Creating Knowledge

DePaul
University
COLLEGE OF LIBERAL ARTS
AND SOCIAL SCIENCES

TABLE OF CONTENTS

TABLE OF CONTENTS (CONTINUED)

FOREWORD

Dear Students, Colleagues, Alumni and Friends,

Mitchell Goldberg, chair of our LAS external advisory board, makes constant use of the phrase "It is a DePaul thing" to identify the many things that DePaul in general, and LAS in particular, does in response to the Vincentian question, "What's to be done?" Our motto, "Here, We Do," is a celebration of that mindset. It is a well-deserved celebration because it is a demonstrable fact, and *Creating Knowledge* is evidence of it.

Every institution of higher education seeks to raise awareness and provide understanding of the world around us. That is a common thing. A subset of those institutions take that understanding of the world and use it as an actionable platform for the creation of new knowledge that comes back to further feed into our awareness and understanding of the world. To meet this critical need, our faculty, in some measure, carry the responsibility of fulfilling a scholarship agenda. We seek to be teacher-scholars, which is also a common thing.

Yet in LAS, we go beyond providing our students with awareness and understanding; we take them that extra step into creating knowledge and disseminating it so it can be put to use. We ask our undergraduate students to join our faculty in this creative endeavor not only from the perspective of their own field of study, but also in multidisciplinary intersections—intersections as rich and complex as the world around us. That is a very "DePaul thing," and this year's *Creating Knowledge*, with its multidisciplinary richness, provides extraordinary evidence that indeed, "Here, We Do!"
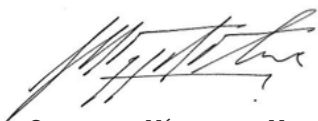
Creating Knowledge: The LAS Journal of Undergraduate Scholarship, was the product of a 2008 initiative aimed towards the goal of promoting research and creative endeavors among our undergraduate students. This volume marks our 12th anniversary of this unique publication. Within its pages, you will find 21 essays and 15 works of art representing advanced coursework produced in programs of the College of Liberal Arts and Social Sciences during the 2018-2019 academic year. All of the work presented here has been selected by department-based faculty committees as the best student work of the year, and all pieces have been revised under faculty supervision for publication. Most of the work has already been recognized through department awards and supported by undergraduate research and creative grants. The first footnote to each essay provides information about the class in which it was written and the process of selection and revision it underwent. Together, these works represent the intellectual depth, sophistication, and diversity for which our college is proudly recognized.

The clearly visible academic rigor displayed in *Creating Knowledge* is dependent on the investment of time, intellect, and enthusiasm of our faculty and staff. I would like to express my profound gratitude to the more than 60 faculty who supported, reviewed, selected, and helped to edit this remarkable collection of student work. I am also deeply grateful to the Department of Art, Media and Design faculty who served as jurors of the artwork, and to the writing and publication students who proofread the volume. In particular, I would like to thank Lisa Poirier, who serves as editor of this volume, for 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.

I am sure, in the following pages, you will see the dedication and critical thought our featured students put into their work and how *Creating Knowledge* encourages and challenges their peers to build further on their accomplishments. I hope that our alumni and friends of the college will take this opportunity to celebrate the high quality of their college experience and support our current students through the establishment of scholarships, internships, and the inclusion of our graduating students in their long-term recruitment and hiring plans.

We are a collection of perennial learners who find great joy in creating knowledge. It is my pleasure to invite you to enjoy this twelfth issue of *Creating Knowledge: The LAS Journal of Undergraduate Scholarship*.

Sincerely,

Guillermo Vásquez de Velasco, PhD
Dean

EXCESSIVE INVOCATIONS: THE CONTEMPORARY CULTURAL POLITICS OF SAMPLING

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Introduction

Most days, we all probably hear at least a musical sample or two in the sounds that surround us. Be it from the radio, personal collections, or the latest Spotify playlist, the practice of sampling is ubiquitous enough to be heard in much of today's popular music. Technically speaking, sampling is simply the process of isolating part of an existing recording to be mixed into a new composition. But a technical understanding of sampling is a partial one. Scholar Tricia Rose's definition highlights its crucial cultural dimension: "For the most part, sampling . . . is about paying homage, an invocation of another's voice to help you say what you want to say."[1] Its commonplace status in today's music was hard won — born out of politically charged hip-hop innovation and blighted by legal copyright battles, sampling occupied a transgressive status at its inception, one which this essay seeks to make more visible.

To illustrate Rose's words, take hip-hop group Public Enemy's 1989 single "Fight the Power."[2] Among several other sources, the beat prominently samples a looped drum break from James Brown's track "Funky Drummer."[3] The section of Brown's 1970 track, named for and featuring drummer Clyde Stubblefield, would go on to become one of the most frequently sampled "breaks" of all time. In Public Enemy's instantiation, the choice of this sample supports the radical politics represented by "Fight the

Power," the lyrics of which call for a militant rejection of hegemonic white power. Directly referencing the sample of Stubblefield in his opening verse, emcee Chuck D invokes the "sound of the funky drummer" to create "music hitting your heart 'cause I know you got soul." For Public Enemy, sampling old funk and soul recordings wasn't just a production technique—it activated their political message of black critical awareness by mining the musical history of their forebears.

Yet much has changed since Public Enemy's day. Their collage-style beats employing numerous samples per track, a sound defined by the group's associated production team The Bomb Squad, became financially untenable shortly after the release of "Fight the Power." New legal precedents instituted individual licensing permissions and royalty payments for all incorporated samples, requiring producers to pare down their selections.[4] Since then, copyright law around sampling has established a gatekeeping practice, making the reuse of popular major-label material the domain of artists with the requisite wealth and celebrity to make luxury purchases. The justification for this change has usually followed the argument that sampling without clearance is theft of creative property, though latent in many prosecutors' supposed defense of creativity is the denial of sampling itself as a creative act.[5] Unrestricted sampling flies not in the faces of artists, but of the legal owners of their recorded work. The two are not always the same entity. Case in point: for all the thousands of licit and illicit reuses of Stubblefield's famous break, the drummer saw not a

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single royalty earning in his life. Having been paid for the original studio session, his playing henceforth belonged to Brown's estate.

Today, online outlets such as Mass Appeal and Genius further commodify sampling by branding the art of sample-based production in their curated content, emphasizing its stylistic intrigue over its political history. WhoSampled.com identifies and catalogs with ever-increasing authority the sources of samples contained in popular tracks, making what was formerly a specialist's lexicon into an object of connoisseurship for fans and new producers alike. As hip-hop and pop production methods continue to converge in the age of downloadable studio-quality software, sampling carries less explicit connections to hip-hop and has become implicated within electronic music broadly. The hip-hop staple "Funky Drummer" loop is the basis of pop star Ed Sheeran's 2014 song "Shirtsleeves,"[6] for instance, introducing a new generation of music fans to the hallowed sample, devoid of its stylistic and historical context.

All of the above obscures sampling's inception as a grassroots musical technique established by and for marginalized, predominantly black voices in America. Sonic and cultural scholarship has long accounted for the politicized role of sampling in the birth of hip-hop, but its contemporary relevance to that history is frequently lost in translation to today's image-driven attention economies. In this paper, I argue that the technique of sampling has become culturally dislocated from its spirit of origin by the dominant sensibilities of the Western societies to which it is increasingly broadcast. In opposition to this, I am positing sampling as a heterogeneous technique that is defined by social forces of both race and gender, and should be inseparable from its history as a political tool of cultural resistance and transformation.

My analysis will consist of historical review, critical contemporary evaluation, and speculation as to the future of the musical practice of sampling. I will be drawing on Tricia Rose's influential *Black Noise* to chart a political history of sampling that is situated in the race and gender of its practitioners. Two key, mutually reinforcing concepts will inform my analysis of how sampling has been diminished by normative discourses. The first is that of sonic "excess," an outside and historically subjugated realm deemed punishable by ideologies of Western technological control. The second is "white aurality," a self-negating hegemonic sensibility which attempts to divorce cultural artifacts from their situated histories, priming those essential shared understandings for erasure. Following these conceptualizations, I will analyze the current state of sampling via two case studies, demonstrating the (dis)connections between the current state of sampling and when Rose was writing in 1994. Firstly, I will consider the political impact of rapper and producer Kanye West's 2013 track "Blood on the Leaves," to highlight this cultural shift in the priorities of more recent sampling as symptomatized by one of its most popular and visible practitioners. Secondly, I will identify in the music of independent electronic artist Elysia Crampton what I believe to be viable new trajectories for the future of sampling, wherein sampling reclaims a role in voicing counter-hegemonic cultural perspectives.

A History of Excess

My methodological approach is rooted in sound studies as developed through the lens of critical race and gender studies, and I offer political and economic context as necessary. Sound studies is an appropriate foundation here due to its traditional emphasis on sonic contexts, which extends to sound reproduction technology and the effect it has on what is heard and communicated. Scholar Jonathan Sterne writes that sound studies must think relationally across sounds to perceive them "as types of sonic phenomena rather than as things-in-themselves".[7] Sterne's prescription is apt here, for the political history of sampling is one of subverting technological determinism—that is, the assumption that society's cultural outputs are inherently limited by the design of its technologies. As outlined in Rose, digital sampling hardware was mass produced at an affordable

price point only after DJs like Grandmaster Flash popularized particular sonic aesthetics via the creative misuse of analog record players. Yet even though digital gear was ostensibly produced to meet an existing demand, its adopters still championed applied creativity over the stock functionality of the new machines. Early hip-hop producers were keen on particular units, such as the Akai MPC60, for producing a perceived sonic character despite, or perhaps resulting from, fewer controls; sound reproduction by certain samplers with more elaborate layouts was even unfavorably characterized as sounding "white."[8] Rose unpacks such critiques as reactions to "equipment whose technological parameters adhere most stringently to the Western classical legacy" that hip-hop sought to disrupt.[9] The unconventional use of outdated or even faulty technologies thus became a means of resistance and establishing creative agency.

This understanding—technological control by dominant power structures as an encroachment against the operative political integrities in sampling—is not a phenomenon that emerged with the dawn of sampling, but with the first categorizations of electronically produced sound itself. As evidenced in Tara Rodger's work, early American acousticians theorized electronic tones according to "analogous representational signifiers of social stratification."[10] Rodgers writes that these developments "were articulated to cultural valuations of whiteness and scientific objectivity, while timbral variation came to signify marked forms of material embodiment (e.g. raced, gendered, classed)." Hence a sine wave (one bearing no harmonic overtones) came to signify objective purity and bodily absence, relegating all other harmonic "excess" to the domain of white patriarchal control. These deviant excesses, whether seen as desirable or perverse, were thus conceived of via racialized otherness.[11] The advent of sampling in early dance and hip-hop music, as well as facets of the blues and jazz music that came before it, can be read in part as an intentional working with marginal materials against those cultural attitudes that would perpetuate their very characterization as such. Given the

history of false naturalization within which they were already implicated, hip-hop artists resisted by celebrating musical artifice on their own terms. In fact, the inspiration behind sampling itself originates from an unexpected excess in one personal account from DJ Marley Marl:

> One day in '81 or '82 we was doin' this remix. I wanted to sample a voice from off this song with an Emulator and accidentally, a snare went through. At first I was like, "That's the wrong thing," but the snare was soundin' good. I kept running the track back and hitting the Emulator. Then I looked at the engineer and said, "You know what this means?! I could take any drum sound from any old record, put it in here and get the old drummer sound on some shit. No more of that dull DMX shit." That day I went out and bought a sampler.[12]

Here, sampling becomes a method of redefining musical standards. Marley Marl getting "the old drummer sound," contrary to the "dull" drum presets already loaded on his machines, was groundbreaking precisely because it made the sounds of old records available for use in the same way that stock samples were. Yet, though this was possible only because of a separation from the recordings' source material, the desirable sound delivered was also contingent upon its source. By comparison, the dullness of the presets can be inferred to originate from their supposed neutrality, their lack of source. This "disembodied ideal" mirrors Rodgers' account of the "pure" sine wave—an established naturalization that, when contested from the outside, is exposed "as always already constructed, contingent, and never natural."[13] Sound produced by machines may be ideologically marked as neutral, but the artist sampling chooses how to (re) embody them—how to invoke another's voice.

Aural Tradition

Not unlike the machines, many composers of the Western classical tradition have sought to theorize the usage of sampled sounds without invoking a source. I would argue

that this erasure reflects the concept of white aurality, as coined by scholar Marie Thompson.[14] The term derives from her combining her reading of theorist Nikki Sullivan's "white optics" with the scholarly concept of "aurality." Sullivan's critique, as incorporated by Thompson, describes a "racialized yet naturalized" opposition which distinguishes matter from culture,[15] and "aurality" has been loosely defined by Jonathan Sterne as the conditions required for a sound to be recognized as audible.[16] I will define "white aurality" here as the conditions and mindsets which contribute to sonic cultural erasure. By that metric, such erasures are bound up in the ways that sounds are produced, heard, and appropriated, and by whom.

In citing Thompson's work, I am opening up the scope of this paper to touch on sonic philosophies implicit in cultures of sampling. Her preoccupation with the "ontological turn" locates her critique in the contemporary discourse questioning the limits of social constructionist thinking, here as it pertains to sound. Traditionally, she notes, scholarly distinction has been made between "sound art," an experimental pursuit pertaining to sonic ontology (that is, the nature of sound itself), and music, taken to function on socially constructed forms of cultural signification. This schematic posits sound art, a la contemporary "object-oriented" philosophies, as concerned with "the pre-, extra- or non-social 'real'" and thereby poised to sidestep questions of subjectivity. Thompson rightly identifies this as a suspect maneuver that erases racial specificity in the evaluation of sound art.[17] Hence, the sound art/music binary in sound studies is indicative of white aurality in that it reflects the idea that race can be bracketed within the social sciences, when in actuality "racialization is not simply of 'the social' and 'the human', but that through which 'the human' and 'the social' is (re)produced"—in this case, through sound.[18] I am complicating this binary not just because sampling is a popular technique deserving of proper contextualization across all disciplines, but because it implies a hierarchy wherein the sonic forms of popular culture are seen as below the "high" sound art of ontological inquiry. Besides the point that the latter cannot escape its own social situatedness, the political foregrounding of cultural remixing that took off in grassroots hip-hop sampling was, I would argue, more artistically radical than the so-called avant-garde, and, in fact, exposed the unchecked white privilege underlying its critique.

To be clear, identifying a subject as ideologically complicit with white aurality is a discursive maneuver, not an indictment of any one individual. My objection is to the structural incentive to gloss over one's own particularly situated perspective in an attempt to universalize it, the tacit process of erasure in claiming objectivity by which whiteness maintains the status quo. This has traditionally been a facet of the work of some notable composers in the twentieth-century music canon, particularly in the classical avant-garde, where the first experiments in manipulating recorded material took place. Anticipating the rise of DJ culture, sound artists such as Pierre Schaeffer and John Cage were among the first to suppose that the entirety of recorded sound could be apprehended as objects in the abstract, being reproduced by turntables and other playback devices on par with conventional orchestration.[19] Yet their work, always the provenance of the lone composer and framed by archetypes of authorial genius despite their theoretical centering of sound "material," obscures who is hearing the sounds and how. It is telling that sampling did not break into the mainstream until hip-hop producers explicitly predicated the practice on the reconstruction and transformation of cultural context with a community focus. This shift bucked art-world precedents of objectivity in sampling and, in doing so, rejected the prevailing white aurality informing it. Hip-hop sampling, to use Thompson's words, emphasized that "perception is a shared, social and co-constitutive process that shapes and is shaped by knower and known, perceiver and perceived . . . One does not *have* perspective but is *in* and (re)produced through perspective."[20] Politically speaking, it aimed for nothing less than a sonic leveling

of cultural hierarchy through raised consciousness. "Black noise" rose to hold accountable the "white aurality" that othered it in the first place. Yet where this contexualization is forgotten, so too is the revolutionary sound attached to sampling politically diluted.

Case Study: Western Ideology

I have selected the sampling work of Kanye West to examine for a few reasons. Firstly, he is generally considered to be one of the greatest working samplers today. Secondly, being concerned with the ongoing cultural transformation of sampling in hip-hop, it makes sense to draw upon a body of work, 2013's *Yeezus,* that brazenly departs from traditional hip-hop sound design. Lastly, the track in question is one that explicitly aims at the political, with mixed results. I intend to show that the interplay of all of these elements in some ways implicates the artist, himself a black person, in the maintenance of white aurality, and that his work cannot be considered completely apart from its historical legacy and continued influence in the music industry.

West's "Blood on the Leaves"[21] is one of the rapper's most popular and most controversial tracks. In it, he samples jazz singer and activist Nina Simone's cover of "Strange Fruit"[22]—a sobering piece of music about the lynching of black bodies and an exceptionally political statement from an artist whose name alone is recognized by many to connote a legacy of civil rights activism. Simone's voice is the first sound heard on West's track, entering as a focal point but mixed below West when his own autotuned vocals enter. The track's somewhat extended introduction features the two singers juxtaposing parallel narrations, rather than interacting on an established theme. On the surface, it might appear that West is following in the tradition of radical politics in sampling by selecting so grave an entry as Simone's. West's documented citation of Simone as one of his heroes supports this, as does his polemical exploration of race in other tracks on *Yeezus.* Salamishah Tillet, in her review of Simone's legacy through sampling, cites West as one of Simone's most

conspicuous and frequent hip-hop implementers. Notably, his production of "Get By" by Talib Kweli cemented his status as both a pop hitmaker and master sampler. Kweli's politically conscious inclinations were supported by Simone's inclusion on that track, benefiting West by proxy. West's association with Simone informs much of his sampling career, providing a ready-made claim to the black radical tradition, yet one that is often complicated by his own ego and misogyny on record. Tillet writes this of the rapper's apparent shortcomings with regard to incorporating Simone's legacy:

> West embraces these contradictions in two ways: first, by interpolating Simone as a musical foremother, who, like his real mother, serves as the exception to his deeply sexist stereotypes about women, and second, by self-identifying with her status as both *rebel* and *virtuoso*, traits in Western music that have been almost exclusively sexually coded as male. The tension between Simone as musical progenitor and West's own ambivalent narrative about women's sexuality and motherhood is at the heart of his "Blood on the Leaves," a song that synthesizes and raises the pitch of Simone's "Strange Fruit" to such a degree that it is almost unrecognizable. [23]

What should be noted in Tillet's analysis is that West is sampling Simone as a form of valorization, identifying with her presence so as to objectify her as a cultural signifier. By ascribing the title of genius to both Simone and himself through his productions, West legitimizes his own ego, and Simone joins the ranks of his hired co-producers—raw materials awaiting activation by his direction. This is a marked departure from the type of sampling Rose wrote about, wherein producers creatively applied technology in service of transforming old sounds in new contexts, thus carrying on a radical consciousness. Instead, West's use of Simone is dependent upon the listener recognizing what she signifies to make an intentionally controversial juxtaposition. In terms of the lyrical content of "Blood on the Leaves,", West recounts a

self-pitying personal narrative about unwanted alimony payments and the breakdown of a relationship. The apparent equation of these discomforts with lynching is provocative to say the least and has drawn its fair share of criticism, even from those who consider the song among West's finest.[24] Without reiterating what has already been well articulated elsewhere, there are further reasons the sample is problematic. The fact that West idolizes Simone in the context of a track whose main subject is the disparagement of a former love interest indicates that his exceptional treatment of her is based on self-identification. She is the male-coded foil to feminine excesses that West decries through her sample. His frustration at women who "All want somethin' out me / Then they talk about me / Would be lost without me" is an exercise in self-exaltation featuring Simone as his manipulated validation. By codifying in his music both the excesses of the other and his ordained right to name them as such, West is complacent in Western power dynamics.

There are a number of factors at play here that reproduce the sonic characteristics of white aurality. Although West is demarcating excesses both explicitly in his lyrics and in the vein of twentieth-century sound theorists through his specific contortion of Simone to fit his track, Simone is meant to be heard as a political readymade without any appropriate contextualization by the artist. The sample is left recognizable enough for those familiar with Simone to notice it, but those unfamiliar are unlikely to notice any political damage in that West's opposing narrative is more of an interruption than a conversation. The rhythm and brass section that further fragments Simone is actually another sample—an instrumental by electronic dance music duo TNGHT that appears almost verbatim from the original.[25] It is in this context that I argue Simone is objectified, as both a decontextualized political signifier and an ornament to a preexisting pop track. Where Sheeran's Funky Drummer sample (mentioned above) constitutes a pop appropriation of hip-hop history, West's "Blood on the Leaves" is a case of hip-hop sampling acquiescing to pop optics. Both are symptomatic in some

sense of white aurality. West's myopic engagement with his sample of "Strange Fruit," however intentional, makes him culpable in perpetuating a division between the politically radical dimension of sampling and sampling as it is received by mass audiences. By mobilizing civil rights iconography to describe his perceived personal exploitation in place of structural exploitation, West makes a "disruptive move from subversion to sexism."[26] Producing hip-hop that functions as pop music is notably one of West's signature strengths, but it is specious to suggest that "Blood on the Leaves" succeeds in justifying the cost of the political legacies it empties.

Coda: Humanizing Collage, Collaging the Human

For the bulk of this paper, I have focused on the practice of sampling as it pertains to hip-hop. I have done this deliberately both to have a manageable scope and because hip-hop is perhaps still the most popular form associated with the practice. Furthermore, my research has led me to believe that a politics of sampling in an American context cannot be completely disentangled from the marginalized artistic expression of Afro-diasporic Americans. Yet, as I turn to the question of the future of sampling, I am consciously stepping outside of the hip-hop milieu to neighboring genres. Sampling plays a foundational role in many electronic musics, including house, jungle, and footwork, and it can be easy to forget that hip-hop itself is a form of electronic music. I contend, then, that the re-embedding of political ideals in sampling may not necessarily resemble the sound of hip-hop, even as it carries its torch.

Elysia Crampton is one such artist working in a sample-heavy capacity. Her music bridges several styles and utilizes samples that do not necessarily read for their normative cultural connotations, or are even easily recognizable as samples at all. Much of her sound is indebted to her native Bolivian roots, in Andean music such as cumbia—sounds of the working class looked upon unfavorably by the Bolivian elite. Growing up between California and Mexico, Crampton developed her style by

engaging with her heritage from a place of dislocation—a geographic mirroring of the dislocation sample-based music must already reckon with. What results in her work is music that is indebted to the politics of a marginalized existence, communicated as an emergent property of its sonic arrangements.

Crampton zeroes in on excess as both a compositional wellspring and marker of her own marginalization as an indigenous transgender woman of color. Her music achieves a cinematic effect through the use of Bolivian folk rhythms set to samples reminiscent of cheap (and royalty-free) sound effect banks, including explosions, gunshots, and evil laughs. A notorious "Yeah!" shouted by Atlanta "crunk" rapper Lil Jon is repeatedly sampled in her 2015 track "Axacan,"[27] named for an ill-fated Spanish mission in 1570s Virginia—these kinds of juxtapositions serve to elevate "often degraded club/folk tropes"[28] by placing them in conversation with the histories of Crampton's cultural identity. In strategizing her personal agency via a larger communal project of historical remembrance, her work harkens back to early hip-hop producers misusing their samplers to channel old records. She more thoughtfully locates the individual in her work, not as an object but as an always-already spiritual subject. "I believe in the spiritual kingdom of the ontological," she comments.[29] By positing an immaterial element to her sonic ontology that is informed by her particular heritage, Crampton skirts around naming "sound itself" and conceives of ontology relationally, distinctly in the spirit of sound studies inquiry. Inquiry alone is not her endgame either, as her philosophy clearly undergirds her political stance: "Politics isn't this outside thing that you can lock down and leave in some separate place or background," she told Resident Advisor in 2015. "The political is always already enmeshed in the way we carry ourselves; the way we interact with others; our routines; our posed limitations; our constructed, unconscious, ignored or denied otherings."[30] Crampton's cognizance of "ignored or denied otherings" is a direct interrogation of Western sonic histories. Where an artist like West sees godliness in control and in the power to orchestrate acts of individual genius, Crampton's intricate yet unrefined tracks reflect holiness through her inherited cosmology. Her music sounds not as divine reckoning, but a holy assemblage of working parts.

Crampton's music represents a move away from the scientific "neutral" white aurality produced by Western societies, which alternately confirms and others via material boundaries. Her work is representative of the easy access to recording technology afforded to anyone with a laptop these days, but it is not necessarily concerned with production value—the majority of her releases were mixed on the stereo in her Ford Ranger truck. Rather than strive for sanitized sounds, she employs the unprecedented options of today's technologies to distill a musical philosophy that is activated by being shared. Her 2017 release *Spots y Escupitajo*[31] is designed with this openness in mind—half of the album's tracks are DJ soundbites lasting under twenty seconds that could be easily sampled. Contrary to the ideals of legal creative ownership, music is actually produced in anticipation of other people's engagement, just as her work is an engagement with her own community and history.[32] Her folk approach rebukes the white privilege that goes hand in hand with advanced sonic techniques, since together they "seem to blindly carry out the functions of a system that . . . takes its own prejudices as an unspoken given."[33] Crampton's sampling practice negotiates a future for herself outside of these paradigms. Her affirmation of excessive composition through sample collages represents a new radical outlet for sample-based music.

Sampling debuted as an inherently political technique and still carries that weight today. When its practitioners engage with its history and their own, they "humanize the machine," to use George Lipsitz's turn of phrase. The music of Public Enemy, Elysia Crampton, and countless others across time and genre illuminates

"the emancipatory possibilities of new technologies

and the readiness of marginalized and oppressed populations to employ them for human ends—for shedding restricting social identities and embracing new possibilities of a life without hierarchy and exploitation."[34]

Such is the true political potential of sampling, left for a new generation to remix.

ENDNOTES

1   Tricia Rose, *Black Noise: Rap Music and Black Culture in Contemporary America* Connecticut: (Wesleyan University Press, 1994), 183.

2   Channel Zero, "Fight The Power," YouTube video, July 24, 2018, https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=jRJKjiCtVco.

3   Funk Forum, "James Brown - Funky Drummer (Full Version, 1970) - HQ," YouTube video, January 5, 2014, https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=AoQ4AtsFWVM&t=5m22s.

4   Perhaps the most notorious sampling-related court ruling is 1991's Grand Upright Music, Ltd. v. Warner Bros. Records Inc. The decision, targeting rapper Biz Markie's track "Alone Again," has been cited by Chris Richards as the turning point that effectively "made artists responsible for getting the thumbs-up" from copyright holders. See Richards, "The Court Case That Changed Hip-Hop—from Public Enemy to Kanye—Forever," *Washington Post*, July 6, 2012, https://www.washingtonpost.com/opinions/the-court-case-that-changed-hip-hop--from-public-enemy-to-kanye--forever/2012/07/06/gJQAVWr0RW_story.html.

5   When pop-rockers The Turtles filed suit after being sampled by hip-hop group De La Soul in 1991, the band's Mark Volman told the *L.A. Times* "Sampling is just a longer term for theft. Anybody who can honestly say sampling is some sort of creativity has never done anything creative." See Jordan Runtagh, "Songs on Trial: 12 Landmark Music Copyright Cases," *Rolling Stone*, June 8, 2016, https://www.rollingstone.com/politics/politics-lists/songs-on-trial-12-landmark-music-copyright-cases-166396/de-la-soul-vs-the-turtles-1991-61686/.

6   AlternateMusic, "Ed Sheeran - Shirtsleeves," YouTube video, June 21, 2014, https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=5HswEQWMV24.

7   Jonathan Sterne, "Sonic Imaginations," in *The Sound Studies Reader* (New York: Routledge, 2012): 3.

8   Rose, *Black Noise*, 177-78.

9   Rose, 177-78.

10 Tara Rodgers, 'What, for me, constitutes life in a sound?': Electronic Sounds as Lively and Differentiated Individuals," *American Quarterly* 63, no. 3 (September 2011): 511.

11 Rodgers, 523.

12 Rose, *Black Noise*, 183.

13 Rodgers, "What, for Me, Constitutes Life in a Sound?" 524.

14 Marie Thompson, "Whiteness and the Ontological Turn in Sound Studies," *Parallax* 23, no. 3 (July 25, 2017): 273.

15 Thompson, 273.

16 Sterne, "Sonic Imaginations," 3.

17 Thompson, "Whiteness and the Ontological Turn in Sound Studies," 269.

18 Thompson, 269.

19 Cage's *Imaginary Landscape No. 1* (1939) is often identified as the first formal composition for the turntable as an instrument. Sebastian Ars Acoustica, "John Cage - Imaginary Landscape No. 1 (1939), YouTube video, January 14, 2017, https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=p-3iLnXV90s.

20 Thompson, "Whiteness and the Ontological Turn in Sound Studies," 273-74..

21 Kanye West, "Blood On The Leaves," YouTube video, July 21, 2018, https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=KEA0btSNkpw.

22 Awkadan, "Nina Simone - Strange Fruit," YouTube video, January 20, 2014, https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=BnuEMdUUrZQ&t=0m44s.

23 Salamishah Tillet, "Strange Sampling: Nina Simone and Her Hip-Hop Children," *American Quarterly* 66, no. 1 (March 2014): 130.

24 See *Spin* Staff, "Sheezus Talks: A Critical Roundtable," Spin, June 21, 2013, https://www.spin.com/2013/06/yeezus-female-roundtable-kanye-west-sheezus-talks-a-critical-roundtable/.

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Kacey Arnold | *Organic Mechanisms*

Ceargio Bagenda | *Foreign Spaces*

NAVIGATING THE CHINESE DREAM IN XIAOBEI

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Introduction

As our bus approaches Xiaobei, a neighborhood in Guangzhou, China, an animation of a plump child with two pigtails dances around the screen of our bus, words on the top right corner of the screen: "中国梦，我的梦" or "The Chinese Dream is my dream." The "Chinese Dream" campaign is ubiquitous in China and closely tied to Xi Jinping, the current president of the People's Republic of China (PRC). The campaign aims to align the goals of the individual with the goals of the entire country.

I use the Chinese Dream to frame my observations on the time I spent in Xiaobei. Xiaobei is a community of "foreigners" often collectively referred to as 老外 *laowai*; those hailing from South Asia, the Middle East, North Africa, and sub-Saharan Africa. This community emerged in the 1990s around the Xiaobei Road subway station in Yuexiu District near downtown Guangzhou. In reflecting on my experiences, I hope to shed light on two foundational components of Xiaobei *laowai* Chinese Dream: (1) Interactions with the Chinese cultural environment, and (2) *laowai* sense of "making something of themselves."

This neighborhood reflects China's role in globalization. Deng Xiaoping's Reform policies have made China the world's second largest economy after the United States. China has begun a major international infrastructure investment program, the Belt and Road, in which it hopes to "jointly build the Belt and Road, embracing the trend towards a multipolar world, economic globalization, cultural diversity and greater IT application."[1] The progress of this economic policy means that more people from the countries in which China is actively investing are coming to China for business and education.

Guangzhou, where I was attending university, has become an important city for *laowai* in China. Seated near the South China Sea, at the base of the Pearl River Delta, the city has long been one of the country's largest ports and therefore a center of trade and multi-ethnic communities. Manufacturing has flourished in the areas surrounding Guangzhou, for consumption in the PRC as well as for export around the world. Due to its location and production capacity, Guangzhou has become an attractive destination for *laowai* hoping to take advantage of the city's business opportunities. As a result, for almost 30 years Guangzhou has hosted a relatively large population of *laowai* compared to other cities in China.

1 National Development and Reform Commission, Ministry of Foreign Affairs, and Ministry of Commerce of the People's Republic of China, "Vision and Actions on Jointly Building Silk Road Economic Belt and 21st-Century Maritime Silk Road" *Belt and Road Portal,* March 30, 2015, accessed February 20, 2019, http://eng.yidaiyilu.gov.cn/qwyw/qwfb/1084.htm.

Many of them head to the same place when they arrive in Guangzhou: Xiaobei. Xiaobei, or "Little Africa," is a community and commerce center for African, South Asian, and Middle Eastern business people, as well as international students and travelers. Xiaobei has been heavily populated for several decades.[2] The area hosts commerce activities in both formal and informal economy. It serves as a unique space to see how macro-level policies play out at the micro-level as China grapples with its increasing migrant population. Based on recent events and my own observations, it would appear that Xiaobei may be hollowing out. While I was in Xiaobei, many malls had empty stalls and were falling into disrepair, and since my departure, friends in Xiaobei continue to update me on businesses closing and other friends leaving. As I was preparing to leave Guangzhou, some hotels in the area had begun to post signs advising that visitors with certain African passports would not be allowed to stay.

As a community of mostly dark-skinned *laowai*, Xiaobei captures the attention of many people, including journalists and social scientists. Perhaps the most prolific publications are the one-off, special-feature articles on the internet in English and Mandarin. Articles from sources ranging from *The Guardian* to *Asia Society* to *Southern China Morning Post* periodically provide updates on the area, often framing Xiaobei as a "curiosity." Public radio in the U.S. (both NPR and PRI) have stories about Xiaobei available in their archives from 2012 and 2016. Even the UN, in its *Africa Renewal Magazine*, published an article in 2018 about changes in the area. Web articles about Xiaobei and *laowai* in Guangzhou can also be found in places such as "WeChat Top Stories." Headlines I have saved include: "广州的非洲人越来越多，他们都是做什么工作呢？我有时候很担心！", which translates as: "More and More Africans Are in Guangzhou, What Jobs Do They All Do? Sometimes I'm Very Worried!," and "广

州曾经有很多黑人，但黑人真正慢慢离开，愿意其实很简单" translated to: "Guangzhou Once Had Many Black People, But Now They Are Slowly Leaving, the Reason, in Fact, is Very Simple" (translations by author). While these articles provide some basic information about Xiaobei, they rarely give much consideration to the daily lives of the people who make the area their temporary home.

Ethnographic investigations of Xiaobei are more sparse. Roberto Castillo, one of the leading scholars on Xiaobei, runs a significant and regularly updated blog which reports on both Africans living in China and Chinese-African relations.[3] In the academic literature, there is a growing canon of research. Most recently, Gordon Mathews, along with Linessa Dan Lin and Yang Yang, authored *The World in Guangzhou: Africans and Other Foreigners in South China's Global Marketplace*.[4] This ethnography draws on fieldwork by Mathews and his colleagues looking specifically at what he terms "low-end globalization" trading and other practices of "Africans and other foreigners" in Guangzhou. Adams Bodomo's work, which focuses on Xiaobei as a cultural bridge between *laowai* home countries and China, has also been influential in recent years.[5] Other current work published on Xiaobei can be found in a topical issue of the *Journal of Current Chinese Affairs*, which discusses trade and economic issues,[6] healthcare-seeking practices,[7] and "landscapes of aspiration."[8]

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2   Gordon Mathews, "African Logistics Agents and Middlemen as Cultural Brokers in Guangzhou," *Journal of Current Chinese Affairs* 44, no. 4 (2015): 118, doi:10.1177/186810261504400406.

3   *AfricansInChina.Net*

4   Gordon Mathews, with Linessa Dan Lin and Yang Yang, *The World in Guangzhou: Africans and Other Foreigners in South China's Global Marketplace* (Hong Kong: Hong Kong University Press, 2017).

5   Adams Bodomo, "The African Trading Community in Guangzhou: An Emerging Bridge for Africa-China Relations," *The China Quarterly* 203 (2010): 693-707.

6   Mathews, "African Logistics Agents and Middlemen."

7   Tabea Bork-Hüffer, "Healthcare-Seeking Practices of African and Rural-to-Urban Migrants in Guangzhou," *Journal of Current Chinese Affairs* 44, no. 4 (2015): 49-81, doi:10.1177/186810261504400404.

8   Roberto Castillo, "Landscapes of Aspiration in Guangzhou's African Music Scene: Beyond the Trading Narrative," *Journal of Current Chinese Affairs* 44, no. 4 (2015): 83-115, doi:10.1177/186810261504400405.

Methods

From March to July 2018, I conducted participant observation in Xiaobei and lived in international student dorms primarily intended to house students coming from Belt and Road participatory countries. I interacted with a number of Africans as well as with people from a range of countries outside Africa. In Xiaobei, you are just as likely to see a sign in French, Arabic, or Hindi as in English or Chinese. The research presented here is incomplete. There is an immediate need for further documentation and ethnographic investigation of Xiaobei, as the future of this neighborhood is unclear. This research begins to fill the emerging knowledge gap by providing more recent ethnographic vignettes of life in Xiaobei.

My ethnographic descriptions are pulled from that participant observation as well as from conversations I had with friends and classmates, which I recorded in a journal and in personal communications. I replace all names in these descriptions with pseudonyms to protect privacy. Worth introducing in advance is the friend I call "Older Brother," an international student from Nepal who was my main guide to and through Xiaobei. I draw on the existing theoretical framework of "aspirations" that Roberto Castillo laid out in his essay on musicians in Guangzhou.[9]

Interactions with China as a foreign national often feel like they occur in extremes. From my experience, these interactions are either extremely positive or extremely negative. A pleasant experience might make one feel like everything is going perfectly, while an unpleasant one might cause a sense of hopelessness. The sections below highlight both the positive and negative interactions I recorded and my reflections on how those interactions affect foreigners and their perceptions of their ability to succeed in pursuing their "Chinese Dream." In these stories we will see the joys and difficulties that come with navigating China in pursuit of uniquely *laowai* dreams—

from mastering language, navigating race relations, and finding religious community to balancing risk versus reward—in pursuit of constructing a new and possibly better self.

做梦 //Making the Dream
The Bus

To get to Xiaobei, Older Brother and I took the bus from our university to Xiaobei's main crossroads. As the bus made its way closer to Xiaobei, more *laowai* boarded it. At Xiaobei, nearly everyone would get off the bus. This made for fertile ground to observe how Chinese citizens interacted with the foreign population in public spaces. At the extreme end, I occasionally observed Chinese people moving from their seats or holding their noses.

However, I also observed many positive interactions. For example, Older Brother and I often spoke Mandarin. Because both of us could speak with a "southern accent," we would receive an occasional compliment from someone disembarking the bus. Older Brother more frequently spoke in a "northern accent," perceived to be more proper Mandarin, and this too would draw positive attention.

On one ride, Older Brother and I had a particularly memorable interaction with a young Chinese girl and her grandfather. The girl was working on her English homework when Older Brother offered to help her practice. His offer was met with delight and enthusiasm, and at the end of the bus ride the grandfather thanked my friend. When we reflected on this interaction later in the day, Older Brother and I discussed how it always seemed that just when we felt we had witnessed too many disheartening interactions, there would always be something uplifting, like that bus ride, to revitalize us.

At the Hair Salon

It was particularly difficult to find someone who could cut and style my curly hair in China, so I enlisted the help of my friend Chinweuba to find a stylist. He took me one afternoon to the second floor of what seemed to be an

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9   Castillo, "Landscapes of Aspiration."

abandoned mall in Xiaobei re-inhabited by underground businesses. Chinweuba escorted me to a row of stalls where African women provided various hair services. We went into a less busy stall run by Cameroonian and Nigerian women. A baby slept in an empty sink filled with towels as we talked quietly about what it was like to live in China. At one point, an older Chinese man, with a toddler in tow, walked down the hallway and stared at the women working in the stalls. As soon as he was out of sight, the women told me that they suspected he was the cause of several immigration raids that had sent customers with half-done hair running out back exits.

At the start of our conversation, these women had expressed an overall positive outlook on their lives in China: they attended church and were able to run their own businesses in these underground hair salons. However, the conversation after the man walked by refocused on the difficulty of being black in China. For the next hour, I listened as Chinweuba and the women talked about all the times they felt they had been targeted or slighted for being black. For the rest of the day, Chinweuba continued to lament his decision to come to China, describing to me how upsetting the majority of his interactions with Chinese people had been. Africans do seem to be affected more acutely by racial discrimination than are others in Xiaobei. Towards the end of my fieldwork, hotels began posting signs advising that guests from certain African countries were not permitted. In addition, as the possibly most visible group among all the foreigners, Africans were the most exposed target for any number of racialized complaints.

Islam

On the way from Xiaobei to the leather markets near Sanyuanli, just before Ramadan, a friend and I happened to get lost and found ourselves outside a large halal food fair happening near a mosque. Noticing the crowd, and in the midst of several men inviting my friend and me in to eat, I asked the six or so police officers standing at the gate what was going on. The following conversation occurred:

Me: "这是什么活动？" "What's going on?"
Police: "穆斯林" "Muslims"
Me: "穆斯林什么？" "What about Muslims?"
Police: "穆斯林" "Muslims"

I came away from this conversation with a strong understanding from the police that (1) they did not care what was going on, (2) they did not want to be working this event, and (3) my other white friend and I should move along. This was not my only interaction with the interplay between *laowai*, Chinese citizens, and Islam.

There were several kinds of beggars in Xiaobei who staked out territory alongside alleyways, pedestrian bridge walkways, and public transit stops. Particularly prominent were the lepers, who laid themselves out on blankets with signs in Chinese. Many of these people were likely Chinese Hui Muslims, identifiable by their white caps and long beards. They shouted at those who walked by, using a different phrase each time based on what they believed would solicit the most sympathy. People who dressed in clearly Islamic apparel were greeted with an earnest "Salaam Alaikum" or similar, while those in non-religious garb were greeted with "help, please" in English. When I would bring this up to Older Brother, Chinweuba, or several other friends (a number of whom were themselves Muslims), they all replied along the same lines of "these people were likely not Muslims" but rather trying to appeal to the Islamic pillar of Almsgiving. These conversations left me confused. When I would ask what made them think this way, their replies pointed to the beggars' nationality and I was left wondering why my friends were unwilling to believe that these Chinese nationals could also be Muslim—or faithful at all?

I had numerous conversations with Christian, Muslim, Buddhist, and non-religious individuals who felt that the lack of "God" in China made for unpleasant interactions. For the Christians I met, it was the regulation of church services and the ban on proselytizing that felt upsetting. Older Brother and I, both fairly liberal Buddhists, would

occasionally be skeptical of the Buddhism practiced in China as it seemed to be more about wealth than compassion. Islam was a whole other issue in China. At the time I was in Guangzhou, we were just on the verge of learning about the current state in Xinjiang; however, there was a correlation in the minds of many Chinese people between Islam and terrorism. My own "Chinese Mom" warned me months earlier in Nanjing to avoid anyone with a head covering as they were at best a thief and at worst about to commit a mass knife attack.

Many of those I talked to about religion expressed a feeling that an important part of their identity was being stifled or looked down upon. Mathews writes about this feeling as well, in a section titled with a line from one of his informants: "I believe in God, but Chinese believe in gold." He writes, "This difference left many African traders shaking their heads in wonder, ready to attribute any Chinese malfeasance they might encounter to their lack of religion."[10] My friends used almost the exact same terms, "gold" and "God," and were also apt to blame ungodliness whenever they faced discouraging interactions with China.

Churches

There are not many places where all kinds of *laowai* can be found under one roof in Guangzhou, but I did find two places to be especially cosmopolitan: bars and churches. Interestingly, churches reinforce the Chinese Dream of "making something of oneself." Many young missionaries and lay preachers talk about coming to Guangzhou for the very specific purpose of bringing Christ to the people of China—an activity highly frowned upon by the Chinese government. This represents one form of "making something of oneself." For many, converting even one Chinese person would have represented a great accomplishment which they could take back to their home churches. International students attending Chinese university and business people also had their trials

recognized in church communities. On Sundays, prayer requests were made that people would receive strength from God to complete their education or have successful business dealings, reinforcing the importance of success in the group psyche.

Roberto Castillo writes that Guangzhou is not only a place known for its ability to produce, buy, and sell anything, "but also a place where ideas, dreams, and aspirations can be kick-started and/or articulated." He theorizes that aspirations are "tools that give meaning and direction to our journeys."[11] These aspirations are fostered in the laowai culture of Guangzhou—at both personal and group levels. I refer to these aspirations as the desire "to make something of oneself"—the language my friends most often used to describe what it meant to pursue a Chinese Dream.

Honest Confusion

I almost always went to Xiaobei with Older Brother, both because we were friends and because I felt it was somewhat necessary for me to have a male companion for safety. One of our favorite spots to eat was Namaste Kitchen, a Nepali restaurant inside a parking garage, where Older Brother could enjoy food from home. After a large dinner, in the great Chinese tradition, we would walk around the park tucked inside several commercial blocks at the center of Xiaobei. This park was a tree-shaded area with a small river flowing through and stone-paved walkways on either side. The park separated the back end of storefronts from the "guts" of the block, a middle school and apartment blocks.

One night Older Brother needed to go meet with someone in an all-male setting. Since I didn't have anywhere better to go, I decided to go to the park and read a bit as I had seen some middle school students do before. I wasn't sitting in the park for more than five minutes before two men approached me; they started to chat and offered me

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10 Mathews, *The World in Guangzhou*, 165.

11 Castillo, "Landscapes of Aspiration," 91.

a cigarette. I rejected the offer as I quickly realized that I had been mistaken for a sex worker. I said I had to go meet my friend, stepped away to call Older Brother, and started to walk to another part of the park. The men did not follow me; thankfully, they were clearly looking for a willing participant.

Later on, Older Brother had finished his meeting and was headed toward me, when another foreign man approached me, making it clear he was looking for the same services as the previous two men. Since I could see Older Brother walking from the other end of the park, I stood up walked toward him quickly, with man number three following. Older Brother wisely saw what was going on and said, "I told you to wait for me in the store!" We walked away from the area, and as soon as man number three saw I was going with Older Brother, he gave up.

I later learned from Older Brother that the government had cracked down on prostitution in the area in the past few months and that as a result, sex workers could no longer be found in their usual places. I had never seen sex workers in that park before the incident or after, despite walking around the park at various times of the day. I have wondered if this crackdown led to the confusion. I was also left to wonder if I looked like a sex worker *all the time* in Xiaobei, a young white woman following around a slightly older South Asian man. When I put this question to Older Brother, he dodged the answer with jokes.

Mathews' description of sex work in Xiaobei in 2014 supports Older Brother's assertion that this occupation had previously been more prominent. Mathews describes a conversation with a woman, Vivian from Kenya, who suspects that everyone in her apartment block thinks she is a sex worker. She also explains how sex work fits into foreigners' quests to "make something of themselves." "Sex workers can't stop—the money is too sweet! It's like when you steal candy—you have to continue."[12] Vivian's

description of money characterizes the feelings a number of people expressed to me in explaining their pursuits of "making something of oneself." As we will see in the next story, this intense force starts with money but quickly becomes entangled in much larger familial and societal pressures.

Chinweuba

Chinweuba spent a portion of his day working in "business," buying goods from Guangzhou markets and having them shipped back to his family in Nigeria for redistribution, but his primary occupation in Guangzhou had become low-level drug dealing. Both he and his brother took part in this informal economic opportunity at extreme personal risk. At one point during a midsummer drug raid, his brother was arrested and deported. When I asked Chinweuba why he had decided to take up this much more risky method of making a profit, he told me that the money he made doing business wasn't enough for the lifestyle he wanted in Guangzhou, and he couldn't return home with so little money. Here we see the impact of the pressure to make something of oneself. Such was the pressure to accomplish these loosely defined financial goals—created not only by Chinweuba's family back home in Nigeria but also by the community of people attempting the same thing in Guangzhou—that even at great personal risk, Chinweuba was willing to take part in a wide range of formal and informal, legal and illegal economic opportunities.

In his essay on Guangzhou's African music scene, Castillo argues for diversification and broadening of the discussion of foreigners in China to ideas beyond the economic factors of people's lives, describing "trade not as an end in itself, but as a tool to achieve other (sometimes more important) mid-range and long-term objectives."[13] In the above two cases, while money is a prominent force, it was clear to me that in many ways "making something of oneself" is more about the act of accomplishing than the

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12 Mathews, *The World in Guangzhou,* 39.

13 Castillo, "Landscapes of Aspiration," 89.

product of that accomplishment. To be able to say "I went to China, and even though it was difficult, I did something, I made something, I became something"—this desire was pervasive and transcended many factors such as gender, nation of origin, or visa type.

Conclusion

The verb 做 used in the verb 做梦 [to dream] means to do, make, manufacture; to act, engage in; to become; to form a relationship. The Chinese Dream for my friends was just as active a concept—my friends were doing, making, some even manufacturing a new future for themselves through education, business, or any other opportunity they found through the grapevine. They were acting and engaging with a community of people from multiple cultural and linguistic backgrounds, navigating new paths for themselves while trying to avoid potential stumbling blocks. My friends and I were becoming new versions of ourselves. Finally, every *laowai* I met was forming relationships, to each other, to Chinese nationals, and to China itself. While the "Chinese Dream" campaign might have been intended to build a national morale and encourage citizens to see the goals of their country and their own goals as inextricably linked, it's clear that *laowai* living in China also feel that linkage between their individual goals and China's development.

The Chinese Dream is alive in the hearts of *laowai* in Guangzhou, and you can feel the electricity of it in the air of Xiaobei. Both despite and because of the difficulties that come with living in China, when reward comes, it is sweet like candy and addictive like a drug. And with everyone around you working toward and talking about the same goal, the desire to become someone, to do something, to make something of yourself is contagious. This project itself is evidence of this —I knew when I first went to Xiaobei that I felt completely drawn to stay, and today, a year later, that draw is stronger than ever. The Xiaobei I spent six months in during 2018 less and less resembles the Xiaobei other ethnographers have detailed in their accounts.

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Mitch Buangsuwon | *My Grandmother In Her Home*

"上火"：中医概念和汉语语言

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ABSTRACT　　This paper discusses the Chinese Traditional Medicine (CTM) concept of 上火 *shanghuo*, or having too much fire energy in the body, in light of the theory of linguistic relativism. After reviewing the ways scholars have analyzed Chinese language in arguments from the perspective of linguistic relativity, the paper analyzes the philosophical and cultural differences which shape our understandings of "medicine" and "curing." There is no single English word or Western medical concept that fully encapsulates the meaning of *shanghuo*. As such, *shanghuo* is often a difficult concept for foreigners to grasp. In considering how foreigners come to understand and even adopt the *shanghuo* concept while developing Chinese language proficiency, we see a potential area for further analysis. The author proposes to use CTM as an important cultural concept for future Chinese vs. English linguistic relativism research.

于他1981年写的《The Linguistic Shaping of Thought: A study in the Impact of Language on Thinking in China and the West》书中，Alfred Bloom 写道他学习中文十四年后在中文和英文的思想中能感到一些差别，而且这些思想的差别是由语言产生的。从20世纪后半叶到现在，不少学者包括语言学家、社会学家、心理学家、和人类学家都在研究语言文化和行为习惯到底有什么相关性。很多学者认为人们的母语会塑造我们的文化，而且语言和文化共同影响我们的思想及行为。这篇文章会通过"上火"这个传统中医概念讨论中医概念和汉语语言的相关性。首先我从语言学上来分析语言和人们的生活习惯怎么相互影响，然后会解释上火这个中医概念，最后会讨论有些中医概念和汉语的相关性。

语言相对性

语言和文化塑造我们的世界观。但是它们怎么塑造我们的观点，在学术上还是有争议性。在语言学中有一个假设叫"沃尔夫假设"，它解释了"语言相对性"。虽然这些想法比较有争议性，有的学家认为它已经有些过时，但是有的语言学家认为它基本的核心还是正确的。这个理论认为一门语言中，如果没有一个词汇描写一个概念，他们的文化也没有这个概念；甚至于如果不能用语言表达一件事，人们就很难想到这件事。一些学者用中文来研究语言相对性这个概念，比如 Lera Boroditsky 的研究指出中文和英文有不同的方法来表达时间，因此人们对时间的理解也不一样。中文中的时间是纵向的，而英文就是横向的[1]。最后她发现语言的习惯影响行为的习惯。著名的语言学家 Alfred Bloom（布鲁姆）研究了中英文中使用"反事实"句子的不同，他的研究也支持语言塑造思想与世界观这个观点[2]。中国语言学家申小龙强调了布鲁姆说法的重要性，"在追寻语言与思维、文化的关系中。哪一方面为本原，具有原推动力的问题时，布鲁姆吸收了沃尔夫关于语言与文化相互塑造的思想。"[3]因为语言促成了人类的文化，语言和文化是分不开的。

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* This essay was prepared and edited in consultation with Professor Li Jin, Director of the Chinese Studies program.

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医疗知识是人类的基本知识之一，但是个个文化都有它们自己的特色治疗方法，而且它们语言中都有特殊的医疗言语。因为中医和西医差别多而明显，把这两个世界观相比可以很容易看到语言和文化怎么影响我们的医疗概念。

上火及中医和中国哲学

要了解上火这个概念，首先我们要了解中医的哲学和背景。 当然，中医十分复杂，理论有很多， 不能全部介绍。很多外国人可能已经知道中医中按摩、针灸、拔罐这类治疗方法， 但是大部分都不知道这些医疗方法的哲学背景。 在中国历史上有一本书叫《黄帝内经》，它是最早的医学典籍，分为《素问》和《灵枢》两部分。中国人在黄老道家理论基础上建立了中医学上的"阴阳五行学说" 。阴阳早在夏朝就已形成了，阴阳五行学说是中国古典哲学的核心。这个哲学体系解释了事物如何可以一分为二，比如天和地、男和女。 还有其他的自然系统如东南西北、天气、地理的山川河海都有阴阳平衡。这就是《道德经》的 "道生一，一生二，二生三，三生万物"。

人体体内也有阴阳气，阴是凉的而阳是热的。在传统哲学和中医里有五行的概念：木、火、土、金、水五种基本物质，五行可以形成阴阳平衡。我们都要按着身体状况来注意阴阳五行均衡而保持健康。我们人类都有生命之"火"， 它是生存的必备因素，因此它必须要平横，不能过多或者过少，否则会对身体有害无益。 平衡的话身体舒服。

身体内阴阳失衡，热气过盛，人会变得不舒服。体内的火气会增加毒素的积累[4]。这样身体会表现出来红、肿、痛、烦、干、热。 红包括脸色发红、耳朵发红这两个组合被称为"面红耳赤"，眼睛也可以发红。人的脸会表现胃部健康情况：如果脸发红，那么身体发出的病状很可能是胃火。 肿当然是某些病的明显特征，发肿是个警告。肿痛、红肿例如牙龈肿红和喉咙肿痛是上火的常见病症。 除了红和肿，也有热。烦是比较抽象的上火特征，它可以表现出来心烦、易怒、和失眠。一般的话可

4　张明. 怎么吃不上火. 天津科学技术出版社, 2016.

