DePAUL UNIVERSITY

Creating Knowledge

THE LAS JOURNAL OF UNDERGRADUATE SCHOLARSHIP

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FOREWORD

Dear reader,

I am delighted to introduce this eighth volume of Creating Knowledge: The LAS Journal of Undergraduate Scholarship. This volume features 19 essays and 14 art works, representing advanced coursework produced in twenty different departments and programs during the 2014-2015 academic year. Several of the essays have been honored with department awards and several draw on research supported by undergraduate research grants. Many were originally written in senior capstone seminars, research-intensive seminars, and independent studies, and many were presented in some form at one of the numerous conferences and showcases sponsored by departments and programs throughout the year. All have been selected by department-based faculty committees as the best of the year's student research writing and all have been revised for submission under the supervision of faculty. (The first footnote to each essay provides information about the class in which it was written and the processes of selection and revision.) Together they represent the rich variety of research questions, methods and materials used in the arts, humanities, social sciences and interdisciplinary studies.

The readers of this volume are also many and various. They include the faculty who taught the classes in which this work was produced and encouraged their students to submit it for publication, the faculty who reviewed and selected the work and those who assisted with the editing, the proud parents, siblings, and classmates, and, of course, the featured students themselves. The volume's readers also include alumni and supporters of the college and, perhaps most important of all, future student scholars—prospective students and recently admitted students who are curious about what advanced work in this or that field looks like: What does a sociology, Latino and Latin American studies, or philosophy major do? What are the key research questions and ways of thinking or writing or knowing in history of art and architecture or Italian or women's and gender studies? For these students, this volume provides a vivid and inspiring illustration of what they have to look forward to as they embark upon their chosen courses of study.

Many thanks and hearty congratulations are due to the student scholars for their contributions to this volume and also to the more than 60 faculty who supported, reviewed, selected, and helped to edit these students' work. Thanks are also due to the three Department of Art, Media and Design faculty who served as jurors of the art work and the three masters in writing and publication students who proofread the volume. Most of all, thanks are due to Warren Schultz, associate dean of undergraduate studies in the College of Liberal Arts and Social Sciences, who serves as editor of the volume, putting out the call for submissions, supporting the faculty work of reviewing, selecting, and editing the student essays, and coordinating the production of the print and digital editions. To all, congratulations! And to you, dear reader, enjoy.

Lucy Rinehart, PhD
Interim Dean

PROBING THE PUBLIC WOUND: THE SERIAL KILLER CHARACTER IN TRUE-CRIME MEDIA

S. Clelia Sweeney*

American Studies Program

It is two weeks before Halloween and I'm standing inside a tent with a man in smeared clown makeup shouting at me: "Are y'all ready to see some *sick, twisted shit*?" This is Rob Zombie's Great American Nightmare, an attraction of three haunted houses set up in Villa Park, Illinois, and the last house on the tour has a serial killer theme. The outer façade is resplendent in sensationalistic Americana, with hay bales, jack-o-lanterns, rusted metal, a sharp-toothed taxidermy monkey, and gaudy signs advertising attractions inside. One painted clapboard sign reads, "SEE—the PSYCHO of PLAINFIELD—A TRUE CANNIBAL." Inside, an actor portraying that "psycho" leers from a workbench piled with eviscerated plastic bodies, helping to create a recreational thrill based in real-life tragedy, a thrill that also oddly evoked hints of an (almost) nostalgic 1950s Americana. Ed Gein is the famous killer the sign is referencing and the actor is portraying; in bucolic 1950s Plainfield, Wisconsin, Gein robbed graves, murdered two women, and allegedly cannibalized corpses. He is most notorious for making taxidermy-like items out of human bodies. As psychologist George W. Arndt recounts from photographs of the farmhouse interior, "Ten human skulls neatly arranged in a row, books on anatomy, embalming equipment, pulp magazines, furniture upholstered in human skin, and dirty kerosene lamps completed the macabre scene."[1] Those grisly photographs, published as part of a *Life* magazine 6-page cover story about the crimes on December 2, 1957, circulated the depraved inner world of Ed Gein (later referred to as "The Ghoul of Plainfield") across the nation.

A sign almost exactly like the one outside Rob Zombie's Great American Nightmare was once hung outside a carnival tent in 1958 to advertise a strikingly similar exhibition of serial killer entertainment. At the 1958 fair, a reconstructed murder scene featured wax dummies in the actual car Gein drove when he committed his crimes. As Harold Schechter recounts in his biography of Gein, "The 'Ed Gein ghoul car' made its first public appearance in July 1958 at the Outagamie County Fair in Seymour, Wisconsin, where it was displayed for three days inside a large canvas tent covered with blaring signs—'SEE THE CAR THAT HAULED THE DEAD FROM THEIR GRAVES! YOU READ IT IN 'LIFE' MAGAZINE! IT'S HERE! ED GEIN'S CRIME CAR! $1,000 REWARD IF NOT TRUE!'"[2] The exhibit was soon shut down by public outcry, but Ed Gein endured as a celebrity monster in America, inspiring iconic horror movies such as *The Texas Chain Saw Massacre* (1974) and *Psycho* (1960).[3]

1   George W. Arndt, "Community Reactions to a Horrifying Event," in *Bulletin of the Menninger Clinic, XXIII (New York: Guilford Publications, 1959)*, 106.

2   Harold Schechter, *Deviant: The Shocking True Story of Ed Gein, the Original "Psycho" (New York: Pocket Books, 1998)*, 216.

3   Dane Placko, "Rob Zombie's haunted house has John Wayne Gacy room," *Fox News Chicago (Oct 5 2014), http://www.myfoxchicago.com/story/26669431/rob-zombies.*

Serial killers—both real and fictional—proliferate in film, television shows, true-crime novels, magazines, internet culture, and in the lexicon of Americana. True-crime entertainment commodifies the tragedy surrounding serial killers, and often makes them into scapegoated representations of human "evil." From the 1980s to the 1990s true-crime media representations of serial killers radically shifted. In the 1980s, the serial killer was generally cast as an irredeemable freak; by the 1990s the media framed serial killer entertainment almost as scientific inquiry whereby spectators were invited to delve into the killers' psychology, to understand what made them tick and why they killed.

I argue that this shift can be attributed to the advent of therapy culture during this decade, as well as to the appearance of likable serial killer protagonists in film. Therapy culture, a term coined by sociologist Frank Furedi, describes the phenomenon whereby unusual momentous events are processed in a collective psychological way and understood in terms of their emotional impact and influence on individual mental health.[4] Furedi notes that when therapeutic analysis enters the public sphere, "it ceases to be a clinical technique and becomes an instrument for the management of subjectivity."[5] In other words, because the therapy is public it is not meant to benefit a "patient" so much as to influence how the audience perceives the subject. Moreover, therapy culture can be used to describe a culture wherein psychiatric principles have become generally normalized in the public sphere, encouraging more empathetic understanding of the once-unknowable other; it can also be used to describe the psychological conventions of confessional television.

In terms of confessional television in the 1990s, therapy culture was visible on tabloid talk shows such as Oprah Winfrey, Jenny Jones, and Jerry Springer. These shows encouraged participants to lay bare the pain of their lives for an audience, ostensibly to encourage healing and resolution but in reality more for voyeuristic entertainment. Media historian Mimi White provides an astute critique of this in her book on television-as-therapy: "In relation to television's therapy programs the terms of the debate are relatively obvious: Are the programs helpful and educational or harmful and distorting? Do they promote more openness and understanding about emotional problems or turn real human suffering into television spectacle for the sake of profits?"[6] White places the origin of this confessional talk-show television-as-therapy trend at the end of the 1980s and connects it to the idea of social therapy, meaning an attempt to heal the public wound caused by social trauma and crime:

> …there is a sense that participating as the confessional subject is part of the therapeutic ethos projected by television: telling one's story on television is part of the process of recovery (and repetition). At the same time this confers on participants a sense of celebrity. Their stories are told on national television, and they get to participate as actors and expert witnesses…In certain of these shows…there is also a sense of a socially therapeutic mission, as exposing unsolved crimes on television has led to the apprehension of a number of criminal suspects.[7]

Often true-crime shows interview victims' families who discuss their own pain in relation to the crime and often cry on camera—which suggests that televised interviews can be cathartic and healing. Victims' families have served as the "expert witnesses" that White refers to, but so have serial killers themselves, which plays to the audience's empathetic engagement with the crime-story narrative.

4   Frank Furedi, *Therapy Culture: Cultivating Vulnerability in an Uncertain Age* (London: Routledge, 2004), 12.

5   Furedi, *Therapy Culture*, 22.

6   White, Mimi, *Tele-Advising: Therapeutic Discourse in American Television* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1992), 29.

7   White, *Tele-Advising*, 182.

Rather than the mainstream, normalized sphere of the talk show, serial killers have tended to occupy the space provided by true-crime television shows such as *Blood, Lies & Alibis, Born to Kill?*, and *Most Evil*. Such shows capitalize on public interest in the grotesque and present murderers as socially deviant subjects, appropriate for study. These shows, *Most Evil* in particular, employ psychopathic rhetoric in order to frame the serial killers as born freaks with psychological disorders. The audience is trained as armchair detectives and armchair psychologists, with serial killers made into case studies. These celebrity monsters help maintain the social dichotomy of normalcy and deviance, placing the audience in the authoritative, "normal" role of diagnostician, trained—*vis à vis* true-crime television—to look for clues as to how deviancy may have developed through experiences in the killers' childhoods.

While public fascination with gruesome crimes is nothing new, psychiatric media representations of serial killers shows a cultural need to unmask the monster and prove him/her human. The television viewer can disavow the serial killer of some of his/her power and mystique when they subject them to psychological analyses. This process also functions as a cathartic experience for the television viewer, partaking in what cultural critic Mark Seltzer has termed "wound culture,"—that is, the social phenomenon of gathering around a site of public trauma to look at, experience, and process its tragedy collectively. While wound culture describes a human need to collectively process and congregate around a site of trauma, therapy culture defines the form that processing can take. Seltzer also situates wound culture in the culture of the 1990s: "The crowd gathers around the fallen body, the wrecked machine, and the wound has become commonplace in our culture: a version of collective experience that centers the pathological public sphere. The current à-la-modality of trauma—the cliché du jour of the therapeutic society of the nineties—makes

this clear enough."[8] This kind of response may be at its most intense in the immediate aftermath of the crime, but the media that ensues carries on this ethos. In this way, true-crime entertainment and endless news coverage can be seen as poking at the wound, probing it for further reactions.

Drawing on analyses of two documentaries on crime and murder from the 1980s (*Murder: No Apparent Motive* and *The Killing of America*), a televised 1.5-hour 1994 interview with Jeffrey Dahmer, and an archetypal episode of the 2006-2008 show *Most Evil*, this essay shows how the serial killer character has been used in American media as a psychological deviant, or freak of consciousness: a figure assigned with the role of deviant Other in order to assert the viewing public's feelings of normalcy. With the advent of disability rights, it is currently much more acceptable to exhibit freaks of consciousness than freaks of body[9] (as would populate a traditional circus freakshow), and serial killers are in some sense the ultimate end-result of this framing of the freak. Modern true-crime media about the serial killer makes spectacle seem acceptable by psychologizing the subject and emphasizing the emotional, psychic impact of crimes on the psychic sphere. This is a distinct shift from the 1980s, where the question posed by this strain of media was much more about the *what* than the *why*. Handling serial killers in the mode of 1990s confessional television, which continues to the present, strips these murderers of some of their frightening mystique. They are still sensationalized as monsters, used for thrills-and-chills shock value, but also framed as "sick," "psychotic," "disturbed" individuals who can be pitied and studied in a psychological manner.

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8   Mark Seltzer, *Serial Killers: Life and Death in America's Wound Culture* (New York: Routledge, 1998), 22.

9   David and Mikita Brottman, "Return of the Freakshow: Carnival (De) Formations in Contemporary Culture," in *Studies in Popular Culture* (Louisville: Popular Culture Association in the South, 1996), 100.

The 1980s: Serial Killers—Who Are They and How Can They Be Caught?

In the late 1970s there was a tremendous sense of fear in the country, with new killers seeming to appear every couple of years. For example, 1978 alone saw the arrest of three serial killers: Richard Chase, Ted Bundy, and John Wayne Gacy. Soon after, in 1983, the FBI publicized their serial killer profile, which framed serial murder as a contemporary American epidemic. Of course serial murder is not a modern, nor an exclusively American, phenomenon. Nor did the FBI coin the term "serial killer," as it had already been in circulation in the criminological community for over a decade.[10] Nevertheless, the FBI popularized the term along with their profile, which defined the serial killer as "public enemy number one" in America and elected FBI profiler Robert Ressler as the ultimate authority on the subject.

In the emotionally grueling documentary film *The Killing of America* (1982), made up entirely of real footage of crimes, the serial killer emerges as the ultimate fear—a senseless, random, brutal killer. The film is filled with scenes of panic and disorder, shouting, violence, urban decay, and punctuated with a voice-over from an unseen, hard-boiled male narrator. The narrator intones things like, "An attempted murder every three minutes. A murder victim every 20 minutes." And, "Bodies and more bodies. All day, every day. Guns. And more guns."[11] The film does not incorporate emotional nuance or psychological elements, but drums its message of fear into the audience through stark, disturbing facts. The experts are all police officers and FBI profilers, and FBI profiler Robert Ressler appears prominently. There is no psychological intrigue in *The Killing of America*, which frames the serial killer as one symptom of a larger cultural degeneracy. The film traces a downward arc from John F. Kennedy's assassination to the the "epidemic" of senseless sex-maniac killing. There is an extensive interview with serial killer Edmund Kemper, but that interview is not presented as a psychological study. For example, although Kemper experienced an abusive childhood, the interview does not focus on his formative history, but instead focuses on the details and circumstances of Kemper's crimes. This focus on the *what* rather than the *why* exemplifies this period of true-crime media, and early perceptions of the serial killer. While a 2007 episode of *Most Evil* presents Kemper first with a child actor staring into the camera, *The Killing of America* does not linger long in the killer's mind nor attempt to humanize him in any way, despite appearing "in person" for the documentary. Kemper's opening line is, "I'm an American and I went off the deep end." He makes some effort to humanize himself, but the film does not help him do so. The ominous, deep music and deadpan narration accentuate serial killers' irredeemable violence and work to instill fear in the audience—not aid us in psychological understanding.

This fear-mongering is only brought further to the forefront in the documentary *Murder: No Apparent Motive* (1984).[12] The serial killer is again framed as incomprehensible in this documentary, akin to a destructive force of nature rather than an individual human psyche. Robert Ressler is also featured in this film; lecturing to a college classroom, he stresses the "motivelessness" of serial murder, and creates a sense of urgency in needing to capture these dangerous deviants. *Murder: No Apparent Motive* creates fear in the audience by emphasizing the vital importance of apprehending serial killers, and the difficulties that come with that. Robert Ressler falsely claims that "The crimes you're seeing today did not really occur with any known frequency prior to the '50s," possibly suggesting that serial murders were the result of the social upheaval of the 1960s and 1970s.

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[10] David Schmid, *Natural Born Celebrities: Serial Killers in American Culture* (University of Chicago Press: Chicago, 2005), 69.

[11] *The Killing of America, directed by Sheldon Renan and Leonard Schrader, 1981. YouTube video (Aug 8 2013) https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=FdfFmTFY_JE.*

[12] *Murder: No Apparent Motive, directed by Imre Horvath, 1984. YouTube video (Mar 15 2014) https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=XRv8uOnvRBc.*

Of note, *Murder: No Apparent Motive* shares the same aesthetic conventions as its predecessor, *The Killing of America*, including an ominous, droning soundtrack and a gravel-throated narrator. Social historian Joy Wiltenburg, in her essay on true-crime, writes that, "Sensationalist crime accounts build their emotional potency in both a visceral response to violence itself and the quasi-religious dilemma posed by transgression of core values."[13] In *Murder: No Apparent Motive*, the visceral emotional response is pure dread. We are urged to take the role of armchair detectives by listening to police officers and profilers discuss the techniques used to catch these modern monsters. The goal is fairly straightforward: define the enemy, display the enemy, outline their deviancy, and scare the audience into believing this constitutes impending danger to their own personal safety.

The 1990s: Jeffrey Dahmer—The Sympathetic Face of Serial Murder

At the start of the 1990s, the serial killer began to be probed psychologically. Shows like *America's Most Wanted*—hosted by John Walsh, whose 6-year-old son was viciously murdered in 1981—proliferated in true-crime entertainment. The first day in the year 1991 saw the arrest of Aileen Wuornos, the only female serial killer to enter the 20th-century canon of serial killer celebrities. But one serial killer arrest that can be said to have shaped the decade was that of Jeffrey Dahmer in July of 1991.

Titillation and narrative intrigue in true-crime television can come from dangers inherent in the serial killer passing as normal through his/her outward appearance. This absence of physical freakishness may actually enhance the effectiveness of the serial-killer-as-freak: "More than destroying the peace, the psychopath shatters our complacency that comes from not knowing that dangerousness cannot be detected by body type…"[14] The boy-next-door psychopath character takes its emotional potency from this idea, and plays off of pervasive fears about one's own security in a society capable of producing the serial killer. This narrative lens is especially pervasive in the coverage of Jeffrey Dahmer, dubbed by tabloids as the Milwaukee Cannibal. Dahmer's crimes were highly sensationalized because of their bizarre nature, but also because of his appearance and personality; Jeffrey Dahmer was polite, soft-spoken, blonde-haired, blue-eyed, and deferential. In his 1994 interview with Jeffrey Dahmer, NBC's Stone Phillips intones to the camera, "How could a seemingly normal Midwestern boy grow up to commit such terrible crimes?" The cultural anxiety resulting from this difficulty in spotting such deviant people in our midst—the freak of consciousness who keeps his/her perversion hidden—arguably generates wider interest in serial killers like Jeffrey Dahmer. Moreover, Dahmer wholeheartedly embraced the television talk-therapy offered to him by NBC and *Inside Edition* (who also televised an interview with him), thereby creating an extensive and intimate media portrait of himself.

The Stone Phillips interview is essentially structured like public family therapy for Jeffrey Dahmer and his parents (Lionel Dahmer and Joyce Flint, divorced). The purpose of the interview is emotional truth, with Dahmer being continually urged to elaborate on his feelings about his past and his crimes. In contrast to the focus on the *what* of the crimes that we saw in the 1980s, in this 1.5-hour-long interview the criminal actions are mentioned far less than the killer's childhood and feelings. It might have been that the case was already so widely publicized that this program was focused not on straight reporting, but on letting Jeffrey Dahmer tell "his side of the story," so to speak. Talk therapy becomes a discursive strategy to get more luridly personal details out of Dahmer

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13 Joy Wiltenburg, "True Crime: The Origins of Modern Sensationalism," in *The American Historical Review (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004), 1379.*

14 Cary Federman, Dave Holmes, and Jean Daniel Jacob, "Deconstructing the Psychopath: A Critical Discursive Analysis," in *Cultural Critique (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2009), 40.*

and also to encourage public preoccupation with the memory of his case—probing private wounds from his past that have become public. Allowing Jeffrey Dahmer televised family therapy has the potential to generate feelings of radical empathy in the audience on his behalf; alternately, it increases dramatic pitch in the absence of breaking news and makes for better television.

Towards the end of the interview, Stone Phillips turns to Jeffrey with an expression of overly-contrived earnestness and says, "Your father told me one of the reasons he wrote this book [*A Father's Story*, a memoir] was in order to put down on paper what he has been unable to say to you in words, kind of reaching out to you. Is there anything you want to say to him, having read this?"[15] Jeffrey then apologizes to his dad, they exchange a one-armed hug, and the camera zooms in on Lionel resting his hand comfortingly on Jeffrey's arm. Phillips mediates between the two men in the way a family therapist would, asking "pointed questions" (his term) about Jeffrey's crimes while also probing for emotional reasoning and humanizing details from Jeffrey's life. Despite all of this seemingly sympathetic, gentle emotional prodding, Dahmer is still framed as a freak as well as an "unnervingly normal" man. In his closing statement Phillips mentions Dahmer's weak handshake, bringing up a gay stereotype to magnify his social deviance, and describes the whole interview experience as "eerie."

Of note, Dahmer's arrest coincided with the release of *The Silence of the Lambs*, a blockbuster film featuring an anti-hero cannibal killer. Although *Silence of the Lambs'* Hannibal Lecter was not modeled on Jeffrey Dahmer, their collision in popular consciousness caused their cultural presences to play off of each other. But fictional Hannibal Lecter offered a much more acceptable portrait

of deviancy than Dahmer did, more akin to a dashing *noir* villain than a sad, lonely murderer. Lecter, portrayed by acclaimed Welsh actor Anthony Hopkins, offered a compelling portrait of a serial killer protagonist as guru to Clarice Starling (played by Jodie Foster) and charming psychopath whose performance arguably steals the film. Notably, Hopkins had only 16 minutes of screen-time, the shortest amount of time ever to win an actor an Oscar.[16] Hopkins' Lecter powerfully influenced the serial killer character in American culture.[17] The urbanity, genius, and high-functioning psychopathy of a character like Lecter combined with the theatrical flair of Hopkins' gleefully evil performance enhanced the kind of awed respect generated by the serial killer. Furthermore, part of Hannibal Lecter's backstory is that he was a practicing psychiatrist, giving him insight into how to best manipulate people to his own ends and characterizing him as an "evil mastermind" serial killer. Fictional characters such as Hannibal Lecter (or more recently, Dexter), arguably contribute as much to the public-consciousness image of the serial killer as their widely-publicized real-life counterparts. Both are contained within a star text that feeds off of the same public curiosity and "mawkish disapproval that is the flip-side of titillation."[18]

Serial Killers in the 21st Century: Subjects of Analysis and Americana

By the mid-2000s, the primary focus of true-crime shows dealing with serial killers was psychoanalysis and emotional reception. The show *Most Evil* (2006-2008) centered around the "Scale of Evil" developed by Columbia University forensic psychiatrist Dr. Michael Stone, and each episode examined a handful of killers' case files to see where they

15 "Confessions of a Serial Killer: Jeffrey Dahmer" Jeffrey Dahmer, interview by Stone Phillips, *MSNBC, February 1994. YouTube video, (July 8 2012). http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=vPMBfX7D4WU.*

16 *The Silence of the Lambs (Two-Disc Collector's Edition), directed by Jonathan Demme (1991; Los Angeles, CA: MGM, 2007). DVD.*

17 Philip L. Simpson, "Lecter for President…or, Why We Worship Serial Killers," in *Cult Pop Culture: How the Fringe Became Mainstream, Vol. 1 (Santa Barbara: Praeger, 2012), 84.*

18 Lisa Downing, *The Subject of Murder: Gender, Exceptionality, and the Modern Killer (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2013), 93.*

fell on the scale. There are establishing shots of Dr. Stone sitting at his typewriter, looking through a microscope, and flipping through his filing cabinet to find a folder marked with the killer's name. The atmosphere of the show is meant to be frightening and creepy, but more subtly so than those we saw in the 1980s. Frequent reconstructions begin with a child actor staring eerily at the camera while a voice-over introduces the serial killer's (often traumatic) childhood story. The cases are simplified in order to neatly fit a diagnosis, allowing a handful of cases to be covered in the course of one episode. The show is framed as edifying and educational by its concluding voice-overw narration: "For these criminals, Dr. Stone considers their genetic, constitutional, environmental, and neurological factors when placing them on the scale. He believes that evil is something to be understood and analyzed, with the hopes of one day helping us not only to understand, but to guard against their crimes." Through their spectatorship, the audience is poised to be thrilled at watching re-enactments and in hearing about transgressive violence and perverse crimes; they are also poised to feel morally superior to the killers, and to feel educated on how to guard against these "killers next door."

To take an example, an episode from Season Two, entitled "Masterminds," profiles three serial killers at length: Edmund Kemper, Ted Bundy, and Ted Kaczynski. The professed goal of the program is to track their "transformation" into serial killers, presenting each case beginning with a childhood retrospective. The voice-over narrator is British, despite this being an American program, a characteristic usually meant to inject a kind of sophisticated credibility. In contrast to the gravelly, hard-boiled narrator of 1980s true-crime films, this man speaks in a measured, almost conversational tone that could just as easily be applied to a documentary on an entirely non-violent subject. This is not to say that the program is above the occasional jolt of sensationalism: "To find the roots of Kemper's sadism, Dr. Stone examined his past. He uncovered nightmarish details."[19] Cue commercial break.

In contrast to previous generations of true-crime shows, *Most Evil* encourages intellectual engagement rather than reactive fear in the audience. The background music is calm and meditative, with subdued single notes played on a piano over atmospheric noises. The atmosphere created is one of delicate tension, occasionally disrupted by a flourish of dramatic cellos. When examining frame composition, the action occurring is subtle. In dramatic reconstructions, the serial killer character (actor) often stares into the camera, playing with an object in his hands; in Kemper's case, the actor slowly pulls the stuffing out of his sister's doll. Despite such arguable, eerie scenes, *Most Evil* presents subtly reproduced violence, depicting serial killers in moments of solitude and relative non-violence, possibly encouraging a more empathetic reaction in the audience. To portray the inner anguish of the killers' psyches, extreme close-ups from skewed angles are used to jarring effect. A sense of disorientation is created by shooting an image very close and blurry then bringing it into sharp focus, adding to the tense atmosphere of the program.

Most Evil uses real-life footage of serial killers sparingly, preferring instead to provide re-enactments or to share "evidence" drawn from psychiatric and neurobiological studies; in Season 2, Episode 8, for example, studies on brain activity in autistic children who are unable to feel empathy (like psychopaths) are meant to lend insight into Bundy and Kaczynski. Psychiatric professionals (rather than FBI criminal profilers) are centered as authorities, thereby aligning the audience's perspective with their vantage point of clinical analysis. Pleasure in the show lies in this blatant invitation to be armchair psychiatrists who are equipped (by virtue of their spectatorship) to rank the show's subjects on Dr. Stone's Scale of Evil.

One odd feature of true-crime entertainment in the 21st century thus far is the emergence of an American serial killer canon of sorts. This canon comprises approximately 18 serial killers from the 20th century who are used again and again as television subjects

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[19] Most Evil, "Masterminds," Season 2, Episode 8, September 30, 2007. *YouTube video (Jan 7 2014).*

and objects of fascination. Although there have been more serial killers arrested since the 2000s, none have achieved the level of fame or impact that these canonical killers have. Biopic programs about these serial killers' lives are aired on the Biography Channel alongside those of people like Tiger Woods and Marilyn Monroe, in a sense assimilating them into mainstream culture as historical figures and celebrities. This could be because these serial killers are usually no longer a threat—being either dead or incarcerated. By framing them as subjects of clinical psychiatric study and figures from America's past, the serial killer garners more fascination than fear and earns a place as a figure of Americana. There has been speculation that serial killers already fit seamlessly into American mythology, that they embody an individualistic ethos and have an outlaw/vigilante justice appeal. However misguided this may be, serial killers are undeniably compelling characters and their celebrity seems to have solidified into a recognizable mass over the course of the 20th century—confirmed and brought to a narrative conclusion by the criminal crack-down the 1980s and the pop-cultural mass media explosion of the 1990s.

Probing the Public Wound

David Schmid has argued that serial killers have generally been "depicted as monstrous psychopaths, whose crimes tell us little or nothing about the societies in which they live [and that t]rue-crime narratives disconnect these individuals from the social fabric in order to present them as aberrations or freaks."[20] In contrast, I have argued that we can increasingly see true-crime media moving toward a psychological understanding and (slowly) away from mere condemnations of the serial killer as incomprehensible and inhuman monsters. In looking at the depictions of serial killers from the 1980s to the present, we can see how serial killers have come a long way through their media incarnations, from being discussed as an unstoppable epidemic to being

considered individually and painstakingly through the lens of psychoanalysis (and pop psychoanalysis).

Whenever we see a reviled social Other being widely used as a stock character in mass-culture entertainment, we can conclude that the dominant culture is attempting to disavow that group of some threatening power or influence it holds. Serial killers' crimes have tremendous frightening power because they threaten security, anonymity, and public normalcy. The true-crime media we consume about them satisfies a public need to understand and process their crimes while simultaneously satisfying an underlying desire to see violent acts recounted/reenacted, to be emotional voyeurs into other people's tragedies, and to look at an extraordinarily deviant person who chose to live outside the laws and norms of society. This desire to consume the Other through media representations belongs to a longer history of freak show entertainment and has been incorporated into the modern context of therapy culture by using the serial killer as a freak of consciousness. However shameful or wrong it may seem, the serial killer is part of the Americana lexicon and will continue to occupy public imagination through various media incarnations for a long time to come. ◼

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[20] Schmid, *Natural Born Celebrities, 176.*

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KEY PROGRESSIONS: AN EXAMINATION OF CURRENT STUDENT PERSPECTIVES OF MUSIC SCHOOL

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Introduction

The need to adapt to the changing demands of a diminishing market is a constant refrain in the contemporary world of classical music. Every year thousands of young adults graduate into a highly competitive field of limited job opportunities, resulting in a massive surplus of highly trained, unemployed musicians. With 638 accredited collegiate schools of music in the United States, as well as a significant number of music departments, there are over twenty-one thousand new degrees in music awarded every year (Freeman 2014:xix). Currently, students in music schools across the country spend their time practicing excerpts and working towards the ideal goal of winning an orchestra job. However, the field of classical music has recently been inundated with stories of bankruptcy, strike, and failure of some of the biggest orchestras in the country (Cooper 2014). For example, in the last four years alone there was a six-month strike by the Detroit Symphony Orchestra, a fifteen-month lockout of the Minnesota Orchestra, and two separate strikes by the Atlanta Symphony Orchestra in 2012 and 2014.

This unfortunate turbulence at the top level of the profession brings into question the way we measure success in classical music. Traditionally, a section job in a professional orchestra is the ultimate measure of having "made it" as a classical musician. Given that so many orchestras have closed over the past five years, perhaps this is no longer a relevant standard of success (Grannis 2012).

Having attended music school in two cities containing two of the 'Big Five' orchestras (the Cleveland Orchestra and the Chicago Symphony), I was curious to see how students were approaching the overall job market while simultaneously watching these particular orchestras appear to flourish. Were they optimistic about their futures? Was the majority of the student body expecting to get jobs with an orchestra after graduation? Were they aware that they might have to make some compromises in order to make a living?

To answer the questions posed above, I set out to examine the progression of recent graduate and undergraduate musicians' perspectives on their music school education and the way those perspectives might change throughout their academic careers. Through survey-based research I hoped to discover how current music students perceive the ways in which their education will affect their future, and if they believe their educational experience could be improved or strengthened in any way. I also looked at how students perceive the culture of their schools to determine whether or not this has an effect on their experience.

My interest in the evolution of student perspectives resulted in three surveys: an undergraduate student perspectives survey, a transfer student perspectives survey, and a graduate student/alumni perspectives survey. These three groups were chosen because they all have markedly different experiences of music school

given their progression through their various programs. Because of the nature of the research, graduate students and alumni (of either an undergraduate or a graduate program) were grouped into the same category because both groups had finished their undergraduate degrees and therefore would be able to provide similar feedback on their experiences throughout their four years of music school as well as their experiences upon entry into the job market. It is worth noting here that it is standard for graduate students enrolled in a music school to take jobs and gigs throughout their degree, which provides them with relevant information regarding the current job availability in the field of classical music.

The three surveys provided me with data from 55 respondents. The responses were anonymous, and the analyzed data fully de-identified. Though students from several different universities responded, there was a strong presence of students from DePaul University and the Cleveland Institute of Music. A majority of the respondents have recently completed, or are currently participating in, instrumental performance programs. Additionally, all respondents of the transfer student perspectives survey were undergraduate students at the time these surveys were administered.

One of the values of survey-based research such as this is that it provides accurate feedback from students. Although students are often surveyed about various aspects of their collegiate experiences, this study differs from others in that its agenda is derived directly from student concerns rather than what a school's administration may perceive to be student concerns. Additionally, a number of respondents stated that since they were confident in the anonymity of their responses (not always the case with surveys generated by school administrations), they were more willing to speak freely about their concerns.

Overall, the students surveyed had a positive view of their musical futures, as well as of the field of classical music in general. So, while the future of the classical music industry

is currently in flux, we should perhaps focus on the positive aspects of change, rather than holding on to the formulas by which success in classical music have historically been measured.

Part I: Survey Trends
Relationship with Teacher

The importance of a student's relationship with his/her private teacher cannot be emphasized enough. This is the only instructor a student will have for the duration of their degree and, ideally, is someone they can look to for professional guidance and networking connections after graduation (Nettl 1995:71). In *Heartland Excursions*, Bruno Nettl states, "more important in the social structure of musicians than the biological family is the family-like unit comprised of teacher and students" (1995:69). He further explains, "The vita of a musician, teacher, or student emphasizes a listing of 'with whom' that person has studied as a major qualification, and this is true even if the course of study was brief or not very successful" (1995:69). This assertion is reinforced by Robert Freeman in his recently published book, *The Crisis of Classical Music in America*, when he writes, "The selection of the principal teacher is a central matter, for an unhappy relationship with one's primary teacher… necessitates transferring to another college if there is a lack of interpersonal congruence between teacher and student to begin with" (2014:55-56).

Similarly, in *Music, Talent, and Performance,* an ethnographic study of an American conservatory, Henry Kingsbury discusses the importance of the relationship between a student and their private teacher. He writes "the fact that teachers' prestige is augmented by their student's success is mirrored by the fact that students draw status from association with a prestigious a prestigious teacher" (Kingsbury 1988:41). Additionally, he writes:

> A positive relationship between the student and the individual teacher was felt to be a necessity by everyone. Students who encountered serious problems in their

relationship with their teacher characteristically tried for a change of teacher or considered changing schools (Kingsbury 1988:39).

Though this book was published in 1988, this statement holds true today. Six of the eight transfer students who answered the question "Why did you transfer?" cited problems with their private teachers at their previous institution as a primary reason for transfer. Additionally, five out of eight respondents cited the desire to study with a different teacher as one of the reasons they chose their current institution. Out of the fourteen undergraduate students who responded to the question "Why did you choose to attend this institution?" eleven offered the opportunity to study with their current teacher as a primary factor in their decision. Similarly, out of the five undergraduate students who met with their dean for any reason, three cited problems with a teacher as the reason for their meeting.

The graduate student responses to the question "Why did you choose your undergraduate institution?" were quite interesting. While 85% of undergraduates cited their private teacher as the primary reason they chose their current institution, with the remaining 15% citing distance to their hometown as the primary reason, only 53% of graduate students specified their private teacher as a reason for choosing their undergraduate institution with 55% specifying their private teacher as a reason for choosing their graduate school. It was unclear from the survey results why there was such a drastic discrepancy between the undergraduate and graduate student responses and further research would be needed to answer this question.

Relationship with Peers

It is quite frequently the experience of incoming freshmen that, although they might have been the most talented musician in their high school, once they arrive at college, the technical accomplishments and musical abilities they have acquired over the years are not only commonplace skills among their peers but are basic prerequisites for

admittance into their private instructor's studios. For many young musicians this shift in the status quo can be quite jolting. Kingsbury remarks upon this dichotomy when he writes:

> The College of Music was an environment in which their musical "talent," which had been a mark of their remarkable individuality, suddenly became a mark of similarity with all the other students. In such a context, some students inevitably came to entertain doubts as to whether they "really" had talent at all. Such feelings, moreover, were manifested in a complex weave of intensely ambiguous friendly-competitive social relationships (Kingsbury 1988:5).

All three surveys reflect these concerns. Of the eleven graduate students who responded to the question, "How do/did your experiences in graduate school differ from those at your undergraduate institution? Please explain," seven mention differences between the social cultures of their undergraduate and graduate institutions, while the remaining four responders focus on differences in the academic curriculum. Several respondents mention that they find it harder to make friends in grad school for reasons such as the other students being more career focused, spending less time at school because of a less academically rigorous schedule, and because masters students spend two years at an institution instead of four. The outlier was respondent 17 who argued that the social atmosphere at their graduate program is better than what they experienced at their undergraduate institution. They wrote, "On a personal level the atmosphere in my graduate program is a lot healthier and more supportive than that of my undergrad (where insecurity fostered a culture of apathy and negativity)" (Respondent 17, Graduate Student/Alumni Perspectives Survey, Question 12).

All survey groups were asked about their impressions of student relationships at their undergraduate institution. The following bar graphs detail the respondents' impressions of their classmates' abilities to get along with each other.

ILLUSTRATION 1.1

Undergraduate Student Perspectives Survey

Do you feel your classmates generally get along with each other?

Answered: 16   Skipped: 1

ILLUSTRATION 1.2

Transfer Student Perspectives Survey

Do you feel your classmates generally get along with each other at your current school?

Answered: 13   Skipped: 0
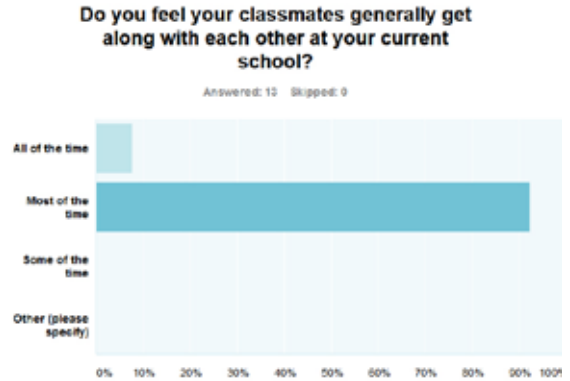
ILLUSTRATION 1.3

Transfer Student Perspectives Survey

Do you feel other students generally got along with each other at your previous school?

Answered: 12   Skipped: 1

ILLUSTRATION 1.4

Graduate Student/Alumni Perspectives Survey

Do you feel your classmates generally got along with each other at your undergraduate institution?

Answered: 24   Skipped: 1
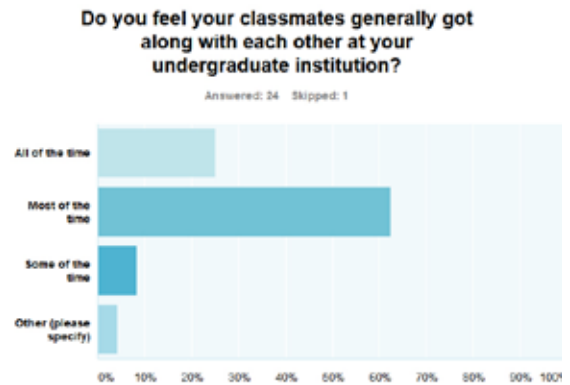
Out of the 55 respondents to these surveys, we can clearly see that, out of the 40 students surveyed who did not transfer, only 22% felt that students at their undergraduate institution got along all of the time, while 65% felt their undergraduate peers got along most of the time, leaving 10% feeling that their peers only got along some of the time with one outlier who felt their peers got along to some degree as yet unspecified.

Not surprisingly, the transfer student respondents generally felt that students at their first institution did not get along as well as students at their second institution. This is reflected in their responses to Question 10: "Is there anything else you care to add about student relations at your current or previous school? Please be specific." Out of the five respondents, there were three who felt it was easier making friends at their current institution with two outliers. One stated, "I found it harder to make long lasting connections with students at my current school than it was at my previous" (Respondent 7, Transfer Student Perspectives Survey, Question 10). The other stated, "It is truly difficult making friends outside of being

possible prospective employees in the future. Majority of the relations I have made in college, I have felt used and only met of convenience" (Respondent 1, Transfer Student Perspectives Survey, Question 10).

Part II: Survey Findings
Career Preparedness

In *The Crisis of Classical Music*, Robert Freeman (2014) delves into what he views as an imperative change to the historical foundations of musical training. More specifically, he recommends adding a series of courses exploring the business of music to the core curriculum of music theory and music history. Additionally, Freeman (2014), Kingsbury (1988), and Nettl (1995) all agree that music schools should consider courses that cover musical genres beyond just western classical music. It is quite common now for music schools to have a jazz program. However, all three authors argue for the inclusion of courses covering other, more diverse, subjects such as African drumming or Asian music history.

The subject of diversifying what is being taught in music schools was a prevalent trend in the student surveys, primarily with the graduate students. Given that the graduate students and alumni are either currently in the midst of launching their careers, or have already set out to do so, this is the group I believe provides the most accurate feedback as to the needs of current music students in terms of curriculum changes in schools.

Graduate students were asked the question, "Is there a class or skill set, necessary to getting a job in your field, for which your undergraduate institution did not provide sufficient training? Please explain." Out of nineteen respondents, 42% stated they had no views, 37% suggested various curriculum changes, and 21% suggested the addition of a course covering music business and current events in the field. Suggested curriculum changes included specific ways in which certain schools should change the format of their orchestra seating or rotation, a desire for a more in-depth study of music theory and history,

and more relaxed academic requirements to allow for more time to be spent on students' primary instruments. Overall, 58% of respondents suggested general changes to their undergraduate curriculum. Transfer students were asked a similarly worded question: "Is there a class or skill set that you wish your current school taught better that you believe is necessary to getting a job in your field?" Out of eight responses, 50% stated they had no views, 38% suggested curriculum changes, and 12% suggested a course covering music business and current events in the field.

In a graduate-student specific question, graduate students were asked, "What do you believe your undergraduate school could have improved upon?" Out of the nineteen responses to this question, 57% recommended specific curriculum changes, 21% recommended a specific course in music business be required for graduation, and 15% suggested administrative changes. Suggested administrative changes included requests for lower tuition, more practice spaces, smaller class sizes, setting "more realistic standards" for what to expect in the real world, and for schools to find ways to reduce the amount of stress felt by students who might not have entered music school at the same ability level as their peers.

Interestingly, when transfer students were asked, "Do you believe your educational experience at your current school could be improved in any way?," 25% of the eight responses answered, "Yes," 25% cited specific curriculum changes that would improve their experience of their undergraduate music program, and 50% cited administrative issues as the primary aspect that they would change. Suggested curriculum changes included recommendations for improving one respondent's school's orchestra rotation, a more standard system for grading classes, separating music theory and music history into two different classes, the addition of a choral conducting class, and more vocal ensembles. Suggested administrative changes are as follows: "It could be more affordable;" "School events may increase awareness to eliminate groupies;" "I think I could get a lot more out of

ILLUSTRATION 2.1

Undergraduate Perspectives Survey
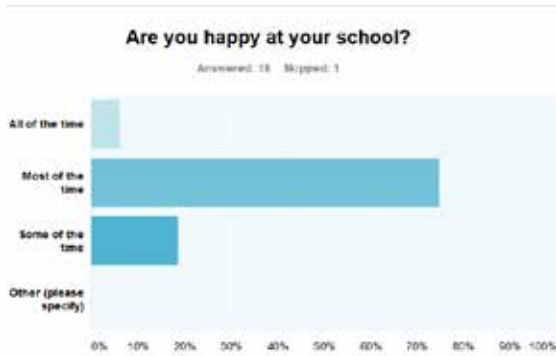
ILLUSTRATION 2.2

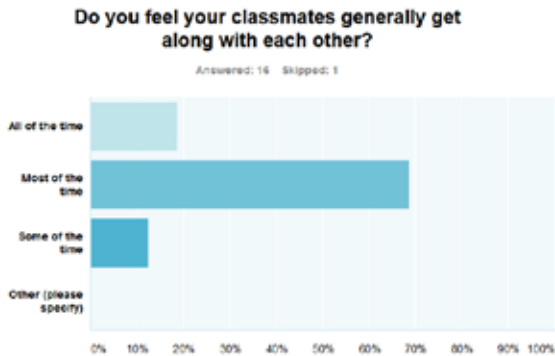Undergraduate Perspectives Survey
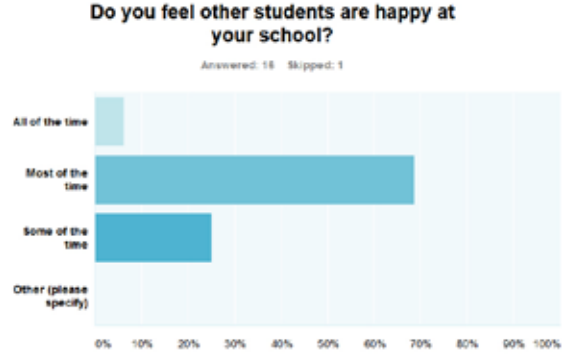
ILLUSTRATION 2.3

Transfer Student Perspectives Survey
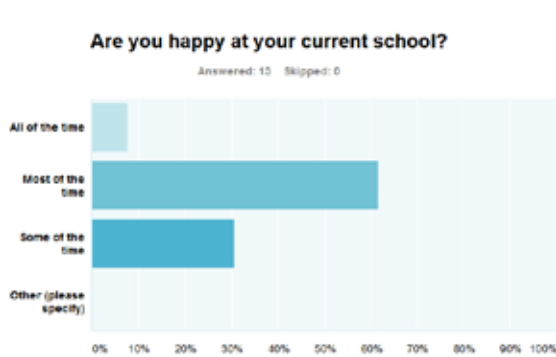
ILLUSTRATION 2.4

Transfer Student Perspectives Survey
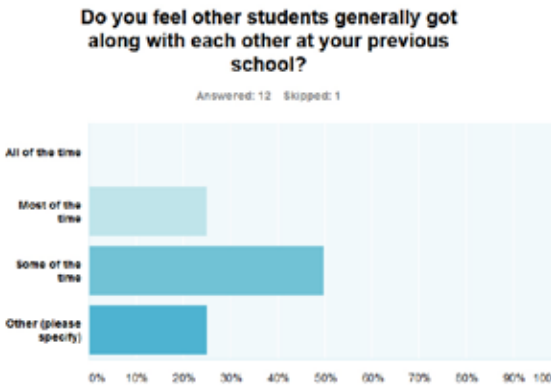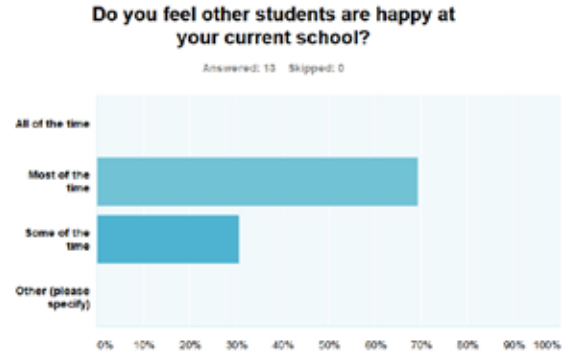

ILLUSTRATION 2.5

Graduate Student/Alumni Perspectives Survey
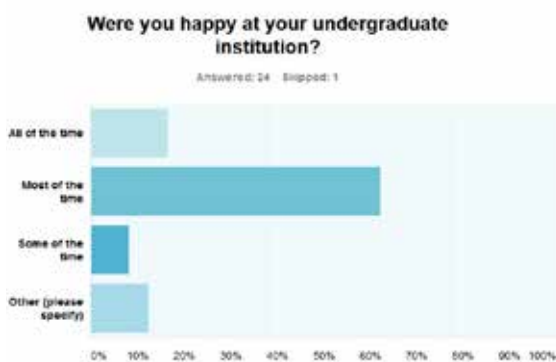
ILLUSTRATION 2.6

Graduate Student/Alumni Perspectives Survey
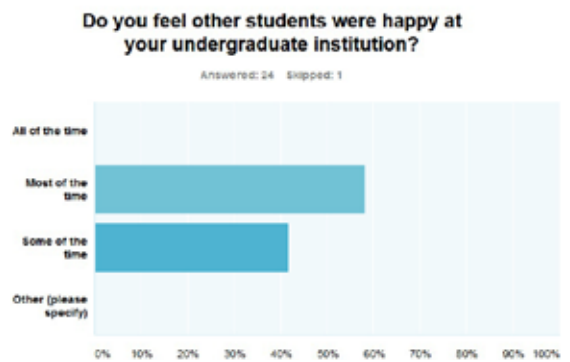
ILLUSTRATION 3.1

Undergraduate Student Perspectives Survey

Have you ever met with your dean to discuss your experiences as a student at your school?

Answered: 15   Skipped: 2

Yes
No

0% 10% 20% 30% 40% 50% 60% 70% 80% 90% 100%
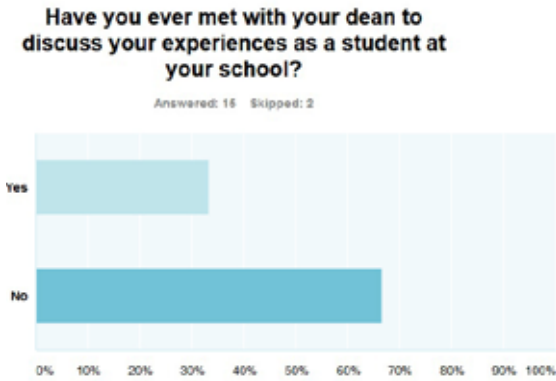
ILLUSTRATION 3.2

Undergraduate Student Perspectives Survey

Do you feel your school is aware of its students' experiences of music school?

Answered: 14   Skipped: 3

Yes
No
Other (please specify)

0% 10% 20% 30% 40% 50% 60% 70% 80% 90% 100%
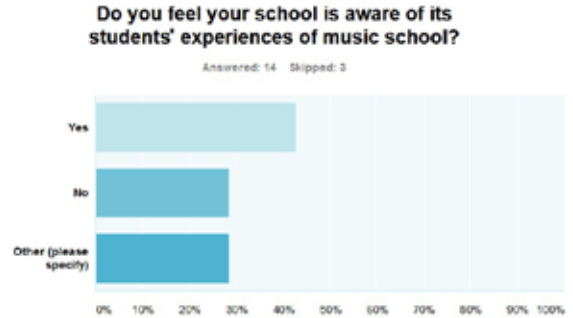
ILLUSTRATION 3.3

Undergraduate Perspectives Survey

Do you feel your school is aware of student attitudes regarding their field?

Answered: 14   Skipped: 3

Yes
No

0% 10% 20% 30% 40% 50% 60% 70% 80% 90% 100%
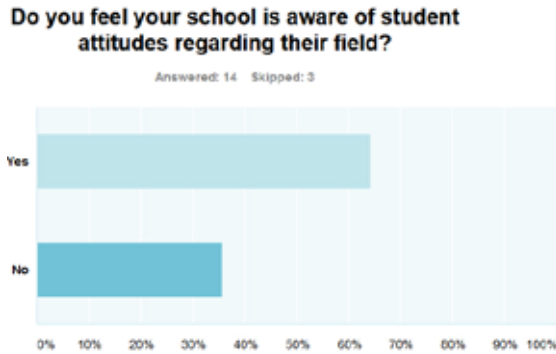
ILLUSTRATION 3.4

Transfer Student Perspectives Survey

Do you feel your school is aware of student attitudes regarding their futures?

Answered: 14   Skipped: 3

Yes
No

0% 10% 20% 30% 40% 50% 60% 70% 80% 90% 100%
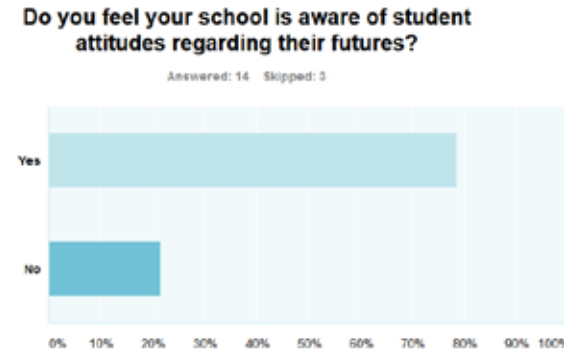
ILLUSTRATION 3.5

Transfer Student Perspectives Survey

Have you ever met with your dean to discuss your experiences as a student at your current school?

