New Errands

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Welcome to New Errands!

The Eastern American Studies Association and the American Studies Program at Penn State Harrisburg are pleased to present the Spring 2017 issue of *New Errands*, an online journal that publishes exemplary American Studies work by undergraduate students.

Seeking to develop the next generation of Americanists, *New Errands'* mission is both to provide a venue for the publication of important original scholarship by emerging young scholars and to provide a teaching resource for instructors of American Studies looking for exemplary work to use in the classroom.

New Errands will be published semi-annually, after the end of each academic semester. The goal of this timetable will be to collect and publish essays produced during the previous term, so that they can be made available as quickly as possible for use in the following term. We encourage both self-submission by undergraduate students and nominated submissions by instructional faculty. They must have an American focus, but can employ a variety of disciplinary methods. Submissions can be emailed as Word documents to: newerrandsjournal@gmail.com.

Essays can be of any length, but they must have a research focus. Any visual images should be placed at the end of the manuscript, and tags should be placed in the text to indicate the intended placement of each image. Manuscripts should conform to MLA guidelines.

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For further information about the Eastern American Studies Association, including the annual undergraduate roundtable and the EASA undergraduate honors society, please visit: http://harrisburg.psu.edu/eastern-american-studies-association.

A Message from the Editors—

The Spring 2017 edition of New Errands includes five exemplary essays. These essays cover topics including the effects of World War II on female consumption patterns; the passport as a text for navigating national and global identity; perceptions of the homeless in 1980s Los Angeles; race and gender in the work of artist Carrie Mae Weems; and Lin-Manuel Miranda's articulation of Latino culture in The Heights. This collection of papers certainly touches on a wide range of topics and methodologies.

Since one of the goals of New Errands is to identify strong models of undergraduate writing, we have decided to include the course, instructor, and assignment with each essay in this edition. This information provides context for the essays included and highlights the range of courses and prompts that promote strong American Studies scholarship.

We would like to thank Ugur Ozturk for his efforts to produce the suburb formatting and layout for the essays published in the Fall 2016 and Spring 2017 editions of New Errands. In addition, we thank Kiernan Gladman and Peter Bryan for their aid in the selection process. Finally, we would like to thank our contributors for their dedication to American Studies scholarship.

We hope you enjoy these essays.

Caitlin Black and Brittany Clark

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American Women in World War Two: The Impact of Rationing and Shortages on Eating and Food Procurement

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The American household of the 1930's and 1940's was much more centered around meals than the households of today. The cultural expectation was that the table would be set with dishes, cutlery, napkins, centerpieces, and a table cloth at every meal. Working men and schoolchildren would typically come home for lunch. It was the expectation that wives would provide three meals a day, each consisting of multiple courses and at least dinner would include a dessert. The wife was expected to make these meals pleasing for her husband, filling for all, and nutritionally balanced. The woman of the house also did the budgeting, meal planning, and shopping. With the United States' entry into World War Two following the attack on Pearl Harbor, there was a stark increase in the obstacles to achieving this standard, though the expectations remained the same. Faced with limited time, a constantly changing rationing system, and wide-ranging shortages and scarcities, American shopping, cooking, and eating adapted to fit wartime needs.

World War Two began for American industry and American culture long before it began for the American military machine. As groups around the United States began to raise money and gather supplies for those impacted by conflict, groups began to conflict over ideology. The renewal of Lend-Lease in March 1941 and the increase in foreign aid placed a strain on American industry and agriculture (Breitman and Lichtman 181-182). War was felt by Americans long before it was fought by US citizens.

None of these trends were new to the public, they had experienced similar things during the previous World War only twenty-five years before. They remembered, too, the shortages and scarcity of that war, and the homemakers and administrators of the nation began to prepare and to watch. As early as 1940, President Roosevelt called upon the National Defense Advisory Commission to begin gathering data on American purchasing habits and keeping an eye on various national stockpiles so as to initiate price and production controls as needed (Ward 81).

Simultaneously, many American homemakers began to stock up preemptively on staples and canned goods, such as shortening. As American entry into World War Two began to seem inevitable, officials began to fear a rush on grocers, and shoppers were limited to six cans per visit to a grocery store (Ward 84). While theoretically a good idea, limiting the number of cans a shopper could buy may have incited more fear than already existed. Grocers began to notice that consistent customers were, in fact, buying more canned goods than usual. One woman in New Hampshire, it was discovered, was going around her town and buying a five-pound can of shortening every day at each of several grocers (Ward 85).

Rationing in the United States

On January 24, 1942, the Office of Price Administration, created by presidential executive order nine months before, was authorized to ration consumer goods across the United States (Ward 81). The first commodity to be rationed was white sugar, due to the US's inability to import it from the Philippines, which were then under Japanese control (Halper 286). Over the course of the war almost-innumerable other things were rationed, most notably rubber products, gasoline, meat, canned goods, butter, and other fats. The ration system itself was incredibly complex and evolved over the course of the war. Although the system of rationing in the United States was based on that of Britain, adaptations were needed to fit it to the US, as evidenced by the several stages and frequent changes to the program (Ward 88).

In January 1942, Certificate Rationing became the first aspect of rationing in the US. People who were deemed to need them received certificates that allowed the purchasing of specific items such as tires, rubber boots, and washing machines (Ward 82). The second type, called Differential Coupon Rationing, designated different types of people to receive different amounts of commodities such as gasoline on the basis of need (Ward 82). For example, those with an average need were entitled to three gallons of gas per week, while groups including doctors and congressmen were

entitled to more. This aspect of the rationing program was the hardest to administer and relied on locally influential people to identify members of their communities who ought to be entitled to more than others (Sitkoff 41). The third and fourth arms of the rationing system related to food. Uniform Coupon Rationing, which began in May 1942, used books containing sets of stamps that were officially validated for different periods of time. This system allowed everyone to purchase the same amounts of the relevant products while the limited and distributed validation periods kept hoarding at bay. This type of rationing was applied to foods like sugar and coffee, where no one was entitled to a different amount than anyone else (Ward 82-83). In February 1943 the final type of rationing was introduced: Point Rationing. Every individual received a book of point coupons to spend, distributed via local public schools (Ward 84). Various commodities required different numbers of points, and different colored coupons applied to different types of products. Red coupons were used to purchase meat, butter, fats, margarine, oils, cheese, canned fish and canned milk, while blue coupons allowed shoppers to purchase most other canned and bottled foods (Ward 83). This system allowed consumers to decide which goods they wanted to preference in their shopping.

Housewives could also pool the points of the entire family and budget them out accordingly to purchase the foods that would allow them to make as nutritious and appetizing meals as possible with the limited resources of the day.

Historians, particularly Barbara McClean Ward, have found that American public, specifically housewives, actually reacted quite well to the rationing scheme after a short period of confusion. Initially, there was some struggle in convincing the public, not that rationing was necessary, but that such a program was actually beneficial to the war effort (Ward 8889).Understanding why using less meat would help defeat Nazi Germany is a challenging task from thousands of miles away. Fortunately for the Office of Price Administration and the War Production Board, their propaganda campaign quickly overcame this ignorance and helped the American people to understand that the shortages and resultant need for rationing were caused by twin facts. Active soldiers and sailors eat far more than civilians and large amounts of food aid was being shipped to the embattled nations of Europe. Once this concept was broadly accepted, the rationing program became remarkably popular. Not only did it allow stateside Americans to feel that they were truly helping the national cause, but shoppers also understood that it ensured their access to available goods and ensured that early bird shoppers were not purchasing the entirety of a limited supply (Ward 90).

In 1943, when analysts erroneously predicted a close end to the war, a selection of items was taken off the rationed list. This move was very unpopular as people feared a rise in stockpiling would lead to the terrible scarcities seen during World War I. This worry lasted only a short time, however, as the war did not end and the items were rationed again a few months later (Ward 90-91). The ration system continued for the full duration of the war and was fully phased out by 1946 (Ward 100).

Procuring Ingredients

World War Two and the associated rationing had a large impact on the procurement of ingredients. Commonly used products were either totally unavailable or only available in extremely limited amounts. Less of the meat Americans were used to eating was available in stores because so much food was being sent to the military. The most acutely felt was the lack of canned goods, which disappeared from shelves as the steel was turned into war materiel. Less produce was available commercially due to the combined hurdle of rubber and gasoline rationing and the inability to transport goods from tropical regions. In order to cope with these challenges, women pursued a number of creative strategies (Hayes 4).

The lack of meat was felt most acutely, as Americans' diet at that time was very high in red meats like beef and lamb ("Staples in Diet" 12); it was the era of ham and roast beef on Sundays. As preferred cuts of meat ceased to be available to civilians, many housewives opted for less preferred cuts and grades of meat ("Dinner by the Dollar" 89). As these, too, became scarce in American grocery stores, alternate protein sources were advised and recipes for using them began to appear in magazines like Good Housekeeping. Organ meats like liver and heart were consumed with greater frequency, as were alternate meats such as

pork, fish, and chicken (Giesler 86-87). In some places game meats from deer to muskrat were also added to the common diet (Halper 291-292). The OPA also advocated strongly for the inclusion of Meatless Days into the weekly meal plans of housewives as an opportunity to do their patriotic duty. As the war continued, women were advised to simply use meat less often and to substitute alternate sources of proteins like eggs, milk, cheese, and legumes – especially soybeans and their flour ("Main Dishes for These Times" 89).

The appearance of standard foodstuffs changed noticeably throughout the war. As industrial centers ramped up their production of ships, bombs, and airplanes, the production of canned goods was strongly curtailed on account of the steel. Some foods, like shortening, that had previously been canned were repackaged in glass or paperboard (Ward 92-93). What had a much greater impact was the massive rise in gardening and home canning. American households were encouraged to cultivate a Victory Garden measuring at least 30 feet by 50 feet if it was at all possible, even if that meant purchasing a plot of land on the edge of town and borrowing the implements needed to grow food (Kendall and Chapman 82). This produce could then be used for fresh eating throughout the growing season and for home canning in the late summer and early fall. Home canning was key to the sustenance of Americans in wartime winters because home canning used glass jars rather than metal cans. These home-grown vegetables could be served all winter long, thus eliminating the need for the precious metal in cans and ensuring the nutrition of the population.

Governmental emphasis on gardening and canning, with the assistance of Good Housekeeping, proved to be incredibly successful and the output of these gardens was enormous. By the summer of 1935, there were close to 20 million Victory Gardens spread across the United States. In total, they produced about one third of all the vegetables used domestically that year (Hayes 53). This success was not without complications of its own; home canning is not a simple process. While tomatoes and most fruits can be canned using a water bath, it was considered unsafe to use any method other than a pressure steam cooker for less acidic vegetables (Chapman 141). Because they were a newer technology, these machines were not as commonly owned and the transition of factories to war production made purchasing these metal machines very difficult. Good Housekeeping encouraged women to share with their neighbors wherever possible and many towns set up community canning centers that not only provided the canning equipment, but also taught women how to use it (Hayes 53).

The war also led housewives to change their shopping tactics. Before the war, it was common for women to go grocery shopping every day or nearly every day, in large part because home refrigeration was still in its infancy and home freezing existed only in small compartments in iceboxes or refrigerators, typically only for a couple of ice cube trays (Hayes 54-55). As the war progressed and housewives entered the workforce, they needed to budget time for shopping more carefully. Women began utilizing their refrigerators more and shopping less frequently, often only three or four times per week ("A New Dessert Salad" 102). Some women left their orders at the grocer in the evening and picked them up the following day ("Tips Busy Women Have Given Us" 87). Other women who could do so sometimes used their limited gasoline resources to make a single, more efficient trip to a supermarket while other shoppers chose to walk between smaller stores and carry their purchases home, as delivery services were no longer available (Halper 326).

Despite rationing, the availability of most things was inconsistent enough that shoppers had to have several alternate choices ready, further complicating the shopping process. Added to the shopping struggle was the issue of long lines, particularly for meat. While lines were not typically an issue in all parts of the U.S., their length became a problem in places that had experienced a large influx of war workers, such as Portsmouth, New Hampshire, where it was not uncommon to stand in line at the same store twice in one day in an attempt to get a single piece of meat (McFeely 115). Children also became involved with the acquiring of food because they could be sent to stand in lines or look for specific products while their mothers were working or even shopping at another store (McFeely 115).

Inspiration and Encouragement in the Pages of Good Housekeeping

For generations, large portions of American women have turned to magazines for inspiration and assistance in running their homes. One of the most popular has been Good Housekeeping, which has been published every month for over 100 years and has historically been targeted at white, middle-class housewives. It provided guidance on a diverse range of topics from fashion to childrearing, and is known for its extensive cooking advice. For this reason, the archives of the magazine are an invaluable resource for understanding how the woman who read it understood the war as it progressed and which concerns played into their day-to-day kitchen life.

In the pre-war era, the food-related sections of the magazine focused on adequate nutrition and what new products are available, as well as setting an attractive table and how to socialize using meals as a catalyst. Vitamins were the greatest concern, particularly A, B, and C, with many types of guidance on how women could best get them into the diets of their families. One column which appeared each month is "Dr. Eddy's Question-Box," where Dr. Walter H. Eddy answered questions from readers. In every issue published in 1939, the majority of questions are about vitamins, both how they work and how to get them into one's diet. The column's response to these questions is that they are water-soluble vitamins and that because of this, cooking destroys, or at least severely limits, the vitamin content of fruits and vegetables.Readers were advised to cook such foods only as much as necessary and to serve them raw and in juice form as well, although nearly all vegetables were still served boiled ("Dr. Eddy's Question Box" 189-190).

Another staple article in 1939 was "Visits to the Grocer," in which various newly available products were highlighted. Throughout the year, the article chronicles the introduction of canned products such as beans (October 184), tuna (August 120), bread (May 117), and new versions of known products, like decaffeinated coffee (March 142) and semisweet chocolate (December 110). The emphasis of this column overall was to highlight the new and exciting products readily available at the common grocery store as the nation's finances were beginning to improve at the end of the Great Depression. Following the American entry into the war, "Visits to the Grocer" disappeared from the magazine, as did mentions of new products generally.

Cooking articles from this year also highlighted the new ways that products are being prepared, such as one from January 1939 titled "Do you know your hams and how to cook them?" This article by Dorothy Marsh describes how the new method of smoking hams allows them to be cooked in less time and eliminates the simmering step. She encourages housewives to purchase only hams made by recognized national meat packers to ensure consistency and quality ("Do You Know Your Hams" 76).

The February issue from 1942, which would have come out some time in mid- to late- January of 1942 and was the first truly war-era issue, showed a stark change in the tone and motive of the magazine. This issue opened with a poignant letter from the editors explaining the stance they, and the magazine as a whole, would take for the duration of the war. While some publications, like Gourmet, did not change their writing at all in wartime (Hayes 4), Good Housekeeping placed its abilities at the service of the U.S. government and viewed it as its obligation to remain anti-hysterical (The Editors 19). The editors took the stance that "…life in American homes must go on and will go on; and that for the sake of the generations to come we must not lose sight of that – never, not for a single day, because it is that home life, and all it implies, that we are now defending," (The Editors 19). This policy would serve to motivate the magazine's articles for the remainder of the war. It encouraged women to cook with ingredients they previously would not have considered, to grow huge amounts of produce, to create meatless meals that would please the whole family, and do it all while working, in many cases, a full-time job.

From the pre-war writing to the issues of the early war years there is a harsh and unmistakable shift in the content of Good Housekeeping. Rather than being concerned with the newest variety of boxed baking mix ("Visits to the Grocer," September 1939, 133), writers emphasize how to plan a day's worth of meals so as to hit all of the major food requirements set out by the government in association with Good Housekeeping, since a healthy populace was put forward as the best way to

win the war ("There's Plenty of Beans and Cheese" 146).

As the fighting continued and the rationing system expanded throughout 1942 and 1943, each issue reacted accordingly. Women were first encouraged to plan meals ahead of time with an eye on nutrition, and then to more carefully make their shopping lists, then finally to prepare to make any number of changes once they were at the grocers ("Dinners in 30 Minutes" 91).

As the war continued, the Good Housekeeping authors also grew increasingly favorable to stretching various products so that they would last longer. At first, the idea of using any method of coffee stretching is totally disavowed and consumers are simply advised to drink less coffee ("Good Meals Even With Rationing" 104). However, just one month later, the use of a coffee stretcher such as chicory is strongly advocated, so long as women mix it into their coffee at home rather than purchasing a pre-mixed product (Punnett 91). A similar trend is seen in the realm of protein. Initially authors advocate for the use of different cuts or types of meat, such as organ meats or a greater utilization of fish and poultry ("Good Meals in 30 Minutes" 102). By October 1943 these same authors advocated for meals that used increased amounts of cereals like oatmeal and soy flour to stretch the meat as far as possible while still retaining the flavor of a dish ("Cereals – Good for Any Meal" 90). To cope with the very limited amount of sugar available, recipes were published that used alternate sweeteners like maple syrup, molasses, and particularly corn syrup (Hoover 98). The war made butter, too, harder to keep on hand, and authors advised whipping it with margarine or even unflavored gelatin and a bit of milk, a process that was labor intensive, but effective in making the butter literally cover more bread ("What We Have Found" 86).

In general, wartime issues of the magazine placed a value on efficiency not seen in pre- war writings. Women were repeatedly instructed to purchase carefully and not to buy more than exactly what was needed (Scripture 100, Kenyon 68). Leftovers were viewed with scorn and were to be avoided if possible. At the same time, the water used for boiling vegetables was to be both minimal and reserved for making sauces and soups so that nutrients would be preserved as much as possible (Kenyon 68). Good Housekeeping also encouraged women to use specific items to prevent their spoilage and waste, such as in the fall of 1943, when authors pushed women to use additional sweet potatoes rather than white potatoes to compensate for a particularly bumper sweet potato crop that year across America's farms ("This is the Month for Sweet Potatoes" 90).

One thing that never changed was the expectation that the woman of the house and the reader of the magazine will ceaselessly provide a never-ending series of diverse, nutritionally balanced, appealing, and responsibly purchased meals. The wife, without fail, was to remain the steadfast support for the home and in doing so perform her patriotic duty to keep the entirety of the civilian population healthy and productive so that the war could be won as quickly and decisively as possible.

An Evaluation of the Sources

The available sources for this research are fascinating and diverse, but in many ways this diversity presents a challenge to the researcher. The most useful sources are magazines and cook books. These are invaluable for their first-hand accounts, real-world advice, and up-front, unabashed honesty about the state of the American kitchen and how to "Use it Up, Wear it Out, Make it Do, or Do Without," as one wartime slogan advised (Sitkoff 39).

Good Housekeeping in particular is very useful because of the frequency with which it is published. Whereas true cookbooks are a one-time publication, a monthly magazine like Good Housekeeping allows the historian to track how professional food writers were thinking about the impact of the war on food and daily life over time. Where the pre-war era writings focused on what new canned goods were available and how new technology was making cooking easier, wartime food writing had more to do with conservation, efficient cooking, and how certain foods could be stretched or substituted out of necessity and patriotism.

The style of this research also allows for the use of some very interesting sources which were written as those who grew up during the war regained an interest in it. These works are often

found as essays and articles, such as those in Produce & Conserve, Share & Play Square, in which authors combined historic research with anecdotes from their own childhood.Emmanuel Harper's writing on the growth of the supermarket during World War Two follows a similar line, interspersing details about the changes in shopping with stories about how these changes impacted his childhood trips to the store with his mother.