以通过食用方法来对抗这些普通的上火特征或"去火"。

因为英文没有跟上火相关的词语，我和其他外国朋友们都没有经历过上火。了解了上火这个概念之后，我们才经历上火。 我还记得好几次跟中国朋友们夏天出去玩，没有喝够水身体特别不舒服。我没办法不能对朋友表达我的情况。我是想告诉他们我 "dehydrated" 然而，次次查词典都找不到恰当的中文翻译。中文进步了一点以后我才听懂他们的建议，他们认为我上火了。说实话，在中国依我看很多普通的小毛病都称为上火，我和老外朋友们都认为有点夸张。我们外国同学们经常会开玩笑地说"不管怎么样，如果有一点不舒服，只要告诉老师上火了就不用上课了！" 在英文中，上火的病状包括几个没有明显关系的病状，比如 "dehydrated"、 "heart burn"、"canker sores" 等其他问题。正因如此，上火这个概念很难翻成英文。如果要跟中国朋友交流，就得接受"上火"这个中国文化特殊的概念。

汉语语言和中国医疗文化的关系很容易从外国人的行为习惯变化中体现出来。当我住在中国的时候，因为学习中文，我自己一边习惯中医的各种理论，一边慢慢地改变我自己对身体各个系统的关注。我每天会感受自己的气是不是平衡，吃东西的时候器官有没有反应。这不是因为我在国外不舒服，而是因为中国文化环境对我造成了影响。我老外朋友们很多也有这样的经历，他们刚来中国的时候不太相信大部分的中医概念，但过了几个月他们就会接受越来越多的中医理论。即使没试过中医治疗，他们也会常常说他们相信身内的系统要是平衡的话就一定要吃、睡、动等跟环境协调。另外一个例子是，去年一位外国学生在中国的一所大学发表毕业演讲时，演讲的内容是关于中国一个另类保护健康的方式：喝开水。这个学生开玩笑地说连断的胳臂都可以用喝开水来治疗。这些老外之前从来没有这些阴阳平衡概念或者喝开水习惯，到中国来他们就"习惯"中国的医疗概念，不仅是因为要适应中国生活，而且他们的观念也改变了。

总结

总之语言相对性还是一个未定的问题，还需要更多研究，但是它还是一个很受欢迎的理论。之前的中英文案例是判断语言对性的有用工具。已经有学者研究了中文

英文之间的时间理解与反事实句子语法。我感觉在学习中文与适应中国文化有很强的相关性，特别在学习一些医疗知识的时候。从上火这个例子可以看到，因为英文没有相关词汇，以英文为母语的外国人的中文水平很容易体现他们习惯不习惯这个概念。在我看来中医可以作为一个很有用的研究语言相对性理论的工具。有几个重要的原因：第一是因为中医和西医的哲学背景完全不一样。中医基于很早的中国哲学理论，所以中国人的治疗方式也体现了中国文化世界观。然而西医的背景只有在科学革命后才开始，所以西医遵从西方的科学方法。学习中医的概念可以帮助外国人了解中国特殊的文化思想。 第二，外国人学习汉语的时候，听懂汉语一定要习惯中国的文化与它的哲学背景。如果他们学到中医的某些概念，他们思想就可以更开放，接受新的文化概念，也能学习到在英文中没有的词汇，可以更流畅地跟中国人进行交流。与此同时，学习到更多地道的汉语后，他们会发现自己对有些中医概念很可能也了解得更深了。

Ceargio Bagenda | *The Walk*

RECLAIMING THE HOUSE: DOMESTICITY AND EMANCIPATION IN DICKENS'S *BLEAK HOUSE*

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In a time of rising economic and political opportunities for men in a new urban, fast-paced world, a Victorian woman's ideal vocation became the moral and physical safe-keeping of the home with its united family. In his novel *Bleak House* (1853), Charles Dickens promotes this domestic ideology, in that most of the female characters assent to and gravitate toward it, while the few who dissent are portrayed as indifferent, heartless, or even ridiculous. Literary scholars still have not come to a unanimous conclusion on whether or not domesticity empowers women in the novel. On one hand, Brenda Ayres argues that, in *Bleak House,* Victorian domesticity requires self-denial from women, creating a clear dissonance between who they are and who they want to be. While she concedes that Dickens tries to assign power to women, she concludes that he keeps them confined in their households and devoid of aspirations. Ayres states that self-denial isn't a natural state, but "a trait imposed or urged by domesticity that women must exercise" (152). On the other hand, Elizabeth Langland suggests that, while following the pillars of domesticity subjects women to a patriarchal hegemony, they exercise control in the household and make of their role a desired, authoritative profession. Comparing Esther Summerson to the idle Ada Clare, Langland explains how functional domesticity offers Esther respect among other characters,

and "leave[s] her no leisure to serve as an elegant light fixture" (96). Additionally, Martin Danahay contends that although middle-class women in the novel are excluded from the workforce and not recognized in their own environment, domesticity constitutes a valuable profession for them. Esther's narrative gaps "denote the space of unconsciousness Dickens has to create to enable [her] both to work and not be damagingly aware that she is a 'working woman'" (419), reaffirming that while women in the middle class held power, Victorian society preferred not to recognize those efforts.

While Ayres argues against an empowering model of domesticity in *Bleak House*, Langland and Danahay contend that Dickens allows women control, respect, and agency through this ideology. I, however, contend that domesticity offers multiple means of empowerment for the women in *Bleak House*, yet, at the same time, has notable limitations that impede a feasible emancipation. A woman draws power from domesticity, which results in a valuable profession with multiple talents required, including management and moral guidance. Dickens shows that a woman's identity must not be obliterated to assume the role of the "angel in the house." At the same time, domesticity isn't as emancipating as Danahay and Langland claim, since the novel shows that women across all classes don't have financial independence or social authority, and all ultimately fall under the curtain of a strong patriarchal ideology. In *Bleak House*, among deranged families and ruinous homes, Dickens offers a functional and empowering model of domesticity for

women willing to follow it; however, I argue that altogether he advises that the influence of a woman should remain contained within the household and below a male figure.

Domestic ideology gained momentum in the Victorian period, shaping and boosting the emerging middle class for women. The house became a sacred place for the family, of which the matriarch was the faithful keeper. As Langland explains, these new domestic idolizations "inevitably work[ed] to consolidate upper-middle-class centrality and power, separating the genteel both from the working classes, who serve[d] them, and the lower middle classes, who emulate[d] them" (97). "Keeper of the home," both in a concrete and metaphorical sense, is probably the most appropriate definition for the Victorian woman. While the husband, father, or patriarch ventured out into the rough urban world, braving the perils of work, the woman remained confined in her household microcosm and always presented herself as gentle, altruistic, and amiable. She was the safe harbor for the man, whose morals might have wavered when confronted with the chaotic society. The woman constituted the benevolent and righteous pillar of her family.

In her book *The Women of England* (1839), Victorian author Sarah Stickney Ellis reiterates the abovementioned notions in a cry for women to take their dutiful place in the house and let their English character prevail against revolutionary foreign ideals. She argues that a woman must be educated in the pure virtues of her gender and then bestow that blessedness upon her family. As a keeper of the moral fortitude of the house, she was to invest her character "with the threefold recommendation of *promptitude of action, energy of thought, and benevolence of feeling*" (21). However, domesticity didn't revolve only around morality. In her study of women's magazines throughout the nineteenth century, Margaret Beetham argues that domesticity enabled women to become competent managers. She illustrates how domestic magazines offered recipes, manuals, and tutorials that imparted basic knowledge and required the usage of the brain and not just the heart, as commonly conceived. This powerful addendum to domesticity "made space within the feminine for the masculine qualities of 'strongmindedness' and organizational competence which were otherwise repressed" (67). Kay Boardman extends this definition by explaining that, according to Victorian magazines, a woman's management tasks also entailed "the responsibility of regulating the domestic economy and this included the servants who were subject to strict scrutiny of both work and moral habits" (157). Domesticity didn't signify housekeeping in the sense of menial cleaning tasks, but the almost metaphorical keeping of the house as its own social environment, with the hired personnel and family finances.

Dickens includes all of these domestic concepts in *Bleak House* and suggests that they are empowering for those women who diligently follow them. When it comes to management, he dedicates significant sections of the novel to careful descriptions of Esther's domestic duties. He stresses what tasks she completes and how busy she is. Particularly, she is concerned with bookkeeping and the smooth running of the refined mechanism that is Bleak House. Domesticity sets her apart from Ada in that it qualifies as a profession. As such, Esther makes the appropriate sacrifices for her job. One weekend, instead of going out with Ada, Richard, and Mr. Jarndyce, she remains home, "as it was the day of the week on which [she] paid the bills, and added up [her] books, and made all the household affairs as compact as possible" (Dickens 111). On another occasion, Dickens mentions that Esther keeps the philanthropic correspondence for Mr. Jarndyce. Esther's role as financial and epistolary manager of the household shows just how much power and knowledge a woman acquires through the logistic portion of domesticity.

Besides Esther, other female characters are shown in their constant state of bee-like busyness or are helped by Esther's domestic discipline. When Caddy prepares for her wedding with Prince, she asks Esther for help, since

she has no skills and an indifferent mother. Esther devises a little scheme to prepare her for the marriage as best as they can, and together with Ada, they set to "contriving and cutting out, and repairing, and sewing, and saving, and doing the very best we could think of, to make the most of her stock" (370). Management skills as applied in a domestic setting appear in Dickens's novel as a sign of power, since they encourage initiative to create one's own fortune (creating Caddy's trousseau from scratch) and diligence to regulate the finances of an entire household (it's not Mr. Jarndyce who keeps the books, but Esther).

Perhaps above all, Dickens aspires to depict women as moral guides, especially in the bleak England he chose as the setting for the novel. For one, Esther is the sole person admitted inside the Growlery, the private room in which Mr. Jarndyce lowers his optimistic, cheerful façade and manifests his troubles. Although at first she doesn't know how to handle this confidence ("I was really frightened at the thought of the importance I was attaining, and the number of things that were being confided to me" [91]), she accepts the role of moral guardian and is praised by most other characters for her principles and wisdom. In fact, Mr. Jarndyce isn't the only character that confides in Esther. Though stubborn, Richard often seeks her advice before his beloved Ada's and trusts her as a loyal bridge between him and Mr. Jarndyce. For instance, Esther is the only person to whom Richard initially confesses that he's in debt and that he's been thinking of joining the army. Later on, as his life takes a ruinous turn, Richard leaves London. Esther journeys to find him, perhaps understanding that she's considered the keeper of that family. When she arrives, she finds Richard composing a letter. In surprise and relief, he reveals that "I was writing to you, Esther" (545)—not to Ada or Mr. Jarndyce, but to *Esther*.

Esther isn't the only character in *Bleak House* that assumes the role of advisor. Ada shows similar qualities after she marries Richard in secret and lives with him in a new apartment. Although she has always loved him, she agrees to Jarndyce's request that she and Richard postpone their engagement. When he needs guidance, however, she secretly takes the leap and leaves Bleak House. "All I had, was Richard's," she says when revealing the deed to Esther, "and Richard would not take it, Esther, and what could I do but be his wife when I love him dearly!" (613). Ada wants to be a closer moral counselor, hoping that her presence will dissuade Richard from his dangerous addiction to the chancery case. She dedicates herself to the dutiful keeping of her home and to making Richard as comfortable as possible, despite their poor financial status. Even though their place is dreary, dark, and in shambles, "she shone in the miserable corner like a beautiful star. She adorned and graced it so, that it became another place" (718).

Another example of a woman who takes and even exceeds an advisory role is Mrs. Bucket. Her husband is a professional investigator who must solve intertwined cases throughout the novel. The most notable is Mr. Tulkinghorn's murder, which he unwinds with the help of his wife. Mr. Bucket has a persuasive word for everyone. For Mrs. Bucket, he only has profound reverence, and he doesn't shy from praising her work:

> "What do you say to Mrs. Bucket having, within this half-hour, secured the corresponding ink and paper, fellow half-sheets and what not? What do you say to Mrs. Bucket having watched the posting of 'em every one by this young woman, Sir Leicester Dedlock, Baronet?" Mr. Bucket asks, triumphant in his admiration of his lady's genius. (651)

He recognizes her quick wisdom, along with her keen observation, and instead of hushing her to maintain his role as the working patriarch, he frequently asks for help, so that she's elevated to the prestigious role of *partner*, as exemplified here: "'And there you are, my partner, eh?' says Mr. Bucket to himself, apostrophizing Mrs. Bucket" (627).

While domesticity offers multiple vehicles of power, its effects only work inside a private microcosm. Therefore, women are not emancipated and must still abide by the rules of a patriarchal society, where they have no financial or legal authority. In *Bleak House*, Dickens portrays such limitations neutrally, without condoning or criticizing them. Connecting to the example above, Mrs. Bucket has a detective's genius, "which if it had been improved by professional exercise, might have done great things, but which has paused at the level of a clever amateur" (627). Despite her husband's admiration, then, she's useful as long as she doesn't operate outside the household, acts on someone else's orders, and doesn't declare an actual profession. Esther follows suit, for her kind, charitable actions work around the permission of her guardian. She cannot go anywhere without asking him first, mostly because she doesn't have enough authority as a woman to fare alone in the urban landscape. Moreover, although Mr. Jarndyce allows Esther full control of the house's management, he still controls her. He manipulates her in his own schemes as if she were a pawn and not a person, thus notably reducing her independence and authority in the world. Even if not in an overt way, he reminds her constantly that he has saved her from an otherwise unhappy destiny as an orphan.

Indeed, Mr. Jarndyce acts as Esther's flawless savior and reaps personal advantages from this. He grooms a bride for himself and uses the miserable alternative to keep her close. Even Esther bitterly remarks how, in his marriage proposal after she recovers from smallpox, he never mentions "[t]hat when my old face was gone from me, and I had no attractions, he could love me just as well as in my fairer days. That the discovery of my birth gave him no shock. That his generosity rose above my disfigurement and my inheritance of shame" (538). Mr. Jarndyce may love Esther as a father, to a degree, but it's not genuine love that motivates his asking for her hand—a love that ignores her scarring or social state, especially after Lady Dedlock's revelation. It's not the type of admiration that Mr. Woodcourt later declares. Jarndyce proposes to Esther in an act of ownership and power over her, since their union is but a desperate mercy in securing her a respectable and safe future, albeit one she doesn't desire. Through these subtle manipulations, Dickens accentuates the constrained reality of women, in that their destinies and reputation outside the household still belonged to men.

The most blatant episode of ownership occurs toward the end of the novel. Regardless of the manipulation, Esther accepts the tricky proposal. Mr. Jarndyce changes his mind later on, but he doesn't tell her. Instead, he lets her believe she will become the mistress of Bleak House as she has agreed, while he secretly arranges her marriage with her true love, Allan Woodcourt—a marriage that even the groom is not aware of until the last moment. Although Esther loves the doctor dearly, and eventually their union gives her happiness, it is still part of Jarndyce's manipulation. He doesn't ask Esther what she desires; he never confronts the matter. Instead, he decides independently what her future will be as if she were a puppet he owned for his amusement, to the point that in uniting the happy couple, he says to Woodcourt, "take from me a willing gift, the best wife that ever man had. What more can I say for you than that I know you deserve her! Take with her the little home she brings you" (753). Not only is Esther a present, but she also comes prepackaged with domesticity. She carries a *house*, one she didn't choose. Despite her importance in the story, despite her respected role as moral counselor and manager, she still can't choose her own fate and instead must resign herself to the single path set before her by a male figure.

In addition to a harmful lack of authority outside their reductive microcosm, Victorian women didn't have financial independence, since only poor women were expected to work. In all other cases, the man was the accepted breadwinner, and middle-class women depended on men's income to survive. In *Bleak House* this condition is faithfully mirrored in the character of Mr. Skimpole. His childish, lazy behavior injures his wife and children, who

live in a precarious state of near-bankruptcy because he refuses to earn money due to his always being in debt and depending on favors. While his daughters seem oblivious to the situation, Mrs. Skimpole has been worn away by this instability. Yet she cannot change the situation. She can keep the house as pristine and happy as possible, but without financial means, which only her husband can procure, her family continues to live in misery.

The most vocal characters in a double condition of lacking financial independence and authority are Ada and Jenny. They both strive to achieve the ideal of domesticity, one following Esther's example and the other, as working class, aspiring to elevate her position by imitation, but each finds herself confined to the mercy of her husband's behavior. Ada moves in with Richard to impart her shining blessedness, and when her presence doesn't cure his fixation, she hopes that a child of their own might. "When Richard turns his eyes upon me then," she says, "there may be something lying on my breast more eloquent than I have been, with greater power than mine to show him his true course and win him back" (724). Ada gives him a devoted wife first, then the promise of a family of which she'll be the keeper. Unfortunately, Richard dies of exhaustion before the child is born. Even Ada's pure morals cannot help her husband, and his death drags her down to a precarious stage in which she has no agency. Newly widowed and without a profession, Ada and her son must move back to the original Bleak House with Mr. Jarndyce. As before, she wants to call him "her dearest cousin, John. But he said, no, it must be guardian now. He was her guardian henceforth, and the boy's" (767). Ada *cannot* survive on her own, so she retreats to the male figure closest to her.

Jenny, too, strives to make her house as amiable as possible, despite living in poverty. She pleases her husband and offers him a family, but she's always dependent on his moods. The brickmaker abuses her physically and controls her freedom, sometimes even preventing her from speaking. His blatant ownership over Jenny casts a long, dark shadow that she recognizes in its violence, yet she can't escape, for a life with him still remains the safest chance of survival. Jenny laments her position, echoed by her companion Liz, who suffers under similar circumstances. Liz, at the birth of her son, wishes the child had died instead. "My master will be against it, and [the child will] be beat, and see me beat, and made to fear his home, and perhaps to stray wild," she predicts to Mr. Bucket. "If I work for him ever so much, and ever so hard, there's no one to help me" (280). Indeed, women's efforts will always be in vain if the patriarchal authority in their lives doesn't agree with them, thus demarking a dependence on the male figure.

Despite these limitations, Dickens promotes domesticity as the most suitable option for the Victorian woman, and he does so by showcasing the examples of women who fail at their duties from an almost catastrophic perspective. The most memorable figure is probably Mrs. Jellyby, Caddy's mother. Her obsession with charity missions in Africa brings her so far from the ideal of domesticity that her house is in a state of disarray in every possible sense. The children run wild under no supervision, the servants drink without management, and the rooms are dirty, unkempt, and crammed with objects. The conditions of the household are so oppressive that, without knowing each other, Caddy confesses to Esther her loud resentment: "It's disgraceful. [...] You know it is. The whole house is disgraceful. The children are disgraceful. *I*'m disgraceful" (44).

Dickens contrasts horror-worthy depictions of broken houses with functional portrayals of domesticity, allowing some female characters to acquire limited power and to construct happy lives. Mrs. Bagnet and Caddy, who adhere to the described qualities of domestic ideology, both achieve positions of respect. The amount of agency and willpower that Mrs. Bagnet demonstrates is so shocking that even Esther remains stupefied at her ability to take matters into her own hands. Described as "a soldierly looking woman, with her outer skirts tucked up" (341), she confronts George Rouncewell when his financial stability wavers and eventually secures him a defendable position

in court. She's responsible for home management, and the narrator remarks that, in serving a meal "as in every other household duty, Mrs. Bagnet develops an exact system, sitting with every dish before her, allotting to every portion of pork its own portion of pot-liquor, greens, potatoes, and even mustard, and serving it out complete" (344). She's a moral counselor to her husband, who respects her opinion to the point that the two are almost interchangeable, and she keeps her family united, making the Bagnets one of the happiest families in *Bleak House*.

While Mrs. Bagnet has a reputable status from the beginning, Caddy must create her own. She comes from the ruinous household of Mrs. Jellyby, as described above, and must suffer the scribal labor imposed by her mother. However, she exploits her parents' indifference to take matters into her own hands. She starts taking dancing lessons and quickly becomes engaged to Prince, the instructor. Caddy defies the destiny set upon her and learns domesticity outside her home with the aid of Esther and Miss Flite, who lets her "help to tidy the room, and clean her birds," then learns to cook basic delicacies, to spend her money wisely at the market, to practice with the needle, "and a good many housekeeping things" (177). When she marries Prince, she accomplishes her escape from a problematic environment. *Bleak House* has only bittersweet endings, but Caddy Jellyby still qualifies as a success. Though she mourns her mother, who never recognizes her achievements, and she confronts a difficult situation in her own family (her disabled husband and deaf daughter), "[s]till, she is more than contented, and does all she has to do with all her heart" (768), including independently running the dance school. Caddy's revolutionary narrative can be compared to the Ironmaster's: they are both self-made individuals from the lower tiers of society who have rejected the future expected from their station and instead have made successful lives of their own, far above their starting points. After all, domesticity was considered the forte of the emerging middle class.

In contrast, Esther's journey receives an ambiguous conclusion. She grows strong as a character, yet, in the end, she returns to and settles in the exact place where she started—Bleak House. In addition to the previous points about her duties and Mr. Jarndyce's manipulation, this ending begs the question whether Esther is satisfied and empowered in her domesticity, or whether her domestic cheerfulness is an assumed, self-denying act imposed upon her true desires, since she is unable not just to fulfill them, but even to admit them. I argue that Esther has accepted domesticity without erasing her persona, and, on the contrary, has found happiness and power through her domestic role. Her complicated narrative hints that she has suppressed parts of herself not because this ideology has demanded her to, but because such stubborn self-denial comes from a traumatic familial past that hasn't been resolved yet. By taking on the role of the sage and beloved "Dame Durden," Esther re-rewrites her own doomed story, in a modest parallel to Caddy. Through domesticity she gives herself importance, purpose, desires, and goals, whereas before she didn't even consider herself worthy of *living*. Domesticity also offers Esther a chance for control and agency. Most scholars have interpreted her frequent shaking of her keys as a recurrent sign of repression, in that their jingling mutes her desires and focuses her on mindless duties. I, however, see Esther's keys and her constant dedication to the household as signs of power. They represent the only things she still has control over.

The examples in the novel supporting such an interpretation are numerous, so I only offer some of the most relevant. In the beginning, the mystery of her mother's identity bothers Esther, especially when confronted with found families such as Ada, Richard, and Mr. Jarndyce. After a night of events, she ends the day by saying to herself, "Esther, Esther, Esther! Duty, my dear!", then she gives her "little basket of housekeeping keys such a shake that they sounded like little bells and rang [her] hopefully to bed" (76). Perhaps she may not know her past, but she has *hope* in her new position, as the keys remind her. In another instance, when Mr. Woodcourt

leaves to pursue his career abroad, Esther doesn't explain the grief of this farewell but is devastated nonetheless, since she loves him. The next day she throws herself into domestic duties: "I was very busy indeed all day and wrote directions home to the servants, and wrote notes for my guardian, and dusted his books and papers, and jingled my housekeeping keys a good deal, one way and another" (215). Her domestic role offers a means of forgetting, but also an energetic reminder that, while she cannot hold onto the fate of the people she loves, she is neither useless nor a failure, but instead she can exercise efficient control over the household with its ceaseless affairs.

Moreover, domesticity brings Esther respect from other people, putting her in an advantageous position. One of her disciples is Caddy, as referenced before. When Esther teaches her housekeeping skills, Caddy is enraptured by what Esther jokingly calls her "wonderful inventions." Esther also remarks that "if you had seen [Caddy], whenever I jingled my housekeeping keys, get up and attend me, certainly you might have thought that there never was a greater imposter than I with a blinder follower than Caddy Jellyby" (371). However, Caddy isn't fascinated just because Esther has a kind character or because she wants to learn for her future, but because, through domesticity, Esther has assumed a position of authority inside their feminine microcosm. The keys are a symbol of such authority.

Finally, in the scene before Esther accepts Jarndyce's manipulative marriage proposal, she tells the reader that she had "made an excuse to go in with my housekeeping keys, shutting the door after me" (734). One might argue that Esther insists on this detail because she needs a reminder of her duties toward her guardian. I argue, instead, that Esther carries her keys in this crucial moment of the narrative as a different reminder. She wants to keep in mind that, even if she agrees to the marriage and binds herself to Bleak House, she will always hold power over it. Her domestic authority will be private and will exist under the name of Jarndyce, but she will still matter; she will still

have the agency of running a household efficiently and even independently. Esther entrusts her honor as a woman in society to Mr. Jarndyce, yet she holds on to her strong, disciplined, and unwavering will, which appears in the novel through her keys.

Although domesticity isn't totally emancipatory, it offers Esther a feasible escape that doesn't involve her absolute submission or renunciation. Overall, Dickens portrays domestic ideology as providing a condition of happiness and, to a degree, of power. *Bleak House* suggests that successful families like Caddy's and Mrs. Bagnet's are achievable, although only under specific circumstances, such as constant management and devotion. Nonetheless, domesticity influences *just* the microcosm of the home, never the bigger, social macrocosm. While Dickens supports women in positions of domestic power, he still criticizes those who pursue alternatives outside the household. The character of Miss Wisk, a feminist, plays an almost irrelevant role in the narrative, if not for the accusatory use Dickens makes of her. She's described as "a young—at least, an unmarried—lady," whose goal "was to show the world that woman's mission was man's mission," along with "the emancipation of woman from the thralldom of her tyrant, man" (375). The sarcastic narrative voice mocks Miss Wisk's feminist ideals and derides the way she conducts her mission.

Although the Victorian concept of domesticity doesn't constitute a feasible model of female emancipation as we might perceive it today, I argue that its portrayal in *Bleak House* shows that it allowed women a degree of power within the family and the household. For the Victorian age, domesticity presented an extraordinary position for women, who suddenly had gained a degree of control, although constricted in their own microcosms. Dickens carefully portrays these inspiring stories with memorable characters such as Mrs. Bagnet, Caddy, and ultimately Esther, who finds in domesticity an empowering possibility to rewrite her own doomed destiny. Although this ideology confers power to women in *Bleak House*, I

also contend that it posed considerable limitations and constraints to their freedom of choice, authority outside the household, and financial independence. Dickens affirms these barriers and criticizes those characters who act outside them, ultimately demonstrating that domesticity confined a woman's agency, powerful or not, to a limited world and failed to provide suitable ways for them to shape their social and political macrocosms.

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UNE INTERPRÉTATION HERMÉTIQUE ET ÉSOTÉRIQUE DU LAI *LANVAL* DE MARIE DE FRANCE

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Natura non facit saltus[1]

Dans son livre *Les Mystères des cathédrales*, l'écrivain mystérieux, Fulcanelli[2], en décrivant la transition entre les trois couleurs principales de la « Grande Œuvre » de l'alchimie nous dit « Ces couleurs, au nombre de trois, se développent selon l'ordre invariable qui va du *noir* au *rouge* en passant par le *blanc* » (60). Marie de France, peut-être aussi mystérieuse que Fulcanelli, est une écrivaine française du douzième siècle dont on ne sait pas grand-chose hormis quelques détails et son nom.[3] Elle est l'auteur des *Lais* : des contes folkloriques en couplets d'octosyllabes traitant des thèmes de l'amour, l'honneur, la société et la vie intime de l'individu, dont le lectorat se composait de courtisans francophones en Angleterre (Ferrante 50-51)[4]. Je souhaite proposer une interprétation hermétique du lai de *Lanval* par Marie de France comme l'allégorie d'un initié qui est en train d'essayer de passer par le noir mais qui n'est pas encore assez 'purifié' pour avancer au blanc ; à la fin de l'histoire, il finit sa purification et avance au blanc. Je voudrais tout d'abord donner un survol très bref de la philosophie hermétique (ce qui pourrait remplir des volumes), des trois couleurs principales de l'œuvre et de leurs phases respectives. Puis, puisque je ne crois pas que Marie de France ait été une initiée des mystères hermétiques qui aurait écrit exprès le lai comme une allégorie alchimique, je voudrais expliquer pourquoi, à mon avis, nous pouvons néanmoins le lire comme tel et soutirer une telle interprétation. Finalement, je voudrais détailler les symboles dans le lai qui montrent le début de la transition d'un homme « du *noir* au *rouge* en passant par le *blanc*. »

L'hermétisme est toute une philosophie spirituelle et naturelle, appelée « La Grande Œuvre » et « L'Art Royal, » qui a pour but la perfection spirituelle de l'homme par « le discernement des lois cachées qui régissent l'univers » (Wirth 93). Le symbolisme de la transmutation du plomb en or est souvent utilisé pour illustrer cette idée – c'est pourquoi les termes « hermétisme » et « alchimie » sont assez interchangeables. L'hermétisme est aussi une philosophie ésotérique ; c'est-à-dire que rien n'est dit explicitement. Les auteurs hermétiques se servent de symboles et d'allégories pour cacher leurs enseignements aux vulgaires. Dom-Antoine Joseph Pernety écrit dans la préface de son *Dictionnaire mytho-hermétique* que les auteurs des ouvrages hermétiques « ont donné milles noms à une même chose » et que « leurs ouvrages ne sont qu'un tissu d'énigmes, de métaphores, des allégories, présentées même sous le voile de termes ambigus » (v). Donc, les enseignements de cet « Art Royal » ne sont pas accessibles à tout le monde (les vulgaires) mais seulement aux « nobles d'esprit » (notons que Lanval est fils du roi), des gens capables d'être « initiés.

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1   « La nature ne fait pas de saut », vieil adage qui exprime le principe de continuité dans la philosophie naturelle : les choses changent graduellement.

2   L'identité réelle de l'homme derrière ce nom de plume est encore disputée jusqu'à aujourd'hui.

3   Dans la quatrième ligne de l'épilogue de ses *Fables*, elle écrit : *Marie ai num, si sui de France* (Marie est mon nom, je suis de France) (Kibler 1).

4   Les *Lais* ont été dédiés à un noble roi, probablement Henri II qui a régné de 1154 à 1189 (Ferrante 51).

Le processus hermétique et alchimique a trois étapes principales : *nigredo* (le noir), *albedo* (le blanc) et *rubedo* (le rouge). Selon Pernety, le noir est « la matière [ou l'esprit] de l'œuvre en putréfaction » (337). La putréfaction est l'étape de purification où la matière de l'œuvre est réduite et purifiée. Il faut absolument purifier la matière, comme l'explique Pernety en citant Nicolas Flamel : « si tu ne noircis pas, tu ne blanchiras pas ; si tu ne vois pas en premier lieu cette noirceur avant toute autre couleur déterminée, sache que tu as failli en l'œuvre, & qu'il te faut recommencer » (338). Puis « de même que le jour, dans la *Genèse*, succède à la nuit, la lumière succède à l'obscurité. Elle a pour signature la couleur *blanche* » (Fulcanelli 61). La couleur blanche est la couleur des initiés « parce que l'homme qui abandonne les ténèbres pour suivre la lumière passe de l'état profane à celui d'*Initié*, de *pur* » (Fulcanelli 61). Quant au rouge, Pernety nous dit qu'il « signifie le soufre des Philosophes » (443). Pernety explique que quand les Philosophes parlent de leur soufre, « il ne faut pas s'imaginer qu'ils parlent du soufre commun dont on fait la poudre à canon et les allumettes » (468). Le soufre est un symbole très complexe qui signifie le *rubedo* et la fin de la phase blanche. C'est un symbole complexe parce que, comme l'explique Pernety « les Philosophes ont donné à ce soufre une infinité de noms, qui conviennent tous à ce qui est mâle, ou fait l'office de mâle dans la génération naturelle » (469) ; mais l'idée générale du symbole de soufre est tout ce qui est actif, générateur, réalisateur et mâle. Fulcanelli dit qu'il y a beaucoup d'autres phases intermédiaires entre ces trois étapes principales car « la nature – d'après le vieil adage – *Natura non fecit* [sic] *saltus* – ne fait rien brutalement » (60). Ces autres étapes intermédiaires ne font pas partie de l'histoire, mais les traces de pourpre (couleur royale) qui apparaissent çà et là dans le lai peuvent être vues comme des signes de l'art royal, du Grand Œuvre en marche, et des indications de la phase rouge qui est à venir et du progrès que fait Lanval. Pernety mentionne que, dans les fables, les Troyens ont couvert le tombeau d'Hector avec un tapis pourpre, Priam a porté des étoffes pourpres devant Achille et qu'en chantant sur la lyre

la victoire que Jupiter et les Dieux ont remporté sur les Géants, Apollon s'est habillé en pourpre ; « tout cela ne signifie que la couleur rouge pourprée qui survient à la matière lorsqu'elle est parfaitement fixe » (398). Donc la couleur pourpre est aussi liée à la couleur rouge, qui est signe du *rubedo* et couleur du soufre, ce qui ne fait que montrer la complexité du soufre.

Alors, maintenant la question se pose : pourquoi est-il possible de lire un lai de Marie de France hermétiquement alors qu'on ne connait pas ses intentions ? Premièrement, parce que les écrivains qui traitent de la philosophie hermétique emploient souvent des mythologies aux cultures variées du monde : de la mythologie grecque à l'hindouisme, du *Zohar* de la kabbale au Coran, du Conte du Graal de Chrétien de Troyes à la Sainte Bible elle-même. Deuxièmement, comme le mentionne Cassidy Leventhal dans son essai « Finding Avalon : The Place and Meaning of the Otherworld in Marie de France's *Lanval* », les sources des lais de Marie de France sont des contes folkloriques simples et non-spécifiques, avec un niveau de personnage et de description qui n'est pas trop détaillé (194). Cette même non-spécificité est aussi présente dans *Lanval*. Par exemple, la belle femme qui vient à Lanval n'a pas de nom et on peut donc lui assigner des significations différentes comme la féminité pure, le féminisme, ou bien l'*anima*. Le lai, donc, se prête à des interprétations diverses. Enfin, il y a une tradition assez riche de l'ésotérisme hermétique dans la culture et la littérature françaises aussi : Nicolas Flamel (1340-1418), un alchimiste bien connu qui a même été mentionné dans les livres d'*Harry Potter* était français ; le Comte de Saint-Germain a été célèbre en France dans la deuxième moitié du dix-huitième siècle comme un homme qui prétendait être « doué de pouvoirs relevant de l'alchimie, et susceptible d'immortalité » (Goulemot 584) ; Marcellin Berthelot, un immortel de l'Académie Française, a produit quelques livres très estimés qui traitent de l'histoire de l'alchimie, mais il est connu surtout pour sa *Collection des anciens alchimistes grecs* ; Dom-Antoine Joseph Pernety a écrit son *Dictionnaire* et *Les Fables égyptiennes*

et grecques dévoilées ; l'Italien Giacomo Casanova qui a contribué à la littérature française avec ses mémoires s'est aussi intéressé aux sujets ésotériques, occultes et hermétiques.[5] Ajoutons aussi que beaucoup des cathédrales françaises – surtout Chartres – sont couvertes de symboles hermétiques. La philosophie hermétique n'est pas du tout étrangère à la littérature et l'histoire françaises ; donc, tout comme on peut toujours offrir une interprétation psychologique des œuvres de l'histoire, je crois que nous sommes capables d'en faire autant, mais hermétiquement.

Le lai de Lanval commence avec le personnage principal, Lanval, en train de faire sa première tentative de putréfaction, la phase noire. Selon Pernety, « Dans les Fables, le noir indique toujours cette putréfaction, de même que le deuil, la tristesse, souvent la mort » (337). Suivant notre interprétation, Lanval pratique une ascèse où il renonce à tous les conforts trompeurs de la vie matérielle. Voici un fils de roi, donc un noble d'esprit, auquel « le roi […] n'a rien donné » (v. 31), mais, « Lanval *ne lui a rien demandé* » (v. 32). Puis Lanval quitte la ville, seul : il se purifie en se débarrassant de tout ce qui n'est pas essentiel – en laissant même son cheval aller « se vautrer dans la prairie » (v. 48). Puis sa tristesse vient : « Affligé de son malheur, il ne voit autour de lui nulle raison d'espérer » (v. 51-52) ; plus tôt, on lit qu'il est « bien embarrassé, bien malheureux et bien soucieux » (v. 33-34) – on peut dire qu'il est de mauvaise humeur, d'une humeur *noire*. C'est quand il « ne vit autour de lui nulle raison d'espérer » (réduit à son essentiel) que les demoiselles lui apparaissent. Idéalement, elles représenteraient l'arrivée du principe féminin, la partie féminine qui signifie la phase blanche[6], mais notons qu'elles viennent « vêtues de tuniques de *pourpre sombre* » (v. 57-58). C'est vrai

que la femme mystérieuse à laquelle les demoiselles amènent Lanval est vêtue de blanc, mais ce blanc est sur « un manteau de *pourpre* d'Alexandre » qui est « *doublé* d'hermine blanche » (v. 102-103). Alors nous avons du blanc, du pourpre, du noir et de l'or (un aigle d'or se trouve au sommet du pavillon où se situe la femme mystérieuse (v. 87)) : il n'est pas encore pur - donc, pour l'*albedo*, il n'est pas encore là.

Ce qui prouve cela est que Lanval retourne à la ville, encore séduit par le monde matériel, où il brise son ascèse quand il brise son silence. Quand Lanval se dispute avec la reine, il gâche son progrès de purification. « Le disciple d'Hermès[7] était silencieux ; il n'argumentait jamais et ne cherchait à convaincre personne. Retiré en lui-même, il réfléchissait profondément et finissait par pénétrer ainsi les secrets de la nature » (Wirth 93). Quand Lanval retourne à la ville, il perd ce qu'il a appris de lui-même et de la purification en partageant son or (v. 205-216) qui symbolise la sagesse, la connaissance. Puis il fait la faute de se disputer avec la reine, essayant de la convaincre qu'il aime et est aimé par une femme dont la moindre de ses servantes lui est supérieure (v. 289-304) : il brise le silence du disciple d'Hermès. Après cette transgression, Lanval est « seul dans une chambre, soucieux et angoissé » (v. 339-340), « il a beau crier, pleurer, se débattre et se tourmenter » (v. 349-350), il est isolé de nouveau et il plonge plus profondément dans le désespoir – c'est-à-dire, qu'il approche la pureté et sa quintessence,[8] « le noir plus noir que le noir même[9]. » Mais ce n'est que quand Lanval apprend l'importance du silence qu'il peut avancer. Donc, quand il est questionné par le roi, « il reste triste et silencieux » (v. 362).

5   Jean M. Goulemot écrit dans l'introduction du livre *Histoire de ma vie, Anthologie – le voyageur européen* que « La passion occultiste est à tel point partagée par Casanova et la fille de la maison [d'une famille juive], que rien ne transparaît d'une relation amoureuse passionnée. Au plaisir des corps se substitue le plaisir que procure un savoir mystérieux » (32).

6   Le (principe) féminin est symbolisé hermétiquement par La Lune (Wirth 21-23). La lune est aussi liée à la couleur blanche (Pernety 256).

7   « À travers Platon et Pythagore, elle [la philosophie hermétique] prétendait remonter aux Hiérophantes égyptiens et au fondateur même de leur science, à Hermès Trismégiste ou Trois fois grand, d'après qui elle était dite *Hermétique* » (Wirth 93).

8   C'est à ce point de l'histoire que Marie de France nous dit « c'est merveille qu'il ne se tue pas » (ligne 348). On peut interpréter cette ligne comme une indication du degré auquel il se purifie, se réduit, descend en lui-même.

9   Expression utilisée par Pernety (337).

Silencieux, il devient plus pur ; alors le féminin réapparaît : deux jeunes filles « vêtues seulement d'une tunique de taffetas pourpre » (v. 477) qui sont suivies par deux autres belles demoiselles. Eventuellement, la belle femme mystérieuse vient sur un *blanc* palefroi (v. 557) et vêtue « d'une chemise blanche » (v. 567). Cette fois, « elle avait relevé les pans de son manteau de pourpre sombre » (v. 577-578). Maintenant, nous savons que Lanval s'est purifié et que la femme mystérieuse représente la phase blanche, l'*albedo*, ou la transition à la phase blanche de la phase noire, quand nous lisons que « son cou [est] plus blanc que la neige sur la branche » (lv. 570). Ce 'blanc' de la femme qui suit le 'noir' de la tristesse et de la putréfaction de Lanval est un « vrai indice de la parfaite putréfaction » (Pernety 58).

Écrivant sur la blancheur, Pernety nous dit que « la *blancheur* indique le mariage ou l'union du fixe & du volatil, du mâle & de la femelle... » (58). C'est ici, quand la putréfaction est complète et le mâle et la femelle fusionnent, que « les Philosophes disent qu'il faut déchirer les livres, parce qu'ils deviennent inutiles » (Pernety 58). Quand Lanval saute sur le palefroi blanc derrière la femme blanche et « s'en va avec elle en Avalon » (v. 659), il 'déchire ses livres' métaphoriquement : il va où il n'aura plus besoin de ce qu'il laisse derrière lui, il s'avance vers la perfection spirituelle, fusionné avec le féminin.

Si l'apparence finale de la femme dans toute sa blancheur représente le commencement de la phase blanche, que dire de la phase rouge, le *rubedo* ? Leventhal propose l'idée qu'Avalon n'est pas un endroit hors de la réalité ou une fuite, pour ainsi dire, mais une réalité plus profonde, plus fondamentale (194). Donc, même s'il n'y a pas de couleur liée à Avalon dans le texte de *Lanval*, je dirais qu'Avalon signifie le but des efforts de Lanval, la phase rouge, et que c'est là qu'il plongera même plus profondément en lui-même pour terminer le travail de la Grande Œuvre. Et si la femme en blanc signifie le début de la phase blanche, le voyage de la terre où Lanval a accompli la phase noire jusqu'à Avalon peut signifier toute

la phase blanche pendant laquelle son fusionnement total avec le féminin se complète et se termine avec son arrivée à « cette île mystérieuse » (v. 661), Avalon. Donc Lanval va du noir au rouge *en passant par le blanc*.

Arrivé à Avalon, il peut cultiver son principe actif, son or, son soufre, son « *feu réalisateur* emprisonné dans le noyau de chaque être » (Wirth 42) afin de découvrir en lui-même et donc, dans l'univers (l'homme étant le microcosme de l'univers), l'unité cachée sous la multiplicité des choses. René Guénon parle du pouvoir du soleil à aider les gens à découvrir cette unité dans son livre *Aperçus sur l'ésotérisme islamique et le taoïsme* quand il explique que dans les pays où le soleil est fort, il absorbe toutes les choses en lui-même et les fait « disparaître devant lui comme la multiplicité devant l'Unité » (41). Il dit aussi que le monothéisme a un caractère « solaire » et que « Le soleil s'impose ici [dans les pays du désert] comme le symbole par excellence du Principe Un (42-43).

Hermétiquement, le symbole du soleil est lié à l'or, à la lumière directe et la capabilité du discernement (Wirth 21) ; il est aussi lié au feu, au soufre, à l'actif et lié à la couleur rouge. Pour Lanval, Avalon peut ainsi être le lieu symbolique de l'accomplissement de la Grande Œuvre et du discernement des lois cachées qui régissent l'univers et ainsi que le lieu de l'unité de l'univers.

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Jill Malinowski | *Umbilical*

ANALYZING TOURIST IMAGINARIES THROUGH INSTAGRAM:
THE CASE OF MACHU PICCHU

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Introduction

When Yale historian Hiram Bingham rediscovered Machu Picchu in 1911, photography helped him share the site with the world and use his own imaginative framework to construct its meaning for a Western audience. Today, Instagram, an image-sharing social media site, provides a similar opportunity to any Machu Picchu visitors with a smartphone. Through the application, they can document their experiences and perceptions of the site through image geotagging, hashtags, and captions. Much of this documentation is created by white, Western tourists for a white, Western audience; subsequently, this Western tourist gaze constructs Machu Picchu according to a European worldview. In this paper, I discuss the history of Machu Picchu and draw from theories in geography, tourism studies, and art history to examine the construction of an imagined Machu Picchu landscape through modern social technology, specifically Instagram. I argue that the predominance of white Instagrammers from Europe and the United States is reflected within a Western tourist gaze that effectively strips the site of its true history and culture and molds it into a desirable commodity for Western consumption. I begin with a brief history of Machu Picchu and its rediscovery over a century ago.

The History of Machu Picchu

Machu Picchu did not gain global recognition until the early twentieth century with Hiram Bingham's expeditions to the then-remote Peruvian location. A lecturer of South American history at Yale, Bingham organized a "scientific expedition" to Peru in order to search for historical sites. Bingham was not trained in archaeology, and he often used unreliable accounts from Spanish conquistadores as primary sources of geographic information (Salazar, 2004). His first goal was to discover the fabled city of Vilcabamba, the last stronghold of Inka (Inca) Manco Capac before the Spanish defeated the Inka empire in 1572. In July of 1912, Bingham's expedition team reached Cusco, and with the help of a local mule driver and a Peruvian army sergeant, Bingham trekked up the ridge of Machu Picchu. A group of local farmers offered the men water and sweet potatoes before leading Bingham through the ancient ruins hidden by the underbrush (Salazar, 2004).

After excavating and cataloguing the site, Bingham established several theories regarding its historical use that were later debunked. He first postulated that the site was the birthplace of the Inka, mistakenly believing a unique building with three large, uniformly shaped windows to be the site of Tampu Toco where, according to legend, the first Inkas were believed to have emerged from three windows. Bingham later reasoned, after several expeditions through the jungle, that the site must be Vilcabamba, the last refuge of the Inkas. Finally, upon additional discoveries at the site, Bingham reasoned that the site was home to the *acllacuna*, a select group

FIGURE 1

Location of Machu Picchu
Created by author

Machu Picchu- Location

FIGURE 2

Panoramic View from the top of Mt. Machu Picchu, 1912
Photo by H. Bingham.
In Burger and Salazar, p25

FIGURE 3

Hiram Bingham, 1912
Photo by E.C. Erdis.
In Burger and Salazar, p23
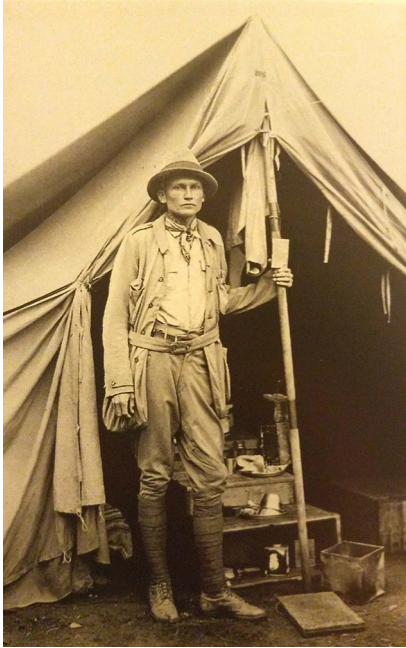
of women chosen to be virgins of the Sun God (Salazar, 2004). One of Bingham's bone experts had analyzed the skeletons from unearthed burials and concluded that there was a 4:1 ratio of females and males buried at the site. Nonetheless, the site's design, archaeological remains, and more recent and thorough bone analysis establish its existence as a royal estate, not the birthplace nor last refuge of the Inkas (Salazar, 2004).

Despite the establishment of more recent archaeological theories, many of Bingham's early conjectures live on in the popular, Western imagination; as Salazar (2004) writes,

> "Bingham's gifts as a popularizer of his own work had the unfortunate effect of establishing his errors as facts in the public consciousness. It was he who described Machu Picchu as a lost city, although . . . it was not 'lost' in any meaningful sense" (p. 24).

Popular culture still conceives Machu Picchu as a perplexing archaeological site constructed by a mysterious ancient people, and much of the information circulating today can be traced to Bingham's photographs and descriptions. As Salazar (2004) writes, "Travelers, Peruvian and foreign, continue to receive implausible and misleading information and perpetuate it. Bingham himself held and advanced many of these still current misconceptions, which, despite the evidence, have persisted for close to a century" (p. 21).

Today, a strong body of archaeological work explains many of the questions and mystical interpretations that tourists maintain about the site. Many archaeologists believe that Machu Picchu was constructed by Pachacuti Inka Yupanqui, one of the first Inka rulers to consolidate military power and gain land from the Chanca, a rival tribe of the Inka. Pachacuti conquered land north of Cusco, and in order to celebrate his military triumphs, he constructed a network of royal estates (Salazar, 2004). These royal estates were places where the Inka ruler could relax during the winter months, enjoy nature and hunting, and host officials from across the empire. Machu Picchu's main purpose was likely for conducting religious ceremonies and hosting the Inka royal family, so only about 500 to 750 people would have lived at the site year-round. It's possible that the site was abandoned even before the Spanish conquest, when it was no longer needed (Salazar, 2004).

Landscape in Geographic Theory

Geographer Yi-Fu Tuan argues that *landscape* is a unique concept of place that contains both functional and moral-aesthetic values; a landscape can be a functional tract of land, such as a farm or estate, but also maintain emotional and perceptive value, such as home or wilderness (1979). Tuan explains that our ideas of landscape come from our knowledge and experience, and as people learn, grow, and acquire new ideas and ways of thinking about the world and those who occupy it, their knowledge of different landscapes grows. He uses the example of different grades

at an elementary school, where first-graders can easily understand a picture of a farm but cannot easily describe a "downtown" or a "factory." Sixth-graders, however, can more easily describe each picture, its functions, and its setting in a larger context (Tuan, 1979). Accordingly, landscapes are never concrete ideas but rather images and perceptions shaped by our education and experiences.

Geographer Dydia DeLyser further explores the concept of landscape in her work on Bodie State Historic Park, a ghost town in California. During her interactions at the park, she describes how many visitors cast their imaginations of the Western landscape onto the town:

> "One man visiting with his wife and two young children narrated a scene for his family, including elements of the obvious, as well as those of the purely imagined: 'There's a bar and a table and you just walked up to the kitchen and got food and then sat down'" (DeLyser, 2001, p. 32-33).

The landscape of Bodie serves not only as a setting for the imagination, but also as a synecdoche for the colonization of the American West. DeLyser argues that visitors see Bodie as a symbol of the imagined romantic ruggedness of the late 1800s, and they apply their imaginations based on what they have seen in media. Although many of these images are far from historically factual, images of Bodie —as both artifact and signifier of the American West in popular culture and imaginations—are nonetheless perpetually reproduced through visits to the site and consumption of the Western pop-culture genre (DeLyser, 2001).

Sociologist John Urry has written extensively on modern tourist consumption and the cultural, economic, and political significance of what he calls "the tourist gaze" (Urry, 1995). Urry argues that traditional understandings of production and consumption, as developed in economics and political theory, fail to consider or adequately explain the consumption of experiences and the acquisition of

social capital that come with travel and tourism. Urry (1995) frames the tourist's consumption of place thus: "to look individually or collectively upon aspects of landscape or townscape which are distinctive, which signify an experience which contrasts with everyday experience" (Urry 1995, p. 132). Over time, the shared consumption of similar places by tourists of similar cultural backgrounds coalesce as the foundation of "the tourist gaze": "People linger over such a gaze which is then normally visually objectified or captured through photographs, postcards, films, models, and so on. These enable the gaze to be endlessly reproduced and recaptured" (Urry, 1995, p. 133).

In her discursive analysis of the mystery surrounding Saqsaywamán, an Inkan archaeological site outside Cusco, art historian Carolyn Dean (2011) considers the aspects of the tourist construction of the site. Dean discusses the allure these Inkan ruins have for foreign tourists, how they amaze tourists with the intricacy of their stonework and their seemingly mysterious past, and she argues that tourists indulge in these mysteries with little interest in rational explanation. This, in essence, is the discourse of mystery, a discourse where the nature and origins of non-European sites are portrayed as impossibly constructed to normalize the European intellect and enable European colonization projects (Dean, 2011). She explains that "The Inka created the building complex of Saqsaywamán. Colonising Spaniards created the ruins of Saqsaywamán" (Dean, 2011, p. 742). Assumed superiority of colonizers and assumed inferiority of the colonized can also be found in theories of aliens or other mysterious technologies aiding Inkan builders or disbelieving the Inkas' capability to create massive stone structures without European tools. Dean concludes that "[m]aintaining the mystery imprisons the Inka in an imagined and fictionalised past, separating them from their descendants who participate only on the periphery of today's tourist economy" (2011, p. 749).

In analyzing social media and its influence on the tourist gaze and the travel industry, Sean Smith (2018) uses

Instagram to identify key tropes that predominate in travel images shared on the site. Smith elaborates how Instagram images and captions have largely replaced the travel writing genre as a means for researching travel locations, suggesting that Instagram posts have become a new form of travel writing. Smith argues, however, that while more recent travel writers have begun to understand the colonial implications of their work, the millions of Instagram users occupying the wider public continue to operate in a space where colonial tropes are not thoroughly questioned (2018). As a result, problematic tropes are continuously reproduced through and across social media. Smith (2018) identifies three of these tropes: 1) the tropical exotic, where tropical landscapes are depicted as sensual, empty, and available for colonization; 2) the promontory witness, where "a 'seeing man' gains an elevated view and aestheticises the scene using the language of discovery" (p. 10); and 3) fantasized assimilation, where "tourists don what is recognisable—or stereotyped—as local dress, [and] they appropriate the identity of those who call the destination home, effectively claiming the destination

(temporarily) as their home, too" (p. 12). He argues that the popular usage of these tropes in Instagram and across social media constitutes a mediatized performance, where Instagram users create specific images to portray certain behaviors, ideas, and values to their followers and generate as much interaction as possible (Smith, 2018).

Instagram

Instagram first launched as an image-sharing social media site in 2010; today, the site hosts over 1 billion active

FIGURE 4

The Tropical Exotic on Instagram
@doyoutravel, posted April 15, 2018
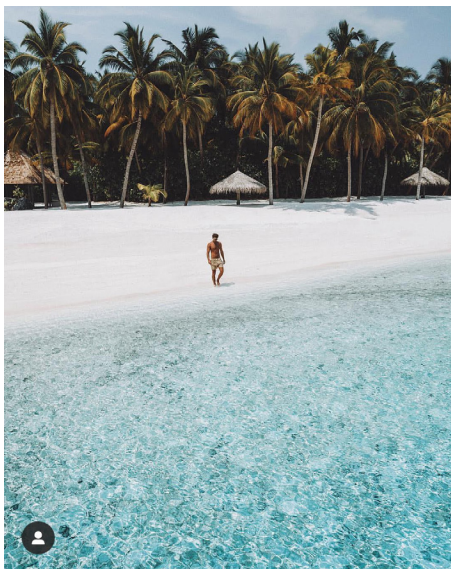
FIGURE 5

Promontory Witness on Instagram
@doyoutravel, posted July 7, 2018

FIGURE 6

Fantasized Assimilation on Instagram
@doyoutravel, posted March 29, 2019
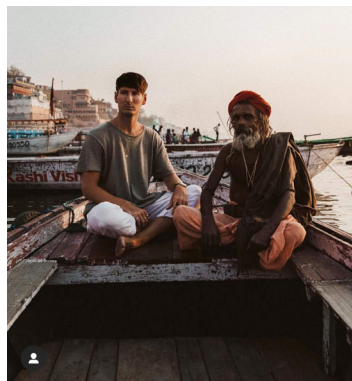
monthly users and over 500 million daily active users (Instagram, 2019). While Instagram has a website, the majority of the site's features, including photo posting, can only be accessed through the smartphone application. Within the application, users have a homepage where they can view the latest posts, which are photos shared with an audience and saved in the user's profile and stories, which are short-term photos or videos uploaded as status updates. When users post photos, they can add filters and other editing techniques, and after they've finished their edits, they can write a caption that includes tagging other users, writing hashtags that identify the image, and sharing the image's location.

Lydia Manikonda and her colleagues at Arizona State University discuss several statistical takeaways from Instagram, such as posting frequency and the use of comments, hashtags, filters, and geolocations. In terms of geolocations, Manikonda et al. (2014) found that more than 18.8% of the over 5 million posts that they reviewed used geotagging, and at least 28.8% of users have at least one geotagged photo; in comparison, only 0.6% of Twitter pictures are geotagged. Additionally, they include a map that shows that the majority of Instagram users are active in the United States, Mexico, Brazil, Europe, the Arab States of the Persian Gulf, Southeast Asia, and Australia (Manikonda et al., 2014). Van Zanten et al. (2016) also conducted a study of the frequency of posts to photo-sharing sites in relation to landscape values in Europe. Natural features proved to be an important factor, as

"[i]n all three estimations, hills and mountains are the strongest predictors of high aesthetic and outdoor recreation values. Compared with the other landscape features, distance to a water body is a strong predictor in the Instagram model . . . In all three estimations, an increase of 5-km distance to a city of over 100,000 inhabitants strongly decreases the amount of uploaded content" (Van Zanten et al., 2016).

