

SOCIALISM AND INDIVIDUALISM: A MANIFESTO BY LUKE SHAW
THE PRINCETON GENDER GAP BY MARCIA BROWN

THE PRINCETON PROGRESSIVE

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THE ARDUOUS TASK OF SELF-CREATION

William S. Tod Professor of Religion and African American Studies
Eddie S. Glaude, Jr. on race, philosophy, and personal history
by George Kunkel

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LETTER FROM THE EDITORS OF THE PRINCETON PROGRESSIVE

The 2016 election season has seen a tremendous rise in progressive political energy. We see this election, with the Sanders campaign and the left-wing anti-Trump mobilization, as an opportunity to grow the movement for a more just and equal future.

Historically, the left has struggled with factionalism and division, more so than the right. The current election is no different. Across the country and on the internet, supporters of Clinton and Sanders have fought each other fiercely. The Sanders supporters' anger and determination reflect both a growing constituency for a left-wing politics and intense disillusionment with the status quo, which Clinton, perhaps more than any other candidate, represents. However, we also recognize the risk disunity poses, especially at a time when the far-right, in the figure of Donald Trump, has captured the public imagination more than any other candidate in recent memory.

A Trump presidency would undoubtedly be catastrophic. We are not the kind of progressives who believe that things must get worse before they can get better. Such an attitude ignores the real suffering people experience when "things get worse," and there is never any guarantee that they will "get better." But we recognize that some progressives disagree about the best way to stop Trump and push the US political system leftward. In this issue, Andrew Tynes and Ararat Gocmen offer different takes on what the Sanders and Clinton campaigns mean for the left, and why progressives should support one candidate over another.

The Princeton Progressive does not endorse any candidate in this election. Not only is there no consensus among the editors and staff writers—we strive to be a platform for diverse progressive views—but we also strongly believe that the scope of progressive politics extends beyond the narrow confines of the American electoral system. Progressives, regardless of who becomes president in November, will need to push for policies that adequately address economic inequality. We will need to argue against needless military adventurism. We will

need to fight against Republican efforts to strip women and LGBTQA people of their rights. And while we can do this, partially, through electoral politics, we will have to continue the steady work of activism and protest.

So far, the focus of the left has been on the outcome of the election—Clinton or Sanders, then Clinton or Trump? However, we believe that progressives must focus on the day after the election. How will we protect the gains of the Obama administration? How will we address the Obama administration's disappointments? How will we challenge a surging far-right movement and the return of full-throated racism to presidential politics? How can progressives struggle together and build unity even as our energies are directed toward sometimes divergent efforts? How can we balance the diversity of a political movement that claims to truly represent the country? In this issue of The Princeton Progressive, we attempt to answer some of these questions, while others we attempt to elevate to a more prominent position in progressive discourse.

At Princeton, this spring has seen a lull in political activity when compared to past semesters. Some campaigns have been successful, while others have been stymied by the structures of an institution designed to impede radical change. However, we know that after a summer of difficult campaigning and debate, and with election day looming, the urgency of the current political moment will be felt more easily. Progressives must prepare to harness the sense of urgency, not only to make sure their candidates are elected (yes, candidates: it is important not to forget that other offices are at stake during this election cycle)—but also to bring more young people into our ranks. Almost every day or so, it seems, some study of "Millennials" appears stating how the youth of today are more liberal than ever before and more open to ideas such as socialism than any other generation has been for half a century. It is hard to know if this is true, and even if it isn't, we must make it so.



The Arduous Task of Self-Creation

By GEORGE KUNKEL

On most nights, Nassau Hall sits in a monumental silence, its façade blazing against the night sky from the industrial-grade lighting in the courtyard beneath. But the scene on Wednesday, November 18, 2015 cut through the majesty of Princeton’s meticulously designed campus plan. Students had gathered outside the main door, leaving open a patch of gravel path in front of the steps where tacitly appointed leaders stood as they improvised, attempting to compile a repertoire of chants and songs.

After the call and response of “No Justice! No Peace!” had filtered through the windows of the building for ten or fifteen minutes, the chanting quieted to a soft din to make way for a voice new to the scene. Eddie S. Glaude, Jr. is the current Chair of the Department of African American Studies and William S. Tod Professor of Religion at Princeton. “You want to support you friends inside,

right?” he asked from the foot of the steps, flanked by the two stone tigers perched on either side. A resounding “Yeah!” bellowed from the crowd. The follow-up, “But you want them to be reasonable, right?” was met with a notably less enthusiastic response.

Standing in the crowd, I could make out the tan-suit-clad Glaude, gazing out at the throng of students through oval frames. He was just one of a host of prominent figures—including noted philosopher Cornel West, Reverend William Barber, leader of the “Moral Mondays” civil rights movement in North Carolina and Ruth Simmons, former President of Brown University—who offered counsel that night to the members of a sit-in, students occupying the office of President Christopher Eisgruber. The tone of the advice was less parental than cautionary. Despite the wealth of experience that passed through Nassau Hall, it was the students, not their elders,

who were calling the shots. Glaude’s simple message, “It’s a marathon, not a sprint.”

At times, Glaude calls himself “a country boy,” referencing his childhood in Moss Point, Mississippi, a small town on the gulf coast where he was born in 1968. Moss Point was a “rich and complex place” whose natives now include University professors and professional athletes. When Glaude was growing up it was 60 to 70 percent black, but divided into the lower income east side and the predominantly white west side, Pascagoula. He was in the second grade when his father, Eddie Sr., was hired at the Pascagoula Post Office, and his family moved to the other side of town. Although many followed, the Glaudes were only the third black family to move in.

“Once we moved, life changed dramatically,” Glaude says, recalling new opportunities, access, and relationships. He speaks fondly of his childhood friends, listing

their names and current occupations. “Ron Krotosynski and I were like this,” he reminisces holding up two crossed fingers, “playing dungeons and dragons together, in class together, and competing all the way until we both left our town.”

Still, the Glaudes were not just part of an integrating town: they were the integrators. Glaude remembers playing with his Tonka Truck and his new neighbor outside the neighbor’s home just a few days after they had moved in. The other boy’s father yelled from the house, “Stop playing with that N*****.” It was the first time Glaude he had heard that word used as a brand for his identity.

Two years later, Glaude stormed out of his fourth grade classroom after calling his teacher a racist for singling him out in class. Going home that afternoon, he remembered feeling an overwhelming sense of dread at the thought of the punishment that surely awaited him. To his surprise, his father merely asked questions: “What did she say? How did she say it? What has she been doing?”

“Then you were right,” Eddie Sr. told his son upon hearing the evidence, “You always do that.”

Glaude describes his father as a task-master. The steely reserve of their relationship cracked only for Muhammad Ali fights, Richard Pryor skits, and Bobby “Blue” Bland songs. “I’m not here to be your friend,” Eddie Sr. would tell his son, “I’m here to prepare you for a world that’s not friendly.” Glaude recites the words as a mantra, passed down less so father-to-son than drill sergeant-to-new recruit. Repeating the phrase, Glaude pauses thoughtfully at the word “friend.”

At the age of 12, Glaude sat down at his blue typewriter to write his first book. It would be called “On Psychological Abuse,” an homage to his father’s parenting style, never physical, but always meant to toughen his son’s skin against the realities of a black and white world. “It was a different kind of preparation,” Glaude says, “I always tell my

In his introductory lectures, addressing a group of some fifty students and auditors, Glaude’s energy fills the room. His smile is infectious, but even with undergraduates, he speaks openly on the topic of rage.

students in these spaces you cultivate the habits of courage or you cultivate the habits of cowardliness. My dad wouldn’t let me be a coward when it came to race matters.”

Glaude found out only years later what came of the incident with the Tonka Truck. After hearing his son’s story, his father walked straight to the neighbor’s house. “If you ever...” he said, holding a 38 caliber revolver to the man’s chest.

Whatever the emotional effects of the relationship, his father’s stern approach to life at home helped to instill a drive in Glaude from an early age. Motivated by the idea that “Excellence is your best armor,” he went to Morehouse College at sixteen and after graduating, went on to Princeton, where he earned his Ph.D. in religion in just four years.

In his introductory lectures, addressing a group of some fifty students and auditors, Glaude’s energy fills the room. His smile is infectious, but even with undergraduates, he speaks openly on the topic of rage. He always seems on the verge of slipping into a grimace—brow furrowed, eyebrows pushing up against one another, and mouth contorted—reflective of the pain of the continuous mistreatment of black bodies: Rodney King, Eric Garner, Tamir Rice, Sandra Bland... In these moments, the passion emanating from his entire body pulls down on the room and the listener feels himself tumbling into the vast ugliness of experience, the experience of being black in a country that won’t let you forget it. But in mid-freefall, Glaude pulls back on the other end of a cord connecting rage with love. He never finishes a lecture, or any conversation for that matter, on what he calls the “blue notes.” Instead he offers a witty quip or moment of inspiration to counteract the

pain. Often, he invokes his grandmother’s words on rage: “If you keep dwelling on it, it’s gonna eat you up.”