Answered: 12   Skipped: 1

Yes
No

0% 10% 20% 30% 40% 50% 60% 70% 80% 90% 100%
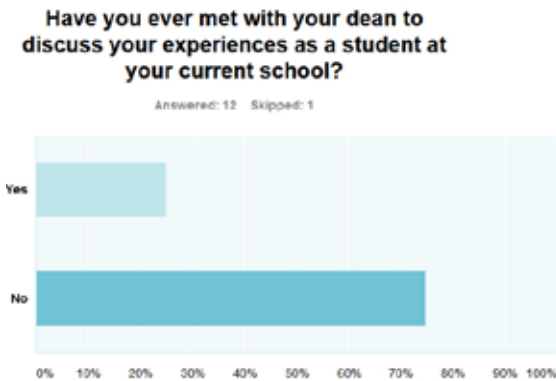
ILLUSTRATION 3.6

Transfer Student Perspectives Survey

Do you feel your current school is aware of its students' experiences of music school?

Answered: 12   Skipped: 1

Yes
No
Unsure
Other (please specify)

0% 10% 20% 30% 40% 50% 60% 70% 80% 90% 100%
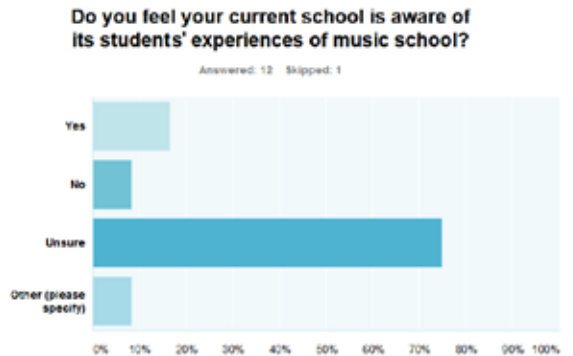
my major if my credits had transferred better;" and "more balance between grad and undergrad string students."

When undergraduates were asked the same question, "Do you feel your educational experience could be improved or strengthened in any way? Please explain," out of 15 respondents, 13% responded "Yes," 27% responded "No," 20% stated administrative changes would make the biggest difference in their experience of music school, 27% recommended specific curriculum changes, and 13% recommended a class covering music business and current events in the field. Suggested curriculum changes included more extensive training in music theory and aural training, an emphasis on musicology, a "mindfulness" seminar, changes to the orchestra and chamber music programs of a specific school, and a focus on non-classical music. Suggested administrative changes included better teachers, better administrative staff, dislike for the administration, and better facilities.

It is worth mentioning here that the graduate students and alumni who have been actively participating in the field of classical music felt that there was a need for courses covering music business and current events in the music industry, while transfer students did not seem to have the same concern.

Similarly, when graduate students were asked, "Do you feel that your undergraduate experience prepared you for graduate school? Please explain.," out of eighteen respondents, 17% responded that they have not yet attended graduate school; 22% responded that they felt prepared in some aspects of their training but not in others, which resulted in mixed feelings about their preparedness for grad school; 17% stated that they did not feel prepared for graduate school; and 44% responded that they did feel prepared for graduate school. There was one outlier who responded "Yes" to the question "Do you feel that your undergraduate experience prepared you for graduate school? Please explain," by stating, "Yes, in that I decided not to go." Because this respondent clearly

answered yes, it was counted as such, even though it was a negative affirmation.

Happiness of Students

One of my primary interests in undertaking this research was to find out how music students perceive their own happiness relative to that of their peers. Worth noting here is that a majority of students surveyed were from DePaul University which has the distinction of having been ranked the happiest college in the country four times in the past sixteen years (DePaul University 2015). This was made more meaningful within the context of this research as this was an aspect of students' perceptions of music school that I was asking about directly. Having gone through the data and broken it down by school, there was a significant trend of DePaul University students answering more positively about their perceived levels of happiness than students at other schools. While it was not uniformly true for all respondents from this school, on the whole, DePaul students seemed to be happier about all aspects of their school than other respondents were.

On every survey I asked a version of the question "Are you happy at your school?" followed by some form of the question, "Do you feel other students are happy at your school?" What follows are the responses from each survey to these questions with the specifically-worded questions at the top of the graphs. After examination of the bar graphs, it is clear that musicians are generally happy in their programs, though many respondents seemed to think that their peers were less happy than they were.

Relationship between Students and Administration

One of the most significant contributing factors to a student's experience of music school is the relationship the student body has to the administration of their school. This was seen in *Career Preparedness* in the fact that almost half of the respondents to every question had comments or suggestions for the administrators of their school as to how their experience of music school could be made better by various administrative means. Whether these suggestions and comments are realistic is an entirely different matter,

but there is clearly a trend in students feeling that there are some changes to various aspects of their programs that should be addressed.

Given that respondents seemed to have a great many suggestions for the administration of their respective schools, I anticipated finding that a majority of respondents were generally unhappy with their administrators and sensed a disjuncture between what they felt they needed versus what the school was providing. I am pleased to report that this was not the case. Though it is certainly true that students don't seem to discuss their experiences of music school with their deans, respondents generally felt that their schools had an accurate impression of student attitudes in regards to their fields and futures.

Student Perception of the Purpose of Their Degree

What do students regard as the purpose of their degree in music? Questions I asked in connection with this topic include, for undergraduates, "Do you find what you do to be meaningful?" and "Do you regret going into this field?"

For transfer students and graduate students/alumni, I asked, "Do you find what you do to be meaningful?" I also asked graduate students, "Do you regret going into this field?" These questions were designed in the hope of discovering if musicians find the same fulfillment in what they do after having been in school for several years and if they still feel that there is a purpose to what they do. The survey findings suggest that, while the overall trend is that respondents find meaning in what they do, there is a shift in this mindset as they get older towards finding music as a profession to be less meaningful although the art form continues to hold a great deal of significance in their lives.

Part Three: Conclusions

Given the aforementioned troubles of the classical music industry, I was expecting the overall outlook from the respondents to be quite negative. However, the research strongly suggests that respondents were generally happy at their schools. While most respondents had

various changes they would like to see their respective administrations make, they also felt that the administrators at their schools had a clear understanding of how students felt about their futures, as well as the field they are entering into. Encouragingly, students did not seem to have any regrets about going into the field of classical music. They did, however, have a desire for their schools to include classes on music business or entrepreneurial learning. As was mentioned earlier, respondents appear to be forming meaningful relationships with both their peers and private instructors, which was particularly encouraging to find. One of the questions I was most interested in at the outset of this project was if students were expecting to get a job with a professional orchestra after graduation, or if they were aware that they might have to find other ways to be successful in the current market. While there were a few respondents who expected to get a job with a professional orchestra, a significant majority of respondents recognized that they would need to find other sources of income, such as teaching private students, in order to make a living in classical music.

Although the field of classical music is clearly at a turning point in terms of how musicians traditionally find jobs and earn a living, respondents did not seem to be worried about finding jobs that they would consider satisfying. Overall, the data collected suggested a very positive outlook for the future of classical music, as well as for the next generation of musicians entering into it. ▪

ILLUSTRATION 3.8

Transfer Student Perspectives Survey

Do you think your current school is aware of student attitudes regarding their field?

Answered: 8   Skipped: 5

- Yes
- No
- Unsure
- Other (please specify)

0% 10% 20% 30% 40% 50% 60% 70% 80% 90% 100%
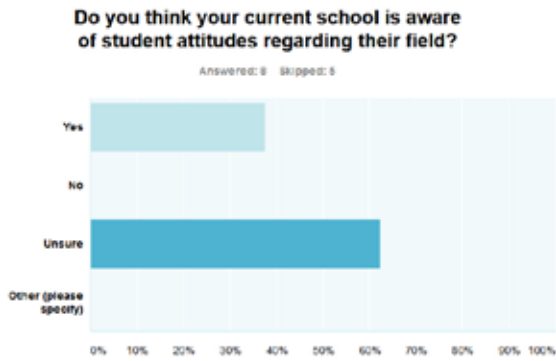
ILLUSTRATION 3.9

Transfer Student Perspectives Survey

Do you think your previous school is aware of student attitudes regarding their field?

Answered: 7   Skipped: 6

- Yes
- No
- Unsure
- Other (please specify)

0% 10% 20% 30% 40% 50% 60% 70% 80% 90% 100%
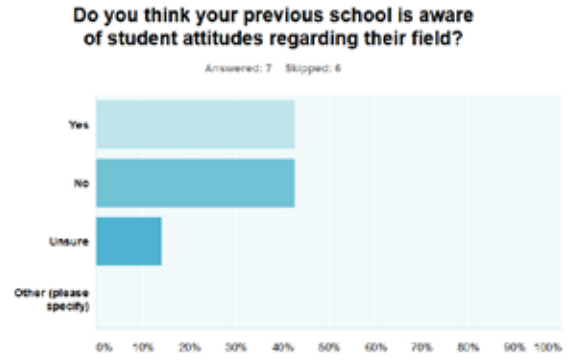
ILLUSTRATION 3.10

Transfer Student Perspectives Survey

Do you think your current school is aware of student attitudes regarding their futures?

Answered: 7   Skipped: 6

- Yes
- No
- Unsure
- Other (please specify)

0% 10% 20% 30% 40% 50% 60% 70% 80% 90% 100%
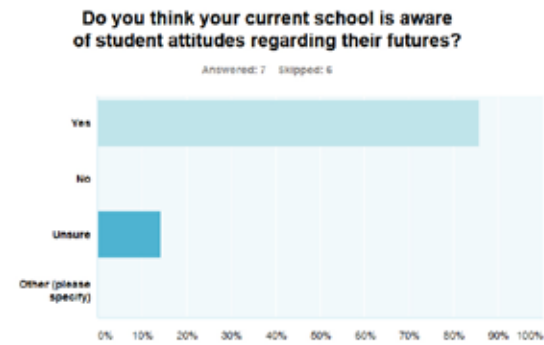
ILLUSTRATION 3.11

Transfer Student Perspectives Survey

Do you think your previous school is aware of student attitudes regarding their futures?

Answered: 7   Skipped: 6

- Yes
- No
- Unsure
- Other (please specify)

0% 10% 20% 30% 40% 50% 60% 70% 80% 90% 100%
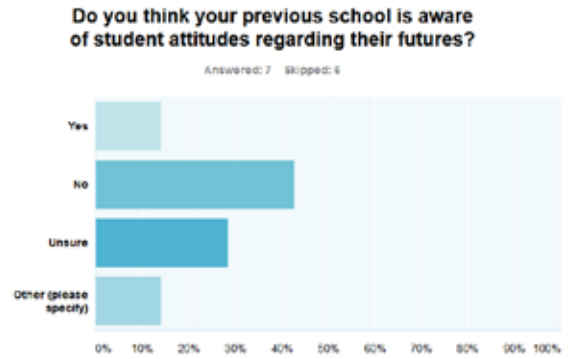
ILLUSTRATION 3.7

Transfer Student Perspectives Survey

Do you feel your previous school was aware of its students' experiences of music school?

Answered: 11   Skipped: 2

- Yes
- No
- Unsure
- Other (please specify)

0% 10% 20% 30% 40% 50% 60% 70% 80% 90% 100%
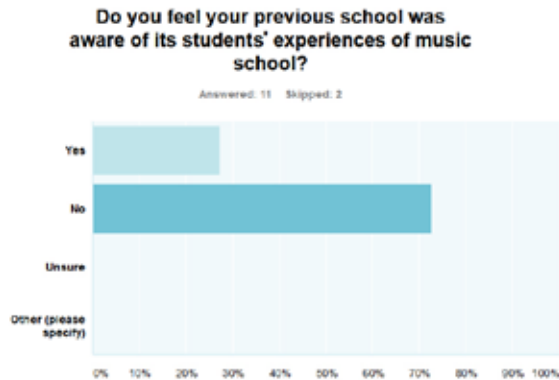
ILLUSTRATION 4.1

Undergraduate Student Perspectives Survey

Do you find what you do to be meaningful?

Answered: 16   Skipped: 1

- All of the time
- Most of the time
- Some of the time
- Other (please specify)

0% 10% 20% 30% 40% 50% 60% 70% 80% 90% 100%
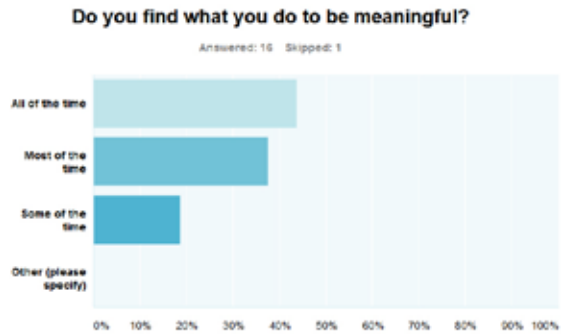
ILLUSTRATION 4.2

Undergraduate Student Perspectives Survey

Do you regret going into this field?
Answered: 16 Skipped: 1

ILLUSTRATION 4.4

Graduate Student/Alumni Perspectives Survey

Do you find what you do to be meaningful?
Answered: 19 Skipped: 6

ILLUSTRATION 4.3

Transfer Student Perspectives Survey

Do you find what you do to be meaningful?
Answered: 12 Skipped: 1
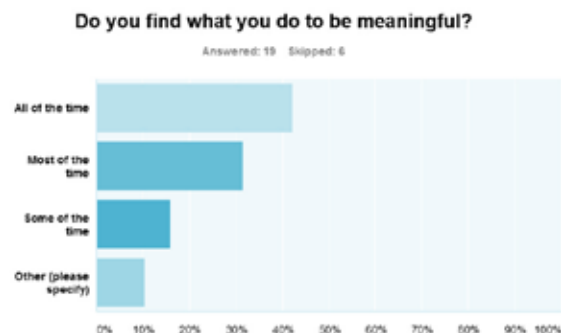
ILLUSTRATION 4.5

Graduate Student/Alumni Perspectives Survey

Do you regret going into this field?
Answered: 19 Skipped: 6
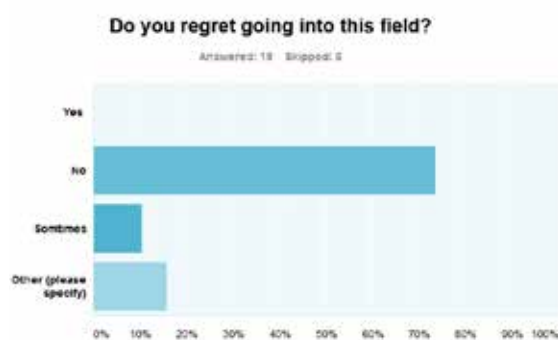
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Lauren Dacy | *Untitled (Imacon Study 2)*

Victoria Trahey | *Shifted*

EFFECT OF THE AFFORDABLE CARE ACT ON INSURANCE COVERAGE FOR YOUNG ADULTS

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Department of Economics

ABSTRACT   The young adult population (age 19-26) has been identified as a group that is highly unlikely to have health insurance. As a result, the Affordable Care Act (ACA) included a provision that extended dependent insurance coverage up to age 26. Using Current Population Survey data from 2005—2013, the effects of the ACA on the young adult population are evaluated using difference-in-difference regression models. The models compared the coverage rates of the young adult population to a slightly older population. This provision of the ACA yielded a significant increase in the insurance coverage of the young adult population.

Introduction

The Patient Protection and Affordable Care Act (ACA) was signed into law by President Barack Obama on March 23, 2010. One of the main provisions of the ACA was the increase in dependent coverage for young adults up to age 26. Previously, most insurance coverage only extended to dependents up to age 23, if full-time students, or up to age 19 if the dependent was not a student. The ACA extended dependent coverage up to age 26, regardless of student status or marital status. The young adult population was recognized as a group that was highly likely to have poor insurance coverage rates. Many young adults that are not college students work in low-paying jobs that do not provide health insurance. Young college graduates also struggled to find jobs after the recession in 2008, jobs that would have provided them with some form of health insurance coverage. According to a recent study, 31.4% of young adults, age 19 to 25, did not have any insurance coverage in 2009 (DeNavas-Walt 2011), which

was double the national rate of all other age groups. It is important that these young adults have insurance coverage so that they can access health services when needed to prevent further health problems later in life. Insurance coverage also helps young adults avoid considerable debt from catastrophic injuries that can occur. The dependent coverage provision in the ACA builds upon a variety of dependent coverage laws that 30 states had already enacted prior to the ACA (NCSL 2010). Most of these laws extended dependent coverage for non-married students up to a range of ages from 23 to 30. The ACA's effect on young adults' insurance coverage rates will be examined in this paper.

Literature Review

Health insurance coverage has been of interest to researchers for a long time. Two studies focusing on state expansions of dependent coverage for young adults found that the increases in coverage for young adults were offset by losses in other sources of coverage (Levine et al. 2011). The state-specific policies for dependent coverage had no net impact on the number of uninsured young adults (Monheit et al. 2011).

Another report released by Sommers (2011) from the Department of Health and Human Services, indicated that the percentage of young adults (age 19 to 25) with insurance coverage increased from 64% to 73% in the period from September 2010 to June 2011. This was translated into an additional 2.5 million individuals age 19 to 25 having insurance coverage because of the Affordable Care Act (Sommers 2011 and 2012).

A more recent study tests the impact of the ACA on insurance coverage for young adults (Cantor et al. 2012). In this study Cantor uses the March Supplement of the Current Population Survey from 2005 to 2011 to estimate linear difference-in-difference regression models of insurance coverage rates for young adults. There are a multitude of factors that are incorporated into the models including state level dependent coverage laws and insurance offer rates, student status, marital status, if a young adult lives with their parents and individual health status. The study found that there was a statistically significant increase in dependent coverage from the ACA and also an equally significant decrease in young adults who were uninsured. It is this study that I will attempt to replicate using updated CPS data through the 2013 survey year. However, the data does not contain individual student and marriage statues, which may affect our results.

Data and Methods

Using the Annual Social and Economic Supplement of the March Current Population Survey (CPS) from years 2005 to 2013, I examine the effect that the ACA had on insurance coverage rates of young adults (age 19 to 29). The CPS is a monthly survey that measures descriptive demographic statistics on an individual basis. The March Supplement to the CPS also measures insurance coverage status for the prior year. The data given consists of individual demographics: age (range 19 to 29), race (white, black, Hispanic, other), sex, state of residence, as well as health insurance coverage information. Whether or not the individual had some form of insurance coverage and what type: private, employer

TABLE 1

Health Insurance Coverage Rates for ACA Targeted Young Adults and Control Group for years 2004—2012 (Model 1)

Group and Type of Coverage	Coverage Year								
	Pre-ACA						Post-ACA		
	2004	2005	2006	2007	2008	2009	2010	2011	2012
Experimental Group (age 19 to 25)									
Any Type	70.5%	69.8%	69.7%	70.2%	70.2%	68.4%	70.0%	71.7%	73.0%
Private/Employer	59.8%	58.9%	59.2%	58.9%	58.1%	55.2%	56.5%	57.9%	59.6%
Medicaid	11.5%	11.9%	11.0%	11.7%	12.5%	13.9%	14.2%	14.7%	14.6%
Other	1.8%	1.6%	1.6%	1.8%	1.9%	1.8%	2.0%	1.9%	1.9%
None	29.5%	30.2%	30.3%	29.8%	29.8%	31.6%	30.0%	28.3%	27.0%
Control Group (age 27 to 29)									
Any Type	75.8%	75.2%	73.4%	74.4%	73.5%	71.0%	70.6%	71.8%	71.2%
Private/Employer	66.5%	65.0%	63.9%	65.3%	62.9%	59.3%	59.0%	58.8%	59.8%
Medicaid	10.0%	10.7%	10.0%	8.6%	10.8%	11.4%	11.3%	12.7%	11.7%
Other	1.4%	1.7%	1.3%	1.9%	1.7%	2.0%	2.3%	2.3%	1.9%
None	24.2%	24.8%	26.6%	25.6%	26.5%	29.0%	29.4%	28.2%	28.8%

Note: Types of insurance not mutually exclusive. Individuals may have more than one type of insurance coverage so percentages sum to more than 100%.

CHART 1

Insurance Rates by Group Over Time
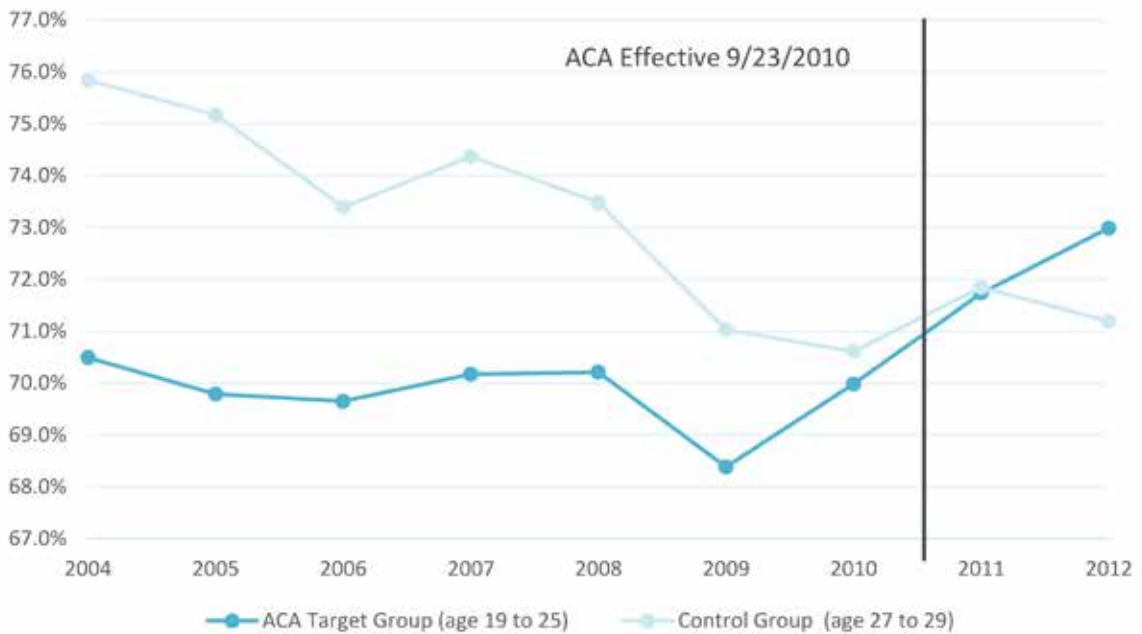
provided, Medicaid or other form of insurance. Also linked to the data are state unemployment rates to control for economic trends at the state level. Massachusetts and Hawaii were excluded from the analysis because those states passed individual insurance mandate laws prior to the ACA and would thus bias our results (Cantor et al. 2012).

The data was separated into two age groups. The young adult population who were targeted by the ACA for expanded dependent coverage is defined as those age 19 to 25. This will be our experimental group as their coverage options will have changed beginning in 2010. Our control group will be those young adults age 27 to 29 as they are not eligible for dependent coverage under the ACA. I remove those individuals aged 26 as the CPS does not provide enough information as to when those individuals turned 26 so I cannot determine their eligibility for dependent coverage when the ACA went into effect. The initial sample includes 149,743 individuals in the ACA targeted population and 67,400 in the non-target, control group.

A second model uses only those ages 23 to 25 for the ACA targeted population and those age 27 to 29 for the control group. Those in the ACA targeted group are assumed not to be students. In this model there were 63,310 in the ACA targeted group and again 67,400 in the control group.

Table 1 and Graph 1 show the percentages of insurance coverage for the experimental group (age 19 to 25) and the control group (age 27 to 29) from 2004 to 2012. As shown in the data, health insurance coverage of individuals age 19 to 25 increased by 1.6% from 2009 to 2010. A further increase of 4.6% is seen from 2009 (pre-ACA) through 2012 (post-ACA). Meanwhile, insurance coverage rates for older adults (age 27 to 29) remains fairly steady, with a slight decline between pre-ACA and post-ACA periods. One reason for this decline may be attributed to the financial crisis of 2008, which raised unemployment and slowed future job creation. The main source of health insurance coverage for adults in this group is their employers, which is why we are seeing a decrease.

I will use the enactment of the ACA's dependent coverage expansion as a natural experiment to determine how the coverage changed post implementation. For this I will use difference-in-difference regression analysis. This will allow me to examine the changes in insurance coverage rates of the ACA targeted group from pre- to post-implementation relative to the changes in the non-targeted control group.

Regression models, similar to Cantor's (2012), for insurance coverage type are defined as $Coverage_{ist}$ representing the insurance coverage outcome variable for individual i, in state s, and in year t:

$$Coverage_{ist} = \beta_0 + \beta_1 Fed\_Target_i + \beta_2 State\_Target_{is} + \beta_3 State\_Policy_{st} + \beta_4 \sum Year_t$$
$$+ \beta_5 Trend_t + \beta_6 (Fed\_Target_i \times Year_{2010}) + \beta_7 (State\_Target_{is} \times State\_Policy_{st})$$
$$+ \beta_8 Age_i + \beta_9 Race_i + \beta_{10} Female_i + \beta_{11} State\_UnEmp_{st} + \beta_{12} \sum State_s$$
$$+ \beta_{13} \sum (State_s \times Trend_t) + \varepsilon_{ist}$$

The Fed_Target_i and $State\_Target_{is}$ variables are dummy variables that indicate if the individual would have been eligible for dependent coverage under the ACA or specific state law, regardless of whether or not those laws were in effect for a given year. These two variables do not vary over time which will control for underlying effects of an individual having or not having insurance coverage throughout the data period. Eligibility for coverage under the ACA is based solely on age, which is reflected in the Fed_Target_i variable. State laws for dependent coverage are more specific and can depend not only on age but also student and marital status. Because of this I will use two different models. The first will assume all young adults are unmarried students and thus may be eligible for dependent coverage under their specific state's law. The second model will assume none of the individuals are students and thus not eligible for the state dependent coverage where student status is a prerequisite.

The next variable, $State\_Policy_{st}$ is a dummy variable that indicates when dependent coverage expansion took effect in specific states. The $Year2010$ variable will indicate when the ACA took effect; it is set to 1 for years 2010 to 2012 and

to 0 for all other years. Since the ACA did not take effect until September 2010, this will be a conservative estimate of the ACA's impact in 2010 but will provide clearer trends in 2011 and 2012. The $State\_Policy_{st}$ and $Year2010$ variables will not vary by individual characteristics; they are only used to mark when state and federal dependent coverage policies took effect.

The models also include the interaction of Fed_Target_i and $Year2010$ and the interaction of $State\_Target_{is}$ and $State\_Policy_{st}$. The coefficient of the first interaction term will be the difference-in-difference estimate of the effect of the ACA on dependent coverage. The second interaction term controls for an individual's eligibility for state dependent coverage expansion prior to the ACA taking effect (Cantor et al. 2012).

All models include controls for non-policy factors that may affect insurance coverage. These include state and year effects, the state unemployment rate, and both a state-specific time trend and an overall time trend to control for unobservable influences on coverage rates that vary within states over time and that vary by time alone. The unemployment rate for each specific state and year is included to adjust for any underlying economic trends among states over time (BLS 2014). There are also individual variables for individual i, in year t, to control for age, gender and race.

The second model will use the same variables but only includes those age 23 to 25 in the ACA target population. This model assumes that no individual is a student. This model controls for state dependent coverage laws that apply only to non-students. This will make the experimental group more equal to the control group in terms of demographics and thus we should see a large impact of the ACA in this model.

A third model is estimated using the same variables but only includes those who reside in the 19 states (AL, AK, AR, AZ, CA, DC, GA, KS, MI, MS, NE, NV, NC, OK,

TABLE 2

Regression Results for Difference-in-Difference Estimate of the Impact of the ACA on Insurance Coverage Rates for Young Adults by Insurance Type (2004—2012)

Coverage Type	Percentage Point Change in Insurance Coverage (standard errors in parenthesis)					
	Model 1		Model 2		Model 3	
	ACA Target (19-25) All states†		ACA Target (23-25 only) All states†		ACA Target (19-25) Non-reform states	
Any Type	4.69**	(0.44)	3.72**	(0.53)	4.93**	(0.43)
Private/Employer	4.36**	(0.48)	4.12**	(0.58)	4.81**	(0.47)
Medicaid	0.92**	(0.32)	0.01	(0.38)	0.68*	(0.32)
Other	-0.28*	(0.13)	-0.34*	(0.17)	-0.27*	(0.13)
None	-4.69**	(0.44)	-3.72**	(0.53)	-4.93**	(0.43)

*Statistically significant at 5% level; **Statistically significant at 1% level
†Excludes states MA and HI because of individual mandate laws

OR, SC, TN, VT, WY) that did not have any dependent coverage laws prior to the ACA taking effect (NCSL 2010). This model will estimate the impact of the ACA without the potential influence of prior state level dependent coverage reforms.

Results

The results of the regression models indicate similar findings to the statistics shown in Table 1. There was a significant increase in dependent coverage resulting from the ACA being implemented beginning in 2010. The difference-in-difference estimates for the three different models are shown in Table 2.

The percentage point changes for Model 1 show the overall change in insurance coverage for young adults when the ACA took effect in 2010. Model 1 shows statistically significant increases in insurance coverage for individuals 19 to 25 for all forms of insurance. Overall, there was a 4.69% increase in insurance coverage for young adults. More specifically, there was a 4.36% increase in coverage obtained through private and employer-based insurance, a 0.92% increase in Medicaid coverage, and a 0.28% decrease in other forms of insurance coverage. There was also a 4.69% decrease in young adults having no insurance coverage (which is to be expected if coverage increased by 4.69%).

Model 2 shows smaller but similar increases in insurance coverage for young adults. This smaller increase when compared to Model 1 is expected as Model 2 contains a smaller population (individuals age 23 to 25) and assumes that they are not students. Not having a student status lowers the expectation of having insurance through the prior state reforms. All percentage point changes are statistically significant except for the increase in Medicaid. This is because Medicaid eligibility is generally taken from your income as a percentage of the poverty level. Eligibility for Medicaid does not differ based on those age 19 to 64, so a person with a certain level of income that is eligible for Medicaid at age 19 will still be eligible for Medicaid at age 29 if they have the same level of income. The difference-in-difference estimates for Model 3 show the largest overall (4.93%) increase in insurance coverage for young adults. Model 3 only included individuals in the 19 states that did not enact any dependent coverage reform prior to the ACA taking effect. Since their states did not have prior coverage laws, these individuals were the most likely to gain dependent coverage when the ACA took effect as they did not have the option before. The results for Model 3 are all statistically significant and very close to the estimates in Model 1, further showing that the ACA did positively impact insurance coverage for the young adult population.

The level of individual data that was available may have biased some of the results. The dependent coverage provision of the ACA did not take effect until September 23, 2010, but I treated all of 2010 as if the ACA was in effect because the CPS does not give enough information to know when an individual had insurance during 2010. This may have caused an understatement of the actual impact of the ACA. The fact that the data given did not contain student status did not allow me to completely control for the fact that students in a majority of states had the option for dependent coverage prior to the ACA. Model 1 assumes that all individuals were students which may have led to an overstatement of the impact that prior state laws had on individuals having insurance.

Model 2 may have been biased because I did not include any individuals ages 19 to 22 as they were all assumed to be students and thus generally eligible for dependent insurance coverage. However, this is not truly the case as there are many individuals age 19 to 22 who are not students. Without student status present in the data I was unable to control for any prior state reform and thus those age 19 to 22 were excluded, which may have caused an understatement of the impact of the ACA in Model 2. Model 3 may have overstated the effect of the ACA because we only used states that did not have any prior dependent coverage reform laws. There may have also been bias from the CPS survey itself as people are asked to report insurance coverage from the prior year. This means that individuals must accurately remember if they had insurance coverage up to 15 months prior to the survey being conducted. With that long of a time frame, all individuals might not recall their coverage status, which could cause an over- or understatement of the results, depending on what the individual reported for coverage status.

Conclusion

Using the March Supplement of the CPS for 2005-2013 (measuring coverage from 2004-2012) we were able to test the impact that the Affordable Care Act had on insurance coverage rates for young adults. Using three separate difference-in-difference regression models I estimated a significant increase in coverage rates for young adults resulting from the enactment of the ACA. The ACA greatly benefits young adults as they are now eligible for dependent insurance coverage until age 26, which will greatly increase health outcomes while reducing potential medical debt from catastrophic injuries. While this benefit will cost more as family premiums will go up, this increase in premiums should not be significant as young people as a whole are some of the cheapest to insure because a majority of them are in good health. In 2014, the individual mandate provision of the ACA went into effect, further increasing the number of young adults that will have health insurance.

Since the data did not contain some important individual characteristics that affect insurance coverage eligibility, such as student and marital status, it would improve the analysis if it was possible to gather that information along with data from 2013 and 2014 to reexamine the impact of the ACA for young adults and see how much the rates increased because of the individual mandate provision. Overall, the Affordable Care Act has helped to increase insurance coverage for young adults, the highest uninsured age group in the U.S. In this case, public policy did have a significant, positive impact on a large group of the population. ▪

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Edwin Coleman | *Train Commute*

"THE DIFFERENCE OF WOMAN'S DESTINY":
FEMALE FRIENDSHIPS AS THE ELEMENT OF CHANGE IN JANE AUSTEN'S EMMA

Sam Okrasinski*

Department of English

Many of modern-day societies' most unsavory afflictions are relics of an equally unsavory past. The symptoms of a patriarchal society persist even today, and one of the most pervasive examples is also one of the most subtle and unnoticed: women often experience internalized misogyny in which they attempt to distance themselves from the difficulties associated with womanhood by distancing themselves from others of their sex. Defined by Steve Bearman and Marielle Amrhein in *Internalized Oppression: The Psychology of Marginalized Groups*, "Internalized sexism [is] acted out within or between women" (David 192). Further, it is not uncommon to hear young women distinguish themselves proudly as "not like other girls"—attempting to separate themselves from female stereotypes through disavowing the masses believed to embody such harmful generalizations. This trend is hardly surprising when one considers the work required to bring women to nearly equal footing with men, although a gap in the status of the sexes remains. While not often discussed, this particular form of sexism is not an insignificant part of the everyday reality of womanhood. According to a study that analyzed conversations between 45 female friends based on four categories of internally sexist dialogue, "on average, 11 such practices occurred per 10-minute conversation, suggesting that internalized sexism can be a routine social practice in women's

dialogues" (Bearman, Korobov, Thorne 10). Over time, the different faces of internalized sexism have changed to coincide with the shifting foundation of institutional sexism. In much of the western world today, institutional sexism has taken on more subtle, implicit forms than the restrictive rules and regulations that bound women in previous centuries. As the nature of the struggle for power shifts, so too do the ways people try to combat it. As such, modern women's desire to remove themselves from the realities of their own gender can be seen as a misguided attempt to gain some of this power back.

During the 19th century in Britain, the socio-economic position of middle- and upper-class women was precarious, and their only realistic hope of freedom was in marital union with a man—at the time, the gender with all the power. As a result, the crux of many 19th-century women's novels involves a marriage plot with a happy marital conclusion promising felicity and, perhaps more importantly, financial security. Jane Austen's Emma is no exception to the courtship rule, with the eponymous heroine's story concluding with her marriage to the pragmatic Mr. Knightley. Many feminist readings struggle to come to terms with Emma's marriage to Knightley, arguing that it reflects her simply bending to his will within the narrative, thereby stagnating her character growth. Much of Emma's charm comes from her feistiness and strong will, making many readers question why such an independent spirit would settle down with the character whose primary role in the novel is to correct her missteps. However, this reading fails to consider the role of internalized misogyny in Emma's development.

Indeed, many feminist critical responses to Emma decry the conclusion of the novel, citing Emma's marriage to Mr. Knightley as an example of the heroine fading into the shadow of the male romantic lead. As Devoney Looser points out in "'The Duty of Woman by Woman': Reforming Feminism in Emma," "the novel has been taken to task by some feminists for its taming of its spirited protagonist by marrying her off" (Looser 581), referencing critics like Ruth Perry, who explores the ways that the marriage plot "interrupts" the development of female relationships. However, these readings of the novel neglect to give due attention to the fact that all of Emma's greatest missteps are against other women. Her negligent and damaging treatment of her female acquaintance encompasses the worst of Emma's shortcomings. Although the plot of the novel is concluded with the typical hetero-romantic relationship taking the stage, it is Emma's homosocial relationships that ultimately direct the most real change in an otherwise static character. Especially significant to this exploration are the relationships between Emma and Harriet Smith, the illegitimate child, and between Emma and Jane Fairfax, the poor orphan. Austen is able to expertly craft personas and backgrounds for these characters that effectively draw out Emma's flaws. The way these flaws manifest themselves is through Emma's flippant manipulation of Harriet and her insouciant treatment of Jane. Her inability to understand or empathize with another woman's situation can be read as a form of internalized misogyny. Not only is Emma's poor treatment against her fellow women, but it is also based around issues that are inextricably connected to the female experience, like the need for marriage and accomplishment to ensure their safety and livelihood. Through comparisons of the different relationships Emma has with each of these women, readers come to understand her character growth through her increase in understanding of the precarious position of women at the time, as well as her own position as a woman whose security hinges entirely upon the predominant male figures of her life. Unfortunately for Emma, being

a 19th-century woman leaves her unable to avail herself of many luxuries that came so naturally to men, as much as her glib attitude might argue otherwise.

Emma's character is established from the novel's outset as striving to distance herself from the confines of womanly duty that were the norm of her time. From her managing of her father's household to her rejection of the idea that marriage is a necessity for her life, Emma endeavors to become fully independent in a way that simply was not possible for most women of the time period. She is able to maintain some degree of independence because her situation is the most uniquely devoid of the typical female hardships in the novel, which is in direct opposition to Jane's and Harriet's situations. She has a large enough dowry to, in her mind, ensure her financial security without being tethered to marriage, being the heiress of thirty thousand pounds[1] (Austen 153). All of the money is from her hypochondriacal, doting father, who is simultaneously her greatest source of encouragement as and also completely in need of her. Indeed, Emma's care and attention towards her father is consistently her best trait and never wavers. Attending to her father helps to assure her of her importance and power, much like what she tries to execute over Harriet, and what she feels stripped of with regard to Jane.

The dire situations of Harriet Smith and Jane Fairfax serve to underscore several of the different hardships that women faced merely based on the fact of their gender. Job opportunities were very limited for middle- and upper-class women, leaving marriage, in most cases, as the only option to assure freedom and security later in their lives. Female education was likewise limited to the acquisition of genteel "accomplishments" like music and dancing. As Lloyd W. Brown touches upon in his article

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1 Emma's dowry is among the second highest out of any Austen character after *Sense and Sensibility*'s Miss Grey, and the highest of any Austen heroine, as Marilyn Francus points out in "Jane Austen: Pound for Pound."

"Jane Austen and the Feminist Tradition," women in the 19th century were, in many ways, pigeonholed into idle aspirations by their educations.

Austen's representation of Harriet's education—a rather significant focus of the novel's more pointed jabs—is meant to represent yet another way in which 19th-century society confined women. Harriet, whose future ambitions were set from her illegitimate birth, receives a moderate education from a perfectly respectable middle-class school, where "a reasonable quantity of accomplishments were sold at a reasonable price, where girls might…scramble themselves into a little education, without any danger of coming back prodigies" (Austen 68). Here, Austen is satirizing Harriet's mediocre education, and as D.D. Devlin points out, "nobody in Jane Austen's novels who has had a public education acquires either virtue or insight" (Halperin 936). However, this quip touches on more than Harriet's poor education. Austen is also critiquing the modern system of women's education that focused solely on the acquisition of genteel accomplishments, rather than knowledge or practically applicable skills. Being merely adorned with refined talents was suitable for making the average middle-class woman an attractive bride, but not for preparing her for life after marriage.[2]

One of Austen's contemporaries, fellow writer Hannah More, was a proponent of a more practical form of education than the kind Austen satirizes in the passage above. In her book *Strictures on the Modern System of Female Education*, More declares that women should "receive just commendation for their patience, their industry, their humility, and other qualities which have more worth than splendor" (More 438). Austen approves of the more practical education for women, as we can

clearly see through the way the novel constantly points out Harriet's rather unremarkable intelligence and understanding. The education Harriet receives offers her little help, as Mr. Knightley declares that "she has been taught nothing useful" (Austen 97) during her time at Mrs. Goddard's. This is even clearer from her pointed lack of wit and understanding (Austen 97). Since Harriet would likely not have the means to hire a governess or many servants, were she to have children, her involvement with them would be more hands-on than a woman of greater social standing. Therefore, the education and future prospects of her eventual children hinge even more on Harriet's abilities than they otherwise might. As Brown highlights, many of Austen's male contemporaries, such as Thomas Gisborne, viewed female accomplishments as "'ornamental acquisitions'…which are 'designed' to keep the mind 'in a state of cheerful placidness'" (Brown 329). Unfortunately for the typical middle-class woman, this mindless bliss was not a practical state of being.

As a wealthy heiress, Emma is unsurprisingly ill-informed about the realities of being an illegitimate child, and this shows especially through her attempts to raise Harriet's status on multiple occasions through poorly conceived attempts at matchmaking. Mr. Knightley, the novel's primary voice of reason, is quick to sum up the dangers of the friendship between Emma and Harriet, stating that she serves to merely flatter Emma's vanity and belief that she cannot be wrong about anything. Simultaneously, Harriet is learning to think above her station and will ultimately be left unable to find happiness there as she once did. As Mr. Knightley states to Mrs. Weston, "Hartfield will only put her out of conceit with all the other places she belongs to" (Austen 80). Emma's blind belief in her own intelligence—what Knightley calls her vanity—is what causes Emma to encourage Harriet's rejection of respectable farmer Robert Martin; she firmly believes that Harriet is above him, and that their marriage would be a degradation. Knightley, however, tells Emma that far from being her inferior, Robert Martin is "as much her superior in sense as in situation" (Austen 97). If Emma is blind to

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2 Austen creates a clear example of this in her novel *Mansfield Park* with Mrs. Price, the heroine's mother, who would have been much better suited by a situation of "affluence and do-nothing-ness" than her actual state of poverty (Austen 391).

the fact that Robert Martin is so far and away Harriet's superior, it becomes even clearer how delusional her hope is that Mr. Elton, the vicar of Highbury, would marry Harriet. What is at stake here is more than just Harriet's relationship to Mr. Elton, or Robert Martin, or any other particular man. Instead, Harriet coming to view herself above the men within her station who would marry her is irreparably damaging to her marriage prospects and, by extension, her future livelihood and security. Although this scheme spectacularly blows up in Emma's face, leaving her in "pain and humiliation" (Austen 152), her self-inflicted distance from the hardships of womanhood were the vehicle for her own blunders.

Although different in many ways, the elegant and accomplished Jane Fairfax shares with Harriet a rather pressing dependence on marriage for her livelihood, without which she faces a much less palatable future. Jane is in a rather unique position as a woman who was born and raised in gentility, with the education and skillset to go along with it, but trapped by her unfortunate position as a penniless orphan. She received "every advantage of discipline and culture," and "every lighter talent had been done full justice to" (Austen 172). Unlike Harriet, Jane was given the full benefit of the masters in London, learning the ladylike accomplishments of playing and singing, and excelling at both to a notable degree. As Mary-Elisabeth Tobin points out in "Aiding the Impoverished Gentlewoman: Power and Class in *Emma*," this type of education was meant to lead to "a life of enforced, genteel idleness [which] was a necessary sign of class rank" (Tobin 415). However, Jane's lot in life is not that of an idle lady, but a governess. The position of governess was not one typically given to a refined woman like Jane Fairfax, but with poverty looming, it was the only option of employment for a woman of her standing. Therefore, Jane's knowledge and accomplishments go not simply towards the acquisition of a husband, but as preparation for her going on to teach young girls the same placid, mindless talents, designed to push them towards the simple prospect of marriage.

Becoming a governess was not simply an inconvenience, or even a minor step down, to women like Jane; the life of a governess was one of toil and degradation. It was with "tears in her eyes perpetually" (Austen 328) that Jane wrote to tell her friends the Campbells of her position as a governess, and with many more tears from the Bateses that the news was relayed to Emma. Although Miss Bates characterizes the future as a bright one with a satisfactory pay, the reality of life as a governess was grim. In fact, in 1850, *Punch* magazine describes the pay as being at "scarcely the wages of the lowest menial" (Punch 151). Further, Charlotte Brontë, whose time as a governess is well catalogued through her letters, discusses in detail the degradation of such a life. Much like Jane Fairfax, Brontë likens the position to "bondage" (Brontë 434) and laments that "a private governess has no existence, is not considered as a living, rational being except as connected with the wearisome duties she has to fulfill" (Brontë 433). Governess work was more than simply drudgery at low pay; it was a life that stripped middle- and upper-class women of their identities, leaving them as hardly better than servants to their child charges and those children's mothers. This is the reality of the world that not only Jane, but also Emma lives in.

In sharp contrast to Jane—resigned to "penance and mortification for ever" (Austen 173)—and Harriet—daughter of nobody—is the beautiful and wealthy heiress Emma. These two women are set up in perfect opposition to Emma, and her belief early in the novel that she has no need to marry. She discusses, in detail, with Harriet the ways that she believes herself above the need for marriage: "I have none of the usual inducements of women to marry. Were I to fall in love, indeed, it would be a different thing! but I have never been in love; it is not my way, or my nature; and I do not think I ever shall. And, without love, I am sure I would be a fool to change such a situation as mine. Fortune I do not want; employment I do not want; consequence I do not want: I believe few married women are half as much mistress of their husband's house, as I am of Hartfield." (Austen 116-117)

It is this belief in her own immunity from the need to marry for security, and her position of power within Highbury as a result of her wealth, that colors Emma's initial relationships with the women in her community. However, throughout the novel, Emma's views regarding marriage are challenged by the precarious situations of Jane and Harriet as middle-class women, and they are ultimately the mode of her transformation.

Similar to her treatment of Harriet, Emma's dislike—and subsequent neglect—of Jane Fairfax is a sign of her attempts to distance herself from the harsh realities of 19th-century womanhood that Jane so perfectly demonstrates with her situation. As discussed previously, Jane's future as a governess is described in the bluntest and most desolate terms, even being likened to the slave-trade as a sale "not quite of human flesh—but human intellect" (Austen 271). Pity for Jane is clear and natural to the reader, but evidently not so to Emma. While aware early on of how little she contributes "to the stock of their scanty comforts" (Austen 165), this awareness is not enough to translate into the proper attention on Emma's side towards the Bateses and Miss Fairfax. Emma's neglect and avowed dislike of Jane Fairfax stems from her jealousy of Jane's elegance and talents, for Emma finds herself regretting "the inferiority of her own playing and singing" (Austen 221). On a deeper level, however, this is Emma's manner of distancing herself from the entrapping realities of 19th-century womanhood—the realities that forced a woman to cultivate perfect elegance and numerous accomplishments, accomplishments that surpass Emma's own, simply to be considered suitable to a position of ostensible servitude. The narrator states, rather matter-of-factly, how, through her disposition and abilities, Jane is "fully competent for the office of instruction" (Austen 172). The narrator, from Jane's introduction, speaks of her talents as merely tools for the acquisition of a thankless and demeaning occupation marked by drudgery. However, in stark contrast to the narrator, Emma looks at Jane's talents as nothing more than a drop in the bucket of the numerous ways that she can be "idolized and…cried up"

by the other members of the community (Austen 200). She fails to see what the narrator presents as fact to the reader from the start—that Jane's accomplishments are not simply to flatter her vanity in the way that Emma's desultory attempts at reading are an effort to make her seem learned. Jane's accomplishments are solely for her livelihood. All that keeps Emma from a similar fate is her good luck in being born wealthy and living a life "with very little to distress or vex her" through her twenty-one years (Austen 55). This can be seen even more clearly when looked at alongside Emma's beliefs regarding Jane's love life.

Emma displays a complete ignorance of the importance of marriage to a woman's safety and security, owing to the fact that she believes marriage to be, for herself, unnecessary. She projects this ideal onto others, like her encouraging Harriet to refuse Robert Martin. Emma's flippant discussion of Jane's love life demonstrates this willful ignorance. The fragility of a woman's reputation and her marital eligibility are commonly recorded in Emma's time period, and by Austen herself in nearly all of her novels. However, Emma is so wholly beyond considering these issues that she not only harbors dangerous suspicions about Jane and her closest friend's husband, Mr. Dixon, but she shares them with Frank Churchill—whom she has no reason to believe would not seek to harm Jane with this information—with no discretion or concern. After the fact, Emma wonders "whether she had not transgressed the duty of woman by woman" by telling her wild theories to Frank Churchill, but shortly thereafter justifies her actions in thinking about how much her coming up with the idea flattered her own intelligence.

Although it is not explicitly stated in the text, this ignorance with regard to a woman's need for a squeaky-clean reputation in order to attain a marriage can be read as willful when one considers Emma's thoughts on a woman without marriage or wealth: Jane's spinster aunt, Miss Bates. She shares these thoughts with Harriet,

telling her that it is "poverty only which makes celibacy contemptible with a generous public" (Austen 117) with regard to Miss Bates. There is a disconnect between Emma's understanding of the deplorable nature of poverty and a woman's need for marriage to secure her safety from it. Ultimately, this disconnect is personified in Emma's relationship with Jane Fairfax, which directly challenges Emma's belief in her own immunity from the need to marry. It is expressed in both her negligence, as well as her willful slander, of Jane. In realizing these errors, Emma is forced to materially shift her understanding of the position of women. This shift in perspective, and the fact that it stems from Emma's interactions with other women, is important to remember when examining the conclusion of the novel and her eventual decision to marry.

Where many feminist readings of Emma struggle with the novel is with regard to Emma's marriage with Mr. Knightley for, as previously stated, it seems to indicate Emma's being "rewarded" by transforming into what the man indicates is best, thus proving him to be above error. Wayne C. Booth brings up this point early on in "Emma, *Emma,* and the Question of Feminism," succinctly stating that "Emma's ultimate happiness is identified with learning to see the world *as Knightley sees it*; with acceding to his judgment on all important matters" (Booth 31). However, these readings often fail to take into account where Emma is the most altered in her actions and assumed roles in Highbury. The novel may end with Emma's marriage, but it resolves with her altered relationships with her female circle. While Emma's marriage does not challenge the current power dynamic of the sexes, the novel instead argues for a woman acting in a way that best preserves the well-being of the women within her social circle. In the case of Emma, this means learning true empathy for the women not as fortunate as herself.

Emma comes to realize the way she wronged her fellow women; for Harriet, she feels empathy for the pain caused by her meddling. When she first learns of the engagement between Frank Churchill and Jane Fairfax, Emma is almost immediately struck with guilt and worry for Harriet based on her belief in Harriet's love of Frank. She muses that "she had been risking her friend's happiness on most insufficient grounds" (Austen 346). It is worth noting that Emma finally recognizes her actions as of actual risk to Harriet, and not simply a source of discomfort and unsettled affections. At the novel's close, Harriet ultimately marries completely free of Emma's meddling, finally ensuring her to be in safe hands. Harriet's marriage frees Emma of the guilt she felt for the harm she caused, which allows her to, "with the brightest smiles…most sincerely wish them happy" (Austen 398). As it was Harriet who made Emma realize her desire to marry Mr. Knightley, their marriage is simply the end of Emma's development, coinciding with Harriet's own marriage. Although the way they grow apart after the novel's close can be seen as a counter to Emma's growth with regards to Harriet, Emma herself realizes that this is the natural result of Harriet being "placed in the midst of those who loved her, and had better sense than [Emma]" (Austen 404). Emma is finally reflecting inwardly on her own flaws without regressing at all in her growth for the first time in the novel.