Instagram's popularity, however, has also generated criticism, especially within the niche of travel Instagram accounts. Liz Carlson (2017), known by her travel name Young Adventuress, is an American currently residing in New Zealand who has managed a travel blog since 2010. In her post "How to win friends and influence people on Instagram," she satirically discusses the Instagram trend of falsifying statistics in order to gain more influence and, therefore, get paid to represent sponsors (Carlson, 2017). Several trends include paying services to gather up to 50,000 subscribers for an account or using bot applications to generate false likes and comments. Carlson also comments that many users post the same kinds of images to earn recognition: "What is rewarded is people copying each other over and over and over again. The same pose, the same locations, the same outfits, even the same filters" (Carlson, 2017). While Instagram claims to boost creativity, its algorithms and user expectations mean that only certain kinds of images perform well, so travel media often becomes a re-creation of similar styles of poses and outfits in the same places.

Instagramming and Imagining Machu Picchu

In order to analyze the images created to portray Machu Picchu, five accounts along with their representative images were chosen. These accounts were selected

FIGURE 7

Instagram Image of Machu Picchu
@samkolder, posted September 21, 2018
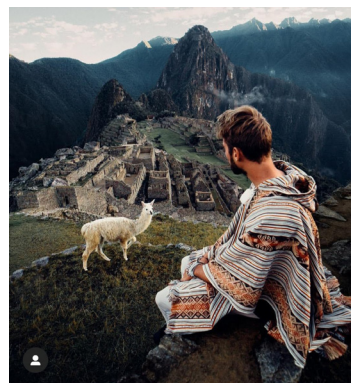
FIGURE 8

Instagram Image of Machu Picchu
@doyoutravel, posted March 11, 2018

FIGURE 9

Instagram Image of Machu Picchu
@gypsealust, posted March 12, 2018

because they had over 1 million followers and included at least one post from Machu Picchu.

Sam Kolder (@samkolder) is a Canadian travel video blogger and Instagrammer with over 1.3 million followers who often features solo travel content along with adventure travel and athletic feats such as cliff diving. He took a trip to Peru in August of 2018 and posted photos and videos of Andean landscapes along with treks to Machu Picchu and Vinicunca, popularly known as Rainbow Mountain in tourist circles. He posted a photo from Machu Picchu on September 21st, 2018; the photo generated 148,910 likes and 1,481 comments (Kolder, 2018). In the photo, Kolder sits in the lower right of the frame wearing an identifiably Peruvian knit poncho as he gazes at a llama walking along the grass. Kolder and the llama are the only subjects framed in the photo, and they are positioned at a high viewpoint that provides a sweeping gaze of Machu Picchu (Kolder, 2018).

Australian travel bloggers and Instagrammers Jack Morris (@doyoutravel) and Lauren Bullen (@gypsea_lust) have over 2.7 million and 2.1 million followers, respectively; as a world-traveling couple, they often feature each other in their earth-toned snapshots of exotic locations and model-esque beach and waterfall photoshoots. Morris and Bullen took a trip through South America in March of 2018, and they each posted several photos from Peru, including a trip to the Salinas de Maras, a group of salt flats popular with tourists. Morris posted his Machu Picchu photo on March 11th, 2018, where it accrued 265,567 likes and 3,891 comments (2018); Bullen posted her Machu Picchu photo on March 12th, 2018, where it accrued 117,479 likes and 1,254 comments (2018). In Morris's photo, he and a llama, the only two subjects of the photo, stand at a rocky vantage point over Machu Picchu as they gaze across the site (2018). In Bullen's photo, she stands at a distance from the camera as she gazes at the surrounding mountains. She stands on a grassy cliff at a higher vantage point over Machu Picchu, and a wider view of the site can be seen below her (Bullen, 2018).

Beautiful Destinations (@beautifuldestinations) is a travel media company with a feature photo Instagram profile that has over 12.3 million followers. According to their website, the company "passionately [believes] that travel is a force for good. It is an antidote to racism, bigotry, and inequality, and allows us to create meaningful, engaging stories that inspire people to open their minds and make a positive impact on the world" (Beautiful Destinations, 2018a). On Instagram, the account features worldwide travel photos from travel Instagrammers in order to promote these Instagrammers' individual pages. For each photo, @beautifuldestinations writes a caption that fits with their brand while also tagging the original creator of the photo. Their most recent photo featuring Machu Picchu was posted on June 21st, 2018 and garnered 352,461 likes and 3,419 comments (Beautiful Destinations, 2018b). The photo was taken by Emmett Sparling (@emmett_sparling), a Canadian travel Instagrammer

FIGURE 10

Instagram Image of Machu Picchu
@beautifuldestinations, June 21, 2018

and videographer with over 454,000 followers. The post by @beautifuldestinations and the post by @emmett_sparling each use different captions, and @emmett_sparling features more photos of Machu Picchu, the aforementioned Vinicunca, and Ausangate, a mountain in the Vilcanota mountain range near Cusco (Sparling, 2017). In the Machu Picchu photo posted by @beautifuldestinations, Machu Picchu is shown from a vantage point awash in golden morning sunlight; no subjects are included the frame, and the site appears vacant (Beautiful Destinations, 2018b).

Analysis & Discussion

As Tuan establishes, landscapes are continually shaped by our beliefs and imaginations; accordingly, these photos do not represent Machu Picchu as an archaeological site connected to a past culture but rather as a landscape of the tourist's imagination. In these photos, the site is presented with recognizable characteristics: similar vantage points that look across the site with the peak of Huayna Picchu as the background, editing and filters that create a majestic and mysterious tone, and strategic positioning and photographing that make the site appear empty. These techniques create and reinforce the imagined landscape of Machu Picchu as an ancient, mysterious, and awe-inspiring site, and one that—outside of the photographed subject—is thoroughly devoid of people or society. As Instagram users repeatedly consume these photos through their feeds and produce their own similarly edited photos, they reproduce the gaze and the stereotype of a mythical, mystical, and remote Machu Picchu. Insofar as the majority of active Instagram users hail from Western, post-industrial societies, and insofar as the creators of the discussed images are all white and from Western nations, the tourist gaze behind the creation of this landscape is inherently and problematically biased.

Following DeLyser's (2001) work, just as Bodie State Historic Park serves as a synecdoche for the American West, Machu Picchu serves as a synecdoche for a mysterious and culturally, geographically, and temporally remote indigenous past. As mentioned earlier, the

discussed photos are largely taken from the same vantage point with the rows of the site's buildings stretching out across a mountaintop from beneath the towering peak of Huayna Picchu. Presumably, this image is used to represent the awe-inspiring technology of ancient indigenous cultures, where an ancient and remote society's ability to construct massive stone structures on a mountain plateau seems impossible. This image also represents the perceived mysterious cultures and origins of ancient indigenous peoples, as the uninhabited, abandoned, and ruined site seems to offer no immediate interpretations of the people who lived there. Urry (1995) suggests that a touristic sign is like a couple kissing in France being representative of French romance; the image of Machu Picchu similarly serves as a touristic sign of this mysterious, remote, and lost indigenous past. Urry (1995) also notes that many modern tourists collect signs; accordingly, featuring a photo of the Machu Picchu image on one's Instagram account adds this sign to the collection.

As DeLyser (2001) argues in her assessment of the tourist experience at Bodie State Historic Park, the presence of ruins and the absence of a fully functioning and inhabited settlement provide the visitor with a partially blank canvas on which to paint scenes from their imagination. Machu Picchu, with its historic abandonment and ruins, also serves as a nearly vacant canvas on which visitors can create their own imaginative experiences. As the history of the site is not immediately present in its physical reality, the ruins seem to instill in visitors the need to interpret the site and complete the picture. As Emmett Sparling writes in one of his captions, "I swear the Incas had too much time on their hands. They basically built a massive structure on the edge of every huge cliff or mountain in this area. Pretty impressive to say the least" (Sparling, 2018). In Sparling's case, he creates his own interpretation of Inkan craftsmanship as having "too much time on their hands" without drawing from archaeological studies that have shown the actual Inkan purpose for the site.

As Dean (2011) writes in her assessment of tourist practices at Saqsaywamán, "the discourse of mystery distances the Inka from their accomplishments" (745). This discourse can be seen in the discussed photos, as the photographers present the site as empty, majestic, and mysterious, and their captions offer little interpretation. In the information that is offered, however, the captions notably follow Dean's assessment that the mystery of Machu Picchu is presented as a way of reinforcing the superiority of European inventions. As Dean (2011) writes of Spanish colonial characterizations of Inkan craftsmanship, "Spanish commentary repeatedly hints at European technological superiority, however, as the authors wonder at what the Inka achieved *despite* their lack of tools—by which they meant iron tools" (739). Such characterizations clearly continue today, as @beautifuldestinations captions their Machu Picchu photo: "The grandeur of Machu Picchu is amplified when you consider that the entire city was constructed without the use of wheels to transport heavy rocks" (Beautiful Destinations, 2018b). Here, Machu Picchu's construction is characterized as surprising, as building tools familiar to a Western audience were not used. It's also interesting to note that in this characterization of Machu Picchu's construction, the cultural history and significance of the site has been completely removed. Dean (2011), however, provides this history in her discussion of Saqsaywamán:

> "Because the Inka believed that stone was potentially animate and was capable of changing form and resisting external forces, dressed and fitted stone testified to the power and the persistence of the Inka state, as well as its ability to negotiate with natural numina" (738).

Finally, several of the photographic tropes identified by Smith (2018) are clearly present in the discussed photos. The repeated vacancy of Machu Picchu suggests Smith's tropical exotic trope where "the prevailing *vacancy* of the landscape is the method by which Europeans imaginatively established their presence" (2018, p. 6).

In this way, representing Machu Picchu as a vacant site relates to historical European photographs and paintings that presented exotic sites as pristine and vacant and therefore available for European colonization. Today, the representation of Machu Picchu as vacant—even though hundreds of tourists visit the site each day—seems to encourage the tourist viewer to visit the site and claim it as their own. Each of the discussed images also features the promontory witness trope, as each subject is presented as alone while surveying the site of Machu Picchu. Even in the photo shared by @beautifuldestinations and @emmett_sparling, a wide vista of Machu Picchu is presented, and the viewer of the photo becomes a sort of promontory witness. Smith explains the implications of this trope as "in both the process of photographing it and in posting that image to Instagram the landscape is transformed into a commodity" (2018, p. 12). Finally, Kolder's photo is representative of the fantasized assimilation trope in that he wears a knit alpaca poncho; as mentioned earlier, Smith establishes this trope as appropriating local culture in order to claim belonging at the site (Smith, 2018). While this may or may not be traditional Peruvian dress, the popularity and recognizability of the clothing means

that the viewer will interpret the clothing as traditionally Peruvian and therefore cast Kolder as a cultural master of the site.

Conclusion

This paper has argued that Instagram, as a social media image-sharing site, has become a platform where landscapes are created and constantly reproduced. However, as white westerners dominate the Instagram scene, these landscapes are often formed by a Western tourist gaze and serve to propagate Western beliefs and values. In the case of Machu Picchu, the landscape of the site is characterized as ancient, baffling, mysterious, and majestic, and this image of Machu Picchu is constantly reproduced through Instagram photos and captions. As demonstrated through five posts from popular Instagrammers, these photos often contain similar messages of European technical superiority, European colonialism, and the reframing of indigenous history around a Western conceptualization. Ultimately, such images serve to reproduce the Western tourist gaze and European colonialism in the framing of Machu Picchu.

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DAS FREMDE IN VIELEN FARBEN: EINE REISE IN DIE BEDEUTUNG DES FREMDEN

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Wenn ich an das Fremde denke, fällt mir das bekannte Zitat von Augustinus von Hippo bezüglich des Sinnes der Zeit ein: »Quid est ergo tempus? Si nemo ex me quaerat, scio; si quaerenti explicare velim, nescio.«[1] Kann ich etwas über das Fremde sagen? Verstehe ich etwas von der Vorstellung des Fremden? Ich meine ja, aber ich kann die ganze Idee wie ein offenes Feld nicht sehen, obwohl ich streng versuche. Sie bleibt so weit weg von mir und liegt am Horizont unter Wolken des Unverständnisses gedeckt. Wie könnte ich jemals das Fremde treffen? Welche Gasse könnte mich zum Fremden führen? Vielleicht ist diese Situation, die aus der Schwierigkeit besteht, das Fremde zu fassen, passend. Wenn etwas Fremdes "fremd" bleiben soll, muss ich mit meinen Versuchen aufhören, es komplett zu entdecken und herauszufinden. Sonst wäre es etwas anders als das Fremde. Nur kann ich einen kurzen Augenblick haben und darin sehe ich nur wolkenverdeckten Horizont, aber diesmal sehe ich den Horizont an und allmählich fällt es mir auf, dass die weichen Kreisen des Unverständnisses, die am Horizont liegen, ein kritischer Teil von dem Sinn des Fremden ausmachen. Ich dachte, das Unverständnis lässt das Licht des Sinnes des Fremden nicht durch: in Wirklichkeit aber besteht das Fremde selbst aus dem Unverständnis und der Weglosigkeit. Obwohl ich weiß, dass ich nur einen Teil von dem Fremden begriffen habe, freue ich mich darüber, dass ich diesen Ausgangspunkt bekam.

Mit diesem Ausgangspunkt können wir jetzt zu manchen Texten gehen, die auf der einen oder anderen Weise das Fremde thematisieren. In ihrem Buch *Überseezungen* (2002), stellt die Autorin Yoko Tawada ihre Erfahrungen an der Grenze zwischen ihrer Muttersprache Japanisch und ihrer relativ neuen Sprache Deutsch vor. Durch kurze Geschichten werden uns viele Metaphern für das Fremde und die Schwierigkeit des Unverständnisses gegeben, die zusammen ein reiches Bild von Tawadas Idee des Fremden bilden. Erstmal beschreibt Tawada das Fremde wie eine sehr große Mauer. In einer von ihren Geschichten stellt sie sich vor, dass sie eine Autobiographie geschrieben hat, und als sie ihr Manuskript dem Publikum vortrug, bekam sie bei jeder Lesung Schwierigkeiten:

> Auf dem Manuskriptpapier bilden die Buchstaben eine Mauer, ich gehe geduldig an der Mauer entlang, es gibt aber keine Tür, kein Fenster, nicht einmal eine Klingel… Mit winzigen Füßen muss ich jeden Buchstaben hochklettern, ohne sehen zu können, was hinter ihm steckt.[2]

Hier finden wir ein Bild des Fremden, indem es wie etwas, was wir hochklettern müssen, erscheint. Wir sind Soldaten, die mit dem Fremden kämpfen, um es endlich verlassen zu können. Das Ziel besteht daraus, das Fremde

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1 Was ist also die Zeit? Wenn mich niemand danach fragt, weiß ich es, wenn ich es aber einem, der mich fragt, erklären sollte, weiß ich es nicht.« Augustinus, *Bekenntnisse (Confessiones)*, XI, 14.

2 Yoko Tawada, *Überseezungen* (Tübingen: Konkursbuch, 2002), 10–11.

verschwinden zu lassen. Wenn wir versuchen, das zu tun, kommt es ans Licht, dass das Fremde uns nicht erlaubt, es komplett zu verlassen und verschwinden zu lassen. Also,

> Um lesen zu können, muss ich auf den Text blicken. Aber um nicht zu stolpern muss ich so tun, als wären die Buchstaben gar nicht da. Das ist das Geheimnis des Alphabets: Die Buchstaben sind nicht mehr da und doch sind sie noch nicht verschwunden.[3]

Dieser unbesiegbare Teil des Fremden erscheint in anderen Geschichten von Tawada auch. Dort treffen wir noch einmal auf die Ansicht, dass das Fremde in unserem Weg steht und wir müssen es betrachten, als ob es ein Feind wäre, mit dem wir kämpfen müssten. Diesmal sprechen wir über Schimpfwörter und darüber, dass wir oft die Wörter für kleine Tiere als Schimpfwörter benutzen:

> Wie kam es aber, dass das Tier sich fangen ließ? ... Es hatte aber einen Namen und beim Namen wurde es gefangen. Der Name, das Netz. Der Name wurde dann als Schimpfwort benutzt und das Tier wurde vergessen. Das namenlose Tier schläft in der Asche wie ein Wort, das noch nie gesagt worden ist. Ich werde seinen namenlosen Namen rufen, um es zu wecken, denn es ist noch nicht tot.[4]

Indem Tawada das Wort »Netz« benutzt, deutet sie uns an, dass wir in der gleichen Welt mit der Mauermetapher spielen. Wir versuchen das Fremde zu gefangen und zu verlassen, aber es »ist noch nicht tot.« In dieser Metapherwelt, wenn man auf das Fremde trifft, kann er nicht mehr fröhlich spazieren gehen. Er muss aufhören, weil das Fremde im Wege steht.

Im Gegensatz zu diesem Bild gibt Tawada uns einen anderen Blick auf das Fremde, der ganz anders aussieht. Für Tawada kann das Fremde mehr als einen Sinn tragen,

und vielleicht um das Fremde richtig verstehen zu können, müssen wir eine Familie von Metaphern sammeln. Dass das Fremde viele Sinne tragen kann, ist auch ein Teil davon. Das heißt, um fremd zu sein, muss das (in dieser Ansicht) zu einem großen tiefen Meer der Bedeutungen führen. Also beschreibt Tawada das Fremde auch wie eine durchsichtige Sache:

> Eine Sprache, die man nicht gelernt hat, ist eine durchsichtige Wand. Mann kann bis in die Ferne hindurchschauen, weil einem keine Bedeutung im Weg steht. Jedes Wort ist unendlich offen, es kann alles bedeuten.[5]

Hier steht keine Sache im Wege, sondern wir sehen durch das Fremde zu unendlichen Möglichkeiten. Es gibt keine Mauer, sondern ein Fenster: das Fremde als die Durchsichtigkeit. Tawada interessiert sich dafür, und unter der Oberfläche der Geschichten finden wir, wie sie mit mit diesen Ideen spielt. Zum Beispiel träumt die Erzählerin am Ende der Geschichte »Zungentanz« davon, dass sie an einer seltsamen sexuellen Erfahrung teilnimmt. Die Haut des Mannes wird halbdurchsichtig beschrieben und »unter ihr bilden die roten und die blauen Adern Schriftzüge.«[6] Schon hier kündigt Tawada an, dass der Körper der Person nicht wolkig und verdeckt ist, sondern er ist mindestens ein wenig durchsichtig. Unter der Haut liegen Tausende von Bedeutungen, die hin und her durch die blauen Adern laufen, und der Körper und auch die ganze Person selbst »kann alles bedeuten.« Genauso wie die Autos, die an dem Fenster vorbeifahren, werden die Bedeutungen angemacht oder gebildet und eben so schnell werden sie ausgemacht: »Flüssige Buchstaben spritzen aus ihm heraus, reflektieren das Neonlicht und verschwinden wieder in die Stille des stummen Geschmackssinns.«[7] Es ist auch wichtig, auf das Ziel der Erfahrung des Fremden aufzupassen. Während wir uns bei der Mauermetapher wünschen, das Fremde

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3 Tawada, *Überseezungen* 13.

4 Tawada, *Überseezungen* 30.

5 Tawada, *Überseezungen* 33.

6 Tawada, *Überseezungen* 14.

7 Tawada, *Überseezungen* 14.

verschwinden zu lassen—obwohl wir am Ende entdecken, dass es nicht so einfach ist, etwas wegzuzaubern—hier warten wir darauf, auf das Fremde zurückzukommen, um es passend zu schätzen:

> Die Musik ist zwar schon da, Bach und Bartók, aber die Musik muss in einer Übersetzung noch einmal erreicht werden, mit einem großen Umweg, mit Hilfe der Wörterbücher, Gespräche und Träume. Durch so einen großen Umweg der Übersetzung werde ich der magischen Unlesbarkeit eines Gedichtes wieder begegnen wollen.[8]

Wenn wir aus Tawadas Welt ausziehen und in die Theaterwelt Bertolt Brechts einsteigen, verlassen wir die Mauern und Fenster und bekommen ein anderes Vokabular, um das Fremde zu navigieren. Für Brecht war der »Verfremdungseffekt« am wichtigsten. Wir gewöhnen uns an den Gedanken, dass Theater uns eine dreidimensionale Welt wie unsere Welt vorstellen soll. Wir erwarten zu vergessen, dass wir in einem Theater sitzen und ein Stück ansehen. Brecht beabsichtigte aber, diese Erwartung umzustürzen. Er hat geglaubt, dass man die Zuschauer durch das Unverständnis führen muss, um ihnen Verständnis beizubringen. Die Angst der Ungewöhnlichkeit bildet eine Basis, aus der man tieferes Verständnis erreichen kann. Laut Brecht: »Das Selbstverständliche wird in gewisser Weise unverständlich gemacht, das geschieht aber nur, um es dann um so verständlicher zu machen.«[9]

Also wenn wir Brechts Lehrstücke »Der Jasager« und »Der Neinsager« (1930) lesen, treffen wir auf das Fremde nicht nur in dem Inhalt, sondern auch in der Form. Die Personen, die darin existieren, sprechen in kurzen Sätzen, die mit mehr Information als normal gefüllt werden. Es macht einen seltsamen Effekt und darin besteht der Anfang der Verfremdung. Außer der Form erläutert der Inhalt auch die Idee der Fremdheit. In »Der Jasager und »Der Neinsager«, die auf einem japanischen Theaterstück namens »Taniko« basieren, erzählt uns Brecht von dem Abenteuer eines Lehrers und seiner Studenten, die Berge klettern, um Medizin zu holen, weil es in der Stadt jenseits der Berge Ärzte gibt. Mitten in ihrer Reise, fühlte sich der Knabe, der bei der Reise mitgemacht hatte, nicht wohl genug, um Medizin für seine Mutter zurückzubringen. Die beiden Theaterstücke gehen um die schwere Frage, ob sie den Knaben verlassen und ins Tal hinabwerfen sollen, wie der alte Brauch vorschreibt, oder nicht. In dem japanischen Original sehen wir nur die Wahl der Kinder, den Knaben ins Tal hinabzuwerfen, und dieses Resultat erscheint auch in »Der Jasager.« Aber wenn wir bei dem zweiten Stück »Der Neinsager« ankommen, erfahren wir etwas anders.

Anstatt einfach mit dem Willen der Kinder einverstanden zu sein, leugnet der Knabe, dass er eigentlich machen muss, was der Brauch vorschreibt. Er erklärt, wer *a* sage, der müsse nicht *b* sagen, und er behauptet, was den alten großen Brauch betreffe, so sehe er keine Vernunft an ihm. Er brauche vielmehr einen neuen großen Brauch, nämlich den Brauch, in jeder neuen Lage neu nachzudenken. Hier stellt Brecht uns vor den Kampf zwischen dem Gesetz oder der Tradition und dem Neuen. Wir haben schon auf die Verbindung zwischen dem Fremden und der Weglosigkeit gezeigt, und hier finden wir ein konkretes Beispiel für das Fremde als Weglosigkeit. Die Kinder befinden sich in einer neuen misslichen Lage und sie werden nur mit dem alten Gesetz und den alten Brauch ausgestattet. Die Lage sieht fremd aus und sie wenden sich an den Brauch, dass wer *a* gesagt hat, der muss auch *b* sagen. Für Brecht geht diese Reaktion nicht. Um auf das Fremde antworten zu können, muss man eine lebhafte Fantasie benutzen und neue Wege nach vorne erfinden.

In den Märchen der Brüder Grimm befindet sich auch dieses Spiel der Form und Inhalt, und sie entwickeln eine ähnliche Idee des Fremden, die um den Einfallsreichtum

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8   Tawada, *Überseezungen* 35.

9   Bertolt Brecht, »Dialekt und Verfremdung« [1938], *Große kommentierte Berliner und Frankfurter Ausgabe*, ed. Inge Gellert und Werner Hecht, vol. 22, *Schriften* 2. 1933–1942 (Frankfurt am Main: Suhrkamp), 401.

und die Suche nach neuen Lösungen geht. Das Märchen als eine Form des Geschichtenerzählens bringt das Fremde und das Vertraute zusammen. Einerseits werden die Märchen mit fantastischen sprechenden Tieren, Königen und Königinnen, Hexen, und Häusern, die aus Süßigkeiten gebaut werden, gefüllt. Andererseits hat jedes Märchen eine klare Erzählsstruktur und Charaktere, die einfach wie gut oder schlecht identifiziert werden können. Wenn wir uns dem Inhalt zuwenden, entdecken wir, dass viele von den Märchen der Brüder Grimm um das Thema des Erwachsenwerdens gehen. Ein großer Teil von dem Erwachsenwerden besteht darin, das Fremde zu begegnen und es in etwas Kontrollierbares zu verwandeln.

Zum Beispiel, wenn wir an das Märchen »Hänsel und Gretel« denken, können wir merken, dass alles aus der Angst der Kinder, dass ihre Mutter sie essen will, besteht. Diese Idee ist nur ein konkretes Bild ihrer Angst, dass ihre Mutter sie ohne Essen und Pflege hinterlassen wird. Bruno Bettelheim hat betont, dass ein wichtiger Teil von Erwachsenwerden mit diesem mutterbezogenen Konflikt zu tun hat. Alle von diesen Märchen zeichnen diese Angst. Die Kinder fühlen sich in einem Wald mit keiner Hilfe verloren, und alles vor ihnen ist fremd und außergewöhnlich. Am Ende des Märchens finden wir ihren großen Sieg—indem sie ihre Köpfe und Vorstellungskraft benutzen, um die Hexe zu töten und zurück nach Hause anzukommen. Durch ihren Einfallsreichtum könnten sie das Fremde in etwas anders verwandeln. Wir sehen diese Botschaft in dem letzten Satz des Märchens klar: »Mein Märchen ist aus, dort läuft eine Maus, wer sie fängt, darf sich eine große, große Pelzkappe daraus machen.«[10] Er ist der Sieg — die Maus, die das Fremde und das Furchtbare symbolisiert, kann in eine Pelzkappe verwandelt werden, wenn wir unseren Einfallsreichtum entwickeln und benutzen.

Sung-Hyung Chos Dokumentarfilm *Full Metal Village*

(2007) und Rainer Werner Fassbinders *Ali: Angst essen Seele auf* (1974) haben beide auch etwas über die Idee des Fremden zu sagen. *Full Metal Village* stellt das Fremde in verschiedenen Weisen dar. Der Film geht um das jährliche beliebte deutsche Heavy-Metal-Festival, das in dem Schlafdorf Wacken stattfindet. Wie ein Dokumentarfilm zeigt er uns die andere Seite des Lebens der Leute im Film. Wir schauen die Welt von Wacken nicht von der Stelle eines Bewohners an, sondern von der Stelle der Regisseurin, die notwendig fremd ist. Er zeigt das Fremde aber in seinem Inhalt auch. Der ganze Film besteht aus zwei Teilen. Der Erste verbringt seine Zeit damit, die langsame und langweilige Dorfalltäglichkeit zu beschreiben, und der Zweite bringt die ganz anderen Heavy-Metal Fans nach Wacken. Wir hören von den Einwohnern, dass diese Fans »Teufelsanbeter« und verrückt sind. Mittlerweile haben die Enkelkinder dieser Einwohner eine engere Beziehung zu den Fans als zu den Einwohnern des Dorfes, und sie bemerken, dass ihre frommen Großeltern auch krank und verrückt in ihrem eigenen Weg sind. Der Zusammenstoß der Kulturen, der in Wacken dreht, gibt uns eine komische Perspektive auf das Fremde, die nicht direkt zu dem politischen Feld führt und deswegen uns zu Lachen und zu Lächeln bringen kann. Wie Sung-Hyung Cho selbst gefragt hat, sei das nicht unsere absolute Wunschvorstellung von der Welt? Clash of Cultures, ja — aber ohne Konflikt.[11]

Rainer Werner Fassbinders Film *Ali: Angst essen Seele auf* übernimmt den Verfremdungseffekt von Brecht und realisiert ihn an der Leinwand. Für Fassbinder ist die Verfremdung genauso wichtig wie sie für Brecht war. Er will durch seine Filme die Zuschauer unbequem

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10 Jacob Grimm und Wilhelm Grimm, *Die Märchen der Brüder Grimm: Vollständige Ausgabe* (München: Goldmann, 1983), 73.

11 Eva Maria Schlosser, »›Das fremde Empfinden war gegenseitig‹; Sung-Hyung Cho über Kartoffeln, das Dorfleben und ihre Dokumentation ›Full Metal Village,‹« Stuttgarter Nachrichten, 20. April 2007, ‹https://advance. lexis.com/document/?pdmfid=1516831&crid=5fc5edea-e327-414d-ade6-2c0 0f0858ec3&pddocfullpath=%2Fshared%2Fdocument%2Fnews%2Furn%3 AcontentItem%3A4NJ1-D020-TWRX-K3BT-00000-00&pddocid=urn%3 AcontentItem%3A4NJ1-D020-TWRX-K3BT-00000-00&pdcontentcomp onentid=277901&pdteaserkey=sr0&pditab=allpods&ecomp=Ly_k&earg= sr0&prid=7d396fcc-0c6e-4abc-871f-4ca121ac31d1›

machen, um sie zu motivierenn, sich selbst zu fragen, wie sie die Themen von den Filmen in ihren Leben einführen können.[12] Um dieses Ziel zu erreichen, benutzt Fassbinder viele filmische und erzählerische Strategien. Die Charaktere, die wir sehen, sind nicht so vielschichtig und wir erkennen direkt, dass wir einen Film anschauen. Durch den ganzen Film, stellt Fassbinder lange Pausen, in denen nichts passiert: wir erfahren nur die Schauspieler und den Ort. Die Stille macht uns sehr unbequem, weil wir uns an Filme gewöhnt haben, die uns immer von der Stille mit Dialog oder Musik ablenken. Außerdem erlaubt Fassbinder uns nicht, die Gefühle auf den Gesichtern der Schauspieler zu lesen, weil sie immer mit steinernen Gesichtern erscheinen. Auch behandelt er das Thema des Fremden in dem Inhalt des Filmes. Der Film erzählt von der Liebesgeschichte Alis und Emmis. Ali, der in Marokko geboren ist, kam nach Deutschland als Gastarbeiter, und Emmi ist eine sechzigjährige Frau, deren Mann schon gestorben ist. Sie verlieben sich ineinander und beginnen zusammen zu wohnen, aber bald sind sie sich im Klaren darüber, dass alle ihrer Freunde und Mitarbeiterinnen ihre Vorurteile festhalten. Emmis Mitarbeiterinnen werden sich nicht mehr mit ihr unterhalten, und ihre Familie regt sich auch darüber auf, dass sie einen Gastarbeiter heiratete. Der ganze Film fragt danach, wie wir eigentlich mit dem Fremden leben können.

In Michael Köhlmeiers *Das Mädchen mit dem Fingerhut* (2016) findet auch das Form-Inhalt-Spiel statt. Das Buch wird mit kurzen sachlichen Sätzen und Absätzen geschrieben und es gibt uns das Gefühl, dass wir in den Gedanken eines Kindes sind und dass wir die Welt durch seine Augen sehen. Wer jemals *The Curious Incident of the Dog in the Nighttime* von Mark Haddon oder *Flowers for Algernon* von Daniel Keyes gelesen hat, erkennt diesen Stil, in dem der Autor versucht, uns davon zu überzeugen, dass wir eine fremde Brille aufsetzen und dadurch sehen können. In dem Inhalt des Textes verfolgt Köhlmeier das Thema durch drei Flüsse weiter, und malt drei Bilder des Fremden, die drei gegenseitig fremde Gruppen darstellen: Erwachsene und Kinder, verschiedene Sprachen, und Leute aus verschiedenen Ländern.

Erstmal verstehen die Erwachsenen die Kinder fast nie im ganzen Buch und umgekehrt. Wenn Arian, Yiza, und Schamhan hinten im Polizeibus sitzen und Schamhan mit ihnen in ihren beiden Sprachen spricht, denkt der Beamte, dass Schamhan nur betet. Obwohl hier die Sprache ein bisschen Schuld daran ist, können wir auch erkennen, dass das Unverständnis, das hier geschieht, aus alle drei »Flüssen« besteht—der Beamte meine, mediterrane Kinder murmelnd gesehen zu haben, und kann nur an das moslemische Gebet denken. Es gibt aber viele Beispiele von Unverständnis, in denen die Kinder denken, dass sie wissen, was die Erwachsenen glauben. Wenn Arian und Yiza aus dem Laster aussteigen und bemerken, dass die Menschen scheinen, sich für sie nicht zu interessieren, »Arian glaubte, das liege an der Plane. Es sah gut aus, wie sie mit der Plane über den Platz gingen. Es sah aus, als hätten sie eine Aufgabe zu erfüllen.«[13] Vielleicht hatte er Recht, aber es ist auch möglich, dass sie sich nicht für sie aus einen anderen Grund interessieren. Die Begegnung mit dem Fremden passiert auch durch die Sprache, weil Arian und Yiza die Sprache der anderen nicht verstehen.[14] Auch sehen wir das Fremde durch die Konfrontation der Kulturen und Länder, wenn Schamhan Arian erklärt, wie die Leute Kinder wie sie nicht mögen: »Ich bin kein Liebling. Du bist auch kein Liebling. Wenn deine Stimme

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12 »They have an excuse, or actually they're forced, to dissociate themselves from the story, not at the expense of the film, but rather in favor of their own reality—to me that's the crucial thing. At some point films have to stop being films, being stories, and have to begin to come alive, so that people will ask themselves: What about me and my life?« Rainer Werner Fassbinder, *The Anarchy of the Imagination: Interviews, Essays, Notes*, ed. Michael Töteberg and Leo A. Lensing, trans. Krishna Winston (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1992), 11.

13 Michael Köhlmeier, *Das Mädchen mit dem Fingerhut* (München: Carl Hanser Verlag, 2016), 92.

14 »Sie fragte ihn etwas, er verstand nicht, glaubte aber, sie frage, wann sie endlich ankämen, und antwortete, es dauert nicht mehr lange, Yiza, gleich sind wir da, ich sehe das haus schon, Yiza, und Yiza verstand ihn nicht, glaubte aber, er wisse den Weg, und glaubte, er habe gesagt, gleich seien sie da, nur ihren Namen hatte sie verstanden, zweimal hatte Arian ihn ausgesprochen.« Köhlmeier, *Das Mädchen* 96.

tiefer wird, bist du niemandes Liebling mehr. Du hast jetzt schon Augenbrauen wie ein Mann.… Sie mögen Kinder nicht, die Augenbrauen haben wie du.«[15]

Wir sind rings um den See des Fremden spazieren gegangen und haben ihn von vielen Plätzen und durch verschiedene Perspektive angesehen. Das Fremde steht vor uns wie eine unkletterbare Mauer. Es schiebt uns nach vorne zum Rand eines tiefen, beängstigenden Tales. Es wirft uns in eine Welt der unendlichen Möglichkeiten, wo Sinn und Bedeutung geschmeidig sind. Es verwandelt sich selbst in verschiedene Gestalten: nun eine fremde Sprache, später das Gesicht eines Fremden; hier sprießt es zwischen Kulturen, dort zwischen Kindern und Erwachsenen. Immer stört es die Behaglichkeit und zwingt uns dazu, nachzufragen und nachzudenken. Wenn das Fremde am Ende unserer Wanderung als das Ziel oder das *Telos* sich befinden kann, muss es auch gleichzeitig am Anfang als Quelle und *Arche* unserer Forschung sein, weil es das Fremde ist, das Fremde als Unverständnis, das uns treibt, nachzufragen. Und zum Schluss, müssen wir bereit sein, mit den Fragen zu weilen, weil letztendlich das Fremde in den Fragen, wo alles noch nicht klar ist, lebt. Also, muss ich enden, wo ich begonnen habe. Kann ich etwas über das Fremde sagen? Verstehe ich etwas von der Vorstellung des Fremden? Ich meine ja, aber ich kann die ganze Idee wie ein offenes Feld nicht sehen, obwohl ich streng versuche. Sie bleibt so weit weg von mir und liegt am Horizont unter Wolken des Unverständnisses gedeckt.

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15 Köhlmeier, *Das Mädchen* 80–81.

MAX BECKMANN: SELBSTPORTRÄT

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ABSTRACT Though he was the target of criticism and ridicule during the Nazi regime in Germany, Max Beckmann is recognized today as one of the most influential Expressionist artists of the twentieth century. His works combine the harsh realities of life in contemporary Germany with heavily emotional distortions in order to convey an aesthetic interpretation of life during the Weimar Republic. Beckmann painted over eighty self-portraits. This essay analyzes one from 1937 (part of the permanent collection of The Art Institute of Chicago), and considers how Beckmann deployed stylistic and thematic techniques to describe a moment of extreme tension in his life and German history. Beckmann himself spent a short amount of time in the Second World War as a volunteer, which he thought would potentially inspire him as an artist, despite having generally negative feelings towards it. During this time, he found himself traumatized by what he saw, and was eventually dismissed due to a nervous breakdown. This led to a complete transformation in Beckmann's style, which was soon threatened by the rise of Adolf Hitler and the Nazis, who would deem Beckmann and his paintings "degenerate." Like many modernist artists of this period, Beckmann would suffer harsh consequences for the style and content of his art: not only was his identity as an artist denied, his works, along with hundreds of others, were exhibited in the 1937 "Degenerate Art" exhibition organized by the Nazi party, in which artworks were haphazardly displayed alongside mocking slogans as a way to encourage viewers to openly ridicule modern art in a public setting. In order to escape this persecution, Beckmann and his wife fled to Amsterdam, where they hid until eventually receiving visas to emigrate to the United States. Beckmann's 1937 "Self-Portrait" may first appear as very simple and straightforward, but upon closer analysis, reveals numerous details about his life and what he endured in the final moments before his exile.

FIGURE 1

Max Beckmann, 1937
Self Portrait (Art Institute of Chicago)

Als einer der einflussreichsten Künstler Deutschlands während der 1920er Jahren, brachte Max Beckmann (1884-1950) einen neuen, von ihm entwickelten Stil in die Bewegung des Expressionismus. Er kombinierte ausdrucksstarke Gestaltungen mit persönlichen Eigenschaften, um im Endeffekt Werke zu kreieren, die zuvor noch nie gesehen wurden. Er verband Teile der Realität mit Verzerrungen, um seine Emotionen genau durch Malereien ausdrücken zu können. Obwohl Max Beckmann zahllose berühmte Kunstwerke während und nach der Zeit der Weimarer Republik kreierte, wovon über achtzig aus Selbstgemälden bestanden, erzählte er die historischen Ereignisse und dessen Folgen durch aufmerksame Details besonders in jenem, das ihn im Jahre 1937 darstellte.

Max Beckmanns Geschichte als sehr bekannter und ehrenhafter Künstler begann während der Weimarer Republik, als die Bewegung des Expressionismus in den 1920er Jahren zum Höhepunkt in Berlin wurde. Obwohl er den ersten Weltkrieg generell als nationales Unglück beschrieb, beschloss er sich, als freiwilliger Sanitätshelfer daran teilzunehmen. Durch eine seiner Bemerkungen im Bezug auf den Krieg, die "Meine Kunst kriegt hier zu fressen" lautete, lernte man, dass der Grund dafür hauptsächlich aus Hoffnung für neue Inspirationen und Ideen bestand, die er später auf seine Kunst anwenden würde. Er wurde nur kurze Zeit später auf Grund eines Nervenzusammenbruchs entlassen, was zu drastischen Veränderungen seiner Kunst führte. Nämlich modifizierte er seinen Stil so sehr, dass er nun von traditionellen, anatomisch genauen Gemälden zu Verzerrungen der Realität wechselte, um seine ergänzte Wahrnehmung der Menschheit darstellen zu können. Während der Weimarer Republik verbreitete sich stärkere Flexibilität und eine vielseitigere Denkungsart, vor Allem in der Kunstindustrie, was Max Beckmann großen Erfolg und Anerkennung brachte.

Als Adolf Hitler nur wenige Jahre später 1933 die Macht ergriff, kamen diese Leistungen jedoch zum Ende, da Hitler moderne Kunst als Beleidigung Deutschlands empfand. Deswegen wurden mehr als 20,000 Gemälder aus verschiedenen Museen entfernt. Diese Werke wurden als „entartete Kunst" erklärt und deren Hersteller mussten strengen Konsequenzen gegenüber stehen. Beckmann wurde davor nicht geschont und verlor seinen Beruf als Lehrer an einer Hochschule in Frankfurt. Zusätzlich eröffnete die Nazi Partei verschiedene „Entartete Kunst" Ausstellungen, die nur aus „entarteter Kunst" bestanden und im Ganzen 22 Gemälde von Max Beckmann bewahrten. Die Absicht dahinter war, den Deutschen zu zeigen, was und was nicht als wahre Kunst angesehen werden sollte. Zur selben Zeit wurden moderne Künstler im öffentlichen Rahmen ausgelacht und verspottet.

1937 ging Max Beckmann ins Exil, und ließ sich zusammen mit seiner Frau in Amsterdam nieder. Folglich war das hier beschriebene Selbstporträt möglicherweise sein letztes Werk, das vor seinem Umzug noch in Deutschland gemalt wurde. Schließlich wurde Beckmann in den Krieg gerufen und beantragte vor Angst ein amerikanisches Visum, was zuerst nicht bestätigt wurde. Deshalb hatte er keine andere Wahl, als sich in Amsterdam zu verstecken, bis der Krieg zum Ende kam. Schlussendlich wurde ihm im Jahre 1948 der Antrag in die USA zu kommen, doch gewährt, worauf er seinen ursprünglichen Beruf als Kunstprofessor in mehreren Staaten fortsetzte.

Max Beckmanns Selbstporträt ist einer der vielen Selbstgemälde, die von dem Künstler während seines Lebens erschaffen wurden. Es wurde mit Ölfarben auf einer fast lebensgroßen Leinwand 1937 gemalt und ist heute im *Art Institute of Chicago* ausgestellt. Der Stil verkörpert generelle Eigenschaften des Expressionismus, die besonders durch die verzerrten Proportionen und Perspektiven hervortreten. Das Bild zeigt Max Beckmann als Hauptfigur, die sich alleine in einem Treppenhaus mit einem Bein auf dem Geländer befindet, während sich im Hintergrund eine Party scheinbar abspielt. Er trägt einen schwarzen Anzug, der durch seine Dunkelheit intensive Kontraste zum Hintergrund kreiert. Dadurch wird die

Figur sofort als Hauptfigur zum Vorschein gebracht. Sein Gesicht ist sehr offensichtlich der detaillierteste Teil des Gemäldes und zeigt sehr starke Emotionen, die direkt mit der Geschichte der damaligen Zeit verbunden werden könnten. Es zeigt außerdem einen verärgerten Blick zur Seite, jedoch kann man nicht identifizieren, ob er jemanden Bestimmten ansieht. Eine Theorie könnte lauten, dass er von starker Paranoia litt, da die Nazi Partei ihn ständig wegen seiner Kunstwerken kontrollieren wollte und deshalb belästigte. Die Figur steht vereinzelt und hält sichere Abstände vom Mittelpunkt der Feier, wobei er jedoch neugierig zur Seite oder zurück in die Richtung der anderen Menschen sieht. Vielleicht dachte er, er müsse extra vorsichtig sein, aus Angst, dass einer der Gäste hinter ihm her wäre. 1927 war außerdem auch das Jahr indem Beckmann und seine Frau Deutschland verließen um in die Niederlande zu flüchten. Sein Blick könnte deshalb vielleicht auch Paranoia darstellen, da die Idee, in der sein Leben zur Zeit viele Unsicherheiten enthielt, repräsentiert wird. Im Hintergrund kann man möglicherweise Pflanzen und weitere Personen ausmachen.

Durch die Komposition des Gemäldes kann man an Hand starker Linien und geometrischer Formen klar erkennen, dass die Party in einem anderen Raum stattfand und sehr getrennt von Beckmanns Figur war, was die Isolation expressionistischer Künstler dieser Zeit demonstrieren könnte. Außerdem könnte seine allgemeine Haltung und die Tatsache, dass er mit einem Bein am Treppengeländer steht, möglicherweise auch tiefere Signifikanz enthalten, indem es als Metapher für das Ungleichgewicht und die Unsicherheit seines Lebens stand. Die Treppe wurde besonders flach und ohne Dimensionen gemalt, weshalb Beckmanns zweiter Fuß fast aussieht, als ob er am Abrutschen wäre. Zur Zeit des Gemäldes wurde seine vollständige Macht und kreative Freiheit von ihm genommen, was ihn als individuelle Person sehr ausmachte. Manche könnten denken, dass sein Leben in dem Moment kurz vor dem Auseinanderfallen war und

dass er wusste, er müsse einen Weg aus seiner Situation finden.

Max Beckmanns Selbstporträt besteht zum Großteil aus einer tetraedrischen Farbzusammenstellung, was bedeutet, dass es zwei Paare Komplementärfarben gibt, die am konzentriertesten benutzt werden. Dabei fokussierte Beckmann die wärmeren Farben in dem Hintergrund und die kälteren Farben in dem Vordergrund, um unterschiedliche Dimensionen darzustellen. Die Farbpalette ist jedoch generell etwas stumm und ungesättigt, was die allgemeine Stimmung dieser Zeitepoche gut symbolisiert. Durch die Hauptperson sieht man auch, dass der Künstler mit den Proportionen des Menschen spielte, was eine sehr häufig gefundene Eigenschaft des Expressionismus war. Zum Beispiel malte er im Bild sehr große Hände und kurze Beine im Vergleich zu seinem restlichen Körper. Kompositionsweise übernimmt Max Beckmanns Figur ungefähr zwei Drittel des Gemäldes, hauptsächlich die linke Seite des Kunstwerks. Die Figur selbst ist jedoch auch leicht zur linken Seite gewinkelt mit ihrem Kopf in dieselbe Richtung gedreht. Mit dieser Methode trennte Beckmann die Person von dem Rest des Bildes und betonte dadurch das Geschehen hinter der Figur. Die Malerei zeigt durchgehend starke Linien um eine ausgewogen gleichmäßige Ästhetik zu schaffen. Zusätzlich enthält der Hintergrund auch sehr auffällige, geometrische Abbildungen, die dadurch verschiedene Teile der Umgebung akzentuieren. Das Portrait enthält sehr ungenaue Formen von Licht und Schatten, zum Beispiel sieht man in der oberen, rechten Ecke eine abstrakte Gestalt, die möglicherweise eine Lichtquelle darstellen könnte. Ansonsten erkennt man klare, dunkle Schatten im Gesicht des Mannes.

Traurigerweise wurden einige der sogenannten entarteten Kunstwerke von der Nazi Partei verbrannt, während andere verkauft oder privat vergeben wurden. Max Beckmanns Selbstporträt wurde glücklicherweise nicht

vernichtet und kann bis heute im *Art Institute* betrachtet werden. Beckmann vertrat eine Zeitepoche, die radikale Veränderungen mit sich trug, die er in seinen Gemälden direkt darstellte. Seine Werke verkörpern starke Emotionen und hielten sehr ernstzunehmende Bedeutungen, die oft viel mächtiger waren, als man auf ersten Betracht sehen würde. Max Beckmanns Selbstporträt mag zwar nur eines seiner vielen Kunstwerke sein, jedoch schaffte der Künstler, durch sorgfältig ausgewählte Kleinigkeiten historische Ereignisse seinerPerspektive kreativ wieder zu erzählen. Nicht nur verkörperte es den zeitlichen Rahmen, sondern es symbolisierte auch Beckmanns persönliche Herausforderungen und Ängsten. Das heute sehr bekannte Selbstporträt funktioniert als Eintritt in die 20er Jahre, indem Zuschauer, lernen die Spannungen, Sorgen und Unsicherheiten vieler damaligen Künstler zu verstehen.

THE SCREAM OF MATTER ITSELF: KAZUO SHIRAGA AND INDIVIDUALISM IN POST-WAR JAPAN

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In the past 20 years, the artwork of Kazuo Shiraga has significantly increased in value on the art market.[1] This coincides with a trend of rising popularity, awareness, and changing narratives of the Gutai group within scholarship. Gutai was a Japanese, avant-garde artist collective that spanned the years 1954 to 1972. Shiraga was an active member of this collective, and his ideologies and practices helped inform its development. Specifically, his approach to artmaking as an expression of the individual is echoed by the goals of the movement that centered on originality. In this paper, I argue that Shiraga's use of material functions as an expression of individualism and personal freedom in rebellion against collectivist ideologies. This study is confined to Shiraga's early contributions to the Gutai group, remaining mostly within the first phase of the movement, ranging from 1954 to 1961, in order to focus on the early goals of the group. While contemporary discourse focuses on originality and internationality of the Gutai movement, this paper expands that discussion by focusing on Shiraga's approach to materiality.

Historical Background

Kazuo Shiraga and the Gutai group were working during a period of great social and political change in Japan. During World War II, Japan operated under a controlling, totalitarian political structure. All people were mobilized for the war effort, functioning as smaller parts of a collective whole. A common propaganda phrase, "one hundred million hearts beating as one," illustrates the way that all individuals existed at the service of the nation.[2] This was the case for artists as well. The government banned all art exhibitions except those displaying war propaganda.[3] Artists were only allowed to create art in support of the war effort, and consequently, their individual voices were suppressed.

However, following the war, a pivotal shift took place when the country transitioned from a totalitarian political structure into a constitutional democracy. After a restrictive wartime period, citizens and artists searched for ways to express their individual freedom. They were also influenced by American Occupation of Japan (from 1945-52) which shaped the development of the democratic nation, economic and politic policies, and cultural ideas about the individual. However, the shift toward individualism cannot be solely attributed to American influence. In fact, the democratic movement had roots in the modernism of the Taisho period (1912-1926),[4] and was a common theme in the art journal, *Shirakaba*, with which the Gutai members were familiar.[5] Artists of the postwar period embraced the opportunity to express their

1   Matthew Wilcox, "Gutai's Spectacular Rise – and Potential Fall," *The Art Newspaper*, June 15, 2017, https://www.theartnewspaper.com/news/gutais-spectacular-riseand-potential-fall.

2   Ming Tiampo, "Please Draw Freely," in *Gutai: Splendid Playground* (New York: The Solomon Guggenheim Foundation, 2013), 50.

3   Midori Yoshimoto, "Historical Background and Common Issues," in *Into Performance* (New Jersey: Rutgers University Press: 2005), 12.

4   Tiampo, "Please Draw Freely," 50.

5   Ming Tiampo, "'Create what has never been done before!' Historicising Gutai Discourses of Originality," *Third Text* 21, no. 6 (2007): 693-4.

individual opinions, reflect on the previous years, and voice what they wanted to change in their country. The immediate post-war reconstruction period of the 1950s was marked by a sense of optimism at the prospects of this newly democratic society.[6] It is in this context new forms of art emerged.

While the country went through significant political and economic changes, Japanese art of the 20th century similarly departed from previous conventions. Art of the late 19th and early to mid-20th centuries was either categorized as *nihonga*, the word for traditional Japanese-style painting, or *yoga*, the word for western-style painting.[7] In the 1950s, a new term was used to describe contemporary art, *gendai bijutsu*. This emerged out of a sense of what critic Ichiro Haryu would later call *kokusaiteki dojisei*, or international contemporaneity. [8] This term describes the way in which Japanese artists of the post-war period participated in the beginning of a new type of art that engaged with an international art community. Ichiro wrote in the January 1968 issue of the art magazine, *Geijutsu Shincho*:

> The concept of art internationally underwent a major change around 1955 or 1956. In retrospect, the tendency called "Informel" and "Action Painting" arose like an avalanche in this transitional period.... As far as Japan is concerned, we have now transcended the dualism of East vs. West, the choice between the borrowed Modernism vs. Japonica-traditionalism. We have finally achieved consciousness of the "contemporary" (*kontenporari*) in the sense of "international contemporaneity" (*kokusaiteki na dojidaisei*).[9]

This new category of art characterizes the new styles and

influences available to Japanese artists in the post-war period.

However, in the 1950s, artists were still constrained by exhibiting institutions. The dominant exhibiting institution was the Tokyo Art Association, which emerged as the singular art platform where contemporary art was displayed. The display of an artist's work at this platform was crucial to their success as it gave them recognition and access to a broader critical audience.[10] Much of the art featured at the Tokyo Art Association expressed resistance to post-war politics and reflected on the mistakes of the wartime. Although political and revolutionary works were displayed by the platform, artists taking more avant-garde approaches were not accepted. Unconventional approaches to artmaking that featured unusual materials and performative works were not embraced by the powerful art institutions of Japan. Accordingly, many of these artists remained independent or formed their own groups and staged their own exhibitions.[11]

Emergence of Gutai: Internationality and Individuality

The Gutai Art Association was one of the convention-breaking, avant-garde art groups that formed outside of the mainstream and without the support of the Tokyo Art Association. Gutai was founded by Jiro Yoshihara and Shozo Shimamoto in 1954. The group set out to "Create what has never been done before!" as Yoshihara was known to say.[12] Without the support of a Japanese art institution, the group staged their own performative exhibitions and distributed a journal that featured their works and spread their ideologies. In some ways, this helped put them in contact with a larger international audience, rather than an explicitly Japanese one, as their journal had a broader reach than the local Tokyo Art Association. This was important because, even though they were creating art in Japan, Gutai artists largely conceived of themselves as

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6   Tiampo, "Please Draw Freely," 45.

7   Yoshimoto, "Historical Background," 11.

8   Reiko Tomii, "'International Contemporaneity' in the 1960's: Discoursing on Art in Japan and Beyond," *Japan Review* 21 (2009): 126.

9   Ichiro Haryu, "Hihyo No Yori Takia Knio O [Wishing Art Criticism to Have a More Functional Role]," *Geijutsu Shincho* (1968), 15. This is translated by Reiko Tomii in "International Contemporaneity," 126.

10   Yoshimoto, "Historical Background," 12.

11   Ibid, 13.

12   Tiampo, "Create," 693.

participating in an international modernist conversation. Even before World War II. Japanese artists had access to Western art through imported books and magazines, through European exhibitions that traveled to Japan, through the presence of international art collectors in the country, and through their own international travels, all of which allowed Japanese artists to, "imagine themselves as part of a transnational community of modernist painters."[13] In 1950, Yoshihara, who was greatly influenced by Western works, wrote:

> I recently saw paintings brought from America. Looking at these works that show a new tendency, I found something common between them and us. This concerns a shared *jidai ishiki* (sense of the era), and I feel much closer to [these American artists] than Japanese artists working in the outdated styles.[14]

Accordingly, Gutai was founded upon a sense of progressiveness inspired by international works.

Not only did the Gutai group want to participate in the international conversation, but they also wanted to contribute something new to it. Featured in the first edition of the Gutai journal was the Gutai manifesto, which announced the group's emphasis on both originality and material. Yoshihara condemned any art that was derivative and conceived of the group as an entity that would contribute something entirely new. Their unique approach to the material was one way to do this. The word *gutai* itself means "concreteness" or "embodiment."[15] In the manifesto, Jiro Yoshihara writes, "Gutai art does not alter matter. Gutai art imparts life to matter."[16] Thus, materiality is often the subject of Gutai art, with artists operating as partners to material rather than manipulators of it. In this way, they directly express the natural qualities of material rather than transform it. For instance, Akira Kanayama used an automatic toy car to move paint across canvas, Atsuko Tanaka wore a dress made entirely out of lightbulbs, and Saburo Murakami burst through large sheets of paper attached to a wooden frame. These works also explain why the group came to be known for its unconventional use of material, its use of performance, its playfulness, and its originality.

