Gentrification And Displacement In Celeste Ng's *Little Fires Everywhere*

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Abstract
The aftermath of the Second World War saw the rising of capitalism. Capitalism alongside industrial revolution brought watershed to the history of migration in the world. More people left the rural area in search for jobs in the urban center. When the migrants are unable to cope with the standard of living in the urban area, they turn to ghettos for survival. Capitalism makes it difficult surviving in the urban centers for the new migrants as they are soon displaced by the forces of gentrification. This research attempts to study the undertone of racism in gentrification in Celeste Ng's Little Fires Everywhere.

I.   INTRODUCTION

The aftermath of the Second World War oversawrevolution in the world economic system. Prior to this period, the world economy was mainly agrarian. The Western Industrial Revolution and French Revolution that occurred in late nineteenth century changed the scope of the world economy to an industrial economy. Olayinka Akanle and Gbenga Adejare (2017:1) say the revolution in the economy brought major developments and civilisation to urban areas with the urban areas as its centerpiece.The civilisation, opportunities and developments that are connected with living in the urban areas or working in industries in the city, brought about drastic shift in population of rural and urban areas. People found living in the rural areas, on the farm, quite unattractive and rewarding as working in the industries in the cities.

Akanle and Adejare (2017: 1) note that the twenty-first centuryis accompanied with a surge in the quest forpeopleto live in the urban centers. This leads to people demanding for more urban centers because urban areabecame the epicenter of power and influence. However, one of the disappointments that new migrants faced in the city centers is the inability to secure gainful employments. In other words, it is usually difficult for migrant to the urban areas to get lucrative employment that will help in keeping up with the standard of living in the urban centers. Rather than returning to the rural areas, the determination to survive in the city areas at all costs drives them to move into slums.In essence, they find it difficult to survive the urban center without a lucrative job, and more difficult to return to the rural area. Hence, they turn to the slum for shelter while they continue the search for a job that could help them survive in the urban area. Alan Gilbert (2007: 707) posits that slums are the last resort of people who could not pay for the high rents rates in the city. The slums are characterised for its provision of cheap accommodation.He opines that slum is cheap because they are "squatter settlements without legal recognition or rights." They are the abandoned part of the city that, have been neglected either by the owners or by the government. Akanle and Adejare (2017: 5) define slum as

"any area and dwellings predominated by dilapidation, overcrowding, inadequate building management, and design systems, poor or lack of ventilation, insufficient sanitation facilities, and poor space management, all or some of which constitute hazards to health living of the people. Other terms used to denote slums include blighted areas, renewal arenas, and ghettos, among others.

In essence, slums are unplanned areas that are inhabited by people. It is an area preponderated with ruin overpopulation, unplanned building organization, dearth of proper sanitation amenities among others which are injurious to the health and living conditions of the people. Due to its unplanned nature, slums are areas that lack basic social amenities and necessary conditions to facilitate standard living conditions. Slum are not only eyesore but also harmful to the health of its dwellers.

Slum provides the poor living in the city withaccommodation. Akanle and Adejare (2017: 2) view that,those that live in slums are low-income earners, who moved to the city, in search for greener pastures. These people live in slums in order to be closer to job opportunities in the city. However, the living condition of the people living in slum is quite appalling. Pnina Werbner (2001: 672) corroborates that slum is a place that is filled with poverty and deprivation, poor housing stock, and is overcrowded. In essence, slum is a place thatis not favorable or comfortable to live in. Lindsay Sawyer (2014: 276) corroborates with Akanle and Adejare (2017)'s position. Sawyer posits that, slums are areas that are cheap when compared with other accommodation

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provided in the city.It however has bad environmental problems. Sheargues that the unplanned nature of these slums connotes that they are exposed to environmental challenges, which in the end may result to worsened living condition,lack of drainage channels and lack of waste management. Sawyer (2014),like Werbner (2001) posits that these bad environmental conditions make the slum an uncomfortable place to live in its dwellers. Akanle and Adejare (2017: 5) posit that,about one billion people that dwell in the city live in the slums that lacked basic infrastructural facilities. Facilities like serviceable roads, pipe borne waters, efficient communication system, and educational system and others.