With regard to Jane Fairfax, she and Emma come to create the relationship that was neglected by Emma all along upon her finally realizing how she erred on this front. It is near the novel's close that Emma comes to realize how much damage was done by her neglect of Jane. The damage manifests physically as Jane's health sharply declines at the end of the novel after she officially accepts her position as a governess. She was found to be "suffering under severe headachs [sic], and a nervous fever" (Austen 336), which lasted to a degree that was worrisome to the entire town. Although this illness is a direct result of the stress of Jane's secret engagement and her belief that she had no choice but to become a governess, this traces back to Emma. As was previously stated, it was Emma's responsibility to help ease some of the burden on Jane, and this is a duty that she neglected to an astonishing degree. Although Emma could not have prevented Jane

from fulfilling her duty to become a governess, she could have been the friend to give her what small bit of comfort and relief she was able. Further, in response to Jane's illicit engagement with Frank Churchill, Emma quickly acknowledges that "if a woman can ever be excused for thinking only of herself, it is in a situation like Jane Fairfax's" (Austen 344). It should not be ignored that it is an engagement that brings this acknowledgment out of Emma. This further demonstrates Emma's understanding that it is marriage that is so important to a woman's safety and security—particularly if that woman is Jane Fairfax. The Emma of the beginning of the novel would have been far more unforgiving with regard to Jane; instead, she now is looking at Jane and her actions with an implicit understanding of the reality that shaped her decisions.

The resolution between Jane and Emma illustrates Emma's realization of the position of women, and by extension her acceptance of her role as a woman of power in assisting others of less fortunate standing. The greater friendship of Emma and Jane is the direct counter point to Emma's original distance from her, and as such, a direct counter to the distance Emma places between herself and the hardships women faced. Indeed, it is through finally reflecting on Jane's situation that Emma begins to truly examine the position of women, and she is struck by the pointed difference between the wealthy but otherwise unremarkable Mrs. Churchill and the poor but highly accomplished Jane—"one was everything, the other nothing—and she sat musing on the difference of woman's destiny" (Austen 332). Finally, Emma realizes the way a society built on systemic injustice leaves so much to chance in the lives of the marginalized groups. One small difference in Emma's life, or the life of any woman, could leave her either hopeless and impoverished or wealthy and secure through her entire life. Therefore, far from attributing all of Emma's alteration to her marriage with Mr. Knightley, her character growth can be attributed largely to her relationships with other women, especially Jane and Harriet. Emma's marriage is proof positive of her shifted views, and her realization that marriage is valuable to a woman.

Emma is a novel that is highly internal, with very little plot driving the story; even the setting hardly ever ventures beyond the bounds of Highbury. However, the amount of growth and change that the protagonist undergoes traverses vast swaths of territory and should not be understated. This is especially true for a female character whose growth was so much the result of other women. Relationships between women are often overlooked in the mainstream consumption of media, and even scholarly readings of novels like *Emma* can sometimes place this type of growth on the backburner. With phenomena like internalized misogyny still so prevalent in everyday culture, the importance of giving due consideration to these readings becomes apparent. What makes Emma as a character so likeable, despite her readily apparent flaws, is the way she grows and changes so much as the reader follows her story. Modern explorations of feminism should look at the way Emma developed a complex, nuanced understanding of the women she once flatly disregarded and see the ways that this same phenomenon might take place with modern instances of internalized misogyny. The ideas presented by Austen are, therefore, one step towards a greater understanding of the realities of womanhood that are still relevant today. ■

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LES MUSULMANS LGBTQ EN EUROPE OCCIDENTALE:

UNE COMMUNAUTÉ NON RECONNUE

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ABSTRACT   This essay discusses the complex reality of individuals who identify as Muslim and LGBTQ in Western Europe, in a climate of rising immigration and Islamic presence. Considering most directly the case of the United Kingdom, I question what is at stake for the European population, including its Muslim population, if the conversation about integration continues to exclude and erase the existence of this particularly vulnerable group. The essay acknowledges the difficult place that LGBTQ Muslims hold between two supposed hegemonic identities (Islamic and European), and explores how such a position can, in fact, serve to break down such rigid structures. Additionally, the role of LGTBQ Muslims may be to serve as a bridge between two self-proclaimed, opposing hegemonies to recast the current integration dialogue.

Introduction

Le discours au sujet des musulmans dans l'Europe occidentale est largement dominé par une discussion autour de la nationalité et la citoyenneté de ces personnes plutôt qu'un débat plus profond sur une politique identitaire. Une telle conversation hégémoniste cherche à simplifier l'accès à une identité qui dépasse les limites de cette restriction, une identité qui prend ses racines ailleurs. La situation précaire ou délicate de la plupart des immigrés musulmans dans le contexte Européen occidental ne souffre d'aucune contestation, mais au sein même de cette communauté les musulmans qui s'identifient comme lesbiens, gays, bisexuels, transgenre et queer (LGBTQ) sont encore plus particulièrement vulnérables. De plus, les musulmans LGBTQ représentent une population « hidden and inaccessible, » (Siraj 455) qui occupe deux mondes

supposés contradictoires. Ces gens sont doublement sous-représentés et ignorés dans le contexte de l'Europe Occidentale aujourd'hui.

En outre, les musulmans en Europe, notamment les musulmans immigrés, luttent dans leurs différents pays d'adoption contre la discrimination et l'assimilation pour une société Européenne qui les respecte et qui les accepte dans leur différence. Mais les musulmans LGBTQ et leur combat ne sont représentés nulle part dans le discours dominant actuel. Dès lors nous pouvons nous interroger sur ce qui est en jeu pour le peuple européen, avec notamment sa composante musulmane, quand on exclut et efface les musulmans qui s'identifient comme LGBTQ.

Cet essai explore l'expérience des personnes qui s'identifient comme LGBTQ et musulmanes dans le Royaume-Uni en étudiant les cas de répression, d'exclusion et d'acceptation dans la vie quotidienne. Je souligne « la vie quotidienne » pour montrer comment une discrimination multiple se manifeste à la fois dans les sphères privées (dans les esprits, au niveau introspectif, à

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domicile) et publiques (dans la rue, dans les institutions). Je me concentre notamment sur la situation du Royaume-Uni, car c'est là qu'il y a les informations les plus complètes, tout en faisant allusion aux autres contextes Européens pour être plus précis dans les descriptions. Il est à noter que les réalités au Royaume-Uni peuvent être transposées dans une certaine mesure dans les contextes variés de l'Europe occidentale.

Les interprétations de l'homosexualité en Islam

Avant d'examiner la situation des musulmans LGBTQ en Europe, il faut comprendre l'homosexualité au sein du contexte de l'Islam. À première vue, on peut dire que le Coran exprime explicitement que l'homosexualité est *haram* (interdite). On dit que la position « traditionnelle » fait référence aux interprétations littérales du Coran qui, « clearly define homosexual acts as sinful » (Eidhamar 246). La plupart de la communauté musulmane adopte ce point de vue, y compris l'immense majorité des autorités religieuses (Eidhamar 246).

Il y a certainement des personnes qui préconisent que l'homosexualité dans l'Islam est contre nature, anormale et honteuse (Eidhamar 246). Cependant, des perceptions différentes du Coran existent en dehors de cette vision, y compris une multiplicité d'interprétations du texte. Quelques-uns croient que l'homosexualité est un test de Dieu comme un défi supplémentaire et qu'il faut résister à ces tentations défendues. Au contraire, le spécialiste Scott Siraj al-Haqq Kugle propose que le Coran est en fait ouvert à la diversité de l'orientation sexuelle (Eidhamar 251).

De plus, une interprétation soutient que ce qui est *haram* n'est pas l'activité homosexuelle elle-même mais plutôt « the illicit performance of sexual intercourse in public » et que « the type of intercourse is more important than the genders of the partners » (Siraj 451). Asifa Siraj présente aussi une perception du Coran qui accepte l'existence des homosexuels, même des sentiments homosexuels, dans l'Islam mais qui rejette l'action selon ces sentiments-ci. Par exemple, dans un essai sur l'influence de la religion sur la vie des femmes lesbiennes musulmanes, Siraj interviewe une femme qui s'identifie comme lesbienne et musulmane qui dit que « making [homosexuality] acceptable doesn't make it right » et que même si « the feelings are natural... pursuing them wouldn't be » (Siraj 463).

Les perceptions différentes sont complexes et varient beaucoup en fonction de qui parle et dans quel contexte. Malgré tout, il n'y a aucun doute que l'homosexualité dans l'Islam est problématique et certainement une source de conflit dans la vie des musulmans LGBTQ au Royaume Uni et ailleurs.

Les défis et les oppressions des musulmans LGBTQ

Au Royaume Uni, les musulmans LGBTQ sont confrontés à des défis comme étant des communautés minoritaires sur le plan sexuel et religieux. Par ailleurs, ceux qui viennent des autres pays sont stigmatisés parce qu'immigrés. Ce groupe marginalisé est exposé à un grand nombre de luttes dans la vie quotidienne, luttes qui commencent chez-eux.

L'Islam met l'accent sur l'honneur familial ainsi que la signification du mariage comme « rite de passage » dans la famille. De plus, on souligne le respect pour les parents et l'importance d'un réseau très uni dans la communauté, y compris de la famille et des proches (Yip Khaled 82). Dans les communautés musulmanes immigrées, ce réseau est même plus important parce que ces communautés musulmanes immigrées sont souvent isolées des autres facettes de la vie sociale Européenne. Par conséquent, être homosexuel dans une famille traditionnellement musulmane veut dire qu'on risque la honte et le rejet.

L'auteure kenyane-canadienne Amreen Jamal dénonce le point de vue que l'Islam est absolument contre l'homosexualité parce que cela force les musulmans non-hétérosexuels à faire un choix tout à fait difficile: il faut soit abandonner leurs identités pour commencer une vie hétérosexuelle, soit « abandon Islam as their religion and be banished by Muslim society (and often by their own family) »

(Eidhamar 250). De plus, les musulmans queers sont obligés de naviguer un terrain tout à fait compliqué, « constantly confronted with silencing, appropriation, exclusion » ainsi que la demande de s'adapter à une réalité étrangère et une vie sous forme d'oxymore (El-Tayeb 89).

Le cadre interpersonnel est même plus complexe au niveau cognitif. Comment les aspects de l'acceptation identitaire jouent-ils un rôle dans les psychés de ces gens ? L'intégration identitaire, le fait que l'identité LGBTQ individuelle soit compatible avec l'identité prédominante, peut avoir une influence sur plusieurs résultats de la santé comportementale, cognitive et mentale, telle que la santé psychologique (Jaspal et Cinnirella 850). De plus, la reconnaissance des identités contradictoires ainsi que le manque de cohérence de soi peuvent résulter en un conflit et du désarroi au niveau intrapsychique (Jaspal et Cinnirella 850). Dans son étude, Asifa Siraj traite de femmes homosexuelles musulmanes qui subissent un « acute psychological strain, » ce dont une des femmes interviewées a souffert parce qu'elle habitait deux mondes opposés (Siraj 454). De plus, le compartimentage des identités conflictuelles ajoute au sentiment d'isolation et d'aliénation des musulmans LGBTQ au Royaume-Uni.

Le Safra Project, une organisation britannique qui fait des recherches sur les musulmans LGBTQ, énumère une grande liste des épreuves auxquelles doivent faire face les musulmans LGBTQ qui viennent de s'afficher publiquement comme tels (« coming out »), y compris le rejet de la famille et des proches, la pression extrême de se marier, la violence domestique, l'absence de domicile et la perte de la garde des enfants. La tension interne qui résulte peut provoquer la dépression, l'automutilation et le suicide (site-web, Safra Project). En partageant son histoire dans Le Guardian, le théologien, Imam homosexuel et porte-parole pour la tolérance dans l'Islam Ludovic-Mohamed Zahed, a exposé que les adolescents homosexuels aujourd'hui en France ont quinze fois plus de chances de se suicider que ceux qui s'identifient comme hétérosexuels à cause de leur orientation sexuelle.

Les musulmans homosexuels immigrés et ceux qui demandent l'asile sont particulièrement vulnérables à cette pression identitaire parce que l'expérience quotidienne est rendue même plus défavorable et difficile par les processus légaux et les barrières à la communication. Au Royaume Uni la situation se dégrade pour les femmes dans cette position parce que la législation contre la discrimination est « incomplète et inconsistante, » déterminant que les « femmes sont protégées de la discrimination à cause de leur genre et race, mais non à cause de leur religion ou leur orientation sexuelle» (site-web, Safra Project).

Le désespoir et l'empressement se manifeste souvent dans cette lutte pour la liberté et la sécurité. Tout cela est exacerbé si l'on considère les situations des musulmans LGBTQ qui sont soumis à plusieurs discriminations, y compris ethnique, religieuse, sexuelle et de citoyenneté. De plus, les anxiétés des refugiés sont souvent oubliées parce que les médias ont tendance à exacerber les peurs de la culture dominante *contre* les réfugiés au lieu d'exprimer la situation des réfugiés (Ponzanesi 82).

En mouvement vers la non-exclusion

On voit qu'il y a de nombreux obstacles, soit étatiques, soit sociaux, soit privés, que les musulmans immigrés et non-immigrés doivent combattre dans leurs vies quotidiennes au Royaume-Uni et ailleurs en Europe. Parfois, les doctrines de leur religion peuvent se présenter comme des obstacles personnels chez-eux. Cela dit, il y a une multitude d'organisations, campagnes et individus qui cherchent à promouvoir un Islam de la tolérance et de l'acceptation. De nombreux musulmans pratiquants, y compris Ludovic-Mohamed Zahed, soutiendraient que ni l'homophobie ni la misogynie sont en accord avec l'éthique de l'Islam. En 2012, Zahed a ouvert la première mosquée « gay-friendly » à Paris pour encourager la tolérance, la prière commune, l'égalité et surtout l'inclusion dans une « progressive representation » de l'Islam (The Guardian). Malgré beaucoup de réactions contre ses efforts de la part de la communauté musulmane à Paris, Zahed se fraie un chemin dans la population musulmane.

La *Confederation of Associations LGBTQUI Euro-African or Muslim (CALEM)* est une organisation qui lutte contre l'homophobie et la discrimination dans l'Islam par la responsabilisation des musulmans LGBTQ. Le réseau CALEM a commencé en France vers 2000 et maintenant il s'étend à toute l'Europe avec une base de coordination en Afrique du Sud. L'organisation cherche à être une source d'informations, fournissant des renseignements et du soutien pour les musulmans LGBTQ qui se trouvent « caught between the hammer and the anvil » de l'Islamophobie et de l'homophobie (site-web CALEM). Elle se bat pour la diversité sexuelle dans l'Islam ainsi que pour le respect des Droits Fondamentaux de l'Homme, déclarant que les droits LGBTQIA *sont* des droits de l'homme.

De façon similaire, le *Safra Project* est un projet de ressources dont le but est de travailler sur les problèmes auxquels font face les femmes lesbiennes, bisexuelles et/ou transgenres qui s'identifient comme musulmanes religieusement et/ou culturellement. Installé au Royaume Uni, ses premières années ont été dédiées à la recherche et se sont focalisées sur l'accès de ses femmes à des services légaux variés. Aujourd'hui l'organisation existe principalement sur Internet, néanmoins elle continue à fournir des contacts pertinents pour que les femmes puissent accéder aux ressources appropriées. Cette organisation reconnaît les oppressions multiples que les femmes musulmanes LGBTQ doivent combattre quotidiennement.

Enfin, *Imaan* est une organisation britannique qui cherche à soutenir les musulmans LGBTQ au Royaume Uni en produisant des lieux sûrs et en construisant des réseaux de soutien. Actif dans la communauté musulmane à Londres, ce groupe a notamment accueilli des ateliers et des évènements pour démystifier la charia, exposer les réalités des musulmans LGBTQ, créer des espaces pour rassembler cette communauté, normaliser les problèmes concernant les musulmans LGBTQ.

Alors que les individus musulmans homosexuels deviennent de plus en plus actifs et expressifs dans la société européenne,

les thèmes qui s'articulent autour du sujet de la tolérance identitaire sexuelle semblent relever d'une interprétation progressiste de l'Islam.

L'identité sexuelle et une nouvelle compréhension de l'Islam

Les musulmans LGBTQ occupent un terrain dit impossible à cause de la combinaison entre leur identité sexuelle et leur identité religieuse. Cependant, il semble que les musulmans LGBTQ peuvent utiliser leur identité sexuelle pour arriver à une nouvelle interprétation de l'Islam. Une série d'interviews de musulmans LGBTQ au Royaume-Unis de 2010 a montré que, malgré les attitudes variées des familles, des communautés, du public ou de soi-même pour ou contre l'homosexualité dans l'Islam, les participants pouvaient utiliser l'Islam, « to serve as a canopy of meaning, an embracing referential framework, from which they drew » (Yip et Khaled 83).

C'est vrai que les gens se tournent vers la religion pendant les moments difficiles. Puisque les musulmans LGBTQ sont soumis aux sentiments d'isolation ou d'ostracisme à cause de leur identité sexuelle, il est difficile pour ces gens de se tourner vers l'Islam, une religion qu'on dit peu tolérante envers l'homosexualité. Cependant, les études de Asifa Siraj (2011) et Yip et Khalid (2010) révèlent que malgré la « clear struggle to reconcile their faith and culture with their sexuality, » les musulmans LGBTQ au Royaume Uni et en Amérique du Nord concluent que c'est certainement possible d'être musulman *et* LGBTQ. Encore plus, la plupart de ces gens « moved on from the morality debate of their existence » pour suivre les chemins spirituels où se trouve le grand amour d'Allah (Siraj 103 ; Yip et al 83).

Cela veut dire que les participants de cette étude ont ré-encadré le sens et la signification de l'Islam pour eux-mêmes afin de régler les sentiments négatifs associés à l'être homosexuel et musulman. En contextualisant et humanisant leur religion, ces gens ont pu garder leur religion (Siraj 460). Une telle interprétation des

aspects positifs de l'Islam a aidé les participants à réaliser une certaine spiritualité qui les encouragant vers un « vrai sens » de la religion, au-delà de la nature intransigeante des doctrines rigides. Cela indique une forme privée de résistance contre la normalisation de l'hétérosexualité (l'hétéronormativité) avec une « self-guided spirituality » (Siraj 460).

Ces gens ressentent une sorte d'éveil spirituel qui leur indique qu'il y a de l'espace pour eux dans l'Islam et dans la foi, que l'Islam sert à tous et à toutes quelle que soit l'identité de chacun. Cela veut dire que même s'il y a des liens présumés inhérents entre l'institution de l'Islam et la croyance en Allah, il y a des scénarios où ces deux éléments devraient être perçus séparément (Jaspal et Cinnirella 857). Dans ce cas, on voit comment malgré les systèmes qui cherchent à les opprimer, celui de la religion et celui de la société Européenne, les musulmans LGBTQ s'efforcent de déconstruire ces structures hégémoniques pour réaliser leur propre bien-être spirituel, mental et personnel.

Cependant, malgré la force interne qui sert à améliorer les processus d'intégration identitaire des musulmans LGBTQ, il y aussi les obstacles socio-politiques auxquels ils sont confrontés dans la vie quotidienne.

Attrapés entre les structures hégémoniques

Aujourd'hui en Europe la question de savoir si une culture Islamique et une culture Européenne sont incompatibles reste ouverte. Ce débat est problématique parce qu'il suppose qu'il y a deux structures hégémoniques qui représentent les attitudes, les croyances et les identités de toutes les personnes qui appartiennent à chaque groupement respectif, tout en éclipsant les autres possibilités identitaires de soi, et en simplifiant la diversité de ces identités. Par ailleurs le débat s'oriente de telle manière que les structures s'y opposent. Compte tenu du fait qu'il y a une perception de « l'Europe » contrant celle de « l'Islam, » et vice-versa, chaque structure sert à renforcer l'hégémonie

de l'autre en opposant son existence implacable. De plus, l'instrumentalisation de ces conceptions hégémoniques n'est pas rare lorsque chaque groupe diabolise l'autre en le réduisant à des stéréotypes ou des jugements discriminatoires. Par conséquent ceci conduit à simplifier la complexité de la réalité humaine correspondant à chaque groupe.

Par exemple, dans les communautés au Royaume Uni, le lesbianisme est souvent vu comme symptôme de la « Westoxification, » (l'intoxication par la culture séculaire Occidentale). De plus, les gens qui font un « coming out » risquent de porter l'étiquette négative de cette intoxication, comme une femme qui a assumé les normes et les valeurs que l'on voit comme « non-muslim » (Jaspal et Siraj, in press). Les musulmans LGBTQ font aussi face au sentiment troublant que même si leur identité sexuelle est illicite, c'est leur Dieu qui les a créés de cette façon (Jaspal et Cinnirella 855). De telles luttes compliquées internes ajoutées aux pressions et attentes externes illustrent le « general heteronormativity and compulsory heterosexuality prevalent in Muslim discourses » (Jaspal et al 855). Cependant, c'est bien là la même hétéronormativité que ces musulmans LGBTQ croisent dans la société européenne quotidienne, établie et renforcée par les rôles et les normes de genres qui cadrent les relations hommes/femmes.

Un tel débat qui oppose une structure dominante à une autre est problématique parce qu'il catalogue les groupes de personnes qui s'identifient avec les aspects de chaque groupe avec les typologies rigides de l'un ou de l'autre. Les musulmans féministes et queers doivent aussi répondre au « imaginary clash of cultures » dans lequel "the West" représente soi-disant le « liberal and progressive cosmopolitanism » tandis que l'Islam représente une idéologie qui est « traditional, intolerant, static » (El-Tayeb 86). Et même plus, il existe un discours *homo*normatif dirigé contre la communauté mâle gay qui cherche à supprimer les LGBTQs de couleur, y compris les musulmans LGBTQ (El-Tayeb 85).

Avec ces deux structures hégémoniques qui s'entrechoquent à l'avant-garde, les musulmans LGBTQ sont coincés au milieu, face au rejet et à la défiance de chaque côté à cause d'une identité dite conflictuelle. Les personnes avec des identités de genre queer affrontent l'isolation sociale, conséquence de rester « in the closet » et d'être séparés « both phyically and emotionally» des autres ayant la même identité, comme les amis et la famille (Siraj 105). Une telle oppression sociale est amplifiée pour les musulmans LGBTQ qui lutte souvent déjà pour l'acceptation de soi, l'assurance et l'identité dans le piège entre deux cadres culturels rigides, et qui est accablé par des sentiments de culpabilité, de honte et de peur de chaque côté.

Bien que le pourcentage de la population musulmane LGBTQ au Royaume-Uni soit largement inconnu (entre 5-10% de la population en Écosse), la communauté musulmane britannique continue à ne pas accepter leur présence (Siraj 102). Cette attitude est évidente dans l'institution du Conseil Musulman de la Grande Bretagne (MCB) qui se refuse à communiquer avec les associations pour l'homosexualité et qui s'abstient ouvertement d'aborder l'homophobie dans la communauté musulmane (Siraj 450). Parallèlement, le British National Party a pris une position contre « l'Islamisation » de l'Europe dans la défense des valeurs comme l'égalité de genre et les droits LGBTQ, là où il y avait un manque d'intérêt avant (El-Tayeb 83). Ce changement soudain d'intérêt suggèrererait-il une position qui instrumentalise un sujet brûlant afin d'en tirer un profit politique ?

Les attitudes au Royaume-Uni: l'Islam et l'homosexualité

Les citoyens du Royaume-Uni ont des sentiments mixtes par rapport au sujet de l'homosexualité. En 2013, YouGov, une organisation de recherche britannique, a effectué une enquête qui a posé à 1,809 adultes britanniques des questions politiques. De ce groupe, 7% ont été d'accord que le mariage homosexuel était un thème important pour les élections suivantes. Plus tard, 55% ont répondu qu'ils

soutiendraient le mariage homosexuel, alors que 36% ont dit qu'ils s'y opposeraient, avec une majorité de 20% dans ce groupe qui a répondu « strongly oppose » (YouGov 5-7). Même si la majorité de ce groupe était pour le mariage homosexuel, ceux qui s'y opposaient représentent une grande marge du pourcentage.

Par ailleurs, 59% de ce groupe de 1,809 adultes ont répondu qu'ils pensaient que le candidat pour Premier ministre, David Cameron, a pris une position pour le mariage homosexuel pour des raisons politiques plutôt que des croyances personnelles, indication d'une politique qui instrumentalise un débat social pour un avantage politique. Il est possible que cette opinion de Cameron reflète que le Royaume-Uni cherche, de façons variées, à renforcer une politique occidentale qui tende à vouloir exclure l'Islam, démontrant que le culte n'est pas en harmonie avec ces valeurs de tolérance et d'égalité.

Paradoxalement, tandis que le Royaume-Uni se présente comme partisan de ces valeurs humanitaires, il y a de plus en plus d'attitudes d'intolérance et de répression envers les minorités de couleur et les immigrés, particulièrement les musulmans (El-Tayeb 80). En 2010, YouGov a effectué une enquête auprès de 2,152 adultes britanniques sur plusieurs éléments de l'Islam. De ce groupe, 77% ont répondu qu'ils ne savaient que peu/rien de cette religion. Les trois mots les plus cités par rapport au culte Islamique *après* le mot « religion » étaient l'extrémisme (58% des réponses), le terrorisme (50% des réponses) et la violence (33% des réponses). De plus, 30% ont répondu que l'Islam était une religion violente. Même si 37% ont dit qu'il n'est pas violent, 22% de ce groupe ne se sont pas prononcés pour ou contre.

YouGov a demandé aux participants s'ils pensaient que l'Islam était une religion qui s'intéressait à la justice sociale et 42% ont dit non, seulement 15% disant oui. Par ailleurs, 69% ont dit que l'Islam encourageait la répression des femmes. Malgré le fait que 41% étaient d'accord que les musulmans n'ont

pas d'impact positif sur la société britannique, 67% ont dit qu'ils ne voudraient pas savoir plus de l'Islam. L'enquête n'a pas posé de questions sur la communauté musulmane LGBTQ.

L'homosexualité et la progression de l'Islam en Europe Occidentale

Un débat récurrent actuel en Europe Occidentale par rapport aux immigrés musulmans est la question de l'intégration. Comment intégrer ces personnes dans un nouveau pays quand il y a plusieurs institutions, soit occidentales soit Islamiques, qui s'opposent, rendant difficile la tâche de se mélanger aux deux cultures. Par ailleurs, l'échec de cette mission reflète toujours négativement sur la communauté musulmane immigrée. Certaines institutions européennes font allusion au « manque culturel » supposé de la communauté musulmane parce que « they cannot adapt » à une société occidentale (El-Tayeb 81). Cependant, si la société britannique est largement ignorante des valeurs et des coutumes Islamiques, et qu'elle ne s'intéresse pas à en apprendre plus, elle joue un rôle tout aussi stagnant dans l'intégration des immigrés musulmans au Royaume-Uni.

La communauté musulmane LGBTQ a l'immense potentiel d'émerger comme intermédiaire entre ces deux cultures hégémoniques dites opposées et de surmonter les différences et de faire progresser l'intégration des musulmans immigrés en Europe Occidentale. Actuellement, au Royaume-Uni, ni le côté britannique ni le côté Islamique ne reconnaissent entièrement ce groupe des musulmans LGBTQ. En 2013, la BBC a fait un reportage sur un culte d'Initiative de Mosquée Ouverte (IMI), effectué dans une cave d'un bâtiment à Londres, qui a révélé les sentiments contradictoires envers la prière peu conventionnelle. Aucune personne présente pour la prière n'a voulu donner son nom à la BBC pour l'article « for fear of repercussions from the community », et le Conseil Musulman de la Grande Bretagne ainsi que la Commission Consultative de la Mosquée et Imams Nationaux ont refusé de donner des commentaires. Ceux qui critiquaient la mosquée ont exprimé qu'un tel Islam a été conçu pour convenir à l'occident (BBC). Si cet Islam inclusif était accepté comme une interprétation légitime plutôt qu'un complot occidental, cela pourrait servir à dissoudre les préjugés d'un occident hégémonique, tout en dissolvant ceux de l'occident contre une culture Islamique arriérée. De plus, si la Grande-Bretagne accueillait les musulmans et les personnes LGBTQ à bras ouverts, alors ces personnes trouveraient la tâche d'entremêler leurs identités moins dangereuse, les encourageant ainsi à partager leurs voix et exprimer leurs intérêts.

Comme cela, l'institutionnalisation d'un Islam inclusif des musulmans LGBTQ peut rendre possible la progression de l'Islam en Europe Occidentale en diversifiant la voix de sa population. Un tel Islam améliorerait la représentation de l'Islam dans les espaces publiques et les réseaux politiques variés. Il omettrait le mot politique de « l'intégration, » qui implique l'incorporation d'une culture inférieure à un système supérieur, qui est totalement développé et complet, mais qui l'accueille avec des conditions et des soupçons. La diversification de l'Islam en Europe adopterait plutôt une mission de *progression* de l'Islam, ce qui accueillerait un Islam qui développe simultanément, à côté d'un cadre Européen existant, des voix, des besoins et des normes indépendants. De plus, l'unification des groupes dans l'Islam en Europe renforcerait une voix Islamique collective pour affirmer sa présence dans la société et pour consolider la légitimité de ses demandes.

Certaines personnes, surtout la politique droitiste, prétendent que l'Islam, dit sévère et rétrograde, ne convient pas aux valeurs européennes, caractérisées par la liberté et l'égalité, et c'est pour ça que les musulmans vont rester des étrangers en dehors de la vraie citoyenneté Européenne (Bowen, Bertossi, Duyvendak et Krook, 1). Ce stigma social est un obstacle pour tous les immigrés, y compris ceux qui s'identifient comme musulmans et LGBTQ. Cela dit, l'acceptation et le respect d'une communauté musulmane LGBTQ dans la société

Islamique au Royaume-Uni braverait les accusations occidentales que l'Islam est en retard, tout en ouvrant un espace pour une voix plus diverse et plus représentative de l'Islam qui ne peut pas être ignorée ni par les hommes et les femmes politiques britanniques, ni par ceux de Europe en général. L'avancement des organisations, des associations et des attitudes comme Calem, le Safra Project et Ludovic-Mohamed Zahed a le potentiel de créer un dialogue entre les communautés musulmanes et celles des autres Européens, ce qui va permettre l'avancement politique des droits des musulmans LGBTQ (Siraj 463). En bref, Les musulmans LGBTQ sont une force car ils sont représentatifs des aspects de chaque discours culturel, et ils peuvent servir comme un pont entre les cultures traditionnelles Européenne et Islamique pour établir l'humanité de nous tous.

Conclusion

Les musulmans qui s'identifient comme LGBTQ en Europe Occidentale représentent une population particulièrement vulnérable dans la société moderne. Ils partagent des aspects de trois identités différentes qui, au Royaume-Uni, sont considérées comme étant incompatibles : l'Européanisme, l'Islam et l'homosexualité. C'est pour cela qu'on peut dire que souvent cette population des musulmans LGBTQ souffre en silence, rendue muette par les structures hégémoniques fabriquées pour lui faire opposition. En outre, les luttes immigrées pour la reconnaissance et le respect dans la différence éclipse les autres tentatives pour la liberté identitaire. Dans cet esprit, quand la vraie intégration sera réalisée pour les musulmans non-homosexuels immigrés, on risque l'omission de toute une population homosexuelle de la conscience collective, à la fois, musulmane et non-musulmane. Malgré les tensions entre les musulmans par rapport à l'homosexualité, et les britanniques par rapport à l'Islam et l'homosexualité, les musulmans LGBTQ représentent aussi une population qui a la capacité de changer la mission « intégrationniste » au Royaume-Uni et de déconstruire activement les structures identitaires hégémoniques qui l'entourent en les défiant avec sa seule existence.

En formalisant leurs représentations dans la société sous forme d'associations centralisées pour les droits musulmans LGBTQ, cette population pourrait faire progresser l'Islam au Royaume-Uni en ouvrant la porte pour une voix collective diverse de l'Islam qui ne pourrait pas être ignorée, ni par les personnes qui cherchent à diaboliser un Islam dit injuste et violent, ni par les musulmans qui ne reconnaissent pas les interprétations différentes du Coran. Cela faciliterait aussi leur progression dans les affaires quotidiennes en leur montrant que les espaces publics, dans leurs communautés musulmanes ou ailleurs, sont sûrs pour eux et qu'ils peuvent incorporer leurs vies en tant que musulmans dans la société.

Il faut que le discours sur l'intégration des musulmans au Royaume-Uni, et ailleurs en Europe, change pour que la progression de l'Islam puisse inclure des groupes qui sont peu représentés et/ou marginalisés ailleurs. On court le risque sinon d'une idéologie intégrationniste prolongée mais aussi stagnante qui continuerait à marginaliser les seuls groupes qui sont les plus à mêmes de faire progresser ces problèmes. Par ailleurs, les moyens de subsistance et le bien-être de la population musulmane LGBTQ sont en jeu parce que, en ne changeant pas le discours de l'intégration en un discours de progression, le Royaume-Uni va maintenir son cadre hégémonique de supériorité versus infériorité, perpétuant par conséquent l'oppression des musulmans LGBTQ. L'institutionnalisation d'un Islam LGBTQ au Royaume-Uni contribuerait certainement à la progression de l'Islam en Europe Occidentale en transformant les perceptions, en unifiant les communautés et en déconstruisant les hégémonies rigides. ■

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Meaghan Sparacio | *Simplicity*

BRAZIL: A STADIUM ALL ITS OWN

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Introduction

This study examines the urban planning processes in Brazil for the 2014 FIFA World Cup and in preparation for the 2016 Olympics in Rio de Janeiro. Mega events, such as the World Cup and the Olympics, generate urban development that physically and socially alter geographic and economic landscapes within the host nation. Urban infrastructure, transportation, and security are transformed to attract incoming tourists and investors as mega-events transform cities into what I call 'luxury consumer goods' and 'secure urban entertainment complexes.' As such, this study begins by asking why nations bid to host mega-events. Then I stress the importance of securing the city for mega-events. Finally, I will examine three Brazilian cities and their changing urban landscapes as a result of the redevelopment of urban space in preparation for mega-events in 2014 and 2016.

Urban scholars, such as Sanchez and Broudehoux (2013), believe that "mega-events result in the creation of self-governing extraterritorial enclaves, constituted as special autonomous zones—a kind of state within the state—where political and ethical responsibilities are blurred and sovereign law is suspended" (p. 136). Also, "sharing this thought with Curi, Knijni, and Mascarenhas (2008), the areas related to the Games are going to become 'perfect urban bubbles', demonstrating that it is possible to have the little developed country in the city, like a Disney World moment" (Schwambach, 2012, p. 5).

Christopher Gaffney (2010) explains that the presence of a "state of emergency" discourse arises during the planning of a mega-event (p. 9). He believes that the demands of mega-event preparations create an environment that allows organizers to bypass existing policies and legal requirements to enact legislation and implement new practices that previously would not have been possible. Steinbrink (2013) says, "the actual priority in this phase is primarily oriented towards (short-term) global staging and 'neo-liberal dreamworlds' (Davis and Monk, 2007) and not to the objectives of socially integrative city development" (p. 131).

The methods for this study include a personal account of attending three World Cup games in Brazil in 2014, at which I observed stadiums, transportation, and security with a critical lens. Notes and photographs were taken and media reports were collected. Upon return to the United States, I conducted two semi-structured interviews: One with B. Remedi, the Chief Administrative Officer of the United States Soccer Federation; the other with J. Kulas, a soccer fan who has attended every quadrennial World Cup since 1966.

I. Developing a Global City and International Audience

Mega-events, such as the Olympics and the World Cup, promote the development of cities for a global audience (Gaffney, 2010; Freeman, 2014). Countries bid to host mega-events in a competitive global economy, often hoping that they can improve their country's "image, credibility, stature, economic competitiveness and (they hope) ability to exercise agency on the international stage" (Grix & Lee, 2013, p. 522). Host countries use mega-events to signify their "coming out party," declaring to all that they are no longer third-world

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countries (Zimbalist, 2015) and, in the case of Brazil, back-to-back mega-events will likely catapult them from regional player to global stage.

The bidding process for the Olympics begins eleven years prior to the Games. A prospective country's National Olympic Committee (NOC) puts in the bid, and initial applicant cities pay the International Olympic Committee (IOC) $150,000 to be considered as hosts. Once these initial cities are voted upon, a final three to five "candidate cities" are chosen by the IOC, each having to pay an additional $500,000 after being selected as a potential host city. Recent research by economists like Zimbalist (2015) shows that hosting the Olympics may not be a worthwhile investment, either economically or politically. Indeed, as developing economies have poured billions of dollars into hosting mega-events, other countries across the globe are beginning to recognize that hosting is not a realistic endeavor. Voters in Germany, Sweden, Switzerland, Norway, Poland, and Ukraine have all rejected their cities' proposals to enter the bidding process to host the 2022 Winter Olympic Games. Chicago spent over $100 million in its process of bidding, putting together a plan, and hiring consulting firms to market the 2016 Olympics and ended up falling short to the selected host city, Rio. The cost of hosting the Olympics in the 1990s was a few hundred million dollars; for Brazil in 2016, the bill will be roughly $20 billion, and estimated costs for the 2022 FIFA World Cup in Qatar top $200 billion.

Sassen (1991) believes that globalization and technological advances are changing the very nature of cities. Today, host nations of mega-events increasingly pursue urban planning strategies that are globally consistent rather than locally specific. Countries hosting mega-events transform the geographies of their cities: They want to attract corporate headquarters and create successful central business districts for their cities, and many see the mega-event as an opportunity to fundamentally restructure urban space and policy. Yet, "with urban strategies becoming increasingly international," argue Mountz and Curran (2009), "it is important to examine how this 'one-size-fits-all' approach to urban geography unfolds in distinct locations (Brenner and Theodore, 2002)" (p. 1034). Taking David Harvey's theory of "urban entrepreneurialism" into consideration, therefore, Brownhill et al. (2013) demonstrate that when cities compete for foreign mega-event investment, whereas London saw the 2012 Olympics leading to "the regeneration of one area," for Brazil in 2016, the intent is "the transformation of Rio into a global city." (p. 122).

In the lead up to its 2014 and 2016 mega-events, Brazil used specific strategies to redevelop and restructure several cities to prepare for future "global competition and international investment and the neoliberal urban policy platform" (Rolnik, 2013, p. 60). One example Rolnik (2013) provides is the use of public-private partnerships that work as an "urban operations consortium" (p. 61). These arrangements of public-private partnerships use private capital investment to promote mega-events and are able to alter the geographies of cities because planners and organizers bypass existing policies and enact requirements that otherwise would not be possible (Gaffney, 2010). Indeed, Gaffney (2010) describes a "state of emergency" discourse that arises during the planning of a mega-event that justifies the manner in which the government and urban policy makers use the mega-event as an opportunity to construct stadiums, public transit, and to give tax incentives to developers.

Cities and urban space in host nations are restructured by these neoliberal strategies, and their urban spaces are marketed for private consumption to enhance their global image. This is further accomplished by funneling public money toward tourism, leisure, security, and new construction projects for the mega-events, without considering the damage inflicted by recreating urban space and leaving the citizens of the host nation with little to show for it. Sanchez and Broudehoux (2013) maintain that "Rio's mega-events were put forward by public policies that promote the concentration of power and capital, and the privatization of public services and

public space" (p. 138), and, "According to Häußermann und Siebel (1993), this process of city managing is also known as 'Festivalization of Politics,' which considers the mega-events as strategies to accelerate the urban development and to bring notoriety to a certain city and to its mayor" (Schwambach, 2012, p. 2). This top-down urban planning structure shifts the power toward public-private organizations and away from the residents of Brazil.

This new infrastructure subsequently causes real estate prices to rise and lower-income residents to relocate. As Rio de Janeiro prepares for the Olympics in 2016, "the plans include extensive construction in four separate clusters of Rio, encompassing sports facilities, BRT lanes, metro connections, cleaning up of the port, a new golf course, an Olympic Village in Barra da Tijuca, new sewer systems, new parks, airport upgrades, and a museum, among other things" (Zimbalist, 2015, p. 104). The new golf course in the Barra de Tijuca is a project that will introduce golf into the Olympics for the first time since 1900. The Olympic Village is scheduled to have 3,600 apartments, which are all slated to become luxury housing after the games. Yet, the strict timelines for building infrastructure from the bid to opening ceremonies creates a rush to finish projects that often breaks health and safety codes, risking the lives of workers. The push to complete the 2014 World Cup stadium in Manaus and other associated World Cup projects there, for example, resulted in 63 health and safety labor code violations and the deaths of 3 workers (Thomas, 2014).

II. Brazil: Addressing the Mega Security Problems of a Mega-event

Writing in New York Review, Mehta (2013) states there are 319-armed robberies each day in Sao Paulo. Four Brazilian cities have a murder rate of over 100 per 100,000 residents, and just 5 to 8 percent of these crimes are solved, compared with 65 percent of U.S. murders (Mehta 2013). According to government numbers, "Brazilian police killed one in every 229 suspects they arrested last year, while U.S. police approximately kill one in every

32,000, making [Brazil's] one of the highest figures in the world" (Zirin, 2014, p. 34). *USA Today* wrote that Brazil "has the seventh highest homicide rate in the world and only eight percent of reported crimes are solved" (Zirin, 2014, p. 34). High crime rates in concentrated urban spaces are extreme conditions that should be addressed, but they also need to be addressed effectively—monitoring and targeting the right threats. In the run up to the 2014 World Cup, Brazil spent $900 million across twelve host cities on security detail and installed over one thousand surveillance cameras in Rio de Janeiro alone (Zirin, 2014). This in itself cost ten times more than the price of security at the previous 2010 World Cup in South Africa (Zirin, 2014). Gaffney (2013) tallied how many times certain words were used in the Bid Books for the Olympics in Rio 2016, concluding that "education" was used 43 times, "culture" 74 times, "client" 154 times, and "security" 230 times. "The low word counts for citizen, education, and culture are the negative counterparts of client and security," Gaffney (2013, p. 3932) explained. The evident stress on "security" speaks to the militarized securitization that accompanied the 2014 World Cup, while the stress on 'clients' speaks to the desire for a wealthy incoming class of tourists.

Fraught with security concerns for his city's back-to-back mega-events, Rio de Janeiro Mayor Eduardo Paes consulted former New York Mayor Rudy Giuliani. The two Mayors implemented the "Shock of Order Program," which was modeled on Giuliani's approach to urban policing in New York in the 1990s (Mountz & Curran, 2009, p. 1033). The basic concept is that if the police do not respond to a broken window, it will signal that nobody cares about unacceptable conduct and people will just continue breaking windows, creating urban disorder. Consequently, Rio de Janeiro is implementing a permanent security presence in favelas (slums) near tourist destinations. Mayor Paes vowed to securitize the favelas through the Police Pacification Program (UPP), re-envisioning favelas as places with market potential. Rio de Janeiro's UPP is a four-step process (Freeman, 2014). First, an elite police force invades and recaptures the territories from drug

lords. Then they gather intelligence to make arrests and find drug hideouts. Once the community is "pacified," the UPP will provide proximity policing. The average number of people per officer in a non-pacified favela is 405 to one. In a "pacified" favela, the number is 101 to one. The fourth step in the process is the arrival of social services and investments to these communities.

In addition to these on-the-ground techniques, in Rio urban security policy is increasingly driven by technology. Townsend (2014, p. 51) explains that Mayor Paes called in a team of IBM engineers to design a disaster management system and speed up the flow of information between different sections of government during a crisis. "What began as a tool to predict rain and manage flood response morphed into a high-precision control panel for the entire city." The Rio operations center "is a bunker fit for a president" with the control room housing seventy operators from thirty different city departments monitoring networks of cameras placed around the city. Curitiba (pop. 1.75m), a smaller World Cup host city, similarly developed an integrated electronic monitoring center and a high tech surveillance network in time for the mega-event (Firmino, 2012). Initially, this system was developed to monitor streets as part of a revitalization project and to target small crimes like pickpocketing and shoplifting. Over time, however, the monitoring was expanded to the surrounding areas of the city, including historic buildings and public parks. The relationship between video surveillance and the urban environment is a growing one as cities prepare to host mega-events, and Brazil's increasingly permanent urban security bubble began with the World Cup and will continue through the Olympics. Indeed, in 2002 when Rio de Janeiro bid for the Olympics, Schwambach (2012) says that the IOC "declared that the city was the worst in terms of security, mobility, and accommodation among the others, not reaching the qualifiers" (p. 3). In response, Rio has transformed itself into a secure city under constant surveillance, all in the best interests of the Olympic officials, who responded by awarding Rio the 2016 Summer Games.

This transformation of Rio de Janeiro, which Zirin (2014, p. 23) argues replicates New York City Mayor Michael Bloomberg's gentrification vision to build a city that can only be enjoyed by the very wealthy, can be looked at through the lens of its famous Maracana soccer stadium. FIFA regulations mandated changing architectural and historical facets of the stadium, resulting in fundamental changes to the Maracana's physical structure. Known to Brazilians as the 'Sistine Chapel of international football,' the Maracana used to seat 200,000 people. Reconstructed for the 2014 World Cup, the Maracana and its surrounding area are now luxury consumer goods where the "exclusive, monopolistic commercial territory," has been established in which "the sale of products and placement of advertisements from companies other than official events sponsors are prohibited" (Sanchez and Broudehoux, 2013, p. 141). Families are now banned from an area outside the stadium where they previously enjoyed pregame barbecues, and traditional food-sellers around the stadium can no longer operate. Within the Maracana, the "geral," a low-cost part of the stadium where thousands could attend games, has been transformed into a VIP-only section and the upper deck turned into luxury boxes (Gaffney, 2010, p. 20). Many citizens now cannot afford to buy tickets to their local stadium, a stadium that was redeveloped using taxpayer money. To construct a new parking lot on the site of an abandoned museum building beside the Maracana, Rio police evicted dozens of squatters who had, since 2006, created what was known as the Maracana Village, a place to study, sell crafts, and receive medical treatment (Sanchez & Broudehoux, 2013). "The head of the state agency responsible for the Maracana complex at the time of the eviction commented, 'The place for Indians is in the forest; that's why we're preserving the Amazon'" (as cited in Zimbalist, 2015, p. 118).

III. Case Study: Brazil's 2014 FIFA World Cup

When Brazil was selected to host the World Cup in 2014 and the Olympics in 2016, they were the first nation to host back-to-back mega-events since Munich/West Germany in the early-1970s. Brazil is also the first country

in South America to host an Olympic Games. For many Brazilians, these events represent a chance to reshape their image and to challenge Brazil's global reputation as a crime-ridden third-world country. During summer 2014, thirty-two men's national soccer teams comprising 736 athletes competed in twelve Brazilian cities. In 2016, the Rio Olympics will have around 10,500 participants, as Zimbalist (2015) describes: "The World Cup has one championship; the Olympics have dozens. To add to the challenge, the World Cup is spread across 12 host cities, while the Olympics are condensed into one" (p. 116). Both events, however, rapidly change the geographic, social, and economic environments in each of the host cities. Traveling to the 2014 World Cup in Rio, Manaus, Natal, and Recife (see map), I witnessed the neoliberal urban planning and governance structures that reshaped and transformed urban spaces in Brazil. The events I attended were the epitome of what Sanchez and Broudehoux

Travel Times Between Brazilian World Cup Cities

(2013) call "self-governing enclaves" within a globalizing economy amidst hyper securitization.

Natal and Recife

With less than two hundred miles between them, the coastal cities of Natal (pop. 1m) and Recife (pop. 1.5m) exemplified the security bubble during the World Cup in two ways. Firstly, the interconnection of hotel, transit, and stadiums created a unified entertainment complex. Secondly, both cities held operations of privatized public spaces known as 'fan zones.'

For the 2014 World Cup, Brazil's transportation infrastructure investment focused on air travel and accommodating tourists across the 12 host cities. By reconstructing transit networks for expensive air travel, the Brazilian football association created a tournament only accessible to a privileged class of citizens. In essence, Brazil was targeting a creative class of incoming potential investors flying into international airports and booming Brazilian cities. B. Remedi (2015) of the United States Soccer Administration noted when interviewed, "FIFA worked with the Brazilian organizing committee and put together a security plan for each team" (personal communication). Remedi (2015) added that the U.S. State Department is heavily involved in the details for team USA, stressing security in hotels, on the road in military transports, or on private planes in the air. "Our guys know how to travel," continued Remedi, (2015); "the team is a public facing entity and the protection of the team and staff must be well managed... some of the teams to require more security with the U.S. obviously being one of them."

The impression of a security bubble came to fruition as I resided in the same hotel as the U.S. team. Amidst military convoys and soldiers standing guard with automatic weapons and riot shields (Figure 1), the Golden Tulip Recife Hotel, 17 km from the Pernambuco Arena stadium, quickly became tailored to meet the U.S. team's security plan. As the rain poured down on game day in Recife, buses, trucks, and privately contracted Grupo

FIGURE 1

FIGURE 2

Antibomba safeguarded the perimeter of the hotel. Stuck in the lobby observing the chaos outside, I was forbidden to leave the hotel until the team loaded onto their FIFA bus accompanied by police escort. Near game time in Recife, with streets flooded and traffic at a standstill, public transportation was my only option. For three hours I rode the bus and was advised by the driver to get off in a location where there was no stadium, only muddy hills and puddles. Schwambach (2012) argues that mega-events are like having a western industrial country within the host city, but this "perfect urban bubble" (c.f. Schwambach, 2012) in the beach-tourism city of Recife, despite all the planning and investment, was burst by bad weather.

In Natal, another beach city, a new airport sparkled in comparison with the surrounding infrastructure. However, it had only been open for two weeks by the time the World Cup arrived, and the surrounding infrastructure remained incomplete. Bridges led to nowhere, roads were either half built or destroyed by a recent mudslide, and new buildings stood vacant for lack of completed roofs or windows. The Arena das Dunas stadium in Natal was also a new construction project. Designed to resemble famed local sand dunes, the stadium was completed in time for the World Cup, but like Natal's airport, the surrounding area was far from finished. A bus only took me so far before I had to walk on a road surrounded by construction cranes, dilapidated structures, and muddy terrain. Overgrown

bushes filled the sidewalks, concrete curbs eroded into rubble, and newly retrofitted condominiums stood vacant next to mounds of quarried rock and rundown warehouses. After passing through mud and debris to reach the stadium, I went through airport-style security, where my ticket and body were scanned, before getting to my seat to see stadium lights illuminate a manicured field. Yet, security was everywhere: before, during and after the match, two helicopters hovered above Arena das Dunas (Figure 2).

This secure entertainment complex was further demonstrated in the fan festival zones in Natal and Recife. Since 2000, mega-events have created "specially designed temporary venues located within urban civic space" known as Fan Parks, Fan Zones, Live Sites, Celebration Zones, or public viewing areas (Eick, 2010; Frew & McGillivray, 2008; Schechner, 1995). These "contained, controlled, and brandscaped sites" were common in Brazilian World Cup host cities (Frew & McGillivray, 2014). During the 2014 World Cup games, urban spaces became quasi-privatized, commoditized fan festival events. I witnessed two distinct versions of fan festivals. On one hand, there were fan festivals in urban civic spaces. These festivals were temporary, as they only stood erect during the first two weeks of the World Cup. Public-private partnerships of sorts, typically between local authorities and a private vendor, these partnerships were responsible

for setting up, hosting, and making the venue secure for fans to attend. The fan festivals resembled private venues, but were free to visitors and did not "generate profit from those staging them, directly" (Frew & McGillivray 2014). In Recife, I walked to such a fan festival zone. Set amidst 17th and 18th Century architecture, Recife's FIFA Fan Fest was a one-block viewing party with huge TV screens displaying the day's soccer games. A transient two-week carnival with sponsorship booths, a security tower, and portable restrooms created a temporary "Disney World" (c.f. Schwambach, 2012) for foreign soccer fans.