In these lectures, Glaude discusses the writing of James Baldwin even more frequently than he recollects the advice of his family members. He describes Baldwin as his muse and talks about “Jimmy” as if the two are the best of friends, ready to sit down at the bar together for a round of drinks after class. But like most of Glaude’s words, the jovial attitude he speaks with seems to emit from a darker place. As I leave Glaude’s office one morning, I recall Baldwin’s “A Letter to My Nephew.” It’s hard to tell where Baldwin’s voice stops and Glaude’s begins. “You were born into a society which spelled out with brutal clarity, and in as many ways as possible, that you were a worthless human being,” Baldwin writes, “You were expected not to aspire to excellence: you were expected to make peace with mediocrity.”

Whenever he is caught by the fervor of Baldwin’s prose—Glaude’s voice begins to strain and his hands come alive—he returns to the importance of “the arduous task of self-creation in the face of denied individuality.” The creation is not just preparation, but assertion of one’s place in an unfriendly world.

“Baldwin gave me the language to articulate my rage,” begins another of Glaude’s meditations on life, which he repeats habitually, “he instructs me on how to embrace overwhelming love.” With his own son, Langston, Glaude makes a concerted effort to talk about ways to attenuate, while still recognizing, anger. Every day growing up, Glaude made sure Langston heard what he had not from his own father: “I love you.” The beads Glaude wears on his right wrist stand out against the formality of the rest of his wardrobe.

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He got them from a Buddhist temple in Kyoto, Japan while on a trip to give a series of lectures at Doshisha University. He brought Langston with him abroad after what Glaude remembers as a particularly tense stretch of basketball games. One thing Glaude did inherit from his father was an unyielding intensity, a trait that set the two at each other's throats. "It represents my connection with my boy, my man, the kid that I've called champ since the moment he was born," Glaude says of the bracelet. Langston has one just like it that he wears every day.

Still, Glaude reflects, "I am my father's child. I'm still trying to prepare him for a word that's not friendly. Part of that involves having the armor, George, to protect yourself against a world that despises you, so that it doesn't get into your soul." There is always a certain calm passion fueling Glaude's words, but invoking my name struck a different tone. Armor isn't academic jargon and it's not something Glaude puts on with a smile after a cup of coffee each morning. It's the reality of his lived experience, a reality he refuses to hide from those around him, his students, his colleagues, or himself.

Academically, Glaude's work falls under the heading of American pragmatism, a tradition started just before the turn of the 20th Century by the likes of John Dewey and William James. Reinvigorated in the 1970s and '80s by the work of the late Princeton University philosopher Richard Rorty, pragmatism attempts to pull traditional philosophy out of the realm of abstract thought. The pragmatist sees knowledge as experiential. Instead of finding its basis in assumptions about human nature, knowledge is closer to "the fruit of our undertakings," continually developing in an uncertain world. By grounding our beliefs about the world in lived experience, philosophy becomes a tool, not for abstract theorizing, but for social critique.

Glaude's own pragmatism pulls heavily from Dewey who uses "critical



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intelligence" as a guide. Every high school science class teaches the basis of the scientific method: form a hypothesis, set up an experiment, test one variable, and record the results. Critical intelligence works in a similar way, recording the results of past actions to orient future action. Glaude writes of Dewey's experimentalism in his book *In a Shade of Blue*: "We are always confronted with the possibility of error when we act. We experiment or tinker, with the understanding that all facts are fallible and, as such, occasionally afford us the opportunity for revision."

More generally, pragmatism holds that political authority should stem only from free agreement of the members of a society, and that one should do everything possible to eliminate human suffering. These beliefs commit the pragmatist to an

effort to provide all children equal opportunities at happiness. There are improvements to be made on all of these issues, but in light of their complexity, Glaude's work is guided by the questions, "What would happen if human beings engaged in the experimental method in their moral and ethical lives? What would happen if we thought experimentally in the political domain?"

At times, Dewey and James wrestled with questions of race. But despite writing against the backdrop of a nation still fighting the battles of reconstruction and segregation, neither painted race as a pervasive blemish on American democracy itself.

Glaude takes the history of race relations in America as the focal point of what he calls a "haunting duality at the heart of this country: a simultaneous commitment to democratic ideals and undemocratic practices."

Following in the footsteps of Cornel West, Glaude takes a pragmatist approach to the problem of racial inequality in America. As it moves from addressing general political questions about freedom and democracy to looking at the issue of race in America, pragmatism itself takes on a different tone. Where Dewey's writing remained steeped in his belief in scientific reason and Rorty's work focuses heavily on the use of language, Glaude's pragmatism is shaped by tragedy and imagination, the ability to reconceive of one's self and one's

Glaude takes the history of race relations in America as the focal point of what he calls a "haunting reality of this country: a simultaneous commitment to democratic ideals and undemocratic practices."

place in society.

"Part of what we need to do," Glaude tells an introductory African American Studies lecture, "is refuse to disremember the complexity of the Black Civil Rights movement." The traditional story of the protests throughout the 1960s and 70s is one of steady progress, from Brown v. Board of Education, to the March on Washington in 1963, to the Civil Rights Act of 1964 and the Voting Rights Act of 1965. The mainstream narrative co-opts the successes of the organizing done at places like the Highlander School and fashions them into the deeds of a benevolent America. This story sidelines the ugliness of Emmett Till's murder in 1955 and the race riots of 1964-65, which Glaude describes with words like "uprising" and "rebellion." Forgetting the violence of the time robs today's movements of the ability to learn from those past experiences. "When we make non-violence normative, when we make non-violence ordinary," Glaude repeats for emphasis, "we lose the miracle of its invocation." By staring down the harsh truth of these tragedies, black Americans as well as anyone involved in the fight for racial justice can understand the work that has brought us to where we stand today and acknowledge what is still left to accomplish.

The same is true of black identity. Overemphasis on conceptions of what it means to be black abstract away from the experiences of real people. When membership in a community is based solely on skin color, it creates an environment where, Glaude writes in his book *In a Shade of Blue*, "There is a real way of being black and a false way." Such rigid beliefs might explain a particular conception of solidarity sometimes seen in protest. When there is a right way to be black, anyone not actively supporting a movement, standing on the

front lines, becomes a white sympathizer. But there is a more constructive and flexible way to arrive at a collective identity in the struggle for racial equality. Glaude speaks of "breaking up the character of identity," rotating an outstretched hand as if to illuminate the fluorescent concept of 'blackness' by unscrewing it from the restrictive socket of American ideology. By building a conception of solidarity around the particular problems in a community, the faces that make up a group can change in response to shared concerns. Such a pragmatic definition of what it means to be black might also have the virtue of emerging directly from the experience of marginalized peoples. It would not be spoiled by the influence of corporate media or politics.

Reimagining history and asserting that 'blackness' can change may sound odd. Typically, once we settle on our own conception of personal identity, we tend to stick with it. We think of 'my identity' and 'my community' as fixed and find value in their unyielding certainty. Pragmatism breaks with that assumption entirely. It holds that the world is an uncertain, constantly changing place and because of that fact we have a choice; we can feel lost and passively buy in to the stories and myths passed down to us or we can imagine something entirely new. Meliorism is a tenet of pragmatism that rests heavily on what Glaude refers to as "the heroic capacities of ordinary people." It sits between blind faith and abject defeatism. At its core, meliorism means "all is not settled," a phrase Glaude utters with a special gravitas. Each ordinary person can change his own life, but it is also his responsibility to do so. Meliorism, in Glaude's words, "opens up space for human agency, for our ability to reimagine our circumstances in radical ways."

Glaude sees his own pragmatism as part of the second generation of prophetic pragmatism, a space that Cornel West opened in 1989 with *The American Evasion of Philosophy*. If Baldwin is his muse, then West is Glaude's mentor. "All of my work," he writes in the acknowledgements of *In a Shade of Blue*, "is indebted to Cornel West." American Evasion offered a new genealogy of American pragmatism, tracing its development from Emerson to Dewey to Rorty, stopping to analyze others like Reinhold Niebuhr, Lionel Trilling, and Hilary Putnam along the way.

West and Glaude sat side-by-side at a Teach-in at Princeton in early December, translating each other's words between the language of spirituality and that of democratic process, respectively. The difference between the two men might be summed up in their goatees. West's beard, apparently inspired by the nineteenth Century Russian playwright Anton Chekhov, is a mass of wiry black and gray that seems to be eating his mouth. The current West professes the liturgy of spiritual love, but, in years past, the younger West spoke in a language poetic in melody, yet Marxist in terminology, a habit that made his facial hair seem all the

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Clinton, Sanders, and Theories of Change

By ANDREW TYNES

Despite vast rhetorical differences between the two contenders for the Democratic nomination, Hillary Clinton and Bernie Sanders ultimately advocate similar things. They both support overturning Citizens United, cutting carbon emissions by 80 percent by 2050, and allowing undocumented immigrants to purchase insurance under the Affordable Care Act. The relatively few policy disagreements tend to arise from a difference in opinion about how to reach the same goal, like expanding access to college. Sanders and Clinton have both noted that either of their administrations would be leaps and bounds better than a Republican president. By these facts, this nomination process should have been restrained and uneventful.