Despite the cheap accommodation slums provides for poor urban dwellers, the environments are not in any way good for its dwellers. This is because slums lack basic social amenities,which would have promoted healthy living and a secure environment. Gilbert (2007: 699) states that, slums are difficult social dimensions this is, because there is inadequate access to adequate water supply, inadequate access to sanitation, poor quality of housing insecure residential areas among others.Akanle and Adejare (2017: 6) argues that, people are able to survive in slums despite the conditions Gilbert (2007) described because of their resilience, innovations, and determination to survive in the city at all costs.

Aside from the fact that slums are unsafe for its dwellers, they also pose dangers for the cities in which they are situated at large.According to Gilbert (2007:700), they are categorized and referred toas center of criminal activities. Slums are seen as hideouts of thieves and depredation of the city areas. Akanle and Adejare (2017: 2) complement Gilbert (2007)'s position. They view that there is high tendency of deviant behaviors, which includes, "prostitution, criminal acts, bunkering, illicit sexuality, drug abuse, beggary, and juvenile delinquencies, among others."In other words, aside from the dangers slum poses to its dwellers, it alsopresages dangers to the urban area that hosts it. In that, slum breeds insecurity, becauseof its dwellers, thatare willing to do anything in order to survive the standard of living in the urban area. The security of city area is under constant threats,the security of lives and properties of those living in the city cannot be guaranteed. In essence, slums are dangerous to both its dwellers and those that dwell in the city areas at large. The raising concern for the dangers posed by slums to humans' survival made the issue of slum to be one of the important discourses in the global society.

Akanle and Adejare (2017: 7) view that, the living condition of slum dwellers poses threat to the health, security and the well-being of all people across the globe. Despite the dangers slums poses to human survival, Gilbert (2007:698) says United Nations predicts that the population of slum dweller would have become double by the next thirty (30) years. In other words, slums will become primary dwelling place for humans in some countries especially in the developing world. Gilbert (2007: 699) argues that if United Nations projection on slums is right, then the world will be invested with poverty, and diseases. Due to the growing dangers slums poses, United Nations in 1999 launched a campaign against the creation and growthof slums with the "city without slums" initiative. Gilbert (2007: 697) views that, this initiate was created in order to raise awareness on the challenges and problems of urban areas. This is also with the aim of finding lasting solutions to these challenges. This campaign was also raised in order to attract funds, which cities can utilize to get rid of slums.The United Nations perhaps views that if this initiative can be achieved, if slums are not totally eradicated, the growth and spread of slums will be impeded.

It is noteworthy that, upgrading or getting rid of slum is a different thing from upgrading the lives and standard of living of slum dwellers. Slum was created because of the financial capacities of its dwellers. In other words, slum is not a place, rather, it is the condition of its dweller. This perhaps explains the fact that slum eradication or upgrading in time past has rarely helped its dwellers. Gilbert (2007: 699) posits that in the past, removing slums has seldomhelped the residents. In other words, assisting the residents has never been the main aim of upgrading the slums. Heprojects that, past efforts aimed at improving slums has led to the displacements of the supposed beneficiaries. These leaders knocked down the shanties and slums with the aim of building better accommodations, the better accommodations built however, compels the slum dwellers to redeploy or to move to another area as they can barely afford to put up with the new cost of accommodation in their former place.Stephen Marr (2016: 5) corroborate that, since capitalism is the driving force of urbanism,it means that, after the upgrade has been done, slums become more expensive to live in for its residents.Hence, they are forced to relocate from this environment. Gilbert (2007: 707) corroborates that raising house costs generally causes a major upset in the lives of slums dwellers.Akanle and Adejare (2017: 7) share the same opinion with Gilbert (2007) and Marr (2016) that upgrading slums results into forced evictions, clearance and relocation, and clearance and on site development, for its residents. So also, if cheap accommodation is not available for the slum dwellers, they are rendered homeless, coerced to create another slum,or forced to spend more on housing. This further impoverishes them rather than improve their living condition. Demolition without replacement intensifies overcrowding.