The second, and very different, type of fan festival was put on by the United States Soccer Federation (USSF). These events, hosted the night before game day, were held in privately owned venues charging a fee to enter with profits accruing to the USSF. Much like the first type, these events were temporary and had food, beverages, merchandise, and entertainment for fans to consume. USSF fan festivals further demonstrated the power of corporate sponsors to cater to American fans during the World Cup, and they exacerbated the exclusionary processes that already existed in Brazil (c.f. Foley et al., 2011) by counteracting any attempt of the host city to introduce tourists to the local culture and generate income for the local economy. Rather, American fans bought American beer on public land in Brazilian cities: "perfect urban bubbles" privatized and securitized for their own comfort and consumption.

Soccer fan J. Kulas (personal communication, 2015) recalled the security detail guarding the 1966 stadiums as merely the local English police force. In Brazil in 2014, Kulas (2015) experienced "a military force unlike anything I'd ever seen surrounding stadiums, beaches, and public places." Public plazas, streets, and beaches were transformed into FIFA Fan Fests. Attending the FIFA Fan Fest at Copacabana Beach in Rio was like standing at the crossroads of a constantly-changing landscape. Massive screens were showcased for hundreds of die-hard fans whose tickets would allow them to watch the day's soccer games with Budweiser in their hands and sand at their

feet. Tall fences and security stations created a fine line between this and the traditional Copacabana experience of cooler parties, pickup volleyball games, and beach soccer.

Manaus

If Natal and Recife were an example of mega-event security and the development of public-private partnerships providing experiences for fans in Brazil, then Manaus was a powerful (and frustrating) example of poor infrastructure planning and development. FIFA mandates a minimum of six stadiums for a World Cup host. The Brazilian football association insisted that the tournament's 64 games were spread across twelve cities. The reality of hosting a successful mega-event on such an extensive scale was unprecedented and impractical, and this was epitomized by four games hosted in the Amazonian city of Manaus at the newly built Arena da Amazônia stadium. Surrounded by industrial warehouses, car sales rooms, and awful traffic, this industrial rubber town was under the world's magnifying glass. Thomas (2014) described Manaus: "Deep in the rainforest, squashed between the dark waters of the Rio Negro to the south and the rainforest to the north, it is still largely inaccessible by road. Visitors either have to arrive by boat or by plane." In my interview, B. Remedi (2015) described Manaus from the perspective of the players: "A lot of guys were based in Europe before the World Cup and they are capable of traveling, but this experience, this was something special." Players and fans had to contend with a hot, humid, tropical climate; fans also had to contend with inadequate infrastructure. For the 22 June 2014 match between USA and Portugal, fans had to pass through two security checkpoints staffed by military police, followed by an airport-style security at the stadium in 95°F heat. The Arena da Amazônia, built to hold a capacity of 42,374 fans with $325 million of public tax dollars, was completed just in time for the event. As in Natal, planned surrounding structures remained incomplete and abandoned (in this instance, a sewage system and a monorail) and, as in Recife, traffic

to and from the stadium was at a standstill.

Conclusion

Brazil intended for the 2014 World Cup and 2016 Olympics to overturn social stigmas associated with the nation, yet the legacy of these mega-events will be luxury, secure, urban living. The result of neoliberal strategies for urban security, order, and profit, has led to an all but permanent militarization of Brazilian urban space. As Schwambach (2012) explains, such public policy processes are top-down and ultimately in the power of politicians and entrepreneurs who think, "they know what is good for the city" (p. 5). The UPP favela pacification, for example, was supposed to be supplemented with social programs like job training, education initiatives, and health care, but these are yet to be fully realized. Rather than being a security strategy for Rio as a whole, the UPP program seems to be one driven by real estate speculators, construction companies, and others who see the favelas as potential markets.

As I observed during the 2014 World Cup, the newly constructed and expensive stadiums, typically built in areas of extreme poverty, high crime, and social inequality, produce 'secure urban entertainment complexes' that are what scholars call "self-governing extraterritorial enclaves" and "perfect urban bubbles." Each city I visited had strengths and weaknesses linked directly with planning and design for the mega-events. Yet, these secure urban entertainment complexes are not perfectly sealed and, despite the mega-events' best effort to create a "Disney World" experience for incoming tourists, there is still opportunity for reality to leak in, and for these urban bubbles to burst. By contrasting cities like Natal and Recife to the remote Amazonian city of Manaus, I was able to understand how, during mega-events, cities are transformed into secure urban entertainment complexes and commodities for consumption. As cities take on new roles, urban social landscapes change and urban spaces are redeveloped. This raises the question of what kind of cities are we building to live in? Consumers demand a secure urban entertainment complex that is controlled, where amenities like transit and safety are expected, and where urban life becomes a luxury good available to those with the money to buy it. Those without the financial resources to buy into these cities become the targets of surveillance and security, increasingly excluded from the privatized public spaces of urban life. ■

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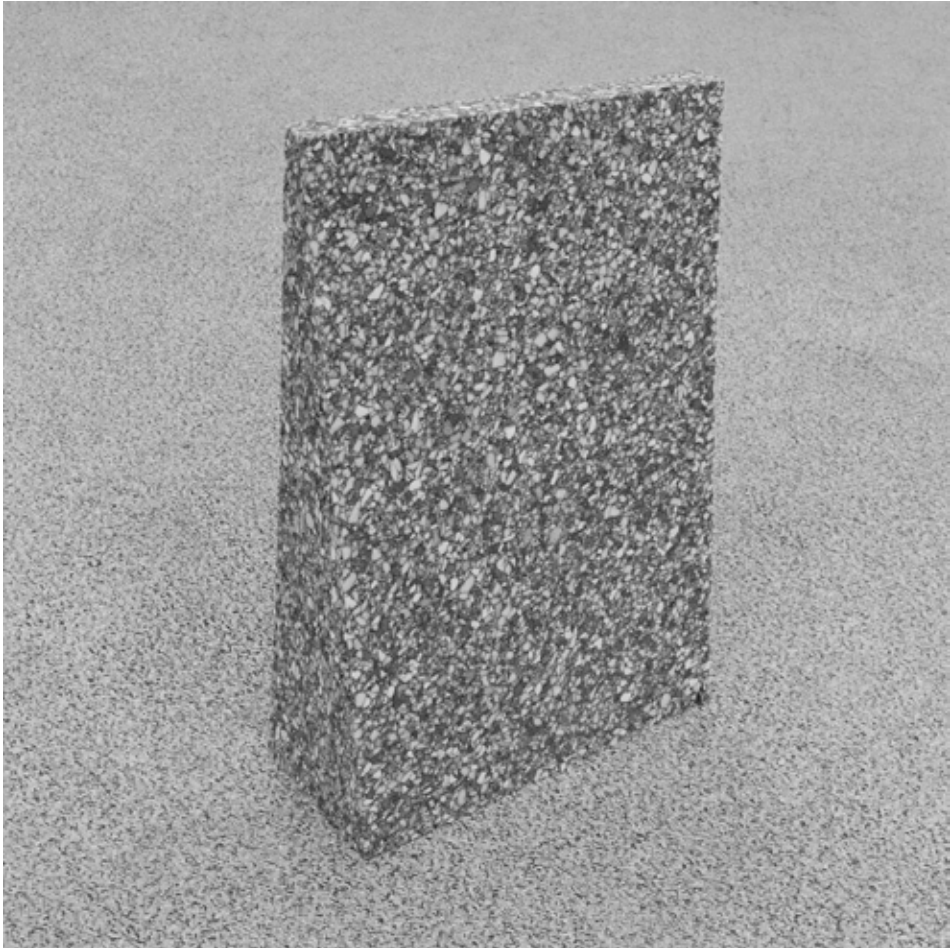
Lauren Dacy | *Untitled (Imacon Study 3)*

AUTHORITY IN STONE: FORGING THE NEW JERUSALEM IN ETHIOPIA

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The Zagwe Dynasty, which reigned in Ethiopia, Northeast Africa from roughly the tenth to the mid-thirteenth century, is most commonly associated with the city of Lalibela, known in ancient times as Roha, and its eleven rock-hewn churches. Indeed, the name of the Zagwe dynasty has largely become equated with its most famous king, Lalibala, who ruled between the late twelfth and early thirteenth century and whose name was given to the city in the nineteenth century.[1] Considered one of the most remarkable sites of religious architecture, the city's origins have become the subject of sacred myth. Below the surface of this myth, though, King Lalibala strategically utilized the excavation of the monolithic churches, or churches cut from a single block of stone, as a means to solidify the Zagwe's religious, and thus political, authority, which was cast into doubt by other cultural groups within Ethiopia who believed themselves to be the true descendants to the older kingdom of Aksum. The monumental structures were not simply a sign of the Zagwe's religious devotion, but were also a manifestation of King Lalibala's connection with Jesus Christ and of the city of Laibela as the New Jerusalem, thereby casting the Zagwe as continuing and even superseding the religious and political legitimacy of their predecessors, the Aksumite rulers.

The capital of the preceding Aksumite kingdom was located in the northern Ethiopian city of Aksum. The kingdom was positioned south of the Nubian Desert and incorporated parts of present day northern Ethiopia, Somalia, and at times stretched across the Red Sea to cover portions of Yemen (fig. 1). Flourishing through Late Antiquity up until the seventh century, the Aksumites issued their own gold currency (a rarity at the time), had a strong written tradition using the Ge'ez script, and played an important role in the Red Sea trade route by exporting ivory and other animal products, as well as aromatics, salt, and slaves, among other goods.[2] The center of Aksum did not have a clear, delineated city plan or a wall enclosing its buildings. The absence of a royal palace, and the focus around the cathedral, instead indicates that the rulers were peripatetic, which suggests that the city was actually less of a permanent capital and more of a ritual and religious center.[3] During the seventh century, Aksum's power began to decline, and the capital continually shifted southward. Although the precise movements and timeline of such changes are unknown, we can observe an inverse relation between the decline of Aksum and the prosperity of the eastern region of Tigray within the seventh century. Eventually power was transferred further south to the region of Lasta, where the Zagwe were the dominant population.[4] Due to the transfer of power south, the Zagwe

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[1] "Lalibala" is the original Ge'ez, or ancient Ethiopic, pronunciation of the name; the name of the city that we know today, "Lalibela," is the modern Amharic language's pronunciation. I will use the two versions to differentiate respectively between the ruler and the city.

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[2] Peter Garlake, "Aksum," in *Early Art and Architecture of Africa* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002), 73-74.

[3] David W. Phillipson, *Foundations of an African Civilisation: Aksum and the Northern Horn, 1000BC–AD1300* (Woodridge: James Currey, 2012), 49; Garlake, "Aksum," 79.

[4] Tigray was one of the nine provinces of Ethiopia that made up the Aksumite Kingdom;Phillipson, *Foundations of an African Civilisation*, 211.

were seen as foreigners both in geographical and cultural senses, especially by those who did not wish to see power out of the hands of the Aksum descendants.
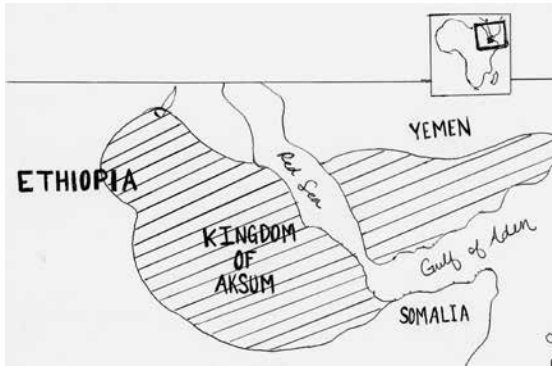
Although originally pagan, the Aksumite kingdom converted to Christianity in the mid-fourth century CE under King Ezana. It was not until the sixth century, though, that there was a surge in the construction of churches: most significantly the Maryam Tsion Cathedral in Aksum, which was commissioned by King Kaleb and perhaps the Old Church of the monastery at Debra Damo. [5] It is argued that it was in this period that the Solomonic legend of Ethiopia originated. [6] The most popular version purports that Queen Makeda of Aksum and King Solomon had a son, Menelik I, who transferred the Ark of the Covenant to Aksum: "at the moment of consummation, Solomon sees the light of the presence of God depart

from him and from Israel and pass on to the new Israel that would be established in Africa."[7] This myth became the basis for populations within Ethiopia to claim the right to political rule as direct descendants of Solomon, while dismissing the Zagwe as foreigners. The Zagwe came to power despite these claims after the gradual decline of Aksum, and reached the highest point of cultural and religious accomplishment under King Lalibala.

Traditionally, there are two chronologies for the length of the Zagwe Dynasty. There is the shorter trajectory originally suggested by Taddesse Tamrat, which theorizes that the Zagwe ruled roughly for only 150 years. I will follow Phillipson's argument, however, for a Zagwe rule that began as early as the late tenth century.[8] This longer timeline allows for a greater length of succession of Zagwe kings, who then would have been able to create a more stable kingdom, resulting in an environment in which the creation of the rock-hewn churches would be possible by the time Lalibala came to power. Lalibala was the first or second king to reside in the city of Lalibela. The previous Zagwe kings all resided in other locations throughout the region of Lasta.[9] Lalibala was not the first Christian Zagwe king, though. Nothing is known about the religion of the Zagwe prior to their rule; however, there are stone inscriptions in Zagwe churches that provide evidence that the earliest known Zagwe ruler reined as a Christian. Four of the Zagwe kings beside Lalibala have been canonized in the Ethiopian church, but no other Zagwe sites retain religious architecture comparable to that found in Lalibela.[10] Lalibela's contributions to the material culture of the kingdom are also unparalleled. For example, over the course of his reign, the king dedicated nine arks (sacred chests that traditionally represented, to the Hebrews, the presence of God and held the Torah) to have

[5]   Phillipson notes that this increase of church construction coincided with the Aksum involvement in the invasion of southern Arabia with the aid of Byzantium. He states: "This period saw increased church building activity in places under Aksumite rule, and illuminated manuscripts appeared; several instances of Byzantine influence may be discerned, although local elements predominated." *Ibid.*, 50.

[6]   Tekeste Negash, "The Zagwe Period and the Zenith of Urban Culture in Ethiopia, ca. 930-1270 AD," *Africa: Revista trimestrale di studi e documentazione dell'Istituto italiano per l'Africa e l'Oriente* 61, no. 1 (March 2006): 130.

[7]   Roderick Grierson, "Dreaming of Jerusalem," in *African Zion: the sacred art of Ethiopia*, ed. Roderick Grierson (New Haven: Yale University, 1993), 11.

[8]   Phillipson, *Foundations of an African Civilisation*, 228.

[9]   Jacques Mercier and Claude LePage, *Lalibela Wonder of Ethiopia: The Monolithic Churches and their Treasures* (London: Paul Holberton publishing, 2012), 28-29.

[10]   *Ibid.*

stationed in the monolithic churches. A thirteenth-century wooden ark in the Beta Golgotha bears the inscription proclaiming the king's sainthood, as well.[11] The large quantity of arks commissioned by Lalibala references the Aksumite claims to the Ark of the Covenant, which is evident in the extension of the Aksumite myth wherein the Ark was relocated from Aksum to the Beta Madhane Alem rock-hewn church in Lalibela.

Indeed, much of the information still perpetuated about this king derives from a myth found in the hagiographic chronicle written on him in the fifteenth century, of which two parts are important here. First is the legendary divine inspiration for the creation of the churches at the site. This part of the myth relates that King Lalibala had been taken to Heaven where God instructed him to have the stone structures excavated. This granted King Lalibala divine authority while also evoking the night journey of the Prophet Muhammad, which occurred at the site of the Dome of the Rock in Jerusalem.[12] The second myth proclaims that King Lalibala's jealous brother, the previous Zagwe king, poisoned Lalibala, who then resided in a deathlike state for three days before reawakening. This story draws a direct parallel between King Lalibala and Jesus Christ's betrayal and resurrection. Written two centuries after his reign and at a location distant from the city, the commission of the chronicle speaks to the lasting power of the king.

The city of Lalibela as we know it today is composed of two main clusters of rock-hewn excavations, separated by the river Yordanos and a large trench. There are the northwestern cluster composed of Beta Danagel, Beta Madhane Alem, Beta Maryam, Beta Masqal, Dabra Sina, and Beta Golgotha, and the southeastern cluster comprised of the Beta Gabri'el-Rafa'ell, Beta Merkurios, Beta Emmanuel, and Beta Abba Libanos. There is also a lone church, the Beta Giyorgis, isolated in the westernmost region. In all, there are eleven churches in less than one square kilometer. In general, the Lalibelan churches follow three different plans: basilical with four aisles, basilical with two aisles, and cruciform.[13] As Jacques Mercier and Claude LePage are quick to note, only the second plan was common to Ethiopia at the time of late antiquity to the middle ages, when Aksum flourished, while the other two were more rare.[14] Divergence in appearance has contributed to a still prevalent dispute over the time span during which the rock-hewn churches were excavated. Mercier and LePage argue that all of the churches were completed in only a few years at the beginning of the thirteenth century; Phillipson argues for a five-stage process of the excavations that spans nearly seven centuries.[15] Despite Mercier and LePage's claims, it is evident that at least two of the rock-hewn churches were excavated prior to the rest and were renovated at some later date.[16] There is no clear evidence, though, that the changes in the old excavations had to have spanned over multiple centuries. I argue that the church program came to its current state in two phases: the original hewing of the early excavations, which were later altered under King Lalibala along with the commissioning of the remaining rock-hewn churches.

All of the excavations emulate the old Aksumite kingdom's architectural style, which utilized a building technique that alternated stone rubble and mortar layers with wood timber stringcourses. Structural beams were laid perpendicularly through the thickness of the

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[11] *Ibid.*, 16, 115.

[12] There were strong connections between Ethiopia and Egypt through trade, which permitted Fatimid and Ayyubid portable objects to enter Ethiopia, and through the church, since the patriarch of Alexandria appointed the patriarch of the Ethiopian Church up until the 1960s. The Ethiopian church had a large population in Jerusalem even after Saladin took the city. Yet there is still an academic reluctance to acknowledge any significant Islamic influence in Ethiopian culture, even despite certain resonances as seen here with the allusion to the Prophet Muhammad's ascension to heaven.

[13] Mercier and LePage, *Lalibela Wonder of Ethiopia*, 72.

[14] *Ibid.*

[15] *Ibid*, 262; David W. Phillipson, *Ancient Churches of Ethiopia: Fourth-Fourteenth Centuries* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2009), 231-235.

[16] Phillipson, *Ancient Churches of Ethiopia*, 127, 130.

walls, and whose ends protruding through the facades of the building were termed "monkey heads." Often, too, the projecting corners of buildings constructed of solid stone masonry alternated with indented facades that suggest the internal space's organization. While emulating the forms of Aksumite architecture, one of the most obvious adaptations by the Zagwe is the rock-hewn quality itself. Over two hundred rock-hewn churches exist throughout Ethiopia, many of which are spread throughout the region of the Aksumite Kingdom. The largest concentration besides Lalibela is east of Aksum in Tigray region.[17] Although both the Lalibela and Tigray rock-hewn sites served similar religious and ritualistic functions, the excavators at Tigray employed timber for the door and window frames, which is conspicuously absent in the eleven churches at Lalibela.[18] The churches at Lalibela suggest the use of wood and other Aksumite architectural conventions in different ways, though. Here I will look specifically at three examples in Lalibela in relation to specific structures in the Aksumite kingdom.

The Beta Emmanuel at Lalibela parallels the Old Church of the Debra Damo monastery in northeast Aksum, one of the oldest extant examples of Aksumite type church architecture, most likely constructed by the third century CE (fig. 2).[19] The Old Church at Debra Damo is a two-story building, the levels of which are clearly delineated on the facade by a broad, wood timber stringcourse. The walls are constructed of sections of rubble laid between timbers with projecting monkey heads in the Aksumite tradition. Each corner of the first story is of solid stone in conjunction with indented facades that suggest the plan of the internal space. In contrast with Debra Damo, the creators of Lalibela did not employ any timber but clearly attempted to mimic its appearance, such as with

the Beta Emmanuel. They carved horizontal indentations on the external facades to create a pattern similar to Debre Damo's wood timbers. The sculptural facade also was created with recessions at regular intervals that suggest internal room organization, and a prominent stone stringcourse demarcates the supposed two stories within the hypogea. These were clearly not choices based on function but on the desire to aesthetically evoke the old Aksum.

FIGURE 2

Old Church of the Monastery, 3-6th century, Debre Damo, Ethiopia. Ph. Justin Clements, 2005, at https://www.flickr.com/photos/giustino/38843924/.

Perhaps most often remarked upon in the city of Aksum are the tall, monolithic stelae (fig. 3), which were used to mark burial grounds or graves in pre-Christian times. The large stones were excavated in their entirety and moved across large distances to their current locations. The outside of each stela is decorated with imitations of the rubble masonry and protruding monkey heads. The highest of these rectangular-section stones reached up to nearly one hundred feet tall, carved with the illusion of having up to ten or twelve stories.[20] These implied floors, however, were purely fictional, as none of the stone was

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[17] Phillipson, *Ancient Churches of Ethiopia*, 87; Negash, "The Zagwe Period," 129.

[18] Phillipson, *Ancient Churches of Ethiopia*, 106.

[19] We arrive at this date because of the third century minted coins found inside of the monastery. Garlake, "Aksum," 81.

[20] Phillipson, *Foundations of an African Civilisation*, 77, 81.

Aksumite Stela, 3-5th century, Aksum, Ethiopia. Ph. Ondřej Žváček, 2009, at https://upload.wikimedia.org/wikipedia/commons/6/69/Rome_Stele.jpg.

Beta Giyorgis, 12-13th century, Lalibela, Ethiopia. Ph. Bernard Gagnon, 2012, at https://upload.wikimedia.org/wikipedia/commons/0/0b/Bete_Giyorgis_03.jpg.

carved out to create any internal space. Similarly, the Beta Giyorgis has stringcourses around the entire exterior of the church that falsely suggest internal space structured into clear stories (fig. 4). Its stone window frames and doorframes protrude out from the recessed walls, an element that is also seen in Aksumite architecture. The stelae are the only case in the Aksumite Kingdom where entirely monolithic stone structures are found as in Lalibela. As such, it seems likely that the stelae set the standard of monumentality for the Lalibelans to surpass while maintaining the same style to create the perception of continuity between the two cities.

Finally, Beta Madhane Alem at Lalibela may be compared to the Maryam Tsion Cathedral from Aksum. King Kaleb commissioned the original Maryam Tsion Cathedral, which held the Ark of the Covenant, in Aksum some time in the sixth century (fig. 5). While the original structure has long since been destroyed, there are eye-witness accounts and a few original extant components. The basilica, constructed of stone and timber, incorporated a nave, four aisles, and an external colonnade. Similarly, Beta Madhane Alem, by far the largest church of Lalibela, has the same general basilical plan with a nave and four aisles, and is the only one that has an external colonnade (fig. 6). Due to its grand size and the distinctive features adopted from the unique Aksum cathedral, it is likely that the Lalibela church was meant to directly replicate the Maryam Tsion as a way to assume its sacredness and represent the new religious center. Legend even suggests that the Ark of the Covenant was relocated from Maryam Tsion to Beta Madhane Alem under King Lalibala. Thus the Lalibelan monolithic churches clearly mimic the Aksumite architectural style but only use volcanic tuff as a material. As a result, they express

FIGURE 5

Maryam Tsion Cathedral, 6th century, Aksum, Ethiopia. Drawing by Erin Clancy after Philipson, Ancient Churches of Ethiopia, 40 fig. 47.
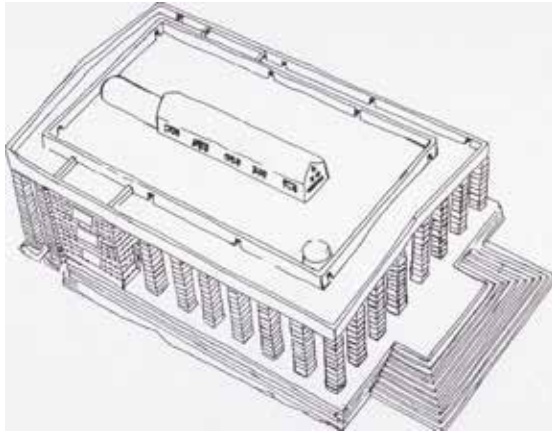
FIGURE 6

Beta Medhane Alem, 13th century, Lalibela, Ethiopia. Ph. Jens Klinzing, 2011, at https://upload.wikimedia.org/wikipedia/commons/d/da/Bete_Medhane_Alem_in_Lalibela.JPG.

FIGURE 7

Christian era Aksumite gold coin, 3-6th century, Ethiopia. The cross symbol at the top and bottom of the coin replaced a pre-Christian symbol of a crescent moon. Ph. CNG, 2009, at https://upload.wikimedia.org/wikipedia/commons/b/bc/Ebana3.png.

a monumentality that is absent in the architecture of their predecessors. It appears, then, that the excavation of the rock-hewn churches was an attempt to not only inscribe the Zagwe's place within the holy Ethiopian succession, but also to supersede the traditional Aksumite legacy.

Lalibela also superseded the old capital in its commitment to the faith of Christianity through the alteration of stone

and the reorganization of space. While Aksum and its kings had adopted the Christian faith in the fourth century, the rulers seemed reluctant to remodel and recode the space of the city to suit ecclesiastical needs. King Ezana had made some changes to the Aksumite visual culture when he converted, namely the change in the symbol found on the golden coins, which shifted from the pre-Christian crescent-and-disc symbol to the Christian cross (fig. 7). At this same time, a shift occurred with the inscriptions found on monumental stones at Aksum. These inscribed stones often described the episodes of the king's glorious rule and praised pre-Christian deities. Typically inscribed in Ge'ez or Greek, the texts shifted from representing non-Christian deities to representing both these old gods and the Christian God. In some cases, the inscription seems to allude only to the Christian God, but the language is ambiguous enough to be able to suggest any deity, depending on the reader.[21] The vagueness of the text would have eased some of the potential tension between the Christian king and those who were resistant to the new faith.

But beside the Maryam Tsion Cathedral we lack evidence of any major changes to the actual structure of the city and its architecture. Distinct pre-Christian

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[21] *Ibid.,* 95-96.

architecture, such as the stelae, were no longer produced but were kept erect; even King Ezana's tomb is at the site of one. Following the idea of architectural historian Labelle Prussin, this limited recoding of visual culture marks an absence of full devotion to the new ideology since "the most easily acquired" aspects of the assumed culture, including both iconographical (the cross) and architectural (the Maryam Tsion Cathedral), are the easiest to distribute and display while requiring little spatial reorganization. As Prussin further argues, however, "the modification of space…is a more reliable indicator of intrusive cultural presence."[22] This type of modification, unlike in Aksum, can be seen in Lalibela. The most prominent example of this was the alteration of the connected structures Beta Gabri'el-Rafa'ell, whose windows and façade were recut and walls were removed to transform the space into the sanctuary of a church. Thus, in using the Aksumite-style church architecture while also physically converting the space of Lalibela to realize the idea of a new religious center, of a New Jerusalem, in fact there is a clear effort to continue the Aksumite Christian effort while more fully devoting to the spatial demands of Christianity.

The King's desire to transcend Aksum's religiosity is reinforced by the adoption of toponyms from the Holy Land for his own religious center. Aksum's relations with the Holy Land date as far back as the sixth century, and by the end of the twelfth century, at the beginning of King Lalibala's reign, the Ethiopian community in Jerusalem had acquired proprietorship of sites at the Church of the Holy Sepulchre.[23] The reuse of the toponyms, too, brought this relationship home to Lalibela, linking the Ethiopian sites with those of the Holy Land. The river Yordanos takes its name from the River Jordan that separates the west bank from Jordan. The chapel of "Bethlehem" is attached to the Beta Gabri'el-Rafa'ell. Dabra Sina and Beta Golgotha take the names of Mount Sinai and hill of Golgotha. Importantly, Golgotha is the site of both Christ's crucifixion and burial, marked by the Church of the Holy Sepulchre. The tomb of King Lalibala is located within the Beta Golgotha, demonstrating the king's personal determination to associate himself with Jesus Christ. This association worked to forge a connection with a divine power of the highest authority, one that supersedes that of Solomon, which would legitimize King Lalibala's rule in Ethiopia despite opposing claims of the indirect relation between the Zagwe and their Aksumite predecessors.

This paper has established the deep triangular relationship between the three sites that meet at Lalibela. The continuation of Aksumite architectural components asserted in stone the connection to the ancient capital while surpassing it in monumentality. The reorganization of space and use of Holy Land toponyms suggest an effort to expand on Aksum's religious devotion. Explicit references to sacred sites in both Aksum and in the Holy Land inserted Lalibela in the middle of the legendary ties between Solomon and Ethiopia, while the specific associations between King Lalibala and Jesus Christ at the site fit ecclesiastical needs and constructed a stronger, more direct relation with the Holy Land. Thus the center of Lalibela and its king created a stable and defined religious center that the capital of Aksum was never able—or rather perhaps never even desired—to achieve. ∎

[22]   Labelle Prussin, "The Manding Diaspora: Trade Networks, Integration, and Urbanization," in *Hautemere: Islamic Design in West Africa* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1986), 177.

[23]   At this point in time Saladin would have already retaken Jerusalem from the Franks, which occurred in 1187. The Zagwe also had a reliable trade outlet at the port of Zayla, which they used to trade almost exclusively with Egypt and Jerusalem. As Negash notes, "the strenuous and continuous efforts on the part of the Zagwe state to establish a foothold in the Holy City of Jerusalem was no doubt based more on the religious climate in Ethiopia than on trade." Negash, "The Zagwe Period," 134.

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EMMETT J. SCOTT'S "OFFICIAL HISTORY" OF THE AFRICAN-AMERICAN EXPERIENCE IN WORLD WAR ONE: NEGOTIATING RACE ON THE NATIONAL AND INTERNATIONAL STAGE

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The Negro was not unmindful of certain wrongs, injustices, and discriminations which were heaped upon his race in many sections of the country, but in the face of it all he remained adamant against all attempts to lower his morale, and realized that his first duty was *loyalty* to his country. America is indeed the Negro's country, for he has been here two hundred years longer than many of the white racial groups; he realized that he was formally declared a citizen of this country by the Constitution of the United States, and that although many of the rights and privileges of citizenship were still denied him, yet the plain course before him was to perform all of the duties of citizenship and at the same time continue to press his demands for all of the rights and privileges which the Constitution had vouchsafed to him (Emmett J. Scott, 1919). [1]

Though many had hoped that African-American participation in World War One would lead to full citizenship and racial equality in America, the year following the war was characterized by increased racial violence and the continued reign of Jim Crow. African-

American activists and politicians in 1919 were faced with a choice: to loudly denounce the American government for failing to protect its soldiers from racist military policies and racial violence upon their return home, or to emphasize black loyalty and patriotic service in the war in hopes of eventually earning full citizenship. Emmett J. Scott, the assistant secretary to the Secretary of War, chose the latter. In his "Official History" of the African-American experience in World War One, Scott deemphasized the racist policies of the military and focused on the valiant efforts of African-American troops, their favorable status amongst the French, and their unwavering loyalty to democracy in order to argue for black equality.

Having worked as secretary to Booker T. Washington for nearly two decades, Scott was known for his support of racial uplift ideology that was characterized by a tendency to focus on economic equality while ignoring racial segregation. In 1917, Scott was appointed assistant secretary to the Secretary of War Newton Baker. His task was to investigate charges of racism and mistreatment within the military and advise Secretary Baker on black affairs in America. As the highest-ranking African-American official in the Wilson administration, Scott's position in the war department gave him access to accurate government reports and statistics regarding the training of African-American troops, their service abroad, and their return home. His "Official History" was based on these reports and was widely viewed to be

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[1] Emmett J. Scott, *Scott's Official History of the American Negro in the World War* (Washington, D.C.: The Negro Historical Publishing Company, 1919).

the most factually accurate report on African-American participation in the Great War at the time it was published, and for years to come.[2]

Despite Scott's political prominence and the importance of his book at the time, his "Official History" is rarely addressed in the discourse surrounding the African-American experience in World War One. When historians discuss Scott's work, they tend to dismiss it as accommodationist and emphasize his failure to appropriately highlight the overtly racist policies of the military. It is useful to draw clear distinctions between the pre-war accommodationist approach and the post-war militant approach when attempting to determine the origins of the increased militancy of the New Negro and Civil Rights Movements; however, it is important to view Scott as a dynamic individual whose political beliefs were constantly evolving, rather than an enduring symbol of a fixed political ideology. Scott occupied a unique position as a member of the African-American community and an official of the Federal Government. Scott's work must be viewed as an attempt to bridge the gap between the African-American community and the Federal government.

Close examination of Scott's "Official History" reveals that Scott implicitly drew connections between southern and German racial violence in order to suggest that continued violence against African Americans could lead to the erosion of African-American loyalty to the American government. While Scott's use of class divisions to unite upper-class Americans across racial divides was indeed representative of his accommodationist background, his subtle focus on the potential consequences of racial injustice in America broke from the accommodationist tendency to minimize racism. Scott's shift away from the

accommodationist approach suggests that the African-American experience in World War One contributed to a growing call for reform among African-American politicians across the political spectrum. Analysis of Scott's work supports previous scholarship that has argued that World War One contributed to a move away from the accommodationist approach and towards the more direct reformist and militant approach that characterized the Civil Rights Movement of the rest of the twentieth century. By approaching Scott's "Official History" as a carefully crafted attempt to mediate between the African-American community and the Federal Government within the context of increasingly violent racial conflict, this analysis reimagines Scott as an active participant in the conversation surrounding the fight for black equality.

Recent scholarship has focused on the significance of the experience of World War One in the construction of collective memory and the formation of national identities. Paul Fussell argued that World War One modernized the way that British society and Western civilization viewed the world.[3] His work—and the explosion of social histories about the war in general—paved the way for later historians to examine the construction of memory in various national contexts. Mark Meigs contributed to this scholarship and argued that very few Americans experienced a significant amount of time in combat, suggesting that combat may not be as central to the American memory of the war. Instead, Meigs argued that the American experience in World War One led to a growing optimism in American culture and an emphasis on the language of American superiority, but he failed to fully address the experiences of African-American soldiers.[4] The African-American experience in America and the war was so significantly different than the white American experience as to merit individual examination. In the past decade, historians of African-

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[2] *Journal of Negro History*, "Reviewed Work: *The American Negro in the World War* by Emmett J. Scott," *Journal of Negro History 4, no. 4* (October 1919): 466-467; Chicago *Defender*, "Display Ad 18—No Title," Chicago Defender (Chicago, IL), September 27, 1919.

[3] Paul Fussel, *The Great War and Modern Memory* (New York, NY: Oxford University Press, 1975).

[4] Mark Meigs, *Optimism at Armageddon: Voices of American Participants in the First World War* (New York, NY: New York University Press, 1997).

American history have focused on the significance of World War One in the broader narrative of the Civil Rights Movement. They have argued black soldiers' experiences with continued racism in the military led to the radicalization of the fight for black equality. They tend to draw clear distinctions between the accommodationist racial uplift approach to black equality and the militant New Negro approach.[5] Historians Adriane Lentz-Smith, Chad L. Williams, and Mark Whalan specifically focused on the role of World War One in the birth of a new radical black politics, so it is not surprising that they dismissed Scott's work as accommodationist. However, as historian Kevin Gaines pointed out, "historians have generally framed black thought and leadership narrowly, stressing the opposition between self-help and civil rights agitation, as embodied by Booker T. Washington and W.E.B. Du Bois, respectively."[6] Instead, Gaines examined the writings and politics of several members of the "black intelligentsia" in order to examine "the conflicts inherent in its members' assimilationist visions of black respectability and leadership."[7] Examination of Scott's "official history" further illuminates these conflicts. This analysis will contribute to the growing historiography on the impact of the black experience in World War One on African Americans across the political spectrum. Scott occupied the unique position of being both a member of the African-American community and an official of the federal government; his work must therefore be understood as an attempt to bridge the gap between the African-American community and the dominant white community surrounding the discourse of race. This analysis incorporates the study of African-American memory of the war into the study of American war memory. It will also contribute to the emerging discussion of the construction and negotiation of racial differences nationally and internationally, and the ways African Americans utilized the international discourse of racial superiority and imperialism to argue for their own equality at home.

At the outbreak of World War One, Jim Crow ruled the South and lynching rates had been on the rise. African Americans who migrated north in search of work still faced limited opportunities and discrimination. As World War One raged on and American involvement became more probable, black and white Americans alike debated the role that African Americans would play in the American military, and the role that the war would play in the lives of African Americans. At the start of the war, African Americans had few opportunities in the military. There were no African Americans in the Marine Corps, few in the navy, and the army was segregated.[8] The four black army regiments faced "harsh treatment, intimidation, and lynching" despite their participation in the Spanish-American war, particularly when stationed in southern and western regions of America.[9] Despite the history of discrimination in the American military, most prominent black politicians felt that the democratic framing of American involvement in the war provided a platform for "the race to demonstrate its loyalty to the country in its hour of need."[10] These politicians, with the backing of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP) successfully lobbied the military to include African Americans in the draft.

African-American soldiers in World War One faced racism at every turn. Although approximately 200,000 African-American men were drafted, about 90 percent were drafted to labor battalions. The four black regiments were not sent to fight abroad. Instead, two combat units made up of African-American soldiers, the 92nd and the 93rd, were organized to serve in Europe.[11] These units experienced

5   Adriane Lentz-Smith, *Freedom Struggles: Adrican Americans and World War I* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2009); Mark Whalan, *The Great War and the Culture of the New Negro* (Gainsville, FL: University Press of Florida, 2008); Chad L. Williams, *Torchbearers of Democracy: African American Soldiers in the World War I Era* (Chapel Hill, NC: University of North Carolina Press, 2010).

6   Kevin K. Gaines, *Uplifting the Race: Black Leadership, Politics, and Culture in the Twentieth Century* (Chapel Hill, NC: University of North Carolina Press, 1996).

7   *Ibid.,* xvii.

8   *Africana: The Encyclopedia of the African and African American Experience* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005), 15-16.

9   *Ibid.,* 466.

10 Williams, *Torchbearers of Democracy,* 16.

11 *Africana,* 466.

numerous conflicts in their training camps that were established in the south. The NAACP successfully fought to establish a Colored Officer Training Camp (COTC). While the establishment of an officer training camp for black soldiers was a major accomplishment, African Americans made up 13 percent of active-duty military but only .7 percent of officers in the military.[12] Upon arrival in Europe, General Pershing assigned the 93rd division to serve under the French. While Pershing's decision was clearly racially motivated, the 93rd fared much better under French command than the 92nd did in the American army. The poor performance of the African-American soldiers of the 92nd—likely resulting from an inability to function as a unit while experiencing racially motivated abuse—was later used by racist white Americans to justify continued segregation in the army.

Despite extensive discrimination, African-American soldiers fought valiantly. The 93rd division had a 35 percent casualty rate, and the 369th Infantry Regiment "spent 191 days on the front lines, longer than any other American unit, during which time it neither gave up an inch of Allied territory nor lost a single soldier through capture."[13] Regardless, African-American soldiers returned to an even more violent America. As Williams pointed out, "the fact that many black veterans returned to the south trained in the art of warfare and with extensive knowledge of handling weapons made white concerns even more palpable."[14] The Red Summer of 1919 witnessed race riots in over 24 cities.[15] The number of lynchings rose from 36 in 1917 to 76 in 1919. Veterans were among these victims, several still in their uniforms. In response, Williams maintained, "the African-American press aggressively constructed a historical counternarrative of black heroism, loyalty, and sacrifice to unequivocally link the contribution of African-American soldiers to the cause of global democracy."[16] The Federal Government grew increasingly wary of the black press and, according to Jordan, federal surveillance of the black press peaked in 1919.[17]

Scott's "Official History" must therefore be understood in this context of increased racial violence and government surveillance of the black community. As a federal official who had access to the most accurate information regarding African-American service in the war, Scott's work must be understood as an attempt to mitigate the growing dissatisfaction of the black community while simultaneously advising the Federal Government to adopt more inclusive policies. Analysis of his work will demonstrate that Scott used a variety of rhetorical tools to argue for black equality. Some of these approaches were representative of his history in accommodationism and racial uplift politics while others were not, suggesting that World War One contributed to an increasingly reformist demand for equality among black activists across the political spectrum.

Scott used American notions of race and class to distinguish between African Americans and the German "Hun," and align African Americans with a unified, racially superior class of Americans. He began his "official history" by saying that "the Great War...had its roots in racial hatred and international jealousy between the peoples and rulers of different European countries."[18] Later in his overview of the origins of the war, Scott remarked that it was "a marvelous thing to have occurred, that a race itself so long oppressed could have had the opportunity to help save others from oppression!"[19] Together these sentences served to remind the reader of the German racial threat to democracy, and situated African Americans alongside white Americans in the protection of the oppressed peoples of Europe. Historian Mark Whalan noted that marking Germans as "racially other and racially threatening...served generally as a polarizing device through which allied soldiers could recognize themselves

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[12] *Ibid.*

[13] *Ibid.*, 15.

[14] Williams, *Torchbearers of Democracy*, 299.

[15] *Africana*, 466.

[16] Williams, *Torchbearers of Democracy*, 209.

[17] William G. Jordan, *Black Newspapers and America's War for Democracy, 1914-1920* (Chapel Hill, NC: University of North Carolina Press, 2001).

[18] Scott, *Scott's Official History*, 23.

[19] *Ibid.*, 24.

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as racially distinct and racially superior."[20] African-American soldiers were almost never included in this racially distinct and superior other; in fact, Whalan noted that African-American soldiers were all but erased from immediate post-war American memory. By emphasizing the "brutish" and "tyrannical" behavior of Germans, the questionable loyalty of German-American soldiers, and the German threat to democracy and freedom, Scott was borrowing from the dominant political discourse at the time to call attention away from the "otherness" of African Americans and focus on the "otherness" of Germans and German Americans.[21] In this way he was able to position African Americans and white Americans as unified in the fight against a racially inferior and racially oppressive German people.

Scott also emphasized the racial inferiority of French- and British-African colonial soldiers to further associate African Americans with white Americans. Scott reported that, while colonial soldiers were more brutal and barbaric in an attack, African-American soldiers fought with precision and could grasp complex tactical maneuvers.[22] At another point, Scott quoted a French Colonel who said that African colonial soldiers were "'primitive men without civilization—men who cannot be compared from this point of view with colored Americans.'"[23] At a time when "an explicitly race-based colonialism swept the world," it was crucial that Scott drew a distinction between African colonials and African Americans.[24] In doing so, Scott was able to simultaneously support American imperialism and imply that the oppression of African Americans—unlike the oppression of Africans—was unjustifiable. Moreover, Africans and Germans were viewed as opposite sides of the same coin, both racially inferior, subhuman, and animalistic.[25] Drawing on pre-existing ideas of the racially inferior "otherness" of Germans and Africans,

Scott created an image in which equally brutish Africans and Germans fought each other savagely while African Americans and their French comrades "fought in precision."[26]

Scott also drew on dominant American notions of class and respectability to unite educated and civilized Americans regardless of skin color. Scott said that many of the men of the 92nd division came "directly from the cotton and corn fields…frightened, slow-footed, slack-shouldered, many underfed."[27] By the end of their training, Scott said they had transformed into "men capable of occupying a larger place in the community life."[28] By portraying military service as a civilizing process, Scott identified African-American soldiers with upper-class values even if they initially came from lower-class backgrounds. Later in the book, Scott drew on these same class distinctions to associate southern racism with the lower class. Scott quoted several white southern officers that served with and spoke well of African-American troops. He emphasized the role that their high levels of education played in their ability to overcome issues of racism, implicitly associating southern racial violence with a lower, uncivilized class of Americans.[29] He went one step further and framed southern racial violence against African Americans during their training in the south as a threat to democracy.[30] Scott tied together notions of respectability, class status, and patriotism to create two distinct classes of Americans regardless of skin color: a highly educated, civilized upper class, and an uneducated and violent lower class.

Scott created two categories of the "other," one based on race and one based on class. His discussion of Germany's treatment of its colonial subjects served to unite these two categories into one distinct inferior and threatening "other." Scott contrasted the experiences of colonial soldiers under French and British rule to those under

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[20] Whalan, *The Great War and the Culture of the New Negro*, 31.

[21] Scott, *Scott's Official History*, 258.

[22] *Ibid.*, 217.

[23] *Ibid.*, 118.

[24] *Ibid.*, 14.

[25] *Ibid.*, 36.

[26] *Ibid.*, 277.

[27] *Ibid.*, 78.

[28] *Ibid.*

[29] *Ibid.*, 413.

[30] *Ibid.*

German rule. He quoted a German military surgeon on the "cruel and crude manner" of German lynching-style executions. The surgeon detailed the process of lynching step-by-step, and concluded that "very rarely could death have resulted instantaneously."[31] In his own words, Scott referred to German practices in East Africa as "cruel" and "duplicit[ous]."[32] Although he did not explicitly connect the German practice of lynching colonial subjects to southern racial violence, Southern mob law had come under increased scrutiny during the years leading up to the war and during the war as the black press sought to publicize southern racial violence and encourage African Americans to migrate north. Jordan points out that over the course of 1918 there "seemed to be a growing revulsion [towards lynching] throughout the country."[33] In this context, it becomes clear that Scott's discussion of German colonials served to implicitly connect southern racial violence to German racial violence, thereby associating southern racists with the racial inferiority and barbarity of Germans.

The implicit association between German and southern American racial violence connected the two categories of the "other" that Scott drew on throughout his book, creating one distinct "other" that educated Americans could rally against. By emphasizing the civility of African-American soldiers and connecting southern racial violence to German racial violence, Scott flipped racist views of African Americans on their head to portray southern racial violence as dangerous to America.[34] This associated southern racial violence with the German threat to democracy and global freedom and positioned racial violence against African Americans as dangerous to America's global standing. In Scott's discussion of the treatment of colonial subjects of European powers, he emphasized that France and Britain both treat their colonials in the "right" way. Moreover, he quoted a French

Colonel regarding Germany's barbaric practices. If the French and the British viewed German lynching of its African colonial subjects as uncivilized and threatening, it stood to reason that they would view American lynching of its own citizens as equally backwards and threatening to global freedom.

Scott's use of American conceptions of race, class, patriotism, democracy, and loyalty to align African Americans with upper-class American values was representative of his background in racial uplift politics. The practice of drawing on notions of class and civility to argue that there was a "better class" of African Americans was central to the accommodationist approach to racial uplift. Scholars have correctly noted that accomodationism created a class-based inferior "other" exclusive to most African Americans.[35] Scott's implicit support of imperialism was also representative of an accommodationist approach and sharply contrasted with the increasingly international and militant approach that Williams argued emerged from African-American participation in the war. However, the mainstream black press also emphasized the bravery and loyalty of the black community during the war and drew connections between southern racists and the German "Hun," suggesting that despite a growing tendency to emphasize militant manhood in the black press, African-American activists of different political persuasions still operated within a common framework and utilized the dominant political discourse to validate demands for black equality.[36]

Several themes emerge from Scott's book that were typically not associated with racial uplift politics. By emphasizing the measures that he and Secretary Baker took to eradicate racism in the military and glossing over the instances in which they were unsuccessful, Scott was able to speak more candidly about the racism inherent in those policies in the first place. In Scott's discussion of the process of establishing

[31] *Ibid.,* 125.

[32] *Ibid.,* 123.

[33] Jordan, *Black Newspapers and America's War for Democracy, 1914-1920,* 103.

[34] Whalan, *The Great War and the Culture of the New Negro,* 29.

[35] David Sehat, "The Civilizing Mission of Booker T. Washington," *The Journal of Southern History* 73, no. 2 (2007): 323-362.

[36] Jordan, *Black Newspapers and America's War for Democracy, 1914-1920,* 157.

an officer training camp for African Americans, he said, "strange and paradoxical as it may seem, America, while fighting for the democratization of the peoples of far-off Europe, was denying democracy to a part—an honest, loyal, and patriotic part—of her citizens at home. Fourteen camps were instituted for the training of WHITE officers—none for colored officers, nor were colored men admitted to any of the fourteen camps."[37] This criticism was the most explicit condemnation of racist military policies in the entire book. Because Scott was speaking of a policy that was changed with his help, he was free to openly criticize the policy. Most importantly, Scott did not say that their "solution" was ideal. Rather, he said that they went about establishing "the next best thing" to integrated officer training camps, alluding to a certain level of compromise on Scott's part and leaving the reader with the implication that the officer training programs, and perhaps other military policies, were still unfair and racist.[38] By using positive language and focusing on the ways in which he and Secretary Baker attempted to address this particular problem, Scott was able to sneak in harsh criticism of a racist military policy. His conclusion that the ideal solution was not in effect subtly extended his harsh criticism to current military policy.

In other cases, Scott remained conspicuously silent on the efficacy of the war department's "solutions" to instances of racism. Evidence for this can be found in his discussion of the relocation of African-American officers from the 369th to the 92nd division. Having reported that "considerable criticism followed the transfer of these colored officers from a colored regiment which had won such renown as the 369th," he proceeded to explain that the reasoning behind this transfer was to avoid mixed race groups of officers in one single unit.[39] Instead of justifying this decision in his own words, he quoted Colonel Hayward's reasoning for the transfer. This differed from other instances in which he vocalized his approval of controversial policies. Given his aforementioned assertion that segregation in officer training camps was not ideal, it stands to reason that Scott also would not have

agreed with the separation of white and black officers in service. His decision to quote a military officer can be viewed as a subtle attempt to distance himself from a decision he did not support. He employed a similar method in his discussion of Charles Young, an African-American officer who was not permitted to serve in the war for medical reasons. Scott acknowledged that this decision "gave rise to suspicions of unfair play" among the black community. He did not address the validity of these accusations and instead focused on the ways that the war department addressed them.[40] In both of these instances, Scott raised the issue of racism and did not conclude that it was "fixed" but rather left it open-ended, implying that the military was not yet successfully integrated.

Scott further broke from the accommodationist approach to black equality when he implicitly warned that southern racial violence was a threat to black loyalty and patriotism. In his discussion of German mistreatment of colonial subjects, he noted that German colonials did not fight their best for the Germans because they felt no loyalty. He attributed German colonials' lack of loyalty to the German colonists' barbaric treatment. He said, "even the least intelligent African native could feel neither loyalty nor respect for the brutal and tyrannical German officers and Colonial officials."[41] Scott implicitly suggested that African Americans—who he had emphasized were racially superior, more civilized, and better educated—would also be unable to remain loyal in the face of such barbaric abuse. This implicit threat to loyalty broke with pre-war accommodationist approaches to the fight for black equality that emphasized unwavering loyalty and appealed to the civilized and Christian views of middle class white Americans to grant full citizenship and an end to Jim Crow. Scott attempted to incorporate international racial ideologies that were not yet based strictly on skin color into American notions of respectability and civility to draw race distinctions between African Americans and Germans and to draw class distinctions between Americans. This approach, coupled with his focus on the respectability of African-American soldiers and his support of imperialism, supports recent

37   Scott, *Scott's Official History*, 84.

38   *Ibid.*

39   *Ibid.*, 213.

40   *Ibid.*, 216.

