, operate similarly by speaking directly to individuals and invoking civic republican ideas of participation. They promote the idea that beyond one’s personal development, one’s life depends on completing the prescribed civic action. The Vote or Die campaign is an extreme example of a developmental civic republican appeal. Its focus extends beyond the intrinsic benefits of personal fulfillment to a more drastic statement about one’s very livelihood.

Figure 1.2: “Join, or Die” Benjamin Franklin 1754

With the goal of achieving complete participation from the entire population, U.S. Census ads created during the 2010 survey operated similarly to the 2004 voting ads. Employing phrases like “We move forward when we participate” and “It’s in our hands,” the 2010 Census advertisements made personal appeals for civic engagement based on duty, mutual responsibility, and interdependence between individuals and the community. Both the 2004 and 2010 campaigns for civic action utilize Civic Republican notions of protection and development. Many of the advertisements addressing Indigenous, Latino, and Black communities made reference to participation in the survey being an avenue for

redress for historical experiences of discrimination and exclusion. Instead of protection against tyrants, participation in the census is advertised as a means of protecting a victimized community against regressing to a past without "voice," representation, or opportunity.

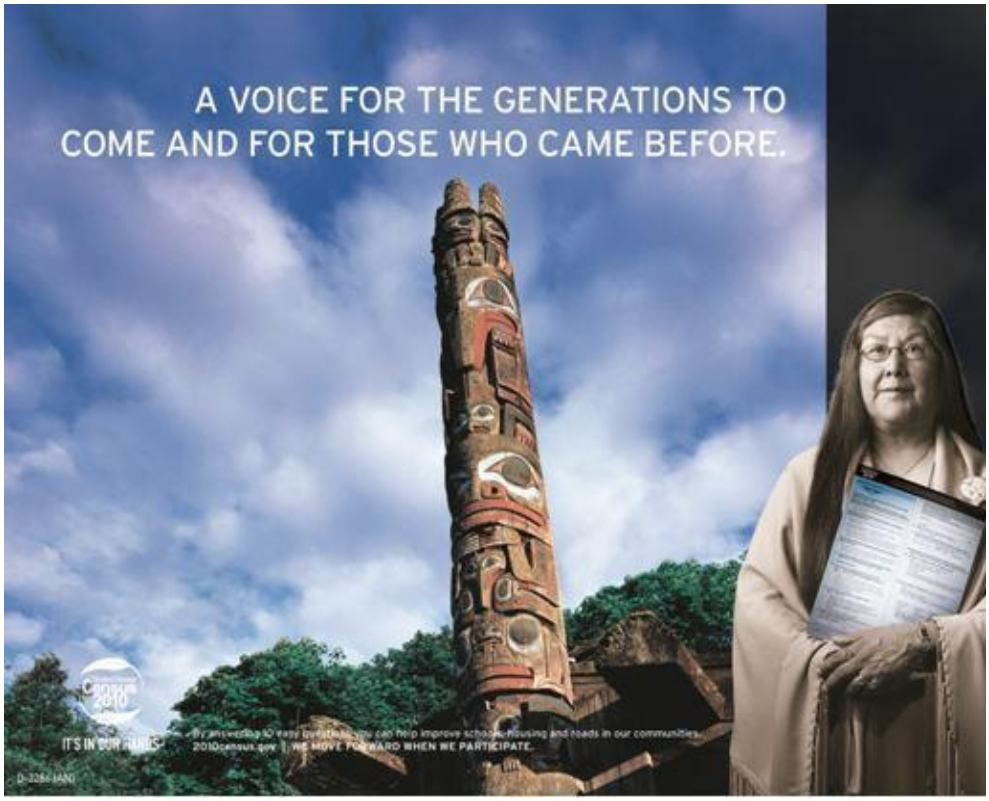

Figure 1.3: Native Action Poster U.S. Census Bureau 2010

Conclusion

Civic Republicans blame those who fail to participate in civic activities for the declining health of the democracy. In addition to other tactics, they harness the socializing potential of advertisements to encourage participation. Despite their inclusion of some culturally specific imagery and language, these ads promote normative means of participation often overlooking the deep seated distrust marginalized groups have of government requests. While the increase in multicultural media representation is a much

needed and welcomed endeavor, the inclusion of diverse actors[29] and translation into multiple languages falls short of inspiring peripheral community members to behave in normative ways. These efforts lack adequate attention to the particular lived experiences that motivate non-conforming practices.

Too often written off as disengaged, apathetic, self-sabotaging, or misinformed, a theory that recognizes the political possibilities of nonparticipation in civic activities is needed. Partial[30] participation and nonparticipation[31] have historically been among the political armories of oppressed peoples. The Civic Republican preference for normative participation overlooks purposeful nonparticipation as a means of politics.

Where a Civic Republican lens, like Putnam's, might read the decline in political engagement as the fault of apathetic youth and minorities, a lens informed by Ranciere's definition of politics might result in a starkly different conclusion. Putnam's privileging of joining overlooks prevalent exclusionary membership practices, his distaste for two-career families disregards the long history of nonwhite mothers working outside the home, and his use of survey data privileges normative forms of participation that are most easily captured by surveys than non-normative forms of participation which require more ethnographic methods. His warning of America's democratic decline is the result of his assumption that America's past and present are free of social and economic inequalities that limit opportunities for typical civic engagement. Ranciere, however, might call

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[29] Shohat and Stam use the phrase "epidermically correct" to describe the insufficient casting tactic of including diverse actors without attending to the diverse opinions and storylines such inclusion might require.

[30] Zora Neale Hurston's introduction to Mules and Men describes the tactic of partial cooperation as a cultural practice among Blacks.

[31] Brian Klopotek explains the choice of nonparticipation among some Indigenous tribes who choose not to seek Federal recognition.

attention to the disparities in access among a society's members and recognize moments of noncooperation as assertions of equality in the face of strict and systemic hierarchy. Both approaches to the different participatory practices of majority and minority groups offer important insights into the material and social experiences that shape nonconforming behavior and the norms against which marginal groups are measured.

Civic participation is praised by the civic republican tradition for its benefit not only to the society but to the individual participant as well. This win-win benefit frames nonparticipation as illogical and makes nonparticipants legible only as improper citizens. Contemporary communication campaigns, such as the 2004 "Vote or Die" and 2010 Census commercials, for political participation are examples of the various participation shaping and policing tactics used to maintain the existing order of power. Foucault and Ranciere argue that power and police operate in numerous forms and exist at different sites, including efforts like the Vote or Die campaign. In the case of promoting civic participation among diverse peoples, despite their advertised motive of color-blind inclusion, Civic Republican discourses and advertisements seek to return the democracy to its original good health by reeducating misinformed and self-sabotaging minorities. Without giving credence to alternative forms of civic engagement, scholars and communication campaigns alike may continue this unproductive poor/proper citizen dichotomy and overlooked the various altered political behaviors in which marginalized groups participate.

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Chapter 2

Altered Civic Participation: A Conceptual Intervention into Civic Participation

The question, "which actions count as civic participation" is surprisingly complex. More than a theoretical conjecture, the consequences of participation's definition influence one's access to citizenship and the recognition and representation that follow. In an attempt to determine an agreed upon definition of participation, scholars have developed a variety of "participation ladders" that serve as taxonomies of participation activities (Arnstein 1969). This chapter identifies political actions that are inadequately addressed by these ladders and presents *altered civic participation* as a concept that expands existing participation theories and notions of citizenship. Centering my analysis on the use of silence during moments when honest testimony and "vocal" participation are expected, I suggest that altered civic participation, although it may resemble nonparticipation, is a form of politics.

In 1969, Sherry Arnstein published an article which presented participation as a range of actions. She depicted this range as a ladder with eight rungs. On the lower rungs of the ladder, she depicted actions that she defined as nonparticipation and token forms of participation. On the higher rungs, she placed citizen participation. She states explicitly that her ladder model is meant to be a generative diagram intended for scholars to continue to refine. In what follows, I challenge the notion of citizenship through an interrogation of the dominant definition of participation.

Although it is framed by the U.S. Census Bureau as an opportunity for meaningful participation, Arnstein's theory would categorize census survey response

among the lower rungs of the participation ladder. Arnstein argues that citizen participation is a result of citizen power and control. She distinguishes between low level participation and citizen participation by comparing "empty ritual versus benefit." She contends:

> There is a critical difference between going through the empty ritual of participation and having the real power needed to affect the outcome of the process...participation without redistribution of power is an empty and frustrating process for the powerless. It allows the power holders to claim that all sides were considered, but makes it possible for only some of those sides to benefit. It maintains the status quo.
>
> Arnstein, 216

Census officials and commercials repeatedly encourage the U.S. population to complete and return their surveys by reminding the public of their ability to influence the distribution of federal funds. Despite these claims, census response would be categorized within Arnstein's taxonomy of participation as "consultation," but not citizen participation because the power of the decision making power held by the Census Bureau is not redistributed to the population.

Arnstein categorizes consultation as a form of tokenistic participation. Within this form of low level participation, Arnstein argues that citizens are only able to claim that they have "participated in participation" and those in power are able to claim that "they have gone through the required motions of involving 'those people'" (Arnstein 219). Citizens providing consult to those in power, instead of sharing in the decision making efforts, does not constitute participation as the status quo is left intact. For Arnstein, during consultation, "people are primarily perceived as statistical abstractions, and participation is measured by how many come to meetings, take brochures homes, or answer a questionnaire" (Arnstein 219). Despite its claims of citizen influence,

responding to the census survey does not result in deep consideration of the needs of respondents. Instead, they are considered as "statistical abstractions" and Census Bureau officials make decisions such as which data to tabulate, how to report collected data, how to distribute federal funds, and redistrict counties.

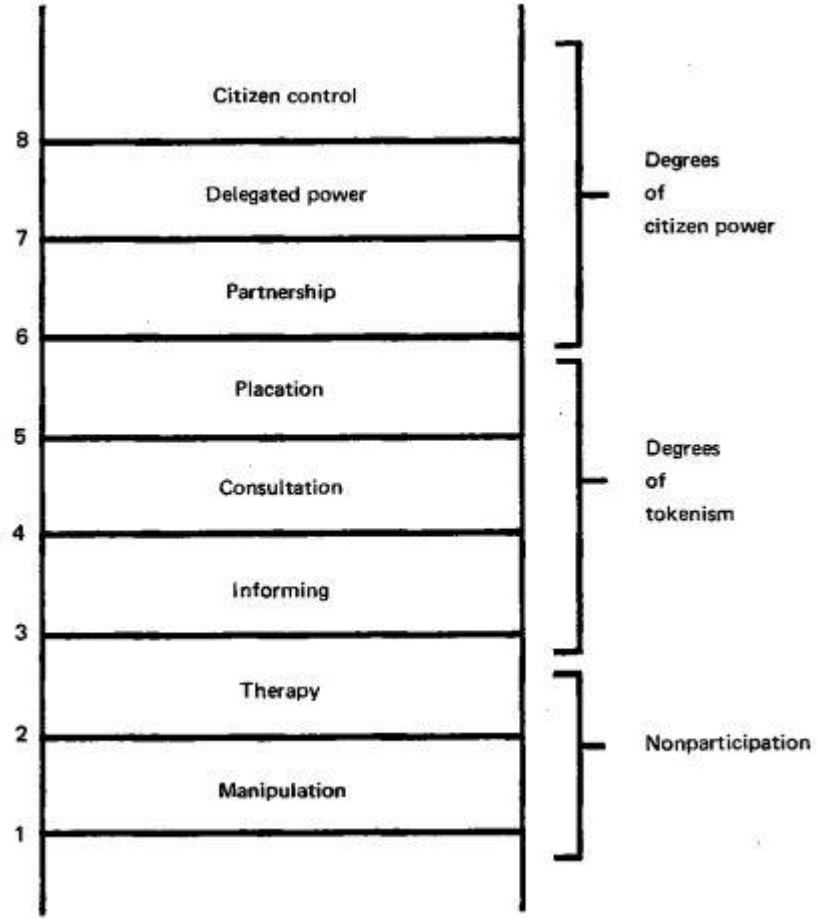

Figure 2.1 "Eight Rungs on a ladder of Citizen Participation" Sherry Arnstein 1969

With participation of citizens being the distinguishing quality of democracy from other forms of political organization, apathy comes to represent a fundamental challenge. Apathy is treated as a personal shortcoming which could eventually affect the wellbeing of the larger community. According to this logic, decision makers attempt to explain and correct inactivity in the civic sphere. When people do not actively engage in efforts like

voting, earning wages, paying taxes and volunteering for military service, they are deemed apathetic. Yet, this label is not always accurate. Considering the unequal experiences of citizenship among marginalized residents and the altered approaches to civic activities that label them as apathetic, I argue that attention must be paid to the intentional repurposing of low level participation opportunities that result in momentary redistributions of power. With attention to the prevalence of power asymmetry, even within democracies that claim universal equality, altered civic participation expands the criteria of participation to include behaviors that might otherwise be considered nonparticipation.

Critical of dominant efforts to distinguish "real" participation from "pseudo" participation, communication and participation scholar Nico Carpentier argues that ladder models of participation lack the nuance needed to accurately describe participation. Demonstrating two potential aspects of participation unable to be analyzed by ladder models, Carpentier describes:

> There are what I would propose to call transgressed forms of participation (where the participatory process transgresses the boundaries of a particular field and becomes situated in several fields) and transferred forms of participation (where a nonparticipatory process in a particular field allows for participation in another field) that are difficult to capture by ladder-based approaches.
>
> Carpentier, 6

Given the dynamic process of participation, Carpentier critiques the ladder models based on their inability to address various and complex practices of participation.

Debates over what does and does not count as participation is a highly theoretical dilemma that is also highly political in the sense that the conclusion reached impacts the participant and non participant in material ways. Into the debate on citizenship and

participation, I offer the conceptual intervention of altered civic participation which I define as actions that are intentional, consequential, ephemeral, optimistic, and expansive. Altered civic participation are actions that dominant definitions would categorize as nonparticipation or token forms of participation. Similar to Carpentier's critiques of ladder models of participation, altered civic participation also acknowledges the limitations of dominant and stagnant definitions of participation. Given the intentionally disruptive qualities of altered civic participation, I argue that these actions make use of low level participation opportunities in order to achieve an ephemeral redistribution of power.

Intentional

Tom DeLuca, in his book The Two Faces of Political Apathy (1995), describes the centrality of the notions of participation and apathy to democracy. He states, "Within democratic discourse, widespread apathy is a clear signal that something is fundamentally wrong" (DeLuca 10). Considering the personal and collective benefits thought to result from active engagement, nonparticipation in civic activities is deemed an offense that signals the nonparticipant as ill equipped for and undeserving of citizenship.

In her essay "Deviance as Resistance," Cathy Cohen draws on the scholarship of James Scott and Robin Kelley.[1] She agrees with Scott and Kelley as their arguments promote the idea that scholarly attention to the everyday practices of ordinary people demands a paradigm shift in notions of resistance and politics. Her contribution to this

[1] Robin Kelley argues that workplace theft, joking, playing unauthorized music and violating dress codes are among everyday forms of resistance exercised by working-class African Americans. The actions that he highlights are ones that, "have remained outside of (and even critical of) what we've come to understand as the key figures and institutions in African American politics" (Race Rebels, 4).

literature comes from her specialized attention to the distinct actions of marginalized peoples who find themselves on the peripheries even of the marginalized groups. Focusing specifically on the experiences of Black women with nontraditional family compositions, Cohen argues that deviance is a form of resistance worthy of scholarly attention yet often overlooked by subaltern resistance literature and queer theory scholarship alike. Black queer women present a favorable starting point since they, "…are reminded daily of their distance from the promise of full citizenship. Their lives are indicative of the intersection of marked identities and regulatory processes, relative powerlessness and limited and contradictory agency. It is here that Black queer studies must be rooted and a politics of deviance must begin" (Cohen 29).

Addressing the intentional choices of some black queer women to refuse conforming to expectations regarding childbearing and heteronormative family organization, Cohen argues that these temporary choices of "outsider status" are signs of agency. The intentionality of this outsiderness is critical in her discussion as she argues that, "The cumulative impact of such choices might be the creation of spaces or counter publics, where not only oppositional ideas and discourse happen, but lived opposition, or at least autonomy, is chosen daily" (Cohen 27). By attending to the experiences of Black queer women, Cohen highlights the inefficiencies of existing scholarship and concepts to address the particular political choices of this marginalized group. I've termed the first tenet of altered civic participation "intentional" to highlight this contrast between nonparticipation as a sign of something being "fundamentally wrong" and noncompliance as protest. The next tenet, "consequential," further explains not only that these actions are

not accidental but that they are purposefully disruptive as a consequence of past experiences of inequality.

Consequential

Civic Republicanism operates on the assumption that all citizens share the same interest and capability to participate in civic activities. This assumption prioritizes one's physical location and formal citizenship as determinants of one's civic behavior and fails to consider the influence of one's identities and lived experiences. The consequential aspect of altered civic participation is an acknowledgement of the histories and experiences of marginalized people in the U.S. and the consequences those experiences have for the modes in which civic participation is expressed.

I find the work of Catherine Squires especially useful for supporting the argument that the unequal treatment of a group impacts their engagement in the public sphere. Squires argues that instead of judging the civic behavior of Blacks according to the definition of the public sphere and proper participation in the public sphere championed by Habermas, scholars should adopt her concept of "multiple public spheres." Distinguishing between "enclave publics," "counterpublics," and "satellite public spheres" Squires offers historical experiences of African-Americans to demonstrate the purposeful decision to participate, in ways outside of the dominant forms of participation, based on past experiences of the group.

Ephemeral

Dominant definitions of participation combine active engagement with shared power to influence an outcome. Arnstein considers this redistribution of power between citizens and governing bodies as the highest and truest form of participation. I agree that

power asymmetry influences modes of participation and adjustment to power asymmetry is required for an action to be considered participation. I argue that redistributed power does not need to be in the form of long lasting equal partnerships but, instead, can occur as a fleeting moment for the participant.

In a hierarchically organized society, Ranciere calls all processes, techniques and ideologies that maintain stratified power relationships the *police*. Police then, are more than the officers who make up the crime enforcement department, they form part of broader system that legitimate the hierarchical social order. *Dissensus,* however, is action taken in the interest of subordinate groups who are presumed to be unequal vis-a-vis the dominant group within that stratified society. This assumption of inequality is a *miscount*[2] of a society's political subjects, the *wrong* that Ranciere deems the impetus of politics. By asserting their equality within society, the subordinate group challenges the ideologies that support the existing hierarchy. Politics is achieved during a moment when those who are miscounted, those who are presumed unequal to the dominant group, challenge the people, ideologies, and systems that support the social order that relegates them as "a part of those who have no part" in the community (Disagreement 11). Ranciere contends that politics are not long lasting occurrences. As the police order works to maintain the status quo, moments of politics are often and quickly ended. Given this definition of politics and police, we might interpret the disruptive use of low level

[2] In his book *Disagreement,* Ranciere explains that politics concerns relationships between individuals and their community. He argues that "politics arises from a count of community parts,'...or a miscount" (Ranciere 6). A miscount, in this case, overlooks individuals within a community as non-influential or not "counting" in the community.

opportunities for participation a political act that asserts their equality in a society that has miscounted them.

Optimistic

Optimism is the quality of altered civic participation that distinguishes it from anarchy and other pessimistic forms of resistance. A positive disposition to inclusion into and recognition from the United States is a key feature of altered civic participation. Catherine Squires, in her discussion of multiple public spheres discusses three publics with varying proximities to the traditional public sphere. Of the three, "satellite public spheres," seek the least interaction with the traditional public sphere and the state and, for this reason, present an example of a pessimistic disposition to inclusion. Squires describes the development of a satellite public as the most extreme type of public. With the goal of autonomy, satellite publics seek no interaction with other publics. Squires explains that, "Satellite publics are, of course, not wholly independent of other publics or the state, but by design their paths only overlap intermittently with others'" (Squires 463).

Although someone engaging in altered civic participation is likely critical of past and current experiences of inequality, the level of disillusionment and detachment from the state, which Squires describes, is not characteristic of altered civic participation. People who engage in altered civic participation maintain an overall interest in seeking recognition from the state as well as the formal and substantive benefits that might follow.

Expansive

Infrapolitics is a term coined by James C. Scott which describes the covert political actions taken by subordinate groups and individuals as a response to their undesirable conditions. He likens infrapolitical actions to infrared light which exists and has real implications despite its low level of detection. Scott is a widely cited anthropologist whose body of scholarship focuses on South Asian peasantries and practices of protest exercised by those subordinated classes. Given the material needs and class interests of the peasantry and their unequal access to open political activity, through this framework, scholars might be able to recognize that minute political acts occur on a day to day basis while larger and more public revolts occur less frequently. Scott calls for scholars to recognize the political potential of peasants by not only focusing on their official political engagement but also redirecting their lens to also recognize everyday forms of resistance. Among these everyday forms of resistance, Scott lists, "...the ordinary weapons of relatively powerless groups: foot dragging, dissimulation, desertion, false compliance, pilfering, feigned ignorance, slander, arson, sabotage, and so on" (Weapons of Weak, xvi). By deploying these covert political actions, the peasantry makes its political presence felt.

Without over romanticizing the utility of these forms of resistance, Scott addresses critics who argue that such minute forms of protest are ineffective. Rather than considering these resistance efforts as ineffective, through an understanding of infrapolitics, we might come to the conclusion that these actions are meaningful political actions that can result in brief and minor concessions. Among those concessions Scott

lists, “a brief respite from new and painful relations of production and, not least, a memory of resistance and courage that may lie in wait for the future” (Weapons of Weak, 29). Scott argues that infrapolitics are real politics that cumulatively promote shifts in hierarchical class relations, even if only temporarily. This definition of politics expands the traditional definition that requires active completion of prescribed civic duties. Scott’s attention to sites outside the traditional public sphere as potentially political spaces also supports the inclusion of “expansive” as a tenet of altered civic participation.

Altered civic participation helps identify participatory actions that exist *between* Arnstein’s ladder rungs. Left unaddressed by Arnstein’s eight rungs, these actions are not to be discounted as apathy or nonparticipation. My argument in this chapter and in the remainder of the dissertation is that taxonomies of citizen participation are based on a normative archetypical citizen which results in marginalized residents being deemed apathetic and nonparticipatory. Considering their social, historical and political contexts, however, the actions that are considered apathy and nonparticipation might be considered altered civic participation. In the remainder of this chapter, I suggest that the practice of altered civic participation among non-archetypal citizens, in this case Blacks, can be understood as an instance of politics resulting in temporary power redistribution.

Placed together, the five tenets of altered civic participation emphasize the impact that one’s material conditions have on one’s political engagement. Ranciere offers a unique outlook at the implications of the disruptive actions of subordinate groups. Besides material change or minor concessions received, he argues that the result of dissensus is a temporary assertion of one’s equality within a stratified society. Scott

provides a list of the variety and breadth of actions that subordinate groups utilize with political intentions. Cohen's framework is useful as it recognizes the role of one's class status and material conditions but also highlights the diversity of experiences among peripheral groups based on politics of respectability and the presence of hierarchies among members of the same minority group.

This chapter highlights the political use of silence as an exemplar for altered civic participation; nontraditional tactics in response to limited access to and faith in traditional civic behaviors for redress, recognition, and representation. What follows is a discussion of the political potential of silence when used in disruptive ways.

The Privilege of Human Speech

> *"In ancient times, speech was perceived as a gift of the gods and thus as a distinguishing characteristic of humans: therefore, speech became the authorized medium of culture and power, and its seeming obverse a sign of 'animality.'"*
>
> -Cheryl Glenn

When identifying the political status of a person, Aristotle prioritizes the possession of language beyond the "animal phone" in order to discuss ideas of what is just and unjust. Habermas also calls for particular language use in his expectation of rational debate in order for consensus to be reached within the public sphere. French philosopher, Jacques Ranciere, however, emphasizes the role of dissensus in his definition of politics. For him, "Politics does not exist because men, through the privilege of speech, place their interests in common. Politics exists because those who have no right to be counted as speaking beings make themselves of some account..." (Disagreement 27). Because of its association with power, liberation and civilization, speech is a respected and valued act, especially in comparison to silence.

Cheryl Glenn, in her book Rhetoric of Silence, addresses the long history of speech being revered while its "seeming obverse, silence, signals nothingness" (Glenn 3). The French philosopher, Jacques Ranciere, refers to the writings of Aristotle to explain that one's involvement in "the good life" and status as a political being is linked to one's language capabilities:

> …the sign of the political nature of humans is constituted by their possession of...articulate language appropriate for manifesting a community...as opposed to the *animal phone*, appropriate only for expressing the feelings of pleasure and displeasure.
>
> Ranciere 10 theses (added emphasis)

Distinguishing between animals and the political nature of humans, Aristotle emphasizes the importance of discernible and appropriate speech forms. The desire to distinguish oneself and one's group from the baseness of animals has a long history among whites. The continuity of this practice is especially evident as Blacks in the United States and abroad[3] have continued to be likened to animals.

In particular, Pseudoscience[4] has been used to claim the biological inferiority, heightened physical strength, limited intelligence, and overall likeness of Blacks to animals. This association between nonhumans and Blacks is evident in the writings of Thomas Jefferson[5], whose ideas about democracy and equality have been incorporated into American discourses and the Declaration of Independence. Assigning base qualities to Blacks, Jefferson describes their communicative actions as more "sensation than

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[3] Congo born, Cecile Kyenge is the Italian Integration Minister. In 2013, she was called a "Congolese monkey" by an Italian senator and had bananas thrown at her during a speech.

[4] Craniology and Phrenology were 19th Century pseudosciences that sought to use skull measurements as proof of humans' personality traits, intelligence and position along the evolution spectrum. Skulls of Blacks were said to have placed them closer to apes than whites and more lenient reports position Black adults as having skulls that indicate similar intellectual capacity to that of white children or women.

[5] In his *Notes on the State of Virginia,* Jefferson's most blatant association between Blacks and animals is his claim that Orangutans are sexually attracted to Black women.

reflection," insinuating that they indulge in filling basic desires instead of laboring over higher pursuits. He continues by claiming that Black slaves often busy themselves with, "the slightest amusements..till midnight or later" despite their having to work at "the first dawn of the morning." Jefferson believed that Blacks lacked intellectual and artistic linguistic capabilities compared to whites. His observation that, "never yet could [he] find that a black had uttered a thought above the level of plain narration" mirrors the value judgements found in the opening quote from Glenn which deems appropriate speech a sign of civility and other forms of speech signs of animality.

Contemporary pronouncements of this constructed relationship between Blackness and animality are evident in caricatures likening President Barack Obama to a monkey (2008) and the obvious resemblance between the *Vogue* magazine cover photograph of basketball star, LeBron James and the iconic image from the film *King Kong* (2008). Following the 2014 events[6] in Ferguson, Missouri the animality of Blacks was again a topic of debate as police officers[7] and celebrities[8] were quoted calling protesters, who were mostly African-American, animals. These historic and contemporary comparisons of Blacks to reactionary, uncivilized, and easily excitable animals serve as examples of the ongoing assumption of Blacks' proximity to animality and distance from civility.

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[6] Unarmed Black teenager, Michael Brown, was not deemed subhuman but rather superhuman for having 'Hulk-like' superhuman strength. Widespread upset resulted from his being killed by multiple shots from a single white officer, despite Brown being unarmed.

