

Beyond Boundaries: Mastering the Liberal Arts

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Editors:

Rusafa Hussain & Carla del Sol Verver y Vargas Ortiz (Fall 2024)

Founders:

Cindy Chavez

Catarina Garza

Cristóbal López

Bryan Morales

We would like to give special thanks to all our reviewers who donated their time to reading and selecting works for publication.

Reviewers:

Nathaniel Candelaria

Emily Richey

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Beyond Boundaries would not be possible without the hard work and dedication of our faculty liaison, Professor Catherine Clinton. We are greatly appreciative of all her support and tireless efforts.

Letter from the Editors

We are thrilled to present *Beyond Boundaries: Mastering the Liberal Arts Volume IV*.

This fourth volume showcases the continued capabilities of graduate students at the University of Texas San Antonio. We are proud to have created a journal that allows the phenomenal work of graduate students from the College of Liberal Arts to be displayed.

We thank our continued supporters who helped bring together another successful volume of *Beyond Boundaries*. Special thanks to our faculty advisors, Professor Catherine Clinton, Dr. Yaeger, and Dean Martinez. To our contributors, we appreciate all the effort you have placed into these pieces and thank you for allowing us to publish your hard work. We also want to recognize our peer reviewers Emily and Nathaniel for their insightful feedback.

We are excited to see a continued interest in *Beyond Boundaries* and hope we have created a lasting space for COLFA graduate students to share their achievements. We foresee *Beyond Boundaries* to continue to expand and reach a wider audience. To our readers, enjoy reading Volume IV and thank you for your unwavering support.

Carla del Sol Verver y Vargas Ortiz

Rusafa Hussain

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Revisiting Frankenthaler and Eden

By: Hannah L. Prince
Department of Art

Abstract

Revisiting Frankenthaler and Eden is an exploration of Helen Frankenthaler – considered the Mother of Color field painting - offering insight into the artist's evolution and the enduring vitality of her artwork. Through an analysis of Frankenthaler's process, the essay delves into the artist's transition and challenges in her career, juxtaposed against the backdrop of societal expectations and gender dynamics.

Navigating through the expansive landscape of Frankenthaler's influences, from Old Masters to contemporary peers, the essay unveils the intricate layers of inspiration that shaped the artist's vision. By contextualizing Frankenthaler's work within broader artistic movements and personal anecdotes, I hope to illuminate the multifaceted nature of Frankenthaler's artistic identity.

In an Undergraduate Experimental drawing class, my professor uttered the following devastating thought: “What if you have already made your best work?” This concept was crushing, as I felt I had yet even to begin. Helen Frankenthaler, already considered the “Mother of Color Field,” found herself experiencing her second career retrospective at the Whitney in 1969.¹ Accomplishing this—having a retrospective at such a young age—she must have had a sense of dysphoria in reaching such a lofty goal. Transitioning into a new phase of her career, we can see Frankenthaler challenging her own relationship with medium and negative space. A very private woman, not prone to give interviews, Frankenthaler spoke to Eugenia Zuckerman of CBS Sunday Morning in 1984, “When I had the retrospective at the Whitney, at that moment I felt the fear of ‘Oh, I’m showing all the work... and then what and instead I looked around that show and felt ‘Oh, I know what I want to do now. This is exciting. Now I want to try that.’”² This philosophy enables a creator to exist and breathe from a place of strength and confidence boldly to drive the evolution of their work and is readily evident in the viewer’s experience of the bold and splashy, *Eden Revisited* (1967-76, Fig 1).

Encountering *Eden Revisited* is an experience of saturation of color on a monumental scale. Abstract expressionism can feel intimidating to the viewer, as though you have no anchor on which to fixate or mental rest in recognition of the human figure or an implied landscape. This piece is so dynamic because we are falling into pools of vibrant yellows and oranges, floating side by side. Are they truly floating? Frankenthaler never merely experimented with paint by allowing it to guide itself through the canvas but always responded to the composition as it bloomed. She said this on process: “It’s a combination of things, it is never the same twice

¹ Karen Wilkin, “Helen Frankenthaler (1928–2011),” *American Art*, vol. 26, no. 3, 2012, pg. 100–04. *JSTOR*, <https://doi.org/10.1086/669225>.

² Eugenia Zuckerman, *Abstract Expressionist Helen Frankenthaler*, CBS Sunday Morning News, September 16, 1984, 6:09-6:35, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=pBKNifpTSFk>.

...like anything else it is full of feeling. It isn't a hit or miss thing, but a careful drawing, painting, coloring of creating a picture."³ She is never a passive participant or a casual observer in the process of her artmaking.

The longer one looks, a sense of combat or conflict occurs as the two largest fields of color press against each other. Lower in the painting, the yellow begins to fall behind the orange as the delineation between the two is so sharp. Orange here feels refreshing and tasty, and if I hold my hand up to block out the dominating stretch of yellow, I can appreciate its jaunty energy. There is, however, a fluid pooling of color—the reflection of her technique of using watery paint and pouring—that calls the viewer to look more closely, almost introspectively. At the top lefthand corner, there is a strong beginning of application and perhaps a hard stop that feels like meditation before the continued application until it meets the threshold of a cerulean blue ribbon along the bottom. This is another dynamic area in the work as there is a sliver of negative space between the two colors. They do not mix, coagulate, or bleed together. This feels like a topic change in a larger conversation being held between the artist and the work. Cerulean almost feels like it was grabbed from Matisse's Post War Blue Nude series (1952, Fig 2).⁴ Diving further into the sunny pool of light, below the blue creates a dynamic triangular section of the work. As an exclamation point, if we read the painting left to right, the bold creeping black exists to add color tension. I think the use of chromatic black here holds the artwork from going light or dark, lending a mood of foreboding like that of a storm rolling in.

³ Eugenia Zuckerman, *Abstract Expressionist Helen Frankenthaler*, CBS Sunday Morning News, 6:35.

⁴ Author's Note: In an interview in 1965 published by ARTFORUM, Frankenthaler says this about influential *postwar European painting*: "Miró. Matisse. But more Miró. As I've said I've been touched, in the work of Miró and Pollock, by a Surrealist—by Surrealist I mean "associative"—quality. It's what comes through in association after your eye has experienced the surface as a great picture; it is incidental but can be enriching." Henry Geldzahler, *An Interview with Helen Frankenthaler* Artforum, vol. 4, no. 2, October 1965, <https://www.artforum.com/features/an-interview-with-helen-frankenthaler-211801/>.

Frankenthaler is commanding as she paints and composes her pieces as though all the form and color happen all at once. *Eden Revisited* is the personification of that ideal. There is no chance of it “going dead,” which for the artist seems to be the most certain way to note whether a piece is successful or a failure. “Going dead” means there is a lack of vitality in the colors chosen, in the local color as it plays against its neighbor, and a lack of vitality in the composition. Additionally, going dead can indicate that a piece is overworked, and if the parts of the painting or work drown out the harmony as a whole. Regarding color specifically, she was always considering vitality and death in a sense with her choices. “Color is another tricky word like beauty because color, when it works, implies light. And Dark things can be light and light things can be dead.”⁵ For her paintings to achieve gestalt, the fields must live. In *Eden Revisited*, we can imagine other colors in its stead giving some optical relief, but the tension is necessary here. For further splashes of living color, Frankenthaler includes the bright red rectangular shape. Red here is almost self-contained and a place to rest the eye, but as with the orange stop in the top left, the red shudders and blinks at the bottom the orange stomps in again, existing in blooms, not allowing us the safety of separated color. Even so, we cannot take the bright yellow for granted; peering more closely, we can see the yellow has been applied in stains to create such vibrant and intense space.

Beginning with *Mountains and Sea* (1952, Fig 3) as an entry point to our analysis of influences, we can see similarities found in *Eden Revisited* (Fig 1) as well as *Eden* (1956, Fig 4); there are yellows, oranges, reds, and blues, but the painting itself feels like it exists within the picture plane and not a moment on its own. This consideration can be attributed to the fact that negative space is evident with the raw canvas coming through. It feels as if the painting was done

⁵ Charlie Rose, Review of *Charlie Rose*, PBS, 1993, 11:11-11:56, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=AxQw7SNO9yA&t=68s>.

all at once as with her other works, but it does not push into swelling and challenging forms that can be observed in her later work. *Mountains and Sea* to this day is often touted by many critics as the most successful painting of her storied career.⁶ This appears to be due to the new approach and visual outcome—a sense of newness—that was experienced by the artist, her studio mate Friedel, and her lover as well as her Art World guide, Clem Greenburg, noted Art Critic. Frankenthaler said this on her discovery:

In *Mountains and Sea*, I put in the charcoal line gestures first, because I wanted to draw in with color and shape the totally abstract memory of landscape. I spilled on the drawing in paint from the coffee cans. The charcoal lines were original guideposts that eventually became unnecessary... We all agreed that it was 'finished' and shouldn't be touched; that is complete and shouldn't be added to. I've often had temptations to dot the 'i' and wreck the picture... Clem encouraged me to go ahead and make more. I did in all kinds of combinations and possibilities; I couldn't try them out fast enough.⁷

This is the technique that enabled her to create *Mountains and Sea*, as well as the body of work celebrated at the Whitney, she would four years later paint the progenitor of *Eden Revisited*; *Eden*.

Analysis of her compositions is important in considering her development and interpretation of the artist's influence in the shift from the 1950s and her Whitney Retrospective to later works. Regarding influences, Frankenthaler was well studied in the work of Old Masters,⁸ Early Modern Art,⁹ Surrealism,¹⁰ and was actively aware of the work of her contemporaries such as Friedel Dzubas,¹¹ her studio mate with whom she shared workspace at

⁶ Chrisél Attewell, *Helen Frankenthaler - Discover the Color Field Queen*, Art in Context. May 5, 2023.

<https://artincontext.org/helen-frankenthaler/>.

⁷ Gene Baro, *The Achievement of Helen Frankenthaler*, Art International, vol. 2, no. 7, September 1967, pp. 32-38.

⁸ Alexander Nemerov, *The Profound Lesson Helen Frankenthaler Learned about Painting from Visiting the Old Masters at the Prado*, Artnet News, April 8, 2021 pg. 202,

<https://news.artnet.com/art-world/helen-frankenthaler-nemerov-excerpt-1957010>.

⁹ Alison Rowley, *Helen Frankenthaler: Painting History, Writing Painting*, London: I. B. Tauris & Company, Limited, 2007, ProQuest Ebook Central.

¹⁰ Geldzahler, *An Interview with Helen Frankenthaler*.

¹¹ Gene Baro, *The Achievement of Helen Frankenthaler*, Art International, vol. 2, no. 7, September 1967, pg. 32-38.

the time of the creation of *Mountains and Sea*. She met Jackson Pollock in the early 1950s after graduating from Bennington College in Vermont¹² and was struck by his method of using his body to allow for more physical painting, and most importantly painting on the floor. This is a fact that cannot be ignored: painting on the floor recontextualized the window space of a painting into a psychological plane of exploration. Frankenthaler never shied from acknowledging such an influence, stating, “You could become a de Kooning disciple or satellite or mirror, but you could depart from Pollock.”¹³ For historical influences, Peter Paul Rubens was a favorite of hers. She was known to make pilgrimages to The Prado in Madrid, Spain to absorb the fevered motion and color found in his paintings.¹⁴ Rubens can be seen as an influence in color and composition in many of his paintings. The soft shades of peach, yellow, and blue make *Fall of the Damned* (Fig 5), a swirling and literally biting look into the punishment of iniquity, an interesting parallel, but even more so Rubens’ strong composition of the center swirling bodies as well as the dynamic diagonals can be seen as a compositional influence for Frankenthaler. Additionally, due to the artist’s devout interest in the landscape seen throughout her career, connections could be made from *Mountains and Sea* to the work of Paul Cézanne, particularly to the studies in watercolor. The soft shades, loose rendering, and almost abstract nature of these studies such as *Mont Sainte-Victoire* (1902-1906, Fig 6), a watercolor of the mountain that so preoccupied the thoughts of Cézanne enabling the artist to experiment with form and light.¹⁵

¹² Biography - Helen Frankenthaler,” Helen Frankenthaler Foundation, <https://www.frankenthalerfoundation.org/helen/biography>. “She attended the Dalton School, where she received her earliest art instruction from Rufino Tamayo. In 1949 she graduated from Bennington College, Vermont, where she was a student of Paul Feeley. She later studied briefly with Hans Hofmann.”

¹³ Karen Wilkin, “Helen Frankenthaler (1928–2011),” *American Art*, vol. 26, no. 3, 2012, pg. 100–04, *JSTOR*, <https://doi.org/10.1086/669225>.

¹⁴ Alexander Nemerov, 2021, *The Profound Lesson Helen Frankenthaler*; “She would look at the Old Masters to double down on her own art, to draw direct inspiration from the greatest artists who ever lived, to fashion an imaginary alliance with these men from the past who would inspire—by some internal standard of her own—the measure and seriousness of her art.”

¹⁵ Rowley, *Helen Frankenthaler*, 17

This comparison of Cézanne's work from the beginning of the century can be carried through reviewing *Eden*, as well as a more modern example— for Early Career Frankenthaler— Joan Miró's painting *The Farm* (1921-22, Fig 7). In a Surrealist rendering of a rural scene, Miró abstracts naturalism without fully arriving at the abstraction of Abstract Expressionism. The almost yellow ochre singular tree, the shapes that comprise the foreground of *The Farm* simplified to orbs and swaths of the more primary yellow in *Eden* where we can see scribbles that may read as the sun, the inexplicable '100' repeated twice, as well as a hand. Is it a ship? Is it referencing place? This work is more readily digested because of these elements.

We can only speculate, but after her Whitney Career Retrospective, she may have had such a canvas that was already begun for *Eden Revisited*. The work is dated 1967-76 with richer pigments are due to the artist switching to acrylic paint, as she had long abandoned her use of oil paint and mineral spirits or oil paint and kerosene.¹⁶ She may have pushed through to new ideas by digging further into her own work. There is later precedence of her paintings being worked in a series, as well as her interest in printmaking. In fact, there are two paintings similar in the call and response nature of *Eden* and *Eden Revisited* titled *Saturn* (1963, Fig 12) and *Saturn Revisited* (1964, Fig 13). Furthermore, Frankenthaler was not tied to the idea that paintings could not be revisited to create 'motions' as she states:

I think that a really good picture looks as if it all happened at once, an immediate image ... No matter how much work the artist puts into a surface, it should not look dead and labored. It might take years of labored efforts and discards to produce a really beautiful motion that is synchronized with your head and heart, and therefore it can look as if it were suddenly born.¹⁷

¹⁶ Gene Baro, *The Achievement of Helen Frankenthaler*, "I was then starting to use a concoction of housepaint enamel, turpentine and/or kerosene, and tube oil paints in varying amounts, mixed and spilled from empty coffee cans, both with and without the aid of wide brushes, on unsized cotton duck. ...my paint was becoming thinner and more fluid and cried out to be soaked, not resting."

¹⁷ Schwartz, Alexandra, *As in Nature: Helen Frankenthaler Paintings*, New Haven (CT: Yale University Press, 2017), pp. 44.

Perhaps she reviewed *Eden*, and rotated it completely to the right (1956, Fig 8). As an experiment, when the work is rotated to the side, we can see where the chunk of blue would come in, perhaps where the yellow is on the left side now, orange stands in its stead, and the red hand could be the anchor for the red rectangle.

Helen Frankenthaler is a difficult woman to pin down. This is due to several reasons, some being the following: Her critics were very outspoken, and her intimate relationships with two very important male art influences, lent to her later perception as not ‘Feminist Enough’ by art historians, such as Roberta Smith, who worked to understand her influence in the scene despite her otherness of being female and Jewish, often “deemphasized Frankenthaler's artistic innovations to focus primarily upon male artists whose paintings apparently enabled her creativity.”¹⁸ Frankenthaler and her contemporaries—such as Joan Mitchell, Grace Hartigan, and Elaine de Kooning—were pushing against the public’s desire to attribute legitimacy based on the men in their lives. We know Frankenthaler received privilege in the associations of powerful men in her life¹⁹, but I find I do not seek a reckoning in this acknowledgment, contrary to a wonderfully written analysis that helped guide additional research by Dr. Gohari in which she states Frankenthaler, “did not embrace feminism or the women's art movement.”²⁰ However, feminist readings of art and the language of feminism did not fully come forward until the late 60s and 70s. Based on this limitation, are we to argue that important women of history who predate this time period are not to be considered feminists because they were not alive to position themselves within feminism? Are modern feminists not also aware feminism is not necessarily one size fits all? In the study of Helen Frankenthaler’s work and social impact, male influence

¹⁸ Sybil E. Gohari, “Gendered Reception: There and Back Again: An Analysis of the Critical Reception of Helen Frankenthaler,” *Woman’s Art Journal*, vol. 35, no. 1, 2014, 33–39. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/24395361>.

¹⁹ Gohari, *Gendered Reception*, 35.

²⁰ Gohari, *Gendered Reception*, 33

has been stated ad nauseum in the many writings on her life. As a New York State Supreme Court Justice, her father was an influential member of upper-class New York.²¹ Greenburg helped open the door to Abstract Expressionism and key players, such as Pollock mentioned above, and Robert Motherwell—a first-generation Abstract Expressionist whose connections could only further propel a young Frankenthaler towards success—was her husband of many years. In fact, the artist often fought against her work being read as female and would argue it was an oversimplification of her work.²²

Asking the public to consider the artist first and foremost is not something only Frankenthaler took part in, and I believe it is hasty to say that she did so to dodge Feminism altogether. In fact, Frankenthaler and Grace Hartigan discussed the consideration of the feminine. Frankenthaler wrote to her friend, “I recently painted a picture in sort of boudoir pastels, the kind of color I usually avoid like the plague.”²³ We could argue she felt confident enough to not hide from the boudoir or feminine colors. In fact, was it not Georgia O’Keeffe—who often used pinks and rendered flowers—who famously stated, “I am not a woman painter!”²⁴ This declaration that Frankenthaler echoed in her career is not due to shame in gender, but an attempt to circumvent gender politics of the time where a female artist could usually never be as the popular thought of the time and perhaps to this day is this, “The women are the interpreters, the solidifiers. They keep the home fires burning, while the men ignite them.”²⁵ In some ways, I perceive Frankenthaler as an artist who always felt the need to be a step ahead of critics’ voices and public

²¹ Anna C. Chave, “Frankenthaler’s Fortunes: On Class Privilege and the Artist’s Reception,” *Woman’s Art Journal* vol. 37, no. 1, 2016, pg. 29–36, <http://www.jstor.org/stable/26452051>.

²² Gohari, *Gendered Reception*, 35

²³ Daniel Belasco, “See Us Now: The Feminist Positions of Helen Frankenthaler and Grace Hartigan, 1957–1962,” *Konsthistorisk tidskrift/Journal of Art History*, vol. 83, no. 2, 2014: On the cusp of feminism: Women Artists in the Sixties, 67–81, <https://doi-org.libweb.lib.utsa.edu/10.1080/00233609.2013.860914>

²⁴ Kate Devine, *Georgia O’Keeffe: Not A Woman Artist - the State of the Arts*, 2016 <https://www.thestateofthearts.co.uk/features/georgia-okeeffe-not-woman-artist/>

²⁵ Gohari, *Gendered Reception: There and Back Again*, 37

perception, ready with answers before an interview began. Perhaps this is due to gendered reception such as referring to her as an ‘heiress,’ a term intended to place the artist in a small box of a superfluous nature. Being an ‘heiress’ is perceived as a woman who did not have to work to receive her bounty, which feels like a great sin in our Capitalist Evangelical country.

One of the most successful ways she was able to accomplish this was a consistent use of vocabulary and terminology she later coined as ‘Frankenthalerisms,’ such as ‘going dead’ as discussed earlier, and her conversations around color. This was necessary for her, as when giving her rare personal interviews, the interviewer (Charlie Rose for example) ‘checks’ her by asking the artist to validate Jackson Pollock as a core influence, as if to ensure Frankenthaler knows to whom the true credit is due. After adopting a similar practice of working on the ground which she observed during her visit to Pollock’s studio, she synthesized a different use of the method by using raw canvas and creating the technique of ‘soak-staining’²⁶. With this, Frankenthaler had made her mark in the art world. In her success, critics both male and female were ready to diminish her work and talent. Female artists to this day still contend with the assumption historically they cannot be the progenitors of ideas and are forcefully contextualized by outside male influence. As Dr. Sybil Gohari points out, “The negativity in these reviews, however, stems from the identification of Frankenthaler principally in relation to others, with the effect of downplaying her originality and agency, and positioning her as a talented follower.”²⁷ Looking closely at her artwork is enough to buck this supposition and challenge the rhetoric around Frankenthaler’s career.

²⁶ Jon Mann, “How Helen Frankenthaler Pioneered a New Form of Abstract Expressionism,” *Artsy*, September 27, 2017, <https://www.artsy.net/article/artsy-editorial-helen-frankenthaler-pioneered-new-form-abstract-expressionism>.

²⁷ Gohari, “Gendered Reception: There and Back Again: An Analysis of the Critical Reception of Helen Frankenthaler,” *Woman’s Art Journal*, vol. 35, no. 1, 2014, pp. 33–39, <http://www.jstor.org/stable/24395361>.

In my research to contextualize *Eden Revisited* and Frankenthaler, I was struck by how many times throughout her career she was made to acknowledge Pollock as an influential source and wondered, if she were a man, would she have to do so? In a review of the retrospective, the author contends that though her work is soft and feminine, she is trying to become more: more legitimate and less interested in mere aesthetics, claiming “The whole painting says in bold and aggressive tones: “My name is Helen Frankenthaler—and goddammit, I know how to paint just as well as the boys.”²⁸ In awareness of my own bias, I also find myself trying to balance this supposition with my awareness of how singular the interviews she accepted were, perhaps each time the question was posed to her, I speculate that this could be due to a desire for further insight on Jackson Pollock, as he so tragically died at the age of 44 due to a collision while driving under the influence of alcohol.²⁹ Social context continues to hinder critics’ ability to view Frankenthaler as an artist without the addition of gender. Critics would cite the following without loading subtext: She was a spoiled heiress growing up on Park Avenue and upon her father’s passing was left the artist with a sizeable estate;³⁰ due to her acknowledged influences she interpreted more “serious” works of art to produce beautiful paintings;³¹ and she was unserious and focused on the social life in New York.³²

She practiced in several media: printmaking, sculpture, drawing, and painting, which is self-evident when we study her paintings. It is revealed in composition, color, use of light and technique, and her continued willingness to experiment and experience failure along the way:

²⁸ Time Magazine, *Heiress to a New Tradition*, Time, vol. 93, no. 13, March 28, 1969, pg. 64

²⁹ Varnedoe, Kirk and Karmel, Pepe, *Jackson Pollock: Essays, Chronology, and Bibliography*, Exhibition catalog, New York: The Museum of Modern Art, *Chronology*, 1998, pg. 328,

³⁰ Anna C. Chave, “Frankenthaler’s Fortunes: On Class Privilege and the Artist’s Reception.” *Woman’s Art Journal* vol. 37, no. 1, 2016, pg. 29–36, <http://www.jstor.org/stable/26452051>.

³¹ Gohari, “Gendered Reception: There and Back Again: An Analysis of the Critical Reception of Helen Frankenthaler,” *Woman’s Art Journal*, vol. 35, no. 1, 2014, pg. 33–39, <http://www.jstor.org/stable/24395361>.

³² *Heiress to a New Tradition*, "Time, March 28, 1969, pg. 64.

I will sometimes start a picture feeling “What will happen if I work with three blues and another color, and maybe more or less of the other color than the combined blues?” And very often midway through the picture I have to change the basis of the experience. Or I add and add to the canvas. And if it’s over-worked and beyond help, I throw it away.

I used to try to work from a given, made shape. But I’m less involved now with the shape as such. I’m much more apt to be surprised that pink and green within these shapes are doing something. After ’51–’54 I had a long involvement with lines and black. Then that got played out. When I say gesture, my gesture, I mean what my mark is I think there is something now I am still working out in paint; it is a struggle for me to both discard and retain what is gestural and personal, “Signature”. I have been trying, and the process began without my knowing it, to stop relying on gesture, but it is a struggle. “Gesture” must appear out of necessity not habit. I don’t start with a color order but find the color as I go. I’d rather risk an ugly surprise than rely on things I know I can do. The whole business of spotting; the small area of color in a big canvas; how edges meet; how accidents are controlled; all this fascinates me, though it is often where I am most facile and most seducible by my own talent.³³

This willingness to risk “ugly” or failure is one of the many reasons she is able to reinvent herself to experiment in media and form. In fact, ugliness is vastly important for the content of Color Field painting as without the context of purpose-driven choices. Furthermore, creating something you may hate or be embarrassed about is a fear that many artists, especially those who have hit a roadblock with their method or ideas they had been processing. It is the constant push and pull to thrive that guides exploration and allows the departure of the same or deadening color and the artwork. In fact, according to the artist, the idea of merely copying a work across different mediums such as from painting to printmaking is one of the worst artistic choices and can only result in a loss of vitality, “Copying for me is “sinning” that results in a dead pastiche.”³⁴

I propose that, like her work, she was always evolving and moving forward in concept, approach, and use of color, as we see in both *Eden* and *Eden Revisited*. She comes across as

³³ Geldzahler, *An Interview with Helen Frankenthaler*

³⁴ Helen Frankenthaler, “The Romance of Learning a New Medium for an Artist,” *The Print Collector’s Newsletter*, vol. 8, no. 3, 1977, pg. 66–67, <http://www.jstor.org/stable/44130257>.

polished, even from the early photos of her in her studio by Burt Glinn (1957, Fig 9) while still giving us a glimpse into more private aspects of self and not always poised. She is relatable when we see her grounding herself by working barefoot or in socks, all the way to later career glimpses of the artist in her studio captured by Alexander Liberman (1988, Fig 10) wearing head-to-toe black and her work apron fastened around her neck and waist.

Through her focus, willingness to experiment, and press forward when others tried to limit her to gender or the men in her life, Frankenthaler continues to be a compelling master of light and energy, even going as far as to outright address this about her beginnings, “Because I don’t feel ever phony about it. I feel – I recognize with such truth step-by-step how I became what I am. For good or bad, but it’s what I am.”³⁵ As for the woman herself, when looking at photos taken of Helen at work or relaxing with loved ones, particularly that of Helen in a bright red blanket smiling towards the photographer (1982, Figure 11), we see not a paragon but a multifaceted charming being. In parting, I will share a favorite anecdote about the artist and her manner when with close friends and peers:

“She could always be surprising. At an international artists’ workshop, visiting the studio of a young woman painter working with a broom on a canvas spread on the floor, Frankenthaler was acute and encouraging about the picture in progress but suggested more experimentation. “Don’t get too attached to the broom,” she cautioned. The young artist explained that she liked to draw at large scale. “Women shouldn’t do floors and windows,” Frankenthaler cracked.”³⁶

Helen Frankenthaler is a genuine example of a large sense of self-awareness, in her sense of humor and acknowledgment of social standing, privilege, and her ability to not only function but flourish within the patriarchy. However, I argue she is more than the elements of her life.

³⁵ Eugenia Zuckerman, From 1984, Abstract Expressionist Helen Frankenthaler, Other, *Abstract Expressionist Helen Frankenthaler*, CBS Sunday Morning, September 16, 1984, 11:14, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=pBKNifpTSFk>.

³⁶ Karen Wilkin, “Helen Frankenthaler (1928–2011),” *American Art*, vol. 26, no. 3, 2012, pg. 100–04, *JSTOR*, <https://doi.org/10.1086/669225>.

Through research and studying of her work, we can get a better picture of the artist and the compelling works she created, a study in life, color, and vibrancy.

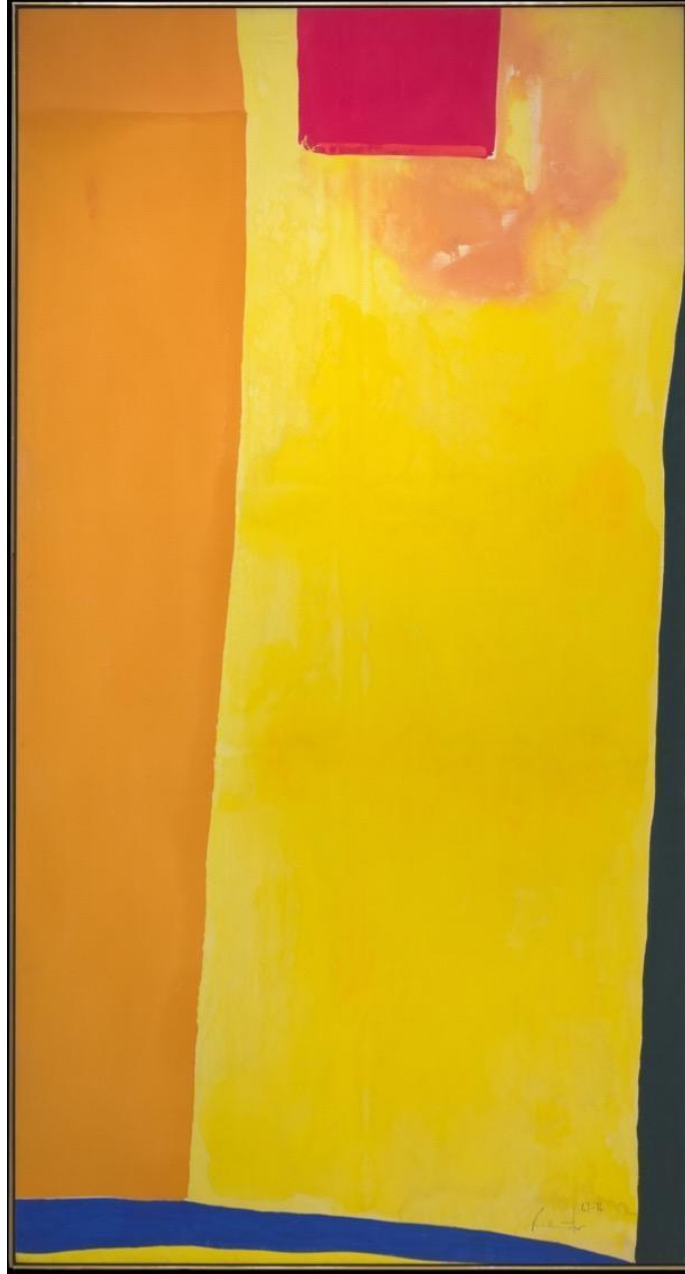


Figure 1. Helen Frankenthaler, Eden Revisited, 1967-76 Image provided by San Antonio Museum of Art.
<https://sanantonio.emuseum.com/objects/1583/eden-revisited;jsessionid=D3562E5527D640604626E04AA38E8C17>



*Figure 2. Henri Matisse. Blue Nude II. 1952 Courtesy of The Museum of Modern Art.
<https://www.singularart.com/en/blog/2023/10/30/henri-matisse-paintings>*



Figure 3. Frankenthaler, Helen. *Mountains & Sea*. 1952. Oil on canvas, 86 7/8x117 1/4".
<https://jstor.org/stable/community.13698616>.



Figure 4. Helen Frankenthaler, *Eden*, 1956, Courtesy of the Helen Frankenthaler Foundation.
<https://www.frankenthalerfoundation.org/artworks/eden/details/all>



Figure 5. Rubens, Peter Paul, Sir; 1577-1640. Fall of the Damned: Det. n.d.
<https://jstor.org/stable/community.13613211>.



*Figure 6. Paul Cézanne (French painter, 1839-1906). Mont Sainte-Victoire. 1902-1906. Pencil and watercolor on paper, file size: 48 cm; width: 63.2 cm. Oskar Reinhart Collection, Winterthur, Zurich, Switzerland.
<https://jstor.org/stable/community.14376319>.*



Figure 7. Joan Miró, and Spanish. *The Farm*. 1921-1922. Oil on canvas, 48 3/4 x 55 5/8 in.
 The National Gallery of Art (Washington, D.C.);
<https://www.nga.gov/collection/art-object-page.69660.html>



Figure 8. Helen Frankenthaler, Eden, 1956, Courtesy of the Helen Frankenthaler Foundation, Rotated to the Right



*Figure 9. Burt Glinn. USA. New York City. 1957. Painter Helen Frankenthaler in Her Studio. n.d.
<https://jstor.org/stable/community.19003126>.*



Figure 10. Alexander Liberman (American sculptor, painter, photographer, and author, (1912-1999). Helen Frankenthaler in Her Studio. 1964-1988. Gelatin silver print Alexander Liberman Photography Archive, 1925-1998



*Figure 11. Inge Morath. USA. Connecticut. Westport. 1982. Painter Helen Frankenthaler. 1982.
<https://jstor.org/stable/community.9748883>.*



Figure 12. Helen Frankenthaler; *Saturn*, 1963, Acrylic on canvas, 104 x 47 3/4 in, Scottish National Gallery of Modern Art Collection,
<https://www.blvrd.com/spotlight/spotlight-helen-frankenthaler-saturn-1963>



Figure 13. Helen Frankenthaler; *Saturn Revisited*, 1964, Acrylic on Canvas, 214 x 134.2 cm) Christie's.
<https://www.christies.com/en/lot/lot-5147456>

‘Mr. Spanish’: The Horrid History of Banning Spanish from Schools

By: Madeline Otting
Department of English

Abstract

During the 1900s, schools in the Southwest banned Mexican-American students from speaking Spanish. People believed that this would help teach the students to speak English better. But did banning Spanish help the students or did it cause serious repercussions? There are numerous reports of students being punished for speaking Spanish in school. These same reports noted that students did poorly in school because of the language barrier. Banning Spanish can lead to subtractive bilingualism which could lead to a monolingual United States. Around the late 1960s, schools started to realize their mistake and tried to correct it by implementing different programs to help students be bilingual. It would not be until recent years that schools have really tried to support bilingual students. Today, schools support students being bilingual because they know how important it is to nurture a student’s native language, lest they repeat the mistakes of the past.