Along with that originality, individuality was an important artistic and ideological theme to the Gutai group. As previously discussed, the expression of individuality is significant within the context of Japan's post-war social and political moment. Artists of the post-war period embraced individualism in defiance of the past collectivist attitudes taken during the totalitarian reign of the wartime. When restrictions that banned artists from displaying non-propagandist work were lifted, Japanese artists embraced the ability to create freely and express their original ideas. The Gutai group made it their broader mission to reconstruct the idea of the individual and transform a society that "had experienced total mobilization for war into a nation of independent, democratic subjects."[17]

This emphasis was clear in the group's art, exhibitions, and journal, but they also spread their ideology through education reform, through teaching art to children, and through contributions to a children's poetry magazine called *Kirin*. [18] During the group's first phase, Gutai artists would contribute more than 60 articles to the magazine, demonstrating their commitment to art education and the new generation as a way to trigger social change.

13 Ibid, 690.

14 Jiro Yoshihara, et al. "Gendai Bijutsu Nit Suite Zandankai [Roundtable Discussion on Contemporary Art]," in *The Ashiya Bijutsu*, 3, 1950: 5. This is translated by Reiko Tomii in "International Contemporaneity," 124.

15 Alexandra Munroe, "The Concrete: The Scream of Matter Itself," in *Gutai: Splendid Playground* (New York: The Solomon Guggenheim Foundation, 2013), 142.

16 Jiro Yoshihara, "Gutai Manifesto," in *Gutai: Splendid Playground*, trans. Reiko Tomii (New York: The Solomon Guggenheim Foundation, 2013), 18. This was originally published as "Gutai Bijutsu Sengen," *Geijutsu Shincho* 7, no.12 (December 1956): 202-04.

17 Tiampo, "Please Draw Freely," 50.

18 Ibid, 50.

For my purposes, their contributions to this magazine are significant because of the simple way that the ethical concerns of Gutai are presented in the magazine. Written for *Kirin* in 1956, Shimamoto encourages independent thinking:

> I myself wonder if good kids who always do what grown-ups tell them can lose the ability to decide right and wrong on their own. Of course, it is important to listen to opinions of people respected in society. But at the same time, we cannot overlook the importance of making up what you like and doing it yourself.[19]

Therefore, thinking for oneself and expressing oneself became the model for acting as an individual that was upheld by the Gutai group.

Previous Scholarship

Contemporary Gutai scholarship places a major focus on the international aims of the group. Scholars like Ming Tiampo, Joan Kee, and Tomii Reiko argue that the group has been falsely placed into the periphery of the modernist canon. Joan Kee, for instance, argues that the movement is placed in the periphery through a narrative that marks it as either derived from or secondary to Western art. She proposes three comparative models that describe early approaches to Gutai: (1) Gutai as the successor to Jackson Pollock and action painting, (2) Gutai as the precursor to other art movements, such as the work of Allan Kaprow and Happenings, and (3) Gutai as the bridge between Pollock's abstract expressionism and Kaprow's Happenings.[20] While these artists are in conversation with Gutai in one way or another, scholarship like Kee's is concerned with highlighting the group's originality and contributions to modernism on equal grounds with their international contemporaries.

Contemporary scholarship is also concerned with reframing Japanese art as being engaged with the art historical canon even before the post-war period. For instance, Tiampo argues that Japanese art has influenced European painters throughout time (think of Van Gogh or Monet).[21] This influence supports the argument that Japanese art has always been a part of a modernist conversation. Tiampo concludes her argument by saying it is problematic that, "we continue to imagine modernism as a closed system, located in the West and perpetually disseminated to its peripheries."[22] Scholarship challenges a narrative wherein Gutai artists are framed as constantly "catching up" with its Western counterparts rather than contributing to art history on equal ground.[23] Overall, Gutai scholars make the point that it is dangerous to assume that Gutai work existed as a successor or a predecessor to Western works when the group sought to contribute something original to an international modernism, and moreover, when individuality occupies such a central focus to the group.

Although this internationality is a focus of previous scholarship, my argument is less concerned with proving Shiraga's involvement with an international movement than it is with exploring Shiraga's usage of material and how it functions as an expression of individualism. The group's emphasis on originality in an international arena is relevant as it sets up a context for Shiraga's work, but the materiality is the primary lens for the following discussion.

Shiraga and New Approaches to Traditional Media and Representation

Kazuo Shiraga, along with several other artists who would later join Gutai, made up a group called Zero Kai (Zero Group), which preceded Gutai. This group grew out of the idea that "art should be created by embarking from

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19 Shozo Shimamoto, "Itazura o Shimasho [Let's Make Mischief!]," *Kirin* (December 1956): 18-21. This is translated in *Gutai: Splendid Playground*, 276-77.

20 Joan Kee, "Situating a Singular Kind of 'Action': Early Gutai Painting, 1954-1957," *Oxford Art Journal* 26, no. 2 (2003): 121.

21 Tiampo, "Create," 692.

22 Ibid, 705.

23 Tomii, "International Contemporaneity," 126.

FIGURE 1

Kazuo Shiraga, *Ten Sokusei Shingyo Taibo*, 1960.
Oil on canvas, 181 x 242 cm. New York, Andrea Rosen Gallery
(photo: ARTstor, 11706).

a point where there isn't anything."[24] It was in this group that Shiraga first began to experiment with new ways of applying paint to canvas. He experimented with using his hands and feet to apply paint and began working with the color crimson lake, a vibrant shade of red that would become a signature of his energetic and often violent work.[25] When Zero Kai merged with Gutai in 1955, Shiraga further explored the method of painting with his feet. The artist developed a unique method wherein he would use his feet to skate paint across the canvas while holding on to a rope attached to the ceiling with his hands. This process contributed to the development of his performative and action-based style.

Due to Shiraga's direct connection with the material, there is a heightened sense of physicality in his work, something described by Gutai scholar, Ming Tiampo, as an "unmediated encounter with the material and a direct bodily form of artistic expression."[26] Not only is Shiraga's work an expression of the artist's body, but it is also an expression of the raw material. In an essay entitled, "Killing the Paintbrush," Shozo Shimamoto, a fellow Gutai artist, argues that paint is not simply a way to represent color, but rather has its own texture and materiality to set free. He wrote, "It is only once the paintbrush has been discarded that the paint can be revived."[27] Shiraga's approach to representation turns the paint itself into the subject matter. The word Gutai (again, meaning "concreteness" or "embodiment") "expresses a physical embodiment or actualization of substance, as opposed to abstraction of thought."[28] Instead of the artist manipulating the material in order to represent something else, the material itself is represented. For example, in the piece. *Ten Sokusei Shingyo Taibo*, the material is the focus of the piece (Figure 1). The texture of the paint is highlighted through the dynamic streaks and splatters of the material, through the way in which clumps of paint layer and extend off of the canvas, and through the visible traces of the artist's toes in the paint. This direct representation of material acts as a rebellion against traditional modes of representation that pursue mimesis. This is significant as it demonstrates both Shiraga's individuality through his original approach to artmaking and the raw character of the material itself.

However, in keeping with the medium of paint on canvas, Shiraga maintains a formal and theoretical link to traditional art practices and the art historical canon. While remaining within this tradition, he contributes something new through his action-based approach. An example of this is found in his piece, *Untitled (Sans Titre)*, where he calls to mind the traditional Japanese style of calligraphy with fluid strokes of black oil paint reminiscent of black

24 Kazuo Shiraga, "Boken no Kiroku – Epsiode de Tsuzuru Gutai Group no 12-nen [Record of Adventure - Episodes of Gutai for Twelve Years]," *Bijutsu Techo*, no. 285 (July 1967): 141. This translated by Shoichi Hirai, "The Action Paintings of Kazuo Shiraga," in *Kazuo Shiraga* (New York: Dominique Levy; Antwerp: Axel Verboordt Gallery, 2015), 27.

25 Hirai, "Action Painting," 27-28.

26 Ming Tiampo, "Performance Painting: Pictures with Time and Space," in *Gutai: Splendid Playground* (New York: The Solomon Guggenheim Foundation, 2013), 167.

27 Shozo Shimamoto, "Efude Shokeyi Ron [Killing the Paintbrush]," *Gutai* 6 (April 1957). This is translated by Ming Tiampo in, "Please Draw Freely," 56.

28 Munroe, "The Concrete: The Scream of Matter Itself," 143.

FIGURE 2

Kazuo Shiraga, *Untitled (Sans Titre)*, 1957.
Watercolor, India ink, and oil on paper mounted on canvas, 181.5 x 242.5 cm. Paris, Musée National d'Art Moderne
(Photo: ARTstor, ART440268).

ink (Figure 2). Shiraga departs from and transforms the tradition by removing both the paint brush and any type of visual representational other than that of the raw material. The streaks of black reveal his touch through the imprints of his toes left on the paper. The black streaks are laid over a background of red and yellow paint, "and the oil stains at the edges of the paint eloquently remind the viewer of the medium as matter."[29] Through the use of traditional materials and forms, he calls to mind a history of painting, but his unique approach conjures an individual freedom of expression that is anchored in the physicality of his actions and of the material itself.

Shiraga, Material, and Individualism

Shiraga directly related his use of material to an expression of individualism. The artist wrote emphatically about the importance of the individual, most notably in an essay called "The Establishment of the Individual," presented alongside images from his performance piece, *Challenging Mud,* in the fourth edition of the Gutai journal. Similar to the idea of thinking for oneself, Shiraga argues that expressions of the self and ways of being that are unique to oneself are what make someone an individual:

> You must first understand your inborn quality. This quality represents your difference from others, manifesting itself when you see and feel something, talk, draw, and make sounds. You should have a way of feeling, talking, or drawing unique to yourself. An existing method of expression would weaken the eloquence and would not clearly reveal how you differ from others....

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29 Tiampo, "Please Draw freely," 58.

Kazuo Shiraga, *Challenging Mud*, 1955
(Photo: ARTstor, A157838).

A human being's will power [sic] is capable of accumulating acquired results on top of its innate disposition...An important method to do this is to try to express something.[30]

Similar to the way that Shimamoto uses thinking for oneself to combat collectivist ideologies, Shiraga stresses the importance of expressing individual qualities in opposition to totalitarianism. He continues:

A person who has grasped his or her disposition strongly and actively is an individual who comprises a positive whole. Unless a spiritual egoism is established, a fine overall culture cannot be formed. As totalitarianism fails in politics, in culture too, anything inconveniently totalitarian should disappear.[31]

Thus, understanding and expressing one's unique qualities are understood as political acts.

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30 Kazuo Shiraga, "Kotai no Kakuritsu [The Establishment of the Individual]," *Gutai*, 4 (July 1956), 6. This is translated in *Gutai: Splendid Playground*, 279.

31 Ibid, 279.

FIGURE 4

Kazuo Shiraga, *Challenging Mud*, 1955
(Photo: ARTstor, A114084).

Moreover, this idea is made manifest in the physical body. For Shiraga, the physical body was the locus of the self. We know this from the role that his body plays in his art practice. He writes, "In orienting my own disposition and expressing myself, I have drawn with my hands, feet, and body."[32] It is no coincidence that the article, "Establishing the Individual," appears next to images from Shiraga's performance piece, *Challenging Mud*, in which the artist removes the paintbrush, the paint, and even his clothing in order to make direct, physical contact with raw matter (Figures 3, 4). As he writhes in and wrestles with a pit of mud and loose rocks, he is expressing his individuality through his physical actions and interaction with raw material, while also combating collectivism.

The physicality of the work is made even more significant when considering the Japanese word for individual, *kotai*, and the word for the war-time national body, *kokutai*. The

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32 Ibid, 280.

Japanese character *tai* means "body" or "substance."[33] There is a physicality evoked in the concept of the individual, but also in the concept of the nation. Recall that the propaganda phrase spread during the war, "one hundred million hearts beating as one," suggested that all people belonged to one universal body, and their actions all worked together toward one mass goal, one mass expression. Thus, in the years following a period embodied by this phrase, Shiraga's use of the physical body and raw material is significant as an expression of the individual in resistance to wartime ideology.

Furthermore, recall that the word Gutai also uses the character *tai*, meaning "body," and that it is translated as "embodiment." Gutai art is the embodiment of material. Gutai art does not alter or manipulate matter. Rather, "[w]hen matter remains intact and exposes its characteristics, it starts telling a story and even cries out."[34] In other words,

it is the individual quality of matter, the thing that makes it different from other things, that is the focus of Gutai art. Likewise, material *is* the subject of Shiraga's work. He does not create a representation of something else, but rather allows matter to express itself exclusively.

This approach to materiality is therefore a rebellion to representation and, moreover, to collectivism. In Shiraga's paintings and works with unconventional material, he orients himself in the characteristics of a physical reality in opposition to the abstractions of material, ideas, and, most importantly, *people*. Ultimately, Shiraga's work reclaims space for the individual in a society that previously made the individual synonymous with the nation. In that context, there is something radical about boldly and dynamically expressing something singular and distinct. Shiraga's work suggests that there is a wholeness in the individual. Freedom of expression, therefore, functions as a rebellion to collectivism.

33 Tiampo, "Please Draw Freely," 50.
34 Yoshihara, "Gutai Manifesto," 18-19.

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Michael Brewer | *Figure 1*

ANALYZING SAUDI ARABIAN AND US MEDIA FRAMES:

THE CASE OF JAMAL KHASHOGGI

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On the morning of October 2, 2018, Jamal Khashoggi disappeared while visiting the Saudi consulate in Istanbul, Turkey. Not long after Turkish media reported him missing, a series of conflicting narratives emerged. Accounts of Khashoggi's alleged kidnapping, death, or, in fact, safe condition circulated through the international press until Turkish authorities concluded on October 10 that fifteen Saudi operatives had murdered the journalist inside the embassy. The media coverage that followed the announcement—including that of Turkish, European, and US sources, consistent with the findings of independent investigations and those of intelligence agencies—bolstered allegations that Saudi Crown Prince and de facto ruler Mohammad bin Salman ordered the operation. Saudi media responded uniformly, labeling the reports unfounded and part of a greater agenda to undercut the new leader's integrity. Since Khashoggi's disappearance, Saudi and US media have employed contrasting framing devices in shaping their respective and often opposing narratives on the case. This paper describes and analyzes these competing framing efforts, providing a comparative and bilingual study of the Khashoggi case while also pointing to the transnational dimensions of today's globalized system of frame competition.

Prior to his death, Jamal Khashoggi had been a veteran journalist living in self-imposed exile in the US. Due to his criticism of Saudi policies and left-leaning publications, US media painted Khashoggi as a rebel to a Saudi system of media, which they characterize as a binary opposite to the free western media due to its heavy censorship laws. Despite Khashoggi's complicated relationship with his homeland, close family members claim that he did not consider himself a radical. The opposing perspectives about Khashoggi's legacy and political commitments underpin arguments for different ways to interpret the journalist's murder: as either highly politically motivated or approaching an intense yet politically inert misunderstanding. As a story reported in such depth and with such magnitude, Khashoggi's murder serves as a unique case through which to compare Saudi-US media practices in relation to state promotion of official master narratives.

Methodology

In this paper I consulted a collection of the most popular news sources in Saudi Arabia, using search string analysis. Additionally, I applied filters to generate search results within a defined time period, in order to understand the context in which the news agencies published each article. Using databases such as Access World News, I uncovered Saudi and US. sources that spanned the period from October to February. After evaluating the sources in light of analytical techniques developed in critical media framing studies, I move from the nominal level of textual analysis to identification of master media narratives.

Saudi Arabia's Media System

Understanding the Saudi Arabian media system requires looking at how it operates both domestically and across national boundaries to attract Arab audiences via shared

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language, identity, and attention to regional issues of interest to its broader audience. The Saudi system represents a combination of state-run media institutions and commercial entities, many of which maintain close ties to the royal family. The system's origins predate Saudi independence and petro-wealth, yet the media institutions experienced key turning points following the energy sector's boom. As exploration and increased revenue fueled state development in the mid-twentieth century, the Saudi Kingdom expanded options and opportunities for press circulation within and outside its territories. Its dominance in the region strengthened Saudi media's transnationalism, creating the foundation for today's region-wide readership.

Marwan Kraidy explores the history and formation of Saudi media using Hallin and Mancini's four-part typology: (1) development of media markets, (2) journalistic professionalization, (3) media-political parallelism, and (4) role of the state in media. According to Kraidy, the Saudi state's first paper began in 1924. Under King Faysal, the media expanded to seven Arabic dailies, two English dailies, nationwide radio, and television services accessed by 1.5 million people out of a population of 7 million. Kraidy finds that Saudi Arabian media reflects political interests, with journalists seeing "themselves as analysts and commentators more than as 'neutral' reporters of information."[1] While the Saudi state owns national broadcasting, media-political parallelism is not straightforward or uniform. Rather, different "clans" within the Saudi royal family influence media outlets that may reflect their individual political leanings, regardless of the media's overall loyalty to the state.

Professionalization yielded to the effects of a strong state in Saudi Arabia, and the state further demonstrated its strength when launching Saudi media into the transnational market. Originally, the Saudi state began exploring transnational media as early as the 1960s to defend itself from Egyptian President Nasser's use of media to disseminate propaganda against Saudi Arabia. In 1966, King Faysal mandated the Islamic Solidarity Policy, through which he created broadcasts whose Islam-oriented content would transcend state lines and appeal to listeners outside Saudi Arabia. In the 1980s, the transnational reach expanded further west, and the government launched channels in London and Dubai. This time period marked a "radical transformation of the Arab media landscape and the rise of multiplatform conglomerates . . . operating transnationally with individual channels and publications targeting niche audiences."[2] Among the major conglomerates that have arisen, only *Al Jazeera* (Qatar) is not controlled by Saudi Arabia. Beyond Saudi Arabia's direct success in the transnational market, it owns and operates media companies domiciled in other Arab countries. Following the Lebanese civil war, for example, the Saudi state invested in media infrastructure and training of Lebanese journalists, many of whom started Saudi-funded English dailies.[3] This government-aligned media system, coupled with transnational success and influence, meant that the Saudi state could impact media narratives beyond its borders with an audience of Arabic speakers worldwide.

Saudi Arabian News Coverage of Khashoggi

Saudi Arabian news articles subject to frame analysis in this paper originate from the following media sources: *Okaz, Al Hayat,* Saudi Press Agency, *Arab News, Sabq,* and *Asharq Al-Awsat.* Stephen Reese defines frames as "organizing principles that are socially shared and persistent over time, that work symbolically to

1   Marwan M. Kraidy, "The Rise of Transnational Media Systems," in *Comparing Media Systems beyond the Western World*, ed. by Daniel Hallin and Paolo Mancini (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011), 183.

2   Kraidy, 190.

3   Kraidy, 184-190.

TABLE 1

	Focus/Type of Story	Specific Frame	Master Narrative
1	Governmental: Investigation and Legal Case	Government Competency	
2	Media Defense: Responding to Allegations of Saudi-Royal Collusion in Orchestrating the Operation	Qatari-Turkish-Led Smear Campaign to Sabotage Saudi Reputation	Saudi pan-Arabism
3	Personal: The Life, Legacy, and Work of Jamal Khashoggi	Journalist's Professional Credibility and Alliances	

meaningfully structure the social world."[4] In the context of Khashoggi, media framing will direct readers toward a specific aspect of the story, while filtering the major points through an established lens or narrative. Frames present stories in organized ways that are especially impactful when three or fewer become so dominant that the public immediately associates them with the issue in question. Journalists, politicians, and other influential actors participate in the construction of such dominant frames, which leads to Reese's distinction between the frames themselves and how they actually gain momentum. Whereas the "what" of frames identifies and demonstrates their presence with textual indicators, the "how" of frames focuses more on the process by which media and political entities promote or employ frames as expressions of power.

Analyzing the "what" of Saudi source framing "involves the dissection of the content of the frame, specifically the network of concepts and the unique narrative and myths that make it work."[5] Three types of news coverage (with corresponding frames) identified include: (1) stories associated with the Khashoggi case, from his initial disappearance to international investigations and the prosecution of those responsible, (2) stories providing counterarguments to allegations that members of the Saudi Arabian monarchy ordered Khashoggi's killing, and (3) stories focused primarily on Khashoggi himself and his legacy. Together, the three stories and frames construct what I define as the "Saudi pan-Arabism" narrative. Table 1 outlines the three types of frames identified that, rather than clashing, exist parallel to and in support of one another; their focus on different aspects of the incident will later be analyzed as elements constructing the master narrative.

Governmental – Frame 1

The first indicator of the "government competency" frame is the distinction between Saudi Arabia and countries that have likewise encountered high profile assassination cases. An article published in November 2018 reports that, in contrast to Turkey's poor track record handling assassinations, the Saudi Arabian Public Prosecutor solved the Khashoggi case in forty-four days. Hamed Al-Ali references an incident in which a Turkish policeman killed Russian ambassador Andrei Karlov in 2016. Although the Turkish incident occurred on camera and within Turkey's borders, the Turkish intelligence agency struggled to identify the culprit and did not proceed transparently.[6] In contrast, the author notes that despite

4 Stephen D. Reese, "Finding Frames in a Web Culture: The Case of the War on Terror," in *Doing News Framing Analysis*, ed. Paul D'Angelo and Jim A. Kuypers (New York: Routledge, 2010), 17.

5 Reese, 19.

6 العلي، حامد. تحقيقات الملكة تكشف خاشقجي" في 44 يومًا.. وتركيا يكتفي بالتصريحات الجوفاء." سبق. 16 Nov 2018. الترتباط التشعبي:
"https://sabq.org/Wx4dJP"

the fact that Khashoggi's murder took place out of the public eye and off Saudi soil, the Saudi investigation teams generated better results than their Turkish counterparts. The article strategically draws notoriety away from Saudi Arabia and places it onto Turkey, by foregrounding Turkey's incompetence relative to Saudi Arabia. Other articles that forward the framing of a well-functioning government adopt a more objective tone. In Saudi News Agency sources, the writers often transmit information devoid of critical insight or framing elements that might otherwise probe the political or personal motives behind Khashoggi's murder. Shanto Iyengar's frame analysis of crime and terrorism-related reporting offers a way to understand how such an objective yet superficial tone and framing (1) fits into a dominant media pattern of producing surface-level crime narratives and (2) supports the specific frame of infallible Saudi governance. After assessing a series of television broadcast samples, Iyengar categorizes crime and terrorism-related news content into two framing types: thematic and episodic. Thematic framing consists of in-depth coverage that seeks to understand the root of criminal activity, perhaps as a product of socio-economic conditions.[7] Episodic framing, conversely, focuses attention narrowly on event descriptions, but which fail to provide context or elements of critical frames. Iyengar finds the latter to dominate the field and, in the context of Khashoggi's investigation, the articles indeed adopt episodic characteristics. In one Saudi News Agency article published in November 2018, the author states that the public prosecution placed twenty-one individuals connected with Khashoggi's disappearance in custody, summoned three additional suspects, indicted eleven suspects, and filed for a motion requesting the death penalty for five individuals.[8] By delivering updates on Khashoggi's case in concise and surface-level pieces, media frames preclude critical evaluations that might implicate the Saudi government.

Robert Entman asserts "frames that employ more culturally resonant terms have the greatest potential for influence. . . . They use words [that are] noticeable, understandable, memorable, and emotionally charged."[9] In an October 2018 article, the author transmits the accounts of an unnamed Saudi official who employed exculpatory phrasing to absolve the officers of moral guilt, including "no intention of killing [Khashoggi]," the team's acknowledgment of their mistake as a "resorting" to violence, and the assertion that their actions to conceal the killing and provide false documentation to Saudi authorities were the result of "panic."[10] The article depicts the team as incapable of committing premeditated murder and reduces Khashoggi's death to an unforeseen act. Moreover, the article detaches responsibility from Saudi authority and weakens accusations that the government executed the plan. As a result of such reporting, the articles construct the first frame, whereby Saudi governance bears no burden of accountability, but appears in its distinguished ability to deliver swift justice.

Media Defense – Frame 2

When Turkish investigators revealed Saudi operatives murdered Khashoggi, reporters worldwide began speculating on the guilt of Crown Prince Mohammed bin Salman. Quick to come to the de facto ruler's defense, Saudi news agencies implied that such coverage was the product of Qatari and Turkish propaganda. The alleged Turkish and Qatari media campaign, according to Saudi sources, aimed to undermine the modernist agenda that the Saudi prince and his young regime had envisioned, as well as to damage US-Saudi relations. For example,

7   Shanto Iyengar, *Is Anyone Responsible? How Television Frames Political Issues* (Chicago, IL: The University of Chicago Press, 1991), 14-16.

8   "عام / بيان من النائب العام: قد عدل الصلة الأولى بالمحكمة الجزائية في برلين ضد المدعين في قضية مقتل جمال خاشقجي وعدم (11)." وكالة الأنباء السعودية https://www.spa.gov.sa/viewstory. الترتيب الشعبي:" php?lang=ar&newsid=1859770"

9   Robert M. Entman, *Projections of Power: Framing News, Public Opinion, and U.S. Foreign Policy* (Chicago, IL: The University of Chicago Press, 2004), 6.

10 "مسؤول سعودي: فريق التفاوض مع خاشقجي تجاوز صلاحياته.. والتحقيق http://www.:الترتيب الشعبي جار مع 18 متهما." الحياة. 21 Oct 2018 alhayat.com/article/4608368/

a *Sabq* article uses the phrase "Nazi propaganda" to describe the methodology with which Turkish and Qatari media operate. Author Al-Otaibi says that, similar to "Die Grosse Luge," the foreign states have orchestrated the Khashoggi affair by lying until people believe them. The language compares negative reporting on the crown prince with media strategies used by Nazi Germany. With such a reference the writer invokes what Entman refers to as a schema: "clusters or nodes of connected feelings stored in memory."[11] Al-Otaibi anticipates that audiences contain deep-set sentiments about Nazism and, engaging this schema, casts the damning coverage from outside as lacking credibility and moral authority.

The articles under the second frame also utilize recognizable keywords. In an article published by *Sabq*, author Yasser Najdi labels the reporters who have spread allegations about the crown prince as "mercenary journalists" and attributes the rise of an inflammatory coverage to the growth of "non-professional media."[12] The term "mercenary journalists" invokes an obvious negative connotation, referring to those who would defy journalistic ethics for financial gain. The language suggests that the reporters speculating on the crown prince's involvement, even when referencing investigations by the CIA and Turkish authorities, are primarily motivated by profit. A reader may be more likely to distrust the reports issued by individuals the Saudi media disparages as valuing money over truth. Finally, reports that embrace the second frame utilize framing terminology unique to the Arabic language. According to one source, the Crown Prince had stopped the "flies" responsible for the alleged slander. The term "fly" or "pest" is used in the Arabic language to refer to an annoyance that, although harmful, does not pose an entirely major threat to the individual in question. By using such language to refer to the reporters discussing the Crown Prince's potential responsibility for ordering

Khashoggi's murder, the article deems the accusations as nothing but mere annoyances—all the while asserting that the prince successfully shut down such rumors.

Personal – Frame 3

The final frame which Saudi sources use focuses on Khashoggi himself. One source contains a statement from Khashoggi's cousin, prior to his learning of Jamal's fate. Mutasim Khashoggi tells *Al Hayat* that he and his family have suffered twice-over by encountering negative rumors on social media. Mutasim cites his intention to take legal action against those spreading false rumors, and he notes his family has the utmost confidence in the Saudi government's ability to locate Jamal. A resonant detail the article contains is the notion that the country shares the family's interest in assuring Jamal is in good condition[13]. In other articles, authors refer to Khashoggi as "our citizen," thereby figuratively laying claim to Khashoggi and presuming he is Saudi Arabia's responsibility alone. Similar discussions with family members who reject the term "rebel" or "dissident" function to reconcile differences between the journalist and those critical of him in Saudi Arabia. Nevertheless, phrases like "disappeared citizen" fail to capture the international attention and outrage that his disappearance has garnered.[14]

The sources that more profoundly explore the career and legacy of Khashoggi mainly highlight the problematic portions of his career. An article published by *Arab News* expounds upon a detail in a *Washington Post* article, which referenced Khashoggi's sixteen year connection to executive Maggie Mitchell Salem at the Qatar Foundation International. Salem allegedly encouraged him to exercise more criticism toward his government in his *Washington*

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11 Entman, 7.

12 نجدي، ياسر " رساي. اخـتـفـاء "خـاشـقـجـي" وتـصـريـحات "بمارت".. الإعلام القطري https://sabq." الاخبـتـاب الـشـعـبـي: سبق. 28 Oct 2018 . وفـن صناعة الكذب." org/nFmrQv"

13 "بنا خاشقجي: نثق بالتحقيقات التي أمر بها الملك سلمان.. ونرفض الاسـتـغـلال الـسـيـاسـي لحـداث الـلدان." الحيـاة. 5 Nov 2018. الحيـاة. الـتـرابـط http://www.alhayat.com/article/4610604/" :الـشـعـبـي

14 "لقنصلية السعودية أبواب تفتح باوابا للإعلام.. لمختفي» خاشقجي https://www.okaz.com.sa/" 7 Oct 2018 عاكز. "ليس في القنصلية. article/1676778" .

Post contributions[15]. An article of similar content published in October 2018 reports that letters found in Khashoggi's Istanbul apartment detail his association with the Qatar Foundation[16]. The authors implicate Khashoggi's connection to the Qatar Foundation as one of the biggest "scandals" faced by the *Washington Post*. In addition to discrediting Khashoggi's career and implying that he was a mouthpiece for the Qatari government, the sources challenge the *Washington Post's* credibility—one of the primary US.—based sources that have notified the public of allegations against the crown prince.

Promotion of Saudi Frames and Underlying Master Narrative

While the identification of frames allows for clearer comprehension of a given narrative, Reese points out that understanding how the frames become dominant is what truly reveals the inner workings of a country's media system: "frames are constructed and promoted to achieve some predetermined outcome."[17] Similar to how Reese examines the case of Iraq to determine the degree to which US media accepted and normalized the administration's framing of Iraq as a threat to prioritize, one can apply the same approach to the Saudi media's treatment of government narratives on Khashoggi. The major indicator of how closely Saudi media reflects government-issued statements is the timeline of events. In this sense, Khashoggi's case is unique, for stories about his whereabouts continued to change until intelligence agencies confirmed his death. It is apparent that Saudi media framing evolved in accordance with its government, for at the onset of his disappearance the news agencies did not speculate on the possibility that Saudi operatives had kidnapped or murdered the journalist. Likewise,

when Crown Prince bin Salman claimed his innocence following Khashoggi's death, the media reaffirmed his statement, labeling the act a product of the intelligence agency's "rogue operation." As such, the media in Saudi Arabia serves to reinforce government frames and can be understood as following Entman's "cascade activation," whereby the frame follows a top-down model from the government to the public.[18]

In "Visual Framing of the Early Weeks of the US-Led Invasion of Iraq," Carol Schwalbe and her coauthors demonstrate how wartime and human interest frames— in reporting on the Iraq conflict—served as components of a larger master war narrative.[19] Likewise, amid the uniformity by which Saudi media proceeds in backing royal personnel, the three major frames it promotes— governmental responsibility, foreign media targeting of Saudi Arabia, and Khashoggi himself—together support a larger narrative of Saudi leadership in the Arab world. I refer to this notion as the "Saudi pan-Arabism" narrative. While each article falls under one of the three frames, in each story the notion of Saudi exceptionality is present, whether as embodied by Saudi citizens, the government, Saudi corporatism, or mainstream politics. For example, articles using the first frame operate off the assumption that the Saudi government is infallible, and the second frame echoes this understanding by suggesting Saudi Arabia is the victim of flawed and corrupt foreign media. The articles under the final frame support the narrative as well, whereby Saudi sources critique Khashoggi's media employers outside Saudi Arabia for their lack of objectivity and inferiority to their Saudi counterparts. The frames therefore not only communicate Saudi leaders' narratives on the Khashoggi case, but fit with the broader image of the Saudi nation that is ubiquitous in other news stories.

15 "Washington Post Subtly Admits Slain Khashoggi Columns were 'Shaped' by Qatar," *Arab News* (Riyadh), December 23, 2018, https://www.arabnews.com/node/1424721/media.

16 علي، خالد. "أوراق من شقّ خاشقجي في إسطنبول تكشف خيوط فضيحة مدوية.. هذا ما تم اخفاؤه." سبق. 23 Oct 2018. البراط التشعبي: "https://sabq.org/QJC7tk"

17 Reese, 21.

18 Entman, 9-11.

19 Carol B. Schwalbe, William Silcock, and Susan Keith, "Visual Framing of the Early Weeks of the US-Led Invasion of Iraq: Applying the Master War Narrative to Electronic and Print Images," *Journal of Broadcasting & Electronic Media* 52, no. 3 (2008): 448-465.

TABLE 2

	Frame
1	Humanitarian
2	Free Press/War on Truth
3	Diplomatic Relations

The history of the country's media system also points to a "Saudi pan-Arab narrative," for Saudi Arabia was the first Arab nation to establish transnational news for its Middle East and North African audiences, and it dominates the regional satellite market.[20] The Saudi pan-Arab narrative resurfaces in a key US frame that is employed to shape and endorse policy concerning Khashoggi, the topic of investigation in the next section.

US News Coverage of Jamal Khashoggi

In contrast to the cooperative Saudi frames, US coverage of Khashoggi includes competing frames that identify a different problem and set of concerns for their audience. Thus, US sources on Khashoggi disagree among themselves on the features that comprise what Entman calls "substantive frames": (1) defining the problem, (2) identifying the cause, (3) conveying moral judgment, and (4) endorsing a remedy. The types of US media coverage on Khashoggi include (1) the humanitarian frame, (2) the war-on-truth frame, and (3) the Saudi-US partnership frame. Table 2 identifies the three frames.

Under the humanitarian frame, the articles report on criticism of Saudi Arabia for its treatment of journalists and other individuals protesting government policy. The frame identifies the Saudi Arabian government's participation in Khashoggi's death as the problem. It promotes a solution via the international community punishing Saudi Arabia for its participation, negligence, and lack of accountability involving Khashoggi's murder. As a result, US sanctions on the country are endorsed as the next step. One article emphasizes the humanitarian frame by citing international law, specifically the

Magnitsky Act. Passed in 2012 to punish Russian officials for their murder of a Russian tax accountant, the Magnitsky Act is referenced by three of the US articles as a model case to follow.[21] As such, the articles that point to this and other international laws endorse the remedy of punishing Saudi officials, including the crown prince, for participation in Khashoggi's murder.

The second type of frame present in US media on Khashoggi is that of the "war on truth." The phrase has become more prevalent in recent years, thereby following Reese's theory of transmission, reification, and naturalization in everyday media.[22] In the context of Khashoggi, the phrase is used in articles like that of *Time Magazine*, which looks at Khashoggi's case in the context of worldwide journalist "heroes" who sacrifice their safety for the sake of truth. In using resonant terms such as "guardians of the truth," the sources under this frame assign exceptional qualities to investigative reporters who have suffered for outspokenness.[23] While positive characteristics are attributed to the journalists, the frame emphasizes the presence of a hegemonic system that the reporters defy or resist. In the case of Khashoggi and many of the journalists featured, the system in question is their government: "In death, he has become a symbol of a broader struggle for human rights, as well as a chilling example of the savagery with which autocratic regimes silence voices of dissent."[24] Subsets of this frame in US sources entertain the idea that Khashoggi

20 Kraidy, 110.

21 Kim Hjelmgaard, "US Sanctions 17 Saudi Nationals over Jamal Khashoggi's Killing," *USA Today*, November 15, 2018, https://www.usatoday.com/story/news/world/2018/11/15/jamal-khashoggi-saudi-arabia-seek-death-penalty-writers-murder/2009827002/.

22 Reese, 29.

23 Karl Vick, "Time Person of the Year 2018: The Guardians and the War on Truth," *Time*, December 11, 2018, https://time.com/person-of-the-year-2018-the-guardians/.

24 Souad Mekhennet and Greg Miller, "Jamal Khashoggi's Final Months as an Exile in the Long Shadow of Saudi Arabia," *The Washington Post*, December 22, 2018, https://www.washingtonpost.com/world/national-security/jamal-khashoggis-final-months-an-exile-in-the-long-shadow-of-saudi-arabia/2018/12/21/d6fc68c2-0476-11e9-b6a9-0aa5c2fcc9e4_story.html.

"chose" the West over his country, for phrases such as "newfound freedoms in the United States" and "criticism of his kingdom" are used to show how a democratic US stands in contrast to a censorship-enforcing Saudi state. Under this frame, the fore-fronted issue is the attack on journalists, and the major cause includes governments who withhold and fail to protect free speech. It argues for journalism justice and, similar to the first frame, recommends that Saudi Arabia and other countries be held accountable for their failure to deliver such liberties. Nevertheless, by focusing on Khashoggi and reporters from countries like Egypt, the frame of such sources does not take into account the shortcomings of the US media system and its accompanying assumptions.

The last frame present in US media coverage of Khashoggi stands in contrast to the previous two and prioritizes the US-Saudi relationship over Khashoggi's death. An article published by *The National Interest* supports President Trump's policies surrounding Saudi Arabia after it was revealed that Khashoggi had been killed. The source notes that the US government has taken a logical, rather than moral, approach to the issue. Instead of punishing Saudi Arabia for its alleged human rights violations, the source encourages readers to consider the consequences of taking action against Saudi Arabia, asserting that the West needs this partner to stabilize oil market prices as a means of isolating Iran. Moreover, given Saudi Arabia's new leadership and accompanying progressive agenda, such sources stress the importance of the US having access to the royal family in order to guide and teach the Gulf nation on its path to modernity. This framing most closely echoes the policy laid out by the US administration, whereby political and economic strategy is the primary focus.[25] As such, following Entman's four

functions of framing, this type of news coverage identifies the threat of Iranian influence as the overriding problem, which could be exacerbated if the US chose to take action against Saudi Arabia. Furthermore, the frame opts for logical reasoning over moral judgment, thereby endorsing the remedy of maintaining close ties with Saudi Arabia for the sake of preserving US influence in the Middle East. Therefore, by rendering Saudi Arabia as the primary Arab power with which the US should collaborate, this frame serves to promote the "Saudi pan-Arabism" narrative that the Saudi frames illuminate.

Conclusion

Framings on Jamal Khashoggi's disappearance and aftermath have ultimately illuminated distinctions between US and Saudi media systems. As the legal case against Khashoggi's killers is ongoing, further research might uncover additional frames that emerge as new evidence is released and reported on. Altogether, however, the frames identified here point to a strong Saudi state-media relationship and lack of media autonomy. Whereas US frames might solely attribute an absence of state-challenging media to self-censorship and censorship laws, the history of Saudi media reveals how this absence of diversification has been contingent on the ruling family. Jamal Khashoggi's case ultimately showcases the procedure by which Saudi media deconstructs high-profile cases and defends its kingdom's integrity.

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25 Adam Lammon, "Saudi Arabia After Jamal Khashoggi: What Happens Now?" *National Interest*, November 9, 2018, https://nationalinterest. org/blog/middle-east-watch/saudi-arabia-after-jamal-khashoggi-what-happens-now-35637.

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THE OLD AND THE NEW: IRISH TRADITIONS IN CONTEMPORARY CULTURE

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Irish popular culture and literature are rewriting what it means to be Irish apart from such long-established identifiers as Catholicism, drinking culture, and leprechaun lore. Music, dance, sport, literature, and film are catalysts for an expanding Irish identity both locally and abroad, where Irish culture is no longer confined to a small island off the coast of Western Europe. Today, the country grapples with the ongoing impact of scandals that have led to mistrust in the Catholic Church; the challenges and opportunities of rapid, uneven, and unpredictable economic change; and the relatively recent but unsettling issues prompted by Brexit, a referendum that will impact the border between Ireland and Northern Ireland as the United Kingdom withdraws from the European Union. Nevertheless, since the beginning of the twenty-first century, Ireland has reclaimed, revitalized, and modernized its national identity. Now, a number of cultures and peoples outside of Ireland may discover their identities represented in an evolving Irish culture. As art and athletics redefine what it means to be Irish, contemporary Irish culture has become a superimposition of both old and new traditions.

For both the Irish and Irish Diaspora, dance is a forum that informs and shapes Irish culture. At any given St. Patrick's Day parade, one might find troupes of female dancers sporting highly-decorated dresses, tightly curled wigs, and generous makeup for celebratory performances featuring intricate footwork and rigid torsos and arms. However, traditional Irish dance such as céilí and set dancing are comparatively modern activities. Foreign dances like *quadrilles*, the French set dance recorded in James Joyce's "The Dead," (159) were regularly performed by Irish natives in good spirit even as the notion of traditional Irish dance grew in popularity. In part, the rise of céilí may be attributed to a nationalist agenda in the late nineteenth century when Douglas Hyde, Eoin MacNeill, Agnes O'Farrelly, and others sought to utilize Irish culture to reinvent a national identity and "de-anglicize" Ireland (McCartney 259; McCoole 213). In fact, "[i]t is within this cultural nationalist consciousness that the Irish céilí emerged" (Foley 44-45). In the context of Hyde's Gaelic League, "*céilí* was a whole dance configuration––dance, music, the Irish language, constructed within a ritualised cultural and social environment where people shared common and cultural sentiments and values" (Foley 49). This atmosphere is more or less the same across the Atlantic Ocean as many Irish-Americans maintain a connection to the origins of a widespread Irish diaspora through dance. Céilí was further revitalized in the 1970's through influences like set dancing. Yet the modernization of Irish dance did not stop with the Gaelic League or the widespread introduction of céilí to Irish Diaspora.

The first performance of *Riverdance* during the 1994 Eurovision Song Contest in Dublin is credited with altering how many non-Irish individuals view Irish dance today. Dancers emerged onstage with a twist on céilí traditions: the garb was missing, the arms were

more flexible, and the music was quicker. The new form became a "runaway success," expanding beyond Ireland and Western Europe (Kiely and Keogh 361). *Riverdance*'s popularity led to successful tours and Broadway shows, spurring a new "invented tradition" into local communities and international consciousness. The show prides itself as "the No. 1 dance show in the world" while "performing live to an audience of over 25 million" (*Riverdance*). However, according to Dr. Catherine E. Foley, the founding director of the National Dance Archive of Ireland, the show is perceived ambiguously in Irish culture. Foley notes, "To some, it is a great promotion of Irish dance, Irish culture, Irish tourism, and Irish identity making its mark in the 'global village,' while to others it is an Irish version of the American movie *Dirty Dancing* and a betrayal of tradition" (41). Some view *Riverdance* as an invented tradition that departs from traditional dance like céilí, while others deem the quicker pace, exciting music, and new costumes a revival of Irish culture which modernizes Celtic mythology and history. Yet, regardless of *Riverdance*'s reception among the Irish, dance proves to be a mainstay forum for Ireland's evolving country and its subsequent culture.

If the successful transplantation of Irish dance across international boundaries is an indication of the worldwide appeal of Irish culture, then Irish sport is also an exemplar of local activity celebrated beyond its national arena. From local counties to the whole of the country, Ireland's two national sports continue to grow in appeal for both Irish citizens and their neighboring countries. The roots of Gaelic football and hurling in Irish history can be traced well back into early Irish society. The latter is featured in the Irish epic, *Táin Bó Cúilange*, through its mythical hero, Cú Chulainn, and the young warriors-in-training of the Red Branch Knights of Ulster. Proponents of the literary revival at the turn of the twentieth century popularized the Irish hero while the Gaelic Athletic Association and the Gaelic league deemed Cú Chulainn's sport of choice an integral component of a national identity (McCartney 258-260). Apart from medieval Celtic literature, Gaelic football

and hurling today are publicized at local and national levels through devoted fans and players, spanning from the local Cork GAA to the Kilkenny GAA to Europe, North America, Asia, and Australia. Cork locals have lovingly referred to hurling as "a cross between hockey and murder" because a hard ball and long stick with a flat, curved base is utilized in the contact sport. In addition to hurling, Gaelic football, soccer, and rugby are also popular sports among the Irish. In the early 2000s, Ireland proved somewhat successful in the FIFA World Cup. Meanwhile, the GAA's ban against non-Irish games was relaxed around 2007 as the Irish began to compete against the British and other nations in rugby. Ireland recently won the 2018 Six Nations tournament and beat the famous All Blacks of New Zealand in Chicago's Soldier Field the same November. In effect, the initial pivot by the GAA indicated what has since been proven: sports are capable of not only connecting neighboring communities but countries as well.

Perspectives in contemporary Irish literature have exceeded the small island's ancient origins of hagiography and oral literature. Much of the Gaelic League's efforts to recover the native Irish language helped preserve an array of perspectives across Ireland. In particular, Agnes O'Farrelly proved adept at bilingualism when she became the first woman to study Celtic, earning acclaim as "the most influential woman in the Central Branch of the Gaelic League." She was a professor of Irish at University College Dublin and a novelist, producing notable titles such as *Thoughts on Aran (Smaointe Ar Árainn)* as well as other poetry and prose (McCoole 213-214). Although she is not often recognized among other Gaelic League leaders, her work with language and literature should not be dismissed in the Irish literary canon.

Of course, the characteristics of Irish language and literature were not limited by the ambitions of the Gaelic League. A simultaneous renaissance in writing redefined old traditions. Among the prolific figures of this moment in Irish literary history was folklorist and dramatist Lady

Augusta Gregory, whose work is recognized alongside authors like J.M. Synge and the Irish poet William Butler Yeats for their collective contributions to the Irish Literary Revival in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Lady Gregory penned and translated plays, following in suit of the Gaelic League as she recorded the folklore and mythology of the Irish in her works, including *Visions and Beliefs in the West of Ireland* and *Cuchulain of Muirthemne*. She wrote in company with the Literary Revivalists who, above all, sought to inspire national pride through poetry and prose (McCartney 258).

Today, Irish writers form similar statements of pride for their country, but further appeal toward creating new connections to its long and complex history. Again, this appeal extends beyond the small beach and cliff-side borders of the island. Take, for example, the contemporary Irish poet, Eavan Boland. In her January 1993 poem, "In Which the Ancient History I Learn Is Not My Own," Boland seems to discover personal connections to an Irish national identity that she missed while growing up in America and England. She writes, "I wanted to trace over / and over the weave of / my own country and read out / the names I was next to forgetting" (*Poetry Foundation*). Boland identifies a disconnect between ancient Irish history and the newer traditions that are woven into her own experiences as an Irish person. In "How We Made a New Art on Old Ground" from 2001, Boland again alludes to Ireland in the following lines: "the place and the torment of the place are / for this moment free of one another" (*Poetry Foundation*). In short, she describes an intersection of new culture with old, established traditions. According to Boland, the two historical moments are distinct, but the ideas that the inhabitants of "the place" produce, identified as "the torment of the place," are not.

For contemporary Irish writers like Boland, identifying yourself as Irish in your prose or poetry need not be a necessity, but national identity is a running pattern in Irish literature. Anna Burns exemplifies such a pattern in her critically acclaimed novel, *Milkman*, set during the Troubles period (Allardice) in Northern Ireland, yet does not identify the setting by name. Instead, readers must identify the writer through connections between her fiction and the history of her national identity. Her depiction of the political strife in Ireland during the late twentieth century has since won the 2018 Man Booker Prize and 2019 Orwell Prize for Political Fiction, among other positive critiques. A number of literary figures alongside Burns have also garnered critical acclaim and attention abroad, including but not limited to women fiction writers like Maeve Binchy, Deirdre Purcell, Edna O'Brien, Patricia Scanlan, Anne Enright, Emma Donoghue, and Cecilia Ahern (Kiely and Keogh 359). While not all of these narratives feature overt gestures to Irish culture, the stories nonetheless retain significance.

Likewise, when the authors' names are weighed against the initiators of the Irish Literary Revival and Gaelic League, they perhaps reveal a shift in Irish cultural identity from male-dominated spheres to female-inclusive narratives. Indeed, a female tradition in Irish literature has, until recent decades, been overlooked as Irish national pride moved to the forefront of literary history. In the introduction to *A History of Modern Irish Women's Literature*, published in 2018, scholars Heather Ingman and Clíona Ó Gallchoir attribute the "occlusion" of women from the Irish literary canon as a result of "the desire to align literary expression with the imagined nation" which "has been a further, persistent obstacle to the recognition of women's literary and cultural production in Ireland" (346). Following women's rights movements, the introduction of feminist critiques and subsequent dissolution of a nationalist canon has "provided new perspectives and frameworks through which to discuss [modern Irish women's literature]" (Ingman and Gallchoir 378). Moreover, new criticism reveals a long-hidden record of diverse voices, themes, and stories.

Fortunately, contemporary traditions in literature support a more inclusive span of literature created by and featuring women. Irish literature, too, has embraced the nation's

history from a female perspective. Colm Tóibín's 2009 novel, *Brooklyn*, follows an Irish woman's immigration to the United States in the 1950s and was recently adapted into an Academy Award-winning film in 2015, starring Irish actress Saoirse Ronan. Inasmuch, Irish women have begun to not only feature in Irish literary traditions, but now occupy critical roles in creating Irish stories from craft to representation alongside male counterparts like Tóibín, Kevin Barry, Colum McCann, and others.

Irish film has likewise become a frontrunning medium for an evolving culture on and off-screen. One need look no further than *Song of the Sea*, directed by Tomm Moore, which embraces a young Irish child's discovery of ancient selkie or 'seal-people' mythology in his own contemporary family. Animation, in particular, embraces a perspective unique to the island, because stories like those in Moore's *Song of the Sea* and *The Secret of the Kells* with Nora Twomey feature settings and oral tales that many Irish children know by heart. Both Academy Award-nominated films envision the authority of Irish wonder-tales within the context of modernized international folklore.

Of course, there is no shortage of Irish culture in other modes of cinema. Politically inspired dramatizations like *Michael Collins* (1996) and *The Wind That Shakes the Barley* (2007), based on the Irish War of Independence, have emerged in cinema in recent decades (Kiely and Keogh 360). These political and cultural films perhaps emerge out of earlier traditions such as documentaries and government information drama-documentaries in post-World War II Irish filmmaking (Trinity College Dublin 8). As the 100th anniversary of the end of the Anglo-Irish war approaches in a post-Brexit climate, it is possible that television and film may return with new visions to topics of Irish independence, peace, and war.

Also pertinent to Irish culture are zany comedic sitcoms like the priest-led *Father Ted* (1995-1998) and the current Netflix-produced series on teenagedom during the Troubles in Northern Ireland, *Derry Girls* (2018-). In

fact, the latter is part of a growing tradition in cinema and television to feature Irish settings, characters, and historical plots––especially with regards to Northern Irish material––in European and American entertainment industries (Kiely and Keogh 360). Representations of Ireland in content produced by other countries is no longer limited to crude stereotypes "in which the fighting Irish are innately (and ideologically) flawed to the point of pathology" or in which the Irish are depicted as poor, criminal characters (Trinity College Dublin 11). Instead, what modern Irish or Irish-influenced film and television conveys is a diverse culture with subjects ranging from serious to comedic or war-torn to peaceful, wherein both extremes are related by an equally complex and dualistic society off-screen.

Meanwhile, Irish music continues to vacillate between old and new traditions. It evolves as technology and the culture that develops that technology evolves. From folk music to rock to a blend of multiple music genres, traditional Irish music is still lauded alongside newer voices. Among traditional music are long-established instruments of the trade, from penny and tin whistles to the bodhrán, fiddle, Celtic harp, and the recently recovered uilleann pipes. Blackie O'Connell, an internationally acclaimed piper, is a mainstay of contemporary 'Trad' music for visitors in County Clare. Tourists who venture into a pub on the west coast of Ireland might discover O'Connell alongside Cyril O'Donoghue, comprising the Friars Green duo, and similar Trad artists who have mastered these instruments. Yet Irish music permeates international culture from beyond the sticky tabletop of tourist attractions and local pubs. O'Connell alone has garnered interest in Europe and the United States during his Wild Atlantic Music Tours.

Irish music can be found in popular music and on top-charts too. It is hard to picture Irish culture without thinking of the popular Irish icon, activist, and lead-singer, Bono, and his band, U2 (Kiely and Keogh 360). The Limerick-originating band, The Cranberries, filled

the ears of rock-loving teenagers during the later years of the Troubles in Ireland and across the world in the early nineties. In recent years, Hozier, an Irish singer and songwriter from County Wicklow, is recognized as an artist influenced by several of genres across his two studio-released albums, including indie folk, blues, contemporary R&B, soul music, blues rock, and folk music. His music may be a far cry from the traditional music found in instrumental albums and pub bands, yet his Irish identity is somewhat retained in the folk-influences of his albums and the subjects his music explores. His hit debut single, "Take Me to Church," was popularized globally in 2014 after its music video went viral. While the lyrics undulate between religious terminology and an unfolding romance, the video aligns with contemporary Irish movements such as the decisive vote of approval of the referendum for same-sex marriage in the Republic on May 22, 2015. During a *Rolling Stone* interview, the singer was deliberate in the message he wanted to convey. He states, "'Growing up, I always say the hypocrisy of the Catholic church...The history speaks for itself and I grew incredibly frustrated and angry. I essentially just put that into my words.'" Indeed, the singer's frustration with the paradigm of the Catholic Church in Ireland is showcased by using religion as a metaphor for romance in his lyrics: "'We were born sick,' you heard them say it / My church offers no absolutes'" (Hozier). Like other forms of art, music and songwriting offer an opportunity to delve into particular political landscapes and cultural movements. Music might also be considered the foundation of many dances, sport events, and films, and further influence the flow of words on the page, given literature's unique ability to orchestrate Irish history within its present culture in a lyrical form.

In many ways, the Irish are creating new traditions out of the old. From *Riverdance* to hurling to poetry to animation cinema, the culture has reinvented the Irish identity from the general stereotype of a small population of white, English-speaking, Catholics through a diverse range of books, film, local and national sport, and dance. Moreover, Irish musicians, dancers, players, writers, and filmmakers have established the small island's culture on a world-sized map. Though beyond the scope of this paper, the emerging artists and writers from other countries who now call Ireland home are another source of growth and innovation. As University College Dublin sociologist Tom Inglis observes, "There was a time, not so long ago, when the Republic of Ireland was a homogeneous society and culture" but "[o]ver the last 50 years, the cultural map of Ireland has changed dramatically. Ireland has become a multinational, cosmopolitan, globalised society" (*A snapshot*). An overall evolution of culture, based today in a predominantly secular state and media as Inglis suggests, is reflective of modern Irish society and the promise of its global influence as a whole. Again and again, today's popular culture and literature remind non-Irish citizens that Ireland is as engaged in updating its traditional idiosyncrasies as it is in absorbing and projecting fresh, diverse narratives.