[7] CNN aired video footage of a police officer shouting at Ferguson protesters to, "Bring it! Bring it you f***ing animals!" (2014).

[8] Following the majority Black uprisings in Ferguson, actor Kevin Sorbo (American actor best known for playing Hercules in the 1990's t.v. series) posted his opinion on FaceBook. He argued that the riots are unrelated to Michael Brown but actually "an excuse to be the losers these animals truly are."

According to Ranciere, not only can intellectual speech be used to distinguish between political humans and animals but the reverse is possible as well.

> In order to refuse the title of political subjects to a category -- workers, women, etc… -- it has traditionally been sufficient to assert that they belong to a 'domestic' space, to a space separated from public life; one from which only groans or cries expressing suffering, hunger, or anger could emerge, but not actual speeches demonstrating a shared aisthesis[9]. And the politics of these categories has always consisted in re-qualifying these places, in getting them to be seen as the spaces of a community...in getting what was only audible as noise to be heard as speech.
>
> Ranciere 10 theses

The arguments presented by Aristotle and Ranciere position speech as the determining factor of one's political subjectivity. To speak and have that speech be recognized as articulate and expressive is to participate, possess power and "politicalness," while one's silence and incomprehensible utterances are symbols of one's passivity and animality.

Challenging dominant notions of what communicative actions entail, and arguing for a more complex inquiry into the rhetorical functions of silence, Glenn argues that, "silence is too often read as simple passivity in situations where it has actually taken an expressive power" (Glenn xi). She calls for closer attention to the contexts in which silence is practiced, emphasizing the distinction between silence and silencing. She explains, "Often, silencing is an imposition of weakness upon a normally speaking body; whereas silence can function as a strategic position of strength" (Glenn xix). Glenn's theory of strategic silence is similar to my concept of altered civic participation. In both cases, actions typically overlooked as disengagement are intentionally disruptive in order to call attention to society's miscount.

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[9] A shared perception as the result of one's senses and intellect.

Through a discussion of "silencing" and "silence" this chapter combines the historicity of unequal citizenship of Blacks in America, with a discussion of their resistance against such treatment. Despite emphasis placed on speech and active participation, I argue that altered civic participation, in this case silence, also has substantial influence and has been used by diverse groups as an effective resistance practice. Offering historical examples of speech acts of Blacks in America going unacknowledged or resulting in disciplinary silencing, I describe the eventual turn toward modes of communication, which seem illogical to dominant society but prove practical and effective for communicating dissatisfaction and momentarily redistributing power. Focusing specifically on the judicial system as a particular site where people, especially citizens, are assumed to have access to a fair trial and equal voice, I highlight instances of unequal access to political voice and the eventual use of altered means of political expression.

Jurgen Habermas is one of the foremost scholars focused on the notion of the public sphere. His model focuses on the inclusion of community members into a sphere where rational deliberation and open, yet orderly debate are welcomed. His argument poses that the only way to achieve the greatest good for a society is to have different points of view presented and for unbiased, logical, and selfless debate to occur based not on individual preferences but rather based solely on facts. Critiques of this model focus on the inability of a person within the public sphere to separate themselves from their personal interests. Other critiques are based on marginal peoples' lack of access to these forums for deliberation and modes of speaking typical of such spaces. The examples

below demonstrate African Americans' limited access to political engagement by offering the example of their limited political voice in the American judicial system. While few, these instances are indicative of a wider historical pattern of unequal access to political voice for marginalized groups in America.

Theorizing Silence

Citizenship is often equated with the possession of political voice; the ability to speak emphatically and receive a reasonable amount of consideration for the issues expressed. That expectation is especially relevant in the American court system, a space where honest testimony and unbiased judgment is to take place. If one were to subscribe to the opinions like those presented by Aristotle arguing that human's ability to speak and reason is what separates us from animals; my question becomes, how to understand the possibilities for of political expression by humans who are systemically denied meaningful political voice? The concept of altered civic participation helps recognize the political potential of unconventional behaviors. The concept helps locate politics in spaces that transgress and repurpose the traditional public sphere, among marginalized communities, and within quotidian actions.

Silencing as Policing

In 1857, the U.S. Supreme Court ruled in the Dred Scott case that all people of African ancestry, free or enslaved, were ineligible for U.S. citizenship and therefore could not have standing to sue in federal court. To support the decision, Chief Justice Taney infamously wrote that no black person had any, "rights which the white man was bound to respect." Citizenship was therefore assumed to be synonymous with legal

standing guaranteeing individual rights and the ability to seek justice for wrongdoings through the court system. Dred Scott was an enslaved man who, based on extended residence in free states and the death of his owners, appealed to the justice system for his freedom. Avoiding a ruling on the topic of his status as slave or free man, the court's decision centered on his Blackness, which, it was determined, prohibited him and any other African descendant from suing in federal court.

This landmark decision refusing Blacks' citizenship status and legal standing was followed by the Civil Rights Act of 1866 which defined US citizenship, as available to all people born in America, and affirmed equal protection of the rights of all citizens. The 14th Amendment, one of the "Reconstruction Amendments," was adopted in 1868 granting citizenship to all persons born in the US (including Blacks), thus overturning the Dred Scott decision. Despite the official reversal of the Dred Scott decision, however, the substantiality of formal citizenship for Blacks in America continues to be questioned[10]. Most recently the national and international attention to the killings of unarmed Black youth in America puts into question the right to citizenship of Black Americans in the United States.

While various marginal groups have had less than ideal lived experiences in America, I will focus here on the lived experiences of Blacks as the tensions between this particular group and American society offers especially poignant examples and exceptionally long histories of exclusion from traditional means of political expression. The experiences of Blacks, especially within the American judicial system, are

[10] The question certainly arose after WWI when Black men returned from war only to face the terror of the "Red Summer," characterized by riots and increases in lynchings of Black men.

emblematic of the limitations placed on marginal peoples' ability to fully exercise their citizenship rights. Instances such as the Bobby Seale trial in Chicago (1969), the George Zimmerman case in Florida (2013), and the non-indictment decision following the murder of Michael Brown in Missouri (2014) all involve the silencing of Blacks' political voice through various means. Each of these cases attest to how the availability of rights and citizenship status alone are insufficient for creating environments that can sustain the ideal civic participation of othered peoples. Some scholars argue that in order for marginalized citizens to truly experience the fullness of their citizenship, other inequalities[11] will have to be addressed. Whether economic, gender or other forms of inequality are believed to be the source of civic inequality, the cases that follow illustrate the perpetual experiences of Blacks as citizens with unequal access to the respect and recognition of other citizens.

On October 29, 1969 during what came to be known as the "Chicago Eight" trial, Judge Julius Hoffman ordered the defendant, Bobby Seale, to be bound, gagged, and chained to his chair in the courtroom. Seale, the co-founder of the Black Panther Party, was accused, along with seven other defendants, of conspiracy to cross a state line to incite riots during anti-war demonstrations in Chicago. According to David Dellinger, anti-war organizer and co-defendant, Seale was stripped of his constitutional rights to select his own lawyer and defend himself within the court. Dellinger writes:

> Bobby made application, with proper citations, to be granted the right to defend himself...But the judge turned down his motion and after that, whenever someone testified against Bobby, he would stand up and ask to cross-examine the witness...Eventually the voices on both sides got louder, and Seale's language stronger...

[11] Nancy Fraser argues that economic equality is a necessity for truly equal citizenship.

Dellinger, Yale to Jail, 348

In his autobiography, Bobby Seale describes his attempts at self-policing his language as an attempt to gain recognition from the Court and be spared the threats and physical violence by the marshals. He explains:

> The marshal, directed by the judge, told me to sit down. I was thinking that I had to lower my voice, momentarily debating how I could sound more like a lawyer and not so furious.
>
> Seale 179

These accounts of the court proceedings of the Chicago Eight trial combine to present an interesting account of how speech and silencing operate in the courtroom. Judge Hoffman attempted, on numerous occasions, to correct the speech behavior of Seale by saying such things as: "'Let the record show that the defendant Seale keeps on talking without the approval of the Court,'...'and in spite of the admonition of the Court and in contempt of the Court'" (Seale 181). Formal, calm, and rational forms of speech within the courtroom were the expectations of the Judge and marshals. For not complying with those expectations, Seale was severely reprimanded. On October 30, 1969, Judge Hoffman gagged Bobby Seale for his contemptuous refusal to conform to prescribed forms of speech.

> They had four large, thick belts which were bolted with special key-and-lock attachments at the buckles. My legs were both strapped tightly by Goliath. Nummy, another marshal, was securing my wrists and forearms to the chair, as another one, Arizona, who was wearing doctor's rubber gloves, gagged me. Arizona then took a stretch-type cloth bandage wrapping and wound it around and around my head, over my mouth, the back of my neck, my ears, and under my chin; it gripped my vocal cords like a vice...I could feel the loss of blood circulation in my hands...Goliath proceeded to retighten the belts around my legs, squeezing the life out of me, then started tightening again the knot at the top of my head.
>
> Seale, Lonely Rage, 194-195

He continues, “When they’d done, Slim and Goliath picked up the chair and me and we entered into the courtroom, me being carried, chained in a metal chair and gagged” (Seale 194). As the only African American defendant among the “Chicago Eight” Seale was denied legal representation and violently silenced at the hands of the Court and its representatives. Through the withholding of his constitutional rights, he was treated as a non-citizen, and through the physical abuse, he was likened to an irrational and uncontrollable animal. While, the reversal of the Dred Scott decision by the 14th Amendment officially allowed Seale, and all Blacks, the legal status of citizen, in practice it did not translate into unimpeded access to justice and political voice through the American judicial system. The unconstitutional revoking of the right to adequate legal representation, repeated threats by the Judge, violent acts by the marshals, binding and gagging of Seale, and his imprisonment for his courtroom outbursts all worked together to literally and effectively silence him.

During the summer of 2013, in the case of the State of Florida v. George Zimmerman, the courts sought the testimony of Rachel Jeantel, a 19 year old girl, who was in the midst of a phone conversation with Trayvon Martin at the time that he was shot and killed by George Zimmerman. Although she was allowed to speak on the stand and participate in hours of questioning and cross examination, the criticism of her speech both within and beyond the courtroom limited the possibility of free expression and the unbiased reception[12] of her testimony.

[12] John Rickford is a well established linguist who was influential in helping African American Vernacular be recognized as an official dialect of English. Following the experience of Jeantel in the Zimmerman trial he discussed the idea of “dialect prejudice” and the role it plays in practices of testifying among people of color and access to justice based on the court’s literacy in particular dialects.

Throughout her two day long testimony, Jeantel was forced to recount personal details about the nature of her relationship with Martin, painful details of finding out about his passing, and constantly repeat the specifics of their phone conversation. Throughout her testimony, she was constantly asked by lawyers, the court reporter and the judge to speak up, speak slowly and clearly, and to repeat and rephrase what she'd said. Her frustration became increasingly visible as her sentences were interrupted by objections from the prosecution lawyers and comments like, "I know you grew up in a Haitian family, so make sure that everybody can hear you, try to speak clear" from the defense (8:06). Given the publicity the trial received and the personal and painful material she was asked to discuss, Jeantel often seemed aggravated during her testimony.

During the second day of her questioning, Jeantel's tone made her seem even more frustrated at the process. Possibly as a result of fewer questions requiring narrative answers and more clarification questions, coaching from the prosecution team, or learning the criticism she'd been receiving from people across the nation, during the second day of her testimony she kept her answers limited to an exasperated "yes sir" and "no sir." This shift to minimal responses can also be read as a response to her feeling as though her detailed answers were not being heard. Many read this shift as a sign of her bad attitude and disrespect for the legal process, but an alternative reading, one inspired by the concepts of infrapolitics and the rhetorical power of silence, might conclude that Jeantel's brevity was an attempt to exercise a level of agency within a process that was not recognizing her testimony as honest or reputable.

Discussions took place on social media about her 3rd grade reading level and her frank and at times angry attitude. Critics commented on her demeanor which they decided was out of place in the courtroom especially in the context of such a high stakes and high profile case. There was mockery of her usage of casual speech within the formal courtroom setting and shock at her inability to read cursive writing. These critiques are demonstrative of elitist frameworks operating in the courtroom and shared by the larger public. In addition to her education and foreign ancestry, Jeantel's appearance was harshly criticized as well. Comparisons were drawn between her and two overweight and outspoken characters, Madea and Precious[13]. Among the most common comments were those comparing Jeantel to the fictional character, Precious:

> ...the overweight, undereducated character with a deep brown complexion...That criticism was particularly troubling because social media users assaulted her appearance because she lives in a body that this society finds repugnant - one that is large, black and female. Jeantel's is a body that holds no value in this society so she is perceived as a person who is not valuable or credible. So for some people anything that came out of her mouth, even in the most perfect English grammar and diction, would be meaningless.
>
> Sherri Williams 2013

Other critics focused on her pronunciation and presented her as an example of what happens when people are undereducated. Concluding that her deep breaths, eye rolls, fidgeting and other gestures of frustration were signs of her "lack of respect for the American judicial system," Jeantel's critics not only claimed that her limited education and Haitian family history made her speech difficult to understand but also decreed that it

[13] Madea is a character created by the male African American playwright and film director, Tyler Perry. Tyler Perry dresses up as a southern matriarch and behaves in overbearing and comical ways while doling out Christian based lessons in tough love to her relatives. Precious is a black female character based on Sapphire's novel "Push." Precious is an obese and illiterate teen mother living in Harlem with an abusive mother.

wasn't worthwhile to lend credence to her testimony. One critic went so far as to link the not guilty verdict of Zimmerman to the performance of Jeantel on the stand saying, "pick your friends wisely... different friend = different verdict" (Zeta Attlast, YouTube 2013).

People of various backgrounds criticized Jeantel's speech, classifying it as inarticulate and her as unintelligent. It came to be recognized that analysis and criticism of her testimony, "...focused less on the substance of her testimony, and more on the substance of her image. and by extension the credibility of her testimony" (Edwards 95). Despite her literal access to the U.S. court system, the elitist attitudes expressed in critiques of her speech effectively served the purpose of denying her the status of political subject by refusing to acknowledge her speech as appropriate and valuable. It is evident that some voices and modes of speech are legitimated while others, like Jeantel's, are misunderstood, ignored, rejected, and punished.

More than a year after giving her testimony, when asked if she blames herself for the acquittal of her friend's murderer, Jeantel responds "A little bit." She doesn't say that she would change any of her testimony but rather that, if she could do it again, she might "act different[ly]" on the stand. Now recognizing the various facets that contribute to one's speech being heard and acknowledged, Jeantel says that the content of her testimony was not taken seriously because, "they judge how they talk, how they look, how they dress" (CNN, 2014). Such critiques make evident the race and class based assumptions associated with what proper civic engagement involves. Although she was able to speak and testify under oath, her appearance and delivery effectively challenged her credibility and drowned out the relevant factual information of her testimony.

In 2014 in a case eerily similar to the Zimmerman case, a Grand Jury refused to indict Officer Darren Wilson for the murder of Black unarmed teenager, Michael Brown. Immediately following the reading of the verdict, lawyers, politicians, community leaders and the U.S. President began instructing community members on how to react properly. Immediately after the reading of the grand jury's decision, President Barack Obama called attention to the deeply ingrained issues of discriminatory policing in communities of color and called for such issues to be addressed "constructively." The President emphasized:

> That won't be done by throwing bottles. That won't be done by smashing car windows. That won't be done by using this as an excuse to vandalize property. And it certainly won't be done by hurting anybody. So, to those in Ferguson, there are ways of channeling your concerns constructively and there are ways of channeling your concerns destructively"
>
> Obama 2014

In essence, President Obama was telling Black people and their sympathizers how they needed to behave. In response to the "no indictment" verdict, the family of Michael Brown released a brief statement echoing Obama's position, "Answering violence with violence is not the appropriate reaction. Let's not just make noise, let's make a difference" (Essence, 2014). Similar to Arnstein's participation ladder, these critiques and suggestions worked to distinguish between "real" and "pseudo" speech. With hopes of steering their communities towards higher level political speech instead of meaningless speech, the family also drew distinctions between meaningful speech and "noise;" rational and reactionary expression, animalistic and intelligent behavior. Respectability, constructiveness, peacefulness, and other ideals were praised as appropriate responses to

widespread anger and disappointment. These statements denounced other reactions, by labeling them destructive and unhelpful.

Members of the broader community also did their part in policing the speech acts of those who were angry about the no indictment verdict. Some took to Facebook and other social media outlets posting comments arguing that outrage and other corporeally tied reactions were unwelcomed and suggested posts that took a more constructive approach. One such Twitter comment reads, "I challenge you to post what you have done to make the difference that you want to see.... We can post all day long the obvious. #postyourchange" (Twitter, 2014). Comments similar to this one, made Twitter (or at least this user's newsfeed) an unwelcoming environment for unconstructive and reactionary comments.

While the binding and gagging of Seale is a blatant example of the preference of certain modes of speaking and the unequal access to political voice for Blacks in the US judicial system, the criticism received by Rachel Jeantel demonstrates the persistence of an ideal demeanor and form of speech that is associated with not only courtrooms and but also the general public sphere, and assumed accessible for all citizens. The disciplinarian function of Judge Hoffman and the marshals who bound, gagged and abused Bobby Seale is distributed through the use of public statements and social media posts to the larger public as demonstrated by the criticism of Jeantel's speech and the corrective lessons given to physical and virtual protestors of the Darren Wilson verdict. In each of these examples, official procedures of the legal system left individual citizens and their communities across the nation feeling gagged; punished for their untimely, tasteless, and

otherwise inappropriate outbursts and, more egregiously, ignored, punished, and disciplined.

These examples of silencing illustrate the unequal access to effective political voice as well as the class, gender, and race based qualities embedded in what is considered acceptable political voice. The qualities of intentionality, ephemerality, expansiveness, consequence, and optimism shed light on the importance of looking beyond the typical political spheres to account for the different political actions of subordinate groups. Combined, these qualities allow the silence deployed, within settings where full divulgence and honest speech are expected, to be understood less as "disrespect for the American judicial system" and more as a political stance of someone within a subordinate group asserting their equality in a stratified society.

The concept of altered civic participation provides a way to name and describe political participation that is not typically recognized as such. Using the concept of altered civic participation to analyze atypical interactions with the census survey will add nuance to the range of enumeration responses. Where dominant expectations of active speech recognizes only those who comply and criticizes those who do not, the framework of altered civic participation will allow inquiry into the intentional disruptions caused by atypical responses.

Chapter 2, in part, is a reprint of the material as it appears in: Fort, Jahmese. "Politics of Silence: Theorizing Silence as Altered Participation" *Kinesis: journal of philosophy* 40. (2015): 65-74. Print. The dissertation author was the primary investigator and author of this paper.

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Chapter 3

Multiple Meanings and Histories of the U.S. Census Survey

In 1940, as America prepared for its sixteenth routine enumeration, President Franklin D. Roosevelt urged U.S. residents to actively participate in the decennial census survey. On February 9, 1940, he signed Proclamation 2385 which insisted:

> The sole purpose of the census is to secure general statistical information regarding the population, business activities and resources of the country, replies are required from individuals only to enable the compilation of such general statistics. No person can be harmed in any way by furnishing the information required. The census has nothing to do with taxation, with military or jury service, with the compulsion of school attendance, with the regulation of immigration or with the enforcement of any national, State, or local law or ordinance. There need be no fear that any disclosure will be made regarding any individual or his affairs...Life and liberty in a free democracy entail a variety of cooperative actions for the common good. The prompt, complete, and accurate answering of all official inquiries addressed to each person by Census officials should be regarded by him as one of the requirements of good citizenship.
>
> President Franklin Roosevelt, February 9, 1940

In the midst of contests over the census and participants' privacy, Roosevelt emphasizes the utility of the survey, its harmlessness, confidentiality and separation from unfavorable government functions like forced taxation.[1] Attempting to distance the survey from concerns about privacy and disagreeable policies, Roosevelt's argument in favor of census participation emphasizes the purpose of the census being the collection of secure general statistical information. His specific attention to the various fears of census participation demonstrates the existence of multiple unofficial, yet influential, meanings and histories of the U.S. Census.

[1] In his book American Privacy, Frederick Lane discusses the controversy over the 1940 census. Lane attributes fears over intrusion to Germany having invaded Poland only months prior to the beginning of the census effort. Within this context of heightened vigilance against signs of totalitarian rule, Senator Charles Tobey led a charge against the census so long as it included questions that invaded the privacy of respondents. Of particular concern were questions about the wages.

Roosevelt goes on to reinforce notions of national duty by explaining that "one of the requirements of good citizenship" is one's "prompt, complete, and accurate" survey response. This interpretation of the survey, and good citizenship through participation, are typical of dominant Civic Republican discourses on participation.[2] According to this tradition, active engagement in civic activities is the only way to demonstrate good citizenship and maintain a virtuous republic. As Roosevelt's proclamation exhibits, the actual interpretations of the survey and behaviors toward it do not always match the Civic Republican ideal. The range of responses the survey evokes demonstrates the fact that the dominant interpretation of the census is not the only one.

Responses to the survey range from eager participation, to evasion, to violent resistance.[3] [4] In his 1940 proclamation, President Roosevelt addresses issues of distrust of the census. When coupled with extreme refusals of census enumeration, these acknowledgments of distrust make evident the vehemence with which other histories of the census are believed.

Government officials, census advocates, and census advertisements present dominant interpretations of the survey by aligning it with either a functional model or an ontological one. The functional model values census participation because the survey is presumed to be the avenue through which resources and representation are disbursed. The

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[2] Civic Republicanism is the tradition of civic life that values active participation of citizens as the only option for avoiding totalitarianism and achieving civic virtue. An extensive discussion of Civic Republicanism is presented in chapter 1 of this dissertation.

[3] During the most recent 2010 Census, more than 700 acts of violence were committed against Census employees during data collection. These acts included, "the discharge of firearms at and physical assaults of Census takers, as well as robberies, carjackings, and kidnapping(s)" (OIG 2012).

[4] Violence directed toward census workers is not limited to the United States. On April 5, 2017, the New York Times reported an explosion in Pakistan targeting Census takers conducting the country's first enumeration in nearly 20 years. The explosion killed six people.

ontological model positions the census as an important forum through which one can confirm one's presence in America and existence as a person worthy of recognition, representation and resources. Both of these models operate within the dominant Civic Republican narrative which values active participation in civic activities for the good of the participant and the common good of the community. In either model, fear of potential misuses of census data is considered irrational and census nonresponse is deemed detrimental to the nation and individual. While the official narrative surrounding the survey presents it as an objective statistical tool, the history of distrust and recent expressions of violence against census takers demand serious inquiry into the additional meanings and narratives surrounding the survey.

"The Danger of a Single Story"

Writing in 1882, political scientist Ernst Renan offers insight into the question "what is a nation." He describes the difficulties of nation building and offers the act of forgetting as a viable solution stating:

> Forgetting, I would even say historical error, is an essential factor in the creation of a nation and it is for this reason that the progress of historical studies often poses a threat to nationality. Historical inquiry, in effect, throws light on the violent acts that have taken place at the origin of every political formation, even those that have been the most benevolent in their consequences.
>
> Ernst Renan, "What is A Nation?" pg 3

Also discussing nationalism, political scientist, Benedict Anderson describes the formation of the collective identity of a widespread nation. He argues that these nations are in large part "imagined" and, therefore, in need of constant reinforcement (Anderson 1983). For both scholars, nations are entities that are constructed and therefore unstable.

For Renan, forgetting is a central step toward nation building as it replaces contested and unfavorable histories with a single palatable story of the nation's past and current identity. However, despite the nation building potential of a single dominant story, counterstories continue to exist.

During a 2009 TED talk event, Nigerian author Chimamanda Ngozi Adichie, argues that there is immense power in storytelling. Through stories, one has the destructive potential to flatten intricate experiences and "make one story the only story." A multitude of stories, for Adichie, is critical since, "Stories have been used to dispossess and to malign. But stories can also be used to empower and to humanize" (Adichie 2009). She calls for a concerted effort to refuse to believe a single dominant story and instead develop more complex worldviews by seeking out multiple versions. Adichie's justice oriented and redemptive view of stories is not unlike the legal use of stories by Critical Race scholars.

In his essay, "Storytelling for Oppositionists and Others," Richard Delgado divides stories into those of the ingroup and outgroup. He distinguishes between the two by explaining that those "told by the ingroup remind it of its identity in relation to outgroups, and provide it with a form of shared reality in which its own superior position is seen as natural" (Delgado 2412). Where ingroup stories help construct and reassert a shared identity, counterstories of the outgroup "aim to subvert that ingroup reality" (Delgado 2413). To demonstrate the function of stories, Delgado presents the "stock story" of racial reform in America alongside an outgroup telling of that same topic.

The stock story, acknowledges the "unforgivable wrong" of slavery that "some" Blacks underwent "early in our history." It goes on to point out the many rights and

protections African Americans now have and the "steadily closing" gap between blacks and whites. Instead of a setting the story of slavery in the United States in the past and telling as a story of progress, the outgroup version of that same story, uses a less optimistic frame and emphasizes the continued subordination of Blacks in America. According to Delgado, the counterstory does not praise progress made since slavery but instead "dares to call our most prized legal doctrines and protections shams - devices enacted with great fanfare, only to be ignored, obstructed, or cut back as soon as the celebrations die down" (Delgado 2418). Such variations in interpretations of a phenomenon can have an important impact on the lives of listeners and believers of these stories. As they shape our mindsets and social realities, Delgado argues, becoming attentive to counterstories held by outgroups is central to cross-cultural understanding and plans for reform.

By changing mindsets and challenging the status quo, counterstories, according to Delgado, possess "reality-creating potential." He argues that our social realities do not exist in and of themselves but are actively constructed, often through stories. Delgado demonstrates the construction of social realities by offering different tellings of a single event as experienced by multiple people. In each story, the basic tenets remain the same while different details are highlighted or erased. Similarly, as a relatively new approach to history, New Social History shifts focus from people in power, traditionally privileged by historical accounts, to a centering of ordinary people and their experiences of historical moments. A "bottom up" historical account depicts the concerns of common people, the effects of structural changes, and resistance efforts that might be overlooked from a top down perspective. While some scholars criticize the practice of deeming

seemingly trivial actions "resistance" (Hollander and Einwohner 2004), works like those of James Scott (1985) and Robin Kelley (1994) highlight the wealth of intentionally resistant behaviors that are used by subordinate groups.

Outgroup stories that contest dominant conceptions of the census act as bottom up accounts of the survey. From this perspective, the census is less an objective headcount for fair distribution of resources and representation, than an untrustworthy and invasive procedure for increased government control. To adopt an official history of the survey is to leave out details such as exclusion and breaches of confidentiality which are central to outgroup counterstories of the survey. If dominant stories serve the nation building project by "forgetting" the details important to outgroups, counterstories, then, reassert the importance of details overlooked by dominant tellings. The U.S. Census survey helps develop and maintain the "imagined community" of the nation by contributing to, and in some ways constructing, the dominant story of the nation.

Where dominant tellings of Census history frame it as a source for allocating resources, constituting identities, and governing populations, this chapter is attentive to counterstories as well. In what follows, a history of the U.S. Census survey is presented by juxtaposing the dominant history of the census to contested and less palatable versions of its history. Given the various interpretations, contested uses, multiple and often contradictory meanings of the U.S. Census survey, the chapter concludes by arguing that recognition of conflicting and complex stories surrounding the census warrants equally complex inquiry into the various interactions with the survey held by America's outgroups.