Why, then, is this primary season such a divisive one? Part of it stems from the ad hominem criticisms levied primarily against Secretary Clinton, deriding her as a corporate shill who cannot be trusted to take on moneyed interests. Then again, many of the most prominent progressive economists and journalists believe that Clinton's plan for Wall Street, with particular care given to regulating non-banks, is broader in scope than Sanders's. Another grievance by detractors is Clinton's long and troubling history of supporting military interventions abroad. But it is unclear that Sanders's foreign policy would look too different than Clinton's, and his foreign policy outline lacks much clarity at all. The much more fundamental difference between Clinton and Sanders lies in two widely divergent beliefs about how political change happens.

The Sanders campaign firmly believes it can usher in a "political revolution" defined by high voter turnout

and large progressive majorities in Congress. Sanders himself hopes to convince working and middle class white voters to vote in accordance with their economic interests rather than their social policy preferences, breaking a decades-old trend that began with Richard Nixon's Southern strategy. In a speech to Liberty University, Sanders suggested that while "we disagree on [abortion and gay marriage]... there are other issues out there that are of enormous consequence to our country." He has good reason to believe this could work. In the race to become Burlington's mayor in 1981, self-described socialist Sanders defeated a

In the current moment, progressives should nominate a candidate who can best defend the tremendous achievements of the Obama presidency.

five-term incumbent by engaging blue collar white voters in a state Ronald Reagan had carried by six percent the year before. Now, the senator from Vermont hopes that by raising the class consciousness of working people, progressives can gain the seats in Congress necessary to enact his program.

Hillary Clinton has no such ambitions. Just as Sanders's personal experience in Vermont characterizes his understanding of change, Clinton's beliefs were formed during the first term of her husband's presidency, and, in particular, in their failed efforts of health insurance reform. She believes in powerful and intractable interest groups and thinks that opportunities for landmark reform are rare. In 2008, then-Senator Clinton mocked then-Senator Obama on the campaign trail, declaring that she had "... no illusions about how hard this is going to be. You are not going

to wave a magic wand and have the special interests disappear." Her cynicism explains, beyond her intelligence and experience, why Clinton understands the minutiae of policy better than pretty much any public official alive today. She believes that the most important policy happens in ways that cannot be captured by fiery speeches. She understands gridlock as a fact of life in American politics and therefore dedicates herself to circumventing it through obscure rules and footnotes. And despite her best efforts, regulating asset-backed commercial paper markets will never be as sexy as "breaking up the banks" and "making Wall Street pay."

Ultimately, both candidates are right. There is no singular theory of change. Different moments in history demand different progressive responses. I believe that in the current moment, progressives should nominate a candidate who can best defend the tremendous achievements of the Obama presidency. For now, efforts to convince working-class whites of the virtues of multiculturalism and social safety nets will be fruitless while the far right politics of fear are ascendant and persuasive to many. This is not the time for grand compromises or sweeping electoral gains. The battle of ideas is currently being waged in the trenches of congressional appropriations and regulatory agency appointments, not on the open fields of huge ideas like Medicare for All. To acknowledge this fact is not to be a reactionary or unimaginative—it is to recognize the historical moment. ■

The Sanders Offensive

By ARARAT GOCMEN

The Democratic primary race isn't a struggle between competing theories of change. It is instead a struggle between competing visions—one defensive, the other offensive—of how the Democratic Party should respond to the historical moment in which we find ourselves today. U.S. political discourse has moved consistently rightward over the past few decades, during which evangelical Christian and libertarian conservatism have thrived as New-Deal-era progressivism has effectively disappeared from mainstream politics. Hillary's response to this is to stick with the approach previously adopted by Bill and Barack, deciding which policies she supports based on what she expects an increasingly conservative Congress would allow her to pass into law. Bernie's response is to directly challenge this growing popularity of the Right by leading what he hopes will become a political revolution and striving to inspire a renewed progressive movement. Clinton's vision is based not on a theory of change but on a commitment to continuity with the Democratic leaders who preceded her. In contrast Sanders' commitment is to redefining the Democratic party platform draws its appeal.

Hillary Clinton, like her husband during his presidency and most Democratic politicians since the Reagan revolution, takes conservatism's rise as a given and proposes a compromise with it. Her aim is no more than to anchor political discourse at a reasonably centrist point in the political spectrum as the Overton window continues to move rightward. Insofar as her ideals are actually progressive, a proposition that lies in stark contrast to her political record, her progressivism is a fundamentally defensive one. She hopes

to mitigate the effects of conservatism's increasing popularity without offering a plan for how to combat it.

For example, Clinton wants to merely expand on the reforms included in the Dodd-Frank bill and "further rein in major financial institutions," rather than take on a de-regulatorily-inclined Congress and challenge the very existence of "too big to fail" banks. Her willingness to antagonize the financial sector is limited, even though her specific plans for banking reform may, for now, be more detailed than those proposed by Sanders. Clinton also wants only to "defend the Affordable Care Act" from Republicans' attacks and further improve upon it, rather than trying to replace it with the more progressive Medicare-for-all plan which she suggests would be preferable, if politically feasible. "The last thing we need is to throw our country into a contentious debate about health care again," she argues.

Sanders, however, encourages that kind of debate. He recognizes the strength of the conservative tide and identifies the need not for compromise and pragmatism, but a coherent Democratic response to the Right—an ideological offensive launched by progressives against conservatives. He lambasts not just the Republican administrations that have taken advantage of the conservative turn in U.S. politics since Reagan in order to, for example, gather support for militaristic ventures in the Middle East. He is also critical of the Democrats who have failed to adequately respond to the rightward shift in political discourse, abandoning their support of the basic welfare policies that defined the Democratic Party during the Great Depression and postwar years. "We need a mass grassroots movement," he proclaims, "that looks the Republicans in the

eye and says, 'If you don't vote to demand that your wealthy people start paying their fair share of taxes, if you don't vote for jobs, raising the minimum wage and expanding Social Security, we know what's going on, we're involved, we're organized, you are outta here if you don't do the right thing.'" In this sense, Sanders' campaign is committed to changing the way in which the Democratic Party, and the American Left appeals to the electorate. His calls for "revolution" are for a transformation of the Democrats' self-conception, from a party of liberal moderacy to a party of committed progressivism.

It is with this interpretation of Sanders' campaign in mind that progressive college students prefer Sanders over Clinton as the Democratic candidate in the 2016 presidential elections. The Democratic Party must put its foot down and challenge the rightward shift in American politics. Whatever congressional obstacles that Sanders might encounter while trying to implement his policies, and however impractical his reforms may appear to future policy wonks in the Economics department or the Woodrow Wilson School, he is the only candidate trying to fundamentally challenge American conservatism. Clinton's campaign represents only a promise to keep us anchored where we are, under threat from a movement that will ultimately nominate a race-baiting demagogue as its presidential candidate.

In this sense, as skeptical as I am about the efficacy of his old-fashioned brand of progressivism, I support a Sanders ticket in the 2016 presidential elections. Those of you who are similarly tired of the Right's political and ideological advance in recent years should too. ■

The Princeton Gender Gap



Princeton has never admitted more women than men, but it should.

By MARCIA BROWN

I sat down in the middle of McCosh 50, built in 1907, about 10 minutes early for class. It was the first day of ECO 100, Professor Harvey S. Rosen's microeconomics class.

The historic hall was nearly empty, but it would soon fill with almost 450 students. Students of all different sizes and shapes, hair color, style, gender, confidence level filed in—all of them seemed to be in this class. As I watched students ramble through the door, I turned to my friend, thinking of the universality and the timelessness of the course, and said, "Imagine if everyone coming through that door was a white guy."

He laughed. "Yeah, it really did used to be like that." He went on to mimic their conversation, "Oh yeah man, but I'm Catholic." "Me? I'm from Illinois, but he's from New York."

A lot has changed at this university, that's undeniable. It has shambled along at its own pace, often slower than others, but change has come.

It's just not done—nor should it be.

In my high school economics class, though almost evenly divided by gender, girls rarely spoke up. In ECO 100, according to preceptor and graduate student Molly Schnell, there are 203 women in the class and 229 men—a relatively even gender breakdown. On the other hand, Schnell noted, her 24-person economics graduate program has only three women.

Because Rosen's class is a prerequisite for several majors, it's unsurprising many women take it. But if they weren't required to, would they? If there were more women in ECO 100, would more women major in economics? Would they be more confident speaking up?

At first, maybe not. But maybe,

If there were more women in ECO 100, would more women major in economics? Would they be more confident speaking up?

with a critical mass of fellow women, female students might feel more confident in a discipline where they have been a historical minority. In STEM areas, women remain a distinct minority. Like other minorities—racial or religious—women's presence is barely felt when women compose less than a third of the students majoring in philosophy, physics, B.S.E. computer science, and math, according to The Daily Princetonian's 2015 numbers.

Curious about the history of underrepresentation, I traced admissions statistics for women since they were first admitted as freshmen in 1969. I could only trace online articles back to the Class of 2008 and only a few other scattered statistics in The Daily Princetonian archives. I turned to

the Seeley G. Mudd Archives Library only to discover that there's a 40-year embargo on University records; I could only access records of admitted women up to the Class of 1979. Even after repeatedly seeking help from the admissions office, Executive Assistant Jamie Goodbinder responded that the office does "not keep these historical statistics in this office" and later that "due to the large number of requests that we receive, we cannot accommodate your request to help with your research."