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LA LETTERATURA SUL COMPORTAMENTO E L'AVVENTO DELLA BORGHESIA CORTIGIANA NEL RINASCIMENTO ITALIANO

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ABSTRACT The Italian Renaissance brought with it a great increase in access to instruction material to the growing middle class. To respond to the mounting expectations of the era, conduct literature came to the forefront to aid both courtiers and the bourgeoisie to better perform their social and professional roles. While this type of literature was written for courtiers to better serve their prince, it was also written for a growing middle class composed of lawyers, bankers, merchants, and the like to encourage and, at the same time, to manage their social aspirations. Two of the most noteworthy pieces of conduct literature are *Il cortegiano* by Baldassarre Castiglione and *Il galateo* by Giovanni Della Casa for courtiers and the bourgeoisie respectively. Given the rapid changes to social structure during the Renaissance, it was necessary to educate these two different groups to ensure the smooth function of the government and professional success in the ever-changing society.

La letteratura sul comportamento corretto ha avuto molto successo nel Rinascimento. Spesso questo tipo di letteratura era scritta per i cortigiani per istruirli sulle virtù che dovevano avere o dimostrare al loro principe. Però, la letteratura sulle buone maniere è stata anche scritta per un pubblico non nobile in rapida ascesa sociale, cioè i borghesi. Per la borghesia in questo periodo si intende "una classe di persone che attende al commercio, alle operazioni finanziarie, all'industria; e anche di giuristi, notai, letterati, che dominano la vita intellettuale della città e sono indispensabili al governo" (Treccani). Nella cerchia letteraria focalizzata sul comportamento, Baldassarre Castiglione e Giovanni Della Casa sono gli scrittori più notevoli, con un pubblico preciso: Castiglione scrisse *Il cortegiano* per un pubblico prevalentemente nobile e legato all'ambiente della corte, mentre Della Casa scrisse *Il galateo* per un pubblico borghese. Si tratta di due manuali con obiettivi diversi che sono utili oggi per identificare diversi strati sociali nel Rinascimento. Negli anni in cui sono state scritte queste opere, la struttura sociale stava cambiando per la crescita di una borghesia con più opportunità di essere inclusa in ambiti sociali più raffinati. Il confronto fra questi manuali, che nascono per educare individui prima esclusi, illustra cambiamenti sociali che hanno facilitato la crescita della borghesia attraverso l'educazione di due strati sociali diversi.

Il cortegiano si rivolge a un pubblico principalmente nobile, quindi i valori descritti e promossi nell'opera rimandano ai bisogni intellettuali di persone che dovevano essere molto istruite nelle buone maniere per mantenere il proprio potere a corte anche attraverso la bella figura. Hilary Adams nel suo saggio "Il Cortegiano e il Galateo" spiega che "Castiglione deals with the philosophy

underlying good manners, with the temper of mind and qualities of character that produce them" (457). Quindi, Castiglione si è concentrato sui valori che generavano la cultura cortigiana. Nella sua opera, si discutono opinioni sul perfetto cortigiano che sa fare tutto senza fatica apparente e con molta "sprezzatura", cioè la finzione di non dover fare fatica per essere perfetto, un'idea che non si discute nel *Galateo*. Secondo il conte Ludovico, questa sprezzatura era più facile da ottenere per i nobili per i quali la grazia è considerata una virtù innata derivante dai loro legami di parentela e viene data per scontata. Però, Castiglione include anche l'opinione contraria di Gaspar Pallavicino, che sostiene che ci sono degli uomini più o meno ricchi di virtù e capacità sia nel ceto sociale nobile che in quello borghese. In base all'affermazione del conte Ludovico riguardo la nobiltà, per la borghesia, principalmente composta di mercanti, giuristi, notai, e altri commercianti, era più difficile avere questa virtù che era considerata una conquista. In questo senso, i manuali delle buone maniere potevano forse aiutare i borghesi a migliorare la loro condizione sociale e raggiungere un tenore di vita migliore.

Manuali come *Il cortegiano* ed *Il galateo* non sono diventati popolari da un giorno all'altro, sorgono dalla necessità di apparire colti. L'Umanesimo, che si sviluppa fra il 14° e il 15° secolo, è caratterizzato da una sete per la sapienza che si vede nella classe nobile e anche nella classe borghese (Treccani). In questo periodo, lo studio delle lingue antiche e della letteratura antica era un tratto che rappresentava la sapienza e l'essere colto. Le persone istruite sono tornate alle idee del classicismo e si sono concentrate sugli autori e artisti classici, traducendo poeti greci e romani e riconoscendo il lavoro dei grandi letterati, cioè, questa società apprezzava molto la creatività. Ciò ha portato cambiamenti nell'educazione che adesso è incentrata sugli studi umanistici e permette lo studio del comportamento e il giudizio basato sullo stesso. Le scuole rinascimentali secondo Robert Black, uno storico della University of Leeds, "were not guardians of the social hierarchy, giving technical training for narrow professions or occupations, but they educated all men equally before the choice of a career" (318). Allora, ovviamente, i nobili avevano più opportunità di studiare materie considerate raffinate, ma con il successo degli imprenditori, era possibile che un borghese avesse lo stesso tipo di educazione. L'aumento di persone istruite ha aumentato anche il desiderio di imparare. In questo periodo si può parlare di "a [...] desire for knowledge, and with the increase in literacy came a demand for some means of self-improvement. The answer was the handbook, the printed guide" (Wright 58). Per i nobili la sapienza era un segno di raffinatezza mentre per i borghesi era diventato un mezzo per arrivare ad uno strato sociale più rispettabile. Forse si spiega meglio il desiderio di sapere nel *Galateo* dove Della Casa ha scritto sulla necessità dell'istruzione. Il "vecchio idiota" si rivolge direttamente al giovane dicendo, "acciocché tu, ammaestrato da me, possi tenere la diritta via con salute dell'anima tua e con laude e onore della tua orrevole e nobile famiglia" (Della Casa 4), spiegando quanto utile può essere l'educazione per qualcuno che vuole migliorare la vita nel Cinquecento. Questi manuali servivano per mantenere o acquistare l'onore per la famiglia, quindi erano indispensabili tanto per i borghesi quanto per i nobili.

Il successo dei manuali di comportamento, specialmente del *Galateo* con i borghesi avviene grazie ai mutamenti economici del Rinascimento. Benché le città europee esistessero già nel medioevo, esse sono diventate nuclei economici proprio nel Rinascimento. In questo periodo non era necessario essere nobili né ricchi per arrivare a uno strato sociale più alto, anche se ci sono opinioni diverse su questo punto. La crescita delle città ha creato il bisogno di più mercanti per sviluppare l'economia. Il professore di economia Jan de Vries (University of California, Berkeley) spiega nell'articolo "Renaissance Cities" che la crescita delle città ha creato una economia basata sulle esportazioni e importazioni (785-786). Con più lavori per i mercanti, essi hanno potuto accedere più facilmente all'istruzione. L'economia fiorente del Rinascimento è direttamente collegata al successo

e la crescita della borghesia, sostenuta dall'accesso all'istruzione per più persone e artefice di una struttura sociale diversa da quella del medioevo.

Con la crescita della borghesia rinascimentale, le corti hanno fornito ai borghesi l'opportunità di raggiungere uno strato sociale più vicino ai nobili. Le corti erano luoghi di educazione all'arte e di un senso quasi magico della conoscenza, cioè di una atmosfera che coltivava la sapienza. Come si vede nel *Cortegiano*, la corte era uno spazio dove si leggeva poesia e si discutevano temi filosofici, cosa che riuscivano a fare anche i borghesi grazie alla loro educazione umanista. Nel *Cortegiano*, Castiglione suggerisce che i borghesi potevano entrare nelle corti. Il conte Ludovico dice, "non nego io […] che ancora negli omini bassi non possano regnare quelle virtù che nei nobili" (Castiglione 42). Il commento del conte Ludovico dà l'idea che i borghesi hanno alcune delle stesse opportunità dei nobili. Però si capisce che i nobili hanno dei pregiudizi verso di loro a causa della mancanza di legami di parentela nobili. Si può anche presumere che la corte rinascimentale non sia più l'unico luogo di discussione colta. Siccome più gente sa leggere e ci sono delle opportunità di studiare nelle accademie, la borghesia ha avuto accesso alle stesse fonti dei nobili, causando divisione sociale che però bilancia le norme culturali.

Come ha menzionato il conte Ludovico, la borghesia non era più limitata dalle norme sociali. I borghesi avevano accesso all'istruzione, condividevano con i nobili l'ideologia del valore della misura in ogni azione, ed avevano più mobilità sociale. Ma queste caratteristiche non erano utili senza un comportamento adeguato. *Il galateo* e *Il cortegiano* hanno contribuito ad affinare il comportamento dei borghesi così se volevano, potevano interagire con i nobili, anche se avevano più difficoltà a causa dei pregiudizi verso di loro. I borghesi potevano acquistare fama grazie all'arte che creavano e dedicare la loro vita a faccende simili a quelle dei nobili. In alcune città una persona non nobile poteva ricoprire una carica politica, cosa che prima non era possibile. Gli impieghi che spesso erano riservati a persone con relazioni di parentela ora erano accessibili alla crescente classe media. Infatti, "[a]t the higher level still of the professional faculties of law, medicine, and theology, [education] trained men for employment in powerful and lucrative occupations. And on its fringes, in the severely practical courses on the arts of the notary, it even taught the future estate manager, government clerk or solicitor how to keep books, draw up contracts and write business letters…" (Black 319). Con l'aumento dell'istruzione, i borghesi non erano più limitati nelle possibilità di lavoro. Quindi, entro certi limiti, il Rinascimento ha creato un ambiente positivo dove quasi tutti potevano creare il proprio destino.

Le opportunità per i borghesi però, erano messe in ombra dalle opinioni negative che avevano i nobili su di loro. Una di queste opinioni è che i borghesi abbiano più difficoltà ad agire allo stesso modo dei nobili per nascita perché "ragionevole cosa è che de' boni nascano i boni" (Castiglione 43), cioè che per i nobili è più facile comportarsi in maniera piacevole e raffinata per il loro senso innato della raffinatezza derivante dalle loro relazioni di parentela. Il cortigiano ideale era una specie di tuttofare che sapeva usare le armi a piedi e a cavallo con destrezza ma allo stesso tempo sapeva comportarsi come un gentiluomo capace di avere una conversazione letteraria o filosofica. Nel contesto della borghesia, è poco probabile che un uomo del ceto medio avesse imparato l'uso delle armi perché il suo lavoro non includeva l'essere soldato. I borghesi non dovevano neanche dimostrare la loro capacità di fare esercizi fisici, perché fare bella figura, in questo caso fisica, non era tanto importante come avanzare nei loro affari o altri impieghi. Anche se i borghesi avevano più opportunità di imparare, non imparavano le stesse cose dei nobili perché c'erano delle aspettative diverse per i due gruppi. Per esempio, i nobili dovevano sapere come consigliare un principe mentre i borghesi dovevano sapere come avanzare nelle loro carriere. Per i borghesi non era possibile usare la sprezzatura allo stesso livello dei nobili perché dovevano per forza fare più fatica per arrivare allo stesso livello di

rispetto. Mentre i nobili dovevano essere esperti nella simulazione di poter combattere abilmente con le armi, essere cortesi ed essere saggi, i borghesi dovevano dimostrare di avere la stessa capacità senza avere la fiducia della società. I nobili avevano l'opportunità di fare tutto ciò che volevano di professione, entro certi limiti, in confronto ai borghesi che dovevano combattere i pregiudizi di molti per avere una vita migliore.

Come già detto, la sprezzatura significa il fare tutto con grazia e senza dimostrare fatica. Secondo i nobili la sprezzatura veniva loro naturalmente e perciò questa virtù non era facile da dimostrare per le persone negli strati sociali più bassi. Appunto, la cosiddetta sprezzatura non è mai menzionata da Della Casa nel *Galateo*. Invece lui ha scritto che è meglio che il giovane sappia che gli "convien temperare e ordinare [i suoi] modi [...] secondo il piacer di coloro co' quali [gli usa], e a quello indirizzargli" (6). In questa citazione è chiaro che per il borghese è più importante il rapporto pratico con gli altri che il sembrare perfetto. La sprezzatura veniva dimostrata come un'aria di nonchalance con cui si nascondono lo studio e la fatica. Con la crescita di una classe media, era indispensabile per i nobili differenziarsi da un gruppo di persone che pian piano accedeva agli stessi ambiti della conoscenza e diventava più "nobile" per così dire. Quindi la sprezzatura si è trasformata in questo segno di raffinatezza e facilità mentale nell'imparare e fare cose nuove, sottolineando il fatto che i borghesi dovevano più esplicitamente sforzarsi per arrivare allo stesso livello dei nobili. Valori come la nobiltà e la grazia diventano uno spettacolo, una sfida a chi li esegue meglio. Il comportamento dei cortigiani è sempre basato sulle opinioni e sulle norme delle corti, cioè è concentrato su una identità collettiva. Infatti, lo scopo del *Cortegiano* è "deresponsabilizzare gli enunciati, o, più precisamente, di limitare la responsabilità dei singoli enunciatori, ma al tempo stesso di diffonderla, di renderla comune" (Saccone 3). Con questa idea della bella figura collettiva, sembra facile escludere i borghesi, anche se loro seguono le stesse norme apprezzate dalla nobiltà. Questa esclusione a causa della mancanza della

sprezzatura è controbilanciata dall'esistenza nei due strati sociali menzionati della "misura". La misura è un tipo di equilibrio a cui si arriva con un comportamento né troppo eccentrico né troppo fastidioso. Questa misura unisce i nobili e i borghesi sotto un ideale di equilibrio che li porta ad avere una personalità più adatta alla mobilità sociale, nelle corti o nelle cerchie della borghesia. Nel *Galateo* il personaggio del vecchio spiega: "[V]oglio che sappi che, dove ha convenevole misura, fra le parti verso di sé e fra le parti e 'l tutto è la bellezza" (Della Casa 75), esprimendo il suo ragionamento attraverso la misura fisica. Per lo stesso ragionamento, i personaggi di Castiglione consigliano misura nello sfoggio della conoscenza che non sembri derivare da difficili studi ma il risultato di una conoscenza per caso (Adams 459). Benché la grazia sia una virtù considerata più adatta ai nobili, la misura offre una prospettiva che trova un compromesso fra le ideologie del Castiglione e Della Casa.

Le buone maniere avevano allora un significato leggermente diverso per i due strati sociali in questo confronto: da una parte assicuravano la presenza e il successo a corte dei nobili e la sicurezza finanziaria grazie alla fiducia del principe; dall'altra per i borghesi significavano l'opportunità di dimostrare le proprie capacità e guadagnarsi uno status sociale più elevato. A causa di questi significati diversi, i manuali di comportamento per ogni gruppo esprimevano valori e lezioni leggermente diverse. *Il cortegiano* dà consigli riguardo gli studi e le responsabilità dei cortigiani, quindi l'arte della guerra ed il ballo, per esempio, vengono discussi per sottolineare l'equilibrio ideale che dovrebbe avere il cortigiano perfetto. Attraverso una discussione fra cortigiani famosi, Castiglione riesce ad esprimere le sue opinioni su come dovrebbe comportarsi un cortigiano senza inserirsi nella discussione. Le lezioni nel *Galateo*, siccome sono scritte come se parlasse un uomo analfabeta, si concentrano sulle buone maniere nella sfera quotidiana. Ad esempio, il vecchio consiglia di non mettere il naso dentro il bicchiere di un altro per odorare il vino (Della Casa 10). In questo modo, Castiglione e Della Casa

insegnano ai loro lettori un comportamento per fare bella figura in un ambito politico e quotidiano rispettivamente.

Attraverso le lezioni nei due manuali, si possono capire i tipi di valori che aveva ogni strato sociale. Questi valori non sono così diversi fra i due gruppi, benché sembrasse così ai cortigiani. Come spiegato in precedenza, la versione del buon comportamento che avevano i borghesi era basata sulla scalata sociale mentre la versione dei cortigiani era basata sulla necessità di essere sempre rispettosi verso il principe e mantenere la loro posizione come consiglieri del principe. Queste visioni diverse portano con sé un codice di valori adeguato a situazioni diverse. Mentre i borghesi dovevano interagire con altri mercanti, uomini d'affari e persone che volevano comprare le loro merci o servizi, i cortigiani dovevano intrattenere intellettualmente gli altri membri della corte. Dunque, i nobili apprezzavano molto più la grazia e l'esercizio intellettuale e la capacità di difendere il principe sia fisicamente che in una discussione. Castiglione ha scritto, "[c]hi adunque vorrà esser bon discipulo, oltre al far le cose bene, sempre ha da metter ogni diligenzia per assimilarsi al maestro e, se possibil fosse, transformarsi in lui" (58). Qui si vede in atto il principio dell'imitazione dei modelli e il desiderio dei cortigiani di essere i compagni perfetti per un principe e così avere successo politico. Nonostante il ruolo di un cortigiano sia consigliare il principe, egli deve tenere a mente la gerarchia radicata dentro la struttura delle corti. Per i cortigiani c'era sempre qualcuno in uno strato più alto a cui si dovevano rivolgere e quindi concentrarsi a diventare quanto più simile possibile alla persona nella posizione più potente garantiva un continuo avanzamento. Dall'altra parte, per i borghesi era più convenevole assimilarsi alle persone dello stesso ceto sociale per garantire il successo lavorativo. Quindi, la descrizione del cortigiano perfetto nel *Cortegiano* permette un'ampia gamma di caratteristiche che possono avere i cortigiani.

Invece, la classe mercantile usava valori che assicuravano una interazione umana più cordiale. Le azioni dei borghesi dimostravano un desiderio di essere graditi a tutti, specialmente a quelli che potevano aiutarli a progredire. Per esempio, il vecchio nel *Galateo* dice "i piacevoli e gentili hanno forza di eccitare la benevolenza di color co' quali noi viviamo" (5). La forza dietro la mobilità sociale dei borghesi è stata l'essere piacevoli, in quanto necessario al successo finanziario. *Il galateo* include lezioni che sembrano facili ma servono a creare una borghesia cosciente di ogni movimento che possa portarli all'ascesa a uno strato sociale più alto o aiutarli a mantenere un tipo di vita in cui il successo è assicurato. Benché la borghesia abbia cominciato ad avere accesso agli stessi ambiti di studio della classe nobile, si è concentrata sul modo più piacevole di avanzare perché la loro classe presupponeva l'interazione umana negli affari. Perciò i consigli nel *Galateo* hanno l'obiettivo di aiutare i borghesi a costruirsi una carriera professionale, in modo simile ai valori dei nobili che vogliono mantenere la loro carriera politica.

Il cortegiano ed *Il galateo* sono manuali di comportamento che hanno avuto molto successo perché erano opere letterarie facili da capire e mettere in pratica e trattavano del miglioramento della società. *Il cortegiano* è scritto in un modo che mostra la vita di un cortigiano, cioè una vita nella quale si hanno discorsi eccelsi, ma è anche un trattato sui "rischi che derivano dalla educazione e dall'autoformazione" (Mongiat Farina). L'opera di Castiglione ha dato molto su cui pensare a persone per centinaia d'anni, ma nel periodo in cui è stata scritta, era un testo per discutere nelle corti e creare così una conversazione su come dovrebbe essere un cortigiano. *Il galateo* dall'altra parte, è facile da leggere e non prova a dimostrare una raffinatezza innata. Inoltre, aveva un pubblico più esteso e meno esclusivo con la crescita della borghesia grazie all'economia delle esportazioni. Le due opere offrono uno sguardo dentro una società scomparsa e ci consentono di vedere quanto non è cambiata la

società nei secoli, mantenendo sempre ceti sociali definiti. La borghesia rinascimentale è forse più simile alla borghesia contemporanea rispetto a generazioni precedenti. Nel Cinquecento quando Castiglione e Della Casa scrissero *Il cortegiano* ed *Il galateo* rispettivamente sono cominciati i cambiamenti sociali che hanno dato alla classe borghese, uno strato sociale che esiste ancora oggi, l'opportunità di studiare. I manuali di comportamento erano parte dell'inizio di un miglioramento sociale che si estende fino ad oggi. Senza i manuali di Baldassarre Castiglione e Giovanni Della Casa, l'avvento della borghesia cortigiana sarebbe stato indubbiamente diverso.

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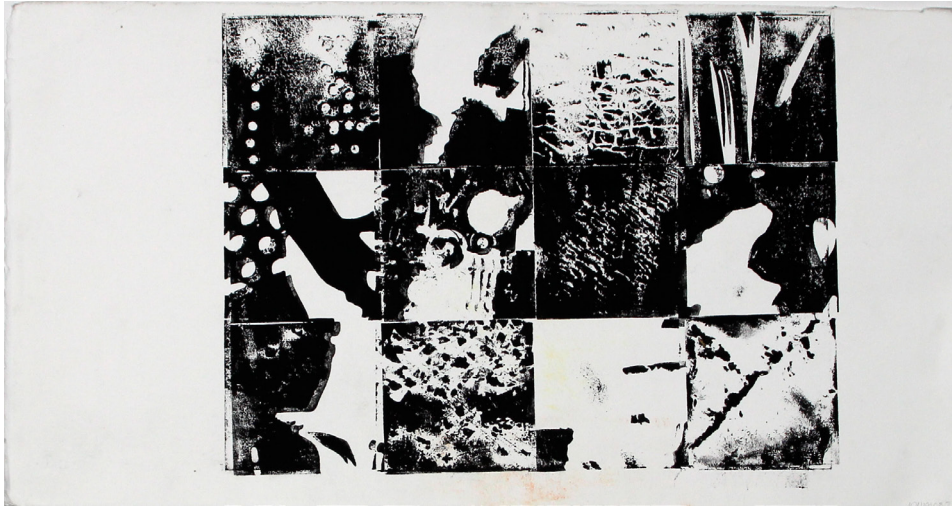
Jill Malinowski | *Kahil Gibran*

REVISITING YOSHIMOTO BANANA'S *KITCHEN*

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I. Introduction

Literary translation is a high-level goal shared by language learners and often incorporated into a college language course. However, it is an uncommon practice among even advanced learners of Japanese due to linguistic differences that pose enormous challenges to translation. Japanese is one of the Group 4 languages which take three to four times longer for English native speakers to acquire high proficiency in, compared to Group 1 languages such as Spanish or Italian (Liskin-Garsparo, 1982). This manuscript discusses an attempt in Japanese literary translation conducted by an undergraduate advanced learner of Japanese and analyzes challenges in Japanese translation through comparisons to the previously published translation work.

II. Literary Translation in Japanese

Kicchin (キッチン, hereafter *Kitchen*) was written by Yoshimoto Banana and published in Japan in 1988. The novel was critically acclaimed and made Yoshimoto a sensation in contemporary Japanese literature. It was later translated into English by Megan Backus in 1993. In the story, a female college-age protagonist, Mikage, loses her last remaining grandparent who raised her after her parents' death. A fellow student at her college named Yuichi invites Mikage to live with him and his transgender mother. As she sleeps and cooks in their kitchen, Mikage rediscovers her life and learns to heal from her loneliness and grief. Yoshimoto's quirky protagonist and the story of her coming of age in modern Japan—including her struggle to find independence and a place of belonging—resonated with her young Japanese readership.

Kitchen was chosen for my first attempt to translate a Japanese novel to English due to its themes, which are universally relatable and meaningful to a young, modern audience even though the English translation was published over 20 years ago. The goal of my translation was to faithfully convey the experience of youth in contemporary Japan that Yoshimoto presents in the book to an English-speaking, young adult audience by balancing two translation approaches, *domestication* and *foreignization*. Hasegawa (2012) defines the domestication approach as one which brings the original author closer to the target language (TL) audience by taking culture-specific items (CSIs), such as objects, customs, idioms, metaphors, phrases, vocabulary, and grammatical forms, and either omitting them or replacing them with equivalent CSIs in the TL. On the other hand, foreignization brings the TL audience closer to the author by retaining original terms, adding explanations for culturally unfamiliar items, and adhering closely to the original wording and sentence structures.

An analysis of two English translations of a canonical literary piece, *Izu no Odoriko* (伊豆の踊子) by Kawabata Yasunari (1927/1995), showed that one of the translators, Edward G. Seidensticker, used domestication strategies in his initial 1954 translation, *The Izu Dancer,* to the point that the translation lost much of the detail, tone, imagery,

and even key elements of the narrative of the original. For example, Seidensticker translates the sentence 廊下に手を突いて芸者のようにお辞儀をした (*Rōka ni te o tsuite geisha no yōni ojigi o shita*) as "They offered formal greetings from the veranda," which erases the dancers' distinctively Japanese way of greeting (Tobias, p. 31). However, Tobias (2006) points out that this is due to the social and political climate in which Seidensticker produced this translation. In the 1950s, Japanese literature was new in the United States and Americans knew little about Japanese culture. Tobias notes that in the political context after WWII, an American reader of *The Izu Dancer* "would have cared little about the subtleties of a defeated culture," therefore leading Seidensticker to downplay cultural differences (p. 33).

In contrast, the translation by J. Martin Holman in 1997, *The Dancing Girl of Izu*, "resist[ed]" the urge to create a fluent translation and instead "transport[ed] readers to a different culture" and "open[ed] their minds to a different linguistic style" (p. 34). Furthermore, Holman's translation was published at a time when Japanese literature was popular to a general audience in the United States. For instance, his "foreignized" translation of the dancers' introduction is that they "bowed to the two of us, kneeling on the floor like geisha" (p. 31). Although readers may not be aware of the cultural significance of this gesture, Holman's translation nonetheless highlights this uniquely Japanese gesture. This decision proves the enormous influence of social and political factors on the methods used by translators at a given time.

The complexities of Japanese-English translation are revealed throughout my translation process, including the limitations of translation and the role of creativity on the translator's part. In the following sections, the translation techniques that were adopted in the process are discussed along with examples of my translation and comparisons to Backus' 1993 translation. Just as the translation of *Izu no Odoriko* was revisited in order to reflect the changing social and political context, my translation seeks to create an updated translation of *Kitchen* to reflect the modern-day readership of Japanese literature in the United States as well as the development of Japanese-English translation methods.

III. Translation: *Kitchen* (the beginning section) translated by Jessica Cano (2018)

My favorite place in the entire world is the kitchen. No matter where it is or what kind it is, as long as it's a kitchen, and as long as it's a place to make meals, I'm at ease. I think it's best if the kitchen is functional and well-used. It would be even better with many clean dish towels and twinkling white tiles.

Even if it's a tremendously dirty kitchen, I still love it. Vegetable scraps are scattered on the floor and it's so dirty that the bottoms of your slippers turn pitch black. It's better if this type of kitchen is extraordinarily spacious. I cling to the silver door of the towering refrigerator—lined with enough food to make it through the winter. I look up by chance from the rusty kitchen knife and the gas stove with oil splattered all over it, and I see lonely stars shining outside the window.

Here we are, the kitchen and I—it's better to think of it that way instead of thinking that I'm all alone. When I'm especially worn out, I think the kitchen is fascinating. When I die someday, I want to take my last breath in the kitchen. Whether it be alone in a cold kitchen, or with someone else in a warm kitchen, I want to face my death without fear. As long as it's in the kitchen, it would be fine.

Before the Tanabe family took me in, I slept in the kitchen every day. It was difficult to sleep no matter where I was, so I gradually drifted from my room to a more comfortable place. I realized one night that I sleep best next to the refrigerator.

My name is Sakurai Mikage, and my grandparents raised me after I lost my parents at a young age. My grandfather died around the time I was entering middle school, so my

grandmother and I continued on with just the two of us. The other day, my grandmother died too. I was shocked. Sure enough, what we call "family" decreases one by one throughout the years and seeing that I was left here all alone made everything in front of my eyes seem unreal. As time passed by, it was shocking that I was the only one left in the apartment I was born and raised in. It was just like a science fiction story. My life was a black hole.

In the three days after the funeral, I was in a trance, accompanied by a sadness so deep that I didn't cry. With a soft drowsiness dragging me along, I laid down my futon in the shiny kitchen. Like Linus from the *Peanuts,* I slept wrapped up in a blanket. The refrigerator's humming sound protected me from my lonely thoughts. There, a long, peaceful night went, and the morning finally came for me.

I just wanted to sleep under the stars and wake up with the morning light. Everything else besides that passed by indifferently.

However, I couldn't just continue to live my life like that. Life kept going on at a fast pace. Even though my grandmother left me a good amount of money, the apartment was too big and too expensive for one person, so I had to find my own apartment. It couldn't be helped, so I bought an apartment-listing magazine, but I felt dizzy when I looked at the endless choices. Moving is time-consuming, and it takes energy. I was tired, my joints hurt from sleeping in the kitchen every night, and it seemed unthinkable to put my tired brain into order and go see the apartments, move my boxes, or set up my telephone line! Just when I kept thinking of my countless troubles and losing hope, a miracle came to me out of nowhere. I remember that afternoon well.

Ding-dong! The doorbell suddenly rang. It was an overcast spring afternoon. I was completely tired of seeing the apartment-listing magazine out of the corner of my eye and I was concentrating on tying up the magazines with

string. Looking half awake, I ran to the door in a hurry, then I unlocked and opened it without thinking anything of it—it was good it wasn't a robber. There he was. Tanabe Yuichi was standing right there.

"Thanks for the other day," I said. He helped out a lot at the funeral. He's a good guy who's a year younger than me, and when I asked him, I found out that he's a student at the same college as me, though I was taking a break from school.

"No problem," he said. "Have you found a place to live?"

"Not at all," I laughed.

"I knew it."

"Do you want to come in for some tea?"

"No, I'm about to leave," he smiled. "I just wanted to tell you something. I talked with my mom. How about you come to live with us for a while?"

"Huh?"

"Anyway, please come to our house tonight around 7 o'clock. Here's a map."

"Okay." I took the note in a haze.

[Rest of translation available upon request.]

IV. Translation Methods

In this section, the translation techniques that were adopted are discussed along with examples of my translation and comparisons to Backus' 1993 translation.

a. Literal Translation

In translating *Kitchen*, the decision which all other translation methods emerged from was the choice

between creating a literal translation or one which sounds natural to the target audience. The first step was to translate all sentences literally in English, and then choose how and if to refine the translation from that point forward. Hasegawa (2012) defines literal translation is a "word-for-word replacement of words closely following the source language (SL) syntactic structure in the target language (TL)" (p. 208). As Hasegawa notes, overly literal translations which correspond to the syntax of the SL too closely "can seriously impair the effectiveness of communication in the TL and can even come out sounding ridiculous" (p. 209).

My translation shared many similarities to Backus' published translation, but there were some very crucial differences, with the first being our translation approaches to one of the opening lines of the source text (ST). This was a line of Mikage's inner dialogue, where she thinks to herself, 台所なら、いいなと思う (*Daidokoronara, ī na to omou*). This literally means, "if it's the/a kitchen, I [will] think 'that's good.'" Backus kept the literal translation as follows: "if it's a kitchen, I'll think, 'How good.'" Her decision to keep the sentence identical to the Japanese syntactic structure results in a translation which sounds unnatural in the TL and has an ambiguous meaning. This sentence appears in my translation as, "As long as it's in the kitchen, it would be fine." My translation deduces from the previous sentences, which were discussing death, that the subject in the sentence, or the word "it", is referring to death. Since these details do not appear in the ST, including them in my translation felt necessary to achieve clarity in the target text (TT).

There were also several instances where Backus' translation strays away from a literal translation whereas mine retains it. One sentence of inner dialogue from Mikage reads, 強盗でなくてよかった (*Gōtōdenakute yokatta*). While my translation keeps a literal translation into English of "it was good it wasn't a robber," Backus adds in an English CSI by changing it to "thank god it wasn't a robber." This CSI is not only an interjection

specific to English, but also has its roots in Christianity. This decision seems odd on Backus' part seeing as the original sentence contained no Japanese CSI whatsoever. The addition of this CSI in Backus' translation results in a sentence that sounds unusual coming from a Japanese character in a Japanese novel, whereas keeping the literal translation as in my translation would have been the better choice.

b. Equivalence

In order to create a natural-sounding TT, several words and phrases, such as onomatopoeia, required me changing them to equivalent terms or phrases that fit the meaning as closely as possible. The translation strategy of *equivalence* replaces words or expressions from the SL into their functional or semantic equivalents in the target language (TL) (Hasegawa 214). In my translation, しとしとと(*Shitoshitoto*) appears as the equivalent "pitter patter", and おじゃまします (*Ojama shimasu*) as the phrase "Thank you for having me," which is often used when the speaker is invited over to someone's house as a guest. Unfortunately, the phrase does not fully capture all of the nuances of おじゃまします, which connotes a sense of modesty by referring to one's own visit as a burden to the host. Nonetheless, these equivalences allowed me to create a smooth TT for English speaking readers.

In contrast, Backus' translation does not use an equivalent phrase for either CSI. Without referring to the sound of the rain, Backus describes it simply as a "gentle, warm rain." Similarly, when Mikage reaches Yuichi's apartment, he invites her in and she only replies "Thanks" before stepping inside. Both cases exemplify the use of omission as a translation method, which will be discussed later. Including an equivalent CSI, whether or not it can be perfectly exact, retains Yoshimoto's authorial voice more faithfully than omission. In omitting these CSIs, Backus loses some of Yoshimoto's unique descriptive language as well as the importance of expressing gratitude and modesty in Japanese culture.

c. Adaptation

Adaptation is the method used when the situation presented in the ST is unknown in the culture of the TL. This leaves the translator with the task of adapting the situation in the ST to one that is "similar but different" in the TL (Hasegawa, p. 216). Often, this involves inserting a cultural substitution for the situation in the ST. For example, the Japanese 妖怪 (yōkai) could be adapted to "ghost" or "monster" in English.

My translation involved adapting certain situations in the ST to different situations that would be more familiar to the target audience in that context. One instance was when Mikage says the following: 彼は長い手足を持った、きれ いな顔だちの青年だった。(*Kare wa nagai teashi o motta, kireina kaodachino seinendatta*) [Lit. He had long limbs and was a young man with pretty features]. The word "pretty" is used to describe something that is attractive or pleasing in a delicate or graceful manner. Therefore, the word "pretty" is not used often to refer to males in English due to its implication of femininity. Furthermore, Westerners do not consider having "long limbs" to be a beauty ideal, therefore the fact that Mikage meant it as a compliment about Yuichi would not come through in a literal translation of the ST. Therefore, my translation changes these words to *handsome* and *slender*, respectively, in order to adapt the description of the male character to one that was culturally familiar to the readers of the TT. On the other hand, Backus kept a literal translation of this sentence where she referred to Yuichi as a "long-limbed young man with pretty features." Consequently, this leaves the readers of the TT with a different image of Yuichi than Yoshimoto intended in the original Japanese.

d. Omission

Hasegawa calls omission a "drastic strategy" but acknowledges that it may sometimes be justified if the information is judged to be repetitive or unimportant—and therefore distracting—to the reader (p. 217). I had to use omission in one of the sentences where Mikage says

that a miracle visited her like a ぼたもち (*Bota mochi*). This reference comes from the Japanese proverb 棚から 牡丹餅 [Lit. A botamochi falls from a shelf.] The proverb is meant to signify one receiving an unexpected and lucky surprise, as botamochi—a Japanese sweet made of pounded sticky rice surrounded by sweet red bean paste—was once a delicacy in times when sugar was an expensive commodity. The botamochi falling off of the shelf signifies the aspect of luck in the parable because the botamochi is received with no effort necessary. My translation originally retained the simile and simply included a footnote explaining the reference. This was later changed upon the realization that footnotes are not commonly used in novels, and that the addition of a footnote would be an alteration of the ST. My final translation simply states this as "A miracle came to me out of nowhere," to indicate the lack of effort involved. Similar to the addition of a footnote, omission is also an alteration of the ST and is arguably a more serious one. Nonetheless, the translation required choosing one of these methods, and the use of omission ultimately enabled me to achieve my goal of producing a natural TT more effectively. Erasing Yoshimoto's original words was a difficult decision. The translator must weigh the benefits and consequences of such an action.

Backus translated this as "a miracle, a godsend, came calling one afternoon." Here, Backus does not omit the reference to the proverb but instead substitutes it with an equivalent English expression. In doing so, she also domesticates the work and erases the foreignness of the *botamochi* proverb in the TT. While both of our translations took a domesticating approach in this respect, the method Backus chose results in a disconnect between the Japanese origin of the novel and the usage of Christian, English expressions.

e. Ambiguity/Null Pronouns

Japanese sentences are often constructed in a way that creates a sense of ambiguity, making it possible to interpret the same sentences in various ways. This is arguably one of the most challenging parts of Japanese-

English translation since Japanese sentences can be constructed with ambiguity more easily than English sentences. The syntactic structure of English does not allow for subjects, verbs, and other parts of speech to be omitted like they can be in Japanese. This often results in misunderstandings of ST sentences or challenges in creating a translation that does not significantly alter the ST.

An example in *Kitchen* is where Mikage simply says 私はおびえずにちゃんと見つめたい (*Watashi wa obiezu ni chanto mitsumetai*) , or "I want to gaze at it (properly)," but whatever object that maybe is not explicitly stated. The reader can infer based on the context of the paragraph that the object in the sentence is death, perhaps even Mikage's own death. Additional information is necessary in order to create an understandable sentence in English, therefore resulting in the sentence appearing as "I want to face my death without fear" in my translation. Backus also chose to add more detail to this ambiguous statement with the strikingly similar translation, "I'll stare death fearlessly in the eye."

However, Backus approached the ambiguity in the following excerpt differently:

Covered in beige fabric, it looked like something out of a commercial. An entire family could watch TV on it. A dog too big to keep in Japan could stretch out across it—sideways. It was really a marvelous sofa.

The ST reads, 日本で飼えないくらい大きな犬 (*Nihon de kaenai kurai ōkina inu*), literally meaning "a big dog that cannot be kept in Japan." Translating the phrase "kept in Japan" literally was strange due to its ambiguity, therefore the sentence is changed to "a big dog you do not normally see in Japan" in my translation to make the meaning more explicit in English. After all, the point of the sentence is that Japanese people do not typically have large dog breeds like many do in the United States, often because of strict rules for apartments, therefore this couch was so

extravagant that it conjured up the image of a large dog to Mikage. Backus translated this as the dog stretching out sideways *on* the sofa, but my translation interprets it as a dog sitting *next to* the sofa (横に). In this case, the ambiguity of the original sentence in the ST led to what could be a mistranslation on either Backus' part or my part.

Similarly, early in the text when Yuichi is leaving Mikage's apartment, she thinks about how she is unable to take her eyes off of him because of his radiant smile as he stood in her doorway. Mikage notes, ふいに名前を呼ばれたせいもあると思う(*Fui ni namae o yobareta sei mo aru to omou*), which literally means "I think it is also because my name was called unexpectedly." However, the sentence does not identify who exactly called her name. Earlier in the paragraph, there is a sentence where Yuichi says みかげさんが来てくれるのをぼくも母もたのしみにしてるから (*Mikagesan ga kite kureru no o boku mo haha mo tanoshimini shi terukara*) [Lit. (Because) my mother and I are looking forward to Mikage (doing us the favor of) coming.]. Based on this, it can be inferred that Mikage is responding to Yuichi saying her name. There are two levels to why Yuichi's dialogue is significant. First, referring to someone by their name rather than "you" in conversation is a convention of polite Japanese speech, but this is not the case in English. Second, Yuichi uses Mikage's first name rather than her family name, which is typically only reserved for use by people that one has a close relationship with. Once again, this nuance does not exist in English. Translating the sentence naturally in English as "my mother and I are looking forward to *you* coming" would eliminate the key detail that Mikage felt taken aback and even entranced by Yuichi due to the sudden intimacy implied in Yuichi calling her by her first name. Since Mikage reflects on this later in the paragraph in a sentence which contains no subject in the SL, it is not immediately clear that she is referring to Yuichi calling her name. The next paragraph then describes Mikage saying that she felt bewitched. Therefore, Backus interpreted this ambiguous statement as "I think I heard

a spirit call my name." On the other hand, my translation states it as "I think it was because he called me by my name so suddenly," with the assumption that the subject in the sentence is Yuichi. The discovery of these two possible misinterpretations in Backus' translation reveals the importance of taking a second look at translations once conventions for translation and knowledge about translation methods have developed.

V. Conclusion

My translation began as a word-for-word literal translation before deciding that this type of translation would not be fit for the genre. However, Holman's techniques in translating *Izu no Odoriko* show that it is still possible to translate a work of fiction in a way that foreignizes it—or, "makes the foreign nature of the text, and thereby the presence of the translator, more visible" (Tobias, p. 28). Virtually all of the methods utilized in my translation for uniquely Japanese syntax or CSIs were domesticating methods: omission of ST words/phrases, replacement with a TL equivalent, etc. (Tobias, p. 30). One could argue that certain passages, such as the conversation between Mikage and Yuichi when she arrives at his home, disrupted the ST by "spelling everything out to readers" through making explicit "what is only meant to be implicit" (Tobias, p. 31). This is an especially difficult task in Japanese-English translation because only Japanese allows for the omission of several parts of speech in a sentence.

One of the most challenging parts of Japanese to English translation is creating a natural sounding translation that is localized for the target audience, but that still retains the tone and emotion of the ST. Japanese is rich in sound symbolism and often conveys a certain "rhythm, atmosphere, and emotion" which cannot be conveyed in English (Tobias, p. 32). Much of the tone of the ST—cold and calm despite talking about very heavy themes— was due to the language and sentence structure that Yoshimoto chose in her Japanese writing. By adding more details to a select number of sentences in order to

fix ambiguities and make the sentences appropriate in English, yet at the same time keeping other sentences unchanged to retain Yoshimoto's voice, there was an imbalance in my translation. The nature of translation is that it is subjective, and therefore reflects the translator's creativity and interpretation.

As shown by *Izu no Odoriko*, much of the creative decisions a translator must make are influenced by the norms of the TL and culture at the time. A translator must choose a balance between domestication and foreignization of a ST according to TT readers' expectations about what constitutes an "appropriate translation," as well as their preconceptions about and receptiveness to the ST culture (Tobias, p. 28). Holman's 1997 retranslation could have owed its success to the rise of Japanese literature in the West which "attract[ed] a 'middle-brow' general audience" while at the same time "depict[ing] an Americanized Japan" and "debunking the former image of Japan prevalent in the West" (Tobias, p. 33). At this time, works by Japanese writers such as Yoshimoto Banana and Murakami Haruki were achieving great success. Seeing as the 1990s were also a time of a Japanese pop culture boom in the United States, the fact that Backus was translating *Kitchen* for a TT readership which was eager to embrace Japanese culture allowed her to produce a very literal translation which clearly reads as though it was not originally written in English. Nevertheless, her decision to domesticate only certain parts of the ST, whether it be through the addition of Western CSIs (e.g. "Thank god") or through omission of Japanese CSIs results in several incongruities between the ST and TT.

What defines a "perfect" translation varies according to each translator. Therefore, as translation theory and methods evolve over time, it can be incredibly insightful to revisit not just one's own translation, but the works produced by other translators as well. With the help of *The Routledge Course in Japanese Translation* (Hasegawa, 2012), an in-depth course into the theory and practices behind Japanese translation, my translation made several

drastically different translation decisions than Backus made back in 1993. My translation sought to create a smooth TT by attempting a balance between inserting my own voice to improve the audience's understanding and retaining Yoshimoto's voice. Certain sentences would retain her tone more faithfully if translated literally, while others seemed as though they needed much heavier revision. In this way, the translation process became a process of compromise between the ST and my translation.

At the same time, it is not a perfect translation. Every time a translator comes back to their text, whether it be an hour later or several weeks later, what they consider to be the best way to approach it has evolved, and what was deemed a perfect translation at one time later seems insufficient when the translator returns to it. For this reason, translations are not static. Translations must be looked at again and again in order to produce the most appropriate translation for that given point in time. While it may be impossible to reach the "perfect" translation, this revisiting process allows for the creation of a more *optimal* translation through the identification of mistranslations and implementation of new approaches.

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HENRY BLAKE FULLER: FEELING BACKWARD IN CHICAGO

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In 2000, the Chicago Gay and Lesbian Hall of Fame[1] inducted an author named Henry Blake Fuller who had died in 1929. His niece Helen Ranney received a rose corsage and a trophy-like placard. How might Fuller, who had been dead for 71 years, have received this gift? Fuller likely never thought, like Whitman[2] or even Sappho[3] before him, that people would remember him for his intimate same-sex friendships. Fuller never even claimed to be a homosexual. The author of the LGBT Hall of Fame webpage thus has difficulty summarizing the author's life. The first paragraph describes the greatest hits of his queer bibliography: *At Saint Judas's*, the first homosexual play published in the United States[4], and the courageous gay novel *Bertram Cope's Year*. However, the fifth paragraph takes a turn from courage to shame when readers learn that Fuller burned almost all manuscripts of *Bertram Cope's Year* after it was "ill received."[5] Both reviews and obituaries reveal that the novel was rather ill-received, and likely stigmatized for its homoerotic

content. Rather than ruminating on this painful stigma, however, the website pivots to more positive aspects of Fuller's life and work. These stories of shame are difficult to tell, especially because many LGBTQ+ people want to salvage an icon to represent them positively. The Chicago LGBT Hall of Fame claims that "through the Hall of Fame, residents of Chicago and the world are made aware of the contributions of Chicago's lesbian, gay, bisexual, and transgender communities." In effect, the Hall of Fame acknowledges past and present LGBT figures, but Fuller is not really LGBT. He never claimed to be gay; he knew other queer people,[6] but did not agitate politically for gay rights even though homophile organizations in Chicago had begun to organize during his lifetime.[7] A sexual identity, especially a political one, was not relevant to Fuller. The drive to identify historical persons who faced similarly structured oppression is not necessarily bad, but it is historically inaccurate to view these persons as members of a community. Many LGBTQ+ persons struggle with a twentieth century archive that is full of sad and isolated queer lives.

To recognize and identify with suffering, shame, and tragedy is painful emotional work. Queer scholarship has long constructed its own "Hall of Fame" of queer authors. But like the Chicago LGBT Hall of Fame, queer scholars have usually focused on feelings of pride, community, and revolt in these authors' works. Other "negative" feelings like shame, isolation, and passivity have received less attention. Affect theory is one area of scholarship in which

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1 Now called the Chicago LGBT Hall of Fame.

2 See Thomas Yingling's article in *Breaking Bounds* by Erkiila, B. and Grossman, J. (1996)

3 See Heather Love's discussion of Sappho in *Feeling Backward*, (34-36).

4 Eric Colleary in his article acknowledges that this is likely untrue, and takes issue with identifying this as a "gay play" rather than a "queer play."

5 http://chicagolgbthalloffame.org/fuller-henry-blake/

6 Glenway Wescott and Carl Van Vechten, for instance.

7 Henry Gerber's "A Society for Human Rights."

these negative feelings have begun to be seriously studied and considered. Minority groups' feelings are often not seen as "positive," which is why many scholars refer to these emotions as "bad affects." Negative affects might include rage or melancholia, while positive affects might include happiness. This binary has been problematized from many perspectives: disability scholarship has contributed to a broader understanding of feeling from neurodivergent perspectives, while philosophers like Sara Ahmed have problematized "positive emotions" like happiness in the cases of women, people of color, and queer people. Positivity can be ironically oppressive: stigmatized groups can be told that they are too "emotional" or that their rage is misplaced or unjustified.

Heather Love, in her seminal work of queer theory *Feeling Backward*, identifies bad affects in the works of what she calls "backward modernists" (8). These modernist writers, such as Walter Pater, Willa Cather, and Radclyffe Hall, faced heavy stigma in the twentieth century for their gender or sexual subversion. Yet Love argues that there is a split between modernists' forward-looking dreams for the future and their backward preoccupation with the past: "even when modernist authors are making it new, they are inevitably grappling with the old . . . whether in primitivism, in the concern with tradition, in widely circulating rhetorics of decadence and decline, or in the melancholia that suffuses so many modernist artworks" (6). Love argues that backwardness is a shared aesthetic among certain modernists. Thus most modernist works will likely contain both elements of this temporal split between feeling forward (modern) or feeling backward. The aesthetic becomes ideological, however, when certain queer authors are stigmatized as non-modern, anti-modern, or backward. Non-marginal authors can have backward or anti-modern leanings, but they would not be stigmatized for such sensibilities.[8] Love writes that this stigmatizing discourse is most significant when it is deployed against queer and other marginalized

authors:[9] "queers have been seen across the twentieth century as a backward race. Perverse, immature, sterile, and melancholic: even when they provoke fears about the future, they somehow also recall the past" (6). While there were groups in the twentieth century that organized around gay and lesbian identities, many early twentieth century queer individuals were less inclined toward these movements and did not see themselves as a community of positive affect or simply were opposed to the definitions of homosexuality and gender inversion proposed by early twentieth century sexologists. Michel Foucault, in his text *The History of Sexuality*, argues that homosexuality and heterosexuality as categories emerged in the mid-to-late nineteenth century. Some early twentieth century queer people often felt apathetic or even opposed to this new invention of homosexuality. Love identifies this backward turn from both the medicalized discourse of "homosexuality" propagated by early sexologists, as well as a turn from sociopolitical queer groups, in the authors she examines: "they choose isolation, turn toward the past, or choose to live in a present disconnected from any larger historical continuum" (8). These queer authors are considered backward both because their societies identify them as non-modern and because their sensibilities are non-modern. (However, not all queer authors have non-modern sensibilities even if they were identified as such.)[10]

Heather Love's work is the lens through which I examine *Bertram Cope's Year*. Fuller was born in 1857 and died in 1929, thus he was born at the beginning of the era of modern homosexuality, and lived during the Chicago literary renaissance. Liesl Olson, in her significant text on Chicago modernism *Chicago Renaissance,* acknowledges Fuller as Chicago's first novelist with his publication of *The Cliff Dwellers* (1893). But after his death, Fuller has remained relatively obscure, and only a few scholars

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8   See T.J. Jackson, *No Place of Grace* for antimodernism from a white, upper class perspective.

9   Love also acknowledges that this affects other stigmatized groups: "not only sexual and gender deviants but women, colorized people, the nonwhite, the disabled, the poor, and criminals were also marked as inferior by means of the allegation of backwardness" (6).

10 Take for example Djuna Barnes and Gertrude Stein.

have produced critical work on him.[11] By close reading examples of bad affect such as backwardness, passivity, anxiety and loneliness in his novel *Bertram Cope's Year*, I argue that Fuller is a backward twentieth century author in Heather Love's sense. I also consider the ways in which Fuller reproduces stigma against non-conforming people through the character of Arthur Lemoyne. Attention to backward authors must always include the ways in which these authors are "backward" in other ways: their social politics are not always inclusive of all other outliers. By remembering Fuller, I hope to challenge traditional scholarly assessments of the value of the novel *Bertram Cope's Year* and of Chicago modernism more generally.

Cope's New Year of the Homosexual: *Bertram Cope's Year* and a Backward Aesthetic

Bertram Cope's Year is a novel set in the twentieth century that revolves around the lives of three major queer characters. "Queer" will be used here to refer to these men who were attracted to men, because Fuller never identifies these men as "homosexual," or "gay," and he himself never identified with these terms. The novel's setting is the small and isolated town of Churchtown, which was clearly modeled after the Chicago suburb Evanston; Northwestern University seems to be the model of the fictional university in Churchtown. Cope is the protagonist: he is a youthful and intelligent graduate student studying English literature. Throughout much of the novel, Cope is anxious due to his inability to conform to heteronormative expectations. Overwhelmed and afraid of appearing too feminine or homosexual, Cope becomes increasingly passive and disconnected. When he

accidentally[12] enters into an engagement with a woman named Amy, he proclaims, "I'm miserable!" and "I wish to heaven I were out of it!" (185). This quote represents Cope's attitude toward the majority of his short-lived and painful relationships with the various women of the novel. In response to this stress, he nostalgically longs after seventeenth-century Europe with its stronger homosocial networks.

A second character, Arthur Lemoyne, Cope's lover, is the only character to face physical assault and expulsion from the university because he cross-dresses. His choice to cross-dress ends in terrible consequences. Arthur represents the real, physical costs of stigma (of which Fuller was likely terrified). However, Fuller ultimately represents the normative Cope as sympathetic while positioning Arthur as his unnatural opposite. Although Fuller did not participate in gay politics, he clearly was interested in presenting the differences between what he deemed to be an apparently "respectable" queer person and an unacceptable queer person. Cope and Arthur represent the costs of stigma through aspects of bad affect: anxiety, passivity, gender trouble, and backwardness. However, the differences between these two characters also represent how "backwardness" and its stigma particularly against "gender inverts" can be perpetuated by queer persons themselves. Love's analysis in *Feeling Backward* always must include the other backward characteristics of its authors: the ways in which they seek to become normative or respectable by oppressing others.

Not all scholars have interpreted the novel in this way. Fuller critic and biographer John Pilkington Jr. acknowledges sexuality as an important theme but questions its treatment in *Bertram Cope's Year*: "although he supplied abundant evidence of the homosexual tendencies of all the major male characters, he never

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11 Literary critics include Joseph Dimuro, Keith Gumery, and Nathan Titman. Bernard Bowron is Fuller's most comprehensive biographer. However, his attention to Fuller's sexuality and his own homophobia are evident in his text. Dimuro revised the most recent edition of *Bertram Cope's Year* and reflects on the unique queerness of the novel. Gumery performed a psychoanalytic interpretation. Titman, in 2019, published an article about how the beaches and vacation spots function as representations of twentieth century gay tourism.

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12 Cope passively agrees to be engaged with her, although he did not intend to. He told her that the engagement would have to wait, which she thought would mean that there would be an engagement after all.

once indicated the tension or the emotional conflicts which accompany or result from their sexual deviations" (Pilkington 150). Pilkington focuses on Arthur's and Cope's positive homoerotic domesticity; however, these seemingly positive aspects are contrasted in the novel with the two queer characters' anxiety, passivity, backwardness and gender trouble.

With a slow narrative pace and the consistent representation of anxiety, *Bertram Cope's Year* depicts a psychological conflict between socialite Medora Phillips and Cope. Cope anxiously tries to remain secretive and isolated, while Medora tries to marry Cope off to a woman. The novel begins when Medora, impressed by Cope's charm, attempts to "know" him. Cope responds, "why, you haven't known me because I haven't been here to *be* known" (3). Cope and Medora clearly have different motives. Cope wants to earn his graduate degree, while Medora is a part of a grand marriage plot to engage her friends Amy, Hortense, and Carolyn to decent suitors. Cope also does not trust Medora as a confidant. He is worried that Medora will know that he does not like these women all and and actually prefers his intimate relationship with Arthur. Cope attempts to remain a mystery and avoid contact with the other women of the novel while they all attempt to "know" him and understand him. When Cope is at a party with Medora and her "other girls," she becomes slightly suspicious of Cope's assumed heterosexuality: "'they're clever girls and I know you'll enjoy them.' She uttered this belief emphatically—so emphatically, in truth, that it came to mean 'I wonder if you will indeed'" (15). This interpretation of Medora's phrase from the third person limited perspective of the narrator represents the wider game of sexual signification throughout the text. Cope, exhausted from the emotional labor of performing heterosexuality for these women, retreats inward and uses passivity as his defense mechanism.

Passivity defines Cope as a character as well as in his relationships to others, ultimately culminating in his emasculation and existential despair. This affective state only worsens throughout the novel as Cope becomes more overwhelmed and anxious. He even remarks that he often is "lapsing into an easy passivity" during the first party (11). The women are playing instruments and chatting while Cope stares at the human procession around him. Medora Phillips angrily demands that Cope *do something* during this party. "'Bertram Cope!' a voice suddenly said, 'do you do nothing—nothing?'" (23). To do something (to lie, to perform, to refuse any of the women's advances) is a form of emotional labor. This labor culminates in Cope's physical exhaustion: he faints during the party.