Although this trend can be tremendously helpful in understanding how people were thinking about the war, it can also produce somewhat muddled results because there is a tendency to assume that one's own experience is representative of the whole country. This causes some conflicts the historian can only attempt to unravel. One example of this is the way different authors believe women went about the action of purchasing food during the ration years. While Halper argues that women shifted towards supermarkets in order to maximize the efficiency of their time and gasoline use (325), McFeely posits that women did more of their shopping on foot around the various stores in town so not to use gas at all for their shopping (112). Conflicts such as these are most likely based in regional differences and as such the historian can understand that the way housewives shopped was tied to where they lived, a phenomenon still seen today.

A further challenge to studying this topic is the comparatively limited amount of accessible, academic, historical research. While there is writing about the impact of women in the workforce and the role of Victory Gardens and various advertising campaigns, much less has been written on how the many obstacles presented to wartime housewives impacted the way they and their families ate. Despite its usefulness as a changing source over time, Hays is the only author to utilize a magazine such as Good Housekeeping in any depth, and her training lies in nutrition and public health rather than history ("Grandma's Wartime Kitchen"), making this study even more valuable.

Concluding Remarks

World War Two and the international assistance programs that the United States pursued in relation to it placed a great strain on the country's food industry and the women who purchased and prepared food for the millions of Americans who remained on the home front. Despite the rising incomes during the war, that money could not be spent on increased kinds or amounts of food, as there simply wasn't any to be had and rationing prevented it if there was. Rather than generating ire, which was cleverly turned by the OPA, WPA, and magazines like Good Housekeeping into an opportunity for the housewives of America to contribute further to the war effort. A healthy populace fed efficiently was the way to keep the nation strong so that soldiers could fight and those working in the home front war industries could work at the maximum level.

Despite increasingly demanding work schedules, women managed to keep up with the ever-changing ration system and can immense amounts of produce each fall. Their efforts were crucial to keeping up both health and morale on the home front, as the authors of Good Housekeeping ensured homemakers knew.

From the perspective of the present, the amount of work and forethought that went into the shopping and cooking routines of these women is astonishing. When compared to the eating trends of modern America, there are obvious differences and clear continuations of trends established in the 1940's. The pace of society has sped up and home-cooked meals are much less common than they were during World War Two, particularly with regard to breakfast. Almost no one goes home for lunch and the idea of a nightly sit-down dinner once the whole family has arrived is almost laughable. Home canning is something now pursued by a very few people. However, there are some trends in modern food that almost certainly have their roots in World War Two. The greatest of these are the introduction and the rise to popularity of corn syrup, which is now the sweetener in most processed foods, although there is a growing campaign against it. An ingredient used then because of sugar's unavailability is used now on account of its low cost. The trend of eating less meat is seen today as well, though for much different reasons. While meat was avoided out of necessity in the war era, today increasing numbers of people are seeking to eat less of it for environmental and health reasons. The substitutes are the same, but the rationale different. As global events proceed, it will be interesting to see how other consumption trends compare the patterns observed in World War Two.

This essay was originally written as a final paper for the senior seminar class America During Wartime, taught by Professor Louise Stevenson at Franklin & Marshall College.

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Identity Through the Passport: Negotiating Simultaneous Belonging to the Nation-State and Cosmopolitan World Society

Catherine Mazanek
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In 1920 and 1926 the League of Nation's "passport regime" met to discuss the existence of the modern passport. Before these dates the passport did not have a unified function as a document; it had a different process and appearance depending on the nation-state of issuance. With the end of WWI, a period in which nations were connected on a grand scale through conflict, there was a push to standardize travel. Countries saw a need to increase the safety measures that existed in a realm beyond the jurisdiction of the nation-state (Robertson, 2010). From this beginning moment of standardization, the passport has evolved to be an accepted normal part of trans-national movement. It is recognizably the same document regardless of the issuing nation-state, yet the different issuing countries are still easily distinguishable as one waits in airport customs lines. This reality is an illustration of the complex tension contained within the passport. The document itself represents the push and pull between the two competing forces that negotiate power and control in the current globalized world, the nation-state and the cosmopolitan global existence. The passport allows for a more global citizen through its facilitation of movement and international governance while simultaneously reinforcing nation-state boundaries both ideologically and physically. This illustrates the tension between nation-state identity and global belonging within the context of contemporary accelerated globalization.

International Regulation: The Cosmopolitan Reality of the Passport

The international regulation of the passport represents the cosmopolitan ideal of the global citizen by surpassing nation-state powers in creating a "free traveler." Before contemporary accelerated globalization, there was an assumption that "individuals are born into one specific nation-state, that they will remain in their nation-state of birth, and that that one nation-state will persist as a primary course of their identity over a lifetime" (Croucher, 2009). In contrast, the cosmopolitan idea of a citizen is one where people exist as citizens of the world. Their identity is not defined by one single nation-state or their belonging to that particular entity because "compression of space and time" allowed by globalization (Croucher, 2009). This sense of belonging to the global community is partially shaped by the physical movement across these nation-state border. This passage is not possible without the passport. The document itself facilitates the physical movement across border lines, reflecting the idea of the world citizen in its basic purpose. There is no longer such a stringent tie to the nation state because the traveler can be influenced by his/her identity as a global citizen that he/she encapsulates through using the passport.

This global citizen ideal can also be seen in the international regulation of the document. The International Civil Aviation Organization (ICAO), a UN specialized agency, regulates the world-wide use of the passport. The ICAO set the format standards that every country must adhere to for the machine readable passports. The ICAO published the first version of Doc 9303 in 1980 which laid out the initial standard format of the machine readable passport system. The document is updated frequently and is currently in its 7th edition as new technological advances call for new regulation of the format (International Civil Aviation Organization, 2015). Currently, the aesthetics of the outside of the passport are specified by the ICAO in order to standardize the appearance of the document to make it internationally recognizable. The document must be uniform in size so that it is sure to match the machines used to read the passport around the world (Lloyd, 2003). All passport covers must be green, blue, red or black (though the shade of the color may vary depending on country choice) and must display the country name on the front. The standard for passports is to also include the seal of the country on the cover page (Arton Capital, 2016). (**Figure 1**)

In addition to the cover of the passport the ICAO dictates the content of one of the interior pages of the document. The identification page of every passport must adhere to ICAO standards if it is expected to be used to cross borders. The ICAO

dictates both the information contained and its placement on the page as depicted in *Figure 2.* *(***Figure 2***)* This standard format allows for technology to facilitate the reading of the passport because pages can be scanned by a machine. It also is helpful when for manual readings by insuring a decrease in human error because the information is all contained in the same place regardless of the country of the document holder (Lloyd, 2003). Along with the ease of logistic created by this standardization, this process also speaks to the ideal of surpassing nation-state lines that the passport represents. The standards of the passport are dictated by the international body, a body that decides the format regardless of the particular nation-state. The nation-state autonomy is diminished in this document format and the decision of the ICAO dictates how the nation-state will act.

The ICAO further dictates their role in relation to the nation-state with the passport in Doc 9030:

> "These specifications are not intended to be a standard for national identity documents. However, a State whose identity documents are recognized by other States as valid travel documents shall design its identity documents such that they conform to the specification of Doc 9303-3 and Doc 9303-4, Doc 9303-5 or Doc 9303-6" (International Civil Aviation Organization, 2015).

This excerpt shows the ICAO acknowledging that the nation-state retains their own power to choose how national identity documents are arranged. However, the ICAO asserts their dominance when it comes to crossing borders. When national documents are used in this manner, they must be to the standard of the ICAO in order for other countries to see the document as relevant. The ICAO control is a global homogenization of the document. There is a push to create a more efficient and overall standardized system to facilitate travel in a more streamlined manner. The homogenization surpasses the realm of the nation-state, calling for an overarching international body to be the head of power. It is this international standardization, along with the facilitation of movement, that exemplifies the global citizen idea within the document.

Nation-State Regulation: Reinforcing Borders in the Passport

Though the idea of the cosmopolitan world citizen is facilitated through the passport, there is a simultaneous assertion of nation-state identity in the document. There is a symbolic assertion of cultural distinction through imagery employed as the background of the Visa pages of each country's document. The Visa pages of the passport are not regulated by the ICAO, leaving the nation-state as the authority to choose the design that appears on the bulk of the inside of the document. Some of the imagery is employed for safety features such as holographic images while some solely serves an aesthetic purpose (Flemming, 2014). Both the images employed for safety purposes and those just for decoration illustrate national ideals that both the traveler and the country the traveler is entering are affected by while using the document. This assertion of ideological philosophies of the nation-state is working to reshape the sense of belonging and loyalty to the state entity. The analysis of multiple countries' passports illustrates this push back displayed on the cosmopolitan document. It is through this analysis that one can understand the nation-state side of the dual powers portrayed in the passport.

The American passport visa pages consist of placed based imagery that reflects basic ideological roots of the nation. Most of the imagery has a focus on the American west, while attempting to still define "everyone's America" by not specifying one race, ethnicity, or state. Each of the spreads are paired with a quote that gives context to how the image should be interpreted within a national identity context (Flemming, 2014). One of the spreads contains an image of the Statue of Liberty. It is paired with a quote by Anna Julia Cooper: "The cause of freedom is not the cause of a race or sect, a party or class- it is the cause of humankind, the very birthright of humanity" (*United States Passport,* 2005). This particular page situates America as a nation-state whose ideological core value is liberty. This asserts the United States' ownership of the values of freedom and liberty on an international scale because of the international use of the document. Each page of the American document is much like the page with the Statue of Liberty, asserting American cultural ideals like cowboys out west and the transnational railroad within an

international context (*United States Passport,* 2005). William Flemming asserts that the imagery on the American passport is “the development of state agency and the way in which governmental actors, through the construction of the significant documents of state such as the passport, control borders and distinguish citizens from extra-nationals” (2014) This rebuilding of borders works with the imagery to reinforce the ideological boundaries of the nation, expressing its exceptionalism while asserting that cultural differentialism still exists in this globalized world of border crossing.

The Irish passport, Filipino passport, and Chinese passport all employ similar place based imagery on their visa pages to assert their national identity in the crossing of borders. Both the Irish passport and the Filipino passport include quotations; the Irish passport has a Gaelic song weaved throughout the pages (IrishCentral Staff Writers, 2013) and the Filipino passport has part of the national anthem on each page. The use of text in both of these passports helps to direct the reading of the images to coincide with the ideological basis of the nation. For the Philippines, the tourist destinations depicted in the imagery are directly linked to the ideological roots of the country through the national anthem (Cheng, 2015). For the Irish passport, the natural landscapes that are unique to the nation are tied to the Gaelic roots of the country through the song lyrics, harkening to the essence of the nation-state identity. The Chinese passport does not include words, however each page has a map that shows the province from which the background imagery is taken (*People’s Republic of China Passport*, 2012). These maps can be read in the same way that the quotations are used in the other passports; they inform the viewers’ interpretation so that the ideological representation of the state is based on the representation of the different provinces. Much like the U.S. passport, these countries react to the global citizen idea represented by the passport by creating place based national identity through the national scenes depicted on the visa pages.

Other countries utilize imagery that is not so heavily based in geography but still represents ideological bases of the nation-state identities. Britain’s pages are decorated with British inventions ranging from art to infrastructure, highlighting William Shakespeare’s work and the creation of the London tube (United Kingdom Government, 2015). The nation defines itself not as much on the landscape and place of its identity but rather on its contribution to the advancement of world society. The Finish passport contains the symbol of a moose on every page. The document can be used as a flip book to make the moose appear to be walking in the bottom corner of the document (Zoomin.TV World News, 2013). The nation defines itself by an animal closely associated with the nation while taking on a playful tone with the flip book. The Netherlands passport focuses on a landscape, but there is only one included instead of an array of landscapes like the aforementioned collections. The landscape is a contemporary rendition a mountainous horizon, depicting a place based identity but in an abstracted artistic form (Norwegian Landscapes, n.d.). These passports are not navigating national identity based on place, but rather navigate the ideological definition of their nation based on other symbols of national identity. Regardless of the theme utilized to represent the nation-state, the country is enacting its own agency in defining its distinct cultural identity.

Not all countries use such extensive imagery as the ones listed above. However, the importance of these select passports is that the desire to differentiate the cultural identity for the nation-state is not isolated to only one nation. The selective use of this imagery is the country’s action in defining the most important parts of their national identity; the country is given the agency in the imagery portion of the passport. There is imagery on the passport to remind the traveler that they are in fact not “denationalized” as an individual traveling across borders (Salter, 2006). They have a nation that they belong to and that is defined through national imagery on the passport. As the nation-state’s identity is challenged with a globalized society, they reassert their ideological base values on the very document that allows for the identity to become muddled. Within the context of shrinking space in contemporary accelerated globalization, the nation-state symbolically reinforces its national identity through these images, dictating how the holder’s sense of identity is still within the realm of the nation-state and not outside as a global citizen.

Beyond the Symbolic Cultural Differentialism of the Passport

The power and persistence of nation-state identity is not only defined symbolically through the images on the passport, it is also expressed through the actual use of the document. Not all passports are created equal and the nation-state identity is a large factor in dictating these unequal relationships. Visa rankings are the most quantitative measure of this inequality based on nation-state identities. There are three different categories for visa entrance into other countries: visa free, purchasing a visa upon arrival, or purchasing a visa prior to traveling. The visa free scores given to passports are numerical scores based on how many countries a traveler may enter without having to buy a visa. Travelers can cross borders into other states without additional documentation other than their passport itself. The Visa free score depends on the nation issuing the passport and if that nation is freely accepted to cross borders or not (Arton Capital, 2016). The identity of the nation-state is what dictates these inter-country relationships and regulates the degree to which the individual can move.

Germany has the highest ranked passport with 158 countries that can be entered without a Visa with a German passport. The top 15 rankings consist mostly of Western countries, including European, North American countries, and Australia and New Zealand. Scattered within these rankings are some Asian countries like Japan, Malaysia, and Singapore. The U.S. is ranked #4 at a visa free score of 155 along with Norway, Belgium, the Netherlands, Japan, Singapore, Denmark, and Italy. Once the rankings get to #16 and have a visa free score of 140, South American countries, Caribbean and some Middle Eastern countries are thrown into the mix. Many African countries fall in the lower half of Visa free rankings and the bottom of the list is made up of mostly Middle Eastern and African Countries. China also falls in this lower bracket with a ranking of 69 with only 56 Visa free entrances, coinciding with its communist isolationist policy. Syria and Somalia are ranked 90 with only 31 countries to be entered Visa free. Iraq is ranked 91 with 29 Visa free country entrances. Pakistan is at 92 with only 27 visa free entries. Afghanistan rounds out the list at a rank of 93 and only 24 countries that can be entered Visa free (Arton Capital, 2016). (**Figure 3**)

The existence of this global citizen idea that allows one to freely travel across borders is counteracted with these Visa Free rankings that are based upon nation-state identities. The Visa free rankings reflect the international order of the world; the countries that dominate foreign policy and worldly hegemony are the top-ranking countries. The passport itself is moderated by entity under the UN, an organization that is heavily skewed toward Western ideals and favors those countries that have the high visa free rankings. The ability for a citizen to freely travel from one place to the other depends on the nation-state identity and how much power that nation-state possesses on a global scale. These power rankings are the counterparts to the symbolic building of the nation-state through the imagery on the passport. Here, the nation-state identity goes beyond the symbolic realm by dictating the ability of people to participate in movement across borders. As borders are crossed with the passport, they are simultaneously reinforced because the border lines demonstrate this inequality that is seen in the passport rankings. The nation-state enforces its identity and power by making the borders relevant even in their crossing. There is a distinct cultural identity to each nation-state that dictates these power interactions within the Visa scores.

What Does This Say?

Contemporary accelerated globalization has led to a rapid rate of connection that creates a tension between the identity of the nation-state and the greater world community that is unique from before this shift (Roshwald, 2015). Is one a member of his/her nation-state community or does he/she surpass this identity to belong to a global community? Beck and Levy assert that cosmopolitanism and the nation-state are not the antithesis of each other, but rather "Cosmopolitanism does not negate nationalism; national attachments are potential mediators between the individual and cosmopolitan horizons along which new identifications unfold" (2013). Though the international realm and the nation-state compete for power in the global structure, one cannot exist without the other. The homogenized international component does not erase the particular that is found in the nation-state but the two exist simultaneously. The passport is an

illustration of the horizon along which new identifications unfold by demonstrating cultural distinction as it relates to globality with the constant push and pull between the two entities.

In this illustration there is a compromise instead of a rigid competition between the two structures. The international society facilitated through crossing borders with the passport depends on the nation-state issuing the document. The nation-state issues the document knowing that this allows for the citizen to travel, in turn possibly constructing his/her own identity from influences outside of the nation-state. There is a simultaneous existence of both the homogenized global world without borders and the very particular nation-state where borders stay in place. The passport does not show them mixing, but rather shows the ability for each of them to coexist while staying distinct within the same document. This tension appears throughout, as each entity asserts control in the different portions of the document. This reflects the negotiation of power between the nation-state and the international realm as the two overarching organizations compete for influence in the current moment.

This simultaneous existence that dictates the negotiation of power also affects how the individual constructs identity. The nation-state is still a strong entity that defines the individual's sense of belonging. However, through travel the individual also can identify as a global citizen and possibly have a cosmopolitan conception of society. Both forces are in play as the individual forms his/her identity; the amount that these forces impact the traveler differs based on the amount of privilege and influence of the nation-state to which he/she belongs. The passport allows people to make borders irrelevant in some cases but also is the regulatory agent that stops people from being able to cross when they do not possess as much privilege. This phenomenon illustrates the complexity of understanding of the self and overall global order that arises from the confluence of these power structures. The individual cannot belong fully to just the global society or the nation-state, rather the individual learns to exist in the space where these distinct identities interact. The same negotiation of distinct structures in world powers is reflected within the individual and his/her sense of belonging in the globalized moment.

These complex interactions of the nation-state, the global society, and the individual converge in the passport. The document allows for the individual to simultaneously cross borders while reinforcing the importance of those borders. Therefore, the passport is not only a political document used to facilitate movement, it is also a document that can be read to understand cultural particularism in this international context. This confluence of powers in this cultural document can then be used to interpret the broader construction of globalized society where interrelated powers push and pull against each other. Globalization has led to this shrinking of time and space, forcing the global and national to convene in spaces like the passport. It is the interpretation of these power structures that makes the passport such a useful document to articulate how globalization is pushing cultural change. Globalization has created a space where the nation-state and global society exist simultaneous and distinctly to impact both the global order of power and ability for the individual to define his/her identity. Through this analysis, one can better understand the place he/she holds in relation to the competing power structures of the continuously globalized modern society.

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Figure 1: This shows the homogenized standard of the passport, displaying passports from all different countries. The colors are different but the document holds a standard format regardless of the country (Arton Capital, 2016).

Figure 2: This is the standard format of the identification page of the passport. The page includes the identification of the holder: name, citizenship, birthdate. It also includes the logistics of the individual's passport: when the document was issued, when it expires, the number of the particular document. A photo of the holder is contained in order to insure the identity of the traveler matches the citizen the passport is issued to (Lloyd, 2003).