But my research from the Class of 2008 to the Class of 2020 at least revealed something interesting. In those 12 years, Princeton has not once admitted a class that was majority women. A couple classes were 50-50, but most years it was majority men. The difference was only marginal, but those numbers—consistent for so long—seem hardly unintentional when comparable schools have slight deviations from 50-50 in both directions, and nationwide more women are applying to college than men.

In the first few years of admitting women, they were in the minority. The ratio hovered around 2 to 1, men to women for the first few years and gradually shrunk as the number of women in the class grew. Eventually, the class size grew large enough to accommodate equal numbers of each gender, but the University still did not admit more women than men.

Meanwhile, national trends have shown a huge uptick in the number of women applying to college. From 1972 to 2004, the Russell Sage Foundation notes that women's GPAs were increasing each year and they were uniformly higher than men's grades. Moreover, there has been a huge rise in the number of people obtaining a bachelor's degree overall, with total enrollment almost doubling from 1970 to 2008. While public universities have reflected these shifts with a breakdown of 43.6 percent male, 56.4 percent female, at private universities the difference is substantial: 40.7 male to 59.3 female. This may be partially attributable to the fact that most all-female schools

are private. But even now, when there are slightly more college-age men than women, the disparity persists.

Since 1970, (the year after Princeton first admitted women into the freshmen class, not as transfer students) when the gender gap between national undergraduate enrollment was 57.7 percent men and 42.3 percent female, the gap has essentially inverted itself. In 2015, it was exactly the opposite for men and women, according to Higher Ed Live. Even accounting for women's schools, this disparity is large. As for the applicant pool, in 2010 Higher Ed Live noted 56 percent of college applicants were women. Yet, with significantly more women than men enrolled in—and applying to—college nationally, why does Princeton show not even the slightest gender sway toward women?

At Columbia University, the entire student body is 51 percent women, not including Barnard College. In the UC system, 43 percent of graduate students are women, compared to 53 percent of undergraduates.

Striving for a 50-50 enrollment is commendable, but not if it doesn't represent the applicant pool. Even if there are fewer women than men applying to Princeton, a similar principle applies. It seems uncanny and should be unacceptable that more men than women might be applying to Princeton when national trends indicate more women are applying to college overall. If this is the case, it makes sense that admissions rates reflect that. However, it doesn't make sense that fewer women would apply here. That's problematic in itself. When national trends indicate the applicant pool should have more women than men, it reflects poorly on the university if the opposite is

true. At other Ivy League schools, the gender breakdown may not be even. Frequently there are more men than women, though not always. But most comparable schools have had at least one class in the last decade with more women than men, unlike Princeton. If it is indeed true that there are fewer women than men applying to Princeton, then it follows that the class is majority men. Either way, if this is the case, it's no wonder women did not attain the highest leadership positions on campus until very recently. Most women either didn't put Princeton among their top choices, or they weren't considered in admissions at high enough rates to constitute a majority.

In the past five years, there have been two consecutive years of women as both editor in chief of The Daily Princetonian and as student body president—two of the most visible student leadership positions on campus. Yet was only in the past five years, almost 50 years after women were first admitted! This is not say women were never in leadership positions, just that it was quite unusual. Obviously, the administration has no sway over student body opinion but they can lead by example, by valuing women enough to put them in the majority—even just once.

Each year does vary. There may be years when more men than women in the applicant pool are qualified—but it shouldn't be a trend stretching back to the Class of 2008. Even classes that are exactly even don't reflect the applicant pool and definitely don't reflect national trends. Sports are no excuse now either. Thanks to Title IX in 1972, a Division I school has plenty of women's sports for which to recruit now, too.

For the Class of 2019 at Harvard, there were slightly more women than men matriculates. At Columbia University, the entire student body is 51 percent women—not including Barnard College. In the University of California system, "43 percent of UC's graduate academic students are women, compared with 53 percent of its undergraduates." But at

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other universities like Stanford, Yale, and Dartmouth, the gender disparity persists with more men than women currently, although it's not clear how long it has existed. Granted, these schools have substantial graduate programs that contribute to the disparity, as more men than women typically enroll in graduate school. I argue, however, that this wouldn't apply to more representative undergraduate student bodies because women would be more encouraged to make a choice to continue on to undergraduate programs. It's true Princeton isn't alone in this pattern, but it does seem to be more apparent here than at more elite schools. Moreover, even if Princeton wasn't alone, that's not a strong reason to shy from pioneering equality.

It seems to me that if these schools seemed more open to admitting women, more women might apply—if that's even the issue. I can't make hypotheses for why the data shows this trend. I can't even access all of the data. All the same, it deserves attention and action. Princeton should show its women undergraduates and graduates that it values them enough to allow their application rates to be reflected in class composition.

Princeton doesn't necessarily have to go as far as Columbia; it's a big step after a drought this long to even admit a class or two where women

are in the majority. But such a sisterhood just might help overcome some the barriers that discourage women from leadership positions, STEM majors, even graduate programs. Admitting more women could help overcome some diversity struggles within the University.

Moreover, we don't want to go so far that Princeton has to start recruiting men. Although I highly doubt that the Old Boys Club would ever have trouble maintain male application rates, it's important to have the gender imbalance sway toward women sometimes. It wasn't even until 1987 when the student body voted 872 to 794 to change the gendered lyrics of "Old Nassau."

When in Physics 208, a class of 60, there are only two women, I see a problem. While it's unlikely that one or even a series of admitted classes with majority women will set the balance straight in physics, it might be a start. It encourages women by showing faith in them—by showing a belief that they deserve to be here. In STEM classes, the gender

Princeton should show its women undergraduates and graduates that it values them enough to allow their application rates to be reflected in class composition.



difference has persisted for decades, with only slight positive improvement. Moreover, these disparities exist along racial, ethnic and religious lines in other areas of study as well, often with just as drastic differences. Admissions, though, is an obvious and strong way to show that the University cares to change these class disparities. By not admitting more women, Princeton, intentionally or not says that women are not valued enough to be in the majority of a Princeton class.

Other institutions on campus also maintain this mentality and an admissions process that connotes this message furthers this idea. For example, Tiger Inn was the last bicker (selective) eating club to go co-ed in 1991, 22 years after Princeton first admitted women. 46 years after Princeton first admitted women, TI elected its first woman president. Moreover, TI only went co-ed after a 12-year legal battle with Sally Frank '80 that didn't make it to the Supreme Court—though TI tried twice—but was heard in Federal Circuit court, according to *The Daily Princetonian*. Cottage, for its part, settled with Frank in 1986 and Ivy went coed in 1990.

It's been proven that having a critical mass of women, or any marginalized group in a space, is critical for that group's prosperity. Supreme Court Justice Sandra Day O'Connor, the first female justice to serve, is noted for having said that after Justice Ruth Bader Ginsberg was appointed, the minority feelings from being a women, and therefore being less valued, deflated. It's notable that although these two justices had opposing ideologies, they shared a fundamental commonality: being the standard bearers for their gender. It's an example that I hope can be replicated in Physics 208 or in the TI officers board. Ginsberg said in *Vanity Fair*, "That at the end of the day, a wise old man and a wise old woman reach the same judgment. But there are perceptions that we have because we are women. It's a subtle influence."

The concept of a critical mass applies to other integration efforts.

Some of the most notable examples are individuals like Elizabeth Eckford and Ernest Green, members of the Little Rock Nine, who attempted to integrate Little Rock High School and were the only African American students in a school of 1,800 students in 1957. Their stories and so many others have been essential in pioneering change and pushing for inclusivity. While the situation at Princeton is not nearly so dire, progress is not so linear either.

Princeton elected its first female president in 2001 when President (now emerita) Shirley Tilghman took office. She proceeded to build a sixth residential college named after alumna Meg Whitman, and during her tenure Amy Gutman was Provost and Anne-Marie Slaughter was Dean of the Woodrow Wilson School of Public and International Affairs. Additionally, she pushed to build the alumna network and had the "Every Voice" conference on campus celebrating LGBT and ally alumni, which was the first gathering of its kind. As tremendous as these successes were, they should be a starting point, not an era.

Feelings of inclusion should be more than a talking point and more than a photo campaign at Princeton. How women and minorities feel on campus is not only central to their identity, but central to their success on campus. Without a critical mass—something even harder to accumulate when factors like race, ethnicity, and religion are at play as well—women and minorities might find Princeton less welcoming. Admissions policies, acceptances, and how admissions denote racial, ethnic, religious and gender categories are essential to campus feelings and individual identity.

And we're definitely not there yet. The admissions office just released the gender breakdown for the class of 2020: 52 percent men and 48 percent women. One more year to add to my Excel spreadsheet, Princeton. ■

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Which brings us back to BJJ. While anti-racist protesters were active last year (under the aegis of Post-Ferguson at Princeton) with events such as the die-in and march on Prospect Street, the BJJ's sit-in in November marked a categorical shift in the kind of tactics that modern student protestors at Princeton have employed. Sit-ins, of course, are nothing new. In fact, they are perhaps the go-to tactic for nonviolent direct action. What is new is the use of this mildly risky tactic by traditionally risk-averse Princeton students. The sit-in marks a significant shift in the way that activism is conceptualized on campus.