41   *Ibid.*, 125.

historiography that aligned Scott's "Official History" with the accommodationist politics of his predecessor, Booker T. Washington. However, his implicit accusations of continued racial inequality in the military, and the subtle threat that continued racial violence might erode African-American loyalty to America, represented a significant break from this approach. It is inaccurate and problematic to view Scott and his "Official History" as entirely representative of an accommodationist argument to black equality. Scott's work can more accurately be viewed as an attempt to bridge the gap between an increasingly militant faction of the African-American population and the Federal government. Scott's tendency to minimize the negative experiences of black veterans is often met with harsh criticism, as it should be. While Scott's work may not be representative of important political changes in black communities or emerging international movements to address the black diaspora, it sheds light on the interaction between black and white American communities at a crucial moment of racial tension. As the most authoritative figure on the experience of African-American soldiers in the war who was able to speak to both white and black audiences, his work must be viewed as an attempt to shape conversations about race, national identity, and citizenship occurring within and between the white and black American communities.

Scott's subtle break with the traditional pre-war accommodationist approach suggests that World War One contributed to a growing demand for reform among politicians across the political spectrum, demonstrating that World War One was indeed a turning point for the African-American community. Scott not only attempted to act as intermediary between the African-American community and the Federal Government, but also attempted to incorporate international ideologies about racial superiority into national ideologies about respectability to create an American identity inclusive of African Americans. This attempt was ultimately unsuccessful. The reign of Jim Crow would not end until decades later with the more radical approach of the Civil Rights Movement. However, Scott's "Official History"

represented both a turning point in the dominant approach to the fight for black equality in America and a crucial moment in the international negotiation of racial identity and racial superiority. ■

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HEROES AND VICTIMS: THE STRATEGIC MOBILIZATION OF MOTHERS DURING THE 1980S CONTRA WAR

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ABSTRACT   This essay argues that the Contra War can be seen as a gendered political process, where women, as mothers, were the targets of discursive attempts to establish hegemonic consent and mobilization towards the war effort. Nicaraguan mothers are the nodal point of this essay. Through a critical feminist perspective, this essay will first analyze the context of the war in terms of politics and economics in relation to gender discourse used during the Contra War by the Sandinistas and Contras in order to understand the power structure's need to shape and readjust women's image in maternalistic terms. Next, the dominant gender discourse used to shape women's identity for war mobilization on both the Contra and Sandinista sides will be examined to understand power relations. Finally, this essay will analyze the roles mothers took in the war effort in order to understand how they themselves encouraged and reinforced the maternal representations of womanhood in relation to the war effort. Although there has been much research and analysis on the U.S.'s intervention in the Contra War on the Contra War itself, there has not been enough scholarship on the way in which, through the understanding of gendered political processes, we are better able to understand the complexity of gendered power relations in events like the Contra War.

From 1933 to 1979, the violent military Somoza regime ruled Nicaragua. With the overthrow of the Somoza regime in 1979 and the takeover by the Sandinistas, also known as the FSLN (*Frente Sandinista de Liberación Nacional/ Sandinista National Liberation Front*), the FSLN feared counter-revolutionary attacks. Sandinistas thus executed and imprisoned members of Somoza's National Guard, while some escaped and fled to other countries like the U.S. where they prepared counter-revolutionary attacks. The U.S. intervened from the outset in ousting the FSLN government by sending CIA support, but it was not until Reagan was elected in 1980 that U.S. involvement became more overt. The counter-revolutionary forces

became known as the Contras. Women played integral roles as mothers in Nicaragua's civil war, but are rarely acknowledged as prominent actors. This essay examines how Nicaraguan mothers were the targets of discursive practices, such as those of maternal imaginaries, in order to establish their acquiescence. During the Contra War, the Sandinistas and the Contras used images of motherhood a bit differently, but they both used a discourse of motherhood for the same purpose: to dominate women and mobilize mother's attentions toward the war effort. Whether they wanted to make mothers believe they were heroes or victims, mothers' identities were constructed by the Sandinistas and Contras during the turbulent times of Nicaragua's 1980s war in order to attain control.

Women took part in encouraging and reinforcing the maternal representations of women in the war effort,

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some of whom chose critical positions by claiming their maternal identity rather than their political identities, and others who saw their maternal identity as empowering during the war. Women's changing identities during the war yields insight into how dynamic and complicated are gender and political identities. Recognizing the mobilization of mothers-as-mothers, in this instance, points to the importance of questioning where power lies in order to understand how the world works.

Understanding that hegemony and power are linked to discursive practices helps us understand how the Sandinistas and Contras were able to manipulate women's identities during the civil war in Nicaragua, through the gendered discourse of motherhood. Dunn (2005) defines discourses as "the conventions for establishing meaning, designating the true from false, empowering certain speakers and writers and disqualifying others" (p. 6). Discourses are the social practices and narratives that constitute identities and give meaning to our world. In this essay, gender is examined as a discourse used by the Sandinistas and the Contras to shape women's idea of motherhood throughout the war for political gain. Analyzing how this happened allows for a better understanding of where power lies and the way in which dominant discourses are linked to practices in times of war. According to Doty (1996), hegemony can be described as "involve[ing] the very production of categories of identity and the society of which they are a part" (p. 8). Using Doty's (1996) notion of hegemony, I show that the Contra War in Nicaragua represents a context in which the Contras and Sandinistas fought for dominance by articulating their different, yet similar and hegemonic definitions of what it meant to be a mother.

This hegemonic struggle presents the Contra War as gendered. The war was gendered in that, through the use of discursive practices, what it meant to be a 'man' and what it meant to be a 'woman,' specifically a mother, were being defined and constituted for the mobilization of the war. By looking at the Contra War as gendered, we look at

where women and men are in the context of war and who holds power.

During the revolution to overthrow the Somoza regime, the Sandinistas used the frustration of women, especially mothers, who were dealing with poverty, gender inequality, and political violence (Somoza's National Guard imprisoned their children and husbands) to invoke a sense of rebellion against the government and against subservient gender roles. The FSLN saw the frustration of women with the violence and patriarchal systems of the Somoza regime as an opportunity to make promises of gender equality should they achieve control of the government. The maternal discourse used later once the FSLN was in power in 1979 was one where mothers were placed in traditional, subservient gender roles as the FSLN tried to assert its power during a time of bad economy and rising warfare. When the Contra War escalated in the 1980s, the FSLN identified mothers as the heroes and protectors of the nation in order to mobilize them against the Contras. The maternal discourse used by the FSLN changed over time in relation to the economy and politics in Nicaragua.

During the Somoza regime, the FSLN promised to abolish prostitution, create gender equality, create child-care centers, and get women into jobs with equal pay as men (Bayard de Volo, 2001, p. 13). These promises appealed to women during the Somoza regime because many of Somoza's laws were "paternalistic and discriminatory," especially when it came to marriage (Ramirez-Horton, 1982, p. 150). In the eyes of the law, a man could seek divorce if his wife committed 'adultery,' but a woman could not take legal action if a man did the same. Also, according to Ramirez-Horton (1982) on the inequality between men and women in the workforce, "women received less pay for the same work on the excuse that they labored less efficiently" (p. 169). Ramirez-Horton (1982) describes how "joining the resistance was, at the time, the 'ultimate expression of rebellion,' rebellion not only against the government but the frustrations of their own existence" (p. 150). Women

in Nicaragua were tired of their patriarchal government, which explains why they were willing to fight next to the FSLN to change their country for the better.

Not only were Nicaraguan women upset of the discrimination of Somoza's laws, they were also tired of the violence instilled by the National Guard, which the FSLN used as a way to lure women into the Sandinista revolution by portraying mothers who joined the revolution as courageous mothers willing to fight for the betterment of their families in the country. The National Guard was known to steal, rape, imprison, and murder those who were believed to be a part of the Sandinista revolution. Many of the victims of the National Guard were mothers and wives of political prisoners who joined the AMPRONAC, a human-rights association (Asociación de Mujeres ante la Problemática Nacional/ Association of Women Confronting the National Problem). This association was formed in 1977. Many mothers joined AMPRONAC to organize around an anti-corrupt platform that aimed to end their abusive and ineffective government and the National Guard. In 1978, when Somoza raised taxes, AMPRONAC began a campaign with a slogan, "Our Children Are Hungry. Bring Down the Cost of Living" and marched the streets wearing aprons and carrying empty pots (de Volo 2001, 30). The Sandinistas used the organizing of AMPRONAC to create an image of mothers in this association as courageous women willing to join the Sandinista cause in order rid their country from violence and repression. Sandinista rebels were "forging an alternative ideal, that of an active participant in the defense of a people, nation, and party" (Ramirez-Horton, 1982, p. 152). Since women make up a large portion of the population, the Sandinistas understood the importance of mothers as large influencers. La Prensa, a political newspaper, portrayed mothers who were active in the Sandinista revolution as humble mothers who have been "true representation[s] of motherhood" (Bayard de Volo, 2001, p. 28) on the idea that they were freeing their country from the violence towards their children and political prisoners. Even the media joined the Sandinista's

representational discourses of motherhood to mobilize women and make them feel proud to be mothers joining the struggle.

Once the Sandinistas were in power by 1979, women who had fought with the rebels to end Somoza's regime began to reclaim the rights that would bring the gender equality that the FSLN had promised them once in power. Nevertheless, during the 1980s, a bad economy and the U.S. funded Contras created a turbulent time for the Sandinista regime, which led to their need to exercise control and power through discursive practices that labeled mothers as the saviors of the nation from its enemy: the Contras. The elevated crisis during the 1980s was a time when the Sandinistas struggled for hegemony and used discourses of motherhood to dominate women and use them for their benefit.

Starting in 1981, under U.S. president Carter, the U.S. provided economic assistance to Nicaragua for those displaced by the war. A year later, the U.S. stopped being on friendly terms with the Sandinistas and stopped providing economic assistance because they had found out that the Sandinistas were smuggling arms to El Salvador to aid revolutionaries there. The end of U.S. economic assistance to Nicaragua created the beginning of an economically devastated Sandinista rule. The costs of the Contra war, the economic embargo imposed by Reagan in 1985, the end of economic assistance from external forces, and the FSLN's feud with the private sector led to giving the Sandinista government no choice but to print more money, which devastated the economy (Leogrande, 1996, p. 342).[1] There were many food and supply shortages in Nicaragua. People's lives in Nicaragua became frustrating

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[1]   Reagan funded the Contras both militarily and financially. According to Sobel's (1995) research, from 1981 to 1990, the U.S. government gave a total of $332 million to the Contras and aid from third parties reached to $54 million (p. 289-90). Another estimated $16 to $25 million worth of profit was given to the Contras during the 1984 to 1986 U.S. arms sale to Iran (Sobel, 1995, p. 295). The U.S.'s involvement helped to destabilize the FSLN by the 1990 elections in Nicaragua.

and difficult. According to Kinzer (1991), "many began to tire of explanations that had to do with American aggression, and quite naturally began to blame the Sandinistas" (p. 166). This explains why many civilians, especially mothers, tended to work with the Contras against the Sandinistas. Mothers who had fought with the Sandinistas in the revolution began to feel that the revolution was done to put in place another form of ineffective and patriarchal power just like the Somozas who had ruled before.

The FSLN wanted to show that they still held power and dominion by establishing discourses that portrayed women's identity as subservient in order to use them for the war once they saw their power dwindle with their economy and the escalating Contra War that brought a large opposition. The FSLN left aside all promises of creating a society where women are equal to men in order to mobilize women through force or consent by using traditional feminine representations. The feminine representations used by the Sandinistas showed women's duty as mothers in protecting their nation. Even media, like La Prensa, went along with the FSLN's dominating discourse of femininity as they "clung increasingly to images of traditional feminine domesticity" during 1980s (Bayard de Volo, 2001, p. 30). They stressed women's role within the home as some women became more demanding of the rights that the FSLN had promised them. H. Collinson (1990) evaluates that "with the 1979 victory of the Sandinista revolution, the door was opened to a completely new social order in Nicaragua, and one in which the FSLN promised to make women's emancipation a major feature" (p. 1). However, the economic distress of the Contra War and military aggression were used as excuses by the FSLN to not have women's emancipation be something they would work towards. Once the FSLN was in power, the Sandinista women's association, called the Association of Nicaraguan Women Luisa Amanda Espinos (AMNLAE), who were once AMPRONAC, "pointed out barriers to women's emancipation: the severe poverty and limited resources of Nicaragua, the

U.S. economic and military intervention, the contra war, machismo, and traditional Catholicism" (Bayard de Volo, 2001, p. 13). Some women were realizing that the FSLN was just as abusive and patriarchal as their last government was, leading some women to support the Contras during the civil war. The Sandinistas knew that their power was beginning to diminish with the economic downfall and that they were gaining a large opposition. The Sandinistas looked for ways in which to reclaim that power and hegemony that they were losing by using gender discourses that placed men in dominion and women in subservient roles.

The FSLN masculinized political and public space during the war, which can be recognized as hegemonic practices used to legitimize themselves in time of turmoil and great opposition. For example, Miskitu mothers were part of an indigenous matriarchal community before the economic, political, and social processes in Nicaragua under the FSLN changed and created a "masculinization of public space" where Miskitu mothers no longer held any authority (Figueroa, 2012, p. 450). The Contra War and the extraction of natural resources that the Miskitu community depended on for their way of life caused the marginalization of indigenous women from political life. Men in the FSLN led these hegemonic practices that placed mothers, especially indigenous mothers, in the subordinate social, political, and economic situations that they found themselves in during the Contra War. This is why many Miskitu mothers tended to join the Contras instead of mobilizing with the FSLN.

Despite the FSLN's unequal treatment of women in social and political spaces, the FSLN was able to mobilize many women on the idea of maternal solidarity during the Contra War. Both the Contras and the Sandinistas saw the importance of dominating and mobilizing women, and used different gendered discourses of motherhood that created gendered power relations. While the FSLN's gendered discourse of motherhood consisted of glorifying traditional gender values while constructing mothers

as "heroic warriors…heroic military commanders and political leaders and self-sacrificial mothers and biological reproducers of the nation" (Cupples, 2006, p. 92), the Contra's gendered discourse of motherhood consisted of victimization.

The FSLN simultaneously used discourses of motherhood that glorified traditional gender roles but also discourses of motherhood that placed mothers as heroes for their children and the nation in order to mobilize towards the war women who shared the similar experience of the death of a child. The FSLN used the discourse of Universal Motherhood that portrayed women having nurturing qualities, all while supporting the revolution and the war effort. The Universal Mother was a mother not only to her children fighting in war, but also a mother to all the children in Nicaragua. The FSLN also used the maternal discourse of the Patriotic Womb and Spartan Mother to convince women that letting their children join the war against the Contras and to joining alongside their children in combat makes a hero and warrior out of a mother. The FSLN needed combatants, and they knew that, since mothers held the foundational structure of the household, they would be important in supplying the most soldiers. Mothers were convinced that it was better to sacrifice their sons for the cause and let them die as martyrs than not participate in the war at all. Bayard de Volo quotes a Sandinista mother saying, "They killed my son but he died like a man…To mothers all over the country, I beseech you…don't cut off the dreams of your children to go to the borders to fight for the country. Let them go" (as cited in Bayard de Volo, 2001, p. 98). The idea of males being the heroes and martyrs at war shows the gendered power dynamics in which a male's support will show that he is a true man and only be valued if he fought and died in the war, while a woman's effort was valued as long as she supported any way she could as a mother. We see here how the Sandinistas were able to shape notions of masculinities and femininities in the context of war that placed men and women in different roles.

The Contra's gendered discourse of motherhood used to mobilize women towards their fight consisted of the victimization of mothers who were losing their children because of the Sandinista's military draft and violence as the Contra War escalated. Maternal discourses of sacrifice and suffering were at the core of the Contra's mobilization of women to aid their forces. Contra women supported counterrevolution because of personal circumstances. Cupples (2006) noted that some women were mobilized to join the Contras because of "the men in their lives and the political decisions taken by their husbands, sons, and employers" (p. 87). Women whose husbands and sons were involved with the Contras were expected to contribute to the war effort. Many of these women had lost their families to the war and believed that the Sandinistas in power were to blame. The Contra forces used mothers' grievances to convince women that they were victims of war. Maternal discourses of sacrifice and suffering can be seen through Miskitu mothers as "sadness, horror, uncertainty, and persecution" led them to support the counter-revolutionaries (Figueroa, 2012, p. 152). Contras would often call women whose husbands had died fighting for the Contras as 'widows of the Nicaraguan Resistance' (Cupples, 2006, p. 89). The Contras used maternal discourses of victimization to motivate them to fight against the powers that harmed their families. Women's fear was also escalated as the Contras portrayed the Sandinistas as communists who took mother's children away (Cupples, 2006, p. 84), which seemed to be confirmed by the Sandinista's forced recruitment of young men. Unlike the Sandinista mothers, much of the Contra mother's sacrifice went unrecognized in the public because, during wartime, it was dangerous to speak of involvement in the counter-revolution.

Many women were also drawn to the Contra side because of the way they were treated. Just like the Sandinistas, the Contras used traditional gender values; however, the Contras did not let women be combatants because, according to them, it was the duty of Contra men to

"protect their women, rather than exploit them" like the Sandinistas (as cited in Cupples, 2006, p. 96). The Contra's use of traditional gender values placed men and women in hierarchies where men held the power and dominion while women were subservient, yet had a duty to be useful toward the war effort. The Contra women's duties usually involved feeding the armies and delivering food and supplies to the Contras. The Contras also continued their maternal discourses of sacrifice and suffering by convincing women that the Sandinistas let their women die and get hurt.

Not only were the representations of motherhood in the war a source of power used against women, but they were also used by women to present themselves as morally superior and empowered through their participation and contribution in the war. We are able to see how the FSLN and the Contra's use of maternal mobilizing identities worked in making women see themselves as useful in the war. Some mothers chose a critical positioning in terms of their political identities and others that saw their motherhood identity as empowering during the war. Looking at the complicated identities that not only the FSLN and the Contras used, but also the women used, creates a complex and entangled image of a mother's identity during Nicaragua's civil war.

In many situations, mothers did not always choose a side in the war, and instead chose a critical positioning that allowed them to exercise their maternal identity over choosing political sides. This shows how a mother's identity during the Contra War was not static and should be instead viewed as complex. Most mothers who were a part of the war effort, either on the Contra or Sandinista side, had the job of feeding the armies. An example that portrays women's complex identity during the Contra War is the story of Maria Julieta, a mother of a Contra son and a Contra sympathizer herself who chose a neutral political identity as she secretly collaborated with both Sandinistas and Contras. Maria Julieta's maternal identity prevailed over any political affiliation as she fed both

the Contras and the Sandinistas, although she identified more with the Contras because of her son's involvement with them (Cupples, 2006, p. 93). This led to sometimes having her children go hungry because both armies would take her animals and food (Cupples, 2006, p. 93). Maria Julieta saw the suffering both armies had to endure, and so she sacrificed what she could for both. She felt a maternal responsibility for the soldiers. Whether she did it consciously or not, she rejected the pressures of politics and the idea of her being a victim that was fed to her by the Contras and instead chose her own motherhood identity that felt that the humanity in others was more important than political affiliation. This narrative shows how mothers' identities in Nicaragua were not static and instead were complex and constantly evolving.

A mother's complicated identity was also seen as Sandinista mothers mobilized each other through the idea of maternal solidarity. Members of AMNLAE and the Mothers of Heroes and Martyrs during the Contra War encouraged other members to "become 'adoptive mothers' to soldiers hospitalized or stationed far from their families" (Bayard de Volo, 2001, p. 40). Mothers involved in the war used the ideas of Universal Motherhood and Combatant Motherhood to unite all mothers towards the cause and join Mother's Committees during the insurrection. In an article in a publication of AMNLAE, members wrote, "United by the universal sentiments of motherhood, we make each soldier another son…let us arise in war, joining forces with our children to gain peace in Nicaragua and happiness in the future. Mothers and their children with the country forever!!!" (as cited in Bayard de Volo, 2001, p. 40). Here, we see how mothers were also one of the main actors in the war who promoted the motherhood identity discourses formulated by the Contras and Sandinistas. Mothers saw themselves as the peace makers and believed in what they were doing because they were defending their children. Mothers shared each other's pain and sacrifices, all while sharing the privilege and feelings of empowerment for doing something about the chaos in their lives. These mothers felt they were protecting all

Nicaraguan children and saw the nation-state as a child needing its mother.

Contra women united as well on the basis of suffering and maternal sacrifice. They privileged their identities as mothers and widows of war. For example, Mercedes Hierro, a Contra mother, explains how her husband's death as a Contra shaped her identity and motivation to join the Contras: "As he belonged to the Resistance, I belong to the Resistance. […] I belong to the Resistance because I think that if you don't work, you can't live" (Cupples, 2006, p. 89). Hierro's account gives a sense of pride as well as of suffering, which is what categorized Contra mother's identities as complex. Contra women were able to unite on their common identities as mothers, victims of war, and widows, all while taking pride in the fact that their families were dying to make their society a better place to live.

The Contra War can ultimately be seen as a hegemonic struggle where the Contras and the Sandinistas used discourses of motherhood portraying mothers as either heroes or victims of war in order to dominate and mobilize them toward the war effort. The Contras and Sandinistas were attempting to attain hegemonic power by defining a mother's identity and role during the turbulent 1980s in Nicaragua. We see how discursive positions were made possible by the war. We see how gender plays a role in the way the Contras and Sandinistas created a strategic mobilization of mothers. The Contras, and especially the Sandinistas, created dominant gendered discourses of masculinities and femininities in the pursuit of nationalist goals. By analyzing who creates certain discourses and where women and men are positioned in the context of a war, we can see where power lies and understand how gendered international processes like wars are. ■

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Christina Morris | *Mom & Dad*

"I SAID SOFTLY TO MYSELF...PARALYSIS": PARALYSIS AND THE CHURCH IN JOYCE'S DUBLINERS

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James Joyce's *Dubliners* is inarguably a text concerned with paralysis. In a letter to Grant Richards in 1906, Joyce wrote of his stories, "My intention was to write a chapter of the moral history of my country and I chose Dublin for the scene because that city seemed to be the center of paralysis" (Ellmann 134). *Joyce linked this paralysis to Irish society in a letter to his partner Nora* soon after his mother's wake. He wrote that his dead mother's wasted face seemed to him the visage of "a victim," and he cursed "the system"1 that had victimized her. With this in mind, the fundamental question to be asked of *Dubliners* is that if the Irish citizenry are victims of paralysis, to what system can this paralysis be attributed? The elusive nature of social systems in general, compounded by their indirect, narrative depiction in *Dubliners*, makes this a difficult question to answer definitively. However, the Irish Catholic Church according to Joyce is certainly at least partly to blame. While Joyce never directly articulates the system that he is cursing, his mother's premature death—perhaps caused by near constant pregnancies—points towards the patriarchy and dogma associated with the Catholic Church. This systematic patriarchy is implied as a foundational cause of paralysis for the majority of female characters in *Dubliners*. Furthermore, the Church's involvement in financial matters becomes a root cause of paralysis in the story, "Grace," which he devoted to portraying Irish religious life. For Joyce, the accumulation of material wealth by the Church comes at the cost of spirituality and results in spiritual paralysis.

Ireland emerged from the nineteenth century as one of the most economically depressed regions of Western Europe. The Great Famine, the consequent emigration of more than five million Irish, and the failure of the British government to erect tariffs protecting domestic agriculture from colonial competition resulted in prolonged economic despair. In spite of widespread poverty, the Irish Catholic Church grew to immense political and economic power as a result of the devotional revolution2 and massive land acquisitions. In the words of Irish historian Emmet Larkin, it was an "anomaly" that the church "appeared to be growing ever more wealthy in a seemingly stagnant and chronically depressed economy" ("Economic Growth" 13). Most of this devotional revolution occurred during the reign of Paul Cullen as Archbishop of Dublin. Largely during his tenure, Dublin went from a city in which many attended "Mass in a thatched chapel" to a city with a Catholic infrastructure to match its overwhelming Catholic majority:

> We now find the city studded with magnificent churches, there being upwards of 44 places of Catholic worship in Dublin and the suburbs, and nearly half as many priests in the diocese as there were in all of Ireland in 1704. The Diocese contains 12 distinct Orders of Congregation and 19 houses of regular clergy; 2 orders or communities of religious laymen with 17 houses, and 14 orders with 48 convents, containing nearly 1,200 nuns.3

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1 From Richard Ellmann, *James Joyce*, p. 161. Quoted in Kearny, p. 61.

2 A post famine period of approximately 25 years in which the clergy grew relative to the laity and as a result was able to turn the majority of Irish into "practicing" Catholics. Term coined by Emmet Larkin in "The Devotional Revolution in Ireland 1850-1875."

3 "Progress of religion in diocese of Dublin" *Irish Catholic Directory*, 1871, p. 158. Quoted in Daly, p. 130.

This massive increase in the Catholic framework of Dublin was in line with Cullen's desire to see Dublin become a city in which "the presence and power of the Catholic Church and the majority Catholic population were reflected in the religious, philanthropic, educational, and political" realms of the city (Daly 131). However, it is also an example of the "anomaly" articulated by Larkin that the church's secular power grew while Dublin, as a whole, remained economically stagnant.

The historical roots of this "anomaly" reach back even deeper into the nineteenth century. In a letter sent from Carlow priest James Maher to his nephew in Rome at the dawn of the Great Famine, Maher observes with "pain" a great change in the "relative position of the people and Clergy." He states, "The people have become very much poorer. And the Clergy have adopted a more expensive style of living."[4] Another parish priest, John O'Sullivan articulated a similar sentiment in his diary prior to the Great Famine in 1843. "We had" O'Sullivan, articulated, "a station at Durian this day, got 29 shillings there. How well the poor people pay in general…I certainly enjoy more real independence than many estated gentlemen about me."[5] This "anomaly," or the antithetical movements of the Church towards prosperity and the Irish citizenry towards poverty, should be viewed as a foundational contribution to Joyce's animosity towards the Church in *Dubliners* and his depiction of it as an oppressive, even parasitical, secular institution responsible for perpetuating Irish paralysis.

Dubliners opens with "The Sisters," which focuses on the relationship between the narrator, a young boy, and a recently deceased parish priest, Father Flynn. At the story's onset, Father Flynn has not yet died, but is on his death bed as a result of a third stroke which has left him paralyzed (Joyce 3). His impending demise prompts the narrator's reflection on their relationship as mentor and mentee. The boy's recollection of the priest's lessons indicates the material was surprisingly non-spiritual and instead focused on the minutiae of Church operations and dogma. The lectures cover topics such as Latin pronunciation, "Napoleon Bonaparte," the difference between "mortal and venial" sins, as well as the "different vestments worn by the priest" (6). Father Flynn attempts to replace lost faith and fill a spiritual void by focusing on the bureaucratic aspects of Catholicism. Evidence of his lost faith can be found in descriptions of his character near the end of the story. The sisters describe him as "scrupulous," "crossed," and "disappointed" (10-11). These adjectives, in conjunction with his symbolic breaking of a sacramental chalice, suggest he is a clergyman who has lost his faith.

The most explicit example of Father Flynn's loss of spirituality comes near the end of "The Sisters" when one of the priest's sisters recounts his disappearance from his residence. He was found in the chapel "by himself in the dark in his confession box, wideawake and laughing-like softly to himself" (Joyce 11). The laughter in the confession booth is symbolic of Father Flynn's incapability to fulfill the duties of a priest, which requires the administration of the sacraments. As a result, it is suggested, Father Flynn lost his parish (5, 10). As Emmet Larkin notes, criticism of Irish Catholic clergymen as "spiritually deficient" extends back to pre-Famine Ireland. He claims that these criticisms resulted from both "baneful" and "salutary" activities of the clergy, with the baneful including "avarice, drunkenness, immorality, contumacy, and faction" and the salutary involving "the efforts of the clergy to provide chapels, schools, and charity for the poor…as well as their deep commitment to secular politics" ("Before the Devotional Revolution" 34). In the case of Father Flynn, his ultimate paralysis and death can then be viewed as a consequence of his spiritual deficiency. It is important to note that there is no evidence to suggest Father Flynn has committed

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[4] Robert E. Burns "Parson, Priests, and the People: The Rise of Irish Anti-Clericalism." Quoted in Emmet Larkin, *The Historical Dimensions of Irish Catholicism*, p. 20.

[5] Kerry Diocesan Archives, "O'Sullivan papers" Diary, 11 October 1843. Quoted in Emmet Larkin, *Before the Devotional Revolution*, p. 32.

"simony"—a trafficking in sacred things—and his education of the boy is a charitable effort to groom him for the priesthood. However, his lost faith presents an internal dilemma. He wishes to impart knowledge to the young boy but is restricted by his lost faith to the dogmatic aspects of Catholicism, and becomes a tragic figure of psychological paralysis. The boy himself possesses some awareness of the priest's internalized quandary. After hearing of Father Flynn's death, the boy describes being distressed by "a sensation of freedom as if I had been freed from something by his death" (Joyce 6). While the "something" from which the boy feels freed is vague, it is the aforementioned internal paralysis which the boy senses but cannot articulate. Collectively, it is the internalized psychological paralysis of Father Flynn, which becomes explicit in his eventual physical, bodily paralysis.

In the story "Eveline," Joyce depicts a victim of systematic social paralysis rooted in patriarchal Church practice. In this story's climax, the protagonist Eveline is unable to leave Dublin and elope with her lover, Frank. The inability to act can be traced to the patriarchy of the Catholic Church. Salient at the beginning is the image of "Blessed Margaret Mary Alacoque" (Joyce 27), who was a French nun and promulgator of the Sacrament of the Sacred Heart of Jesus. Among other things, the Sacred Heart of Jesus promises a healthy home life.[6] Eveline's mother is deceased, leaving her in the eldest daughter's traditional role as surrogate mother and caretaker on top of being the main wage earner to make up for her alcoholic father's irresponsibility. In light of the symbol of the Sacred Heart in conjunction with her motherly role, Eveline's inability to leave Dublin can be attributed to the patriarchal system that forced her to care for her father and younger siblings. Her willingness to submit to this ideology is symptomatic of a notion both propagated by the Catholic Church and

articulated by Virginia Woolf. In a mother's absence, it fell to the oldest daughter to be what Woolf called "the angel of the house." Thus, it is a patriarchal system that Joyce alludes to via the death of Eveline's mother and the presence of the Sacred Heart, which ultimately results in her inability to seek self-fulfillment outside her dysfunctional family as well as outside of a relationship with a dominant man.

In the conclusion, Eveline's subservience to the Catholic Church and its patriarchal institutions is solidified. At the dock where the ship awaits to take Eveline and her lover Frank away, she describes the boat as appearing as a "black mass" (Joyce 31). Black Mass is a term used to describe a ceremony that is the inversion of a traditional Roman Catholic Mass, traditionally associated with satanic ritual. From Eveline's perspective, the trip becomes not only an escape, but also a sacrilege. By boarding the ship, Eveline would not only be turning her back on Dublin, but Catholicism as well. Eveline is ultimately unable to escape; the chains of the blessed Margaret Mary Alacoque (who was paralyzed for several years as an adolescent while she had religious visions) and her obligatory role as "angel of the home" render her paralyzed.

Further, "Eveline" can be described as a story that is "sub-intentionally feminist"[7]. That is, although Joyce may have not intended "Eveline" to be a feminist story, the detailed realism with which her plight is depicted sheds light on the inequality and oppression of women in Dublin during the early twentieth century. She has little education and an exploitative job. At the same time, as with Father Flynn, Eveline's conflict is internal. She has internalized the Catholic Church's strictures for the behavior of women and is only able to define herself within the context of men

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[6]   "Margret Mary Alacoque (1647-1690) was a French nun in the Visitation Order who founded the devotion to the Sacred Heart of Jesus. She was declared blessed by Pope Pius in 1864"; among her twelve promises to those devoted to His Sacred Heart are "peace in their families." Quoted in *Dubliners: Authoritative Text, Contexts, Criticism*, p. 219.

[7]   See Miller, p. 413, and Fetterley, p. 156. The term "sub-intentionally feminist" was quoted in Jane E. Miller's "'O, She's a Nice Lady!': A Rereading of 'A Mother'" although I believe it applies equally well to "Eveline." To the best of my knowledge, the term originates in Judith Fetterley's *The Resisting Reader: A Feminist Approach to American Fiction*. Bloomington, p. 156.

in her life. She is unable to craft a personal identity apart from domineering male figures. As Joyce said of his own mother, Eveline is the victim of a system. The patriarchal institutions of Ireland, especially the Catholic Church, have left her unable to pursue her own happiness and effectively in a state of social paralysis.

In *Dubliners'* final story, "The Dead," an explicit, external example of Church-induced paralysis is depicted. Joyce alludes to the Doctrine of Papal Infallibility formulated by Cardinal Paul Cullen at the Vatican Council of 1870. When Aunt Julia is accused of arguing against a papal directive which banned women from participation in church choirs,[8] she quickly retreats and says, "I don't question the pope's being right" (Joyce 169). To absorb the full irony of this statement, it is best read in along with an earlier passage from "Grace." In a conversation between the businessmen, Mr. Cunningham says that it is "astonishing" that not a single pope, "not the biggest drunkard, not the most…out-and out ruffian, not one of them preached ex cathedra a word of false doctrine" (145). When viewed in conjunction, the logic behind these statements is comically circular. If the pope is infallible, whatever he speaks *ex cathedra* becomes doctrine. Therefore, it is impossible to question a pope's doctrinal proclamations because he is the *arbiter* of church doctrine. As a result, the members of the Church are spiritually paralyzed by their inability to raise a dissenting opinion against an all-powerful papacy.

"The Dead" also includes the only self-sufficient, successful female character in *Dubliners*, Molly Ivors. She is the antithesis of Eveline as a result of her ability to define herself entirely apart from male figures. She is unmarried, an academic, and openly teases her male colleague, Gabriel Conroy, thus subverting patriarchal notions of a woman's role (Joyce 165). Molly Ivors is an embodiment of the European "New Woman." Her independence confuses Gabriel and may have confused

Joyce himself, who chose never again to portray such a female figure. In any case, she is perhaps the only escapee from the prevailing paralysis of *Dubliners*.

The depiction of the Church as a secular institution is most explicit in "Grace." In Joyce's plan for *Dubliners,* he included three stories focused on public life in Dublin; "Grace" is the story devoted to religion. He depicts the church as not only lacking spirituality but also possessing financial and political aspirations. The story follows a group of businessman who attend a Church retreat. In their words, the purpose of this retreat is to "wash the pot" (Joyce 140). This non-religious description indicates that the goal is less a legitimate spiritual cleansing than a kind of routine maintenance. Along with the businessmen that the story follows, various politically and economically powerful citizens of Dublin attend the retreat. Figures of prominence include "Mr. Hartford," the moneylender, "Mr. Fanning…the registration agent and mayormaker," "a newly elected councilor of the ward," and "Michael Grimes," the owner of "three pawnbroker's shops" (149). These men reflect the small-business occupations in which a majority of Catholic wealth in Dublin would have been concentrated (Daly 133). The retreat is presided over by Father Purdon, who delivers a sermon in which he misinterprets a Biblical parable and makes the claim that "the children of this world are wiser in their generation than the children of light" (Joyce 150). Given that this interpretation of the text is almost directly opposite to the morality of Jesus elsewhere in the Bible (a fact which Father Purdon acknowledges), it is unlikely that Father Purdon misinterprets the passage; rather, he deliberately manipulates it in order to flatter his business-minded audience. He also describes Jesus as a "spiritual accountant" (151), utilizing the jargon of finance to depict Jesus as a supporter of the businessman. Both of these examples further Joyce's depiction of the Church as a secular institution. Not only is the process of spiritual redemption commoditized by Father Purdon,

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8   Pope Pius X issued the papal directive in 1903. *Dubliners: Authoritative Text, Contexts, Criticism*, p. 169.

he also demonstrates the willingness of the Church to compromise its doctrine for the sake of economic and political gain. After all, the men whom he is attempting to appease with his Biblical misinterpretation are the very same men who finance the Church with donations.

From the perspective of the businessmen attending, the operative metaphor is "wash(ing) the pot" (Joyce 140). The notion behind this metaphor is that the men could cleanse their sins with the same secular nonchalance of washing a pot. The businessmen's presence at Father Purdon's retreat reflects a belief that one could achieve spiritual redemption through financial contributions to the Church. As Peter Brown argues in his book *The Ransom of the Soul: Afterlife and Wealth in Early Western Christianity,* the ideological roots of this phenomenon in Ireland reach deep into the past. Brown attributes the foundation of the idea that spiritual security could be obtained through financial contributions to the Church—rather than traditional almsgiving—to the monasticism of the Irish saint Columbanus as early as the sixth century. Those who were wealthy enough could disregard spiritual penance and "bridge the chasm between the sacred and profane through gifts" (Bowersock 31). For the businessmen of Joyce's time, the result is the manifestation of spiritual paralysis. Engaging with the Church exclusively as a financial transaction eliminates any interaction with the incorporeal. For Joyce, it is this fall into worldliness that is the Catholic Church's biggest sin.

The displacement of almsgiving as the primary vehicle of spiritual cleansing also serves to further entrench the poor in their economic paralysis. The rise of church-based giving removed the Dublin poor from the direct distribution of charity, as the majority of donations now went to Church institutions. Although the Church was heavily involved in poverty relief, large portions of donations were now directed towards sustaining the church's role in secular endeavors. For the Church, the necessity to rely on the businessmen of Dublin for donations was largely based on the need to finance rapid expansion into secular matters. As historian Mary Daly claims, "The cost of providing more churches, bigger and more ornate churches, orphanages, homes for the deaf and blind, hospitals and primary and superior schools imposed an extraordinary burden on the Dublin Catholic community" (144). For Joyce, this involved a relinquishing of traditional spiritual responsibilities in exchange for acquisition of money. The businessmen in "Grace" are thus engaging in a "ransoming of the soul" (Bowersock 28). Collectively, through Father Purdon's retreat, Joyce depicts the Church as an institution only nominally concerned with the spiritual redemption of its followers. Ultimately, the Catholic Church of "Grace" is most preoccupied with its own financial gain.

As a collection, *Dubliners* engages with what Joyce viewed, with less than strict objectivity, as the "paralysis" of Dublin. This paralysis is varied in nature, but it occurs against the backdrop of the monolithic Irish Catholic Church that arose during the nineteenth century. For Father Flynn, it is a physical paralysis following a replacement of true faith with mundane ritual. For Father Purdon and the businessmen, it is a spiritual paralysis reflected in the manipulation of scripture for financial gain. For Eveline, paralysis manifests itself as an inability to leave Dublin because patriarchy and Catholic teaching drives her to care of her father and young siblings. For Aunt Julia in "The Dead," paralysis rises from her inability to question the edict of an infallible pope declaring that women should not sing in choirs. Ultimately, the blame for the paralysis of Father Flynn, Father Purdon, the businessmen, Eveline, Mary Jane, and Aunt Kate falls, in Joyce's fictional depiction of Dublin, on the Irish Catholic Church. ■

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LA CONDIZIONE FEMMINILE IN DUE CAPOLAVORI DEL RINASCIMENTO: LA MANDRAGOLA DI MACHIAVELLI E IL MERITO DELLE DONNE DI MODERATA FONTE

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ABSTRACT   This essay discusses the representation of women in two masterpieces of the Italian Renaissance: Niccolò Machiavelli's comedy *The Mandrake* (1524) and Moderata Fonte's literary dialogue *The Worth of Women* (1600). While in these texts Machiavelli and Fonte hold different views on the role of women, they both give women a considerable agency which is uncharacteristic of many of Machiavelli's other works as well as most contemporary prescriptive literature on women. Through the close reading of these texts, the essay reflects on the ideology behind Machiavelli and Fonte's women characters, as well as the broader question of women's agency and the fashioning of feminine identity in sixteenth century Italian literature.

Il tema della vita di una donna del Rinascimento era la sottomissione. La donna veniva controllata dai suoi genitori durante la sua infanzia e poi consegnata direttamente nelle mani di un marito che lei probabilmente non aveva scelto, e che avrebbe esercitato il suo controllo su di lei fino alla morte di uno di loro. Le donne che non si sposavano per qualsiasi ragione, vivevano in casa di un parente di sesso maschile o in un convento, dove una donna poteva diventare una suora, l'unica carriera accessibile al sesso femminile. Le donne infatti non erano spesso incoraggiate a partecipare alle arti e alle scienze. Tra i diversi scrittori, uomini e donne, che hanno espresso opinioni sul ruolo delle donne nella società del Rinascimento, Niccolò Machiavelli e Moderata Fonte si distinguono per la lucidità e originalità con cui danno ai loro personaggi femminili una maggiore libertà d'azione rispetto ai canoni del tempo.

Niccolò Machiavelli ritrae il suo ideale femminile nel personaggio di Lucrezia nella commedia *La mandragola*

(1524). In molti dei suoi scritti, Machiavelli esprime una visione misogina e negativa delle donne. Nell'opera teatrale *La mandragola* egli dà invece alle donne un certo potere decisionale sulla loro vita, anche se in prospettiva negativa. Un aspetto su cui si concentra sono le sue idee di virtù e fortuna e il loro rapporto con le donne. In alcuni scritti di Machiavelli, tra cui *La mandragola*, "by seizing an available opportunity and establishing legitimacy for themselves, a few women appear to possess *Virtù*" (Clarke, 232). All'inizio della *Mandragola*, la vita del protagonista Callimaco è interrotta perché ha sentito di una donna di una grande bellezza che vive a Firenze. Callimaco, che vive a Parigi, lascia la sua vita sulla Senna per cercare questa donna e cambiare il suo destino. Callimaco dice "ma parendo alla Fortuna che io avessi troppo bel tempo, fece che e' capitò a Parigi uno Camillo Calfucci" (Machiavelli, 18). In questo passo, Machiavelli mostra come la fortuna contribuisce a cambiare la vita di Callimaco e di una donna, Lucrezia. "He [Callimaco] lives, in short, in perfect harmony with his social environment, ordering his daily activities *quietissimamente*. At this point, when Callimaco is in complete control of his pleasant life, Fortune strikes" (Barber, 452). L'unica ragione per cui Callimaco cambia il

corso della sua vita, è il fatto che abbia sentito di Lucrezia. Lucrezia diventa l'incarnazione della "donna di virtù" di Machiavelli. "In his writings, Machiavelli is at times ambiguous about the precise meaning of his usage of the term *Virtù*, and of its role in counteracting the whims of adverse Fortune, but there is a constant basis of admiration throughout his works in favor of the individual who is able to roll with the punches" (Barber, 455). Machiavelli non è interessato a chi vince la battaglia, ma si interessa invece del perché una persona vince.

Machiavelli chiarisce che Lucrezia ha nel complesso il dominio di se stessa, della sua famiglia e della sua vita sociale. In una conversazione fra Siro e Callimaco, Callimaco descrive le difficoltà nel tentare di convincere Lucrezia a dormire con lui: "in prima mi fa la guerra la natura di lei, che è onestissima e al tutto aliena delle cose d'amore; avere el marito ricchissimo, e che al tutto si lascia governare da lei, e, se non è giovane, non è al tutto vecchio, come pare; non aver parenti o vicini con chi ella convenga ad alcuna vegghia o festa, o ad alcuno altro piacere di che si sogliono dellettare le giovani. Delle persone meccaniche non gliene capita a casa nessuna; non ha fante né famiglio che non tremi di lei: in modo che non è luogo d'alcuna corruzione" (Machiavelli, 20). Callimaco sottolinea che, visto che Lucrezia ha una vita soddisfacente, sarà più difficile convincerla a seguire il suo piano. Con questa affermazione, Machiavelli suggerisce che Lucrezia ha un marito ricco, di mezza età e, visto anche che Lucrezia è una buona moglie disinteressata ai piaceri mondani e autorevole a casa propria, lei è soddisfatta della sua vita: questi fatti diventano la difficoltà di Callimaco. Poiché Lucrezia è nella posizione socialmente determinata di una donna in questo periodo storico, e dato che Machiavelli non le dà l'opportunità di esprimere la sua vera opinione sulla sua situazione all'inizio dello spettacolo, Machiavelli sta esprimendo la sua personale opinione sul ruolo di una donna, che lui considera essere in casa.

Sebbene si possa verificare qualche cambiamento nel personaggio alla fine dello spettacolo, ci sono elementi sufficienti di carattere discutibile fin dall'inizio. Lucrezia è vista all'inizio come una moglie virtuosa, ma in breve tempo lei è disposta a partecipare non solo all'adulterio, ma anche all'omicidio. Prima di tutto ci sono diverse connotazioni contrastanti che Machiavelli ha considerato nella scelta del suo nome. Anche se il nome Lucrezia era "a symbol of fidelity and virtue" (Behuniak-Long, 267) al tempo di Machiavelli, ci sono anche altri fattori da considerare. Prima di tutto, c'è un collegamento tra il nome Lucrezia e una famiglia che Machiavelli ammira e cita nei suoi lavori: i Borgia. In particolare Lucrezia Borgia che aveva una cattiva reputazione: "Her reputation was founded not on virtù, but on promiscuity, manipulation, and murder…she could poison and kill men in various ways, especially in the act of sexual union" (Behuniak-Long, 267). Questo ha una stretta somiglianza con il fatto che nella storia di Callimaco il primo uomo che dormirà con lei dopo aver preso la pozione della mandragola sarà ucciso. C'è anche il fatto che, sebbene Lucrezia sia l'oggetto della conversazione durante l'intero spettacolo, lei appare sul palco solo quattro volte. Ciò significa che la maggior parte delle informazioni che abbiamo su di lei proviene da altre fonti. Ci sono anche diversi casi in cui si suggerisce che Lucrezia non è del tutto attendibile. Il più importante di questi esempi si verifica quando Ligurio rifiuta il piano per portare Lucrezia ai bagni per unire lei e Callimaco. Ligurio dice "tu sai che a questi bagni va d'ogni qualità gente, e potrebbe venirvi uomini a chi madonna Lucrezia piacessi come a te: che fussi ricco più di te, che avessi più grazia di te; in modo che si porta pericolo di non durare questa fatica per altri, e che c'intervenga che la copia de' concorrenti la faccino più dura o che, dimenticandosi, la si volga ad un altro e non a te" (Machiavelli, 30). Ligurio sta precisando che, visto che ci potrebbero essere uomini nei bagni che sono di più bell'aspetto e più ricchi di Callimaco, lei avrebbe potuto finire per desiderare uno di loro invece che preferire Callimaco, e quindi non ci si può fidare di lei. Alla fine dello spettacolo, le persone a lei più vicine riescono a convincerla a dormire con Callimaco, ma è lei infine la vera vincitrice. Proprio come la vita di Callimaco, la vita di Lucrezia è stata interrotta dal fato,

ma Lucrezia ha usato il fato a suo vantaggio invece di accettarlo semplicemente come fa Callimaco: "The new order projected in the play for the future is one which she establishes and in which she will be the dominant force. Indeed, the play begins and ends with notes of her dominance of her men: Nicia *che al tutto si lascia governare da lei,* and Callimaco, who gladly accepts the terms which she dictates for their new relationship" (Barber, 458). Anche se la situazione avrebbe dovuto trarre vantaggio da Lucrezia, è Lucrezia ad approfittare della situazione: diventa la vera "donna di virtù." Proprio come avrebbe fatto un uomo se il suo onore fosse stato violato, Lucrezia risponde alla ritorsione con decisione e in modo efficace. La virtù di una persona è palesata a causa di fattori al di fuori del loro controllo, "among these factors are a natural 'spiritedness' or 'strength of heart' (*animo*) and well-constructed institutional arrangements capable of directing *animo* toward the common benefit" (Clarke, 237). Machiavelli non è uno scrittore femminista, perché non promuove alcun tipo di liberazione per le donne. Lui utilizza invece i suoi scritti come una forma di osservazione delle donne per comprenderne le strategie vincenti. "In Chapter XXV of the Prince, Machiavelli tells us that Fortune favors the bold because, he writes, it is a woman, *la fortuna è donna, ed è necessario, volendola tenere sotto, batterla e urtarla,* 'for fortune is a woman, and it is necessary, if you wish to master her, to conquer her by force.' So it is with supreme irony that in the *Mandragola* a woman displays the ability to wrest back control of her destiny from the whims of changing fortune" (Barber, 459). Alla fine, nel rappresentare a teatro i meccanismi del potere e la relazione tra virtù e fortuna, Machiavelli va oltre la propria ideologia sulla donna.

Verso la fine del secolo, Moderata Fonte esprime le sue idee sul ruolo delle donne nel suo dialogo letterario *Il merito delle donne* (1600). Lei critica il trattamento delle donne da parte degli uomini mentre celebra la virtù delle donne e la loro intelligenza, ma non raggiunge il punto dell'uguaglianza dei sessi. Il lavoro prende la forma di un dialogo in un giardino tra sette donne veneziane, alcune sposate, alcune non sposate e qualche vedova (Adriana, Virginia, Leonora, Lucrezia, Cornelia, Corinna, Elena). "In her hands, the selva becomes the means by which to project through her female characters the image of educated, articulate women capable of engaging those topics often deemed too complex or challenging for the fairer sex (science, philosophy, and astronomy), while providing her female readers with a means to educate themselves on a broad range of topics. Since for Fonte female emancipation is inextricably bound to female education, her quasi selva functions as an instrument of liberation intended to instruct and aid women as they seek to free themselves from the tyranny of men" (Magnanini, 279). Le protagoniste si incontrano per due giorni, e discutono dei rapporti tra i sessi e particolarmente del perché sembra che gli uomini siano destinati a portare le donne all'infelicità. La conversazione è molto varia e include favole, poesie e indovinelli. Un aspetto del lavoro che ha attirato particolare attenzione nella critica recente è il suo trattamento scettico del valore del matrimonio per le donne, e le attrattive di una vita solitaria. Sebbene Fonte avesse scritto inizialmente diversi lavori letterari, ha smesso di scrivere dopo il matrimonio e dopo aver dato alla luce dei figli. Questo è un esempio della sfida per le donne nel Cinquecento: la lotta tra il desiderio di affermarsi in attività intellettuali e la convinzione della società che debbano essere quasi esclusivamente mogli e madri. Questa idea dell'obbligo delle donne di stare a casa sotto il dominio del marito è "the opposite of the attitude expressed in *Il merito delle donne* that the female sex has to be on guard against the deceptions of men" (Kolsky, 974).

In tutto *Il merito delle donne*, Fonte presenta entrambe le posizioni nella discussione contro e a favore degli uomini, anche se pende verso la causa femminile senza essere troppo scontata. "*Il merito delle donne* keenly shows the downside of marriage, the pitfalls of love, and generally depicts men in an extremely negative light" (Kolsky, 979). Una delle sezioni più importanti della discussione è sul lato negativo del matrimonio nella prima parte del

dialogo quando le donne stanno discutendo i problemi che possono sorgere in un matrimonio quando il marito possiede valori tradizionali. "Quelle donne che vanno poi a marito, o al martirio (per meglio dire) infiniti sono i casi delle loro infelicità. Perché prima vi sono di quelli mariti, che tengono tanto in freno le mogli loro, che a pena vogliono che l'aria le veggia; di modo che quando credono esse, con l'aver preso marito, aversi acquistato una certa donnesca libertà di prender qualche ricreazione onesta, si trovano le misere esser più soggette che mai; ed a guisa di bestie, confinate tra le mura, essersi sottoposte, in vece d'un caro marito, ad un odioso guardiano. E certo che con tal dispregio sono causa questi tali di farne precipitar tante e tante, che sariano più savie, se essi fossero più benigni ed amorevoli che non sono" (Fonte, 169). In questa sezione, Fonte ribadisce l'idea che, anche se le donne possono agire in modo onorevole, gli uomini continueranno a cercare di opprimerle e che questi atti onorevoli possono rafforzare il carattere repressivo delle istituzioni patriarcali. In altre parole, gli uomini opprimeranno le donne anche se le donne terranno un comportamento esemplare, e il carattere oppressivo delle relazioni maschili con le donne porterà molte donne oneste a diventare disoneste per poter sopravvivere. In modo indiretto, questa riflessione di Fonte offre una certa giustificazione morale al comportamento della Lucrezia di Machiavelli.

