DePaul University

Creating Knowledge

THE LAS JOURNAL OF UNDERGRADUATE SCHOLARSHIP

**DePaul
University**

COLLEGE OF LIBERAL ARTS
AND SOCIAL SCIENCES

TABLE OF CONTENTS

TABLE OF CONTENTS (CONTINUED)

Dear Students, Colleagues, Alumni and Friends,

Every year at about this time, I have the honor to introduce our latest issue of Creating Knowledge: The LAS Journal of Undergraduate Scholarship. It is also at about this time that we celebrate the start of a new academic year with the return of our faculty, staff, and students to our exciting campuses in Lincoln Park and the Loop. This year that experience is distinctively different due to the COVID-19 Pandemic, but despite the circumstances, our community of scholars at large, and our undergraduate students in particular, continues to be extraordinarily productive. This issue of Creating Knowledge serves as evidence of the high caliber and rich diversity of their many creative endeavors.

As an additional peculiarity, it is quite possible that this year you will read this issue of Creating Knowledge online before it is available in hardcopy, but you will find that it continues to be a carefully reviewed publication of exceptional rigor and evident intellectual sophistication. On paper or on your screen, Creating Knowledge makes palpable the exceptional commitment of our community to not only consume knowledge but also to be fully engaged in its creation and dissemination.

In this volume, we celebrate 20 essays representing advanced coursework produced in 18 different academic units during the 2019-2020 academic year. Most of the essays hereby presented have already been the subject of recognition through department awards and supported by undergraduate research and creative grants. All have been selected by department-based faculty committees as the best of the year's student creative work, and all have been revised for submission under the supervision of faculty. The first footnote to each essay provides information about the class in which it was written and the processes of selection and revision. This volume also include 16 images of student artwork curated by faculty in The Art School at DePaul.

I am sure that, like me, you will experience an immense sense of pride in the work of our students. I also hope that our students see the work of their more advanced colleagues as a challenge soon to be replaced by the opportunity to show their own talent. I know that our alumni and friends of the college will take this opportunity to renew their support of our students through the establishment of additional scholarships—please talk to me—and the inclusion of our graduating students in their recruitment and hiring plans.

As I always do, I would like to express my sincere gratitude to the faculty and staff, who supported, reviewed, selected, and helped to edit this remarkable collection of student work. Thanks are also due to the faculty who served as jurors of the student artwork and the Master's in Writing and Publishing students who proofread the volume. In particular, I would like to thank Dr. Lisa J. M. Poirier, who serves as editor of the volume, putting out the call for submissions, supporting the faculty work of reviewing, selecting, editing the student essays, curating the student artwork, and coordinating the production of the print and digital edition of the journal.

We are all teachers and perpetual learners that finds great joy in creating and disseminating knowledge. Please sit back and enjoy this new issue of Creating Knowledge: The LAS Journal of Undergraduate Scholarship.

Sincerely,

Guillermo Vásquez de Velasco, PhD
Dean

SQUADS AND SOLIVAGANTS: THE CONSTRUCTION OF INDIVIDUALS AND GROUPS IN *DJANGO UNCHAINED*, *THE FITS*, AND *MOONLIGHT*

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A film's formal construction exposes its director's politics. Even if a film's content argues one thing, its form can undermine it. An example of this is films that link being Black to either staunch individualism or blending into a group through their visual grammar despite having a plot that could arguably be seen as pro-Black. For example, Quentin Tarantino's 2012 film, *Django Unchained*, tracks an enslaved Black man hellbent on personal revenge against a slave catcher who kidnapped his wife. Along the way it becomes apparent that he can only achieve his goal by disarticulating himself from other Black characters entirely, eventually playing into White supremacy in order to succeed. Conversely, Anna Rose Holmer's 2015 film, *The Fits*, focuses on a young Black girl's attempts to join her community center's dance troupe, despite the clash between her tomboyish interest in boxing, the dance troupe's more feminine aesthetic, and their irreconcilability which leads to an assimilation into hyperfeminine gender roles. By illustrating Black characters as either completely on their own or lost within a larger group, both Holmer and Tarantino opt to illustrate Blackness through a White lens on the formal level of each film. On one hand, Tarantino's *Django Unchained* pits Black people against each other, while on the other Holmer's *The Fits* lumps all Black people into a homogenous group. Both films sum being Black up into a single experience, but Blackness is multifaceted; it is both individuality and community.

When filmmakers reduce Blackness to either one or the other, it is just another form of anti-Black violence. A Black film, then, needs to show its characters acting on their own and in the fold of a larger group. Barry Jenkins' 2016 film, *Moonlight*, for example, centers around a queer Black boy as he comes of age. The protagonist is on an individual journey towards understanding himself, but he only finds himself as he brushes up against group dynamics. In this paper I will examine the formal construction of *The Fits*, *Django Unchained*, and *Moonlight* to highlight how Tarantino and Holmer reinforce White supremacy through their visual grammar, while Jenkins avoids it.

At its heart *Django Unchained* is a film about the glory of revenge. It follows an enslaved man, Django, as he fights to rescue his wife, Broomhilda, from a plantation owner. The film begins with Django's rescue from slave traders by a White bounty hunter, Dr. King Schultz, who picks Django out of a larger group to rescue because he might be useful for collecting a potential bounty. Afterwards, Django becomes an apprentice and sidekick to Schultz before finally convincing him to help rescue Broomhilda. Ultimately, the two set out to con a wealthy plantation owner, Calvin Candie, into selling Broomhilda to Schultz by blending into the racist gentry which eventually leads Django down a gory path towards rescuing her (Tarantino, 2012). The film is meant to focus on one man's personal vendetta that destroys everything else in his path, even if other Black people have been set in that path by White plantation owners. This is the problem with *Django*

Unchained; it tries to hide its racism by putting a Black protagonist in a run-of-the-mill revenge fantasy, but this switch is not enough to negate the anti-Blackness of the story. It, in fact, makes it worse. By taking the narrative of a White man deputized by his seemingly righteous anger to exterminate anyone in his way and just swapping in a Black protagonist, Tarantino creates a character that carries out the justice system for White people, to the detriment of other Black characters in the film.

The rampant individualism of the film is even present in the term "exceptional nigger" that characters throw around when talking about Django. The implication is that Django has something "in his DNA" that makes him better than other Black people in the film, something that White characters find value in. This idea is appropriated from W.E.B DuBois' argument that of the African American community, a "talented tenth" would be exceptional compared to everyone else and so they should be given more opportunities to get ahead in order to uplift the community as a whole. Tarantino bastardizes this idea and makes it about a Black man's agency to act like a White man, rather than working with the other Black characters for the group's benefit. Being exceptional means Schultz actually frees Django while the rest of the Black men are left to their own devices. It grants him a horse when other Black characters are forced to walk for miles. It gives him an almost preternatural ability to shoot and to kill, while other black people are incapable of either. Django's supposed exceptional nature is what convinces Schultz to keep him as a partner, so his entire revenge and the film's plot are contingent on it. Likewise, the film focuses on Django tapping into the same anti-Blackness and White supremacy as the White enslavers. His exceptionality allows him to use Whiteness where other Black characters are relegated to their Blackness. While Django's exceptionality is baked into the plot of the narrative, Tarantino makes sure to reinforce this idea with the visuals of the film as we see in the film's second act.