Official Census History

The U.S. Constitution offers the framework for ensuring the continuity of the American democracy. It summarizes foundational policies, describes requirements for national leadership and defines the most basic rights of citizens. As it outlines the distribution of seats in the House of Representatives, Article 1, Section 2 of the United States Constitution explains that "Representatives and direct Taxes shall be apportioned among the several States which may be included within this Union, according to their respective Numbers" and therefore calls for a census, or an "actual enumeration," of the country every ten years.

The U.S. Census Bureau is responsible for conducting more than 130 surveys annually and analyzing collected data for public distribution. The most well known and the only constitutionally mandated survey, however, is the decennial population and housing survey. Not only is the administering of the survey constitutionally mandated, but public participation in the survey is also mandatory under the law (13 USC §223). Although the Constitution only requires that the survey count the population, the survey has historically been used as a method for collecting additional information about the nation such as age, occupation, and homeownership. In this way, the census has served as a mode of national identification.[5] With the information collected through the survey

[5] Noting the role of surveys in the creation of an American "mass public," Sarah Igo, in her book *The Averaged American,* argues that national surveys offered a new level of insight into the nation and allowed the population to assess their behaviors and opinions according to a statistical average American. Similarly, legal scholar Naomi Mezey argues that the census contributes to national identity because it has, "documented the increasing forms of labor and production, the rise of banks and insurance companies, railroads and canals, libraries and churches, private property and presses, and ever more intricate variations on population growth and mortality" (Mezey 1712).

helping to validate American national identity, survey nonresponse constitutes a central problem for the survey effort.

Census nonresponse is a key concern for the survey effort. While the occurrence of the survey every ten years has remained constant in its more than 200 years of existence, numerous important changes have been made to survey procedures with hopes of improving speed and accuracy. As statistical and technological improvements are made, so too do census tallying procedures change. Improvements in data collection have included the development of uniformed preprinted surveys in 1830 and the decision to mail forms to individual homes in 1960. Beginning in 1960, residents would receive the survey in the mail, complete it, and await the census taker who would visit each house to collect the form. The survey has always employed field representatives who visit residences in order to compile household information. 1970 was the first year of the current process of households receiving the form by mail and also returning it by mail to the Census Bureau. The majority of Census responses are now received through the mail, thus altering the job of the census taker away from assisting all households and towards "Nonresponse Follow-Up" (NRFU). Census takers visit the residences of people who have not mailed their survey by the announced date. Ideally, these bureau employees will complete the form with the assistance of an adult resident and return the form to the bureau.[6]

Nonresponse, according to the ingroup story, is not only illogical but also unlawful. Participation is made easy through mail-in forms and door-to-door census

[6] According to the "Interview Situations" section of the 2010 Census instruction book for door to door enumerators, employees may handle census refusals by consulting "a proxy respondent for the housing unit at which the occupant refused." If that proves unsuccessful, the census taker may "ask a neighbor who lives nearby and could perhaps be friends with the occupants of the refusing household."

takers. According to this story, the U.S. Census survey is an enumeration process mandated by the Constitution that is beneficial to U.S. residents, essential for proper political representation and an honorable opportunity to be recognized as part of the national community. By focusing on themes of completion and inclusion, the official history helps construct a story of the nation as progressive, dutiful, benevolent, and inclusive. The following are details of the census story that are interpreted differently between in and outgroups. Championed by Critical Race Theory, the concept of counterstories is useful for understanding how the U.S. Census survey, as the topic of dominant stories and counterstories, signifies multiple ideas to disparate groups.

Whom to Count

"According to its constitutional mandate, the census does more than facilitate a body count; it also tells us whose body counts, and for how much."

-Mezey 2003, 1705

Naomi Mezey, scholar and professor of law, recognizes the inherently political aspects of census taking (Mezey 2003). The question of which members of the population should be counted is a longstanding and controversial aspect of the survey's history. The U.S. Constitution's verbiage, calling for an "actual enumeration" of the population is undermined by the inclusion of a formula by which a state's total number was to be determined. The final count was to be reached by:

> ...omitting in such enumeration Indians not taxed, and distinguishing free persons, including those bound to service for a term of years, from all others; distinguishing also the sexes and colours of free persons, and the free males of sixteen years and upwards from those under that age.
>
> 1st Congress 101

From 1790 until 1868, only three-fifths of the Black population was included in the total population count. The 14th Amendment readjusted enumeration instructions to include,

"counting the whole number of persons in each State, excluding Indians not taxed" (14 Amend. Sec.2). Although no longer written into the official procedures of the survey, imbalanced population counting practices persist.

Areas with high populations of people of color and low incomes make appeals to the Census Bureau about perceived inaccuracy of data collected in these areas. Community leaders in colonias[7] along the U.S.-Mexico border and leaders in New Orleans have called attention to this persistent undercount by the bureau (Leadership Conference Education Fund 2011 & MacLaggan 2013). Meanwhile, the Census Bureau acknowledges over counting approximately 36,000 people in 2010 explaining that "as with prior censuses, coverage varied by race and Hispanic origin.[8] For instance, the non-Hispanic white alone population was overcounted in 2010 by 0.8 percent while the same survey undercounted 2.1 percent of the Black population, 1.5 percent of the Hispanic population, and American Indians and Alaska Natives were undercounted by 4.9 percent (Census Coverage Measurement 2012). This pattern of differential exclusion along racial lines counters dominant claims of the survey's objectivity and inclusivity.

In the section entitled "Guidelines on Who to Count," the most recent 2010 Census Questionnaire Reference Book states, in bold font, that "The Census must count every person living in the United States on April 1, 2010" (Reference 7). Respondents are instructed to:

Report the total number of people on your form who:

---

[7] Colonias are neighborhoods along the U.S.-Mexico border that are typically populated by Mexican migrant workers. The Census Bureau describes them as "generally unincorporated and low income residential subdivisions, lacking basic infrastructure and services" (Leadership Conference Education Fund 2011, 14).

[8] The total of 36,000 people is 0.01 percent of the population which, according to the bureau is not statistically distinct from zero.

> • Live or stay at the residence most of the time; OR
> • Stayed there on April 1, 2010 and had no permanent place to live; OR
> • Stay at the residence more time than any other place they might live or stay.
>
> 2010 Census Questionnaire Reference Book pg 7

The official text also describes those who should not be counted on the forms mailed to residential addresses. The guidebook insists that in order to avoid overcounting, residential respondents should not include anyone not living at their residence on April 1, 2010 or anyone who sleeps at a different address most of the time. Specifically, resident respondents are instructed:

> • Do not count anyone living away either at college or in the Armed Forces.
> • Do not count anyone in a nursing home, jail, prison, detention facility, etc., on April 1, 2010.
> • Leave these people off your form, even if they will return to live here after they leave college, the nursing home, the military, jail, etc. Otherwise, they may be counted twice.
>
> 2010 Census Questionnaire Reference Book pg 7

More than concerns about counting students, deployed military personnel, and nursing home residents, recent debates about who should be counted by the Census Survey have focused on the imprisoned population (Fertig 2010).[9] Based on Census procedures of counting people according to where they reside most often and where they reside as of nationwide census day, imprisoned U.S. residents are counted at their place of imprisonment. In an article entitled "Counting Prisoners in the 2010 Census," census scholar D'Vera Cohn explains the shifts in congressional power that can result from this mode of counting. With most prisons located in less densely populated rural areas, counting the imprisoned population according to their prison location increases the

[9] Given class distinctions between rural and urban areas and the largely minority and lower class make up of America's prisons, race, class, age and gender and education level are inextricably linked to concerns over whether the imprisoned population should be counted and where (Bowers et al 2009).

political clout of those rural areas. One of the concerns with counting prisoners according to the location of the prison instead of their home address is that the political clout rural areas with prisons gain is disproportionate to the number of voting members of the community.[10]

Demonstrating the effects of prison populations counted in rural areas, the Prison Policy Initiative's Prison Gerrymandering Project cites events in Anamosa, Iowa.[11] Broken up into four wards, the city of Anamosa became an exemplary case for the need of updated redistricting and counting processes. Ward 2, the smallest of the four, garnered political influence by including in its total population that of the local penitentiary. Arguing that the "actual population" of the Ward is 58 unincarcerated people, the report contends that the amount of power these 58 people have "constitutes about 25 times as much clout ar those in the other wards" (Prison Policy Initiative 2). Of central concern for those opposed to counting the imprisoned population in the location they are imprisoned is an inflation of political influence in rural areas as a result of the presence of inmates, a population found to be lacking civic virtue and, thusly, prohibited from civic participation.[12] While some reflect on the discrimination evident in the three-

[10] According to reports by The Sentencing Project, more than 6 million people are disenfranchised as a result of state voting laws. Maine and Vermont are the only two states that allow people to vote regardless of their felon or ex-felon status (Sentencing Project 1).

[11] The Prison Policy Initiative is a public policy think tank that "produces cutting edge research to expose the broader harm of mass criminalization, and then sparks advocacy campaigns to create a more just society."

[12] With federal inmates consisting mostly of persons of color from inner cities, African American advocacy groups such as the National Urban League have lobbied for inmates to be counted in their inner city homes instead of rural prisons. The Leadership Conference on Civil and Human Rights wrote a letter to the Census Bureau insisting that "Failure to count incarcerated persons at their home address preserves an unacceptably discriminatory census result that deprives underserved urban neighborhoods of fair representation, while shifting political power to communities that do not represent the interests of incarcerated persons or their families" (Inouye 2016).

fifths clause to oppose the exclusion of prisoners, supporters argue that to count prisoners who, like felons, are unable to vote, is counterproductive.

In addition to imprisoned persons, non-citizens constitute another group whose inclusion in the census survey is debated. In the "Frequently Asked Questions" section of the Census Bureau website, the question, "Are undocumented residents (aliens) in the 50 states included in the apportionment population counts?" is listed. The response provided by the Census Bureau is, "Yes, all people (citizens and noncitizens) with a usual residence in the 50 states are to be included in the census and thus in the apportionment counts." Notions of civic virtue inform the opinions of those who argue against the inclusion of noncitizens.

According to Civic Republicanism, civic virtue is both the guiding force and result of community based decision making. The choice to immigrate is seen as a self interested decision made by immigrants with costly outcomes for the American economy. This was the logic upon which Republican Louisiana Senator David Vitter proposed Census focused amendments. For multiple years, most recently in 2016, Vitter proposed legislation which would revoke all funding from the Census Bureau unless the survey included questions related to respondents' citizenship and immigration status. Vitter's most recent attempt stated, "None of the funds made available in this Act may be used by the Bureau of the Census to conduct a decennial census that does not contain questions to ascertain United States citizenship and immigration status" (S.Amdt.4685, 2016). Vitter's motivations for the inclusion of these unprecedented census questions about citizenship status and immigration status is a desire to accurately exclude noncitizens from the

population count by which apportionment and federal funds are determined (Valencia 2016).

As these numbers influence the political power of certain states and resources available in certain areas, decisions of whom to count is an undeniably political act interpreted differently by dominant and counterstories. Original decisions of who was to be included in the final count, according to census scholar Melissa Nobles, mirrored practices of taxation, ideas of race, and are more broadly indicative of who is deemed a citizen fit for republican life (Nobles 50). While an ingroup iteration of the census might focus on the current inclusion of everyone residing within the continental United States, Alaska and Hawaii, counterstories often emphasize the survey's history of exclusion based on race with current practices based on felon and immigrant status.

Ingroup explanations for the initial exclusion of the indigenous population cite their membership in semi-sovereign nations and their status as non-taxpayers which disqualifies them from the governmental representation determined from enumeration data. The decision to count only three-fifths of slaves is most often explained by ingroup stories as a mathematical compromise regarding concerns about southern states gaining undue governmental control based on population numbers inflated by slaves, who, like indigenous groups, were also disqualified from governmental representation equal to that of whites. Questions of whom to count continue into current debates. Instead of explicitly excluding certain races, counting debates now revolve around one's imprisonment and citizenship status.

How to Count

> *"The power of classifying and counting can be aspirational, harnessed for inclusion and recognition, and it can be disciplinary, applied in ways that exclude and erase."*
>
> Mezey 2003, 1711

In addition to debates about whom to count and for how much one should count, opinions differ about how the enumeration process should be completed. Regarding the question "whom to count," the Constitutional phrase "actual enumeration" is referenced. This is also the case when considering how to count. The instructions for the 1790 Census overtly call for either fractional inclusion or complete exclusion of nonwhites. In 1868, the 14th amendment allowed Blacks to be counted by making citizenship a birthright. It wasn't until 1890 that Indigenous groups were enumerated as well. Undercounts of minorities, young people, and other "hard to count" populations persist despite constitutional amendments and other official changes to census-taking procedures.

Constantly plagued by fear of inaccuracy in the forms of undercounts and overcounts, the Census Bureau, in 1950, turned to statistical sampling as a possible solution.[13] Results from the 1950 Census were challenged based on a significant differential undercount. While the total undercount was 3.3%, the rate at which people of color, poor, and young males were undercounted exceeded that of those outside of those groups (Ramsden 294). In response to this inaccuracy, the Census Bureau administered the postenumeration survey (PES) which included a nationwide sample. The results of this survey were used to determine the "degree of census error" and correct Census data

[13] The process of statistical sampling uses existing census data and knowledge of undercounted populations to estimate how many people were likely missed in the enumeration. That estimated number is then used to adjust actual census data.

(Ramsden 295). In response to continued differential undercounts of minority and poor populations, the city of New York sued the bureau claiming these groups, and the city, suffered the loss of political representation and funding in major metropolitan areas (Igo 296). The suit requested PES data to be used for apportionment purposes in addition to correcting survey data.

Opponents of such adjustment cited the Constitution's requirement of an "actual enumeration" as reason for not adjusting Census apportionment data. In 1998, the issue was taken to the Supreme Court in the case *U.S. House of Representatives et al. v. Department of Commerce et al. (1998).* In 1999 the Supreme Court concluded that the use of statistical sampling for purposes of apportioning congressional representation was unconstitutional citing the phrase "actual enumeration" and interpreting it as an insistence on counting each person by authentic means instead of statistical estimations.

Questions of how to carry out the decennial enumeration have been influenced by concerns over the constitutionality of the process and the need for fair representation following the survey. A history of the census that refuses to forget its past of intentional racial exclusion might interpret the debate over actually counting or estimating the population's marginalized communities differently than a history that privileges themes of objectivity and inclusion. Minority advocacy groups, for example, emphasize the role of race and class demographics among America's urban cities in order to call attention to the persistent differential undercount. They support the use of adjusted data in order to assure the inclusion of the nation's socially marginalized and statistically undercounted populations in official census data.

Changing Categories

> *"In short, the use of identity categories in census - as in other mechanisms of state administration - creates a particular vision of social reality... Appadurai's (1993: 334) comment is apropos here: 'statistics are to bodies and social types what maps are to territories: they flatten and enclose.'"*
>
> *Kertzer and Arel, 5-6*

The census survey is a statistical tool purported to objectively and accurately count people residing in the United States. Changes in census categories, however, have raised questions about the accuracy and objectivity of the survey. The original, 1790 language of the Constitution calls for the population of states to be determined by counting Whites, excluding Indigenous persons not taxed, and counting three-fifths of "all other Persons," meaning enslaved Blacks. One hundred years later, in 1890, Blacks would be counted as whole persons but identified on the survey according to blood quantum categories. Census Bureau instructions for enumerators for the 1890 Census instructed enumerators to:

> Write *white, black, mulatto, quadroon, octoroon, Chinese, Japanese*, or *Indian*, according to the color or race of the person enumerated. Be particularly careful to distinguish between blacks, mulattoes, quadroons, and octoroons. The word 'black' should be used to describe those persons who have three-fourths or more black blood; 'mulatto,' those persons who have from three-eighths to five-eighths black blood; 'quadroon,' those persons who have one-fourth black blood; and 'octoroon,' those persons who have one-eighth or any trace of black blood.

These racial categories would later lose their specificity as the categorization of Blacks would be based on the "one drop rule" which deemed anyone with any African ancestry Black.

Categories available as options on census schedules have changed throughout the decades. The first census, in 1790, asked only 6 questions which focused on the numbers

of whites according to age and gender and the number of (Black) slaves. With a population that was becoming increasingly more diverse and scholars making important interventions[14] into race discourse and its absence of biological or anthropological grounding, the Federal government made definitive steps toward establishing categories for collecting racial statistics. In 1977 a directive was established which has since governed all statistical reporting by the federal government. Considered "perhaps most politically consequential for census-taking in the post-civil rights era," (Nobles 58) Statistical Directive No. 15 by the Office of Management and Budget (OMB) of the Executive Branch presents five races for individuals to possibly identify.

More than any other group, it is argued that the category for those who are racially both Black and White has changed most frequently (Brown 2015). Including shifts from "slaves" to "mulatto," and later "Negro" and "African-American," the census of 2000 allowed respondents to self-identify as a member of multiple racial categories.

Capricious census classifications were the focus of a satirical article discussing the reclassification of Filipinos on the census from "Asian" to "Pacific Islander." This popular culture example serves as an example of a counterstory held by an outgroup which interpretes census category changes as proof of the survey's invalidity instead of its increased accuracy. The authors call attention to the questionable data on which these official decisions are made by citing trivial reasons for the reclassification of Filipinos from Asian to Pacific Islander. One satirical reason for reclassification given by the article is the similarity of tropical weather in the Philippines to other Pacific Island

[14] Melissa Nobles summarizes major contributions to race discourse including Henry Louis Gates (1986) who argues that race is an arbitrary trope of difference, historian Evelyn Brooks Higginbotham (1992) who argues that race is a social construction, and legal scholar Ian Haney-Lopez (1996) who argues that the law constructs race.

nations. “Most important of all,” the article explains, is, “unlike their Asian counterparts in China, Japan, Korea and Vietnam, the Filipinos do not use chopsticks. They use silverware or eat with their hands” (Adobo Chronicles 2015).

This article, while satirical, portrays outgroup attitudes about the triviality of census categories and the apparent ease with which they shift. In light of the official mission statement of the Census Bureau which states that the bureau is, “guided on [their] mission by scientific objectivity,” this constant drawing and redrawing of categories makes the survey seem grounded on fickle foundations instead of permanent, official, scientific data.

In addition to census data determining congressional apportionment, they are also distributed to businesses, analysts, and nongovernmental organizations. Another use of census data is the enforcement of civil rights legislation which is intended to neutralize racist practices of disenfranchisement, housing segregation and the exclusion from certain spaces, jobs and institutions based on one’s race (Nobles 57). In order to monitor compliance to these laws, racial data is needed. Melissa Nobles explains that this positive use of census data has contributed to outgroup efforts to “have categories protected, changes, and added” (Nobles 58). In addition to census inclusion being strategic, it is also largely symbolic of official recognition of one’s existence.

Kertzer and Arel, authors of Census and Identity, posit that the categories used by governments result in effects on life chances and social processes. The quote from their text, used as the epigraph for this section, expresses the social impact of statistical categories as they depict a version of social reality. The desire to avoid erasure has influenced recent appeals for added census categories. One such desired addition is for a

category for those who identify as Middle Eastern or North African (MENA) to be able to choose their distinct category. As a result of lobbying, this category will be added to the 2020 survey. Unsatisfied with the commonly held practice of identifying as "white" on the census, people of North African descent urged the Census to include the MENA option on future surveys. While some within the MENA community hold reservations about the added category, most welcome the opportunity to more accurately self identify.[15]

The official purpose of the survey is to count those living in the United States in order to distribute the existing 435 Congressional seats. Given this seemingly objective and beneficial official description of the survey, unconventional interactions with the census indicate the prevalence of additional, unofficial understandings of the survey. In addition to its function as a constitutionally mandated enumeration of residents, the census is also an important site where Civic Republican expectations are enforced and questions of belonging are established and contested. Attention to counterstories is useful as they readjust the Civic Republican mindset by offering an alternative that questions the value of participation. In addition to disparate opinions being held about whom and how to count during enumeration, the adequacy of statistics, alignment of interests of the population and its government, and concerns of data misuse are aspects of the census that also differ along ingroup and outgroup lines.

Inadequate Numbers

"None of the statistics that we deliver are perfect; we know that."
-Census Director Robert Groves 2011

[15] Ibrahim Hooper, of the Council on American-Islamic Relations, is quoted by an National Public Radio story expressing his concern about the newly specified MENA data being used to inform increased surveillance targeting people presumed to be Muslim residing in the united Sates (Chow 2016).

James C. Scott (1999) argues that statistics function as a state tool that makes complex and disparate entities legible and therefore governable. One concern expressed by those being counted is the inadequacy of the numbers to portray the actual needs of the people instead of serving the needs of those who maintain the existing status quo. In his book, Seeing Like a State, Scott presents the forest as an example to discuss the process of forced order upon a complex environment. He argues that the government prioritized the production of profit rendering trees while overlooking the contributions of the less profitable mulch and shrubbery that contributed not only to the health of the trees but also to the overall functioning of the forest. When mapped onto the census as a legibility tool, the census flattens the population, overlooking the particularities of the population in favor of data deemed useful and legible.

Also recognizing the limitations of survey statistics, Sarah Igo writes, "The impersonal techniques of survey production privileged the nation over the local, the aggregate over the individual, the average over the unique" (Igo 282). For disadvantaged groups, the average and the nation are rarely of concern. When one's income falls below the nation's median and when neither their education level, language or ethnicity are on par with the national majority, the extent of one's concerns understandably becomes increasingly more personal and local.[16] These opinions of enumeration and statistics are more skeptical than a "stock story" about such processes. Instead of emphasizing the reliability and objectivity of statistics, outgroup stories of the survey focus on the aspects of their lives that are not adequately addressed through enumeration.

[16] Abraham Maslow's 1954 Hierarchy of Needs theory supports this idea that one's most physiological needs take precedence over less immediate needs (Maslow 1954).

Misaligned Interests

> *"...one historian has noted, in the 1930s 'it was commonplace that the United States had better statistics on its pigs than on its unemployed people.'"*
>
> -*Igo* 3

In terms of census data being used to support projects with ill intentions, North American Indigenous populations present counterstories of the census that are starkly different from official history. Andrew Woolford (2015) describes efforts of Indigenous groups to escape being known by U.S. government officials. He explains that the multiplicity of names for members of the Dine tribe allowed them to evade being sent to boarding schools until the Bureau of Indian Affairs began assigning children wearable census numbers with corresponding fingerprints. One account of the negative effects of government legibility is told by a former Dine boarding student who told of past efforts of parents to hide their children and the impossible success of those techniques once census numbers were assigned. The student stated:

> My parents was hiding me away during the early days...In those days they didn't had no census number, because we are not known, we are alive and nobody is looking for us, but today we do all kinds of things like that, that we go by and we are known by. We have census number. They can tell us just how old we are and then they could send us to the Selective Service and sign us in, and then if we are old enough to go to the army they always draft us.
>
> (Woolford 178)

In the case of census data being used to identify and locate indigenous children for boarding school, the interests of those using the data and those providing survey responses were extraordinarily disparate.

Misaligned interests regarding census participation is not only a concern of minorities. The 2010 Census saw an increase in white right-wing Republicans calling for

complete resistance or partial cooperation with the survey operation. One such resister was Rep. Michelle Bachmann who voiced concerns over the use of the data by President Obama's administration. Ingroup stories of the census assume a level of shared interests by highlighting communal and national benefits of participation. More cautionary discussions of the survey are skeptical that census data use will align with personal concerns.

Data Misuse

The issues of the limitations of statistics to describe the particular needs of a group or individual and the disbelief that the data collected will be used for projects that will be beneficial for respondents are included in perhaps the largest fear of census participation; data misuse, specifically in the sense of reidentification. Perhaps the most heavily criticized use of census data beyond the purposes of reapportionment and resource distribution is the sharing of census data during WWII for the location of Japanese and Japanese Americans for internment. Attention to this detail as a part of census history contributes to current fears of reidentification.

The use of census data to locate and detain people of Japanese descent in America was dismissed as a long lived rumor until 2000 when, then Director of the Census Bureau, Kenneth Prewitt confirmed Census Bureau involvement in the internment of Japanese during World War II. He stated, "the historical record is clear that senior Census Bureau staff proactively cooperated with the internment, and that census tabulations were directly implicated in the denial of civil rights to citizens of the United States who happened to also be of Japanese ancestry" (Prewitt 1). The fear of data misuse is one that is not supported by ingroup stories of the Census and its official history. A "bottom up"

view of the survey, however, is focused less on claims of confidentiality and highlights aspects of the survey that outgroups find concerning and potentially threatening. When attributed to these counterstories, census nonresponse and other modes of altered participation in the survey can be understood as instances of critical commentary on barriers to equal recognition and citizenship.

Conclusion: The Census as a Cite for Altered Civic Participation

Instead of reading potential misuses of survey data as illogical inhibitors to full census participation, attention to counterstories about the Census presents an opportunity for interpreting nonresponders as engaged in altered civic participation. In this way, census nonresponse is less an indication of a lack of civic responsibility and more a critique of limited access to substantial citizenship and representation. Consideration of multiple unconventional histories of the survey complicates limited views of Census nonresponse among America's "hard-to-count" populations.[17] Through analyses of extreme responses to and atypical cooperation with the survey, the census might also be understood as a potentially political site at which terms of citizenship are contested.

In addition to serving its official purposes of national reapportionment, the survey is an important site at which the terms of citizenship are defined by the Constitution and contested by the U.S. population. The survey has become representative of experiences of belonging, fairness, and equality. Scholars have recognized the census as an important state mechanism but few have focused on its repurposing by the people as a site of resistance. The census differs from other forms of civic participation in that it is relatively

[17] The term "hard-to-count" is used by the Census Bureau and Department of Commerce to describe "People who do not have a permanent residence, who move regularly, are homeless or live in remote or inaccessible areas, or who live in certain types of group situations (e.g., prisons, college dormitories)" (OIG 2008).

passive. To be counted doesn't require a political affiliation, knowledge of local issues, affinity toward particular candidates, payment or physical combat. Similar to other forms of civic engagement, however, census participation does offer a sense of validation and belonging. In her study on surveys in America, Sarah Igo argues that surveys help shape the identity of mass American society. She argues that questions asked extend beyond the specific ones and include underlying ones, "such as Who can stand for America?" (Igo 283). Whether in the form of the census or a vote, being counted is a gesture that symbolizes consideration, recognition, membership and presumed equality and inclusion.

Given the material and symbolic benefits of being counted, avoiding enumeration is a curious practice. Critics have blamed census nonparticipants for the lack of funds, services, and political representation in certain areas. Given the symbolic associations of the survey however, nonparticipation cannot justifiably be simplified as disinterest in attaining these benefits or lack of knowledge of data uses. In addition to determining the allocation of federal benefits and representation, the census is also a site where residents of the U.S. can "talk back" to the federal government, renegotiating their level of consideration as citizen. In this way, the census is a site at which existence is recognized.

