PERSONAL VIEWS ON CULTURAL APPROPRIATION

By

ASIA P. MORTON

A capstone submitted to the

Graduate School - Camden

Rutgers, The State University of New Jersey

In partial fulfillment of the requirements

For the degree of Master of Arts

Graduate Program in Liberal Studies

Written under the direction of

Dr. Elizabeth Pilliod

And approved by

_____

Dr. Elizabeth Pilliod

Camden, New Jersey

October 2018

CAPSTONE ABSTRACT

Personal Views on Cultural Appropriation

By ASIA P. MORTON

Capstone Director:
Dr. Elizabeth Pilliod

A study on how people from varying cultures form their views on cultural appropriation based on background and societal influences. Seven people were personally interviewed, examined and compared to one another about their family environment and cultural experiences to form a general interpretation of what influenced them the most and how they believed they developed their thoughts on the subject. Additionally, artworks were personally created by the author to visually express each interview and how they viewed cultural appropriation. In conclusion, the findings pointed to society as being the main reason as to the direction that impacted each interviewee's mindset.

**Cultural Appropriation and Social Media**

Even though the phenomenon of cultural appropriation has existed for centuries, only now, with the decentralization of the media through technology, can people discuss how they really feel about it. This conversation is occurring most frequently on social media, as platforms like Facebook, Instagram, and Twitter facilitate the sharing of opinions on an unlimited range of subjects. Moreover, because they derive from such a diverse set of contributors, the views expressed on these platforms may conflict with those held by an individual user's family, friends, and culture.

In shared social media posts, users can not only see the news, but also see how others respond to it in the comments section. People are more connected than ever and can voice widely diverging opinions on various issues, identifying and discussing instances of cultural appropriation in entertainment, art, politics, and lifestyle. For example, in an article that gained broad exposure, a black activist accused Bruno Mars of cultural appropriation because although Mars is Puerto Rican, Filipino, and Jewish, he dabbles in the funk music that African Americans invented many years ago.[1] This activist asserted that he has no right to make this type of music because he does not know the struggles that black people went through to create things that they see as culturally theirs.

In the comments section of this article, people from varying countries all over the world weighed in on the situation. Interestingly, most sided against the activist and cheered Bruno Mars on for perpetuating this small piece of black culture regardless of his

---

[1] HuffPost. "Bruno Mars Accused of Cultural Appropriation," ://www.facebook.com/ HuffPost/videos/bruno-mars-accused-of-cultural-appropriation-huffpost-entertainment/ 621294334881384/

background; the fact that he praises his inspirations also gained him support. However, some commenters were disturbed that Mars felt it was acceptable to perform this music because he could not fully understand its history, and argued that Black people should be the ones to carry it on. In addition to Bruno Mars, I came across two women, Martina Big[2] and Rachel Dolezal[3], who were also accused of cultural appropriation and race changing, but at two different extremes.The backlash towards these women were similar in the way that people were critical of them claiming the black race as their own. While reading such varying opinions without any filters or censorship, I began to wonder how the commenters formed their views. How could individuals who were from the same race or background have differing opinions on cultural appropriation? What major influences shaped their understanding of this issue? What are the life factors that could lead a person to believe that cultural appropriation is either acceptable or wrong?

To answer these questions, I focused on self-identity, which is shaped by both familial and societal influences. To varying degrees, people are affected by what happens in their childhood and how they connect to the people closest to them, as well as by their society and what happens outside their immediate purview. In particular, social constructions influence how people perceive their own and other cultures. By reading these comments and interviewing social media users, I learned that the world is in flux and that opinions on cultural appropriation are changing.

---

[2] This Morning with Phillip and Holly. Martina Big claims she has changed to a black person. *Facebook*, https://www.facebook.com/search/top/?q=martina%20big.

[3] The New York Times. Rachel Dolezal Interview. *Facebook*, https://www.facebook.com/search/str/rachel+dolezal/stories-keyword/stories-public.

**Types of Cultural Appropriation**

*Viewpoint of Richard A. Rogers*

To better understand cultural appropriation and how it is performed, scholars have divided it into categories. In an article by Richard A. Rogers, he distinguishes among four types: cultural exchange, cultural dominance, cultural exploitation, and transculturation.[4] He also points out that cultural appropriation is understood differently across cultures, races, and locations.

The first category, cultural exchange, is the voluntary trading of aspects like religion, language, and symbols among two or more cultures that have somewhat symmetrical or equal power. There is a steady exchange from all sides and it is continuous and mutual. Because all the cultures involved participate on an equal footing, cultural exchange is seen as the starting point for understanding the imbalances in the other appropriation categories.

The second category is cultural dominance, wherein a stronger culture imposes itself on a weaker subculture, which then takes its cues from the dominant one. This encroachment may not be deliberate, and the less dominant culture may choose to graft the larger culture onto its own. However, once this choice has been made, the dominant culture can inadvertently change or block the subculture's original way of life. After such

---

[4] Richard A. Rogers, "From Cultural Exchange to Transculturation: A Review of Reconceptualization of Cultural Appropriation," *Communication Theory* vol.16 (2006), p. 474-503

a takeover, the members of the subculture are no longer fully interested in their original way of life and are then corrupted with the dominant culture and its procedures. Now that they have moved away from it, they are mentally forced to look at their own culture in either a negative or positive light. On the other hand, cultural dominance also gives rise to cultural resistance, in which subculture members challenge the dominant culture's takeover and struggle to preserve their identity.

The third appropriation category is cultural exploitation, in which the dominant culture co-opts elements of the subculture without consent, viewing them as an easily obtainable resource. Since the cultural balance is off, the subculture comes out at a loss. Rogers outlines four concerns that arise from cultural exploitation. The first is cultural degradation, which occurs in the aftermath of cultural domination; the subculture is spread in a way that the validity is questioned because of it's tarnished nature. The second concern is the dominant culture's relocation and preservation of objects, symbols, and practices from other cultures in museums far from their homelands. Also of concern is the deprivation of material advantage when elements of a subculture are used for monetary gain without compensation because they are perceived as being for public consumption. The final concern is the inadequate understanding to recognize superiority declarations, which is explained as the subculture lacking the authority to prevent aspects of its identity from being used in a negative or inappropriate way.

The fourth and final appropriation category is transculturation, or the merging of elements from different cultures until it is hard to determine which ones belong to which group. These elements are sometimes already "mixed" before use, further diluting the

indigenous culture(s) involved. The cultural elements are then seen as "hybrids" and the authenticity of the original sources becomes less important.

These four appropriation categories encompass how cultural elements have spread throughout the world, with or without the acceptance of those from whom they were taken. Each individually describes how appropriating a culture can sometimes not be helped if the balance of power is asymmetrical and how a dominant culture can overwhelm a subculture. In addition to being prone to power imbalances, cultures are also less likely to be recognized if their elements are weakened through hybridity. Considering our increasing globalization, particularly through social media, these factors will continue to blur the lines between cultures.