The force of development that causes the displacementsof slum dwellers is what is referred to as gentrification.Adam Eckerd and Yushim Kim (2018: 1) project that, there is a thin line between development and gentrification.In essence, gentrification is not the same as development. This makes it quite difficult

proffering policies to address issues on gentrification. Eckerd and Kim (2018: 1) view that, this challenge arises when a formerly lower social economic status neighborhood transitions to higher social economic status neighborhood.In essence, gentrification can be said to have occurred when the residents of a lower economic class community are displaced as a result of the developmental forces. Chibuzo Ugenyi (2011: 3) notes that, gentrification is a common occurrence in revitalization efforts.Ugenyiopines that it can both have favorable and unfavorable results. For instance, gentrification can strain the individual family, also annihilate businesses with little resources. Ugenyi (2011: 3) projects that gentrification is a relative term. While some residents of the areas affected maybe afraid and raise concern for the potential raise in standard of living that comes with developing the area, others are optimistic of the growth and development attracts to the area.

GENTRIFICATION AND RACE IN THE AMERICAN COMMUNITY.

Gentrification is the social process of neighborhood renewal overtime. Economic and state or corporate actors can play important roles in advancing gentrification. It is however, important that the actors have the cooperation of the residents to secure the stability of their investment. Jackelyn Hwang and Robert Sampson (2014:3) say gentrificationinvolves the migration of rich and affluent into the area. Gentrification processes of neighborhood selection interact with political and economic forces in order to concurrently shape both supply and demand for potential.Rehabilitation of households, developers, investors, or policies, the decision tomigrate or invest in a neighborhood is an important process with resultant effects for a neighborhood path. Jackelyn Hwang (2016:4) saysthe relationship between race and gentrification has changed overtime. Initially, gentrification according to studies was prevalence in the non-black neighborhoods;however, modern gentrification is prevalent largely in the minority neighborhood.Hwang (2016:2) says such alteration is due to the increased in the role of state and corporate actors in enabling gentrification. However, if theaccounts of gentrifiers are anything to go by, gentrifiers are attracted to racially and ethnically diverse neighborhoods. Asynergy between race and gentrification will be incomplete without taking note of the increase in multiethnic especially with the increase in the growth of Asians and Hispanics. In recent times, Hwang (3) views that gentrification is more associated with neighborhoods that are filled with more of blacks population and Asian population. Hwang projects that recent ethnographic studies of gentrification says gentrification occurs in predominantly black and Hispanic neighborhoods. Hwang projects that predominantly black localities experience increases in the white's population. Rosie Tighe, James Wright, Robert Renner, and Derek Hyra (2015) view that gentrification often involves the displacements of old residents by the new people. Gentrification leads to the loss of political representation at the local level within a community. Tighe, Wright, Renner and Hyra (2015) say the inner majorities have been fortress of African American.This however, starts to diminish with the influx of white households in the community. For instance, Washington DC was once known as Chocolate City due to its majority Black population and the large numbers of black political officials. The city however, experienced gentrification in the 2000s which led to the migration of the whites, this changed the political landscape of Washington DC. Tighe, Wright, Renner and Hyra see gentrification as an attempt by white to usurp political power from other races in a community or society. Furthermore, Tighe, Wright, Renner and Hyra view that some of the fastest gentrifying community are simultaneously experiencing change in their political landscape. Focused studies proved that neighborhoods that have previously been dominated by blacks experience a reduction in blacks representation due to gentrification. Elizabeth Kirkland (2008) says before gentrification, most communities populated by African Americans or people of color. However, when gentrification started, whites displace the original residents. Racial transformation of a neighborhood as a result of gentrification comes from the migrants into the community rather than the ones moving out. Kirkland (2008) views that being white increases the prospect of migrating into a gentrifying area and being black or coloreds is associated with the higher possibilities of moving out of a community or lower chances of moving into a gentrified area. Not only are the migrants white, it appears that the gentrification process incorporates the racial discrimination that is rife within the contemporary system of racial residential segregation, and reinforces the racial residential segregation.

The nucleus of this research is to explore the displacement caused by gentrification. Different scholars have foreground that human beings migrate in search of a better life or greener pastures in a more developed community or society other than the one they are in. in cases like this, people tends to move or relocate to a more developed area in order to survive. Underdevelopment is the major driving force of this type of migration. This research however, will attempt to explore the racial undertone inherent in gentrification in Celeste Ng's *Little Fires Everywhere*. In this case, people are forced to move from a less developed place due to their inability to cope with the high standardof living. The developmental forces displaced these people economically, politically, and rendered them homeless or incapable of meeting their needs. This research will attempt to explore the treatment of gentrification from the perspective of racial inclination in *Little Fires Everywhere* by Celeste Ng.