Sarah Igo, citing the work of Benedict Anderson, argues that social surveys and censuses do more than statistical work, but they also do the work of confirming or informing a national membership and identity (Igo 21). Speaking more pointedly about the function of census categories, Kertzer and Arel cite Pierre Bourdieu's explanation that to name is to shape a social world (Kertzer and Arel 21). David Goldberg goes further to say that the census is an exercise "in nominating into existence" (1997). These scholars contribute to the idea that having one's identity listed as a possibility on the

survey and having one's data accurately recorded in the enumeration process are two opportunities for one to assert one's existence. To respond in unsanctioned ways or to not respond at all, can be interpreted as a reaction to one's preferred identity not being listed as an option. Through altered participation, attention is drawn to the exclusion with aspirations of future inclusion.

Kertzer and Arel contend that not being included on a survey may result in individuals or groups feeling, "that their group is being denied an existence on the census, and thus in society" (Kertzer and Arel 23). Given minority advocacy efforts, the census is a site for struggles over recognition.

This chapter has presented official Census history along with contests to that history. Counterstories of the survey allude to possible reasons for resistance to census enumeration: inadequacy of numbers, misaligned interests, and data misuse. As it requires the cooperation of residents, the census is a site at which one might assert their citizen position. Taking "citizen" as an identity that one enacts instead of one that is appointed, the act of participating typically or atypically in the census survey is telling of the citizen position with which one identifies. The chapters that follow help add to the sparse documentation of, and inquiry into, details and motivations behind the use of the census as a site where practices of citizenship take a resistant turn towards noncompliance, partial, or non-enumeration.

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Chapter 4

When Walls Fall: the revealing results of altered survey responses

The previous chapter, about the history of the U.S. Census Survey, used techniques of Critical Race Theory to present multiple histories of the survey, its benefits, and potential dangers. The history chapter offers a description of the survey as a nontraditional political site and, as such, the site of inquiry for this dissertation. Juxtaposing different interpretations of the national enumeration effort complicates the narrative of the survey beyond the dominant understanding of the survey as an objective instrument and acknowledges its qualities as an expansive site of political commentary. Continuing critical analysis of the census enumeration process, and addressing the question of *how* altered civic participation occurs, the current chapter draws on Actor-Network Theory to demonstrate the complex and influential inner workings of the census process.

Specifically focusing on interactions with the U.S. Census Survey, the primary research question for this dissertation is: how do marginalized U.S. residents participate in the struggle over equal citizenship? I've previously offered the framework of altered civic participation as a way to reinterpret actions that might be written off as apathetic according to Civic Republican thought. Altered civic participation is a mode of contesting unequal citizenship. The current chapter is one of two empirical chapters that, respectively, approach the two sub questions of *how* do people engage in altered civic participation and *why* is this unconventional engagement a feasible option? This chapter presents an analysis of the objects, policies and procedures that constitute census enumeration and offers an inquiry into how specific instances of altered civic

participation are made possible.

The term "citizenship" defines a relationship a person has with a nation. Civic participation[1] is the means by which one demonstrates "good citizenship." These definitions are typically understood yet, less considered are the channels that enable these actions and make possible this desired citizen relationship. Interested in the implications of paper mediation on relationships between people, places, and government, Matthew Hull's Government of Paper (2012) focuses on the materiality of bureaucratic documents. Hull argues that documents are not benign artifacts displaying objective data, but rather actants[2] that enable certain forms of participation and relationships between users. As a site for asserting not only one's presence but also one's identity, the Census form is a unique document for analyzing modes of participation and the ways relationships are inscribed and contested. The Race question on the survey is the specific object of analysis for this chapter. The question's history, design, and responses combine to result in two examples of altered civic participation; selecting 3 or more racial categories and submitting a non-racial identity in the Some Other Race field.

Actor-Network Theory originated in the field of science studies as theorists attempted to find a way to analyze the work of scientists without privileging humans over non-humans and social over natural processes. One of the main tenets of the theory is a treatment of all factors involved in a process with the same rigorous consideration. Applying Actor-Network Theory to U.S. Census enumeration processes requires the elements that enable the enumeration process to be carefully considered. Instead of

[1] Civic participation typically refers to in the forms of voter turnout, voluntary association membership, tax payment, military service and interaction with government representatives.
[2] Actor Network Theory distinguishes between "actor" and "actant." An actor is understood as a human able to assert their agency, while an actant is a human or nonhuman that accomplishes or undergoes an act.

discussing "the census" in general terms, this chapter posits that enumeration is a system composed of separate human and nonhuman constituents and the relationships established between them.

In an era of digitization and green initiatives, the survey is one of few processes still reliant upon a paper form. By analyzing the enumeration process as a system with multiple actants, the census survey is less an objective piece of paper than a part of a process that translates the complexity of the U.S. population into two-dimensional data and thereby delimits and allows particular responses while acknowledging or ignoring certain identities. As it mediates communication between the U.S. population and the Census Bureau, critical attention to the census form and process are necessary for understanding how the medium is typically used as well as how it is co-opted for political purposes.

Mediation and the Census Survey

Although central to communication studies, the concepts of media and mediation are of interest to scholars beyond the field of communication. Researching processes that range from the material, like a blind person's use of a cane as the medium through which they gain knowledge of their surroundings[3], to the more abstract tasks of language acquisition, scholars who attend to mediation focus on the co-construction involved in mediated processes. Mediational technologies take a variety of shapes and aid in a wide range of tasks. Considering the census survey as a medium through which communication between the U.S. population and the U.S. Census Bureau occurs allows

[3] The use of a cane by a blind person is a commonly cited example of the role of technology in mediating human experience. Maurice Merleau-Ponty and Hubert Dreyfus are among notable theoreticians to allude to the mediation of one's knowledge of the world through the use of a cane and the disjuncture that occurs when the relationship between the cane and its user fails.

close consideration of the influence of the survey on the process of enumeration.

In communication studies, a discussion of mediation highlights the channel through which a message is sent. The Shannon-Weaver communication model (1949) is demonstrative of early theories of communication upon which later theories are based. The model is often termed "mathematical" or "informational" as it conceives of the process of communicating in linear terms. At the foundation of linear theories of communication is the notion that an idea originates with a sender, is sent, then received by the listener. While influential, the linear model has been criticized for its assumption of a unidirectional flow of information from sender to receiver and for its inadequate attention to power dynamics between speaker and listener. Another important critique of linear models of communication is the tendency to inaccurately treat the medium through which a message is sent as neutral.

Updates to the Shannon-Weaver model indicate criticism of the false sense of immediacy portrayed in transmission models. One example of an updated model is Schramm's (1954) model which extends a level of agency to the listener. Schramm's model depicts encoding and decoding of messages occurring for both the speaker and listener, thus, creating a type of "feedback loop." In Schramm's model, listeners do not passively decode messages received from, and encoded by, the speaker as in Shannon's model. Instead, listeners actively make sense of content based on prior knowledge which impacts the speaker's future messages.

As models of communication develop and become more complex, attention to the media is of increasing interest to scholars. Perhaps the most well noted communication scholar attending to the importance of communication media is Marshall McLuhan. Most

often cited for his argument that The Medium is the Message (1967), McLuhan presents a determinist version of the importance of the medium in communication. Instead of centering the speaker, listener, or the message, McLuhan's equation of the medium and message demands scholars' reconsideration of which elements of communication processes deserve critical attention.

As the medium of communication between the U.S. population and government, the census survey should not be assumed to be neutral but should instead be analyzed closely to determine its influence on the enumeration process. Matthew Hull emphasizes the tendency of people to overlook paper documents as influential elements within bureaucratic systems as he states:

> Documents have [ ] been overlooked because it's easy to see them as simply standing between the things that really matter, giving immediate access to what they document...As Patrick Eisenlohr has written, there is a 'tendency of media to disappear in the act of mediation. In fact, media can only function as such if in the act of conveying something they are also capable of drawing attention away from their own materiality and technicality in order to redirect attention to what is being mediated' (2011:44).
>
> Hull, 13

If working properly, the census form, as a medium, will be taken for granted thus, resulting in the assumption of immediate and neutral communication between the U.S. population and the U.S. Census Bureau. Learning from the progression of communication models, the channel through which the census, a large scale communication event, occurs is as important as the data submitted. The medium of the enumeration process delimits some responses while accepting others.

The census is a complex system rarely recognized for the possibilities of self-identification and political assertion that it allows and forecloses. Application of Actor-

Network Theory demonstrates the importance of questioning all elements within a system that are typically taken for granted. Analysis of census documents and procedures helps bring into view the mechanics of the census form and the options for expression it allows and limits. Attention to the particulars of the census form as an actant within a larger system of enumeration allows the question of *how* altered participation occurs to be approached.

Instead of assuming the neutrality of the census survey, this chapter focuses on Census Bureau confidentiality policies and document formatting to describe some of the elements that support the enumeration effort. Actor-Network Theory emphasizes the importance of critically analyzing nonhuman aspects of a given system and Document Ethnography encourages analysis of paper documents in particular. Following the suggestions of these theories, the following analysis of altered civic participation on the census race question focuses heavily on the design of the question as it appears on the paper census survey form and the relationships established during the enumeration process. Accounting for these nonhuman elements of the census enumeration system helps broaden the description of "the census" in general terms to a deeper description of the enumeration system and the relationships through which it is composed. By analyzing the census as a network, examples of altered civic participation can be recognized as intentional, consequential, ephemeral, expansive and optimistic contests to the assumed compliance imposed by the system's established relationships. Often thought to be an impartial process, unconventional interactions with the survey help illuminate the limitations and possibilities enabled by the policies and technologies at the survey's core.

Black Boxes & Translation: Applying Actor-Network Theory to the Enumeration Process

Actor-Network Theory (ANT) was developed by Bruno Latour, Michel Callon, and John Law as they sought to describe the work of scientists without producing human centered accounts. Critiquing existing research for offering descriptions that assume an inherent difference in the potential impact of humans and nonhumans, ANT founders suggest that the influence of elements of a system come not as a result of their humanity but based on their role in relation to the other elements of the system. In this way, Actor-Network Theory insists the level of analysis applied to the influence of a human involved in a system should be equal to that applied to the impacts of nonhumans.

This chapter has, so far, discussed the importance of determining the influence of a communicative media. Analyzing the census as a large scale communication process, the medium of the enumeration process shifts from an objective and neutral process, to one which is shaped by power relations and shapes possible messages. The following sections demonstrate the effectiveness of considering the census survey in terms of two Actor-Network Theory concepts: translation and black boxes.

Unpacking Blackboxed Conventions of the Census Survey

Actor-Network Theory attends to the relationships between human and nonhuman entities that support network processes. In his chapter entitled, “Opening Pandora’s Black Box,” Bruno Latour explains that there are some aspects of a network that are known to exist but whose complexities are hidden from view. Discussing the overlooked complexity of DNA models and computers, Latour also highlights the complexity

implicit in seemingly benign objects such as doors, seat belts, and street signs.[4] He writes, "The word black box is used by cyberneticians whenever a piece of machinery or a set of commands is too complex. In its place they draw a little box about which they need to know nothing but its input and output" (Latour 1987, 2). Latour later describes blackboxing as, "the way scientific and technical work is made invisible by its own success. When a machine runs efficiently, when a matter of fact is settled, one need focus only on its inputs and outputs and not on its internal complexity" (Latour 1999). The "internal complexity" of the census process has become black boxed. Respondents typically know very little about the enumeration process, the design of the questionnaire, or the use of data collected. Typically, only the numerical output is considered along with the financial and representational results that follow.[5]

The theatrical notion of the "fourth wall" is a useful example of how black boxed conventions operate and are set in relief by unconventional behaviors that transgress those conventions. In theater, actors and audience enter an unspoken arrangement that assumes no interaction will be had between the two groups during the play. With stage design typically resembling a box, three walls of a room are physically depicted on stage and the "fourth wall" is an imaginary, yet effective, separation between the audience and performers. This convention supports the expectation of limited engagement between actors and audience. The shared assumption of this imaginary wall's existence and function allows the staged performance to continue as planned and uniquely invites the

[4] Latour work entitled "Where are the Missing Masses?" (1992) Latour argues that there are influential elements that are not accounted for by social constructivist nor technological determinist modes of analysis. Actor Network Theory, for him, provides is an escape from the limits of those approaches as it accounts for the impact that nonhuman objects can have on human processes.

[5] Census data are used for allotting $400 Billion in federal funds to local governments based on population size. Census data are also used to determine Congressional reapportionment.

audience to suspend judgment and accept the realism of the play.

Similarly, the Census Bureau and survey respondents also have an unspoken agreement that limits interactions; categories should not be questioned, suspicion of data use should be suspended, and questions of government intentions should be quieted. It is expected that respondents will not only cooperate with the survey by providing requested information, but also do so in the format requested. Administered as an official and seemingly objective process, the U.S. Census survey encourages a suspension of judgment. To respond properly, one accepts the questions as important, categories as real, and the Census Bureau as a disinterested entity. The enumeration process, effectively functions as a metaphorical fourth wall, the constructed convention that conceals the functions and actors involved in the production of the survey and the subjectivity of the process.

For enumeration to be black boxed, its output of fact sheets, graphs and statistics are valued, while its inner workings of historical controversy, survey design and questionable counting practices are ignored. Given its administration by an official government bureau presumed to be trustworthy, it is typical to assume the neutrality of the survey. In addition to being organized by the government, its distinction as a survey, as opposed to less positivist modes of data collection, results in the method being considered objective. Finally, as it is nonhuman, the survey is considered apolitical and neutral. One of the lessons learned from critiques of linear models of communication, however, is that the medium cannot be assumed to be neutral. The notion of a "black box," as used in Actor-Network Theory, helps identify the census survey as a medium through which data is collected from the U.S. population by government statisticians.

Supporting the position that the enumeration process in the U.S. is one whose details are often hidden from view and in need of critical analysis, the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights published a report, in 1970, criticizing the persistent differential undercount of Spanish speaking people in the United States. The report describes the problem with considering the census a neutral medium by stating:

> The Bureau of the Census deals in numbers. It counts; it estimates; and it makes projections. Much of its work is computerized and follows carefully thought out scientific methodology. To those not familiar with the subtleties of injustice to minorities and women, the objectivity of the Bureau's efforts, at first glance, might appear to rule out the possibility of discrimination. To the contrary, it is because the Bureau's operations are highly mechanized that it is so easy for insensitivity to persons of Spanish speaking background to permeate its work and result in discriminatory treatment.
>
> U.S. Commission on Civil Rights 1970, page 99

To only consider the input and output of the census process is to assume the neutrality of the survey and ignore the aspects of enumeration that result in differential effects.

The labels “transparent” and “opaque” are used in mediation scholarship to describe the success or failure of a medium. For an experience to be transparent, one experiences the output of a medium, and for an experience to be opaque, one experiences the medium. During the writing of this dissertation, my data collection experiences, and the difficulties associated, demonstrate an example of the opacity of the census process as I experienced the policies of the process instead of its result.

In pursuit of data revealing how marginalized groups participate in the U.S. Census Survey, as well as the context and intentions of unconventional Census responses, the answers submitted by individuals are the most logical data to seek. Efforts for collecting such data included contacting the Census Bureau's Race Statistics Office,

submitting multiple Freedom of Information Act requests (Appendix 1), sending questions to the "ask the census" website, and contacting current Census Bureau employees (Appendix 2). The specific requests varied, but the general goal remained to gather actual non-racial responses to the some other race question according to regions. Receiving this data would have allowed a comparative analysis to determine if non-racial responses correlate with local current events or regions deemed "hard to count." The overall response I received from these data collection efforts was that receiving a list of actual responses to the "some other race" question was not possible given confidentiality policies.[6] Strict adherence to confidentiality policies is central to the research ethics of the Census Bureau, public trust in the census employees, and the overall success of the enumeration effort. These policies, however, also present a challenge to research efforts similar to my own.

U.S. Code Title 13 protects individuals from ever having private information published. Protected private information includes names, addresses, GPS coordinates, Social Security Numbers and telephone numbers.[7] Despite my requests for information excluding any of the details protected by Title 13, my requests for actual census responses were refused and accompanied by an explanation that all actual responses are protected under confidentiality laws. In this instance, as a researcher requesting data, I experienced the medium of the Bureau and its policies instead of its result, the data. This experience helped reveal the enumeration process as one that was not neutral but one with intentional and limited outputs.

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[6] Section 12 of the 1879 Census Act outlines that supplying unauthorized people with confidential information "shall be deemed guilty of a misdemeanor, and upon conviction shall forfeit a sum not exceeding five hundred dollars."

[7] Census History page. Title 13, U.S. Code. www.census.gov

Opening a black box reveals an overlooked medium as one that is not neutral but rather invested in particular input and limited in its forms of output. Susan Star, whose work varies in focus from science studies, to feminist theory, and communication studies, offers a personal example of black boxed processes made evident by a disruptive instance. In her discussion of her allergy to onions and her experience of the standardized fast food process at McDonald's, Star highlights the disruption that unconventional requests make to conventional processes. After receiving multiple delayed meals based on her "hamburger with no onion" requests, Star concludes, "They simply can't deal with anything out of the ordinary" (Star 1991, 35). This disruption to convention was also evident as I attempted to collect data describing non-racial responses submitted by U.S. residents in the Some Other Race field of the census survey.

While requesting disaggregated responses for the Some Other Race category from the Census Race Statistics Office, I explained that I was interested in learning about responses like "American" and "Human" and how frequently they were submitted in certain regions. The representative responded, "we just don't categorize them at all because they aren't giving us a real response." Because they were illegible to the Bureau's logic for categorizing the population, the answers of some residents were written off as unimportant annoyances to the process. This lack of accessible, analyzed, and published data is a result of Census data collection practices and an indication that, similar to McDonald's conventions, the enumeration process "simply can't deal with anything out of the ordinary."

It is only when such discrepancies arise, that the census is no longer transparent but experienced as a complex convention. One of the main goals of Actor-Network

Theory is to unpack and critically analyze the aspects of scientific and social processes that are typically taken for granted. Census enumeration depends heavily on unquestioned conventions. It is crucial to the public's trust in the survey and reliability of the data collected for the questionnaire to be deemed scientific and objective. While Census Bureau policies and the survey's design work to maintain the illusion of complete objectivity, unconventional data requests and survey responses function similarly to Star's "no onion" request by disrupting the flow of the process and demonstrating the preference of some user interactions above others.

The Census Bureau includes in its mission, the goal, "to serve as the leading source of quality data about the nation's people and economy." In pursuit of this mission, the bureau conducts surveys to collect, analyze and synthesize residents' data into a general "snapshot" of the country. Most datasets are analyzed with the interest of determining national, statewide and regional trends. Yet, limitations to data collection and demonstrated preferences to the types of responses received are two examples of complexities of the enumeration process that are typically overlooked.

Census Bureau policies and practices, effectively create barriers to expressive possibilities for respondents and individual level data access for researchers. Attention to these aspects help uncover the particular interests of the survey and the power relationships it supports. With the Census being a data collection agency with multiple data products made available to the general public, corporations, and genealogical researchers, the number of barriers faced while seeking census data are indicative of the inability of enumeration system to not only account for certain data requests but also to account for certain identities. The interactions accepted by a process are determined

during a process that Actor-Network Theory calls “translation.” The relevance of the translation process to the census process is discussed below.

U.S. Census Survey as a Translation Process

In addition to the concept of a “black box”, the concept of “translation” is also central to Actor-Network Theory. Recognizing the aspects of standardized processes that are blackboxed, or typically hidden from view, helps reveal the census as a process that is more complex than typically believed. Attention to the aspects of the census process that perform as a translation process helps highlight the construction of the census convention and the decisions made that determine which actions are acceptable and which are disruptive.

A demonstrative case study to which Actor-Network Theory has been applied is Michel Callon’s 1986 study of scientists in St. Brieuc Bay in France. In 1970, scientists and fishermen were charged with the task of figuring out how to increase the production of scallops in northern France. Callon’s application of Actor-Network Theory to this case led to a study of not only the scientists and fishermen but also resulted in careful consideration of the scallops of interest to both the fishermen and scientists. Observing the establishment of a new scientific process between these actants, Callon expands his account beyond human only observation. His study is exemplary for a number of reasons, two of which being the detail with which he described the “translation” process and the failure of the experiment given the scallops’ unexpected actions.

As they begin to establish a relationship between groups with whom they had not previously interacted, the scientists in Callon’s St. Brieuc Bay case began a process of “translation” in order to position themselves as indispensable to the experimentation

process and to define the roles of the other actants involved. In this sense, translation is the process, "during which the identity of actors, the possibility of interaction and the margins of manoeuvre are negotiated and delimited" (Callon 1986, 6). The scientists established a system of interaction between the three main actants which would ideally result in a successful experiment for the scientists, increased profits for fishermen, and higher populations for the scallops.

The representatives of the fishermen were successfully enrolled into the positions established by the scientists. But the translation process failed to earn the compliance of the scallops. The scientists attempted to define the scallops in terms of the scientists' hope, and hypothesis, that the scallops would anchor to the scientists' collector instruments. Had the scallops behaved as the scientists planned, they would have been in "alliance" with the translation process but instead Callon describes them a "dissidents."

In the "Dissidence: betrayals and controversies" section of his article, Callon explains that the scallops do not oblige to their inscribed identity as entities that will anchor to collectors. Describing the failure of the experiment, Callon writes, "In principle the larvae anchor, in practice they refuse to enter the collectors" (Callon 1986, 19). While alliance among actants helps to bolster the shared process, dissidence calls into question the assigned roles and power relations between those who assign roles and those expected to comply. This attention to challenges to power relations through atypical behaviors makes Callon's study especially relevant to the study of altered civic participation on the census survey.

Although Actor-Network Theory initially focused on relationships and actants typically overlooked during scientific research, Bruno Latour expands the application of

the theory to discuss the actants and relationships that constitute the social realm. In his 1987 text, “Science in Action,” Latour offers the census survey as an example of a translation process. Recounting Latour’s census example, Jonathan Murdoch states:

> Census forms are distributed with the express intention of capturing some essential characteristics of all households. If the forms are correctly filled in they contain stable sources of information which emerge from some simple translations of household characteristics into paper form. Because these forms are both mobile and stable they can be returned to the census centre with certain key household characteristics intact. Once they reach the centre then in a real sense the centre holds all the households that have filled in the forms.
>
> Jonathan Murdoch (1996)

One of the observations of scientists by Actor-Network Theory scholars is the need for researchers to transport the object of their study into the controlled environment of the lab. This is done through translation; researchers make faraway, dynamic and numerous objects accessible for observation as two dimensional representations. Scientists make diagrams, draw figures and in other ways “translate” what occurs in nature into a version that can be studied in a lab. The census, for Latour, helps make the plentiful and diverse population accessible to statisticians as two-dimensional questionnaires, tallies, and totals (Latour 1987, 234). Murdoch goes on to explain that statisticians combine these collected data points from the population and:

> Through a series of translations all the households are reduced to manageable statistical categories, abbreviated into graphs, tables, and so on. The resulting forms of calculation ‘stand for’, or represent, all the households...In this way scientists, and any others who use inscriptions in this fashion, can oversee the world
>
> Murdoch pg 742

While the need for simplified population data for analysis is logical, the process is not devoid of unbalanced power dynamics. The census allows statisticians to translate the

numerous and varied population details into manageable data sets and, in that way, support a relationship of the population "overseen" by the U.S. Census Bureau.

In addition to simplifying the complexity of the population for analysis by the Census Bureau, the survey also attempts to enroll[8] the population into adopting identities as they are made available on the census form. In order to make sense of and experiment with the U.S. population, statisticians bring the population into the lab through survey forms. Both Callon's and Murdoch's accounts of network relations allude to the unbalanced power relations between actants. Callon's description positions the scientists as the group with the most agency, while Murdoch and Latour's discussion of the census survey position statisticians as those in power and the population as the actants who are compliant and passive in the system. Compliance in this translation step is necessary for the system to proceed without error.

This is not to say, however, that noncompliance does not exist. Returning to Callon's scallop case, the nonhuman scallop actants disrupted the research system by not behaving according to the hypotheses of scientists and hopes of fishermen. As it filters complex identities of the U.S. population into legible data, the U.S. Census survey is a mediation tool that exists within a realm of possible functions, some responses and requests are permitted while others are limited. Such limitations leave the enumeration process exposed as a questionable convention. In what follows, content analysis of online comments, analysis of conversational data and document ethnography grounded in the Actor Network Theory, reveal the active role of the census questionnaire in maintaining

[8] As one of the four steps of translation, Callon describes enrollment as the process by which the identities and behaviors of actants are prescribed and enforced.

relationships between the U.S. government and its residents and providing the forum through which system relations are contested.

Altered Civic Participation

As a mode of classification, the census survey translates the complexity of the population into manageable data sets for statisticians and representatives. While the goal of the Census Bureau is for users to have a transparent experience of the process, analysis of the census as an intricate mediation process leads to scholars including Susan Star and Tony Bennett taking note of the technology of the survey and the possibilities for dissidence it creates. Recalling the disruption to the scientific process posed by the scallops in Callon's case study and the slowed flow of service at McDonald's as a result of Star's special request, the census survey is also a process susceptible to disruption as a result of unconventional interactions by actants.

Discussing the "U.S. census and its rigid categories," Susan Star explains that the categories assume identity as essential and contends that "only when the category is joined with a social movement can the black box of essence be reopened" (Bowker and Star Sorting things out pg 43). In their book Sorting Things Out, Bowker and Star argue the "consequences of categories," the invisibility they create, and the possibility of people to vie for recognition. As an example, Star alludes to the efforts of multiracial people and the attention they have garnered for adequate inclusion in census data.

Tony Bennett, in his 2015 book, acknowledges the role of censuses in assembling societies. He argues that:

> "To be a census subject then is to be an agent with the capacity to identify as a body equivalent to many others and as a member and part of a population. It is a capacity that is produced through the practice of *census*

> *taking*, which requires subjects to reflect both on the practice and their identification with census categories. Such capacity also includes the ability to categorize others (in one's household, family or institution). For while some individuals are not subjectified through census taking, their inclusion requires a subject who can mediate their identification and indeed this mediation is required and facilitated by the technology. This capacity is perhaps most visible when subjects refuse to identify with or assert different categories than those circulated by the state."
>
> Bennett 2011, page 10

Bennett and Star's recognition of the technologies of the census which make census dissidence possible demonstrates the expansive use of the census survey beyond simple compliance. The following is a discussion of disruptive interactions constituted by unconventional responses to the census race question.

Collecting Race Data Through Census Responses

Since the first census of the United States, performed in 1790, race has been included in the decennial enumeration of the nation. The manner in which race has been reported, however, has changed. Beginning in 1970, in addition to being able to check one of five boxes to indicate their racial identity, the census questionnaire began providing blank space for respondents to specify their race or tribe. In the year 2000, respondents were able to choose more than one race for the first time on a decennial survey. The most recent 2010 survey allowed respondents to identify with multiple races and continued the practice of providing space for respondents to report that they belong to "Some Other Race" and specify which. While most respondents reported their race in ways that were legible to the enumeration process, 744,000 others took the opportunity to check three or more of the provided racial options and still 19.1 Million others reported belonging to none of the listed races but rather to Some Other Race (Humes 7).

The race question on the census questionnaire was originally designed to accept a

response of a single checked box corresponding to one of five races. While the races listed have changed throughout the decades, the formality of selecting a single box remained until 1970. The 1970 questionnaire provided an open space for respondents to write in their racial and tribal affiliations, thus, shifting the question from closed to open ended (Appendix 3). The 2000 questionnaire was the first to acknowledge multiracial identities as it was the first census to accept multiple boxes in the race category to be selected (Appendix 4). The material design of the census questionnaire implicitly encourages the U.S. population to adopt identities that are legible to the existing discourse of national identity and data analysis procedures, as made evident by my data collection efforts, deem unconventional responses insignificant.