*Viewpoints of Other Scholars*

Other scholars conceptualize appropriation differently. In an article by Olufunmilayo B. Arewa, they explore the love/hate relationship that people can have with their culture.[5] The author asserts that cultural borrowing can be understood either as expressing love for that particular identity or as embodying the hatred and oppression of the dominant group. Moreover, given that we now have better access to other cultures through technology, we can more easily experiment with the elements we encounter. The perceptions this article examines line up with the categories of cultural exchange and cultural dominance, depending on whether the appropriator is comfortable having others

---

[5] Olufunmilayo B. Arewa, "Love, Hate, and Culture Wars," *Phi Kappa Phi Forum* vol. 97 (2017), p. 26-29

borrow elements of his or her own background in return. In addition, Arewa also mentions the possibility that a more dominant culture could take from a smaller subculture.

In an article by Jason Rodriquez, he discusses the adoption of this genre by young white people, which they justify by stating that it does not belong to only one race.[6] Rodriquez concludes that white people use this ideology of being color blind to their advantage because they have no real connection with their own race beyond a higher sense of empowerment. This appropriation falls into the categories of cultural dominance and exploitation because white people, who are members of the dominant race and culture, took over the subculture of hip-hop without any mutual exchange with or acknowledgement of the Black people who created it.

In line with this theme, Rivka Galchen and Anna Holmes, in their article, explains how appropriation of a culture differs from an equal exchange.[7] There are stark variances between using a culture while giving nothing back in return versus having a give-and-take relationship in which each culture involved does the others justice in how they are displayed. Moreover, if a culture is not represented in the way it was intended, it could be seen as being exploited, especially if no exchange occurs.

---

[6] Jason Rodriquez, "Color-Blind Ideology and the Cultural Appropriation of Hip-Hop," *Journal of Contemporary Ethnography* vol. 35 (2006), p. 645-668

[7] Rivka Galchen and Anna Holmes, "What Distinguishes Cultural Exchange from Cultural Appropriation," *The New York Times Book Review* (2017), p. 27

The fourth article, by Josh Berson, summarizes the debate over whether cultures own and should profit from the knowledge and elements they possess.[8] The author points out that only dominant cultures "fight" subcultures for their "cultural property" without respecting the source group or its feelings. In addition, there are hints of cultural exploitation, as "intellectual property" can be misunderstood as something that can be taken and used for gain because it is publicly accessible. (ibid., p. 202-203)

Finally, in an article by Walter Benn Michaels, he argues that some white people do not see their representation of other cultures through art or written work as appropriation.[9] Because they do not fully understand the struggles of people of color, whatever they create will be inaccurate. Also, white people make a profit and gain success from showing and telling stories about other cultures, while those who are portrayed are often marginalized. Appropriating these stories can be considered cultural exploitation, since, while the dominant culture is not physically using a subculture's elements, it is profiting from describing its characteristics.

A notable similarity among the articles reviewed above is that each author begins with his or her own definition of cultural appropriation, which varies according to his or her field. Indeed, the phenomenon can be defined differently depending on a person's background and experiences. Comparing these authors' definitions to the four categories

---

[8] Josh Berson, "Intellectual Property and Cultural Appropriation," *Reviews in Anthropology* vol. 39 (2010), p. 201-228

[9] Walter Benn Michaels, "'The Myth of 'Cultural Appropriation': Even Our Own Stories Don't Belong to Us," *Chronicle of Higher Education* vol. 63 (2017), p. 1

of cultural appropriation illustrates what kinds of appropriation there are and how they can be perceived by people either committing it or observing it.

**Procedures and Results**

*Overview of Procedures*

To investigate how people formed their views on cultural appropriation, I conducted seven one-on-one interviews of individuals from various backgrounds, upbringings, and experiences, including one of myself. I posed thirteen questions, beginning by asking about people's past and family dynamics and ending by exploring their interactions with previous and current social norms and how they felt their life has affected their views on cultural appropriation.

My initial plan was to create a visual representation of each interview to physically express how others perceive cultural appropriation and how it may extend beyond verbal descriptions; each piece was unique to each interviewee (see Appendix E). Although these artworks displayed colors and messages that many would not think of connecting with the interviews, they were inspired by the research I conducted on the origins of the participants' opinions. Building on the questions I asked each person, I found scholars who had varying perspectives on cultural appropriation and how people react to it today.

To start my research, I created a chart based on Rogers' four categories of cultural appropriation to generalize the interviews and how they fit into each grouping (See Appendix C; Chart# 1). This chart provided insight into each interviewee and how much of their thoughts and expressions on this topic fit into each separate category percentage wise, showing just how much of each category presented itself in their interview.

With the added articles and different scholars points of view on cultural appropriation, I was then able to compare all of them to each other and to the four categories to show the differences with how others think about this topic. After comparing how others think, I was then able to draw my own conclusion based on my interviews and research that I compared.

*Similar Trends Among Interviewees*

The interviews produced various trends among them that separated them into different groups and categories regarding things that had an impact on how they saw culture and how they treated it amongst themselves and others. These trends show a clear path to how people individually are effected by certain aspects of their own lives and how society has evolved to change the way people think about the appropriation of cultures. For visual purposes, I also created a graph for each trend to show the varying differences or commonalities between the people being interviewed and their answers.

*Race Trend*

The first trend that presented itself was the trend regarding race. Of the seven interviews, there were two that consisted of caucasian heritage and these two interviewees expressed more of a sense of entitlement than the rest of the interviewees. When it came to cultural appropriation, each person had the mindset that even though appropriating a culture itself was not a big deal, they felt that they had the right to appropriate a culture as long as they understood what they were representing. Four of the

seven interviewees were Black or African American and there wasn't much of a

difference regarding cultural perspectives. This group brought up more oppression related

occurrences geared towards Black people because they consistently had their culture

taken and used. Furthermore, no credit was ever given to the Black community,

facilitating additional maltreatment from other cultures. (See Appendix D, Graph #1)

*Age Trend*

The second trend that presented itself in the interviews were the mindsets that

showed the difference in ages. A majority of the interviews, five out of seven, consisted

of a younger demographic that grew up in a different time than the remaining two that

were a part of the older end of the age spectrum. The older two communicated that they

were more concerned with the color aspect of cultural appropriation than just

appropriating other elements of a culture such as traditional clothing, hairstyles or rituals.