Theoretical Framework

Since capitalism and land are the major factors in gentrification and displacement, this study will adopt Marxism and Ecociticism as the theoreticalframework of the research. According to Ann Dobie (2011: 84) Marxism is a literary theory that has its roots dipped in economy.The major proponents are Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels. Marx argues that the means of production controls the society's values and institution. He projects that, from his critical study of economic history, communism will eventually triumph over capitalism.Through dialectical materialism, Marx views that economic policies are products ofclass struggle between contradictions. In *CommunistManifesto*, Marx views that, capitalist are impoverishing the workers in bid to makes profits. He projects that this exploitation will eventually lead to class struggle between the workers and the capitalist.Thisstruggle will lead torevolution through which workers will usurp and control of the economic means of production. The workers will also abolish private enterprises and properties by taking over the government and distributing the factors of production fairly. Marx views that this will abolish class distinctions. Marxists believe that a text must reflect the society that produced it. It must reflect the class conflict, the social economic system, or the politics of the place and time. Dobie (2011: 86) views that, Marxism alsoopines that working class has been made to believe the ideology of the dominant class through manipulation. This manipulation takes place through the propagation of dominant ideology through its arts.This manipulation can only be terminated if the working class creates its own culture, which will lead to revolution and the establishment of a new hegemony.

Another theory that will be used for this research is Ecocriticism. Dobie (2011: 238) views that, Ecocriticism is an evolving school of criticism which attempts to study the relationship between literature and the physical environment. Dobie (2011: 239) posits that Ecocriticism attempts to study literature and the environment from an interdisciplinary perspective. This involves the application of all sciences to analyse the environment and search for a possible solution tocorrecting contemporary environment problems.

GENTRIFICATION IN CELESTE NG'S *LITTLE FIRES EVERYWHERE*

Celeste Ng's novel, *Little Fires Everywhere* is a work that centers on two main characters, that is, Mia and Mrs. Richardson. Through these characters, Celeste Ng projects the portrayal of race in the American society. Through Mia, a black woman, Celeste Ng projects the experience of blacks and colored living in the United States on the other hand, Mrs. Richardson projects the place of power of the white race in the United States.

Gentrification has tothe migration of people from a place as a result of development. This development raises the standard of living of this neighborhood which the old occupants could not cope with, hence, they had to leave the town for new occupiers who can bear the cost of living in the area. This study, however, has been able to explore the racial undercurrent in gentrification. This study will explore this in the Celeste Ng's *Little Fire Everywhere*.The book projects the subjugation of the blacks and colored by the white. Other races live at the mercy of the white race thatpossesses the economic and political power. Other races are to serve and obey the white who makes the rules and enforces it on other races. Obedience to these rules determines the success or failure of other races.

Rules existed for a reason: if you followed them, you would succeed; if you didn't, you might burn the world to the ground. (105)

The fact that the white race had the political and the economic power with them means they make the society comfortable for themselves and success, an easy reach. Other races had it tougher and more difficult. For the purpose of this study, the focus will be on housing especially in the Shakers. The story, *LittleFires Everywhere* sets in Shaker Heights which has whiteas the majority residents in the area. The area is made quite expensive for other races toown houses in the area, the most they could rather do is to rent an apartment, the white would decide if they will rent it out or not. The house built in Shaker Heights is planned to suit the needs and demands of the rich whites,for instance the residents of the area must have a car for easy mobility in the estate.

Nobody biked in Shaker Heights, just as nobody took the bus: you either drove or somebody drove you; it was a town built for cars and for people who had cars. Moody biked. He wouldn't be sixteen until spring, and he never asked Lexie or Trip to drive him anywhere if he could help it.(7)

It is noteworthy that the Shaker Heights does not belong to the whites or present residents. It was founded by Shakers, from another race. The Shakers however moved out of Shaker Heights due to force of development. The Shakers, believes in communism, could not withstand the developmental forces of communism and the Shakers, believes in creating an Utopianspace where everything will be perfect. They planned Shaker Heights as a place where people can seek refuge, where everyone is equal and noone is under the subjugation or oppression of another person. It is ironic that people that planned this space could not get refuge in the space. Capitalism flushed them out of their planned space. The powerful force of gentrification rendered them homeless and their plans meaningless. Gentrifiers took over from the dreams of the Shakers and

interpreted it as a safe haven for whites. The white residentswere however, unable to live in the perfectness of plans created by the Shakers rather; they pretended or try to project their perfectness by hiding or covering the flaws inherent in the space.