For most of the film's first act Django is shot from above, making him small and disempowered. Even as he makes strides towards rescuing Broomhilda, viewers only ever look down on him. He only begins to be shot from below, and thus presented as powerful, after he threatens another enslaved man, Big Fred, in order to gain Candie's trust. As he threatens violence against Big Fred, calls him "boy", and continues to reinforce their different positions in the social hierarchy of Candie's plantation, Tarantino begins to shoot Django from below (Tarantino, 2012), suggesting that he has gained social status by stepping on other Black people. After this moment, he continues to be shot from below for the rest of the film, indicating that the key to Django's empowerment lays in buying into and perpetuating the institution of chattel slavery. This shift is significant not only because it marks when Django is able to gain the upper hand, but also because it shows him rising above Big Fred and the other enslaved people both in social status and in the eyes of the viewer. Since the shift happens at this point, when Django is willing to break ties made with other slaves who are also being disadvantaged by White supremacy, the film argues in favor of breaking ties with the other Black people for marginal gains within a racist system. By positing individual empowerment as occurring at the cost of other Black people, the film makes the argument that only certain Black people can and should be liberated. Django can only free one person and he chooses Broomhilda while being indifferent to the other enslaved people on the plantation. By leaving other Black people to fend for themselves, he forgoes Black liberation in favor of personal vengeance; *ergo*, the film, by creating a protagonist who is empowered at the cost of others, constructs liberation as something finite that Black people as a collective cannot take part in. This film is anti-Black because it cannot bring all of its' Black characters forward, it instead keeps them scrabbling to try and get ahead of each other.

Django Unchained fails its Black characters, and especially its black hero, because it grafts Black characters onto a White vigilante narrative. As Ed Guerrero points

out in his essay, "The Rise and Fall of Blaxploitation," the vigilante narrative is inherently White as it stems from an era in which White Hollywood attempted to quell the revolutionary race politics of the 1970s (29-30). Films like *Dirty Harry*, *Straw Dogs*, and *Walking Tall*, center a White man seeking his idea of justice without regard for the law or often human life. For *Django Unchained* to take a genre that was meant to oppress and attempt to subvert that narrative by simply changing the race of the film's protagonist is to maintain the racial status quo. In his attempt to chart the theoretical taxonomies of black film, Tommy Lott asks if it is possible for a Black film to simply retell White narratives (26-29). Tarantino's film answers the question with a resounding "no" because it leaves the anti-Blackness written into the genre unchallenged. If anti-Blackness is perpetuated by Black characters like Django, not only does it do nothing to combat the anti-Blackness of the film, it does more damage by making White and Black characters targets and casualties of their revenge.

On the surface, *The Fits* may seem like the antithesis to Tarantino's film but it is actually the other side of the anti-Blackness coin. While it stars a predominantly Black cast, and Anna Rose Holmer allowed the cast to help write their own dialogue, the trajectory of the film's main character, Toni, works against pro-Black politics. Toni begins the film in a boxing gym at the local Cincinnati, Ohio community center where the bulk of the film takes place in. In the opening symmetrical shot of the film, Toni stares directly into the camera through a mirror in the gym, appearing to be an individual with seemingly a strong sense of self. That opening shot is followed by various shots of Toni working out in the boxing gym with the other boxers acting as hazy shadows that amplify her loneliness. Eventually, Toni stumbles across a dance troupe that practices in the same community center the boxing gym, becomes obsessed with what they do, and decides to join. As Toni tries to fit into the hyperfeminine world of the dance troupe, for example, wearing nail polish and getting her ears pierced, various members start having "fits", seemingly random, seizure-like episodes which cause both fear and jealousy to erupt

in the team as well as some girls faking a fit in order to feel accepted. As the film progresses, Toni struggles with wanting to feel like she belongs to the dance troupe and she rejects these symbols of femininity. She removes her nail polish and removes the piercings from her ears, even though doing so causes an infection. The film concludes with Toni faking her own fit, all the while envisioning herself and the rest of the dance troupe dancing in various parts of the community center, each girl's face is lost amongst the many flashing uniforms in each shot. The last shot of the film shows part of Toni's face at a crooked angle (the rest is out of frame) as she smiles directly into the camera. By putting these last images together, a mass of indiscernible bodies dancing in regimented unison, and Toni smiling straight at the viewer with part of her face obscured, Holmer argues that it is best for Black women to lose parts of themselves in favor of fitting into a uniform group.

In her essay, "Black Cinematic Gesture and the Aesthetics of Cognition," Rizvana Bradley argues that these moments in the film speak to the ways in which Black girls navigate their social groups, but too much of Toni is lost within the larger social structure for her individuality to come out. While she argues that the film is filled with Black gesture, created by the dance team's routines (Bradley 15), the way that Holmer frames these gestures undermines the content itself by advocating assimilation as the way to fulfill oneself. By portraying Toni as miserable when she stands out from the crowd and happy when she blends in, the film argues for Black girls to literally get in line, to be part of a controlled mass. What brings Toni joy is assimilating so fully into a group that no one can tell her apart from anyone else, which is an anti-Black sentiment because it confines Blackness to being identical rather than multifaceted. The film argues for Black girls to assimilate into a larger group, a problematic idea because it wears away at Blackness to try and make it fit within a structure of White supremacy. The crowd of girls is covered in sparkles, smiling, and they all step in time to perform and appeal to an audience. When Toni gives up her identity to

fit in with the dance team, she is giving up some part of her individual experience as a Black girl. By making this the act that ultimately brings Toni happiness, the film presents assimilation as the desired choice for Black girls.

Barry Jenkins' 2016 film, *Moonlight,* avoids both of the pitfalls that Tarantino and Holmer stumble into; instead it walks the line between individualism and groupism. The film follows the protagonist, Chiron, through his childhood, teenage years, and early adulthood as he grapples with trying to find a place in the world. The first act shows Chiron, or Little, meeting and beginning to look to Juan, a local drug dealer, and his partner, Teresa, for parental guidance while his mother, Paula, is largely absent because of her addiction. It also introduces Chiron's friend Kevin and his feelings of being ostracized from his peers. The second act shows Chiron as he navigates high school and developing feelings for Kevin. Chiron is bullied by his peers because of his sexuality, his mother's worsening condition, and Teresa's attempts to mother him. All of these factors explode when Chiron beats up one of the students harassing him and he is arrested. The final act shows Chiron, now in his late twenties, as both a drug dealer and a young man avoiding his mother's attempts to reconcile their relationship before the two ultimately make amends. Chiron then drives to Miami to visit Kevin and the two reconnect, with Chiron admitting that he still has romantic feelings towards Kevin, the two embrace and the film ends with a shot of Chiron in his childhood standing alone on a beach.

