Tensions in the American Dream: Rhetoric, Reverie or Reality?

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Roderick D. Bush, Ph.D. (1945-2013)

METHODOLOGY

In conducting this research, analyzing the data and writing this book, we sought an understanding of current beliefs and attitudes of select populations about the construct of the American Dream and the contemporary juncture. We explored questions of nation and nationalism, economic and political structuring and beliefs about this moment within the historical world system.

Our goals was to achieve the following objectives:

- 1) Identify themes evident in "everyday understandings" about the construct of the American Dream, possibilities for the future and group positioning;
- Analyze the impact that these beliefs and attitudes have on choices made by individuals in their everyday lives (in the workplace, where they live, how they vote, whether they participate in community activities); and
- 3) Investigate how people view the significance, implications and meaning of these beliefs and actions relative to the functioning of U.S. society at this historical moment.

Data gathered from primary sources was integrated with secondary documents to help us analyze and understand how the inclusionary promises of the American Dream and the very real mix of inclusionary and exclusionary practices of our national and international life are reconciled. We use historical and contemporary scholarly and popular literature as background for understanding nation and race in the U.S.

Ethnographic Data

The ethnographic component of the research included focus groups, interviews, and a topic-specific survey. This study employ a mixed-method research design.

We hosted 32 focus groups and interviews that included 99 people. In one case, an interviewee requested that their responses be given in writing. Of the groups, 17 were co-facilitated, 6 were conducted by Rod Bush and 8 were conducted by Melanie Bush. Given the sensitivity of some of the topics being discussed, we individually facilitated some of the groups to increase the opportunities to learn from people in settings where they might feel more comfortable speaking

more freely. Melanie facilitated the groups that were comprised solely of people who identified as white; Rod facilitated groups where all participants had self-identified as Black, Latino, Asian or a person of color. We co-facilitated groups that were diverse.

Discussions generally ran for 90-120 minutes and were held at a location convenient to the participants.

Demographically, the participants roughly approximated the US population as indicated by Census data along lines of gender, birth place, racial self-identification, age and income. Some respondents chose not to answer and others fell in more than one group so not all categories total to 100%.

	CENSUS	Participants	
Male	49%	39%	
Female	51%	61%	
Foreign Born	11%	24%	
US Born	89%	76%	
Black	13%	34%	
White	75%	41%	
Asian	4%	12%	
Native American	1%	2%	
Latino	13%	15%	
AGE			
18-25	37%	37%	
25-45	31%	31%	
45-64	22%	21%	
65+	12%	10%	
INCOME			
Under 50k	58%	61%	
51-99k	30%	26%	
over 100k	12%	13%	

Process and Content

Focus groups and interviews were semi-structured and open-ended roughly following the attached list of questions (*Appendix F and G*). Before agreeing to participate, individuals were advised explicitly that research is being conducted on the general topic of attitudes about the American Dream. If they were interested, they completed a form will be completed to assist in scheduling.

All focus groups and interviews were conducted by the authors. During those sessions where we were both present, one functioned as facilitator and the other as note-taker. Note-taking and audio-taping was done for the purpose of refreshing the memory of the researchers only, and this material was not shown to anyone except the research team.

Pseudonyms were utilized and descriptions insure that individuals are not identifiable unless participants explicitly noted that they wanted to be identified by their own name rather than a pseudonym. A form was available if any respondents express a similar desire. We did not actively solicit this consent from respondents. Participants were told that the researcher promises confidentiality, and as a condition of participation, all involved will be asked to hold the discussion confidential.

Quantitative data was obtained to provide data from a broader pool of respondents related to attitudes and perspectives about the American Dream.

We drew upon sources such as the Census, National Opinion Research Center and related surveys that have been conducted within the last five years.

We administered a web-based survey (using Surveymonkey) with the assistance of individuals (representative of different constituencies as noted above) to distribute the link through networks, list serves and among friends and families. Demographic information was collected as part of this survey. This web-based survey consisted of an informed consent cover letter and a list of self-administered questionnaire items prompting both quantitative and qualitative data responses.

Survey data has been kept confidential as a code number was used to protect the privacy of each respondent. No information will be linked to the respondent personally and no one is able to identify the respondent's responses.

All survey data was collected with Surveymonkey software. Quantitative data was analyzed with EXCEL. (*Appendix I*: Sample Survey Instrument).