Language is an important part of one's culture. It allows people to communicate, which helps to promote feelings of group identity and unity. What happens then when someone is banned from speaking their native language? This was done during the 1900s, in which schools in the Southwest had rules that prohibited the use of the Spanish language at school. The reason given as to why this happened is so that Mexican-American students would have an easier time learning English. However, because of this ban students faced punishments, did poorly in school, and developed subtractive bilingualism, a phenomenon that in some cases led to English monolingualism. The schools eventually saw the error of their ways and tried to rectify the situation by implementing bilingual programs which only in recent years have students been able to properly use them.

Before discussing the repercussions of the "English only" rule, it is important to know what led to this decision. Spanish was the primary language spoken in the Southwestern part of the United States until 1848 when the Mexican-American war ended. The Mexican territory in the Southwest became American territory, meaning Anglos started to move in. Because of this, English soon became the dominant language in the Southwest rather than Spanish. This was concerning though as in his report, Celestino Fernandez pointed out that "More than 70 percent of [Mexican-American students] are located in the five Southwestern (borderland) states of Arizona, California, Colorado, New Mexico, and Texas. The overwhelming majority (over 95 percent) of Spanish-surnamed students in these borderlands states are Mexican Americans."³⁷ Even though there was a large population of Mexican-American students in the Southwest, the Southwestern states did not reflect their culture. In fact, these states wanted Mexican-American students to assimilate into American culture rather than keep their own culture. This was noted in Sarah C.K. Moore's, *A History of Bilingual Education in the US*, where she pointed out that

³⁷ Celestino Fernandez, *Schooling in the Borderlands: Neglect, Inequality and Cultural Conflict*, 1979, pg. 3.

“Mexican-Americans throughout the Southwest endured a particularly militaristic approach to assimilation, in large part waged through the mechanism of schooling.”³⁸ One of the ways the Southwestern states tried to assimilate Mexican-American children was by segregating them in schools. The reasons given as to why schools segregated Mexican-American students from non-Hispanic children are “(1) it was for their own good because they could learn English and adapt to American culture in classes dedicated solely to them, and (2) it was better for the non-Hispanic children because they need not be bothered by these children who were slow learners and came to school with poor hygiene.”³⁹

Segregating the students was not the only thing that schools did. Some segregated schools took it further and established an “English only” rule. This rule meant that students were only allowed to speak English in the classroom, no Spanish allowed. Some of these schools went beyond and banned the use of Spanish completely on school grounds or in rare cases, made it illegal to use Spanish for ordinary school activities. Someone was indicted for this as seen in a report done by the Commission of Civil Rights where they noted that “As recently as October 1970 a Mexican American teacher in Crystal City, Texas was indicted for conducting a high school history class in Spanish, although this case was subsequently dismissed.”⁴⁰ These segregated schools were not the only option that Mexican-American families had, but it was the most common one. The other option for schooling was Catholic schools. While Catholic schools may have been a terrible experience for Native American children, Mexican-Americans preferred to send their children to these schools rather than public schools. Catholic schools tended to be a smooth transition for Mexican-American students since they would use Spanish,

³⁸ Sarah C. K. Moore, *A History of Bilingual Education in the US*, vol. 129, Multilingual Matters, 2021, <https://doi.org/10.21832/9781788924252-006>, pg. 31.

³⁹ Patricia C. Gándar, and Ursula S. Aldana, “Who’s Segregated Now? Latinos, Language, and the Future of Integrated Schools.” *Educational Administration Quarterly*, vol. 50, no. 5, 2014, <https://doi.org/10.1177/0013161X14549957>, pg. 735–48.

⁴⁰ *The Excluded Student: Educational Practices Affecting Mexican Americans in the Southwest*, (U.S. Govt. Print. Off., 1972), pg. 15.

had a similar culture such as sex segregation, and shared the same religious views. However, only wealthy families could afford to send their children to these schools. In an interview with the *Los Angeles Times*, Molly Hennessy-Fiske discussed with Jessi Silva about her time in the notorious Blackwell School in Marfa Texas. When discussing other schooling options, Hennessy-Fiske noted that “Wealthier Latino families sent children to St. Mary’s Catholic School. But that cost \$4 per student per year, too expensive for Silva’s father.”⁴¹ It did not matter for long though that Catholic schools were more expensive as they soon joined in on the public schools’ “English only” rule. States started to crack down on Catholic schools teaching in Spanish, forcing them to instead teach in English as Moore pointed out in her book, “In 1870 the California state legislature enacted a statute providing that all the schools in the state (religious and public) be taught in the English language bringing a crippling blow to the bilingual parochial schools.”⁴² This was a blow to wealthy Mexican-American families since this was the only option for their children to learn in Spanish.

With Catholic schools forced to teach in English, Mexican-Americans had no schooling options that allowed their children to learn in Spanish in the United States. Some schools took the “English only” rule a step further. One school that did this was the previously mentioned Blackwell school. In her interview, Silva mentioned an incident that happened at school one day. She said that teachers told students to write the word “Spanish” on a small piece of paper. Once this was done, all the students in the school were taken outside to where a hole was dug. In front of the hole was a coffin in which students were supposed to place their papers. After this, the principal said that the students had voted to do away with the Spanish language at school and proceeded to bury the coffin, thereby “burying Mr. Spanish.” Silva remembered how she felt

⁴¹ Molly Hennessy-Fiske, “COLUMN ONE; School that buried ‘Mr. Spanish’ will stand as reminder,” *Los Angeles Times*, Feb 03, 2022, *ProQuest*, <https://login.libweb.lib.utsa.edu/login?url=https://www.proquest.com/newspapers/column-one-school-that-buried-mr-spanish-will/docview/2624841065/se-2>, pg. 2.

⁴² Moore, *A History of Bilingual Education in the US*, 22.

about this event, saying that ““I understood that a right was being taken away from me without an explanation, without a say . . . The bigger students understood it better than I did. I saw it in their faces.””⁴³ Blackwell did not really give these students a choice in the matter. They took away the students’ language for their own benefit just like so many other Southwestern schools did. The only way Mexican-American students could learn now was through the English language.

Due to the “English only” rule, the students faced repercussions that the teachers did not seem to care about. One of these repercussions was the use of punishments schools inflicted on students. While collecting data to find out how many schools had the “No Spanish” rule, the Commission of Civil Rights also collected data on how exactly schools enforced this rule. They were able to find this information out due to seventh-grade Mexican-American students in Texas who were given an assignment in which they were supposed to describe what their elementary school teachers’ approaches toward students speaking Spanish in school were like. The students who replied gave a variety of punishments they were given. One of these punishments was having to pay money for speaking in Spanish, with one student having written that a teacher kept a record of each word students spoke in Spanish. Students had to pay a cent for each word, but if a student had spoken more than one thousand words, their parents would have to talk with the principal. Another student wrote that “if the teacher caught us talking Spanish we would have to stand on the ‘black square’ for an hour or so.”⁴⁴ A few students mention having to write either “I must not speak Spanish in school” or “I must speak English in School” for three full pages. One student mentioned multiple punishments their school administered such as “you would be sent to the principal’s office or given extra assignments to do as homework or probably made to stand by the wall during recess and after school.”⁴⁵ It was not just students who discussed punishments

⁴³ Hennessy-Fiske, “School that buried ‘Mr. Spanish,’” 1.

⁴⁴ *The Excluded Student*, 18.

⁴⁵ *The Excluded Student*, 19.

for speaking Spanish. A principal of a segregated high school in El Paso, Texas testified at the San Antonio hearing that was held in December of 1968 in which he said that “students who were found to be speaking Spanish during school hours were sent to Spanish detention class for an hour after school”⁴⁶ While school principals and staff did not admit to using corporal punishment against students who spoke Spanish in schools, students claimed that corporal punishment was used. The Commission’s report noted that “Two San Antonio high school students told of being suspended, hit, and slapped in the face for speaking Spanish.”⁴⁷ Physical punishment was also exposed in Silva’s interview with Hennessy-Fiske having written that “Silva gestured to a wooden paddle she said teachers used to spank classmates for speaking Spanish”⁴⁸ and “one of Silva’s older classmates vowed, ‘Nadie me va quitar que hable el español!’ A teacher overheard and the fourth-grader got paddled, as more would in years to come.”⁴⁹ It is not surprising that the schools would have tried to keep their use of corporal punishment a secret. Physically assaulting a child because they do not speak a language would have put them in a negative light. It gets worse though, since the Commission found a junior high school dropout who revealed that, “one of the reasons he left school in the seventh grade was because he had been repeatedly beaten for speaking Spanish.”⁵⁰ While the Commission’s report only has this student’s testimony about his reason for dropping out of school, it would not be surprising if other students shared his story. Schools are supposed to help children grow, but all these schools did was punish students for speaking their native language.

Being punished by the schools was not the only issue Mexican-American students had to face, they also had to deal with doing poorly in schools to the point of dropping out. The Commission of Civil Rights found that Mexican-American student reading levels were lower

⁴⁶ *The Excluded Student*, 18.

⁴⁷ *The Excluded Student*, 19.

⁴⁸ Hennessy-Fiske, “School that buried ‘Mr. Spanish,’” 1.

⁴⁹ Hennessy-Fiske, “School that buried ‘Mr. Spanish,’” 1.

⁵⁰ *The Excluded Student*, 19.

than they should be, “By the fourth grade, 51 percent of the Southwest’s Chicano students are 6 months or more below grade in reading. Seventeen percent are two or more years behind.”⁵¹

When asking principals about why they believe Mexican-American students were reading at lower levels, one testified that “We feel the reason so many of our pupils are reading two to three years below grade level is because their English vocabulary is so limited.”⁵² It was not just reading levels that were low in Mexican-American students. In *The Unfinished Education: Outcomes for Minorities in the Five Southwestern States*, another report that was done by the Commission of Civil Rights, it was found that students who did not know English well had to repeat school grades, “In many schools of the Southwest, Mexican American children are frequently required to repeat the first grade until they are judged to have sufficient mastery of the English language to study their subject in English.”⁵³ The report goes on further to say that in Texas, Mexican-American students repeating classes had been institutionalized, “School districts in Texas administer the Inter-American Test of Oral English to all entering first graders in order to determine their language readiness for the grade. If the student scores low on this test, he is placed in a prefirst grade class, and is thereby required to repeat the grade (more precisely his first year in school).”⁵⁴ It may seem odd that all these students were doing poorly, but it is not.

The reason all these students were not doing well in school was because of the ban on Spanish. The Commission of Civil Rights noted that “In essence, they compel the child to learn a new language and at the same time to learn course material in the new language. This is something any adult might find unusually challenging.”⁵⁵ This was a significant issue for the students, as they had to learn a whole new language on top of learning their schoolwork which

⁵¹ *The Excluded Student*, 26, 28.

⁵² *The Excluded Student*, 19.

⁵³ *The Unfinished Education; Outcomes for Minorities in the Five Southwestern States*. For sale by the Supt. Of Docs., U.S. Govt. Print. Off., 1971, 36.

⁵⁴ *The Unfinished Education*, 38.

⁵⁵ *The Excluded Student*, 20.

was done primarily in the new language. This would be difficult for anyone no matter their racial identity or grade level. Because Mexican-American students had a challenging time picking up the English language, they were seen as lower intellectually. This can be seen again in the Commission's report, in which an educator pointed out that "In practice, Mexican American children are frequently relegated to classes for the Educable Mentally Retarded simply because many teachers equate linguistic ability with intellectual ability. In California, Mexican Americans account for more than 40 percent of the so-called mentally retarded."⁵⁶ All of this led to Mexican-American students having a high dropout rate. In his report, Fernandez found that "the proportion of Mexican-American enrollment decreases from 18.6 percent at the elementary grades to 16 percent at the junior high level to 14.8 percent at the senior high level."⁵⁷ To show how low these percentages were, Fernandez gave the percentage of Anglo enrollment, showing that "Anglo enrollment increases at every level, 68.8 percent to 71.6 percent to 75.3 percent."⁵⁸

Fernandez was not the only person who drew comparisons between Anglo and Mexican-American students. Patricia Gándara and Ursula S. Aldana did as well in their article, *Who's Segregated Now? Latinos, Language, and the Future of Integrated Schools*, in which they wrote that "In 1971, the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights reported that many children did not go to school beyond the first few years and only 60% completed high school across the Southwest, compared with 86% of Anglo children."⁵⁹ When discussing student's reading levels, the Commission also noted the high dropout rate for Mexican-American students, stating that "Finally by the 12th grade, 63 percent of all Chicano students – those 'elite' who are left after an estimated 40 percent have already dropped out along the way."⁶⁰ It is not fair to blame all of this

⁵⁶ *The Excluded Student*, 13.

⁵⁷ *The Excluded Student*, 2.

⁵⁸ *The Excluded Student*, 2.

⁵⁹ Patricia C. Gándara, and Ursula S. Aldana, "Who's Segregated Now? Latinos, Language, and the Future of Integrated Schools," *Educational Administration Quarterly*, vol. 50, no. 5, 2014, pg. 735–48, <https://doi.org/10.1177/0013161X14549957>.

⁶⁰ *The Excluded Student*, 28.

on the language barrier Mexican-American students would have faced. There were other issues that would have led them to drop out of school such as their socioeconomic status. This is something that is brought up in Silva's interview with Hennessy-Fiske, mentioning that "Even after legal segregation ended, Latino students still faced economic barriers. Mario Rivera . . . and his 10 siblings were among the many who missed school when their parents pulled them out to pick cotton."⁶¹ These children who did not go to school to help with their family's economic situation would have contributed to these dropout rates as well. However, it is not right to say that language did not play any part in students dropping out of school. As quoted earlier, a student dropped out of school because he was being beaten for speaking Spanish. That had nothing to do with his family's socioeconomic level. Though it may not be the only reason, students having difficulty with the language led to them doing poorly in school and in some cases dropping out.

Another issue that the schools caused with their "English only" rule is subtractive bilingualism. Wallace Lambert was the one to coin this term in 1975 alongside additive bilingualism. Additive bilingualism is defined as "a second language could be learned and cultural elements related to this language acquired with no apparent loss in first language or culture."⁶² Subtractive bilingualism meanwhile is defined as "second language acquisition led to subsequent losses in one's first language and culture."⁶³ Lambert also noted that subtractive bilingualism is most often seen in minority groups. Subtractive bilingualism is not ideal since, as stated, it can lead to a person losing their first language and culture. This type of bilingualism can also cause a rift in parent-child relationships. As Sara Forouzan noted in her dissertation, "Ethnic Identity and Acculturation: The Impact on Iranian-American Communities," "The

⁶¹ Hennessy-Fiske, "School that buried 'Mr. Spanish,'" 2.

⁶² Landry Rodriguez, and Real Allard. *Beyond Socially Naive Bilingual Education: The Effects of Schooling and Ethnolinguistic Vitality on Additive and Subtractive Bilingualism*, 1993, pg. 6.

⁶³ Landry and Allard. *Beyond Socially Naive Bilingual Education*, 6.

relationship between parent and child becomes limited at this point, as parents can no longer communicate as openly or comfortably with their children.”⁶⁴ This strain in the parent-child relationship can be seen in Silva’s interview. She mentioned returning home to tell her parents about the “Mr. Spanish” incident, saying that “[She] explained to her parents what had happened – in Spanish. Her father was a truck driver, her mother a homemaker. Neither had reached high school or spoke much English. Her maternal grandmother who lived with them spoke only Spanish.”⁶⁵ Silva goes on further saying “‘I couldn’t speak to my grandmother in English because she would scold me. And at the same time I couldn’t speak Spanish at school,’ Silva recalled. ‘We were disciplined on both sides of the street.’”⁶⁶ Silva was in a tough situation since she was only allowed to speak English at school and could only be understood in Spanish at home. This would have most likely given her feelings of insecurity which is common amongst people who are subtractive bilingual or are heritage speakers as Maria Polinsky puts it. In her article, *Some remarks on Spanish in the bilingual world*, Polinsky explains that “the feeling of insecurity or even shame experienced by heritage speakers who are dominant in the other language of the bilingual dyad. These feelings of deficiency or inadequacy, combined with societal pressures to use the dominant language, can actually contribute to speakers abandoning their home language.”⁶⁷ This can be seen at the Blackwell reunion, Hennessy-Fiske noted that “Some Blackwell graduates’ descendants don’t speak Spanish.”⁶⁸ The pressure and punishments these people would have faced as children more than likely made them raise their children to not speak Spanish. They knew the dangers of what happens when you speak Spanish instead of

⁶⁴ Sara Forouzan, “Ethnic Identity and Acculturation: The Impact on Iranian-American Communities,” Diss. California State University, Northridge, 2015, pg. 28.

⁶⁵ Hennessy-Fiske, “School that buried ‘Mr. Spanish,’” 1.

⁶⁶ Hennessy-Fiske, “School that buried ‘Mr. Spanish,’” 1.

⁶⁷ Maria Polinsky, “Some remarks on Spanish in the bilingual world,” *Journal of World Languages*, vol. 9, no. 1, 2023, pg. 15-26, <https://doi.org/10.1515/jwl-2022-0053>.

⁶⁸ Hennessy-Fiske, “School that buried ‘Mr. Spanish,’” 4.

English, so in their eyes, they would have been protecting their children. Whether these schools realized it or not, they contributed to students developing subtractive bilingualism.

Subtractive bilingualism is only the beginning. If done in mass, it can lead to English monolingualism. It would not be hard to believe that this was the government's plan by allowing schools to have "English only" rules. Moore pointed out in her book that the government has done this before to other minority languages, having written that "The annihilation of languages and their speakers among Native American, American Indian, Alaska Native and other Indigenous peoples due to the European invasion of the land on which the United States is located."⁶⁹ Moore also brought up the enslaved Africans, writing that they were "prohibited from speaking mother tongue languages and forced to speak English only because owners and overseers feared conspiracy and revolt."⁷⁰ The enslaved Africans were forced to speak English so that they could be easily controlled much like how the Mexican-American students were forced to speak English only so that the teachers could understand them. There are typically four arguments made to justify ideologies promoting societal monolingualism. The first one is that "language minority speakers concede maintenance of their languages in exchange for the privilege of living in the receiving society."⁷¹ This can be seen in the justification of having the "English only" rule, in which people argued that "Teachers and Anglo pupils do not speak Spanish; it is impolite to speak a language not understood by all."⁷² It was perfectly fine for teachers to force students to speak only English since they could not understand Spanish, and yet the Mexican-American students had a challenging time learning English, meaning that all did not understand the language. The schools would not have cared though, they just wanted the children to only speak English since that was the language that they understood.

⁶⁹ Moore, *A History of Bilingual Education in the US*, 23.

⁷⁰ Moore, *A History of Bilingual Education in the US*, 24.

⁷¹ Moore, *A History of Bilingual Education in the US*, 23.

⁷² *The Excluded Student*, 14.

The second argument people used to justify English monolingualism is that “because immigrants will benefit economically from life in the new country, they should transition to use of the dominant language.”⁷³ This argument was used also to justify the “English only” rule, with people saying that “The pupil’s best interests are served if he speaks English well; English enhances his opportunity for education and employment while Spanish is a handicap,” and “Proper English enables Mexican Americans to compete with Anglos.”⁷⁴ This argument was also used during the hearing in San Antonio. Dr. Harold Hitt, Superintendent of the San Antonio Independent School District testified during the hearing, saying that “by developing the English language, gives [the students] perhaps an edge in terms of their value economically in a profession, or a vocation.”⁷⁵ The third argument is that “the claim that maintenance of the native language and culture will lead to isolation from the mainstream and majority linguistic and cultural practices; therefore, immigrants will not benefit from opportunities that would be available as English-dominant speakers.”⁷⁶ This threat of isolation was done to Mexican-American children. In his book, *Mexican Americans in School: A History of Educational Neglect*, Thomas P. Carter noted that “‘Mexican American children were isolated until such a time as they were considered to have overcome their ‘English language handicap’ and to have become ‘adjusted’ [Americanized].’”⁷⁷ People actually isolated Mexican-American students because they did not speak the language as well. The quote even mentions that the students were expected to become ‘adjusted’ to America which would have made them Americanized. Being Americanized is part of English monolingualism. Lastly, the final argument is that “language serves as national unifying force.”⁷⁸ This argument was also used during the

⁷³ Moore, *A History of Bilingual Education in the US*, 23.

⁷⁴ *The Excluded Student*, 14.

⁷⁵ *The Excluded Student*, 20.

⁷⁶ Moore, *A History of Bilingual Education in the US*, 23.

⁷⁷ Gándara, and Aldana, “Who’s Segregated Now?”

⁷⁸ Moore, *A History of Bilingual Education in the US*, 23.

San Antonio hearing. A principal of a San Antonio Independent School District junior high school testified that he would prefer not to have bilingual instruction past the third grade because, “I think they [Mexican Americans] want to learn English. And I think that they want to be full Americans. And since English is the language of America, I believe that they want to learn English.”⁷⁹ This same principal was overheard saying that he would “fight teaching Spanish past the third grade because it destroys loyalty to America.”⁸⁰ This principal gave no evidence as to why he believed that his Mexican-American students wished to be fully American. These arguments people make about English monolingualism were seen in the arguments used for students to only speak English in schools. It is no wonder then that Moore would point out that history was repeating itself. These schools were not interested in helping students speak better English, they were only interested in students speaking only English.

Around the late 1960s to early 1970s, people started to see that there was a problem with banning Spanish from classrooms. To rectify this, schools started to become more relaxed with their “English only” rule. One district in Texas enclosed this statement saying that “Effective on September 1, 1968, students were allowed to speak correct Spanish on school grounds and classrooms if allowed by individual teachers. Teachers may use Spanish in classroom to ‘bridge-a-gap’ and make understanding clear.”⁸¹ It should be noted that the statement said “correct Spanish” which referred to the Spanish that was taught in Spanish class. This meant that other types of Spanish like Tex-Mex Spanish were not allowed to be spoken in classrooms or schoolgrounds. The United States government also tried to help by starting up programs to help students with language deficiencies. The report done by the Commission of Civil Rights mentions three programs that schools were using to help remedy this situation. One of them was bilingual education. The U.S. Office of Education defines bilingual education as “the use of two

⁷⁹ *The Excluded Student*, 20.

⁸⁰ *The Excluded Student*, 20.

⁸¹ *The Excluded Student*, 15.

languages, one of which is English, as mediums of instruction for the same pupil population in a well organized program which encompasses part or all of the curriculum and includes the study of the history and culture associated with the mother tongue.”⁸² This program was used to help both non-English speaking children learn English better by becoming bilingual and bicultural but also English-speaking children to develop bilingual and bicultural skills, as well as thoughtfulness. There were some difficulties with this program, one being that there were not enough bilingual teachers. The Commission reported that “Survey statistics show that only 1.2 percent of Texas’ teachers participate in bilingual education programs in the State. The other four Southwestern States show one-half or 1 percent or less.”⁸³ The report went on to say that the teachers in this program had less than six semester hours of training, along with saying that “None of the States showed more than 2.0 percent of their teachers taking in-service training for bilingual education during the 1968-69 academic year.”⁸⁴ It is bad enough that there were not enough teachers to teach bilingual education, but the ones that were able to teach did not have enough training to teach the program effectively. If schools did not have teachers who are qualified to teach these programs, then students would not be able to get the education they need. This was a real issue as the Commission noted that there were not a lot of students who were signed up for this program:

While 6.5 percent of the schools in the survey area have bilingual programs, these are reaching only 2.7 percent of the Mexican American student population. In three States – Arizona, Colorado, and New Mexico – they are reaching less than 1 percent of the Mexican American student population. California has programs in more schools, 8.5 percent, but reaches only 1.7 percent of its Mexican American students whereas Texas serves 5.0 percent of its Mexican American students with programs introduced into 5.9 percent of its schools.⁸⁵

⁸² *The Excluded Student*, 21.

⁸³ *The Excluded Student*, 24.

⁸⁴ *The Excluded Student*, 24.

⁸⁵ *The Excluded Student*, 22.

These are startling numbers since the whole reason that bilingual education came to be was to help non-English speaking students. If non-English speaking students were not using these programs, then they were not getting the help they needed. While this program was a good start towards helping Mexican-American children learn English without having an “English only” rule, it did not help as much as it could.

Another program schools implemented was English as a Second Language (ESL). The Commission of Civil Rights defines ESL as “a program designed to teach English language skills without the presentation of related cultural material.”⁸⁶ The objective of this program was to help non-English speakers skilled in English so that they would be able to assimilate into the main culture. It was reported that ESL was taught for only a limited number of hours each week. The way the class was taught was that “English [was] presented to Spanish speaking children in much the same way that a foreign language is taught to English speaking students.”⁸⁷ This program was the more favorable option for students as the Commission noted that the number of students using ESL was more than twice that of bilingual education, with them finding an estimated “5.5 percent of Mexican American students in the Southwest are receiving some type of English as a Second Language instruction.”⁸⁸ However, one issue of this program was that it did not consider the student’s culture. Unlike with bilingual education, ESL did not consider the specific educational needs of Mexican-American students as a unique ethnic group. Because of this, the Commission reported that “most ESL classes fail to expose children to approaches, attitudes, and materials which take advantage of the rich Mexican American heritage.”⁸⁹ An important part of one’s culture is one’s language, so to have culture removed from language classes can be disrespectful.

⁸⁶ *The Excluded Student*, 26.

⁸⁷ *The Excluded Student*, 26.

⁸⁸ *The Excluded Student*, 24.

⁸⁹ *The Excluded Student*, 24.

There was also a variant of the ESL program: the Spanish-to-English “bridge” program. This program was supposed to use Spanish as a “bridge” to English which once crossed, will stop using Spanish entirely in favor of using English as the only language to be used in school. This made it so that the “bridge” only went one way which some people disliked. People also disliked this program because it dealt only with non-English speakers which meant that schools could once again ethnically segregate their classrooms. The last program schools were using was remedial reading. Remedial reading was created to help students whose reading levels were below their grade level. Even though the program’s goal was to help all students read better, the program saw significant use in helping Mexican-American students learn English. As previously mentioned, Mexican-American students were reading at levels below their grade average. Remedial reading helped these students rank higher in their reading levels while also helping them learn English. The reason why remedial reading helped teach students English was because it had a strict monolingual approach. This made remedial reading have a higher acceptance use by teachers than either bilingual education or ESL. Like the other programs though, remedial reading had a low percentage of Mexican-American students enrolled. The Commission reported that “the Study shows that although more than half of the Southwest public schools offer remedial reading courses, only 10.7 percent of the region’s Mexican American students are actually enrolled in these classes,” and that “[i]n each case, it is reaching only one out of every five of these minority students who, by school measurements, need it.”⁹⁰ The Commission also found out that “Forty-four percent of the Southwest’s elementary schools offer no remedial reading at all, while 32 percent of the region’s secondary schools fail to offer it.”⁹¹ And just like with the bilingual education program, remedial reading was found to be taught by teachers who were not fully qualified, “3.9 percent of the Southwest’s teachers teach in remedial reading

⁹⁰ *The Excluded Student*, 28.

⁹¹ *The Excluded Student*, 28.

programs, with 3.2 percent of them having had six or more semester hours of relevant training. In 1968-69, slightly more than 3 percent were receiving remedial reading in-service training.”⁹² It does not make sense that schools would have these programs if trained professionals did not teach them nor were being used by the students who need them. While all these programs were innovative at the time, they did not help as much as they could.

All the previous attempts at fixing bilingual teaching happened back in the late 1900s. Since then, the United States has made numerous improvements toward promoting bilingualism in students. In her book, Moore noted that dual language programs have been increasing in recent years, “In North Carolina, for example, 59 dual language programs exist, 37% of which were opened between 2013 and 2018 and the city of Dallas offers 56 dual language programs.”⁹³ These dual language programs are very much needed as it has been noted that “Census data from 2010 reveal that Spanish is spoken by at least 25% of the population (5 years or older) in 54 out of 57 metropolitan areas in the United States. Of these metropolitan areas, 22 are located in California and 12 in Texas” (Gándara). It is great then that there are more dual language programs, but to teach these programs there needs to be trained professionals. As seen throughout the previous paragraph, teachers qualified to teach bilingual programs are hard to find. To combat this, both Californians Together and the California Association of Bilingual Education (CABE) launched the English Learner Leadership and Legacy Initiative (ELLLI) in 2015. The goal of this initiative was “to develop a new generation of strong, well-informed, skilled, courageous and activist leaders to build and sustain the movement for educational equity and excellence for English Learners.”⁹⁴ This means that there are more trained professionals out there who are able to teach these specialized programs. Not only that, but students have also been starting to get the seal of biliteracy. Moore described the seals as, “conveyed to students who (in

⁹² *The Excluded Student*, 28.

⁹³ Moore, *A History of Bilingual Education in the US*, 129.

⁹⁴ Moore, *A History of Bilingual Education in the US*, 134.

most states) demonstrate proficiency in a language in addition to English (in some cases, course completion is sufficient).”⁹⁵ The seal appears on a high school senior’s transcript or diploma and is a declaration of achievement for college admissions and future employers. About forty states and the District of Columbia have approved the statewide use of the Seal of Biliteracy. Moore noted in her book that over ten thousand students got the seal when they graduated during 2012 in California. Students can receive the seal on their record depending on how their state constitutes bilingualism. For some states, like Texas, Nevada, and Florida, students need to have proficient language assessment scores while in others, like California, Colorado, and Louisiana, students need to have a minimum grade point average and have completed four years of coursework. It is great that future employers would look to see if a potential employee has the seal of biliteracy since being bilingual is more valued now than being monolingual. Though in the past the American school system pushed for English monolingualism, today they have changed their tune and have embraced being bilingual.

Mexican-American students faced many repercussions due to the “English only” rule. If students did not abide by the rule they would be punished, either with something simple like having to pay teachers a cent or something terrible like being beaten with a paddle. Since Mexican-American students had a challenging time learning English, they did poorly in school, leading some students to drop out of school completely. The pressure to speak only English led to some students developing subtractive bilingualism. This could have been the schools’ goal since looking at the arguments made towards keeping the “English only” rule line up with those made towards promoting English monolingualism. The schools eventually realized they were wrong to implement a ban on Spanish and tried to produce programs that would help students be bilingual but this did not help as much since teachers were not professionally trained nor were

⁹⁵ Moore, *A History of Bilingual Education in the US*, 127.

students who needed these programs enrolled in them. It would not be until recent years that schools encouraged students to be bilingual and have the resources necessary to help them be bilingual. Today, Blackwell School stands as a reminder of what happened in the past. Sen. Alex Padilla of California helped co-sponsor Blackwell's legislation and is reported saying that "The Blackwell school stands as an example of how the powers that be, once upon a time, tried to suppress our community and our culture. . . If you suppress language and you suppress the culture, you suppress identity."⁹⁶ It is important that people be allowed to speak their native language since it is a part of them. If we ban their language, we are effectively silencing them.

⁹⁶ Hennessy-Fiske, "School that buried 'Mr. Spanish,'" 3.

Democracy's Development in De Facto States: A Case Study of Kosovo

By: Derek W. Kubacki
Global Affairs

Abstract

The discourse surrounding democratization studies oftentimes excludes members of our global community from consideration when evaluating the transition process states go through during secession, revolution, or coups when the primary methodological process is quantitative. Delving into the development, or lack of development, of democratic norms in de facto states has the potential to aid in the study of democracy and autocracy around the globe. Thus, the inquiry driving this study attempts to determine if the inclusion of *de facto* states in the democratization discourse would impact the cultural and ethnic arguments as states enter the “transition from” phase of their development. Despite several of its neighbors being admitted into the international community and current members of NATO after following the secessionist model, Kosovo remains on the outside, which allows us to question the efficacy of the current state recognition theory.