Throughout the film there are shots of groups and individual characters meant to illustrate Chiron's footholds in his community as well as how he feels ostracized. For example, in the first act of the film, while boys are playing soccer, the camera pans around the entire group at their eye-level as they stand in a circle looking directly into the camera before showing all of the kids playing. Then, the scene cuts to Little running away from the group. In act two, Tarell walks in a circle before having Kevin beat Chiron up, and behind him there is always another person

until a circle forms. The next scene is of Chiron sitting in the principal's office with only him in the frame. In the final chapter, during the film's climactic encounter, Kevin and Chiron sit together and are at eye-level before cutting to a young boy standing alone at the beach. All of these scenes work by showing Chiron in relation to another person or people before showing him alone, making him part of a group but also singling him out. Furthermore, each shot is filmed to always be at eye-level, and therefore does not suggest that being in a group or alone is better than the other. These shots speak to Bradley's ideas of what it looks like for a singular citizen to navigate a larger social group, in this case for an individual to feel constantly outcast by a larger group they are supposed to fit into. By highlighting the moments when Chiron is with others and by himself, Jenkins creates a narrative of Blackness that contains a duality rather than a singularity like Holmer and Tarantino.

The vantage points of each of these shots are what pull off the balancing act of groupism and individualism. Because they are all shot at eye-level the shots maintain a sense of equality between each shift. As Raquel Gates argues in her essay, "The Last Shall be the First: Aesthetics and Politics in Black Film and Media," the way in which a film is shot can either reinforce or contrast its content. She points out how *Moonlight,* in particular, brought a level of artistic aesthetic to Black narratives in order to elevate them (30). While Gates is concerned with techniques such as lighting and individual directors' styles, her argument helps us understand that the form of a film, as is the case with *The Fits* and *Django Unchained,* can work to the detriment of any pro-Black politics. In the case of *Moonlight*, pro-Black politics are emphasized by the ways in which Jenkins constructs each shot. It is not so much the content that holds each of these films' politics, as it is their construction. The lens through which these films are constructed holds the key to creating pro-Black politics. When it comes to meeting Lott's definition of an empowering Black film, it is not simply a matter of content but a matter of form. A film's construction holds its politics more powerfully than the content itself. In particular, the way films construct the

more nuanced issues of Blackness that can be missed by White directors point to a larger message about Blackness. In the case of Holmer and Tarantino, Blackness is one-dimensional, only either a group or an individual. Jenkins' approach offers more insight into how Blackness navigates itself on an individual and group level, one offering a more-multifaceted approach that points towards a more pro-Black stance.

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Kevin Barry | *A Beautiful World*

THE PHANTOM NICHE: EMILY DICKINSON, DAGUERREOTYPY, SEXUALITY

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In 2012, collector Sam Carlo turned in a daguerreotype to the Amherst University Archives.[1] Two women sit together, one with an arm around the other. Compelling arguments were made that the women depicted were Emily Dickinson and her friend Kate Scott Anthon. Soon after, popular and scholarly responses abounded. Many questioned the authenticity of this daguerreotype, while others speculated about Dickinson's sexuality, which already was an active topic of discussion within Dickinson studies.

The only confirmed daguerreotype of Dickinson to this point is very different, depicting a much younger and likely ill Dickinson. A "new," albeit unconfirmed, daguerreotype seemed to have "changed" Dickinson.

Martha Nell Smith, renowned Dickinson scholar, explains the several questions raised by the image beyond just identity in her *Dickinson Electronic Archive* essay "Iconic Power and the New Daguerreotype of Emily Dickinson": "Whether a new picture is in fact Emily Dickinson is not a very sophisticated question unless accompanied by another: why do we struggle so over the image of this icon? … Isn't how would this image change literary history a much more interesting question?" My essay heeds Smith's call to be attentive to how this daguerreotype changes literary history and extends that inquiry out to media history for an intermedia analysis.

FIGURE 1

Dickinson Portrait.

FIGURE 2

Dickinson-Anthon Portrait.

1   See Martha Nell Smith, "Iconic Power and the New Daguerreotype of Emily Dickinson."

My interest in this essay is not to confirm that photographs are objective. Instead, I will treat objectivity as a cultural discourse. I interrogate scholarly and public appeals to the Dickinson-Anthon portrait for verification of Dickinson's writings and biography by keeping foregrounded what Marcy J. Dinius has called "photographic objectivity"— that is, "our still strong cultural tendency to see the photographic image as capturing its subject 'as it is' or was, and thus to naturalize – even in the age of digital imaging, and after much theorization – what we know is an artificial means of representing the world" (14). Today, we have not lost this pervasive cultural belief which has its origins with the introduction of photography in the nineteenth century.

When we think beyond this apparent objectivity of the highly detailed, chemically produced image to consider seriously the embodied experiences (optic, haptic, tactile) of the daguerreotype, as well as its associations with breaking temporal/spatial barriers (past/present, near/far), we better understand it as a complex medium of communication. Among its several affective and phenomenological effects, daguerreotype provided feelings of closeness for geographically dispersed persons, particularly women in the nineteenth century. At the same time, the daguerreotype's difficulty to view (it flickers from positive to negative and can only be seen in the right lighting conditions) and its historic associations with photographic objectivity also make it an object of loss and lack of connection. With respect to the Dickinson-Anthon daguerreotype, I argue that, different than the letter-poem, the daguerreotype can reify reality only to the extent that it serves as an important reminder that new media can frustrate intimacy and connection as much as they can foster it. I ultimately examine how Dickinson, among the first generation to think through photography and verse, theorizes these contradictions of daguerreotypy affectively through engaging with both the medium's unique materiality and cultural discourses about early photography in her poetry and correspondence.

More specifically, this intermedia analysis will analyze a series of letter-poems between Dickinson and Anthon, but it cannot do so by consulting their originals. When Rebecca Patterson wrote *The Riddle of Emily Dickinson*, she took photographs of these letters for her book. After Anthon's family learned that Patterson would be writing about the romantic relationship between Dickinson and Anthon, the original letters were destroyed. These circumstances of homophobic loss call for unusually careful attention to how we analyze these letters, the daguerreotype, and Dickinson's poetry as both texts and objects.