Secondary Sources: Interdisciplinary research was conducted drawing upon secondary sources including studies conducted by other scholars, foundations and institutes.

Recruitment of Subjects

Participants for the focus groups and interviews were recruited in several ways. Drawing on prior contacts made in previous research and current networks we distributed flyers that functioned as a "call for participation" throughout communities in Brooklyn, Queens and on Long Island. We sought, and achieved a participant pool that broadly corresponded to the racial/ethnic demography of the U.S. as indicated in the Census.

We asked these individuals to assist us in making contact with people (from different age groups, gender, socioeconomic status, etc.) in their networks. We provided solicitation flyers for them to use in doing this that were approved by both the Adelphi and St. Johns University's Institutional Review Boards. Additionally, we posted flyers in public areas such as libraries, stores, laundromats and community gathering spaces in these communities.

Since we are particularly sought demographic representation related to native vs. foreign born and racial groupings to the best of our ability, focus groups were arranged with a mix of heterogeneous and homogeneous experience according to those variables.

We met with groups in pre-arranged spaces such as libraries, schools or peoples' homes. Interviews with individuals were held in a setting of their choosing.

For the web-based survey we distributed the link widely using social media and email through networks in a variety of communities that we have had contact with in the past. We asked that they circulate a recruitment letter, consent form and survey link throughout their networks. We sent this recruitment letter in a targeted manner to best ensure a representative sample. The survey took about ten to fifteen minutes to complete.

Comments about the Study

In citing participants' comments, we use descriptions given by the individual. Some people spoke of themselves solely as white; others talked specifically about being foreign-born and others described themselves ethnically or in religious terms but not racially. We use participants' self-descriptions. A national or ethnic tag, class origin, or age is included only if the individual presented himself or herself that way. While we recognize that there is tremendous political significance in the

terms of identity, for the purposes of this book we rely upon what we understood as the most standard formats.

Du Bois states, "the concept of race is a group of contradictory forces, facts and tendencies" (1970, 133). Categories shift and populations redefine themselves; census classification is highly contested territory. Because of the particular history of this nation, and because often, although not always, black and white appear most starkly as poles, there are times when we do not explicitly discuss beliefs and perceptions related to Latino, Asian, native, and mixed populations. As whites' attitudes and beliefs are frequently most glaring in relationship to Blacks, the frame of reference is often set in black/white terms (Martinez 1999, 127–29). "In this country as well as in many others, unfortunately, blackness has come to symbolize the social bottom" (Basch, Schiller, and Blanc 1994) and a host of related characteristics (as quoted in Harrison 1998, 612). The legacy of slavery in the United States played a critical role in shaping the notion of race and in its ongoing impact on relationships between groups, therefore providing additional rationale for utilizing a dichotomous framework. While generalizing about patterns found in the beliefs expressed by whites provides useful points for reflection, it is not to convey that all whites share the same beliefs. This terminology refers to the patterning of thinking, beliefs or experience of whites as a group.

This stands as an acknowledged oversimplification, for there are many relationships of power and dominance that complicate the consequences of a racialized organization of society and are, in and of themselves, critical sites for study. These include but are not limited to immigration status, language, gender, and class, national, and religious affiliation.

The phrase "ordinary people" is sometimes used throughout this book to refer broadly to the millions of people who live and work in the United States but who are not in political positions, and/or members of the powerful elite who legislate, determine, and influence policies that structure society. The use of "everyday" thinking, experiences, perceptions, and "forms of whiteness" refers to interactions, beliefs, and actions that occur routinely in daily life.¹

There is of course in any project the potential for misconstruing the meaning of someone's statements. In this book we explicitly attempted to withhold comment and analysis until after the reader first has the opportunity to reflect upon them. We provided as much of the original text so the reader could see the context for comments. It was extremely important to us that the reader be connected directly with the participants to reflect themselves on the significance and implication of different perspectives.

However, "as racism is organized through discursive patterns of signification and representation, it must be investigated through the analysis of discourse" (Wetherell and Potter 1992, 4). "Racism can be the unintended consequence of everyday discourses and practices that perpetuate and reinforce an oppressive structure of power" although this is "not to argue that racism is a simple matter of linguistic practice" (Harrison 1998, 611). For the purpose of this book, we analyze discourse as it "institutes, solidifies, changes, creates and reproduces social formation" (Harrison 1998, 611).²

It is our deepest hope that, by listening closely to the voices of ordinary people, we might discover opportunities for reconstructing a public understanding of the role of nation and race, today with the goal of shaping the world to come – more just, more loving, and more peaceful.