*Figure 3: This map illustrates the range of power that countries hold based on the visa free scores. (*Arton Capital, 2016*)*

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Bodies Made Public: The Homeless Body in 1980s Los Angeles

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There is an unspoken danger surrounding homelessness. Most people avoid speaking to or even looking at homeless people they see on the street or from their cars; the presence of homeless people can evoke pity, disgust, or fear. The condition of homelessness eclipses personhood because homeless people are not seen as individuals but as the unwashed masses. Homelessness clearly affects the body because it is constantly exposed to the elements and lacks access to adequate facilities like restrooms and washing spaces. Throughout the 1980s, there was a rising rate of homelessness in the United States. The City of Los Angeles responded to large numbers of homeless people by attempting to eradicate homeless bodies, it did not, however, do much to eradicate homelessness. Homelessness forces bodies to be public yet homeless people are excluded from the concept of "the public" and are perceived as a threat to health and safety. Throughout the 1980s, the exclusion of homeless people from the public occurred physically— through space—and figuratively—through discourse.

Economic trends and political policies during the 1980s resulted in an increase in the rate of homelessness across the United States. When Ronald Reagan was inaugurated in 1981, both inflation and unemployment rates were high. In response to this situation, the Reagan administration initiated a series of polices that became known as "Reaganomics". Reagan hoped to revive the economy by reducing government spending and introducing tax cuts (Blanchard, Branson, and Curie, 16). The plan for scaled back government spending slashed funds for social programs; Historian Howard Zinn cites $140 billion worth of cuts in 1984 alone (578). He writes,

> "Welfare became an object of attack: aid to single mothers with children through the AFDC (Aid to Families with Dependent Children) program, food stamps, health care for the poor through Medicaid. For most people on welfare (the benefits differed from state to state) this meant $500 to $700 a month in aid, leaving them well below the poverty line of about $900 a month" (578).

Without the safety net of social programs like welfare, many people were living in or on the edge of severe poverty.

Economic trends within California and Los Angeles County also contributed to an increase in the rates of homelessness. During the late 1970s and early 1980s, the shift from Fordism to post-Fordism resulted in the loss of jobs in manufacturing industries (Wolch and Dear, 3). In Los Angeles, the automobile manufacturing and the rubber industries lay off employees and shuttered factories. Geographer and Urban scholar Edward Soja writes, "Counting a few major 'indefinite' layoffs, over seventy-five thousand workers lost their jobs due to plant closings" from 1978-1982 (46). This contributed to high levels of unemployment in LA County, with the unemployment rate peaking at 10.5% at the end of 1982 (Eaton).

In addition to lost jobs because of deindustrialization, there was a crisis in available affordable housing in LA County. A shrinking middle class, declining numbers of home purchases, and an influx of immigrants meant that competition for the scarce amounts of affordable rental properties was stiff (Wolch and Dear, 70). Rent rates reflected this strain, in her article "From Global to Local: The Rise of Homelessness in Los Angeles during the 1980s", Jennifer Wolch states, "Between 1980 and 1990, Los Angeles County rents (in constant 1980 dollars) rose over 50 percent" (401). Unable to find affordable housing, many individuals and families sought alternative shelter: they rented converted garages or lived in automobiles and out on the streets.

Deindustrialization and the lack of affordable housing meant that the number of people requesting welfare was growing. Despite this, the state of California followed the example set by the Reagan administration and reduced the amount of relief services available. Wolch writes, "In Los Angeles, a particular reactionary county government dealt with the swelling ranks of needy people by acting to restrict the level and availability

of poor relief and other key social services" (394). During the 1980s, LA County closed fourteen General Relief offices, five AFDC offices, and twelve health facilities (Wolch 378-379). Economic policies at the local and national levels meant that more people were living in extreme poverty and the shrinking "safety net" of social programs increased susceptibility for homelessness.

While contemporary commentators, social scientists, and historians have all agreed that the rate of homelessness increased throughout the 1980s, there has not been a consensus on the exact number of homeless people living in Los Angeles during this time. Part of the fluctuation over firm numbers is that there was not an agreed upon definition of homelessness across government agencies and non-profit organizations. As a result, certain homeless people (those sleeping in shelters, cars, or modified garages for example) could be completely overlooked in different surveys and census counts (Wolch and Dear, 31). In her article, "From Global to Local", Wolch reports, "For most of the 1980s, the most commonly accepted 'guesstimate' of the numbers of the homeless in Los Angeles was 35,000" (407). This figure was an estimate of the amount of people seen sleeping on the streets of LA on an average night; it reflects the concept that the issue of homelessness is about visibility. Homelessness is only identified as a problem when there is obvious and visible poverty. People that live in alternative shelters, the homes of family or friends, and in automobiles are not always considered homeless.

Homelessness has obvious implications for the body and the body makes the condition of homelessness intelligible. Homeless bodies are bodies that exist for long periods of time in public spaces; they are almost constantly exposed to the elements. Additionally, lacking access to facilities such as restrooms, showers, and laundry rooms means that homeless people struggle to live up to common standards of personal hygiene. In her essay "The Homeless Body," Samira Kawesh writes,

> "…the particular contingencies that are typically read as marking one as homeless are not skin color or sex, but other attributes such as dirty or disheveled clothing, the possession of carts or bags of belongings, and particular activities such as panhandling and scavenging. In public space, the homeless do not appear as individuals with distinctive identities. Under certain circumstances, homelessness effectively eclipses such socially defined particularities. Thus, as it is ideologically and materially constituted in relation to the public, the homeless body must be seen as a specific mode of embodiment, one that requires its own specifications" (324).

Being homeless takes a toll on the body and the body inevitably bears the markings and signs of homelessness. In 1992, Steven VanderStaay published *Street Lives: An Oral History of Homeless Americans.* This collection of interviews with individuals from across the nation gives insight into the bodily experiences of homeless people. VanderStaay describes a man named Batman,

> "Batman's face tells the story of his homelessness: deep scars from beatings; the rough, cracked skin of living outside; a mouth of broken, rotting teeth. Remarkably, he has earned these features in just eight years of homelessness" (9).

This introduction is an example of how homelessness is a condition of the body and how the body clearly and visibly marks a homeless person. In addition to VanderStaay's commentary about the interviewee's appearances, the homeless people themselves frequently share the concerns and conceptions of homeless bodies. A woman named Hell shares the a story about another homeless woman she knows:

> "They call her Dirty Diane because, well, she really don't take care of her monthly thing, just lets it dribble down her leg. Maybe she do that 'cause then nobody'll bother her. I don't know" (15).

This anecdote shows that homelessness forces private bodily functions to be public. In Diane's case, her menstruating body presents an obstacle to hygiene and a potential protection against sexual assault. Furthermore, Diane is conceptualized as

"dirty" by other homeless people, demonstrating that this community still maintains social standards of hygiene, despite the fact that these standards are not easy to meet due to lack of access to resources.

The body is vital to one's self-conception and identity. Our society places a premium on the presentation of the body. Because homeless individuals do not have access to facilities to complete standards of hygiene, their self-conception can be severely impacted. In *Street Lives,* a man named Jaime shares, "…when I found out I had lice I felt low. That was the worst. You know, my mother had always said, 'you'll go, you can leave, but someday you'll be so low you'll regret it.' And she was right" (76). The condition of the homeless body can affect one's self-esteem and self-perceptions.

Likewise, constant rejection from society due to their bodies can take a great toll on homeless people's personal identities. Cyril, a homeless person interviewed in Philadelphia said, "If you don't have decent clothing, or you're dirty and have no money, you're looked down upon. People turn their heads, say 'Get away from me, scum!' So you don't fit in. Society rejects you, doesn't care for you, and you begin to lose hope" (VanderStaay, 119). The homeless body can be a barrier to acceptance and the cause of exclusion. Cyril's words are evidence that homeless people are not oblivious to the state of the body. They are not unwashed and untidy out of personal choice but out of circumstance.

In 1987, Los Angeles mayor Tom Bradley mandated a temporary, sixty-day "urban campground" be set up for homeless people as an alternative shelter. This tent city was intended to be temporary relief and while the city investigated permanent housing solutions, The Salvation Army provided services like job searches and interview skills. Filmmaker Tom Seidman documented Tent City and the stories of the homeless people who lived in the film *Lost Angeles*. The film frequently shows Tent City residents cleaning their bodies: there are shots of them brushing their teeth, showering with a hose, and washing their hair in buckets. This treatment gives the viewer an understanding of the difficulties of cleaning clothes and bodies without appropriate facilities. It also seems to serve as validating or humanizing these homeless people, as if to prove that they want to be clean.

The body can be a barrier for changing one's state of homelessness. In *Lost Angeles,* a woman named Hope Sanchez explains,

> "To go out and look for a job, you really have to look neat. There's no way to iron out here so your clothes could look neat. There's no curling iron or electricity for you to fix yourself up. It your clothes are all wrinkled and you hair is messed up, whose really going to think you want a job when you go out and look for a job?"

The implications of the homeless body extend beyond how people look and feel into whether or not they are realistically able to change their situation. Another resident of the campground, Mickey, was interviewed as the city began the process of shutting down the ad hoc campground and services. Mickey speaks about how ineffective the Tent City project was, "The inside of me is still dirty. How can you be saying that you helped me when you just took old shoes and put show polish on or throw them in the wash but the inside, the inside of me is still dirty." For Mickey, the condition of his body is just a superficial reflection of the larger experience of being homeless; he internalized the conceptualization and treatment of his body as dirty.

Because homeless people exist without access to private space, namely, a home, they are forced to live in public for most if not all of the day. This means they are visible almost all the time and are thus highly susceptible to policing. In *Discipline and Punish,* Michel Foucault discusses social control and regulation. He states, "Visibility is a trap" (200). Being homeless means one's actions and behaviors are under constant scrutiny. This is seen quite clearly in LA during the 1980s where the rise of homelessness was met with a rise in the policing of homeless people.

Generally, individuals are punished for engaging in non-normative behaviors. What is unique about the policing of homelessness is that the behaviors that are policed are normal behaviors (i.e. sleeping or sitting) that are considered non-

normative and disruptive when homeless people do them in public, visible spaces. Moreover, legislation has criminalized vital bodily functions such as urination and defecation that, because of their situation, homeless people are left with no choice but to perform outside. For all the legislation criminalizing homelessness, there were few actual citations and arrests. As Wolch writes, "…homeless people would simply be asked to 'move along,' or would be referred to shelters or services by city police or county sheriffs" (414). In the majority of cases, visibility is the main concern and cause for complaint. Homeless people are deemed unsightly, and obvious, extreme poverty makes people uncomfortable so removing homeless people from sight is the common course of action.

The removal of homeless people from public space as a form of punishment and control is not a new concept, however, in the 1980s this policing escalated from implied or encouraged displacement to legally codified banishment. In Katharine Beckett and Steve Herbert's study *Banished: The New Social Control in Urban America,* Los Angeles is listed along with other U.S. cities that engage in the seemingly archaic practice of banishment, whereby

> "Increasing swaths of urban space are delimited as zones of exclusion from which
>
> the undesirable are banned. The uniformed police are marshaled to enforce and often delineate these boundaries; they use their powers to monitor and arrest in an attempt
>
> to clear the streets of those considered unsightly or 'disorderly'" (8).

In Los Angeles, the downtown corridor of Skid Row has long been the nexus of homelessness, a place where people are confined to but also policed within. Skid Row is a public space that the government and citizens of Los Angeles have agreed that homelessness is allowed to be visible in. In the 1980s, as the homeless population grew and occupied visible sites around the city and outside of Skid Row, city officials tried to remove the homeless body from highly visible locations.

The homeless body has been framed as a deviant body; Homeless people are believed to be dangerous and criminal. The perception that homeless people contribute to and encourage crime was solidified in the much-discussed "Broken Windows Theory," famously written about by James Q. Wilson and George F. Kelling. The authors justify the strict policing of "Not violent people, nor necessarily, criminals, but disreputable or obstreperous or unpredictable people: panhandlers, drunks, addicts, rowdy teenagers, prostitutes, loiterers, the mentally disturbed" (28). The Broken Windows Theory argues that any sign of disorder will invite and foster more serious crime; in this model, homelessness is a threat to order, "The unchecked panhandler is, in effect, the first broken window" (29). Wilson and Kellings' article was published in 1982 and it set a standard for policing and control of urban streets throughout the nation.

Any discussion of homelessness in Los Angeles during the 1980s needs to address privatization. Because homeless people often occupy public buildings, parks, and plazas, the trend of privatization (moving the construction and management from the public to private sector) of public spaces in Los Angeles had a large effect on this population. Privatization received its fair share of criticism during and immediately following the 1980s. Historian Mike Davis' *City of Quartz* contains one of the most well known discussions of the privatization of public space. Published in 1990, this monograph explores the urban history of Los Angeles from a Marxist standpoint. According to Davis, class struggle was cemented into the built environment. He argues that wealthy interests manipulated the landscape of Downtown Los Angeles in order to exclude poor and undesirable people. Davis explores how the city contains homeless people into Skid Row, "systematically transforming the neighborhood into an outdoor poorhouse" and claims that "…the city is engaged in a merciless struggle to make public facilities and spaces as unlivable as possible for the homeless and the poor…" (232). Davis' study was heralded as a new cornerstone in the urban history of Los Angeles.

The influence of *City of Quartz* expanded beyond the field of history; urban planners and scholars of architecture echoed Davis' interpretation of the privatization of public space. Anastasia Loukaitou-Sideris' 1993 article "Privatisation of Public Open Space" compares the design and use of three privatized plazas in Downtown LA. Like Davis, she concludes that homeless people are both

actively and passively excluded from these spaces. Moreover, through interviewing the businesspeople who do use the plazas, she found that the exclusionary nature of the spaces were a main part of their appeal. Loukaitou-Sideris' study does not attempt to further explore this desire for homeless people to be removed or separated from the rest of the public, but her findings are useful for beginning to understand how these spaces might encourage or foster anti-homeless sentiments. This article frames a major issue that arises from the privatization of public space: is a space truly public if not all members of the public are allowed in it?

Margaret Crawford takes this question to task in her 1995 article "Contesting the Public Realm: Struggles over Public Space in Los Angeles." She argues that the "narrative of loss" that has colored the study of privatization of public spaces is dependent upon a mythicized conception of public spaces as purely democratic (4). She points out that even in historic examples of public space, from the Greek agora to the town squares of New England, full democratic access and participation was never achieved. Crawford urges an expansion of our understanding of public spaces beyond the borders of public parks and plazas,

> "Streets, sidewalks, vacant lots, parks, and other places of the city, reclaimed by immigrant groups, the poor, and the homeless, have become sites where public debates about the meaning of democracy, the nature of economic participation, and the public assertion of identity are acted out on a daily basis" (6).

Crawford's analysis builds upon the work of exclusion of homeless people from public space laid out by Davis and Loukaitou-Sideris. Furthermore, this article argues that because "undesirable" people are pushed out of (or never allowed in) traditional public places, they create their own public spaces. Her work opens up the possibility for public spaces to be full of opportunity, not just oppression.

Government statements and policy throughout the 1980s reveals a marginalization of the homeless population. Although homeless people are physically public, they are excluded from the concept of "the public". Throughout his presidency, Ronald Reagan denied that his policies were responsible for the rising rate of homelessness and perpetuated the idea that homelessness is a choice. In 1984 he said, "…the people who are sleeping on the grates, the homeless who are homeless, you might say, by choice" (Reagan). By referring to the homeless population as simply "the homeless", the president was ignoring the personhood of these individuals and was insinuating that homelessness is not a condition someone can experience but an entire and complete identity. When asked about the issue again in a 1988 interview, he said, "They make it their own choice for staying out there. There are shelters in virtually every city, and shelters here, and those people still prefer out there on the grates or the lawn to going into one of those shelters" (Robert). The language of the president reveals a distaste or impatience for "those people", a population characterized as ungrateful for not utilizing shelters but choosing to sleep outdoors. Additionally, this language does not allow for nuance or difference in experience, it presents the concept that all homeless people choose their circumstances. Not only did these statements ignore the reality that Reaganomics cut funding to relief services, they contributed to stereotypes of homeless people as unmotivated and lazy. The rhetoric of "the homeless" and "those people" excludes homeless individuals from the grouping of "the public" and undervalues the personhood of homeless people.

A 1987 Los Angeles Times photograph by Ken Lubas and the accompanying photographer's note display these concepts. (Fig. 1) The photographer's note reads, "Pres. of city board of public works Maureen Kindell, rt., walks with entourage past target of city skid row clean up sweep on 5th St. by Jack's Liquor. She said she found filth and the area was cleaned up after 7 were arrested after blocking crews from [text ends]" (Lubas). Here, the homeless man on the couch is not named. In fact, he is not even given personhood but is identified as a "target". The actions of the people in the group walking hint at the discomfort and disgust provoked by homelessness: they walk past the individual on the coach but give him and the encampment a wide berth and most of them avoid direct eye contact with this individual.

Another way homeless people are excluded from the public is through economic inequality. Because they are homeless, they are living in obvious extreme poverty and are not participating in

the capitalist system. When the rhetoric of choice (as seen with Reagan's comments) colors the discussion, homeless people are perceived as consciously opting out of the economic system. Theoretical exclusion has real, physical implications as homeless people can be barred or removed from shopping centers and plazas. In *Banished: The New Social Control in Urban America,* Beckett and Herbert probe into the reasons why homeless people have been viewed as unworthy or undesirable parts of physical public spaces, "Their presence in downtown public spaces caused widespread concern about the effects of disorder. This concern was particularly acute for commercial establishments reliant on shoppers and tourists, many of whom abhor visible evidence of social disadvantage" (34). Control of people in public spaces is dependent on their class and ability to participate in so-called "legitimate" economic activities. Additionally, the presence of homeless people is perceived as a threat to business. Because they are obviously impoverished and are thought to be interrupting shopping, homeless people themselves are cast as deviants and threats to the system of capitalism. In Anastasia Loukaitou-Sideris' work, *Sidewalks: Conflict and Negotiation over Public Space,* she notes, "Homelessness casts a pallor on recreational consumption because homeless people sometimes bother shoppers and discourage them from frequenting a given area" (165). As in Beckett's and Herbert's work, the argument is that homeless people are excluded from public spaces because they are not equal economic participants.

The homeless body is also excluded through what Sarah Jaquette Ray calls "the poetics of trash." In her exemplary study, *The Ecological Other*, she devotes a chapter to exploring "The Poetics of Trash: Immigrant Bodies in the Borderland Wilderness." The immigrant body is particularly relevant to the topic of homelessness: both of these populations are placeless or migratory, and they are both conceptualized as inferior, inherently dirty, and dangerous. Jaquette Ray writes, "The poetics of trash provoke alarmism about immigration by framing it as dirty, ecologically irresponsible, and morally impure..." (148). The discourse surrounding homelessness is similar in that it positions this population as unwell (diseased), unclean (dirty), and ultimately, unwelcome. Overwhelmingly, the discourse surrounding the homeless population is a discourse of the body. Homeless people are not discussed as individuals but as objects and as bodies. The othering of homelessness is part of the project of eradicating homeless people: excluding and removing homeless bodies. Rarely is the project to eradicate homelessness itself.