My careful attention to the embodied and mediated experience avoids other analytical approaches which might be reductive to women's experiences, especially those that resort to voyeurism. In this consideration, I am guided by scholar Laura Saltz's important reading of Margaret Fuller's experiences with her daguerreotype of Anna Loring, in which she argues, "Foucauldian—and Freudian-based models of looking...undertheorize women's vision and at worst consider it an aberration of a putatively normative gaze" (117). This essay likewise moves beyond these models of looking toward greater complexity in the affective experiences of Dickinson.

The Dickinson-Anthon portrait

> "Most poignant of photographs are those that were created within personal or familial contexts yet have since acquired a cultural, legal, or historical status" (109) – Marita Sturken.

Understood in its historical context, the Dickinson-Anthon portrait is an ordinary depiction of same-sex love in the nineteenth century and follows expectations for how women should comport themselves with their same-sex friends. Numerous scholars of women's friendship in the nineteenth century confirm that women existed in their own sphere of love and ritual in which acts of affection were normalized.[2] Also, in keeping with gender and sexuality norms of the time, Dickinson never identified as "homosexual," as this word was not commonly in use until 1869. Thus, we cannot know Dickinson's physical behavior with any of the men or women in her life. Vivian R. Pollak and Marianne Noble argue that "cultural paradigms of acceptable intimacy for middle- and upper-middle class white women suggest that Dickinson and Sue were engaged in risk-taking behavior if they were sexually intimate," while being careful to note that, "barring some sensational new discovery, the bedroom door remains locked" (40). Sue—that is, Dickinson's sister-in-law Susan Huntington Dickinson—is also believed to have had a romantic relationship with Dickinson. This historical likelihood does not remove or limit the variety of sexual, romantic, and emotional feelings that Dickinson felt toward many women in her life, but instead further confirms that same-sex affection was normal but that an openly sexual relationship would be highly dangerous. Which is to say that I disagree with this tendency in existing scholarship to identify Dickinson as either a sexual radical or a conforming, asexual woman. While careful historicism is useful in addressing a biography or history of Dickinson, it can obscure the more complicated spectrum of desire, intimacy, and sexuality that current queer and trans theory have enlarged for us and that can be extended back to Dickinson's life, time period, images, and writings for a richer understanding of all of them in their interrelation. Thus, an intermedia analysis also helps move us beyond a binary between subversive and normalized queer affections and toward more complex understandings.

The "tactile" daguerreotype

Scholars of daguerreotypy like Dinius have identified the ways in which daguerreotypes are not just visual objects. Handling and experiencing an actual daguerreotype is incommensurate to its visual reproductions, something I experienced personally during my archival visit to consult the 1859 image. While Dinius has identified "the simultaneously haptic and optic experience of holding and looking at an actual daguerreotype" (6), there has been considerably less attention to daguerreotype cases and their own tactility. That is, in considering not just the image plate but the whole object, I find it useful to differentiate "haptic" from "tactile." Haptic often refers to touch with the purpose of manipulating objects. Yet daguerreotypes are also *tactile*, by which I mean to suggest both the sensory and affective experiences of touch without epistemological or utilitarian function otherwise. Put most simply, this distinction could be understood as the difference between "feeling" (tactile) and "using" (haptic). Touching the exterior of the hard case and the interior soft velvet or silk protective pad opposite the plate itself is a tactile experience. To understand these tactile experiences as different from visual or textual experience, I turn to Dickinson's affective theorizing of the daguerreotype through her March 1859 letter to Anthon and her letter-poem "to see her is a picture," keeping in mind, as Dickinson does, that a holistic understanding of the daguerreotype includes all the varieties of sensory data: optic, haptic, and tactile.

The Dickinson-Anthon daguerreotype can be held easily with two hands while closed (as pictured above) or opened. Although visual reproductions of daguerreotypes often make them appear novel-sized, the actual object is much

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2   See Carrol Smith-Rosenberg, "The Female World of Love and Ritual."

smaller in person. When I first held this daguerreotype in the Amherst archives, it snugly fit in my hand and I had to hold it close to my face to see its contents. Due to the item's fragility, the leather-wrapped case had to be carefully cradled and one hand would rest on the tactile surface of the soft red cushion inside the case. Dickinson writes about these same haptic, tactile, and affective experiences in her correspondence.

In her letter to Anthon dated around March 1859 (consequently the date assigned to the daguerreotype), Dickinson writes to Anthon to explain that she misses her. In the last line of the letter, Dickinson describes she does with this daguerreotype, which she analogically represents as a flower: "so I rise, wearing her – so I sleep, holding, – Sleep at last with her fast in my hand and wake bearing my flower" ("I never missed a Kate before"). Dickinson holds the daguerreotype cradled in her hand, and wakes with her fadeless image. This mental preoccupation with Anthon prompts Dickinson's physical cradling of the daguerreotype at night which, in turn, heightens her thoughts of Anthon. Describing this tactile, haptic, and affective experience as "Bearing my flower" has other sensual connotations as well: perhaps this affective medium became an object of sexual desire and, perhaps, an occasion for sexual pleasure. While scholars of sexuality have often emphasized the intimacy of textual exchange, this daguerreotype points up ways in which other media and forms of mediation, including the immaterial, serve as significant conduits of intimacy. Saltz, for instance, emphasizes how cultural discourses of magnetism and daguerreotypy could "mediate and circulate desire" (129). Women, particularly in the nineteenth century, often relied on such objects, experiences, and discourses to feel intimate with their loved ones. We see as much in another of Dickinson's poems.

The poem "to see her is a picture" could have been sent along with a daguerreotype or another kind of photograph. In it, Dickinson both expresses a tactile experience of temperature and the importance of intimately mediated objects among middle-class women in their social networks. Dickinson writes, "to see her is a picture—/ to own her for a friend / a warmth as near as if the Sun / were shining in your hand." In common print media surrounding the emergence of the daguerreotypes, first called "heliotypes" or "sun-pictures", it was believed that the daguerreotypist ultimately was secondary to nature (specifically the sun) which had produced the image.[3]

Dickinson playfully uses this metaphor to express that this sun-picture is not only bright, but also warm in one's hand. The emotional context of the daguerreotype provides a change of temperature that can be not just imagined—as with conjuring the idea of the sun's warmth—but also felt.

The poem includes another interesting metaphor for intimate mediation as well. Dickinson begins the one-stanza poem by describing the various ways she might experience an intimate friend: "to see her is a picture—/ to hear her is a tune—/ to know her an intemperance / as innocent as June / to know her not – Affliction – / to own her for a friend." The illness-like experience of affliction that Dickinson faces was one faced by many nineteenth middle-class white women. Geographic dispersal of her friends and family caused Dickinson to lose contact with those closest to her, and "warm" objects like the daguerreotype provided a powerfully intemperate affective experience at her disposal.