This passive fainting is unsettling to Cope in this moment as he realizes that he has become more feminine by fainting: "he had disclosed himself, for some reason or other, a weakling" (109). "Disclose" is used here, rather than verbs like "show" or "present." Cope had unintentionally revealed his queerness to others because fainting is considered weak, feminine, and ultimately homosexual. Medora and the other women pick Cope up and place him in one of the guest bedrooms. Cope enters into existential despair: "meanwhile, Cope, upstairs, was sinking deeper and deeper into his big, wide bed. . . . He felt poor, unimportant, ill at ease. In especial, he felt greatly subordinated; he wished that he might have capitulated to a man" (111). Cope's defense mechanism has failed, and he enters into a state of abjection. That a *woman* had to save him from this fainting incident is embarrassing and feminizing. The word "capitulate" suggests "submit," which does carry erotic undertones. Cope would have preferred if he could have been vulnerable to a man. However, it also suggests that Cope has failed the expectations and norms of a male heterosexual. He takes an isolating inward turn as he sinks deeper away from others into the bed. Cope's only distraction from this angst is his studies, which motivate him ultimately to remain in Churchtown.

It is not unintentional that Bertram Cope would be a scholar of the seventeenth century. Cope's backwardness is depicted through his obsessive scholarly belief that

the 1600s offered a better life than the modern age. The seventeenth century, as acknowledged by scholars like Jeffrey Masten, could be a welcoming place for intimate same-sex friendships among privileged populations. However, same-sex associations were often created by misogynistic structures that created separate spheres for men and women. At a party in the dunes, Cope is uncomfortable due to the mix of opposite sexes dancing. In a letter to his lover Arthur Lemoyne, he writes, "Why [should] dancing. . .be done exclusively by couples arranged strictly on the basis of contrasted sexes[?] . . . I think of the good old days of Renaissance Italy, when women, if they wanted to dance, just got up and danced— alone . . .[or] together. I like to see soldiers or sailors dance in pairs" (51). This tangential comment is revealing because it recalls a time of more outward same-sex unions.

Cope's longing for a society of greater same-sex acceptance mirrors Fuller's own memories of the late nineteenth century. As Fuller articulates in his early journals at Alison Academy, it was normal for boys to sleep together: "Paul slept three or four nights in succession with Mr. Norris and with him whiled away the night in sweet love prattle" (Bowron 19). It should be noted that "Mr. Norris" was a pet name for a boy who was Paul and Fuller's same age. Same-sex socialization allowed for the opening of homoerotic spaces. Before the 1890s, there were certain elements of freedom for men and their relationships. Boys sleeping together would only become more unusual over time in the twentieth century. Cope wants to see pairs of men engaging in affection publicly, because then his own affections with Arthur Lemoyne would be far more acceptable. A few scenes after in the dunes, the women begin putting on their bathing suits. Cope objects and refuses to swim. The narrator states, "he objected to promiscuous bathing even more strongly than he objected to promiscuous dancing" (90). It is only the women's interest in swimming that disturbs Cope. He is far too genteel and old-fashioned to feel comfortable in the presence of women in bathing suits.

Arthur ultimately faces the most gender trouble when his gender performance becomes too authentic for others. He represents the real and violent stakes of heterosexism. Arthur chooses to play a female part in the university play, and this would not be strange for the early twentieth century. Men acting in women's roles was quite normal, as women's access to universities was severely limited. However, his acting in this play was far too real of a gender performance for everyone else to stomach. Carolyn, one of the women who ached after Cope, claimed, "I confess I like boys best in such parts when they frankly and honestly seem to be boys" (257). Carolyn thus claims that she is attracted to gender-normative men like Cope but unlike Arthur. During the night of the performance, Cope expressed distaste for the cross-dressing on stage due to how authentic it really was. It was claimed by the impersonal narrator that "it was Arthur Lemoyne's fortune—or misfortune to do his work all too well . . . he was feminine, even over feminine, throughout" (268). Arthur's feminine performance strongly alienates him from the gender-normative audience, who look upon him with horror and disgust.

After his performance on stage, Arthur continues to perform as a woman off the stage: "he continued to act off-stage, and in his general ebullience he endeavored to bestow a measure of femininity upon another performer" (270). The text is unclear what Arthur exactly did: a kiss or another form of affection? However, he was punched by the performer and knocked down. This homophobic act of violence is only given a few lines by the text, but it is essential to the text's progression. Arthur's decision to act as a gender invert ends in violence and expulsion from school. Cope's decision to be gender normative ends in graduation.

Fuller did not participate politically or socially with others on the basis of a homosexual identity. However, the novel is political because it normalizes an "ordinary" man attracted to men and his anxiety about gendered expectations. Queer people, regardless of whether or not

they subverted gender expectations, were often seen as "gender inverts" in the early twentieth century. This term originated from sexology theorists like Richard Krafft-Ebing and Havelock Ellis. Mistakenly, these sexologists equated sexuality with gender identity and presentation. Cope spends much of the novel avoiding associations with femininity, and this in effect allows the reader to sympathize with a more gender-normative homosexual. However, Arthur is a gender invert: he performs gender too well off-stage, even in the bedroom:

> "Their room came to be strewn with all the disconcerting items of a theatrical wardrobe. Cope soon reached the point where he was not quite sure that he liked it all, and he began to develop a distaste for Lemoyne's preoccupation with it. He came home one afternoon to find on the corner of his desk a long pair of silk stockings and a too dainty pair of ladies' shoes. 'Oh, Art!' he protested. And then,— not speaking his essential thought,—'Aren't these pretty expensive?'" (267).

The "essential thought" might be that Cope is disgusted like Carolyn or the others who watched the performance.

Fuller's privileged status as a white, normative man who grew up with considerable wealth cannot be understated here. His life was marked with a loss of privileges: although he was born with wealth, his own success declined with many novels that were left underappreciated in his lifetime. He also lost some of the privileges associated with his white masculinity because of his obvious desire for the same sex. Perhaps Fuller never privately or publicly identified as a homosexual because of the word's associations with gender inversion. While Fuller did face stigma in his life for being "backward," he perpetuated stigma through this novel against non-normative queer people who experimented with their gender. The description of Arthur Lemoyne creates a contrast between an acceptably attractive and normal homosexual man (Cope) and a cross-dressing, ebullient

gender invert. Heather Love's *Feeling Backward* provides a way to recognize the affective dimensions of heterosexist stigma through the backward aesthetic. However, these anti-modern authors are "backward" in other ways: their associations with the past allow them to conservatively distance themselves from other backward outliers.

Bertram Cope's Year is a novel about stigma, the ways to circumvent its effects emotionally, and the real consequences of acting "too homosexual" in society. Fuller felt these consequences and, like Arthur, the stigmatizing response to and failure of his novel must have broken Fuller. Independent book publisher Alderbrink Press agreed to publish *Bertram Cope's Year*, although the publisher would regret this decision. Ralph Fletcher Seymour, the publisher, confirms this failure in an anecdote about Fuller's anger and sadness:

> "[*Bertram Cope's Year*] was as complete a failure, or more of one, than his others. Sometime later he asked for the unsold copies and for that part of the edition which for financial reasons had been left unbound, in sheets, and destroyed them" (Seymour qtd. in Dimuro 143).

A reader and son of one of Fuller's friends in a publishing house is possibly representative of why this novel sold so poorly: "I read it with goggling eyes…and referred it to my mother, who was deeply embarrassed for her old friend" (Peattie qtd. in Dimuro 144).

During his life, one of Fuller's most emotional and personal novels *Bertram Cope's Year* would be lambasted and ignored. During and after his death, individuals would always attempt to distance Fuller from their own city, as if to suggest he was a backward embarrassment. As Liesl Olson claims, Chicago modernism was a conducive space for immigrant writers, Black American writers, and women writers. It was not, however, a conducive space for the other backward writers, particularly queer people. Queer people had no legitimate place in the literary or

artistic scene in twentieth century Chicago, as evidenced by Fuller's backwardness and feelings of irrelevance. Only seventy years later would people talk about *Bertram Cope's Year* again, now using words like "queer" and "homosexual" that Fuller did not use in his lifetime. The novel's 1989 republication by Turtle Point Press would see sales and recognition, and perhaps this could be a positive way to consider the novel as reborn in a better era. Often when writing about failed queer authors, an individual might remark, "If they had only been alive now. . . ." I would like to avoid this sentiment, even if it may be partially true. Rather than claiming that the twenty-first century is the "time of progress" and the twentieth century is the "time of shame," Fuller's story of shame should impress on us that stigma still exists today for and among queer people. These reminders are important because they demand

we not forget about those other so-called "backward" outliers in our present: the nonbinary, the people who do not identify, those on the "down low,"[13] the survivors of AIDS, the sex workers, the people with disabilities, and the other unnamed queers. Henry Blake Fuller's novel and biographical materials detail social exclusion and its melancholic costs, but they also depict a backward aesthetic. This provides scholars a strategy for identifying with and recognizing the pain of those people left behind.

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13 See C. Riley Snorton, *Nobody Is Supposed to Know: Black Sexuality on the Down Low*, 2014.

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Nicolina Balazs | *Blight*

HONORING THE STORIES OF THE FORGOTTEN WOMXN OF LATIN AMERICA: THE REVOLUTIONARY *CHINGONAS* OF MEXICO AND ARGENTINA

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Elisa: "We all looked out for ourselves as best as we could. I was afraid of being exposed, of showing my femininity – not my beauty, my femininity. I covered it up; it didn't exist."

Munu: "You didn't exist much at all"

Elisa: *No you didn't.* [Silence]" (Actis et al. 117).

In 1998 in Buenos Aires, Argentina, five women—Munu Actis, Cristina Aldini, Liliana Gardella, Miriam Lewin, and Elisa Tokar—began a series of conversations about their memories of torture in the Escuela de Mecánica de la Armada (ESMA), the School of Naval Mechanics, twenty years before. Their conversations were included in the book *That Inferno: Conversations of Five Women Survivors of an Argentine Torture Camp*. In the conversation cited in the epigraph, two women, Elisa and Munu, detailed how they had to hide their femininity, their gender, while they were in detention. As women, they did not exist within the persecution, torture, and disappearances of the military dictatorship in Argentina; they were not a part of the revolutionary leftist people who were persecuted for their militancy. These women were invisible. Elisa and Munu make it clear that they felt that they did not exist; their silence clearly articulates that.

This absence and invisibility is not only present during the Argentine military dictatorship, but is also evident in the Mexican Revolution. The soldaderas, the women who fought and supported the efforts of the Mexican Revolution, were not known. These soldaderas had an unclear role because the military chiefs feared that women might attain leadership positions (Poniatowska 28). This contributes to the fact that the narrative we hear about the Mexican Revolution revolves around men. As Leonor Villegas de Magnon, a revolutionary soldadera states, "A lot has been said about the brave generals: Alvaro Obregon, Maytorena, Gil, etc., but there has not been dedicated not even a moment or even a paragraph to the brilliant acts of the revolutionary heroines" (Villegas de Magnon 73).[1] Mainstream history narrates the stories of men in the Mexican Revolution, but not the stories of the women. Despite this absence, the reality is that, "Without the soldaderas, there is no Mexican Revolution - they kept it alive and fertile, like the earth" (Poniatowska 16). Women played critical roles both in the Mexican Revolution and in the Argentine revolutionary leftist groups who were persecuted during the military dictatorship. Their active roles in history were very important even though they have not been as present in mainstream written history.

In this study, I analyze the stories of the soldaderas of the Mexican Revolution (1910–1917) and the *testimonios* of the leftist revolutionary women who survived the torture camp

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1 Translation provided by author.

during the Argentine military dictatorship (1974–1983). I use the texts *La Rebelde,* written by the former soldadera Leonor Villegas de Magnon, *Las Soldaderas* by Elena Poniatowska, and the book *That Inferno: Conversations of Five Women Survivors of an Argentine Torture Camp,* which includes the *testimonios* of the five women who survived the Argentine military dictatorship. Even though these texts and women come from completely different contexts and historical periods, using a transnational feminist lens, I draw similarities between them to narrate the active presence and participation of revolutionary women in radical historic events in their respective countries. Despite the horrors of torture and war, Latin American women played a crucial role in historic events that are clearly articulated through their *testimonios*. This emphasizes the importance of recording and narrating the *testimonios* of revolutionary women in order to safeguard and pay tribute to their role throughout history. For this reason, it is important to explore how the stories and *testimonios* of the soldaderas and the women who survived the Argentine military dictatorship showcase their solidarity and militancy within radical historic events.

Testimonio: A Methodology Against Patriarchy

According to "Testimonio: Origins, Terms, and Resources", a *testimonio* is generally defined as "an account told in the first person by a narrator who is the real protagonist", which promotes the construction of a discourse of solidarity (Reyes 127). The *testimonio* has been very important for marginalized people to express their personal experiences and stories. Specifically, it has been important to center themselves within historical events. As stated by Reyes, the collective goal of *testimonio* is to "name oppression and to arrest its actions whether as genocide, racism, classism, xenophobia, or any other type of institutionalized marginalization." (Reyes 527). When addressing historical movements, it is important to name patriarchy as the system of oppression that women structurally endure. Patriarchy, as the hegemonic rule of the male figure in the household and in society,

perpetuates the traditional role of women as natural nurturers and bearers of the family. *Machismo*, misogyny, and socially constructed gender roles are rooted in patriarchal norms and practices. Through the *testimonios* of these women, they are able to destroy the patriarchy ingrained in historical movements and, in turn, place their lives at the center of historical events. Two of these historical events are the Mexican Revolution (1910–1917) and the Argentine military dictatorship (1974–1983).

The *testimonio* can also be used as a methodology for retrieving the stories of marginalized people since it directly weaves in the stories of the people placed at the margins of radical events. As a methodology, *testimonio* becomes a practice of liberation within autobiographical writing (Reyes 532). As Smith and Watson state, "The testimonio unfolds through the fashioning of an exemplary protagonist whose narrative bears witness to collective suffering, politicized struggle, and communal survival" (Smith and Watson 91). In the *testimonios* of the soldaderas of the Mexican Revolution and survivors of the military dictatorship, these Latin American women are the protagonists of their stories. While each story is different, they all share politicized struggle and communal survival within their own contexts.

Turmoil in Latin America: The Mexican Revolution and the Argentine Military Dictatorship

The Mexican Revolution was a major armed struggle between the government and the revolutionaries. It started in 1910, with the uprising of Francisco I. Madero against the rule of President Porfirio Diaz. Although Madero started the revolution, many prominent figures contributed to the revolutionary cause. Emiliano Zapata and Pancho Villa are often seen as the most important leaders of the Mexican Revolution. The stories of all of the soldaderas during the Mexican Revolution are not placed at the center of this historic movement. However, without the contribution of the soldaderas, the revolution might not have been as successful. For example, in 1913, Villegas de Magnon founded La Cruz Blanca, a body of nurses in

charge of the active revolutionary forces from the border region to the city of Mexico. As a result of her elaborate plan to allow the brigade to complete hospital service, First Chief Venustiano Carranza appointed Villegas de Magnon as his close chief in the capital, where a lot of fighting would take place (Villegas de Magnon 149). There are many stories of other women like Leonor Villegas de Magnon who played significant roles during the Mexican Revolution.

Almost fifty years after the Mexican Revolution, another region in Latin America was also experiencing a huge political shift. In the 1970s, the South American region known as the "Cono Sur" was undergoing a series of dictatorships. The years 1973 to 1980 were known as the "Condor Years": a period of a state of terrorism led by the military juntas of South America in their respective countries, sponsored and financed by the CIA (Dinges 1). As part of Operation Condor, South American military leaders agreed to start exchanging information on political dissidents, human rights defenders, academics, church leaders, students, and other opponents of the right-wing regime. The majority of the victims of Operation Condor were educated young people involved in leftist movements fighting for social justice (Dinges 2).

In Argentina, on March 24, 1976, a military junta chaired by General Jorge Rafael Videla declared a coup d'état, and a period of brutal repression and terror—called a state of terrorism—began in Argentina. As part of Operation Condor, the military junta ordered the "disappearance" of dissidents to the military regime, particularly leftist fractions of Peronism.[2] According to the junta, the leftist movement was creating "political chaos and terrorism" in the country (Dinges 135). The military dictatorship tortured and murdered thousands of people. Scholars now believe that up to 30,000 people were forcibly disappeared during this time in Argentina (Neiheisel).

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2   Peronism is an Argentine political movement based on the political ideology and legacy of former President Juan Perón and his second wife Eva Perón, both charismatic political leaders and major advocates of the working class and immigrants during the 1940s and 1950s.

Methodology

As part of this research, I use content analysis to situate Leonor Villegas de Magnon's *testimonio* titled *La Rebelde, Las Soldaderas* by Elena Poniatowska, and the book *That Inferno: Conversations of Five Women Survivors of an Argentine Torture Camp* in a wider context. All of these texts are centered around two different political and historical contexts: Argentina during the military dictatorship (1976–1983) and Mexico during the revolution (1910–1917). I chose these specific texts despite the different time periods and contexts because they illustrate strong aspects of resiliency and revolution of women in Latin America. For this reason, it is important to look at all of these different *testimonios* from different countries and historical spaces together. All of the sources are stories of forgotten women who played vital roles in historical events and we need to bring them to the surface. I draw on these *testimonios* to make visible the stories of these women. I use a transnational feminist approach to discuss commonalities in the texts around the themes of solidarity and militancy. A transnational feminist approach recognizes the different struggles of women around the globe while at the same time emphasizing the resiliency of "third world" women, thus creating a global feminist solidarity. This approach was necessary for the investigation as both women from Argentina and Mexico (considered "third world" countries) share unspoken solidarity and militancy within radical historical events.

Sources

The book *La Rebelde* was written by Leonor Villegas de Magnon and was published in Houston, Texas, in 2004 by Arte Publico Press. Villegas de Magnon is a Mexican-American veteran from the Mexican Revolution. This book was the first printing of the original Spanish-language version of the memoir written by a revolutionary woman. This primary source is very valuable because it is the only autobiographical account of an actual soldadera, who reveals revolutionary events in great detail. The source also provides a narration of significant womens' roles during the revolution that are often overlooked in secondary sources.

The second important book for analyzing *testimonios* of the soldaderas of the Mexican Revolution was *Las Soldaderas* by Elena Poniatowska. This book is a secondary source that is centered on primary source text and photographs of the soldaderas and the Mexican Revolution. The photographs are from the vast Collection of Agustin Victor Casasola (1874-1938) in the Fototeca Nacional of the National Institute of Anthropology and History in Pachuca, Hidalgo, Mexico. The relationship between the photos and the text is important as the text gives the context and the story behind the many different photographs. This source is very relevant to my study because it names specific soldaderas and narrates their stories within the Mexican Revolution.

In regards to addressing the women who survived the Argentine military dictatorship, the book used for this study is *That Inferno: Conversations of Five Women Survivors of an Argentine Torture Camp*. The authors of the book are the survivors, Munu Actis, Cristina Aldini, Liliana Gardella, Miriam Lewin, and Elisa Tokar. The book is a conversation amongst the women, which clearly articulates their own experiences in their own words. This primary source is the only text that exists of the *testimonios* of women who survived such an atrocious period in Argentine history.

Discussion: The Erasure of Women

When writing about Latin American women, also known as "third world" women, it is important to situate the context where these women have been written about within Western scholarship. One of the biggest assumptions that Western scholars make about "third world" women is that these women are a homogenous group. They assume that "third world" women are a homogenous group bound together through a shared oppression, "a sociological "sameness" of their oppression" (Mohanty 336). Such writings by Western feminists lack an intersectional framework and frame women as a homogenous powerless group. They are defined as constant "victims," completely ignoring their resilience, their resistance, and their militancy (Mohanty 337).

In addition, there is an idea that the women of the "third world" do not have a voice. This is reductive and goes along with the construction of women as a homogeneous powerless group. An example where this approach is used is in the *testimonio* genre: "It [*testimonio*] is a genre that can be manipulated in various ways to give voice to the voiceless" (Smith 27). From here, it follows that the "voiceless" already have a voice; The *testimonios* do not give the women a voice, more precisely, the *testimonios* are actually their voices. In this sense, "third-world" women do have a voice, although their voices have been silenced by mainstream Western academia.

To combat this reductive framework displayed in a lot of scholarship of Western feminists, the context needs to be situated. That is why it was very important to situate the different contexts of the soldaderas of the Mexican Revolution and the five women survivors of the Argentine military dictatorship at the beginning of this project.

Solidarity and Sisterhood

There were many acts of solidarity displayed by both the soldaderas and the Argentine women. The stories of the Argentine women exemplify two kinds of solidarity: solidarity for the movement comrades and solidarity for women (sisterhood). In this context, solidarity means support for a group of people. This does not just mean words of support, but support demonstrated through actions. Solidarity is not a noun; it is a verb. To make this idea of solidarity clearer, Mohanty makes an excellent point when she states that there is an urgent political necessity of forming strategic coalitions across class, race, and national boundaries" (Mohanty 334). For people to be in solidarity with each other, there needs to be unity and coalition-building that trespasses any boundaries of difference.

The women survivors in Argentina were able to do that because of a shared solidarity for their comrades and for women. Despite the brutal repression that leftists (and non-left wing citizens too) were facing, a lot of the women survivors shared that they did not have the volition to

leave their comrades in the struggle. They felt a deeply entrenched solidarity for them. For example, Munu, who stated, "I went into a state of paralysis; I couldn't leave the city. I felt that if I left, I'd be abandoning all of those who had fallen" (Actis et al. 32). This clearly demonstrates that, for Munu, leaving meant abandoning the fallen militants. She did not want to leave them even if it would cost her own life. The militancy that she shared with the people who were first captured sparked in her solidarity and courage to stay in Argentina. Another survivor, Elisa, also demonstrated solidarity for one of her comrades. In her testimony, Elisa recalled that when she was detained, she had the phone number of a compañero who was also detained. She called the number and told the woman that answered that the woman's brother was in the ESMA (Actis et al. 218). With this act, Elisa was able to help the family of her comrade know his whereabouts. She did this while she was in detention, putting her life at risk just as Munu did.

The other act of solidarity that the Argentine women displayed was that of sisterhood. As Mohanty states, "Sisterhood cannot be assumed on the basis of gender; it must be forged in concrete, historical, and political practice and analysis" (Mohanty 339). This is very important when breaking down what sisterhood looked like at that historical time. The author makes it clear that sisterhood is not created through simply sharing a gender; rather, it is created with actions, practice, and analysis. The Argentine survivors make this point very evident as well when they state, "We are five women. Some of us were in captivity together...some of us knew each other only in name...Now we are sisters" (Actis et al. 21). The sisterhood that they shared was not formed at the beginning when they began to meet. It began to form after they started sharing their stories. The women not only saw each other as sisters, but they also extended solidarity to detained women they did not know. In particular, the survivors extended their solidarity to women who were pregnant. For example, Munu protected a pregnant girl from being killed since she told "Mariano" (an oppressor, named

Lieutenant Raul Enrique Scheller) that if he did anything against the pregnant girl, Munu would kill herself (Actis et al. 46). Munu was a very prominent militant within her leftist group. If Munu killed herself, "Mariano" would not get the valuable information he wanted from Munu about other militants. Even though Munu did not know who the pregnant girl was, she was willing to commit suicide to save her. Another example of solidarity was after captivity, when Miriam testified before Judge Bagnasco in the case of Patricia Roisinblit's baby and talked about the whole system in place for pregnant women (Actis et al. 247). By doing so, Miriam exposed the oppressors and the horrors they committed against pregnant women. The case of Patricia Roisinblit's baby had nothing to do with her, but out of solidarity, she testified.

Similar to the solidarity of the Argentine women survivors, the women during the Mexican Revolution also displayed immense solidarity for their comrades. One of the most striking examples of this solidarity is the nursing efforts of Leonor Villegas de Magnon, also known as La Rebelde. La Rebelde and the other nurses attended to the wounded very diligently, and their patients' revolutionary faction did not matter, whether they were *huertistas*[3] or *constitucionalistas*.[4] They even tended to both during an instance when they were in the *huertista* camp (Villegas de Magnon 63). La Rebelde was in solidarity with everyone who took part in the Mexican Revolution, regardless of faction.

La Rebelde also supported and advocated for women's role in the Mexican Revolution. She admired many women who participated. Specifically, La Rebelde mentioned Elena Arizmendi, a young woman who founded the Cruz Blanca Neutral, who she believed should be honored for her work during the Mexican Revolution (Villegas de Magnon 55).

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3   The faction of the Mexican Revolution supported José Victoriano Huerta Márquez, president of Mexico 1913-14.

4   They were the winner faction of the Revolution, with Venustiano Carranza, the "First Chief" of the Revolution becoming president of Mexico and the Mexican Constitution of 1917.

She also expressed gratitude to Aracelito, a fellow nurse: "Blessed are all of you who have had the courage to depart from your homes. Quiet and silent, you have overcome all the obstacles raised at our pace and with tenderness and success…" (Villegas de Magnon 64- 65).[5] La Rebelde sacrificed her family interests by committing herself to support Madero and the revolutionary cause (Villegas de Magnon 49). She was more worried about her *compañeras* and the risks they were taking (Villegas de Magnon 100). In La Rebelde's *testimonio,* she did not focus solely on her commitment to the revolution, but extensively discussed the commitment of the women around her and how that commitment of women should be honored. By doing so, La Rebelde demonstrates considerable solidarity for these women.

One of the most prominent stories of solidarity by soldaderas in the military during the Mexican Revolution was the story of Petra Ruiz, narrated by Elena Poniatowska,

> "Disguised as a man, she joined the Carrancistas using the name Pedro. They nicknamed her "El Echa Balas" (The Shooter) because of her violent character…On one occasion, two soldiers argued over who would be the first to rape a young girl they had kidnapped when "Pedro Ruiz" rode up to where they were and claimed her "for himself". The soldiers, afraid of her aim and her knife-handling skills, let Pedro take her. Once they were far enough away, Petra opened her blouse and said: "I'm also a woman like you," and allowed the confused girl to go free (Poniatowska 20).

During the Mexican Revolution, women dressed as men for survival. Otherwise, they could be raped and stolen (Poniatowska 19). For that reason, Petra Ruiz dressed as a man and went on to high military ranks as "Pedro Ruiz". Even though Petra Ruiz fought bravely in Carranza and Villa's armies, she was not acknowledged. This lack of recognition should not take us away from the fact that Petra Ruiz was an amazing military commander and had a great deal of solidarity with the women around her. She claimed the kidnapped young woman and saved her from rape by doing so. Her solidarity for women was clear when she told the young girl that she was a woman like her and let her go free.

Militancy

Not only did women in the Mexican Revolution and the five Argentine women survivors display solidarity, but they also displayed militancy. Militancy refers to the commitment that the women had towards their respective and contextual leftist revolutionary movements and organizations. This militancy is displayed through their words and their actions that supported social and political causes. In Argentina, all of the five women survivors were very active within their respective militant leftist groups. As Sutton says, "Many of them had participated in unions, student groups, organizations in marginalized neighborhoods, political parties, armed organizations and/or in their mass fronts. Among them, there were those who were relatives or acquaintances of people already cataloged as "subversive"[6] (Sutton 4). Some had more leadership positions than others did, but they all shared a mutual militancy and commitment to the movement. The reasons behind their militancy are very powerful. For example, Miriam said "I wanted a more just society for everyone; that was what was going to make me happier" (Actis et al. 57). The fact that Miriam wanted a more just society for everyone and that was what motivated her militancy is such a beautiful statement. Her militancy is driven by a desire of justice for everyone in society. Her militancy is communal, not individual.

When narrating their stories, the Argentine women say that they had clandestine lives outside their homes (Actis et al. 27). For example, Miriam was a *perejila*[7], and Cristina

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5   Translation provided by author.

6   Translation provided by author.

7   Novices of low-level militants in the structure of the Montoneros Organization, left wing fraction of the Peronism.

fought to continue her militancy despite the repression her organization faced (Actis et al. 29- 30). Munu was also well known within her organization (Actis et al. 32). Miriam stated, "No one knew we were militants...At home we would say that we were going out dancing and we would go to a cell meeting, a demonstration..." (Actis et al. 54). The women were involved in such dangerous leftist movements not to achieve renown, but because they genuinely wanted to be a part of such movements. They had a strong commitment to what they were doing, and that commitment meant for Miriam and other survivors that they could not tell their families about their involvement in order to avert danger.

After the women were caught, they still kept their militancy and commitment to the movement. For example, Adriana said, "We were no longer active in the militant organization, yet we had the stigma of having been, and we felt the moral obligation, the desire, the need, the commitment to continue our militancy even though we knew we could not" (Actis et al. 33). Despite all of the horrors that the Argentine women faced, they still wanted to be active. It is important to recognize the resiliency and commitment of the survivors for their militant organizations. This commitment and militancy extended beyond detention during the military dictatorship.

In regards to the militancy of the women of the Mexican Revolution, La Rebelde identified with the Centro Revolucionario, a militant organization on the border, a part of the Junta Revolucionaria (Villegas de Magnon 51). The Junta Revolucionaria had two factions: older people with the most experience and young people with a lot of passion. La Rebelde navigated both: "La Rebelde acted between them with such skill that she could capture the friendship of both old and young people"[8] (Villegas de Magnon 52). This speaks to the level of skill and ability that La Rebelde had within her militant organization. She was a part of the two factions and could easily go from being part of one to being part of the other.

Then, in 1913, La Rebelde became the president of Cruz Blanca, a group of 100 women who formed the counterrevolution headed by Venustiano Carranza against General Victoriano Huerta (Villegas de Magnon 54). She was *la jefa*, leading the first unit of auxiliary service, which would help the revolutionary movement (Villegas de Magnon 62). The services that she provided along with the nurses were very important: "The services of the nurses were from the beginning valuable, because even at the risk of their lives they went ahead to the places where the dead fell … La Rebelde was the last one to leave the field almost deserted …"[9] (Villegas de Magnon 62). La Rebelde was so militant that she was the last one to leave the field. She risked her life to take care of the wounded soldiers. As president of the Cruz Blanca, La Rebelde did an amazing job, to the point that the news gave her the spotlight. *El Progreso* newspaper reported, "It was due exclusively to La Rebelde that from the moment they were brought to Laredo and cared for them in her own home, she lavished all kinds of care"[10] (Villegas de Magnon 89). La Rebelde took great efforts in taking care of the wounded that she even took them in her own home. The newspaper's statement makes it very clear that La Rebelde played a critical role in supporting the Mexican Revolution through her nursing work and her leadership.

Reflections

"History has not given an account to extol the brave heroes of the important part taken by women whose pure hands and sensitive hearts sacrificed their precious lives in a highly patriotic and deeply human and Christian duty"[11] (Villegas de Magnon 89).

Hearing the voices of the women within the Mexican Revolution and the Argentine military dictatorship nourishes and informs the present and future with firsthand knowledge of people who are on the margins. These stories of women are not narrated in the official or mainstream historical narrative. In this sense, the

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testimonios provide a very powerful method to decipher and narrate these stories. For this reason, it is very important to look at *testimonios* as methodologies, as an alternative history and a way of knowledge. This is significant as it sheds light on the stories of revolutionary women whose lives are not put at the center of historically radical events.

In terms of future research, it is important to continue to give visibility to the stories of *testimonios*. It would be very valuable to see themes of solidarity and militancy not only from different women in Latin America, but also women from Africa, Asia, and all over the other so called "third world." These transnational stories can shed light on the importance of solidarity movements among women beyond borders, from very different geographic regions.

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STUDENT DEBT AND THE NEED FOR TUITION JUSTICE

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Peace, Justice, and Conflict Studies Program

This paper will attempt to investigate the crisis of student loan debt in the United States. Student debt is an issue that warrants the attention of students and scholars in the field of Peace, Justice, and Conflict Studies because, as I argue below, student debt ought to be reframed in public discourse as an issue of justice. The United States is in need of a new framework of tuition justice vis-à-vis student debt. In the final pages, I will propose a student movement program arranged to challenge the existing structure of student debt through nonviolent organizing and direct action.

Student loans are issued at unprecedented rates in the United States. Bloomberg reports that: "Federal student loans are the only consumer debt segment with continuous cumulative growth since the Great Recession . . . almost 157 percent in cumulative growth over the last 11 years" (Griffin 2018). Additionally, interest rates on Federal student loans have risen. Bloomberg reports that interest on federal student loans rose to 5 percent by fall 2018 (Griffin 2018). While the costs of education and rates of both borrowing and interest rise for students, graduates struggle in job markets that have failed to provide jobs with adequate pay. As a result, many students struggle to pay off loans. Student borrowing has become a normative part of the college experience for many college attendees hoping to improve their future prospects. Ironically, students who seek higher education are often sabotaged by poor credit when they cannot quickly pay

back their debt, a problem compounded by rising interest rates (Griffin 2018). Although student debt has reached levels that prompt discussions of a national financial crisis, sometimes compared to that of 2008, it remains an isolating problem. Student debt is largely treated as an impossible personal obstacle which students, albeit unwittingly, have signed themselves up for. A broader view of student loan debt will help to dispel this myth.

The cost of higher education has become so great that many parents are forced to borrow on behalf of students. *The New York Times* reports that while the amount of education debt taken on by students each year has, on average, plateaued, the stagnation in borrowing is likely due to students reaching their debt limit under the federal loan program. To make up the difference in rising costs, parents who borrow to help their students pay tuition have begun to borrow more on average. By the 2015-16 school year, 40 percent of students had reached the $31,500 debt limit for dependent students. By the same year, average Parent PLUS loan debt at graduation reached $33,291–a 14 percent increase from 2011-12. About two-thirds of parent borrowers in 2015-16 took on debt to help undergraduate students who had reached their loan limit by the final year of their degree (Siegel Bernard and Russel). As the cost of education continues to rise far above the personal means of prospective and enrolled university students, parents are taking on increasing levels of debt to help their children attend classes. A debt crisis that involves whole families, not just individual students is one that clearly warrants attention as a political, rather than individual issue. This consideration is often overlooked when student loan debt is interpreted as a luxury purchase.

Further exploration of this concept will be helped by a brief account of the way in which higher education is commodified in the United States.

The commodification of higher education is a process whereby colleges and universities operate within the logic of the marketplace. Within this logic, enrollees are simultaneously students and paying customers. This process is emphasized when the term "shopping" has been employed by some to describe their search for prospective colleges. That higher education is traded in the commodity market is interesting, but insufficient to account for student debt in its crisis state. Why, exactly has massive debt become characteristic of the college experience? At first it may appear that the answer is rather straightforward—a simple problem of outpaced annual tuition inflation. This is fair enough, since the cost of tuition is, on the whole, greater than what most families—let alone individual students—can afford to purchase without signing loans. This, however, raises a new, more urgent, question: *how did it get this way?* To answer this, a history of the development of higher education costs is necessary.

The Higher Education Act (HEA) is the legislation which has most directly shaped the structures of federal student aid in the United States. Elizabeth Tandy Shermer traces the history of the HEA as a key to understanding the evolution and transformation of costs for higher education. Prior to the HEA there was no strong federal program for student aid. In the early 20th century, students had very little help funding education outside of direct sponsorship by an individual or outside institution. Institutions of higher learning offered very little assistance since they generally relied on tuition for funding and normally had little or no way to fund scholarships. Federal funding would eventually be allocated to aid students, but always indirectly. During the Great Depression, for example, the New Deal offered some funding to help keep students in class: students were supplied with paid work-study opportunities to help them pay their own

way. Interestingly, during this time, "none went into debt to complete their coursework" (Tandy Shermer 78). Soon after, FDR signed the 1944 GI Bill; this was, Tandy Shermer notes, "the most robust, expansive student aid program in American history," meeting the cost of tuition and housing at even the most renowned institutions (79). This marked the slow beginning of rising tuition costs as, "those schools also proved themselves amenable to raising rates for all enrollees to receive the maximum federal benefit for making room for GIs" (79). By 1958 the National Defense Education Act (NDEA) made college counseling and direct assistance through fellowships and small short-term loans available to students. This came just after the Russian launch of Sputnik in the previous year. In 1965, LBJ signed the HEA as an extension to the "war on poverty" (79).

The fourth title of the HEA outlined "student assistance" (Tandy Shermer 79). This is what would later become known as federal student aid. "The HEA's fourth title offered enrollees a range of options tailored to their individual needs while ensuring that no one received a 'free ride'" (79). The HEA was reauthorized in 1972, and with the reauthorization, Sallie Mae was created. This was a definitive turning-point in the history of federal student aid:

> Sallie Mae's 1972 creation also inaugurated an era when steadily rising tuition rates finally outpaced families' ability to afford these increases. That historic shift reflected working and middle-class wage stagnation since the 1970's as well as the simultaneous, rapid decline in state support for schools. Neither federal research grants, nor state expenditures has ever really come back to previous levels. . . . As a result, most students and parents had to compensate for steadily rising tuition rates by taking out more private and federally guaranteed loans" (80).

The 1986 reauthorization of the HEA expanded access to financial aid without alleviating rising tuition costs.

This sets the stage for the current crisis of student debt. Tandy Shermer points out that "Congress may have celebrated that they had given more residents the 'right' to an education, but the 1986 amendments really just guaranteed and incentivised going into debt to pay for college" (80-81). The legacy of the HEA today is the normalization of massive student loan debt as a necessary step in pursuing higher education.

This history appears to be little known, even among the thousands of individuals and families who take on debt in hopes of securing a better future. Tandy Shermer draws parallels between the historical system of indentured servitude and student debt. Both systems masquerade as voluntary. In fact, neither indentured servitude nor student debt, can be understood as voluntary in a full sense. Tandy Shermer writes,

> "neither was truly voluntary. What choice did you really have if you wanted the chance to either escape Europe's class systems or be a contender for today's well-paying jobs?" (78). Moreover, both indentured servitude and student debt have dubious consent agreements: "either the simple 'mark' of an illiterate person, or an eighteen-year-old signing on a dotted line without any idea of the complicated world of law and private profit behind financial aid—including federal help. Parents often do not know the ins-and-outs either. But those signatures on binding agreements make abuses—both then and now—hard to police" (78).

Tandy Shermer goes further, pointing out that both systems of debt also share a legacy of hollow, false guarantees. Indentured servants frequently had their period of bondage drawn out, sometimes even beyond their own lives; in such cases their debts were transferred to their children. Similarly, college graduates, Tandy Shermer points out, "are finding it impossible to pay off quickly, if ever, tens of thousands of dollars in student debt, especially since recent unemployment rates for millennials have been abysmal" (78). Students and parents

have debt made readily available to them while being promised great returns on their investment. In light of Tandy Shermer's above comparison, however, that promise appears suspect. Perhaps even more disquieting is the fact that debt is made so accessible to students and their families. Yet, the history of student debt mechanisms and the consequences of debt arrangements remain hidden or at least are not emphasized.

While, as Tandy Shermer has demonstrated, access to debt was formulated as a means to open the possibility of higher education to those who could not foot the bill on their own, the current arrangement of cost-responsibility presupposes that those who cannot afford to pay out-of-pocket ought to pay more to attend classes than those who attend without financial assistance. This presupposition emerges most clearly when one considers that the burden of loan interest is an eventual part of the cost of higher education. As much is evident to borrowers; often, however, not until after they graduate. This prompts a new question: *why do things stay this way?* In order to understand the persistence of the present arrangement, we now turn to look through the lens of economic theory.

It is helpful to frame student debt in broader economic context. In the first chapter of *Carceral Capitalism*, Jackie Wang offers a Marxist theoretical analysis of the function of debt in a capitalist economy. She traces the idea of expropriation through its historical development in Karl Marx and Rosa Luxemburg, identifying it as a key to interpreting the debt economy. Wang's analysis is useful here to gain a critical perspective of debt, broadly speaking, in the US economy. She begins with Karl Marx's thesis in *Capital* that expropriation is the necessary prerequisite to capitalist development.

Karl Marx identifies "primitive accumulation" as a "pre-history" to capitalism. Marx focused on forces of state power in the process of "primitive accumulation" (Wang 102). Wang summarizes "primitive accumulation" as a process wherein "the creation of a labor market and

a system of private property [is] achieved through the violent process of dispossessing people of their land and ways of life so that they can be converted into workers for capitalists" (102). To achieve this, persons with desirable labor power must first be torn from any means of subsistence and made to depend upon wages for survival (102). Later Marxists critique the notion that primitive accumulation is a *prior* stage in capitalist development, arguing that the process the term is used to describe is, in fact, an ongoing process under capitalist economies.

For example, Rosa Luxemburg points out an error in Marx's account by challenging Marx's claim that capitalist production is universal (108). Luxemburg posits a dual labor system within capitalism: capitalist labor power requires non-capitalist labor power (111). This is a critique of primitive accumulation as a strictly prior stage to capitalist development, since, in order for capitalism to function as a global system (after it has already been established as dominant), it must "both secure consumer markets and cut production costs" which, given the varying degrees of economic and political "development" among the world's nations, "compels capitalists to take advantage of this unevenness by developing a parasitic relationship with non-capitalist or underdeveloped spheres" (107). In other words, a dominant capitalist economic logic must continually practice a form of primitive accumulation (or expropriation) internationally, in order to ensure cheap materials for production.

For Luxemburg, international capitalism requires that certain nations remain outside of its logic in order to continually expropriate resources from them. This notion that ongoing expropriation is a necessary feature of capitalism will become important to this discussion later on. Before one hastens to apply Luxemburg's analysis to the apparently parasitic arrangement of consumer debt within the US, however, it must be pointed out that Luxemburg only considers the *global* arrangement of expropriative logics (Wang 112). Moreover, Wang calls attention to the limits of Luxemburg's analysis of

capitalism as static, locking those within capitalism into a permanent wage labor role. Indeed, as Wang writes,

> Given that labor productivity generally increases over time owing to technological innovations, segments of the workforce are also regularly shunted from the process of production. It usually is the case that somewhere in the world, yesterday's workers are today's surplus population (109).

Workers whose labor power becomes obsolete are driven outside of their role in capitalist production. No longer workers, they become ripe for accumulation. This raises the possibility of the expropriation of resources from populations who, in fact, live under capitalism. Wang cites Detroit, Michigan's great financial decline as an example of this process:

> The financial sector saw Detroit's decline as an opportunity to capitalize on its fiscal desperation by extending high-risk credit to the city and—when the city went bankrupt—attempting to enforce payment through the bankruptcy litigation process (112).

The case of Detroit demonstrates that, "in the age of finance capital, the use of debt as a mechanism for dispossession requires that subjects must first be incorporated into the system as borrowers" (113). Here, Wang's analysis begins to become helpful for analyzing consumer debt in the US, in particular, forms of debt that prey upon financially vulnerable or underdeveloped populations within a late-capitalist economy.

It is important to be careful not to draw a direct parallel between the financial despair experienced in Detroit after economic collapse and the situation, broadly speaking, of student loan debtors. Indeed, student debt is not geographically isolated, and does not have near the effects of city-wide deindustrialization and economic collapse. There appears to be some parallel, however, in the transition of laborers to borrowers. Even this must

be carefully nuanced, however, in order to avoid an unreasonable claim. Wang points out that, in the case of Detroit, debt was used as a tool of dispossession once workers became obsolete to production there. There is a link to student debt here, but the process is, in some sense, reversed. As students become debtors, they are trained to enter more specialized fields within the workforce and promised better pay for their higher education. As many students leave college they find that, in general, there are no such jobs widely available to them. This situation has led many to leave college to face an economy unable or unwilling to incorporate them as laborers in the field for which they trained. At first glance, this might constitute a simple ruse on the part of schools and loan financers—a scheme of false advertising but not necessarily an issue of justice. In light of Wang's analysis, however, it emerges as a problem of expropriation rather than of false or misleading advertising. Students who load up on debt become a source from which loan financers can expropriate incomes in the form of interest. Given this, student debt can be rightly framed as a system that operates, broadly speaking, under an expropriative logic. This logic functions in a new way from that described by Karl Marx or Rosa Luxemburg, however; since it is not geographically isolated, it integrates people across race and class and is deployed through loan contracts that are signed at the start of a process designed to lead to education and greater opportunity for students. Students who must borrow (and often, their parents too) become a domestic population whose wages become systematically expropriated under the US debt economy, whether or not they become incorporated as laborers (employed) after higher education.

Consumer debt is deployed as a mechanism for expropriation and dispossession in the logic of finance capital. The commodification of higher education has made it possible for the occupation of student to fuse with the role of consumer. In this sense, the student who must borrow large portions of their tuition payments and living expenses in order to access higher education embodies

the role of an *occupational consumer*. This means borrowing against future income in order to consume education and thus potentially jeopardizing employment prospects through the poor credit that can result after one fails to meet repayment deadlines (Wang 129). By being set on a debt track from a young age, many young adults are forced into relentless work schedules as they take on multiple low wage jobs in the absence of adequately paid entry-level positions in their fields. Many college graduates find themselves employed in retail and food service positions even years after graduating. While the link between student debt and the expansion of the low-wage retail and food service economies is a subject that may warrant greater attention elsewhere, it is beyond the scope of this paper. Suffice it to say that those who leave college with debt and no adequate help with repayment are often forced to take whatever jobs are available to them in order to meet minimum payments. While loan deferral or $0.00 monthly minimum payments through income-based repayment plans are available to some, these options only defer and multiply the debt as interest accumulates to it. The consequences outlined here are not just theoretical. Student loan debt is a large share of total consumer debt. As Wang reports, "excluding mortgages, student loans make up the largest portion of consumer debt (exceeding that of credit cards and auto loan debt)" (Wang 128).

So far, this paper has examined the history of federal student loan programs and the possible role of debt mechanisms in the broader debt economy. It is helpful to briefly review the shape of education as a consumer good. The commodification of education has a two-fold nature, placing the responsibility of education costs on students and their families, and then making debt available such that funding a student's higher education is simultaneously more accessible and more expensive. The student debt crisis, however, is not an inevitable inconvenience necessary to a highly educated society. Rather, it is a form of debt exploitation structured so that seeking higher education often results in a de facto wage

garnishment that can last decades as repayment of huge interest-bearing loans becomes impossible to complete quickly. Moreover, this arrangement makes college more costly for every dollar borrowed by students and their families. Many students, parents, and even university personnel feel powerless to confront the student debt regime. There is a need for a new framework. Tuition justice is my suggestion.

A call for tuition justice means a thoughtful rejection of the crushing student debt regime, the organization of courageous resistance, and the formulation of viable alternatives. A tuition justice framework would emphasize that college students and graduates live under the heavy burden of student and private loan debt. The cost of higher education rises each year, and each year students sign onto federal and private debts in order to attend classes. Many students and graduates have had to take on private credit card and personal loans in order to support themselves as they attempt to live as an educated person in the United States. The cost of higher education is normalized in public discourse and treated as a necessary sacrifice for a better future as an educated and/or skilled worker. It is becoming clear to many college students and graduates, however, that the cost of education is, in fact, a pernicious trap designed to seize resources from debtors after they leave college. Education is fundamental to a highly organized society. As such, the cost of university education in the United States is neither a "necessary evil" nor "inconvenient truth." Rather, it is a form of exploitation which preys upon (mostly young) people seeking to develop their knowledge, training, and job prospects. Student loan debt is neither inevitable nor unfortunate; it is designed to guarantee a high return on investment for lenders at the expense of student debtors. By being made widely available and distributed smoothly and methodically, student loan and private debts are a technology of control masquerading as an olive branch. The present arrangement of higher education cost and student debt must be rejected by students, parents, and

the society at large. Regarding this task, I posit Students for a Debt Free Society (SDFS).

SDFS would be a student-led movement with the aim to facilitate the withdrawal of public consent from the present system of student debt. SDFS would seek to do this according to the following program: (1) Organize student-led chapters of SDFS on university campuses to connect students struggling with loans to one another. (2) Facilitate nonviolent direct actions directed against loan advertisements. (3) Hold weekly meetings with students, graduates, parents, and allies to discuss strategies for loan management and debt avoidance. (4) Petition, strategize, and act to ensure that the board of trustees freeze tuition. (5) Organize "neighborhood coalitions" in dorms, apartment buildings, and neighborhood blocks to foster solidarity between students and others who deal with various forms of predatory debt. (6) Challenge the narrative of inevitable student debt by connecting the dots between debt peonage, worker exploitation, the exploitative structure of international debts, and poverty. (7) Work with lawmakers to place a cap on interest for private loans. (8) Work with lawmakers to ensure free education for all. (9) Jubilee: cancel student debt and all related private debts.

The SDFS program follows an escalating action plan that begins with a local student organization that educates about the history and structure of student debt, reframing it as an issue of injustice. It then attempts to galvanize students in their struggle against lenders through nonviolent direct actions and continues to broaden the base of support to include all those affected by student debt, including parents and families. This can allow an attempt to bring the situation of student debt out of isolation through sharing knowledge and tactics to survive and navigate the demands of debt repayment and avoidance. Shared knowledge in a context of coalition and community building can help to draw connections between student debt and other forms of debt. From this

process, coalitions and communities dealing with debt can develop tools that can be used to demand a radical shift in responsibility for the costs of higher education. This plan is a strategy to empower students to understand, criticize, and act to change their plight.

It is the aim of this paper to provide an introduction to a framework of tuition justice that students, graduates, and their families can take up in order to use their collective power to confront a crisis in which they, as consumers, are otherwise rendered totally powerless. A movement towards tuition justice would bring people-power to bear on the economic order of debt in the US in ways that may have seemed unimaginable until now. SDFS would both build and channel that power into a constructive, escalating plan to challenge student debt through nonviolent direct action and organizing.

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I'm very proud of u.

I've never stopped trying 2 find u.

Vanessa Wilder | *2 find u*
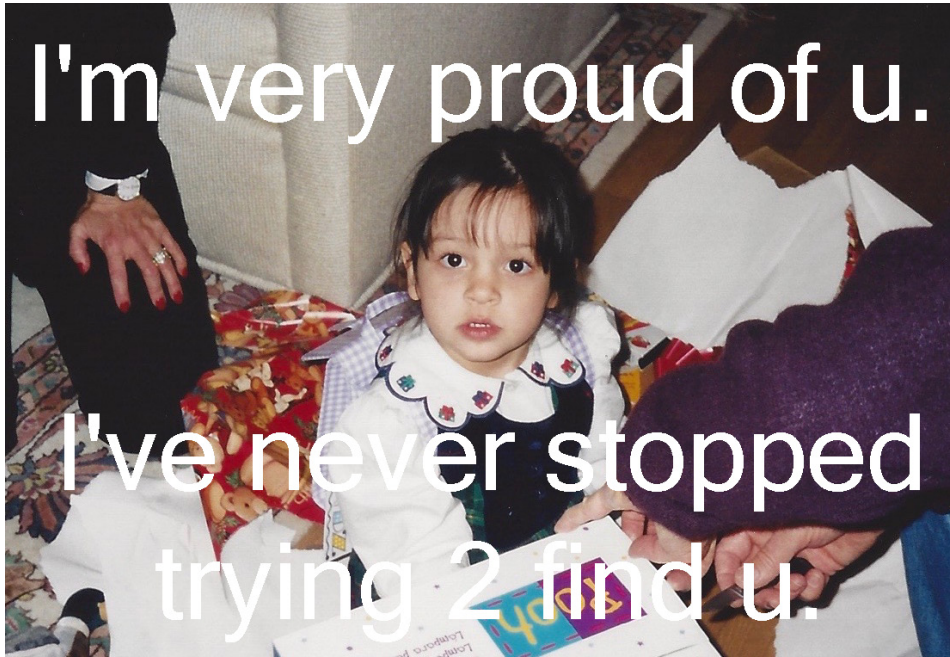
THE HUMAN CONDITION OF BIRTH: IMPLICATIONS OF THE MALE APPROPRIATION OF MATERNITY

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Throughout her work, Italian philosopher Adriana Cavarero has been concerned with the orientation of the human condition as one of mortality and postural uprightness, and she aims to reframe the human condition instead as one of natality and inclination. Interestingly, this framework highlights the patriarchal system that appropriates natality in order to uphold the notion of postural uprightness; in other words, it overtakes the human condition of natality and replaces it with mortality in order to make possible an ideology of the human condition as postural uprightness as opposed to inclinations.

In what follows, I will first consider Cavarero's discussion of the male appropriation of birth in one of her earliest writings, namely *In Spite of Plato*. Second, I reflect on the implications of that appropriation in Cavarero's more recent work, *Inclinations*, where it is framed in terms of postural ontology and the masculine logic of uprightness. Third, I examine the implications of this male appropriation of birth as it pertains to the role of the Virgin Mother in the Bible, through a reading of Julia Kristeva's engagement with this figure. Finally, I turn to the Christian tradition of baptism in order to make concrete the very abstract notion of the patriarchal appropriation of the human condition of birth.

The Male Appropriation of Birth

In her book *In Spite of Plato*, Cavarero turns to female

literary figures to highlight the way in which they are made to be "the object, not the subject" within their respective stories (Cavarero 1995, 2); namely, women are objects that exist *for* the male subject. One example of this is found in Diotima from the Socratic dialogue *Symposium*. After a series of other speeches pertaining to the definition of love, Socrates explains that he will give an account of "the discourse upon Love which [he] heard one day from a Mantinean woman named Diotima," who had given him a lesson on "love-matters" (Symposium 201d). Diotima is not herself present for the speech, so she is represented through several layers of male narration: first through Apollodorus, who recounts the event as it was described to him by Aristodemus, which involves the story about Diotima told by Socrates and is ultimately transcribed into text by Plato. Not only is Diotima's unique perspective not present, but it is further sifted through at least four different male voices at the outset.

Cavarero writes that Diotima's speech is "completely imbued with the theme and metaphor of pregnancy, parturition, parenting—bringing into the world" (Cavarero 1995, 92), and the concept of male maternity is present throughout the dialogue. For example, Socrates claims that he is a sort of midwife because he "does not 'insert' notions into the soul of the listener, but rather helps souls give birth to a truth that they already carry within them" (Cavarero 1995, 92). For Cavarero, this introduces the notion that "the works of Plato and Socrates seem marked by a *mimetic* desire for female experience. The pregnant, birth-giving male, like the male who practices midwifery, stands as the emblematic figure of true philosophy"

(Cavarero 1995, 92). Socrates claims to be a philosophical midwife, as opposed to a mother, because he does not himself "give birth" to these ideas, but rather he helps others "deliver" their own ideas; however, Socrates goes even further to say that this kind of "birth" is ultimately superior to real, embodied, human birth. In the *Theaetetus*, for example, Socrates says, "My art of midwifery is in general like [that of real midwives]; the only difference is that my patients are men, not women, and my concern is not with the body but with the soul that is in travail of birth" (Theaetetus 150b).

Throughout his dialogues, Socrates describes bodies as imperfect and temporary, and souls as perfect, eternal, and pertaining to what have been called the Platonic Forms. In its perfection, the soul is ultimately restrained by the imperfect body that contains it. Corporeality, for Plato, is humanity's curse. It is important to note that this very structure is problematic because it gives precedence to a philosophical ideal, which does not exist in the actual embodied human experience, and the embodied human experience is seen as inherently flawed and secondary. But within his own structure of souls as ideals and bodies as imperfect incantations of that ideal, when Socrates posits that his male midwifery pertains to the soul and not the body, he indicates that it is better than real midwifery because it is not corporeal. Socrates, then, is not only discussing his own appropriated "midwifery," but is also implicitly criticizing real, embodied birth insofar as it is always corporeal and therefore, to him, imperfect.