With the widespread recognition of the Peace of Westphalia and definitions related to what allows a state to enter the international arena, and thus warrant full inclusion by researchers, a portion of our landmass is often ignored by the international community and completely unknown to the wider populace. The most well-known non-state state is Taiwan, which is an exception rather than the norm. What about the de facto states of Abkhazia, South Ossetia, Transnistria, Northern Cyprus, or Kosovo(a),⁹⁷ among many others? Delving into the development, or lack of development, of democratic norms in de facto states has the potential to aid in the study of democracy and autocracy around the globe.

The demise of the Soviet Union in 1991 had far-reaching impacts on international relations that are still being felt to this day with the Russian invasion of Ukraine. The reconsolidation of the Soviet Union to the confines of the internationally recognized Russian borders, and the resultant dissolution of the Warsaw Pact, left a void in eastern European states.⁹⁸ When the former state of Yugoslavia is factored into this equation, the democratization theories focused on culture, specifically religion or ethnicity, could gain further primacy in the discourse of democracy and autocracy. Thus, the inquiry driving this study attempts to determine if the inclusion of *de facto* states in the democratization discourse would impact the cultural and ethnic arguments as states enter the “transition from” phase of their development. It is hypothesized their inclusion would have a positive impact on cultural and ethnic studies when discussing

⁹⁷ For a discussion on how place names convey “territorial ownership,” see, Gerard Toal, *Near Abroad: Putin, The West, and the Contest over Ukraine and the Caucasus* (Oxford University Press, 2017), pg. xvii-xx. For this purpose of this paper, author recognizes the importance placed on geographical names and will henceforth be referring to the state as “Kosovo” as that is the English spelling of the state’s name in their Constitution. For original text, see, Office of the Prime Minister of Kosovo, *Constitution of the Republic of Kosovo*, 2022, available at kryeministri.rks-gov.net/en/prime-minister/. For an English translation, see, Library of Congress, nd, “Guide to Law Online: Kosovo,” *Library of Congress Research Guides*, available at guides.loc.gov/law-kosovo/constitution.

⁹⁸ Derek W. Kubacki, *The Cold War: An Ideological and Geographical Conflict? A Re-Evaluation of a Critical Era in World Politics*, 2020. Master’s Thesis, The University of Texas at San Antonio. The statement here serves as the foundation of Kubacki’s thesis with a focus on political geography theory to make a case that the Cold War is still on-going, highlighting numerous factors and case studies.

European de facto states and Palestine while providing further support *against* the position of Taiwan or any future de facto states in Asia or Latin America

As with Taiwan, the geographical borders of Kosovo are found on most maps, with some labeling it as the “Autonomous Province of Kosovo,” but with hashmarks, not solid lines, denoting it as part of a larger state, Serbia. These two states, Serbia and Kosovo, could not be more dissimilar, yet both were born out of genocide and ethnic cleansing of the Balkan Wars following the break-up of Yugoslavia. Today, Kosovo’s neighbors, North Macedonia, Albania, and Montenegro, are NATO member states that also broke away from Yugoslavia in 1990 and are included, when data is available, in quantitative democratization research agendas. The lack of surveys should not preclude the inclusion of de facto states in the discourse that revolves around what leads a state to become democratic, remain democratic, or acquiesce to authoritarian rule or desires.⁹⁹ As one of the two most internationally recognized states that have yet to attain United Nations (UN) recognition and one that is relatively undervalued compared to Taiwan, Kosovo presents researchers the opportunity to deep-dive into democratization, authoritarianism, ethnic and conflict studies, and a range of other research agendas that political geography affords us.

Taking into consideration Capoccia and Ziblatt’s call for the inclusion of historiography to avoid pitfalls in the democratization discourse,¹⁰⁰ this paper begins with a brief historiography of Kosovo to show its relevance to the modern state following the Peace of Westphalia in addition to what constituted a state prior to the English Civil War. This will precede a review of

⁹⁹ Sirianne Dahlum and Carl Henrik Knutsen, “Democracy by Demand? Reinvestigating the Effect of Self-expression Values on Political Regime Type,” *British Journal of Political Science* 47: 2, 2016, pg. 448. Dahlum and Knutsen excluded West and East Germany from their data as they have since realigned under one flag, however, that has the potential to ignore the “transition from” argument regarding democratization. Additionally, they excluded Yugoslavia as it broke up into many states but excluded the *de facto* state of Kosovo. This is an example of the common practice of excluding *de facto* states in the determining likelihood of going democratic or remaining authoritarian.

¹⁰⁰ Giovanni Capoccia and Daniel Ziblatt, “The Historical Turn in Democratization Studies: A New Research Agenda for Europe and Beyond,” *Comparative Political Studies*, 43: 8/9, 2010, pg. 935-9.

selected literature that focuses on democratization studies that have relied heavily on quantitative analysis¹⁰¹ and largely excluded non-states despite each having some form of international recognition and meeting the established definition of a state by international treaty¹⁰² along with accepted theories on state recognition. The paper will conclude with a brief summation of the discussion and the findings along with recommendations and implications for future research.

HISTORY OF KOSOVO

Kosovo's path to its current position in Europe has been long and bloody. Sadly, many people could not name or point out a single Balkan state on a map despite it being geographically close to the cradle of civilization in modern-day Iraq and a way-station on the Nile-Indus corridor in the early centuries of human civilization. Little historical research¹⁰³ on Kosovo has been completed outside the small Balkan state prior to the death of Josep Tito in 1980, though several contemporary and local historians¹⁰⁴ have conducted some research in the decades since his death and the rise of nationalism under the reign of Slobodan Milosevic after Kosovo had been pulled back under the control of the Yugoslavian government following five decades of autonomous rule.

Potentially as early as the seventh-century,¹⁰⁵ the region witnessed a mass migration of ethnic Serbians that continues to play a significant role in the development of Kosovo in the

¹⁰¹ For recent discussion regarding the “second great debate” that applies to shifting focus towards quantitative analysis, see, Quan Li, “The Second Great Debate Revisited: Exploring the Impact of the Qualitative-Quantitative Divide in International Relations,” *International Studies Review*, 21: 3, 2019.

¹⁰² Gëzim Visoka, John Doyle and Edward Newman, *Routledge Handbook of State Recognition* (Taylor & Francis, 2020). As a “handbook,” this edited volume contains works from many others and can serve as a starting point for anyone interested in the topic of state recognition.

¹⁰³ Two historians have completed seminal works on Kosovo's history. For a “short history” that has a focus on the Medieval era, see, Noel Malcolm, *Kosovo: A Short History* (Macmillan, 1998). For a contemporary piece that places primacy beginning in the 13th-century, see, Miranda Vickers, *Between Serb and Albanian: A History of Kosovo* (Hurst & Co., 1998)

¹⁰⁴ See, Tim Judah, *The Serbs: History, Myth and the Destruction of Yugoslavia*, 3rd ed. (New Haven, 2009); Sabrina P. Ramet, *Balkan Babel: The Disintegration of Yugoslavia from the Death of Tito to Ethnic War*, 4th ed (Westview Press, 2018); and Miranda Vickers and James Pettifer, *Albanian Question: Reshaping the Balkans* (I.B. Tauris, 2007) for just a few leading scholars on the historiography of Kosovo.

¹⁰⁵ The exact period this occurred is debated amongst historians and locals. See note 7 for two examples of this contestation.

present day. For nearly two hundred years since their earliest arrival to the region, Serbians would continue to exert their influence in the area. As the old Roman Empire was transitioning and moving westward out of Italy, the Serbians began to adopt an orthodox version of Christianity and would eventually establish one of the oldest churches in the region in the city of Pec. This would all change in 1389 at the Battle of Kosovo, the turning point for the way the state defines itself to this day.¹⁰⁶ In the context of the twentieth-century, Serbia was the greater nation that contained the parts present-day Bosnia-Herzegovina, Kosovo, North Macedonia, Montenegro, and Albania.

Kosovo sat in the middle of two kingdoms: The Ottoman Empire of the Muslims to the south and the countries of Christian Europe to the west. As Islam grew in importance throughout the Middle East and into Africa, more and more rules were created to address their dealings with non-Muslims. One of the primary factors that drove the expansion of Islam was mercantilism as additional trade routes were opened into the interior of the European and African continents. Among the early laws that allowed the expansion of Islam was that no Muslim merchant could deal with a non-Muslim merchant,¹⁰⁷ which led to mass conversions throughout the Ottoman Empire as it expanded throughout the region.¹⁰⁸

The two religions would ultimately force a showdown at the Battle of Kosovo in 1389 when the Ottoman Turks invaded the Serbian province of Kosovo. Legend (or myth) has it that Prince Lazar of Serbia sought the counsel of his peers and fellow warriors in Pristina to decide whether the small Serbian army would march against the mighty Ottoman Turks. Many, including Prince Lazar, saw the battle as unavoidable since Christians consider Muslims as infidels and the battle a holy cause for God.¹⁰⁹ Heavily outnumbered, the Serbians fought

¹⁰⁶ Michael J. Seth, *Not on the Map: The Peculiar History of de facto States* (Lexington Books, 2022), pg. 87-88.

¹⁰⁷ John Robert McNeill and William Hardy McNeill, *The Human Web: A Bird's Eye View of World History* (W. W. Norton, 2003), pg. 147.

¹⁰⁸ Seth, *Not on the Map*, 88-89.

¹⁰⁹ Judah, *The Serbs*, 39.

gallantly and were able to kill the Turkish King. Unfortunately, this merely chided the Turks further, and they were able to defeat the Serbians decisively in the battle and captured Prince Lazar alive, before following the Islamic tradition of beheading all non-believers.¹¹⁰ The Turkish conquest of all of Serbia soon followed and expanded the Muslim nation further west and that much closer to Europe, setting the stage for round two just on the precipice of the First World War.

Just as the Roman Empire was experiencing its downfall as the Ottoman Empire was on the rise, the Turks were bound to experience a similar tipping point. That time came in the early 1900s as tensions were rising between the Ottoman Turks and the Hapsburg Empire of Austria-Hungary just to their north. The tension caused the first swelling of nationalism amongst the Serbians leading to armed conflict with the Muslim rulers. As part of the wider Balkan War of 1912, the Serbians joined forces with Greece, Romania, and Bulgaria, all territories under Ottoman rule, to cast off their Muslim rulers and return to their Orthodox views. Following their defeat at Kumanovo, Macedonia (now known as North Macedonia), the Ottomans pulled back to present-day Istanbul¹¹¹ and allowed the Serbs to regain control of the area, something they would control through the end of the twentieth-century¹¹².

The demise of the Ottoman Empire in 1918 and the interwar period allowed for a somewhat contentious, and sometimes harmonious relationship, between Kosovar Albanian and Serbs within greater Yugoslavia. The Second World War would change all that. The first years of the war saw an Italian invasion where they occupied Albania and a Nazi invasion from the north, which resulted in the dismemberment of the Yugoslav state and Hitler handing Kosovo to Italian-controlled Albania. Not happy with this overall rearrangement of young partisans, Josep Tito, would rise to lead an insurgent army that almost single-handedly defeated the Nazi

¹¹⁰ Judah, *The Serbs*, 41.

¹¹¹ Seth, *Not on the Map*, 90.

¹¹² Malcolm, *Kosovo*, 252.

occupiers before Stalin's Russian invaded from the east.¹¹³ Attempting to align himself with Stalin, Tito declared himself and the Yugoslav state a communist state; however, as he would not cede control of the state to the Soviet Union, Tito would only gain minimal support from his Communist brethren. Realizing the significance Kosovo had played in the creation of a Yugoslav state in the expulsion of the Italian and Nazi occupiers, Tito provided the region autonomy as the Socialist Autonomous Province of Serbia upon passage Yugoslav Constitution of 1947 and further ratified with the 1974 amendments that sought to lay out the continuation of power upon Tito's death.¹¹⁴

As long as Tito ruled the country, everyone was taken care of and no one had to worry about many of the things people in more developed and democratic countries concerned themselves with. Muslims and Christians were able to live together in close proximity under a false sense of security and brotherhood that stemmed from the result of both Battles of Kosovo. Tito's death in 1980, however, brought everything to a near screeching halt.¹¹⁵ A power vacuum was left at the upper levels of government for several years as people attempted to replace Tito. The vacuum allowed for Slobodan Milošević to rise to power in 1986/7 and lead the nation into more turbulent times as the "end"¹¹⁶ of the Cold War was approaching. The fall of the Berlin Wall in 1989 ushered in the demise of the Soviet Union and the Warsaw Pact by the end of 1991 and allowed a second wave of nationalism throughout Yugoslavia.¹¹⁷ One of the first actions he took upon this transition was the revocation of the autonomous status that Kosovo had held since

¹¹³ Seth, *Not on the Map*, 90-92.

¹¹⁴ Office of the Historian. nd. "A Guide to the United States' History of Recognition, Diplomatic, and Consular Relations, by Country, since 1776: Kosovo." *U. S. State Department*, available at history.state.gov/countries/kosovo#:~:text=After%20World%20War%20II%2C%20Kosovo,Socialist%20Autonomous%20Province%20within%20Serbia. Keith Brown "Sovereignty after Socialism at Europe's New Border," *The State of Sovereignty: Territories, Laws, Populations*, eds. Douglas Howland and Luise White (Indiana University Press, 2009), pg. 198-200.

¹¹⁵ Ramet, *Balkan Babel*, xiv.

¹¹⁶ Kubacki, *The Cold War*.

¹¹⁷ Judah, *The Serbs*, 29.

the 1947 Yugoslav constitution and was expanded upon with each successive constitution.¹¹⁸

With the stroke of a pen, fifty years of autonomy for Kosovo was gone, and the stage had been set for the possibility of genocide¹¹⁹ and years of conflict that would require the assistance of NATO to end and to provide security for a peaceable transfer to a new form of government.

The entire Balkan region was embroiled in ethnic, revolutionary, and civil wars for much of the last decade of the twentieth-century; no region of the former Yugoslav Republic was immune. The conflicts started in the far west in the province of Bosnia-Herzegovina and would ultimately spread into the province of Kosovo. American President Bill Clinton was able to broker the Dayton Peace Accords in 1995 which brought an end to the Bosnian Civil War but allowed Milošević to retain the presidency of Serbia. Within three years, the flames of conflict between Muslims and Christians in the region were ignited once again and would take a massive intervention by NATO, led by the US and without *initial* UN Security Council authorization,¹²⁰ to stop the needless deaths of tens or hundreds of thousands of innocent people.

By the end of 2000, Milošević had been charged by the International Court of Justice in The Hague for genocide during the Balkan Wars and was detained by the court in early 2001. While Milošević would never be convicted of the crimes, having died in prison in 2006, NATO forces have remained in Kosovo to the date of this paper (more than 20 *years*) and have been

¹¹⁸ Seth, *Not on the Map*, 93.

¹¹⁹ The author's use of the term "genocide" is intentional. Author further recognizes there has been no official classification of the actions perpetrated by either the Serb Christians or Kosovar Albanian Muslims against the other side as "genocide." Rather, the actions have been referred to "ethnic cleansing," a term created by the UN during the Balkan Wars. See, Office on Genocide Prevention and the Responsibility to Protect, nd. "Ethnic Cleansing" and "Genocide," *United Nations*, available at www.un.org/en/genocideprevention/ethnic-cleansing.shtml#:~:text=rendering%20an%20area%20ethnically%20homogeneous,and%20terror%20Dinspiring%20means%20the. See also, Nicholas J. Wheeler, "The Limits of Humanitarian Intervention from the Air: The Cases of Bosnia and Kosovo," *Saving Strangers: Humanitarian Intervention in International Society* (Oxford University Press, 2000), pg. 242. Furthermore, while beyond the scope of this paper, author contends there is a sense of "hyper-Semitism" regarding classifying genocidal acts perpetrated against non-Jewish populations; in other words, there is a perception that "genocide" is reserved solely for the Holocaust.

¹²⁰ S/RES/1244. Some scholars reject the notion that the UNSC approved the intervention as S/RES/1244 was the *fifth* such attempt to gain approval over a 15-month period. For an example of this rejection, see, Margaret P. Karns, Karen A. Mingst and Kendall W. Stiles, *International Organizations: The Politics & Processes of Global Governance*, 3rd ed. (Lynne Reinner Publishers, 2015), pg. 287.

instrumental in Kosovo being able to draft their final constitution and officially declare their independence from Serbia in 2008 and receiving recognition from over 100 UN member states.

LITERATURE

Prior to the Peace of Westphalia and the demise of “Divine Right of Kings,” the number of “Kings” who ruled the lands was incalculable throughout time. Historical records are replete with evidence of people coming together to form what Anderson calls *Imagined Communities*.¹²¹ Today, while the general definition of a state is well established, the specifics of state recognition are a matter of debate.

Theories of State Recognition. A fundamental issue with the UN Charter is that it fails to define what a state is while providing a process for a state to gain membership within the organization. For an organization founded after the Second World War for the purpose of developing “friendly relations among nations based on respect ... of equal rights and *self-determination* [emphasis added] of peoples,”¹²² not defining a state is critical to all aspects of international relations. This is further exacerbated and “muddled” as membership is “open to all other peace-loving states which accept the obligations” in the Charter with admission “effected by a decision of the General Assembly upon the recommendation of the Security Council.”¹²³

This has resulted in international law and relations scholars referring to a treaty ratified under the League of Nations, and potentially only relevant to those signatories,¹²⁴ as the seminal work in defining what a state is. As the precursor to the UN, the League of Nations was created following the First World War under the same guiding principles of the UN. Though its charter also failed to address what a state is, the various states in the Americas ultimately ratified the

¹²¹ Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origins and Spread of Nationalism*, 3rd ed. (Verso, 2016).

¹²² U.N. charter art. 1, para. 2.

¹²³ U.N. charter art. 4.

¹²⁴ Rowan Nicholson and Thomas D. Grant, “Theories of State Recognition.” In: *Routledge Handbook of State Recognition*, eds. Gëzim Visoka, John Doyle and Edward Newman (Taylor & Francis, 2020), pg. 26. In their chapter, the authors recognize this definition is not universally accepted by all scholars and that the definition of “recognition” is also relevant to the discussion.

Montevideo Treaty in 1934 which provides the first, and currently only, internationally accepted definition of a state. The signatories agreed a “State as a person on international law” should possess: a) a permanent population; b) a defined territory; c) government; and d) capacity to enter into relations with the other states.¹²⁵

The “traditional declaratory” theories discussed above contrast with the “traditional constitutive” theories that argue “criteria such as territory, population, and government have no necessary relevance” and states “*may* [emphasis in original text] choose” to either take those factors into account or ignore them in their internal deliberations as recognition is the “original exercise of free will” that binds states to the international norms of interacting with an entity and is bounded by the entirety of international law.¹²⁶ This brings into question how international law, in any application, can apply to an entity that is not considered a state and, thus not a member of the international community.

The International Law Commission (ILC), established in 1947 pursuant to the UN Charter,¹²⁷ attempted to discuss the legal significance of recognition in their ruling establishing the existence of the right of states regarding *non-recognition*. In their ruling, the ILC stated there is an “international responsibility when there has been a “serious breach by a *State* [emphasis added] ... under a peremptory norm of general international law.”¹²⁸ In the subsequent chapter, the ILC goes on to rule, “No State shall recognize as lawful a situation created by a serious breach... nor render aid or assistance in maintaining that situation.”¹²⁹

¹²⁵ U. S Congress, *Convention on Rights and Duties of States Adopted by the Seventh International Conference of American States*, 1934.

¹²⁶ Nicholson and Grant, “Theories,” 28.

¹²⁷ International Law Commission, “About the Commission,” *United Nations*, available at legal.un.org/ilc/work.shtml. U.N. charter art., 2023, pg. 13, para. 1(a).

¹²⁸ International Law Commission, *Responsibility of States for Internationally Wrongful Acts*. United Nations, art., 2001, pg. 40, para. 1, available at legal.un.org/ilc/texts/instruments/english/draft_articles/9_6_2001.pdf.

¹²⁹ International Law Commission, 2001, art. 41, para. 2.

In concurrence with Nicholson and Grant, these rulings raise more questions than answers in the theoretical discussion of statehood.¹³⁰ As Crawford states, there is long-standing precedence in international law “against the independence of entities created by the use of force or during a period of belligerent occupation”¹³¹ that allows for more primacy of *non-recognition* than towards *recognition* of states that are exercising their right to self-determination.¹³² Among these questions is: Has any state, whether pre- or post-Peace of Westphalia been created from any acts that did *not* include the use of force? Even in the context of the decolonization of Africa were many of the colonial powers “granted” independence to their former subjects, these actions were generally only conducted *after* a segment of the colonized state revolted against the colonial power.

Democratization studies. Created following the Second World War, and in close alignment in its creation and development alongside the UN, the Liberal International Order (LIO) supports the rise of free trade and spreading democracy as it is a system of “structured relations among capitalist, democratic, and industrialized nations.”¹³³ With this understanding of the LIO, it is no surprise the contending theories discussing the causes of democratization have centered on a state’s economic prosperity and the desires of the populace to be democratic.

Through the first decade of the twenty-first-century, it was widely believed economic development not only drove the move toward democracy but also allowed for its consolidation.¹³⁴ Following the seminal work of Przeworski, et. al showing wealth has no impact on democratization, only on its consolidation,¹³⁵ scholars have recentered their discussion from

¹³⁰ Nicholson and Grant, “Theories,” 32.

¹³¹ James Crawford, *The Creation of States in International Law*, 2nd ed. (Oxford University Press, 2006), pg. 132-3.

¹³² U.N. charter art. 1, para. 2.

¹³³ David A. Lake, Lisa L. Martin and Thomas Risse, “Challenges to the Liberal Order: Reflections on *International Organization*,” *International Organization*, 75: 2, 2021, pg. 225-6.

¹³⁴ Christian Houle, “Inequality and Democracy: Why Inequality Harms Consolidation but Does Not Affect Democratization,” *World Politics*, 61: 4, 2009, pg. 589.

¹³⁵ Adam Przeworski, Michael E. Alvarez, Jose Antonio Cheibub and Fernando Limongi, *Democracy and Development: Political Institutions and Well-Being in the World, 1950-1990* (Cambridge University Press, 2000).

wealth *level* to wealth *distribution*.¹³⁶ In the end, regardless of the regime type a person resides in, it is not only unlikely, but also unreasonable, to expect a populace to want to “consume less, live shorter lives, get less education, or see their children die.”¹³⁷

Acceptance of the assumptions stated above by Przeworski, et. al allows for realignment of the theoretical underpinnings of what drives democratization to account for the cultural, ethnic, and religious implications. As Inglehart and Welzel state, “history matters,” modernization theory behind the socioeconomic theories is nonlinear and the “emancipative nature of self-expression” allows for the democratization process to flourish.¹³⁸ Drawing from this revolutionary approach to the field, Dahlum and Knutsen conducted a quantitative analysis to determine the correlation between self-expression and the “transition to” democracy finding there is a “gradual learning” of self-expression values attributable to coups or international interventions.¹³⁹ Hadenius and Teorell, however, reject all claims made by Inglehart and Welzel by showing how the incorporation of “effective democracy” as a “lagged dependent variable” negates their findings and provides further support for the exclusion of the cultural viewpoint from the discourse.¹⁴⁰ Though the inclusion of a “lagged” variable is reasonable, the duration of time considered, 1990-99, is a short period of time and ignores the other position Inglehart and Welzel take, and later by Capoccia and Ziblatt, that not only does history matter but the historiography of the states must be factored in.

In his defense of a minimalist conceptualization of democracy, Przeworski focuses on the nature and presence of competitive elections as the defining principle of democracy using a

¹³⁶ For a discussion on the role of elites in maintaining wealth inequality, see, Ben Ansell and David Samuels, *Inequality and Democratization: An Elite-Competition Approach* (Cambridge University Press, 2014). For an earlier discussion on how redistribution of wealth can aid democratic stability *in the Americas*, see, Terry Lynn Karl,, “Economic Inequality and Democratic Instability,” *Journal of Democracy*, 11: 1, 2000, pg. 149-56.

¹³⁷ Przeworski, et. al, *Democracy and Development*, 5.

¹³⁸ Ronald Inglehart and Christian Welzel, *Modernization, Cultural Change, and Democracy: The Human Development Sequence* (Cambridge University Press, 2005), pg. 5-6.

¹³⁹ Dahlum and Knutsen, “Democracy by Demand?,” 437.

¹⁴⁰ Axel Hadenius and Jan Teorell, “Cultural and Economic Prerequisites of Democracy: Reassessing Recent Evidence,” *Studies in Comparative International Development*, 39: 4, 2005, pgs. 96-8, 102.

dichotomous approach.¹⁴¹ This position is in stark difference to Dahl's notion of a polyarchy¹⁴² and Diamond's focus on hybrid regimes,¹⁴³ both of which allow for a wider discussion on what constitutes a democracy and how they can be included in the larger democratization discourse. In recognition of the value that a state is either democratic or is not as argued by minimalists, one fault in the concept centers on its lack of applicability to the "transition from" aspect of the discourse.¹⁴⁴

As the preponderance of *de facto* states are in Eastern Europe¹⁴⁵ where they fell under the "territorial ownership" of one of the more recognized states prior to their individual declarations of independence, understanding the minimalist vs maximalist debate is also critical to allow for a wider inclusion of peoples when discussing democratization as the majority of the 28 former communist states in the region would *not* be classified as a democracy.¹⁴⁶ In the "transition from" Communism debate, there is a high probability that eastern European states, including the *de facto* states, saw membership in NATO as an aspirational goal.¹⁴⁷ As NATO nearly doubled in size in a 21-year period, with all fourteen states in that timeframe having previously been under the control of the Soviet Union or aligned with the Warsaw Pact,¹⁴⁸ this position may have some validity. However, not only does this position neglect the historical context of the states as

¹⁴¹ Adam Przeworski, "Minimalist Conception of Democracy: A Defense," *Democracy's Value*, Ian Shapiro and Casiano Hacker-Cordón, eds. (Cambridge University Press, 1999).

¹⁴² Robert Dahl, "Democratization and Public Opposition," *Polyarchy: Participation and Opposition* (Yale University Press, 1972).

¹⁴³ Larry Diamond, "Elections Without Democracy. Thinking About Hybrid Regimes," *Journal of Democracy*, 13: 2, 2002, pg. 21-35.

¹⁴⁴ In the discussion of why a state "transitions to" democracy following the collapse of its former government, the minimalist concept is quite acceptable. However, when discussing the "transition from" one form of government to another, specifically why a state chooses democracy over anything else, the minimalist concept is ill-suited in any of the explanatory factors that led to that decision.

¹⁴⁵ The use of "eastern Europe" in this sense refers to the geopolitical aspect of Europe, a distinct differentiation from the geographic definition.

¹⁴⁶ Archie Brown, "Transnational Influences in the Transition from Communism," *Post-Soviet Affairs*, 16: 2, 2000, pg. 177. See, Kubacki, *The Cold War*, 26, for a table showing more recent Freedom House Index rankings of "Freedom Scores" that shows only four of the 14 post-Soviet states that were later admitted to NATO had scores under 70.

¹⁴⁷ Brown, "Transnational Influences," 183.

¹⁴⁸ Kubacki, *The Cold War*, 16.

Hadenius and Teorell did, but this also fails to meet the “right of non-recognition” established by the ILC.¹⁴⁹ Though the six recognized states that broke away from Yugoslavia are now members of NATO, of even more significance is the cultural, ethnic, and religious issues that led to their creation which is also seen in Kosovo.

CONCLUSION

The ILC ruled any actions taken by a state that goes against normative international laws and norms provide for the ability of states not to recognize them. Among these violations include declarations of independence that come about for the purpose of excluding a portion of a population for the purpose of committing genocide. While an argument could be made by post-colonialists of the changing nature of world politics by the colonial powers regarding this ruling, the application of present-day laws cannot be retroactively applied in a historical context. This does not, however, preclude the inclusion of the historicism of those theoreticians when discussing the democratization process. Kosovo has a rich history of being multiethnic and home to various religious beliefs but is not the only *de facto* state in Eastern Europe, let alone the world.

The ambiguity of international law pertaining to state recognition, or non-recognition, coupled with the debate between declaratory and constitutive theorists, allow for the continued exclusion of *de facto* states from the democratization discourse. Just as Diamond argued for the inclusion of hybrid regimes when classifying a state as a democracy, the hybrid theorists for state recognition acknowledge the importance of not relying on a sole definition or theoretical foundation. In modern-day politics, a consensus is often needed when deliberating domestic or international affairs. The ability of one party being able to do it all makes any discussion of democracy a moot point. Currently, the People’s Republic of China is the UN member state

¹⁴⁹ The region of the former Yugoslavia has now broken into six recognized states (Bosnia and Herzegovina, Croatia, North Macedonia, Montenegro, Serbia and Slovenia), one *de facto* state (Kosovo) and one autonomous region (Vojvodina). All eight of these states were a result of a “serious breach” of international law.

representing all of China, the second largest population in the world. As seen in the Uighur debate, the Tiananmen Square uprising, and the *de facto* state of Taiwan, Chinese Communism is not what all Chinese want. What happens when the Chinese Communist Party is overthrown and how does China break up? Including *de facto* states in the democratization discourse allows scholars and practitioners to be proactive in coming up with possible solutions when that time comes.

Are you a Kahlo?

By: Katalina Lopez
Department of History

Abstract

This essay attempts to reveal the importance of Frida Kahlo's image in Mexican American spaces, neighborhoods, and/or communities through a feminist and Hispanic perspective. The essay determines what cultural messages were introduced through the appliance of Frida Kahlo's image for the success and visibility of Mexican or Mexican American women living in Texas. This is seen in the comparison of the Chicana Movement with Frida Kahlo's political participation. The purpose of this essay is to illuminate the importance of public history through the integration of historical figures that mold national identity within local spheres. By merging the shared activity of art, usually through murals, and the presence of an influential historical figure, the viewer reflects on the impact of Kahlo's experiences as a conduit for Mexican or Mexican American women in the past as much as in present Texas to pursue their interests while continuing to support their community.

Frida Kahlo, born on the 6th of July in 1907, is an international symbol of women's liberation and artistic mobility. This paper focuses on the local level of Frida Kahlo's presence, considering her feminist rhetoric in Modern Chicana movements and her image in Mexican American communities through public historical displays in Texas. Throughout this paper, the topic will answer the Gans-Huxtable debate, which is: "Do we only want to reserve parts of the past that we can celebrate as a community or as a nation?"¹⁵⁰ Ultimately, the paper will incorporate a feminist perspective of Frida Kahlo to demonstrate how Mexican American women in Texas understand the principles behind making a supportive nation for themselves.

Frida Kahlo had lived a life of creativity and had undergone many experiences that consequently influenced her art. A fatal bus accident in 1925 was one of the many traumatic experiences that impacted her personal and artistic career as a metal pipe lodged through her spine. This incident left her bedridden for three months, factored into her miscarriage at the Henry Ford Hospital when she was in the United States, and conditioned her to a lifetime of wearing corsets.¹⁵¹ She also met the muralist Diego Rivera in 1922, eventually marrying him in 1929. Afterward, Kahlo left for New York with Rivera for his exhibition and work, resulting in living in the United States until 1930.¹⁵² At this time, Mexico had a wave of Mexican exiles entering the United States. From 1928 to 1934, muralists were deemed subversives under Plutarco Elias Calles.¹⁵³ It was not until December of 1933 that the couple returned to Mexico.¹⁵⁴ In 1935, another incident occurred that profoundly affected Kahlo; Rivera started an affair with her sister.¹⁵⁵ From this incident, she strived to earn herself recognition and economic security.

¹⁵⁰ Cherstin M. Lyon, Elizabeth M. Nix, and Rebecca K. Shrum, *Introduction to Public History: Interpreting the Past, Engaging Audiences* (Lanham, Maryland: Rowman & Littlefield, 2017), pg. 60.

¹⁵¹ Andrea Ketternmann, *Frida Kahlo, 1907-1954: Dolor y Pasión* (Köln: Taschen, 2016), pg. 17 & 34.

¹⁵² Ketternmann, *Frida Kahlo, 1907-1954: Dolor y Pasión*, 21&22

¹⁵³ Ketternmann, *Frida Kahlo, 1907-1954: Dolor y Pasión*, 33

¹⁵⁴ Ketternmann, *Frida Kahlo, 1907-1954: Dolor y Pasión*, 38.

¹⁵⁵ Ketternmann, *Frida Kahlo, 1907-1954: Dolor y Pasión*, 43.