Aptly named, the Amherst College-based collaborative study of Dickinson *The Networked Recluse* describes

3   Dinius evidences "the popular understanding of daguerreotypes as pictures made by the sun" (114) in chapters 1 and 3.

various ways that Dickinson participated in society with a select group of people (network) through correspondence. Dickinson lived during an era in which more men moved away from the household out west or to new urban centers, and they often brought along their wives. With respect to other means of sustaining intimacy in a time of great movement away from Amherst, Deborah Cadman considers the significance of gift exchange, arguing that gifts of material objects "sustained experiential, intellectual, and emotional ties among women who had some connection to Amherst at a time when more people seemed to be moving away from the town than into it" (33).

Daguerreotypes thus should be understood as both a communicative and an affective medium, and as such, an especially important form of intimacy for women who often had little to no control over their geographic movements. The poem "to see her is a picture" highlights the ways in which Dickinson's experience of loved ones is always mediated, and the ways in which the particular materiality and cultural discourses of the daguerreotype provided that mediation. Dickinson also expresses that this new medium has also changed her consciousness: "seeing" someone is now not too different from looking at a picture.

Space, Time, And Objectivity

"Time, space, are thus annihilated, and we identify with the semblance of reality"- Walt Whitman

Dickinson likely read about the experience of viewing daguerreotypes as much as she experienced these objects herself, given the saturation of print culture at the time with writings about the new medium. Ideas about the daguerreotypes' naturalness and objectivity profilerated in print; as Dinius points out: "before anyone in the United States saw any actual daguerreotypes, they read about them in newspaper and magazine articles" (13). As many Dickinson scholars have demonstrated, the rarely published poet engaged extensively with the social and intellectual world of the antebellum United States. Cristiane Miller has observed that "newspapers, periodicals, popular song and poetry, and the most famous poets of her day provided plots, phrases, metrical and stanzaic forms, and other stimulus for her writing" (3). Print describing daguerreotypy, from its introduction to the United States in 1840 until the end of its heyday in 1855, often dealt with what Dinius describes as "ideas about scientific image making and about daguerreotypy's representational accuracy and naturalness that were established by the first responses to the medium" (48). Dickinson's correspondence is thus shaped by these ideas, as we can see in her arguments both for and against the medium's naturalness and objectivity.

Dickinson identifies how a vivid daguerreotype can replace a visit from her friend—a common idea at the time—and how this activity of admiring an object had become a normal part of her experience. It cannot be overstated just how exciting this new technology was to the antebellum American imagination and the ways in which it changed its captivated subjects. Even though daguerreotypes are one of the earliest forms of photography, they are actually quite vivid and accurate: today we would require "a camera capable of a 140,000 megapixel resolution" (Dinius 1). This technological feat made many antebellum Americans feel that time and space were rapidly changing or being "annihilated."

What Walt Whitman described as the annihilation of space and time was a feeling felt by many nineteenth-century persons. Sarah Katie Gillespie describes

this sense of the 'annihilation of space and time' as: "the sensation of life moving at an ever-quickening, bewildering pace because of proliferating technologies such as photography, telegraphy, and the railroad … new inventions were bringing the distant close" (Gillespie 8). Daguerreotypes annihilated time for other reasons as well: our own contemporary association of photography with memory and time is rooted in the initial reception of the new technology in the form of the daguerreotype.

Like other antebellum writers, Dickinson was transformed by the daguerreotype and discourse about it—particularly in her sense of time. These seemingly "objective" images became mechanisms of memory that provided a linear view of one's own life. As Ed Folsom has argued of Dickinson's contemporary and fellow poet Walt Whitman, "Whitman was part of the first generation of humans who could observe themselves as young people, who could examine traces of themselves along a visual continuum leading directly up to the image of themselves in the present … Whitman was among the first generation, to become fascinated, as by now we all are, with photographic images of the self" (127). Whitman also participated in various same-sex friendships, and as Folsom argues, his daguerreotypes were no less meaningful mediators of his experience than I argue they were for Dickinson: "photographs had become an organic part of the human memory; Whitman's letters record how often he exchanged photos with his soldier-friends who survived [the Civil War], externalizing and holding memories and identities by means of such portraits" (137). Dickinson's poems and the Dickinson-Anthon daguerreotype itself reveal that, like Whitman, Dickinson saw her memories of her intimate friends and her own self transformed by this new media technology, yet this new media had limitations.

Loss and Photography

"I recognized her differentially, not essentially. Photography thereby compelled me to perform a painful labor; straining toward the essence of her identity, I was struggling among images partially true, and therefore totally false." (Barthes 66).

Dickinson never missed Anthon before, but a letter around late 1859 might explicate why: "Last year at this time I did not miss you, but positions shifted, until I hold your black in strong hallowed remembrance, and trust my colors are to you tints slightly beloved" ("Last year at this time"). To remember—and conjure—Anthon while writing of this letter, Dickinson has to "hold" her "black," which we might understand as the negative image of the subject that is visible when a daguerreotype is held at a certain angle. This allusion to the viewing experience of a daguerreian image both emphasizes the haptic experience of holding the daguerreotype until the negative can be seen (daguerreotypes are single positive images on a photosensitized silver plate, which means they contain both the positive and the negative of the image), and the ways that her memories are dependent on this object. Marita Sturken explains this function of photographs as 'mechanisms of memory': "yet while the photograph may be perceived as a container for memory, it is not inhabited by memory so much as it produces it: it is a mechanism through which the past can be constructed and situated within the present" (178). We see this mechanism in action is Dickinson uses this daguerreotype to recall other memories that she now situates in the present: "How many years, I wonder, will sow the moss upon [those evenings at Austin's] before we bind again, a little altered it may be, elder a little it *will* be, and yet the same as suns, which shine, between our lives and loss, and violets, not last years" ("Last year at this time"). Dickinson sadly realizes

that those unique evenings in which she could see her friend will eventually be covered in moss. Natural things will eventually deteriorate and die, yet Dickinson claims that the permanent suns outlast both their lives and losses. Of course, daguerreotypes do deteriorate over time; as any archivist who manages these unique objects will tell you, the preservation of daguerreotypes can be quite difficult. Daguerreotypes are both more material and permanent than memories, however, and like a perennial plant (the violet) they are made by the sun and outlast human lives and losses. The photograph, then, preserves the memories of intimate friendship that can be hard to sustain. That is to say, even as the evenings between Anthon and Dickinson are always limited by geography and the whims of men, one evening in particular can be sustained by the ever present sun.

At the same time, this passage also expresses a sense of loss. In every letter to Anthon, Dickinson expresses how much she misses her and asks again and again for Anthon to write her letters. The daguerreotype thus is not always an affectively pleasing reminder, but also a tragic reminder that she exists in a society in which patriarchal norms determine where women should be geographically and how they should spend their time. Her letter-poems suggest this as well, but it is the distinct image quality and materiality of the daguerreotype that produces negative feelings of loss and distance as much as positive ones of presence and immediacy.