Throughout the 1980s, Los Angeles Times articles reveal how frequently the homeless body was associated with dirt and trash. In February 1987, Los Angeles Police Department officers raided and dismantled homeless encampments in Skid Row. A newspaper article on Mayor Tom Bradley's response to these raids reports, "Bradley said he had not authorized them, although they 'paralleled' a clean-up campaign for the area that he said he had called for several weeks ago" (Clifford and Clayton). The object of the "clean-up campaign" is not to clean up homeless bodies but to clean up the city by removing these bodies. In 1989, LAPD began aggressively policing homeless residents of Skid Row, enforcing a ban on sleeping on sidewalks during the night. In addition, the police "…ordered the city Department of Transportation and Public Works to post signs making all 50 blocks of Skid Row sidewalks off limits to allow for street cleaning Monday through Friday" (Muir). This five-day per week street cleaning was an increase from the three-day per week policy of the previous year. Not only was the rhetoric of "cleaning" used to describe removing homeless bodies from encampments, resources for cleaning the city (street sweepers) were used as a tool for eradicating the presence of homeless people.

Moreover, city government often sent in sanitation workers when conducting raids on encampments. Sanitation workers are employed to dispose of waste and this action reveals the conception of homeless people as dirt or trash that needs to be cleared. Another photo from the Los Angeles Times Photography Archive shows a sanitation worker and police officer removing a homeless person from a sidewalk encampment. The homeless individual is barely visible inside the shelter, and the sanitation worker in the foreground is seen wearing gloves and a facemask in preparation for the work of clearing an encampment. (Fig. 2) This photograph, titled "Homeless man being ousted from camper shell on

Skid Row in Los Angeles, Calf., 1987", illustrates the literal manifestations of the poetics of trash.

Similarly, the photographer's note on the Ken Lubas photo mentions "(Maureen Kindel) said she found filth and the area was cleaned up after 7 were arrested after blocking crews from [text ends]." This language follows the poetics of trash because it frames the homeless body as an obstacle to be removed (arrested) in order for an area can be cleaned.

In June of 1988, homeless people living in an encampment by City Hall lost almost all of their belongings when police officers and sanitation workers raided the site and "carted away two truckloads of the street people's belonging to a dump" ("Raids"). After the event, an employee at the city's Bureau of Sanitation said, "'We didn't know if it was trash or what. Our people didn't have any instructions where to save it or not so we assumed it was like other debris and would go to the dump'" ("Raids"). These words reveal the conceptualization that homeless bodies were surrounded by and lived in trash. A newspaper article from 1985 states,

> "Even the glittering Restaurant Row in Beverly Hills does not escape. A pile of rubbish on a vacant lot on La Cienaga Boulevard proves, on closer inspection, to be a cardboard shanty housing an old man who rambles about his past with Gen. George Patton, the legendary World War II Army commander" (Roderick).

There is a clear contrast between "the glittering" street and the "rubbish" nearby. The clean and sparkling restaurant row "does not escape," as through homeless bodies are actively encroaching upon pristine property, bringing trash and dirt with them.

When the city did successfully remove or "clear away" populations of homeless people, members of the public were reportedly very pleased with the results. The title of a 1987 *Los Angeles Times* article, "Sweep of Squatters Is Given Credit for Making Skid Row Safer, Quieter and Cleaner", reveals the framing of homeless bodies as something dirty that needs to be cleaned: one sweeps up dirt and leaves behind a cleaner surface.

The article includes a statement about pre-clearing conditions from a business owner named Dick Merry: "'You can't imagine the day-to-day smell,' he said. 'You couldn't open the front door or turn on the air conditioning sometimes'" (Quintana). Body odor is a condition that is common in homeless bodies that was being framed as a threat to the well being of the general public. Here, homeless bodies are the unwashed masses.

Throughout the 1980s in Los Angeles, the homeless body was framed under the poetics of trash and was conceptualized as dirty. Homeless bodies were also characterized as a threat through the rhetoric of disease. These issues were commonly used as reasons and justifications for the policing of homeless people in Los Angeles in the 1980s. Government officials used the rhetoric of health and safety to justify aggressive policing and exclusion policies. When asked about the February 1987 raids on homeless encampments in Skid Row, Mayor Tom Bradley said,

> "No one is seeking to dispossess the homeless. We are simply opposed to the dirt, the filth and the unhealthy conditions where the encampments are located. The lean-to shacks they are putting up, the couches on the sidewalk and the other hazards to health and safety are being removed. We're going to clean up that neighborhood" (Clifford and Clayton).

Bradley is directly connecting the presence of homeless people to "dirt", "filth", and "unhealthy conditions". Here, as in so many other cases, addressing the problem of homelessness becomes a project of eradicating homeless presence and homeless bodies. Lastly, the discourse of health and safety excludes the health and safety of the homeless population – homeless bodies are the threat to health and safety. Again, homeless people who are public and visible become a threat to "the public".

In the same article, Bradley speaks of "the unhealthy conditions" at encampments. The homeless body is not conceptualized as a healthy body; moreover, it is a threat to healthy bodies. A 1987 *Los Angeles Times* article on homeless people in Venice reports,

> "On the beach and adjacent streets, tents, cardboard shelters, sleeping bags and sacks of clothing – the same sort of shantytown atmosphere that plagued downtown before Mayor Tom Bradley's June crackdown—have injected an scruffiness into a tourism-oriented beach district and fitfully gentrifying residential neighborhood" (Stein).

The language in this sentence is oriented around the body. "Plagued" insinuates a diseased, crowded, and infectious population while "scruffiness" implies an unwashed, untrimmed body. Lastly, "injected" has connotations of vaccinations or inserting something beneath the skin of the body. Thus, the homeless body was portrayed as a diseased and dirty threat to the residents of Venice.

As Kawesh writes, "The public view of the homeless as 'filth' marks the danger of this body *as body* to the homogeneity and wholeness of the public" (329). There is no denying that illness (both physical and mental) affects members of the homeless population, often sickness or wounds can arise due to being outside all day in the extreme heat or cold. Moreover, the symptoms of mental illness can be exacerbated by the stress of living on the streets and fighting for survival. The conversation around illness in the homeless population, however, is overwhelmingly a discussion of the threat these bodies pose for the rest of the public. A 1987 *Los Angeles Times* article calls the urban campground Tent City "…at best… a Band-Aid on a festering sore that will do little to alleviate homelessness" (Cousineau). Here, the concentration of homeless bodies is conceptualized as a site of decay; homelessness is a wound that threatens to infect the city at large.

Throughout the 1980s, the City of Los Angeles was not sympathetic to the struggles of maintaining a hygienic body while homeless. Instead of providing aid, the most common course of action for city government was removing and excluding homeless bodies when they became too numerous or organized into encampments. In 1985, homeless advocate Ted Hayes announced his desire to set up "Centers for Self-Empowerment of Homeless People," he said "access to portable toilets, showers and a foot-washing area could help restore dignity to homeless people and help them find jobs" (Rae-Dupree). Hayes encountered many obstacles and needed to lobby "…city and county officials to grant variances on zoning and sanitation and health and safety codes…" (Rae-Dupree). These plans did not come to fruition until 1993 when Dome Village opened: four geodesic domes that provided temporary shelter and social services to homeless people (Doherty). This eight-year long battle demonstrates how slow the city was in providing long-term relief services. The majority of the city's efforts were focused on the removal of homeless people by breaking up camps. During most of 1985, Ted Hayes was living in Justiceville, a non-sanctioned ad hoc encampment of approximately sixty homeless people on 6th street in downtown LA. When interviewed about conditions in Justiceville, Hayes said "'It is unsanitary, but we didn't create the problem. We ask the county, "What can we do?" and their big answer is "Just get off the property"'" (Clayton). Rather than helping provide resources for homeless people to perform basic hygiene standards, the city focused their efforts into eradicating these bodies from visible spaces.

Throughout the 1980s, the city of Los Angeles battled with the large homeless population. The homeless body was framed as problematic and non-normative; it prompted anxiety and fear. The strict economic policies of the Reagan administration did not solve problems for all but increased the wealth disparity and contributed to the growing numbers of homeless people. Tenuous economic situations continued throughout the 1980s and homeless people were clearly not equal economic participants. In addition to being seen as a threat to capitalism, homeless individuals were a blatant and uncomfortable example of extreme poverty. Lastly, they were positioned as a danger to the public's health and safety. The problem of homelessness was a problem of the homeless body. The homeless body was framed as smelly, dirty, and diseased, and it was excluded from the public both physically and conceptually. Overall, the homeless body was unappealing at best and dangerous at worst.

This essay was originally written as a research paper for the class American Body Culture taught by Dr. Sarah Schrank at California State University, Long Beach.

Figure 1:

Figure 2:

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Carrie Mae Weems: Writing A Universal African American History

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Implicit in the comparison between Kruger and Weems is the notion that Kruger, as a white artist, is free to explore the representative possibilities of her work, while Weems, as a black artist, should stick with her "personal narratives" of race and gender. Weems has very publicly and explicitly voiced her frustration with such reductionist characterizations of her work. After winning the prestigious MacArthur fellowship in 2013, she explained that her "disadvantage [as a woman of color], when I am viewed by the world I am viewed only in relation to my black subjectivity, even though I am a very complex woman… [My work] is partially about race, but considerably more."(Macfound) Weems, like so many black artists, has often been reduced to a racial type by the elite art world. Weems in no way is trying to shed her African American identity; rather, she is attempting to embed her race as one aspect of her complex and intersectional identity.

In her photographic work, *Congo, Ibo, Mandingo, Togo,* 1993, from the series *Slave Coast*, Weems depicts Elmina Castle, a site of modern African American pilgrimage, both as a construction of an ethnic origin myth and as a way of establishing her own place in the dominantly white world of fine arts. [Image to be included here] Using manipulation of color, frame, presentation, and subject, Weems is able to produce a work that is strikingly powerful in both its particular cultural significance as a key site of African American history and its universal message of human suffering and oppression. In the photos she assesses and writes African American history, while challenging herself and the viewer to grapple with their responsibility to that past, and uses the particular history of Elmina Castle to convey a universal message.

Formation of Imposed African American Identity through Art and Architecture

African American historical memory is intimately intertwined with material culture. In the face of oppression and exploitation art allowed enslaved people to express, "the power of creative will over forces of destruction" (Bernier 11). The creative urge was not just a way of expressing creative power, but also a way to search for agency (Bernier 17).

However, even though there is a rich history of African American art, stretching back to a time long before emancipation, enslaved African Americans have historically been depicted by white artists as passive, submissive, and indifferent to the creation of material art (Bernier 8). The prevalent narrative of slave history perpetuates the notion that because enslaved people had no time of their own, they could not have produced visual art (Bernier 3). However, the claim that African Americans did not produce art during enslavement is patently false; they did, in fact, produce art—just not art that is valued by the white art world as fine art (Bernier 8). This misconception continues to color the way African American artists are viewed by the elite art world and the ways in which their work is viewed merely as a product of their racial experiences (Bernier 8).

The image of the slave as a passive character in history was first notably presented on May 6, 1861, at the Third Annual London Exhibition of the Royal Academy of Arts, with the unveiling of Eyre Crowe's abolitionist painting, *Slaves Waiting for Sale* (McInnis 1). Crowe's painting was a marked departure from traditional depictions of enslaved people done by white artists. Whereas, until *Slaves Waiting for Sale,* enslaved people were generally depicted laboring or at auction, Crowe's painting humanized them by repositioning the slaves as passive victims to the actions of the three prospective buyers (McInnis 9). Instead of focusing on labor or the chaos of the auction, Crowe makes the slaves the focus of attention, forcing the viewer to confront their humanity and evoke sympathy (McInnis 12). However, *Slaves Waiting for Sale* is also exemplary of the ways in which the white art world understood African American art: exotic, tragic, and most importantly black. Crowe's painting represents African Americans as nothing more than a passive marginalized group, who only

have value in so much as they help the white viewer to understand the struggle of the slave. Even though *Slaves Waiting for Sale* was an important work in advancing abolitionism, it nonetheless reduces black bodies to the objects of white control and domination, and thereby limits them as merely the passive subjects of said oppression. *Slaves Waiting for Sale,* and other similar paintings create the white narrative of African American history, which is characterized by lack of agency, passivity, and submission.

Painting is not the only way in which African American history has been characterized by passive submission to white authorities. The historic sites of slavery have a history of the slave trade embedded within their architecture and the ways in which they are presented to the public. Elmina Castle, the subject of Weem's *Congo, Ibo, Mandingo, Togo* is not only the site of a specific history of the various people who inhabited it, but has also gained a new significance as a symbol for the history of the slave trade.

Elmina Castle has a long and complicated history, stretching back to its construction in 1482 by the Portuguese for control of the "gold coast" gold trade in what is today Ghana ("Elmina"). The castle was the first European building constructed in tropical Africa (Bruner 290-304). In 1637 it was captured by the Dutch who used the castle as a part of the slave trade in Ghana ("Elmina"). During their time in Africa, the Dutch did not venture far inland to capture and enslave locals; rather, the inhabitants sold other Africans to the Dutch as a part of the African slave trade (Bruner 296). More than 200 years later, in 1872, the castle was once again captured, this time by the British as a part of their colonial enterprise (Bruner 292). Finally, when Ghana became independent in 1957, the castle fell under Ghanaian control, and the space was used as the Edinaman Day Secondary School, the office of Ghanaian Education Services, the district assembly, and then a police-training academy, before it became a popular tourist location and a UNESCO world heritage site, which it remains today (Bruner 292). Slavery is, in other words, only a part of Elmina Castle's history, and yet in the African American memory, it has become emblematic of the slave experience, and pilgrimage to the castle has become a "necessary act of self realization for the spirits of the diaspora who are somehow tied to these historic structures" (Bruner 291).

The competing histories of the castle have become a source of tension among African Americans and Ghanaians. African American tourists tend to view the site as sacred, and emblematic of a greater sense of the present that could have been had if their ancestors remained in Africa (Bruner 293). Though few tourists can trace their lineage back to Elmina, it has become a symbol of the experience of enslavement, and as such many ascribe their own personal histories to it (Richards 620). The way in which the castle is presented to the public encourages such fabrication. There are very few personal artifacts on display in the museum in order to grant greater freedom of imagination to the visitors (Richards 625-626). The castle is emblematic of the notion that, as scholar Sandra Richards puts it, "meaning is not inherent in an object but resides in the narratives that we ascribe to it" (Richards 627). The lack of inherent meaning is even further exemplified by the fact that native Ghanaians conceive of the castle in radically different terms than do African American tourists. Whereas African American visitors view Elmina Castle exclusively in reference to its history as a site of Slavery, Ghanaians understand it in terms of its longer history of colonialism and economics (Bruner 292).

The ideological division between Ghanaians and African Americans is perhaps most strongly evident in the Ghanaian attitudes towards western tourists. Residents of Ghana are highly dependent on western tourists, as sixty three percent of their economy is generated through tourism, and a large portion of those tourists are African Americans on heritage tours, seeking to reconnect with their families' native home (Bruner 291). Even though African Americans believe that they are *coming home;* the local residents view them as foreigners and even call black western tourists "white," the same way they refer to all foreigners regardless of race. (Bruner 295). This distain for western tourists is multifaceted. In part it is because many tourists treat the local inhabitants as primitive and photograph them as a part of the scenery in a way that Ghanaians claim misrepresents them and their home (Bruner 299). Furthermore, local residents are denied entry to the castle except as tourists (Bruner 294). There are large signs by the

entrances reading, “This area restricted to all persons except tourists,” further alienating local residents in their own homes (Bruner 298) Additionally, there is an ongoing battle over whether or not to paint and modernize the building (Bruner 291). The local authorities would like to paint the building and upgrade its climate control and electricity. However, African American tourists feel that the building is sacred ground and cannot be beautified or updated; the building should bear the markers of its past as a site of enslavement (Bruner 291). In some ways the building has already been updated and beautified, but ongoing concern over ownership and who has the right to decide how the castle should be presented complicates attempts to modify the structure (Bruner 300). African Americans and Ghanaians have effectively and tragically created a new source of hostility over the representation of a site that is a symbol of oppression to both groups.

Because of its complicated past, different groups want the building preserved and presented in different ways to commemorate different events (Bruner 291-293). And yet, despite all off the controversy, certain aspects of the buildings architecture immutably represent Elmina Castle as a site of slavery and oppression. When describing her interest in architecture in general, Weems explains that, “architecture is that thing that really is the emblem [of power]… The expression of power—or not—is endemic in the architecture itself” (Brooklyn Museum). Regardless of which history is being represented, the castle in and of itself bears the marks of colonial power dynamics. Part of this demonstrated power dynamic is inherent to general castle architecture as, “dominant localities that define boundaries, that tell us who has the right to be inside the castle… and who is outside on the periphery” (Bruner 302). The nature of a castle as a looming fortress inherently divides people based on who is in the castle and who is outside and who gets to choose who is where.

Other elements of the Elmina Castle’s architecture are specific to its time and power as a seat of the slave trade. Some of these elements, like the smell and the color of the walls, are fleeting and easily changed (Bruner 291). Others are more permanent and evident as long as the building is standing. One such example is the width of the passageways, which are intentionally narrow to prevent the escape of the enslaved peoples (Richards 624). Additionally, the structure of the building reflects the perpetrated atrocities. The top levels of the castle were open and reserved for the Dutch, while the bottom levels were outfitted with dark dungeons in which African people were held before being shipped to either North America or the Caribbean (“Elmina Castle - Ghana”).

When selecting a setting for *Congo, Ibo, Mandingo, Togo*, Weems avoided the conflict of representation and built her history from the immutable elements of the building’s architecture. *Congo, Ibo, Mandingo, Togo* is made up of three twenty-inch by twenty-inch square panels. The three panels are meant to be displayed horizontally in glass frames in a gallery. The panel furthest to the left is tan with red words in the center reading, “*Congo, Ibo, Mandingo, Togo.*” The center panel is a square black and white photograph of one of the narrow corridors of Elmina Castle, with an ominous black shadow of a door, looming at the end of the path. The panel on the far right is entirely black, with three rectangles of light arranged in a triangle in the center of the square (Weems). Each panel of the work depicts an unchangeable aspect of Elmina Castle. Utilizing the explicit connection between the castle and slavery, Weems is able to create an unchallengeable documentation of her own encounter with the site through the allegedly objective lenses of the camera, and by extension help to create an African American founding myth in relation to the castle.

Weems recognizes the significance of founding myths in the ways in which people live their daily lives, and how those myths affect the way people experience the world (Brooklyn Museum). Weems believes that these myths start from and influence a, “very small place of a kind of material culture, how people arrange their personal environments, to ultimately how we arrange society itself” (Brooklyn Museum). For Weems the questions surrounding Elmina Castle are quite substantial, as they so strongly affect the structure of the African American community and society more broadly.

Formal Analysis of *Congo, Ibo, Mandingo, Togo*

Each panel of *Congo, Ibo, Mandingo, Togo* contributes in a different way to the construction of the historical narrative Weems builds with her photographs. Independently, they each bear tremendous weight in her commentary on the African American experience and society generally. Taken together they also construct a myth of conception of the African American community.

The panel furthest to the left, bearing the red text, "*Congo, Ibo, Mandingo, Togo,*" bears the most explicit reference to a specific people. This panel is the only one bearing an overt marking of identity. Congo, Ibo, Mandingo, and Togo are all references to places and peoples in western Africa. Congo and Togo are both modern states, Ibo and Mandingo are both historic groups of people native to west Africa ("Igbo | People").