Should you have questions, email Melanie E L Bush at melanie.e.l.bush@gmail.com

APPENDIX A - Solicitation Script /Letter

APPENDIX B – Solicitation Ad/Flyer

APPENDIX C Focus Group Participant Interest Form

APPENDIX D - Information Sheet for Potential Research Participants

APPENDIX E - Consent Form

APPENDIX F - Sample Focus Group Questions

APPENDIX G – Sample Interview Questions

APPENDIX H – Sample form if Participant wants to be identified in publication.

APPENDIX I – Sample Survey Questions

APPENDIX A: Solicitation Script / Letter

Research is being conducted about various issues affecting today's world and the everyday lives of people in the United States. In particular, we'd like to know your thoughts about the "American Dream" and how you understand democracy, freedom, mobility and success in U.S. society.

Would you be willing to participate in a small group discussion (or interview) that addresses such questions as... What is your understanding of the American Dream? Can you describe someone who has, and someone who has not achieved this ideal? In your mind what factors lead to the achievement of the "Dream" and which make it more difficult?

The results of this research will be used to increase awareness and foster understanding of U.S. society and to publish the findings in book form. Taking part is voluntary. All proceedings will be kept confidential so that individuals will not be identifiable. If you choose not to participate there is no penalty. If you are a student, your decision to participate or not, will not affect any services or grades that you might receive. Note-taking and/or audio-taping will be done for the purpose of refreshing the memory of the researcher only, and the material will not be shown to anyone except the research team.

If you are interested, please complete this form so that we may schedule an appointment to participate. You will then be assigned to a group which may be diverse, or have common demographic characteristics particularly related to where you were born or self-described ethnic or racial groupings. We will be in contact with you in order to confirm the date, time and place of the discussion, which will involve approximately 90 minutes of your time. If you have questions, please contact Dr. Melanie E. L. Bush or Dr. Roderick D. Bush at 718.692 2407 or Americandream09@gmail.com.

We hope you will consider participating in this research.

APPENDIX B: Solicitation Flyer

What do you think...

About the AMERICAN DREAM?

Research is being conducted about various issues affecting today's world and everyday life of people in the United States. In particular, we'd like to know your thoughts about the "American Dream" and how you understand democracy, freedom, mobility and success in U.S. society.

Would you be willing to participate in a small group discussion (or interview) that addresses such questions as... What is your understanding of the American Dream? Describe someone who has, and someone who has not achieved this ideal. In your mind what factors lead to the achievement of the "Dream" and which come in the way of that achievement?

The results of this research will be used to increase awareness and foster understanding of U.S. society and to publish the findings in book form. If you are interested, please contact us so we may schedule an appointment to participate. You will then be assigned to a group which may be diverse, or have common demographic characteristics particularly related to where you were born or self-described ethnic or racial groupings. We will be in contact with you in order to confirm the date, time and place of the discussion, which will involve approximately 90 minutes of your time If you have questions, please contact Dr. Melanie E. L. Bush or Dr. Roderick D. Bush at 718.692 2407 or Americandream09@gmail.com.

We hope you will consider participating in this research.

FOCUS GROUP PARTICIPANT INTEREST FORM

We'd like to know what you think about various issues affecting today's world and how they have affected your life, the lives of people around you. In particular, we'd like to know your thoughts about the "American Dream" and how you understand democracy, freedom, mobility and success in U.S. society. If you're interested in participating in an upcoming session, please complete the form below.

REFRESHMENTS WILL BE SERVED!

1. Last name First name	
2. Day phone (with area code if not 718)	
3. Evening/Other phone(s)	
4. Address including zip code	
5. E-mail address	
6. Most people describe themselves with a racial or ethnic group or groups. With which of the following do you most closely identify:	3
AsianBlackLatino/aWhiteOther ()
Feel free to explain further:	_
7. Where were you born?	_
8. Please indicate which session you are most able to attend. Rank them from	
(1) most preferable to (4) least preferable or (NA) I can not attend at that time.	
Tuesday, August 5th, 6-7:30PMWednesday, August 6th, 6-7:30PM	
Tuesday, August 12th, 6-7:30PMWednesday, August 13th, 6-7:30PM	

Thank you for your interest. We will be in touch regarding scheduling. Groups will be organized based on a variety of factors including availability and demographic commonality and difference. If you'd like more information about this or have any other questions or comments, feel free to contact Dr. Melanie E. L. Bush or Dr. Roderick D. Bush at *Americandream09@gmail.com* or 718. 692.2407.