If we expand our view to consider not just the image plate, but also its case, another layer of interpretation is possible. Dickinson writes, "You do not yet 'dislimn', Kate., Distinctly sweet your face stands in its phantom niche" ("The prettiest of pleas, dear"). I read this niche to refer to the case which holds Kate's "phantom" image, in that

Dickinson emphasizes that Anthon cannot disappear or vanish within the confines of this niche. Daguerreotypes often were associated with spiritualism or ghosts; therefore, it is entirely possible to read the 'phantom' in Dickinson's letter as an allusion to Anthon's Daguerreian image. That is, as I read it, Dickinson recognizes that this image is not literally Anthon, but instead a phantom because of its ghostlike resemblance to her. At the same time Dickinson also emphasizes this evanescent image as tactile, standing in for Anthon: "I touch your hand – my cheek to your cheek – I stroke your vanished hair" ("The prettiest of pleas, dear"). It is possible that Dickinson describes literally pressing her face onto the glass case of the daguerreotype, but it seems more likely that she may be pressing her face on the cushioned portion of the interior of the case or on the leather-covered exterior of the case itself. With this in mind, we can read the "vanished" hair as emphasizing that neither Anthon nor her image are currently present, and Dickinson can only feel the hair of a "phantom." Dickinson is thus haunted by loss and time, even as she can imagine Anthon as with her forever through her image. This tension is embodied in the daguerreotype which, by freezing a specific moment in time, exists outside of time.

Martha Nell Smith coined the term "letter-poem" to describe just such Dickinson texts in her analysis of Dickinson's writings to Susan Gilbert Dickinson. The dash in Smith's term signifies the inseparability between "letter" and "poem" in these texts and signals their affective work. As only three of Dickinson's hundreds of poems were published in print in her lifetime, many of her poems were written to and for other people—that is, they were "published" in this circuit of intimate circulation. As Cadman has argued of Dickinson's verse, it is "'alive' if it makes tactile connection … and remakes living perception" (5). As this verse primarily emerged out of her intimate

letter correspondence, we recognize that Dickinson's goal for the letter-poem is to make a distinct connection with the recipient. Numerous scholars have identified the ways in which Dickinson's poems—which could be written on just about anything, like on the back of recipes—have a distinct materiality and tactility. Her verses also were frequently gifts that were meant to produce mental and physical reactions. I argue that this recognition of their affective work and the significance of their materiality can and should be extended to the Dickinson-Anthon image: Dickinson describes holding and seeing a daguerreotype similarly to how she imagines her letter-poems being held and read—she is immersed in the surface and depths of the case and the image within.

At the same time, it is important to recognize that the letter-poems are also distinct from daguerreotypes in the mediating work that each does, as Dickinson also emphasizes. Dickinson expresses that a letter can 'transport' her when she begins reading it: "The Way I read a letter's this...'Tis first I lock the door, / And push it with my fingers next, / For transport it be sure." 'Transport' is vague enough to mean anything, but the last stanza of this poem conveys a transport out of her body and space: "Then, glancing narrow at the wall, / And narrow at the floor, / … Peruse how infinite I am / To—no one that you know!" As we see represented here, when Dickinson is reading or looking at the letter, she imagines becoming infinite in this fantastical sequence with her unknown correspondent. Reading and writing thus confer a kind of autonomy and shared connection for Dickinson. Similarly, Ralph Waldo Emerson, in his famous essay "Nature" (which Dickinson likely read) states, "I am not solitary whilst I read and write, though nobody is with me" (Emerson 182). Photographic thinking—by which I mean a preoccupation with images that become mechanisms for memory—is thus significantly different than the effects of reading and writing of a letter.

Dickinson's poem "The Soul's Distinct Connection" describes the "quick" development of photography as the annihilation of space and time, as well as how photography preserves individuals as a mechanism of memory: "The Soul's distinct connection / With immortality / Is best disclosed by Danger / Or quick Calamity—/ As Lighting on a Landscape / Exhibits Sheets of Place—/ Not yet suspected – but for Flash—/ And Click—and Suddenness." The daguerreotype preserves this connection with immortality by preserving the phantom on a new body of the daguerreotype case. Dickinson expresses how frightening, quick, and calamitous this process is. Lighting, with its speed and bright coverage of the landscape, is like the daguerreotypist's process of using light to capture an instant in time. While the actual process of exposure and development was quite slow—especially compared to modern photography—people at the time considered it to be instantaneous. Dickinson's correspondence with Anthon now can be seen a new light: while there are communicative aspects of the daguerreotype, there are also ways in which this communication can be affectively and bodily overwhelming and disorienting.

When writing about Anthon as a phantom in the summer of 1860, Dickinson continues, saying: "I stroke your vanished hair, Why did you enter sister, since you must depart?" ("Last year at this time"). With this, she is conveying a sense of real loss. Dickinson may be mystified and warmed by the embodied experience of the daguerreotype, but she can also reflect on its status as an object and the troubling sense of loss it also creates. She writes in late 1859, that even though she hallows this image of Kate, she understands that, "you cease indeed to talk, which is custom prevalent among things parted and torn" ("Last year at this time"). Daguerreotypes thus immortalize the person as a materialization of memory, but only actually capture a small moment by artificial means that must be

activated by the viewer. Anthon has not been speaking (which means letter correspondence) to Dickinson but the silent daguerreotype also materializes and symbolizes this lack of conversation. That is to say this still, phantom image of Anthon both warms and haunts Dickinson.

The phrase *phantom niche* thus encapsulates the ways that a daguerreotype can be textually mediated, as well as affectively and bodily experienced. Held in the niche of its leather-bound case, the image plate is a small material and elusive that powerfully activates tactile, haptic, and optic experiences. More specifically, as the phrase *phantom niche* also captures, the daguerreotype can also be a conduit of haunting memories. As a startling new media technology, it connected people and particularly women across space and time, sustaining their friendships in ways qualitatively and materially different than letter correspondence. Dickinson's complex theorizations of daguerreian seeing and feeling thus inspire us to reflect on the ways that different kinds of media and their discourses shape intimacy, loss, and heartbreak.

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Margaret Bjorklund | *last and first dusk*

Saffron Durrant | *Quarantine 3 & 4*

INDIA'S IDENTITIES: MALE FRIENDSHIP, CLASS, AND ACTS OF RESISTANCE

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Among the first things I noticed when on a study abroad trip in India last year is how many men were wandering the streets aimlessly in rural areas, smaller towns, and cities. If at all seen in public spaces, women are present in larger groups, often running errands on their way to a food market. While men oftentimes sit outside of retail shops, inside restaurants, or walk around casually, not seeming to focus on a certain thing or task, women, when seen on the street, travel with a sense of purpose.