Nel corso della seconda giornata, le donne discutono molti temi che si concentrano sui diversi campi del sapere, in cui le donne non erano di solito molto versate in questo periodo storico: "The women's ignorance of the variety of subjects discussed during the second day—medicine, politics, law and oratory—has left them dependent on men, and their exploration of these topics serves as an initial step toward the liberation of both the seven female interlocutors and the female readers of Fonte's quasi selva" (Magnanini, 292). La quantità di istruzione che le donne in questo periodo sperimentavano aveva a che fare sia con la città che con la casa in cui erano nate, entrambi motivi per cui

alcune donne avevano maggiore conoscenza in certi argomenti specifici, mentre altre non avevano lo stesso tipo di conoscenza. Molti uomini avevano l'opinione che lo studio da parte delle donne interferisse con i loro ruoli di mogli e madri, e che non servisse a migliorare le condizioni della casa e della famiglia. Anche se alcuni uomini erano a favore di maggiore istruzione per le donne e sostenevano anche l'alfabetizzazione femminile "they did so in the belief that by encouraging women to read moral texts that furnished women with a knowledge of the good, they would cultivate and reinforce those female traits necessary to foster the institution of marriage: chastity, silence, and obedience" (Magnanini, 293). Fonte sembra invece difendere il valore dell'educazione femminile in se stessa, come contributo per la crescita personale e morale delle donne indipendentemente dall'istituzione del matrimonio.

Verso la fine della discussione, il personaggio di Virginia che non ha marito, decide che non vuole sposarsi a causa delle alte probabilità che il suo non sarà un buon matrimonio, e perché lei non vuole dover sottostare a un uomo tutta la vita; la madre si contrappone alla sua idea: "'Io in somma—disse Verginia—ne ho udite tante ieri e ne odo tante oggi, di questi uomini, che son quasi convertita alle tante ragioni di Leonora e di quest'altre che mi hanno posto il cervello a partito, sì che penso di non voler altrimenti farmi soggetta ad uomo veruno, potendo star liberamente in pace'. 'Non dir così figliuola mia—disse la Regina—che egli è forza che io ti mariti. Ben ti prometto che quando sia il tempo, cercarò tanto che vedrò di trovarti compagnia, con la quale tu viverai consolata; perché studierò di trovar uno nobile, savio e virtuoso più tosto che ricco, delicato e vagabondo'" (Fonte, 170). Alla fine, sebbene vi sia la possibilità di finire in un matrimonio spiacevole, la madre fa notare a Virginia che deve sposarsi e che le troverà un uomo compatibile con lei. Questa idea riflette l'inevitabilità del matrimonio per la maggior parte delle donne a causa delle pressioni dei parenti. "Thus, sacrifice of the daughter is an ongoing fact of life, marriage a kind of living death, and here it is the mother who is

instrumentalized by male coercive practice" (Kolsky, 980). Fonte usa dunque queste donne per rappresentare se stessa e le sue opinioni sulla società maschilista in cui, suo malgrado, è costretta a vivere.

Niccolò Machiavelli e Moderata Fonte hanno idee diverse sul ruolo delle donne nel Rinascimento. In molti dei suoi scritti, Machiavelli esprime una visione misogina e negativa delle donne. Tuttavia, nella *Mandragola* egli dà alle donne un certo potere decisionale sulla propria vita, anche se lo fa in una prospettiva negativa. Fonte invece esprime una visione più liberale dei diritti che le donne dovrebbero avere, pur rimanendo realistica riguardo la realtà della situazione delle donne in questo momento della storia. Lei dà voce alle donne non solo scrivendo dal punto di vista di una donna, ma anche immaginando personaggi di donne diverse da quelle a cui si riferiscono gli uomini, come per esempio la Lucrezia di Machiavelli. ∎

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AZTLÁN AND CHICAGOACÁN: A LOOK AT THE CHALLENGES IN CHICANA/O ART WITHIN CHICAGO'S PILSEN NEIGHBORHOOD

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What significance might a fountain of three topless women have towards a visual understanding of site-specific Mexican nationalism (see Figure 1)? This inquiry has captivated my curiosity both as an art history student and direct descendant of Morelia, Michoacán where La Fuente de Las Tarascas, a trinity of topless women, is located. La Fuente de Las Tarascas is a fountain that features three indigenous Tarascan princesses holding up a fruit basket. This paper will consider four examples of Las Tarascas used in the city of Chicago. The opening image for this paper is a mural by Chicago-based artist Alejandro Medina made in 2006 (see Figure 2). The mural can be found on the side of a grocery store on the corner of 18th and Wood. It is a mural celebrating famous images of Latin American women, a lot of them in connection to Mexico. On the mural we have women such as Sor Juana, Frida Kahlo, Dolores Huerta, María Félix and Rigoberta Menchú among many others. The women's portraits float harmoniously in hues of purple, pink and a variety of primary colors. At the center of this portrait-based collage lies a suggested landscape of Morelia, Michoacán with a bronze statue of La Fuente de Las Tarascas. Beneath Las Tarascas is a row of women in regional folkloric dress from the Mexican state of Jalisco.

Before we dive into Las Tarascas, I want to highlight why I choose to study a mural in Chicago specifically. As an art history student focused on Chicana/o art I have found that a lot of the scholarship regarding murals, and broader art

FIGURE 1

Alejandro Medina, 2006

history, has been dominated by the West Coast. There is little to no recognition of the midwestern geography that incorporates Mexicans and Mexican Americans in relation to art. Although the neighborhood of Pilsen is growing with mural activity and a larger art scene with many prominent Latina/os, it still remains an understudied terrain within the field of Chicago art history. Typically, discussion around Chicana/o and Latina/o murals have

FIGURE 2

Alejandro Medina, 2006

relied on a conversation within a social science framework that uses the art as a case study of hardship and the need for empowerment within working class communities of color. Other times, within art history, public works of art that reference an indigenous past as cultural empowerment have been dismissed as art defined by the unspecific marker of "identity politics". I regard that kind of reading as a safe end point for not diving into a larger history of racism, sexism, power struggle, and colonization that Latina/o communities face within American history.

The study of murals has found a place within the field of history. Prominent images of Mexican history and related Latin American imagery have been successfully fleshed out and referenced within a larger Latina/o history and lineage of Latin American heritage. While the historical perspective is a useful addition to Latina/o history, it neglects the importance of formal analysis and making connections between artist, community, commission, medium, technique and training that account for the murals today. Beyond this, I advocate for a field of Latina/o and Chicana/o art history that includes the narrative of artists; this is a shortcoming of this essay since I do not include any commentary by the artists that made the images I discuss here. This essay instead serves as an invitation for a conversation

regarding the relevance of La Fuente de Las Tarascas in articulating the presence of Michoacán in Chicago: Chicagoacán. The guiding force of this formal analysis is the 2006 mural by Alejandro Medina in the neighborhood of Pilsen.

Pilsen has a blooming population of Mexican and Mexican American artists and migrants whose Mexican history makes up a lot of the content of the neighborhood's public art. From an archival perspective the murals of Chicago do not typically last very long without proper preservation. The weather conditions and rough winters of Chicago present an obstacle towards preservation. Therefore, research concerning Chicago murals helps make a case for the importance of preserving and archiving a history of art, community and artists in the area.

Embarking on this kind of art historical work comes with the reality of the lack of recognition Latina/o art has within the larger canon of American art history. Art historian Charlene Villaseñor Black states it best when she says that Chicana/o art is a field that has remained as "nepantla" or as a permanent "in-betweenness" in a binary of ethnic studies and art history.[1] Chicana/o art history for that matter travels between those two binaries, never really one or the other. Taking an art historical approach to public art made by Mexican and Mexican Americans magnifies a large sector of Chicana/o history in the United States.

But what is Chicana/o art? It can be problematic to have an art genre directly tied to an ethnicity. I want to establish that Chicana/o art is not something solely defined by an artist's identity but rather an art that is influenced by the rasquache principle as defined by art critic Thomas Ybarra-Fausto. Under this lens of rasquache, Chicana/o artworks are ones that use readily available materials and lived experiences as Chicana/o, as source for artistic

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[1]   Gaspar de Alba, Alicia; Charlene Villaseñor Black. 2015. "Protest and Praxis in the Arts," in *Aztlan*. 40, no. 1. Spring.

creation and community empowerment.[2] In Walls of Empowerment, Guisela Latorre focuses on various murals in California that rely on a Mexican indigenous iconography. She argues that murals present with this type of iconography reflect an exertion of the subaltern. This subaltern exertion is an anti-colonial origin narrative in celebration of Mexican indigenous history. Therefore, when considering the Medina mural, I am suggesting that his mural exhibits this empowerment principle and sense of rasquache for its local usage of Michoacán specific iconography, in this case, La Fuente de Las Tarascas, to connect to the people from Michoacán that live in Pilsen neighborhood as a part of Chicagoacán.

My consideration of Michoacán is informed by the presence of Mexican migration from the state of Michoacán in relationship to the public art and history of Pilsen. My usage of the term "Chicagoacán" follows this principle. It is a term specific to the people living in Chicago with transnational and translocal connections to Michoacán. Xóchitl Bada's Mexican Hometown Associations in Chicagoacán looks at the global activism of Chicago's hometown associations. Bada's usage of Chicagoacán refers to associations established by people from Michoacán in Chicago. A hometown association refers to a group of people from a similar Mexican location, meeting together for a variety of reasons; she argues that these community sources of activism are understudied and revolve around advocating for both immigrant rights and better living condition in their Mexican hometown.[3]

What makes Medina's mural so unique is its choice in indigenous females. Typically, a larger history of Chicana/o art has been visually reliant on Mexica specific women such as Coatlicue, as a reference to her Mexican

Mother Nature aspect. Coatlicue's daughter, Coyolxhuqui is another example of Mexica references used repeatedly in Chicana/o art. Coyolxhuqui has not gone uncited with her face and broken limbs seen in the Chicago Transit Authority's 18th Street Pink Line Stop and various other murals around the Pilsen neighborhood. Medina's mural depicting Las Tarascas interrupts the predominant narrative of Mexica focused iconography and instead references a Michoacán-specific Tarascan iconography that rejects this central Mexican iconography.

With all this in mind, let's go back to the 2006 mural by Alejandro Medina (Figure 2). Las Tarascas in Medina's mural are a depiction of a 1987 bronze statue by Jose Luis Padilla Retana that is now a tourist attraction in the capital city of Morelia, Michoacán.[4] The fountain features three Tarascan princesses: Atzimba, Erendira, and Tzetzangari.[5] All three princesses greet the tourists that enter this capital city and each look exactly the same, with no distinguishing features or dress. Many travel guides cite Las Tarascas as a celebration of the ethnic diversity and fruits of fertility of the state of Michoacán and its history.[6]

The fountain has been a source of criticism by both locals and indigenous communities for a while. The inspiration for the 1987 bronze fountain is a replica of a 1930s fountain with the same name. This 1930s version was in color and was displaced early in its existence. The 1930s statue was a gift to the then-governor of Michoacán, Lazaro Cardenas, for his dedication and love of the indigenous peoples of Michoacán, Los Tarascos.[7] In the place of the 1930s fountain made for Cardenas stands a new bronze statue replica made in 1987 as stated on the plaque near

[2] Ybarra-Frausto, Tomás. "The Chicano movement/the movement of Chicano art," in *Beyond the Fantastic: Contemporary Art Criticism from Latin America.* London: The Institute of International Visual Arts, 1996.

[3] Bada, Xóchitl. *Mexican Hometown Associations in Chicagoacán From Local to Transnational Civic Engagement. Piscataway:* Rutgers University Press, 2014.

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[7] La Voz de Michoacán.

the fountain today. The fountain holds a very special place within the iconography of the state of Michoacán; the state went as far as donating a replica statue now featured in Dante Plaza, in the Argentinian city of Buenos Aires. That particular replica was crafted in 1998 by the artist J. Sánchez Martínez.[8] The image of Las Tarascas in Buenos Aires is cited as a "symbol of the national identity of Michoacán society".[9] Documentation of this fountain has not dwelled on a transnational visual lineage that uses the methodologies of art history.

One book in particular mentions the importance of La Fuente de Las Tarascas in relationship to Michoacán's touristic nationalism. Ruth Hellier-Tinoco's *Embodying Mexico: Tourism, Nationalism and Performance* dedicates a chapter to tourism and visual culture used to represent Michoacán. Although she focuses more on fishermen and other depictions of males as Michoacán images, she dedicates a few paragraphs to the importance of the rarely studied La Fuente de Las Tarascas. Hellier-Tinoco brings up the much needed commentary on the fountain's usage of the naked indigenous body in a tourist setting. Albeit something completely obvious and the starting point for this paper, one needs to recognize that the nudity of this fountain is not something that has been widely discussed or explored academically. Hellier-Tinoco's references on the fountain's nudity are reliant on a visual recognition of the fountain's prominence in Michoacán's architecture and visual culture, but she fails to cite any major sources that might lead future researchers towards more information on the origin of Las Tarascas and the history behind them. Hellier-Tinoco's main validation for the importance of La Fuente de Las Tarascas relies on tourist books that cite the fountain as a landmark.

My own process as a researcher examining this fountain has entailed engaging with travel books and other tourist-oriented sources, since La Fuente de Las Tarascas is a visually relevant symbol to anyone entering Morelia, where the fountain stands today. No tourist sources specify the exact history of the fountain or who Las Tarascas represent. The names of the women become irrelevant even though their indigenous bodies are significantly credited as an ethnic marker of Michoacán's sociological pride. My paper is not an overview of the history of the fountain, but more as a push towards starting a conversation regarding the importance of this fountain and the place that it has within a transnational sense of nationalism specific to Michoacán.

Given the limitations of existing research, I think the most significant evidence for documenting the history of this fountain should include the everyday relevance of individuals who recognize and have interacted with it. As a testament to this method I will share that I once had my quinceañera in Morelia. Somewhere in my house is a large collection of pictures of me in my quince dress with Las Tarascas in the background (see Figure 3). In the city of Morelia there is an ongoing tradition of having weddings and quinceañera photo shoots that feature Las Tarascas in the background. The image of these three

FIGURE 3

Author's Quinceañera picture in Morelia, Michoacán.

8   Lopérfido, Darío Eduardo, and Alejandro Félix Capato. Derechos, gestión y legislación cultural en la Ciudad de Buenos Aires. Buenos Aires: Abeledo-Perrot, 2000.

9   My translation. Originally stated, "…considerado símbolo de la identidad nacional de la sociedad michocaeña…"Lopérfido, Capato. *Derechos, gestión y legislación cultural en la Ciudad de Buenos Aires.* 141.

women makes an interesting juxtaposition when included in the background of local images commemorating these religious rites of passage. As one drives by the center of Morelia where the fountain is located, it is not uncommon to see women wearing large ballroom gowns, flowers in hand as they smile and pose in front of this trinity of naked women.

Beyond the unchallenged nudity of Las Tarascas, linguistic tensions surround the name of the fountain. "Tarascan" is the name given to the indigenous community by the Spanish in the colonial era; "Purépecha" is the name more commonly used today. In this paper, I use the term "Tarascan" to refer to the indigenous peoples of Michoacán because it is the name of the fountain that is the source of my research, recognizing that this is a term that has not gone unchallenged by the indigenous peoples it is said to represent.

Los Tarascos were a rival indigenous community to the Mexica (or Aztecs as they are more commonly known) and were never conquered. The inclusion of Las Tarascas challenges the Mexica-centered discourse of Chicana/o indigeneity made in reference to the Mexica's fabled place of Aztlán. Here we have a reference to the rivaling Tarascan capital city of Tzintzuntzán instead of the Mexica Tenochtitlan! Tzintzuntzán, which means "place of the hummingbird", is also the name of the gift shop in Pilsen's National Museum of Mexican art, an institution that prides itself on showcasing imported items from Michoacán and the many donors from Michoacán. With all this in mind, I want to share other places in Chicago where this fountain has appeared.

Near the same corner of the Medina mural there is a paletería called Las Tarascas. Inside this ice cream shop is a mural featuring Las Tarascas, only this one is in color (see Figure 4). This rendition of Las Tarascas is very unlike the bronze one found in the Medina mural. The mural of the fountain inside this paletería references the original 1930s colored fountain in Morelia, which is a replica of

Las Tarascas paleteria mural.

the present day bronze statue in Morelia, Michoacán. It replicates the image of the three topless women holding up a fruit basket, their faces tilted back to sustain the weight of the basket above their heads.

Considering the larger presence of Michoacán in the Midwest, I would like to point out this new chain of paleterías, and similarly named shops taking over the northwest suburbs called La Michoacána. The most commonly used logo for these paleterías also features an indigenous woman (see Figure 5). In this logo La Michoacána is a young woman; she is fully clothed and wears the pleated skirt that makes up the clothing of Las Tarascas. It is important to note the difference in representation. Instead of a naked trinity, La Michoacána is a young girl with braids but still holds an offering to the viewer; in this case, a cold treat instead of the basket of fruit Las Tarascas offer. With these two juxtaposed images,

FIGURE 5

La Michoacána logo, drawn by author.

we create a lineage of iconography that relies on the usage of indigenous women as a central figure for the popular imagery of Michoacán nationalism.

Within the city of Chicago, when representations are placed in public spaces, the nudity of Las Tarascas has been censored. This artistic choice is easier to enact now that the 1987 public version of the fountain is bronze. The bronze tones down the flesh of the women's bare breasts. Las Tarascas' gaze is not on the viewer who might gaze upon their breasts, as their heads are tilted back. The question then becomes "Why have three women holding up a fruit basket in the first place?" This physical placement does not serve a functional purpose other than to help the women stand at hand level for oncoming visitors to take fruit from their basket. The basket could have been placed on a table, or the ground, but is instead carried on the arms of these three indigenous princesses, despite the great weight. From this question comes another thought: What are indigenous royalty doing holding up a basket of fruit for someone else? The latter requires more research on the history of Tarscan elite and their daily responsibilities and way of life. For now it leaves a Western perception of power over the women and their offered goods to the tourists who now enter the architectural center of Morelia, Michoacán.

Far from the terrain of Chicago's west side Pilsen neighborhood, if we venture up north towards the Lincoln Park neighborhood one finds yet another example of the Tarascan fountain. The image of Las Tarascas is part of Cocina Tarasca's restaurant logo (see Figure 6). This is a restaurant on Clark Street whose menu features Tarascan dishes as well as Caribbean food. The outer restaurant awning and signage makes sure to censor the three women's breasts with text that reads "Serving you since 1998". Inside the restaurant there is a large, uncensored mural of Las Tarascas. This image resembles the same color palette of the original 1930s fountain as also referenced in paletería Las Tarascas. The fruit in the basket of this restaurant mural is accented to match the hospitality of the restaurant. Incoming customers can choose to take a seat along the wall of this topless trinity of indigenous women. This mural was made in 2001 by Victor Barrios and compared to the other examples in this essay, remains as one that depicts the female body as humanly as possible. The image does not hide its nudity behind the bronze that glazes the 80s fountain in Morelia, or Medina's smaller articulation in the center of his Pilsen mural. While it does reference the same image found in paletería Las Tarascas, the attention to detail in this mural is much less abstracted. With a functioning bar and the

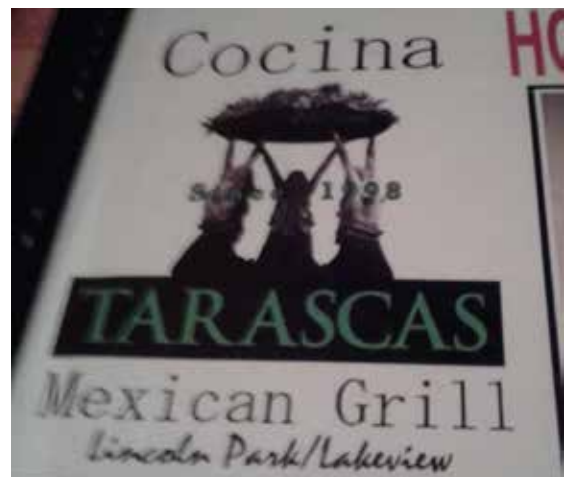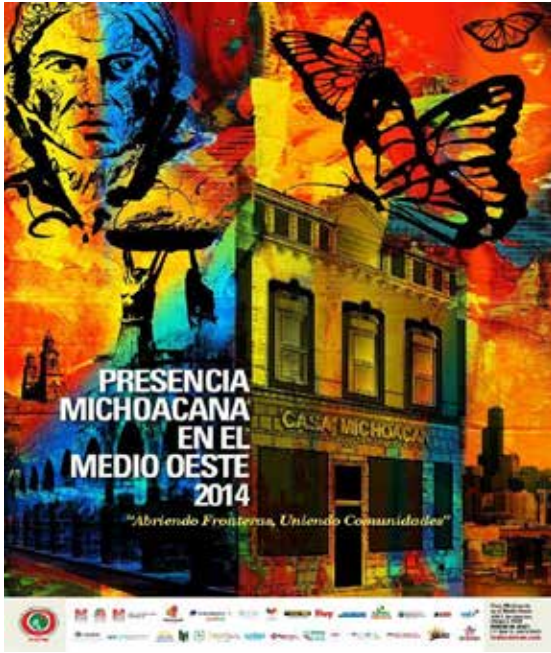FIGURE 6

Cocina Tarascas restaurant logo

FIGURE 7

Casa Michoacán, 2014.

higher price scale of the Lincoln Park neighborhood, the nudity of the fountain is accepted within this private sphere. Few people of color live in Lincoln Park, as it is one of Chicago's most high-rent neighborhoods.

My final example of the usage of Las Tarascas is what really made me start paying attention to these images in Chicago. It is a 2014 event poster for Chicago's Casa Michoacán located in Pilsen (see Figure 7). Casa Michoacán is an agency that represents the various hometown associations of Michoacán in the Midwest. What caught my attention was the iconography used to represent this presence of Michoacán in the Midwest, which is appropriately also the name of the event on the poster.

In the center we have an image of Casa Michoacán with what looks like a row of arches on the side of the building. This is a direct reference to the aqueducts arches of the aqueducts that line the city of Morelia. Next we have the

main cathedral of Morelia, something that is also featured on Medina's mural in the background near his painting of La Fuente de Las Tarascas. Atop the arches and a few inches from the Cathedral is La Fuente de Las Tarascas standing off to the side of Casa Michoacán. In this image, it is not necessary that we see all three women to instantly know they are what is being referenced. We see one Tarasca with her arms stretched to hold the basket above her. The other two women are not shown completely. We see the back of one of the second women in this trinity, and only the suggestion of the arm of the third woman helping hold the fruit basket up in its iconic pose. The use of this image is significant given its place within a visual articulation of a variety of Michoacán-specific architectural icons that Casa Michoacán prides itself in. In the upper left corner we have a picture of José María Morelos, the revolutionary hero that Morelia is now named after. His face appears in much of Casa Michoacán's publicity.

The city of Morelia is integral to the consideration of this essay since it is the place where La Fuente de Las Tarascas is housed. Before it was named after Morelos, Morelia was given the colonial name of Valladolid.[10] In the colonial era Viceroy Don Antonio de Mendoza visited this territory and found Morelia to be beautiful enough to be called after his hometown in Spain. After the 20th century Mexican revolution, the people of Valladolid decided to change the colonial name to reference their revolutionary hero. Aside from being the namesake of Morelia's colonial history, Don Antonio de Mendoza holds a prominent role within Mexico's colonial history. As the first viceroy of the Americas he was a stand-in for the king of Spain and director of tributes in what was known as New Spain. Mendoza is best known for being the commissioner of the now-famous Codex Mendoza.

As far as primary sources go, the Codex Mendoza is a goldmine for Mexican scholarship. Scholars can transcend

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[10] Gante, Pablo Ceuleneer de. *La ruta de occidente; las ciudades de Toluca y Morelia*. México: D.A.P.P., 1939.

many of the financial hurdles of accessibility when it comes to using primary sources. The Codex was recently digitized and now, instead of having to pay airfare for access, one can download it for free using the newly established smartphone app. The Codex is completely translated into a variety of languages, and is marketed as one of the pivotal primary sources for seeing what the Mexica, and broader indigenous Mexican experience, was like prior to the colonial period. Codex Mendoza was made by indigenous painters and is completely glyph-based. The codex features a lot of famous Mexican iconography including the Codex's first image, Foundation of Tenochtitlan, which is one of the most important images in the canon of Mexican art history. Foundation of Tenochtitlan features an eagle perched on the prickly cactus that Tenochtitlan is named after: "place of prickly cactus". It is an image whose cultural symbolism is now featured on the Mexican flag. This is a type of iconography that has been cited time after time in the visual vernacular of Chicana/o indigenous nationalism. Beyond its pictorial importance, as a primary source it serves as a contribution to the understanding of the language of Nahuatl.

Considering my interest in Michoacán, I wondered if there were any primary sources that demonstrated Los Tarascos' visual vocabulary of indigenous nationalism. While embarking on the search for a colonial manuscript that shared what life was like for the indigenous peoples inhibiting the region of Michoacán, I came across the infamous Relación de Michoacán. This manuscript was commissioned by the same viceroy, Don Antonio de Mendoza, around the same time as the Codex Mendoza. The exact date is unclear but is said to have been made somewhere around the latter half of the 16th century. La Relación is also a codex and features the same type of information as the famous Codex Mendoza. Yet there are some stark differences between these two colonial manuscripts. For one, La Relación is not available in or as an app, and unfortunately it is not widely studied either. It is still somewhat unclear who made it, as it is said to have been made by various different authors. La Relación reads like a transcription made by different Friars interviewing local indigenous peoples. The text has a linguistic bias that portrays the Friars' ethnocentric attitude towards the lifestyle and traditions of the Tarascos. La Relación is hard to read and accessing it requires traveling to Spain and various spots in Mexico. The few images that are available are very dark and ridden with gore or gore-ridden, featuring wounds to show how different Tarascan elite died. One can try to get a color version of the original manuscript but due to the cost of color printing in academic texts scholars must rely on reprints of what was once a bright array of images in the original codex.

La Relación is not an abstracted glyph—based text as is the Codex Mendoza. La Relación shows the gore of empire and answers the questions the Spanish wanted to know when they encountered the peoples in what we now know as Michoacán. La Relación answers Spanish empire-oriented questions, such as: *What are your customs? How did you choose your leaders?* and *How did you rule your people?* by providing a long—winded and visually violent narrative. One will note that it is a manuscript with many images of warfare. In many instances natives are shown drawing blood in order to emphasize and memorialize the way that leaders died.

Admittedly, my academic inquiry into this research started with looking at La Relación and hoping to find obvious parallels between La Fuente de Las Tarascas and this colonial manuscript. To my dismay, this is not what happened. Nowhere in La Relación was there a trinity of topless indigenous princesses that now stands in the tourist center of Morelia, Michoacán. Regardless, this manuscript is important because it is one of the earliest sources that guides the historical understanding of what life was like prior to the Spanish encounter in this territory. I argue that maybe that is why Las Tarascas exist. Due to the text-heavy nature of La Relación, this origin story of pre-colonial indigeneity has no direct visual lineage of images. The Mexica have the Codex Mendoza that

shows a lot of the colorful imagery associated with Chicana/o pre-colonial pride. Therefore, La Fuente de Las Tarascas is an imagined representation, or crumb, offering the few indigenous icons Michoacán history has, beyond the hummingbird and fishermen that are the focus of Hellier-Tinoco's book.

I bring out Chicagoacán within the notion of Mexicanidad as a challenge to the all-encompassing imagined geography[11] of the West Coast dominance within Chicana/o art history. In revisiting such an emerging field of ethnic art history I argue for a more site specific interrogation of the communities in conversation with the public art that is articulated in its public sphere. La

Fuente de Las Tarascas is a direct link to the presence of Mexican migration that connects the Pilsen neighborhood and to the broader midwestern history of Mexicanidad. My goal is not to say that all Mexican and Mexican Americans in Pilsen are from Michoacán, but to recognize that public artistic expression of transnational identity is in conversation with the geography of people living near the artworks. This is why the fountain matters, and why its emergence tells a tale of articulating a transnational sense of identity. Beyond challenging this Michoacán- centric discourse, a future study of La Fuente de Las Tarascas should interrogate the usage of the naked indigenous body in public vs. private spaces. This type of research demands an exploration of the power dynamics within the performance of gender, and its connection to visual understandings of Mexican nationalism. ◾

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[11] The term imagined geographies is a Latinidad adaptation of Edward Said's critique of Orientalism. Said, Edward W. *Orientalism*. New York: Vintage Books, 1979.

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David Krueger & Lizz Knowlton | *Wonder Woman*

MASS INCARCERATION AND ABC CHICAGO

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When I was in 5th grade, my father told me never to recite the Pledge of Allegiance. It was not due to its endorsement of religion in the line "one nation under God", but for the line "and to the Republic, for which it stands". He explained that to swear an unfaltering, unquestioning allegiance to the U.S. government, and therefore to all its policies and actions, was to sacrifice the ability to think critically about the world. From then on I sat defiantly in my desk as my classmates stood and held their hands to their hearts, often drawing dirty looks or condescending reprimands from my teachers. This is indicative of the way I was raised, and the values my parents instilled in me. Despite my early exposure to political dissent, however, learning about mass incarceration has required me to challenge and un-learn nearly everything I thought I knew about race, class, criminality, policing, and political structures. I have spent the past year unpacking deeply internalized misconceptions about my own privilege, about the experiences of oppressed communities, and about the forces that make the true brutality and inhumanity of incarceration so invisible to the majority of Americans. Simultaneously, I have been exposed to the wonderfully radical groups and individuals that have long been organizing against these systems. Between the two, I am growing into myself as an activist and beginning to see how I can contribute to movements against mass incarceration and police violence.

Michelle Alexander's *The New Jim Crow: Mass Incarceration in the Age of Colorblindness* was the first work that challenged me to reconceptualize America's

system of policing and incarceration.[1] Although I was aware that the United States has an unprecedented incarceration rate and vaguely understood how this disproportionately affects communities of color, I believed this to be largely incidental. I attributed it to the wrong politicians holding office; once the generation of old, racist conservatives passed, progressive lawmakers would be elected and the system would become more just. I also, regrettably, believed that racist policing existed mainly in isolated cases, and that the high rate of black and brown bodies in prison merely reflected an unfortunate economic disparity. My concern about the militarization of police, the War on Drugs, and systematic profiling were peripheral, if I thought about them at all. Works like *The New Jim Crow* proved not only that I had gravely underestimated the realities of mass incarceration, but that my blame was misplaced. It is not corrupt individuals misusing a reasonable system. It is a fundamentally oppressive system, designed to oppress and control people of color. There is nothing "broken," therefore, about mass incarceration; it functions exactly how it was built to, and in this sense it works extremely well. As Alexander states, "We have not ended racial caste in America; we have merely redesigned it" (2).

For me, and I suspect for many others, this was a jarring and transformative realization. I felt that I had been not only grossly mistaken about politics, but that I had long been implicit in perpetuating this racial caste system. I have since reframed the way I view the prison system, and more broadly, governments and political systems as wholes. I have lost most faith in the idea of reform

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[1]   Michelle Alexander, *The New Jim Crow: Mass Incarceration in the Age of Colorblindness* (New York: New Press, 2012).

through traditional political avenues. The interconnected "industrial complexes" of our prisons, police, and military are so vast, so integral to American society, and so meticulously designed to resist change, that I cannot reasonably believe any elected official will ever challenge them. Even if they did, their political careers would be short-lived. I no longer believe in the possibility of fixing a system that is not broken; as with previous forms of racial and social caste, mass incarceration will only be solved if the current prison system is abolished. By the same token, I no longer believe that any amount of political or economic reform can create justice out of capitalism; the historical and contemporary evils of imperialism, racism, classism, and patriarchy will not change so long as the same small, elite group maintains a monopoly on wealth and political power. These shifts, in a way, mark a radicalization of my politics.

Although *The New Jim Crow* initially exposed me to a comprehensive view of mass incarceration, it has been a series of activist events over the past year that have pushed me to engage in the struggle against it. One of the most moving was the occupation and teach-in held in City Hall by BYP 100 (the Black Youth Project) following the non-indictment of Darren Wilson. The previous night (November 24, 2014), in which the Ferguson verdict was announced, I had been a part of the march from Chicago Police Department headquarters on the south side to the Loop; the action was powerful, but was more a demonstration of collective anger and frustration than an educational space. BYP 100's teach-in, in my opinion, did far more to build and nurture a community of activists that would remain engaged in anti-racist, anti-police, and anti-incarceration work after the media frenzy surrounding Ferguson subsided. Nearly everyone there, especially us white folk whose understanding of police violence was largely academic, left with a deeper and more nuanced view of the issue. The organization created a space that amplified the stories, testimonies, and artistic expression of often marginalized voices, and established the framework for a wider movement against racial oppression led by

youth of color. The experiences that BYP shared and the expertise with which they controlled and maintained their space further inspired me to involve myself in activism and organizing.

In January of this year (2015), I was fortunate enough to attend the "Watching the Watchers: Strategies to Resist Police Violence" conference held at Roosevelt University. The event, organized by Project NIA and We Charge Genocide, featured 15 different workshops on various aspects of police and state violence. Each was facilitated by activists and organizers with expertise in specific movements or strategies, which included jail support networks, victim reparations, radical youth movements, and police monitoring. The first benefit of the conference was that it exposed me to a number of organizations working against police violence on different fronts. Project NIA focuses on ending youth incarceration and helps build communities in Chicago that rely on peaceful, rehabilitative methods for educating and disciplining young people that are otherwise often removed from school and placed in prison or juvenile detention. According to their mission statement, they aim to "dramatically reduce the reliance on arrest, detention, and incarceration for addressing youth crime and to instead promote the use of restorative and transformative practices." Mariame Kaba, director of the organization, facilitated a discussion on the abolition of the criminal justice system in favor of community-based methods of dealing with crime and violence. Project NIA has a number of peacebuilding initiatives, including Circles and Ciphers and Community Peacemaking Circles, which provide healing and transformative spaces for those touched by violence. These spaces are inclusive of victims, victims' families, and victims' communities, as well as perpetrators.

Members of We Charge Genocide, the other chief organizer of the conference, made up a panel of speakers and led a workshop on "radical youth movements". Several of these speakers, who are also members of BYP 100, had

been sent to Geneva to report on Chicago police violence to the United Nations Committee against Torture. Like BYP, We Charge Genocide is made up of youth activists of color. At the Watching the Watchers conference, their representatives spoke of the institutionalized anti-blackness that exists in every part of the country, as well as how it is particularly prevalent in Chicago. They advocated for prison abolition, ending the "school-to-prison pipeline," and attaining reparations for victims of police violence and torture. Several of their members work with the Know Your Rights Project, which educates youth at high-risk of legal discrimination and state violence on how to best navigate encounters with police so as to avoid harm and incarceration. Their members are also individually engaged in a number of initiatives to help youth both avoid and heal from violence.

Beyond the value of the three workshops I was able to attend at Watching the Watchers, which were themselves incredible, the conference illustrated the way in which smaller initiatives exist under, and contribute to, the overarching movement against police violence and the prison system. It demonstrated that strong social movements are multi-dimensional and intersectional, but also cooperative and unified. It also emphasized that meaningful activism is more than taking to the streets after a catalyzing event; it instead entails constant and persistent effort to organize, to apply political pressure, and to chip away at structures of oppression. Movements are successful through the accumulation of small victories and advances, and revolutionary ideas like prison abolition do not come to fruition instantaneously. I left the conference understanding that my previous activist engagements, although personally valuable, were incomplete. I had allowed myself to believe that my mere attendance at rallies and marches was, for lack of a better word, enough. While attendance is important, there is an underlying arrogance in thinking that merely showing up in "solidarity" or as an "ally" is sufficient. Showing up is great, but does not constitute work. If I am being completely honest with myself, my attendance at rallies

was at least partially selfish, and allowed me to be relatively inactive without feeling guilty. Much of my journey in activism has involved growing a skill set, thus enabling me to be an organizer and contributor myself. It has also, however, been a process of recognizing my shortcomings, as well as discovering my responsibility to engage in selfless, meaningful work.

It was soon after Watching the Watchers that I began working with Anarchist Black Cross Chicago (ABC), a group that publishes and distributes politically radical readings to prisoners. We also, when possible, help prisoners organize themselves and encourage them to become politically engaged upon their release. I feel as though my work with the group is just beginning, but the past few months have been productive and encouraging. Since January, we have updated the organization's zine catalog and obtained an industrial-sized copier that has allowed us to send more materials and respond to requests more promptly. We also organized a successful fundraiser—a punk show in my basement—that raised roughly $400. Because our expenses are relatively low, this will cover our costs for ink, paper, and postage for a considerable amount of time. This money also allowed ABC to secure a table at the upcoming Chicago Zine Fest in May. I have also recently received a pen pal from a prison in California; although our correspondence so far has just been two letters back and forth, I am excited about the opportunity to continue it. Moving forward, we are coordinating a series of "know your rights" trainings with members of the National Lawyers Guild. The first one will be a sort of test-run, focusing mostly on our immediate social circles. The next step is to reach out to youth communities at greater risk of violent or oppressive police encounters. Perhaps the greatest improvement we can make at the moment is expanding the group and bringing on more consistent members. We are currently few in number, with our weekly meetings consisting of anywhere from 3-10 people present. A larger network would not only make the process of printing and distributing more efficient, but it would allow us to take on bigger side projects.

Being a part of ABC has allowed me to take on meaningful responsibilities as an activist, rather than being just a bystander at a demonstration. This is in part because I am now educated enough on mass incarceration to contribute to the fight against it. It is also, however, due to the fact that many of the previous actions I had been loosely affiliated with did not want or require my direct contribution. It has become abundantly clear to me that leadership roles in the broad movement against the criminal justice system must be filled by those it oppresses most acutely. My identity, racial and otherwise, has made me largely immune to police discrimination; the minor (and less than minor) possible legal infractions that I get away with are either overlooked or forgiven, while people of color are locked up by the millions for similar offenses. This means, without question, that my role within the movement must be different than, and secondary to, the roles of activists of oppressed identities. ABC is a channel through which I can use my many privileges, one of which is not being incarcerated, to help empower the oppressed. Although our work is done on a small scale and our reach is limited, offering access to education and means of organizing to those without freedom is crucially important to the wider movement.

My work with ABC has also challenged the way I view, for lack of a more specific term, humanity. Because we strive to recognize the fundamental rights of all people, regardless of who they are or what they have done, we never ask (or even discuss) what a person might have done to become incarcerated. In a way this is easy not to think about, because we know that the majority of those cycling in and out of the prison system are nonviolent offenders. Often they are only guilty of minor drug offenses and being a person of color. Indeed, the fact that so many prisoners are nonviolent is oftentimes the centerpiece of prison-abolitionist reasoning. It is important, however, that we see the humanity even in those who have perpetrated violence. Although I understand the ways in which violence is cyclical, and in which those who cause harm have often been hurt deeply themselves, truly internalizing this belief has been difficult. I know, logically, that all human beings are worthy of dignity and freedom. It is an ongoing emotional and spiritual struggle, however, to truly recognize the humanity of those who have raped, or murdered, or tortured. I think it is instinctual to dehumanize individuals guilty of extreme brutality, but resisting this instinct is a central, vital part of the movement for prison abolition. If we truly believe that incarceration and human dignity are incompatible, we must agree that prison is unfit for all people. To fully arrive to this belief will take me some time; I have heard several older and more experienced prison abolitionists admit to grappling with the same moral question. Keeping it as part of my focus moving forward will, I believe, be an integral part of my social justice work. ■

SOMETHING TO BE DONE: POLITICAL AGENCY, MATERIALISM, AND AESTHETIC THEORY IN SAMUEL BECKETT

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"Nothing to be done." This line, from Samuel Beckett's seminal drama *Waiting for Godot*, reflects a primary concern of the play: the struggle to have agency within a culture that strangles freedom. Beckett's works—in particular *Waiting for Godot* and *Endgame*—are invested in critiquing the devastating effects of late capitalism on agency, but seemingly offer only abject despair in response. Martin Esslin's liberal humanist reading and Theodore Adorno's neo-Marxist reading are two formative pieces of Beckett scholarship that both aim to reconcile the tension between Beckett's hopeless inaction and active criticism. I argue that Adorno's neo-Marxist interpretation must be maintained or Beckett's plays dissolve into the empty platitudes of humanism. However, Adorno, in order to liberate Beckett's plays from the mediation of capitalist culture, likewise insulates them from further avenues of critical interpretation. The history of Beckett scholarship reveals the dilemma of this position wherein critics attempting to follow Adorno's anti-capitalist interpretation repeatedly conclude Beckett's despondency or inadvertently return to Esslin's humanism. At stake is Beckett's position in the literary canon, if it can remain a relevant text for radical literary theory. Ultimately, this essay argues that Adorno's aesthetics—primarily their complex relationship with materiality—must be reconciled with political agency in order to reopen Beckett to new forms of anti-capitalist interpretation.

The essay begins by juxtaposing Adorno and Esslin, positioning Adorno's "Trying to Understand *Endgame*" as the foundation of any anti-capitalist interpretation of Beckett. Next it explores the relationship between Adorno's essay and the larger corpus of Beckett scholarship. The tenuous nature of these relationships reveal a resistance to new theoretical frameworks latent in Beckett's work threatening to unravel his critical edge. Beckett's position in Adorno's aesthetics—an expression of his concept of the negative dialectic—pin-points Beckett's resistance to theory as a result of the play's metaphysical claims on materiality. Finally, the essay posits a methodology to retain an anti-capitalist reading of Beckett within new critical frameworks without abandoning Adorno's negative dialectic.

Literary scholar Peter Boxall, in his book *Samuel Beckett: Waiting for Godot/Endgame*, outlines the history of the most influential pieces of scholarship on Beckett's arguably two greatest plays. Boxall's analysis begins by exploring early reviews of *Endgame* and *Godot*. These early reviewers struggled to explain a concrete significance or purpose for the dramas. Perplexed by Beckett's revolutionary dramas, critics either dismissed his plays entirely, or admitted that existing critical discourses lacked the framework necessary for interpretation. In 1961 Esslin sought to create this framework by placing Beckett in thematic context with other modernist playwrights forming a new genre he named, along with his book, the "Theater of the Absurd." Esslin called *Godot* and *Endgame* "dramatic statements of the human situation itself" (quoted in Boxall 31) and linked Beckett to Existentialist

philosophy calling the "act of waiting…an essential and characteristic aspect of the human condition" (quoted in Esslin 24). Esslin argued that the plays' deterioration of plot, their lack of staging, and senseless language were characteristics of a universally shared experience of the human being. The qualities became the hallmarks of "absurd" modernist theater. Esslin's argument is situated within a theory of liberal humanism based upon an "assumption that there are some universal values that attain their significance not from any of the social value systems…but from the force of their own self-evident rectitude" (Boxall 37). For Adorno, this type of humanism affirmed a bourgeois capitalist identity that he would work to dispel.

Published in 1958, "Trying to Understand *Endgame*" argues that Beckett maintains a radical critique of modern society, the culture of which has become entirely defunct. *Endgame* takes place in post-apocalyptic limbo; its protagonists Hamm and Clov (if Beckett's plotless plays can have protagonists) are all that remain of a destroyed world. They are the last capitalist master-slave relationship, arbitrarily bound together. Waiting for *Godot* focuses on Gogo and Didi, again two characters simultaneously estranged and linked to one another, surviving in a devastated world. They retain a glimmer of hope in their world by waiting for the obscure figure of *Godot*—waiting prolonged ad infinitum as emphasized by the circuitry of the plays two nearly identical acts. Neither play affords its characters any sign of significant meaning. Unlike Esslin, Adorno's reading does not provide these meaningless individuals a comforting return of meaning through an abstracted universal individuality. Adorno accuses humanists and existentialists of turning "differentiatedness, once the precondition for humanness" into an ideology, "whose humanism has already become an ad for the inhuman; even if they are not aware of it" ("Trying" 249). Humanism and existentialism (in differing ways) assert that a universal quality of human existence is the individual's ability to obtain absolute freedom in self-realization, no matter the circumstances

of their birth or the oppression of their culture. These philosophies champion principles of individual freedom; however, the universality of their individualism actually works to undermine any particularity from the particular subject, resulting in a homogenized mass of fungible subjects easily appropriated and exploited. The ideology of individualism, by becoming ideology, reveals that the subject itself is simply another symptom of the pervasiveness of capitalist culture. "The immediacy of individuation was deceptive," writes Adorno, "the carrier of individual experience is mediated, conditioned" ("Trying" 249).

Boxall shows that two strains of criticism constitute the majority of Beckett scholarship; one perpetuating Esslin's bourgeois humanism and the other rejecting this in favor of Adorno's capitalist critique. He writes:

> From these early days of Beckett criticism, two contrasting Becketts emerge: a Beckett who represents universal truths about human reality in concrete dramatic form, who rejects cultural and political concerns as trivial and illusory…and another Beckett, whose drama is a dangerous challenge to the very notion of a universal humanity, whose negativity is a residual and mournful form of protest…The history of Beckett studies is the story of these two traditions (Boxall 50).

English literary theory, at the time of Beckett's publication, was finally beginning to take shape as a genuine pedagogical discipline under the banner of New Criticism. New Criticism formed an apolitical critical discourse, detached from history and focusing solely on the poetic structures and mechanics of literature. They perpetuated a humanist reading of Beckett that imitated the methodology of Esslin's Theater of the Absurd that has maintained a particularly dominant staying power to today. In contrast to the "apolitics" of New Critics, the latter half of the twentieth century saw the rise of post-structuralism, reader-

response, feminist, and post-colonial interpretations. These began to develop a new language of literary and artistic discourse that sought, like Adorno, to emphasize the cultural criticism latent within Becket's oeuvre. However, perhaps Boxall's most astute insight, is that these new discourses problematically either dismiss Beckett as an abject pessimist or inadvertently return to the type of humanist thinking that Adorno identifies as antithetical to Beckett's critical edge. What becomes of Beckett criticism then is either an ideological alignment with of bourgeois-humanism, or a body of criticism that fails to meet its own goal. Now this does not imply that Beckett criticism unaligned with Adorno has been "incorrect"—both avenues have provided fruitful insights into Beckett's work—it is only to assert that due to Beckett's extremely esoteric style a methodology adopting Adorno's non-humanist reading has not yet been developed. To do so one must begin by locating where and why non-humanist readings of Beckett have taken these decisive turns.

To tease out these tensions, this essay will turn to feminist scholar Mary Bryden's essay "Gender in Transition: Waiting for *Godot* and *Endgame*" as a case study. In the essay, Bryden gives a positive and radically progressive depiction of Beckett in which there "is not any supposed rehabilitation of women, but rather [a] steady erasure of specificity from gender patterning, such that male and female alike [are] divorced from any notion of privilege" (quoted in Boxall 133). Astutely, Bryden recognizes in Beckett's plays a new tendency to reject typified cultural standards of gender representation on stage. His works are early examples of the explorations of gender-identity that would follow him both in theater and performance art throughout the twentieth and twenty-first centuries. However, her reading hoping to undermine the "static essentialism" (quoted in Boxall 133) of socially constructed gender roles does so in a direction antithetical to Adorno's methodology. She claims that Beckett creates a slippage in gender-identities, wherein the shared turmoil of the characters creates a dissolution of a self determined by gender. Gender she identifies as "the first casualty of a radically transformed self-epiphany" (quoted in Boxall 133), and it is here we recognize a turn away from Adorno. For Bryden, Beckett eliminates gender by positing a shared universal quality within his characters. Boxall argues that this is a uniform tendency amongst critics who at first align with Adorno by placing Beckett in a socially transformative role, but ultimately betray Adorno by returning to a bourgeois-humanist conclusion. Bryden succumbs to this tendency when her essay must grapple with the seeming disappearance of the feminine in *Endgame*. A rigorous reconstruction of Adorno's Aesthetic Theory within *Endgame* and *Godot* reveals the way in which Beckett's interpretation must rely on his material presentation of nothingness, the type of presentation Bryden's does not recognize.

To decipher Adorno's Aesthetic Theory, published posthumously in 1970 , one must first look at his earlier 1966 treatise on metaphysics, *Negative Dialectics*. Adorno argues that modern philosophy faces a new categorical imperative to never again repeat the horrors of Auschwitz, and he develops a metaphysics indicting the ideology brewing capitalist culture in the form of the titular negative dialectic The imperative Adorno sees as self-evident, "a new categorical imperative has been imposed by Hitler upon unfree mankind: to arrange their thoughts and actions so that Auschwitz will not repeat itself, so that nothing similar will happen" (*Negative* 365). The horrors of modern warfare, including the Holocaust as well as more timely events such as the Vietnam War, demand to be acknowledged or philosophy must condemn itself to amorality. The physical, corporeal, suffering of the victims must be recognized; as a result "the course of history forces materialism upon metaphysics" (*Negative* 365). The survivor of Auschwitz, however, creates a contrary demand. "In the camps death had a novel horror; since Auschwitz fearing death means fearing worse than death… all the things that justified their definition as human,

crumble" (*Negative* 371). In order to survive surviving, they must accept "coldness, the basic principle of bourgeois subjectivity" the same "philosophy of pure identity" that created Nazism (*Negative* 362-3). The survivors "demand 'Can this be all'" (*Negative* 375), and if only the corporeal, the physical, the material of the world is acknowledged than the answer is a cruel yes. The alternative, to answer no, is to acknowledge that there is something beyond the physical, the metaphysical. These contrasting demands, Adorno says, create a paralysis in our "metaphysical faculties…because actual events have shattered the basis on which metaphysical thought could be reconciled with experience" (*Negative* 365). Similarly, Beckett's dramas point to the failure of modern philosophy, existing in a world where "everything, including a resurrected culture has been destroyed" where humanity "continues to vegetate…on a rubbish heap that has made even reflection on one's own damaged state useless" ("Trying" 244). For philosophical reflection to be valid it must fully appreciate materialism and the non-identical relationship of thought and material. Adorno's answer to modernity, negative dialectics, is what he describes as "thinking against itself" (*Negative* 365). A negative dialectics is precisely thought contrary to thought, a dichotomy elucidated in Beckett.

"Trying to Understand *Endgame*" helps to tease out the tightly interwoven fabric of Adorno's aesthetics and metaphysics. In Adorno's works on aesthetic theory, he suggests that true art is a source of knowledge that enacts a dialectic turned against itself. Art can uniquely hold in itself the seemingly untenable contradiction of thought against thought. Adorno writes that in *Endgame*:

> Beckett has given us the only fitting reaction to the situation of the concentration camps—a situation he never calls by name…he speaks of a lifelong death penalty…this, too, he rejects. From the fissure of inconsistency that comes about in this fashion, the imaged world of nothingness as something emerges to stabilize his poetry (*Negative* 381).

In Beckett the negation of every premise, every meaning his drama posits ultimately gives the play integrity and stabilization. *Endgame*'s enigmatic focus on meaninglessness rejects philosophical thought in general:

> Interpretation of *Endgame* cannot pursue the chimerical aim of expressing the play's meaning in a form mediated by philosophy. Understanding it can mean only understanding its unintelligibility, concretely reconstructing the meaning of the fact that it has no meaning ("Trying" 243).

To illustrate, in *Endgame* Hamm asks Clov what conclusions an outside observer might make after watching their life. "Wouldn't [the observer] be liable to get some ideas in his head," and with time begin to think that the two "mean something" (*Endgame* 32)? In this scene the audience is beckoned to answer Hamm, but Beckett turns the question into a parody. Thought fails to comprehend creatures so bereft of meaning, and Hamm is answered only by the silence of the crowd.