"There aren't any Shakers in Shaker Heights," he said. "They all died out. Didn't believe in sex. They just named the town after them." Moody was half right, though neither he nor most of the kids in the town knew much about its history. The Shakers had indeed left the land that would become Shaker Heights long before, and by the summer of 1997 there were exactly twelve left in the world. But Shaker Heights had been founded, if not on Shaker principles, with the same idea of creating a utopia. Order—and regulation, the father of order—had been the Shakers' key to harmony. They had regulated everything: the proper time for rising in the morning, the proper color of window curtains, the proper length of a man's hair, the proper way to fold one's hands in prayer (right thumb over left). If they planned every detail, the Shakers had believed, they could create a patch of heaven on earth, a little refuge from the world, and the founders of Shaker Heights had thought the same. In advertisements they depicted Shaker Heights in the clouds, looking down upon the grimy city of Cleveland from a mountaintop at the end of a rainbow's arch. Perfection: that was the goal, and perhaps the Shakers had lived it so strongly it had seeped into the soil itself, feeding those who grew up there with a propensity to overachieve and a deep intolerance for flaws. Even the teens of Shaker Heights—whose main exposure to Shakers was singing "Simple Gifts" in music class—could feel that drive for perfectionstill in the air.(12)

The Shaker Heights before the advent of gentrifiers used to be a country home which accommodates all. The driving force in the creation of Shaker Heights then was equality for all and everyone was seen as equal. No one sees himself as better than others or exploit others for gain or based on the race. Rather everyone was treated with respect and dignity. This was however jettisoned with the Shakers. Although, as a landlord, Mrs. Richardson kept the rent relatively low, she however, gave the house out to people of other races that will in turn serve her. For instance, Mia served as a housekeeper for the Richardson. Mrs, Richardson, tries to project herself as a white that is not racist, rather she gives out her house in exchange for the servitude.

"This used to be considered the country, can you believe it? They'd have stables and carriage houses and go riding on the weekends." She turned to Lexie and Izzy. "You girls won't remember my grandparents. Lexie was only a baby when they passed. Anyway, they moved here and stayed. They really believed in what Shaker stood for." "Weren't the Shakers celibate and communist?" Izzy asked, sipping her water. Mrs. Richardson shot her a look. "Thoughtful planning, a belief in equality and diversity.Truly seeing everyone as an equal. (95)

Mrs. Richardson built a master servant relationship with her tenants. Rather than make the rents expensive, Mrs. Richardson, rather make it cheap and in turn make her tenants her. They work for her in order to appreciate her benevolence Mr. Yang, a migrant from Hong Kong, is projected by Mrs. Richardson as a good man because keeps the house in perfect shape, carry out repairs on the building, sanitize the house and gives Mrs. Richardson an offering of Chinese melons every year, although Mrs. Richardson did not know what to do with it. These attributes made Mrs. Richardson believe that Mr. Yang is a good person. She believes that accommodation in the neighborhood can be quite expensive and other cheaper options are not secured and are prone to violence and crimes. Hence, she deserves her tenants' services in exchange for her benevolence. What's more? Forcing Mia to be her housekeeper in return for her rent is another instance to project that Mrs. Richardson sees her house as a way of controlling or exercising powers over the members of other races, who are her tenants.

…but apartments in good neighborhoods like Shaker could be pricey—and she rented only to people she felt were deserving but who had, for one reason or another, not quite gotten a fair shot in life. It pleased her to make up the difference. Mr. Yang had been the first tenant she'd taken after inheriting the house; he was an immigrant from Hong Kong who had come to the United Statesknowing no one and speaking only fragmentary, heavily accented English. Over the years his accent had diminished only marginally, and when they spoke… But Mr. Yang was a good man, she felt; he worked very hard, driving a school bus to Laurel Academy, a nearby private girls' school, and working as a handyman. Living alone on such a meager income, he would never have been able to live in such a nice neighborhood. He would have ended up in a cramped, gray efficiency somewhere off Buckeye Road, or more likely in the gritty triangle of east Cleveland that passed for a Chinatown, where rent was suspiciously low, every other building was abandoned, and sirens wailed at least once a night. Plus, Mr. Yang kept the house in impeccable shape, repairing leaky faucets, patching the front concrete, and coaxing the stampsized backyard into a lush garden. Every summer he brought her Chinese melons he had grown, like a tithe, and although Mrs. Richardson had no idea what to do with them—they were jade green, wrinkled, and disconcertingly fuzzy—she appreciated his thoughtfulness anyway. Mr. Yang was exactly the kind of tenant Mrs. Richardson wanted: a kind person to whom she could do a kind turn, and who would appreciate her

kindness.(6)