Other movements in the last two years have relied on broad-based, grassroots student organizing in combination with sit down meetings with administrators. This has basically been a way for organizers to show how much support the groups' demands had among the student body by getting a minimal buy-in from a maximum amount of people—a petition signature, a referendum vote, a body at a rally. The BJJ's sit in inverted that model by instead asking a small group of protestors to totally commit to the movement—to the point of risking disciplinary action. But the students who stayed the night in Nassau hall committed more than just their bodies and their academic future to the movement to make Princeton's environment less suffused by institutional racism and white supremacy—they also tacitly agreed to endure the relentless backlash that has ensued: from Yik-Yak, *The Daily Princetonian*, Fox News and the Princeton Open Campus Coalition. In exchange for injecting passion and energy into activism at Princeton, they exposed themselves to the passion and energy that has been mustered by conservative and change-averse elements of the University. By propelling their movement onto the national stage, they became vulnerable to the slings and arrows of reactionary elements across the country and within on-line comment sections. Embodying the best of students at Princeton, they triggered the worst.

It is yet to be seen whether the BJJ's demands will be met, and whether the sit-in will have achieved actual institutional change at Princeton. What is clear is that the movement has been more successful than any other in Princeton's recent history at garnering attention, spurring debate, and forcing the administration to react on protestors' terms. None of this is to say that sit-ins should now be the preferred method of protest at Princeton. There are a whole host of issues that demand activism but are unsuited to such direct, confrontational action against the University administration. But the BJJ has performed an invaluable service to campus activists by demonstrating that there are alternatives—effective alternatives—to popular grass roots organizing that can galvanize conversations about change. By watching the rippling effects of the sit-in at Princeton, we all learn more about how the University conceptualizes the agency of its students and understands its own ability to change. ■



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more radical.

The tight contours of Glaude's beard, on the other hand, match the clean, controlled lines of his dark gray suit. At Morehouse he had what he calls a "conversion experience" reading *The Autobiography of Malcolm X*, and he grew the goatee to mirror Malcolm's after he left the Nation of Islam. The move coincided with a shift in Malcolm's thought from calling for independence from white culture to promoting black power and self-determination. For Glaude, reading through the experience of Malcolm X's life inspired not only an intellectual realization, but a personal one: "This is why my dad, on so many levels, is so damn angry." Like West's, the facial hair that Glaude wears is an homage to a mentor, but with intellectual history as with much else in Glaude's life, comes deep, often dark emotional and personal resonance.

While their language differs, what remains the same between West and Glaude is their ability to captivate an audience, particularly students. Kijan Maxam first met Glaude as an undergraduate at Bowdoin College, where Glaude taught after earning his Ph.D. Maxam is a now Ph.D. candidate in the Religion, Ethics and Politics program at Princeton. "We pop up wherever he is," she jokes, mentioning

Glaude's lectures today retain the preacher-like quality. Sentences, more often than not Baldwin quotes, start strong before trailing off into a tense whisper of a finale.

other past classmates who had done the same. Maxam categorizes Glaude as a "teacher-preacher." Teacher first because of his overwhelming commitment to his students. Preacher because the "urgency with which he's teaching takes on a sermonic feel, it's infectious."

Glaude's lectures today retain the preacher-like quality. Sentences, more often than not Baldwin quotes, start strong before trailing off into a tense whisper of a finale. The power placed on the last phrase is in the straining of the voice, not the volume. "It is the innocence which constitutes the crime..." As he works strings of sentences together, he builds into a crescendo. Freeing himself from behind the podium, he walks about the front of the amphitheater lecture hall, his open palms spreading out in front of him for emphasis and coming together to designate unity.

Maxam remembers that during her time at Bowdoin, Glaude's undergraduate students shared a recurring joke: they would leave each class asking one another what had just happened. Each lecture's rhythm would draw them in, but the words Glaude sculpted into abstract concepts often made little sense. "We always knew there was something profound underneath," she says, "but we kept asking 'How do we decode it?'"

Kevin Wolfe recalls that the first lecture of each class felt like he was being thrown straight into a fire. Wolfe received his Ph.D. from Princeton in last June under Glaude's supervision. He, too, followed Glaude from Bowdoin. After working with him for 19 years, he describes him as a big brother. After the first day, Wolfe recalls spending the rest of the semester trying to claw his way out of the flames and pin down what exactly Glaude was talking about.

Today, the verbiage has evolved, according to Maxam, who has been a preceptor for Glaude. He builds his talks around one or two concepts and then fills them in with examples to which he continually refers as he breaks down abstract ideas and gives students the tools to understand them. Maxam said she sees students, instead of wondering what it all means, leaving lectures asking "How does it apply to me?"

Both former students see the change as emblematic of Glaude's commitment to growth. "Eddie genuinely cares about figuring out how best to reach you," Wolfe says, commenting on the vast array of student perspectives in each classroom. "He'd be a tinkerer and an experimenter with his pedagogy."

Wolfe's use Deweyian language is not a coincidence. Both he and Maxam speak in an idiom that is both inflected by pragmatism and reflective of Wolfe's assertion that Glaude "does not want sycophants." Wolfe describes in Glaude a "hunger," which offers an interestingly different take on the language of anger, but still maintains the pragmatic

Glaude relates music to the lowest of lows and the highest joys. The blues are a refuge from the nasty realities of life and rest on an ethos of self-creation within a society that dictates the terms of individuality.

undertones. When she talks about her own research, Maxam asserts the ethical importance of her academic work's grounding in people's actual lives. The importance of gaining knowledge from lived experience is at the forefront of her ethnographic study of social and political change in Jamaica.

In all of his work, Glaude says, "the goal is to create the space for people to be larger. When you walk into a room, you don't want the oxygen levels to go down. You want people to get bigger, more expansive." It's true whether he is in the classroom or in the national spotlight. He is a contributor to the *Huffington Post* and *Time*, regularly appears on nationally televised news programs like CNN, and most importantly engages and writes about activist communities all across the country.

The Black Lives Matter movement and the state of race relations in America at the end of President Obama's second term set the stage for his newest book, *Democracy in Black: How Race Still Enslaves the American Soul*. It is a call to action in response to what Glaude calls "the value gap", an institutionalized belief that white people are valued more than others. In a recent interview, he told Salon, "My hope is that we can begin to give voice to a new kind of politics by being bolder. Democracy in black has always been about efforts and actions on the part of black people and others to make real the idea that this country is of the people, for the people and by the

people. At the heart of it, it's trying to expand the very notion of 'the people.'"

Constantly referring back to the broader black community is emblematic of the humility with which Glaude tries to carry himself. This, he says, comes from his mother. Reminding himself of home is a way he can always recalibrate and remember her words, which he parses into four basic thoughts: "You want to confirm the dignity of every human being; you want to understand that you are a fallen, finite creature, that you're not perfect; you want to walk in a kind of humility that's not self-deprecation, but a kind of humility that allows other people to be who they are and be who they've been called to be; and, finally, you want to do some good. You want to leave some good behind in the time that you're here."

'Parsing' is Glaude's way of understanding, and using his past. It's hard to imagine a young Eddie Jr. engaging his parents on the finer points of pragmatism. The proverbial wisdom that Glaude lives by – his mother's morality, his grandma's word on rage, and his father's preparatory armor – may be the words of his elders, but the words are his own re-articulation. Baldwin gave him the language to articulate his experience, and Glaude infused the language with meaning by understanding it through his own experience.

"The blues is an impulse to keep the painful details and episodes of a brutal experience alive in one's aching consciousness, to finger its jagged grain, and to transcend it, not by the consolation of philosophy but by squeezing from it a near-tragic, near-comic lyricism," Ralph Ellison once wrote in *Living With Music*. The blues crops up again and again in Glaude's work and in his life. He says he can tell his life's story through music. His first heartbreak came to the soundtrack of Atlantic Star and Saturday mornings were filled with B.B. King, Albert Collins, and Betty James. His father would come home after long days of work

and immediately fill the house with sound. Glaude relates music to the lowest of lows and the highest joys. The blues are a refuge from the nasty realities of life and rest on an ethos of self-creation within a society that dictates the terms of individuality.

A lecture on African American music modeled by one he learned from Cornel West explains the role of the blues. "What we're trying to figure out," Glaude reminds the class, "is, over all our readings, in the midst of all the suffering, how joy is snatched from the ugly dimensions of life." Moving from early 20th Century to today, he traces the way in which the sound of the music reflects changes in material circumstance. Work songs of sharecroppers, like "the corn holler" are born from a deep, guttural feeling of pain. The sound morphs with the great migration as jazz is born out of urbanization. With continued integration into northern society and articulation of the African American's place within that society come big band, bee bop, show tunes, Motown, and more. The movement from the field to the ghetto is a "soundtrack with deep historical meaning."

He works his way through the likes of Drake and Beyoncé, showing that even mass commercialization cannot remove the meaning of the sound of black America. "The social reality still animates the music," he says playing "Animals" by Dr. Dre. The mood in the room shifts as Glaude goes from energetic dancing to somber reflection and "Blacker the Berry" comes over the speakers. His grimace materializes as Kendrick Lamar's hoarse voice fills the room with the harsh weight of the rapper's own experience, "You can vandalize my perception but can't take style from me." Glaude pairs Kendrick's anger with the rapper's own version of "all is not settled." As "Alright" plays in the background, Glaude walks to the center of the room to address the crowd. "This is your generation. The sound continues." ■



Individualism and Socialism: A Manifesto

BY LUKE SHAW

I was talking about politics with someone in the dining hall, and they said that they were centrist from a lack of political knowledge, rather than from conscious decision, to which I responded that I was avowedly leftist. I answered the inevitable ‘Like Bernie Sanders-left?’ with ‘Left of that.’