Adorno writes that Beckett achieves meaninglessness by coupling "pure presentation" and "aesthetic immanence" in their "disparity" ("Trying" 242). When performed, *Endgame* and *Godot* include a corporeal material aspect; the actors and the stage are a particular physical presence. Beckett applies strict formal minimalism to the staging of both plays. Waiting's stage demands, "A country road. A tree. Evening," (Waiting 1), no more, no less. The result is a very specific physical presentation the audience interprets as directly related to the play's aesthetic principles. Disparity occurs when the correlation between the two reveals itself to be an empty one, non-identical. Like the stagnant plot, the presence of Waiting's blank stage is an enactment of emptiness, nothingness. The play's stage, its material, performs a negative dialectic by demanding meaning (thought) but having that very meaning stripped away. *Endgame*'s dialogue follows the same principle:

Beckett transforms [language] into an instrument of its own absurdity, following the ritual of the clown, whose babbling becomes nonsense by being presented as sense. The objective decay of language…human beings' words and sentences have swollen up within their own mouths ("Trying" 262).

From the decay a "second language of those who have fallen silent" manifests itself, communicating the incommunicable ("Trying" 262). Hamm and Clov's dialogues break off to prolonged silences and empty voids. They remain physically present, but a presence significant only in its empty silence, they materially enact nothingness. Adorno claims that the construction of silence as a physical presence creates a "state of negative eternity," wherein the structures of capitalist culture are transfigured into a "sum total of the damages" ("Trying" 247-248). The individual characters do not find purpose in acknowledging a "universal meaninglessness"; the nothingness itself finds purpose through the silence of the individual. The presence of silence is the presence of alterity, the promise of metaphysics made physically recognizable. Adorno calls arts uncanny ability to enact negative dialectics a "semblance" whose semblance is "given to it by what is not semblance" (*Negative* 404). Art reveals what is and what could be.

The plot of *Godot* likewise enacts a negative dialectic. Waiting drives the drama, but in the end is unfulfilled, negated. Didi and Gogo, though persistently restating the mantra "nothing to be done" (Waiting 2), vainly hold out hope in the abstract form of *Godot*. The unfulfilled waiting forces a dual recognition of material suffering and metaphysical yearning. The pair, while clinging to *Godot*, simultaneously are pointedly aware of their own material state. Beckett highlights this in the second act by inflicting a slight amnesia on the pair, withholding from them the certainty of even being in the same location as they were the previous day. Didi says "nothing is certain when you're about" (Waiting 9) in effect emphasizing the inability of thought to have material certainty. The uncertainty of location correlates to a non-identity between thought and

material. By aligning thought against itself, these moments become "a dangerous challenge to the very notion of a universal humanity…a residual and mournful form of protest…generated by a restless, formless antagonism" (Boxall 50). The play disassembles its own plot leaving behind the remnants of a defunct ideology the protagonists fail to acknowledge: that Godot will never come.

Art's ability to perform a negative dialectic for Adorno is not only the possibility of a post-Auschwitz philosophy, but also a development of Marxist theory and social criticism. Marx's works posited that a fundamental tenet of capitalism was the non-identical relationship between exchange value and use value. This non-identity then allowed for the exploitation of proletariat labor to go unacknowledged, but also, for Marx, provided the grounds for a proletariat revolution. The contradiction between material and thought at the core of the negative dialectics exposes the central non-identity within capitalism. However, unlike Marx, Adorno believes that the advent of late-capitalism has caused an entire cultural saturation based upon the principle of exchange, disabling the revolutionary potential of the working class. Moreover, a traditional dialectical progression that culminates in enlightenment must also be refashioned, for progress itself maintains a continuation of current structures, structures that Adorno believes must not be overcome but entirely destroyed and transfigured. That is why his dialectic is a negative one; it is recursive, constantly exposing and negating the contradictions of capitalist society without positing progression.

Art in Adorno's aesthetics—particularly 'modern' art like Beckett—can access something unmediated by the ideology of the exchange principle and work as the antithesis to culture. Lambert Zuidervaart, in his book *Adorno's Aesthetic Theory*, argues that for Adorno 'true' art is "autonomous works [that] shed their social functions and acquire the function of being socially dysfunctional" (Zuidervaart 137). Zuidervaart writes that art can "imitate itself, and contrast its pure image to reality, whose elements it has adsorbed," what

Adorno calls nondiscursive, free from a traditional dialectical that is otherwise always mediated by history (Zuidervaart 133). Unlike the purity of artistic representation, Adorno argues that philosophy sits within the historically mediated confines of the discursive. Therefore, for philosophy to continue it must become like art. Adorno believes that Beckett recognizes the failure of philosophy and "exhorted to play along, responds with parody". Hamm's long philosophical proclamations are laughable in their absurdity, and neither Gogo nor Didi border profundity in their discourse. According to scholar James Callahan, "Beckett declares philosophy to be dead at 9 pm, preps for autopsy" and there finds a malignant tumor called historical dialectics. The falsehood of Enlightenment progress was confirmed by Auschwitz, and Beckett mocks the pinnacles of enlightenment. In his essay, "Trying to Understand *Godot*: Adorno, Beckett, and the Senility of Historical Dialectics," James Harding argues that Adorno and Beckett focus on the "waste products" and "blind spots" that a progressive history traditionally ignores; the myth of progress stops, "a positive history no longer tenable after World War II" (Harding). Instead of the absoluteness of logic and progress, Beckett presents absurdity, and history is replaced with "the infinite catastrophe" (Negative 249). Beckett's art becomes the semblance of culture's cadaver, thought turns against itself, and historical progress dries up. Art's semblance is reflective of a culture who's structures are long defunct; however, an apparent consequence of Adorno's negative dialectic is that though these structures are criticized he leaves them hidden. In Beckett the negative dialectic conjures the socially mediated concepts of philosophy, language, and identity and then manifests their material existence only as a collapse, a silence, a void, revealing their internal contradictions to be a result of the pervasiveness of the principle of exchange. As a void, however, nothingness emerges as somethingness, the metaphysical promise that things can be different remains.

The above complex process is ultimately the realization of social dysfunction within the artistic medium. The way in which this dysfunction manifests outside of art, however, becomes problematic. Though Adorno believes art has a socially transformative potential, there still remains tenuous relation between art's truth content and its praxis (political realization). Adorno feared that art that was too politically engaged would, like the Marxism of the early twentieth century, become an ideology itself and be misused to destructive ends. Adorno disparaged artists like Bertolt Brecht who wrote pointedly political plays as an attempt to incite political action, and likewise was often lambasted by the radical student movement in Germany for the inactivity of his philosophy. Adorno writes in *Aesthetic Theory* that "praxis is not the impact works have; it is the hidden potential of their truth content" (quoted in Zuidervaart 38), a truth that could slowly infect society. However, "unless their truth can be a politically actualized," art "runs the risk of becoming an abstract utopia, one that inadvertently endorses the status quo" (Zuidervaart 149). "Art," writes Adorno, "is the promise of happiness, a promise that is constantly being broken" (quoted in Zuidervaart 212); *Aesthetic Theory* and *Negative Dialectics* are the promise of cultural upheaval that is constantly being broken.

I argue that the tension between maintaining artistic legitimacy without demobilizing the critical edge of art's truth content is precisely the same tension located earlier in Bryden's essay; furthermore this is the underlying conflict when attempting to apply Adorno's critical methodology. "Trying to Understand *Endgame*" thoroughly examines the metaphysical contradictions latent within Beckett's art, and therefore, apparently has fully exhausted the potential social commentaries of the piece. Adorno leaves for criticism nothing to be done. However, as Bryden's essay points out, Adorno has neglected integral aspects of Beckett's literature; clearly ideas concerning gender persist throughout the play amongst other issues. Adorno's fear of politicization, however, has construed his argument in such a way that he inadvertently restricts the malleability of Beckett's critique by broadening the scope

to account for all culture; the particularities of that culture are then lost in the emptiness of the void. Adorno has turned Becket into a cultural undertaker, dissecting and inspecting the dead without concern for the living. What must be done to save Beckett is to establish an interpretive methodology wherein the negative dialectic expands its critical ability by accommodating for new particularities within the structures of late-capitalism, particularities that likewise must reveal themselves non-discursively as the physical manifestations of non-identical relationships imitating the exchange principle.

As revealed in his aesthetic theory, Adorno cares very little about the utility of his critique so long as it "truthfully" dispels the "enthronement of human meaning" by revealing thought and material's non-identity, ultimately writing what he calls "the final history of the subject" ("Trying" 271). This alterity, this non-identity, this difference between thought and material found in Beckett is for Adorno the only valid way to expose culture's reproduction of the exchange principle. This opposition, however, is dangerously close to re-fashioning the bourgeois-humanism he wishes to dispel. By homogenizing culture's failed structures into one universal mass he implicitly ignores the myriad of important distinctions within capitalist hierarchy, affirming the same ideologies he means to belay; the negative dialectics realize their opposite.

Adorno already motions to those structures that inform Beckett's writing, but he deals with them mainly in the abstract as a means to reveal culture as broadly the direction of Beckett's critique. These structures are what Adorno calls "the reified residues of culture" ("Trying" 243), or in other places "the sum total of the damages" (248), or perhaps most simply "the catastrophe…the horrors" (249). Historicizing these abstractions, rebuilding these cultural residues in a significant way, pinpointing the differing damages, and revealing those horrors Beckett leaves unnamed can create the context necessary to correct the negative dialectics normalizing tendency. The obvious structures are of course that of Nazism, and desensitized warfare that Adorno makes direct references to throughout his works as those

most culpable for the "horrors" and are easily recognizable in *Endgame*'s post-apocalyptic universe. There are however other culpable structures which we can find by returning to Bryden.

For Bryden, Nell (Hamm's mother who lives in a trashcan) represents a general disintegration of gender identities into the individual subject. In some ways, this appears to be the same reading as Adorno wishes to maintain. Hamm, for example, Adorno describes as a modern individual whose "duplicity points up the lie involved in saying 'I'," and whose inability to communicate a unified self through language reduces him to "only the gestural shell" ("Trying" 267). However, for Beckett to maintain a particularly feminist reading then what is particularly feminine about Nell must also be incorporated into the negative dialectic. Nell is only on stage for the first half of the play at which point she is locked in her trashcan. As Bryden recognizes, however, her presence "appear[s] to linger after the cessation of [her] voice" (quoted in Boxall 130). Nell becomes a presence through emptiness. Her material only a material nothingness, as we have seen before. What remains substantively on stage to conjure her absence is the trashcan; within the void of the negative dialectic remains the physical apparatus of her oppression. Bryden fails to recognize the dialectical contradiction produced by the trashcan which both conjures up an immaterial fabrication of the feminine, and simultaneously is the tool used to oppress and dispense of that very construction. Bryden writes, "if any seen/unseen dialectic exists, it does not render consistent or fruitful data" (quoted in Boxall 134). What this neglects is the residual structures of oppression revealed by the negative dialectic. Maintaining the negative dialectical without dispensing the particularities that remain within Beckett's non-discursive void affords a new methodology that opens Adorno's interpretation to new critical lenses.

Adorno himself may have rejected this type of reading as too political, too reliant on the discursive, and a self-critical lens recognizes that this method though more

applicable to new forms of criticism may not be enough to truly allow Beckett's art to become an active political agent. Zuidevaart writes that Adorno was always more concerned with "mounting an intellectual opposition to the capitalist system than with aligning such opposition with groups whose social predisposition predisposes them toward structural transformation" (Zuidevaart 271). Clov says to Hamm in one of their nonsensical dialogues, "I use the words you taught me. If they don't mean anything anymore, teach me others. Or let me be silent" (*Endgame* 44). In part this essay is an attempt to teach both Beckett and Adorno new words, a new critical theoretical language, one that is both indebted to these authors and hindered by their lack of political agency. Regardless of Didi and Gogo's plight, critical literary theory must recognize that non-action is death, and if these works cannot be reinterpreted to do this action, then they themselves run the risk of eternally sitting in wait. Beckett must find something to be done. ■

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I AM MALALA

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Malala Yousafzai, the seventeen-year old Pakistani women's rights and education activist, took over international headlines after miraculously surviving an assassination attempt by the Taliban in the fall of 2012. Yousafzai was the joint winner of last year's Nobel Peace Prize and was previously nominated in 2013. She has delivered a speech on the importance of education for the UN, published a memoir, launched a non-profit, was listed as one of *Time* magazine's 100 most influential people of 2013, and has a documentary film set to be released this October. As women's rights have taken center stage in Western political rhetoric regarding the Taliban and Islamic fundamentalism, Malala's memoir *I Am Malala*, co-written by British foreign correspondent Christina Lamb, joins an increasing number of Muslim women's testimonies of life in the Middle East and South Asia. Despite widespread support of these spokeswomen by the state, mass media, and universities, certain scholars assert that their stories perpetuate deeply misleading constructions of Islam and those who practice it. I suggest that Malala's story does not easily conform to a certain label: when considering the memoir's larger political implications, there are instances of both productive and problematic nuances. To demonstrate this complexity, this essay will compare Malala and *I Am Malala* to the assertions of other Muslim spokespeople in the West, or "good Muslims."

Malala Yousafzai survived an assassination attempt on October 9, 2012; she was fifteen and had already been engaged in education activism for over three years. She seems to have inherited this zeal for social change from her father, Ziauddin Yousafzai, who has devoted much of his life to increasing access to education in Pakistan—he founded the school Malala attended before leaving Pakistan. As Ziauddin became increasingly involved in community activism with the Taliban's arrival in the region, Malala joined him for a BBC Urdu event in Peshawar in September 2008, where she denounced the Taliban's prohibition of girls attending school. Soon after, Malala was offered an opportunity to write journal entries on the BBC Urdu page about life under Taliban rule. She was actually BBC's second choice; her school's headmistress' youngest sister had been approached first, but her father had refused given the risks.[1] Although Malala used the pseudonym 'Gul Makai' for the BBC journal entries, she suggests her true identity was by no means a secret in the local community.[2] For the next several years, Malala continued speaking for TV and radio shows, becoming aware of a Taliban threat made against her over the internet in 2012—targeting her not for her advocacy of women and education, but for "promoting secularism."[3] The assassination attempt occurred as Malala was on the bus going home after school: a Taliban gunman boarded at a checkpoint and fired three bullets. Malala was shot in the head, the bullet traveling down into her neck; two of her classmates were also wounded. She was rushed to various Pakistani hospitals, eventually being transported to Birmingham, England to finish her surgeries. Malala made a full recovery, remained in England with her family, and is currently attending school. She continues her activist work, as seen by her efforts to

1 Malala Yousafzai and Christina Lamb, *I Am Malala: The Girl Who Stood Up for Education and Was Shot by the Taliban* (New York: Little, Brown and Company, 2013), 154.

2 Ibid., 193

3 Ibid., 223.

draw attention to the Nigerian girls captured by miltant Islamist group Boko Haram last year, putting pressure on the Nigerian government to hasten their rescue.[4]

Other Muslims, like Malala, have written books for predominantly Western audiences that critique certain aspects of their religion. Some scholars have labeled these spokespeople "good Muslims," in reference to President George W. Bush's troubling call for distinguishing between the "good" and "bad" Muslims, rather than terrorists and civilians.[5] So-called "good Muslims" tend to be women, are portrayed in the media as both elegant, educated members of the upper class and courageous "victims" of Islam daring to raise their voices against its misogynist authority.[6] While they gain credence by speaking from personal experience, their critiques of Islam and their native cultures tend to have several problematic features: reductionist portrayals of Islam; the conflation of Islam with misogyny and the oppression of women; and the refusal to engage with the history and politics of their home countries.[7] Saadia Toor identifies Irshad Manji, Ayaan Hirsi Ali and Salman Rushdie as some of today's most well-known "good Muslims." For example, in *The New York Times*, Manji stated that "while every religion has its fundamentalists…only in Islam is literalism in the mainstream, a recipe for generating hatreds that can spawn suicide bombers."[8] Toor notes that simply using the term 'Islam' is problematic, as it is not clarified whether it refers to textual sources, Islam as implemented by the state and political groups, or the

lived religion.[9] As a result, the proclamations of "good Muslims" like Manji tend to blur over the Islamic world's many internal complexities, reducing it to fundamentalists intent on destroying the Western world, i.e. the "bad Muslims." These religious militants and terrorists, are overwhelmingly male, depicted in the media as a disheveled and bearded Other—exemplified by the photos circulated of Khalid Sheik Mohammed following his arrest in 2003. Unlike their "good Muslim" counterparts, "bad Muslims" "are made into public exemplars of anti-Western enemies by state allegations of threats to national security and U.S. democracy; hysterical media coverage…[with] often distorted accounts of their activities and politics."[10] "Good Muslims" and Western politicians alike point at "bad Muslims" as the embodiment of Islam, and yet do not allow them an opportunity to express themselves. "Bad Muslims" are simply dismissed as violent religious fanatics and domineering men who oppress helpless women.

At first glance, Malala seems to epitomize the gendered constructions of a "good Muslim." She was a female victim fallen prey to the extreme violence of Muslim men, and she denounces the oppression of women in Pakistan throughout her book. For example, in the fourth chapter, Malala criticizes purdah (certain marriage practices), honor killings, and swara (a custom of resolving a feud between tribes by giving away a woman) as tragic characteristics of her Pashtun culture in just two pages.[11] These evocative snapshots of violence against women reinforce the "good Muslim" association of misogyny with Islam and the conception of Pakistan as a "premodern" nation, particularly as *I Am Malala* lacks a thorough discussion of Pakistan's historical or political context.

4   Mark Tran, "Malala Yousafzai criticizes 'weak' effort to free girls kidnapped by Boko Haram," The Guardian, February 8, 2015, accessed June 18, 2015, http://www.theguardian.com/world/2015/feb/08/malala-yousafzai-criticises-efforts-free-nigerian-girls-boko-haram.

5   Mahmood Mamdani, "Good Muslim, Bad Muslim: a Political Perspective on Culture and Terrorism," American Anthropologist 104 (2002): 766, accessed June 18, 2015, http://jan.ucc.nau.edu/sj6/mamdanigoodmuslimbadmuslim.pdf.

6   Saadia Toor, "Gender, Sexuality and Islam Under the Shadow of Empire," The Scholar and the Feminist Online (2011): 3, accessed June 18, 2015.

7   Ibid.

8   Manji quoted in Toor, "Gender, Sexuality and Islam Under the Shadow of Empire," 2.

9   Toor, "Gender, Sexuality and Islam Under the Shadow of Empire," 5.

10 Sunaina Maira, "'Good' and 'Bad' Muslim Citizens: Feminists, Terrorists, and U.S. Orientalisms." Feminist Studies (2009): 636, accessed June 18, 2015, http://www.uccnrs.ucsb.edu/sites/www.uccnrs.ucsb.edu/files/publications/Maira.FeministStudies.2009.pdf.

11 Malala Yousafzai and Christina Lamb, I am Malala: The Girl who Stood Up for Education and was Shot by the Taliban (New York: Little, Brown and Company, 2013), 66-67.

Malala does describe the changes in Pakistani politics with different presidents and touches on U.S. drone attacks, yet the depth of U.S. involvement in the region is absent. While much of this history predates Malala, Christina Lamb could have presumably applied her expertise in this instance.

In addition to this lack of historical background, occasionally Malala's assertions reveal the influence of British colonialism in the Indian subcontinent. An examination of colonial records and texts demonstrate that British officials understood the native people to be irrational religious fanatics who could quickly fall into violence, particularly among different religious groups. While these proclamations were racist constructions used primarily to serve the interests of the colonizer, the power and hegemony of these narratives are unquestionable. As a result, these notions linger within the consciousness of the colonized, even generations after their independence. This phenomena seems to manifest itself in *I Am Malala*; for example: "[Shias] whip themselves into a bloody frenzy with metal chains or razor blades on strings until the streets run red;"[12] "The people [of the Federally Administered Tribal Areas] are renowned for their fierceness…as you can see if you read any of the old British accounts;"[13] and "It seemed to me that before Pakistan there was endless fighting between Hindus and Muslims."[14] Each of these statements reflects, if not directly restates, the racist sentiments of British colonial rule.

However, those examples do not saturate the text, and Malala also occasionally counters the prevailing discourse propagated by "good Muslims." For example, she addresses the plurality within Islam, describing the different branches of Barelvi, Deobandi, Tablighi Jamaat, Ahl-e-Hadith, and Sufi traditions, and notes that "each of these

strands has many different sub-groups."[15] This discussion counters the traditional native informant's position that "Muslims are a monolithic community, devoid of any internal complexity."[16] Malala even personally engages with this plurality as she learns through conversations with her father that mullas (a Muslim leader trained in religious doctrine in law) and different political leaders deliver ideologies in the name of Islam in order to serve their particular agendas—their Islam is not necessarily her Islam. Malala even praises her friend's observation that "because of the Taliban, the whole world is claiming we are terrorists," hinting at the reductionism and manipulation of Islam by the West. These productive nuances within the memoir are worth noting, as they distinguish Malala from other native informants and demonstrate that she does not conform perfectly to the "good Muslim" mold.

This complexity and ambivalence in Malala's text allows for different political agendas to champion her story. For example, Malala holds up education as one means of improving Pakistan:

> Our people have become misguided. They think their greatest concern is defending Islam and are being led astray by those like the Taliban who deliberately misinterpret the Quran. We should focus on practical issues. We have so many people in our country who are illiterate. And many women have no education at all.[17]

These efforts to increase access to education would seemingly provide Pakistani women "the strength and security to work out, within their own communities and with whatever alliances they want, how to live a good life,"[18]

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[12] Ibid., 92.

[13] Ibid., 99.

[14] Ibid., 222.

[15] Ibid., 93.

[16] Saadia Toor, "Gender, Sexuality and Islam Under the Shadow of Empire." The Scholar and the Feminist Online (2011): 2, accessed June 18, 2015, http://sfonline.barnard.edu/religion/print_toor.htm.

[17] Malala Yousafzai and Christina Lamb, *I Am Malala: The Girl who Stood up for Eduction and Was Shot by the Taliban* (New York: Little, Brown and Company, 2013), 223.

[18] Lila, Abu Lughod. *Do Muslim Women Need Saving?* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2013), 42.

unlike other campaigns that impose Western assumptions of women's needs. However, it could be argued that here Malala fulfills the role of the native informant, providing the testimonial and calling for reform in Pakistan, with Western powers interfering as a result. Gordon Brown, former prime minister of Great Britain and the UN's current special envoy for global education, has developed a campaign with the Pakistan government to increase children's access to education in Malala's name. While goals to improve education appear benevolent, Brown states in his article, "Malala: Everyone's Daughter in the Fight for Girls' Education," that "Pakistan needs to be shocked into action, with the Taliban shamed and forced into accepting the basic freedoms of every girl."[19] Brown's thinly veiled threat of violence in confronting the Taliban reflects the U.S.'s own 'soft power' techniques in Pakistan, which have blended humanitarian development projects into military projects that "justify and extend US imperialism."[20] As a result, Gordon Brown's message

forces one to question the legitimacy of the campaign's otivations, especially as continued conflict would inevitably inhibit access to education for Pakistan's youth.

This paper is by no means an exhaustive analysis of Malala's role in international politics today, and the intention was not to trivialize Malala's activism or the violence that she suffered at the hands of the Taliban. Her courage and dedication to education for all children and for the rights of women is unquestionable. However, an analysis of *I Am Malala* demonstrates the importance of simultaneously honoring someone's personal experiences, as well as engaging mindfully and taking seriously its political implications, particularly for someone with such widespread Western support. Malala does not conform perfectly to the "good Muslim" mold—her memoir can shed light into her life of activism, and inspire others to take up the noble causes of education and women's rights. However, given the contentious nature of Islam and global politics today, it is important to note even the subtle or occasional suggestion that may inhibit the path towards peace and reconciliation. ◾

[19] Gordon Brown, "Malala: Everyone's Daughter in the Fight for Girls' Education," NPQ: New Perspectives Quarterly (2013): 60, accessed June 18, 2015, http://digitalnpq.org/archive/2013_winter/14_brown.html.

[20] Nosheen Ali, "Books vs. Bombs? Humanitarian development and the narrative of terror in Northern Pakistan," Third World Quarterly 31 (2010): 542, accessed June 18, 2015, http://www.academia.edu/568721/ Books_vs_Bombs_Humanitarian_development_and_the_narrative_of_ terror_in_Northern_Pakistan.

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POLICE FORCE, RACE RELATIONS AND THE MEDIA

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ABSTRACT   Research has shown that racial minority groups tend to have much more complex issues with police throughout the United States. The relationship between police and racial minority groups presents the intensity of these problems in communities as prejudice and discrimination that have stemmed from historical and social dynamics. Although this issue is a historical one, there have been recent events that mirror this history: for example, the shooting death of Michael Brown in Ferguson, Missouri and the choking death of Eric Garner in Staten Island, New York. This research, concentrated in the first week of reporting and responses after the two deaths, highlights what might have been indicative of other social issues besides race. Furthermore, this research pays special attention to the way media communicates these occurrences and how the representation provides some insight and biases that shape thoughts, opinions and perceptions in society.

Introduction

The use and extent of police force is a controversial topic throughout the United States and therefore is an important social discussion. The debate has been focused on the use of police force in the context of race relations, especially in the African American community (Brunson, 2006). History and research shows that minority communities and individuals are policed harsher than those that are nonminority (Wu, 2013). Although these issues have stemmed from historical experiences and relationships between black and white people and blacks and institutional powers, there are implications that the issue is still relevant today.

The scope of this research will examine the ways media discuss the interactions that police have with citizens. By paying attention to the shooting death of Michael Brown in Ferguson, Missouri and the choking death of Eric Garner in Staten Island, I will explore the various ways the media has covered said events within the first week of each occurrence. Over time, police interactions have been labeled as racial prejudice within minority communities and because the deaths of these black males happened about a month apart. Sociologically, these incidents illustrate a growing problem of police brutality and/or race relations in this country and it is important to analyze the way these events were covered initially.

There are three major components to this research that include a content analysis, an in-depth interview and a focus group. The content analysis allowed me to limit my research within the one week reporting time frame and also to find categorical themes in the 15 article sources that were used. The analysis that came from the content analysis led me to create guidelines, big concepts and questions to discuss and ask in the one-on-one interview that took place. This in-depth interview provided an understanding of an individual perspective and opinions

about media representation and their understanding of the two events. The focus group took on the same format as the in-depth interview, but instead gave me an understanding of the different perspectives from multiple people. While the content analysis helped me develop theoretical ideas, the in-depth interview and focus group extracted some consistencies with my initial findings and also produced new findings.

Method 1: Content Analysis

I will look at major and/or small media and news articles to interpret the media coverage on the events in Ferguson and Staten Island, such as CNN and *The New York Times*, for this content analysis. The sample consists of 15 different online media articles, eight for the death of Michael Brown and seven for the Eric Garner instance. In order to limit the content, articles within the first week of each death were chosen for analysis. Michael Brown died August 9, 2014, so the time frame was August 9th-August 16th, while Eric Garner died July 17th and the time frame for sources was July 17th-July 24th. These timelines were chosen so that an understanding of the micro-level implications, exclusive to each situation, could be gained before focusing on the larger social implications. The timeline also provides a more basic level of reporting instead of more in-depth accounts of what happened.

Coding

There were consistent themes and styles of reporting in each of the articles written about each circumstance and so the inductive method was used to code for analysis. The inductive method allowed for specific observations, patterns and some broader themes and generalizations to be made about the way in which the two events were reported on. Although there is an underlying assumption that the these two events were racially motivated, it is important to work backwards and look at the way in which the reporting styles were similar and different in each case in order to understand a different, or more sociological perspectives.

Because the two events were totally separate and involved different types of police interactions, the content of the articles had words, phrases and themes that were specific to each situation. However, I coded in a general format and found some consistencies in all 15 articles. The codes are:

1. Mention of physical appearance
2. Mention criminal history
3. Mention of struggle
4. Indication of what happened prior to death
5. Mention of racism/prejudice
6. Mention of resistance
7. Victim being unarmed
8. Act of participating in illegal activities
9. Mention of police actions
10. Indication of police-community relationship

There was a different sequence of events that led to the death of Eric Garner and Michael Brown and that made it difficult to group the codes. However, I grouped codes three, six, seven and nine into a category of mentioning the nature of the interaction and physicality, numbers two, five and eight into a mention of the victim's past and numbers four and ten into a mention of police actions and community interactions. And number one remains as physical appearance.

The categories below are inclusive of individual findings from the articles; the number indicates how many times the code was mentioned:

- Nature of interaction and physicality: 72
  Words and phrases included passive defiance, resisting arrest, chokehold (12), breaking up a fight (5), wasn't fighting back, more than five cops, holding him by the neck, stopped moving, the man pulled free, I can't breathe, heart attack (11), neck restraints, struggle (13), surrender (3), unarmed (7), grabbed the gun (8), physical confrontation (4), assaulted a police officer

- Mention of the victim's past: 48 Words and phrases included lengthy criminal past, previously arrested, selling cigarettes (12), untaxed cigarettes (2), more than 30 arrests, illegally selling cigarettes/loosies (5), common hustle, robbery (11), and convenience store robbery (4), health issues (13)
- Police actions and community interactions: 24 Words and phrases include banned by the NYPD (6), national debate over the use of force, dangerous maneuver, not authorized to use chokehold (3), banned, brutality, modern-day lynching, ineffective, unnecessary, disparate, one side vs. authorities, looting & vandalism (2), attacks on police officers, distrust, skepticism, execution style murder (*media included that incidents were described as modern-day lynching and execution-style murder*)
- Physical appearance: 29 Race: 18 (Black/African American-13 White-5) Weight: 8 Height: 3

Analysis

The two events that are being researched are isolated events, but have consistencies in which the police officers are both white men and the victims are black men. It was found that the actual events were mentioned more often than any other category coded for, totaling 72 instances: the word 'struggle' was mentioned 13 times and 'chokehold' was mentioned 12 times. The victim's past was mentioned a total of 48 times, including a range of things that may have happened prior to Eric Garner's or Michael Brown's death. The major takeaways from the articles were health issues (mentioned 13 times), selling cigarettes (12 times), and robbery (11 times). Cross categorically, the victim's past was mentioned almost twice as much as what the police officers actually did during the interaction with the victim. This is interesting because the victim is being profiled by the media more than the police officer—the person who asserted the act of violence, death, or force (depending on the perspective).

Also interesting was the category of physical appearance; as time passed for each situation, the events were looked at racially. Height was not as important, but race and weight were; there was a statement made in one article that Michael Brown was about 80 pounds heavier than Darren Wilson (the officer that shot and killed him), which made a difference in how the situation played out. On the other hand, almost every article related to Eric Garner's case mentioned his weight (350 pounds) and attributed that to his health problems, which was reasonable, but it did not attribute to the way the officer interacted with him.

Summary of Findings

The most interesting finding in this analysis of the media's discussion about the events in Staten Island and Ferguson is their attempt at policing the victims almost in the same way as the actual police. The media's constant mention of the victim's past shows how they attempt to connect their past with the event that happened, which is isolated in some ways. Because the media mentioned Eric Garner selling cigarettes as a "common hustle", they gave off the idea that police had a reason to arrest him, when in fact he had been breaking up a fight—a fact mentioned less than him selling untaxed cigarettes. This is similar to the amount of times that the articles mentioned the "robbery" that ensued before Michael Brown was killed by Darren Wilson. The convenience store owners later stated that Michael Brown did not rob the store and that Darren Wilson did not know about this.

From the content analysis, it seems as if the media focuses attention on the criminal history of the victims in order for readers to have a better understanding of what happened. In reality their past has nothing to do with the situation and this reveals a trend in how media reports about victims of police interactions.

Method 2: In-Depth Interview

The issues that I wanted to explore with my in-depth interview were centered on the way in which media discuss police interactions and how they talk about particular incidents. I used the deaths of Michael Brown and Eric Garner as a basis of understanding. I also wanted

the respondent to tell me what they thought media's responsibility was and based off of that if they felt the media was carrying out that responsibility and how it affected understanding in society.

Below is the transcript of the in-depth interview that was conducted with a student at DePaul University. (The words of the interviewer are in bold italics.)

My name is Chanel Cox and I am doing my research about the way in which media reports on police interactions. You have the right to stop the interview at any time. You also have the right to not answer a question, or pause the interview at any time. Are you ready to begin?

I'm ready.

So my first question is: what do you understand to be the media's responsibility in coverage?

I think the media is supposed to provide unbiased coverage of events that take place.

Do you look to social media more or mainstream news?

I look to mainstream news more.

Why is that?

I feel like they have less opinions and offer more analysis that social media does.

How does media access affect reporting? Their access to certain situations.

Ok, I see what you're saying. Um I think that it can offer an opinionated view of what's going on but not being in that community or from those places, might affect how the reporting is done because there is no comprehensive understanding of the situation or the setting or things like that.

So how does that affect your understanding of what they report?

I think if I didn't go the extra step to understand what it is that the reporting doesn't cover, then I might have a very biased interpretation of what's being reported or I might just take the news for what it's worth. But I think because I understand that it doesn't cover everything, I make sure that I don't take what the media reports to me as 100% truth.

How would you compare your initial reactions about the Ferguson event and the death of Eric Garner to how you understand it now?

I would say that my initial reaction isn't much different from how I view it now. I think that for me it was just another couple of deaths that are very much indicative of how the U.S doesn't value black life. So I don't think I necessarily had some sort of strong outcry or anything like that, especially considering how far back this has been going on. And if we're talking about specifically police brutality, I mean that's been going on for a minute, but if we're talking about black life not being valued in the United States that goes back all the way to the 1600s.

How does the media create a balance in reporting when presenting controversial topics such as Ferguson and Eric Garner?

I don't think there is a balance with that.

Why is that?

I think that it's just a lot of views that are from the outside and a lot of opinions and analysis that's from the outside. So you don't really get an in depth analysis of the community struggle or the historical perspective of how long this has been going on or a legislative perspective in understanding how. Like for example for Eric Garner, it is against New York law to put a citizen in a chokehold

and so it's like a lot of analysis in these different facets of events are missing from the reporting.

Do you believe that media creates symbolic representations out of race related police interactions or are they treated more individually?

[Long pause] I think in a lot of ways it is treated more individually because they don't…like for example, for the coverage of Mike Brown or the coverage for Eric Garner it doesn't really bring up Sean Bell or Amadou Diallo and all the other people who have passed away, Oscar Grant. Like the people who have passed away from police brutality, it just like brings them up as a person this has happened to. Or they'll bring up how, for example, how he was…they'll bring up flaws of his without looking at it like this is a systemic thing and not just an individual case. And so in that way, in terms of like minimizing how big and long this has been going on, they treat it individually.

So do you think it's an issue if they don't report about the death of Sean Bell and other situations that are similar?

I think it's a huge problem.

How do you think that affects other people's understanding, if they don't report about issues that have happened before?

I think people will start to understand these are just isolated incidents, whereas this is so much larger.

How do you think media affects race relations and can you give an example?

I think media affects race relations in a negative way because it downplays the issues that are occurring throughout the nation and it makes it seem like there isn't a problem when it actually is a problem. I would

say an example would be their lack of reporting about past incidents of police brutality or crimes committed by white people on people of color. For example, the North Carolina Chapel Hill shooting of the three Muslim people, like saying it was over a parking spot when it actually was a hate crime, discussing it in that way downplays or minimalizing the fact that it has a lot to do with race relations.

How would the situations be interpreted if there was absence in consideration of race?

I think that it would be less of a big deal to people. I think people wouldn't view the crime as something that's specific to people of color and how systemic it is and how pervasive anti-black racism is or just racism against all people of color and religions.

So do you think white people get more coverage about death? Say for instance if a black person murders a white person, does that white person get more coverage than a black person killed by someone who is white?

I think so. I think so. I also think that when it is a black person committing a murder, even if a person wants to argue that they get the same coverage, there is a different type of coverage when a black person commits a crime. They report it as something natural, they're animalistic, they're violent, and they're criminal people or have some sort of inherent violence in them. So the coverage is completely different.

So do you think the media is carrying out their responsibility?

Their responsibility to do what?

To cover important issues in an unbiased manner

No I think they're doing a disservice to the public because it's giving a coverage that is very much tainted or biased.

What are examples of how you see people of color and non-people of color presented in the media?

I would say the examples I said before. They're portrayed as villains, seen as criminal people, seen as sort of I guess as a nuisance to society and to the American public. White people are seen as righteous in some ways. Actually the way I would put it-they're seen as normal, as human. They are seen as just people and even when coverage happens about white people committing crimes it's like oh this one white person, but for black people, it's these black people.

So black people are seen as a representation of all black people and white people are seen as more individual?

Yea, white people are seen as a monolith.

Would you consider media a social institution?

I would consider it as a social institution. Mostly because what it's supposed to do is create a bridge and a conversation between communities and different persons. I would also say that it is an economic institution and it is heavily funded by economics and that's why certain portrayals are allowed or they're done because people are paying to have these things done.

So do you think that economic influence has an influence on reporting about another social institution like the police force?

I would say so. I would say that.

Why so?

If you have people that are funding certain news agencies and they have an incentive to show police officers in a more fond light then that's what will happen.

What are some major themes when you notice reporting about the deaths of Mike Brown and Eric Garner?

I noticed a lot of things. I would say with Mike Brown. I noticed a fair opportunity or discussion about the police officer and the harm that was caused to the officer and things of that nature. I also think they shed a lot of light on the incident with him robbing the convenience store right before it happened. With Eric Garner, I feel like he didn't get as much time on the news as Mike Brown but one big thing that was constantly talked about was the fact that he was struggling to say he couldn't breathe and officers did not listen to that. And I feel like it also sparked the discussion about body cameras.

So why do you think Eric Garner didn't receive as much coverage as Mike Brown?

I feel like that has a lot to do with one was in New York City and another was in a small town in Missouri. I think another part has to do with the fact that Eric Garner was twice the age of Mike Brown and I think a lot of it had to with how society responded. A lot of people were so outraged by Mike Brown and he became this person to push a cause or push a conversation and so by the time Eric Garner's death happened, the conversation had been pushed by Mike Brown.

So since Eric Garner's death was recorded but the Ferguson event had worldwide coverage and differing points of views, do you think that's why the discussion was so minimal?

Because he was recorded?

Yes.

I don't think so. I think because he was recorded it shows how unfair his death was, so I wouldn't say it's that but I would just say it's because Mike Brown was younger and it happened before Eric Garner.

How has your understanding of police interactions been influenced by the media?

I would say that it shows me that a lot of police brutality can go on and be justified through the media and their case can be pushed through the media.

So actually, Mike Brown's death happened after Eric Garner's. Eric Garner was choked and suffered the heart attack in July and Mike Brown was shot in August.

Really?

Yep. Do you think that changes your perspective?

A little bit. I don't think society was ready after Eric Garner's death. With Mike Brown's death, I think Eric Garner's death was revitalized and sparked more conversations and used as more evidence.

Is it an illusion that people of color face more discrimination concentrated in police interactions?

I don't think so.

Why?

You can see it and maybe the average citizen doesn't see it and says these are just random occurrences and most of the time officers are protecting black people in their own communities but when you go back in time and history and even today, the criminal justice system is working against helping black people and officers are working with that system.

So why do you think people might consider them as random occurrences?

Because they don't take the time to look back and see throughout history how this has been happening for centuries.

Do you think that since they don't take the time to look back into history that, since it's not their history, it's a black person's history, do you think that creates the same nature that we have today, is it why these things keep happening? Because they don't take the time to inform themselves?

I wouldn't say that it's that it's their lack of trying to discover because I don't think it's just black history, I think it's American history. Because if you're an American and your ancestors go back to the point where your great great great grandfather was a slave owner, that's a part of your history as well. So the problem is not that people fail to learn about this history and more police brutality. It's that when people fail to learn about this history, police brutality becomes justified and there's lack of societal knowledge about these issues.

So what would you say to a person that thinks it is justified?

[Long pause] I don't think I would have a conversation with that person honestly. Because I pick and choose my battles and I feel like people who have those ideas and those notions are typically people whose minds won't be changed by anything I say or what other people might say and it also depends on where they're coming from like what we're talking about…"well I believe the police should have that much force," that's a part of our like militarization of the police and people being okay with that and it's larger than a racial thing. Like why are you okay with being policed in such an excessive manner. But is it's a racial component, that's not a conversation I would engage in.

So thank you, that's all I have for questions. Please remember that all of your responses will remain anonymous and I appreciate your participation.

FIGURE 1

Contrasting News Stories for the Focus Group

Michael Brown, 18, due to be buried on Monday, was no angel, with public records and interviews with friends and family revealing both problems and promise in his young life. Shortly before his encounter with Officer Wilson, the police say he was caught on a security camera stealing a box of cigars, pushing the clerk of a convenience store into a display case. He lived in a community that had rough patches, and he dabbled in drugs and alcohol. He had taken to rapping in his recent months, producing lyrics that were by turn contemplative and vulgar. He got into at least one scuffle with a neighbor.

Eligon, John. 2014. "Michael Brown Spent Last Weeks Grappling With Problems and Promise." *nytimes.com* August 24. Retrieved March 13, 2015 (http://www.nytimes.com/2014/08/25/us/michael-brown-spent-last-weeks-grappling-with-lifes-mysteries.html?_r=0).

Theodore Robert Bundy was born to a young, single Philadelphia woman who raised him in Tacoma, Wash. But his mother, Louise Bundy, said there was never a shred of evidence son's first 28 years, before he became a murder suspect for the first time, to hint at any aberrant behavior. People familiar with his early years say he was a Boy Scout, a B-plus college student; he loved children, read poetry and was a rising figure in Republican politics in Seattle. The year the murders began there he was the assistant director of the Seattle Crime Prevention Advisory Commission and wrote a pamphlet for women on rape prevention.

"If anyone considers me a monster, that's just something they'll have to confront in themselves," he said in a 1986 interview with The New York Times. "For people to want to condemn someone, dehumanize someone like me is a very popular and effective, understandable way of dealing with a feat and a threat that is incomprehensible."

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Reflection

What I liked so much was the fact that I paid attention and listened to the respondent to pull more ideas out of her. If I had just read question after question, I wouldn't have had a quality discussion with her. My favorite part was when she discussed how media affects race relations in lines 71-78, because she gave me an example that had nothing to do with African Americans and police officers, but instead an incident that has the same basic elements and highlights the problems that people of color face.

Method 3: Focus Group

I used two profiles from *The New York Times* that discussed Ted Bundy, a serial rapist and murderer and also one regarding Michael Brown. These profiles allowed the group to discuss media representation (illustrating how it has influenced them as well as illustrate their interpretations and reactions) and also to reveal the many perspectives about the issue that may be varied or shared opinions. My sample included two girls and two guys from different backgrounds; the girls were Mexican and white and the two guys identified as Black and White, respectively.

The focus group began with two contrasting news stories. I used the following questions to structure the focus group:

1. What are your takeaways from the profiles of Mike Brown versus Ted Bundy?

2. What is your understanding of media's responsibility in coverage?

3. Do you look to social media or mainstream news for understanding of issues? Why?

4. How does media access affect reporting? (Access to situations)

   a. How does that affect your understanding of what they report?

5. How would you compare your initial reactions to the deaths of Mike Brown and Eric Garner to your current understanding?

6. How does the media create a balance in reporting when presenting controversial topics?

7. Is it an illusion that people of color face more discrimination in police interactions?

   a. Do you believe that police encounters with Brown and Garner are based on race or should another social factor be considered?

   b. How would these events be interpreted if there was absence in consideration of race?

8. Do you believe that media creates symbolic representations out of race related police interactions or are they treated more individually?

   a. Does either style of reporting create a problem?

9. Do you think media reports affect race relations?

10. Would you consider media a social institution?

    a. Does that affect the way they report on police, which is another social institution? How?

11. Because Garner's death was recorded and Mike Brown's was based on eyewitness accounts, does that make a difference in reporting?

12. Do you understand events like these as isolated incidents or a recurring issue?

    a. What do you say to someone that sees it as an isolated incident or a frequent issue?

Focus Group Reflection

I was able to get the information I wanted because the respondents were really thorough with their answers, even though I had wordy and tough questions. I think because this is a topic that's so recent, it sparked a discussion that may be a part of everyday conversation. Because I ran short on time, I felt like I navigated the conversation in a way where I asked my most important questions so I wouldn't miss any important information that might be expressed. I also appreciated when one member brought up mainstream media being owned by big corporations that own prisons: "It's not fair that people of color have to be shown in certain ways versus who they really are just because media corporations are owned by influential companies that pay for the criminalization of African Americans." I appreciated him bringing it up because it extended the idea of media portraying people of color in a negative light. It could be related to the fact that police have more negative interactions with people of color, which contributes to the idea of people of color making up more than half of the prison population.

Conclusion

This research revealed the many complexities that arise when media outlets report on tense incidents in society. Viewing media as a social institution highlights how many implicit and explicit biases exists when reporting about other social institutions like police. This conversation is important because policing takes on many forms that are connected to the judicial system. Thus, these different forms create a multifaceted relationship with communities of color because of the institutional strategies they take on and this requires problem solving strategies, which are not always satisfying because of some of the implications of historical problems that still linger on today. ■

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Catherine Ostholthoff | *King Cumberbatch*

EL IMPACTO DEL BILINGÜISMO EN EL ÉXITO ESCOLAR EN ESTUDIANTES UNIVERSITARIOS

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ABSTRACT   *Does bilingualism have an effect on academic success? It appears to be the case that students who speak another language in addition to English tend to have a higher grade point average than those who are monolingual in English. Although the debate over the advantages of being bilingual continues, more and more evidence shows that being bilingual is worth the effort. A study on the relation between GPA and the level of bilingualism of 50 DePaul University students, however, did not reveal the expected relation. Even though the study does not support a claim for a relation between the level of bilingualism and academic success, the author is not quick to dismiss it.*

Introducción

El bilingüismo puede tener sus raíces en muchas posibilidades de la vida. Uno puede ser bilingüe por nacer de padres que hablan dos idiomas diferentes, por vivir en un país que no habla la lengua nativa de sus padres, por mudarse o solamente por tener la oportunidad de aprender una(s) lengua(s) nueva(s). En todos estos casos, el bilingüismo le permite acomodarse a la nueva comunidad o la nueva situación. Sin embargo, las ventajas del bilingüismo, asombrosamente, no son tan obvias como se puede pensar. Por eso, el debate sobre el bilingüismo y sus efectos todavía no ha terminado.

Estudios previos en este campo han enfocado en, y han mostrado, los efectos del bilingüismo en la cognición y la inteligencia. Sin embargo, se encontraron pocos estudios que tratan el éxito escolar per se y no se encontró ninguno que tratara los estudiantes universitarios. Con este estudio se quiere explorar estas faltas y analizar si hay verdaderamente una relación entre el nivel del

bilingüismo español-inglés y el éxito escolar entre los estudiantes universitarios. Para lograrlo, se debe comparar el nivel del bilingüismo, indicado por una autoevaluación y apoyado por una prueba de competencia, con el promedio escolar de los estudiantes. Basándose en los estudios similares que se tratan de los estudiantes más jóvenes, se propondría que el bilingüismo sí tiene un efecto positivo en el éxito escolar. Sin embargo, los resultados del estudio propio no lo apoyan. Entonces, no se puede concluir que exista una correlación entre las dos variables.

Estudios previos

Los científicos no han logrado un consenso sobre las ventajas del bilingüismo. Peal y Lambert (1962) citan un estudio de Saer de 1923 en el que se encontró que los niños bilingües de áreas rurales eran académicamente inferiores a los niños monolingües de los mismos barrios. Sin embargo, Peal y Lambert llevaron a cabo una investigación propia para correlacionar el bilingüismo con la inteligencia. Encontraron que los niños bilingües obtuvieron notas mejores que los monolingües en pruebas de rendimiento y que el grupo bilingüe ejecutó "significativamente

mejor" en los Raven Progressive Matrices, una prueba de razonamiento (Peal, 1962, p. 12).

Por lo general, Golash-Boza (2005) está de acuerdo con Peal y Lambert. En un estudio de latinos en Miami realizado para demostrar su competencia en la escuela, los resultados más importantes para la autora indicaron que los latinos bilingües de Miami tenían una ventaja grande sobre los latinos de Miami competentes solo en inglés "en todas las medidas del éxito escolar de este estudio," y también en las medidas de matemáticas (Boza-Golash, 2005, p. 744, traducción propia).

Los estudios de Bialystok y Craik (2010) y de Prior y Macwhinny (2010) pueden relacionarse con este estudio. Aunque el enfoco de sus estudios fue la cognición y no el éxito escolar, los dos se relacionan estrechamente. Bialystok y Craik observan que "por muchos años las respuestas a esta pregunta enfatizaron las consecuencias negativas del bilingüismo, ¡hasta advirtiendo que hablar dos lenguas retrasaba a los niños!" (Bialystok y Craik, 2010, p. 19, traducción propia). Bialystok y Craik argumentan contra estas ideas con sus estudios propios que "apoyan la afirmación de un efecto positivo por toda la vida del bilingüismo en estos procesos de control ejecutiva (executive-control processes)" (Bialystok y Craik, 2010, p. 20, traducción propia). Los estudios de Bialystok y Craik muestran ventajas cognitivas del bilingüismo.

Del mismo modo Prior y Macwhinny llevaron a cabo un estudio del cambio de actividades (task switching). El estudio demostró que los niños bilingües cambiaron de actividades más fácilmente que los niños monolingües. Aunque esto no refleja el éxito escolar, el cambio de actividades es una habilidad muy útil en la escuela.

Toda la literatura leída en preparación para este estudio mostró que las ventajas del bilingüismo no son algo obvio o universalmente aceptado. Aunque la discusión todavía está abierta, los estudios presentados arriba muestran resultados que apoyan las ventajas más que las desventajas. Sin embargo, se tratan de ventajas cognitivas y de inteligencia. Pocos estudios tratan el éxito escolar, el enfoque de este estudio. Tampoco se encontraron estudios sobre los estudiantes universitarios porque la mayoría de las investigaciones se realizaron con los niños. Este estudio trata de llenar este hueco en el campo. Aunque no se encontraron estudios previos iguales a éste, los similares sobre cognición o inteligencia y sobre niños permiten proponer una hipótesis.

Metodología

Para poder responder exitosamente a la cuestión del impacto del bilingüismo en el éxito escolar en estudiantes universitarios, se propone un estudio que pretende responder a la siguiente pregunta de investigación:

Pregunta de investigación:

¿Hay una relación entre el nivel de bilingüismo español-inglés y el éxito escolar, indicado por el promedio escolar (GPA, por sus siglas en inglés), entre los estudiantes universitarios?

Para averiguarlo, se llevó a cabo un estudio entre los estudiantes de la Universidad DePaul, tomándolos como una muestra de los estudiantes universitarios en general. Cincuenta estudiantes fueron entrevistados cara a cara con encuestas anónimas. Se les preguntó su edad, su sexo, su año universitario, su facultad en DePaul y su especialización, su campus, su promedio GPA más reciente (la variable dependiente) y las lenguas aparte del inglés que hablaran y el nivel de conocimiento de éstas (el nivel del español como la variable independiente). Aparte de la última, todas las preguntas fueron abiertas, que significa que el entrevistado da una respuesta y no elige entre las respuestas proporcionadas por el entrevistador. Para la última pregunta, los entrevistados eligieron entre las respuestas proporcionadas: 1—básico, 2—comunicativo, 3—competente, 4—fluido y 5—nativo.