While most of the survey questions require a response in the form of a box checked, changes in the format of the race question have enabled responses beyond a single check mark. In 2010, some respondents selected multiple boxes and others wrote in unconventional responses to intentionally, although incompletely, shift power dynamics and challenge established racial identities. Submission of excessive racial identities and fictional survey responses are forms of altered civic participation that reveal the census as an influential mediation process that might otherwise be taken for granted.

As examples of altered civic participation, the selection of multiple racial categories and submission of unconventional responses are two forms of census interaction of interest. It is important to note, however, that not all respondents who selected three or more race boxes did so as altered civic participation. As is true for those who self-identified as “some other race.” Given the increasing diversity of the U.S.

population (Passel 2011) and the malleability of race as a social construct (Omi & Winant 1984), it is not unlikely that one could mark three or more racial boxes and be in full compliance with the expectations of the Census Bureau. For the same reasons, one could be in full compliance with the expectations of the Census Bureau by identifying as some other race. While acts of altered civic participation may mirror acts of compliance, defining altered civic participation as actions that are Intentional, Consequential, Optimistic, Ephemeral, and Expansive provides a rubric for judging whether an action is nonparticipation, compliance or altered civic participation.[9]

Document ethnographer, Matthew Hull encourages scholars to pay critical attention to the roles of paper documents within bureaucratic processes by removing the documents from the black boxes that enclose them. He argues that we should, "analytically restore the visibility of documents" by making the commitment, "to look *at* rather than *through* them" (original emphasis) (Hull 13). Looking *at* the medium of the census instead of *through* it reveals the Race question on the 2010 Census survey as a field which unintentionally served as a space for dissident respondents to challenge the identity possibilities listed on the form and contest the unbalanced power relations between respondents and the U.S. government. Through their subversive interactions, census respondents are able to engage in debate over identity and belonging and make visible the unchallenged ideologies that enable the continuity of the enumeration process.

Reporting Three or More Races

"The belief that census recognition can make you whole is admittedly an extreme version of the politics of recognition, but the desire for wholeness is powerful in this instance precisely because it echoes the constitutional

[9] An extended discussion of the tenants of altered civic participation is offered in Chapter 2 of this dissertation.

> *moment in which the census became the instrument for severing the bodies of slaves, "counting three fifths of all other persons." If the census can partition you, perhaps it is not absurd to believe that it can, at least in the eyes of the state, make you whole."*
>
> -Mezey Erasure and Recognition page 1751

The 2000 census survey was the first to accept multiracial identification by U.S. residents. Where past years' questionnaires instructed respondents to select a single race, the 2000 and 2010 censuses instructed respondents to "Mark one or more races to indicate what this person considers himself/herself to be." The racial categories with which one can identify is an ongoing site of contention. The above quote by Naomi Mezey appropriately characterizes efforts for inclusion through the addition of racial categories on the census questionnaire. Often, such efforts are inspired by a desire to gain recognition, and eventually added representation, for groups historically excluded.

In an interview with a self-identified Black woman from Chula Vista, California, I inquired about the 2010 census. She explained that "of all the censuses, that's the one I remember the most." It was the most memorable census experience for her, "because that was the first time that we kind of like, I don't know if we messed with it." The woman explained that on past censuses and on official forms since, she always indicated "Black" as her race. On the 2010 survey, however, she and her mother decided that they would "put everything that's there" and selected all of the racial boxes available.

Census 2010 race tabulations (Appendix 5) indicate that approximately 9% of the population selected 3 or more races. The interviewed woman demonstrates the existence of altered civic participation among those 9% of respondents. The decision made between herself and her mother demonstrates the **intentionality** of the act. Because it was based on past experiences of inequality, her marking all of the available racial categories was

also **consequential.** She stated that, “Maybe in a small way it was just like my way of responding to the way the government always seems to paint the Black experience with this monolithic paint brush like we are all just the same. They can see all of these varieties in white America but they just don’t see that in us; that we are all individual people with different backgrounds.” This effort to make a political statement about the ways in which the U.S. population is expected to be complicit with limited modes of self-identifying, was **expansive** as her use of census technology was beyond its official intention. Additionally, her selection of all of the race options expands the debate of who is named, belongs, and is recognized in the United States beyond the traditional public sphere and onto the census questionnaire.

Critiques of political protests often revolve around issues of long lasting change and benefit outweighing harm done. These issues are also part of the interviewee’s comments. Aware of the potential negative implications that may have followed her decision to choose all of the race options available on the census questionnaire, she wondered, “have I messed things up, when they are looking at how many Black people we do have living in this area?” Recognizing that there may be long term implications for her decision, the woman also alluded to the **ephemeral** quality of altered civic participation when she recalled, “at the time feeling like it was a bit of a protest.” Altered civic participation is characterized by optimism about long term improvements but immediate, although temporary, shows of power are the focus.

When asked what if there was a desirable positive outcome for selecting multiple race boxes, the woman responded “Maybe just a recognition of just how mixed up America is.” This final comment demonstrates the **optimistic** quality of altered civic

participation. The woman recognized that the enumeration process enforced dominant discourses of race by requiring compliance in a conventional system of categorizing the population. When unchallenged, the survey is deemed trustworthy, official, and objective and its categories are assumed to be scientific and significant. Altered civic participation reveals the limitations of the racial options and disrupts the conventions of the census process.

Disruptive Some Other Race Responses

Altered civic participation in the census intentionally disrupts the enumeration process and, in effect, identifies it as a black box in need of examination. The design of the questionnaire, which allows write-in responses and multiple selections to be made, not only enables status quo relationships but also, inadvertently, makes dissidence possible. Unconventional responses on the census questionnaire highlight the inner workings and central assumptions of the census and its data collection, categorization, analysis and reporting practices.

The method of surveying is useful for gathering large amounts of information in order to find average and outlier opinions as well as identify trends over time. According to an article on questionnaire design by the Pew Research Center, “perhaps the most important part of the survey process is the creation of questions that accurately measure the opinions, experiences and behaviors of the public” (Pew 1). Discussing survey question design and the impact of design on survey responses, the Pew Research Center article goes on to state that, “one of the most significant decisions that can affect how people answer questions is whether the question is posed as an open-ended question, where respondents provide a response in their own words, or a closed-ended question,

where they are asked to choose from a list of answer choices" (Pew 2).[10] While closed-ended questions allow quick and reliable analysis, the benefits of open-ended questions include the emergence of unanticipated answers and increased accuracy of respondents' views (Thayer-Hart et al. 9)

Within taxonomies of citizen participation, surveys are typically considered low level participation or not participation at all (Arnstein 1969). When residents interact unconventionally with the survey, however, the political qualities increase and categorization as altered civic participation becomes appropriate. The 1911 Census of England, for example, included instances of women using the questionnaire to express their demands for equality in the form of the right to vote. Suffragettes exclaimed, "If women do not count, neither shall they be counted!" This stance was not only taken in the form of evading census takers, but they also co-opted the questionnaire to make their point. In one example, (Appendix 6) a woman wrote, "Votes for Women" in very large writing across spaces intended for information like one's name, age and occupation. This particular woman also critiqued the process by writing "disenfranchised" in the space allotted for reporting one's infirmities.

Title 13 restricts access to American census responses of individuals comparable to those of the Suffragettes. Secondary resources and online comments, however, offer significant insight into the write-in field of the questionnaire being used politically by some. In 2010, more than 21.7 million people wrote in responses to the Some Other Race

[10] The article cites a poll conducted after the 2008 presidential election which asked respondents what issue most impacted their vote for president. Those who were asked the open-ended version of this question infrequently wrote in the issue of "the economy" while 58% of those asked the closed-ended version of the question chose "economy" from a provided list of answers. In addition, the researchers found that fewer than 8% of people responding to the closed-ended question chose to offer an answer other than those provided.

question on the U.S. Census survey (Yen 2012). Thomas Lopez wrote-in “multiracial” as he felt his identity as the son of a Mexican-American father and German-Polish mother was inadequately represented by the stock race options (Yen 2012). Carlos Chardon, chairman of the Census Bureau's Hispanic advisory committee expressed his dissatisfaction with the racial reporting procedures stating, "We don't fit into the categories that the Anglos want us to fit in...The census is trying to create a reality that doesn't exist" (Swarns 2004). Although Lopez’ response was illegible to existing census racial categories, his altered response calls attention to increasing diversity of the population and the friction caused to the enumeration process by requiring racial legibility.

In an online forum discussing resistance to government defined race labels, a person by the username “feeish” reveals, “On my census form I checked other and wrote in American. I don't see myself as anything but that. My family's ancestors may have been from other countries but I was born in America. I am American” (reddit 2012). “American”, “human being” and “person” were among the top non-racial responses on the 2010 Census (Yen 2012). Others, sharing the sentiment of the inaccuracy and triviality of race, commented in response to an article posted on the official census website. Insisting that “none of the above” be offered as an option, Daniel Grubbs explains, “There seems to be no option to choose ‘none of the above’, or better yet, not answer at all. I don’t ‘self-identify’ as any race and my self-identification or lack thereof does not appear on your forms” (Grubbs 2015). Grubbs critiques the census questionnaire by implying that the survey is not objective at all as it guides respondents, through its wording, to provide preferred data.

Among the African-American write-in respondents, "More than half a million Black Americans wrote in answers to signify their preferred term for Black, including African-American, Afro-American, African, Negro, mulatto, brown and coffee" (Wright 2012). This altered mode of census engagement not only raises awareness of the political work accomplished by the seemingly objective survey, but it also achieves a small level of recognition for identities and opinions not recognized by the survey.

Describing the unexpectedly large number of responses categorized as "Some Other Race," Nicholas Jones, of the U.S. Census Bureau Population Division, explains that, to the surprise of Census officials, "in 2000 and in 2010, some other race, which was intended to be a small residual group, was the third largest race category" (2015 National Content Test Race and Ethnicity Analysis Report video 2:50). He goes on to explain that the large increase is due to an increasing number of people not wholly identifying with existing options and also due to a growing number of Hispanic people choosing not to identify with any of the listed options. He continues by stating, "We are concerned that if no changes are made to the way we collect data on race and ethnicity, and with the projected growth of the Hispanic population, the some other race population could become the second largest race group in the 2020 census. We know that the current race question design is problematic" (2015 National Content Test Race and Ethnicity Analysis Report video 3:20). While the rate of response to the Some Other Race field is reportedly high among Hispanic identified people, the option is less popular among those who do not identify as Hispanic.[11] The responses remain significant, however, as they underline

[11] Less than 1 percent of non-Hispanics provided responses to the race question that were classified as Some Other Race alone (0.2 percent)

the instability of the census convention by contesting the presumption that the categories are accurate.

The problems with the current race question design becomes evident when respondents who are not fully addressed by the categories experience difficulty answering the question. This was the case for "Alice" who, in 2015, expressed her concerns about racial options on the survey stating:

> I am frustrated by the "yes/no" hispanic question every time I encounter it on a form. I am forced to either reject the part of me that is yes, or the part of me that is no. Where is the box for irish + swiss + polish + guatemalan + cornish + pennsylvania dutch? When I see all those boxes on a form about my origin I will check them all. Until then, I will continue to choose "other" or "prefer not to respond" because I refuse to omit any of my grandparents.

In 2014, the Pew Research Center published an article by Manuel Krogstad and D'Vera Cohn discussing changes to the race and ethnicity questions for the 2020 Census survey. The improvements to the survey design are intended to improve data accuracy by changing the wording of the questions and response methods and thereby eliciting fewer some other race responses. Currently, this online article has received 161 comments with the most recent being posted 11 months ago and oldest posted 3 years ago. Explaining the desire of the bureau to collect more accurate race and ethnicity data, the authors describe the counterintuitive growth of the Some Other Race category. To this goal, an anonymous responses contends, "If they expected people to stop choosing " other" as there (sic) race maybe they should make others more comfortable with there (sic) race by having society to have a greater acceptance to the race they are." This comment demonstrates not only the intentionality of the response but also the experiences of

exclusion that inform the decision.

Offering a design suggestion for future surveys, user "MarTan WatBur" comments, "If the point of the census is to identify for race and ethnicity, then why not have a blank box that allows people to self-identify? This would negate the current issues of the inadequate categories that people are forced to be boxed into and provide a more accurate census." Of those who explicitly stated how they utilized the write in census space to self-identify, the majority said "human" or "human race." A user by the name of Kernos expressed that they've, "usually checked other and entered 'probably human.'" Similarly, "Janet Silcox" expresses her identity stating "I AM diversity. All in one package" and encourages respondents to intentionally select other as a form of protest stating, "I say we all choose 'other' from now on in protest of this ridiculous debate." Of all of the comments offered, a person who goes by the user name "A Proud American," offered a response that was explicit in its intention to talk back[12] to the Census Bureau by addressing it directly as he submits "It's None Of Your Business!"

In a brief footnote, discussing the census survey in terms of Actor-Network Theory, Jonathan Murdoch states that, "we might also characterize (sic) those who write untruths onto the census forms as 'cyborgs' seeking to subvert the proper workings of this form of translation" (Murdoch 749). Using the term "cyborg" to indicate a user's engagement and partial coordination with a particular technology, Murdoch argues that the technology of the census survey allows discoordination in the form of written in "untruths." This intentional response is an attempt by respondents to resist standardized

[12] bell hooks, in her book Talking Back highlights the power dynamics implicit in communication and states that in some instances, those who are meant to listen and obey "talk back" and assert themselves temporarily as the peer of the speaker.

translation into data sets that are legible to statisticians yet lacking complexity.

Conclusion: Undermining Conventional Assumptions/Associations/Enrollment

Civic Republicanism is the dominant ideology that defines conventional duties and expected behaviors for American citizens. The concept of altered civic participation helps recognize unconventional engagements in civic activities as not always apathetic but sometimes also critical and intentional. Because they are unlikely to result in official public recognition or meaningful concessions, non-racial responses to the Some Other Race census question are criticized for being ineffective political efforts. Given that they allow critical engagement with otherwise taken for granted government conventions, I argue that altered census responses are meaningful instances of civic altered participation which defy Civic Republican assumptions.

Despite the specific request for a racial identity, some respondents chose to write in non-racial identities or submit more than three race categories. Through these altered responses, U.S. residents offered critiques of major concepts such as identity, belonging, and race. They also, arguably, demanded short lived recognition for identities, experiences, and opinions not adequately recognized by the government or the questionnaire. Typically, census respondents' interaction with the survey maintain the illusion of immediacy by offering answers that are sanctioned by the Census Bureau. Multiple submissions to the race question and responses like, "human," "American," and "coffee" however, reveal opacity the official survey and position the enumeration process as a questionable convention needing to be removed from its black box for critical examination.

Appendix 1

Freedom of Information Act Requests

The Freedom of Information Act (FOIA) is a law that allows information from the Federal Government to be accessed upon request unless that information is protected from disclosure by law. The Department of Justice oversees compliance with this Act and encourages other government agencies to comply with the expectations of transparency. During the course of my research, I submitted multiple requests to the Census Bureau under the FOIA. The responses I received from these requests included claims of there being no existing documents and invoices for processing fees for the collection and dissemination of the requested information. The details of these requests and correspondences between FOIA representatives and myself are detailed below.

On January 26, 2016, under the Freedom of Information Act, 5 U.S.C. § 552, I submitted request DOC-CEN-2016-000524 which called for the release of copies of all reports of census field representative safety and assaults during the 2010 survey as well as BC-1206 forms completed during 2010. The form BC-1206[13] is the Department of Commerce document to be completed and submitted by Census survey takers who experienced a safety incident or property vandalism during their field work.

My interest in this form was gaining information on the frequency with which violence against census takers occurred, the areas in which such events took place, and perhaps details pertaining to the motive of the aggressors. On February 17, 2016, FOIA Analyst Alexander, emailed an "interim response" to my FOIA my request. The response stated:

> Under the Department of Commerce's FOIA regulations, Title 15, Code of Federal Regulations, Section 4.11, four requester categories and associated chargeable fees are provided. It is our determination that the fee schedule for "All Other Requesters" applies to your request. Therefore, you are responsible for the costs of search and duplication excluding the cost of the first 2 hours of search and the first 100 pages of duplication. We have prepared and enclosed a fee estimate of $3208.89 for processing your request.

On February 19, 2016 I responded to the interim response by emailing:

> Thank you for this interim response. As this information will be used for school research, the fee estimate is beyond my budget. I wonder how the fee would be affected if I was to refine the request to BC-1206 forms submitted by field representatives during 2010 in California and Wyoming. Or even further refined to BC-1206 forms submitted by field representatives during 2010 in San Diego County, CA and Oklahoma County, OK.

I chose to refine the requests in these ways as they include the most and least hard-to-count states and counties which would allow the comparative analysis I sought.

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[13] http://www.osec.doc.gov/osy/npcsecurity/osypdffiles0-e/bc1206.pdf

On February 19, 2016 I received a reply asking that I either submit a new request or amend the current one in order for a new fee to be calculated. With the intention of choosing the option with the lowest fees, I submitted two FOIA requests on February 20, 2016. The first request called for copies of BC-1206 forms submitted by census field representatives during 2010 in California and Wyoming and the second called for copies of BC-1206 forms submitted by census field representatives during 2010 in San Diego County, California and Oklahoma County, Oklahoma. A phone conversation with a FOIA Analyst followed these requests in order to clarify the seemingly redundant request. I informed the analyst of the fee concern.

> In an email, our phone conversation was reiterated: Per our conversation today, you submitted two FOIA request for the same records because you wanted to reduce the cost of processing them together. I explain that the Freedom of Information Act does not allow a person to separate their request because of fees related reasons. You would like for the Census Bureau to process only one of the two request, the request for copies of BC-1206 forms submitted by census field representatives during 2010 in San Diego, California and Oklahoma City, Oklahoma. Please confirm that this is your amended request.

Expecting counties to have fewer documents than entire states and expecting the data collection fees to be lower than that of states, I chose to cancel the requests for California and Wyoming and I confirmed the request for forms from the two counties and request (DOC-CEN-2016-000711) was submitted February 25, 2016.

March 22, 2016 I received the final response for this request which stated:

> Dear Ms. Fort:
>
> This letter is in response to your correspondence, dated February 25, 2016, to the U.S. Census Bureau's Freedom of Information Act (FOIA) Office. We received your request in this office on February 29, 2016 and have assigned to it tracking number DOC-CEN-2016-000711. We are responding under the FOIA to your request for:
>
> - BC-1206 forms for the counties of San Diego and Oklahoma City during 2010.
>
> Our search of the U.S. Census Bureau records failed to identify any records in our files that are responsive to your request. According to the Census Bureau's Office of Security, BC-1206 forms are destroyed after three years in accordance with the National Archives and Records Administration General Records Schedule 18. Unfortunately, we are unable to assist you with your request.

On March 21, 2016 I received notice that the original request was being canceled due to lack of payment within 30 calendar days. On February 2, 2016 I submitted a FOIA request to the Census Bureau requesting copies of collected responses to the "some other race" question asked on the 2010 Census survey and all Census reports pertaining to these collected responses. I specified an interest in obtaining this data for the states of California, Alabama and Wyoming and the counties of Cook County, IL, San Diego, CA,

and Oklahoma County, OK. I specified these states and counties as I hoped to analyze the frequency of nonracial responses to the states and counties the Census Bureau deemed hard-to-count compared to those that are easier and easiest to count. I never received confirmation that this request was received or processed and submitted another version of the request in August 2016.

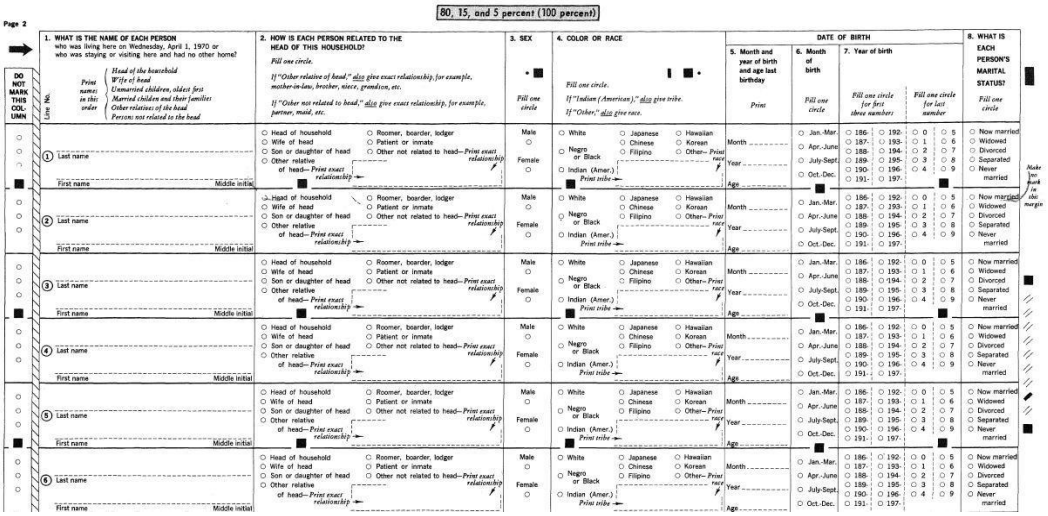
Appendix 2

Census Bureau Conversations

In April 2016, I sent a general email inquiry to the Los Angeles Regional Census Office. The inquiry expressed my interests in the goals and procedures of the test Census and, as a result, I was emailed by a Data Dissemination Specialist, and encouraged to call him. First, I asked about the possibility of shadowing a test census taker in the Los Angeles area. The response was "No" based on the fact that we would be travelling to private residences and asking confidential questions. A shadow, even if for academic purposes, would not fit confidentiality protocols. I asked about violence committed against census takers and the Data Dissemination Specialist seemed shocked at the mention of such events although the occurrence seems to be more frequent than he would let on. Lastly, I asked about accessing the fictional answers respondents submitted. He was doubtful that such information was documented but suggested that I contact headquarters. He explained that if the Bureau did have a collection of such information, it would not be possible to disaggregate based on region as I desired. At the conclusion of our conversation he encouraged me to contact the Race Statistics Office at Census headquarters.

On August 22, 2016 I spoke with the Race Statistics Office and was informed that receiving a list of actual responses to the some other race question was not possible given confidentiality policies. I was encouraged to search online for a "classification list" from 2010 which would list the different categories actual responses were divided into. For my purposes, this categorized list would not be useful as my interest is in the answers that would have been incorporated into the "Other" category not the existence of an "Other" category. I explained that I was interested in learning about responses like "American" and "Human" and how frequently they were submitted in certain areas. The representative responded, "We just don't categorize them at all because they aren't giving us a real response." This lack of analyzed and published data added to my need of mixed research methods.

Appendix 3



80, 15, and 5 percent (100 percent)

Page 2

1. WHAT IS THE NAME OF EACH PERSON who was living here on Wednesday, April 1, 1970 or who was staying or visiting here and had no other home?
Print name: in this order — Head of the household; Wife of head; Unmarried children, oldest first; Married children and their families; Other relatives of the head; Persons not related to the head

2. HOW IS EACH PERSON RELATED TO THE HEAD OF THIS HOUSEHOLD?
Fill one circle.
If "Other relative of head," also give exact relationship, for example, mother-in-law, brother, niece, grandson, etc.
If "Other not related to head," also give exact relationship, for example, partner, maid, etc.

3. SEX — Fill one circle

4. COLOR OR RACE
Fill one circle.
If "Indian (American)," also give tribe.
If "Other," also give race.

DATE OF BIRTH

5. Month and year of birth and age last birthday — Print

6. Month of birth — Fill one circle

7. Year of birth — Fill one circle for first three numbers; Fill one circle for last number

8. WHAT IS EACH PERSON'S MARITAL STATUS? — Fill one circle

DO NOT MARK THIS COLUMN

Line No.

(1) Last name / First name / Middle initial

(2) Last name / First name / Middle initial

(3) Last name / First name / Middle initial

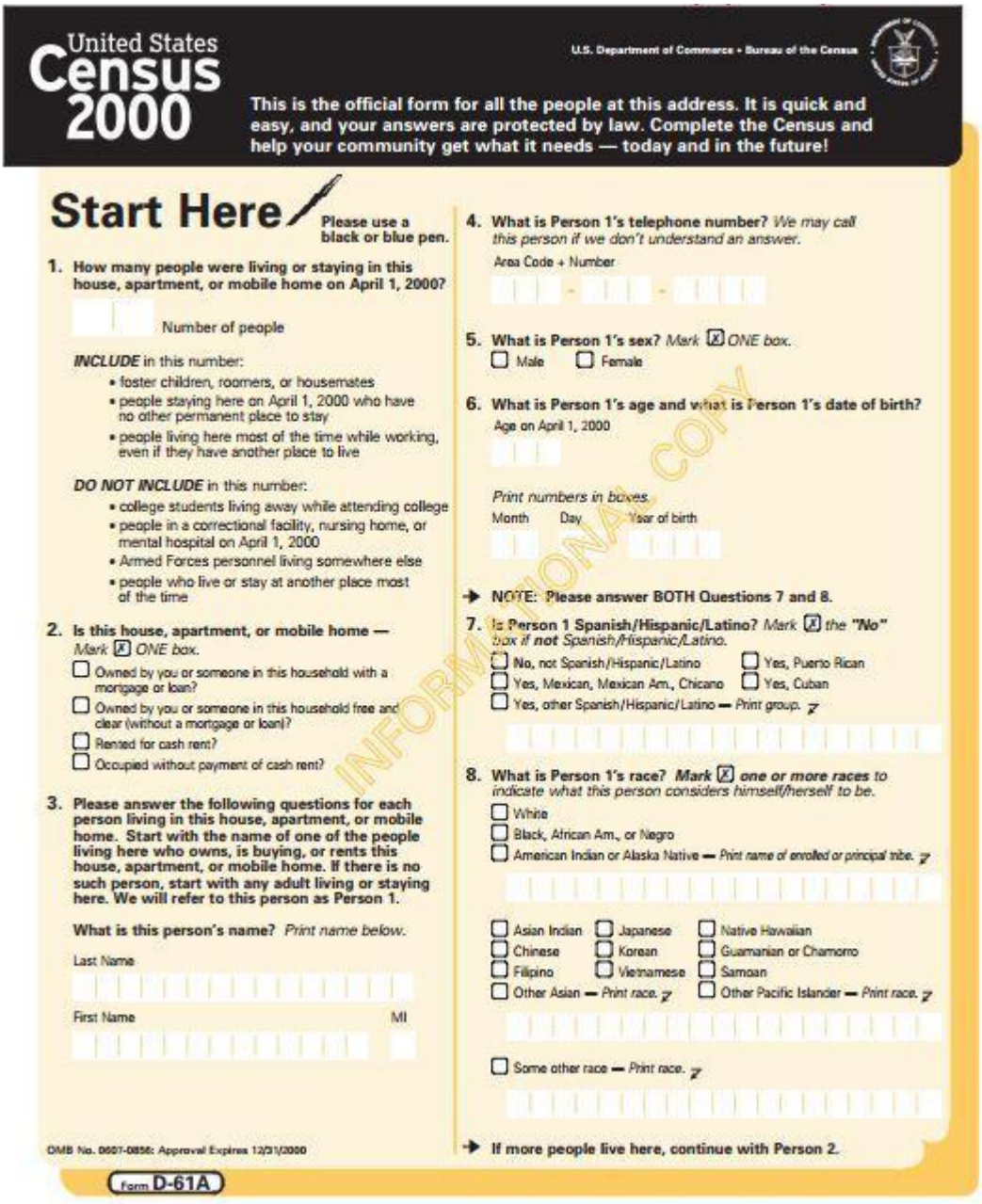
(4) Last name / First name / Middle initial

(5) Last name / First name / Middle initial

(6) Last name / First name / Middle initial

Make any mark in this margin

Appendix 4



United States Census 2000

U.S. Department of Commerce • Bureau of the Census

This is the official form for all the people at this address. It is quick and easy, and your answers are protected by law. Complete the Census and help your community get what it needs — today and in the future!