As I will argue, women and men in India occupy public and private spaces in vastly different ways. I suggest that these differences reveal the intricacies of friendships and the social relations of intimacy. Focusing specifically on friendships among men through an ethnographic lens, I employ the concept of "timepass," or literally, as Jeffrey Craig (2010) defines, the passing of time that Indian men participate in due to lack of gainful employment opportunities. I address how India's political economy affects work and leisure time intersectionally through the prism of class and caste structures within Indian society. India's reordering of its political economy in the 1990s and the subsequent crisis of the working poor and lower middle classes are key concerns addressed in this paper. Young Indian men find themselves in this context preoccupied with "doing nothing" which has inadvertently become an occupation in itself (Craig, 2010:468). Because of this, many young working and lower middle-class Indian men build intimate bonds with one another. As I demonstrate,

observable public displays of male intimacy are a form of resistance or subversion of the long withstanding effects of British imperial rule in the country.

Traveling and Observing

I participated in a study abroad program with two DePaul faculty and eleven other DePaul students in December 2019. As students from different backgrounds and identities, we were what one might call *American* tourists, and namely both observers and those who were being observed. One afternoon, while sitting in a park listening to a guide describe the history of Mumbai's business district, I saw many people moving about in a garden. I watched two young men walking through the park together. When they saw us, one of the men took his friend's hand and watched us as we watched them. When the men were almost out of our sight, they let each other's hands go and looked away, continuing their conversation, and moving on with their day. While there were many groups of men, most often in twos, sitting with each other, not really talking or doing anything, this interaction intrigued me as it occurred to me that the men held on to each other in a sort of natural defense mechanism or anxious tendency—what I thought at the time, at least.

Within an Indian cultural context, and many parts of the world, physical intimacy amongst men is most often a sign of a closeness in friendship. The banal interaction piqued my interest because I understood it as a revelation on gender norms and sexuality. My gaze, and those of my peers, needs to be understood in an U.S. heteronormative context where public displays of intimacy among same sex

pairs, men in particular, are frowned upon. Another aspect of same sex partnership within the United States is that of geographic location. Same sex intimacy and spatial closeness is oftentimes dictated by location as liberal and conservative views fluctuate geographically. In general, same-sex intimacy, specifically within male relationships, is often ostracized in that it is either believed to be a reflection of deviant sexuality or proxy to femininity and thus, understood as a weakness. Because of this, I first assumed that the men's interaction was because of their sexuality, failing to realize that I was applying U.S. cultural perceptions to Indian culture. Conversely, this interaction revealed the prevalence of assumed heterosexuality in American culture that is not directly applicable to Indian culture. I investigated and quickly found that male intimacy was instead linked to India's economy and labor divides.

Labor, Neoliberalism, and Timepass Migration

Gender differences in the negotiation of public spaces can be examined intersectionally through the gendered lens of labor niches, caste, and social class. During my time in India, I encountered various crafts and skillful artisan work produced in Agra, a city that largely relies on tourist income. I learned that a large portion of India's economy is made up of inadequately-paid wageworkers who barely get by. These skillful yet underpaid workers produce textiles, beaded goods, rugs, and much more—all of which require intensive strain on their joints, bones, and eyes. Their experiences are imbedded in and closely tied to an ancient caste system that determines one's occupation and station in life. The work itself reflects who can or cannot occupy certain labor sectors.

During our time in the city of Agra, we met Gita (a pseudonym), a beader working from a space that served as her shared living, eating, sleeping and working area located just blocks from the Taj Mahal. Without her home cottage industry labor, there would not be enough money for the family, despite her husband working outside their home. Working-class women such as Gita who are

confined to their homes and assumed to do household work whilst also providing much of the income for their families are common among India's lower caste. However, lower-caste and working poor men typically are not confined to their homes as women are responsible for the bulk of unpaid household labor and at-home income-generating activities. Men therefore have greater freedom of movement and more opportunities for spending leisure time in the public sphere. For lower-caste Indian men, in the time that they spend together in public spaces, they bond and create an intimacy not observable within upper-class Indian relationships.

Caste and class differences date back to colonialism and have become intensified since the neoliberal era. During British imperial rule and afterwards, India's economy suffered the effects of forced underdevelopment (Mishra, 2011:4). Aiming to rebuild India's economy, the government began leaning towards the neoliberalization and hyper-globalization. India's economy today is a mixture of privatization and open socialist markets (Mishra, 2011: 1). Undoing the damage of colonization and imperial rule required a rethinking of development and public funding. The neoliberalization of the Indian job market emerging in the 1990s deeply affected social relationships in Indian society. It gave young lower and middle class men the opportunity to invest in and seek out the education that would help them secure upward mobility and the lifestyles that accompanied it. To keep up with globalization and the rapid spread of the neoliberalization of their economy, young Indian men began quickly pursuing higher education, but were met with a lack of job opportunities, or a failing education as the universities they attended or aimed to attend lost funding (Jeffrey, 2010). Similarly, this trend also changed the composition of many Indian families, forcing young people, predominately young women, to break traditions of elderly care and go abroad to send money back home before marriage (Ahlin, 2018: 84). While many young women moved to perform various forms of paid domestic work, nursing or other feminized labor, men without a formal education were left with fewer

options. Men who had the opportunity to study often found themselves stuck completing college programs in universities that repeatedly lost public aid and government funding (Jeffrey 478).

Largely responsible for household tasks and chores, women's responsibilities comprise caring for the family, including the elders in their households. Women are also in charge of most of the care work and emotional labor, leaving men who have little mobility in India's job market to engage in timepass. It is within this context that men find themselves oftentimes drifting or wandering, and in essence, passing time with men in similar situations. In the process, men build intense intimacies with one another and spend isolated months, even years with one another. These men are caught in the discrepancy of attempting to be the archetypal breadwinners they are socialized to be while their economy fails them in their goals. Overwhelmingly, young men are forced to choose either between a formal college education, a trade job or another occupation in the dwindling job market. Recalling the ways that these men felt useless, timepass migration became their occupation during economic crisis (Jeffrey 466).

Young men who ventured to college and engaged in different extracurricular activities and organizations also found themselves with a lack of structure within their school days and spent this time bonding with other men (Jeffrey 478). Jeffrey explains:

> Hostel students had few opportunities to engage in organized recreational activity on campus and therefore spent most of their days somewhat self-consciously 'passing time' at tea stalls or on street corners close to the campuses. They chatted, played games, caught up on news, or simply 'did nothing,'

Jeffrey explains a behavioral pattern that was easily identifiable when I was wandering streets myself in India. While college and high school are often perceived as periods of time when young people find themselves and their interests, many colleges in India lack the infrastructure for extracurricular activities, team building, or the space for creating a college identity. Students often leave their formal education having formed the skills to pass time instead of developing critical thinking skills, business management, social networking and other techniques and expertise that could potentially land them gainful employment or what is commonly believed to keep them "off the streets." Furthermore, those that do make it through university leave their institutions unable to secure employment which in turn stimulates them to migrate, roam, or wander and find other ways to occupy their time (Jeffrey, 2010).