Puesto que hay la posibilidad de que las respuestas a la última pregunta no sean objetivas, se intenta controlar ese factor dándole al 10% de los participantes una

prueba de competencia en español para averiguar si se puede confiar en sus autoevaluaciones. También, para controlar las variables confundidas que puedan influir nuestros resultados, se decidió usar una muestra de 50 estudiantes para incluir ambos sexos y campus, muchas especializaciones y edades y todos los años universitarios y facultades. Por tener tan amplia representación se puede asegurar que los resultados no son solamente representativos, por ejemplo, solo de las mujeres o solo de los estudiantes de historia, sino de todos los estudiantes universitarios.

Al final, para analizar los resultados, se comparará el nivel de bilingüismo de los estudiantes con sus promedios GPA. De esta manera se averigua cuál es la relación entre uno y el otro. Si los estudiantes con un conocimiento de español más alto también tienen un promedio escolar más alto, se puede concluir que hay una relación positiva entre los dos.
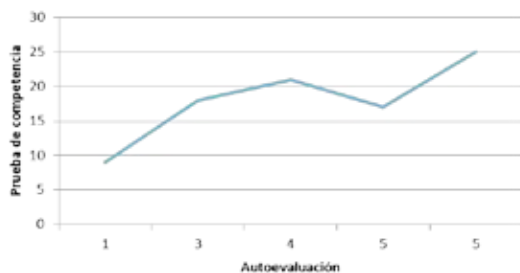
Variables confundidas

Se anticipaba que los estudiantes con el mayor nivel de bilingüismo español-inglés tendrían un promedio GPA más alto que los estudiantes con menor nivel de bilingüismo o los que son monolingües en inglés. Sin embargo, esto no fue el caso.

Se empieza con la autoevaluación de los participantes. Como muestra el cuadro 1, se puede ver una relación positiva entre la autoevaluación y la puntuación en la prueba de

competencia. Aunque una de los participantes no sigue el patrón, los otros sí lo demuestran fuertemente. Un nivel más alto de autoevaluación se traduce a un nivel más alto en realidad. Esto significa que se puede confiar en las autoevaluaciones de los participantes.

Próximo, se necesita considerar las variables confundidas. La primera es la edad (cuadro 2). El grupo más grande de los participantes fue el de los que tenían veinte años, pero éstos no fueron más del 34% de la muestra total. Entonces se puede asumir que la edad fue neutralizada como una variable confundida. Lo mismo con el año en la universidad (cuadro 3). Los estudiantes del segundo año fueron el grupo más grande, pero no fueron más del 36%. El porcentaje no es tan grande como para confundir los resultados. Las mujeres fueron el 64% de la muestra (cuadro 4). Aunque el porcentaje es más grande que los otros y constituye más del 50%, había solo dos categorías. Las mujeres fueron menos del doble de los hombres. Pues, se puede suponer que los resultados no se confunden. El campus tampoco confunde los resultados porque la mitad de los participantes declararon un campus y
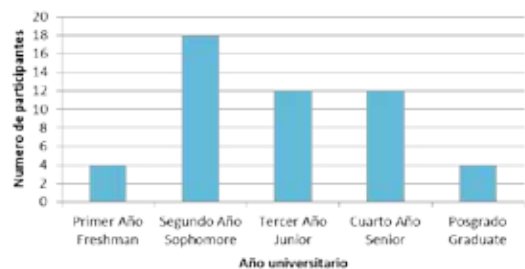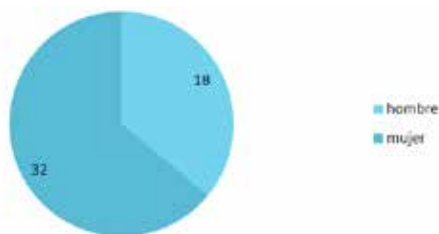
CUADRO 1

Autoevaluación y prueba de competencia

CUADRO 2

Edad de los participantes
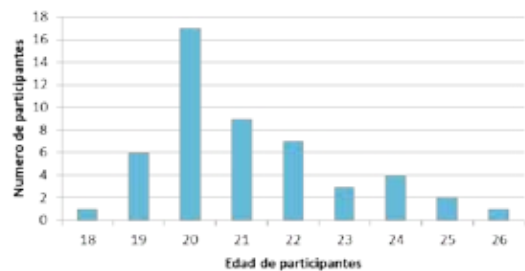
CUADRO 3

Año universitario de los participantes

CUADRO 6

Facultad de los participantes

CUADRO 7

Correlación entre nivel de español y promedio escolar
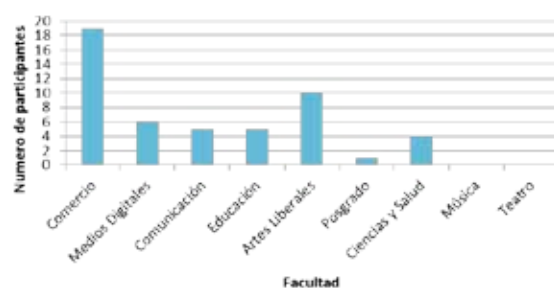
la otra mitad el otro campus (cuadro 5). La especialización más común fue contabilidad, declarada por cinco estudiantes, el 10% de la muestra. Aquí también el porcentaje fue demasiado bajo para tener una influencia en los resultados. Finalmente, la facultad más grande fue la Facultad de Comercio con el 38% de la muestra, otra vez bastante bajo (cuadro 6). El único factor que puede ser problemático es la ausencia de representantes de las facultades de música y de teatro. Sin embargo, en aras de este estudio, se supone que esto no tendría un efecto en los resultados.
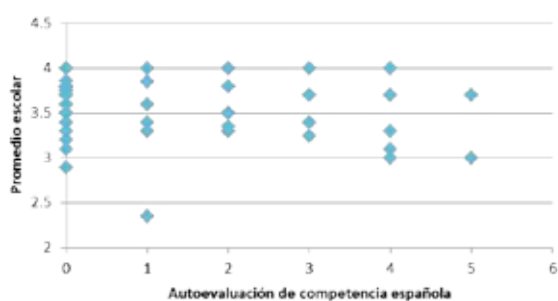
Resultados

Asegurándose de la ausencia del impacto de las variables confundidas, se puede presentar y analizar los resultados de este estudio. El nivel de bilingüismo español-inglés no tiene una correlación con el promedio escolar (cuadro 7). Había estudiantes que no hablaban nada de español, pero su promedio era de 4.0. También, había estudiantes que hablaban español nativamente, pero tenían un promedio de 3.0. Los puntos de nivel y promedio fueron

dispersados por todo el rango. No se pudo encontrar un patrón entre los puntos. Entonces, no se pudo concluir que haya una correlación entre el nivel de bilingüismo y éxito escolar medido por el promedio entre los estudiantes universitarios.

Con estos resultados contrarios a la hipótesis, se quería averiguar si hay, por lo menos, una correlación entre el nivel de bilingüismo en general y el éxito escolar (cuadro 8). Para encontrarlo se sumaron las autoevaluaciones de todas las lenguas declaradas. Por ejemplo, si un estudiante declaró que hablaba español nativamente y francés básicamente, obtuvo seis puntos en la escala de nivel de bilingüismo. Cuando se comparó esta escala con los promedios, se averiguó que tampoco hay una correlación. Sí, si se plantea una línea del ajuste mejor, tenía ésta un valor positivo. Sin embargo, su inclinación es muy baja. Entonces, no se debe argumentar esta conclusión. Este estudio no muestra ninguna correlación entre el nivel de bilingüismo español-inglés o en general con el éxito escolar.

Correlación entrs nivel de lenguas y promedio escolar
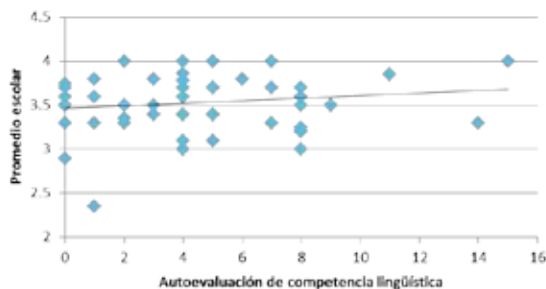
Implicaciones

El estudio presentado arriba no apoya la hipótesis que el nivel del bilingüismo tiene un efecto positivo en el éxito escolar entre los estudiantes universitarios. Sin embargo, no se declarará que esta relación no exista o, más extremamente, que exista una relación negativa. No es que el estudio confirme que no hay una relación. Simplemente, el estudio no puede confirmar lo opuesto. Los estudios previos, aunque admitieron argumentos contra las hipótesis similares, mayormente han argumentado por una relación positiva.

El presente estudio no tiene suficiente evidencia para declarar que los estudios anteriores realizados por los científicos presentan un fenómeno erróneo. Aunque se intentó controlar las variables confundidas como la edad, el género, el año escolar, etcétera, no fue posible controlarlas todas. Un error posible es suponer que los estudiantes de DePaul pueden representar los estudiantes universitarios en general. La verdad es que DePaul es una buena escuela, en la cual no se puede estudiar "estudiantes malos". Como muestran los participantes, de cincuenta en total, solo dos tenían un promedio por debajo del 3.0, la que se traduce a la nota de "B", que muchos consideran una nota muy buena y que significa "superior a la media". Entonces, los estudiantes de DePaul no pueden representar los estudiantes universitarios en general.

También la voluntariedad del estudio pudo confundir los resultados. A todos los participantes se les pidió su tiempo para rellenar la encuesta. En dos o tres casos la respuesta fue negativa. Entonces el estudio incluye solamente a los estudiantes que tenían algo de tiempo y no los que tenían prisa. Posiblemente éstos tendrían un impacto relevante en el patrón de los resultados. Es posible que los con más prisa tuvieran que trabajar y, como no tenían tiempo para la encuesta, que tampoco tengan tiempo para estudiar, algo que se reflejaría en sus notas.

Finalmente, en aras de este estudio se asumió que la ausencia de representantes de las facultades de música y teatro no causaría problemas. Es posible que esta suposición fuera errónea. Por la diferencia entre teatro y música y las otras facultades por la abstracción de las materias y la concesión de las notas, los estudiantes de música y de teatro podrían tener un impacto diversificado y ser una adición valiosa al estudio y tener un impacto importante en los resultados.

Por su tamaño pequeño, el estudio tampoco pudo controlar por varias otras variables confundidas como situación socioeconómica, historia escolar o situación personal. Estas variables pudieron influir los resultados gravemente y no permitir llegar a la correlación esperada. Si se quisiera mejorar este estudio, se debería tomar una muestra de múltiples universidades de todas las facultades para representar mejor el grupo objetivo. También se debería acomodar los participantes con poco tiempo para poder tener una vista más clara de la población a propósito. El presente estudio no encontró la correlación deseada. Sin embargo, los resultados se deben considerar cautelosamente. Había muchas variables confundidas que pudieran sesgar los resultados. Los estudios anteriores también muestran que una correlación sí existe. Se recomiendan más estudios en este campo y, como se dijo anteriormente, este estudio no debe tener implicaciones graves para el campo de los estudios del bilingüismo. ∎

Apéndice A: Survey

Wiktor Eźlakowski | Prof. Barrera-Tobón | SPN351

Bilingualism Survey, DePaul University

1. How old are you?

2. What is your gender?

3. What is your year in school?

4. What is your college and your major?

5. What campus are most of your classes at?

6. What is your current or most recent GPA?

7. What languages, other than English, do you speak
and how well? (1—basic; 2—communicative; 3—proficient;
4—fluent; 5—native)

Apéndice B: Spanish Proficiency Test

Wiktor Eźlakowski | Prof. Barrera-Tobón | SPN351

Spanish Proficiency Test, DePaul University

Retrieved from http://www.spanish-test.net/spanish-test-results.php on March 1, 2015.

1. Cuando subamos al Teide, me pondré el traje de esquí
que me regalaste el año pasado. Por si __frío.
a) haría   b) hace
c) haga   d) hací

2. La ex-novia de Adolfo no soportaba que él se __con
otras mujeres. Por eso al final lo dejaron.
a) relacione   b) relacionaría
c) relacionara   d) relacionaba

3. La asamblea del distrito ha decidido que, __,
se reducirá a 30 km el límite de velocidad en los
alrededores de los colegios.
a) inmediatamente   b) entonces
c) de ahora en adelante   d) de golpe

4. ¿Vais a hacer ese viaje al desierto?—Lo haremos si __
dinero suficiente. Todavía no estamos seguros.
a) tenemos   b) habremos tenido
c) tuviéramos   d) tendríamos

5. Después de mucho tiempo sufriendo, acabó__
al hombre de su vida.
a) conquista   b) conquistado
c) conquistando   d) conquistar

6. Cuando estaba a punto__sacar a bailar a la chica que
tanto le gustaba, se tropezó con la mesa de las bebidas
y todos se rieron de él.
a) en   b) a
c) de   d) par

7. ¿Cómo se llama una persona a la que no le gusta nada gastar dinero?
   a) tacaña
   b) sofisticada
   c) prudente
   d) chula

8. Tu hermano se puso un traje de chaqueta y unas gafas oscuras como si__a una reunión importante.
   a) hubiera ido
   b) fuera
   c) iría
   d) habría ido

9. Lucía es una__del colegio. Nos conocemos desde que teníamos 8 años. ¡Cómo pasa el tiempo! De eso hace ya 12 años.
   a) vieja amiga
   b) pobre amiga
   c) amiga vieja
   d) amiga grande

10. Al final he suspendido el examen de Química Orgánica.—Ya me he enterado. Sinceramente, creo que deberías__ más si de verdad querías aprobar.
    a) estudiar
    b) hubieras estudiado
    c) haber estudiado
    d) estudies

11. ¡Te has comido__la paella y no me has dejado ni un granito de arroz!—Es que tenía mucha hambre.
    a) un poco
    b) la completa
    c) cualquiera
    d) toda

12. ¿Qué te cuenta Eloísa en la carta?—Pues nada, que__ de vacaciones a Túnez el mes pasado.
    a) fueron
    b) irían
    c) iban
    d) fueran

13. ¿Cuándo lo conociste?—Cuando__en la universidad. Hace ya tiempo.—¿Y qué pasó al final?—Nos casamos hace dos años.
    a) estudiaría
    b) estudié
    c) estudiaba
    d) he estudiado

14. Iré a verte a Barcelona cuándo tú me__. No importa cuando sea. Para tí siempre tengo tiempo.
    a) dirías
    b) dices
    c) digas
    d) dirás

15. Cuando se enteró de que su hermana se casaba,__ muy contenta.
    a) se hizo
    b) se puso
    c) se quedó
    d) se volvió

16. ¿Cómo se llamaba el amigo de Sebastián? Se me ha olvidado—Pues, chica, la verdad es que yo tampoco__.
    a) acuerdo
    b) me acuerdo
    c) me recuerdo
    d) recuerdo

17. Félix, la vecina del tercero quiere que vayas mañana a su casa a arreglar la estantería.—No hay problema.__ tengo tiempo para todo.
    a) Al miércoles
    b) En miércoles
    c) Los miércoles
    d) Miércoles

18. Entonces se levantó y se fue. Aquel día__que no me__.
    a) sabía / quiso
    b) supe / quería
    c) supe / quiso
    d) sabía / quería

19. Dime, María, ¿cuál es tu sueño más loco?—Pues mira, me__vivir en un lugar de playa y ser cantante en un local nocturno.
    a) encantaría
    b) soportaría
    c) encantaba
    d) encanta

20. En el médico:—Dígame, Sr. López, ¿qué le pasa?—Tengo mucha tos.—A ver. Quítese la camisa y__.
    a) tose hondo
    b) respira fuerte
    c) respire hondo
    d) tosa hondo

21. ¿__el fin de semana pasado en la exposición de Picasso?—No, al final no pude ir.

    a) Estuviste   b) Estado

    c) Has estado   d) Estuvo

22. En los años setenta mucha gente__de vacaciones a la costa.

    a) era   b) iban

    c) iba   d) fueron

23. ¿Te gusta el golf?—Me gusta pero__jugar.

    a) no hago   b) no puedo

    c) no toco   d) no sé

24. El novio de Ana es traductor. ¿Qué te parece?— Creo que los traductores__.

    a) tienen que saber escuchar y, sobre todo, saber mandar

    b) son personas muy amables y comunicativas

    c) tienen que tener buena presencia y el carné de conducir

    d) tienen que ser personas organizadas y dispuestas a pasar mucho tiempo solas

25. ¿Has visto a Nacho?—Sí, está__en la biblioteca.

    a) estudiado   b) estudiar

    c) estudiando   d) estudia

26. Buenos días, señora. ¿Qué desea?—¿__queso manchego?

    a) Deme   b) Tiene

    c) Quiere   d) Cómo

27. ¿Quiénes__los "Beatles"?—Un grupo inglés.

    a) es   b) son

    c) sois   d) somos

28. Bueno, chicos, ¿qué queréis tomar?—__dos zumos de naranja.

    a) Quieren   b) Quieres

    c) Querían   d) Queremos

29. Oye, Marta, ¿__tomarte cuatro semanas de vacaciones?—No, la verdad es que no.

    a) tienes   b) sabes

    c) juegas   d) puedes

30. En Valladolid__una iglesia muy bonita.

    a) es   b) hay

    c) son   d) está

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POLITICAL INTERSECTIONALITY: THE FOUNDATION OF COALITIONAL MOVEMENT BUILDING

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Coined by legal scholar and critical race theorist Kimberlé Crenshaw, the concept of intersectionality describes the intricate ways that institutionalized systems of oppression, such as racism, sexism, and ableism, are interconnected and therefore cannot be examined separately from one another. Intersectionality has been hailed by many as one of the most valuable theoretical frameworks created by women's studies. Yet there is a burgeoning debate within feminist academic communities today about the value of intersectionality in theory and practice due to the ways it has, ironically, been used to ignore difference and re-center the experiences of privileged white women. However, while some theorists find fault with intersectionality itself, the real problem is not with intersectionality as a theoretical tool, but with the ways that this concept has been coopted and grossly misused by neoliberal white feminism, a strain of feminism that promotes assimilation into current systems, instead of radical change, as the solution to oppression. As feminist scholar bell hooks has noted, under neoliberal feminism, "the structures of imperialist white supremacist capitalist patriarchy need not be challenged" (hooks, "Beyond Lean In"). In fact, I believe a distinction must be made between this coopted deployment of intersectionality by neoliberal feminism as merely a lip service to difference and the original, politicized use of this theoretical concept. In this paper, therefore, my intervention is to make a distinction between Crenshaw's original call for a political intersectionality and what I call categorical intersectionality, which is often used

by neoliberal white feminism and single-issue movements, such as the fight for marriage equality. Though categorical intersectionality often re-centers whiteness within social justice movement, political intersectionality helps us to better understand and dismantle multiple oppressive institutions of power. I argue that criticism should not be targeted at intersectionality as a general concept, but at this depoliticized, coopted categorical intersectionality, which often results in oppressive movement building. Instead, feminists and activists must return to Crenshaw's intended, political intersectionality, which I argue remains a vital tool for feminist theorizing and movement-building. To build successful movements that dismantle larger, interconnected systems of oppression and violence, feminists must employ political intersectional analyses and build coalitional movements.

To understand the true value of political intersectionality, we as feminists must turn back to Kimberlé Crenshaw's foundational work. Crenshaw's articulation of intersectionality in "Mapping the Margins: Intersectionality, Identity Politics, and Violence Against Women of Color" is a politically engaged tool used to critique and resist systems of power, not to describe individual identities. In this article, Crenshaw conceptualizes intersectionality as a theoretical tool to respond to the problems of identity based politics that separate categories of gender and race. Crenshaw expresses frustration that "feminist efforts to politicize experiences of women and antiracist efforts to politicize experiences of people of color have frequently proceeded as though the issues and experiences they each detail occur on mutually exclusive terrains" (Crenshaw 357). Crenshaw is noting the ways that both feminist movements and antiracist movements have focused on a single axis of

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oppression, gender or race respectively, ignoring the unique experiences of women of color, who experience both. By doing this, both movements ignore the particular experiences and needs of women of color. Women of color's experiences of oppression differ from both white women and men of color because of the ways larger systems of race and gender converge in their lives. Take, for example, discussions around welfare. While white women and black men using welfare are certainly discriminated against and thought of poorly, the stereotype of the "welfare queen" is directed at women of color and is uniquely gendered and racialized. To look exclusively at race or gender in this case would not give us the whole picture of this experience of oppression. Intersectionality was the theoretical tool Crenshaw used to explore this complexity and ways that "the intersection of racism and sexism factors into black women's lives in ways that cannot be captured wholly by looking separately at the race or gender dimensions of those experiences" (Crenshaw 358). For Crenshaw, intersectionality was not merely a way to explain the differences of women of color, but a way to analyze the complexities of how multiple systems of power intersect in oppressed people's experiences of systemic violence. Originally, then, intersectionality was never meant to be divorced from politics and applied only to the individual, as happens with categorical intersectionality, but was distinctly politicized and a tool of dealing with structural violence.

By contrast, categorical intersectionality merely results in feminists and activists making a laundry list of types of oppression (race, class, sexuality) without actually causing any changes in the substance of their theorizing or activism. Many contemporary feminist theorists, such as postmodern queer theorist Jasbir Puar, have cited the entire concept of intersectionality for this problem, without distinguishing between categorical and political intersectionality. In the article "'I Would Rather Be a Cyborg than a Goddess': Becoming-Intersectional in Assemblage Theory," Puar argues that relying solely on intersectionality for theorizing or movement building is problematic because intersectional analyses entrench the subject, and gender, resulting in the type of gender essentialism that reinforces oppressive hierarchies within feminism. This postmodern perspective argues that despite its intentions of antiessentialism, the deployment of intersectionality is too often a "problematic reinvestment in the humanist subject" which ironically essentializes identity by ignoring intragroup differences, thus re-centering white women (Puar 55). However, while Puar faults the theory for this entrenchment of the subject, I believe it is the deployment of a categorical intersectionality by neoliberal white feminism and single-issue movements that is to blame. In practice, categorical intersectionality often shows up when feminists rattle off their laundry list of identities (I, for example, am a white, queer, cisgender, upper-middle class, able-bodied woman) without these identities actually impacting the ways that we are theorizing and organizing, thereby entrenching the subject as the center of theorizing. Entrenching the subject as the center is problematic because it results in a limited analysis of the larger systems of power and oppression at play. When we as feminists, and particularly when white feminists like myself, simply name our 'intersecting' identities, our theories and movements ignore larger systems of power and oppression, and often re-center our own experiences of whiteness. For example, in my own experience in women's studies classrooms, the theory of intersectionality is often invoked by white feminists with the expressed intention of righting the wrongs of mainstream second-wave white feminists, who ignored the different needs and experiences of non-white, working class, and queer women. The problem here is that though there is a verbal acknowledgement of the supposed 'intersections' of their identities, that is where the analysis usually ends. Simply naming all of the types of oppression one faces or does not face is not a politically valuable analysis, unless it actually results in substantial changes to the ways we theorize and organize. Categorical intersectionality results in merely tacking the experiences of brown, queer, trans, and poor women onto existing ideas of womanhood, instead of engaging with how those experiences might profoundly change their experiences of gender and the types of structural violence they face. Invoking categorical intersectionality, then, just becomes a way to pat ourselves on the back and make us feel like our movements are inclusive without doing the work.

Though intersectionality was developed as a tool to "disrupt whiteness" within both feminist and other social justice movements, through categorical intersectional analysis, gender, for women, actually becomes "understood as the constant from which there are variants" (Puar 52). In other words, this type of intersectional analysis posits that though women may have a multiplicity of races, classes, and ability statuses, that they are all women, and that multiply oppressed women are just "variants" on women oppressed only along lines of gender. This is a problem because instead of engaging in the complex experiences of being multiply oppressed by race and gender, categorical intersectionality centers gender oppression, which has the effect of "re-securing the centrality of the subject positioning of white women" (Puar 52). Re-centering gender, and therefore white women who are only/mainly oppressed due to their gender, results in racist theorizing and activism. Instead of being a tool to analyze the ways that each of our multiplicity of identities impacts the ways we move in the world and relate to systems of power, categorical intersectionality analyses marginalize multiply oppressed people, like women of color, within feminism. Additionally, within the current historical and political moment of neoliberalism, intersectionality has been depoliticized and emptied of meaning. Categorical intersectionality has been displaced "from any political practice and socio-economic context" and translated "into a merely theoretical abstraction of slipping signifiers of identity" (Puar 53). Categorical intersectionality focuses on the individual subject (instead of on systems of power, which is the focus of political intersectionality), which results in simply describing differences. This is then easily co-opted by the neoliberal project of celebrating diversity. In this project, diversity is a commodity, something to quantify, something to 'prove' that our society is successfully living in a 'post-racial' era. The neoliberal project capitalizes on diversity, celebrating our 'melting-pot' society while continuing to ignore intentional state violence against the very oppressed groups they supposedly celebrate and value. Categorical intersectionality is a depoliticized collusion with these "dominant forms of liberal multiculturalism"

(Puar 53). Categorical intersectionality does little more than verbally celebrate the differences among women while continuing to ignore what it means to actually use political intersectionality as an analytical tool to target complex systems of oppression. This liberal project of celebrating diversity does nothing, however, to actually challenge structural violence, and in fact often reinforces oppressive systems of power such as racism and sexism.

A depoliticized, categorical intersectionality is often invoked by neoliberal political movements, such as groups organizing along identity lines fighting single-issue political battles. Lacking a political intersectional framework, these movements are only able to achieve surface level changes to society, and lack the power to challenge structural violence, often even reinforcing or increasing the reach of larger systems of oppression. A perfect example is the lesbian and gay communities' fight for marriage equality. Though this movement verbally proclaims the importance of inclusion and diversity, the fight for marriage equality is often at the direct expense of multiply oppressed queers who would benefit far more from universal health care or prison abolition than from the right to marry. Utilizing a political intersectional analyses, queer theorists and feminist activists such as Cathy Cohen, Dean Spade, and Craig Willse explore the reasons that single-issue struggles, such as the marriage equality movement, fail to understand the interconnectedness of systems of power and violence. Cohen explains how "numerous systems of oppression interact to regulate and police the lives of most people" (Cohen 441) . Single-issue movements like marriage equality utilize categorical intersectionality to celebrate difference, but by definition do not address multiple systems of oppression. Proponents of same-sex marriage equality have managed to spin a convincing story that marriage equality is the single most important issue facing LGBT communities, and that legalizing same-sex marriage will legally solve homophobia and heterosexism. This identity-based movement lacks a political intersectional analysis and is therefore unable to see the ways that marriage has long been a "racialized, colonial,

patriarchal process of state regulation of family and gender" (Spade and Willse "Marriage Will Never Set Us Free"). Spade and Willse argue that seeking inclusion within this violent state apparatus contributes to "conservative pro-marriage ideas about romance, children, families and care that support the attacks on social welfare programs and most severely harm low-income mothers of color" (Spade and Willse "Marriage Will Never Set Us Free"). By focusing solely on marriage, LGBT is essentialized to focus solely on the desires of white, wealthy lesbian and gay people for inclusion and assimilation into oppressive systems. Even wrapped in a rainbow flag, the marriage equality fight supports conservative ideologies at the direct expense of not only non-white and poor LGBT people, but also women of color and other oppressed groups who do not identify as LGBT (Cohen 443). When faced with single-issue, identity politics movements, political intersectionality becomes an invaluable tool for pointing out this disregard of intragroup difference and the resulting reinforcement of oppressive power structures.

In the midst of problematic identity-centric political organizing, activists like myself continue to realize that political intersectionality is a vital tool for countering single-issue struggles through building coalitional movements. This is because, in contrast with the categorical intersectionality focus on the individual subject, political intersectionality ccenters on an analysis of greater systems of oppression and violence. Understanding that systems of power are interconnected and work together to enact violence in our lives is particularly valuable and important as the foundational basis of successful coalitional movement building. Unlike categorical intersectionality, this political intersectionality does not essentialize identities and directly challenges the problems of single-issue identity based movements. If movements were to utilize a political intersectional analysis that sought to resist the larger connected systems of violence and oppression, then the possibilities for coalitional movement-building open up dramatically. Due to their abilities to fight across identity lines to attack larger systems, coalitional movements have

radical possibilities of societal transformation. Though Crenshaw begins to explore the political possibilities of coalitions, my understanding of successful politically intersectional coalitions aligns more with Cohen, who pushes us to consider how intersectionality allows us to build coalitions not organized around reductive, fixed categories but "organized instead around a more intersectional analysis of who and what the enemy is and where our potential allies can be found" (Cohen 457). Turning back to the example of marriage equality movements, a political intersectional analysis reveals that the 'enemy' is not discriminatory marriage laws that exclude LGBT people from marriage, but the larger systems of neoliberal capitalism. Spade points out that we must "shift our understanding of power from a focus on individual/intentional discrimination to a focus on norms that govern population management" (Spade "Administrating Gender" 137). Same-sex marriage advocates only understand power as a matter of discrimination on the individual level. Their analysis posits that the extension of the right to marry to same-sex couples will disrupt discrimination and therefore heterosexism. However, political intersectionality reveals the ways marriage is a technique of population management within neoliberal capitalism and a site where racism, sexism, colonialism, heterosexism, classism and policing converge. Political intersectionality also, therefore, reveals the potential for alliances to be made amongst people of color, women, immigrants, the poor, queer, and gender-nonconforming people in order to dismantle the institution of marriage.

I, like Cohen, want the "process of movement building to be rooted not in our shared history or identity, but in our shared marginal relationship to dominant power which normalizes, legitimizes, and privileges" (Cohen 358). In order to successfully build such movements, we must be able to analyze the complexities of our relationships to dominant powers. Here, political intersectionality becomes a key tool for analyzing the complex interconnections of those systems. We must hold onto the language of intersectionality because it helps us in the vital project of

analyzing the interconnectedness of systems of power. In Bernice Reagon's influential piece on coalitions, she describes the experience of building coalitions: "most of the time you feel threatened to the core and if you don't, you're not really doing no coalescing" (Reagon 356). One of the reasons you "feel threatened to the core" in coalition building is because successful coalitions rely on a political intersectional analysis. As I have explained here, this kind of analysis is difficult precisely because of the ways it challenges us to think more expansively. A political intersectional analysis requires us to think beyond interpersonal violence, single issues, and the individual. It instead calls us to fight institutionalized systems of violence that oppress marginalized groups in multiple ways. It is much easier to pick a single issue and organize around identity lines. It is also easier to use accepted ideologies of capitalism, neo-liberalism, and white supremacy to fight for those single-issues than it is to build coalitions aimed at fighting politically intersectional movements. Yet, as pointed out by many activists, political intersectional analyses open up opportunities for powerful coalitional movements that are better able to dismantle systems of oppression.

Queer feminist disability scholar and activist Alison Kafer shows how a variety of movements, ranging from environmental justice to bathroom politics, can be sites for coalitional movements once a political intersectional analysis is applied. While transgender activists fight for access to gender-affirming bathrooms, disability activists are separately fighting for bathrooms that are accessible for folks with disabilities. But what if these two groups worked together to make sure that bathrooms were accessible not just to certain identity pockets, but to all people? Categorical intersectionality calls for fighting for the rights of people in specific groups. But political intersectionality instead focuses on the institutions, on the need for safe and affirming access to public space for everyone, a focus that could bring together trans and disability activists to work in coalition towards this larger goal. By employing a political intersectional analysis, a coalition between

these groups to fight larger systems of power intersecting to enact violence becomes obvious, and the resulting movement more powerful. As indicated by Kafer's work, bathrooms are just one site where political intersectionality opens up possibilities for coalitional movement building. What if feminists fighting for the right to access abortion banded together with disability activists fighting against selectively aborting fetuses with disabilities? Though these groups may seem at odds, using a political intersectional frame, Kafer points out that both groups could form a powerful coalitional movement with women of color who have consistently focused on comprehensive reproductive justice (101). Clearly, using a political intersectional analysis goes hand-in-hand with coalitional activism that seeks to address larger systems of violence and oppression across identity lines.

Though many modern feminist theorists have critiqued the concept of intersectionality, making the distinction between categorical and political intersectionality helps make it clear that the problem is not the concept, but the depoliticized, individual focused categorical intersectionality utilized by neoliberal white feminism and single-issue movements. Categorical intersectionality is often used to simply mark difference without engaging real changes to our theorizing or organizing. It also re-centers white women within feminism, making it directly opposed to antiracist, non-oppressive theorizing and movement building. Categorical intersectionality, and the movements using it, focus on individual identity and interpersonal violence, and often prop up the liberal project of celebrating diversity and ignore larger structural violence. By contrast, the political intersectionality Crenshaw proposed draws our focus directly to those systems of power and forces us to question the ways that systems of oppression are interconnected on the institutional level. A political intersectional analysis shows the ways that larger systems of domination, such the institution of marriage, operate to oppress multiple groups of marginalized people at the same time. Women of color have consistently called out white feminism for the racist theorizing and organizing that results from the dismissal

and misuse of political intersectionality. It is therefore unacceptable to attack or write off intersectionality in its entirety. White feminists need to resist blaming a theoretical concept like intersectionality for continued racism, or any other oppressive actions. Instead, white feminism and single-issue movements must become accountable for the ways each has coopted and misused the work of women of color to continue to centralize whiteness within our movements. Feminism must turn back to Crenshaw's work, and to the work of women of color feminists, to understand what political intersectionality means, because it is only through political intersectionality that we can create antiracist, non-oppressive movements through the radical possibilities of coalitional building. It is only through coalition building and activism rooted in political intersectionality that we will be able to dismantle the intersecting structural systems that oppress us. ■

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FROM EMPTY ROOM TO ART EXHIBIT:
THE RHETORICAL GENRE OF THE EXHIBIT LABEL

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Introduction

Imagine you walk into an empty room with a few paintings on the walls and a vase on a table. Would you assume perhaps that the room was being redecorated or the furniture being refurbished—or would you infer that the room might be a display of art? Now imagine you are in a café or restaurant. There are paintings on the wall, but you do not look at them as works of art to be regarded as you would a painting on the wall of a museum; they are simply there as decoration. Finally, imagine you walk into a restroom and you find labels next to all of the objects in the room that list the manufacturer, materials used and dates when the objects were created, as well as information about their history and the best ways to use them. You might begin to question if it was some kind of prank or if you should actually be critically examining these objects for some reason.

In these imaginary scenarios, the presence or lack of exhibit labels seems to influence how we react to and interpret the situation. The basic rhetorical function of exhibit labels might seem obvious—to transmit information about an exhibit from the curator or artist to an observer. However, when we examine exhibit labels as a genre through the scope of rhetorical genre studies, the work that these labels do becomes far more complex. That is, exhibit labels are not simply a means to communicate information or individual motives; as a genre, the exhibit label has "a purpose [that is] socially constructed and recognized by [a] relevant organizational community for typical situations" (Yates & Orlikowski 15).

In rhetorical genre studies, the concept of genre goes beyond a simple checklist of content or features and instead considers how the genre's characteristics come together to produce social actions in certain contexts. Carolyn Miller defines this concept of genre as "typified rhetorical action" (151). That is, in order to fully understand a genre, an analysis should not be centered solely on the formal or substantive features, but should also include the social context in which these features are created and utilized—and the social actions the genre enacts in that context. The typification of these social actions arises through the repeated use of a genre in recurrent situations, which in turn creates norms and expectations of what kind of rhetorical actions the genre can produce.

To better understand genre as rhetorical action, the concept of "social scripts" (Devitt et al. 58) highlights how a genre may act as an organizing principle that not only decides what actions can be done, but also shapes the social roles of individuals and the purpose of a space within a situation. As Bawarshi and Reiff explain, genres "[shape] how individuals recognize and respond to these situations. These forms come to mediate how individuals perceive and respond to recurrent situations" (70). Much like a script for a play, a genre directs participants to perform certain "roles," as well as transforms a space into a particular "scene." The content and the physical and linguistic characteristics of a genre are like the lines of dialogue and stage direction which determine the roles that individuals perform as well as the scene that is established in the space.

The exhibit label as a rhetorical genre functions as an organizing principle that transforms a space into an exhibit, establishes the objects in the space as works of art and mediates the actions of observers within that space to make them art viewers. By first identifying features of content and form in exhibit labels—drawing on ethnomethodological observations of the situation in which the genre is used—I argue that the genre of exhibit labels functions as a social script that establishes a particular role for the space as well as for the observers who engage with the genre.

Methods and Observations on Setting

To study exhibit labels as a "typified rhetorical action," I collected samples of several exhibit labels in two different settings: the Chicago Cultural Center (CCC) and the DePaul Art Museum (DPAM). In each of these settings I toured through the exhibit as a visitor in order to get a general impression of the setting and the context where the exhibit label genre occurs, and I took photos of exhibit labels to later analyze their content, form and language. The CCC and DPAM are semi-public spaces that are designated for the display of culture and knowledge. The two settings are split up into rooms or halls which may contain one or more exhibits. Exhibits consist of one or more works of art that share a common theme.

According to Daniel Schulman, the Director of Visual Art at the CCC, exhibit labels are written almost exclusively by the curators of the exhibit. When working with contemporary art, the curators work in collaboration with the artists. In the case of historic art that is outside the curators' knowledge, they consult experts for advice and editorial review. Usually the curators' writing is cross-checked with marketing or communications specialists, or other editorial departments for style, grammar and accuracy (personal communication, February 24 2015).

In my observation I identified several constituent genres that compose the genre of exhibit labels. These constituent genres are: *introduction labels*, which provide information about the exhibit as a whole; *section labels*, which introduce sections or themes present within the exhibit; *object labels*, which describe individual objects within the exhibit; and *credit labels*, which list donors or acquisition dates. As an assemblage (i.e., a collection of genres working intertextually to produce "typified rhetorical actions"), these constituent genres produce what Spinuzzi calls a "genre ecology" (114).

A genre ecology is a way to understand relationships among genres that function simultaneously, rather than sequentially. In many genre assemblages, constituent genres are produced or used in response to another genre—emphasizing how genres facilitate communication, as information is moved from one genre to the next. In contrast, the concept of genre ecology foregrounds the interactive relationships among constituent genres. In studying genre ecologies, scholars focus on how these genres come together to jointly mediate social activity. Because a genre ecology is centered on what types of actions and identities the genres mediate and produce, instead of on the intent of individuals to communicate, the genres are invested with primary agency to influence the context in which they are present.

The concept of genre ecology shows how different types of exhibit labels come together to produce social roles and mediate social actions. However, because the relationship among the constituent genres is highly interdiscursive, the genre ecology of exhibit labels can remain effective even if one or more of these types of labels is excluded altogether and their information is included on another type of label. For example, many of my samples of object labels included donor information (normally found on credit labels) and another sample only had an introduction label and no object labels. This study will refer to the entire genre ecology collectively as the "genre of exhibit labels," and only specifically refer to the individual constituent genres when necessary.

Observation of Exhibit Label Features

Although rhetorical genre studies encompasses more than identifying simple patterns of features, such patterns serve to illuminate how genres produce and are produced by recurring social situations. The content, form, format and linguistic features that compose exhibit labels have particular rhetorical effects that contribute to the exhibit label genre's ability to function as a social script, establishing the roles of individuals and transforming a space into a particular scene. In this section I will present my observations on the exhibit labels simply as textual objects to lay the foundation for an analysis of how they function as a genre. I will first identify the rhetorical function of the types of content that appear in the exhibit labels. I will then present some similarities and differences in the labels' form and format. Finally, I will identify some linguistic patterns present in the text.

Content

The content of exhibit labels at the CCC and DPAM can be divided into two types, based upon the kind of information they portray. The first is *listed information*, which includes objective, factual qualities of the object or exhibit that are briefly stated in the text using only a few words. Some examples of listed information are the titles of the exhibits, titles of objects, the media or the materials used in objects, dates objects were created or acquired, and who owns or donated the objects. Listed information is used when the facts or qualities stand alone and can be understood by visitors in the exhibit without requiring further interpretation or context.

The second type of content is *expository information*, which includes mostly subjective description and interpretation that is written out in brief paragraphs. Some examples of expository information are descriptions of the exhibits' themes, historic context of the exhibits, thematic relevance of objects, historic information about objects, interpretive information about objects and biographical information about the artists. Although the expository information does include some factual,

objective content (e.g., biographical or historic content), it is affected by the curators' treatment of the facts—and also in the way it is placed in relation to the larger context of the exhibit or object—essentially making the factual expository information part of a subjective interpretation or description.

Within these two types of content, two rhetorical appeals can be identified. Objective content such as the historic information, donor information, biographical information and any other background information function as *ethical*[1] appeals. Subjective content such as interpretive and descriptive information function as *pathetic*[2] appeals. Appeals to ethos and pathos loosely correspond with the categories of listed information and expository information respectively; however, there is some overlap. Consider, for example, that biographical content can support the ethos of the artist, but since it is expository information it can also be portrayed in a way to create a particular emotional reaction to the artists and their work (i.e., an appeal to pathos). These two categories of appeals manifest in a number of ways throughout the genre as a means of manipulating the effects of the space and the roles of the participants (see further discussion in the *Roles* section below).

Form and Format

Observing the genre of exhibit labels in use, I encountered a wide variation in the form and format, but there were some notable similarities across the samples. In regard to form (i.e., the physical construction), the exhibit labels were typically printed on a heavy paperboard or vinyl "plaque" cut into square or rectangular shapes. These plaques varied greatly in size, with some just a few square inches, and others a couple feet tall. Almost all of the labels were white with black text, most likely to facilitate ease of reading (just one sample was black with white text). All of the labels appeared to be professionally printed with no flaws in quality.

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[1] Ethos refers to a sense of authority or credibility established by the rhetor (in this case, the exhibit label) in order to affect the audience (in this case, the observer in an exhibit).

[2] Pathos refers to the sympathies, imagination and emotions of the audience.

FIGURE 1

Object label for art object

FIGURE 2

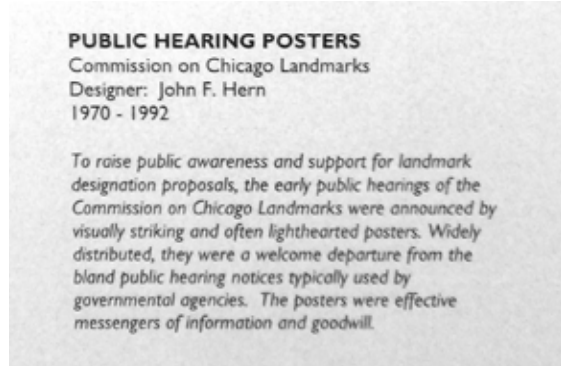Object label for historic object
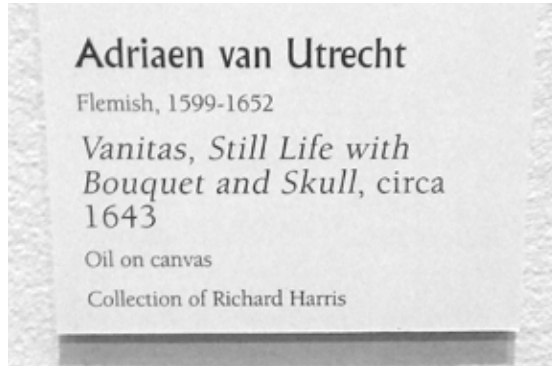
The similarities in format (i.e., the textual organization and arrangement) are less uniform. For the object labels and credit labels, most of the content is displayed as listed information, occasionally including some expository information. The only similarity in format among object labels is that the artist's name is always displayed at the top and is emphasized somehow from the other text (either by using a bold or larger typeface), while any other expository information is nearer to the bottom of the label (see Figure 1). Aside from that, the order, placement and typeface of other listed information seems to follow no conventions. A notable deviation is that exhibits focused on the history of an art object emphasize the title of the piece at the top of the label instead of the artist's name (see Figure 2). The introduction and section labels are almost exclusively expository information, with the only listed information being some type of title or statement (see Figure 3). All instances of expository information are quite brief—typically a paragraph consisting of a few sentences on object labels, and on introduction and section labels there are typically only one or two of these short paragraphs.

Linguistic Features

Unlike form and format, there are far more similarities across the samples in the linguistic content. Several categories of listed information appear in every object label, such as artist's name, the title of the piece, dates, and media/materials. Almost all listed information is nouns or proper nouns and does not exceed more than a few words. The expository information mostly consists of historic/contextual writing and analytical/interpretative writing. While expository information is written in paragraphs, there is a focus on brevity and the writing is clear and concise.

FIGURE 3

Section label featuring subjective language.

Linguistic patterns are apparent in the types of words used in the exhibit labels. One pattern is the use of *technical language* specific to the study and practice of visual art. Instances of technical language mostly appear in the media/materials category of the listed information, with terms such as "acrylic" or "digital animation," but also appear in the expository writing as well when referring to specific art periods or styles. Another prominent linguistic feature is the use of *subjective language* in the expository information—specifically positive or laudatory adjectives when referring to the artists or art objects. One label in the DPAM describes humanity as "*alarmingly* disconnected from the effects of our consumptive way of life" and that the artists who confront this notion are "part of an *important* discourse" (see Figure 3, emphases added). At the CCC, an exhibit is described as having "*intimately* scaled" sculptures of buildings, and another exhibit featuring photographs of protest signs uses words such as "*visually striking*" and "*effective*" in describing the posters and signs featured in the photographs.

Analysis of Features and Roles

In this section I describe how the features of content, form, format and language that I identified in my observations support my claim that the exhibit label genre functions as a social script that transforms the space of display and shapes certain roles for the participants.

The Space Becomes an "*Exhibit*"

The presence of exhibit labels informs individuals that they are in a space that is designated as an exhibit. Because most people have been to or at least seen an image of a museum exhibit depicted in a photograph or a film, they have an awareness of the recurring, typified context of an exhibit. This awareness can be further exemplified by returning to the thought experiment at the beginning of this study. For unwitting observers, walking into a bathroom full of exhibit labels would be a confusing experience precisely because their prior awareness of labels is tied to the social context of an

exhibit. As observers see exhibit labels present in the recurring situation of an exhibit, the exhibit label as a genre becomes typified and produces the expectation that whenever labels are found, the observers must be in an exhibit.

Other qualities of the space can afford or constrain an observer's ability to identify the typified context of an exhibit. For instance, the Art Institute of Chicago already has a well-established ethos as a museum space and so an exhibit may not require labels. The same is true for the DPAM. However, in a space like the CCC, which also functions as a general community center, the presence of labels is important in proving the ethos and provenance of an art exhibit. Additionally, the form and format of the exhibit labels further strengthens the ethos and provenance of the exhibit—that is, a label on paperboard with high-quality printing is much more effective than a label that is printed from an office printer on plain white paper. In a community space like the CCC, the genre of exhibit labels separates the exhibits from other objects in the space. In effect, the presence of labels not only establishes a space as an exhibit, but also signals a distinction between an object that is purely ornamental or decorative, and one that is intended to be regarded as art.

The rhetorical transformation of space into exhibit—effected by the exhibit label genre—is also supported by the subjective language used in the exhibit labels. Through the use of subjective language, the curator creates an argument for why the art in an exhibit should be viewed, thus establishing the provenance of the objects as works of art, and the space they are in as an art exhibit. The use of words with positive or laudatory connotations fosters a certain attitude toward the art object or artist in the reader. These words create an appeal to the pathos of the observers, because using such words instills positive feelings in the observers, who will then be more likely to consider the art object or artists as having the appropriate ethos to be displayed and viewed in an exhibit.

The Observer Becomes an *"Art Viewer"*

Uptake is a concept in rhetorical genre studies that is helpful in understanding how the genre of exhibit labels transforms an observer into an art viewer. In any assemblage of genres, knowledge of uptake is established through "learned recognition of [the] significance" of particular genres in a context over time. This knowledge allows an individual to navigate the relationships and boundaries between genres (Bawarshi & Reiff 86). After recognizing the typified context of an exhibit—signaled by the genre of exhibit labels—observers then use the labels as a means of situating themselves within that context. In the genre ecology of exhibit labels, observers *take up* one of the various types of exhibit labels, and use it to relate to and understand the genre of the art object—making them not just observers, but informed art viewers who now have the knowledge and language to understand, interpret and contextualize the art. For example, observers take up the object label to understand an individual object, and they take up a section or introduction label to understand the context or relevance of the exhibit as a whole.

The linguistic features that are present in the genre of exhibit labels facilitates this process of shaping the role of the art viewer. When observers take up an exhibit label genre and read the technical language in context with the art object, they acquire access to the discourse of art history and criticism. The observers then have some of the professional language and terminology to describe and interpret the art object, and can use that acquired knowledge from the exhibit label genre in relation to the art object. For instance, even if observers have no knowledge of the specific materials or styles of art, they can read an exhibit label and they are now aware that the painting was made with acrylics or is a work of surrealism, partially giving them the insider knowledge to assume the role of art viewers. The subjective language also gives observers access to a particular interpretation of the object that they can either agree with or else create their own interpretation, further shaping their roles as art viewers.

The Curator Becomes an *"Authority"*

When studying a genre ecology it is easy to forget that the genres within it are actually composed by individuals for a rhetorical purpose, because the nature of the model gives the agency in mediating the situation to the genres themselves. In the context of a museum exhibit, however, this constraint of the genre ecology must be put aside to point out how the curator becomes an authoritative force as the writer of the genre. Indeed, without a curator the exhibit would not exist. However, in my observation the role of the curator was entirely invisible. In fact, curators were not mentioned in any of the exhibits I observed— neither explicitly nor implicitly in the language of the exhibit labels.

Rhetorical genre studies focuses on the social relationships within a given context where genres are present, which raises questions about the power dynamics that emerge as genres shape and are shaped by their users. In the genre of exhibit labels, the curator is the sole participant who has any control over how or why the genre of exhibit labels is used, and in turn is indirectly responsible for the genre's typified purpose as a social script in the recurring situation of an art exhibit. Because the curator's role is not apparent in the content of the exhibit labels, and the curator's control is obscured by the agency given to the genre ecology of exhibit labels, there is an imbalance of power between the two participants (i.e., the curator and the observer). The imbalance of power establishes the curator as a disembodied authority—able to invisibly manipulate the genre—and enforces a passivity in the observer's role as an art viewer. The art viewers are not able to act in the exhibit space, only to react—and those reactions are shaped by the genre of the exhibit label and the invisible curator who writes them.

Conclusion and Implications

In this study I have shown that the genre of exhibit labels establishes a space as an exhibit and shapes participants in the space into particular roles. By considering the genre of exhibit labels as a social script, I have identified how

the patterns in the form and language of the labels create the scene of an exhibit. The linguistic features of the genre of exhibit labels also give observers in the exhibit access to the rhetorical knowledge needed to perform the role of art viewers. The genre of exhibit labels enacts the scene and setting of an exhibit, and mediates the activity of the observers in that setting, while also obscuring the curator's authority and control. This study shows that texts are more than just a means of communication or a rhetorical instrument, but that texts (as genres) have the ability to shape the actions and perceptions of individuals within recurring social contexts.

This study of exhibit labels from a rhetorical vantage point could be useful for museum faculty (and any other curators of exhibition spaces) by revealing a different perspective on the relationships between the participants in the context of a museum exhibit and how the genre of exhibit labels mediates those relationships. Future rhetorical studies could consider how the prior knowledge of art history and criticism that observers bring into the situation affects the genre's ability to rhetorically mediate their perception and responses within exhibit spaces. This study is also limited to art exhibits within public museum spaces; a study could be done to examine how the genre of exhibit labels functions similarly or differently in other contexts, such as history museums or artist-curated exhibits. Additionally, this study raises questions about the invisibility of the curator's role and the power dynamic that absence creates; more research could be done to examine the rhetorical implications of the imbalanced relationship between the curator and the art viewer. Such studies could reinforce the notion of museum labels as rhetorical genres, as well as develop further insight into the kinds of rhetorical work being done in museum spaces.

Acknowledgements

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