Start Here Please use a black or blue pen.

1. **How many people were living or staying in this house, apartment, or mobile home on April 1, 2000?**

Number of people

INCLUDE in this number:

- foster children, roomers, or housemates
- people staying here on April 1, 2000 who have no other permanent place to stay
- people living here most of the time while working, even if they have another place to live

DO NOT INCLUDE in this number:

- college students living away while attending college
- people in a correctional facility, nursing home, or mental hospital on April 1, 2000
- Armed Forces personnel living somewhere else
- people who live or stay at another place most of the time

2. **Is this house, apartment, or mobile home —** *Mark ☒ ONE box.*

- ☐ Owned by you or someone in this household with a mortgage or loan?
- ☐ Owned by you or someone in this household free and clear (without a mortgage or loan)?
- ☐ Rented for cash rent?
- ☐ Occupied without payment of cash rent?

3. **Please answer the following questions for each person living in this house, apartment, or mobile home. Start with the name of one of the people living here who owns, is buying, or rents this house, apartment, or mobile home. If there is no such person, start with any adult living or staying here. We will refer to this person as Person 1.**

What is this person's name? *Print name below.*

Last Name

First Name MI

4. **What is Person 1's telephone number?** *We may call this person if we don't understand an answer.*

Area Code + Number

5. **What is Person 1's sex?** *Mark ☒ ONE box.*

☐ Male ☐ Female

6. **What is Person 1's age and what is Person 1's date of birth?**

Age on April 1, 2000

Print numbers in boxes.

Month Day Year of birth

→ **NOTE: Please answer BOTH Questions 7 and 8.**

7. **Is Person 1 Spanish/Hispanic/Latino?** *Mark ☒ the* ***"No"*** *box if* ***not*** *Spanish/Hispanic/Latino.*

- ☐ No, not Spanish/Hispanic/Latino
- ☐ Yes, Puerto Rican
- ☐ Yes, Mexican, Mexican Am., Chicano
- ☐ Yes, Cuban
- ☐ Yes, other Spanish/Hispanic/Latino — *Print group.*

8. **What is Person 1's race?** ***Mark ☒ one or more races*** *to indicate what this person considers himself/herself to be.*

- ☐ White
- ☐ Black, African Am., or Negro
- ☐ American Indian or Alaska Native — *Print name of enrolled or principal tribe.*
- ☐ Asian Indian
- ☐ Japanese
- ☐ Native Hawaiian
- ☐ Chinese
- ☐ Korean
- ☐ Guamanian or Chamorro
- ☐ Filipino
- ☐ Vietnamese
- ☐ Samoan
- ☐ Other Asian — *Print race.*
- ☐ Other Pacific Islander — *Print race.*
- ☐ Some other race — *Print race.*

→ **If more people live here, continue with Person 2.**

OMB No. 0607-0856: Approval Expires 12/31/2000

Form D-61A

Appendix 5

Two or More Races Population by Number of Races and Selected Combinations for the United States: 2010

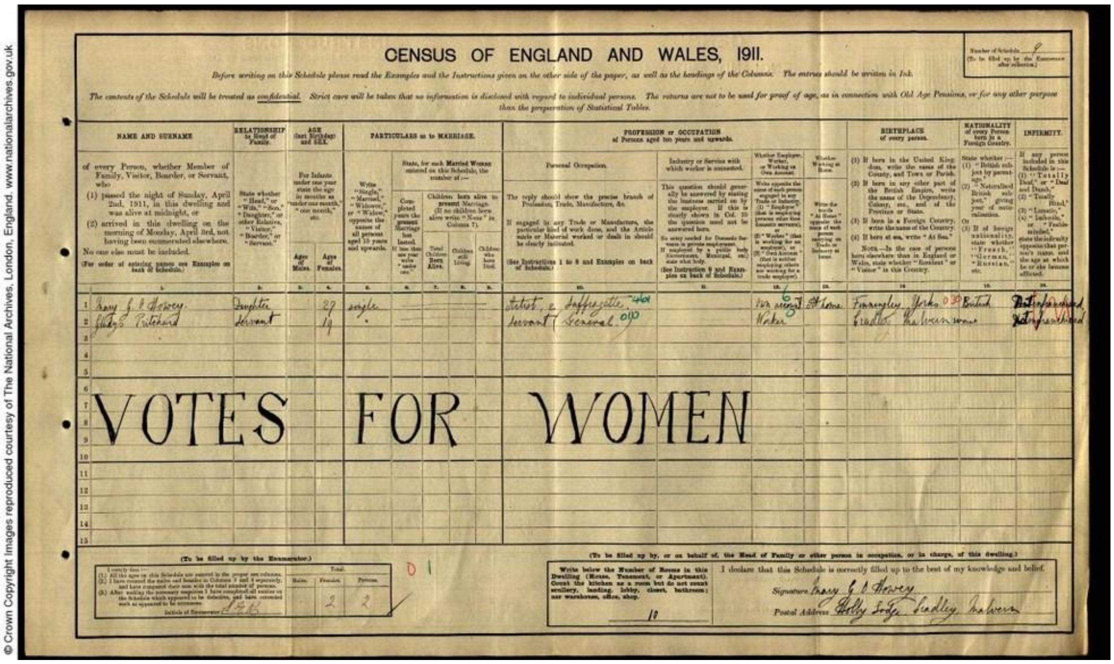
(For information on confidentiality protection, nonsampling error, and definitions, see *www.census.gov/prod/cen2010/doc/pl94-171.pdf*)

Race	Number	Percent
Two or More Races population	**9,009,073**	**100.0**
Two races	**8,265,318**	**91.7**
White; Black or African American	1,834,212	20.4
White; American Indian and Alaska Native	1,432,309	15.9
White; Asian	1,623,234	18.0
White; Native Hawaiian and Other Pacific Islander	169,991	1.9
White; Some Other Race	1,740,924	19.3
Black or African American; American Indian and Alaska Native	269,421	3.0
Black or African American; Asian	185,595	2.1
Black or African American; Native Hawaiian and Other Pacific Islander	50,308	0.6
Black or African American; Some Other Race	314,571	3.5
American Indian and Alaska Native; Asian	58,829	0.7
American Indian and Alaska Native; Native Hawaiian and Other Pacific Islander	11,039	0.1
American Indian and Alaska Native; Some Other Race	115,752	1.3
Asian; Native Hawaiian and Other Pacific Islander	165,690	1.8
Asian; Some Other Race	234,462	2.6
Native Hawaiian and Other Pacific Islander; Some Other Race	58,981	0.7
Three races	**676,469**	**7.5**
White; Black or African American; American Indian and Alaska Native	230,848	2.6
White; Black or African American; Asian	61,511	0.7
White; Black or African American; Native Hawaiian and Other Pacific Islander	9,245	0.1
White; Black or African American; Some Other Race	46,641	0.5
White; American Indian and Alaska Native; Asian	45,960	0.5
White; American Indian and Alaska Native; Native Hawaiian and Other Pacific Islander	8,656	0.1
White; American Indian and Alaska Native; Some Other Race	30,941	0.3
White; Asian; Native Hawaiian and Other Pacific Islander	143,126	1.6
White; Asian; Some Other Race	35,786	0.4
White; Native Hawaiian and Other Pacific Islander; Some Other Race	9,181	0.1
Black or African American; American Indian and Alaska Native; Asian	9,460	0.1
Black or African American; American Indian and Alaska Native; Native Hawaiian and Other Pacific Islander	2,142	–
Black or African American; American Indian and Alaska Native; Some Other Race	8,236	0.1
Black or African American; Asian; Native Hawaiian and Other Pacific Islander	7,295	0.1
Black or African American; Asian; Some Other Race	8,122	0.1
Black or African American; Native Hawaiian and Other Pacific Islander; Some Other Race	4,233	–
American Indian and Alaska Native; Asian; Native Hawaiian and Other Pacific Islander	3,827	–
American Indian and Alaska Native; Asian; Some Other Race	3,785	–
American Indian and Alaska Native; Native Hawaiian and Other Pacific Islander; Some Other Race	2,000	–
Asian; Native Hawaiian and Other Pacific Islander; Some Other Race	5,474	0.1
Four races	**57,875**	**0.6**
Five races	**8,619**	**0.1**
Six races	**792**	**–**

– Percentage rounds to 0.0.

Source: U.S. Census Bureau, *2010 Census Redistricting Data (Public Law 94-171) Summary File*, Table P1.

Appendix 6



CENSUS OF ENGLAND AND WALES, 1911.

Before writing on this Schedule please read the Examples and the Instructions given on the other side of the paper, as well as the headings of the Columns. The entries should be written in Ink.

The contents of the Schedule will be treated as confidential. Strict care will be taken that no information is disclosed with regard to individual persons. The returns are not to be used for proof of age, as in connection with Old Age Pensions, or for any other purpose than the preparation of Statistical Tables.

Number of Schedule 9

	NAME AND SURNAME	RELATIONSHIP to Head of Family	AGE (Males)	AGE (Females)	PARTICULARS as to MARRIAGE	Personal Occupation	Industry or Service	Whether Employer, Worker, or Working on Own Account	Whether Working at Home	BIRTHPLACE of every person	NATIONALITY	INFIRMITY
1	Mary G. C. Howey	Daughter		27	single	Artist & Suffragette		Own account	At Home	Frampley Yorks	British	Disenfranchised
2	Gladys Pritchard	Servant		19	"	Servant (General		Worker		Cradley Malvern		Disenfranchised

VOTES FOR WOMEN

I declare that this Schedule is correctly filled up to the best of my knowledge and belief.

Signature Mary G. C. Howey

Postal Address Holly Lodge, Cradley, Malvern

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Chapter 5

Adjusting the Register:
Boycotting as a Method for Correcting the *Miscount*

Boycotting is a generally recognized form of resistance. Notable examples of boycotts in America include the celebrated year-long 1955 Montgomery Bus Boycott by African Americans vying for Civil Rights and the 5-year-long 1965 Delano Grape Boycott by the United Farm Workers of America which took place among Latino immigrant workers calling for fair wages. More recent boycotts in the U.S. have ranged in focus from the 2016 Oscar Awards, and its demonstrated favoritism toward White actors, to businesses profiting from prison labor. Boycotts in 2016 have included a boycott of businesses affiliated with the Dakota Access Pipeline in response to violations of treaties and sacred land of the indigenous Sioux tribe in North Dakota and the boycott of prison laborers across the nation based on poor wages, exorbitant phone use fees, and expensive vending machines prices.

Almost as varied as the sites and motivations are the discussions surrounding boycotts[1]. Onlookers' perception of the "success" of the resistant act is one of many factors that influence discourses surrounding a particular boycott. Given this, some boycotts are praised and presented as successful demonstrations of bottom up politics while other efforts are criticized as ineffective. Motivated by dissatisfaction with the typically negative framing of census boycotters as uninformed, ineffective in their methods, and unworthy of concessions, this chapter presents a review of dominant

[1] In the wake of the 2016 U.S. Presidential election, critics have noted the sympathetic coverage of left leaning "not my president" demonstrations as opposed to the unsympathetic coverage of Black Lives Matter demonstrations.

citizenship discourse and applies the theoretical intervention of *altered civic participation* to the 2010 Census Boycott using content analysis and critical discourse analysis.

As a site for boycotts, census enumeration has an extensive history that includes individuals and groups in the U.S. and abroad, with varying results. Suffragettes in England organized a boycott of the 1911 Census to insist on women's right to vote. With the intention of demonstrating the impact women could have on matters of the state, organizers called for boycotters to "boycott the Census, refuse all official information until women have won that which is their absolute right – the right of a voice and vote" (Liddington and Crawford, 2011). The effort was soon challenged by a male critic who found the boycott to "not be a stroke of statesmanship, but a nursery fit of bad temper" (Liddington and Crawford, 2011)[2]. Where the boycotting women attempted to use official tools to call attention to their sexist exclusion from state matters, the critique likened the women to children and reemphasized the belief that women were unfit for substantive citizenship equal to that of men.

Nonparticipation based on unequal access to national membership and representation was also the focus in Canada when Aboriginals boycotted the census during the 1930's. Identifying as neither French nor Canadian, Moses James of the Iroquois nation explained his 1931 boycott stance by writing, "I won't have anything to do with the census, it is not our law, this is the white man's law" (Hubner, 2007). These examples illustrate the global range of census surveys as sites for resistance by groups who are excluded from substantial experiences of citizenship.

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[2] Professor Michael Sadler of Manchester University

The Boston Tea Party is often cited as the beginning of America's push for independence (Glickman 2009). The boycott has been described as a "bold, defiant act of political mobilization" and the boycotters are praised as "men with strong backs and hard Yankee accents" who "believed they were embarked on a noble deed of patriotic virtue" (Carp, 2010). The 2010 U.S. Census Boycott is less uniform in its reception.

"Before Enumeration We Demand Legalization!" was the rallying cry of the 2010 Census Boycott. Similar in phrasing and logic to the 1773 claim for "No taxation without representation," the two boycotts are dissimilar in the regard with which they are discussed. The Census boycott is considered a necessary tactic for some in the Latino community, a misguided attempt for inclusion by opponents within the Latino community, and an arrogant claim on inapplicable rights by non Latino opposition. The contradictory interpretations of the Census Boycott are indicative of the complicated relationship between notions of citizenship, participation, and race in the United States.

Propelled by the central research question, "how do marginalized U.S. residents participate in the struggle over equal citizenship given limitations to nominal and substantive citizenship," this chapter analyzes discourses surrounding the 2010 U.S. Census boycott. The largely negative interpretations of the 2010 Census boycott are linked to the participation-centered, Civic Republican model of citizenship which continues to inform understandings of proper civic activity in the United States. Following this discussion of the persistence of the Civic Republican tradition, content and discourse analyses offer specific insight into contemporary manifestations of Classic Civic Republicanism and applications for the theoretical intervention of altered civic

participation. Taking newspaper stories and radio broadcasts as the empirical data, directed content analysis and critical discourse analysis trace the frequency of particular themes and draw connections between use of these themes and larger social relations.

Dominant Discourses of Citizenship and Participation

Chapter 1 of this dissertation provides a review of canonical texts that establish the foundations of concepts of civic participation and citizenship in the United States. Main arguments presented include distinctions between Civic Humanist and Civic Republican theories and the impact of both on contemporary citizenship in the United States. The analysis of contemporary discussions of nonparticipant community members in the U.S. is supported by the foundations of these theories. Both Civic Humanism and Civic Republicanism prioritize the active engagement of citizens in the decision making processes of the republic. Civic Humanism grounds this prioritization on the presumed intrinsic value of participation for the participating citizen. Civic Republicanism, however, encourages participation based on the virtue of the collective. The goal of Civic Republicanism is a republic grounded in civic virtue which helps gird it against tyrannical rule.

Since its Classic beginning, active citizen participation has remained a centerstone of democracy. However, instead of romanticizing participation as universally accessible and framing citizenship as all inclusive, it is imperative to recognize the complexities of citizenship traditions and the functions of participation discourses as they impact interpretations of civic behaviors of all U.S. community members. While membership in a democracy, by definition, requires participation, these expectations of civic

participation in the past and at present constitute forms of exclusion. Recognizing the particular behaviors expected of citizens is critical for interpreting the various barriers to meaningful participation traditionally encountered by marginalized groups.

The public sphere is described by Habermas (1962) as an equalizing space that values equality among discussants. However, the public sphere also constricts diverse voices by making opportunities for public debate unevenly accessible across different ages, races, genders, and classes. Critics such as Nancy Fraser (1992) and Catherine Squires (2002) argue that access to participation in the public sphere is skewed in favor of white, male, well-educated, archetypal citizens. Habermas' public sphere model and its critiques are examples of how presumably democratic spaces can effectively exclude marginalized people from meaningful participation.

Influence of Classic Civic Republicanism on the U.S.

J.G.A. Pocock is a historian of political thought and one of the leading scholars subscribing to the tradition that recognizes republicanism as the underpinning theory of American civic culture. Tracing the continuance of Machiavellian thought into 17th and 18th centuries English and American thought, J.G.A. Pocock argues that Civic Republicanism has influenced the founding of the United States (Pocock, 1975). With adverse attitudes toward inherited aristocracy, greed, and corruption, the American Revolution was a Civic Republican action invested in avoiding corruption by promoting civic virtue. To achieve these republicanist goals and avoid the corruption that challenged Britain, U.S. founding fathers, according to Pocock, built virtue centered customs into the framework of the nation.

Virtue is central to Civic Republicanism as virtue is believed to be the only way to overcome the constant threat of corruption, actively eradicate threats to liberty, and ignore possibilities of personal gain when deliberating on behalf of the larger community. As he draws connections between the work of Machiavelli and the founding of the United States, Pocock emphasizes the role of virtue and defines it as "the passion for pursuing the public good" (Pocock 472).

Notions of virtue and civic participation, however, become complicated by questions of access and inclusion. America's population is becoming increasingly more diverse and although steps toward improving the inclusivity of Classic doctrines of citizenship have been taken, the typical practices of American citizenship have remained supportive of particular demonstrations of citizenship. Writing about conflicting visions of citizenship in U.S. history, Rogers Smith (1997) contends that the tradition of republicanism actively "denies the tile of 'virtuous' to those unwilling or unable to undertake extensive political participation and sacrifices for the public good" (Smith 37). Recognizing the unequal access to virtue and citizenship, Smith argues that, "American law had long been shot through with forms of second-class citizenship, denying personal liberties and opportunities for political participation to most of the adult population on the basis of race, ethnicity, gender, and even religion" (Smith 2). With Civic Republicanism requiring particular forms of civic participation, the unequal access to modes of participation also deems excluded populations unvirtuous, poor citizens, or unfit for citizenship.

Conceptual Intervention: Altered Civic Participation

Instead of reinforcing boundaries for acceptable participation, French philosopher, Jacques Ranciere emphasizes the importance of disagreement in his definition of politics (Ranciere 1999). Departing from the notion that politics is a means of consensus finding and compromise, Ranciere offers a different definition of politics by first differentiating between *police* and *dissensus.* In a hierarchically organized society, Ranciere calls all processes, techniques and ideologies that maintain stratified power relationships *police.* The impetus for politics, according to Ranciere, is the *wrong* of the *miscount.* The miscount is the assumed inequality among a population, the inclusion of some into the count of political subjects and the exclusion of others.

By challenging this miscount of the population and asserting their equality within society, a subordinate group challenges the ideologies that support the existing hierarchy. Ranciere explains that, "Politics exists because those who have no right to be counted as speaking beings make themselves of some account..." (Disagreement 27). Politics is achieved during a moment when those who are miscounted, those who are presumed unequal to the dominant group, challenge hierarchical order that relegates them as "a part of those who have no part" in the community (Disagreement 11). Given this definition of politics, the use of unconventional modes of civic engagement can be interpreted as essential to politics instead of the cause of democracy's decline.

Attention to nontraditional spheres of debate, decision making, and political action encourage an ongoing interrogation of the miscategorization of withdrawal from the dominant public sphere as apathy and a sign of poor citizenship. As demonstrated by

the Classic conceptualizations of citizenship and civic participation; civic participation, race, class, and gender are all inextricably and problematically linked within traditional definitions of citizenship. Despite contemporary claims of inclusivity, forms of civic participation expected of America's diverse 21st century population perpetuate discriminatory Classic ideals. The mislabeling of American residents as disinterested and apathetic demonstrates the necessity of an analytic that exceeds the unproductive participation-based definition of citizen which unequivocally labels marginal peoples poor citizens. Such practices point to society's peripheries as the locale of civic lack and deviance.

Civic Republicanists blame those who fail to participate in civic activities for the declining health of the democracy. Partial participation and nonparticipation have historically been among the political armories of oppressed peoples. The Civic Republican preference for normative participation overlooks purposeful nonparticipation as a means of politics. I argue that between the need for full participation by patriotic citizens and the refusals of those seeking to replace democracy with anarchy, a group exists that intentionally alters their mode of civic engagement in order to be further included as citizens. These actions can be termed altered civic participation.

I've developed the concept of altered civic participation in order to reinterpret unconventional civic behavior. An action can be considered an instance of altered civic participation if it is: Intentional, Optimistic, Consequential, Expansive, and Ephemeral**.** Jacques Ranciere's notion of *politics* offers a foundation for locating meaningful civic participation in spaces beyond the traditional public sphere, among marginalized

communities, and within quotidian actions. Consisting of five tenets, the definition of altered civic participation places less value on one's active engagement in typical modes of civic activity. Altered civic participation, as a conceptual contribution, places more value on the motivations and context that inform the decision not to participate, do so partially, or in other ways alter one's form of civic participation.

It is important here to note the distinction between the terms "altered" and "alternative" which make the terms non interchangeable. The argument is not that unconventional and conventional modes of civic participation are equally effective or similarly accepted alternatives. Instead, the argument is that, when these five tenets are present in a particular instance, those who engage unconventionally are using lived experiences, historical information, and logic to actively alter their engagement practice in order to enact a change in power relations and access to citizenship.

Intentional

"Apathetic" is typically the adjective used to describe the lack of civic engagement among the disengaged. Defined as the demonstration of indifference when others are excited (OED Online), apathy has a negative denotation and is treated as the second most harmful threat to democracy, only after the threat of tyranny. The characteristics most often associated with such apathy are laziness, youth, and ignorance of the processes, people, and policies that affect one's life. The focus here is on the diverse peoples who decisively do not cooperate; those who arguably have the most to gain from civic participation yet chose nonparticipation. Calling attention to the fact that

not all unconventional actors are apathetic, highlights the fact that many are inappropriately deemed apathetic and wrongly assumed to be lazy and uninformed.

Optimistic

Based on Civic Republicanism, nonparticipation is not only harmful to the individual's development but also the civic virtue of the nation. Nonparticipation is described as the behavior of freeloaders, those who demand resources from the country with no intentions of conserving or reciprocating. Optimism, as it relates to altered civic participation, refers to the hopes of inciting a positive change in civic experiences of the non archetypal community member. Motivated not by anarchist ideals but by a desire to achieve deeper acceptance into American society. Acts of altered civic participation are not meant to destroy the country but to disrupt exclusionary processes and policies. Recognizing the desire for full inclusion calls into question the normativity of conventional modes of participation and the accessibility of American citizenship.

Consequential

Related to the idea of intentionality is the notion of consequence. While both indicate a level of meditation that occurred prior to the unconventional act, the difference lies in the fact that consequence implies reaction to a past event while intention is forward looking. When unconventional civic actions are informed by a reflection on the undesirable outcome of specific past events, the unconventional act can be considered altered civic participation.

Expansive

When compared to typical modes of civic participation such as voting, letter writing and attending town hall meetings, marginalized populations' unconventional political efforts are often looked down upon. James C. Scott (1985) and Robin D.G. Kelley (1994) are among scholars who highlight the political relevance of quotidian tactics such as slow downs, foot dragging, and dress code infractions. As it relates to the notion of altered civic participation, expansion refers to efforts that exceed conventional civic behaviors and the boundaries of the traditional civic sphere.

Ephemeral

A common critique of unconventional political tactics is the unlikeliness of them resulting in permanent reform, lasting concessions, or any change at all. Proper politics is narrowly defined as active participation in the public sphere (Aristotle, 350 BCE & Habermas, 1962). The scholarship of Ranciere, however, is inspirational as he recognizes the momentary nature of politics. For him, it is not the established processes that define politics, but rather the incomplete and temporary challenges to established power relations and processes that support such relations. Adopting Ranciere's notion of politics influenced the addition of the Ephemeral tenet of altered civic participation. While long term goals are also important, the outcome of the unconventional effort are rarely expected to result in achievement of those goals. They are instead motivated by "the principle" and a desire to experience an increased level of power and equality even if momentarily.

Altered Civic Participation: An Intervention into Interpretations of the 2010 Census Boycott

Ranciere, Scott and Kelley demonstrate the importance of looking beyond the typical political sphere to account for the various political actions of subordinate groups. These scholars provide frameworks for attending to the actions of those whose level of participation and forms of participation are heavily criticized. For these reasons, they encourage scholars to recognize the quotidian and often fleeting contests over inclusion and participation. With current expectations of civic participation being unequally accessible across the diverse U.S. population, it is important to inquire into the possibilities for political expression for those systemically denied meaningful political voice in America. In pursuit of this inquiry, I applied the theory of altered civic participation to the 2010 U.S. Census Boycott.

Reverend Miguel Rivera is the leader of the National Coalition of Latino Clergy and Christian Leaders (CONLAMIC), the group that organized and promoted the boycott of the 2010 enumeration effort. Founded in 1998, the organization is reported as representing 24,000 churches across the United States (Llorente 2013). With the bulk of its member churches on the U.S. East Coast and housed in storefront rental properties, it is argued that these churches serve as the central resources for newly arrived Latino immigrants and transient populations. Rivera has been boisterous about the needs of the Latino community, especially the need for immigration reform. Beginning in 2009, Rev. Rivera began urging Latino immigrants to avoid census enumeration in 2010 by both refusing to return their completed surveys by mail and refusing to cooperate with census

takers when they arrived at their door to retrieve census data. Turning to content analysis of the 2010 U.S. Census Boycott as discussed by Rev. Rivera in newspapers, the boycott becomes recognizable as an instance of altered civic participation as it is intentional, optimistic, consequential, expansive, and ephemeral.

Method: Directed Content Analysis

Content analysis is a qualitative method of analysis that draws meaning from a broad range of texts which might take the form of verbal communication, written texts, or visual phenomena. Divided into three distinct approaches, the approach to content analysis used here is directed content analysis.[3] This approach differs from others as it begins analysis with a theory, in this case altered civic participation, and uses this theory to guide the coding scheme. The results of a directed content analysis are data that support or disprove the relevance of the directing theory. Directed content analysis presents a unique opportunity to test the theory of altered civic participation and determine its relevance and limitations when applied to empirical data.

Interested in the applicability of this theory to empirical data, the question to be answered by this form of analysis is "how accurately does altered civic participation match self descriptions and journalist representations of unconventional civic activity?" The ideal form of inquiry for this question is interviewing boycotters and leaders of the boycott effort. This method proved unfeasible as attempts to identify boycotters proved unsuccessful. This is likely because of the timing of the research in relation to the

[3] Hsieh and Shannon argue that content analysis takes the form of conventional, directed or summative content analysis. Each of these approaches are argued to have distinctions in the ways initial codes are developed.

occurrence of the 2010 survey, the illegality of Census nonresponse, and shared distrust of government and academic institutions. For different reasons, interviewing public proponents of the boycott also proved impossible during the time frame of this research.