Though this panel bears explicit markings of identity, there is no way to tie those identities with any distinct person. Because there are no people depicted in the panel it is impossible to define portrayed identities without some sort of prior knowledge. In this way, the text is both explanatory and independent from the other photographs in the triptych (Weems, Piché, and Golden 15). By referencing Africa and African peoples, Weems is making an explicit connection between the viewer, herself, and Africa without defining what that relationship should be. In relation to the photographs it could be viewed as defining those implicated in the setting, Elmina Castle. Taken on its own, the text is itself an invitation for the viewer to envision identities for the listed groups. This leaves room for any viewer to potentially see herself in relation to the groups and implicitly impose these identity categories reflexively on her.

The reflexivity of identity stands in stark contrast to Weems's use of red and textual identification in her series of portraits, *From Here I saw What Happened and I Cried (*1995). [Image to be included here] This later work in many ways is an inversion of the panel of text in *Congo, Ibo, Mandingo, Togo*. In *From Here I saw What Happened and I Cried,* Weems is imposing prescribed identities onto portraits of Black bodies by grafting white text onto the red portraits. The text in this later work is the identities imposed on African Americans by white society. In contrast, *Congo, Ibo, Mandingo, Togo* invites the viewer to impose the identity on the text, which is literally printed on a blank canvas, thus allowing the viewer to construct his or her own image around the text. "Congo, Ibo, Mandingo, Togo" is not defined by an accompanying picture, in the manner that the text in *From Here I Saw What Happened and I Cried* is defined in relationship with the portraits it is printed over, but rather is defined by the viewer in relationship to the viewer's own subjectivity. These two series of photographs, taken in tandem, are distinct challenges to both the white art world and the African American community.

In *From Here I Saw What Happened and I Cried* Weems explores what Americanist Celest-Marie Bernier describes as, "the problem of the White dominated art world that does not usually conceptualize blacks as visual producers, as well as a historical and political context under which black bodies were raped, soled, and denied agency under slavery and segregation in the United States" (Bernier 15) The photos in *From Here I Saw What Happened and I Cried* demonstrate the ways in which black bodies were defined and objectified by white oppressors, and challenge both white and black viewers to confront that prescriptive history (Stanford). *Congo, Ibo, Mandingo, Togo* stands in strong contrast to *From Here I Saw What Happened and I Cried*. By removing the prescriptive text from the objectified bodies, Weems, in *Congo, Ibo, Mandingo, Togo,* challenges the viewer to define these categories, forcing African American viewers to become "creators" of their own histories and identities while simultaneously creating a work that is accepted and appreciated by the "white art world" as the visual product of an African American artist. The shift in representation from *Congo, Ibo, Mandingo, Togo* to *From Here I Saw What Happened and I Cried* is demonstrative of Weems's struggle to find an aesthetic language that successfully provides agency and responsibility to its subjects (Bernier 17).

Like the panel of text, the Middle panel with a black and white picture of a passageway in Elmina Castle, also raises questions of agency and responsibility. But, while the text challenges the viewer to define a historic identity, the middle panel forces the viewer to consider the ways in which she is complicit in her own loss of agency and submission to oppressive forces. Weems presents

power as a negotiable relationship, refusing to accept that oppression is inevitable. Weems articulates this conception of power by questioning, as she puts it, "How am I complicit in what happens to me? … How do I relinquish authority and power to men or any other entity in my life that then orchestrates it and controls it, and bends it and flexes it to its own needs, its own will"(Brooklyn Museum). This question of agency and power is built into the architecture of the castle.

As mentioned above, castle architecture in general exudes power and notions of exclusion and oppression (Bruner 303). But Weems takes this inherent aspect of castle architecture a step further by meticulously staging the view of the castle to reflect the compromised autonomy of its inhabitants. The long walkway depicted in the center panel leaves the imagined figure in the castle with little freedom to move around the space. She can either move towards the dark door or out of the frame towards the viewer. The walkway is only wide enough for people to walk through in single file, an intentional mitigation of the autonomy of the inhabitants (Richards 625). Even though the informed viewer knows whose freedom was being suppressed on the pathway, to the uninitiated, the frame bears none of the connotations of slavery or African identity so clearly evident in the panel of text. Viewed independently the viewer could imagine anyone on the pathway, free to choose how to navigate the space. The universalizing of the space complicates the narrative of inevitable enslavement otherwise encoded in the building.

However, the non-figurative nature of the central panel adds a layer of submission to the dominating architecture of the space (ART21). Weems has said that, "architecture in its essence is about power"(ART21). In her series *Roaming*, Weems photographs herself in front of historic buildings in Roam as a statement of defiance against the power of the architecture and what it represents (ART21). [Image to be included here] In the central panel of *Congo, Ibo, Mandingo, Togo,* she allows the structure to dominate the space, and by extension leaves the power emanated by the architecture unchecked. In a way, Weems's refusal to challenge the authority of the structure is her posing the question of inevitability and agency to the viewer. In what ways is the viewer complicit in the atrocities associated with Elmina Castle? What are the viewers' responsibilities to create a future in which the authority represented by Elmina is challenged? The work allows the viewer to approach these questions from opposing lenses. She can either view herself in the role of the oppressor, complicit with his crimes, or in the role of the enslaved person, evoking a strong sense of empathy.

The final panel, displayed on the far right, is the most universal of the three, baring absolutely no markings of architecture, personage, or identifiable landscape. Taken in isolation from the other two, there is no way to identify what it is a photograph of. Unlike the central panel, which uses architecture to initiate the space, there is no architectural indication of who belongs in the space of the third panel. In the context of the greater work it becomes clear that this scene is in fact a dungeon prison, intended for occupancy by enslaved Africans; however, to the uninformed viewer it can be a space intended for anyone. Any history of oppression can be imposed on to this abstraction of space.

Through the emptiness of the final panel, Weems is able to break free from a constraint she regularly struggles with as a black artist: how to be viewed as more than her black subjectivity (Macfound). Weems has often expressed that she feels her work is under-appreciated, as it is viewed exclusively in racial terms (Weems, Piché, and Golden 10–11). Weems recognizes, and is fighting against the notion, that black bodies cannot represent universal ideas; however, she has recognized that, "the way blacks are represented in our culture makes it impossible to get that point across, so I'm now asking the questions [about the "human condition"] in a different way" (Weems, Piché, and Golden 12). *Congo, Ibo, Mandingo, Togo* in its entirety is evidence of Weems's struggle to resolve how "blacks and materials associate with blacks could stand for more than themselves and more than a problem, they can speak about the human condition"(Weems, Piché, and Golden 12) The leftmost panel of text is explicitly a reference to race, but because there is no image to tie it to, it is easily isolated from the message of the images themselves, and viewers may not necessarily understand the connection between the text and image. The central image continues this trend, representing a space that is emblematic of a racial experience but again could be understood in

universal terms. The final black image is the most universal, simultaneously bearing absolutely no reference to race or racial spaces while in fact being a depiction of a highly racialized space. The imprisonment referenced in this final panel is not exclusively a black experience, but rather is a universal challenge to viewers of all backgrounds to confront their own histories and sacrificing of agency and autonomy. Weems makes a specifically black experience and space into a site of universal reflection.

The universality of *Congo, Ibo, Mandingo, Togo* becomes even clearer in the presentation of the photographs. Each of the three pages is framed in highly reflective glass (Weems). The frames literally impose the face of the viewer onto the images. Regardless of race, the viewer is forced to place herself into the world of the image. The reflective nature of the work is a signature of Weems's oeuvre. Weems explains that she regularly creates "visual and acoustic environments where the viewer is asked to join the creation of a shared experience of acknowledgement, recognition, and change" (Weems, Piché, and Golden 10). *Congo, Ibo, Mandingo, Togo* is no exception, and much of the impetus lies on the viewer to ascribe meaning to the photographs.

However, though Weems grants the viewer a tremendous amount of creative authority, in no way is the viewer completely free to fabricate the entire myth surrounding the photos. In its original instillation, the work was hung in a gallery surrounded by images of black bodies and a depiction of Eve, from the biblical creation story (Weems, Piché, and Golden 19). This juxtaposition strongly implies that *Congo, Ibo, Mandingo, Togo* is meant to be read as a creation story, and in many ways it has become one. The multitude of ways through which it is possible to understand the photographs is similar to the tourist experience of Elmina Castle, the subject of the photographs. There are many different historical narratives written into the castle, and it is up to the visitor to determine which narrative he or she would like to read, within the limits of the available evidence (Bruner 293-294).

The Documentary Nature of Weems's Work

According to one of the curators of a 1998 retrospective of Weems' work, "Weems plays with the idea of documentary photography, subverting, even while appropriating the authority of the genre "(Weems, Piché, and Golden 10). Photography claims to be a tool of history. It allegedly captures things as they are, without bias. However, Weems exploits this assumption about photography to create what she describes as, "representations that appear to be documents but were in fact staged"(Macfound). Weems understands herself as "a narrator of history," and uses her work to construct a historical narrative of both the genesis of the African American community and human responses to oppression more broadly (Bernier 16).

Writing the genesis of the African American community is particularly challenging for Weems, as she is attempting to document a history that was not recorded from the vantage point she wants to present, and that requires, as Ruth Mayer notes, "another structure than the realist ones of representation" (Mayer 556). To accomplish her goal, Weems embarks on what Salamishah Tillet calls, "myth making process in which she [Weems] creates a fiction out of the truths she encounters rather than finding a truth deep within fictions"(Tillet 131).

In order to find the "truths" of the genesis of the slave trade, she travels from the United States to Ghana, reversing the Middle Passage journey (Tillet 131). By making Ghana the destination of her journey, she is constructing a likely fictitious origin story in which her ancestors passed through Elmina Castle (Tillet 134). The Africa in her photographs is not the Ghana she visited on her trip, but rather the mythic Africa of her murky past (Tillet 135). Paradoxically to make her genesis story more authentic, she manipulates the photographs such that they represent the origin story she is trying to tell, not document the place she went. Her photographs are non-figurative and bear no markings of time (Weems, Piché, and Golden 18). They could have been taken at any point.

She then further distorts the pictures by developing them in black and white. In addition to contributing to the timelessness of the photos, the black and white also implies a strict binary in much the same way Genesis does, through which to understand the picture (Tillet 136). Origin stories are rarely nuanced in their evaluation of actions. In Genesis there is the word of God and there is sin; by rendering her images in black and white, Weems

draws out similar dichotomies in her founding story, the oppressed and the oppressor (Tillet 136). By producing her pictures in black and white, and photographing only the elements of the castle that are inherently tied to slavery, Weems avoids the conflict between modern Ghanaians and African Americans. In *Congo, Ibo, Mandingo, Togo,* there is no controversy over paint color, smell, or how different parts of the castle are portrayed; they are presented without color and without controversy. However, even though this binary is representative of the lives of slaves, Weems's photographs in actuality are more nuanced: they only appear to be documentary.

Achievements of *Congo, Ibo, Mandingo, Togo*

Weems is keenly aware of the way in which she is fabricating a constructed history, and how truly complicated that history is. While in Ghana she was referred to as white and was denied access to certain sites as a foreigner (Weems, Piché, and Golden 17) She does not rewrite history in order to be manipulative or disingenuous; rather, she tries to use relics of history to teach a universal message. *Congo, Ibo, Mandingo, Togo* is simultaneously an attempt to construct an African American founding myth and comment on the human experience of oppression and resistance. Early on in her career, Weems determined that, "referencing documentary was important [to her]… so [she] learned fairly early that photographs are constructed, and these [constructed] realities can be just as poignant and meaningful as something 'documentary in nature,' so that you were able to arrive at and deal with multiple levels of complexity around the construction of photographs"(Estrin). In *Congo, Ibo, Mandingo, Togo* Weems exploits the documentary nature of photography in order to construct an alternative narrative of history.

The documentary style of *Congo, Ibo, Mandingo, Togo* achieves the "multiple levels of complexity" Weems referred to. Superficially, it is a whitewashed history of the origins of the African American community at Elmina Castle. However, upon closer inspection, the work reveals a much more complicated reality.

The highly reflective nature of the work allows African American viewers to impose their own identities into the images. They can ascribe their origins to the narrative of the panels. They are free to imagine themselves as Congo, Ibo, Mandingo, or Togo; however, Weems makes this understanding unsatisfying and even weak. The absent inhabitants of the images lack personal autonomy; they become subjects of the labels and the space and are ultimately imprisoned. In *Congo, Ibo, Mandingo, Togo* the subject does not challenge the oppressive authority.

Weems's own experience creating *Congo, Ibo, Mandingo, Togo* underscores the mere partial truth of the superficial genesis reading of the work. Ghana is not in fact Weems's home. In Ghana she is white, a stranger (Weems, Piché, and Golden 17). She can choose to ignore the tension between her and the local population but ultimately there is tension between her world and theirs (Bruner 298-299). Even if her ancestors had passed through Elmina, it is no longer her home; she is not welcome there. In the eyes of the local inhabitants she came from America (Weems, Piché, and Golden).

And so the work can be read with a greater level of complexity than had the work been rooted in unquestioned historical record. Perhaps, *Congo, Ibo, Mandingo, Togo* is not merely a tale of history but a forced reckoning with one's own history and identity, and the ways in which the viewer is complicit in her own suffering. When read as a document of history, slavery and oppression are its inevitable subjects. Exploitation is rooted in the walls of the castle; it is the way white society defines people of color. But if treated as a critique of submission, the work's meaning radically shifts. The viewer can then address Weems's fundamental question: how are people "accomplices in their own victimization?"(Stanford). This is not meant to blame the victim for his or her suffering, but rather to show her that her suffering is not inevitable. The viewer has the power to define her own identity; there is no figure ascribed to the identifying labels. The viewer's reflection stands as a challenge to the power embedded in the architecture of the castle.

Ultimately, *Congo, Ibo, Mandingo, Togo* is not a work about one single experience, but rather uses a particular historical myth to convey a universal message. The work simultaneously exists in relation to and independent from African American identity. Regardless of race, the viewer sees her own image reflected back to her in the glass frames of the images. She is confronted with

her own history, complicity, and victimization. Weems succeeds in using materials associated with history of representation of African Americans to comment on the human condition universally, not merely in reference to the material's inherent racial connotations.

Weems seems to understand, though, that she has not been able to fully escape her mitigation to her "black subjectivity." She strongly holds onto her African American identity and explicitly states that, "Notions of black representation are still very important to me, and will always be a concern. In fact, it is now absolutely my assumption that people of color do speak to something bigger than themselves. I assume that that is just fine, whether writers and critics get it or not—it's not my problem. If they don't get it then my work is misunderstood and racialized"(Weems, Piché, and Golden 12). Her identity as an African American woman is important to her, but not as an end in and of itself, but as a tool through which to better understand humanity in a way that extends beyond the boundaries of race. Weems is using African American history and representation in the same way that Winslow Homer used white American history; not primarily as essentialized racial entities, but rather as ways of understanding humanity on a grand scale. So even though Ken Johnson was not incorrect to categorize Carrie Mae Weems's work as an exploration of "issues of race and gender through domestic images and personal narratives," his bewilderment at the lack of references to black female bodies in his New York Times review of

Who What Where When demonstrates a fundamental misunderstanding of the complexity of Weems's work, a misunderstanding which she feels is imposed not just on her as a black artist, but upon black bodies in general.

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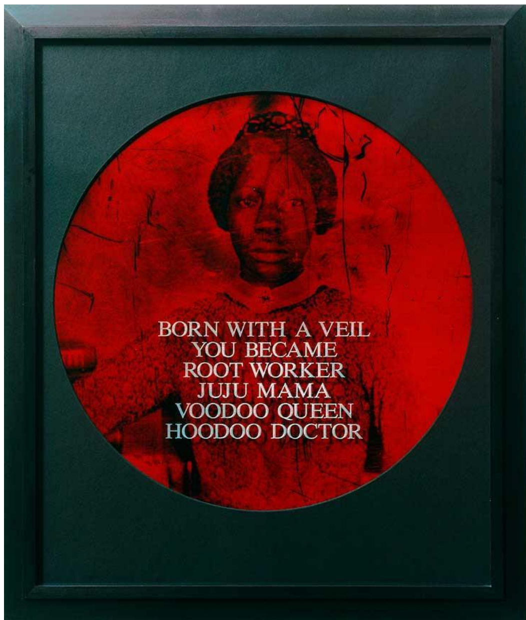

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Lifting The Curtain: How Lin-Manuel Miranda Challenged West Side Story's Cultural Stereotypes

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"Finally a role where I do not have to carry a gun, I am not in a gang, I am not selling drugs. I'm just a normal human being who happens to be Hispanic and who happens to live in this wonderful place called Washington Heights."[1] – Robin de Jesús

Four Tony Awards, including Best Musical. A Grammy Award for Best Musical Show Album. A nomination for the 2009 Pulitzer Prize for Drama. Lin-Manuel Miranda did not quietly emerge, but rather, exploded onto the theatrical scene. His debut musical, *In The Heights* (2008), swept Broadway and catapulted Miranda onto center stage. The diversification of Broadway theatre over the prior decade had provided Miranda with a stage upon which to showcase both the plight and the rich culture of the Latino community in Washington Heights, New York. He seized this opportunity, creating a vibrant cityscape by employing a nontraditional score of rap and Latin music to invoke the foot-tapping pulse intrinsic to the Latino community. However, Miranda's mission went beyond entertainment to a deep-rooted desire to use the Broadway spotlight to dispel commonly accepted, cultural stereotypes of Latino immigrants. While the characters portrayed in the play trace their roots to Cuba, Puerto Rico and the Dominican Republic, Miranda's message could be extrapolated to other Latino nationalities. Success often attracts criticism and some critics accused Miranda of depicting an idealized picture of life in Washington Heights. While these critics may have been correct, the overwhelming acclaim for *In The Heights* served to validate Miranda's goal of creating positive roles for Latino thespians and mitigating negative stereotypes of Latinos generally. His success was all the more poignant as the play was showcased in a traditionally white space.

The plot of *In The Heights* explored the theme of home reflecting Miranda's quest to identify his own home. Historically, immigrants and subsequent generations have struggled to find their home in new countries. The immigrants were torn having experienced life in both their birth and adopted countries while subsequent generations found themselves trapped between their parents' traditions and those of their new country leaving them unsettled. Was home the family's native country, the current neighborhood, or a combination of both places? In the musical's finale, the protagonist, Usnavi, reconciled his own conflicting notions of home: "If you close your eyes, that hydrant is a beach./ That siren is a breeze, that fire escape's a leaf on a palm tree/ […] I found my island/ I've been on it this whole time."[2] Usnavi concluded that his home was his neighborhood or barrio. Miranda wrote *In The Heights* as a way to resolve his own identity issues as a first generation Puerto Rican.[3] Usnavi's revelation that he found his island mirrored Miranda's own realization that Washington Heights always had been and always would be his home: a place where he could be at once both Latino and American.