‘Wow. So what are you?’

‘I suppose a socialist.’

‘Really? I feel that socialism is the more moral doctrine, but I don’t know...’

The misperception of socialism as only some kind of humanitarian, ‘moral’, hippie-love utopia of caring for all, or some such unfavourable contrast to ‘pragmatic’ capitalism, motivated me to write this piece. Socialism is more than simply the idea that it is the most ethical system of production; it is important for us on the political left to dispel the misperception that it isn’t because it allows socialism to be dismissed as impractical. If everyone won’t even buy Fairtrade coffee for ethical reasons, it’s difficult to argue that they will collectively pursue a complete reshaping of the system of

production for the common good. This argument misses the point of my socialism because it makes an appeal against a human nature which doesn’t come into my individualist basis for socialism. That basis is a little more nuanced than altruistic worries about the immorality of the material plight of the poor, and turns on a more holistic approach to human development, which sees the material suffering of some as opposed to the individual development of any and all. Thus arguing that, as a socialist, I have an optimistic view of human nature or that I am an impractical moraliser is irritating because a more comprehensive understanding of my socialism makes these arguments against me invalid. I am particularly irritated because I am not a socialist solely for humanitarian reasons, and to say the two are necessarily linked is ahistorical. The term ‘socialist’ was historically

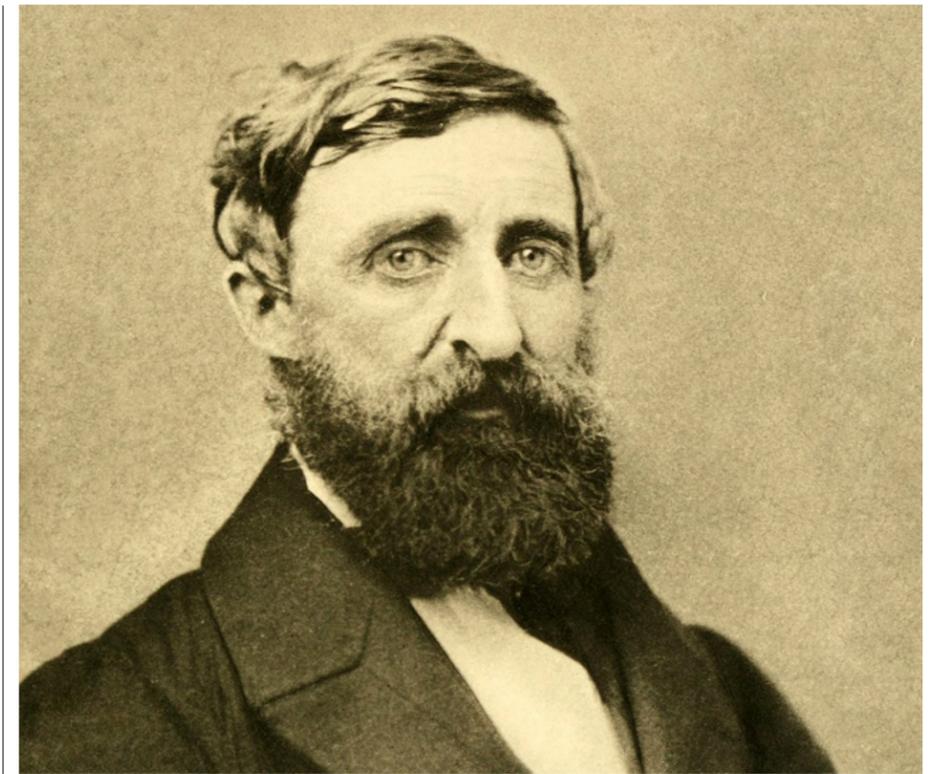
Romantic socialists allow true freedom, not simply economic freedom, by envisioning a system where one can produce according to one’s wants, and be done with it.

applied broadly, from Saint-Simon’s scientific utopias based on state control, to anarchistic developments which stress the local collaboration of workers, some of which have libertarian streaks. The difference in political organization would suggest different ideological bases, as indeed there are.

You can distinguish at least three different types of socialists, or, at least, three different factors motivating them. There are the humanitarians, the ones who wish to alleviate the suffering of the poor, who find inequality morally indefensible; Che Guevara is often placed in this category. There are those who are socialists (to various degrees) from economically efficient considerations – such as one of the founders of modern, mathematical economics, Leon Walras. Most are aware of both these types, but it has become more difficult to advocate socialist

efficiency since the collapse of the USSR. Hence, to be a socialist, there is supposedly only one route, the humanitarian, open to you. But this disregards a third class, one that I subscribe to: the Romantic socialist.

Although Romanticism can involve fellow-feeling, I would emphasise the individualist elements in my characterization of the Romantic socialist. In this class are the likes of Oscar Wilde or Henry David Thoreau. What they all share is a certain strain of individualism, which, in various ways, manifested in an opposition to the capitalism of their times. Oscar Wilde disliked that private property “involves endless claims upon one, endless attention to business, endless bother... its duties make it unbearable. In the interest of the rich we must get rid of it.” His opposition to capitalism was not just that it caused the suffering of the poor, but rather that inequality created a necessary focus on material wealth, by rich and poor, that was opposed to the individual’s desires for self-development. The existence of the poor, and the possibility of becoming one of them, militates against being contented with the amount one has, and necessitates a continual fight against the demands society places on one to make more. For Wilde, the aim of socialism is not only to alleviate the suffering of the poor, but to open up the avenues of individualism closed by capitalism. By ensuring the “material well-being” of all, the individual’s choice and self-development will be ensured, by removing the effect of competitive forces. So too with Thoreau, who rejected the increasing productivity (and consequent rise in the standard of living) of industrialisation for manual labour, because of the incessant demands of the capitalist economy to work beyond one’s wants (also Wilde’s criticism). Choosing less wealth in the woods was not about greater leisure, but about work that becomes directly related to one’s wants. Wilde might differ on this point, being very concerned about leisure, but Thoreau sees this kind of self-chosen work, not the imposed labour of



The straight-jacketing of thought as economically competitive only allows self-delusion, false certainty in the necessity of pursuing profit.

capitalism, as important to individual development.

The common theme is the necessity that, under capitalism, one must work beyond one’s wants, and that this precludes individualism of any stripe other than pursuit of wealth. And in being so limiting, it seems disingenuous to call it individualism at all. Wilde writes that “man, being naturally ambitious, makes it his aim to accumulate this property, and goes on wearily and tediously accumulating it long after he has got far more than he wants, or can use, or enjoy, or perhaps even know of.” He “will kill himself by overwork in order to secure property...considering the enormous advantages that property brings, one is hardly surprised.” The point is that, whether one is a worker or a capitalist, there is no possibility of working a little if one only

wants a little, because the forces of competition prevent this. Most people tend to realize this, but the difference with the Romantic socialist is that they recognize that there is a way to escape this competition. For example, in the New Yorker, referencing reduced working hours, an article stresses that we would have “to trust that using that time for ourselves won’t somehow disadvantage us.” That is, either work to the bone, and have more than you need (or less), or do not work at all, and starve.

Even the capitalist must produce as much as he can (so the workers are worked to the bone) even if neither of them have wants commensurate to the value of the total product. If the capitalist produces less than he profitably can, he will not realise full profit, and others will, so he will fall behind and go out of business, unable to increase his production as much as others with capital to reinvest. The tautology here is that production must be maximised in order to maximise production. But the flip side is that there is no space for less than optimal production, or, production according to one’s relative wants of leisure and wealth. To produce

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less means to produce nothing, so in order to live, one must devote one's life to producing – "life becomes a means to life" as Karl Marx wrote. So competition does become an iron law of sorts, but only because of the system of production.

Under a socialist system, as conceived of by an individualistic socialist, the only imperative to one's work is one's own wants - reduce them, and reduce one's work. The workaholic, if their motivation is really as simple as wanting to work and produce, still can - this is what common ownership of the means of production allows. But they have no means by which to force others to overwork and create more wealth for them, because they lack the leverage of making you work for them. You're able to satisfy your wants, without recourse to theirs, either as having to work for them as wage-labour, or as a competing producer; you are an individual.

Romantic socialists allow true freedom, not simply economic freedom, by envisioning a system where one can produce according to one's wants, and be done with it; rather than being 'freely' impelled by competition to produce maximally. We might disagree among ourselves about how to go about this. Wilde

might like an industrialised society in some form, which allows for greater leisure by enhancing efficiency. People can then produce enough with less time input. Thoreau, on the other hand, sees the act of farming simply as important - he cares only about the unnatural disconnect that capitalism introduces between wants and work. Productivity increases are perhaps sought to increase production, but by the individual who wants to; no one is impelled to do so for fear of being "disadvantaged."