They conveyed their firsthand knowledge of the Civil Rights Movement and living in a

more segregated society, but they did not experience cultural appropriation in the sense

that it is today. Today, people are more concerned with a culture and its corresponding

elements as a whole entity. Previously, however, people mostly experienced skin color

changing such as black face because skin color mattered more than any culture it was

associated with. The skin color changing aspect mainly resulted in mocking another race

and not trying to understand it in an educational way. This left an imprint on the people

that were raised in this era because they were surrounded by the offensive nature of this

time period by not being accepted for what skin color they were born in. These

differences in age broadly show the barrier of perspectives that each person went through. In regards to the younger demographic of interviewees, they were raised in a more welcoming society that slowly prospered from the varying cultures that inhabited America. They were less concerned with people changing their skin color and more concerned with culture as a whole. For the most part, the younger demographic wasn't perturbed by others depicting cultures that weren't their own, but whether they were being respectful or not. There are many reasons as to why people would want to experience a culture, and the younger interviewees understood that. This way of thought is being heavily seen in modern America, but also around the world. Different countries are slowly progressing towards making everyone a part of the whole. (See Appendix D, Graph #2)

*Parental Immigration Trend*

The third trend deals with the parental lineage of the interviewees and the origins of their families. Four of the seven interviewees had one or both parents who immigrated from other countries. This showed in their responses to the questions about how they felt about cultural appropriation in general. The immediate family of these interviewees brought in a differing perspective compared to a family solely from America. They were able to experience their biological culture directly from their parents or guardians and this differed from the culture that they experienced outside the home. Everything about their family cultural components helped them understand what it meant to be a part of separate culture while they lived amongst a differing one. Seeing this first hand helped shaped

how they viewed others interpreting a culture that does not belong to them because they are curious. Not to say these four understood people appropriating a culture more than the remaining three that were mainly American, but they had more in-tuned thoughts about culture and cultures that lay outside of the American way as things were seen on a different level. (See Appendix D, Graph #3)

*Family/Society Trend*

The fourth trend is family vs. society and represented how how much influence one's family had on their cultural beliefs and others different from themselves vs how society impacted those same beliefs and how they saw others. Only one interviewee had a different point of view regarding how she perceived other cultures because she was more influenced by her family in addition to what she experienced outside of the home. Being raised in a conservative and religious family brought her to see culture that was different than her own as more undesirable and she preferred to have others assimilate to the "American way" because this is what her parents instilled into her. Being around a close-knit family that has these perceptions can possibly mean that she was heavily affected by it and even society was not strong enough to overcome how she has lived every day until now (See Appendix D, Graph #4).

*Results*

Society played a big part in the remaining six interviewees as they all expressed that they didn't encounter much cultural appropriation until after they were adolescents or

adults and once they reached that stage in life, they were able to make their own decisions and form perceptions on the subject. Everyone came from different backgrounds, but none were impacted enough by family to only think of that part of their life.

The main idea that all the interviews had was that all people should generally be who they are and not seek to assume or take another culture. It is okay to want to learn and experience more of another culture, but to take it as far as pretending you are a part of that culture because of cluelessness or misunderstanding is disrespectful to the culture and the diversity that America thrives off of. As a general analysis based on these few interviews, society seems to have had a more powerful instillation of a philosophy that we are all together living amongst one another and our sense of identity needs to be shared because it is only natural to want to learn more about what is around us.

**Conclusion of Study**

*Analytic Summary*

An analysis of the interviews resulted in presenting the shift in beliefs stemming from age, upbringing, and society change and how each subject fit into each cultural appropriation category. Approximately 40% of the responses subject #1 provided fell into the category of transculturation and 25% in cultural exchange. Being a part of the older demographic of the interviewees, she took a standpoint that most cultural appropriation is not intended for a bad reason. With this, her belief was to understand that an exchange between two or more cultures will eventually result in all cultures coming together with unknown origins. Only 35% of her interview showed interest in cultural exploitation in that she knew other people purposely took from subcultures and used it for there for personal gain or harm.

Approximately 65% of the answers from subject #2, who was oldest of the interviewees, was geared towards cultural exploitation. As the oldest, she witnessed more misuse of cultures and with this came a negative attitude. Roughly 35% of her responses were in cultural exchange, now that she witnesses people taking advantage of the other cultures because they choose not to respect it once they do exchange it.

Subject #3, who is a member of the younger demographic of the interviewees, was the most influenced by her family. Her interview answers were 30% in cultural exchange and 70% in cultural dominance, which demonstrated more interest in having different cultures that she is surrounded by assimilate to her own American culture. However, this came to light after expressing that she lives in a diverse area and is

accepting of that. In her case, society only had so much of an impact on her belief as her home life was more prevalent in her background, even as her age would imply or suggest that she would be more liberal than she currently is.

Approximately 80% of cultural exchange was registered in the responses of subject #4 along with  20% of cultural exploitation. His belief, being the youngest of the interviewees, was that everyone should express themselves how they want, without disrespecting a culture. Only exchanging cultures is the best way for people to really understand from other point of views. His interview, however, did signify an attention towards cultural dominance with 5% and this percentage could be a result of his own culture, partly being in the dominant culture, and how it is seen in society.

Roughly 80% of the answers from subject #5, who was the oldest of the younger demographic of interviewees, revealed cultural exchange in recognizing that people today want to share their culture and don't mind others experiencing it. However, she also showed interest in cultural exploitation with 20% that people do try to take advantage and she has witnessed it firsthand on social media outlets using examples of celebrities using a cultural reference, but not giving credit to where it came from.

For Subject# 6, around 75% of cultural exchange presented itself in his answers and 25% was in cultural exploitation with knowing that people give and take culture all of the time, but when it is taken it is not always given back or shown in a positive way.

Subject #7 was the present writer. I expressed 75% in cultural exchange and 25% in transculturation because I believe that everyone should be able to experience other

cultures in a respective way, but I do believe that after some time some cultures could get lost in others and mixed.

*Conclusion and Findings*

All of the interviews showed how the younger generation, with the exception of one, leaned more toward a society that is more accepting and forthcoming towards cultures and as time moves on the mindsets of people change to stay that way. The older generation in the interviews tended to concentrate more on exploitation, since the era they grew up in was more focused on everyone not having the same civil rights compared to today.

What I recognized after completing all the interviews was that most people had family traditions that revolved around spending time together. Every person was raised to accept others regardless of their differences, but there were some variances that contributed to some differentiating factors. For example, the interviewees who are perceived as being a part of the dominant white American culture have stronger views on people who don't conform to their culture because they believe it lacks respect compared to others from subcultures who accepted them the way they were. Each viewpoint was based on both family life and societal life because each person had to have a basis to work from and they followed through with what they experienced outside in the world.