Although *In The Heights* was set in Washington Heights, Lin-Manuel Miranda grew up in the adjacent neighborhood of Inwood, which shared a similar demographic, social and economic profile. Apart from 1998 – 2002 when he attended Wesleyan University, Miranda has never lived farther than fifteen blocks from the home where he grew up.[4] Describing his return from a recent vacation post-*Hamilton*, his latest Broadway success, Miranda explained that he was "tearfully glad to see the George Washington Bridge again"[5], as he "[relaxed] more in [his] neighborhood because

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[1] *In the Heights: Chasing Broadway Dreams*, in *Great Performances,* directed by Paul Bozymowski (2009; New York, NY: PBS), television.

[2] Quiara Alegría Hudes and Lin-Manuel Miranda, "Finale," Act II in *In the heights: the complete book and lyrics of the Broadway musical* (Milwaukee: Applesauce Theatre & Cinema Books, 2013), 152.

[3] Bozymowski, "In The Heights: Chasing Broadway Dreams."

[4] Juan Gonzales, "Gonzales: Family's Big Role with 'Hamilton' on Broadway," *Daily News: New York* (August 6, 2015). http://www.nydailynews.com/new-york/gonzalez-family-helps-bring-hamilton-broadway-article-1.2317665 (Accessed November 25, 2016).

[5] Michael Paterniti, "Lin-Manuel Miranda Is Ready for His Next Act," *GQ*. (September 20, 2016), http://www.gq.com/story/lin-manuel-miranda-profile-gq-cover (Accessed November 25, 2016).

[he] [knew] where all the *stuff* [was]"[6] and was "comfortable with the noise and seeing other Latinos around [him]."[7] He admitted: "there [was] an ease I [felt] from 168th Street to the end of the island that I [didn't] feel anywhere else on earth."[8] Miranda's emotional connection to the Washington Heights/Inwood neighborhood with its colorful and vibrant community underpinned *In The Heights*.

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Miranda was the second child and only son of two successful Puerto Rican immigrants. Miranda's parents, Luis Miranda Jr. and Luz Towns-Miranda had met in a psychology graduate program at NYU. While Luz had become a child psychiatrist, Luis had pursued a career outside of psychology, ultimately serving as a high-profile political consultant for several New York mayors, including a role as "a special advisor for Hispanic Affairs [as well as] Director of the Mayor's Office for Hispanic Affairs"[9] under Mayor Ed Koch in the 1980s. Then, "in 1990, Luis became the founding President of the Hispanic Federation, one of the nation's leading Latino nonprofit organizations dedicated to addressing the human services and health needs of the Hispanic community."[10] Luis Miranda's position in New York government rendered him influential in Washington Heights as he had the ability to help shape issues facing the Latino community. Although Miranda's family was not wealthy, their social capital placed them at the top of the hierarchy within the barrio.

Their heightened social status was evident in the family's Inwood address and Miranda's elite education. While visitors to the neighborhood would not have known where the Heights ended and the comparatively more affluent Inwood neighborhood began, residents were cognizant of the Washington Heights/Inwood border. Moreover, unlike other kids in the barrio, Miranda attended Hunter College School (class of 1998), a public school for gifted children located on the Upper East Side, from elementary school through high school. He commuted between his barrio and school and most of Miranda's friends were "white and Jewish,"[11] Although he had a few friends in Washington Heights, Miranda described growing up in in social isolation: "[the other Latino kids] would chill on the corner, and I would see them when I took out the recycling on Fridays."[12] Between school and home, growing up Miranda had to learn to exist in two social spheres that were different both demographically and socioeconomically.

This difficulty navigating between two distinct social spheres had an added complexity in Miranda's Puerto Rican heritage. Growing up, Miranda and his sister spent summers with their grandparents and extended family in Vega Alta, Puerto Rico. He recalled fondly how, "[He was] welcomed every summer as a cherished member of the community, despite [his] halting Spanglish."[13] In Vega Alta, Miranda found a place where he belonged and was wholeheartedly accepted: "[I felt] a sense of community that often eluded me back in New York."[14] Although his Spanish was not fluent and he was known as "the son of Luisito, who left for New York"[15], he felt welcome without judgment. Consequently, despite not having been born in Puerto Rico, the country became home to Miranda in a way that a city as diverse and divided as New York fell short.

It was at Wesleyan that Miranda ultimately formed a closer bond with the broader Latino community: "he moved into the Latino student house"[16] (it was here, in "La Casa" that Miranda first began developing *In The Heights*).[17] Then,

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6 Ibid.
7 Ibid.
8 Ibid.
9"Luis A. Miranda, Jr.," MirRam Group. http://www.mirramgroup.com/luis-miranda-jr/ (Accessed November 30, 2016).
10 Ibid.

11 Campbell Robertson, "You're 27. Here are Millions to Stage Your Musical," *The New York Times*, February 18, 2007, Section 2, Sunday edition, 9.
12 Melena Ryzik, "Heights before Broadway." *The New York Times* (March 14, 2008), http://www.nytimes.com/2008/03/14/theater/14heig.html (Accessed December 1, 2016).
13 Lin-Manuel Miranda, "Lin-Manuel Miranda: Give Puerto Rico Its Chance to Thrive." *The New York Times*, opinion pages (March 28, 2016), http://www.nytimes.com/2016/03/28/opinion/lin-manuel-miranda-give-puerto-rico-its-chance-to-thrive.html?_r=0 (Accessed November 25, 2016).
14 Ibid.
15 Ibid.
16 Robertson, "You're 27. Here are Millions to Stage Your Musical," 9.
17 Latina Staff. "Exclusive Q&A: In The Heights Creator & Start Lin-Manuel Miranda Talks to Latina." *Latina* (February 22, 2008), http://www.latina.com/lifestyle/money-

during his freshman summer in 1999, Miranda had a job covering Washington Heights for his father's newly founded bilingual community newspaper, Manhattan Times. This newspaper job "became a seminar course on the neighborhood and its residents"[18] that deeply influenced Miranda's writing. These two immersion opportunities provided Miranda with a deep understanding of and appreciation for the Latino community he had missed out on growing up. Discovering a "home" for himself amongst the Latino immigrant community, similar to the home he found in Vega Alta, was crucial for Miranda's artistic development. His two successful works, *In The Heights* and *Hamilton*, both focused on immigrants finding their home in New York City. Based on his experiences with the Latino community in college and growing up, Miranda wrote his first draft of *In The Heights* during his sophomore year at Wesleyan over the winter of 1999.

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Miranda's passion for theater came from his parents. ("The Mirandas could rarely afford to take their children to Broadway, but cast recordings were always available"[19]). His musical tastes were influenced by: Broadway show tunes, such as Camelot, which his parents played in the car; Spanish salsa music of family parties; and contemporary music popular with his peers: from his sister's hip hop albums to his bus driver teaching him how to rap.[20] This broad exposure to musical genres complemented Miranda's own natural flair for performance. Luis Miranda Jr. recounted the story of Miranda's first piano recital: "people applauded, so he played a second song, and people applauded, and I remember his eyes popping up, and he said "I know another one.""[21] Miranda continued to develop his love for theatre performing in numerous middle school and high school theatre productions. At Wesleyan, the theatre studies major also began to write his own songs and performances.[22]

Miranda attributed his hardworking nature and determination to follow his dreams to his parents: "I [came] from a family of really hard workers […] My parents worked the entire time we were growing up. That was sort of the ethic we had"[23]. Before attending NYU, Luis had worked in "a very safe job as the manager of the biggest Sears in Puerto Rico [which he gave up] to go to New York, where [he] didn't speak the language," to pursue his academic dreams.[24] It was this same drive and self-confidence that empowered Miranda to write a musical about his barrio or neighborhood, despite the lack of Latino plays on the Broadway stage. Throughout Miranda's amateur career in high school and at university, his family comprised a large contingent of the audience at performances. ("His sophomore year [at Wesleyan], he did 'West Side Story,' so [Luis] rented a bus and took everybody [they] knew in Washington Heights to see it"[25]). His parents were supportive both during and post-Wesleyan in the evolution of *In The Heights* and the very first reading of *In The Heights* took place at the Miranda household on Lin-Manuel Miranda's twentieth birthday.[26]

Miranda was both fortunate and astute to make and maintain connections in his industry both in high school and at Wesleyan: "As a high school student, he met Stephen Sondheim when the composer-lyricist spoke at Hunter; now Mr. Miranda sends him unfinished work for feedback."[27] This feeling of respect was mutual, and in 2000, Sondheim asked Miranda for help translating lyrics from *West Side Story* into Spanish for the musical's revival. He complimented Miranda for "[knowing where musical theatre

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career/exclusive-qa-iin-heightsi-creator-star-lin-manuel-miranda-talks-latinacom-abo (Accessed December 1, 2016).

[18] Robertson, "You're 27. Here are Millions to Stage Your Musical," 9.

[19] Michael Paulson, "Lin-Manuel Miranda, Creator and Star of 'Hamilton,' Grew Up on Hip-Hop and Show Tunes," *The New York Times* (August 12, 2015). http://www.nytimes.com/2015/08/16/theater/lin-manuel-miranda-creator-and-star-of-hamilton-grew-up-on-hip-hop-and-show-tunes.html?_r=0 (Accessed November 25, 2016).

[20] Ibid.

[21] Ibid.

[22] Lorraine Murray, "Lin-Manuel Miranda," *Encyclopedia Britannica Online*, https://www.britannica.com/biography/Lin-Manuel-Miranda (Accessed November 30, 2016).

[23] Ivette Manners, "Lin-Manuel Miranda's Family takes Center Stage." *New York Lifestyles Magazine* (May 2016). http://www.newyorklifestylesmagazine.com/articles/linmanuel.html (Accessed November 25, 2016).

[24] Paterniti, "Lin-Manuel Miranda Is Ready."

[25] Gonzales, "Family's Big Role with 'Hamilton'."

[26] Robert Kahn, "A Bodacious Bodega," *News Day* (New York), February 4, 2007.

[27] Paulson, "Lin-Manuel Miranda Grew Up on Hip-Hop and Show Tunes."

[came] from, and [caring] about where it [came] from."[28] Beyond Miranda's innate talent, connections that he made through Wesleyan and friends were instrumental in the Broadway success of *In The Heights.* Miranda's original on campus production of *In The Heights* caught the attention of Wesleyan senior, John Mailer[29] (Class of 2000), who believed the play had potential for further development.

In 2001, Mailer formed a theatre company, Back House Productions, with fellow alumnus Thomas Kail (Class of 1999). Although Kail was an American history major, he directed several Wesleyan theatre productions. Mailer provided Kail with a script and recording of Miranda's Wesleyan *In The Heights* production and Kail agreed that the project had promise.[30] In the spring 2002, within weeks of graduating, Miranda met with Kail to discuss the possibility of working together with Kail serving as director on *In The Heights*. The meeting was successful and Kail arranged for *In The Heights* to begin being work-shopped out of Black House Productions.

Producers quickly scooped up *In The Heights*. Producer Jill Furman attended the second workshop having been put in contact with Miranda by actor David Moscow, a childhood friend of Miranda whom she had worked with on the film *Endsville*. Kevin McCollum and Jeffery Seller, "the power hitters whose specialty is finding left-field hits like *Rent* (1996) and *Avenue Q* (2003)"[31], soon joined Furman. McCollum and Seller increased significantly the production budget to $2.5million and provided a venue: the producers were part owners of 37 Arts, a new Off-Broadway theatre looking for a show to put on.[32] The three producers invested in the show, taking significant monetary risk on an untried actor and songwriter. However, they agreed that the "enthusiasm and talent involved with [*In The Heights*]"[33] made it worth the risk.

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In an interview with Time Out New York, Miranda referred to *In The Heights* as the "brown people of Broadway"[34] show because it told the under-represented story of Latino immigrants. [35] Growing up Miranda "got used to seeing the family's neighborhood depicted negatively on TV and films. There were drug deals and knife fights, but nobody transmitted the beauty, passion or hard work that happened there."[36] Miranda wanted to write a play about his neighborhood (as writer Una LaMarche described it, "a freestyling salsa – and hip-hop-filled love letter to his neighborhood, his heritage"[37]), a play that "[showed] Latinos in the everyday mode [he was] used to, and not just in gangs."[38] *In The Heights* was a *Carnaval del Barrio* or a jubilant celebration of Miranda's neighborhood.

Miranda explained, "I wrote the show I wanted to be in. I grew up with hip-hop, and I wanted it to sound like my neighborhood."[39] Like most Latino actors, Miranda was frustrated by the continual casting of white actors in Latino roles, or having to play "stereotypical gang members or servants."[40] *In The Heights* provided "mainstream" character roles for Latino actors: like their white counterparts on the Broadway stage, Latinos were vivacious three-dimensional characters who went to work, had dreams, and lived ordinary lives.[41] The songs that Miranda wrote for *In The Heights*

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28 Rebecca Mead, "A Hip-Hop Hamilton," *The New Yorker* (February 9, 2015), http://www.newyorker.com/magazine/2015/02/09/hamiltons (accessed December 13, 2016).

29 Son of the famous novelist, Norman Mailer.

30 Paulson, "Lin-Manuel Miranda Grew Up on Hip-Hop and Show Tunes."

31 Robertson, "You're 27. Here are Millions to Stage Your Musical," 9.

32 Ibid.

33 Ibid.

34 Allison Williams, "The Hot Seat," *TimeOut* (New York), June 5-11, 2008, 168.

35 Mark Blankenship, "No Fear of Heights," *Variety* (New York), February 12, 2007, 55.

36 Christopher Moore, "Successfully Celebrating the 'Heights,'" *West Side Spirit* (New York), January 18, 2007, 20.

37 Una LaMarche, "Spotlight: Lights Up on Washington Heights!" *BlackBook Magazine* (New York), February 20, 2008, 34.

38 Blankenship, "No Fear of Heights," 55.

39 Mervyn Rothstein, "No Place Like Home." '*In The Heights' Playbill* (March 9, 2008), 10.

40 Blankenship, "No Fear of Heights," 55.

41 Ibid.

reflected his experience growing up in Washington Heights/Inwood. In addition to hip-hop, Latin beats were a large part of the score as they captured the atmosphere of this New York City *barrio.* Miranda observed: "I've never heard salsa music used to tell a story onstage, even though it's incredibly dramatic."[42].

In his New York Sun review of *In The Heights* when it opened Off Broadway in February 2007, Eric Grode wrote: "gone are the days when immigrants […] and sons of immigrants […] felt the need to yank up their roots and create musical images of an America completely divorced from their own backgrounds."[43] With the increasing diversification of the "Great White Way", through musicals such as *Hair, Miss Saigon*, and *The Color Purple*, a space had been created for Miranda to bring the story of his people and his neighborhood to the stage. Miranda's effort received high praise for its rewriting of the Latino character on the Broadway stage, its celebration of Latino culture and its youthful vitality. One critic summed up the buzz surrounding Miranda and *In The Heights* when he wrote; "It has been many years since we've had a musical this colorful and culturally diverse."[44]

Although the play drew comparisons to *West Side Story* from reviewers, it was *Rent* and *Fiddler on the Roof* (1964) that inspired Miranda to write *In The Heights*. Miranda watched *Rent* as a teen and the play had a lasting impact on him. *Rent*'s contemporary setting engaged Miranda and introduced to him the possibility of writing a play about his life in the 'Heights'. *Fiddler on the Roof* played a far more direct role in the creation of *In The Heights*. In the words of Miranda: "The real genetic forefather for *Heights* is *Fiddler on the Roof* […] It was about a community coping with change and has change thrust upon it. We looked to Fiddler for our structure. We [introduced] our types with the song 'In The Heights.' They introduced theirs with 'Tradition.'"[45] Miranda believed the themes of tradition and community in *Fiddler on the Roof* were relevant to the experience of the Latino community trying to make a home in northern Manhattan.

In 2008, after a successful run at 37 Arts, *In The Heights* moved to Broadway, officially opening on March 9th, 2008. It was noteworthy as Latinos wrote both its book and score and its cast was almost exclusively Latino. It was not, however, unique. Several shows on Broadway already featured casts that were almost all non-white or featured minority characters in traditionally white roles. *Passing Strange*, a "new rock musical with nothing but black actors"[46] which opened around the same time as *In The Heights*, touched on similar themes of identity and finding a community. As theatre critic, Mark Blakenship, pointed out, the challenge for these ethnically diverse productions was their ability to increase audience diversity without alienating traditional mainstream theatre goers. These plays would not be successful if they catered to their minority audience as ticket sales would be insufficient.[47]

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Despite only achieving center stage in recent years, Latinos have had a long history on Broadway. The first professional Latino theatre troupe, La compañía del teatro español, was established in 1921. However, it was not until World War II that Latin America and Latinos were portrayed with any consistency on Broadway. To rally support for an American and Latin American alliance, Roosevelt endeavored to promote the image of Latinos in the popular mind: "One tactic employed to achieve this goal was to use popular entertainment as a propaganda tool. Producers were encouraged to cultivate Latin American stars."[48] The goal was to provide Americans with a "safe" way to experience the Latino other by highlighting their exoticism on the stage. Latina actresses were "performers playing performers"[49] and the characters that they played fit the exotic and seductive stereotypes through nicknames such as

[42] Ibid.
[43] Eric Grode, "'In The Heights' but Not Out of the Woods," *New York Sun*, February 12, 2007, 14.
[44] Scott Harrah, "On Broadway, 'In The Heights' Musical Soars," *The Villager* (New York), April 9, 2008, 11.
[45] Bozymowski, "In the Heights: Chasing Broadway Dreams."

[46] Mark Blankenship, "B'way Colors Outside the Lines," *Variety* (New York), January 28, 2008, 63.
[47] Ibid.

[48] Colleen L Rua, "Coming Home: US-Latinos on the Broadway Stage," (Medford: Tufts University, 2011), http://search.proquest.com/docview/912022464?accountid=15172. (Accessed November 23, 2016), 38.
[49] Ibid, 45.

"The Cuban Hurricane" or "The Puerto Rican Pepperpot."[50] Although recruited to perform on Broadway, these women received no credit for their performances in the playbills.[51]

The mid-twentieth century from the 1950s through to 1970 offered increased opportunities for Latinos on Broadway. In 1957, *West Side Story* was brought to Broadway, changing Latino theatre forever. Prior to *West Side Story*, musicals featuring Latinos were set in "a faraway land of soft breezes and the sounds of mariachi."[52] *West Side Story* was the first musical involving Latino characters set in New York City and the score reflected the new setting. The storyline moved away from the fanciful plotlines of earlier Latino plays and instead focused on real life issues experienced by Latinos in New York. *West Side Story* was introduced at a time when there was "uncertainty among the U.S. cultural elite regarding how the new Puerto Rican arrivals in New York should be understood especially with regard to existing racial structures and stereotypes"[53] and had a huge impact in the creation of the Puerto Rican identity. The play has since been criticized for failing to represent Puerto Rican culture, its casting of non-Latinos in Latino roles, as well its misrepresentation of Puerto Rican culture, music, and dance.[54] West Side Story also created a harmful Latino stereotype: the machismo Latino gang member ("more than lovers on a balcony or dancers on a rooftop, the handcuffed Puerto Rican boy Chino [emblemized] the racialized conclusions about Latino-ness"[55]). The only two Sharks characters with voices were Bernardo and Chino, two violent and unpredictable personalities. Their actions and punishments became typecast into future Latino roles on the stage.