The misogyny embedded into these definitions of love in the *Symposium* is developed further through an analysis of homosexual as opposed to *heterosexual* love, because "the fruitfulness of male homosexual love" is ultimately "the central thesis of the *Symposium*" (Cavarero 1995, 96). However, it is not *homosexual* love that is being discussed here, but more accurately, *homosexual* love, that is, love between men. According to the dialogue, "it is the love between two men that constitutes philosophy's erotic path, the route leading to the noetic attainment of the idea of the beautiful that constitutes the true exercise of philosophy." Heterosexual love, on the other hand, is "articulated on the bipolar juxtaposition of bodily fertility (the reproduction of human children) with noetic fertility (the reproduction of divine discourses, the 'children' of philosophers)" (Cavarero 1995, 94). Specifically, it is argued that heterosexual love is merely "necessary for the survival of the species" but is otherwise inferior to homosexual love. Heterosexual love "is not an end in itself" because it is part of the "the act of giving birth to human beings." By contrast, homosexual love "does not produce anything other than or external to itself," and it finds "complete fulfilment within itself" (Cavarero 1995, 96).

In addition to providing a simplified version of sexuality and love in general, the contrast between heterosexual and homosexual love not only aims to make women worthless as they relate to love (since heterosexual love is inferior, and homosexual love among women is ignored entirely), but it also posits that homosexual love is inherently better because of the kind of birth that it makes possible. Specifically, in comparison to human birth of which woman is capable, "the male soul can give birth to offspring of a very different kind, which cannot be overtaken by death. This immortal, even eternal progeny cannot be consumed by any kind of cyclic process" (Cavarero 1995, 103). In other words, the children of male birth are ideas which transcend humanity in their immortality, and are thus, according to Plato and Socrates, inherently better than those generated through the female body in childbirth.

Male maternity is not only deemed better than its female counterpart in its transcendence of mortality, female maternity is ultimately rendered as the very origin that curses human life with its mortality in the first place. The power of birth as the condition for human existence is "negated" and "turned into something else—either mere reproductive function, or a way of designating the unbelievable nothingness from which we come" (Cavarero

1995, 104). Birth, then, takes on the guilt of making us mortal: "birth is found guilty of generating bodies subject to death" (Cavarero 1995, 106). That is to say, it is not because we are born that we exist, but rather, insofar as we are born, we are all doomed to someday die. This transforms natality itself into the cause of our mortality, and thus restructures the human condition as oriented toward mortality and death as opposed to natality and birth. Meanwhile, "a distinct philosophical thought— which is undying but nonetheless dissatisfied with mere immortality—claims access to the eternal, without any birth whatever" (Cavarero 1995, 106); human birth is what initially curses us to die, and philosophical thought is the salvation that can ultimately make us immortal.

Near the end of her speech, Diotima draws an explicit parallel between philosophical thought and human birth. She asserts that both kinds of pregnancies are methods for achieving immortality. She is quoted saying that if a mortal being wants to become immortal, there is only "one way it can succeed, and that is by generation; since so it can always leave behind it a new creature in place of the old" (Symposium 207d). She continues to say that "every mortal thing is preserved in this way; not by keeping it exactly the same forever, like the divine, but by replacing what goes off or is antiquated with something fresh, in the semblance of the original" (Symposium 208b). Interestingly, we can see here a shift from perceiving birth as the cause of mortality toward birth as the potential for immortality. Diotima then states that there is a similar "pregnancy of the soul" in which one can "conceive and bring forth" things such as prudence and virtue. Those who can experience pregnancy of the soul are "all the poets and those craftsmen who are styled *inventors*" (Symposium 209a). Although her speech describes birth and generation as a kind of immortality, as opposed to the cause of mortality, she ultimately makes a comparison between bodily fertility and noetic fertility, bringing us back to the notion that creativity and philosophical thought are types of births that make us immortal. It is noteworthy, however, that she does not state that one

kind of birth is inherently better than the other. Rather, she merely highlights both as methods for achieving immortality.

The Human Condition of Birth

What is at stake in the male appropriation of maternity becomes clear in Cavarero's later work, when she more directly explains that maternity is the very condition for human existence. In her book *Inclinations*, she develops a framework of the human condition as one of inclinations, opposing the commonly understood assertion that to be human is to be self-sufficient and situated uprightly. This development directly relates to her concern with orienting the human condition around natality rather than mortality, because natality is always necessarily rooted in relationality—babies are not created from nothing; they are born from someone, namely, their mother—while mortality, for Cavarero, tends to denote isolation.

Cavarero's notion of natality as constitutive of the human condition is drawn from Hannah Arendt's *The Human Condition*, in which Arendt addresses themes of natality, plurality, and singularity as "conditions of human existence" (Arendt 1998, 11). Arendt is particularly concerned with understanding the human condition as birth, and she argues that through action—that is, political action in which groups of people come together in public—we are all born time and again. It is a kind of birth in that we can begin anew and also create something from our togetherness, our plurality. As Cavarero summarizes, Arendt says that "we are born twice: first as newborns, and second (and then repeatedly thereafter) as 'actors' on the political scene, confirming us as unique and, as it were, beginners" (Cavarero 2017, 110). Arendt writes that "action as beginning corresponds to the fact of birth" and that this is the "actualization of the human condition of natality" (Arendt 1998, 178). Cavarero works within this framework of plurality, relationality, and natality as she constructs her notion of inclinations.

At the outset of her book, Cavarero introduces the urgency of the project in the context of philosophy, asserting that "[philosophy], in general, does not appreciate inclination; it contests and combats it" (Cavarero 2017, 1). That is to say, in philosophy, to be human is equated with being independent, self-sufficient, and thinking for oneself; any reliance on the world is reserved for women, children, and animals, who are necessarily inferior to the upright Man due to the very fact that they are inclined beings. Furthermore, Cavarero writes that general definitions of inclinations tend to include "the vast and frightening catalog of desires, instincts, and passions" (Cavarero 2017, 2), meaning that inclinations typically refer to uncontrollable urges that humans have which should be controlled. Since the negative connotations of these emotions are directly related to inclination, definitions of the human condition avoid it entirely.

To criticize this commonly held view that the human condition is marked by uprightness, Cavarero aims to restructure the notion that humans are erect and independent into the idea that we are all necessarily and primarily inclined toward others. Our primary inclination, Cavarero argues, is the asymmetrical and dependent relationship every human has with their mother. Mothers are inclined toward their children as they lean in to care for them, and children are defenseless and entirely reliant on that inclination; insofar as the child is vulnerable, the mother, who is less vulnerable and holds more power in that relationship, is the one who offers care. Since this primary relational ontology is rooted in maternity, it is fitting that maternity is the focus of systemic male appropriation: by redefining birth as the originary curse of humanity instead of the source of the possibility for human existence, what follows is an obsession with self-sufficiency during every human's isolated path toward inevitable death, and the way in which we begin takes the blame for our unavoidable end.

Before taking a closer look at the implications of this relational ontology, it is critical to point out that these ideas function within a heteronormative, cisnormative, and Eurocentric structure. First, it is not the case that every person who can bear children is a woman, since there are transgender men and gender nonbinary individuals with that same capacity. Second, Cavarero's argument takes as a given that an infant's initial and primary source of care is the mother, which is not always the case. For example, many infants are raised in homes that have no mothers and this is certainly not uncommon; however, a more pressing instance in which this relational ontology does not apply is in environments where it cannot be assumed that the mother will be in a position to care for the child, or even bear the child at all with little risk. For example, as Fanny Söderbäck writes, "If we were to speak of birth and parenting in a different context—say, the context of the Global South, or that of less privileged communities in the Global North—the story about vulnerability and care gets more complicated" (Söderbäck 2018, 10). By taking a look just outside the borders of the Western world, or even at less privileged communities within the Western world, pregnancy itself can be a life-or-death situation for the mother, and caring for the infant after giving birth may be similarly uncertain. Keeping in mind that this structure is not necessarily inclusive to all kinds of maternity or infant care in general, Cavarero's relational ontology nonetheless provides an interesting framework through which we can better understand the implications of the male appropriation of birth.

Cavarero's aesthetic depiction of inclinations is especially helpful; for example, she applies this theory through an analysis of the painting *The Virgin and Child with St. Anne* by Leonardo Da Vinci. Although most paintings of Jesus and Mary portray them sitting upright, with Jesus on Mary's lap, both facing outward, Da Vinci "breaks with this system of symmetrical verticality" by depicting "a mother who is face to face with her child" (Cavarero 2017, 99). Mary inclines herself toward Jesus, who turns his head to meet her gaze. Cavarero writes that "the asymmetry of this portrait" offers a reflection of "the everyday experience of the maternal rather than the monumentality of the

sacred" (Cavarero 2017, 99). This asymmetry refers to the fact that the child is "defenseless" and in a position of "extreme vulnerability," passively accepting and requiring that the mother incline towards him (Cavarero 2017, 103). Furthermore, the other "sacred" depictions of the mother and her child imply the purity and perfection of Mary and Jesus as they are connected in a vertical relation to God above them. Da Vinci's depiction, on the other hand, reflects the actual experience of maternal inclinations.

The Virgin Mother

Ultimately, it is ironic that Cavarero uses Mary as an example for inclinations and relationality because her motherhood is problematized such that it is incomprehensible as maternity. Mary is often depicted as a perfect mother, in part because she maintained sexual purity becoming a mother. She introduces "an image of maternity so pure it excludes any interference by eros," and she establishes "the child as the destiny of a woman, but escapes the sexual intercourse necessary for all other women to fulfill this destiny" (Cavarero 2017, 10). In other words, Mary has achieved motherhood without sex, making her the purest possible figure of a mother.

It is perhaps worth noting, however, that this may have been a mere error in translation. Julia Kristeva says about Mary's virginity that the "Semitic word denoting the social-legal status of an unmarried girl" seems to have been replaced with "the Greek parthenos, which denotes a physiological and psychological fact, virginity" (Kristeva 1985, 135). The word for legally unmarried women was made synonymous with the word for physical virginity. Kristeva continues to say that this mistake was orchestrated when Western Christendom "[projected] its own fantasies on it, thereby producing one of the most potent imaginary constructs known to any civilization" (Kristeva 1985, 135). This demonstrates that the Virgin Mary, regardless of her historical reality, was ultimately a socially constructed figure meant to reinforce Western ideals.

There is a dichotomy that women may either be strictly servants to their children, or entirely self-indulgent to their own sexual desires; in other words, women may either be mothers or sexual beings, but never both. As Kristeva writes, "A woman has only two choices: either to experience herself in sex hyperabstractly. . . so as to make herself worthy of divine grace and assimilation to the symbolic order, or else to experience herself as different, other, fallen. . . . But she will not be able to achieve her complexity as a divided, heterogeneous being" (Kristeva 1985, 142). That is to say, women can either abstract themselves from sex such that they can remain pure, or accept that they are flawed and sinful—as Kristeva puts it, "fallen"—and never pure. Importantly, this system posits that a woman can never be both figures, when it is unlikely that a woman be only one or the other, since, for many mothers, motherhood comes after sex.

Cavarero echoes this notion, saying that Virgin Mary as an "icon of maternity" is "a very eloquent example." She writes that Mary is "unequivocal and paradoxical" in that she "expresses the feminine as pure maternity" (Cavarero 2017, 101). Within a structure of femininity that posits that women can be either sexual beings or mothers, Mary is exclusively a mother. Virgin Mary's somewhat mythical virgin pregnancy, then, accomplishes motherhood in its purest form, such that she can be a mother without ever partaking in sex, an activity assigned to the archetype of the fallen. In this way, she as a figure fits into this impossible and pure mother figure, a mother who has never had sex.

Although her motherhood was constructed to fit into a Western ideal, it has repeatedly been both appropriated and ignored: in the Christian Gospels, "they allude only in the most discreet way to the immaculate conception, say nothing at all about Mary's own history, and seldom depict her in the company of her son or in the scene surrounding his crucifixion" (Kristeva 1985, 136). In other words, Mary in the Gospels is merely a tool for Jesus's coming-to-be and is not given the same amount of attention as other

individuals despite her importance. Kristeva is particularly concerned with the way in which Mary's relationship with Jesus is depicted in the Gospels. She writes that even during the "rare occasions when the Mother of Jesus does appear in the Gospels," her appearance occurs "in order to signify the fact that the filial bond has to do not with the flesh but with the name; in other words, any trace of matrilineality is explicitly disavowed, leaving only the symbolic tie between mother and son" (Kristeva 1985, 136). That is to say, the Virgin Mary and her relationship with Jesus tends to be depicted as a primarily sacred relationship pertaining to God.

Cavarero has similar concerns with the ways in which Mary and Jesus are portrayed aesthetically. In her discussion of DaVinci's *The Virgin and Child with St. Anne*, she mentions that the painting brings to light the intimate human relationship between the mother and the son. The painting depicts "a mother who is face to face with her child; a child whose head is twisted back to face the one who visibly stretches out to support him; and Anne who observes them both with a smile" (Cavarero 2017, 99). This importantly shows Mary and Jesus having a relationship separate from their sacred one, and furthermore Mary sitting on her mother's lap demonstrates the matrilineality that Kristeva mentioned: Jesus's grandmother, who is seldom mentioned, is made explicit as his grandmother in the image.

Beyond never having sex to become a mother, Kristeva argues that Mary also maintains her purity by never dying. There was much debate around Mary as Jesus's mother, specifically pertaining to her purity. Kristeva recounts, "If Mary is prior to Christ, and if he, or at any rate his humanity, originates with her, then must she not too be immaculate? For otherwise a person conceived in sin and carrying sin within herself would have given birth to a God, and how could this be?" (Kristeva 1985, 138). Although Mary was constructed to be an impossibly pure ideal of a Western mother, what lingered was the question of how she, an imperfect and temporal being, could give

birth to the immaculate Jesus Christ. Kristeva writes that what ultimately alleviated this issue was the fact that the "entity compounded of woman and God and given the name Mary was made complete by the avoidance of death" (Kristeva 1985, 139). Unlike her son, who was sacrificed in the crucifixion, Mary does not die; rather, she "passes over" in a "never-ending cycle which is in itself an imitation of the process of childbirth" (Kristeva 1985, 139). That is to say, Mary does not die insofar as she is *only* born, repeatedly. This ultimately means that she passes through various different ways of relating to Jesus, since she is not only his mother but, after being continuously reborn, also his wife and his daughter. She thus "passes through all three women's stages in the most restricted of all possible kinship systems" (Kristeva 1985, 139), and her immaculacy is never stained by death.

We can also turn to Saint Bridget of Sweden's account of Jesus's birth in her revelations to understand the ways in which Mary is portrayed as immaculate. Saint Bridget gives a remarkably embodied account of Jesus's birth that pays special attention to Mary throughout. This is likely because Saint Bridget had experience giving birth herself; she gave birth to eight children before becoming a nun. However, the birth she describes continues to uphold Mary as an ideal maternal figure. For example, Saint Bridget describes that the birth was "so sudden and momentary" that she "was unable to notice or discern how or in what member she was giving birth." Furthermore, she writes that the infant was "naked and glowing in the greatest of neatness. His flesh was most clean of all filth and uncleanness." She even describes the afterbirth as "wrapped very neatly beside him." Immediately after giving birth, she says Mary's womb was no longer swollen and that "her body then looked wonderfully beautiful and delicate" (Saint Bridget of Sweden 2006, 541). Even when one turns away from the many abstractions of Jesus's birth and returns to the embodied experience, Mary is still idealized and the birth itself is described as perfect.

What is ultimately accomplished through the Virgin

Mary as a figure of the perfect mother is a projection of "an image of the One, the Unique Woman" (Kristeva 1985, 148). Here "unique" refers to the Virgin Mary being different from, and better than, other women and other mothers. This reinforces the dichotomy of either being a perfectly pure mother or a woman who has sex, since Mary successfully represents the former, and it ultimately shuts out the vast majority of mothers, who do not fit that description.

Mary's identity is a mere object acting as a necessary foundation for Jesus, who relies on her as source alone. As Tuana writes, "Mary comes to be seen as fertile earth that provides nourishment for the divine seed of Christ" (Tuana 1993, 126). From the outset of her pregnancy throughout Jesus's life, she is just an object for Jesus and God—returning to Cavarero, Mary is an object who exists *for* male subjects.

Nonetheless, as Nancy Tuana has noted, Jesus is still considered to be a son of God primarily, and hardly a son of Mary: "The female role is minimal: Mary provides only the soil out of which the flesh of Jesus is formed, while his nature is divinely crafted. Thus, the male creative force determines form and soul; the female provides only the flesh" (Tuana 1993, 126). Although she was necessary for Jesus's corporeality, that is the full extent of her contribution. Moving to the present day, her contribution has not extended. Followers of Christianity are, too, considered to be children of God, and specifically not children of Mary. Therefore, Jesus's birth is ultimately appropriated such that it appears to be God who truly gave birth to him, and Mary was a necessary object for the process.

Baptism and the Male Appropriation of Birth

This appropriation is achieved not only from an original hierarchy of importance, but also in a metaphorical rebirth that comes from the Christian religion. That Mary's giving birth to Jesus is, in fact, a birth, is systemically erased and ultimately ignored through the practice of baptism. The christening symbolically marks the individual as a child of God; it certainly does not mark them as a child of Mary, and further, it works to figuratively undo their being born from their own mother.

We can see this come to light in Jesus's baptism as it is recounted in the Bible. It is considered a "virtually certain" historical fact that Jesus was baptized by John the Baptist, who was encouraging Israel to repent their sins (Webb 2000, 261). Mark describes that immediately after Jesus's baptism, just as he emerged from the water, Jesus heard a voice from heaven that said, "You are my Son, whom I love; with you I am well pleased" (Mark 1:9-11, NIV). After being reborn through baptism, Jesus is officially declared to be the son of God. Themes of adoption through baptism arise in Galatians: "God sent his son, born of a woman, born under the law, to redeem those under the law, that we might receive adoption to sonship" (Galatians 4:4-5). There is a juxtaposition between being born of a woman and being adopted by God: being born of a woman is situated as a mere necessity for the ultimate goal, adoption to sonship by God.

Theologian and psychologist Lucy Bregman notes this same juxtaposition when she cites Adalbert G. Hamman writing about baptism "You are to be born, not by the ordinary rules of childbirth—mothers groaning in the pain of labor and bringing you into the miseries of this world, weeping, sullied and wrapped in soiled swaddling clothes, but exalting in joy, children of heaven, children free from sin" (Bregman 1987, 31). The bodily experience of birth here is directly contrasted with the religious notion of rebirth through baptism. Turning back to Plato, there is a clear parallel between this spiritual, clean, painless rebirth in baptism and Plato's intellectual, spiritual midwifery; both are deemed better because they do not involve physical bodies. It is also of note that when Mary gives birth to Jesus, it is quick, clean, and joyful. Saint Bridget of Sweden's depiction of Mary's labor did not include the "moaning" or "weeping" that pertain to "ordinary" childbirth.

Bregman also analyzes the imagery of baptism. The image of individuals—primarily infants—emerging from a pool of water certainly denotes a kind of womb, and Bregman notes that the baptismal font as a womb is a common theme in language surrounding baptism. For example, the church itself becomes a kind of mother to the baptized. She cites Hamman, who writes that the baptismal font is "the sweet womb of your virgin mother" (Bregman 1987, 31). The baptismal font becomes a second womb for the baptized, and they emerge reborn by their new "Mother Church." Bregman continues, "Virgin Mother Church replaces actual women as the one 'good mother,' who never separates herself from her children, or gives birth to them 'sullied and weeping' into a world of pain" (Bregman 1987, 38). It is clear, however, that this "Mother Church" is not a mother at all, because the true parent of the baptized is God, a male figure with a spiritual womb.

Since baptism is a spiritual rebirth, what is at stake in this process becomes clear. Insofar as Cavarero's relational ontology posits that it is our originary births from our mothers which is the foundation for human existence, the process of being born again through baptism ruptures this ontology.

This second birth through baptism is, ultimately, a clear example of a male appropriation of birth. Similar to Socrates saying that his art of midwifery is superior because it pertains to ideas as opposed to actual bodies, baptism is given superiority over the initial, corporeal birth because it pertains to the human spirit or soul. Furthermore, the practice of baptism—frequently, though not always, performed by a male priest acting as a male midwife—leaves the individual born again as a child of God; in other words, born again of a man.

As Anne McClintock writes in *Imperial Leather*, baptism is a "surrogate birthing ritual" for men, in which they "compensate themselves for their invisible role in the birth of the child and diminish women's agency" (McClintock 1985, 29). Ultimately, women are rendered as "incomplete birthers: the child must be born again and named, by men" (McClintock 1985, 29). Throughout much of the scholarship on the male appropriation of birth, naming practices are a common theme. For example, Tuana recounts that in Genesis, the moment whereby God gives a name to everything that has been created "brings order to chaos" as he looks at what has been made and declares what he sees: "God called the light Day, and the darkness he called Night," and so on (Tuana 1993, 113). In this way, God not only created everything in the world from nothing, but also stamped the world with his own labels such that his actions can never be forgotten; the very words we use to refer to his creations are his. Furthermore, returning to the Virgin Mary, when she learned that she would bear a child of God, the angel said to her, "Do not be afraid, Mary, for you have found favor with God. And behold, you will conceive in your womb and bear a son, and you shall call his name Jesus" (Tuana 1993, 126).

Moving to the present day, male naming rituals are still a constant in much of Western society, both during baptismal ceremonies in which infants are still often named intentionally after saints, and in everyday life. In many—and it may be fair to say *most*—families with a mother and a father, the child (and often the wife, as well) takes the last name of the father. Luce Irigaray notes that man, whose participation in reproduction can be subject to doubt, marks "the product of copulation with *his own name*. Thereby woman, whose intervention in the work of engendering the child can hardly be questioned, becomes an anonymous worker, the machine in the service of a master-proprietor who will put his trademark on the finished product" (Irigaray 1985, 23). That is to say, in giving the child his own last name, man asserts himself as a creator of them, and the mother's participation, although visible while she was pregnant, is not recognizable once the child is born. The male appropriation of birth, in other words, entails rupturing matrilineal genealogies and erasing woman's active role as a birth-giver.

Baptism can be understood quite directly as a new birth—a pure and cleansing birth—such that the baptized is *reborn*, and this second birth takes importance over the first. One can see a similar problem in Arendt's discussion of "birth" in *The Human Condition*. Cavarero highlights this issue when she writes that Arendt "erases the very reality" of the "ordinary experience" of birth, meaning that Arendt works with an abstracted idea of birth that strays from actual birth. She continues to say that Arendt's "vision of birth as beginning avoids confronting the facts of a necessarily asymmetrical relationship" which "contrasts the symmetry and horizontality entailed in the scene of action" (Cavarero 2014, 24). In other words, Arendt's action as birth strays even further from actual birth in that "action" is constructed as an ideal in which everyone is equal and there are no asymmetrical power dynamics. Problematically, Arendt introduces a second birth that falls more in line with what philosophers have found to be ideal and demotes the first birth as less important. We can see, then, that wanting to find a "second birth" in order to appropriate the human condition of birth is systemic in nature.

Because baptism is seen as a second birth that is inherently better than one's initial birth, baptism can also be understood as a male appropriation of birth wherein the individual is born again from a father, and the mother—both the mother who gave birth to the baptized, and the mother figure in Christianity, the Virgin Mary—is rendered anonymous. It is specifically better than the originary birth because it pertains to the soul and not the body, it is oriented toward a transcendence of death as opposed to an insertion into life, and because it is from a man and not a woman. In these ways, we can draw similarities between the perceived superiority of philosophical thought and baptism as they are juxtaposed to the supposedly inferior human birth.

Importantly, this restructuring perpetuates the same redefining of natality that we see in philosophy: the primary, female maternity is the child's curse. According to the tradition, babies come into the world subject to sin and moving through time toward their mortal end. Once they are reborn through baptism, their primary curse is lifted, and they are promised Christian immortality; the second birth fixes the first. For every human, then, being born of a woman is the original sin, and baptism is a forgiveness of that sin. The patriarchal restructuring is then complete, because the human condition no longer needs to be rooted in being born of a mother; humans can now be born from one father, and furthermore they *should* be reborn from him. This process first erases our originary births, and second contributes systematically to the common notion of the human being as erect: after being baptized, the only kind of inclination needed should be one that is upward, toward God above.

Conclusion

The male appropriation of birth is key in perpetuating the notion that what defines humanity is self-sufficiency and mortality as opposed to relationality and natality. This structure redefines maternity as the very thing that orients us towards death, then it gives importance to disembodied births which are considered to be inherently superior insofar as they transcend the corporeality and temporality we are given at birth. Ultimately, this appropriation of the human condition of birth makes possible the commonly held idea that to be human requires autonomy and postural uprightness, encouraging us to turn away from our origins, which are inherently inclined.

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BATTLING THE CONTAGION: THE SALAFI-JIHADIST THREAT AND COUNTERING THE IDEOLOGY

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FIGURE 1

Eighteen years since the events of 9/11, the United States of America continues to face considerable counter-terrorism challenges directed at attacking the homeland. To understand the nature of the threat, it is important to understand the ideological basis of Islamist militancy. At the heart of the terrorist ideology is the dogma of Salafi-Jihadism, which argues that the world is in a state of Jahiliyyah or, pre-Islamic ignorance. Moreover, Salafi-Jihadists believe that it is essential to bring Islam back to its fundamental roots and establish a conservative Islamic society. Their method to achieve this political and religious objective in the Middle East is through the use of violent Jihad.[1] Traditional understandings of Jihad ranges from the most important form of struggling with one's self to the least important struggle of using violence in times of conflict for the sake of Islam. The former puts focus on strengthening an individual's *Iman*, while the latter seeks to take action against aggressors of Islam arguing on the premise of self-defense.[2] For decades, those adhering to the Islamic fundamentalist narrative have proclaimed that

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1   In religious context, Jihad is to exert struggle for the sake of Allah (God).
2   Iman is an individual's faith in the religion of Islam.

violent Jihad in times of war is a religious duty and holds the highest reward from Allah. This rhetoric is utilized to justify their nefarious actions against those who do not believe their version of Islam. Members of Salafi-Jihadist organizations have exploited selective ambiguous verses from the Quran to validate their egregious principles as a means to obtain support for attacks against the United States and its allies while contradicting the majority of Muslims who condemn those very beliefs.

Since the 1990s, militant groups working against the United States and its allies have orchestrated acts of terrorism and invoked the Salafi-Jihadist narrative of justifying their actions. Central to this narrative is an emphasis on striking against the "far enemy" (the United States) and denouncing American actions in the Middle East. The intent is to establish a Salafist Islamic society in the region and remove both "apostate" regimes backed by the US as well as American influence in the region. While the United States has taken great measures to ensure the safety of Americans both at home and abroad, the danger of Salafi-Jihadism lingers. In this analysis, I argue that the threat of Salafi-Jihadist fighters and groups are more significant today than days after the September 11 attacks. After establishing the threat to be greater, I provide reasons that explain why the ideology is becoming more widespread and allows potential recruits to become more receptive. Some of these factors involving the rise of Salafi-Jihadism include the declining governance across the Middle East, the United States' use of enhanced interrogation techniques, and the escalation of Islamophobia in the United States. In addition, I prescribe an alternative US counterterrorism policy that places greater emphasis upon the refutation of the ideology as the means to effectively diminish the influence it holds.

The Threat
After two decades of strenuous American foreign policy actions in the Middle East, the debate has shifted to whether the Salafi-Jihadist threat continues to loom greater than when it began. Current American military actions, working alongside allies in the Middle East, have resulted in organizations like the Islamic State of Iraq and Syria (ISIS) relinquishing territory once held earlier in the decade. As a result, some perceive Salafi-Jihadist groups to be succumbing to defeat. However, the realities of the situation on the ground demonstrate that this is not the case. The recent suicide attack on January 16, 2019 in Manbij, Syria claimed the lives of nineteen, including four Americans. This attack substantiates the Islamic State's determination to succeed and mobilize operations against Americans and others in the region.[3] While ISIS may have lost control of territory, it has not been defeated. Rather, it has simply gone underground.

Similarly, other entities like Al-Qaeda continue to maintain a low profile with the aim of rebuilding and reinitiating attacks against the United States and European nations. An abundance of information was obtained after the United States military operation in 2011 in Abbottabad, Pakistan, which led to the death of Al-Qaeda's founder, Osama Bin Laden. Letters that were recovered predict that Bin Laden's son will take the position of emir in replacement of Ayman Al-Zawahiri. The US Department of State on February 28, 2019, posted a reward for Hamza Bin Laden after determining that he released audio and video recordings encouraging followers to conduct attacks on the United States and Western allies in vengeance for the death of his father.[4] Salafist-Jihad continues with determination in spite of various military actions from the United States and coalition forces.

In November 2018, the Center for Strategic and International Studies (CSIS) published a report regarding

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3   Eric Schmitt, Ben Hubbard, and Rukmini Callimachi, "ISIS Attack in Syria Kills 4 Americans, Raising New Worries About Troop Withdrawal," *New York Times*, January 16, 2019, https://www.nytimes.com/2019/01/16/world/middleeast/isis-attack-syria-troops.html.

4   Kim Hjelmgaard, "Osama Bin Laden's Son Hamza Emerging as New Al-Qaeda Leader", *USA Today*, March 1, 2019, https://www.usatoday.com/story/news/world/2019/03/01/osama-bin-ladens-son-hamza-emerging-new-al-qaeda-leader/3025709002/

the evolution of the Salafi-Jihadist threat.[5] They define the classification under two criteria: the individuals' emphasis on returning to a "pure" version of Islam and their belief that violent Jihad is a religious duty. This report acknowledges that the number of Salafi-Jihadists today remain at near-peak levels since the movement first emerged in 1980. Moreover, estimates suggest there has been a 270 percent increase in Salafi-Jihadist combatants in 2018 since when the September 11 attacks occurred. This estimate encompasses countries with the highest number of fighters including Syria with 43,650 to 70,550 members; Afghanistan with 27,000 to 64,060; Pakistan with 17,900 to 39,450; Iraq with 10,000 to 15,000; Nigeria with 3,450 to 6,900; and Somalia with 3,095 to 7,240 members. As of 2018, there were sixty-seven known Salafi-Jihadist groups. This reflects a 180 percent increase in known affiliates between the years of 2001 and 2018.[6] The significant increase in enemy combatants and organizations reinforces that there is a proliferation of the ideology to all parts of the world which intensifies its ability to effectively coordinate attacks against the US and Western allies. CSIS concludes this report by asserting that the terrorism threat remains serious today and will continue to be in the foreseeable future.[7] The RAND Corporation's assessment regarding Al-Qaeda and other Salafi-Jihadist entities concurs with the preceding report.[8]

There has also been a recognizable increase in the number of attacks perpetrated by groups such as Al-Qaeda in the Arabian Peninsula, The Islamic State of Iraq and al-Sham (The Islamic State of Iraq and Syria), Al-Shabaab, and Jabhat al-Nusrah among others. The RAND Corporation

further addresses the significant increase in Salafi-Jihadist groups at 58 percent between the years 2010 and 2013.[9] That amounts to an increase of eighteen groups between three years. Overall, there were forty-nine Salafi-Jihadist groups in the year 2013. This is in comparison to the three affiliates known in 1988.[10] The report establishes that the Salafi-Jihadist threat remains aggressive and determined in the future to continue attacks against the United States and sovereign nations across the globe. While the ideology remains tenacious, it is imperative to understand previous actions that led to this point.

Governance in the Middle East

While there are a significant number of factors responsible for the rise of Salafi-Jihadists, the aforementioned RAND report follows one of three elements that furthers their influence and their capabilities in recruitment: the weakening governance across the Middle East. The year 2010 witnessed the catalyst of uprisings in the Middle East known commonly as the Arab Spring. Widespread demonstrations were echoed across the Arab world. Activists called for the removal of authoritarian regimes and establishment of democratic elected officials , albeit the protests led to destabilization and allowed for terrorist networks to flourish.

The RAND Corporation's evaluation of Al-Qaeda and Salafi-Jihadist groups asserts that weak and ineffective governments empower insurgencies and terrorist organizations due to challenges with effective local law enforcement and counterinsurgency practices.[11] As a result, a weak central government creates the ability for Salafi-Jihadist networks to prosper. The assessment shows a seventeen percent decrease in political stability

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5   The Center for Strategic and International Studies conducts policy studies on various political, economic, and security issues around the world.

6   Seth G. Jones et al., *The Evolution of the Salafi-Jihadist Threat: Current and Future Challenges from the Islamic State, Al-Qaeda, and Other Groups* (Washington, DC: Center for Strategic and International Studies, February 8, 2019), iv-7, https://csis-prod.s3.amazonaws.com/s3fs-public/publication/181221_EvolvingTerroristThreat.pdf.

7   Ibid., 45.

8   The RAND Corporation is a non-profit organization that offers research and analysis to the United States Armed Forces.

9   Seth G. Jones, *A Persistent Threat: The Evolution of Al Qa'ida and Other Salafi Jihadists* (RAND Corporation, 2014), 26, https://www.rand.org/content/dam/rand/pubs/research_reports/RR600/RR637/RAND_RR637.pdf.

10 Ibid, 27.

11 Weak and ineffective governments are defined as those who are unable to maintain stability within their sovereign territory and are unable to earn the cooperation of their citizens.

in the region from the years 2010 to 2012. Within that same timeframe, the region saw a significant decrease in the rule of law. The data encompasses a 21 percent drop in Egypt, 31 percent in the country of Libya, 17 percent in Nigeria, 61 percent in Syria, and 39 percent in Yemen. This statistical analysis determines that many of these countries across the Middle East and North Africa show a declining governance, allowing Salafi-Jihadist groups to fill the void and gain further control in the region.[12] This speaks to their resiliency despite efforts from the United States and coalition forces.

Mark Tessler discusses the implications of weak governance in the Middle East. Due to weak bureaucratic institutions, economic instability, and inadequate housing, many citizens express political discontent for their respective countries by falling under the banner of "Islam is the solution."[13] Many find the message to be positive because it represents an effective solution to reform regimes that will deal with political and economic concerns. Individuals are not operating under the premise of promoting religion, instead it is about bringing change to their countries' domestic issues. An assessment conducted in Morocco infers that groups adhering to the fundamentalist ideology receive support so long as there are social disadvantages and political discontent remains. What many citizens of the Middle East seek is an accountable government and greater economic development.[14] As long as these issues linger, it allows for sub-state actors adhering to the Salafi-Jihadist movement to thrive and receive consistent support. The solution requires the United States and allies to provide adequate political and economic reforms to combat the narrative Salafi-Jihadists promote. An example would be to deliver economic aid to the country while providing limited

advisement on establishing a democratic government. However, this is not the only explanation for the ideology's ability to thrive in the region.

Counterterrorism Interrogations

The aftermath of September 11 saw not only the invasion of Afghanistan and Iraq, but the resolve to hunt down particular individuals involved in attacks against the United States worldwide. Operatives captured by the United States were sought to provide actionable intelligence to prevent further atrocities like that of September 11. In order to obtain actionable intelligence from those detained, varying avenues of approach were sought. One approach embraced the concept of "enhanced interrogation."

The US used enhanced interrogation techniques during the George W. Bush administration. The use of such techniques was immediately terminated, however, under the Barack Obama administration after it was deemed as antithetical to achieving actionable intelligence. The implementation of enhanced interrogation techniques led not only to ineffectiveness in obtaining pertinent intelligence, it diminished the United States' standing in the international community. The techniques used included stress positions, sleep deprivation, depriving the individual of food and drink, and waterboarding. Additionally, the methods of enhanced interrogation led to rampant debates as to whether they should be classified as torture.

The Senate Select Committee on Intelligence's analysis regarding the Central Intelligence Agency's detention and interrogation program attests to those very conclusions. Based on various accounts, the CIA's techniques were not an effective means of obtaining accurate information from detainees. According to CIA records, seven of thirty-nine detainees known to have been subjected to the enhanced interrogation program did not produce any actionable intelligence. Those subjected to the program also fabricated information which translated to unsound

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12 Ibid., 44-45.

13 Mark A. Tessler, *The Origins of Popular Support for Islamist Movements: a Political Economy Analysis* (Milwaukee, WI: Center for International Studies, University of Wisconsin-Milwaukee and Marquette University, 1993), 108.

14 Ibid., 109.

intelligence. However, CIA detainees not subjected to these techniques had provided accurate intelligence.[15] Furthermore, this committee recognized that the CIA's detention and interrogation program developed tensions between the United States and its allies, which proved counterproductive for the United States' ability to effectively counter the Salafi-Jihadist threat.[16]

The Senate Select Committee affirmed that the method of enhanced interrogation was futile in countering Salafi-Jihadists plotting to attack the United States. More to the point, the use of these techniques proved to be a major recruitment tactic for Salafi-Jihadist groups. A preliminary analysis concluded that the use of enhanced interrogation in the US detention center in Guantanamo Bay, Cuba, and abroad in the Middle East incited extremists to enlist with insurgents in Afghanistan and Iraq. A State Department cable discussing the flow of fighters into Iraq furthered the claim by stating that the mistreatment of detainees in Abu Ghraib and Guantanamo Bay had been the single most important factor in motivating foreign jihadists.[17][18]

Despite this unproductive approach to interrogating enemy combatants, the Federal Bureau of Investigation applied a successful method after September 11th, 2001. Ali H. Soufan, a former FBI Special Agent who was responsible for many counterterrorism investigations surrounding Al-Qaeda before September 11, conducted successful interrogations that provided intelligence early on regarding the structure of Al-Qaeda. The intelligence obtained entailed how associates conducted themselves

and led to the prosecution of members in the future. Ali Soufan utilized the art of communication and empathy with Al-Qaeda members to obtain valuable intelligence and to refute their preconceived notions of American interrogation methods consisting of maltreatment.

In the case of Abu Jandal, a high-level Al-Qaeda operative, Ali Soufan initiated the interrogation with discussions ranging from topics on Islam to American history. The special agent not only engaged in debate, he utilized humor and drank tea with Abu Jandal as a display of humanity. The rapport-building became beneficial to the point the Al-Qaeda operative viewed his adversary as a friend.[19] The interview with Abu Jandal is epitomized today as the most successful interrogation of any Al-Qaeda operative. Critical information was obtained from Abu Jandal including the organization's capabilities, communication systems, and training.[20]

In summary, the United States' use of enhanced interrogation techniques against detainees emerged as unproductive in gathering intelligence to prevent attacks at the hands of Salafi-Jihadists while additionally serving as a recruiting tactic for foreign fighters to join. Consequently, Salafi-Jihadist groups gained further control of the Middle East and a significant increase in fighters to emerge a greater threat since the September 11 attacks. However, the use of empathy and humanity in interrogations as noted previously with the example of Ali Soufan is most effective. It is imperative this practice of interrogation continues to be utilized by the United States intelligence community if it is to maintain America's high stature on the international stage, diminish Salafi-Jihadist recruitment, and counter its ideology. It is also important to recognize the wrongdoing of enhanced interrogation techniques and classify them as torture as a means to heal from the debacle and move from it. The use of enhanced interrogation became a major factor for Salafi-Jihadist

15 *Senate Select Committee on Intelligence, Committee Study of the Central Intelligence Agency's Detention and Interrogation Program*, (Washington, DC, December 13, 2012), xi, fas.org/irp/congress/2014_rpt/ssci-rdi.pdf.

16 Ibid., xxv.

17 Johnson, Douglas A., Alberto Mora, and Averell Schmidt, "The Strategic Costs of Torture: How 'Enhanced Interrogation' Hurt America," *Foreign Affairs*, September/October, 2016, 122-23, www.law.upenn.edu/live/files/5734-johnsonmora-schmidt-the-strategic-costs-of.

18 Enhanced interrogations became a Salafi jihadist recruitment tactic since the actions were viewed as immoral and perceived as the US waging war against Muslims.

19 Ali H. Soufan and Daniel Freedman, *The Black Banners: The Inside Story of 9/11 and the War Against Al-Qaeda*, New York: W.W. Norton, 2011, 330.

20 Ibid., 333.

groups to thrive; however, religious discrimination at home continues to play a role in expanding that threat.

Islamophobia

Islamophobia was a prominent concern in the United States before September 11, 2001, but became even more pronounced afterwards.[21] A significant increase in Islamophobia was reflected in the rise of hate crimes against individuals adhering to the Islamic faith. With the ongoing effort to counter Salafi-Jihadists, many in the United States failed to recognize the distinction between those who observe the peaceful teachings of Islam and those who pervert it for violent political ambitions. This rhetoric displayed towards Islam describes the peaceful religion as violent, radical, and un-American.

A sizable number of people are hostile to Islam and Muslims, and are quick to justify horrific atrocities that target Muslims. The recent tragedy in New Zealand on March 15, 2019, is one of many instances where Islamophobia posed a relevant societal concern and where animosity towards Muslims transformed into violence. At the site of Masjid Al-Noor in Christchurch, New Zealand, and a second Masjid location in Linwood, the murder of innocent Muslims reflects the long-term tendency of conflating Islam and Muslims with those who distort the religion for justifications of violence.[22] The same tendencies of animosity are also seen in the United States. The Federal Bureau of Investigation's Uniform Crime Report corroborates this very notion. 2017 witnessed 1,679 offenses reported by law enforcement involving religious bias. Of those 1,679 offenses, 18.7 percent were anti-Islamic.[23] Islamophobia continues to remain a serious issue which Salafi-Jihadist institutions

exploit for recruitment purposes. Individuals, including politicians, writers, and religious figures, who associate Islam with terrorism influence many Americans to perceive all Muslims as potential threats. In consequence, Islamophobic rhetoric leads its victims to develop anger and seek retaliation due to constant discrimination and alienation from their fellow citizens.[24] This allows groups, particularly Al-Qaeda and the Islamic State of Iraq and Syria, to represent themselves as a false sense of community for Muslim Americans who feel alienated in the United States and perceive themselves as part of a movement greater than themselves.

The incident in Fort Hood, Texas, on November 5th, 2009, also exhibits the implications of Islamophobia and isolation of Muslim Americans from American society. Major Nidal Malik Hasan, an American-born Muslim who was a member of the United States military, attacked the military base in Fort Hood where thirteen servicemembers were murdered within minutes. After further investigation, many of Hasan's relatives informed investigators of colleagues discriminating against him for his religious beliefs. Hasan complained about instances of being harassed including an individual who drew a camel on his car and wrote, "Camel jockey, get out!"[25] Relatives described Hasan feeling disgruntled to the point he sought legal advice in order to receive a discharge from military service. The rhetoric spewed against him inevitably led Major Hasan to perceive his fellow servicemembers as enemies and find a sense of community in lectures from Al-Qaeda members like Anwar Al-Awlaki.[26] While the actions of Nidal Hasan are abhorrent, it is critical to note that this display of Islamophobic rhetoric led him to feel alienated within the US military and fueled his ambition for retaliation.

21 Islamophobia is described as the fear and resentment of Islam and Muslims.

22 Shibani Mahtani and Emanuel Stokes "New Zealanders Mourn, Vow to Stand Together — but Also to Debate Sensitive Issues," *The Washington Post*, March 16, 2019, 1-8, https://www.washingtonpost.com/world/new-zealand-shooting-live-updates/2019/03/16/8f2f75e8-482d-11e9-94ab-d2dda3c0df52_story.html.

23 Federal Bureau of Investigation, "Incidents and Offenses," in *Hate Crime Statistics*, 2017, (Washington, DC, Fall 2018), 3, ucr.fbi.gov/hate-crime/2017/topic-pages/incidents-and-offenses.pdf.

24 Ergin Ergül, *Islamophobia and The Counter-Terrorism Strategies*, (Jeddah: Independent Permanent Human Rights Commission of The Organisation of Islamic Cooperation, March 2017), 17-18, www.oic-iphrc.org/en/data/docs/studies/818084.pdf.

25 James C. McKinley and James Dao, "Fort Hood Gunman Gave Signals Before His Rampage," *The New York Times*, November 8, 2009, 2 , www.nytimes.com/2009/11/09/us/09reconstruct.html.

26 Ibid., 3-5.

The concern of Islamophobia empowers Salafi-Jihadists to exploit the difficulties of Muslims with identifying themselves as Americans and captures their anger to market their recruitment. The Salafi-Jihadist threat is enlarging due to the societal issues Muslim Americans face at home. These factors hold a pivotal role in Salafi-Jihadist recruitment and their influence in the Middle East. It allows for them to remain a serious threat to the United States through greater manpower, resulting in effectively coordinating attacks both home and abroad. Rather than alienate Muslim Americans, it is essential for Americans to enlist help from them and recognize the distinctions between Salafi-Jihadists who attempt to wrongfully represent themselves as Muslims and those who adhere to the true teachings of Islam. While the increasing presence of these transgressors infers a dismal future, solutions of combatting the narrative have the potential for diminishing the danger.

The Prescription

The Salafi-Jihadist ideology ultimately seeks to revert Islam back to its fundamental elements based on the argument that the religion is in a period of decline. As the means to achieve the ends, Salafi-Jihadists adhere to the use of violent tactics to daunt its "far enemy" and establish an Islamic society within the Middle East. In spite of the United States' efforts to deter terrorist attacks from these organizations, the threat remains. Nonetheless, to effectively diminish the threat of Salafi-Jihadists, military action cannot be the sole method implemented in American foreign policy. This alludes to the prescription of countering the Salafi-Jihadist ideology as the most effective means to diminish its threat towards the United States. The overarching ambition of Salafi-Jihadists is to raise awareness amongst Muslims that the religion is in a state of decline since its peak in the first centuries of its inception. In a time where individuals face challenges of self-identification, Salafi-Jihadists seek to promote a new identity for others to adhere to.[27]

Furthermore, they view their identity as a membership bestowing comfort, community, dignity, security, and honor amongst Muslims.[28] They describe their belief and their enemies in religious terms. They illustrate their strategy and mission as a religious one. Lastly, they insert selective verses from the Quran to justify their rhetoric and acts of violence against others.[29] After establishing Salafist-Jihad as an extreme religious attitude that cherry-picks ambiguous verses from the Quran to rationalize its ambition for violence against the United States, the logical procedure to diminish the threat is to refute its justifications. In doing so, it is essential to use the weapon of empathy against them. It is crucial to grasp their view of the international order and understand their motivations and thought processes.[30]

In a composition written by Ali Soufan, he describes the greatest asset to Salafi-Jihadists is their extremist ideology. To counter it, their claims to present true Islamic piety must be revealed as a hypocrisy. For instance, the attacks against mosques, specifically Al-Masjid an Nabawi in Medina, Saudi Arabia on July 4, 2016, displays their beliefs as antithetical to the true teachings of Islam. Their attacks against the second holiest site in Islam violate the fundamental tenets of the religion when regarding violent action in the holy city and murder without justification. This presents the ideology as distant from the true form of the religion. Former FBI Agent Soufan advocates another method of countering their convictions by delivering a message that is equally critical of them. Rather than relay messages that contradict Salafist-Jihad from Western or local governments, it is more impactful for those words to be echoed by Islamic clerics or scholars.[31] In the encompassing grand strategy of America's foreign policy in the Middle East, it is vital to cease conflicts in the region and maintain a light footprint when conducting military operations. The United States should maintain

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27 Assaf Moghadam, "The Salafi-Jihad as a Religious Ideology," *CTC Sentinel*, February 2008, ctc.usma.edu/the-salafi-jihad-as-a-religious-ideology/.

28 Ibid., 2-3.

29 Ibid., 2-3.

30 Ali Soufan, "How to Beat Salafi-Jihadi Terrorism," *Cato Unbound*, February, 2018, 1, www.cato-unbound.org/2018/02/07/ali-soufan/how-beat-salafi-jihadi-terrorism.

31 Ibid., 3-4.

the responsibility of confronting nations who advocate the Salafi-Jihadist narrative. Last, the United States must provide the Muslim world with the ability to critically think as a means to logically distinguish falsifying rhetoric being used by Salafi-Jihadist groups and recognize the true principles of Islam.[32]

The rhetoric used by these groups is known to be organized and effective, whereas the opposition to this ideology has been unsuccessful. Nevertheless, prominent Islamic institutions take great strides to proactively rebut the many assertions Salafi-Jihadists make. To illustrate, Al-Azhar University's online Observatory for Combating Extremism seeks to counter the Islamic State's interpretation of Islam by presenting online refutations. They are in the process of educating imams on effectively using social media to counter the Salafi-Jihadist narrative within their own communities.[33] These methods of countering the ideology of Salafist-Jihad have the potential to effectively curtail the rhetoric being spouted by the entities that adhere to it. United States foreign policy must consist of circulating messages critical of the Salafi-Jihadist narrative, particularly by Muslim scholars, and to provide further education on the true teachings of Islam as a means to refute their belief.

Salafi-Jihadism is a greater threat today to the United States both home and abroad than it was when the unfortunate events of September 11 occurred. Its rhetoric echoes amongst individuals in the Middle East and across the globe. It has had a profound impact on obtaining consistent recruitment of individuals from all corners of the world and maintaining an influence in the region. While US military action takes great measures to deter attacks against both military and civilians alike, it fails to solve the challenge of a resurging ideology that is adamant to thrive. This report labels many reasons why

Salafi-Jihadists are able to flourish and present a greater threat today. One occurrence is at the sight of lacking governance in the Middle East. This results in a power vacuum, allowing Salafi-Jihadists to gain a foothold and further their dominance in the region. Second, the use of enhanced interrogation techniques under the Bush administration continued to fuel Salafi-Jihadist recruitment. These techniques diminish America's stature in the international community, particularly in the Middle East and do not obtain actionable intelligence to prevent future terrorist attacks. A last instance of where Salafi-Jihadism gains further notoriety is due to Islamophobia in the United States. Particularly in the US and other developed nations, the resentment and animosity of Muslims incites violence against them. This leads to a concern where Muslims have difficulties identifying themselves to their respective nations and find solace in identifying with the false narrative that is pushed by Salafi-Jihadist organizations.

In order to effectively deter the rising threat of this radical perspective that blasphemies the true teachings of Islam, it is imperative to use excerpts from the Quran and the teachings of the Prophet Muhammad to contradict the violent teachings that Salafi-Jihadists preach. Military action does not solely provide a solution to the overall issue surrounding this challenge, rather it is a Band-Aid solution to the problem. It requires understanding the enemy and using their teachings against them. If the United States does not combat the narrative and attack the ideology, it will witness the continuation of playing whack-a-mole for decades to come.

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32 Ibid. p. 5-6.

33 Rachel Bryson and Milo Comerford, *Countering Extremist Ideology*, (Washington, DC: Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, February 6, 2018), 1-3, https://carnegieendowment.org/sada/75459.

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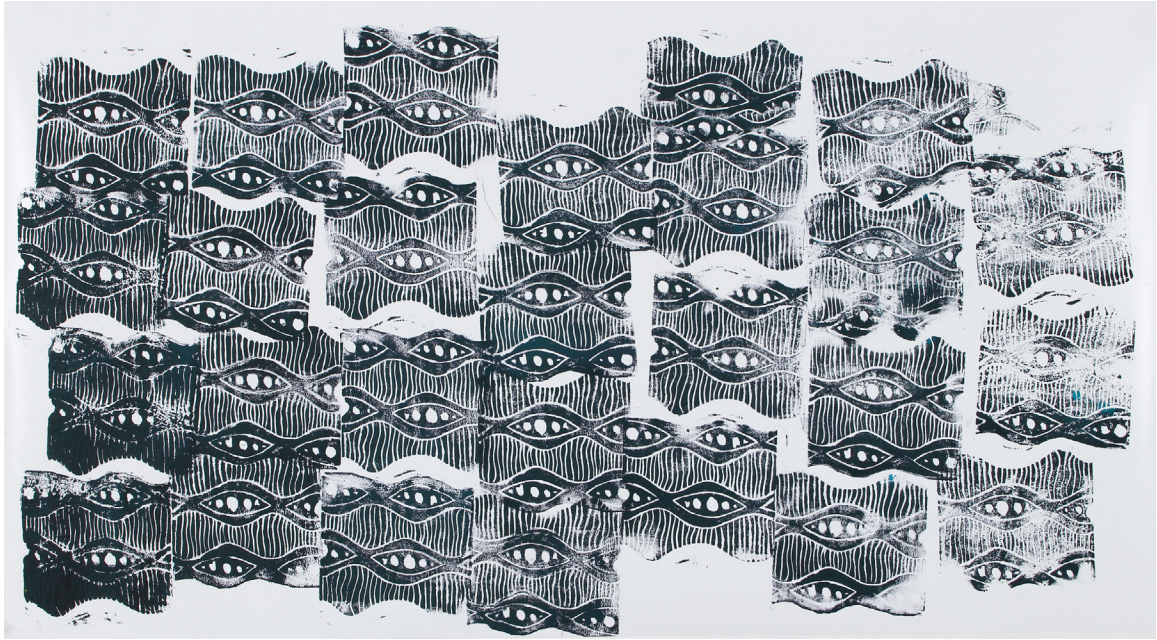
Jillian Bridgeman | *Experimental gray*

IDEOLOGY MANIFEST: THE *GRUPO DE PINTORES ¡30-30!* AND THE AVANT-GARDE MANIFESTO IN MEXICO

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The *corrido,* or Mexican folk ballad, "*Carabina 30-30*"[1] is a popular reference to a type of rifle that would become emblematic of the Mexican Revolution, as well as what would become the inspiration for the name of a new collective of artists in the summer of 1928 in Mexico City. The *Grupo de Pintores ¡30-30!* was active from 1928 until 1930 and took Mexican revolutionary ideals as a central pillar in their artistic production and aesthetic discourse, which often translated into provocative public displays of discontent with the state of government-sponsored art. The members of this group, the *Treintatrentistas,*[2] took a militaristic approach to the push for the democratization of art. Among the ranks of this group figure significant artists of the time like Fermín Revueltas, Gabriel Fernández Ledesma, Fernando Leal, and Ramón Alva de la Canal, alongside the occasional support of Diego Rivera and Frida Kahlo. All members worked actively to make didactic and anti-Academic forms of art available to the common people through the creation of cutting-edge exhibitions and educational workshops, seen in the foundation and administration of the Mexican Schools of Open-Air Painting (*Escuelas de Pintura al Aire Libre*), the Schools of Direct Sculpture and Carving (*Escuelas de Escultura y Talla Directa*), and the People's Centers of Painting (*Centros Populares de Pintura*).

The *Grupo de Pintores ¡30-30!* fit into the larger narrative of the development of the avant-garde in Mexico, situating themselves in between prominent avant-garde and revolutionary groups such as the muralists, *estridentistas,* and the *Taller de Gráfica Popular.* The *Treintatrentistas* form an important transitional part of the plotline in Mexican art history, as well as its political history. Their most celebrated texts—five manifestos, one protest, and a journal of three issues—are all rich with cultural, historical, and political references of the time, all of which affirmed the *Treintatrentistas'* radical socialist beliefs in the politics surrounding the institutions of art and government, and what role both bodies should play in Mexican society. As such, this essay seeks first to place the texts within their necessary context and then to present the first manifesto in translation for the first time, and ultimately to give the written word of the collective highest importance in critical analysis.