Even Kahlo admitted, “My structure was informed by disharmony, by unadapting.”¹⁵⁶ Thus, the 1930s to the start of the 1940s marked Kahlo’s popular expositions and her professional career. By 1938, Frida Kalo would showcase her art in New York at the Julien Levy Gallery. A year later, she would travel to Paris and do another exhibition at the Renou and Colle gallery.¹⁵⁷ In that same year, she divorced Diego Rivera and retired to her paternal house at Coyoacán in Mexico City.¹⁵⁸ The divorce was short-lived as they remarried in December of 1940 when they were both in San Francisco for different reasons. In her second marriage, Kahlo would accept the marriage if Rivera abided by her terms.¹⁵⁹ By 1942, Kahlo was a teacher in the Academia del Arte and elected as a member of the Seminario de Cultura Mexicana (Mexico’s branch of cultural affairs).¹⁶⁰ In 1954, Kahlo’s health worsened, and her leg was amputated.¹⁶¹ She died on the 13th of July of that year.

Frida Kahlo’s iconography is a transnational symbol of feminism, especially as her personal life migrates between Mexico and the United States. This factor is crucial because the communities built in Texas are contingent on the intertwined history of consistent American and Mexican interactions, such as the Treaty of Guadalupe from 1848, the Mexican Revolution from 1910 to 1927, and the Cristero revolt from 1926 to 1929.¹⁶² By the 1960s to the 1970s, intellectual as much as artistic movements in Mexico City surged and expanded within the United States as the desire to challenge social norms and the status quo mimicked Kahlo’s own rejection of the Mexican Porfiriato, Spanish colonialism, and U.S. imperialism.¹⁶³ The moments

¹⁵⁶ Trans. Katalina Lopez. The original statement is: “Mi estructura informe por inarmónica, por inadaptar.” Frida Kahlo, *DIARIO DE FRIDA KAHLO* (La Casa Azul: Museo De Frida Kahlo, 1944-1954), pg. 136. <https://jstor.org/stable/community.10602837>.

¹⁵⁷ Ketternmann, *Frida Kahlo, 1907-1954: Dolor y Pasión*, 43 & 47.

¹⁵⁸ Ketternmann, *Frida Kahlo, 1907-1954: Dolor y Pasión*, 54.

¹⁵⁹ Ketternmann, *Frida Kahlo, 1907-1954: Dolor y Pasión*, 58.

¹⁶⁰ Ketternmann, *Frida Kahlo, 1907-1954: Dolor y Pasión*, 62.

¹⁶¹ Ketternmann, *Frida Kahlo, 1907-1954: Dolor y Pasión*, 86.

¹⁶² Kathy Sosa, Ellen Riojas Clark, and Jennifer Speed, *Revolutionary Women of Texas and Mexico: Portraits of Soldaderas, Saints, and Subversives*, ProQuest Ebook Central (San Antonio: Trinity University Press, 2020), 1.

¹⁶³ Lis Pankl and Kevin Blake, “Made in Her Image: Frida Kahlo as Material Culture,” *Material Culture* vol. 44, no. 2, 2012, pg. 15, <http://www.jstor.org/stable/24396670>.

in early modern Texas and Mexico link with the later participation of women, like Kahlo, by acknowledging what they understood from the past.¹⁶⁴ As such, Kahlo's connection with her self-exploration lies through cultural understandings transmitted within Mexican American communities in Texas. After all, nations are an imagined process by a collective majority.¹⁶⁵ In Frida Kahlo's *Autorretrato en la frontera entre Mexico y Estados Unidos, 1932* (*Self-portrait in the border between Mexico and the United States*), she positions herself in a bordered time and place, subjecting herself and the United States to critique while invoking ideas on self-image with nation-making. Paintings, like this one, become a transnational signifier for feminism to be acknowledged through experiences of border-crossing subconsciously as well as physically.

There is also the implicit subject of decolonization in which feminists argue the importance of addressing, acknowledging, and subverting gender and race dynamics that are inventions of colonialism. Hence, as a conduit of both gender and race, Kahlo's body and image become a public affair in negotiating identity within culture.¹⁶⁶ Upon the notice of her divorce from Riviera, one newspaper journalist mentions that the "liberty with whom has stained a name so easily, accuse a personal perversity [...] and [...] an immoral environment that urges to stop for the country's proper prestigiousness, in which the victim, in this case, is [...] also a Mexican woman."¹⁶⁷ In this sentiment, the protection of women through virtue-based customs are and were expected practices that men translate onto women.

¹⁶⁴ Sosa, Clark, and Speed, *Revolutionary Women of Texas and Mexico*, 1.

¹⁶⁵ Steven S. Volk, "Frida Kahlo Remaps the Nation," *Social Identities*, vol. 6, no. 2, 2000, pg. 173, DOI: 10.1080/13504630050032053.

¹⁶⁶ Lorri J. Santamaria and Nathalia E. Jaramillo, "Comrades among Us: The Power of Artists as Informal Mentors for Women of Color in Academe," *Mentoring & Tutoring: Partnership in Learning* vol. 22, no. 4, 2014, pg. 322-323, DOI: 10.1080/13611267.2014.946281.

¹⁶⁷ Trans. Katalina Lopez. The original statement is: "La ligereza y libertad con que se enloda un nombre tan fácilmente, acusan una perversidad personal de quien así lo hace y, por otra parte, una immoralidad ambiente que urge frenar por el propio prestigio del país, pues la victima, en este caso, es una figura internacional que ante todo, es también una mujer mexicana." Readex: Hispanic American Newspapers, "Basura," *Prensa* (San Antonio, Texas), 3, August 23, 1949, <https://infoweb-newsbank-com.libweb.lib.utsa.edu/apps/readex/doc?p=EANASP&docref=image/v2%3A11F30FF2F63C9976%40EANASP-120C691431BF5618%402433152-12067D86DD0922D0%402-124AC79C4337086A%40Basura>.

As a woman of her time, Kahlo thought that women, including herself, had biological differences with men. By doing her art, she provided a complete rendition of her biological existence as a woman.¹⁶⁸ According to Mexican artist Erika Harrsch, she says that “[Kahlo] was a heroine for having expressed herself with such honesty and strength, among an implacably male-macho-oriented art time, surrounded by the masters-monsters-muralists.”¹⁶⁹ The female body predominately was treated through a male interpretation, yet Kahlo’s selves in her paintings offer a critical lens towards feminine issues that are masculine taboos.¹⁷⁰ An excerpt from November 9th, 1959 from Kahlo provides her perspective in that her “Big vertebral column is the base for all the Mexican structure.”¹⁷¹ Kahlo was a woman who decided to break the consumeristic appeal, traditions, and exoticism of Mexico that hindered its progression by exposing private female affairs into the public consciousness such as childbirth, blood, and marriage through her own experiences.¹⁷² Therefore, what is defined as ‘beautiful’ or ‘memorable’ in the creation of a nation is important in the dispute of women’s role in social hierarchies as women were and continue to be objectified.

From the 1960s to the 1970s, the Chicana movement invokes Kahlo’s revolutionary support of Emiliano Zapata from the Mexican Revolution. Both the Chicana movement and the Mexican Nationalist Movement from the Revolution aimed to decenter Eurocentric or Anglo-American culture from their national and communal identity.¹⁷³ Kahlo’s Mexican heritage reflects a mestiza consciousness, having to negotiate between European and Indigenous

¹⁶⁸ Elizabeth Garber, “Art Critics on Frida Kahlo: A Comparison of Feminist and Non-Feminist Voices,” *Art Education* vol. 45, no. 2, 1992, pg. 7, DOI: 10.1080/00043125.1992.11652919.

¹⁶⁹ Taylor Bryant, “7 MEXICAN ARTISTS ON HOW FRIDA KAHLO INSPIRED THEM,” *Nylon*, July 6, 2018, <https://www.nylon.com/articles/mexican-female-artists-frida-kahlo>.

¹⁷⁰ Liza Bakewell, “Frida Kahlo: A Contemporary Feminist Reading,” *Frontiers: A Journal of Women Studies* vol. 13, no. 3, 1993, pg. 182, <https://doi.org/10.2307/3346753>.

¹⁷¹ Trans. Katalina Lopez. The original statement is: “Enorme columna vertebral que es base para toda la estructura mexicana.” Kahlo, *DIARIO DE FRIDA KAHLO*, pg. 89.

¹⁷² Pankl and Blake, “Made in Her Image,” 8.

¹⁷³ Melanie Otto, “‘Tierra Entre Medio’: Borderlands Of Knowledge In The Art Of Frida Kahlo,” *IJAS Online*, no. 2, 2010, pg. 62 & 67, <http://www.jstor.org/stable/26234255>.

identities.¹⁷⁴ This same self-exploration can parallel modern Mexican American women who also negotiate their identity as an American and a Mexican. Throughout the 1930s and 1940s, Kahlo's numerous paintings reflected Mexicanidad, or Mexicaness, and became guides for the identity and status of Chicanas and feminists.¹⁷⁵ In the late twentieth century, Mexican American art through the Chicana movement tackled border issues, border identity, or the status of American citizenship. For example, Maria Novaro's *El Jardin del Eden* explores the symbolic relationships on the Mexican border through the character of Luz as she represents the Chicana's struggle to express and deal with her border by confessing her ambivalence about her apparent acculturation through her loss of language and tradition.¹⁷⁶ Therefore, Kahlo allows Mexican or Mexican American female artists in Texas to also inspect their duality in a predominantly Anglican majority population.



Fig. 1 Frida Kahlo at a Protest in Mexico



Fig. 2 Chicana-made mural by Esmeralda Baltazar and others located at 710 New Laredo Highway in San Antonio, Texas.

¹⁷⁴ Santamaría and Jaramillo, "Comrades among Us: The Power of Artists as Informal Mentors for Women of Color in Academe," 323-324.

¹⁷⁵ Bakewell, "Frida Kahlo," 182.

¹⁷⁶ *23rd Annual Cinefestival January 19-30, 2000*, Guadalupe Cultural Arts Center Records, UTSA Special Collections, MS 158, Box 14.



Fig. 3 Photograph from Devra Weber showing Chicanas at a 'La Raza' Political Protest

Furthermore, Frida Kahlo, like her husband, was a muralist.¹⁷⁷ This meant their art dissected Mexico's development by presenting key sociopolitical elements that were characteristic in perceiving one's self.¹⁷⁸ This includes bourgeois, nationalist, and Catholic attitudes that solidify social boundaries between men and women.¹⁷⁹ Hence, murals provide power to a community as they reveal past oppressions or occurrences from which society. Murals are a physical critique and cultural expression regarding the past which allows the act of historical role-playing to transfer into the modern consciousness.¹⁸⁰ These claims become implicit when depicting Kahlo in murals by showing elements of her private life. Additionally, Kahlo in murals orients feminists and Chicanas about their ancestry through the political act of communal memorization.¹⁸¹ Murals are spaces that allow cultural exchanges to happen. In this

¹⁷⁷ She participated in mural art through her husband (as Rivera was considered one of the Big Three Mexican muralists). She helped him with certain ideas when making his murals. She even presented herself in certain features that can be seen in Rivera's mural art or was a subject in Rivera's murals like "Balada de la Revolucion" (1923-1928). The information retrieved for that point derives from Rebecca Block's and Lynda Hoffman-Jee's journal article "Fashioning National Identity: Frida Kahlo in 'Gringolandia'" and the 2024 documentary "Frida" by Carla Guitierrez, but for additional clarification Leonard Folgarait's *The Mexican Muralists and Frida Kahlo* (Mexican Muralists and Frida Kahlo | Oxford Research Encyclopedia of Latin American History) provides additional context.

¹⁷⁸ Santamaría and Jaramillo, "Comrades among Us," 319.

¹⁷⁹ Bakewell, "Frida Kahlo," 186.

¹⁸⁰ Santamaría and Jaramillo, "Comrades among Us," 319.

¹⁸¹ Sosa, Clark, and Speed, *Revolutionary Women of Texas and Mexico*, 184.

case, cultural hegemony can be safely practiced through communal bonding.¹⁸² Hence, these territorial uses with Frida Kahlo transformed her into an identity marker for Mexican or Mexican American women.

For Chicanas, Kahlo's presence bridges Mexicanidad with Chicanidad, or Chicananess, which allows for the creation of rasquachismo to develop within the art of Mexican American women. Rasquachismo highlights the domestic arts, it also ties in with Kahlo's emphasis on folk art as a practice of domestic arts.¹⁸³ Through these means, they perform art because art is a flexible medium to include mural-making. In this act, Chicanas imitate Frida Kahlo's actions as revolutionary. Like Frida Kahlo, they use their works not only to express themselves in an intimate manner but they expose their intimacy in a way to protest and challenge the norm.¹⁸⁴ Projects that conserve the memory of these Mexican or Mexican American female artists in museum collections target their culture to assist and promote the community and its needs.¹⁸⁵ Similar to how Kahlo used her body to rewrite social rules within historical legacy and national identity, so can Mexican American women learn to do so either in exhibits or through representations in murals.¹⁸⁶ To expose Kahlo in Mexican American communities is to promote the ability for women to freely perform art in a way that allows them to handle issues regarding a patriarchal society.

¹⁸² Carl Grodach, "Art Spaces, Public Space, and the Link to Community Development," *Community Development Journal* vol. 45, no. 4, 2010, pg. 477, <http://www.jstor.org/stable/44258225>.

¹⁸³ Sosa, Clark, and Speed, *Revolutionary Women of Texas and Mexico: Portraits of Soldaderas, Saints, and Subversives*, 180.

¹⁸⁴ Taina B Caragol, "Archives of Reality: Contemporary Efforts to Document Latino Art," *American Art* vol. 19, no. 3 (2005), pg. 3, <https://doi.org/10.1086/500224>.

¹⁸⁵ Caragol, "Archives of Reality: Contemporary Efforts to Document Latino Art," 4.

¹⁸⁶ Sarah M. Misemer, "(S)ex-Votos: 'Miraculous' Performances Of The Body And Politics By Frida Kahlo," In *Secular Saints: Performing Frida Kahlo, Carlos Gardel, Eva Perón, and Selena* (Rochester, New York: Boydell & Brewer, 2008) pg. 34, <http://www.jstor.org/stable/10.7722/j.ctt9qdmrn.5>.



Fig. 4 Mural painted by Ulo Ang and is located at 1801 East 6th Street in Austin, Texas



Fig. 5 Redesigned digitalized mural by Alicia Vasquez Rodriguez and located at 1614 Mac Davis Lane in Lubbock, Texas



Fig. 6 Mural photographed by Fred LaBounty and located near a Texaco Station in Marfa, Texas



Fig. 7 A Mural photographed by Brian Elledge and is located at West Dallas's 600th block of Fabrication Street in Dallas, Texas

Murals create *barrio*, or neighborhood, landscapes that acknowledge social inequalities yet act as solutions by promoting Kahlo within material culture. Murals make visible lower-income populations.¹⁸⁷ Just as Kahlo has become part of material culture internationally, and in the United States, it also becomes custom that Mexican folk art has also become a part of the United States's consumer industry.¹⁸⁸ Where Frida Kahlo's iconography resides in festivals, markets, or urban environments like in Mexican American neighborhoods, it interacts with the economic potential of said spaces. Moreover, she reinforces an invitation and celebration of

¹⁸⁷ Daniel D. Arreola, "Mexican American Exterior Murals," *Geographical Review* vol. 74, no. 4, 1984, pg. 413, <https://doi.org/10.2307/215024>.

¹⁸⁸ Joseph A. Rodríguez, "Becoming Latinos: Mexican Americans, Chicanos, and the Spanish Myth in the Urban Southwest," *The Western Historical Quarterly* no. 29, no. 2, 1998, pg. 178, <https://doi.org/10.2307/971328>.

identity and culture, making a safe space for Mexican American women to associate and pursue their interests. For Hilda Palafox, another Mexican artist, she reveals that “My high school was in the heart of Coyoacán in Mexico City, so I used to walk by La Casa Azul [Kahlo's home] almost every day. Later, when I started my own artistic path, I felt very inspired by her and her work.”¹⁸⁹ Thus, a public space in which has Frida Kahlo's image normalizes a community and Mexican American women who have been historically repressed and marginalized, establishing more social awareness of an American social hierarchy.¹⁹⁰ Adapting murals, especially those of Frida Kahlo, personalizes territory away from its conventional and or racialized implications. In doing so, cultural formation through Kahlo's feminist rhetoric affirms national recognition through these spaces by exhibiting Mexican or Mexican American women's identity and position as a minority group.

Frida Kahlo's image continues feminist rhetoric as it is embedded in material culture. Her image is not only sold as goods but also for public activities as well. For instance, “Frida” is a Frida Kahlo documentary by Carla Gutierrez released on March 14th of 2024 at Amazon Prime and details Frida Kahlo's life through her own testimony from her personal journal.¹⁹¹ The documentary serves as an oral history that provides insight into Kahlo's mental and emotional perspectives, illuminating certain attitudes about the United States. At the end of the documentary, concludes with how Frida Kahlo's image is seen in different locations, one of them being the Immersive Frida Kahlo Museum in Dallas and Houston in 2021. The Immersive Frida Kahlo showcased at two locations in Texas: Dallas (from February 3rd to April 27th) and Houston (from February 17th to April 17th).¹⁹² In an interview regarding the Immersive Frida Kahlo

¹⁸⁹ Bryant, “7 MEXICAN ARTISTS.”

¹⁹⁰ Grodach, “Art Spaces, Public Space, and the Link to Community Development,” 477.

¹⁹¹ Carla Gutierrez, “Frida,” *IMDb*, March 14, 2024, https://www.imdb.com/title/tt30319555/mediaviewer/rm1170491137/?ref_=tt_ov_i.

¹⁹² Lighthouse ArtSpace, “Immersive Frida Kahlo – Dallas,” *Immersive Frida Kahlo*, <https://immersive-frida.com/dallas/>

Museum, her great niece Maria De Anda stated that “In her life she was a Communist and she was a rebel because it wasn’t a cause that all the world embraced. ... But she would be proud because of all this represents today. [...] It’s the representation of gender equality.”¹⁹³ On May 3rd of 2021, the San Antonio Botanical Garden in Texas also made its own garden exhibition for those who cannot go to Frida Kahlo’s home La Casa Azul in Coyoacán, Mexico.¹⁹⁴ As such, the materialized spaces of Frida Kahlo are social places for art exhibits, markets, or other resources to represent Mexican American women.

In conclusion, determining Frida Kahlo’s place in public history requires her presence for communal support of Mexican or Mexican American women in Texas. Kahlo’s legacy and iconography for women in Texas propels them to redefine a traditional cultural hegemony within the United States. She is an inspiration because she is an image of resilience, enduring personal hardships that have been translated into the arts. Her experiences are an educational effort not only for herself but for women who need a catalyst for those experiences. She has become a symbol of resistance as she defies the norms that hinder a woman’s autonomy. Her international recognition at a local level serves as a transnational understanding of the links between Mexican and American identity. Her presence in communities and public developments illustrates her immortal message for women to understand and challenge themselves within a homogenous American culture.

¹⁹³ Diane Solis, “Frida Kahlo’s relatives discuss the Dallas immersive ‘Frida’ show and the commercialization of art,” *The Dallas Morning News*, April 7, 2022, <https://www.dallasnews.com/arts-entertainment/visual-arts/2022/04/07/frida-kahlos-relatives-discuss-the-dallas-immersive-frida-show-and-the-commercialization-of-art/>

¹⁹⁴ San Antonio Botanical Garden, “Frida Kahlo Oasis Opening Weekend,” <https://www.sabot.org/events/frida-kahlo-oasis-opening-weekend/>.

The Lonely Ranger: The Fight Over the Legacy of the Texas Rangers

By: Garrett Rouse
Department of History

Abstract

The Texas Rangers over the past century have become an organization imbued with a mystique that has given them a legendary status in Texas and beyond. However, this polished exterior hides a troubled past in which the Texas Rangers behave more like the bandits they were supposed to be fighting. For many people in Texas, the troubled past of the Rangers is something that is never touched upon in their schooling, and this paper seeks to utilize seventh-grade Texas History textbooks from the 1930s to the present to examine how the Rangers have been introduced to children. Incorporating key scholarship in the history of the Rangers, as well as news publications highlighting modern reinterpretations of the actions of the Rangers, this paper traces the shift in Texas from covering up a troubled past, to beginning to acknowledge the crimes of the organization in its early days.

On November 1st, 2023, and with one last curveball, relief pitcher Josh Sborz made history by clinching a 5-0 win for the Texas Rangers over the Arizona Diamondbacks in the world series for Major League Baseball. Fans across the state celebrated the first World Series win for the franchise, but outside of baseball, this is just another example of the all-encompassing cultural influence of the almost two-hundred-year-old law enforcement body, the Texas Rangers. Over the course of their history, the Texas Rangers have seen their once sterling reputation as heroic saviors of a lawless and wild frontier change slowly into being remembered as a violent and repressive force for white dominance. By using books, television shows, news articles, and children's textbooks, this shift in the public mind can be traced over the last century as the Rangers have evolved from hero to villain and from cowboy to outlaw.

For an organization such as the Texas Rangers, whose history reaches back to the establishment of the first official Ranger Battalions in 1835, a short analysis such as this will necessarily have to be focused.¹⁹⁵ This is accomplished by limiting the period of history that will be examined to pre-1935 when the Rangers were disbanded and incorporated under the Texas Department of Transportation by "Ma" Ferguson. Of special focus will be the violence of the border region in the early 20th century, in which the Rangers have a major role as perpetrators and protectors. Despite leaving out almost the whole of the last century, it is within the origins of the Rangers, their experiences along the wild frontier, and the important works of history that were crafted around this time, that the legendary Ranger was born. It is this cultural artifact that affects us in the present, not the modern Ranger who assists local police with high-profile investigations.

Central to the mythology of the Texas Rangers is the seminal work *The Texas Rangers: A Century of Frontier Defense* by famed historian Walter Prescott Webb. Published in 1935, this

¹⁹⁵ Stephen L. Moore, *Savage Frontier Volume I: Rangers, Riflemen, and Indian Wars in Texas* (Denton: University of North Texas Press, 2002), 14-30. <https://muse-jhu-edu.libweb.lib.utsa.edu/pub/172/monograph/chapter/126817>

book served as the first major introduction of the Rangers to the public at large, and Webb created in his writings a mythical figure whose influence is seen today. Webb would go on to become the president of the American Historical Association in 1958 and would deliver a presidential address titled “History as High Adventure,” where he would advocate for historians to “adventure into the wilderness of the past.”¹⁹⁶

In the preface of his book, Webb describes the Ranger as “a very quiet, deliberate, gentle person who could gaze calmly into the eye of a murderer, divine his thoughts, and anticipate his action, a man who could ride straight up to death.”¹⁹⁷ This is the image of the Ranger that is presented to the reader: the solitary cowboy who rides the line between death and life while bringing stability to the frontier regions of Texas. He is a mystical figure capable of divining the inner thoughts of potential criminals. This is the foundation of the mythos, the origin point for the widescale proliferation of the legendary Texas Ranger throughout Texan culture.

Webb is not alone in the pantheon of Ranger lore when it comes to flashpoints of recognition. Other major players for cultural relevance are probably what most people think of today when they hear about the Rangers. An informal polling of friends and family has revealed one answer to the question, “What do you think of first when I mention the Texas Rangers?”: Chuck Norris. By far the most enduring cultural phenomenon from the last twenty years when it comes to the Rangers, *Walker Texas Ranger* ran from 1993 to 2001 and followed Ranger Cordell Walker, as he solved crimes and fought bad guys.¹⁹⁸ While Walker is not engaged in the same heroic acts as the past Rangers a century earlier, substituting a six-shooter and border skirmishes for kung foo, there is a consistent line connecting the two. The Ranger mythos created by Webb endures into the modern era and serves as the cultural background for the series.

¹⁹⁶ Walter P. Webb, “History as High Adventure,” *The American Historical Review* vol. 64, no. 2, 1959, pg. 265-281. <https://doi.org/10.2307/1845443>.

¹⁹⁷ Walter P. Webb, *The Texas Rangers: A Century of Frontier Defense 2nd edition* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1965), pg. xv. <https://www-degruyter-com.libweb.lib.utsa.edu/document/doi/10.7560/734005-004/html>

¹⁹⁸ “Walker, Texas Ranger,” IMDB, accessed April 30, 2024, <https://www.imdb.com/title/tt0106168/>.

Recently, the story has come under attack as the Ranger has become a historically divisive figure who was deeply involved in lawbreaking and murder, despite claims they were honorable lawmen. Leading the charge are the academics and the border communities who, in the past decade, have brought attention to the murders, massacres, and deprivations perpetrated on the Mexican population of the Texas border during the early twentieth century. Previously unknown to the public, this vital information has finally made its way out of the archives.

First, Webb himself admits the Texas Rangers did horrible things at times. “In the orgy of bloodshed that followed, the Texas Rangers played a prominent part...” However, he did qualify this after by stating this time was “one of which many members of the force have been heartily ashamed.” Going on to describe the general violence occurring during the period of 1910-1920 in the context of the Mexican Revolution, smuggling of liquor into Texas during Prohibition, and subterfuge by Germans during the World War, he downplays the violence committed by Rangers. Instead of being exceptional, the Rangers were part of a larger constellation of violent actors, and importantly, they were supposedly apologetic about their role.

Moving forward into modern scholarship, a greater emphasis is now placed on publicizing and contextualizing the violence of the Rangers against Mexicans in Texas. Historian Mari Crabtree, in a book chapter on lynching published in 2023, brought the story of the Rangers' violence into the greater context of colonial expansion projects in the West. Far from the heroic lawman protecting the frontier, these Rangers were instead “pseudo-vigilante groups, carrying out summary executions into the 1920s.”¹⁹⁹ Even more upsetting is the claim that these Rangers are sanctioned by the governments of Texas and the United States to commit murder just based on the fact a Mexican was close to a crime site. When looking at the lack of

¹⁹⁹ Mari N. Crabtree, “Lynching in the American Imagination: A Historiographical Reexamination,” *Reconstruction beyond 150: Reassessing the New Birth of Freedom*, ed. Orville Vernon Burton and J. Brent Morris (Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press, 2023), pg. 118. <https://www-jstor-org.libweb.lib.utsa.edu/stable/jj.4688127.10?seq=14>.

punishment by state and federal authorities for the Rangers involved in criminal acts against Mexicans and Americans, this claim does appear to agree with the reality of the situation.

Additionally, historian Jason E. Pierce tackled this same topic of sanctioned Anglo violence against minorities in his 2016 book *Making the White Man's West: Whiteness and the Creation of the American West*. From the outset, Pierce does make a concession when talking about violence in the West, including Texas. This was an exceptionally violent place for everyone involved. However, the specific use of government sanctioned, or ignored, violence through organizations is a unique phenomenon that resulted in Anglo domination. The evidence he presents ranges from “Baylor and his Rangers now advocated open genocide of all Indian peoples” to “once every generation or so, Rangers lashed out violently against Tejano and Mexican residents of the border.” The Rangers make up a key case study on the explosions of violence along the border that caused the deaths of hundreds to thousands of civilians.²⁰⁰

As a major marker of the shift in public perception, historical markers put up between 2014 and 2018 are indicative of a push that began in this period to come to terms with these atrocities in the Texas border region. Markers put up by the Texas Historical Commission commemorating “La Matanza,” the “Bazán and Longoria Murders,” and the “Porvenir Massacre” were put up during this period. La Mantaza was the generalized name used by Spanish speakers in the region, while the Longoria Murders and the Porvenir Massacre represent episodes of extrajudicial killings of innocent people by the Rangers. These markers all included the Rangers as perpetrators, the fact that the only punishment meted out was the reorganization of the Rangers, and two used the same phrase to end: “a violent yet pivotal time in Texas History.” These stand out as examples of the State of Texas putting forth an effort, albeit paltry, to recognize the historic maltreatment of people in the border region by agents of the state. These

²⁰⁰ Jason E. Pierce, *Making the White Man's West: Whiteness and the Creation of the American West* (Denver: University Press of Colorado, 2016), pg. 209-246. <https://www.jstor.org/stable/j.ctt19jcg63.14?seq=10>.

efforts leave much to be desired for those whose ancestors were killed in the “orgy of bloodshed” as Webb phrased it.²⁰¹

Scholars are not the ones leading the charge for the recognition of the violent past of the Texas Rangers; that is a position occupied in the public sphere by the communities in the border region who spoke out for recognition. Daniel Blue Tyx, writing for the *Texas Observer*, documented both the process and the backlash for the placing of the Porvenir Massacre marker along Highway 90 outside of Marfa, Texas. Local Anglos had been disgruntled by the language of the massacre being applied to this event. Jim White III, a trustee of the large Brite Ranch, stated, “I seriously doubt that they were just killed for no reason.”²⁰² As Tyx points out later, this viewpoint is strongly countered by investigations done at the time by the Texas Legislature, the Mexican Government, and Texas law enforcement agencies.

Eventually, the marker did go up and along with it, the community whose voices had been neglected for so long were finally starting to be heard by the public at large. Soon after this controversy in a small West Texas town began to attract attention, larger and larger publications picked up on the communities struggling to point out the violence of the Rangers. Time Magazine brought this issue into the national space with a story that sourced heavily from the work of The Observer and included important interviews with modern descendants of the victims. Benita Flores Albarado, a descendant of a victim, is quoted in the article as saying, “I cry all the time” in relation to the massacre.²⁰³ This major break represents a fundamental shift in the way this history is talked about; it has now moved onto the national stage.

²⁰¹ All text on Texas Historical Commission sites are recorded in their site Atlas located at <https://atlas.thc.texas.gov/>. Atlas results for each plaque can be found under respective titles of “La Matanza,” “Bazan and Longoria Murders,” and “Porvenir Massacre.”

²⁰² Daniel Blue Tyx, “Who Writes History? The Fight to Commemorate a Massacre by the Texas Rangers,” *Texas Observer*, November 27, 2018, <https://www.texasobserver.org/who-writes-history-the-fight-to-commemorate-a-massacre-by-the-texas-rangers/>.

²⁰³ Jasmine Aguilera, “‘I Cry All the Time.’ A Century After 15 Mexican Men and Boys Were Massacred in Texas, Their Descendants Want Recognition,” *Time*, September 27, 2019, <https://time.com/5682139/porvenir-massacre-descendants/>.

Subsequent articles moved beyond the fight to recognize those putting up markers in small West Texas towns like Marfa. Indicative of this trend is a Texas Tribune article from 2020 that directly took to task the sports organizations and cultural awe the Texas Rangers mythos inspired. Pointing out that the Rangers' actions went beyond the massacres of the early 1900s and involved resistance to integration, police brutality, and capturing runaway slaves, this article shows the public sphere raising severe doubts not only on the organization itself but on those sports teams' names after them.²⁰⁴ This has already had an effect. The mascot for San Antonio College used to be the Ranger, but the "SAC College Council – made up of mostly faculty, staff and administrators – voted unanimously... to stop using the Ranger Mascot name... effective immediately."²⁰⁵

Social pressure is being put on the Texas Rangers as an institution, but does that social pressure extend to the textbooks seventh graders use in their Texas History courses? Like most states, Texas requires students to dedicate a period of their studies to the history of the state itself, and within those history books are depictions of the Rangers that run the gambit from hero to complicated figure. Mirroring the overall shift in social attitudes towards the Rangers, it is the older textbooks that bring to children the Ranger as a mythical figure, but over time, this is muddled. All forthcoming textbooks were approved by the Texas Board of Education; in other words, the official viewpoint the state-sanctioned for children to learn.²⁰⁶

Beginning from the earliest of the Textbook selections available, we start in 1937 with Ralph W. Steen's *Texas a Story of Progress* and his subsequent final edition renamed *Our Texas*, which was published in 1954. Both have the same general structure, with the necessary additions

²⁰⁴ Meena Venkataramanan, "The Texas Rangers' Lore Spurred Cultural Fawning and Sports Namesakes That Have Long Masked a History of Violence and Racism," *The Texas Tribune*, August 15, 2020, <https://www.texastribune.org/2020/08/15/texas-rangers-racist-violent-history/>.

²⁰⁵ Camille Phillips, "San Antonio College Removes Ranger Mascot," *Texas Public Radio*, July 15, 2020, <https://www.tpr.org/education/2020-07-15/san-antonio-college-removes-ranger-mascot>.

²⁰⁶ "Texas Adopted Textbook List," Texas Scholar Works, University of Texas at Austin, accessed April 30, 2024, <https://repositories.lib.utexas.edu/collections/4a8c350e-7615-4a71-a3ad-19760f78055b>. Digitized archive of the approved textbooks for all subjects and grade years in Texas public school dating from 1919 to today.

to be made about the years that have passed. The Rangers feature in both texts as “men with great courage, fleet horses, and guns which were used as often as necessary”²⁰⁷ or as the men who fought back the dreaded Indian who was “deeply afraid of the Rangers who rode the frontier.”²⁰⁸ Ultimately, these men “won undying fame because of their heroic self-sacrifice in bringing law and order to a troubled people.”²⁰⁹ The Ranger are the heroes of the West, the savior of the white man in his enterprise to bring civilization to the lands hitherto owned by the Indians.