APPENDIX D

Information Sheet for Potential Research Participants

Research is being conducted about various issues affecting today's world and the everyday life of people in the United States. In particular, we'd like to know your thoughts about the "American Dream" and how you understand democracy, freedom, mobility and success in U.S. society.

Taking part in this research is voluntary. If you choose to or not to participate, there will be no penalty or benefit. If you are a student your decision to participate or not will not affect any services or grades that you might receive. Access to notes or tape-recording will be given only to the research team. There will be no compensation for your participation. The conversation will take approximately one and one-half hours.

If you are interested, please complete this form so that we may schedule an appointment to participate. You will then be assigned to a group which may be diverse, or have common demographic characteristics particularly related to where you were born or self-described ethnic or racial groupings. We will be in contact with you in order to confirm the date, time and place of the discussion. If you have questions, please contact Dr. Melanie E L Bush or Dr. Roderick D. Bush at 718.692 2407 or Americandream09@gmail.com.

Thank you for your consideration and/or participation.

Adelphi University

INFORMED CONSENT

IRB Protocol Title: Tensions in the American Dream: Rhetoric, Reverie or Reality?

Principal Co-Investigators: Dr. Melanie E. L. Bush and Dr. Roderick D. Bush

Research Purpose: Research is being conducted about how people living in the United States today view the "American Dream" and how they understand democracy, freedom, mobility and success in U.S. society.

Description of the Research: You will be asked to complete a survey, participate in a focus group or participate in an interview that seeks to ascertain your thoughts about the American Dream.

Potential Risks: Confidentiality will be protected in this research by the Co-Investigators. Materials will be stored in a locked file cabinet accessible only to the researchers and any tapes will be destroyed within 7 years. Focus group participants will be encouraged to maintain confidentiality, however, this cannot be guaranteed by the Researchers.

Potential Benefits: The ideas that you express in the survey, interview, or focus group will be published and distributed as widely as possible in the public arena, university classrooms, and in the media.

Costs/Compensation: There will be no cost to you other than your time. There will be no compensation other than refreshments provided for all participants.

Additional Information:

Contact Persons: If you have any questions, at any time, about this research, or want to discuss any possible study-related injuries, please contact Dr. Melanie E. L. Bush or Dr. Roderick D. Bush at 718.692 2407 or Americandream09@gmail.com

Confidentiality: All information gathered in this research will be kept in the strictest confidentiality by the researchers. Any publication of comments will be done using a pseudonym unless specific permission has been given to include real names. Access to notes or tape-recording will be given only to the research team. However, this research record may be reviewed by the Institutional Review Board (the committee that oversees all research in human subjects at Adelphi University), if required by applicable laws or regulations. Materials will be stored in a locked file cabinet accessible only to the researchers and any tapes of the interviews and focus groups will be destroyed within 7 years.

For those who participate in focus groups you should be aware that while we cannot guarantee that all focus group members will maintain confidentiality, we are asking that you and all participants in this study not talk about the discussions that occur within the focus group session outside of the group. Though confidentiality cannot be guaranteed, it is encouraged.

Voluntary Participation: Participation in this study is voluntary. You may choose to withdraw from this study at any time and you may choose to answer or not answer any question. Any new

information that develops during this study, which might affect your decision to participate, will be given to you immediately. A signed copy of this consent form will be given to you.

Institutional Review Board Approval

This research has been reviewed and approved by the Adelphi University Institutional Review Board. If you have any questions, concerns or comments, please contact Dr. Robert Otto, Chair of the Adelphi University IRB, at (516) 877- 4276 or otto@adelphi.edu.

Consent for Minors/People with Legal Guardians

Minors cannot participate in this research.

Signatures		
Person Obtaining Consent		
Print Name	Signature	Date
Study Coordinator		
Print Name	Signature	Date
Study Participant		
Print Name	Signature	Date
I agree to audio or videotaping.		
Print Name	Signature	Date

APPENDIX F

Sample Questions for the Focus Groups

Personal Narrative

- 1) Where were you born? How would you describe the community that you were born into?
- 2) With which ethnic or racial group(s) and nationality do you most identify? Have you always identified in that way? (Explain)
- 3) What role do you feel that these factors have played in your life or the lives of people around you?