Thus, if we look at socialism from this angle, criticizing it on the grounds of humanitarianism appears unnecessary. The fact that, without competition, production is less, is not important; every man can work for himself, making his own balance between work and leisure. Indeed, the fact that production decreases in the absence of competition perhaps suggests something about a human desire for the socialist situation. Simply put, I see no reason why every man in employment should be worked to the bone while a mass cannot fulfil the basic requirements of life. In this manner, I could be mistaken for a moralizing humanitarian, but this is not so. I don't see why I should, as a result of the isolated actions of the actors in the market, have to work more than is necessary to satisfy my wants, particularly when there is no good reason – everyone producing beyond their wants results in an

All that is required is a change from a system where everyone produces beyond their wants, to a system where people are allowed to live, without having to devote themselves completely to production.

over-accumulation of products, and hence unprofitability, as prices fall. All that is required is a change from a system where everyone produces beyond their wants, to a system where people are allowed to freely express themselves, to live, without having to devote themselves completely to production.

As a final point, I would point out that the despicable competition, the unwieldy beast we have made into a god, which forces each and every man against another, by articulating a false necessity to our actions, contravenes the individualist choosing of one's own values. Its free-market expression so restricts a man that the certainty of competition quells the existential uncertainty at how to live life. The strait-jacketing of thought as econo-competitive only allows self-delusion, false certainty in the necessity of pursuing profit. Unable to bear the weight of the lack of our own values, we collapse into others' comforting, false necessity, the certainty of competition.

That competition and capitalism are opposed to individualism should now be, despite the conservative rhetoric of 'free' markets, at least understandable. It is also important not to dismiss socialist arguments purely from the efficient or humanitarian bases. I have argued here for socialism solely from individualism as a correction to both misperceptions – to dispute my claims on efficient considerations is to miss the point, although I firmly believe in the efficiency of socialism. What matters is that I am an individualist; so I am a socialist. ■



Latino Immigrants in the Town of Princeton

The story of a community in flux.

BY ANDIE AYALA

Donna Sarah Cortez

Sarah Cortez, who goes by 'Donna Sarah' to most in the community, is the coordinator of the Spanish religious education program in St. Paul's Catholic Church, where she teaches catechism in Spanish to children. She settled in the town of Princeton in 1989 when she emigrated from Oaxaca, Mexico. At the time, she said, there was no Spanish mass or Spanish youth education program like the one she runs now. There were a few Mexican and Guatemalan people who lived there initially, she said, and whose families and friends gradually followed them to the area.

Cortez first started cleaning offices at \$7 per hour, and then transitioned to working for a fencing and air-conditioning engineering firm. During the 2008 recession, she lost her job when the company she worked for left the state. Now, she

works as a babysitter, cleans homes on weekday mornings, and teaches Catholic religious education to children of 50-60 Spanish-speaking families on weekday afternoons.

Cortez said that all of the Hispanic workers who help with the church's education program are volunteers. "For me, maintaining faith within one's family is very important," she told me. "When you have faith you don't fall easily. When you have faith you can carry on when you have difficult times."

Since she's been in the community for so long, Sarah Cortez said that she's seen the Latin American community grow, both in population size and income. She said some immigrants who worked for restaurants, landscaping companies, and small businesses have now become small-business-owners themselves. However, she noted, they still live in a limbo of insecurity, uncertain of the work that they will acquire on a yearly basis. To make a living wage, some young men work multiple jobs,

especially when it becomes too cold to work in the landscaping business during winter.

While Sarah's story is a hopeful one, it is not devoid of hardship. When I asked what life is like as an immigrant from Latin America living in Princeton, she replied, "I've been in Princeton volunteering to work with the Hispanic population in the church for many years, but the church only started paying me two years ago," and even then, "they only give me a slight compensation when I come to do [administrative work] on Saturdays." Donna Sarah is not always paid for the time and labor that she puts into her work, but she dedicates herself to it, hoping that her faith will encourage those who look up to her.

"Pero me amo esta comunidad. Me gusta servir y ser útil a mi comunidad." "But I love this community. I love to serve and to be helpful to my community."

Despite the fact that she wasn't

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born here, and had a difficult time gradually becoming comfortable, Sarah Cortez still asserts, *mi comunidad es hermosa*. “My community is beautiful”—the community that she, and many others like her, has grown to live in and call her home.

The Growing Immigrant Community

Sarah’s experience as a Hispanic immigrant in Princeton is echoed by other narratives in her neighborhood. Within the past few years, the immigrant population has grown tremendously. According to the United States Census Bureau, in 2014, a quarter of the current population of people in Princeton were born in a foreign country. A little over 3,100 people, or about 10.3 percent of the population, identified as Latino or Hispanic—a 210 percent increase from 2000, when the census reported that there were 1,000 people who identified as Hispanic living in the area. Of the total Hispanic or Latino population, 17.9 percent lived under the poverty line in 2013, compared to the 4 percent of white non-Hispanic residents, and 9 percent of black residents.

In 2014, the Princeton Department of Human Services conducted a Needs Based Assessment, which consisted of a series of surveys and focus groups of low to moderate income households. The survey was the first attempt of its kind to better understand the service gaps that exist for four different population groups, including singles, seniors, English-speaking families, and Spanish-speaking families. Results from the survey especially highlighted concerns within the low-income Latino population regarding discrimination at the work place, as well as wage theft.

The Needs Based Assessment found that “for the Spanish-speaking families, language had been a barrier when service providers did not employ Spanish-speaking staff. Other unique concerns for this group included their feelings about

discrimination in the workplace. Most participants believed that they were paid less than their white counterparts for performing the same job duties. According to this assessment, 25 percent of Hispanics/Latinos reported that they had been unfairly treated at work, while an above-average 22 percent feared for the personal security of a member of their household.

Maria Juega, the Executive Director of Latin American Legal Defense and Education Fund (LALDEF), noted, those without documentation are unable to secure stable jobs with economic prospects. Because of this restriction, many young men work as day-laborers, and can be found standing by the bodega on Witherspoon Street at 6 a.m. in the morning, waiting for landscape employers who need an extra hand in manual labor.

Elisa Neira, of the Princeton Department of Human Services, who helped coordinate and conduct the assessment, explained that in cases

“This is a vulnerable population. We have a lot of people who are illiterate in Spanish, let alone able to communicate in English,” Neira said.

of wage theft, employers will hire the day-laborers to work for a period of one or two weeks, and at the end of the given period, they’ll vanish—become unresponsive and remove themselves from all forms of interaction.

“This is a vulnerable population. We have a lot of people who are illiterate in Spanish, let alone, able to communicate in English,” Neira said. She added, “It’s sad to think about, but there really are people who take advantage of this vulnerability. In some cases, because of lack of education and awareness of law, some workers don’t think that their employers are violating the law by withholding wages.”

Local Government Response

In the past few years, under Princeton Mayor Liz Lambert, Princeton Council Members like Heather Howard, employees of the Princeton Department of Human Services like Elisa Neira, and public officers like Chief of the Police Department Nicholas Sutter, the Princeton executive township administration have recognized the changing demographics of Princeton, and more importantly, have sought to understand and respond to the needs of the increasingly diverse community.

Howard mentioned that since wage theft has been identified as a primary issue within the low-income Hispanic community, Princeton Human Services and the police developed a booklet, in both English and Spanish, informing employees of their rights, and providing resources for them to keep a record of how many hours they work per week. “There are federal laws against wage theft but somebody has to complain and somebody has to enforce it,” Howard said. She added that since these information sessions have started, the local police have received a number of complaints reporting wage theft.

Howard explained that she likes to think of the work that she is doing “as building a relationship of trust with immigrant communities by turning community attitudes around.” She added that the town of Princeton “recently joined a program called Welcoming America,” which is a nation-wide pro-immigrant program, with the slogan, ‘We are leading a movement of inclusive communities across the nation becoming more prosperous by making everyone who lives there feel like they belong.’ The program connects nonprofits and local governments, and supports them in developing plans and policies to transform their communities into places where everyone’s presence is valued.

Howard explained that two years ago, during the annual training, the chief of police, Nicholas Sutter,

Despite the backlash, Howard commented, “we know we’re doing the right thing and we’re not going to be cowed by it, but it’s pretty upsetting to see people politicize such issues.”

issued a directive stating that the local police would not enforce federal immigration laws. The job of the local police, Sutter said, is to protect the public and the community, not to enforce federal immigration laws. As Howard noted, when a part of the community distrusts the local law enforcement to the extent that they refuse to avail themselves of the right of protection or report witnessed crimes, the safety of the entire community is at risk. However, she added, building trust can take time, even with good intentions.

Howard also noted that since the Obama administration announced the new plan for stepped up deportation, as part of U.S. Immigration and Customs Enforcement (ICE) raids, the Princeton police department has begun collaborating with other local groups like St. Paul’s Catholic Church and Latin American Legal Defense and Education Fund (LALDEF) to educate migrants on what to do in the event of a raid. The council, in an attempt to foster an environment of trust and inclusivity, has also encouraged more Latino and underrepresented communities to attend council meetings to voice their concerns about things happening in Princeton. Although the majority of these meetings are open to the public, the immigrant community’s distrust of the town authorities has often deterred them from participating in public hearings.

“I think people have been very welcoming, generally, at least I hope people are. I think people are supportive and recognize that the diversity and immigrant population enriches and strengthens the community for all of us. It makes Princeton a better place to live and raise a family,” said Howard, an elected member of the Princeton Council.