What's more? Gentrification was not done once in the Shaker Height. Another instance of gentrification in Shaker Heights is when a bomb was found in the home of a black lawyer living in Shaker Heights. Shaker Heights proffered the solution of systematically sending the away the blacks living in the neighborhood. Shaker Heights believe that the presence of the white race in a location projects that the area is peaceful and secured while the black race symbolize insecurity and crimes. The presence of blacks may send packing the whites from the area, however, in order to keep the image of the space good and perfect, loans were given tothe blacks and whites to migrate to the white and blacks neighborhood respectively. This was done in order to prevent the whites from leaving Shaker Heights.

When the troubles of the outside world made their presence felt in Shaker Heights—a bomb at the home of a black lawyer—the community felt obliged to show that this was not the Shaker way. A neighborhood association sprang up to encourage integration in a particularly Shaker Heights manner: loans to encourage white families to move into black neighborhoods, loans to encourage black families to move into white neighborhoods, regulations forbidding FOR SALE signs in order to prevent white flight—a law that would remain in effect for decades. Caroline, by then a homeowner herself with a one-year-old—a young Mrs. Richardson —joined the integration association immediately.(104)

When Shakers founded Shaker Height, they dreamt of having a space where everyone can find refuge. They created an environment where everyone is equal and treated with respect and dignity. However, when the forces of capitalism and gentrification hit Shaker Heights, the founders were the first to be displaced. The force of gentrification removed equality from the principle of Shaker Heights and turned the landlord-tenant relationship to master-servant relationship. The economic power is placed in the hands of the whites. They developed Shaker Heights and make it quite expensive for other races to live in it. They built a school that can only be attended by residents of Shaker Heights. Tenants can only benefit from this luxury out of the benevolence of their landlord. Therefore, the blacks or coloreds are to seek for the favor of their landlord in order to enjoy such opportunities as schooling. This further foregrounds that gentrification in Celeste Ng's *Little Fire Everywhere* has the undertone of racism.

"I heard Shaker schools are the best in Cleveland," Mia had said when Mrs. Richardson asked why they'd come to Shaker. "Pearl is working at the college level already. But I can't afford private school." She glanced over at Pearl, who stood quietly in the empty living room of the apartment, hands clasped in front of her, and the girl smiled shyly. Something about that look between mother and child caught Mrs. Richardson's heart in a butterfly net. She assured Mia that yes, Shaker schools were excellent—Pearl could enroll in AP classes in every subject; there were science labs, a planetarium, five languages she could learn. "There's a wonderful theatre program, if she's interested in that," she added. "My daughter Lexie was Helena in *A Midsummer Night's Dream* last year." She quoted the Shaker schools' motto: *A community is known by theschools it keeps.* Real estate taxes in Shaker were higher than anywhere else, but residents certainly got their money's worth. "But you'll be renting, so of course you get all the benefits with none of the burden," she added with a laugh. She handed Mia an application, but she'd already decided. It gave her immense satisfaction to imagine this woman and her daughter settling into the apartment, (7)

In conclusion, gentrification as projected in Celeste Ng's *LittleFires Everywhere*has inherent in it racism. The white race was given the economic and political rights to decide the occupants of Shaker Heights. The whites use this power by subjugating and oppressing the blacks and coloreds living in Shaker Heights. They decide who leaves, stays, lives, in the neighborhood and the privileges enjoyed by people living in the neighborhood. Conscious efforts is made by whites to remove errant blacks, or colored who do not conform to their rules in Shaker Heights. This is clearly projected in the way Mrs. Richardson sends Mia and Pearl packing from her house. This is because; Mia refused to support her when her friend, Mrs. McCullough, was fighting for the custody of May Ling.

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