Steen, however, does make some changes between these editions, despite them retaining mostly the same structure and even similar, if not identical, phrases. However, a key difference that emerges in the 1954 edition is the shift from “freeing the west from Indians”²¹⁰ to “the Rangers played a great part in driving the Indians out of West Texas.”²¹¹ This is already a softening of language and a small step back from deifying the Rangers to bringing them down to a more human level. No longer were they mythical heroes that were to be honored. The Rangers are simply a part of the history, and one we see today as remaining truthful, albeit soft. Keep in mind that all of these texts are materials for teachers to use, and their particular emphasis on the good or bad aspects of Ranger history cannot be accurately reflected in textbook material. Still, this is the officially sanctioned viewpoint of the Board of Education and still affects students’ conceptions of the Rangers.

Moving forward in time to 1962, the Texas seventh grader might just see *Texas: Wilderness to Space Age*, as the brand-new textbook that had been introduced that year by their district, and they might receive a more complex view of the Rangers from this book. Interestingly, unlike previous decades, students were confronted with the actions of Mirabeau B. Lamar and his war of extirpation against Native Americans. The Rangers are mentioned as part

²⁰⁷ Ralph W. Steen, *Texas: A Story of Progress* (Austin: The Steck Company, 1937), 164.

²⁰⁸ Steen, *Texas: A Story of Progress*, 194.

²⁰⁹ Steen, *Texas: A Story of Progress*, 320.

²¹⁰ Steen, *Texas: A Story of Progress*, 320.

²¹¹ Ralph W. Steen, *Our Texas: Revised Edition* (Austin: The Steck Company, 1954), pg. 369.

of the force Houston creates to potentially fight these Indians. Students are asked about the competing policies of Lamar and Houston, “What do you think?” Houston is described in the lead-up to this question as a knowledgeable and kind leader, while Lamars’ relationship with Indians is described with words like “hated” or “much bloodshed.” The Rangers played a role in this, and while not directly calling attention to it, the textbook does start to break that façade, which it unfortunately rebuilds later on in an in-depth history of the Texas Rangers. Their history, up to the 1900s is regaled and told warmly through heroic exploits and the names of famous men, a section of pages wholly devoted to the mythos, and subsequently conspicuously dry on details of the violence of the Rangers in the 20th century. At least the students were getting some level of pushback against the prevailing narrative of heroic Rangers saving the frontier. Maybe it was more comfortable to feel bad for Native Americans, who were largely gone, and not the Mexicans who were still victims of discrimination?²¹²

Moving forward to 1987, the textbook *Texas: The Land and its People* was entering its third edition and represents a physical increase in size from previous texts. It also incorporated countless photos and graphics instead of text and art. The Texas Rangers appear here as a rough and ruthless fighting force, “their bravery and military tactics, their skill with a horse and gun, their fierceness and -at times- brutality terrified the Mexicans.”²¹³ Appearing during the section on the Mexican-American war gives this the context not of brutal repression but of hard-fighting men. However, this still does follow the ever-increasing trend of textbooks recognizing the brutality of the Rangers towards Mexicans. Similar to the previous textbooks, there is no mention of repression, violence, or anything of the sort during the early 20th century. Instead, the textbook would much rather focus on oil, industry, and interestingly, a detour into apologetics for the

²¹² William C. Pool, Claude Elliott, and Lucile Williamson Raley, *Texas: Wilderness to Space Age* (San Antonio: The Naylor Company, 1962), pg. 224.

²¹³ Pool, Elliot, and Raley, *Texas: Wilderness to Space Age*, 319.

1920's Klan.²¹⁴ When ultimately viewed in the context of the previous books, this is a slight, only ever so slight, step in the direction of recognition.

The current evolution of textbooks, which are those published in the 21st century, demonstrates a profoundly different shift in the ability to acknowledge the brutality and misgivings of the Rangers organization. *Texas and Texans*, published in 2003, has a two-page spread on the early Rangers and mentions that “occasionally, innocent people suffered from the rough system of frontier justice.” This, while at least making the students aware of potential injustices, takes away the direct criticism of the Rangers and instead substitutes it with the broad stroke of frontier justice. When talking of the Cortina Affair and general violence in the Rio Grande Valley, the book repeats the half-hearted refrain of “many people believed that the rangers mistreated Mexican Americans,” as if that was not a historically established fact, even according to Webb, let us not forget that orgy of bloodshed.²¹⁵

Finally, the textbook *Texas History* is the first to mention the 1919 investigation by the Texas Legislature that would ultimately result in the Texas Rangers being found to have committed various acts of mistreatment and murder against Mexicans. On the same page in the textbook, students are asked to consider the effects of segregation against Mexicans in Texas and the role of the Rangers in preventing violence in the Rio Grande region. As a tool, this stands out as the single piece of textbook material examined in this paper that has acknowledged that the Rangers did horrible things to the Mexican and Tejano populations in Texas.²¹⁶

The Texas Rangers have been a complicated and divisive cultural force in Texas ever since the founding mythos of their heroics were published for the world in 1935. For the residents of the border areas, this was never a new issue. Communities in Texas with long

²¹⁴ Jim B. Pearson, Ben Procter, and William B. Conroy, *Texas: The Land and Its People* (Dallas: Hendrick-Long Publishing Company, 1987), pg. 490-49.

²¹⁵ Adrian N. Anderson, Ralph A. Wooster, Arnoldo De Leon, William C. Hardt, and Ruthe Winegarten, *Texas and Texans* (Columbus: McGraw-Hill, 2003), pg. 292-293.

²¹⁶ Adrian N. Anderson and Ralph A. Wooster, *Texas History* (Columbus: McGraw-Hill, 2016), pg. 549-550.

memories have pushed for, and gotten, representation, remembrance, and recognition for their historical sufferings, despite the misgivings of some parts of the population. From the early twentieth century to the present, the narrative of the Texas Rangers within books, television shows, news articles, and textbooks, has shifted from the heroic cowboys patrolling the range to an agent of an oppressive state who brutalized vulnerable populations. While the Texas Rangers continue to use the law enforcement agency as its namesake, this controversy is sure to continue to excite both public debate and academic criticism from both sides. For now, Chuck Norris will most likely continue to dominate the public's perceptions about the Texas Rangers, at least until enough people get fed up.

San Antonio, '36: The Texas Centennial, Historical Memory, and the Making of the Alamo City

By: Eva Maria Morales
Department of History

Abstract

This paper explores the impact of the 1936 Texas Centennial Celebrations on the City of San Antonio through its projects in education, landmarks, monuments, and historical restoration. Using newspaper articles, photographs, local ordinances, committee reports to state and federal governments, and restoration reports, I argue the Centennial's projects cemented Anglo-centric historical narratives into the physical environment of San Antonio and facilitated widespread discourse around the nature and value of historical memory in the state of Texas. San Antonio's position as the home of the Alamo provided access to federal funds that transformed the city into a national icon. Through an examination of the anti-Mexican sentiment of the era, the economic and social segregation of ethnic Mexicans in San Antonio, and the role of Pan-American philosophy in much of the Centennial's public rhetoric, I contend the Centennial stood as a turning point in the burgeoning Mexican American Civil Rights movement of the 1920s and 1930s.

Keywords

U.S.-Mexico Borderlands, Historical Memory, Monuments, Great Depression, Pan-Americanism

Introduction

The 1936 Texas Centennial began planning in the 1920s with the explicit goal to “Texanize Texans” and tie the state’s economy into a patriotic vision of its history.²¹⁷ The State of Texas established commissions to oversee the allocation of state and federal funds to be used for various historical projects in counties throughout the state, which included historical restorations, educational projects, and the construction of monuments. These projects were directly aimed at upholding a mythologized, Anglo-centric history of Texas, and those in San Antonio were among the most important for realizing the state’s goals. This paper explores the Centennial’s cultural, economic, and social impact on the City of San Antonio, and the role its historical projects played in the interaction between local, state, and federal priorities. The Texas Centennial Celebrations of 1936 shaped the local physical and cultural landscape of San Antonio in the first half of the 20th Century through the financing of various architectural projects, historical renovations, educational programs, and arts projects, many of which are still visible in the city. The Centennial facilitated discourse around historical memory through its projects in San Antonio and cemented Anglo-centric histories into the physical landscape.

The decades leading up to the Centennial of 1936 saw the consolidation of the power of the San Antonio Conservation Society, which sought to renovate and preserve much of the city’s history. The primary source of funding for restoration projects in the city was philanthropic in nature, with very little city funding provided to restore its historic places. The primary focus of historical restoration at the turn of the twentieth century was the city’s missions, especially the Mission San José and the Mission San Antonio de Valero, popularly referred to as the Alamo. The focus on the missions as the site of historical restoration work had roots in the nineteenth century development of a fantasy of a benevolent Spanish past. Historian Natalia Molina argues

²¹⁷ Kenneth B. Ragsdale, *The Year America Discovered Texas: Centennial '36* (College Station: Texas A&M University Press, 1987), pg. 9.

this myth was started by boosters and developers in Southern California and was a racial script that served as a means of “erasing the region’s violent recent history.”²¹⁸ This romanticized Spanish past portrays the Spanish colonial period as a peaceful one wherein noble Catholic friars gave civilization and faith to Indigenous peoples, providing a racialized connection and right to the land between Anglo Americans and the white Spaniards, obscuring the violence of conquest and war. The Conservation Society sought major improvements to the Alamo that could not be completed until the Centennial provided its funding, with one visitor describing the mission’s state in the 1920s as “embarrassing” to the city.²¹⁹ Historian Lewis F. Fisher explores the early debates and issues in preservation in San Antonio, including the difficulties in acquiring funds before the Centennial, which often meant philanthropy shaped the character of early preservation projects. The Conservation Society’s priorities are important to understanding what they chose to restore and construct and why, and how those goals aligned with the Centennial’s.

Discussion of Context and Primary Sources

The Centennial’s explicit celebration of the state’s independence from Mexico and its villainization of Mexicans in its historical representations necessitates a discussion of the Mexican American experience in Texas. Since the people who planned the Centennial chose to celebrate Texas’ independence from Mexico rather than its integration into the United States, as other state centennial expositions had done to that point, it is important to understand the meanings of patriotic Texan history within the social context on the early twentieth century. Newspaper articles and editorials provide the bulk of primary sources currently compiled for use on this project, reflect by their nature the opinions of public institutions and writers, and shed light on some of the social disputes at hand in this period. Whether advertising the Centennial

²¹⁸ Natalia Molina, *How Race Is Made in America: Immigration, Citizenship, and the Historical Power of Racial Scripts* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2014), pg. 27, 36.

²¹⁹ Lewis F. Fisher, *Saving San Antonio: The Preservation of a Heritage* (San Antonio: Trinity University Press, 2016), pg. 103-104.

celebrations through publications outside of Texas, critiquing the construction of new monuments, or speaking on visits by emissaries and public officials, these publications provide vital information often not covered in the secondary literature. It should be noted that these articles all come from English-language, U.S. publications, which reflect the perspectives and worldviews of their authors in that context.

Government documents provide a valuable glimpse into the planning and funding of the Centennial's projects in San Antonio. Published in 1935, the *Minority Report of the Advisory Board of Texas Historians to the Commission of Control for Texas Centennial Celebrations* clarifies the process of recommending and selecting historical projects around the state in the leadup to the celebrations of 1936. According to the document, state senators would recommend projects to the state from within their districts, providing the reasoning and appropriate historical background.²²⁰ In 1938, the Commission of Control for Texas Centennial Celebrations published its report to the state and federal governments, *Monuments Erected by the State of Texas to Commemorate the Centenary of Texas Independence*. This report details extensively not only the monuments the Commission funded throughout the state, but other projects that were much less grandiose, including museums, statues, commemorative buildings, roadside markers, grave markers, historical restorations, and land purchases. For the Commission of Control, the work done at the Alamo was considered among "the most important" projects "to appropriately celebrate the centennial of Texas Independence."²²¹ San Antonio's other listed projects included purchasing the city block the Alamo sat on, the construction of the Alamo museum (now the home of its gift shop), the restoration of Mission San Jose following a century in disrepair, the renovation of the Sunken Garden Amphitheatre, the construction of the Texas Pioneers-Trail

²²⁰ J. Frank Dobie, *Minority Report of the Advisory Board of Texas Historians to the Commission of Control for Texas Centennial Celebrations*, Austin: [s.n.], 1935.

²²¹ Commission of Control for Texas Centennial Celebrations, *Monuments Erected by the State of Texas to Commemorate the Centenary of Texas Independence: the Report of the Commission of Control for Texas Centennial Celebrations*, (Austin: Commission of Control for Texas Centennial Celebrations, 1938), pg. 41.

Drivers Association memorial building at the Witte Museum, the construction of statues of Moses Austin and Benjamin Rush Milam, and nine grave markers at cemeteries throughout the city for key figures of the Texas Revolution. The cost of these projects as listed in the document totaled approximately \$840,000 in 1938, allocated by the United States Texas Centennial Commission, the state's Centennial Commission, the Civic Works Administration, the Works Projects Administration, the National Youth Administration, and local fundraising efforts by the City of San Antonio, the San Antonio Conservation Society, and the Catholic Diocese of San Antonio, among other sources.²²²

Alongside these considerations, it is important to provide an analysis of class, race, and gender dynamics inherent to preservation efforts in the early twentieth century. The majority of those working in groups like the San Antonio Conservation Society were wealthy and Anglo-American, whose vision of what and how to preserve the city's past was informed by these factors. San Antonio in the 1930s was extremely segregated, and economic disparities already existing were magnified by the Great Depression. The 1930s also saw a sharp rise in anti-Mexican sentiment, with calls for the deportation of Mexicans, citizens or otherwise, to open jobs to white Americans. Alongside the Centennial's proliferation of a racialized patriotism in its celebrations, these factors are necessary for any complete discussion of San Antonio in this period of immense change and inequality, and are reflected in the Centennial celebrations across the state and in San Antonio proper.

Literature Review

²²² Commission of Control for Texas Centennial Celebrations, *Monuments Erected by the State of Texas to Commemorate the Centenary of Texas Independence: the Report of the Commission of Control for Texas Centennial Celebrations*, (Austin: Commission of Control for Texas Centennial Celebrations, 1938), pg. 36, 37, 41, 53, 63, 75, 84. Each of these pages cited give costs in dollars for the individual specified project and its funding source. The approximate total of \$840,000 is my own calculation based on the provided numbers.

The secondary scholarship on the 1936 Texas Centennial is relatively sparse and the event is often relegated to mere footnotes; however, writing on the subject has increased in recent years due in large part to the recontextualization of the event in the eyes of historians. The first major research on the topic came from historian Kenneth B. Ragsdale in his 1987 monograph, *The Year America Discovered Texas: Centennial '36*, which discusses the organization and financing of the Centennial from the 1920s to the 1930s, with specific focus on the Dallas Exposition that sat as the centerpiece of the state's celebrations. Ragsdale argues that the Centennial celebration was pivotal in defining what Texas culture and history was to the rest of the United States (and to Texans themselves - to "Texanize Texans") and to stimulate outside tourism and investment into Texas businesses during the Great Depression.

One of the most important aspects of Ragsdale's research is in detailing the various sources of funding for the Centennial's statewide projects, from federal money to private investments. His discussion of the foundation of the Commission of Control for Texas Centennial Celebrations in 1935 allowed me to explore that commission's funding of projects throughout the state, including those projects in San Antonio. There was much debate between local officials and sponsors of financial packages allocated to San Antonio in the leadup to 1936, which included arguments over whether San Antonio should accept \$150,000 in federal funds that required the city to build a "memorial stadium."²²³ The Daughters of the Republic of Texas campaigned virulently against the funding of a stadium that promised "big time football," calling back to the failures of previous attempts to bring major sports teams to the city. The excitement over the proposed stadium project eventually lost steam after a site for its construction could not be agreed on, and instead, two projects totaling \$150,000 appeared in the federal allocations for

²²³ Ragsdale, *The Year America Discovered Texas*, 172.

the Centennial: the improvements to the Sunken Garden Amphitheatre and the construction of the Texas Pioneers - Trail Drivers Memorial Building at the fledgling Witte Museum.

More recent scholarship tends to focus on how the Centennial used historical narratives of Anglo dominance and how Mexican American populations, in particular, responded to those narratives. John Morán González' 2009 work, *Border Renaissance: The Texas Centennial and the Emergence of Mexican American Literature*, is the primary source of this analysis and the first major work on the Centennial since Ragsdale's monograph. Nicholas Roland's "Empire on Parade: Public Representations of Race at the 1936 Texas Centennial Exposition," further expands this scholarship with an analysis of the racialized rhetoric of the Centennial. However, none of these works focuses on the Centennial's local impact outside of Dallas and its Fair Grounds. This paper expands on the scholarship of the Texas Centennial with a more local focus on San Antonio.

Scholarship on Texas Exceptionalism and the construction of a mythologized Texas past has played a major role in this project's development and provides much of the theoretical foundation for discussions of historical narrative formation through the Centennial's projects. John Emory Dean's *How Myth Became History: Texas Exceptionalism in the Borderlands* outlines the process by which Texas history at the turn of the twentieth century became a quasi-nationalist tale of good against evil, with the influence of Manifest Destiny, anti-Mexican sentiment, and martyrdom at the Alamo. Importantly, Dean writes, "the actual site of the Alamo was not a significant marker of U.S. history or identity until Anglo Texans needed a cultural memory to rationalize Anglo dominance over, and racism against, Mexicans in the late nineteenth century."²²⁴ Likewise, Leigh Clemon's *Branding Texas: Performing Culture in the*

²²⁴ John Emory Dean, *How Myth Became History: Texas Exceptionalism in the Borderlands* (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 2016), pg. 5.

Lone Star State and Light Townsend Cummins and Mary L. Scheer's *Texan Identities: Moving beyond Myth, Memory, and Fallacy in Texas History* provide respective analyses of the way iconography and Texan identity markers were constructed in the early twentieth century and influence contemporary images of Texas identity and the ways in which historical myths are constructed.

The Good Neighbor policy, introduced in 1936 and promoted by President Franklin Delano Roosevelt, and the Pan-American movement of the early twentieth century, provide some of the ideological frameworks within which hemispheric and international collaboration in the Americas was understood at the time of the Centennial. These frameworks informed the federal government's international policy and outreach during the Great Depression, as well as the organizers and attendees of the Texas Centennial. In some sense, the historical narratives pushed by the Centennial stood in contrast to these frameworks. The framing of Mexicans as violent antagonists in the story of Texas Independence provided space for a racialized othering of ethnic Mexicans in the United States under the guise of Texan patriotism. In response to backlash, however, some Texas public officials referred to their commitment to Roosevelt's Good Neighbor policy and the importance of friendship and cooperation with Latin America. This uneasy balance between racialization and cooperation stood at the heart of debates about the place of Mexican Americans in the narratives of Texas history during and after the Centennial.

For the purposes of this paper, it may be necessary to clarify some of the terminology used in this analysis. The term "Mexican" largely refers to citizens and residents of the nation of Mexico, with some exceptions. "Ethnic Mexicans" refers to Mexican-origin people who reside in the U.S. as either citizens or resident workers. The United States government referred to ethnic Mexicans in the United States as "white," by the terms of the 1848 Treaty of Guadalupe-Hidalgo,

which ended the U.S.-Mexico War. This distinction is a complicated one, as the official label of “white” did not protect ethnic Mexican citizens in the United States from racialization and segregation. Many activists in the early twentieth century would try to claim full citizenship rights by appealing to this label; however, this effort was largely ineffective. Middle-class organizations like The Order of the Sons of America in the early 1920s, and later LULAC in 1929, would rally around the uplift of ethnic Mexican citizens and popularized “Mexican American” as a common identity label for Mexican-origin U.S. citizens.²²⁵ In English-language publications at the time of the Centennial, there was often little distinction between U.S. citizens of Mexican descent and Mexican citizens and immigrant populations, all of which fell under the terms “Mexican,” “Spanish-Mexican,” or some other similar descriptor. Anti-Mexican sentiment in American society was promulgated by U.S. interactions with Mexican populations in Texas and Mexican territories in the Western frontier of the nineteenth century, which expanded greatly during the Texas Revolution and later the U.S.-Mexico War. Natalia Molina’s concept of “racial scripts” as defined in her 2014 work, *How Race Is Made in America: Immigration, Citizenship, and the Historical Power of Racial Scripts*, provides a theoretical and historical foundation for discussions of the racialization of ethnic Mexicans in the United States, and the ways those racialized images changed over time. According to Molina, racial scripts are reproducible images and narratives used to racialize different groups within a racial hierarchy. These are edited and performed as such by institutions between racial or ethnic groups and create a common understanding of the perceived negative traits of a given group through repetition and reinforcement of stereotypes. Historian and literary scholar John Morán González writes, “Centennial discourses served to reassure Anglo-Texans that the turmoil of the Great Depression would not disrupt the social hierarchies, particularly those of race, that fundamentally informed

²²⁵ Cynthia E. Orozco, *No Mexicans, Women, or Dogs Allowed: The Rise of the Mexican American Civil Rights Movement* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 2009), pg. 42.

their social identities.”²²⁶ The racial hierarchies of the time and the economic instability of the Great Depression shaped Anglo responses to the Centennial, as a patriotic celebration rather than a repressive one. Scholarship on the historical demographics of San Antonio, and the origins of the Mexican American civil rights movement provide a majority of the work cited in this paper. These sources provide unique insight into the reception of the Centennial’s messaging, and the way different groups interacted with the Centennial in official and unofficial capacities.

Anti-Mexican Sentiment and San Antonio before 1936

In the Great Depression, San Antonio stood as one of the most segregated and economically unequal cities in the United States, and this context is important for understanding the ways the Centennial’s projects affected the city. Segregation ensured that Anglo Americans held the majority of political and economic power in the city, relegating Mexicans to second-class citizenship and limited economic mobility. Anti-Mexican sentiment was rampant in the state since the nineteenth-century and was magnified by the economic disparities and strife of the Great Depression. Historian David Montejano argues that Anglo Americans in Texas leaned on their understanding of the historical wrongs done to their white ancestors by a perceived Mexican threat to construct a justification for the segregation and mistreatment of ethnic Mexicans in the state, often pointing to the Battle of the Alamo and the US-Mexico War. He compares this process to the ways stories of Reconstruction were kept alive in the American South and repeated in schools and in public to reinforce the fear and hatred of African Americans.²²⁷

²²⁶ John Morán González, *Border Renaissance: The Texas Centennial and the Emergence of Mexican American Literature* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 2009), pg. 33.

²²⁷ David Montejano, *Anglos and Mexicans in the Making of Texas, 1836-1986* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1987), pg. 5, 224.

By the turn of the twentieth century, San Antonio was geographically and economically segregated into roughly three racialized categories and regions. The city's North Side was predominantly Anglo-American, whereas the West Side and East Side were marked by their concentrated ethnic Mexican and African American populations respectively. Historian Julia Kirk Blackwelder argues that, unlike the city's African American population, ethnic Mexican workers lacked widespread community support networks, and coupled with the threat of deportation, many ethnic Mexican families refused to seek "public or private relief during the repatriation drive of the 1930s."²²⁸ In 1930, San Antonio's ethnic Mexican population made up 35.7% of the city's total population of 231,542, and by 1940, the community rose to 46.3%. The majority of the ethnic Mexican laboring population of San Antonio's West Side worked and lived in impoverished conditions, in tenement housing without indoor plumbing. Italian-born Catholic priest, Father Carmelo Tranchese, an advocate for the West Side community, wrote in 1932, "I am familiar with the slums of San Francisco, New York, London, Paris and Naples, but those of San Antonio are the worst of all."²²⁹ After years of operating a free food-distribution program out of Our Lady of Guadalupe Church, Father Tranchese successfully lobbied the Works Progress Administration to establish a public housing project on the West Side in 1939, the first in the city's history.²³⁰

Alongside community mutual aid programs and church-sponsored efforts, San Antonio's Mexican American middle-class activists sought to bring about a revolutionary change to this system, looking beyond temporary solutions to entrenched social problems. The League of United Latin American Citizens (LULAC), founded in Corpus Christi, Texas in 1929, sought to

²²⁸ Julia Kirk Blackwelder, *Women of the Depression: Caste and Culture in San Antonio, 1929-1939* (College Station: Texas A&M University Press, 1984), pg. 3, 10.

²²⁹ Richard A. Garcia, *Rise of the Mexican American Middle Class: San Antonio, 1929-1941* (College Station: Texas A&M University Press, 1991), pg. 29, 75.

²³⁰ Blackwelder, *Women of the Depression: Caste and Culture in San Antonio, 1929-1939*, pg. 55.

uplift the Mexican American community through a focus on education, respectability, and civil rights. They tied the promises of New Deal liberalism with a uniquely American identity, fighting for a Mexican American citizenry that claimed the rights and dignity to engage in American politics and community on equal footing with Anglo Americans. LULAC's reach spread during the Great Depression as it fought to combat anti-Mexican sentiment, discrimination, and the reproduction of stereotypes labeling ethnic Mexicans as an "inferior race."²³¹

Some newspaper periodicals provide evidence of the anti-Mexican sentiment shared by many of the Centennial's Anglo celebrants, even outside of Texas. The Boston-based newspaper *The Christian Science Monitor*, published in 1936 a semi-anonymous article entitled, "Lupe Celebrates Texas' Centennial." The article provides a first-hand account, in a perhaps comical tone, of the author's "little Mexican maid," Lupe, discussing her experiences at school learning about Texas Independence in the context of the Centennial. Lupe's quoted dialogue is written in a crude caricature of a Spanish accent as she relates that her classmate told her that because she is Mexican, she cannot celebrate the Centennial. She explains further that she was chastised by her teacher for lashing out at this comment, and learned from her that "there were many good Mexicans" who supported the war for independence in order to, "attend to own business of make laws and wave own flag;" that "we not fight against people, but against bad laws." After learning this lesson, she ends the article stating that she apologized to her teacher and that, "now for 1936 when celebrating must be done with love in heart besides flag, I promise to remember the Alamo and keep tongue in mouth where he belong."²³² This article is interesting in a number of ways, as it seeks to both address and dismiss the racism received by ethnic Mexican people and Mexican

²³¹ Gabriela Gonzalez, *Redeeming La Raza: Transborder Modernity, Race, Respectability, and Rights* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2018), pg. 169-170.

²³² H.H.H., "Lupe Celebrates Texas' Centennial," *The Christian Science Monitor* (Boston, MA), Apr. 06, 1936.

Americans in Texas because of the rhetoric espoused by the Centennial which villainized Mexicans as enemies of freedom and murderers of the state's mythologized heroes.

Historical Restoration and Historical Mythmaking

The historical vision of the 1936 Texas Centennial was explicitly one that upheld Anglocentrism and semi-religious reverence of the “martyrs” of the Alamo. The historical narratives of Anglo exceptionalism and Anglo dominance in Texas have their roots in the nineteenth century and were widespread by the turn of the twentieth century. This vision of Texas and San Antonio's history was enshrined in the Cenotaph monument constructed on the Alamo Plaza in the 1930s and in the other commemorative projects completed for the Centennial. The Centennial spread the historical mythology surrounding Texas' past that was already constructed and widespread at the time. The Centennial, through its projects and immense push for tourism and civic engagement, quite literally cemented them in the public consciousness.

Historians Light Townshend Cummins and Mary L. Scheer argue that “the Anglo-American identity took center stage during the nineteenth century in determining what it meant to be Texan” at the exclusion of non-Anglo and non-white populations.²³³ Historian Leticia M. Garza-Falcón argues that the rhetoric of dominance espoused by historians and folklorists like Walter Prescott Webb and J. Frank Dobie effectively “re-created the enemy” for contemporary Anglo audiences through their racialized depictions of Mexicans.²³⁴ Anglo-centric narratives served to reinforce and celebrate this exceptionalist Anglo identity. The Battle of the Alamo and the US-Mexico War were used to legitimize racial discrimination through connection to

²³³ Light Townsend Cummins and Mary L. Scheer, *Texan Identities: Moving beyond Myth, Memory, and Fallacy in Texas History* (Denton: University of North Texas Press, 2016), pg. 8.

²³⁴ Leticia M. Garza-Falcón, *Gente Decente: A Borderlands Response to the Rhetoric of Dominance* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1998), pg. 1.

perceived ties to a common white past in Texas. When it comes to the Alamo story's usage in facilitating historical myth, historian John Emory Dean writes, "the actual site of the Alamo was not a significant marker of U.S. history or identity until Anglo Texans needed a cultural memory to rationalize Anglo dominance over, and racism against, Mexicans in the late nineteenth century."²³⁵ During the Centennial, the Celebration Committee endorsed the production of public school curricula and historical pageants to promote patriotic history among children. The Texas Revolution served the pedagogical purpose of promoting Texas state patriotism, dramatizing its events, and creating larger than life versions of the historical actors.²³⁶

In the 1920s and 1930s, these narratives were given increased veracity and reach when popular historians like Walter Prescott Webb published histories celebrating Anglo-American racial triumph in the American West. Webb's 1931 *The Great Plains* and 1935 *Texas Rangers* celebrated Anglo-American dominance over inferior Indigenous and Mexican adversaries and facilitated the spread of these ideas nationwide. His work denigrates non-white historical figures, justifying racialized violence with historical legitimacy. In 1935, Paramount purchased the film rights to *The Texas Rangers*, producing the film to coincide with the Texas Centennial. His histories influenced generations of historians of the American West, as well popularized romantic narratives of the recent violent American past.²³⁷ His romanticization of the Alamo battle, his justification of the Texas Rangers' bloody campaign against ethnic Mexicans in Texas, and his championing of the virtuous men of "pure American stock" aided in cementing a mythologized version of Texas' past in the public consciousness of the early twentieth century, from popular histories to children's textbooks. In response to this rhetoric and in the broader context of the

²³⁵ John Emory Dean, *How Myth Became History: Texas Exceptionalism in the Borderlands* (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 2016), pg. 5.

²³⁶ Leigh Clemons, *Branding Texas: Performing Culture in the Lone Star State* (New York: University of Texas Press, 2008), pg. 40.

²³⁷ Leticia M. Garza-Falcón, *Gente Decente: A Borderlands Response to the Rhetoric of Dominance*, 67-70.

1936 Centennial celebrations, Mexican American historian Americo Paredes wrote his poem “Alma pocha” on the subjugation and humiliation of Texas Mexicans at the time; however, the San Antonio Mexican community newspaper *La Prensa* refused to publish it.²³⁸

The restoration of La Villita, one of the oldest neighborhoods in San Antonio, began in 1939 as a project of the National Youth Administration. Championed by San Antonio mayor Maury Maverick during the Great Depression, the restoration was guided by many of the same people who worked on Centennial projects in the city. J. Frank Dobie, head of the Advisory Board of Texas Historians for the Centennial and University of Texas professor, was a prominent figure in providing historical guidance on the project. A photo published in the *San Antonio Light* pictures him with fellow professors Carlos E. Castañeda and Gilbert McAllister overseeing the construction at the Villita restoration site (see Figure 1).²³⁹ More than a historical project, however, the restoration of La Villita parallels many of the historical and social motivations of the Centennial projects that came before it. As discussed in the National Youth Administration’s report on the project, its origins lay in the city’s embarrassment over the state of its historical places. This sentiment is exemplified by the report’s description of “Old Villita” as a “slum of slums where in crowded squalor existed cats, rats, vermin, sick dogs, 119 resident humans and an unknown number of migrants.” It later describes the project as the mayor’s personal “crusade” - an “initial attack upon problems caused by unemployment among the city’s youth, especially those of Spanish-Mexican families.”²⁴⁰ In 1939, the City of San Antonio officially adopted *The Villita Ordinance*, outlining the projects goals, which included Pan-American idealism in its language—calling for “the promotion of peace, friendship and justice between the United States

²³⁸ Ibid., 165-166.

²³⁹ Dr. Gilbert McAllister, Carlos E. Castaneda, and J. Frank Dobie at La Villita (1 image) published in: *San Antonio Light* (March 27, 1940).

²⁴⁰ National Youth Administration in Texas, *La Villita Restoration, San Antonio, Texas: the Restoration of La Villita*. (Austin, TX, 1939).

of America and all other nations of the Western Hemisphere.”²⁴¹ To this end, certain sections and buildings within the village would be named after historical figures from Latin America, including the Plaza Juárez after Mexican president Benito Juárez, the Edificio Bolívar after Simon Bolívar, and the Calle Hidalgo after Father Miguel Hidalgo. The *Villita Ordinance* declares this La Villita’s greatest declaration of its intent to promote “Peace and Good Will, and Pan-American understanding.”²⁴² The contrasts between the idealist language of peace and collaboration between nations in the Americas and the blaming of “Spanish-Mexican” youth for the city’s social ills highlight an ideological tension at the heart of many of these historical projects within their contemporary moments.