In the latter part of the twentieth century, Latino activity on Broadway was summarized in five musicals of varying success. The hugely unsuccessful *Zoot Suit*, produced in 1979 by the bilingual theatre troupe, Teatro Campesino, was Broadway's first Latino musical. *A Chorus Line* (1976) and *Rent* were both "mainstream" Broadway plays that created roles for Latinos. These roles focused on the individual character without regard for their place in broader culture. However, neither play challenged Latino cultural stereotypes of earlier Broadway productions. *Capeman* (1998), a disastrous attempt to portray the life of convicted murderer and gang member Salvador Agrón, split stage time between New York City and Puerto Rico. Mainstream critics wrote harsh reviews of the play, which portrayed a one-dimensional Latino thug: a boy who would not have become a criminal if he had never left Puerto Rico. After *Capeman*'s flop, there was an absence of Latino theatre on Broadway until *In The Heights* moved from Off-Broadway to Broadway a decade later.

For Miranda, *In The Heights* was an opportunity to correct the blanket stereotyping of Latinos as criminals in *Capeman* and *West Side Story* (according to Miranda, "they came forty years apart and they [were] both about Puerto Ricans as gang members"[56]). Drugs, gangs, and violence were prevalent across Manhattan neighborhoods, but as a result of clichés enforced by musicals like these, the focus was on the criminal activity in predominantly minority neighborhoods. When Miranda wrote the play at Wesleyan for the student theatre, instead of writing about Latinos as outsiders in Manhattan, he wrote a love triangle involving outsiders within the Latino community: "people who [were] in [Washington Heights] but [were] not exactly *of* [Washington Heights]."[57] The members of the love triangle were outsiders for different reasons – education, race and sexual orientation.

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Miranda described the original version of *In The Heights* as a "Hispanic *Rent*"[58]. A major theme of the play was "love and acceptance, particularly of gay people, in the Latino community."[59] In the initial years of work-

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[50] Ibid, 45.

[51] Ibid, 40.

[52] Ibid, 52.

[53] Brian Herrera, "How The Sharks Became Puerto Rican," in *Latin Numbers*, (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2015), 102.

[54] Rua, "Coming Home: US-Latinos on the Broadway Stage," 55.

[55] Herrera, "How The Sharks Became Puerto Rican," 127.

[56] Patrick Hinds, "Lin-Manuel Miranda's First Ever Interview," *Theater People Blog*, posted October 25, 2015, http://www.theaterppl.com/blog/lin-manuel-mirandas-first-ever-interview/ (Accessed November 27, 2016).

[57] Robertson, "You're 27. Here are Millions to Stage Your Musical," 9.

[58] Hinds, "Lin-Manuel Miranda's First Ever Interview."

[59] Patrick Hinds, "Episodes 1 & 2: In The Heights," interview for *Broadway Backstory* (audio blog), November 15, 2016,

shopping, the plot revolved around the closeted Lincoln and his secret crush on his best friend, Benny. Miranda felt that Lincoln's story was an important in the context of outsiders finding acceptance within their neighborhood as, "there [was] a real stigma if you [were] gay in the Latino community and I [thought] that [was] a really interesting story for the community."[60] Lincoln's coming out in a community prejudiced against homosexuality was a far more important story in his mind than the tired plot of drug crime in the neighborhood. Unfortunately, McCollum and Seller had just produced a musical, *Avenue Q*, with the same plotline.

The producers hired Quiara Alegría Hudes as a book writer to help Miranda and Kail shift the focus of *In The Heights*. Hudes had impressed Furman as a graduate student in playwriting at Brown University. Like Miranda, Hudes grew up in a Latino neighborhood in Philadelphia as a first generation Puerto Rican and attended Yale University as a music major. Furman admired the "elegance to her writing"[61] and Hudes' particular use of language that was "poetic yet always rooted in reality."[62] Miranda, Kail and Hudes transformed the plot from a love story with the community as a backdrop to a love story about an overlooked community. In 2005, the show was work-shopped at the Eugene O'Neill Theatre as part of a theatre development program for new artists. It was here that the character Lincoln was cut and many of his issues with community and family transferred to Nina, rendering her a more complex character in her interactions with her parents. There was a lot of Hudes in Nina as both women were first generation Puerto Rican college students, facing the demands of elite universities and trying to maintain ties to home.

This switch in focus from Lincoln to Nina altered the trajectory of the play. However, the move away from Lincoln's storyline did not compromise Miranda's original mission. Miranda aimed to dispel criminal stereotypes of Latinos by sharing the vibrant everyday life in these neighborhoods. He wanted to educate audiences about the broader social and economic issues confronting Latinos in these neighborhoods. It was clear from Miranda's many interviews that he had not set out to write about issues specific to the LGBTQ community in the Latino neighborhood of Washington Heights. Moreover, Hudes' contributions including her influence in developing Nina's character did not dilute Miranda's message. Miranda had sole responsibility for the score of *In The Heights* meaning that the messages in his songs were consistent with his original purpose.

Through these changes, the version of *In The Heights* staged in the Richard Rogers Theatre in 2008 was very different to the play Miranda debuted his sophomore year at Wesleyan. The Broadway version was set over the Fourth of July weekend. The protagonist and narrator became bodega owner Usnavi who dreamed of returning to his parent's home, the Dominican Republic. The role of Usnavi was one of the biggest changes between the two versions of *In The Heights*. It had never been Miranda's intention to act in the play, but Miranda assumed the role owing to the complexity and pace of his raps. As McCollum commented during a workshop, "every time that guy opened his mouth in this version of *In The Heights* I wanted to know more."[63] Other characters included: Graffiti Pete, the local vandal; Sonny, Usnavi's socially-conscious sixteen-year-old cousin who helped him run the bodega; the neighborhood's Abuela Claudia (modeled on the woman who had helped raise Miranda and still lived in his parents' home) who immigrated from Cuba as a child in 1943 and held the winning lottery ticket; Kevin and Camilla Rosario, owners of a car service who used their life savings to send their daughter, Nina, to Stanford University; Nina, who has returned home after dropping out of Stanford and has begun a relationship with one her father's drivers, Benny, the only non-Latino in the community, much to her father's disapproval; Vanessa, Usnavi's love interest who was desperate to escape the barrio and worked at the salon with Daniela and Carla, the neighborhood gossips who were forced to close shop and move to the Bronx owing to rising rent costs. The play followed these characters as they navigated issues of poverty, gentrification, interracial relations and other themes.

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https://www.todaytix.com/insider/nyc/posts/episodes-1-2-in-the-heights (Accessed November 27, 2016).

[60] Ibid.

[61] Alexis Soloski, "Adventures of a Barrio Girl," *Village Voice* (New York), January 31 – February 6, 2007, Arts section, 3.

[62] Ibid.

[63] Hinds, "Episodes 1 & 2: In The Heights."

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When Miranda went to Wesleyan and experienced life outside of Washington Heights, he realized that his "neighborhood was like a little Latin American country on the top of Manhattan."[64] That almost all of the characters in his musical were Latino was not a deliberate decision on Miranda's part. It reflected the demographics of that community. Forty eight percent of residents were immigrants and the neighborhood had the highest concentration of Latinos in the Manhattan borough, with two thirds of the population from the Dominican Republic and "72% of the population self-[identifying] as Latino or Hispanic" in a survey conducted in 2013 for the Office of the State Comptroller's 2013 report.[65] Although there was a strong Dominican culture in Washington Heights, there was also a significant Puerto Rican population in the neighborhood. Miranda's decision to feature a mainly Latino cast was a faithful representation of the neighborhood in which he grew up.

There had been a mass influx of Latino immigrants into New York City and Washington Heights in the 1950s and 1960s. Prior to this influx, Washington Heights comprised middle-class Irish-Americans and Jews.[66] Although Washington Heights had been considered a middle-class neighborhood before World War II, the increasing presence of minorities (owing to the availability of low-rent housing) during the 1950s meant that the majority of the residents in Washington Heights were lower middle-class.[67] Over the last fifty years, a constant stream of Latino immigrants has rendered the neighborhood the heart of Puerto Rican and Dominican communities. A social survey conducted by Lee A. Lendt in 1957 revealed that: "The most notable facet of their relationship with the older ethnic groups in Washington Heights [was] the cultural isolation that [seemed] to separate them from the activities of the community."[68] The influx of multigenerational Latino families meant that Latino immigrants were able to build an exclusive Latino community in this removed area of Manhattan. As Miranda stated in an interview for the New Yorker: "[My barber] [didn't] know a word of English. Like everybody else up here. They [didn't] need to learn English."[69] The ability of Latinos to maintain their cultural traditions and language alleviated the need to assimilate into American culture and learn English.

The cohesive community that Miranda created on stage was not an entirely accurate portrayal of the Dominican and Puerto Rican relationship. Whilst low socioeconomic status tied Puerto Ricans and Dominicans together, this relationship was not always harmonious. Although Dominicans relied heavily on Puerto Ricans and their social institutions when they first arrived in New York,[70] there were also clear differences between their two countries that were racialized in this new environment. Throughout the 1960s and 1970s Dominicans tried to separate themselves from the Puerto Rican identity when establishing themselves in the city. This was an attempt to avoid the "culture of poverty"[71] associated with Puerto Ricans. Puerto Ricans, on the other hand, viewed Dominicans as "physically darker, illegal, foreign, and criminal,"[72] similar to African Americans, and sought to avoid the social prejudices of being mistaken for being black.[73] Miranda avoided this racial dynamic by softening these past conflicts and portraying all Latinos as getting along happily. By doing this, *In The Heights* became a play for all Latinos, not just a specific nationality.

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The set design for *In The Heights* accurately portrayed this exclusive Latino community in the Heights. The set captured the gritty cityscape ("the

[64] Rothstein, "No Place Like Home," 12.

[65] Thomas P. DiNapoli and Kenneth B. Bleiwas, "An Economic Snapshot of Washington Heights and Inwood," in *Office for the State Comptroller* (June 2015), https://www.osc.state.ny.us/osdc/rpt2-2016.pdf (Accessed October 01, 2016), 2.

[66] Lee A. Lendt, "Introduction," in *A social history of Washington Heights, New York City*. (New York: Columbia-Washington Heights Community Mental Health Project, 1960), 8.

[67] Ibid, "Migration During the Twentieth Century," 66.

[68] Ibid, "Present Groups in Washington Heights and their relations," 88.

[69] Ross, "The Boards: Local Boy," 64.

[70] Jesse Hoffnung-Garskof, "Hispanic, Whatever That Means," in *A Tale of Two Cities: Santo Domingo and New York after 1950* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2008), 115.

[71] Ibid, 117.

[72] Ibid, 118.

[73] Ibid, 116.

battered storefront signage, the stickers on doors, [the graffiti], the joyless streetlamp"[74]), but was neutral enough to avoid upstaging the characters. Each of the four main "buildings" portrayed a significant part of the Latino experience in New York City. Abuela Claudia's house, with its front door that was "busted up"[75] and the doorbell that "don't work because so many people comes over to visit,"[76] signified the multigenerational nature of the community where Latinos of all backgrounds and ages came together to create a family. Daniela's salon, which closed over the course of the play, represented Latino businesses forced to relocate further north owing to rising rents with gentrification of the neighborhood.

Usnavi's bodega symbolized the Latin American countries that these immigrants had left behind. Bodega was a term used to describe a Spanish grocery store. In a neighborhood that is facing increasing encroachment from white gentrifiers, the unabashedly unchanged referral to the store as a bodega in the face of Americanization was a strong reminder of the home the characters left behind. Finally, the Rosario's car service alluded to the immigrant experience and ethnic succession. The fact that Rosario's storefront sign physically covered the old O'Hanrahans sign (the original owners of the car service) was symbolic of Latinos taking over the neighborhood from the white European immigrants and their efforts to create better lives for themselves in their new home.

Although Anna Louizos won a Tony for her set, not everyone was impressed with the design, seeing it as symptomatic of a deeper problem: "Although it [was] rendered with exacting, gritty verisimilitude," New York Times critic, Charles Isherwood wrote, "this sun-drenched block of Washington Heights could almost [have been] mistaken for Main Street at Disneyland, or "Sesame Street" without the puppets."[77] For these reviewers, the lack of "authentic despair, serious hardship or violence"[78] ("the scariest presence onstage [was] a graffiti artist, the worst damage a smashed store window"[79]) detracted from the overall purpose of the play to convey everyday life in this minority community. The play ignored Washington Heights' machismo reputation rooted in its Latino community and history of drugs, gangs, and violence stretching back to the 1980s, when crack cocaine use became widespread. A 2014 survey carried out by psychologist, Dr. Debora Upegui-Hernandez, reported that: "Dominican respondents were twice as likely as Columbians to report that the use and sale of drugs in their neighborhood were major problems while growing up."[80] To his harshest critics, Miranda did a disservice to his community by glossing over deep-seated issues within Washington Heights. His presentation of an "idealized fairy-tale world"[81], "like the real place, only friendlier,"[82] a "whitewashed [and] distressingly Reaganesque [utopia]"[83] ironically served to gentrify the neighborhood and its residents.

Miranda responded that these critics continued to endorse the *West Side Story* cultural stereotype of Latinos as thugs: "There [were] drugs and crime in all neighborhoods. Washington Heights [wasn't] as bad as people [thought]."[84] Statistics supported Miranda's argument. According to a 2016 Office for State Comptroller report, within the Washington Heights and Inwood neighborhood, "serious crime in the area fell by 74 percent between 1993 and 2013."[85] The drop in crime was further substantiated in a crime & safety report compiled by the online news source

74 Kenneth Jones, "Scenic Designer Anna Louizos Captured the Heights by Wandering Its Streets," *Playbill* (May 27, 2008), http://www.playbill.com/article/scenic-designer-anna-louizos-captured-the-heights-by-wandering-its-streets-com-150440 (Accessed December 1, 2016).

75 Hudes and Miranda, "Scene 8," Act II, 131.

76 Ibid.

77 Charles Isherwood, "From the Corner Bodega, the Music of Everyday Life," *The New York Times* (February 9, 2007), http://www.nytimes.com/2007/02/09/theater/reviews/09heights.html (Accessed November 24, 2016).

78 Ibid.

79 Michael Feingold, "Musicals in Transit." *Village Voice*, February 21, 2007, 43.

80 Débora Upegui-Hernández, "Maintaining Transnational Relations," in *Growing up transnational: Colombian and Dominican children of immigrants in New York City* (El Paso: LFB Scholarly Publishing LLC, 2014), 122.

81 David Rooney, "Tuner Offers a Fresh New Voice with a Latin Beat," *Variety*, February 9, 2007, 52.

82 Sam Thielman, "It's Mr. Rodgers' Barrio in Song," *Newsday*, February 9, 2007, B7.

83 Leonard Jacobs, "Miranda Rights," *New York Press*, February 19, 2008, 22.

84 Hinds, "Episodes 1 & 2: In The Heights."

85 Thomas P. DiNapoli and Kenneth B. Bleiwas, "An Economic Snapshot of Washington Heights and Inwood," 2.

DNAinfo.com in 2011[86] where Inwood and Washington Heights ranked 23rd and 24th respectively, out of 69, for safest neighborhoods to live in across all five boroughs of New York City. Traditionally white areas, such as Greenwich Village & Meatpacking District and Midtown ranked 68th and 69th respectively.[87] These statistics suggested that critics of *In The Heights* were forming judgments on how Washington Heights in 2008 should be portrayed based on cultural stereotypes divorced from reality.

In The Heights attempted to shift assumptions about Latinos as criminals. The first character to appear on stage was the "deviant" Graffiti Pete. Although he had the potential to be threatening, over the course of the play, the audience realized that he was a sensitive teenager. During the play's climax when the blackout occurred, he helped Sonny defend the bodega from looters, and in the final scene, he created a beautiful mural of the deceased Abuela Claudia that he self-consciously presented to Usnavi. The looting itself was another attempt to dispel the stereotype of Latino thugs. There was no witness to the crime, and therefore, the identity of the perpetrator was unknown. As a result, "the characters on stage [were] freed from any culpability and the expected stereotype [and] as the looters [were] never identified, the audience [had] no evidence as to their ethnicity."[88] This anonymity allowed for the focus to be on the victimization of the community and its healing process.[89]

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Miranda used *In The Heights* as a platform to raise what he believed to be the true problems affecting Latinos in Washington Heights. The most pressing issue the community faced was poverty. In Washington Heights, the average income of more than 25% of households was below the federal poverty level, which was significantly higher than the citywide percentage of 18%[90]. This poverty was racially driven, both between Latinos and other races, and within the Latino community. For her study on first generation Colombians and Dominicans in New York City, Dr. Upegui-Hernandez cited a study carried out in 2010 that showed Latinos had the "lowest median household income […] compared to Blacks, Whites, and Asians."[91] Dominicans and Puerto Ricans, the two main ethnicities represented *In The Heights*, tended live alongside African Americans in "neighborhoods characterized by socio-economic disinvestment"[92] owing to their low status within the Latin American community. This low status came from their perceived "lower incomes and darker skin-tones"[93] compared to other Latin American immigrants.

All of the characters in *In The Heights* were deeply affected by poverty. The characters' motivations, actions and conversations revolved around money and the lack of it in the community. Usnavi found himself "getting tested [as] times are tough on [his] bodega."[94] Camilla and Kevin Rosario operated their business and personal life on a tight budget to be able to finance Nina's education. Ironically, by allocating all their money to Nina's education, they were "behind on all [their] payments"[95] and in need of "an emergency loan,"[96] putting the business's future at risk. Nina's reason for dropping out of Stanford was that she "couldn't work two jobs and study for finals and finish [her] term papers"[97]; money, not intellectual acumen was responsible for her failure. Vanessa, stuck in a job that "doesn't pay [her] what [she] wants to be making,"[98] was not able to afford to move out of the barrio and was stuck living in an apartment that frequently lost power as her mother spent the rent money on alcohol.

In the play's opening number, "In The Heights", Usnavi related the daily struggles of a

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[86]"Crime and Safety Analysis Delivers Surprises Across the Five Boroughs," *DNAinfo.com Crime & Safety Report* (September 7, 2011), https://www.dnainfo.com/new-york/crime-safety-report/ (Accessed December 07, 2016).

[87]Ibid.

[88]Rua, "Coming Home: US-Latinos on the Broadway Stage," 71.

[89]Ibid.

[90]Thomas P. DiNapoli and Kenneth B. Bleiwas, "An Economic Snapshot of Washington Heights and Inwood," 2.

[91]Upegui-Hernández, "Encountering Social Structures," 161-162.

[92]Ibid, 166.

[93]Ibid.

[94]Hudes and Miranda "In The Heights," Act I, 3.

[95]Ibid, "Scene 3," 21.

[96]Ibid.

[97]Ibid, "Scene 5," 36.

[98]Ibid, "Scene 5," 32.

community living in poverty in punchy verses. Despite his good humor and jovial interactions with customers, he informed the audience that "practically everybody's stressed, yes, but they press through the mess bounce checks and wonder, "what's next?""[99] Financial insecurity left the residents of Washington Heights in a perpetual state of uncertainty making it difficult to plan ahead. At the same time, however, there was an overarching ambition to move beyond the cycle of "fights and endless debts and bills [they had] to pay."[100] As they endured their daily routines, the characters held onto their dreams and aspired to move "from poverty to stock options."[101] Throughout the song, characters passed through the bodega buying "light and sweet" café and lottery tickets. In a community trapped in poverty, the lottery ticket gave them reason to have faith and hope for the future.