Comparing my conclusions to those of other scholars resulted in understanding that even though the mentality on cultural appropriation lies with a more societal influence, there are still areas of impression that sit with family identity and growth. Scholar Richard A. Rogers understood that cultural appropriation is something that can

be very much categorized, but there are some groups of people that don't fully fit into a category as they had either a more detailed or more broad feeling about cultural appropriation. Even the other scholars had their own views that they then portrayed from their own experiences and feelings based on how they saw society. Everything stems from society because cultural appropriation wouldn't be a problem if the all of society treated cultures better.

More than anything though, when it comes to modern day cultural appropriation, half the people of this country are hanging on to what belongs to them and their own culture while the other half is expectant to have everyone accept what they do because it is their "right" to do it. What lacks from this study and its conclusions is a middle ground. Most interviewees and people in general believe that you are either for or against cultural appropriation, and that very well may be true. However, as we progress as humans within the global community, we will more than likely accept others culture mingling because we all hope to be on the same playing field one day.

In conclusion, viewpoints on cultural appropriation are formed from early life to adulthood, but most depends on how each person takes what they know from their family and how they react outside of familial influences. A person can grow up in a racist household, but reject that mindset and be more forgiving and accepting to people who are different. This can also be vice versa because our minds are linked not only to our families and upbringing, but to our society equally, if not more, and we all learn from that. The more a person is exposed to the outside world the more they are able to

comprehend how the world works with varying cultures coinciding with each other and how we all react within that atmosphere. We are in the age of acceptance, so even though there are people trying to hang on to cultures separately, it is inevitable that people will culture mingle and everyone will learn to share those traditions and experiences with people who are different.

**Appendix A**

*Raw Interview Questions*

1. What is your ethnicity?

2. Where are you and your family from?

3. Did your family encourage or force you to partake in cultural traditions?

4. Were there any other influences on how you saw your culture?

5. How did your family feel about other cultures?

6. Was your family culturally oriented or passive?

7. What is cultural appropriation to you?

8. How do you feel when you see instances of cultural appropriation in the media?

9. What are the differences between how you feel when you see cultural appropriation

   about your own culture vs. others?

10. Do you believe others appropriating your culture is good or bad?

11. What do you believe the source is behind appropriating other cultures?

12. Do you believe there is cultural hierarchy in cultural appropriation or is it an equal

    exchange?

13. Do you believe your family life growing up influenced your viewpoint on cultural

    appropriation or only after becoming an adult and being out in the world? Or both?

**Appendix B**

*Raw Interviews*

*Subject #1*

Subject #1 is a black/African American female who is 43 years old. She and her family are from New Jersey and the southeastern states. According to her, she was not forced to partake in her culture regarding church and other family related activities and her family did not have any specific cultural traditions other than ones that were surrounded by family. As far as other influences that could have determined her viewpoint on her own culture, she has pointed out that there were no other obvious impacts that helped shape her viewpoint on her culture. Nothing was discussed regarding her way of life and culture and she unknowingly went through life not questioning her guidances. For the most part, she did not know how her family felt about other cultures because it was not brought up and they concentrated on their own people and their own problems within their community. One thing she did understand was that her family sparingly brought up the "white man" and how people of that race and culture of superiority affected her culture in the black community. She also expressed that she and her family did not associate with Caucasian people because they were not a part of their black society and they didn't feel as though they had anything in common with them. Because of this, she and her family had a somewhat negative outlook on Caucasian people because of the known rift between the cultures in the past and present and feeling

subjected to discrimination. She has no clear understanding of the cultural definition of

cultural appropriation beyond people changing their appearance to mimic another race or

culture and she revealed it does not bother her. For example, Rachel Dolezal pretended to

be a black woman by appropriating black characteristics and submerged herself among

other blacks fighting for equal rights.[10] This is not something that entices subject #1, but

she questions why any person doing this doesn't understand who they naturally are and

why they can not embrace themselves. She also believes that when cultural appropriation

is implemented, people have many reasons as to why they are appropriating and that it is

not as simple as one doing it because they want to mock or make fun of a culture

compared to appreciating or acknowledging the culture. Even in the form of a movie

where it is based on a certain culture, but portrayed by a different culture, she sees this as

a form of art. Her reasoning cements that cultural appropriation isn't a simple matter and

can be seen from many different points of view and can only be viewed on a situation by

situation basis. However, if the cultural appropriation is an obvious degradation of a

person or culture such as black face or dressing as a slave, it is wrong. The way she

believes that her background shaped her is that it made her appreciate other people and

their cultures and to be accepting even though she wasn't exposed to a lot. She feels

people different from her is a chance for her to connect in a different way and on a

different level. Also, she questions how anyone can know or even get offended by others

appropriating a culture when all cultures are somewhat mixed. There is no way to know

---

[10] Allison Samuels. "Rachel Dolezal's True Lies." https://www.vanityfair.com/news/
2015/07/rachel-dolezal-new-interview-pictures-exclusive

how something culture related really started and even if it is known, why do others feel the need to not want share it. Also, if we dig deep enough into the past, all cultures are very similar with only some differences, pushing the thought that we all are just humans from different parts of the world.

*Subject #2*

Subject #2 is a black/African American female who is 62 years old. She is originally from Brooklyn, NY and currently lives in Northern New Jersey, but her parents are originally from Virginia and New York. Her family did not encourage nor force any culturally related traditions because there were not any specific ones. The only traditions that were present were family related traditions such as dinner and get togethers and being a close knit family. In her college years she attended a historically black female college and she believes this was her first time really being exposed to other people from different areas of the country, mainly the southern areas, and outside the protection of her family. However, she was able to see the black culture in a different light compared to her more northern culture. She is a Catholic and was raised in this religion throughout her youth from her father's family. Regarding earlier generations in her family, they had a different set of thoughts when it came to how they saw other cultures. It was more about skin color and who was darker and who was lighter. Her father in particular became interested in the history of African Americans and became more vocal on how things came to be with them when she was more in her adult years. However, for the most part, the majority of her family did not have much to say.

The definition of cultural appropriation to her is just being aware of different cultures and being accepting of them. There may not be specific feelings on other cultures, but there should be respect. Also, if there are negative feelings, you should keep them to yourself and not express them because that is showing disrespect to that culture, regardless of how you feel about them. As far as cultural appropriation goes, she believes that it depends on what the occurrences are regarding the motives of the person committing cultural appropriation. Black face is always a mocking situation compared to Rachel Dolezal who could be seen as more appreciative in her work for the black and African culture that she also adopted. As another example, Martina Big, a German model who altered her body and face color to appear as a stereotypical black person, would be more on the mocking side of appropriation.[11] However, in both cases she believes that it is wrong because to appreciate a culture does not mean you have to become them. In general, it is based upon specific circumstances of the situation and whatever she feels stirs her emotions as it can not always be pinpointed on what may bother her. When it comes to artists such as actors and models "crossing over" to other cultures to portray them, she has no problem with it. She feels as though people should be able to portray others because there is no incessant need for one culture to just represent their own culture. However, she does think that it would be more believable if it is a actor who is portraying a historical figure and they are of the same color or culture. In today's time, she believes that all cultures are mixing and each culture is trying out different aspects of

[11] Siam Goorwich. "Martina Big: Everything you need to know about the big-busted, tan-loving model." https://closeronline.co.uk/real-life/news/extreme-surgery-tanning-jabs-addict-martina-big/

other cultures, resulting in an exchange which can eventually lead to a hybrid of separate

cultures. The way she views how her past has shaped her viewpoint today is that she

learned more about her culture and others during her adult years once she was able to step

outside her family and familiar surroundings.