²⁴¹ *The Villita Ordinance Adopted October 12, 1939, by the City of San Antonio: Recreating the Little Spanish Village: for the Promotion of Understanding and Peace Between the American Nations, to Preserve Spanish and Southwestern Culture, to Foster Arts and Crafts* (San Antonio, Tex: City of San Antonio, 1939), pg. 591.

²⁴² *The Villita Ordinance* (San Antonio, Tex: City of San Antonio, 1939), pg. 590-591.



Figure 1: Professors Gilbert McAllister, Carlos Casteneda, and J. Frank Dobie (L to R) overseeing the restoration of La Villita, 1940 (*Dr. Gilbert McAllister, Carlos E. Casteneda, and J. Frank Dobie at La Villita, March 27, 1940, San Antonio Light*)

The Cenotaph, a monument erected in 1939 and dedicated to those who died during the Battle of the Alamo, was one of the more controversial projects of the Centennial at the time of its construction (see Figure 2). Sixty feet tall and forty feet in length, the marble structure depicts the feminine “Spirit of Sacrifice” flanked on either side by reliefs of James Bowie, James Bonham, William Travis, and David Crockett, among other figures. Upon its base is a list of all the known fallen defenders of the Alamo, with an inscription that reads in part, “These brave hearts, with flag still proudly waving, perished in the flames of immortality that their high sacrifice might lead to the founding of this Texas.” The structure was cited by the Commission of Control for Texas Centennial Celebrations as one of the most important to the celebration of the

Centennial in Texas because of its commemoration of the Alamo's heroes.²⁴³ *The Christian Science Monitor* published an article in March 1940, celebrating the Cenotaph's completion and solemn iconography, comparing it to the Tomb of the Unknown Soldier in Washington D.C.²⁴⁴

However, its value to San Antonio was challenged even before construction broke ground. On March 1st, 1936, *The Austin American* published an article written by J. Frank Dobie, entitled "Space--Not Monuments--is Needed at Texas's Alamo: Centennial Funds for San Antonio enough to Settle Problem, Noted Texan Says." This article provides an interesting look at Dobie's own opinions as to the construction of the Cenotaph monument – the Centennial's \$100,000 monument project to commemorate the Alamo's fallen Anglo defenders. Dobie writes passionately that the proposed monument would simply be an exorbitant waste of funds and a distraction from the Alamo's true lasting message for future generations. Dobie writes, "the men who gave away their lives there, well fulfilling the scripture that he who loseth his life shall save it, can never be too highly memorialized or monumentalized ... [but] no inscription graved or figure embronzed will ever speak that message so eloquently as the Alamo itself."²⁴⁵ This article provides a look at internal debates by those on the planning boards for the Centennial's projects, and at least one example of debate among those who in the end still upheld the mythologized, Anglo-centric view of Texas' past and contributed to its cementation in the physical and rhetorical landscape. Three years later, in April 1940, *Newsweek* published an article that seemingly dismissed its value as a monument. The article states that proposed dedication ceremonies by the Mayor of San Antonio, the San Antonio centennial commissioner Ed Altgelt, the Daughters of the Republic of Texas, and even President Roosevelt himself were dismissed. It

²⁴³ Commission of Control for Texas Centennial Celebrations, *Monuments Erected by the State of Texas*, 1938, pg. 85.

²⁴⁴ "San Antonio's Alamo Cenotaph Elegant Tribute to 1836 Heroes: Honors Epochal Event," *The Christian Science Monitor*, March 6, 1940.

²⁴⁵ J. Frank Dobie, "Space--Not Monuments--is Needed at Texas's Alamo: Centennial Funds for San Antonio enough to Settle Problem, Noted Texan Says," *The Austin American* (Austin, TX), Mar 01, 1936.

quotes the monument's dejected sculptor Pompeo Coppini claiming, "I am mortified." The article ends with the line, "Apparently, only Pompeo Coppini cares."²⁴⁶ After a near-century since its construction, the monument continues to shape the city's landscape and contemporary debates about its value to historical memory and the legacy of Texas' Anglo-Supremacist historical identity. The Cenotaph was not widely accepted at the time of its construction as necessary or valuable to the Alamo; however, in the refutation of the monument's importance, critics like Dobie instead placed more emphasis on the sanctity of the Alamo itself.

²⁴⁶ "‘Prettified’ Alamo Memorial Tilts Noses in San Antonio," *Newsweek* (New York City, NY), Apr. 29, 1940.



Figure 2: An artistic rendering of the then-proposed Cenotaph monument, as published by the Commission of Control for Texas Centennial Celebrations, 1938. (*Monuments Erected by the State of Texas to Commemorate the Centenary of Texas Independence*, 1938)

Pan-Americanism and Good Neighbor in the 1930s

The Texas Centennial's use of history stood in an uneasy balance between the United States' official Good Neighbor policy implemented in 1936 that sought to connect the US to Latin America (with appeals to Pan Americanism) and the Texan patriotism that upheld anti-Mexican sentiment. Richard Cándida Smith's *Improvised Continent: Pan-Americanism and*

Cultural Exchange covers the history of Pan-Americanism both in and outside of the United States, and how the ideal evolved over time. Smith writes that “both pan-Americanism and cultural exchange rested on an unstable synthesis of utopian ideals and the rise of the United States as a world power,” wherein the rise of the United States to prominence in the hemisphere gave it institutional power that often undermined the goals of cross-cultural alliance and collaboration among equals.²⁴⁷ While some newspaper articles advertising the Centennial upheld Mexico as a land of cultural and historical value, many historical depictions of Mexican people labeled them as violent, cruel, and enemies of freedom. This tension between the state’s historical views and the federal government’s policy goals highlights an important ideological difference between the two, and the ways that the Centennial dealt with that conflict. As a primarily Texas-ran event, the Centennial promoted patriotism above all else, while making appeals to Pan-Americanism when called out by visitors and emissaries from Latin American governments. The 1936 Texas Centennial represented the tensions between the opposing ideological forces of the federal government’s Good Neighbor policy and the Pan-American social movement, and the Anglocentric patriotism of the Centennial’s historical projects. Its appeals to the international collaboration of Good Neighbor served in some sense to preserve the peace between the Texas government with both the U.S. federal and Mexican governments. Anti-Mexican sentiment and the rise in deportations of ethnic Mexicans in the Great Depression, both citizens and non-citizens, created conditions for racialized rhetoric of progress away from the Mexican past and toward an Anglo capitalist future. Somewhat paradoxically, the Texas government and economic interests sought to reap the benefit of a controllable Mexican labor population alongside the performance of a sanitized version of Mexican culture without the immediate presence of Mexican people.

²⁴⁷ Richard Cándida Smith, *Improvvised Continent: Pan-Americanism and Cultural Exchange* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2017), pg. 3.

Throughout the 1930s and 1940s, Mexican American activists in Texas appealed to the Good Neighbor policy in an attempt to gain access to full citizenship rights that they were long-denied. University of Texas professor of Latin American education George I. Sánchez wrote in a 1942 article that the segregation and mistreatment of Spanish-speaking children in San Antonio schools was an evil that perpetuated a racial caste system that was shameful and un-American. Sánchez argues that “Pan-Americanism must begin at home,” and further states that “if we are interested in the Mexican across the border but not in the one across the tracks, then I don’t know what we are talking about.”²⁴⁸ His remarks highlight some of the hypocrisy and oversights of the Pan American movement in the United States, calling for attention to and the welfare of the ethnic Mexican population of the United States. While the movement called for peace and cooperation between the US and Mexico, there is an underlying assumption that ethnic Mexicans are not to be considered as US citizens or Mexican citizens, but some other class. The well-being of US economic interests in Latin America seemed to override the civil rights of ethnic Mexicans in Texas.

Mexican American civil rights organizations like the League of United Latin American Citizens (LULAC) sought to include the historic contributions of Texas Mexicans, or Tejanos, in the narratives of the Texas Centennial in order to construct a positive image of Mexicans in Texas history that would undermine racial prejudice and stereotypes. These efforts included the formation of a Texas Centennial Committee and the San Antonio-based Texas History Revision Committee. Their goals included lobbying the state to reform textbooks that separated Mexicans from the narrative of Texas Independence, a plan to hang a portrait of Juan Seguín inside the Alamo, and the circulation of pamphlets aimed at promoting Tejano's contributions to the state's

²⁴⁸ “Justice Urged for Mexicans in U.S.,” *The Washington Post* (Washington, D.C.), May 6, 1942.

history during the Centennial.²⁴⁹ Folklorist, historian, and colleague of J. Frank Dobie, Jovita Gonzalez produced an exhibit for the celebrations entitled, “Catholic Heroines of Texas,” seeking to integrate the lives of Mexican American women into the narrative of Texas history.²⁵⁰ Historian Natalie Mendoza argues that University of Texas professors Carlos E. Castañeda and George I. Sánchez and organizations like LULAC used a rhetoric of progress and pluralistic unity that tied into appeals to the Good Neighbor policy in order to advocate for ethnic Mexican equality and inclusion in Texas in the 1930s.²⁵¹

Newspaper articles from the time advertise the Texas Centennial and the state’s proximity to Mexico positively with the rhetoric of Pan-Americanism. In July 1936, *The Christian Science Monitor* published an article entitled, “Historic Trails are Beckoning to Texas Centennial Visitors: New Highway Draws Americas Closer Together,” which advertised the “Pan-American Highway,” a proposed and largely unfinished highway system linking the US to Mexico and the rest of Latin America, as well as a possible route that visitors to Texas could take to see every significant celebration of the Centennial by city or town along the route. It describes a popular route for tourism starting in San Antonio, south to Monterrey, Mexico by automobile, and then further by rail to Mexico City, “one of the loveliest capitals in the world.”²⁵² Its description of San Antonio is particularly romantic and colorful in its language, claiming that “the spirit of the conquistadores still lives in San Antonio,” with appeals to the city’s Spanish missions. A 1935 article from the same paper compares the Battle of the Alamo to the that of Thermopylae, declaring that the Alamo will likewise be remembered, “down through the ages.”²⁵³

²⁴⁹ Natalie Mendoza, “Good Neighbor in the American Historical Imagination: Mexican American Intellectual Thought in the Fight for Civil Rights, 1930s–1940s,” *Western Historical Quarterly* vol. 52, Issue 4, 2021, pg. 398.

²⁵⁰ Karen R. Roybal, *Archives of Dispossession: Recovering the Testimonios of Mexican American Herederos, 1848–1960* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2017), pg. 7, 78.

²⁵¹ Natalie Mendoza, “Good Neighbor in the American Historical Imagination,” 2021, pg. 403.

²⁵² “Historic Trails are Beckoning to Texas Centennial Visitors: New Highway Draws Americas Closer Together,” *The Christian Science Monitor* (Boston, MA), Jul 01, 1936.

²⁵³ “The South through A Windshield: Historic San Antonio,” *The Christian Science Monitor*, May 7, 1935.

However, the rhetoric of Pan-Americanism and outward applause of the Good Neighbor policy is often proclaimed in the same breath as the dismissal of the concerns of the Mexican government. With President Roosevelt's key place in celebrations, his Good Neighbor policy is touted often in publications from the time, but Pan America's rhetoric of collaboration and friendship seemingly overlooked Mexico in this context. *The New York Times* published an article entitled, "To 'Remember The Alamo': Mexicans Will Take Part In Texas Celebration," stating that the Mexican consulate would "provide Mexicans" for a performance depicting the Battle of the Alamo, describing Mexicans as "foes of that battle" who "slaughtered" Texans "during their struggle for independence."²⁵⁴ The next year, *The Austin American* published an article, "Roosevelt's Good Neighbor Policy Lauded at show: Little Panels of Wax Cause Mexicans to Bring on Threats," contrasting U.S. Senator Tom Connally's calls for Pan-American peace with Mexican representatives' critiques of the depictions of Mexicans in a series of wax panels portraying events from the Texas Revolution and Republic periods, including the Mier Expedition's unsuccessful invasion of Mexico in 1842 and Texas' annexation by the United States in 1845.²⁵⁵ The tensions between the federal government's priorities of hemispheric unity and the Texas government's celebration of sovereignty from Mexican rule highlights the ideological differences between the two, and the uneasy balance that politicians walked in this period.

The Centennial's Influence, 1940 Onward

Many of the ideals pushed by the 1936 Texas Centennial held sway in local governments following the celebration's end in the same year. Many of the people who had worked on the

²⁵⁴ "To 'Remember The Alamo': Mexicans Will Take Part In Texas Celebration," *The New York Times* (New York City, NY), Apr 11, 1936.

²⁵⁵ "Roosevelt's Good Neighbor Policy Lauded at show: Little Panels of Wax Cause Mexicans to Bring on Threats," *The Austin American* (Austin, TX), Jun 13, 1937.

Centennial's planning committees would continue similar work afterward. J. Frank Dobie and others who had worked extensively on the Centennial's historical projects later worked on similar projects, like the city of San Antonio's restoration of La Villita beginning in 1939 and concluding in 1941. This project was influenced by a desire to correct social ills associated with the Great Depression and the unemployed Mexican population, as well as a desire to create an arts village for the city that would reflect its social priorities and historical outlook.

Emilio Zamora and Juan Gómez Quiñones' book *Claiming Rights and Righting Wrongs in Texas: Mexican Workers and Job Politics during World War II*, explores the ways that the Mexican government and Mexican workers in the US sought to use the Good Neighbor Policy to try and better their working conditions during the Second World War. They argue that the ideological promises made by the policy in a time of rampant inequality in Texas provided a key moment in which to test the lengths the US would go to uphold its rhetorical promises.²⁵⁶ The promise of the Good Neighbor Policy and the liberalism of the New Deal appealed to Mexican American activists who sought equal citizenship during and after the 1936 Texas Centennial, through the Second World War and beyond. The middle-class Mexican American activism that sought to integrate Tejano's contributions to Texas' history would also work to integrate Mexicans' national contributions following the war with the creation of the GI Forum by veterans and the expansion of LULAC's work to education access.

Conclusion

On June 11th, 1936, President Franklin Delano Roosevelt delivered a speech at the Alamo in commemoration of his trip to San Antonio for the Texas Centennial. In that speech, Roosevelt upheld the traditional Anglo interpretation of the Alamo as a "shrine" wherein the martyrs of the

²⁵⁶ Emilio Zamora and Juan Gómez Quiñones, *Claiming Rights and Righting Wrongs in Texas: Mexican Workers and Job Politics during World War II* (College Station: Texas A&M University Press, 2009), pg. 2.

Alamo died to uphold Texas' liberty against the Mexican government. However, the President chooses to use this narrative of sacrifice and determination to craft his own optimistic narrative for the United States in the context of the Great Depression. He states that, "unlike [the Alamo defenders], we do not need to take up arms; we are not called upon to die; we can carry on a national war for the cause of humanity without shedding blood."²⁵⁷ In this way, Roosevelt took part in the process of negotiating with the historical narrative for contemporary political goals, as had all other parties during the Centennial. His use of the rhetoric of Anglo dominance around the Battle of the Alamo in order to call for the determination of American families in the face of economic uncertainty highlights the persistence of that narrative, as well as the ways that historical memory can be constructed and used as a rhetorical device.

The Texas Centennial Celebrations of 1936 shaped the local physical and cultural landscape of San Antonio in the first half of the twentieth century through its education and historical projects, and cemented Anglo-centric histories into public monuments, classrooms, and social life in the city. Mexican American activists in Texas sought to combat negative racial stereotypes of Mexicans through an effort to include Tejanos in the story of Texas Independence. In this way, activists challenged the dominant historical narrative that cast them as villains, using the publicity and statewide reach of the celebrations to do so.

²⁵⁷ "TEXT OF ROOSEVELT'S SPEECH AT ALAMO," *Los Angeles Times*, June 12, 1936.

Gendered Islamophobia: The Controversy of the Veil

By: Josie Barrett-Silguero
Department of History

Abstract

Taking on the veil has been a long-standing tradition in numerous cultures, religions, and societies. However, a growing number of Muslim women stand up against gender bias Iranian policies in response to innocent blood being shed over a piece of fabric. Despite these efforts, the continuation of hostile remarks to such an extent of physical violence towards these women continues to overshadow their autonomy over their choice to veil known as Gendered Islamophobia. By examining discrimination in the public sphere, including but not limited to being denied eligibility to participate in sports as well as being separated from peers in educational institutions with little to no formal learning, we learn of the severe consequences young hijab-wearing Muslim women face.

Introduction

In a world torn between contemporary and traditional ideals, modern-day Iran demonstrates an internal struggle for change as the government continues to suppress its people's opposition. The recent killing of Mahsa Amini ignited a wave of protests throughout Iran as well as gained international attention due to the widespread of information through social media.

Mahsa Amini has become one of numerous women throughout Islamic countries that have fallen victim to Sharia law. This pre-modern Islamic legal code has contributed to the theocratic style of Iran's government that has upheld strict legislation based upon their sacred religious text of the Quran. Among the several ordinances is the obligation of Muslim women to inherit the practice of veiling in their day-to-day life in accordance with the words of the Quran proclaiming, "And tell the believing women to lower their gaze and guard their chastity, and not to reveal their adornments except what normally appears. Let them draw their veils over their chests, and not reveal their 'hidden' adornments except to their husbands, their fathers, their fathers-in-law..."²⁵⁸

Iran's northern neighbor Turkey, however, did have a ban on the form of the veil known as the hijab towards Muslim women who work as a civil servant as well as those who pursue higher education, for nearly eight decades. Women on both Middle Eastern soils have faced oppression as their choice to express themselves with or without the veil has continuously been denied. Western countries have taken a stance against veil-wearing women in public areas, inside classrooms, and professional sports companies. The criticism, injustice, and cruelty experienced by women of the Islamic faith internationally has become known as Gendered Islamophobia. Numerous generations of veil-wearing women have spared no effort in fighting against the suppression of their voices and rights. The debate over the veil has spanned generations, oceans,

²⁵⁸ *Quran*, "An-Nur," 24:31, <https://quran.com/24?startingVerse=31>

and history. “The hijab represents more than a piece of religious clothing; instead, it has become a lightning rod for issues related to state, gender, and ideology.”²⁵⁹

The History of Veiling

One of the many stereotypes that is made about veil-wearing women is that they are all associated with the religion of Islam due to their portrayal in the media with Islamist radicals. However, there is a vast range of religions that have taken up the veil in one way or another that have not been discussed or berated. The origins of the veil in accordance with seclusion from Homa Hoodfar’s *The Veil in Their Minds and On Our Heads: The Persistence of Colonial Images of Muslim Women* emanates that veiling demonstrated a sign of status carried out by the elite in the early classical civilization of Greco-Romans, pre-Islamic Iran, and Byzantine empires.²⁶⁰ The act of veiling has been seen in diverse denominations of Judaism, Christianity, Catholicism, Hinduism, and Sikhism. According to Siti Juwariyah, “All these women are portrayed veiling themselves; and even though some forms of veiling look different from others, some look so similar that it is hard to tell the faith or the religion simply from the veil the woman is wearing.”²⁶¹ While there are key differences in the characteristics as to why women in each faith there seems to be a connection in the sphere of modesty.

In Islam, one of the most significant approaches a woman can demonstrate their devoutness to the religion is by establishing a sense of identity with respect to Allah by “covering up” with a veil. “It is not ‘possible’ for a human being to have Allah communicate with them,

²⁵⁹ Gi Yeon Koo and Ha Eun Han, “To veil or not to veil: Turkish and Iranian hijab policies and the struggle for recognition,” *Asian Journal of Women’s Studies*, 2018, pg. 48.

<https://www-tandfonline-com.libweb.lib.utsa.edu/doi/pdf/10.1080/12259276.2018.1427663?needAccess=true>.

²⁶⁰ Homa Hoodfar, “The Veil in Their Minds and On Our Heads: The Persistence of Colonial Images of Muslim Women,” *Resources for Feminist Research*, vol. 22, no. ¾. Toronto, Fall 1992/Winter 1993, pg. 3.

<https://www-proquest-com.libweb.lib.utsa.edu/docview/194879317?pq-origsite=primo&accountid=7122>

²⁶¹ Siti Juwariyah, “Muslim Women and Veiling: What Does it Signify? Second Language Acquisition and Teaching,” *Graduate Interdisciplinary Programs* vol. 43, no. 1, University of Arizona Tucson, Arizona, 2019, pg. 81. https://www.researchgate.net/publication/338257451_MUSLIM_WOMEN_AND_VEILING_What_Does_It_Signify

except through inspiration, or from behind a veil, or by sending a messenger-angel to reveal whatever He wills by His permission. He is surely Most High, All-Wise.”²⁶² In the Abrahamic religions of Christianity and Catholicism nuns have a similar practice in which they wear a black veil over a white coif that securely covers their hair. In both instances, these women use a veil for the same reasoning in their respective beliefs, yet the custom has had adverse reactions towards Muslim women. In the matter of the nuns, “Their act of veiling is indeed considered positive attitude towards the religions as in the submission to God. As Al-Mahadin states, this phenomenon might be caused by the single and clear meaning it signifies: “the bride of Christ.”²⁶³ Further into Juwariyah’s findings, there was a disparity between Islam and Judaism where Jewish women who take on wearing the veil are ordered to do so by other women not by their male counterparts. The act of women in the same religion imposing on one another over a headscarf has not raised any concerns in the debate of oppression whereas in the realm of Islam men imposing that same regard towards their own has caused uproars.

In Islam there is more than one type of veil used by women that vary upon the discretion of their country, how they interpret the meaning according to the Quran, and their own personal beliefs. “Nonetheless, the imaginary veil that comes to the minds of most westerners is an awkward black cloak that covers the whole body, including the face, and which is designed to prevent women’s mobility.”²⁶⁴ The British Broadcasting Corporation News (BBC News) has created a web-accessible compilation of the types of veils Muslim women can be seen wearing all around the world. Of the most recognizable headscarves is the hijab which serves as a symbol of religion and womanhood; it has a square shape that covers the head as well as neck leaving the face exposed. Additional popular styles are the al-amira which consists of a two-piece veil

²⁶² *Quran*, “Ash-Shuraa,” 42:51, (<https://quran.com/42?startingVerse=51>)

²⁶³ Juwariyah, “Muslim Women and Veiling,” 81.

²⁶⁴ Hoodfar, “The Veil in Their Minds,” 5.

including a close-fitting cap fastened securely covered by a tubular shaped scarf along with the shayla prominently worn in the Persian Gulf that is rectangular shaped wrapped around the head to be “tucked” or “pinned” at the shoulders.²⁶⁵ The types of veils distinctly worn in Middle Eastern countries consist of more fabric that conceal a greater area of the female’s body. The khimar is a longer-length veil that reaches the woman’s waist leaving her hair, neck, and shoulders concealed displaying only her face. Similar to the khimar, the chador is a full-body cloak notably worn by a multitude of Iranian women when outside of their homes that is typically paired with a smaller headscarf beneath the main ensemble. Furthermore, in BBC News, the burka is referred to as the “most concealing of all Islamic veils” due to the fabric covering the entire body in addition to the face with just a mesh screen at the eye levels to not impair their vision. The niqab is a form of veiling that fully covers the woman’s body including a head scarf leaving only her eyes shown that can be concealed with a detached eye veil. The conservative choices of the niqab and burka have been the topic of deliberations for numerous countries as these veils are the centerfolds for the controversies the media has displayed about Islam and women’s roles in terrorism to the extreme that “There have been attempts to ban both the niqab and burka in some European countries.”²⁶⁶

Iran Revolution 1979: History and Consequence

In light of the recent deaths of young Iranian women, the Islamic Republic has been a matter of global contention. “People in different cities of Iran are continuing their protests over the killing of 22-year-old Mahsa Amini by the regime’s so-called “morality police ” with the justification of “improper hijab” wearing. Also, Iranians abroad have been protesting Mahsa

²⁶⁵ “In Graphics: Muslim Veils (Potent Symbol, Conservative Choice, Popular Styles, and Covering Up),” *BBC News*, http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/shared/spl/hi/pop_ups/05/europe_muslim_veils/html/1.stm

²⁶⁶ *BBC NEWS*, “In Graphics.”

Amini's atrocious murder."²⁶⁷ The news article from MENAFN goes into further detail about Mahsa Amini's arrest where she was transferred to a police station when it would then be revealed the young Muslim woman reported to a hospital with her cause of death being established as severe brain damage due to heavy blows to her head. These malicious factors would reveal that Amini was tortured and cruelly beaten while in custody. Nearly six weeks since the death of the 22-year-old, demonstrations of protests have emerged causing Muslim women to cut their hair as well as take up their headscarves in flames. As reported by National World one of the protesters, 16-year-old Nika Shakarami, was found dead ten days following the recording of a video displaying the young girl burning her headscarf in accordance with the cause being spread through social media.²⁶⁸ Further into the news article, it was stated that although Iranian state media claims there was no correlation between Shakarami's death and the protests, eyewitnesses informed Cable News Network (CNN) that she had been arrested, alleged to be missing, and found dead on the same day. Protests continue to arise across the Islamic Republic that have led to increased violence of bombards of guns towards the mourning protesters partaking in the unrest against the government. The history of Iran demonstrates that women have struggled for decades for their position in Iranian society whether that be during the Pahlavi Dynasty, Iranian Revolution of 1979, or in the present climate of oppression.

Prior to the Iranian Revolution of 1979, Shah Mohammed Reza Pahlavi had set Iran on the path of becoming a more modernized country in the sense of political, economic, and social aspects resembling those of European values. "One key aspect of the program was that he steered

²⁶⁷ "Iran: Protests, General Strike Expands Over Mahsa Amini Killing," *MENAFN*, September 20, 2022. <https://advance-lexis-com.libweb.lib.utsa.edu/document/index?crd=7773ef93-12a3-4860-ae50-bc5cb87f1c4d&pdpermalink=720451c0-958d-43eb-b6a0-e2a542ad200a&pdmfid=1516831&pdisurlapi=true>.

²⁶⁸ Heather Carrick, "Nika Shakarami: What Happened to Iran Teen Found Dead 10 Days After Burning Headscarf-Protests Explained," *National World*, November 21, 2022. <https://advance-lexis-com.libweb.lib.utsa.edu/api/permalink/9f5511a8-fcbe-4e9d-80b2-dda89abb2bc0/?context=1516831>

his internal policies on women's rights and their compulsory education."²⁶⁹ Rafique and Manzoor Butt of Government College University in Pakistan delve deeper into women's rights in the country by revealing that his father, Reza Shah Pahlavi, decreed a proclamation in 1936 that forbade the wearing of the veil by Muslim women that carried on untouched until the reign of his son. There would soon be a dramatic shift of leadership in Iran when King Shah Mohammed Reza Pahlavi was overthrown in 1979 paving the way for Ayatollah Khomeini to attain accession to power. "So the political character of the state morphed from monarchy to an Islamic regime based on an Islamic constitution and Islamic laws which was characterized by restricted role of women in different social spheres."²⁷⁰ Rafique and Manzoor Butt expand on this circumstance by revealing the policies set in place by the Islamic Republic amplified the gaps in gender inequalities due to legislative reforms promised to Iranian women that have not emerged from the state.

Prior to the revolution, women were not allowed to veil yet they were able to create an identity in Iran by finding work in both economic sectors, attaining the right to divorce their husbands, and enacting an age requirement in marriages prohibiting child marriages. The position of women post-revolution would become dismantled as the Islamic republic would reverse the Westernized legislation of the Shah such as the banning of Islamic veils. In 1983 the Iranian Parliament passed legislation to penalize any woman in violation of improper or absence of veiling with a punishment of seventy-four lashes. "In reaction to government's women prejudiced policies, women organizations protested but the government responded by increasing

²⁶⁹ Sadia Rafique and Khalid Manzoor Butt, "Position of Women in Iran: An Analysis of Pre and Post Islamic Revolution 1979," *A Research Journal of South Asian Studies*, vol. 32, no. 2. Government College University, July-December, 2017, pg. 432
<https://login.libweb.lib.utsa.edu/login?url=https://www-proquest-com.libweb.lib.utsa.edu/scholarly-journals/position-women-iran-analysis-pre-post-islamic/docview/2007652282/se-2?accountid=7122>

²⁷⁰ Rafique and Manzoor Butt, "Position of Women in Iran," 432.

punishment. Hiding ladies' bodies, sexual orientation isolation and disparity were the approach of the Khomeini administration."²⁷¹ It became evidently clear to Iranian women that their clothes were not the issue as women who veiled and unveiled came together in unity, however, their stance did not waver the government from revoking their freedom of choice in clothing. Women who did not take up the veil were frightened, intimidated, and attacked. Iranian news articles and brochures took the opportunity to heighten scornful attitudes towards unveiled women as well as denounce gender rights as a whole. A newspaper account of the Los Angeles Times from March 9, 1979 reported when Iranian women who marched in protest against the Ayatollah Ruhollah Khomeini's command to take on the veil in accordance with the strict tenants of Islam were met by his supporters and revolutionaries that taunted the women while throwing stones.²⁷² Although there were no immediate reports of casualties the revolutionaries did use an open fire of arms to disperse women protestors marching towards Mehdi Bazargan's office, who was the Islamic Republic's first prime minister after the Iranian Revolution. By comparing the position of women prior to and post revolution, veiling can be interpreted as two sides of a similar coin in Iranian legislative issues. Both Pahlavi and Islamic regimes devised the subject of gender by controlling women's position in society with the administration of veiling and unveiling to their own political interests. "The Shah used gender policies to lay the foundation of secularism and westernization in the country to weaken clergy; whereas, Revolutionaries went on to promote their version of Islamization and anti-westernization by restricting the space for women."²⁷³ The two regimes' administrations, fully composed of men, established policies without the consideration of how women would feel. These measures reiterate the concept that Iranian society was and remains a

²⁷¹ Rafique and Manzoor Butt, "Position of Women in Iran," 435.

²⁷² "Men Stone, Jeer Iran Feminists," *Los Angeles Times*, March 9, 1979.

<https://login.libweb.lib.utsa.edu/login?url=https://www-proquest-com.libweb.lib.utsa.edu/historical-newspapers/men-stone-jeer-iran-feminists/docview/158769442/se-2?accountid=7122>

²⁷³ Rafique & Manzoor Butt, "Position of Women in Iran," 438.

male supremacist culture where the individuals in charge for decades have carried on legislative matters without female consultation.

The Three S's Behind the Veil: Sexism, Slander, and Stereotypes

For centuries a piece of fabric has dictated the way Muslim women have been subjected to the countless speculations that their religion has suppressed them when rather it has been individuals from foreign countries disparaging their image. “Through this binary formulation of the ‘West and the rest’ Islam and Muslims have become the foils for modernity, freedom and the civilized world.”²⁷⁴ Jasmin Zine further illustrates this idea by referencing Edward Said’s controversial literary work in his book *Orientalism* where Said reiterates notions of Western perspectives towards Muslims being barbaric hateful liars and their women being emotionless feeble-minded beings whose voices were muted in addition to their enigmatic eyes behind the veil. By defining the Orientals with negative connotations, the Europeans crafted their own depictions to be inherently more productive as well as refined. “Veiled Muslim women were constructed in the Western literary imagination as objects of desire, sensual, elusive harem girls and yet they were disavowed in the same breath as backward victims of their heathen and misogynistic cultures.”²⁷⁵ When Western “occident” women began learning about oriental dress norms of Muslim women they would come to take pity for their position in society given to them by the men in their culture. According to Homa Hoodfar of Concordia University in Montreal, Quebec, “the imaginary that comes to the minds of most westerners is an awkward black cloak that covers the whole body, including the face, and which is designed to prevent women’s mobility.”²⁷⁶ Additionally, Hoodfar references how Iranian women were astounded by the

²⁷⁴ Jasmin Zine, “Between Orientalism and Fundamentalism: The Politics of Muslim Women’s Feminist Engagement,” *Muslim World Journal of Human Rights*, vol. 3, no. 1, article 5. De Gruyter, August 2, 2006, 2 <https://doi-org.libweb.lib.utsa.edu/10.2202/1554-4419.1080>

²⁷⁵ Zine, “Between Orientalism,” 4.

²⁷⁶ Hoodfar, “The Veil in Their Minds,” 5.

excessive material the occident woman's snug attire is composed of. She mentions Tavakoli-Targhi's viewpoint of the Iranian women by expressing they felt as though Western societies were cruel to their women by forcing them to wear a bodice that altered the shape of their bodies. The continuation of comparing one another transcended decades but was intensified with the contribution of publishing in the media industry in times of conflict between the two cultures.