The National Coalition of Latino Clergy and Christian Leaders (CONLAMIC) has not remained current with its public presence. Their webpage has expired, their listed phone numbers are no longer functional, their email address is no longer valid and their last entry on their blogspot page was in September of 2010. Given these limitations to contacting a current CONLAMIC representative, content analysis of newspaper stories featuring the ideas of CONLAMIC's president, Rev. Miguel Rivera became the feasible alternative.

The initial codes for this analysis are derived from the five tenet definition of altered civic participation. The goal of a directed approach to content analysis is to test, and hopefully validate, a theory by applying it to actual data. In this case, the actual data are text included in newspaper stories including the terms "Census," "Boycott," and "Rivera" published between January 1, 2009 and December 31, 2010. The search term "Rivera" was included in order to collect a body of stories that include direct quotes from, or reference to, Rev. Rivera, the leading proponent of the boycott.

The process of data collection included online database searches on 6 different electronic databases.[4] The same Boolean phrase[5] was used on each database and a total of

[4] The six databases used were AltPress Watch, Ethnic News Watch, Lexis Nexis, Newspaper Source, Factiva, and Access World News.
[5] "Census AND Boycott AND Rivera" These terms were chosen in order to specify the event of interest and the presence of the opinions of CONLAMIC through Rev. Rivera.

291 articles were retrieved. After removing irrelevant articles[6] and duplicate articles, the corpus of the study was determined; 137 unique and relevant articles. Deciding on a 20% sample size, the titles of each article in the corpus were listed in an excel sheet. The website random.org was used to choose numbers between 2 and 138. These numbers, randomly selected by the website, correlated to the numbered rows on the excel spreadsheet of possible articles.

With the 27 sample articles randomly selected, pdf versions of the documents were uploaded into NVivo 11.[7] Full and partial sentences were then coded using the 5 tenets of altered civic participation as nodes. During the coding process, two additional nodes emerged. These were "Risk" and "Rebuttal." Risk refers to the acknowledgement of the boycotters that there are risks associated with a census boycott. Rebuttal refers to arguments in favor of census participation. These rebuttals sometimes appeared as quotes from an individual and other times were general explanations of the benefits and safety of census participation. To test the accuracy of my coding methods, I had 4 different people cross code 2 articles each.[8]

Findings

Analyzing the boycott as it is described by Rev. Rivera highlights the presence of the 5 tenets of altered civic participation that would be overlooked by a Classic

[6] Upon reading the articles and their summaries, some of the articles' inclusion of the word "boycott" was in reference to an Arizona boycott. In other instances, the use of the word "census" was to refer to "census numbers" and not the boycott. Finally some articles included the name Rivera but referred to a different person of the same last name and Rev. Rivera.

[7] NVivo is a software created by QSR International meant to help organize and analyze data for qualitative analysis.

[8] Two of the cross coders have earned their Jurors Doctorate degrees and the other two have earned their Masters degrees and are in the process of earning their PhD degrees.

participation-only focus. Of the 5 initial nodes, **intentional** had the highest number[9] of references. Variations of the phrase "CONLAMIC is urging undocumented immigrants to not participate in the 2010 census to push Congress to adopt immigration laws that provide a path to legalization for the nation's estimated 12 million illegal immigrants" were coded as demonstrating the intentions of boycotters (Jones, 2009). The **expansive** theme appeared infrequently but offered critical insight into the thought processes that resulted in the decision to boycott. One phrase coded as expansive was, "when the census is the only weapon left with which to fight, Rivera is urging you to use it" (ABILRN, 2010). While the method of boycotting has its benefits and shortcomings, identifying the logic of the Census Boycott reveals the tactic as strategic and not the result of apathy.

Limitations

While useful for testing an existing theory, a predetermined starting point also presents a limitation to this particular method. It is generally understood that researchers are never completely objective but the directed approach has a uniquely high tendency for bias among researchers' approach to data. Such an approach can result in high levels of supportive findings and inaccurately low levels of unsupportive data. Given the high coder agreement, this limitation may have influenced these findings.[10]

One of the goals of content analysis is to create a coding scheme that includes codes that are mutually exclusive. A directed content analysis, however, begins with a

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[9] The only theme that appeared more often was **rebuttal** which is to be expected as most papers encouraged census cooperation while presenting the opposing views of Rivera.

[10] The average percentage of agreement between independent coders and myself for each of the seven nodes is 96%. The average percentage of disagreement between independent coders and myself for each of the seven nodes is 3.96%.

theory and uses content analysis to determine its relevance. There were some instances of overlap in coding between the themes **intentional** and **optimistic** as well as **intentional** and **consequential**. I attribute this to subjectivity in coding, brevity of coder training and the interrelatedness of the tenets of altered civic participation.

Typical news writing practices are a limitation to this research as well. With rapid deadlines and little time to gain expertise in a particular topic, many news stories feature the same quotes by the same few speakers. This was the case in the sampled articles. As I continue this research, sampling various media may prove beneficial. I expect the depth with which the boycott is discussed to differ based on the medium. Despite these limitations, the Cohen's Kappa test of reliability for the 5 tenets of altered civic participation depict good agreement between multiple coders. The Kappa values ranged from 0.6 to 0.93, with one representing perfect agreement and zero representing no agreement at all. These levels of intercoder reliability demonstrate that altered civic participation is a credible and transferable framework for interpreting the unconventional activities of America's marginal populations.

In pursuit of the question, "how accurately does altered civic participation match self descriptions and journalist representations of unconventional civic activity," directed content analysis proved useful. Applying this method helped demonstrate the frequency with which the themes of altered civic participation appear in discussions of the 2010 Census boycott that quote or mention Reverend Miguel Rivera. A critical discourse analysis, however, will allow connections to be drawn between themes present in particular texts with patterns of power distribution in society. Interested in the how the

framing of the 2010 Census boycott relates to broader social hierarchies and ideologies, I will now turn to the method of critical discourse analysis.

Method: Critical Discourse Analysis

Discourse, according to Stuart Hall and Michel Foucault, determines what is allowed and limited for understanding an object, situation or person. Beyond a collection of statements, the implications of discourse extend to the lived experiences and perceived life possibilities. Foucault argues that discourses construct subjects by shaping options for positions to occupy in societies. He contends that dominant discourses become so widespread that they are considered social norms by which we police ourselves and others. Critical Discourse Analysis helps make evident the connection between social institutions and micro level discussions.

Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) is a "critical *approach, position* or *stance* of studying text and talk" (van Dijk, 1985). By analyzing micro level instances of communication, CDA offers insights on macro level institutions by examining the way discourses reproduce social and political inequality, power abuse and domination. In conjunction with close readings that are typical of discourses analyses, a critical discourse approach presents unique findings as the method is inherently political and seeks to challenge the unequal power dynamics that are constituted and reinforced through the use of language.

Interested in how the framing of the 2010 Census boycott relates to broader social hierarchies and ideologies in the U.S., critical discourse analysis is applied to two texts. The first text is a talk radio show hosted John "Sly" Sylvester in Madison, Wisconsin.

The other analyzed text is a newspaper story published in a central Texas publication. Interestingly, both texts encourage the Census boycott by Latinos but do so according to starkly different discourses. The morning show adopts an anti-immigration discourse which supports nationalist ideologies while the Texas newspaper offers a counter discourse about immigration.

Contextualizing "Sly in the Morning"

John "Sly" Sylvester is a talk radio personality in the Madison, Wisconsin area with over 20 years of talk radio experience. He is lauded for is success as "a mostly left-leaning on-air personality in a field dominated, as it is nationally, by conservatives" (Gunn 2013). He is also criticized for his often offensive commentary which tends to depart from political in nature to personal attacks.[11] Fans of his show defend his comments as "provocative," "tongue in cheek," and "progressive." Based on his public Facebook page, John "Sly" Sylvester's "favorite quote" is spoken by Robert Lafollete, a Republican politician who served as the governor and senator of Wisconsin. In response to 1917 efforts to limit the press, Lafollete responded, "The purpose of this ridiculous campaign is to throw the country into a state of sheer terror, to change public opinion, to stifle criticism, and suppress discussion... The destruction of rights now occurring will be pointed to then as precedents for a still further invasion of the rights of the citizen." The

[11] In 2004 Sylvester made racist comments comparing Dr. Condoleezza Rice to the black slave caricature "Aunt Jemima."When pressured to apologize, he apologized to the fictional Aunt Jemima instead of Dr. Rice. During a January 2011 show, Sylvester mocked Lieutenant Governor Rebecca Kleefisch, accused her of achieving her status by giving sexual favors and joked about if she wore a wig due to complications with colon cancer. Both of these instances resulted in pressure for Sylvester to apologize. neither resulted in genuine apologies.

limits of such freedom of the press and freedom of speech are tested by Sylvester and his morning discussions of current events.

As a state, Wisconsin has a record of being a blue state; one which tends to vote for the democratic candidate during presidential elections. When broken down into counties, these voting patterns shifted greatly between the elections of 2004 and 2008 with far more counties voting republican in 2004 and the majority voting democratic in 2008. Despite these fluctuations in neighboring counties, Dane county, in which Madison is located, voted democratic both times (Wisconsin Watch 2009). Between the 2000 and 2010 Census, Madison experienced a 84.20% increase of people who identify as Hispanic or Latino. Though the change is substantial, the total percentage of the Madison population that identifies as Latino increased from 4.11% of the total population to 6.84% of the total population. With its majority White population, Madison is typical of most cities in Wisconsin as the percentage of the population who identified as White only in 2000 was 88.9% in the state and 83.96% White in Madison.

Sly in the Morning

From 1997 to 2012, Madison 1670 WTDY featured the early morning radio show "Sly in the Morning." On the morning of October 14, 2009, John "Sly" Sylvester offered a discussion of pending census boycotts. He mentions the intentions of right-wing politicians including Michele Bachmann to boycott the effort and discusses, at length, the intentions of Latino immigrants boycotting the same. His discussion of both boycotts is judgmental and pretentious. Frequently laughing at concerns of boycotters, mocking their

opinions and adopting a superior tone to inform listeners of the actual uses of census data, the show reinforces perceived distinctions between citizens and noncitizens.

In the case of this particular broadcast, the micro level conversation between Sly and his callers reinforces anti-immigrant discourses which support a nationalist ideology. An analysis of a 2011 Republican presidential debate hosted by Fox News found "the most frequently spoken word was 'illegal,' followed by 'immigrants,' 'country,' 'border,' 'illegals,' and 'citizens' (Cole 2017). These terms reflect the attitudes toward immigration held by the individuals and the institutions they represent. As in the 2011 debate, use of these terms during the radio show reinforces legal and economic subject positions of the "citizen" deserving of participation and resources and the "illegals" who, because of their illegal choices, are undeserving of resources and therefore should not participate at all.

The show contrasts the subject positions of entitled and enlightened citizen participants with undeserving illegal immigrants who overestimate the regard with which they are held by "real citizens." In this show, census participation is the center of broader discussions of entitlement, resources, immigration, civic mindedness, illegality and still broader discussions of nationalism and citizenship. In support of anti-immigration discourses, a distinction between citizens and illegals is drawn. Where Civic Republicanism positions participation as a duty for citizens, the conversation by Sly and his callers position participation as a privilege to be enjoyed by citizens. In addition to contending that participation in the enumeration is a privilege not meant for illegal immigrants, Sly and his callers argue that the resources that result from the census should

not be enjoyed by those who chose to immigrate illegally. The radio show portrays Latino immigrants as uninformed and undeserving of government resources and, for these reasons, unvirtuous and unworthy of being counted.

uninformed

Beginning his discussion of 2010 Census boycotts with those of right-wing politicians, Sly mocks their concerns as unfounded and illogical. Opening his show with a recording of an electric guitar playing a rock and roll solo, Sly says:

> **Sly:** "I love it. I love it when someone goes, 'I am not getting my way so, so you know what, so you know what (exhales deeply) I'm not gonna play." (sarcastically) Awww Well thats too bad, Boy am I ever going to miss someone throwing a temper tantrum. Here's Glenn Beck talking to Michelle Bachmann. You know Michele Bachmann, that crraaaaazy congresswoman from the suburbs of Saint Paul, Minneapolis? Here she is with Glenn Beck (mockingly) she's she's scared of the census.
> **Beck:** [pre-recorded interview]"So let me talk about the census because there's a lot of people that are concerned with it because they don't want to fill it out they're not comfortable with ACORN members coming to find out all this information they don't want to give the government…[inaudible over studio coo coo clock sound effect]...there's a 5 thousand dollar fine that has never ever been enforced before. No one has ever received that fine. What are the odds that they are going to impose that?"
> **Sly:** [laughing] "ACORN" [plays coo coo clock sound over Beck talking]
> **Bachmann:** [pre-recorded interview] "I don't know what the odds are but I've made it very public what my position is. And i think there is a point when you say enough is enough to government intrusion. And you had mentioned this earlier, 28 pages, I have the survey right here Glenn, this is the 28 page survey this is the short form that every American will get next year. Does the federal government really need to know our phone numbers? Do they really need to know like you said the date and time that we leave?"

> **Sly:** "Oh they're coming, they're coming to take you. Yes, yes one of the reasons they put what the drive times are is they distribute transportation funds based on this stuff. The census is not there to data mine and watch you with a camera. So alright so we know right wingers are paranoid about the census.

Sly's feigned fear and use of sound effects present a clear bias in the delivery of this story. He refers to boycotters as childlike and equates their political action to a "temper tantrum." A change in tone from mocking to informative reinforces his identification with the dominant Civic Republican discourse and the dominant citizen subject position. From this position, he is not only likely to fulfill his duty of census participation, but also educate nonparticipants of the real uses of the information collected by the census which some unreasonably fear.

When discussing the boycott of the Census by Latino immigrants, Sly continues his criticism of the lack of knowledge about the survey and its positive outcomes. Discussing the "absurdity" of the survey with Dave, the first caller, the two men laugh at the level of fear caused by the survey and contend that the result of participation would be positive for all. They go further to laugh at the fear of "ICE," or the U.S. Immigration and Customs Enforcement agency visiting Latino neighborhoods following census participation.

> **Sly:** "...You know, the census is actually about getting government services. Do they not understand the irony of that?"
> **Dave:** "I don't, I know it's ridiculous. I mean, it would, it's not like they're gonna send the uh I.C.E over there after they fill that out [laughing]"
> **Sly:** "Yeah"

> **Dave:** " It's gonna help them out! [laughing] It helps everybody out because, like you said, it allocates funds but it's it's really ridiculous."

The repeated laughter throughout the radio show demonstrates the regard with which Sly and his callers, as representatives of broader anti immigrant positions, hold political actions of those they find unvirtuous. Revisiting to the Civic Republican notion of virtue and its links to lack of greed and avoidance of self interested decision making, undocumented immigrants are positioned as the opposite. Sly explains that he supports legal immigration but holds a deep disdain for those who immigrate illegally. With the undocumented population continuously referred to, by Sly and his callers, as "illegals" this treatment of the law is reemphasized as a key factor of why the undocumented Latino population should forego census representation among other government efforts.

undeserving

Throughout the radio show, Sly mentions that Latino immigrants desire "comprehensive immigration reform" which he equates to "amnesty" and "immunity." He contends that they are undeserving of any of these concessions nor census inclusion. For Sly, the basis of their unworthiness is based on their choice to immigrate illegally and their unjustified attitudes of entitlement.

Illegality Example 1:

> **Sly:** [laughs loudly] Oh that's gonna show us! Ohhh you broke the law, you came into the country without permission, you stayed, you took somebody else's job, and now you're not gonna fill out a census form so you can move some more congressmen to the southwest so we lose more electoral votes in Wisconsin and Michigan, Illinois, and Indiana? Oh no! Heavens, what will we do?!? What will we do if we don't count you?! I have one word for you [long pause] GOOD!

Illegality Example 2:

> **Sly:** [laughing] It's the funniest thing in the world. It's like some right-wing militiaman doesn't fill out the census and uh you know Utah loses an electoral vote [mockingly] 'oh no!' But this is even better 'cause these are illegals, they shouldn't be counted anyway!

Undue entitlement Example:

> **Sly:** But there's something, but, you see, the whole thing fits in with the attitude that frankly, I don't like that some have. And certainly not everybody that comes here is that way, but some of their leaders especially, is that they feel like they they they should be walking around on a red carpet with a, you know, a silver spoon in their mouth because we all owe them something...

This argument that undocumented immigrants are not entitled to resources from the U.S. is based on the group's undocumented status. Sly attempts to distance himself from racist beliefs by saying, "there's part of me that understands why someone would want to come in here." He continues this effort by stating, "I know I don't sound very sensitive here, I'm actually one of those guys that believes in increasing legal immigration to this country even during a recession. Because I do think it's good for the country. But I think this idea that we have to grant immunity to people that came here illegally, oh I know it takes two to tango but it just goes against every fiber of my better judgement." He emphasizes the individual's choice of illegal immigration by saying, "*you* broke the law, *you* came into the country without permission, *you* stayed, *you* took *somebody else's* job" (italics added). Sly's comments center the perceived choice of illegal immigration, and attitudes of entitlement that follow, as the grounds for his critiques of the boycott.

Given Sly's prompt of, "Let's give illegal immigrants some more ideas on how to punish us," the callers go on to call into the show offering sarcastic suggestions for political actions for Latino immigrants to adopt. Dave, the first caller, suggests a boycott

of the school system. To this suggestion, Sly laughs and responds, "You mean we wouldn't have to start thirty more English as a Second language programs?" The callers that followed were all males and offered suggestions of boycotting government assistance, hospitals, and immigrating at all. Kelly, the only female caller, suggested a boycott of procreation while residing in the United States. All of these suggestions follow the same logic presented by Sly that given their unvirtuous, self-invested, illegal choices, undocumented Latino immigrants should not be allowed to participate in the census survey nor the government programs that receive funds based on census data.

Foucault argues that discourses not only offer possible modes of thinking about and describing objects and occurrences but they also constitute subject positions. Sly and his callers' example of nationalist discourse only offer two subject positions which are "us," citizens, and "them," immigrants. From the privileged citizen subject position, Sly and his callers laugh at those who fear the collection of their data since the census, from their perspective "helps everybody out." Fear of the census is deep seated. It seems absurd to some but this is a function not only of privilege but also proximity to dominant discourses that support one's favorable subject position. The Abilene News Report story questions the logics that support such a privileged outlook. The text asks readers to adopt, if only in one's imagination, the subject position of illegal immigrant and reconsider one's stance toward the boycott as a bargaining tool even if imperfect.

"If I Were Illegal"

Miguel Perez immigrated to the U.S. at the age of 11 as a refugee from Cuba in 1962. He is an award winning print journalist with years of experience in the talk radio

medium as well. His article "If I were illegal" was published as "What is (sic) I were Illegal" by the Abilene Reporter News (ARN) on February 17, 2010.[12] The article presents a sympathetic view of the Census boycott. Being a border state, Texas is among the states with high Latino populations. Debates over illegal immigration often cite events occurring in Texas, California and Arizona as cautionary cases of what could be in the near future for the rest of the country without more heavily enforced immigration laws. Analysis of the "Sly in the morning" radio broadcast demonstrates the nature of hostile discussions of the Census boycott. Most discussions present an us and them rhetoric that argues that "they shouldn't be counted" and complain about "them getting access to our resources." The author of the ARN story asks the reader to engage in an imaginative exercise meant to allow the decision to boycott the census to be seen from a subject position marginalized by dominant anti-immigrant discourses.

Recognizing the irony of the boycott fulfilling the desires of right-wing citizens, the author maintains that the economic, social, and legal iniquities experienced daily by immigrants are the impetus for the unconventional boycott effort. However, it is not just those who subscribe to anti-immigration discourses the author must convince of the validity of the boycott. Critiques within the Latino community also find the boycott to be an overreaction. Conversations with Latina census takers who gathered data during the door to door home visits in 2010 revealed that they too found the boycott misguided even if well intentioned. During a conversation with Remedeos, a Latina census taker, she

[12] The Abilene Reporter News is a daily newspaper owned by the E. W. Scripps Company and produced in the central Texas city of Abilene.

explained her mixed feelings about the boycott. She expressed that “the boycott was both good and bad.” On one hand, she supports the idea of making demands for unfulfilled resources “to call attention to what's wrong in the community and what's missing.” On the other hand, however, “they do lose resources and money for those that aren't counted and those resources could be used to fund programs and improvements on the city.” Further demonstrating her mixed opinions on the boycott effort, Remedeos explains that she understands, “that they choose to deny participation because they don't want to be just a number, they want the privilege and the power of those that aren't Latino immigrants, because most of those who are have a lot at stake when it comes to legal matters and government affairs.” Remedeos’ comments, as a census taker, weighing of costs and benefits of the boycott are typical of boycott supporters and opposers alike.

Arturo Vargas, executive director of the National Association of Latino Elected and Appointed Officials (NALEO), staunchly and publicly opposes the boycott effort. He is quoted in an April 21, 2009 Associated Press article saying, “To do this boycott to pressure comprehensive immigration reform is like cutting off your nose to spite your face." Mary Sanchez, journalist for the Kansas City Star, also opposes the census boycott and agrees with the “dicho” or idiom used by Vargas as an attempt to warn boycotters away from making a grave mistake. She argues that the boycott will result in great harm to Latinos while having very little, if any, consequence for immigration reform from Congress. Calling boycott leaders “fools” Sanchez goes on to states, “Illegal immigrants have enough to worry about in their day-to-day existence. What they don’t need are Spanish-speaking brethren advising them against their own interests.”

The day to day worries of Latino immigrants is the focus of Perez' article "If I were Illegal." Acknowledging the benefits purported to come from census cooperation, the author weighs the options and concludes that a census boycott is a rare opportunity for those without the right to vote to insist that their interests be considered.

> Put yourself in the shoes of an undocumented immigrant constantly looking over your shoulder, aware that you could be arrested and deported at any time, going out every morning knowing that you might not be able to return to your family at night. And then walk in those shoes for a while, feeling society and the economy slamming doors in your face, dealing with bigots who treat you as if you were an "alien" from another planet, watching the politicians who gave you hope reneging on their promises to make you legal. Would that motivate you to do "your civic duty" by participating in the U.S. census? Why would you care?

Calling on readers to consider the everyday hardships of members of the undocumented Latino community, Perez questions the relevance of the Civic Republican expectations of participation and civic duty. Highlighting the stratification of material conditions and lived experiences, Perez argues the insufficiency of Civic Republican logic for undocumented U.S. community members acting against, what he and Rivera consider, their immediate needs. Referring to advertisements as "government propaganda assuring you that you won't be arrested and deported" Perez questions if the risk is worth taking. Acknowledging the funding and resources that would likely be lost as a result of the boycott, Perez continues guiding the reader through the thoughts of an undocumented immigrant by continuing to support the boycott effort. Explaining the scarcity of resources, Perez writes:

> If you are not counted, your state, city and community are likely to lose some money and political clout. But still, you would have to ask, "Why would I care?" For you and some 11 million other undocumented

> immigrants in this country, federal funding, community services and political representation have been practically nonexistent. How can they threaten people with losing benefits they never have had? When they warn you about the benefits you could lose if you failed to participate in the census, you figure they must be talking about someone else!

After asking readers to try to identify with the disparaging lived experience of many undocumented Latino immigrants, Perez shifts his tone by saying:

> But imagine what could happen if someone came along and showed you how your fear and/or apathy could be turned into a political force. What if someone showed you how you could gain political leverage for the first time in the many years you may have been an undocumented immigrant by boycotting the 2010 census? Well, if you're standing in the shoes of an undocumented immigrant, you should know that someone already has done just that. It's the Rev. Miguel Rivera.

Aware of that both fear and apathy may result in boycott support, Perez positions the boycott as a much needed source of relief and meaningful political participation for both dispositions. He goes on to commend the organizing work of Rivera as he uses the census boycott to "strike back against the politicians who fail to deliver on their promises to reform immigration." This reflection demonstrates that the boycott is a consequence of past wrongs.

Although major costs are associated with the boycott, Perez writes, "when the census is the only weapon left with which to fight, Rivera is urging you to use it." Perez depicts the expansiveness of the census boycott effort by acknowledging that the boycott is in no ways ideal yet, the unique positionality of undocumented Latino immigrants, and the lived experiences that result, combine to make an unconventional action beyond the traditional public sphere a viable option for political participation. Likening the spread of

boycott support to the spreading of wildfire, Perez characterizes boycott supporters by saying:

> Across the country, immigrants are vowing to discard census forms and keep their doors closed when census workers come knocking. “It's a matter of principle,” they tell you, repeating what they have learned from Rivera. “You can't count me only when it is convenient for the politicians,” they say. “If you want to count me, I have to count all the time.”

Recalling the definition of politics offered by Jacques Ranciere, the social hierarchy and subordination described by Perez constitute the conditions necessary for politics to exist. The desire “to count all the time” reiterates Ranciere’s point that hierarchical societies “miscount” their members by assuming that some are expendable and “have no right to be counted as speaking beings” (Ranciere 27). Rivera also comments on the marginalization of the undocumented population in his census call to action. He states, “Our call to action to every undocumented immigrants is the following; do Not Attempt To Step Out Of The Shadows To Be Counted, Only To Be Forced Later To Turn Back To The Same Shadows, AGAIN!” (Rivera 2009). The census boycott is an instance of politics as those who have been miscounted, actively demand attention “make themselves of some account” (Ranciere 27).

Conclusion

Where civic nonparticipation such as census evasion is looked down upon based on America’s subscription to Civic Republican ideals of active civic participation by citizens, altered civic participation offers an intervention into existing interpretations of such acts. Using the 2010 Census Boycott by Latino immigrants as a site of inquiry,

content analysis of newspapers discussing this event demonstrate that the five tenets of altered civic participation provide applicable themes for developing alternative interpretations of unconventional political actions. Phrases included in discussions of the boycott which quote or refer to the boycott's main proponent, Rev. Miguel Rivera, include themes of intentionality, consequence, expansiveness, ephemerality, and optimism.

As Critical Discourse Analysis allows conclusions about social power relations and institutions to be drawn from analysis of texts, analysis of texts resulted in the conclusion that critiques of the boycott effort are often based on Civic Republican and anti-immigration discourses. The analyzed sympathetic text, written by Miguel Perez, presents evidence of the consequential, intentional and expansive elements of the boycott.

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Conclusion

The Posture of Protest: Colin Kaepernick and Altered Civic Participation

This dissertation began with an epigraph written by Zora Neale Hurston in her 1935 collection of folklore entitled Mules and Men. The book was the result of Hurston's ethnographic observation of two African American communities in Florida. Hurston describes the difficulties of collecting these stories by writing:

> Folklore is not as easy to collect as it sounds. The best source is where there are the least outside influences and these people, being usually under-privileged, are the shyest. They are most reluctant at times to reveal that which the soul lives by. And the Negro, in spite of his open-faced laughter…is particularly evasive. You see we are a polite people and we do not say to our questioner, "Get out of here!"...The Negro offers a feather-bed resistance. That is, we let the probe enter, but it never comes out. It gets smothered under a lot of laughter and pleasantries. The theory behind our tactics: "The white man is always trying to know into somebody else's business. All right, I'll set something outside the door of my mind for him to play with and handle. He can read my writing but he sho' can't read my mind. I'll put this play toy in his hand, and he will seize it and go away. Then I'll say my say and sing my song."