Observations about the American Dream

- 4) Do you see yourself as having achieved the "American Dream"?
- 5) What is the meaning of the "American Dream" for you? Do you believe in this idea?
- 6) In your opinion is the American Dream accessible to all people? To all people who work hard?
- 7) In your view, have there been any changes in the possibility of achieving that dream?
- 8) Do you believe there are groups who particularly have an easier or harder time at achieving upward mobility in U.S. society? If so, why do you think that is the case? What do you think might change that pattern?

Poverty and Wealth in U.S. Society

- 9) In your opinion, why are some people rich and others poor? Some groups versus others? What role do you think the "work ethic" plays?
- 10) Why do you think there are poor people in the U.S. (e.g. 259,000 Long Islanders turn to soup kitchens for help with food)?
- 11) How do you explain why globally so many people do not have adequate food and water? (approximately 854 million)

Democracy and Justice

- 12) Did what happened in New Orleans after Hurricane Katrina have implications for how you think about the American Dream?
- 13) Has there been a decline in the power of the United States in the last 35 years?
- 14) What does it mean to you to be patriotic?
- 15) Do you feel your government and politicians represent your interests?
- 16) What are the characteristics of a democratic and just society?

APPENDIX G

Sample Questions for the Interviews

Personal Narrative

- 1) Where were you born? How would you describe the community that you were born into?
- 2) With which ethnic or racial group(s) do you most identify? Have you always identified in that way? (Explain)
- 3) How do you identify yourself in terms of nationality?
- 4) What role do you feel that ethnicity, race and nationality have played in your life or the lives of people around you?
- 5) Do you see yourself as having achieved the "American Dream"?
- 6) What is the meaning of the "American Dream" for you? Do you believe in this idea?
- 7) In your opinion is the American Dream accessible to all people? To all people who work hard?
- 8) In your view, have there been any changes in the possibility of achieving that dream?
- 9) Do you believe there are groups who particularly have an easier or harder time at achieving upward mobility in U.S. society? If so, why do you think that is the case? What do you think might change that pattern?
- 10) Do you think that ethnicity or race affects access to the American dream?

Poverty and Wealth in U.S. Society

- 11) Do you think the United States is the land of opportunity for all people? If not, what distinctions are made, and why?
- 12) Do you believe that women are disadvantaged or discriminated against in U.S. society? Black people or other people of color? Poor People? Foreign-born?
- 13) In your opinion, why are some people rich and others poor? Some groups versus others?
- 14) Why do you think communities and institutions are often segregated by race and class in the United States?
- 15) How much income or wealth must someone have to be considered successful?
- 16) What role do you think the "work ethic" plays in economic success?
- 17) Why do you think there are poor people in the U.S. (e.g. 259,000 Long Islanders turn to soup kitchens for help with food)?
- 18) How do you explain why globally so many people do not have adequate food and water? (approximately 854 million)
- 19) Is inequality necessary? If so, why? If not, why does it exist?

Democracy and Justice

- 20) Do you believe that the United States was founded on the principle of democracy?
- 21) What do you think of the idea of multiculturalism? Color Blindness?
- 22) Does what happened in New Orleans after Hurricane Katrina have implications for what you think about the American Dream?
- 23) Has there been a decline in the power of the United States in the last 35 years? Please explain your reaction to this question.
- 24) What does it mean to you to be patriotic?
- 25) Do you feel your government and politicians represent your interests?
- 26) Are you a member of a trade union? If so, do you believe they represent your interests? If not, why not?
- 27) What are the characteristics of a democratic and just society?

APPENDIX H

Consent to Identify Individuals upon their Request

I,	on this day of	give permission for my name
to be explicitly utilized in	n connection with comments I have	e made in an interview (focus group) on
	I understand that my name may	appear in publications and articles
distributed in the public a	arena, university classrooms and/or	the media.
Ciamatana		Doto
Signature		Date
	se contact Dr. Melanie E L Bush or Dr	r. Roderick D. Bush at 718.692 2407 or

This research project has been reviewed and approved by the Adelphi University Institutional Review Board. If you have any questions, concerns or comments, please contact Dr. Robert Otto, Chair of the Adelphi University IRB, at 516-877-4276 (otto@adelphi.edu).