While most of feedback for these initiatives have been positive,

Howard mentioned that since the town started creating programs and events tailored towards protecting the immigrant population, she has received tweets conveying anti-immigrant sentiments. Additionally, Neira noted that she’s heard sources from outside of the Princeton community claim that they were ‘hiding illegal people.’ In addition, a Fox News article published in February criticizing the town for providing “tips to illegal immigrants to skirt Immigration Custom Enforcement raids.”

Despite the backlash, Howard commented, “we know we’re doing the right thing, and we’re not going to be cowed by it, but it’s pretty upsetting to see people politicize such issues.” She said that among her motivations for defending immigrant protections are the “stories about kids worried that their parents would be deported; that they would come back from school and their parents wouldn’t be there.”

The Activist Response

Juega, the Executive Director of LALDEF, said that the non-profit organization started in 2004, as a result of the community-based coalition in Princeton, known as the Latin American Task Force, that had operated for over a decade. She noted that as more Mercer County residents became aware of the growing low-income Latin American population, they decided to form the Latin American Legal Defense and Education Fund, Inc. Now based in Trenton, the organization provides resources for attaining legal immigration status, tutoring programs, as well as adult ESL and computer classes.

LALDEF’s efforts have recently focused on Princeton, where employers are known to withhold fair wages from their Latino employees. As Juega commented in a LALDEF



LALDEF

press release, the “violation of wage laws is very common in Princeton, particularly in restaurant, construction and landscape businesses, where immigrants frequently work.” She noted that in March and April, LALDEF decided to coordinate two protests outside of the Nassau Street 7-Eleven for alleged cases of wage-theft. “The short term intent was to call attention to the exploitation going on right under our collective nose, right here in Princeton,” Juega said. She added, “The longer term goal is to continue to fight against the widespread, and entrenched nature of this problem.”

The official press release from LALDEF stated that the immigrant workers were being paid \$6, or \$6.50 per hour—much less than the New Jersey minimum wage of \$8.38, and working as many as 12 hours a day, seven days a week. An article by Planet Princeton added, “three Princeton residents who had been former employees of the store filed a lawsuit in Mercer County Superior Court March 21 against the Princeton 7-Eleven Store, its owners and managers, and the Dallas-based-7-Eleven, Inc. in connection with alleged wage and hour violations.” The article noted that some have inquired about the immigration status of these workers. However, the workers’ lawyer, Roger Martindell of Princeton noted that “regardless of immigration status, under state and federal law, all workers are supposed to be treated equally.”

Courtney Perales ’17, who interviewed employers of immigrants in

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Princeton as part of a class project, reinforced Martindell's comments. "I was really shocked by how people didn't see immigrants as human first," she said. She added that while people were well meaning, "they would give backhanded compliments when describing immigrant workers, saying, 'they were actually really nice and hard working.'" Perales is one of the members of the DREAM Team Princeton student-run advocacy group on immigrant rights, and last fall took the class Urban Sociology: The City and Social Change in the Americas, taught by Professor Patricia Fernández-Kelly.

As immigrant activist, Pulitzer prize-winning journalist, and filmmaker Jose Antonio Vargas commented, "Unless we humanize this issue, and personalize this issue, we're not going to get anywhere." Vargas came to the university on April 13 to talk about his story as an undocumented immigrant himself and about his fight against negative perceptions of immigrants. People in this country will continue being tolerant of immigrants, Vargas said, "as long as someone is mowing your lawn and babysitting your kids and serving you drinks, and cleaning your offices. So long as this country can find the cheap labor that it's always been addicted to." Vargas noted that as the example of wage theft in Princeton demonstrates, when people treat immigrants as merely commodities, there is always the incentive to disregard individual welfare in order to maximize economic profit. What's needed then, is not simply an economic or political shift, though these may help, but also a cultural shift in the lens through which people view immigrants and talk about immigration.

Toward a More Humane Community

Although undercurrents of cultural and economic segregation still exist within Princeton, the stories of Sarah, Elisa, Heather, Maria and Courtney are encouraging

indications of the kinds of work being done to improve the lives of Latino immigrants in Princeton. Changing long-held mindsets will take time, but these community members point to different ways to shift perceptions and improve the treatment of immigrants.

The Latino population in Princeton has grown and established itself as an integral labor force to the community. Yet to know that they exist, to integrate them into the economic system as blue-collar workers, though a step in the right direction, is not enough. The way in which people in America hire, pay and treat immigrant workers cannot be untangled from the assumptions that we make about them, and the narratives by which we choose to define them.

The tragic reality is that, as in the case of wage-theft and employee discrimination, when people start thinking about immigrants as commodities they justify exploiting their labor for the good of economic profit. As Vargas noted, the truth is that those who exploit the immigrant population will not have an incentive to change their behavior until those who aren't Hispanic, low-income, or undocumented call them out. This means mobilizing all sectors of the community, promoting more awareness of what Latino workers face, and creating an environment of empathy and transformed behavior.

When she first started working with the Human Services Department, Neira said that conversation with groups from the University typically went to Trenton to engage in some form of civic engagement or service work. Yet, "I think that students are starting to understand that there are lots of needs there, but there are also lots of needs here," stated Neira. In recent years, especially since the Needs Assessment was published, the University has started to turn to the Latino immigrant community in Princeton. There is no shortage of ways for Princeton students to do their part in making the town a more inclusive and better place for its Latino members. ■

**THE
CONSERVATIVES
HAVE
SUPER PACS
BUT WE HAVE
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**DONATE
TO THE
PROGRESSIVE
AND HELP US
KEEP
FIGHTING THE
GOOD FIGHT.**

How Student Protest Makes Power Visible

BY DANIEL TEEHAN

Much has already been written about the BJI's contribution to campus dialogue over the last month, the way they have propelled Princeton and Woodrow Wilson onto the national stage, and the odious responses they have provoked on campus. What I want to discuss here is the extent to which the BJI sit in was part of the resurgence of student activism at Princeton that began last year. By engaging in a new category of protest tactics, the BJI has contributed to the ongoing activist project of making visible the structures of power in the University, and where that structure is most vulnerable.

As has been pointed out several times in the pages of the Progressive, last year was characterized by a level of student activism at Princeton more diverse and significant than found on campus in recent memory. In the span of months, we saw the movement for racial justice coalesce in the wake of non-indictments of the police officers who murdered Michael Brown and Eric Garner; two investment/divestment campaigns launched, campus-wide debates over cultural appropriation and musical misogyny take place; and a campaign to change Princeton's admissions policies to be more inclusive of formerly incarcerated applicants.

While the BJI sit-in may seem to be distinct from these other movements in the attention it has garnered on the national stage, the protest aligns with last year's activism in much the same way that the disparate movements were aligned with each other: as student driven protests aimed at achieving institutional change at Princeton. A fundamental – and I would argue, unachieved – goal of all of these movements was for protestors to render apparent the ways that students could change the policies and practices of the University. The BJI contributed to that effort by employing

a form of protest distinct from those we saw last year: the sit-in.

In a way, each of the major protests last year was an experiment with a different method for spurring institutional change. For the Princeton Divests Coalition (Israel/West Bank), it was divestment. For the environmental protestors of PSII, it was sustainable investment. For the Hose Bicker crowd, it was a referendum. For SPEAR's admissions campaign, it was a mildly confrontational teach-in. To the extent that each of these extremely planned-out movements failed to generate any sort of meaningful institutional change, they spoke to the impotence of their chosen point of entry into institutional policy making at Princeton.

As a case example, let's look at PSII (Princeton Sustainable Investment Initiative), an effort to reexamine the endowment and make it more envi-

To many observers, myself included, this sent a signal: even the most reasonable, limited, non-politicized attempts to influence the investment of the University's endowment will be frustrated. For student protesters, the message was clear: divestment campaigns don't work at Princeton.

ronmentally sustainable. There are few issues as pressing to our generation or as uncontroversial to reasonable, science-understanding people as climate change. PSII was an investment-targeted movement that seemingly had everything going for it – wide, demonstrated student support, a positive framing (sustainable investment instead of divestment), an extreme willingness on the part of the organizers to work with and within the bureaucracy, and a clear target for their action with articulated guidelines for change – CPUC. CPUC, or, the Council of the Princeton University Community is an institutional body meant to consider questions of moral import to the University community,

accept the input of the members of that community, and make recommendations to the university. Part of CPUC, the Resources Committee, deals explicitly with the University's endowment, and is self-identified as the institutional body that deals with divestment. Last Spring, CPUC rejected PSII in what many saw as a prime example of the University brushing aside legitimate concerns of student activists. To many observers, myself included, this sent a signal: even the most reasonable, limited, non-politicized attempts to influence the investment of the University's endowment will be frustrated. For student protesters, the message was clear – divestment campaigns don't work at Princeton.

This sort of conclusion is especially significant in a context in which diverse student groups are constantly trying to change the status quo.

Activist groups at Princeton, limited in number and membership, have to choose their battles. Part of the calculus that shapes those choices has to do with the feasibility of success for a particular tactic. When a movement as straightforward as PSII is unable to gain traction within a clearly articulated institutional process after a year of nonstop organizing, other groups take note and are less likely to launch similar campaigns. Speaking as a leader of an activist group – Students for Prison Education and Reform – I can say that PSII's failure influenced my decision not to advocate a prison-divest movement within my group.

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