*Subject #3*

Subject# 3 is a Caucasian female who is 29 years old. She is from New Jersey and

currently lives there with her parents. Her mother is Cuban born and her father is of

Italian descent from New Jersey. When she was younger her parents forced her to partake

in family traditions relating to Catholicism and family, but as she got older it was more

encouraged because she began to understand the importance of them. Some of the

traditions she partook in were family based like celebrating holidays and having get

togethers and vacations in addition to Catholic traditions like church and prayer. To her

knowledge, there were no other influences outside of her family's home that helped

shaped her view on her own culture. She has expressed that her family is mostly positive

about differing cultures, but there are times when they are negative about other cultures

such as Mexicans or Hispanics in general who they feel sometimes conflict with their

culture. She believes there is an emphasis on Latin America or South American cultures

that invade on the American culture and its people. As an example, her father, who works

in a hispanic area, complains that they don't know or want to learn English and they are a

lower class of society. She finds it frustrating to see foreigners not assimilating or

adapting to her culture and that it is what needs to be done if they are to reside in the U.S. Regardless, she believes that she and her family are very culturally oriented regarding their religion and not passive about their culture and way of life.

Her definition of cultural appropriation is that we are a society based on different cultures that are very diverse and all function on different levels based on religion, ethnicity and how we handle ourselves. Using Rachel Dolezal as an example, the was she feels when she witnesses cultural appropriation is that it is despicable and she doesn't understand why someone would want to be a different race. She believes that people should be whoever they are and be proud of it. In other instances of appropriation, she feels that it doesn't makes sense for someone to do it and it is inappropriate and immature. She believes that appropriating cultures is offensive and disrespectful and not mindful on how others would perceive them. Regarding people appropriating her own culture and others, she believes it is bad on both spectrums and disturbing, but it doesn't affect her life either way. When it comes to what the source is behind cultural appropriation, she believes people are just bored and have nothing better to do besides pretending to be others. She also expressed that people who do this, if they are of a certain color, may want to be perceived as "better" or "superior" in the eyes of others because that is the tone that is set in America.

She thinks that people want to appropriate because dressing like another culture deemed by many as "superior" are doing it because they want to appear prettier or help themselves advance in the world. She has also stated that where she lives there is a more

equal distribution of cultural traditions because there are different cultures that live in one area. When it comes to how she believes her view on cultural appropriation has formed, it is more geared to her own experiences outside of family and becoming more aware of the different kinds of people that are around her. Seeing the different colors of people in person in major cities like New York and even in her own neighborhood made her better understand that the world isn't just made up of one culture, but all cultures living amongst one another. In contrast, her father has influenced her thoughts somewhat as well because she believes that others coming from other countries who have their own cultures should try to be a part of the American culture the best way they can.

*Subject #4*

Subject# 4 is a half Caucasian and half Chilean male who is 21 years old. He is from Columbus, Ohio where his dad and family are also from and his mom is from Chile, South America. He believes that while growing up, his family encouraged him, more than forced, regarding traditions. For example, he never learned Spanish because even though it was spoken in the home as he grew up, he was not required to learn it. When it comes to other influences outside of the home, only politics regarding his Hispanic culture impacted him because there is a cultural separation between them and Americans. He also views the Caucasian side of him not having much of any influence on who is because with the American aspect there isn't much culture to be talked about, so he prefers to identify as mainly Hispanic. He sees his family as being open minded about other

cultures and very accepting of them as a whole, not having negative thoughts on any specific culture. Of his family members, his mom has a bigger family aspect than anyone else closest to him because in Chile, family and being around individuals that are close are very important. He was raised in the surroundings that staying close and connected are imperative.

The definition of cultural appropriation that he provided was that a particular culture is something that is no longer what it was intended to be. In the example of holidays, Cinco De Mayo is a day of mourning in Mexico, but in America it is a day of celebration and drinking. He believes that this kind of takeover and revamping is cultural appropriation where at some point the original culture is lost in people trying to make it what they want. He thinks that cultural appropriation can be a form of appreciation or acknowledgement, but it just depends on how they portray it. However, there are some people who believe they just want to appreciate, but instead do something that can be seen as mocking. So it can only be seen on a certain situation basis to determine what is mocking and what is not. He used the example of yoga, where a white woman living anywhere in America does yoga as a form of relaxation and exercise and could possibly be appreciative of it. However, she may not know the origins of it so it raises the question of whether it is still appreciation or just a new part of everyday life in America.

The way he feels when he sees cultural appropriation is that he mostly doesn't care, but he does recognize that when it comes to the white culture, they have always pushed on others that they are the more beautiful and more dominant. He understands

that over time people have appropriated the white culture more to be "beautiful" and accepted. He also believes that people in general see all cultures as beautiful, but stereotypical appropriations of a culture is wrong because no culture is mostly represented in that way and people who do this are misguided. In addition, he also expressed that he does not understand why people want to change to another culture, but that maybe it is just a phenomenon that we don't comprehend yet. As compared to transgenders, they were not understood many years ago, but now they are accepted because they believe they should have been something different from the beginning. When it comes to cultural appropriation in his culture vs. others, he doesn't take it personally. He understands that when he sees examples in the media, they may not know what is offensive or not because they don't fully understand the cultural history. Someone will always get offended no matter what, even though trying to understand fully is growing to this day. People are becoming more aware of what can and should not be done when it comes to certain situations.

Regarding the source behind cultural appropriation, he believes it all stems from curiosity and not being able to enforce that curiosity. People sometimes want to experience another culture by portraying it, living it, and feeling it because they want to get out of their own cultural box for a while. The problem with this is that people take appropriating a culture too far, sometimes unknowingly, and forget that it doesn't belong to them. He also brought up that it is possible to have cultural appropriation within your own culture. For example, he used African Americans not understanding their own culture and how it originated, but just thinking they know. If their ancestors were from

Africa, but their family has been in America for many generations, they probably don't

know what the African culture is really like. Hence, they are appropriating it because they

didn't experience it themselves fully from where it originated. Regarding whether or not

there is a dominant culture, he believes that they exist because they have put pressure on

subcultures to become like them. Between dominant cultures there is an exchange, but

the subcultures are a different story and it isn't equal between them. He definitely

believes his family are the ones who shaped his viewpoint on how he feels on cultural

appropriation because they are all every liberal and have very mixed cultural ties so he

had a first hand view of being amongst different people within his family dynamics. His

family also pushed him to explore other areas in the world and meet different people who

are from different backgrounds.