Literature Review

The *Grupo de Pintores ¡30-30!* takes form within one of the most exciting and rapidly changing times in Mexican art history: the post-revolutionary period (1917-1940) following the fall of the Porfiriato and the subsequent struggle for power among various rival revolutionary groups. While slightly less turbulent, the post-revolutionary period

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1 The chorus lyrics in translation are as follows: "With my 30-30 I'm gonna enlist / And swell the ranks of the revolution / If it's my blood they ask for, it's my blood they'll get / For the inhabitants of our nation."

2 Spelling varies across primary and secondary sources. For the present essay, the author has chosen the variant used most frequently by the collective.

faced endless political dissent, creating an enormously fertile time for the arts. Groups like the muralists, the *estridentistas,* and the *Contemporáneos* all gained prominence in the 1920s alongside the *Grupo de Pintores ¡30-30!.* However, the scholarship surrounding this collective is sparse, and the others of the list have thus far dominated the art-historical literature on the decade.

In scholarship, the collective enjoyed only occasional mentions until the 1993 publication *¡30-30! Contra la Academia de Pintura*[3] by Mexican art historian Laura González Matute. This study was the first attempt at a holistic analysis and valorization of the group; this finally brought the movement into art history classrooms and inspired new scholarship—though effectively only in Spanish-speaking contexts. English resources remain limited. A translation of one of their works in Dawn Ade's 1989 *Art in Latin America: The Modern Era, 1820-1980*[4] is an early, isolated case of attention. However, the text does not provide any interpretation, and the *Treintatrentistas* go without mention in the main text of the book. The 2013 publication *Mexico's Revolutionary Avant-gardes: From Estridentismo to ¡30-30!* by Tatiana Flores represents an important step forward.[5] This text is essential to the English-speaking community with interest in the *Grupo de Pintores ¡30-30!* for its more comprehensive discussion of the group and its relation to other areas of the Mexican avant-garde. However, as it stands now, the *Grupo de Pintores ¡30-30!* has yet to be the singular focus of an English publication. Aside from the document translated in the Ades text, the rest of their documents have received little attention, and most notably, the five manifestos created by the *Treintatrentistas* have never been translated. This essay aims to address these gaps in the scholarship and to make the words and ideas of the *Grupo de Pintores ¡30-30!* more accessible to a wider audience.

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3   Laura González Matute. *¡30-30! Contra la Academia de Pintura.* Mexico City: CENIDIAP, 1993.

4   Dawn Ades, Guy Brett. *Art in Latin America: The Modern Era, 1820-1980.* New Haven: Yale University Press, 1989.

5   Tatiana Flores. *Mexico's Revolutionary Avant-gardes: From Estridentismo to ¡30-30!.* New Haven: Yale University Press, 2013.

The Academy of San Carlos

The history of the *Grupo de Pintores ¡30-30!* is tied inextricably to the history of the Academy of San Carlos. The *Treintatrentistas* as artists had intimate, lifelong ties to the institution, and a large portion of the activities of the collective responded directly and volatilely to the changes (or lack thereof) that took place within the Academy during the post-revolutionary period. Therefore, in order to establish an understanding of the group and the texts they created, a discussion of their declared enemy is required. The Mexican Academy was founded in 1781 as the Mexican Imperial Academy of San Carlos (*Academia Imperial de San Carlos de México*). Though its name was changed in 1867 to the National School of the Fine Arts (*Escuela Nacional de Bellas Artes*), its original name was maintained in popular usage. As such, the present study will henceforth refer to the institution at hand as the Academy.

During the viceregal period, Mexico's colonial subjugation forced the Academy to keep with the aesthetic standards of Europe. After independence, new nationalistic ideas began to emerge in art, beginning the long path towards the revalorization of the constructed indigenous cultural treasures of the Mexican nation in the idealized aesthetics of European Academies. During the tyranny of the decades-long dictatorship of Porfirio Díaz (c. 1876-1911), the Academy solely supported traditional Western art, which prioritized naturalistic, Romantic painting. With the downfall of the elitist regime of the Porfiriato in 1911 and the rise of revolutionary sentiment came the ever more persistent questioning of the traditional aesthetic hierarchies of the Academy. With new political ideals emerging, the young artists of the time worked to challenge the past, more emboldened than ever to implement a new art—one in line with the novelties of the construction of the modern nation. The old director, Antonio Rivas Mercado, remained a final vestige of the face of the traditional aesthetics of the Academy. Though he only managed to keep control over the school for a short time after the fall of Porfirio Díaz, within the period that he remained, the students of the departments of

painting, printmaking, and sculpting organized a strike to have him removed and were accordingly suspended.[6] In order to draw the striking students back to the Academy, the administration of the school eventually appointed the painter Alfredo Ramos Martínez, former student and active dissenter of the Academy, as its subdirector in 1911. Rivas Mercado stepped down shortly after, and Ramos Martínez was named the new director of the Academy. He brought with him revitalizing and revolutionary ideas that would change the role of Mexico's Academy drastically. In his first year, he began the first-ever Mexican School of Open-Air Painting (*Escuela de Pintura al Aire Libre*)— henceforth referred to as EPAL. He located it in the rural community Santa Anita, just outside of Mexico City and named it Barbizón. In this school, fittingly named after the French Barbizon, impressionism flourished in an encounter with the peoples and landscapes of the Mexican countryside. However, the effort was short-lived. The next year, President Victoriano Huerta fell, taking the government that supported Ramos Martínez's role as director along with it. In the resulting chaos, Ramos Martínez was forced to close Barbizón and to leave his post.[7]

The newly opened position was next assumed by the revolutionary artist Gerardo Murillo, better known as Dr. Atl. He fervently supported the efforts to move away from the colonial impositions of the models of the European Academies, and instead stressed the importance of aesthetics indigenous to Mexico and associated with the artisan-laborer, posed in opposition to the fine artist. However, the directorship of Dr. Atl was to be short-lived. He, along with the Carranza government that appointed him, fled the capital for Orizaba. Led by Venustiano Carranza, Dr. Atl fled the capital for Orizaba. By 1920, the revolution was more or less settled. In the newly acquired peace, Ramos Martínez was appointed by the then-rector of the National Mexican University and famous patron of the arts, José Vasconcelos, to his old post as director of the Academy. He immediately continued with his nontraditional pedagogical exploits and reopened a school of open-air painting on the outskirts of Mexico City in Chimalistac. In opening the school here, his goal was to attract the lower-class children of local farmers and to immerse his urban middle-class students in the rural atmosphere of Mexico, thus cultivating an open approach to the arts—one which strengthened the relationship of the arts with the communities of poor farmers, laborers, and indigenous peoples.[8]

Schools of Open-Air Painting

During the entirety of the span of the activity of *Estridentismo* and the development of muralism, the newly returned EPAL was developing and becoming an important gathering place for prominent artists of the Mexican avant-garde, such as Fernando Leal, Ramón Alva de la Canal, Gabriel Fernández Ledesma, and Fermín Revueltas. The school, which began in Chimalistac, then moved to Coyoacán, and finally settled in Churubusco in 1924, became an important place to connect the middle-class artists with experimental, more spontaneous art, inherently tied with the Mexican countryside and its residents.[9] It was a place for development, both artistically and ideologically, for a new generation of artists that would be given the power to further develop their progressive art ideals in the younger generation.

The original students of the EPAL were then offered positions as directors of the three new EPALs that would open in 1925, giving them the power to become the new generation of art educators and to change the face of their school. There were to be new branches of the EPAL in Xochimilco, Tlalpan, and Guadalupe Hidalgo, put into the care of Rafael Vera de Córdova, Francisco Díaz de León,

6   González Matute and Gómez del Campo, *¡30-30! Contra la Academia de Pintura*, 25.

7   González Matute, *Escuelas de Pintura al Aire Libre y Centros Populares de Pintura*, 49-59.

8   González Matute and Gómez del Campo, *¡30-30! Contra la Academia de Pintura*, 28-32.

9   González Matute, *Escuelas de Pintura al Aire Libre y Centros Populares de Pintura*, 75-85.

and Fermín Revueltas respectively.[10] The schools fostered the education of those who had traditionally been left behind by the Academy. They catered to the residents of the rural areas in which the schools were located and worked closely with the children of laborers and farmers to cultivate their own naïf art that would be championed by those who took a special interest in the "primitive," thought to be inherent in what was considered the most essentially Mexican, the most innocent of outside influence of all Mexican populations.

El Grupo de Pintores ¡30-30!

The original thirty members of the *Grupo de Pintores ¡30-30!* came together in an effort to promote alternative forms of art and to encourage greater anti-Academic sentiment. The core of the group's populist ideological motivations revolves around the ever-evolving political stance and pedagogical techniques employed by the Academy of San Carlos. Perhaps the effort closest to the heart of this collective was that of the EPALs. A substantial number of the original members were personally involved in the efforts of the popular education programs, many first as students who would then move on to become teachers and directors. Therefore, their work in this particular collective was to rally support for their efforts in the schools and to spread anti-Academic sentiment throughout the city.

Their art can be characterized as commonly focusing on the subjects of the everyday life of the indigenous, working, and farming sectors of Mexican society, represented primarily in canvas painting, and in linocut and woodcut printmaking. However, the *Grupo de Pintores ¡30-30!* did not mandate systems of aesthetics. The artists continued to produce art in their own (nationalistic, indigenist, costumbrist, etc.) styles across various media; what united the members were the ideas and activism reflected in the collectively authored manifestos. That is to say, the *Treintatrentistas* were linked much more closely by ideology than aesthetics, and so the most representative

artworks, or perhaps arguably the only artworks, that the *Grupo de Pintores ¡30-30!* produced were their illustrated texts, such as their manifestos.

Texts

The five manifestos the *Grupo de Pintores ¡30-30!* were produced between July and December of 1928. Each manifesto is a large, colorful, broadsheet poster with artfully arranged text, accompanied by almost clumsy illustrative woodblock prints integrated into the overarching design. They were made to be reproduced and always with the intention of public use, as they were created expressly to be pasted on the doors of the Academy and the walls of the center of Mexico City.[11] The messages conveyed were short and written in imperfect, informal language, allowing any literate passerby to engage with the text. They were written to provoke the bourgeoisie in order to challenge the power they held over artistic production in Mexico, especially as it had to do with the Academy.

First Manifesto

Due to constraints of space, only the first manifesto (Fig. 1) will be presented for discussion, included here for the first time in translation (Appendix A). This text was selected for analysis in contrast to the previously mentioned choice by Dawn Ades in her text *Art in Latin America: The Modern Era, 1820-1980* for its greater representational quality of the work of the collective. The text that she included in her publication was designated as a "Protest." It is not a part of the original sequence of the five manifestos and is, comparatively, much tamer. The first manifesto most directly displays the foundational beliefs and goals of the *Grupo de Pintores ¡30-30!* and marked the beginning of the most productive and incendiary months that the group had had over the course of their activity. It was composed in the wake of the assassination of the President-elect Álvaro Obregón and pasted on the walls of Mexico City

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10 González Matute, *Escuelas de Pintura al Aire Libre y Centros Populares de Pintura*, 87.

11 González Matute and Gómez del Campo, *¡30-30! Contra la Academia de Pintura*, 19.

FIGURE 1

El Grupo de Pintores ¡30-30!. *1er. Manifiesto Treintatrentista.*

one night in July 1928. The document is not signed, most likely in a purposeful effort to establish communal authorship, affirming their collectivist ideologies. The same is true for the illustrations that decorate the margins, though they are attributed to the *Treintatrentista* artist Fernando Leal.[12]

Inspired by a general sense of unrest with the Academy, each point in the manifesto serves as a new insult to one group of students or professors after another. It opens with the header shared across all five manifestos that addresses Academics first and foremost, then government workers, culminating in the inclusion of all intellectuals. All are listed with creative insults built

into their language—conservative government workers become "robbers of public office" and intellectuals become "intellectualoid parasites."[13] Following what would become a familiar header, the collective presents its contents in the format of a numbered list, packaging their messages in short, illustrated bullet points. Their first sentence opens boldly by dismissing all artistic and moral value that those who support the Academy might claim. They follow by declaring all Academic artistic production "artistic abortions and fetuses that day after day crawl out of the filthy sewers of the mother Academy," immediately setting the level of acceptable language quite low. The accompanying prints further this theme, crudely illustrating the reptiles and insects to which they have likened their enemies. Thus, the *Treintatrentistas* begin their activity eager to prove themselves true revolutionaries and provoke the conflict for which they so insistently call.

Throughout the text, they create and maintain a direct relationship between the arts and politics. One way in which this manifests in their work is the recurring theme of revolutionary history. The reference to the "few nostalgic spinsters persistent in overshadowing the glory of the magistrate's wife, Doña Josefa Ortiz de Domínguez" is one instance of a tendency to utilize indirect methods of identifying others. In this case, one must first understand that Ortiz de Domínguez is a national hero from the Mexican War of Independence and therefore used as a representative of the decolonization effort in Mexico. So, these spinsters are not only conservatives, but hispanophiles engaged in an act of violence against the Mexican revolutionary legacy. In a more contemporary reference, the enemies are not simply "reactionaries" or "conservatives," but instead, they are "sectarians of the Concha Madre" or "members of the brotherhood of León Toral," linking those not aligned with them ideologically

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12 González Matute and Gómez del Campo, *¡30-30! Contra la Academia de Pintura*, 47.

13 El Grupo de Pintores ¡30-30!. *1er Manifiesto Treintatrentista*, 1928. Reproduced in *¡30-30! contra la Academia de Pintura*. Mexico City: CENIDIAP, 1993.

with the two conspirators behind the death of President-elect Obregón. This is a text deeply immersed in its political and cultural surroundings; its insults are characterized by a high level of historical and political knowledge, making what might at first glance seem wholly childish, actually quite complex and demanding of great social awareness from the reader.

Outside of politics, the treatment of gender, art, and the revolution in the first manifesto is of interest. The women of the Academy are not free from the morbid ill-wishes that all other categories of Academics had received in the six items of the list preceding them, but the language in their particular insults is deeply gendered. Not shockingly for the time, the life of the woman is constructed around the home—her only possible intention in pursuing art production is the search for a husband, and the imagined worst-case scenario for the woman is to be cursed to grow old alone surrounded by her art, without ever having married or had children. Thus, the text implicitly states that the pursuit of a career in the arts for them would leave them without the ability to follow through on their mightiest of social expectations, leaving them desolate and their lives meaningless. This imagery creates an interesting tension apparent between their sexist treatment of women artists and the female members of the collective. Members of the collective like Tina Modotti, an Italian artist who made her life in Mexico, were highly celebrated artists of the time and assets to the group, leading one to question the true relationship of the members of this group to the concept of the female artist.

The first manifesto is a text riddled with ambiguity and contradiction. The women they are insulting are of the bourgeoisie, but in order to maintain an atmosphere of animosity, the authors choose to taunt them with images of poverty. They accuse the women of attending the Academy merely to seek husbands and avoid the work that their mothers have for them in their homes in the very poorest area of the city. Later, the authors refer to the Academy as a tenement complex and subsequently as a hovel, thus framing conditions of poverty once again as an insult. It is not clear why the group that has declared itself an ally of the working classes and those living in poverty is resorting to poverty here as an easy-feeling slight. It is perhaps impossible to completely escape the so deeply ingrained prejudice against the lifestyle of the poor, even when attempting to come from a sympathetic angle. Regardless, the *Grupo de Pintores ¡30-30!* finds itself in another contradiction, most likely due to the nature of the publication, printed in a rush with (purposefully) little thought for the nuance of language, made quickly and meant solely to be incendiary.

Conclusion

With each manifesto, this incendiary nature would only increase—the playful insults became pointed attacks, and the consequences of the provocative behavior exhibited by the *Grupo de Pintores ¡30-30!* finally caught up with them. After publishing their fifth manifesto, they were threatened with the losses of the government-sponsored jobs that the majority of *Treintatrentistas* held and were backed into a corner with an ultimatum between the subjection to governmental censorship or the cessation of all publication. Despite the righteous front the *Treintatrentistas* displayed in their manifestos, the members of the collective decided to stop all publications. With the end to the freedom of their written word, the group kept active for approximately two more years, working primarily in organizing exhibitions for the collective's art. However, without the unifying power of their publications, the group lost its momentum and would soon fade into obscurity, with graphic art groups like LEAR (*Liga de Escritores y Artistas Revolucionarios*) and the TGP (*Taller de Gráfica Popular*) taking up the reins of revolutionary art next. After the end of their activity as a collective, their manifestos would serve as their most unique and most enduring legacy. From the moment of their creation and on, the *Treintatrentista's* manifestos create a space where image and word combine to

communicate their message, creating a complex, dialogic space that requires the active thought and participation of its viewer in order to challenge hierarchies and make art available to all.

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Mitch Buangsuwon | *Bamboo in The Mae Kuang Reservoir*

PALESTINIAN MIDWIVES AS RESISTANCE ACTORS

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Introduction

Some silences are all-consuming. For Aname, a physician's disinterest in her pregnancy history meant that the trauma festering at the tip of her tongue might simply eat away at her. In 2002, Israeli soldiers shot at her ambulance as it neared a checkpoint and refused to let her through for an emergency cesarean section. Like many Palestinian women at the time, she was devastated when she was forced to return home and her baby was born strangled in her village clinic. She spent the next five years anxiously debating if she would ever face giving birth again (Mortensen, 2018, p. 381). This sort of trauma, and living with its residual stress, could have serious impacts on the health of her next child, including dangerously low birth weight or cognitive disabilities (Chiang, 2015, p. 1). The pain of that experience will never be alleviated, but access to a consistent support system as she went through her 2007 pregnancy, thanks to a midwife who was regularly dispatched to her village, meant that she found the information and affirmation that she needed to bring another baby into the world, despite her physician's disinterest. Midwives like Aname's have the capacity to reduce harm for pregnant women in Palestine by making referrals to specialists, lessening anxiety through the dissemination of information, providing prenatal and postnatal care for mother and baby, and coming to communities that have limited mobility due to Israeli checkpoints, curfews, and border closures.

The crisis in maternal and infant birth outcomes in Palestine is multifaceted, and the ability to raise healthy families is a right currently denied to many. Informed by a non-Western feminist framework, this research essay will posit that Palestinian midwives are doing meaningful work to improve birth outcomes for mothers[1] and babies living under Israeli occupation, and as a result, should be understood as essential resistance actors in the Palestinian-Israeli conflict.

Background on Palestinian-Israeli Conflict and Gendered Occupation Experiences

Since the early Zionist movement was founded by Herzl in the nineteenth century (Kamrava, 2013, p. 73), the territory of Palestine has been a site for Jewish migration, chosen for religious significance of the land and popular, false narratives that the land was largely unoccupied. Prior to the end of the first World War, the British, having consulted privately with US President Woodrow Wilson, released a calculated letter called the Balfour Declaration—the first of many American endorsements of neocolonial involvement in the Palestinian region.

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1 The author would like to acknowledge that not all people with the capacity to give birth identify with the term "mother" or as "women". This paper will use such language as it is the dominant vernacular of the research, but notes the communities this may be excluding and would encourage researchers in the future to broaden their studies to include non-cis bodies that are additionally marginalized.

Its contents established the British intention of turning Palestine into a homeland for the Jewish people following the war, with vague, unactionable promises to ensure the rights of communities already in the region. The French also assured their own benefits and engaged in this imperial activity via the Sykes-Picot Agreement, in which they divided up old Ottoman lands with the British to create the mandate system (Kamrava, 2013, p. 73). During the Mandate period, Jewish migration increased (Kamrava, 2013, p. 42). In 1947, responding to the growing conflict over rapid Jewish migration in the former British Mandate Palestine, the United Nations drew a map to preserve Palestinian lands and ensure an opportunity for the Jewish community to have their own state—Israel. This plan was met with skepticism from both communities.

Following the 1948 war, known in the Palestinian community as the *Nakba* or "catastrophe" (Shalhoub-Kevorkian, 2009, p. 4), hundreds of thousands of Palestinians were forcibly removed from their homeland as the Israeli army pushed beyond those boundaries. There are now five generations of Palestinian refugees living in the diaspora. In 1967, the Israelis put the Palestinian regions of Gaza and West Bank under military occupation (Fisher, 2014). In 1978, the Camp David Accords between Egyptian and Israeli leaders on U.S. soil led to the quelling of the longstanding tension Israel had with neighboring Arab nations, and served to legitimize Israel's right to exist in the international community, even though Israel failed to meet the requirements of U.N. Resolution 242—receding to the old U.N.-drawn boundaries—not upholding their end of the Accords (Kamrava, 2013, p. 125). Frustrations and violence boiled over when, in 1987, the first *intifada*— meant to invoke "tremors of an earthquake"—occurred, a mass uprising that garnered international attention for its imagery of Palestinian children throwing stones at Israeli soldiers and being met with gunfire (Sabbagh, 1998, 1). This event followed a mere five years after the destruction of refugee camps in Lebanon and the subsequent massacre in Sabra and Shatila (Freidman, p. 1982).

Direct peace talks between Israel and Palestine were attempted throughout the 1990s, via the Oslo Accords meetings. Meant to initiate a transition to peace over time, the Accords fell apart as violence continued at home and Rabin (Israel's Prime Minister) was assassinated for his involvement in the talks by a young, radicalized Israeli countryman (Kamrava, 2013, p. 329). This violence and distrust fostered a second *intifada*, which began in the year 2000, heightening not only the bloodshed, but also the massive security apparatus and surveillance state under which Palestinians still live. Israeli settlements, Jewish communities inside of Palestinian territory that are forcibly taken and guarded by members of the Israeli army, have intensified the feeling of occupation over time, and guarded checkpoints have been put up along the border and major roads (Fisher, 2014). There are regular outbreaks of violence between the two communities, both radicalized violence and civilian/military encounters. Palestinians have borne the brunt of those casualties, including mass injury, destruction of property, arrests of children (Burnat, Camdessus, Davidi, & Gordey, 2013), and displacement, alongside the many other impacts of occupation (Harris & Fisher, 2016).

In the now more than 60 years of direct occupation, Palestinian women have felt the unique, gendered consequences of life in a conflict zone. They navigate international perceptions of victimhood, engage in acts of resistance, and face daily violence. As Nadera Shalhoub-Kevorkian, Palestinian researcher and activist, reminds readers, the struggle and resistance of Palestinian women must be understood as a site of confluence for many hegemonic powers, not only of patriarchy but also of imperialism. Conceptualizing how these women maneuver these barriers, then, must be examined and held in its complexity. Shalhoub-Kevorkian (2009) writes, "I am primarily conceptualizing women's agency as a geo-political, bio-political, thanato-political, and social location that allows women to act, move onwards, and bring about transformations. Agency is *inherently situational*" (p. 50). This understanding of Palestinian women's agency in the

occupied context allows observers to consider the ways in which they are forced to confront, redefine, and resist against their oppression. Take, for example, the way the West often "culturalize[s] violence as a way of dismissing it" in Palestine (p. 51). Palestinian women have to cope with patriarchal violence within their own communities and then additional racialized, neocolonial patriarchy that facilitates the West's disinterest in supporting them.

## Healthcare and Birthing Practices in Occupied Palestine

In order to understand how Israeli relations have impacted maternal and infant health in Palestine, it is important to look at the history of how the healthcare system has been managed. Traditionally, Palestinian births were attended by indigenous women called *dayat (*singular: *daya)* in homes, serving as doulas to birthing mothers. Throughout the 1900s, these birthing practices saw a shift from home births towards hospitalized births alongside much of the world (Giacaman Wick, Abdul-Rahim, & Wick, 2005, p. 132). Under the Israeli Civil Administration, which ran and budgeted for healthcare in Palestinian territory from 1967 to 1993, *dayat* and midwives were still able to attend these births. *Dayat,* however, were largely phased out of attending births and provided follow-up homecare only, via an Administration failure to license new *dayat* as older ones retired. This contributed to a derogatory stigma against *dayat* as rural, unintelligent, and unclean (Giacaman et al, 2005, p. 134), a distinctly imperialist strategy of delegitimizing indigenous knowledge and practice. The authors of one political history note that without appropriate practices and resources, the medicalization of births by relocating them to hospitals does not make them inherently safer, as is evident in many hospitals today—if women in labor can even reach a hospital in the first place. It does, on the other hand, make the Palestinian population easier to track than if births were still happening in rural homes (Giacaman et al., 2005, p. 133).

Following the first Oslo Accords in 1993, the Palestinian Ministry of Health took over healthcare in the Palestinian region. The formation of this institution has been noted as inefficient and heavily reliant on access to outside funding from international actors. Since this time, the Palestinian Ministry of Health, which is largely run by men, has had ambiguous "de facto" policies that have severely depleted the number of qualified birth attendants, midwives, and *dayat* alike, and 92% of births have been occurring in health facilities (Giacaman et al, 2005, 134-135). These transitions between leadership guided by inequitable power dynamics and a reliance on outside funding—and thus, outside input—have left the state of Palestinian healthcare to be suboptimal. Current Israeli military violence in the region continues to trouble the healthcare system as well, including the regular bombing of Gaza (Holmes & Borger, 2019) and the now eleven-year-old blockade keeping much-needed medical supplies, among other things, out of the hands of the Palestinian community (Oxfam, 2019).

Barriers to Healthy Birth Outcomes in the Palestinian Context

Barriers that impact healthy birth outcomes for Palestinian women begin to make more sense with this recent history in mind. These barriers include lack of mobility, maternal stress and trauma throughout pregnancy, and the understaffing of medical facilities. Following the second *intifada*, checkpoints and other limits on mobility were significantly increased. Suddenly, the aforementioned shift to hospitalized births became a burden to rural women who were unable to quickly pass through checkpoints in order to receive care while in labor, shutting down some maternity wards and overfilling others. In fact, at times, as much as 75% of *medical personnel* in the region reported not being able to get to work consistently, let alone patients (Arasoughly, 2003). On certain routes into Jerusalem today, a traveler cannot go more than 100 feet

FIGURE 1
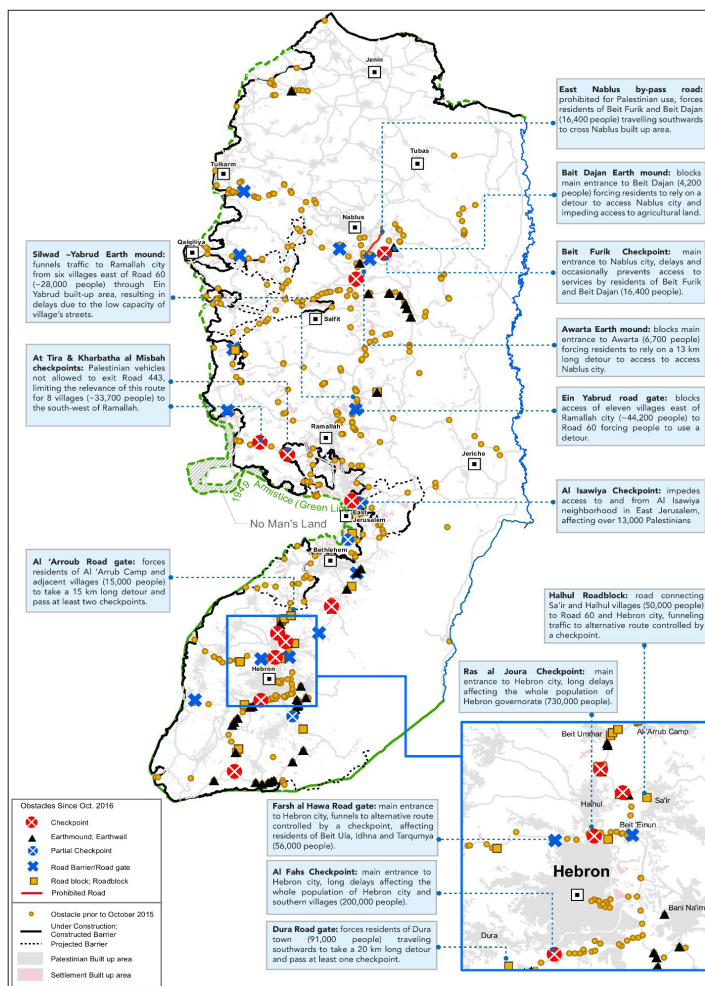
without encountering a checkpoint.[2] As is mentioned by researchers in the area, this shift "was not accompanied by an increase in number of healthcare providers, thus resulting in overwork and understaffing" (Giacaman et al., 2005, p. 135).

The impact of checkpoints on maternal mobility and birth outcomes was so significant, Amnesty International produced a report in 2006 confirming that 69 women gave birth at Israeli checkpoints between 2000 and 2006 (Mortensen et al., 2018, p. 2). This resulted in 34 infant deaths and four maternal deaths (Rosser, 2011, p. 17). It is worth noting that there are now over 500 checkpoints throughout the Palestinian region (Hassan-Bitar & Wick, 2007, p. 103). See Figure 1 of this paper for a map of all movement restriction in place across the region as of 2016.

Researchers have tried to record these harrowing stories. One writes about Ula, a mother whose home in a counselling center was destroyed by Israeli settlers.

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2   To explore the distribution of checkpoints, closures, etc., see the interactive map created by B'Tselem, an Israeli human rights and anti-occupation organization at https://www.btselem.org/map.

While speaking of her own trials, Ula invoked those of women from her community as well, seeing how their pain was tied. "Did you hear the story of the mother who lost her child, giving birth while held up at a checkpoint? *Nakabuna* [they caused *nakba,* i.e., they have caused us so much pain] and they have never stopped" (Shalhoub-Kevorkian, 2009, p. 43). Another woman, Rula, shared the tremendous pain of losing a child to checkpoint birth:

> Rula was in the last stages of labour. Daoud says the soldiers at the checkpoint wouldn't let them through, so his wife hid behind a concrete block and gave birth on the ground. A few minutes later, the baby girl died. They wanted to call her Mira. . . Now they are beside themselves with grief. Rula doesn't say a word and Daoud can't keep from pouring them out (Levy, 2003).

Other women's experiences have been documented on film. Samaher Zbeidat was informed that she was lucky to be alive after she gave birth in a car in front of Israeli guards and was instructed to go back to her village and return to the checkpoint in an ambulance in order to pass. It took a three-hour surgery to save her life after her placenta ruptured. Houriyyah Mir'ie waited in a checkpoint line for over six hours while in labor, hemorrhaged in front of Israeli soldiers, and was instructed to walk two kilometers to the nearest hospital. When she awoke in the ER hours later, she was informed her daughter had died, and she has battled depression ever since (Arasoughly, 2003).

Perhaps what is most concerning about this phenomenon is that there is no research or intervention work that has been published beyond this report. All sources cited in this paper that make reference to checkpoint births rely on the same Amnesty report, even though more than a decade has passed since its initial publication. While there is harm-reduction work being done in other areas, it is imperative to note this gap in research. There is no justification for the conduct of Israeli soldiers who have not prioritized emergency vehicles passing through, and especially not for sending them back where they came from. Additionally, there is no clear sense of protocol for how Israeli soldiers should manage emergency health situations, as is illuminated by the many narratives shared.

Another significant factor in the lives of Palestinian mothers is the daily stress and (inherited) trauma of living under occupation. Consider, for example, the multi-faceted harm caused by the destruction of Ula's home, which displaced her family from their community, work, property, and sense of safety (Shalhoub-Kevorkian, 2009, p. 43). Prenatal maternal stress has been linked to a wide range of poor birth outcomes, including "low birth weight, lower birth weight, and smaller head circumference. . . disrupt[ed] cognitive performances and decrease[d] brain volume, which is associated with learning and memory" (Chiang, 2015, p. 1). Additionally, maternal lifetime exposure to trauma is associated with several serious negative outcomes, including increased infant sadness and a heightened reactivity to arousal—meaning these babies pick up more easily on upsetting or dangerous things and take longer to calm down (Enlow et al., 2017, p. 506).

It is difficult to imagine any Palestinian mother not grappling with prenatal stress, lifetime stress/trauma, and intergenerational trauma considering the circumstances of occupation. There is a well-documented and ongoing water crisis in the West Bank that leaves Palestinian families with less than the World Health Organization's recommended daily water intake (Oguz, 2017). Regular outbreaks of violence threaten the safety of women and their loved ones (Fisher & Harris, 2016), and leave families to grapple with the opportunity cost of injuries keeping them from work. The high number of killed and politically imprisoned men in the Palestinian community have also led women to be thrust into more prominent leadership roles, all while maintaining a household with one income (Karkar, 2009, p. 1). An ever-present fear exists that one's home may be demolished or community displaced by

Israeli settlers. On top of all this, there is an inadequate medical system that, for decades, has been unreliable for pregnant women. Clearly, newborn health will be impacted by this toxic environment in which mothers exist.

The final barrier that this paper will be highlighting is the understaffed and under-resourced hospitals that Palestinians have access to. A study conducted in 2007 sought to assess the quality of care women were getting from the 17 public hospitals in Palestine where over half of the 103,870 yearly births occur. A plethora of concerns were identified. In one horrible case, a newborn was left unattended under a warming lamp, during which time it fell off the table and had to be taken to the intensive care unit. In another, a baby with respiratory trouble was left unattended for hours and died (Hassan-Bitar & Wick, 2007, 106, -107). The researchers in this study agreed that the source of these failures in treatment were from a "shortage of staff. . . lack of basic supplies and equipment. . . and insufficient supervision" (Hassan-Bitar & Wick, 2007, 109). These preventable tragedies spurred by underfunding and under-resourcing medical institutions must once again be connected back to the Gaza blockade, now more than a decade old (Oxfam, 2019). A flotilla, made up of Palestinian and transnational solidarity boats, has tried and failed to break through this blockade while carrying both the wounded and medical supplies (Ibrahim 2018).

In another study which conducted interviews with midwives in an East Jerusalem hospital, many reported being short with their patients because of time constraints produced by a heavy workload. The same study found that there was little organizational support to facilitate improvement for women in midwifery positions (Halperin et al., 2011, p. 392). Yet another study reported midwives having their staffs halved, obtuse lists of duties, and the lowest salaries of employed medical staff in the hospital (Hassan-Bitar & Narrainen, 2011, p. 155 - 156). Altogether, the staffing and resourcing of these institutions has been a nightmare with significant impacts on birth outcomes. The consequences of this flagrant disregard for human suffering and denial of healthcare, let alone dignified care, are paramount. Moreover, it is difficult to look at the systematic facilitation of the deaths of infants and mothers as anything less than the pursuit of ending Palestinian lineage altogether.

The Value of Midwife Interventions

It is clear from the above discussion that understaffing and under-resourcing in Palestinian hospitals has limited midwives' abilities to do their jobs well. Thankfully, the reporting out of such research led to the development of some very successful interventions that have now positioned midwives to be the unsung heroines of maternity health. One study—a collaboration between public health scholars from Tibet, China; Oslo, Norway; and Birzeit, Occupied Palestine—designed and implemented training interventions to align medical practices with international standards. Seven poor standards were permanently adjusted following this training, including support in immediately breastfeeding a newborn, limiting medically unnecessary interventions during labor, and allowing women to eat and drink throughout labor as well (Hassan, Sundby, Husseini, & Bjertness, 2013, p. 87).

The most impactful program that has been developed in the wake of maternal care concern was the midwife-led continuity care program for rural Palestinian women, designed by professors and medical practitioners from Oslo, Norway, and Ramallah and Nablus, in Occupied Palestine. The idea behind this project was for midwives to develop relationships with expecting mothers and bring care to them in order to limit the impact of immobility in their lives. Here's how it worked: Teams of midwives went out to rural villages to teach classes in the morning and make home visits in the afternoon, increasing the amount of prenatal and postnatal care Palestinian moms receive. This uplifted the community's low prenatal care rates from well below the WHO recommendation of 4 visits to an average of 4.6 visits. Since the conclusion of the study, the WHO recommendation for number of prenatal visits

has actually doubled to 8, indicating that Palestinian women are in need of more care than they currently receive, but it has been made clear that progress can be made (Mortensen, et al. 2018, p. 7). Other significant improvements highlighted include the percentage increase in referrals for health-risk concerns from 7% to 25%, which is likely still low for a high-stress environment, especially given the Palestinian women have such limited mobility. The importance of this referral network cannot be overstated. In years previous, infant morbidity has been reported as high as 26.9%, and the foremost step to addressing this issue is to have more at-risk mothers seeking additional care (Mortensen et al., 2018, p. 8).

The United Nations Population Fund-Occupied Terrorities of Palestine (UNFPA-OTP) has also facilitated a successful midwife (re)training program to ensure that communities have medical professionals equipped to deliver babies for women with limited mobility (Arasoughly, 2003). These are immense strides towards stronger maternal and infant birth outcomes, facilitated by midwives who are in a more supportive, and self-regulated, environment. Their capacity to develop relationships with mothers through these visits, and foster trust in the healthcare system, ensures that mothers begin to have a foothold in managing their own health.

The Power of Family Under Occupation

The significance of this midwifery success in a resistance framework must be seen through a non-Western feminist lens that identifies raising a family in a non-oppressive capacity. Unlike many American, or Western, feminists who see motherhood as a tool for keeping women in the private sphere, Palestinian women see raising and protecting their children as a step towards liberation, and a human right. This might be understood as "family feminism," a framework grounded in the need for both the physical survival of the Palestinian people and also the passing down of the oral histories of the many who have been lost or displaced (Karkar, 2009, p. 2). As one scholar has noted about preserving oral histories, "[they]

are not simply a source for bringing silenced voices to light, but have the potential to create counternarratives and histories" (Kanaaneh & Nusair, 2010, p. 10-11). Thus, ensuring the safe and healthy delivery of Palestinian babies is to engage most directly with this feminist resistance movement. It is an act of rebellion against a state that has little regard for Palestinian lives that wishes they did not exist in their own geographic location. It is an act of compassion for women who have regularly risked their own lives to bring life into such a tumultuous world. It is the bold facilitation of women's choice to live a life full of children's laughter in the face of brutal occupation, refusing to be miserable, or lonely, or to stop short of their familial dreams.

It is important to pause here and consider that Arab feminist writers, Palestinian women, and other gendered resistance actors in the region may not identify with the language of feminism at all. It may be avoided for any number of reasons while doing gender justice work, including the saliency of other identities, such as statelessness. Additionally, "feminism" may be met with skepticism as it invokes Western notions of feminism, and potentially histories of Orientalism, and reminds a listener of the role of the West in the region as a colonizer.

Solidarity Opportunities

A final note on opportunities for solidarity work with these midwives is in order. The midwife-led continuity study was funded by the Palestinian Committee of Norway and the Norwegian Ministry of Foreign Affairs, and started by a Norwegian midwife who had worked in Palestine for 15 years (Mortensen, 2018, p. 1). She and others have written with excitement about increasing involvement of Palestinian midwives in the global midwifery community (Rosser, 2011, p. 17). This success should be a rallying call for other midwives interested in solidarity work with Palestinian women and for those who would fund similar projects. Similarly, UNFPA has heralded great results with their midwife (re)training program to more effectively staff local, rural clinics in preparation for birth. (Arasoughly,

2003). Here in the United States, MADRE, a feminist partnership organization, is working to support Midwives for Peace, a Palestinian-Israeli midwife collaboration to ensure safer births for Palestinian women. This is the ultimate example of transnational feminist solidarity.

While the excitement in the international community surrounding expansions in Palestinian midwifery care is a wonderful start, those seeking to build solidarity with Palestinian midwives must start by reflecting on how they might use their privileges to better ally themselves. For example, those with better mobility prospects should be the ones travelling to collaborate with Palestinian midwives, as opposed to funding a trip that they may not be able to make out of their village, let alone the country. Money and medical supplies are essential for training midwives to be better caretakers in their communities, but getting involved in the Boycott, Divestment, Sanctions (BDS) movement or joining in local, nonviolent protests against occupation attacks the roots of the problem of occupation, as opposed to its symptom, immobility. Note that here again, the United States is actively supporting the violence and imperialism of occupation through legislating against BDS participation—bans being passed in certain states and being discussed on the floor of Congress (Palestine Legal, 2019).

Conclusion

As this paper has explored in great detail, there are a myriad of challenges facing Palestinian mothers and babies. However, work done by Palestinian midwives to improve maternal and infant birth outcomes bears reason to hope in the face of mounting trials. These efforts make them shining examples of the Palestinian resistance movement against Israeli occupation, as they provide an opportunity for families to grow despite state violence. As Aname's story shows us, midwives can't stop some of the most egregious acts against the Palestinian people, but they can guide women through their pregnancy experiences with patience, expertise, and dignity, and create spaces for them to tell their stories. With the sound of a baby's first cry, midwives are breaking the silence of maternal and infant suffering in Palestine.

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Anna Peterson | *Pang 3*

RAP: REMIXED AND RELOADED

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In the male-dominated industry of hip-hop and the musical subgenre of rap, it is not unusual to witness popular female rappers at the top pitted against one another after surviving and clawing their way to the charts. The Nicki Minaj vs. Cardi B controversy, for example, features call-outs, quarrels, subtweets, and subliminal disses in song lyrics that serve as root causes for the development of the drama. The clash between the rap queens does not simply stem from pure competitiveness or the damaging desire to stay relevant—the ordeal harms the inherent feminist values of female rappers in the first place, especially when it comes to insulting one's motherhood (Weaver). While female gangsta rappers may not explicitly preach feminism, their mere existence exhibits an intrinsically progressive message due to the context of the historically misogynist field that includes rap icons such as N.W.A. and Eminem. However, it is curious that a select number of currently popular female rappers engage in that same problematic hypermasculinity through performance and persona, simultaneously parodying and remixing ongoing rhetorical strategies to gain credibility in the still male-dominated field—albeit the field has become more accessible thanks to their female gangsta rap forebears such as Lil' Kim. Despite the prosperity of Minaj and Cardi B, one might question whether utilizing the very same hypermasculine strategies undermines female empowerment in the first place.

Before dissecting the rebranded hypermasculine traits, it is critical to acknowledge the rhetorical platform that hip-hop provides where resistance can be derived from: "[H]ip-hop's heterogeneity, widespread popularity, and sociocultural and economic currency create the possibility for using it as a tool of resistance" (Peoples 34). In particular, "hip-hop emerges as. . .'the generational and culturally relevant vehicle' through which hip-hop feminists can spread their message" (Peoples 34). Undoubtedly, the potential for resistance in hip-hop sets the stage for a performance of progressive ideas including feminist development. However, this potential performance of resistance raises questions as to why a multitude of female rappers engage in hypermasculine tendencies within their songs and why they embody these traits in their personas. Perhaps it is having to adjust to the arena and fit in, but perhaps, like all artists who wish to claim an argument, it is yet another rhetorical strategy.

Though parody is attributed to be politically prevalent through comedy such as *Saturday Night Live*, it also has a presence in popular music such as rap. The infamously misogynist hip-hop group N.W.A. is one that has debatably utilized this strategy to politically parody the damaging identities that America forced onto them. Arguably, "by parodying the politically explosive discourses associated with the mark of criminality, NWA creates the conditions of possibility for critiquing the surveillance and incarceration of poor people of color" (McCann 47). In essence, it is harnessing the exact stereotypes, spinning them, and reframing them that transforms performance into political resistance and parody. As a derivative, then, can the overtly promiscuous rhetoric and misogynist

terminology reclaimed by female rappers be compared to parody? Or rather, are the hypermasculine rhetorical components—"exaggerated braggadocio, consumption of drugs and alcohol, and 'dissin' of fellow female and male rap artists"—an outlet for female rappers to parody male rappers directly? (Oware 787) Even further, can the notion of remixing stereotypes in a parodical way transcend musical genres?

Notably, hip-hop is not the only music genre in which female artists become walking paradoxes and embody oxymorons crafted by societal expectations for certain job titles or descriptions, particularly traditionally male-coded words like "rapper" and "redneck." Country artist Gretchen Wilson, for example, is well known for her "Redneck Woman" ethos, but even just the phrase "Redneck Woman" provokes a "stereotype-jolting effect like that of 'female surgeon' or 'lady plumber,'" due to the term "redneck" mainly being attributed to males in the past (Hubbs 49). This, in parallel to the phrase "female rapper," further establishes the rhetorical significance of females utilizing historically male strategies to assert their message.

Yet another layer of the paradox, however, is the notion of remix between a word of feminine identification and a word that is male-associated: female and surgeon, lady and plumber, redneck and woman, female and rapper. The prospect of the word remix can be heavily debated, but its sense of being "an alternative mix of a composition" applies not only to digital or analog art forms (remixing digital recordings or collaging, for example) but perhaps extends even into the rhetoric we use daily (Borschke 33). In our less pedantic endeavors, of course, we may associate remix solely in its musical form, but its interplay with parody and the rhetorical reinterpretation of hypermasculine rap tendencies can illuminate female rappers' claims. Remix, thus, has layers within it: one denotes the musical or artistic remix (sampling, borrowing a beat or flow, reinterpreting or rewriting a song) while

another denotes the remix or parody of hypermasculine rap tendencies being melded into the female rapper vocabulary and vocals.

Nicki Minaj, a female rapper who has been repaving the rap road for years and filling the potholes with her original works (notably with her own multiplatinum albums and not just appearing as a feature on other artists' songs), is a significant figure of the hypermasculine feminist paradox that embodies parody and remix. Her dominance in the rap field is evidenced by her 17 top ten hits, but her deep dives in the lyrical weaving and composition of hypermasculine traits as a successful individual female artist raise the question of hypermasculine parody ("Nicki Minaj").

Perhaps one of Minaj's most exemplary works delete is a tribute song titled "Barbie Dreams" (2018). The song can be considered a tribute to The Notorious B.I.G.'s "Just Playing (Dreams)" (1994) since Minaj comments "R.I.P. to B.I.G." before beginning the song and uses the same melody, beat, and rhythm of the original. However, the song is also an homage to Lil' Kim's "Dreams" (1996) from the album *Hard Core* that was executive produced by B.I.G and featured him on four songs. Kim and B.I.G. were also romantically involved at the time. In the original song, B.I.G. essentially lists numerous women within the broad spectrum of R&B, rap, and hip-hop who he'd like to (and not like to) have sex with; Kim's version is virtually a parodical "remix"—a similar, slightly slower beat with the same song structure and concept—in which she lists numerous male musicians within the aforementioned music genres who she would and would not have sex with. Minaj's version, however, seems to be the one that houses the most disses towards the male artists she name-drops.

With each evolution and remix of the song, the magnitude of seemingly aggressive and sexual insults increases: B.I.G. "rejects" and insults a few female artists, while Kim's remix insults most of the male artists she mentions.

Meanwhile, Minaj's 2018 version ultimately belittles, dismisses, and disses every identifiable male artist she mentions. Both Kim's and Minaj's engagements in parody and remix are extrapolated from B.I.G.'s initial version, but their interpolation of feminine perspectives ironically grounded in hypermasculine tendencies makes for original arguments. Kim parodied B.I.G., but Minaj parodied both B.I.G. and Kim by reloading rap further and writing verses that mirror Kim's message and content to the sample of B.I.G.'s original beat. Minaj's use of hypermasculinity is also notably more prevalent than on either version of the song. While B.I.G. brags about being the "boss of intercourse" and "pimping," and Kim's dominance is more implied ("Have you jumpin' and whinin' while I'm climbin'"), Minaj is more overt but still playful with language ("Just Playing [Dreams]"; "Dreams"). In her final portion of the rap in "Barbie Dreams", she claims "Yeah, they want it, want it / You know I flaunt it, flaunt it" and "I get dome with the chrome, no tellin' when I'ma shoot / I just bang, bang, bang, real killas is in my group" which is a double entendre encompassing intercourse and gun violence ("Barbie Dreams"). The mirroring of B.I.G.'s song by Kim and Minaj "reflects the same style and delivery, but it includes black feminist ideology that tests the line between socially accepted male and female roles" (Cook 188). In other words, though Kim and Minaj both engage in the same strategies as B.I.G. in their respective remixes of "Just Playing (Dreams)," they are able to engage in what may be labeled as parody and use the hypermasculine vernacular to their advantage.

A variety of Minaj's other works, alongside the feminine associated title of the song "Barbie Dreams," also feature her spin on hypermasculine rap themes, including "Miami," which focuses more on drug-dealing and street credibility. Women, especially in high-profile entertainment fields, are pressured to maintain poise and just the right amount of promiscuity—not too much and not too little. To add to the constraint that female rappers face based on their identity, "the genre of gangsta rap has imposed its own hegemony on the ways that women can profess and behave within the genre" through traditionally expecting a particular use of explicit and non-explicit language, symbols (violence, sex, substances), "street credibility" and "normative heterosexuality" (Haugen 440). In a sense, to be able to maintain status within a field that has thrived on misogynist structures, Minaj and other female gangsta rappers have been able to adapt to the rhetoric, reframe it with their own argument (as Kim and Minaj did by remixing B.I.G.'s "Just Playing [Dreams]"), and rise to new narrative heights.

Minaj is a significant figure in relatively recent rap history and a critical case study in the hypermasculine feminist paradox, but she is not the only female rapper that embodies these contradictory characteristics. Cardi B, another female gangsta rapper from New York City, is often compared to her. As mentioned in the introduction, these rap queens have brewed up controversy through social media rants and have physically collided during New York Fashion Week at *Harper Bazaar*'s ICONS party at the Plaza Hotel (Weaver). Their conflict has raised questions about female empowerment—women supporting women—and the cutthroat nature of the music industry. Cardi, similar to Minaj, has also successfully engaged in similar rhetorical strategies grounded in hypermasculine themes, even throughout the short span of her emerging career. "Bodak Yellow" (2017) is the song that caused Cardi to soar to success, and similar to Minaj's "Barbie Dreams," it incorporates components of remix and hypermasculinity. The song's name is inspired by the Floridian rapper Kodak Black, and Cardi's flow on the track is borrowed from his song "No Flockin" (2015). Of course, sampling and remixing are not new techniques within hip-hop, but their interaction with opposing feminist and hypermasculine notions aid in the development of the apparent, contradictory art form of rap, remixed and reloaded.

In tune with her unapologetic persona—not unlike the oxymoronic Gretchen Wilson and Nicki Minaj—Cardi B interpolates her own spin even if the flow is borrowed

from another rapper. She not only engages in remix, but she also parodies the rap genre as a female rapper by continuing to employ hypermasculine tendencies in order to reign dominant as a female in the industry all while wearing red bottoms. During the chorus of "Bodak Yellow" (2017), Cardi B belts out "These expensive, these is red bottoms / These is bloody shoes" and "I'm a boss, you a worker bitch / I make bloody moves." Within just these two lines, Cardi B threatens violence through a witty allusion to her expensive Louboutin shoes, engages in braggadocio by flaunting the cost of her shoes, and uses derogatory terms—it is unclear whether she is referring to men or women, though in later lines from the same song she uses delete terms including "hoes" regarding other women. Much like other female rappers including Minaj, Cardi B's reclaiming of such pejoratives is yet another contradiction within the hypermasculine feminist complex. Notably, Cardi B's braggadocio and promiscuity are also present in her song "Money," which is an homage to her previous occupation as a stripper. She not only says "I like boardin' jets, I like mornin' sex (Woo!)" in parallel with her engagement in hypermasculine rhetoric, but she also alludes to her responsibility as a mother in the line "I got a baby, I need some money, yeah," which challenges traditional female gangsta rapper roles.

In terms of vocals, Cardi B tends to round out her words and use a deeper intonation, while Minaj has been keen on utilizing varying voices throughout her career, from a seemingly sweet and high-pitched voice to a lower, more masculine tenor. This point of comparison is not to pit these women against each other but rather to illustrate the differing personas of masculinity that both Cardi B and Nicki Minaj rhetorically engage in, despite both female gangsta rappers also embodying feminist strength through braggadocious and promiscuous self-representations. In the midst of utilizing these hypermasculine traits as juxtaposed by their femininity, both female rappers have proven that they can "change the male-centered 'masternarrative' of rap music and hip-hop culture" by being successful female figures in a male-dominated industry (Troka 88). Though they might be harnessing the same seemingly inherently anti-feminist hypermasculine "ammo" as before, they are reloading and reinventing rap through remix and parody to pave prosperous paths for themselves as female rappers and pop superstars.

Perhaps one of the conflicts of this intersection of rhetorical strategies—remix, parody, and rebranded hypermasculinity—is whether "these contradictory messages . . . nullify the empowering messages that are conveyed and only reproduce and uphold male hegemonic notions of femininity" (Oware 786). In other words, how can female rappers promote inherent feminist ideals if they do so by utilizing the same strategies that are initially used to oppress them? Granted, gauging the effects or "success" of the hypermasculine feminist paradox—whether it is potent enough—goes beyond this paper's scope. For now, it's enough to acknowledge its presence in the first place. If this paradox is unintentionally harbored by female rappers, then one might question the rhetorical value of the argument. Regardless of intent, it is still critical to assess the unintended, even if marginal, components of rhetoric that construct a female rapper's argument. The remixing or sampling of specific songs of the past must have some reason behind them, and the spin on the hypermasculine narrative through rebranded lyrics—as noted in "Barbie Dreams," for example—has potency because of its parodic rhetorical nature. Even though utilizing hypermasculine identities may seem counterintuitive, Minaj and Cardi B are ultimately reinventing the wheel by spinning it in another direction and are themselves becoming even grander popular culture icons than their female rapper predecessors. With each bar that they rap on and filter in traditionally hypermasculine traits, they further prove their ability to reclaim the hip-hop narrative, start threading new traditions, and set more foundations for feminist arguments.

Female rap artists, including Cardi B and Nicki Minaj, do not rely solely on the use of remix, parody, or the hypermasculine feminist paradox. Both artists' varied discographies make it clear that remix, parody, and instances of hypermasculine paradox are merely fractions of their skill and capability within the field. To reduce their artistic production to these rhetorical ingredients would be a glaring error in the overall analysis of these women's arguments. Although their discographies feature the concepts of remixing and reclaiming, their works nonetheless bring other empowering, female narratives into the mix. Overall, Nicki Minaj, Cardi B, and other female gangsta rappers all

> "have the power to say the things that they say, but they also have the ability to say these things in the highly stylized and skillful ways that they do say them. . .This verbal power is only one aspect of the renegotiated femininity expressible and expressed by female gangsta rappers" (Haugen 440-441).

The power derived from reclaiming derogatory terms towards females, for example, is dependent on the ones—whether popular artists or audiences—using and reclaiming them. The counterintuitive effects of this phenomenon are apparent and still brewing, but it must be noted that these terms are not solely being used on females. By readjusting the audience and the rhetor who uses the terms (a male rapper using the terms on female characters versus a female rapper using the terms on both male and female characters), female rappers are pulling together different associations for already-established words. This works similarly with the hypermasculine ideals of parody; the strategies female rappers use might not be "new" in a relative sense, but they are being taken advantage of in new ways.

Consequently, the cross-section of the hypermasculine feminist paradox that borders on parody and relies on remix is a cluster, a multitude of ongoing interactions within female rap artists' works. The side-by-side comparisons and the competitive crowning of female rappers will not likely cease anytime soon, but it is without a doubt that female gangsta rappers will continue to incorporate and invent—and reincorporate and reinvent—rhetorically poignant tactics to further themselves not only in their career but in their identities as well. The hypermasculine traits that are temporarily embodied as personas, sculpted into parodies, and reinterpreted as remixes are merely cogs in the rhetorical context of the female rapper's feminist claims. It would not be unlikely for there to be yet another version of "Just Playing (Dreams)," but in the meantime, female rappers will be professing their "Barbie Dreams" and pushing boundaries through the hypermasculine paradox that simultaneously empowers them to reach unprecedented levels of success and corrodes the pillars of empowerment they are rebuilding.

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