This passage describes a particular form of resistance that Hurston argues is prevalent among African Americans. The behaviors that she terms "featherbed resistance" are comprised of feigned compliance and pleasantries coupled with strategic refusal. Despite its brevity, Hurston's account of this, possibly hypothetical, interaction between an African American and a white inquirer demonstrates the atypical modalities and banal settings in which political action can occur.

As an ethnographer, Hurston was not only able to closely observe the behaviors of communities in Florida; she was also able to garner insight into the intentions behind such acts. In addition to depicting the active withholding of valued information, her description illuminates the decision making process that precedes that choice. Inspired by

Hurston's account of someone choosing what to say and sing in front of a researcher, this dissertation has approached unconventional civic interactions with no interest in judging neither their appropriateness nor their effectiveness, but to understand the "theory" or intentions of the tactics and the context in which they occur.

I began this study with the general question, "Why do disadvantaged groups in the U.S. not always participate in efforts that might provide them with added rights or recognition?" This general question evolved into the two specific research questions: *why* do people alter their civic engagement and *how* do they do so? This final chapter provides an overview of the importance of participation for citizenship in the United States, summarizes the main findings from the study, and offers a discussion of broader applications of the concept of altered civic participation by introducing the case of Colin Kaepernick.

Entitled "Altered Civic Participation in the U.S. Census as a Dispute to the Myth of Equal Citizenship," this dissertation has presented the argument that the dominant notion of citizenship in the U.S. is encoded with ideals that reflect partiality toward an archetypical citizen that proves elusive, if not mythic, for many in the United States.[1] The first chapter of this study offers an analysis of Civic Republicanism and U.S. foundational texts to demonstrate the influence of Civic Republican thought on current U.S. expectations and practices of civic life. Considering the classic citizenship requirements of land ownership, maleness, and whiteness, chapter one offers a critique of current U.S. concepts of citizenship as they maintain classic preferences for citizens of a

[1] Chapter one of this dissertation cited Aristotle's text *The Politics* to demonstrate the classic definition of a citizen consisting of the characteristics of native birth, land ownership, maleness, adult age, and adequate participation. The chapter also traces remnants of this preference for the "citizen absolute" in foundational frameworks for U.S. citizenship.

certain class, gender and race. These preferences are no longer blatantly stated within official documents. On the contrary, the U.S. Constitution proclaims all citizens equal and numerous amendments to the Constitution attempt to correct the original exclusivity of U.S. citizenship frameworks.[2] My argument, however, is that this proclamation of equality is a myth which becomes recognizable as such with close attention to the requirement of civic participation.

The act of participating is central to notions of citizenship. From classic traditions to current, one demonstrates their investment in the nation by actively engaging in its governance. Based on Civic Republicanism, the completion of one's civic duties is imperative for a person's own development[3] as well as for the protection of the collective virtue of the republic[4] by warding off totalitarianism. These dual benefits frame nonparticipation as illogical and make nonparticipants legible, within Civic Republican thought, only as improper citizens and burdens to the democracy. Typical modes of civic participation, similar to classic definitions of a citizen, are defined in ways that privilege people of a certain social position.[5] In addition to the differential exclusion from substantial citizenship[6] this narrow definition creates, I argue that defining citizenship based on traditional forms of participation is inaccurate. This dissertation posits that there

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[2] Multiple Constitutional amendments counter the racist and sexist exclusions originally written into the U.S. Constitution. For instance, the 13th amendment abolishes slavery, the 15th prohibits the right to vote based on one's race, and the 19th amendment prohibits the denial of the right to vote based on one's sex.

[3] Civic Humanism is the political model that posits that active participation of citizens will be intrinsically gratifying for the citizen and will allow them to reach their full potential as a human.

[4] Classic Civic Republicanism is the political model that contends that a polity reaches its peak of civic virtue through the collaborative efforts of its citizens who must work together in the interest of the greater good.

[5] Nancy Fraser is among feminist critiques of Habermas who argue that the theoretical public sphere and the ideal modes of engagement within that sphere are unequally accessible by all.

[6] Citizenship is defined as a status assigned to people which designates their relationship to a nation and provides certain rights and protections while requiring the fulfillment of some duties. Substantive citizenship refers to the extent to which one's rights and protections are actually enjoyed.

are political[7] actions being completed at the margins of U.S. society that are inaccurately written off as apathy based on dominant definitions of participation. The first two chapters of this study have argued that taxonomies of citizen participation are based on a normative archetypical citizen and, in response to their exclusion from substantial citizenship, U.S. community members have altered their modes of engaging in civic activities.

Guided by the questions, "what is a citizen" and "who has access to recognition as a 'good citizen,'" the first chapter argues that civic participation, race, class, and gender are all inextricably and problematically linked within traditional theories of citizenship. With a good citizen defined by Aristotle as one whose actions are motivated by the goal of the continuity of the constitution, one can deduce that a poor citizen is one who does not contribute to the progression of the nation or one who acts against the interests of the greater good. Civic Republicanism is a result of this logic as it posits that active citizen participation benefits both the republic and the participant alike. Despite increasing diversity in the U.S. population and progressive improvements to canonical doctrines of citizenship through amendments, practices of American citizenship have remained supportive of the same forms of participation traditionally extended only to the classic *citizen absolute*.[8] Based on these ongoing expectations of particular forms of civic participation, America's marginalized residents are often deemed apathetic and non-

[7] In his Politics of Aesthetics, Ranciere defines politics as moments that exist, "when the figure of a specific subject is constituted, a supernumerary subject in relation to the calculated number of groups, places, and functions in a society" (Ranciere 51). He is arguing that when a group that is discounted by society asserts their equality in that society, politics are taking place.

[8] Aristotle's goal in The Politics was to define a democracy and he approached this aim by first defining a citizen. He distinguished between citizens requiring qualifiers, those who aid the nation through their labor, and a citizen absolute, who based on their gender, race, birthplace, and age required no qualifiers to their citizen status and were central to the running of the nation.

participatory.

Chapter two of this dissertation has emphasized the narrow definition of participation which has resulted in the undue exclusion of some U.S. residents from having their civic engagement recognized as such. This limitation of dominant political theories is demonstrated by the inability of Civic Republicanism to account for unconventional moments of politics. One such instance of overlooked participation is presented in chapter one in the story of George and his refusal to complete the census survey. The example of George and his intentional refusal of survey cooperation is reminiscent of the African American person in Florida that Zora Neale Hurston describes in her passage. These two instances are reflective of a wider phenomenon of unequal experiences of substantial citizenship and the variations in civic engagement that follow.

Hurston describes not only the refusal of full disclosure but also the motivations and decision making processes behind such refusals. Dominant discussions of nonparticipants in the census survey are treated with less depth. Analysis of these instances are grounded in a Civic Republican distinction between participation and nonparticipation resulting in nonparticipants being described with paternalistic and pessimistic verbiage instead of having their atypical behavior contextualized within their own logic behind their tactics. It is this void that this study attempts to fill through the concept of altered civic participation.

Especially interested in finding ways of interpreting nonparticipants in terms beyond "apathetic" or "poor citizens," I have centered the unequal experiences of citizenship among marginalized groups in the United States and offered *altered civic participation* as a conceptual intervention into dominant notions of participation and

citizenship. I have identified acts of altered civic participation as intentional modes of engaging in civic activities in unconventional ways which shift low level opportunities for participation into temporary moments of citizen participation and redistributed power.[9]

Chapter three of this dissertation positions the U.S. census as a political site and the site of inquiry for this study. Although it is typically overlooked as a contested site, the U.S. Census Survey in general, and the race question more specifically, are more than objective data collection efforts. Through the act of counting, deciding whom and how to count, categorizing and choosing how to analyze data, the enumeration process is a revealing index of civic engagement as it is also involved in creating and reaffirming notions of belonging, humanity, access and U.S. citizenship. Distinguishing altered civic participation from nonparticipation based on political apathy and unconventional actions with the desire for anarchist outcomes, I have defined altered civic participation as unconventional civic behaviors that are intentional, consequential, expansive, ephemeral, and optimistic. Chapters four and five of this dissertation focus specifically on altered civic participation during the enumeration of the U.S. population through census surveys. These chapters present practical cases of census altered civic participation which includes boycotting enumeration, selecting three or more racial identities, and submitting non-racial responses within the "Some Other Race" field. Given the concept of altered civic participation, Census nonresponse is less an indication that the resident is

[9] These distinctions between low level participation and the highest form of participation, redistributed power are introduced by Sherry Arnstein in her 1969 discussion of citizen participation. Arnstein depicts participation as a ladder with eight rungs the lowest of which being non participation and the highest a redistribution of power allowing citizen participation in decision making processes.

"misinformed"[10] of the benefits of the survey and lacking civic responsibility and more a critique of limited access to substantial citizenship and representation.

In pursuit of the question, "how does altered civic participation occur," chapter five applies Actor Network Theory (ANT) to the census process to reveal the contextual factors that make altered civic participation possible. Analyzing my own interactions with the Census Bureau and reports of unconventional responses submitted within the census race question using Actor Network Theory reveals the process as one that has been inaccurately assumed neutral. Actor Network Theory calls attention to the inner workings of the census enumeration process and offers insight into the document as a convention which encourages specific interactions from its users while simultaneously making unintended responses possible. Analyzing these unintended responses as moments of interrupted mediation reveals the political potential of such actions and exposes the census as a questionable process instead of one to be taken for granted.

Where Civic Republicanism judges a citizen based on their completion of civic duties, altered civic participation requires attention to modes of participation that are not easily categorized as either participation or nonparticipation. By blurring the lines between participation and nonparticipation, this concept also complicates the distinction between a good citizen and an apathetic one. Throughout the study, I've argued that the Civic Republican tradition is limited in the way it refuses some formal citizens substantial citizenship. As dominant conceptualizations of participation and citizenship assume equality and shared interests, these conceptualizations are insufficient for

[10] Conrey et al in their 2011 report entitled "Census Barriers, Attitudes, and Motivators Survey II Final Report" distinguished between different types of attitudes toward census cooperation and said that those in the "suspicious" group "are, after all, misinformed."

describing the politics of marginalized groups in the U.S. vying for equal substantive citizenship. The fundamental limitations of these theories results in a gap in existing knowledge of the atypical political participation of marginalized groups in the United States. The main contribution of this research project is the development and application of the concept of altered civic participation.

Dominant theories of civic participation divide a population into disinterested nonparticipants on one hand and well informed, virtuous and active participants on the other. With citizenship, according to Civic Republican thought, relying on one's active engagement it is imperative for dominant notions of participation to be accurate. As a prescription of political behavior, the aim of Civic Republicanism is to define who should participate and how. This inherently requires designations to be made between accepted and unaccepted participants and forms of participation. My critique is that these designations are too narrow and often exclude the same types of people historically excluded from formal citizenship. This exclusion, I argue, is unjust and contrary to the principles on which democracy rests. As a concept, altered civic participation does not aim to remove distinctions between citizen and non citizen nor participant and nonparticipant. Judging one's civic behavior according to traditional theories of civic participation, however, too narrowly defines participation and thus misses significant political activities. In order to have a more complete interpretation of the involvement of the nation's population, altered civic participation names and describes unconventional modes of participation that are typically overlooked.

This dissertation, so far, has argued that the census survey is a site for politics that expands beyond the typical political sphere. This expansive element of politics is also

present in Colin Kaepernick's 2016 protest during the U.S. national anthem. Both of these sites function as symbols of America's ideals. Cooperation with the survey is required by law and the resulting data constitute a symbolic portrait of everyone within the nation's borders. Sports events are also arenas for demonstrating one's patriotism, particularly during the singing of the "Star-Spangled Banner." Similar to the census, one's engagement with the anthem is officially prescribed. U.S. Code 36 § 301[11] outlines approved conduct during the playing of the national anthem. When the flag is displayed during the anthem, the code states:

> (A) Individuals in uniform should give the military salute at the first note of the anthem and maintain that position until the last note;
>
> (B)members of the Armed Forces and veterans who are present but not in uniform may render the military salute in the manner provided for individuals in uniform; and
>
> (C)all other persons present should face the flag and stand at attention with their right hand over the heart, and men not in uniform, if applicable, should remove their headdress with their right hand and hold it at the left shoulder, the hand being over the heart; and

The code goes on to explain that if the flag is not displayed, everyone should maintain the same postures previously outlined but face the musician in the absence of the flag. The American National Anthem constitutes a moment whose political potential is easily overlooked because participation includes the relatively passive act of standing and revering the flag. The concept of altered civic participation, however, helps recognize some unconventional engagements as critical and intentionally disruptive. While the census has been attended to at length, the case of Colin Kaepernick demonstrates how altered civic participation might be applied beyond the census survey.

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[11] U.S. Code 36 § 301, is where the federal law of flag protocol is codified. The law provides uniform guidelines for the display of the flag and respect shown to the flag

As the scales continue falling from the eyes of the world regarding the treatment of Blacks in the United States by law enforcement, the question of effective modes of protest against such treatment has increased in frequency. The preceding chapters have offered the notion of altered civic participation as a conceptual intervention into the Civic Republican definition of citizenship and civic participation. Describing the United States Census survey as a site where politics occurs in the form of unconventional survey interactions, this dissertation concludes by demonstrating the broader implications of the concept of altered civic participation.

In the fall of 2016, Colin Kaepernick gained the attention of the nation as he knelt on one knee during the singing of the U.S. national anthem. Framed by his critics as a missed opportunity for civic engagement and performed patriotism, Kaepernick's protest is an exemplary case of what I have termed *altered civic participation*. Kaepernick's protest exists outside the traditional political sphere and consists of him assuming a seemingly benign posture. While kneeling on a football field is judged by some as nonparticipation, I argue that applying the framework of *altered civic participation* allows further interpretations of Kaepernick's stance against the fatal problem of policing practices in America's communities of color.

During the singing of the national anthem the quarterback began sitting and kneeling during the 2016 NFL preseason. The protest went unnoticed until late August, 2016. During a postgame interview and exclusive interview with Steve Wyche, reporter for the NFL, Kaepernick's comments revealed his actions as **intentional, ephemeral, consequential, expansive and optimistic.** During his interview with Steve Wyche, Kaepernick explains the **intentions** of his actions by stating:

> I am not going to stand up to show pride in a flag for a country that oppresses Black people and people of color. To me, this is bigger than football and it would be selfish on my part to look the other way. There are bodies in the street and people getting paid leave and getting away with murder.
>
> Wyche 2016

In a post-game interview, when asked, "What are you trying to accomplish, what would be the end game for you?" Kaepernick again explained his intentions by saying:

> I mean ultimately, it's to bring awareness and make people realize what's really going on in this country. There are a lot of things that are going on that are unjust and people aren't being accountable for and that's something that needs to change. That's something that you know this country stands for freedom, liberty, justice for all and it's not happening for all right now.

Kaepernick's explanation of the intentions behind his protest aligns with Ranciere's definition of politics. Distinguishing "politics" from the "police order," Ranciere argues that moments of politics are moments of disagreement whereas consensus finding efforts are part of the police order that maintains existing hierarchical relations. Ranciere argues that societies operate according to an adopted hierarchy among a population. Those who are subordinate in this hierarchy are the "part who have no part" in society, or the marginalized groups within the nation without conventional influence. Kaepernick acknowledges the separation of the nation's population into hierarchical parts. Contesting the unequal experiences of "freedom, liberty and justice," Kaepernick calls attention to the unjust treatment of some parts of the population.

When asked, "Specifically, what would you like to see change in order for you to stand?" Kaepernick responds, "There's (sic) a lot of things that need to change. One, specifically, is police brutality. There's people being murdered unjustly and not being held accountable. Cops are getting paid leave for killing people. That's not right. That's

not right by anyone's standards." Kaepernick's discussion of his motivations alludes to the protest being a **consequence** of a long history of police and vigilante violence against people of color in the United States.

Ranging from the NAACP flying a flag over New York's fifth avenue announcing that "A man was lynched yesterday," to Mamie Till making her son's mutilated body and its images public, and the recorded and televised battery of Rodney King in 1991, the mistreatment of unarmed young African American men has sporadically gained national attention. With access to recording and reporting made diffuse by the prevalence of video equipped phones and social media, the rate at which such brutality came to national attention seemed to reach unprecedented heights after the murder of Trayvon Martin and acquittal of George Zimmerman in 2013.[12] In response to these killings, which were rarely punished, various forms of protest were enacted. These responses included highway shut downs, die-ins, teach-ins, brunch crashing and also resulted in Kaepernick's mode of altered civic participation.

Although not intended for such uses, Kaepernick's protest took an **expansive** approach to the athletic sphere in general and the pre-game national anthem ceremony in particular. Kaepernick made visible the contradictions between ideal notions of equality and real experiences of oppression. For him, complying with the expected show of reverence for the flag, anthem, and the ideals they symbolize was unauthentic so long as groups of unarmed people of color were being murdered and their murderers were receiving not retribution. Although it included a seemingly banal action, his refusal to

[12]This was the event, according the the #BlackLivesMatter Herstory page) that sparked the development and organization of the Black Lives Matter hashtag and movement. I find the use of the hashtag especially compelling as it allowed dispersed events to be compiled into an accessible and searchable forum.

stand as prescribed helped reveal the political aspects of sports, a space typically deemed neutral.

For most, sports are considered an apolitical arena, a space intended for fun and leisure. The expectations that one is guided by benevolence toward one's community during consensus building in the public sphere mirror the expectations that an athlete's actions are guided by the interests of a team. As such, athletes are expected to avoid making political comments based on their own opinions which might prove divisive to their teammates and fans.[13] Refuting claims of sports as antithetical to politics, American political sportswriter, David Zirin, argues that sports constitute an inherently political arena despite dominant desires to depoliticize the space. Describing the political potential of sports, he writes:

> It can also be a place of inspiration that doesn't transcend the political but becomes the political, a place where we see our own dreams and aspirations played out in dynamic Technicolor. Politics are remote and alien to the vast majority of people. But the playing field is where we can project our every thought, hope, and fear. We want to believe fiercely that this is the one place where ability alone determines how we are judged. If you can play, you will play, no matter your color, class, or gender. This is why boxers such as Joe Louis and the great Muhammad Ali, Olympics stars such as Wilma Rudolph and Jim Thorpe, tennis players such as Billie Jean King and the Williams sisters, and even golf's Tiger Woods (although he would never want the title) are viewed, consciously or not, as political beings - carriers of the dream that the playing field for all of us might be made a little more level"
>
> Zirin xii

[13] Commenting on the depoliticization efforts made in sports, Zirin calls attention to the role of commercialization and corporate sponsorship on the policing of politics in sports. He states, "More than anything else, I'd argue that it is corporate power and fear of a backlash from sponsors that drives the anti-political attitude we find in our sports culture and makes athletes afraid to rock the boat." He cites Michael Jordan as an example of endorsements policing politics. Jordan had the opportunity to endorse a democratic mayoral candidate in his hometown who was running against an outwardly racist republican. Motivated by remaining palatable to fans and potential Nike consumers, Jordan chose not to endorse either candidate and explained that "republicans buy sneakers too."

Sports, like citizenship, are assumed to consider everyone equal by providing a "level playing field" where success is based on merit instead of unearned privilege. Similar to the equality assumed to exist among a nation's citizens, the equality assumed to exist among sports athletes does not translate to their lived experiences within the sports arena or beyond.

In order for a consensus to be reached that benefits the largest portion of the population, Habermas calls for citizens to leave behind their personal affiliations as they enter the public sphere. David Zirin posits that the influence of consumerism and corporate endorsements have increased the expectation that athletes separate themselves from their personal beliefs in order to remain agreeable to fans of the team as well as potential consumers. Despite claims of sports as apolitical, Zirin argues that signs that sports are not neutral are, in fact highly visible given the inclusion of military personnel during pregame flag ceremonies, military jets flying over stadiums in combat formation, the presence of large American flags and fireworks during halftime shows, and the expectation of standing in a certain posture during the singing of the American national anthem. Recognizing this moment as an opportunity for a show of civic engagement, the moment has also historically been an opportunity for altered civic participation. Athletes have intentionally taken advantage of the playing of the "Star-Spangled Banner" to call attention to their experiences of unequal substantial citizenship.

Perhaps most notably, track gold and bronze medalists Tommie Smith and John Carlos stood barefoot with bowed heads and raised gloved hands in the Black power stance during the playing of the U.S. national anthem during the 1968 Olympics in Mexico City. The intentions behind their protest were to raise global awareness of the

differential lived experiences of people of color around the world who were disproportionately affected by poverty and racism. The NBA's Mahmoud Abdul-Rauf is also remembered for his contentious stance against cooperating with expected reverence for the flag and "Star-Spangled Banner" song before games. Citing the conflicting ideals between his Islamic beliefs and the American flag, which he described as a symbol of tyranny, Abdul-Rauf chose not to show reverence for the flag or anthem. Instead of assuming a posture of attention to the flag, Abdul-Rauf chose to either remain in the locker room during the anthem, refused to stand, stretched on the bench, or looked down with eyes closed and hands raised in the posture of prayer during the singing of the anthem.

Reactions to these moments of protest confirm the anthem as a contested site[14] for civic performance. In reaction to the protests of Tommie Smith and John Carlos, the two were sent home from the Olympics and faced criticism and death threats upon returning to the United States (Carlos 2011). Abdul-Rauf was suspended without pay which resulted in over $30,000 lost per game during suspension (Hodges 1996).Recognizing the anthem as a meaningful and feasible site for political action, San Francisco 49er's quarterback, Colin Kaepernick, continued the political-athletic tradition of protest. Many found the choice to be offensive[15] and disrespectful to the efforts of the U.S. military.

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[14] Not only are interactions with the flag and anthem prescribed but there are also preferred types of singers and ways of singing the national anthem. One example of such preferences being made explicit is the singing of the anthem before the 2014 NBA finals game in San Antonio, TX. The anthem was sang by Sebastian de la Cruz, who had earn success in the talent show *American Idol.* During the anthem, he dressed in the elaborate traditional garb of a charro which led to his performance being extensively criticized.

[15] During the Fox News show "On the Record" hosted by Greta van Susteren and featuring ex-NFL Giants punter, Steve Weatherford, van Susteren acknowledges that Kaepernick is within his Constitutional right to protest. She also expresses her disdain for the protest by stating that, "You have a Constitutional right to be offensive."

The question of the flag and anthem as the site of Kaepernick's protest was the main critique of the protest. Addressing the feasibility and effectiveness of an expansive protest, Shannon Sharpe, former NFL player and co-host of the sports talk show "Undisputed" offers an example of critiques of the decision to include the flag and anthem in the protest. Imitating protest critiques Sharpe states:

> Ok Colin, I think you should have found another way.
> What other way is there?
> We say, don't riot.
> We're going to do it peacefully; we're going to just take a knee.
> But don't protest like that.
>
> Sharpe *Undisputed* 2016

Commenting on the feasible options for protesting social ills, Sharpe demonstrates the narrow options for acceptable protest and alludes to the notion that if the mode of protest is suggested by people in power, then it is not protest at all. He concludes this sample debate over the proper site and method for protesting by arguing that "If you tell me how I should protest, you're kind of minimalizing and weakening what I can do because you're not trying to hear me" (Sharpe 2016). Sharpe acknowledges the inherently expansive nature of politics as they disrupt the existing status quo in order to be effective. To have a protest that is not expansive, to attempt to effect change within the bounds of what is allowed, maintains one's protest within the realm of acceptable friction instead of calling impactful attention to an urgent issue.

Later in his post-game interview, Kaepernick is asked, "Will you continue to sit?" To this he responds:

> Yes, I'll continue to sit. I'm going to continue to stand with the people that are being oppressed. To me, this is something that has to change. When there is significant change and I feel like that flag represents what it's supposed to represent and this country is representing people the way it's

supposed to, then I will stand.

The reporters continue their questioning by asking if the protest has become a distraction from the common goals of the team, winning games. Kaepernick's responses emphasize the **ephemeral**[16] quality of the protest. He explains that while on the field, in practice and during meetings, the complete focus of the team is still on winning games. The protest is not ongoing, but only lasts the length of the first verse of the "Star-Spangled Banner." After which, as Kaepernick explains, his focus and that of the team is on the common goals of the team. This protest is not long lasting but is instead composed of multiple temporary shows of dissatisfaction. When asked how long he plans to kneel, Kaepernick offered an **optimistic** response that he doesn't want to kneel forever. He believes that the country can improve and that the flag and anthem can come to represent liberty and freedom for all instead of systematically excluding part of the population.

The public sphere is theorized as a space where personal interests are unwelcomed and the interests of the collective are to be held in the highest regard. These beliefs are also foundational to Civic Republican thought and the concept of the public sphere as theorized by Jurgen Habermas. Both of these iterations of ideal civic behavior privilege the needs of the population above those of the individual and argue that the best possible outcome, civic virtue or consensus, will result from community minded behavior. Similarly, participants of sports teams are expected to behave according to selfless ideals, placing the common goals of the team, fans and organization above

[16] It is important for me to note here that Kaepernick's engagement with social justice efforts did not end with his kneeling during the national anthem. He is also reported to have partnered with Turkish airline to help ship food and other supplies to Somalia to combat their famine. He has also given away business suits outside of a New York parole office. Perhaps a sign of support for his point of view and efforts, Kaepernick's jersey was the highest selling jersey in the NFL in 2016.

personal opinions and desires. Politics, however, have a history of entering the ideally apolitical athletic sphere. In addition to Kaepernick's protest, NBA players in 2014 wore black t shirts with white font that read "I Can't Breathe" during their warm ups as a show of solidarity for the deceased Eric Garner. In 2017, at least six New England Patriot players chose to forego the opportunity to visit the White House after winning the Super Bowl.[17]

With the U.S. Census Survey as its entry point, this dissertation has presented analyses of unconventional civic behaviors and developed and applied the conceptual intervention of altered civic participation. Through analyses of unconventional interactions with the U.S. decennial survey, I have argued that such unconventional interactions can be interpreted as politics, when the interpretive framework departs from dominant Civic Republicanism and toward altered civic participation. Altered civic participation encourages analysis of unconventional instances of civic participation. Dominant discourses surrounding citizenship and participation couple within the theory of Civic Republicanism to effectively exclude civic nonparticipants from recognition as a good citizen. Within the public sphere, citizenship is a marker assigned based on one's civic virtue and participation in civic activities. One of the contributions of altered civic participation is its expansion of the narrow definition of civic participation in ways that makes recognition of the good citizenship of marginalized groups more readily recognized. One of the five tenets of altered civic participation is its quality of expansiveness. Not only does this imply an unintended use of a given civic activity but

[17] This particular Super Bowl game came to represent more than a sporting event. The Patriots, led by a quarterback with a friendly relationship with Donald Trump, won against the Atlanta Falcons, a majority African American team. Comments on social media pegged the game as an opportunity for the public victory of Blacks especially during the highly contentious 2016 presidential election.

also the extension of political commentary and action beyond the traditional public sphere. Defined in narrow terms, the public sphere is similar to the sports arena in the sense that it strictly defines the actions that are acceptable and the modes of engagement that are warranted.

In addition to helping to dispel the belief that these moments of resistance are the result of ignorance or apathy, altered civic participation also elaborates the dominant definition of civic participation in more accurate ways. The material consequences of being believed to be apathetic are wide ranging. Apathy is treated as a social problem and decision makers attempt to explain and correct inactivity in the civic sphere. Without giving credence to alternative forms of civic engagement, scholars and communication campaigns alike may continue this unproductive poor/proper citizen dichotomy and overlook the various altered political behaviors in which marginalized groups participate.

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