APPENDIX I: Sample Questions for the Survey (OPENS WITH CONSENT FORM)

"AMERICAN DREAM" Survey

	1=Never	2=Once a mo		en you Once a week	4=Daily	
1.	Socialize out					
2.	Socialize out	side of work with	someone of a	different race.		
3.	Are in the ho	ome of someone o	f a different ra	ice.		
4.	Witness racia	al tension among	colleagues and	d friends.		
5.	Think about	your racial identit	ty.			
6.	Think about	your national ider	ntity			
Please	indicate your 1=Not at all	-	~ -	estions using th 3=A lot	ne following scale:	
7.	How diverse	is your hometow	n?			
8.	How diverse	is your workplace	e (if you are w	vorking)?		
9.	How much de	o you think your	racial identity	has impacted y	our access to the America	ın Dream?
10.	How much de	o you think your	gender has im	pacted your acc	ess to the American Drea	m?
11.	If there are or	ther factors that y	ou believe hav	ve impacted you	ur access, please explain _	·
Dloogo	indicata vaur	rosponso to the	following and	octions using t	he appropriate scale:	
	<u> </u>	-	· •	, 3		4 '1 0
12.	<i>1=Decrease</i>		and/or school 1 $2=Remaine$		ontact with people from of 3=Increased contact	
13.	How does included I=Distracts	corporating divers	sity in the curr 2=Doesn't o	_	learning? 3=Improves	
Which	of the follow	ing factors contr	ributes most to	o the lower inc	omes and poorer housin	g of most blacks?
14.	Lack of motiv	vation	16. Hist	oric inequality	18. Discriminat	ion
15.	Low IQ		17.Othe	er	19. Other	
Please		ving scale to show	•	_	the following statement -Agree	s:
20.	I consider my	yself to be colorbl	lind when it co	omes to race.		
21.	People of colpolice.	lor are treated equ	ally to whites	when applying	for jobs, housing, and wh	nen approached by
22.	All people, re	egardless of class	position, race	or ethnicity sho	ould be given a fair chanc	e to succeed.
23.	The United S	States cannot be m	nulti-cultural a	nd have an Am	erican identity at the sam	e time.
24.	If people don	n't have equal acce	ess to resource	es, measures sho	ould be taken to equalize	opportunity.
25.	The United S	States is a land of	equal opportu	nity for all peop	ole.	
26.	The NYC Po	olice Department i	uses excessive	force.		

27. All people, regardless of color can be assimilated into U.S. mainstream society.			
28. Public higher education as a right for all is consistent with the American Dream.			
29. The American Dream can be achieved by anyone who works hard.			
30. I approve of interracial marriage.			
31. There is equal and fair treatment of all people in the media.			
32. I would consider marrying someone of a different race.			
33. I consider myself to be an American.			
34. I have achieved the American Dream.			
35. The government should make sure everyone has access to living wage.			
36. The government should make sure that everyone who needs health care receives it.			
37. Inequality exists because some people want something for nothing.			
38. Compared to your parents, you have an easier chance at achieving the American Dream.			
Please indicate your response to the following questions, using the appropriate scale: 39. Most people identify themselves with a racial, ethnic or national group(s). With which of the following do you most identify: 1=Latino			
41. Are you: $l=U.S. born$ $2=Foreign born$			
42. Gender			
43. Age range $1=18-30$ $2=31-45$ $3=46-65$ $4=66-$			
44. Yearly Family Income 1=Up to \$50k 2=\$51-100k 3=\$101-200k 4=Over \$200K			
45. What newspaper(s) do you read regularly:			
46. What is your hometownZip code			
47. Additional comments:			

Please return completed survey to the person administering the survey OR _WEBLINK.

Distributed by Melanie Bush, Department of Anthropology and Sociology at Adelphi University and Roderick Bush, Department of Sociology and Anthropology at St. John's University to explore the meaning of the American Dream today. Please call 718-692-2407 or send e-mail to Americandream09@gmail.com with comments or questions.

¹ I draw this concept from James Scott's illuminating discussion of "everyday forms of peasant resistance" (1985, xvi).
² Some of this text is drawn from Melanie E L Bush, 2011. Everyday Forms of Whiteness: Understanding Race in a Post-Racial World. Rowman and Littlefield Publishers.