We as a society have witnessed armed conflict that has resulted in bloodshed and the loss of numerous lives in the Middle East. The hostility that emerged from the years of the Gulf Wars and the attack on 9/11 on the United States soil arose the urgent necessity to campaign a "War on Terror." One of the attitudes that resonated amongst most believers of the Christian faith was that these battles would release the oppressed Muslim women from the callous males in their lives. Viktoria Schmidt-Linsenhoff with the help from her translator David Sánchez Cano unveiled these dispositions by discussing the scandal of US-American soldier Lynndie England who was immorally photographed enacting offensive positions towards tormented Muslim men in Abu Gharib prison in honor of the liberation of women. The Muslim men were stripped of their clothing with a bag placed over their heads portraying the switch of gender roles to the women they are believed to have oppressed, representing the stereotype of the degradation of oriental women for England's own unfamiliarity to the culture. "Robbed of his gaze, the prisoner as "hooded man" assumed the role of the veiled Muslim woman, whose invisibility prefigures that of the enemy in the "new wars."²⁷⁷ Schmidt-Linsenhoff was a German art historian whose interest in gender studies enabled her to discuss how an avant-garde film cost Dutch filmmaker Theo van Gogh his life. Gogh put together a film called *Submission* criticizing Islamic gender relationships

²⁷⁷ Viktoria Schmidt and David Sánchez Cano, "Working on the Stereotype: Mona Hatoum and Gülsün Karamustafa," *Art in Translation*, 2017, pg. 432.
<https://www-tandfonline-com.libweb.lib.utsa.edu/doi/full/10.1080/17561310.2016.1266810>

which Schmidt-Linsenhoff describes as “sado-masochistic” showing eroticized scenes of veiled women who had been beaten, whipped, and exploited by their partners who justified their treatment of the women to the edicts of the Quran. “The murder of the director revealed the potential for violence that is intrinsic to visual stereotypes, a potential to which an imaginative postmodern gesture in art could no longer do justice.”²⁷⁸ The escalation of preconceptions about Islam has rooted Anti-Muslim sentiments amongst communities altering the way of life for Muslim women.

The United Kingdom has become one of the countries that has been implicated in increasing cases of harassment towards veiled Muslim women in the public sphere of numerous neighborhoods. Remarks such as, “I want to cut that black thing off your face, are you carrying belts full of explosives, and are you really ugly under there” have been exposed by Hannah Mason-Bish and Irene Zempi who interviewed Muslim women who wear the niqab in public. The participants disclosed their emotions from their experience by highlighting aspects including feeling vulnerable, anxious, and defenseless. “This symbolism brings the veiled Muslim woman very visibly into the public sphere where she simply cannot walk by unnoticed. In this context, the niqab symbolizes the sexual “nonavailability” of Muslim women.”²⁷⁹ The niqab form of veiling has identified these women as an “other” who are involuntarily subjugated to the speculation that they pose a threat to the way and safety of Western ways of life and somehow deserve to be chastised, making them easy targets by their prejudiced assailants. “They report being pushed, slapped, spat at, shoved or had their niqabs pulled off by unknown men on the street. In some cases, they had things thrown at them (such as alcohol, water bombs, bottles,

²⁷⁸ Schmidt-Linsenhoff and Sánchez Cano, “Working on the Stereotype,” 434.

²⁷⁹ Hannah Mason-Bish and Irene Zempi, “Misogyny, Racism, and Islamophobia: Street Harassment at the Intersections,” *SAGE Journals*, *Feminist Criminology*, vol. 14, 2019, pg. 547.
<https://journals-sagepub-com.libweb.lib.utsa.edu/doi/full/10.1177/1557085118772088>

eggs, take-away food, rubbish, and stones) or they had a weapon (such as a knife) being used against them.”²⁸⁰ Mason-Bish and Zempi emphasize the correlation of misogynistic and anti-Muslim sentiments when the veil, such as a niqab, is forcibly taken off their bodies. The authors of the article reflect on this understanding by discussing that the symbol of the niqab is protection and in Islam it is prioritized to protect yourself but poses the assumption of how the women feel when they are unveiled.

For Muslim women coming to the decision to unveil for safety undermines their identity, agency, and devoutness to their religion. In order to protect herself one subject compared removing her niqab to committing a sin feeling the instant regret of doing so, and another faced backlash from individuals in her own community by ladies veiling in niqabs demeaning that now her veil has been removed so will the rest. One of their interviewees, Maha, recalled that her veil being removed from her body was the equivalent of being sexually assaulted. “Taking the veil off is equal to rape really. I was walking down the street in the local area [Highfields, Leicester] and there were three white men in their early 20s. They took my niqab off from behind. I tried to conceal my face with my scarf and then when I tried to retrieve my niqab they wanted to take a look at me. They bent down to see what I looked like and then they chunked it on the floor.”²⁸¹ An important detail made is that those who were white women who converted to Islam from Christianity began wearing the additional eye veil to their niqab as well as gloves to not expose the color of their skin in order to not be considered a conspirator of Western values in the United Kingdom. One of the participants who had developed agoraphobia, a fear of leaving one’s home, distinguished the deception in the statement that veiled women are oppressed when the individuals claiming so are persecuting these women. These men acting as “protectors” of public

²⁸⁰ Mason-Bish and Zempi, “Misogyny, Racism, and Islamophobia,” 550.

²⁸¹ Mason-Bish and Zempi, “Misogyny, Racism, and Islamophobia,” 552.

areas continue to display their domination towards veiled Muslim women making them endure seemingly harmless antics that have resulted in females gaining a fear of leaving their homes, constantly looking over their shoulder for approaching danger, and changing who they are in order to fit into the “appropriate” gender character. “Ironically, the Islamic veil, which is supposed to shield women from the gaze of strangers and men, makes them globally more visible.”²⁸²

Gendered Islamophobia: The Media and Policies Against the Veil

In the late 18th century, the term orientalism was initiated to dictate how Westerners viewed themselves in comparison to those of the oriental East. These presumptions are still evident in today’s society but have been given a new expression. “Consequently, in view of Edward Said’s conceptual work with *Orientalism*, one might say that in some ways Islamophobia is not only “a new word for an old concept” (Bleich 2011: 1582), but that it also struggles with similar predetermined narratives and epistemological challenges.”²⁸³ Damir Skenderovic along with Christina Späti investigated the basis for the growing animosity towards Muslims, and came to the conviction that the continuous antagonism of Islam has left individuals who practice this religion seen as threats to society. Barbara Perry of the University of Ontario Institute of Technology acknowledged the widespread of primitive caricatures that news as well as entertainment outlets incorporated into their releases that “generate stereotypes and rely on our familiarity with them in order to formulate the world in their terms..” negatively affecting attitudes towards Muslims.²⁸⁴ In order to further demonstrate these dispositions Perry

²⁸² Schmidt-Linsenhoff and Sánchez Cano, “Working on the Stereotype,” 436.

²⁸³ Dami Skenderovic and Christina Späti, “From Orientalism to Islamophobia: Reflections, Confirmations, and Reservations,” *ReOrient*, Pluto Journals, April 2, 2019, pg. 138.
<https://www.scienceopen.com/hosted-document?doi=10.13169/reorient.4.2.0130>

²⁸⁴ Barbara Perry, “Gendered Islamophobia: Hate Crime Against Muslim Women,” *Social Identities*, vol. 20, no. 1, June 27, 2013, pg. 76 <https://www-tandfonline-com.libweb.lib.utsa.edu/doi/full/10.1080/13504630.2013.864467>

incorporates a survey to which thirty-two percent of participants claimed when they heard the word Muslim they associated it with depictions of arms-related violence stemming from war.²⁸⁵ As previously discussed Muslim women have been put at risk of religious hate crimes for being represented with extremist groups such as the Islamic State of Iraq and Syria (ISIS). A notable newspaper Washington Times called *Terrorists Hiding in Hijabs: Muslims Seek Special Treatment to Elude TSA Grouping* stated in 2010 that permitting religious accommodations for Muslim women who wear a veil would make it possible for terrorists to avoid security precautions set in place exhibiting anti-Muslim sentiments that villainize women.²⁸⁶ Perry shared the story of an 11-year-old girl who had been physically and verbally assaulted by a classmate for wearing her hijab in school. When she had reported what had happened to her, she reached out to her teacher asking to be moved away from the boy in class to which she was told she would only be allowed to by earning so. “He ripped off her hijab in science class, frightening her and causing her to cry. The next day he threatened to start rumors that she was a lesbian, and said he would get a BB gun and kill her.”²⁸⁷ This was not the first time she had become a victim of assaults on campus because eighth graders earlier in the academic year had teased her for her veil accusing her of being a terrorist concealing bombs. When Perry wrote her article in 2013 it had been reported at the time that twenty-four states in the United States’ hate crime ordinances excluded gender as a protected category.²⁸⁸ There have been numerous instances in which policies similar to these in Western countries either prohibit Muslim women from being protected or excluded altogether.

²⁸⁵ Perry, “Gendered Islamophobia,” 77.

²⁸⁶ Perry, “Gendered Islamophobia,” 84.

²⁸⁷ Perry, “Gendered Islamophobia,” 80

²⁸⁸ Perry, “Gendered Islamophobia,” 77.

Countries in the Eastern Hemisphere for spans of generations have crafted legislation as well as policies that have taken away the agency of Muslim women who wear the veil. In the sports sector, the International Federation of Association Football (FIFA) faced immense criticism when the entire Iran youth national soccer team was prohibited from competing in the 2010-2011 tournament in Singapore. The organization defended this action by declaring the team was in violation of that year's FIFA rule book by "Advertising on Equipment: "Basic compulsory equipment must not have any political, religious, or personal statement" and Safety: "A player must not use equipment or wear anything that is dangerous to himself or another player."²⁸⁹ Afghan writer Awista Ayub references that although both rules were added three years prior they were not as heavily enforced until FIFA had a team composed of every individual player affiliated with Islam who chose to veil. Ayub reveals in *A Closer Look at FIFA's Hijab Ban* that together FIFA and Iran's Football Federation came to an agreement on adjusted uniforms that did not violate the rule book as well as the girls' faith allowing them to return to the field to compete, however, this agreement did not resolve all the sentiments towards the altercation. "FIFA's ruling to ban Iran's national team not only potentially alienated those Muslim female athletes who eventually played in the Youth Games, but, in a broader sense, its decision to ban the hijab entirely from the game discriminates against one segment of its player population– Muslim girls."²⁹⁰

While Iran's compulsory law of the hijab remains in place today after nearly four decades, their neighboring country on the west Turkey just recently started recognizing how detrimental the hijab ban was towards women's progress in society. In 1982 the Turkish

²⁸⁹ Awista Ayub, "A Closer Look at FIFA's Hijab Ban: What it Means for Muslim Players and Lessons Learned," *SAIS Review of International*, vol. 31, no. 1, pg. 43-50. The John Hopkins University Press, 2011. <https://www.proquest.com/docview/873113394>

²⁹⁰ Ayub, "A Closer Look at FIFA's Hijab Ban," 44.

constitution faced new legislation following a military coup that sought to reform the clothing standards of civil service employees as well as requiring women to unveil, the prohibition went as far as fifteen years later to be enforced in all universities of Turkey.²⁹¹ Gozde Corekcioglu of Kadir Has University revealed that “what keeps Muslim women away from the labor market is not Islam but government regulations” which is in part due to the desire to preserve the secularism of Turkey.²⁹² A hearing before the House of Representatives One Hundred Seventh Congress on religious discrimination in Western Europe brings to light the effect the hijab ban had on women who were compelled to choose between their identity in their faith and financial needs. “The prohibition has also changed the balance of power within the Turkish family, since many women could no longer work and have their own income. This has created an economic crunch in families that depend on two incomes, and increased a sense of helplessness and frustration amongst women who are unable to assert control over their own bodies and lives.”²⁹³ Additionally, these intentions span beyond Muslim countries as an influx of immigrants to a number of European countries has led them to enforce their own regulations towards Islamic dress. “In April 2011, France became the first country in Europe to introduce a law banning the wearing of the niqab in public including public buildings, educational institutions, hospitals and public transport.”²⁹⁴ By the same token, Dr. Irene Zempi included that three months later Belgium was the second European Union (EU) country to implement an equivalent prohibition which has

²⁹¹ Gozde Corekcioglu, “Unveiling the Effects of a Headscarf Ban: Evidence from Municipal Jobs in Turkey,” *Journal of Comparative Economics*, vol. 49, 2021, pg. 385, <https://www-sciencedirect-com.libweb.lib.utsa.edu/science/article/pii/S0147596720300676>

²⁹² Corekcioglu, “Unveiling the Effects,” 383.

²⁹³ U.S. Congress, House of Representatives, Committee on International Relations, *Religious Discrimination in Western Europe: Document* (Before the Subcommittee on International Operations and Human Rights), 107th Cong., 1st sess., 2001, S. No. 107-33, pg. 49, <https://congressional-proquest-com.libweb.lib.utsa.edu/congressional/docview/t29.d30.hrg-2001-hir-0031?accountid=7122>

²⁹⁴ Zempi, Irene, “‘It’s a Part of Me, I Feel Naked Without It’: Choice, Agency, and Identity for Muslim Women Who Wear the Niqab,” *Ethnic and Racial Studies*, vol. 39, no. 10, 2016, pg. 1739, <https://www-tandfonline-com.libweb.lib.utsa.edu/doi/full/10.1080/01419870.2016.1159710>

spread throughout Europe. For example, Zempi incorporates how Germany itself has not created any legislation forbidding Muslim women from wearing a veil, some state governments have taken it upon themselves to prohibit educators from wearing a hijab or niqab. It is important to observe that while Muslim women in European countries who choose to stand with their faith face statues that go against their faith there are Muslim women in Middle Eastern countries that are persecuted for detainment by rejecting the enforcement of the veil. When asked about the niqab one of Zempi's interviewees had this to say, "Sisters are forced to wear it in some places in the world. I will not deny this. This is not right. But I choose when to wear it and when to take it off. I choose what colours to wear, not just black and white."²⁹⁵ There have been monumental steps made towards Muslim women in Turkey. The Justice and Development Party (AKP) has progressively adjusted their legislation towards headscarves in the country such as the ban lifting "for university students (2010), civil servants (2013), high school students (2014), policewomen (2017), and army officers (2019)."²⁹⁶

France has been held in the limelight for being one of the most restrictive countries towards Muslim women although they approximately have four to five million citizens that practice Islam. Circumstances had escalated in the 20th century when Joseph K. Grieboski stated his prepared statement to the U.S. House of Representatives about an incident that occurred in 1989 where two girls of a school in a Parisian suburb were asked to remove their headscarves as they were claimed to be in violation of the secular nature of government schools.²⁹⁷ The event reached France's highest administrative court which declared there was no issue at hand as it did not impose a certain religion on classmates leaving any decisions up to the school itself, nonetheless, in 1994 the Ministry of Education turned over that settlement issuing inconspicuous

²⁹⁵ Zempi, "'It's a Part of Me,'" 1744.

²⁹⁶ Corekcioglu, "Unveiling the Effects," 385.

²⁹⁷ U.S. Congress, *Religious Discrimination in Western Europe*, 46.

symbols of devoutness to a faith were admissible. “However, “ostentatious” symbols should be banned. But the Catholic cross worn around the neck was deemed acceptable as was a Jewish yarmulke worn by males. The jab, the Muslim headscarf, was still in question.”²⁹⁸ Grieboski shares another account in France where two girls whose family had recently converted to the Islamic faith had been prohibited from attending school due to their Islamic dress of wearing a veil. When their parents pressured law enforcement officers to settle on the matter, the girls were placed in a separate classroom every day for fifteen months with no interactions with their classmates or teacher to educate them. When a solution was assembled the girls were permitted back into their designated classes they were faced with backlash from the community that delayed the regular schedule of the school for a week. Another attendant to this Congressional hearing was executive director, Sameera Fazili, of Karamah Muslim Women Lawyers for Human Rights whose organization sent a letter to former president of France Chirac pleading, “The attempts to prohibit the wearing of headscarves in French public schools have evidenced a gender and religious double standard in French society, and we urge you to guarantee all school children in France, religious and non-religious, boys and girls, the right to an education.”²⁹⁹

In a similar fashion, the public space of beaches in France was facing severe criticism with the prohibition of Muslim women wearing a burkini. The burkini was produced to be an alternative of a swimsuit Muslim women could wear in public that would cover her entire body as well as hair leaving just her feet, hands, and face exposed by Aheda Zanetti in 2003. Although the use of the burkini was not prohibited in France, a media spectacle based in Marseilles spread where numerous Muslim women were seen wearing the swimwear. Calvo-Barbero and Carrasco-Campos of the Universidad de Valladolid shared that a French NGO known as *Smile 13*

²⁹⁸ U.S. Congress, *Religious Discrimination in Western Europe*, 46.

²⁹⁹ U.S. Congress, *Religious Discrimination in Western Europe*, 48.

posted on Facebook in August of 2016 about an event at a local waterpark briefing their women following that the location's workforce consisted of both genders advising them to cover up, however, when word spread of the details of the event it was ultimately canceled.³⁰⁰ They reported that in the same month nearly thirty French cities located by beaches banned the use of the burkini with justification proclaiming it was a health, safety, and secular issue. Former French Prime Minister, Manuel Valls, validated these injunctions professing the burkini was not a reflection of French beliefs or morals that oppresses women. In Giulia Evolvi's article *The Veil and Its Materiality*, she describes when Muslim women continued to wear burkinis at public beaches in France images had circulated of them being forced to undress in the presence of officers who were equipped with batons as well as pepper spray.³⁰¹ Further in Evolvi's research, she identifies how the perspective of the burkini can be deemed in a positive outlook when she references an Australian lifeguard wearing one themselves whose job description involves protecting individuals from possible drowning or injuries in the water. Additionally, Evolvi transcribed Dina Tokio's sentiments towards the Islamophobic attributes of the burkini comparing the use of the swimwear to a diving suit in her article. "Imagine this: I'm not a Muslim. I've got a skin condition and it gets really bad when I go into the sun, so I'm gonna wear a diving suit when I go swimming, and I also want to cover my hair because sun is not particularly good for your hair, you're gonna come up and tell me I can't wear this and I need to show my skin?"³⁰² Young Muslim women have faced discriminating policies set in

³⁰⁰ Carla Calvo-Barbero and Ángel Carrasco-Campos, "Portraits of Muslim Women in the Spanish Press: The Burkini and Burqa Ban Affair," *Communication & Society*, vol. 33, no. 1, 79-92, 2019, pg. 83 <https://www.proquest.com/docview/2350975313?accountid=7122&parentSessionId=KfReh1AeYM8UQa17fK4YMw%2Fgs2FAahiUtExZ9sWOpnQ%3D&pq-origsite=primo>

³⁰¹ Giulia Evolvi, "The Veil and Its Materiality: Muslim Women's Digital Narratives About the Burkini Ban," *Journal of Contemporary Religion*, Vol. 34, No. 3, 469-487, 2019, pg. 470, <https://www-tandfonline-com.libweb.lib.utsa.edu/doi/full/10.1080/13537903.2019.1658936>

³⁰² Evolvi, "The Veil and Its Materiality," 476.

administrations, sports organizations, educational institutions, and the public sector. However, these adversities have not diminished their determination to stand up against oppression. As stated in Zempi's piece, what continues to give them strength through these hardships is that they will be served true justice in Jannah. "We are not here to enjoy ourselves. We are here to be tested. Every difficulty that we go through is a test. We believe in the hereafter and in the afterlife there will be real justice for us."³⁰³

Conclusion

Wearing a veil does not belong to one religion, culture, or community implying there are numerous interpretations. The veil has been seen by onlookers as a symbol of the past, the marking of suppression towards Muslim women, and a signifier of terrorist movements. Yet on the other hand the veil has been reclaimed by Muslim women as a proclamation of devotion to Islam, an empowerment for taking back control of their body, and a foundation for their identity. There has been a growing number of academic research about the controversy the veil brings to those who wear it, however, Muslim women have recently been able to gain a platform to share their experiences of Gendered Islamophobia as well. When the burkini ban gained national attention it "allowed Muslim women to talk about visible Muslim identities and bodies in secular Western spaces," enabling the women of the conversation to share their own narrative.³⁰⁴ A majority of the women who shared their experiences in the research no longer wanted to be spoken for and turned the veil into something that could be more expressive. They take the material of the veil to show the Western world they are free, beautiful, and strong. Aliyah, an interviewee of Zempi, shared, "When I am fully covered I feel liberated. I feel I can be whoever I want to be. Nobody knows who I am. I can walk freely without anybody judging me by what I

³⁰³ Zempi, "'It's a Part of Me,'" 1745.

³⁰⁴ Evolvi, "The Veil and Its Materiality," 480

look like or the shape of my body.”³⁰⁵ While there are still countries whose administration still have policies prohibiting the veil, Muslim women should still be able to have the agency to put what they want on their bodies as well as how they express themselves.

³⁰⁵ Zempi, “‘It’s a Part of Me,’” 1750.

Review Essay

**Beautiful and Terrible: The Birth of National Parks in
the Midst of Civil War, Reconstruction, and Westward
Expansion**

By: Madeline Johnson
Department of History

Saving Yellowstone: Exploration and Preservation in Reconstruction America by Megan Kate Nelson, New York: Scribner, 2022, 288 pp.

Olmsted and Yosemite: Civil War, Abolition, and the National Park Idea by Rolf Diamant and Ethan Carr, Amherst: Library of American Landscape History, 2022, 186 pp.

Megan Kate Nelson, former history professor turned full-time author, begins her latest book *Saving Yellowstone: Exploration and Preservation in Reconstruction America* (2022) with a story of madness: In 1870, a middle-aged, near-sighted widower got lost in the Yellowstone Basin for over a month. Isolated in the wilderness, he “began to hallucinate, lapsing into strange reveries.”³⁰⁶ Rolf Diamant, former superintendent of Frederick Law Olmsted National Historic Site, and Ethan Carr, a professor of landscape architecture, end their book *Olmsted and Yosemite: Civil War, Abolition, and the National Park Idea* (2022) with the hope of sanity: Olmsted himself wrote that exposure to natural scenery helps prevent “mental disability,” keeping people out of “insane asylums.”³⁰⁷ These two books’ fleeting yet incongruent references to madness, sanity, and nature parallel their divergent historicizations of the national park system in the United States. Nelson looks at the shadow side of this enterprise, honing in on Indigenous dispossession as key to Reconstruction and the creation of Yellowstone National Park.³⁰⁸ Diamant and Carr argue that the setting aside of Yosemite as a public park shared a common cause with federal

³⁰⁶ Megan Kate Nelson, *Saving Yellowstone: Exploration and Preservation in Reconstruction America* (New York: Scribner, 2022), pg. xx. The man in question, Truman Everts, eventually was rescued and his survival story helped bring attention to Yellowstone in American public consciousness.

³⁰⁷ Frederick Law Olmsted, “Preliminary Report Upon the Yosemite and Big Tree Grove,” *Olmsted and Yosemite: Civil War, Abolition, and the National Park Idea* (Amherst: Library of American Landscape History, 2022), pg. 133-134.

³⁰⁸ Yellowstone National Park in 1872 was in Montana and Wyoming Territories. Today, the park spans the states of Montana, Wyoming, and Idaho. It is known for colorful hot springs and geysers propelled and heated by subterranean volcanic activity—Yellowstone is home to a supervolcano, covered over with forests, grasslands, wildlife, park rangers and cranky families.

protection of the rights of African Americans.³⁰⁹ In combination, Nelson, Diamant, and Carr's work reveal that national parks have roots "both beautiful and terrible."³¹⁰

Nelson published *Saving Yellowstone* to mark the 150th Anniversary of the 1872 Yellowstone Act.³¹¹ She clocks the journey leading up to Yellowstone's designation as a national park, spanning from 1870 to 1873 while former Union general Ulysses S. Grant was president. The book's core structure revolves around the lives of three men: Ferdinand Vandever Hayden, Jay Cooke, and Sitting Bull. Nelson tells their stories mostly in narrative form after digging into journals, letters, newspapers, and biographies to piece them together.

Hayden was a self-made geologist embarking on a federally-sponsored mission to survey Yellowstone in 1871, fueled by dreams of glory, prestige, and "fame."³¹² Jay Cooke was the financier of the Northern Pacific Railroad, a project invested with the hope of bringing together the recently ruptured nation in a common goal of westward expansion and economic renewal. Both Hayden and Cooke lobbied on behalf of Yellowstone to become a national park, the former so he could continue scientific inquiry, and the latter so he could continue making money (sightseers would have to buy train tickets to take them to the park). Not interested in fame or financial gain, Sitting Bull was the chief of the Hunkpapa band of the Lakota. The Lakota's traditional and federally circumscribed territory included Yellowstone, where they seasonally

³⁰⁹ Yosemite is in mideastern California. In *Olmsted and Yosemite*, Diamant and Carr poetically describe the area as "a deep gorge embedded in California's Sierra Nevada. The sheer verticality of Yosemite Valley set it apart from almost anywhere else on earth. Immense walls of multi-hued granite, theatrically lit by ephemeral shafts of invading sunlight, were streaked with the timeless stains of cascading waters . . . the forested floor of Yosemite Valley was enclosed and verdant" (5).

³¹⁰ Nelson, *Saving Yellowstone*, 193.

³¹¹ The Yellowstone Act established Yellowstone as lands set aside to be a national park, that is a public park managed by the federal government. Though the existence of public lands set aside as so-called "National Parks" first came to be in 1872, a federal agency called the National Park Service dedicated to overseeing their administration did not appear until 1916. Prior to that, national parks fell under the purview of the Department of the Interior in a general sense.

³¹² Nelson, *Saving Yellowstone*, 4.

partook of the hot springs, wild game, and plants for thousands of years.³¹³ Sitting Bull helped orchestrate ambushes on white surveyors, settlers, and military personnel to protect “the interest of his people” against the Grant administration’s policy of removing Indigenous tribes to reservations.³¹⁴

Diamant and Carr also published their book, *Olmsted and Yosemite*, in honor of an anniversary: Frederick Law Olmsted’s 200th birthday. Their research funded in part by the Frederick Law Olmsted National Historic Site, Diamant and Carr aim mostly to vindicate Olmsted as a key player in the development of the national park idea, and through him to trace the national park idea to “social justice” motifs.³¹⁵ While the title specifically mentions Yosemite, an entire chapter (and the book contains only three chapters) is devoted to Yellowstone and the development of a National Park Service.³¹⁶ They primarily cite the nine-volume *Papers of Frederick Law Olmsted*, and opt for quoting Olmsted’s personal writings at length rather than contrive a riveting narrative as Nelson chose to do in *Saving Yellowstone*.³¹⁷

Diamant and Carr start with Olmsted’s work as co-designer and superintendent of Central Park in New York starting in 1857. The channeling of public funds into a municipal park project for the community’s benefit is like a microcosm of the national park idea, according to Diamant and Carr. In 1864, Olmsted was selected to chair a commission remaking Yosemite Valley into a tourist-friendly getaway—in part because of his displayed talent working on Central Park.³¹⁸

³¹³ Though Blackfoot, Nez Perce, and Lakota all passed through Yellowstone, it was the Crow, Shoshone, and Bannock who primarily frequented the area. Nelson most likely focuses on Sitting Bull as his name and exploits are more familiar to the average reader.

³¹⁴ Nelson, *Saving Yellowstone*, 112.

³¹⁵ Rolf Diamant and Ethan Carr, *Olmsted and Yosemite: Civil War, Abolition, and the National Park Idea* (Amherst: Library of American Landscape History, 2022), pg. 6.

³¹⁶ Yosemite did not become a national park until 1890. The 1864 Yosemite Act designated the area as public land held in trust by the state of California. It was no longer up-for-grabs by private interests, but it was not yet managed by the federal government.

³¹⁷ Ethan Carr is the editor of the eighth volume of Olmsted’s writings.

³¹⁸ His plans for Yosemite ultimately fizzled out and he returned to the East Coast, but his 1865 Yosemite report contains ideas for federally-protected public lands that his son, Frederick Law Olmsted Jr., echoed when helping establish the National Park Service in 1916.

Olmsted saw public parks as opportunities for less wealthy members of the body politic to enjoy recreation and refreshment. He believed that the federal government has an obligation to protect these public lands against the avarice of private landowners. In the same way, Olmsted believed the federal government was responsible for protecting African Americans from enslavement and easing their transition into freedom. He took the side of the Union during the Civil War. Public parks like

Yosemite and Yellowstone were a natural result of this new system where the federal government has the power to protect “the right[s] of citizenship” at the expense of the wealthy elite.³¹⁹

Saving Yellowstone makes little effort to connect the reforms ushered in after the Civil War to the beginnings of the national park system. The word *Reconstruction* in Nelson’s subtitle might make one think of such reforms and their discontents: the Ku Klux Klan setting fire to the cabins and fields of freed people and the U.S. military marching in to protect African Americans as they vote in Black Congressmen and mayors. Nelson does have a few chapters diving into the more familiar associations we have with Reconstruction, namely investigations into South Carolina Ku Klux Klan attacks, but her mention of African Americans is minimal and functions as a jumping-off point for exploring Reconstruction-era policies towards Indigenous peoples.³²⁰ In doing so, she redefines Reconstruction—that is, rebuilding America as a strong, industrious union in the aftermath of the Civil War—as revolving around the displacement of Indigenous peoples in order to access their lands and resources without conflict. By extension, this included Yellowstone.

Olmsted and Yosemite occasionally mentions that the setting aside of public lands first and foremost required Indigenous dispossession. But it feels as though Diamant and Carr are

³¹⁹ Diamant and Carr, *Olmsted and Yosemite*, 67.

³²⁰ This includes the 1871 Indian Appropriations Act, which marked the cessation of viewing Indigenous nations as sovereign entities with whom the United States could enter into treaty with.

checking a box of political correctness rather than taking a deep-dive as Nelson does in *Saving Yellowstone*. *Olmsted and Yosemite* describes Native Americans as passive, removed from the landscape as flippantly as dynamiting holes into mountains. The book takes a worshipful tone towards Olmsted, basking him in a heroic glow with accolades pointing out his “humanitarian concern for Indians” despite his 1865 Yosemite report’s matter-of-fact pronouncement that “savage” minds cannot appreciate natural beauty as much as “civilized” minds—ergo, expelling “savages” from lands desired for aesthetic enjoyment is apropos.³²¹

Far from passively blown away, Indigenous peoples hold their ground in *Saving Yellowstone*. Nelson’s chapters on Sitting Bull exemplify the path of resistance. Whereas the geologist Ferdinand Hayden and business mogul Jay Cooke sought to protect Yellowstone from private development, Sitting Bull strove to protect Yellowstone from federal control *and* private control. Rather than capitulate to increasing wagon trains and encampments of white surveyors, Sitting Bull fought back, striking whites who dared venture into the area until mounting pressure on local food sources like buffalo eventually compelled the Lakota to surrender to the federal government in exchange for rations. Even when Sitting Bull is not the focal point, Nelson sprinkles reminders throughout *Saving Yellowstone* of how the Hayden Expedition and Cooke’s railroad all pushed forward without the “permission” of the tribes in the area.³²²

Saving Yellowstone and *Olmsted and Yosemite* relate to each other in a tug-of-war.

Olmsted

and Yosemite tries to convince the reader that increased federal power manifesting as the protection

of African Americans from slavery also manifested as the protection of land from private greed.

³²¹ Olmsted, “Report Upon the Yosemite and Big Tree Grove,” *Olmsted and Yosemite: Civil War, Abolition, and the National Park Idea*, 135.

³²² Nelson, *Saving Yellowstone*, 4.

Saving Yellowstone vies for increased awareness of Indigenous dispossession as a trademark of Reconstruction and the creation of Yellowstone National Park. Despite *Olmsted and Yosemite's* lack of meaningful discussion around Indigenous dispossession, they conclude their monograph with a call "to get the story right" about national park history.³²³ They note this story should include the "monumental harm" Native Americans underwent for the sake of "America's best idea."³²⁴ Nelson likewise concludes *Saving Yellowstone* with the observation that "national parks required Native land dispossession is a hard truth, one that does not often appear in popular accounts of this movement."³²⁵ What makes it "a hard truth"? Does knowing the history of national parks have the potential, perhaps, to drive one *mad*?

The near-sighted widower mentioned at the start of this essay felt happy when he first gazed upon the glistening Yellowstone Falls amid hues of "yellow and pink."³²⁶ That was before he became lost. But as the days turned into weeks of wandering with no direction, the Yellowstone Falls disgusted him. As we become lost in the history of national parks, how do we keep from feeling revulsion at the beauty intended for some and robbed from others? Megan Kate Nelson unswervingly wrote of the connections between Indigenous removal and the creation of Yellowstone National Park. Yet in her acknowledgments, she reminisces of the time her parents took her to Yellowstone in the '80s, "and I have been yearning to go back ever since."³²⁷ It seems her research did not drive *her* mad. Or is that the madness itself—blissful

³²³ Diamant and Carr, *Olmsted and Yosemite*, 119.