*Subject #5*

Subject# 5 is a Filipino American female who is 33 years old. She was born and

raised in New Jersey and both of her parents immigrated from the Philippines. The only

traditions she could think of that her parents encouraged her to partake in were family get

togethers and eating traditional Filipino food. There were no other specific traditions that

took place outside of that. Outside of her family, there was one instance that influenced

how she saw her culture. When she was young, she saw her cousin in a beauty pageant as

"Miss Philippines" and portraying parts of the Filipino culture that she had never seen or

experienced before. She expressed that seeing her culture in this way helped her realize

that she was not just American and there was much more to herself and her background than the American part of her. Her family is very tolerant of other cultures and races because they have always seen themselves as being in the minority, therefore, accepted others easily no matter where they came from.

Her definition of cultural appropriation is when you are trying to imitate another culture and you don't give credit to the originating culture that it belongs to. She believes that cultural appropriation can be both mocking and appreciation depending on the persons motive, but it can only be assessed on a case by case basis. She feels indifferent about cultural appropriation in the media because everyone in current times gets offended by everything and most things are nitpicked. There are many instances where the appropriation has merit to someone feeling hurt or disgruntled, but other times people are just reaching for a reason to attack a person who is not trying to disrespect a culture. She does not see much appropriation on her specific Filipino culture in comparison to other asian cultures, so she is not able to comment on how she feels about people appropriating it, but she does see other cultures get appropriated. As an example, she used Kim Kardashian wearing cornrow braids and giving credit to an old movie instead of Africa where the hairstyle originated from.[12] She believes that in times like this, people are warranted to get upset about others not showing the proper respect to a culture and there is no excuse for it to happen. In regards to others appropriating a culture, she thinks it is good and that people would be able to understand more of how that culture works if they

---

[12] Bridget March. "Kim Kardashian defends her decision to wear cornrows." https://www.harpersbazaar.com/uk/beauty/hair/a22194079/kim-kardashian-defends-her-decision-to-wear-cornrows/

stepped in their shoes. We live in a more diverse society and experiencing a culture outside of your own can be another way to see others on a different level and be an equal exchange. When it comes to people changing their skin tones, she feels it is inappropriate and deceiving and should never be done no matter what the circumstances. In general, she believes that no one should be appropriating a skin color or trying to portray a culture to the point that they are pretending to be that culture in every aspect instead off trying to learn from it.

She believes the source behind cultural appropriation is that it appeals to people in different ways and they just want to embrace it on a deeper level than if they were just looking at it from the outside. She gives credit to how her viewpoint formed on cultural appropriation from both her family life and outside the home. Her parents set her up to be more welcoming and accepting, but there was a difference once she was able to experience it herself.

*Subject #6*

Subject# 6 is a Panamanian American male who is 30 years old. He was born and raised in Brooklyn, NY while both of his parents are from Panama. His mother, who raised him, encouraged the Panamanian heritage and traditions, but did not force them. He experienced a parade dedicated to his culture at a young age that showed him a first hand view of what his culture was like and how he was a part of that. Traditionally, Panamanian children learned the steel drum, but he never partook in it and only watched

from the side. Food from his culture was given to him and he was exposed to the different

dishes that his mother knew from living in Panama. In addition, both of his parents spoke

Spanish and English, but he was not forced to learn and still does not speak it to this day.

Other influences besides family and home life came from school. His neighborhood was

mostly made up of Panamanians so the kids he went to school with were mostly from his

own culture. He was able to see kids wearing the traditional jewelry and clothing and got

a good sense of other people influenced by the culture. His family was mostly accepting

of other cultures and even lived in close proximity to people of different backgrounds and

there were never problems. Even among his family there were people from other

countries that were married in. As far as being culturally oriented or passive, there was

mix of both. His family embraced their heritage and took part in activities surrounding

the culture, but it wasn't obvious that they were from Panama because they didn't make it

known unless asked.

His definition of cultural appropriation is when an individual or whole culture

takes after the habits, ideas, feelings or thoughts of another culture. An example he used

was the singer Sting, who openly expressed that he doesn't appropriate Caribbean music

to change it and make it his for his own benefit.[13] Sting's explanation was to show

admiration to those cultures that he was influenced by and to push this style of music

forward. He believes that most cultural appropriation happens because of an appreciation

of a culture and not because someone wants to mock it or appropriate it for personal gain.

---

[13] Mark Savage. "Sting and Shaggy: 'Cultural Appropriation is an ugly term.'" https://www.bbc.com/news/entertainment-arts-43785032

Another example he used was white America observing hip-hop on the rise, wanting to enjoy and even mimic it because they appreciate its sound and how different it is from their own music. However, when hip-hop started, there were plenty of people who took it as an advantage to make money in the form of clothing, tv shows, movies and other items and entertainment. Even with this, he still believes that it could be seen as an appreciation because it could be looked at as pushing that culture forward and bringing it to the mainstream. The problem is you can't really know or understand a persons intentions unless they come out and say it exactly, so of course appreciation and paying homage is what he thinks most people are trying to say when they appropriate.

When it comes to his thoughts and feelings on seeing appropriation in the media, he feels passive. He believes that "it is what it is" and people will see something different and want to try it out for themselves because they are either curious or just wanting to do something new. In regards to entertainment, he thinks that trying to appeal to a certain demographic is what people find important when it comes to appropriating a culture because people from different backgrounds relate to different things. In his words, he finds this type of appropriation "cheesy" because the people committing the appropriation know that they are doing it to appeal to certain people and he doesn't understand why they are shocked when people call them out for it. In other instances, like dealing with people changing their skin tone, he believes that people think they were born the wrong way in the same way that transgenders do. Feeling this way, people slowly change themselves because they truly believe that they are in the wrong skin and wrong culture so they take the time to learn it and become a part of it in every way possible. He

believes this is more of a psychological issue than someone purposely trying to ridicule a culture, but instead just trying to become a part of it because they believe that is where they belong. However, there are other instances where people view another culture as the "better" culture so they change themselves to mimic it physically. This issue is still psychological, but in a different way because our society has placed the thought in our minds that the white culture is the superior culture and we should all try to be like them.