If "In The Heights" communicated daily struggles associated with poverty, the song "96, 000" was an ode to money revealing what different characters would have done with $96,000. Benny would have used the money to put himself through business school to advance his career ("no breakin' your neck for respect or a paycheck"[102]). Daniela would have reopened her salon in an "Atlantic city with a Malibu breeze."[103] Vanessa would have moved into a studio downtown. Advancement was the common thread that tied all of these dreams together. Each of their dreams involved disassociating themselves from Washington Heights. Sonny was the only one to commit his money to improving the barrio. He sought to "Invest in protest!"[104] and to draw attention to the myriad of issues that he and his peers struggled with growing up in a minority neighborhood. The Heights was home for Sonny and he simply wanted to raise the standard of living.

Gentrification was looming as an issue in Washington Heights. As Usnavi narrated in his opening rap, "two months ago somebody bought Ortega's./ Our neighbors started packin' up and pickin' up/ and ever since the rents went up/ it's gotten mad expensive."[105] Everyone in the community was affected by gentrification; however, some were more directly affected than others. Daniela and Carla "from the salon" were forced to relocate further north ("They keep raising the rent, what can I do?"[106]) The salon's fate symbolized the impending reality for many small Latino businesses to close shop or relocate. As Vanessa remarked: Daniela and Carla were "getting out of the barrio, and headin' to the hood."[107] Miranda left it to the characters to express the consequences of gentrification through their sorrow. Instead of being explicitly lectured on the costs of gentrification, the audience shared in Daniela and Carla's grief as they exited their shop for the last time.

Other examples of gentrification in the neighborhood were subtle with people responding in different ways. The Piragua vendor struggled to keep his business open in the face of competition from encroaching franchise Mr Softee: "Mr. Softee [was] trying to shut me down. But I'll keep scraping by the fading light."[108] Although the Piragua vendor won that battle ("Mister Softee's truck has broken down. And here come all his customers my way. I told you, I run this town!"[109]), the audience was left with the sense that it was only a matter of time. The Rosarios succumbed selling their precious car service to the anonymous Uptown Investment Group to pay their daughter's university tuition. The unspoken hope here was that through their sacrifice their daughter might one day join the gentrifying class. Instead of tackling the topic directly, Miranda wove it into the lives of his characters making it an issue that was painfully present, without assigning it a name.

Despite these hardships, residents of Washington Heights retained a relatively positive outlook. Media and cultural studies professor at Northeastern University, Dr. Murray Forman, commented on this paradox that occurred in ghettos:

"the urban spaces most reviled by the mainstream and elite social segments [were] the lived spaces

[99] Ibid.
[100] Ibid.
[101] Ibid.
[102] Ibid, "96, 000," 50
[103] Ibid.
[104] Ibid, 51

[105] Ibid, "In The Heights," 3.
[106] Ibid, "Scene 6," 40.
[107] Ibid.
[108] Ibid, "Scene 10," 72.
[109] Ibid, "Scene 10," Act II, 137.

where acts of atrocity and conditions of desolation and desperation [were] often matched by more promising conditions seeped in optimism, charity, and creativity. The latter, of course, frequently [went] unnoticed and thus [remained] underreported in the social-mainstream."[110]

Usnavi expressed this paradox clearly: "my parents came with nothing and they got a little more, and sure we're poor but at least we got the store."[111] This ability to maintain perspective and view situations in a positive light was communicated in this line and in the chorus of "In The Heights". The repetitive refrain of "but we live with just enough"[112] and "time's are tough, but even so"[113] moved the song away from being a complaint about the conditions in which they live to a celebration of their community.

The community on stage was not only positive, but it was also generous and caring. As reviewer, Linda Armstrong, observed:

"Watching the musical, you will laugh, cry and feel proud of these characters who clearly represent the common man. Despite their struggles they manage to stay a tightly knit community that looks out for each member."[114]

The Rosario's opened their door to friends ("Usnavi come over for dinner, there's plenty to eat"[115]). Daniela helped Vanessa achieve her dream of moving downtown ("A little birdie told me you needed a credit reference. […] I'll cosign on the apartment. But you have to invite me for a housewarming cocktail." [116]). The community was as proud as the Rosario's when Nina was admitted to Stanford ("We want front-row seats to your graduation –" "They'll call your name –" And we'll scream and shout"[117]). The community supported one another in good and bad times. In the humorous words of Sonny: "One day you'll both need my sympathy and will I be there? Probably."[118]

This tight knit community on stage was built around one woman who embodied the traits of positivity and generosity through her favorite expression: *paciencia y fe*. Although not related by blood to anyone on the street, Abuela Claudia served as a grandmother to the entire community ("she's not really my "Abuela,"/ but she practically raised me, this corner is her escuela!"[119]) supporting residents emotionally, physically and even financially when she won the lottery. Her death reverberated around the neighborhood leaving everyone in mourning. Nina best articulated this grief in "Everything I Know": "She saved everything we gave her,/ Every little scrap of paper./ And our lives are in these boxes/ While the woman who held us is gone."[120] Without Abulea Claudia, the Heights community needed to learn to rally together and keep her legacy and their culture alive by passing on stories of their homes.

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Some critics dismissed the plot of *In The Heights* as lacking substance or failing to "accrue much emotional tension or dramatic momentum"[121] through plots that were resolved too easily. These critics missed Miranda's intention to use *In The Heights* as a medium not to resolve issues but rather to showcase how Latino immigrants coped with and adapted to challenges they confronted. The struggle to establish oneself in a new country was captured in Abuela Claudia's solo "Paciencia y Fe" which questioned whether life was better for immigrants in America. Abuela recounted her difficulty adapting to New York life: "Sharing double beds, trying to catch a break, struggling with/ English."[122]
Aggressive and condescending comments to which she was subjected over the years were interjected throughout the song : "You better clean this mess" "You better learn ingles" "You better not be late/ You better pull your weight!"[123] Kevin Rosario addressed similar themes of feeling powerless in his

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[110]Forman, Murray Forman, "Space Matters: Hip-Hop and the Spatial Perspective," in *The 'hood comes first: race, space, and place in rap and hip-hop* (Middletown: Wesleyan University Press, 2002), 8.
[111]Ibid, 12.
[112]Hudes and Miranda "In The Heights," Act I, 4.
[113]Ibid, 8.
[114]Linda Armstrong, "In The Heights Soars," *N.Y. Amsterdam News*, February 22, 2007, 25.
[115]Hudes and Miranda "In The Heights," Act I, 5.
[116]Ibid, "Scene 9," Act II, 135-136.
[117]Ibid, "No Me Diga," Act I, 44.
[118]Ibid. "Scene 9," 65.
[119]Ibid. "In The Heights," 3.
[120]Ibid. "Scene 8," Act II, 133
[121]Isherwood, "From the Corner Bodega, the Music of Everyday Life."
[122]Hudes and Miranda, "Paciencia y Fe," Act I, 63.
[123]Ibid.

solo "Inútil." Faced with the prospect that "all [his] work, all [his] life/ Everything [he's] sacrificed will have been useless,"[124] he was forced to reflect on the fact that he came to America to create a better life for his family, yet had ended up in the same position as his father.

When Daniela called for a Carnaval del Barrio, Vanessa and Sonny resisted arguing that there was nothing to celebrate: "The neighborhood is gone!/ They selling the dispatch, they/ Closing the salon […] we are powerless, we are powerless!"[125] Their frustration with their lack of power as Latinos trapped by poverty on "Gilligan's Ghetto Island,"[126] reflected the struggle of immigrants like Abuela, Claudia and Kevin who had come to the Heights to build a better life in a country that marginalized them. While Usnavi acknowledged their argument ("Maybe you're right, Sonny. Call in the coroners!/ Maybe we're powerless, a corner full of foreigners."[127]), he also reminded them how being immigrants had made them resilient to change: "There's nothing going on here that we can't handle […] You could cry with your head in the sand./ I'm a-flying this flag that I got in my hand!"[128] Change was inevitable; however, as immigrants and first generation Latinos they had already lived through the biggest challenge.

In The Heights "[hammered] home a complicated nostalgia for a place where life was so hard that they, or their parents, had to leave."[129] The characters had roots across regions of Latin America, from Cuba to the Dominican Republic to Puerto Rico. In Washington Heights, they formed their own Latino community that was both reminiscent of and distinct from the separate Latin American countries from which they hailed, though home was never far from their mind. The ditty that they sang during the Carnival del Barrio highlighted this "complicated nostalgia". Sung in Spanish, the song celebrated the flags of the Latin American countries represented in the barrio, calling for them to be raised ("Alza la bandera/ La bandera Dominicana"[130] *Raise the flag/ The Dominican flag*). The final verse, "Me acuerdo do me tierra!/ Esa bonita bandera!/ Contiene mi alma entera!/ Y cuando yo me muera,/ Entiérrame en mi tierra!" (*I remember my land/ that beautiful flag/ has my entire soul/ And when I die/ bury me in my land.*) highlighted the deep love that these Latino immigrants felt for places they might not return to, yet held onto dearly.

As the "Carnaval Del Barrio" was beginning to take off in the street, Carla took center stage to humorously express the geographical complexity of her status as a first generation Latino: "My mom is Dominican-Cuban, my dad is from Chile and P.R., which means:/ I'm Chile-Domini-CuRican, but I always say I'm from Queens!"[131] A huge theme of *In The Heights* was the concept of home and identifying home when you were born in one place and embrace the culture of another. Growing up in America as a first or second generation Latino was complex. The constant reminder of their heritage, combined with fast paced American culture, left first generation Latinos with the "experience of juggling different cultural norms, values, and expectations, that of their parents and of the mainstream society they live in."[132] Walking a tight line between two or more different cultures, and therefore, two different identities begged the question of belonging. As Miranda articulated: "Am I supposed to be here, am I supposed to be there, and if I'm supposed to be here am I really Puerto Rican?"[133]

Miranda's questions about who he was and where he belonged and his concerns about his Puerto Rican identity were reflected in Nina ("When I was younger, I'd imagine what would happen/ if my parents had stayed in Puerto Rico./ Who would I be if I had never seen Manhattan,/ if I lived in Puerto Rico with my People[?]"[134]). Nina had always walked along a clear path; her reputation as the girl who "made it out […] the first

[124] Ibid, "Inútil," 38.
[125] Ibid, "Carnaval Del Barrio," Act II, 123.
[126] Ibid, "Scene 5," 115.
[127] Ibid, "Carnaval del Barrio," 124.
[128] Ibid.
[129] Thielman, "It's Mr. Rodgers' Barrio in Song," B7.

[130] Hudes and Miranda "Carnaval Del Barrio," Act II, 121.
[131] Ibid, 118.
[132] Upegui-Hernández, "Negotiating Self and Identity as a Child of Immigrants," 69.
[133] Josh Helmin, "An Interview With Lin-Manuel Miranda," *Towleroad* (March 7, 2007), http://www.towleroad.com/2007/03/towleroad_exclu/ (Accessed November 25, 2016).

[134] Ibid, "When You're Home," 70.

to go to college"[135] preceded her in the Heights, with her community placing pressure upon her to succeed for them. Returning home after having lost her way, she was forced to reevaluate her place within her community. Her anguish was clear when she opened up to Benny about her experience at Stanford: "I feel like all my life I've tried to find the answer […] I thought I might find the answers out at Stanford,/ But I'd stare out at the sea/ Thinking, where'm I supposed to be?"[136] Like Miranda as a child, Nina was in the unique position of straddling not only two countries, but also two social spheres: the lower socio-economic neighborhood from which she hailed, and the prestigious university she spent her life working to attend.

Usnavi was a character torn between the old and the new. While Nina's parents raised her to advance in American society, Abuela Claudia raised Usnavi on "hundreds of stories/ about home."[137] Having lost his parents as a child, Usnavi's desire to return to the Dominican Republic was in part motivated by a desire to reconnect with them through their culture and their love for the home they left behind. It was only once his dream of returning "home" was in hand that he realized where he truly belonged was in Washington Heights. Graffiti Pete's mural of Abuela Claudia inspired him to assume her mantle of keeping the memory of home alive through stories ("I illuminate the stories of the people in the street"[138]); however, for Usnavi, home was the barrio, the memory of which he must preserve in the face of gentrification: "In five years, when this whole city's rich folks and hipsters, who's gonna miss this raggedy little business?"[139]

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One of the biggest attractions of *In The Heights* was its unusual sound: "It [didn't] sound like the half-assed pseudo-pop that [cluttered] up Broadway: Miranda's score [was] rich and kaleidoscopic"[140]. His lyrics packed a powerful emotional punch, drawing the audience into the world that the characters inhabited with vivid language. In the words of the critic for New York Theater magazine: "you'll have to trust me that when Abuela Claudia sings about the open Cuban sky, or Vanessa describes the train rumbling by her apartment, or Nina remembers feeling that she lived at the top of the world when the world was just a subway map, the images stick with you."[141] Miranda's evocative language was backed by a powerful score. His decision to use the sounds around him growing up to tell the story of his neighborhood and community was crucial to understanding the message of his play. As Broadway has traditionally been a "white space", its musical style accordingly reflected its lack of cultural diversity, making it an ineffective vehicle to recreate the experiences of minorities on the stage.

While exclusively Latino music, such as merengue, salsa and bolero was important for telling a Latino story, rap and hip-hop were integral for telling the story of minority immigrants in a poor barrio such as Washington Heights. Through rap and hip-hop, disempowered Latino and African American youth were able to regain control of and draw attention to their plight. Although typically silenced by white society, this music created a platform for "examination and critique of the distribution of power and authority in the urban context."[142] The soundtrack of *In The Heights* was engaging as it invoked the passion that this marginalized community felt toward the space they inhabited. In his rap in "96,000", Sonny skillfully narrated the difficulties his community faced living in the barrio. He briefly and powerfully touched on inequality in housing; the "kids […] living without a good edumication"[143]; how "the rent is escalatin'"[144] and "the rich are penetratin'"[145] thanks to gentrification; and the discrimination and racism that minorities face ("racism in this nation's gone from latent to blatent!"[146]). The use of rap as a vehicle to express the difficulties that the community faced was much more effective and memorable than writing the problems into dialogue between the characters.

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135 Hudes and Miranda, "Breathe," Act I, 19.
136 Ibid, "When You're Home," 70.
137 Ibid, "Hundreds of Stories," Act II, 106.
138 Ibid, "Finale," 151.
139 Ibid, 150.
140 Jeremy McCarter, "Something's Coming," *New York Magazine*, February 26, 2007, Theater section, 126.
141 Ibid.
142 Forman, "Introduction," xviii.
143 Hudes and Miranda, "96,000," Act I, 51.
144 Ibid.
145 Ibid, 52.
146 Ibid.

Although the characters in *In The Heights* rap, Miranda made it clear that they were not in gangs. This was a source of relief for many of the actors involved with the production. As Robin de Jesús stated in the PBS documentary on *In The Heights*: "Finally a role where I [did] not have to carry a gun, I [was] not in a gang, I [was] not selling drugs. I [was] just a normal human being who [happened] to be Hispanic and who [happened] to live in this wonderful place called Washington Heights."[147] The lives of the characters on stage often reflected the lives of the actors themselves and their experiences growing up in America with immigrant parents. Mandy Gonzalez, who played Nina Rosario, acknowledged parts of her life being played out on the stage; similar to Usnavi, Gonzalez was primarily raised by her grandma, as her parents worked long hours as factory workers.[148] Reflecting on his cast, Miranda summarized: "A lot of people in the company [were] first generation stateside and it [was] an incredible thing to be through our work carrying the legacy of our parents."[149] Through *In The Heights*, the actors were able to take control of Miranda's earlier question as to what traditions Latinos keep, pass on to their children, and thus, keep alive.

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When receiving the Tony for Best Score, Miranda "[pulled] a small Puerto Rican flag from his pocket and dedicated the award to the homeland of his parents and relatives."[150] This gesture was well received by the Puerto Rican community who saw Miranda as a source of pride for his efforts to undo the negative perceptions of Latino immigrants. Five months after this, Miranda continued to make history when *In The Heights* became the first ever Actor's Equity production to tour in Puerto Rico. Not even *West Side Story* had toured the nation from which the Sharks gang immigrated. The reason likely stemmed from the fact that the casting of Puerto Ricans as the Jets rival gang appears to have been an "expeditious afterthought,"[151] as the role of their nationality in the play was to provide plot's tension, not to advance understanding of the culture of Puerto Rico. The arrival of *In The Heights* in San Juan boosted the morale of the community, owing to its loving portrayal of their people. *In The Heights* was well received by the Washington Heights community as well. It was seen as a source of self-esteem for many ("I'm proud […] It's my neighborhood"[152]) who were used to seeing their community portrayed in a stereotypical and negative light.

Objectively, *In The Heights* was a huge success. In the words of Olga Merediz (Abuela Claudia): "the show made its mark on Broadway history." [153] Two months after opening on Broadway, the play was nominated for thirteen Tony awards and it won four including best orchestrations, best choreography, best original score and best musical. That was the most nominations and awards won by any Latino show in Broadway history. Additionally, by January 2009, the musical "recouped the initial $10 million investment since the show opened on Broadway […] and set a financial record for the show and the theater […] for the week ending Jan 4."[154] However, more important to Miranda than the accolades was the possibility that "[some] little white kid is gonna know what a Puerto Rican flag is!"[155] Miranda's success in the industry was huge for the Latino community as it put their culture on stage in an attractive light and opened the door for further education on their history.

In The Heights leaves its audience with a rich sense of what it meant to be a Latino living in Washington Heights. The joy of life, family and community served as a buffer against the cold reality of discrimination and encroachment in one of the wealthiest cities in the world. While the Latino experience was filled with negative influences, *In The Heights* showed that their lives

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[147] Bozymowski, "In the Heights: Chasing Broadway Dreams."
[148] Ibid.
[149] Ibid.
[150] Patrick Healy, "*In The Heights* Creator Heading to Puerto Rico." *New York Times*, November 26, 2010, C2.
[151] Herrera, "How The Sharks Became Puerto Rican," 98.

[152] Melissa Grace and Larry McShane, "Soaring Heights," *New York Daily News*, May 14, 2008, 3.
153 Raul A Reyes, "Latinos Succeed on the Great White Way," *NBC News* (January 8, 2016), http://www.nbcnews.com/news/latino/broadway-latinos-succeed-great-white-way-n475546 (Accessed November 28, 2016).
[154] David Itzkoff, "*In The Heights* Recoups It's Initial Investment," *New York Times*, January 9, 2009, C5.
[155] Kenneth Jones, "Carnaval del Broadway: *In The Heights* Wows Audience at Final Performance," *Playbill.com*, January 10th 2011.

were not too different from the lives of its audience. The community seemed to thrive despite, or perhaps because of, the reality of their daily existence. It was through this positive portrayal of life in Washington Heights that Miranda was able to begin to heal some of the damage to the Latino community's reputation inflicted by *West Side Story* and *Capeman*. In the world of Broadway, *In The Heights* offered Latino actors the precious and rare opportunity to play a role other than the "violent gang member". Those who criticized the play for not portraying the harsher reality of Washington Heights misunderstood it. *In The Height*'s purpose was not to reinforce white beliefs about immigrants; instead, it offered, with exuberance, a glimpse of the bittersweet life enjoyed by Latino Americans living at the top of the subway map.

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