³²⁴ Diamant and Carr, *Olmsted and Yosemite*, 119. See Alan MacEachern, "Canada's Best Idea? The Canadian and American National Park Services in the 1910s," *National Parks Beyond the Nation: Global Perspectives on "America's Best Idea"* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2016), pg. 51-67 for an analysis of the "best idea" concept.

³²⁵ Nelson, *Saving Yellowstone*, 192.

³²⁶ Nelson, *Saving Yellowstone*, xix.

³²⁷ Nelson, *Saving Yellowstone*, 197. See Eve Tuck, "Suspending Damage: A Letter to Communities," *Harvard Educational Review*, vol. 79, no. 3, 2009, pg. 420 for a look at the contradiction of desiring justice and desiring that which was created through injustice.

compartmentalization? Diamant and Carr said we must get the story right. *But to what end? So we can stay haunted by the undying tension our lives are wrapped up in*—beautiful and terrible?

TikTok and The National Security Concern: Data Privacy, Geopolitics, and Strategic Framing

By: Anika Ibnat
Department of Political Science and Geography

Abstract

ByteDance, founded in 2011, has grown into a leading technology company valued at nearly \$100 billion. Initially known for its news recommendation engine, Toutiao, ByteDance expanded globally by acquiring Musical.ly in 2017, creating TikTok. Despite TikTok's popularity, it has faced scrutiny from the U.S. government over data privacy and alleged links to the Chinese Communist Party, leading to legislative actions under President Biden requiring its sale or ban. This study examines the framing of TikTok as a national security threat, suggesting that U.S. media and government use data privacy concerns to reinforce geopolitical and economic interests. Using Content Analysis Technique (CAT), the research identifies patterns in the discourse. The study highlights how metaphors like “Trojan horse” shape public perception and policy, emphasizing the need for a universal data policy framework and external oversight. It concludes that the TikTok ban reflects the complex interplay of national security, economic interests, and individual rights in the digital age.

Introduction

Established in 2011 by computer scientist Zhang Yiming, ByteDance has garnered acclaim as the world's most valuable technology "unicorn," boasting a nearly \$100 billion valuation.³²⁸ Originally introducing "Toutiao" as a pioneering news recommendation engine, ByteDance swiftly transformed it into a versatile multimedia content delivery platform, TikTok, offering tailored information feeds powered by algorithms tuned to individual user preferences. The purchase of the U.S.-based video-sharing platform Musical.ly in 2017 paved the way for TikTok, a globally renowned social media sensation amalgamating features from Douyin and Musical.ly, amassing over two billion downloads by May 2020.³²⁹

While data collection for user experience enhancement is standard practice for apps like TikTok³³⁰, ByteDance has faced scrutiny, notably from United States Secretary of State Mike Pompeo (Trump administration 2016-2020), who voiced concerns over potential data transfers to the Chinese Communist Party.³³¹ ByteDance vehemently refutes these allegations, stressing transparency in its data collection practices and prioritizing user security.³³² This dispute escalated into a legal confrontation, with ByteDance challenging the Trump Administration's endeavors to block TikTok in the United States.³³³ As per the latest update of April 24, 2024, President Biden has enacted legislation requiring either the sale of the video application or its prohibition. The law is now encountering legal disputes, a deficiency in suitable purchasers, and

³²⁸ "ByteDance Is Going From Strength to Strength," *The Economist*, April 20, 2020.

<https://www.economist.com/business/2020/04/18/bytedance-is-going-from-strength-to-strength>

³²⁹ Manish Singh, "TechCrunch Is Part of the Yahoo Family of Brands," April 29, 2020.

<https://techcrunch.com/2020/04/29/tiktok-tops-2-billion-downloads/>

³³⁰ "Legal: Privacy Policy," *TikTok*, November 26, 2020, <https://www.tiktok.com/legal/privacy-policy>

³³¹ Tidy, J., "TikTok: What is the app and how much data does it collect?" *BBC*, November 26, 2020, <https://www.bbc.com/news/technology-53476117>.

³³² *TikTok*, 2020.

³³³ "Bloomberg - Are You a Robot?," *Bloomberg*, March 27, 2023,

<https://www.bloomberg.com/news/articles/2023-03-27/us-spy-agency-cyber-chief-warns-tiktok-is-china-s-trojan-horse>

opposition from Beijing.³³⁴ Such development underscores the intricate interplay among national security, data privacy, and corporate transparency in the digital landscape.

The TikTok Ban has underscored the critical intersection of data privacy, technology, and geopolitics, sparking debates over fair market practices and the preservation of freedom of speech. This case has brought to light the intricate challenges posed by the increasing politicization of the tech industry, where national security concerns intertwine with economic interests and individual rights.

Literature Review

The reviewed literature provides a multifaceted understanding of data privacy, security, and national security concerns within the context of social software platforms like TikTok. The book *Practical Data Privacy*³³⁵ offered insights into the regulatory landscape surrounding data privacy and security, laying the groundwork for understanding fundamental principles in this domain. Similarly, *Social Software and National Security*³³⁶ provided a comprehensive assessment of the risks and benefits associated with social software platforms, shedding light on their implications for national security and data privacy.

The articles “What’s in a Name? Metaphors and Cybersecurity”³³⁷ and “The Meaning of the Cyber Revolution”³³⁸ explored the role of metaphors in shaping cybersecurity discourse, deepening the understanding of how language constructs perceptions of digital threats.

³³⁴ Sapna Maheshwari and David McCabe, “Congress Passed a Bill That Could Ban TikTok. Now Comes the Hard Part,” *The New York Times*, April 4, 2024.

³³⁵ Katharine Jarmul, *Practical Data Privacy*, June 6, 2023.

³³⁶ Mark Drapeau and Linton Wells II, *Social Software and National Security: An Initial Net Assessment*, July 5, 2012.

³³⁷ Jordan Branch, “What’s in a Name? Metaphors and Cybersecurity,” *International Organization* 75, no. 1. 2021, pg. 39-70.

³³⁸ Lucas Kello, “The meaning of the cyber revolution: Perils to theory and statecraft,” *International Security* 38, no. 2, 2013, pg. 7-40.

Moreover, “Beyond Huawei and TikTok”³³⁹ delved into the US arguments concerning national security concerns related to TikTok, offering valuable insights into the policy considerations and geopolitical dynamics driving responses to digital threats. “Data sovereignty and platform neutrality” contextualized TikTok's data policies within the broader landscape of social media platforms, highlighting key differences and similarities in approaches to data governance. “The Banning of TikTok, and the Ban of Foreign Software for National Security Purposes”³⁴⁰ examination of the banning of TikTok and broader debates about foreign software for national security purposes underscores the legal and policy considerations shaping responses to digital threats.

The literature underscored the intricate interplay between regulatory frameworks, geopolitical dynamics, linguistic constructions, and policy responses in shaping perceptions and addressing the multifaceted challenges of data privacy, security, and national security concerns within the realm of social software platforms like TikTok. The depiction of TikTok as a national security threat to the United States is influenced by strategic framing by the US media and government, employing concerns over data privacy to reinforce geopolitical and economic interests in maintaining dominance in the internet domain.

Research Methodology

The study employed the Content Analysis Technique (CAT), a qualitative research approach involving the collection of data from diverse sources such as research papers, books, magazines, newspaper articles, and other pertinent documents, followed by an inductive analysis to draw conclusions. This method is particularly useful for uncovering hidden patterns, trends, and themes not readily apparent in the original data, thus providing valuable insights into a

³³⁹ Robert D. Williams, “Beyond Huawei and TikTok: Untangling US concerns over Chinese tech companies and digital security,” *Brookings*, October 30, 2020.

³⁴⁰ Madison Clausius, “The Banning of TikTok, and the Ban of Foreign Software for National Security Purposes,” *Global Studies Law Review*, Feb 1, 2022.

specific subject or phenomenon.³⁴¹ Furthermore, this paper will undertake a thorough review of relevant academic literature in the fields of critical studies, international relations, and socio-technological concerns, aiming to identify key discussions and scholarly contributions pertaining to security concerns and the national interest of the US. This comprehensive literature review will contextualize the article within the current research landscape, facilitating a critical evaluation of the study's findings and their implications for broader academic discourse.

Theoretical Inquiries

National security encompasses the comprehensive safeguarding of a nation from various threats detrimental to its essential components: government, territory, populace, and sovereignty. Traditionally, the cornerstone of national security lies in military defense, crucial for preserving the nation's integrity. However, contemporary perspectives recognize that military might alone cannot ensure comprehensive security. In our current age, resorting to military force, especially with intentions to harm civilian populations, reflects a dire lack of societal progress and foresight essential for shaping a promising future.³⁴² Consequently, aside from military defense, national security encompasses elements such as environmental protection, energy sustainability, economic stability, human well-being, domestic safety, and cybersecurity.³⁴³

TikTok falls under the domain of cyberspace. Public Safety Canada defines cyberspace as “the electronic world created by interconnected networks of information technology and the information on those networks. It is a global common where people are linked together to exchange ideas, services and friendship.”³⁴⁴ As per this definition, cyberspace is perceived as a

³⁴¹ Tracy G. Harwood and Tony Garry, "An overview of content analysis," *The marketing review*, 3, no. 4, 2003, pg. 479-498.

³⁴² Jānis Teivāns-Treinovskis and Nikolajs Jefimovs, "State National Security: Aspect of Recorded Crime," *Journal of Security & Sustainability Issues* 2, no. 2, 2012.

³⁴³ K. R. Holmes, "What is National Security?" *The Heritage Foundation: Index of U.S. Military Strength*, 2015.

³⁴⁴ "Canada's Cyber Security Strategy," *Public Service Canada*, 2018.

broad domain inclusive of various human behaviors and societal layers across the globe. The meaning of cyber security according to the same source is “protection of digital information and the infrastructure on which it resides”. Information security involves protecting against a range of cyberspace threats including data theft, identity theft, fraud, propaganda, data misuse, and related risks.

Metaphor Theory and Construction of Cyber Reality

Metaphors entail a process of comprehending and perceiving one entity through the lens of another, a transfer of significance that holds particular significance when grappling with novel or intricate concepts.³⁴⁵ Metaphors are not merely imaginative analogies; they possess intricate consequences through their implications: subsequent concepts or notions that alter perspectives, decision-making processes, and tangible results.³⁴⁶ According to Charteris-Black, a metaphor represents a deliberate linguistic selection made by speakers to fulfill particular communicative goals and serves as a rhetorical tactic to underscore ideological perspectives.³⁴⁷

Jordan Branch introduced the concept of foundational metaphor to highlight the deeper, implicit influence of certain terms used as labels in shaping discourse and guiding thought, aiming to elucidate how language constructs and reinforces specific assumptions, analogies, and arguments within a given context.³⁴⁸ Identifying foundational metaphors involves recognizing the consistent usage of a particular label, exploring potential metaphorical correspondences, and analyzing surrounding texts to discern their influence on descriptions, arguments, and explicit analogies and metaphors.

³⁴⁵ George Lakoff, "The Contemporary Theory of Metaphor," *Metaphor and Thought*, ed. Andrew Ortony (Cambridge University Press, 1992), pg. 202–251.

³⁴⁶ Raymond W. Gibbs Jr., *The Cambridge Handbook of Metaphor and Thought* (Cambridge University Press, 2008).

³⁴⁷ Jonathan Charteris-Black, "Critical metaphor analysis," *Corpus approaches to critical metaphor analysis* (London: Palgrave Macmillan UK, 2004), pg. 243-253.

³⁴⁸ Branch, *International Organization*.

The metaphorical framing of cyber security discourse has been instrumental in intertwining cybersecurity with national security (Betz and Stevens 2013; Graham 2013; Lapointe 2011; Lawson 2012; Libicki 2012)³⁴⁹, shaping policy discourse and institutional developments within the United States and influencing international approaches to cyber defense.

The term “cyberspace” itself implies a metaphorical alignment between the Internet and physical space, suggesting it as a distinct realm where activities transpire, akin to tangible territories.³⁵⁰ Moreover, the fusion of “cyberspace” with “domain” bolsters this association, portraying cyberspace as a warfare domain, comparable to land, sea, air, and outer space, embedding it into military discourse and national security strategies.³⁵¹ Additionally, spatial analogies such as “terrain,” “high ground,” and “borders” are frequently employed to depict cyberspace, further solidifying its metaphorical linkage with physical territories.³⁵² These metaphors collectively establish a conceptual framework for comprehending and addressing cybersecurity challenges within the purview of conventional military strategy and doctrine, underscoring the salience of cybersecurity within national security imperatives. Furthermore, Cyberattacks, defined by the use of code to disrupt computer systems for political or strategic purposes, encompass both direct effects within the logical environment of the target system and indirect effects that hinder activities reliant on its proper functioning, challenging conventional understandings of physical boundaries and combat.³⁵³

Metaphors in TikTok Ban issue

³⁴⁹ David J. Betz and Tim Stevens, “Analogical reasoning and cyber security,” *Security Dialogue* 44, no. 2, 2013, pg. 147-164.

³⁵⁰ Thomas H. Karas, Judy H. Moore, and Lori K. Parrott, “Metaphors for cyber security,” *Sandia Report* SAND2008-5381, Sandia Labs, NM (2008).

³⁵¹ Joint Chiefs of Staff, “Joint Vision 2020,” *Joint Forces Quarterly*, no. Summer, 2000, pg. 57–76.

³⁵² Branch, *International Organization*.

³⁵³ Kello, *International Security*.

The TikTok ban issue is intricately intertwined with cybersecurity due to concerns over data privacy and security. The constructive role of metaphor in cybersecurity trends is mirrored in the discourse surrounding TikTok, where perceptions of “risk or threat” are increasingly influenced by it.

One of the most notable metaphors used by the US Congressmen, Senators, Intelligence Officers and media, who are supporting the ban of TikTok, is the “Trojan horse,” suggesting that the popular social media platform posed a hidden threat to national security (Fox Business, 2024; Senator Marco Rubio, 2024; Bloomberg, 2023; Armato, 2023; The Hill, 2022).³⁵⁴ By comparing TikTok to the legendary Greek tale of the deceptive wooden horse used to infiltrate Troy, this narrative implied that the application harbored malicious intentions or hidden risks.

According to Chen Yuying’s analysis on *The Economist*, a British weekly newspaper, the metaphorical framing of TikTok as a national security threat predominantly relies on conflict metaphors, portraying the competition between TikTok and other social media platforms as a battleground.³⁵⁵ Terms like “rivals,” “destroy,” and “big guns” evoke a sense of warfare, positioning TikTok as an adversary challenging established players like YouTube and Facebook for user attention. This metaphorical narrative constructs TikTok as an aggressor encroaching on the territory of its competitors, with Facebook depicted as preparing defensive measures to counter TikTok's advances. By framing the competition in terms of conflict, the discourse not

³⁵⁴ Fox Business, “TikTok Is the ‘Trojan Horse’ of the Chinese Intelligence Agency Here in the US: Patrick Murphy,” March 15, 2024. Senator Marco Rubio, “TikTok Is a Trojan Horse Living Inside Our Country,” *YouTube*, March 11, 2024. <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=moFR6z56w0g>. Armato, Leonard, “Is TikTok Your Best Friend or a Trojan Horse?” *Forbes*, October 5, 2023. <https://www.forbes.com/sites/leonardarmato/2023/04/01/is-tiktok-your-best-friend-or-a-trojan-horse/?sh=75be26274f26>. “Bloomberg - Are You a Robot?,” *Bloomberg*, March 27, 2023, <https://www.bloomberg.com/news/articles/2023-03-27/us-spy-agency-cyber-chief-warns-tiktok-is-china-s-trojan-horse>. Contributor, Adonis Hoffman Opinion. “The Hill.” *The Hill*, October 18, 2022. <https://thehill.com/opinion/technology/3694346-tiktok-is-chinas-trojan-horse/>.

³⁵⁵ Chen Yuying, “A Critical Metaphor Analysis of TikTok’s Image in *The Economist*,” *International Journal of Languages, Literature and Linguistics*, Vol. 8, No. 2, June, 2022.

only emphasizes the intense rivalry in the social media landscape but also implies potential risks to national security, fueling concerns about TikTok's influence and intentions.

Additionally, former president Donald Trump referred to TikTok as a “threat,” framing the issue in terms of protecting the country from potential harm in his executive orders of August 6, 2020.³⁵⁶ These metaphors were aimed at emphasizing the perceived dangers associated with TikTok and justifying the proposed measures to address them, such as potential bans or restrictions on the app's operations in the United States. These metaphors evoke notions of hidden dangers, intense competition, and potential harm, shaping public perception and policy discourse surrounding TikTok's influence and intentions by presenting it as a national security threat.

Metaphor versus Capability: Assessing TikTok's National Security Threat

In May 2019 and subsequently renewed a year later, President Trump issued an executive order declaring a national emergency concerning the perceived threat posed by foreign-controlled technology firms to US national security.³⁵⁷ Utilizing emergency powers, President Trump issued a more targeted executive order on August 6, 2020, prohibiting specific transactions involving ByteDance, the parent company of TikTok. The principal reason cited for the prohibition of TikTok revolves around data security concerns. Advocates of the ban contend that ByteDance, TikTok's data collection capabilities exemplify broader concerns regarding cybercrime. Operating under China's National Intelligence Law, which took effect in July 2017, mandates all activities conducted by TikTok, or any Chinese app, to be subject to monitoring by

³⁵⁶ *The White House*, “Executive Order on Addressing the Threat Posed by WeChat – the White House,” August 6, 2020.

³⁵⁷ Exec. Order No. 13873, “Securing the Information and Communications Technology and Services Supply Chain,” 84 Fed. Reg. 22689, May 15, 2019, <https://www.federalregister.gov/documents/2019/05/17/2019-10538/securing-the-information-andcommunications->

the country of origin.³⁵⁸ This legislation empowers Chinese state intelligence agencies to demand support and cooperation from organizations and citizens, significantly curtailing citizens' freedom to engage in online activities without surveillance.³⁵⁹ Given TikTok's status as a Chinese company, it is legally bound to involve the Chinese government in its operations, raising the possibility that user data could be accessed by the Chinese Intelligence Service to safeguard national security interests.³⁶⁰

Moreover, the parent company based in Beijing, might be coerced into aligning with the interests of the Chinese Communist Party (CCP), raising fears that TikTok's data collection could be exploited by the CCP to promote its agendas or disseminate propaganda detrimental to the United States.³⁶¹ As per the executive order issued on August 6, TikTok has allegedly engaged in content censorship deemed politically sensitive by the Chinese Communist Party, including topics related to protests in Hong Kong and the treatment of Uyghurs and other Muslim minorities in China. As a solution to this problem, the federal legislators are pressuring TikTok to sell its operations to a buyer acceptable to the U.S. government or face a ban, with potential repercussions for app stores and internet hosting companies. Speculation surrounds potential buyers, including investor groups led by large American corporations.³⁶²

ByteDance endeavored to address concerns by asserting that TikTok does not share data or have affiliations with the Chinese Communist Party, emphasizing its commitment to

³⁵⁸ "Beijing's New National Intelligence Law: From Defense to Offense," *Lawfaremedia*, 2017, <https://www.lawfaremedia.org/article/beijings-new-national-intelligence-law-defense-offense>.

³⁵⁹ Richard Campo, "Is TikTok a National Security Threat?," *Chicago Policy Review*, 2023.

³⁶⁰ Wilbur Ross, "Commerce department prohibits WeChat and TikTok transactions to protect the national security of the United States," *US Department of Commerce* 18, 2020.

³⁶¹ Yenal Göksun and Deniz Samuk, "The perception of the Tiktok platform as China's sharp power instrument in US politics," *Ömer Halisdemir Üniversitesi İktisadi ve İdari Bilimler Fakültesi Dergisi* 16, no. 4, 2023, pg. 1169-1185.

³⁶² Sapna Maheshwari and Amanda Holpuch, "Why the U.S. Is Forcing TikTok to Be Sold or Banned," *The New York Times*, April 2024, <https://www.nytimes.com/article/tiktokban.html#:~:text=It%20all%20comes%20down%20to,hands%20of%20the%20Chinese%20government>.

safeguarding the privacy and security of its 150 million American users.³⁶³ To bolster its assurances, ByteDance implemented measures such as erecting a firewall to segregate protected U.S. user data from unauthorized foreign access. This initiative, known as “Project Texas,” involved substantial investment, exceeding \$1.5 billion, and employed nearly 1,500 full-time personnel. Furthermore, ByteDance partnered with Oracle Corp to store TikTok's U.S. user data, reinforcing its commitment to data security and regulatory compliance. ByteDance has implemented various measures to address concerns raised by US authorities, including appointing American executives, exploring potential restructuring options, and proposing partnerships with US companies to address data security issues. Additionally, TikTok has undergone audits and assessments by independent third parties to verify its data handling practices and reassure users and regulators of its commitment to privacy and security.³⁶⁴

ByteDance has consistently denied allegations of content censorship and dissemination of propaganda on TikTok. Additionally, ByteDance has asserted that TikTok's content moderation policies are designed to ensure compliance with applicable laws and regulations in the countries where it operates.³⁶⁵ The most common argument for ByteDance's data policy is its personal information collection practices are similar to those of many other non-Chinese apps.³⁶⁶ This argument contextualizes ByteDance's data policies within a broader industry norm, highlighting that concerns about its data practices may be overstated or unfairly targeted compared to other companies operating in the same space.

Comparison of Facebook & TikTok

³⁶³ David Shepardson and Rami Ayyub, “TikTok congressional hearing: CEO Shou Zi Chew grilled by US lawmakers,” *Reuters*, March 24, 2023.

<https://www.reuters.com/technology/tiktok-ceo-face-tough-questions-support-us-ban-grows-2023-03-23/>.

³⁶⁴ Reshen Doron, “About Project Texas | TikTok,” *TikTok*, March 21, 2023, <https://usds.tiktok.com/usds-about/>.

³⁶⁵ Rodriguez, Salvador, “TikTok Insiders Say Social Media Company Is Tightly Controlled by Chinese Parent ByteDance,” *CNBC*, June 26, 2021.

³⁶⁶ Louise Matsakis, “Does TikTok Really Pose a Risk to US National Security?” *Wired*, July 17, 2020. <https://www.wired.com/story/tiktok-ban-us-national-security-risk/>.

TikTok's data policies reveal extensive data collection, encompassing user profiles, content, and technical details . It includes basic personal information, biometrics, and contact details, termed as general data, along with sensitive data like financial and medical records. TikTok shares account data with global social media partners and within its corporate group. The data storage policy of TikTok varies across different regions and markets. In the US market, TikTok's policy initially allowed for data to be transferred to and stored in data centers outside the US, without specifying the country or region. However, in response to mounting pressure from the US government and increasing public concerns about data security, this provision has recently been revised. On June 18, 2022, TikTok announced an agreement with Oracle, routing 100% of US user traffic to Oracle Cloud Infrastructure, previously stored in ByteDance's data centers in Virginia, US, and Singapore.

Facebook, like TikTok, extensively collects user data, including personal profiles, online activities, and device information. It shares data with partners and participates in transfer programs with major companies, leveraging its American origin for collaboration. However, Facebook faces criticism for undisclosed actions, distinguishing it from TikTok.³⁶⁷ Facebook produces one million gigabytes of data daily, prompting decentralization. It operates seven data centers globally to manage this immense volume.³⁶⁸ Five US and two European data centers, plus leased space in Northern Virginia, and a Singapore building enhance global operations.

Both Facebook and TikTok have similar data storage strategies, utilizing Singapore as an offshore location for storing less sensitive data generated abroad, despite having data centers in the US and China.³⁶⁹ Singapore's role as a data storage provider has attracted attention from

³⁶⁷ F. Krause, "iOS Privacy: Announcing InAppBrowser.com - see what JavaScript commands get injected through an in-app browser," *Felix Krause*, accessed 2024.
<https://krausefx.com/blog/announcing-inappbrowsercom-see-what-javascript-commands-get-executed-in-an-in-app-browser>.

³⁶⁸ *Data Center Knowledge*, "The Facebook Data Center FAQ," accessed 2024.
<https://www.datacenterknowledge.com/data-center-faqs/Facebook-data-center-faq>.

³⁶⁹ Synergy Research Group, "Hyperscale Data Center Count Grows to 659 - ByteDance Joins the Leading Group," *Prnewswire*, September 14, 2021.

scholars and investors.³⁷⁰ However, the challenge of balancing privacy and security remains significant in digital security discussions. While both companies emphasize data protection, responsibility for safeguarding data shifts to new destinations during legal data transfers, according to Facebook's stance. Consequently, Facebook relinquishes responsibility for data security after the transfer, even if initially generated on its platform. Additionally, data are often commercialized and sold to third parties, including advertisers and service providers, within the same group, such as Facebook's sharing of data with Instagram and WhatsApp, and TikTok's sharing with Topbuzz.³⁷¹

Analysis & Policy Brief

The universal concerns about data privacy encompass a range of issues, including unauthorized access to personal data by hackers or malicious actors, data breaches, Surveillance practices by governments and private entities, Data misuse, including targeted advertising and manipulation of user behavior, etc. Moreover, the collection of excessive or unnecessary personal data by companies without adequate transparency or user consent raises alarms about privacy infringement. Data security concerns are a pervasive issue in today's digital landscape, and while TikTok has been under scrutiny, it's essential to recognize that these concerns are not unique to the platform.

TikTok's cooperation with US concerns was abundant. ByteDance addressed data privacy by asserting TikTok's independence from the Chinese Communist Party and implementing "Project Texas," investing heavily to segregate U.S. user data. Partnering with Oracle for U.S. data storage and appointing American executives demonstrate ByteDance's commitment to

³⁷⁰ M. Terence, "Singapore Data Centers: Singapore Looking to Lift Data Center Moratorium," *J.P. Morgan Equities Research Reports*, JPMorgan Chase & Company, 2022.

³⁷¹ Kevser Zeynep Meral, "Social media short video-sharing TikTok application and ethics: data privacy and addiction issues," *Multidisciplinary approaches to ethics in the digital era*, IGI Global, 2021, pg. 147-165.

compliance. Independent audits reassure stakeholders. ByteDance denies content censorship allegations, emphasizing its dedication to creative expression within legal bounds, aiming to assuage concerns over TikTok's data practices.

In this context, mutual negotiation could have been a viable solution, yet it was hindered by geopolitical tensions and interests within the Internet domain. Though the US-China Cold War has made TikTok a grave security issue, US proposed solution has an acute shadow of national interest. Transferring TikTok's ownership to a US entity could fortify US influence on cyberspace in several ways. First, it would place a significant portion of TikTok's user data, particularly from the US user base, under the jurisdiction and control of US regulators. This would enhance oversight and control over how this data is managed and utilized. Second, as TikTok is popular among youth, a US-owned TikTok might be perceived as more trustworthy among US allies, thereby expanding US domain. Third, by exerting greater control over TikTok's operations through ownership transfer, the US could strengthen its position against China in the global internet landscape.

Concerns about Techno Nationalism, where nations prioritize their technological sovereignty, and economic Interests, and the rise of Populism may also influence the decision to transfer ownership of TikTok. Hence, the perceived threat posed by TikTok to the United States is rooted in its potential to undermine US dominance in the internet domain. Amid the ongoing trade war between China and the US, allowing Chinese-origin applications to capture significant shares of the internet consumer market is seen as unacceptable. Therefore, TikTok has been framed as a unique social media platform presenting significant and unprecedented data privacy risks, elevating it to the status of a severe national security threat in the eyes of both the US media and government.

Policy Recommendations

To address the growing concerns surrounding data security and minimize the impact of political rivalry among nations on data policy regulation, it is imperative for international organizations to advocate for the establishment of a universal data policy framework. The proposed universal data policy should include the following key components: data protection standards, compliance mechanisms, international collaboration, and education and awareness. Implementing external oversight of the international social media platforms' software and updates through a third-party review mechanism is essential. This oversight could be carried out by an oversight board comprising IOs executive members and experts. Monitoring data flows, storage conditions, access control, and usage policies would enhance transparency and reduce risks associated with data security. Enhancing transparency in software supply chains is crucial for identifying potential vulnerabilities or risks associated with using technologies developed by foreign entities. By increasing visibility into the origins and components of software products, policymakers, and businesses can make more informed decisions and mitigate security risks effectively. Another approach involves leveraging international social media platforms' desire to launch an IPO to offer shares of the company to the market. When social media platforms opt to launch an IPO and offer shares of the company to the market, they become subject to stringent regulatory requirements and scrutiny from regulatory bodies, investors, and the public.

Conclusion

In conclusion, the case of TikTok Ban highlights the intricate interplay among national security, data privacy, and techno-nationalism in the digital landscape. The ban has sparked debates over fair market practices and the preservation of freedom of speech, shedding light on the challenges posed by the increasing politicization of the tech industry. Through strategic framing, TikTok has been depicted as a unique social media platform presenting significant data

privacy risks, thereby elevating its status to a severe national security threat in the eyes of the US media and government. The actual threat posed by TikTok lies in its potential to undermine US dominance in the internet domain, particularly amid the ongoing trade war with China. This underscores the complex dynamics at play, where geopolitical interests intersect with economic considerations and individual rights, shaping policy decisions and regulatory actions in the digital age.



Hannah L Prince is currently an MFA Candidate at University of Texas at San Antonio in The School of Art. Through painting, drawing, sound and media she explores themes surrounding folklore, magical realism, femineity, and the sublime. She is an avid reader, a plant enthusiast, and likes to be walked by her French bulldog Otis in parks.



Madeline Otting is an alumnus of UTSA. She graduated cum laude from the University of the Incarnate Word with a bachelor's degree in English with a minor in Psychology and received a master's degree in English from UTSA. She is currently doing volunteer work around her hometown of San Antonio.



Derek W. Kubacki, a retired Army First Sergeant, completed his undergraduate work in History with a minor in Political Science at Texas A&M University – San Antonio in 2018. He subsequently completed his first master's in Political Science at UTSA in 2020 while also working full-time in the ER during the COVID-19 pandemic. He currently works as an Academic Advisor within the Downtown Advising Center at UTSA where he is completing a second master's degree in Global Affairs. His research interests include NATO, political geography, the Cold War and the politicization of medicine.



Katalina Lopez was born in Montevideo, Uruguay and has traveled extensively throughout her life, living in Colombia, Uruguay, and the Dominican Republic. She graduated from Belmont Abbey College as an Honors College student with a bachelor's degree in History and a minor in Great Books. Currently, she is a Graduate Year 2 Nau Research Assistant scholar pursuing her master's degree as a second-year student in UTSA's History department and striving for her Latin American Studies Certificate. Her primary focus is Global history with an interest in Latin America.



Garrett Rouse was born and raised in San Antonio, Texas and is pursuing a master's degree in history. Inspired by the stories his family members told about their experiences in wartime, Garrett has always had a passion for the stories that shaped each individual person. Focused on Texas and Education, Garrett has worked on exploring the shifting narratives Texans have told themselves. After getting his master's, Garrett plans on getting a PhD in history and becoming a professor to inspire others to appreciate history.



Eva Maria Morales graduated in May 2024 with a Master of Arts in History. She was a recipient of the Nau Graduate Research Award in History for 2022-2023 and the Nau Graduate Research Fellowship for 2023-2024. She will begin teaching US History at Our Lady of the Lake University in San Antonio, Texas in the Fall 2024 semester.



Josie Makayla Barrett-Silguero is from San Benito, Texas. She received her Bachelors of the Arts from the University of Texas at San Antonio in History with a concentration in Social Studies for grades seventh through twelfth in 2022. Through the VIP Admissions Program at UTSA, she is continually pursuing further studies in the Master of Arts History program at the graduate school. Her principal areas of interest are examination of gender dynamics in historical accounts. Following completion of her studies, she hopes to provide students a reimagined outlook on History at the secondary level.



Madeline Johnson graduated from UTSA in 2019 with a bachelor's in philosophy and anthropology. After spending several years as a rural mail carrier and a transcriptionist, she returned to UTSA for a master's in history, with plans to graduate in May 2025. She has particularly enjoyed the Department of History's West Texas Study Away opportunity, and she credits this with sparking her curiosity about the history of national parks.



Anika Ibnat is currently a Teaching Assistant in the Department of Political Science and Geography at the UTSA, where she is pursuing her Master of Arts in Global Affairs. Before moving to Texas, she completed her Master of Social Sciences and Bachelor of Social Sciences in International Relations, Jahangirnagar University, Bangladesh. Her academic journey has equipped her with a strong foundation in global

affairs, international security and conflict studies, complemented by her keen interest in media and politics, surveillance capitalism, and democratization. Anika looks forward to exploring new opportunities that align with her research interests and professional skills.