The way he feels about his culture and other cultures being appropriated is that he is mostly neutral on both sides because he knows it is something that naturally happens for humans from different cultures when you share a space with them. However, with his own culture he does feel that people imitating it have no right to portray a culture that they have no correlation with because they don't fully understand the meaning behind what the culture stands for. He believes that because his family didn't have much influence on pushing his own cultural heritage, he is more passive toward culturally related occurrences with others in the general world.

*Subject #7*

As subject #7, I am an African American female who is 29 years old. I was born and raised in New Jersey while my mother is from Brooklyn, NY, my father is from East Orange, NJ, and my stepfather is from Montclair, NJ. Before them I only know of family members being from the USA.

I would say my family encouraged more than forced culture traditions, even though there were not many. I can remember when I was young my mom and stepdad had me partake in Kwanzaa during the holiday season and I didn't like it. I had to wear Kwanzaa type clothing and attend a party function to celebrate. I just didn't like the clothes and as I grew I didn't see the point in celebrating because I couldn't relate to the African culture in any way. We eventually stopped celebrating Kwanzaa when I was still young, but as far as other traditions, they are mostly family based and just having family around and being together.

There were definitely other influences on how I saw my culture outside of my family. I can say being at school and around people my own age influenced me a great deal. I grew up around all different cultures and learning about my own from school sources and other outside sources which helped me understand where I fell into society. I recall going on camping trips every year with my stepdad and stepsister from a young age until I was in my mid-teens and my stepdad made sure us both, and the other kids that were on the trip with us, took time out of each day to learn about the black culture and it's history. It was different outside of a family setting and school setting, but a slight mix of both. He would teach us about the black national anthem and great black people in history such as Maya Angelou[14] and Langston Hughes[15] and about the history of slavery.

---

[14]"Maya Angelou Biography." *Biography*, ://www.biography.com/people/maya-angelou-9185388

[15] "Langston Hughes Biography" *Biography*, ://www.biography.com/people/langston-hughes-9346313

My family was accepting for the most part and got along well with other cultures. However, there were times where my parents would say "that white man" or "that little Indian girl" and it never sat right with me. I have also experienced family members mimicking other cultures in a way that I deemed inappropriate and unnecessary, but I know many people do this behind closed doors and don't see a problem with it when they are around people of their own culture. My family was pretty passive with the exception of family gatherings. When it came to culture specific traditions they were pretty non-existent after my younger years. Even religion became something that we didn't partake in other then a prayer before dinner, which was only when we had company, there was a holiday, or special occasion.

Cultural Appropriation to me is when someone temporarily takes on a different culture than their own, even though I believe there are different levels to this. Is it cultural appropriation for a person who grew up as a Christian to convert to Buddhism, or a person visiting a different country and partaking in their specific traditions to get the full experience? Yes, these are examples of cultural appropriation, but  I don't see a problem with it. However, if I see someone sporting black face or pulling there eyes to appear more asian, then I do see something wrong with that. There are ways to experience a culture without being disrespectful, but I understand there are some people who purposely try to be discourteous.

Honestly, most of the time it just seems ridiculous the way people respond to certain things that happen when it deals with cultural appropriation. This isn't to say I don't care about cultural appropriation, but I try to see it for what it is. I look past the

person appropriating and look for the reason behind it because I find this more important. For example, I've seen the woman Martina Big who has drastically altered her appearance via plastic surgery to look black and I question why she felt the need to do so. The thing with Martina is that she has altered herself to the more stereotypical black woman with big breasts and butt with outlandish outfits and not a black person who should be seen as more standard or "normal" for lack of a better word. She's taking the stereotypical black culture and implementing it in a worse way, more so than it already is. I know many people who are offended by this because she appears to send out the message that this is what black people look like and how they act, and even though there are some people like this, it is not the majority. On the other side, when I see someone like Rachel Dolezal, I can empathize a bit because she grew up with black siblings and felt strongly enough to want to become a part of the fight that black/African Americans have to go through everyday. She went as far as to want to help change the world, but she went in looking like a black woman. I know many people question why she couldn't fight the fight as a white woman, but I can possibly understand that maybe she felt more in-tuned as a black person to feel their struggles.

When I see other instances in the music industry for example, like the situation with Bruno Mars being accused of cultural appropriation, it just makes me sad. The fact that he is not of African American culture, but is indeed a person of color makes him the center of attention for appropriating. Of all people he has shown the black culture respect and I don't think it's right to attack him for appropriating the black culture. He has heightened the black culture with his music and black people should be proud that black

music is being shown so positively, especially since music is seen as universal. In movies, I know there is the problem with "whitewashing" with the excuse being that there aren't any good actors of different cultures and I recognize this injustice towards others that are not white.

I don't feel anything more or less for any culture, including my own, because I don't believe any culture should be negatively appropriated. If someone is mocking my culture and making fun of it then of course it is bad, but if you're just curious about it and want to experience it more deeply, then I have no problem with it. As long as there is no skin color changing involved because you don't need to be the same color to experience a culture. I believe that the majority of people are just being curious and fascinated with something that is different from what they know. I know personally I love the South Korean culture and I listen to the music, watch the TV shows and I am trying to learn the language. I hope to one day visit South Korea and get the full experience because I really admire it. Some things just appeal to different people and as long as you're respecting the culture it should be okay. The exchange of cultures is how we as humans can connect and if we are segregated then this world will never be whole and never grow as one.

I am a very accepting person and I think my family having certain viewpoints on cultures made me resist the more negative mindset and accept a more understanding one. I see people for who they are, not only for their culture or race, but who they are as a human being. I appreciate there being people of different backgrounds because it makes for an interesting world to live in.
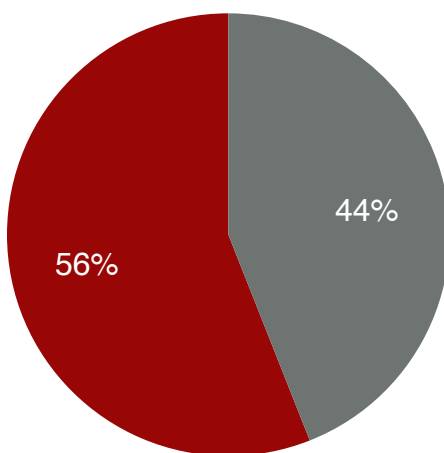
**Appendix C**

*Analytic Chart*

| | Subject# 1 | Subject# 2 | Subject# 3 | Subject# 4 | Subject# 5 | Subject# 6 | Subject# 7 | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Cultural Exchange | 40% | 35% | 30% | 80% | 80% | 75% | 75% | |
| Cultural Dominance | | | 70% | 5% | | | | |
| Cultural Exploitation | 35% | 65% | | 15% | 20% | 25% | | |
| Transculturation | 25% | | | | | | 25% | |

**Appendix D**

*Trend Graphs*

Race Trend (Graph #1)

Legend: Black, Other Races

44%

56%

Age Trend (Graph #2)

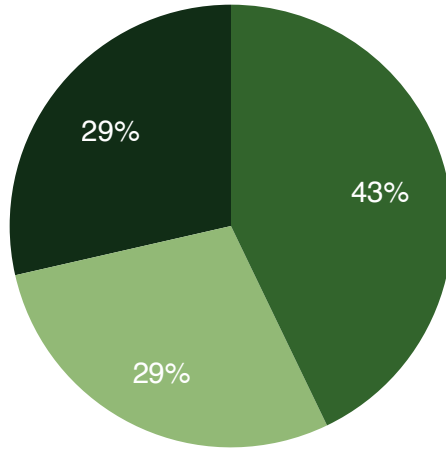Legend: Older Generation, Younger Generation

28%

72%
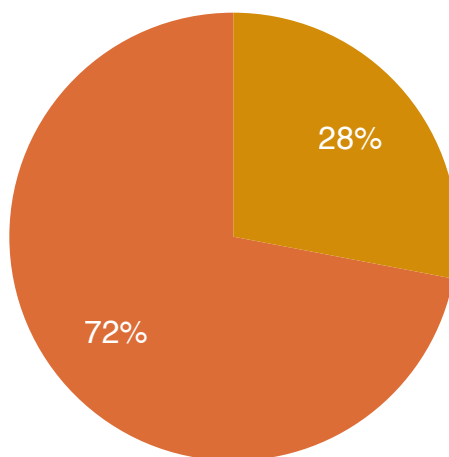
● No Immigrants          ● One Immigrant Parent
● Two Immigrant Parents

### Parental Immigration (Graph #3)

29%

43%

29%

● Society          ● Family

### Family vs. Society (Graph #4)

14%

86%
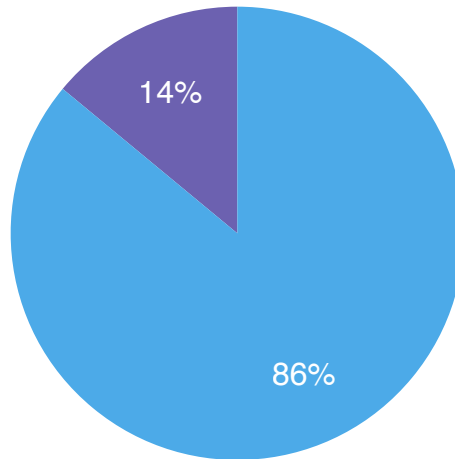
**Appendix E**

*Artwork*

*Subject #1*

*Subject #2*

*Subject #3*

*Subject  #4*

*Subject #5*

*Subject #6*

*Subject #7*

## Bibliography

Rogers, Richard A. "From Cultural Exchange to Transculturation: A Review and Reconceptualization of Cultural Appropriation." *Communication Theory*, vol. 16, no. 4, 2006, pp. 474-503

Michaels, Walter Benn. " The Myth of 'Cultural Appropriation': Even our own stories don't belong to us." *Chronicle of Higher Education*, vol. 63, no. 40, 7 July 2017, p. 1

Madison III, Ira. "No, Bruno Mars Is Not Guilty of 'Cultural Appropriation': The debate about whether Mars, a non-black artist, actively appropriates black culture is beyond tired —and misses the larger point about institutional racism in music." *Daily Beast*, 31 March 2018, p. 1-1

Zushi, Yo. "What's Mine is Yours: How I Learned to Stop Worrying and Love Cultural Appropriation." *New Statesman*, 9 October 2015, vol. 144, no. 5283, p. 54

Galchen, Rivka and Holmes, Anna. "What Distinguishes Cultural Exchange from Cultural Appropriation?" The New York Times Book Review, 11 June 2017, p. 27

Robertson, Dwanna L. "Invisibility in the Color Blind Era: Examining Legitimized Racism against Indigenous Peoples." *American Indian Quarterly*, vol. 39, no. 2, 2015, pp. 113-153.

Berson, Josh. "Intellectual Property and Cultural Appropriation." *Reviews in Anthropology*, vol. 39, no. 3, 2010, pp. 201-228.

Rodriquez, Jason. "Color-Blind Ideology and the Cultural Appropriation of Hip-Hop." *Journal of Contemporary Ethnography*, vol. 35, no. 6, 2006, pp. 645-668.

Ashley, Kathleen M., and Plesch, Veronique. "The Cultural Processes of 'Appropriation'." Journal of Medieval and Early Modern Studies, vol. 32, no. 1, 2002. pp. 1-15

Arewa, Olufumilayo. "Love, Hate, and Culture Wars." Phi Kappa Phi Forum, Vol. 97, issue 1, 2017, pp. 26-29.

HuffPost. Bruno Mars Accused of Cultural Appropriation. *Facebook*, 13 March 2018, https://www.facebook.com/HuffPost/videos/bruno-mars-accused-of-cultural-appropriation-huffpost-entertainment/621294334881384/. Accessed 10 September 2018.

This Morning with Phillip and Holly. Martina Big claims she has changed to a black person. *Facebook*, 4 October 2017, https://www.facebook.com/search/top/?q=martina%20big. Accessed 10 September 2018.

The New York Times. Rachel Dolezal Interview. *Facebook*, 28 March 2017, https://www.facebook.com/search/str/rachel+dolezal/stories-keyword/stories-public. Accessed 10 September 2018.

"Maya Angelou Biography." *Biography*, Biography Editors, ://www.biography.com/people/maya-angelou-9185388. Accessed 10 September 2018.

"Langston Hughes Biography" *Biography*, Biography Editors ://www.biography.com/people/langston-hughes-9346313. Accessed 10 September 2018.

Savage, Mark. "Sting and Shaggy: 'Cultural Appropriation is an ugly term.'" *BBC News*, 18 April 2018, https://www.bbc.com/news/entertainment-arts-43785032. Accessed 10 September 2018.

March, Bridget. "Kim Kardashian defends her decision to wear cornrows." *Harper Bazaar*, 17 July 2018, https://www.harpersbazaar.com/uk/beauty/hair/a22194079/kim-kardashian-defends-her-decision-to-wear-cornrows/. Accessed 10 September 2018.

Samuels, Allison. "Rachel Dolezal's True Lies." *Vanity Fair*, 19 July 2015, https://www.vanityfair.com/news/2015/07/rachel-dolezal-new-interview-pictures-exclusive. Accessed 10 September 2018.

Goorwich, Siam. "Martina Big: Everything you need to know about the big-busted, tan-loving model." *Closer*, 7 July 2018, https://closeronline.co.uk/real-life/news/extreme-surgery-tanning-jabs-addict-martina-big/. Accessed 10 September 2018.