Home Reflection

In an article on male intimacy and friendship, writer Lalit Singh Rajput sheds light on the ways in which Indian men are in relationship with one another, answering questions many American tourists had upon return from their trips to India. He first explained that specifically in Western countries, many men do not interact with one another on an interpersonal level without assumed association with homosexuality. I would argue that in on my own experience, this still remains largely true within various present-day communities in the US. Rajput further explains that to separate this association there must be a task at hand or meeting occurring, "In foreign countries you have to have some important task at hand (like meetings, party, etc.) to meet your fellow male friends but in India it can be just a tafri walk on roadside or eating golgappe or meeting at local theka (best of all) or [there] can be no reason also" (Rajput, 2016). While men are supposed to be the "providers," there is more room for error, mistakes, and daily monotony whereas young Indian women experience different demands within Indian society. While there is nothing inherently wrong with free time, it is disapproved as a site of unproductivity to the Indian economy under neoliberal capitalism. Interestingly, men of European descent in the Victorian era also participated in the type of men's friendship that is the point of analysis in this

FIGURE 1

Dear Friends
American Photographs of Men Together, 1840 - 1918

paper, as displayed in Fig. 1, which interestingly connects Western pre-capitalism to Indian post-British imperialism.

Simply put, men in India have more time on their hands (or so it seems) than women. More explicitly, political and social issues within India deeply affect caste and class structures and are key factors that reveal the relationship between class and the intimacy of Indian men I observed when in the country. Craig Jeffrey further develops the ways in which men are often "stuck" in time and in places, explaining "the majority of Jats, as well as Dalits and Muslims, lacked the personal contacts, English-language skills, and training required for entry into well-paid private jobs in metropolitan India, and they also lacked the large amounts of money and social connection that are prerequisites for international migration" (Jeffrey 472). This expands on the idea that money, class, and caste advantages dictate what Indian men can or cannot do, and therefore, what they *may* do with their time. For example, while in Mumbai, one of my fellow students had the opportunity to hang out with her friend, an upper-class young Indian man who studied in the United States and was back home for break. At the time I was already asking myself questions about men's friendship in India, trying to understand this intimacy and experience that I was witnessing so often. She mentioned

this to her friend, questioning the same thing. He admitted that he had not noticed the ways that lower class Indian men expressed affection and friendship and, furthermore, that he could not imagine holding hands with his male friends or participating in this sort of affection. Even more importantly, he also discussed that as a student in a Chicago university, he felt that he related more with white students than his fellow Indians upon return to his home. This is important in understanding what money and capitalism do and provide for individuals, and links upper class Indians to Western praxis and social thought. It is important to now understand that one individual does not represent an entire group, and this one man's experience and story does not reflect all upper-class Indian individuals. I argue that this grants insight into the ways that Western thought is not exclusively produced by the West but perhaps class, or international structures under global capitalism, supersede this. So much so that a specific, commonly-practiced form of friendship and affection did not cross class lines within India.

Conclusion

The interaction of men holding hands observed in the park that day was something that I believed to be rare and out of the norm. In the end, the popular practice of Indian men holding hands and generally using physical affection publicly can be understood through three sociocultural phenomena: 1) the Indian economy, caste and class structures, 2) gender ideologies, e.g. the ways in which men in India spend their time, and 3) a mechanism to subvert the effects of British imperial rule. As I have demonstrated, the gendered division of labor that forces men into leisure time spent with each other while women experience an unequal burden of paid and unpaid household labor.

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Taylor Falls | *Tango*

DESTRUCTION TO HOPE: WHAT *MARISOL* HAS TO TEACH US ABOUT THE FUTURE OF LATINX CATHOLICISM

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"It's the first day of the new history..." (Rivera 86)

If we are to regard Catholicism as a world leader moving forward, we must pay attention to its role as a diverse entity. With the introduction of a Latin American Pope in 2013, it is vital that the future of Latinx Catholicism be taken into careful consideration. Latinx identifying individuals comprise the largest demographic in the Catholic church, and although membership increases each year, there are potential roadblocks to the trajectory of this growth. The substantial legacy of the American Catholic church therefore rides on successful inclusion and respect of people of color (POC), particularly Latinx people.

While there is data and scholarship on past and future ventures of Latinx Catholicism, it is crucial that we regard story-telling as a relevant and powerful source of information on this subject. Just as the parables of the Bible have sought to educate in an approachable way, modern stories too can be a valuable revealer of truth not found in history books. *Marisol*, by Jose Rivera, although debuted in 1992, serves as a warning for the apocalyptic future that might be facing the American Catholic church. Following the life of a young Puerto Rican American woman in New York City during the early 1990's, *Marisol* is a play that challenges the role of theology in its traditional form. A deeper understanding of our context emerges with the introduction of this story into the larger conversation on Latinx Catholicism.

In order to best contextualize the issue at hand for the reader, as well as offer commentary on effective solutions moving forward, I will provide some of the major perils to Latinx involvement in the American Catholic church, explaining how a conscious effort can be made to envision the church as a Latinx-inclusive faith, and explain how Jose Rivera's play *Marisol* can serve as both a warning of peril and as a roadmap for this change. *Marisol* is an omen for one of the biggest threats to the future of the American Catholic church: the lack of appropriate integration of Latinx people into the holy congregation. Fear of immigration, objection of language, and cultural assimilation all act as barriers to a more unified body in Christ.

Throughout this conversation, we must pay respect to identifiers of individuals and groups. Over the years, the terms "Hispanic" and "Latino" have both separately and interchangeably attempted to serve as a catchall for ethnic groups in over twenty countries associated with Spanish as the predominant language. While there are important and distinct differences in these terms, I recognize the majority of the sources I present will utilize "Latino" as the most consistent identifier. And while scholarship on this subject mostly predates the term *Latinx*, I will try and use this term as a more updated, gender-inclusive substitute when referencing the sources I utilize.

Additionally, it is impossible not to talk about the displacement and conquest of indigenous peoples in the long and brutal colonial imposition of Catholicism in the history of Latin America. The deep-rooted foundation laid by Spanish colonizers remains present in our discussion,

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as its history is long and complex. In order to recognize how deep these roots extend, it is worth noting that "Spanish speaking Catholics have lived in the United States for twice as long as the nation has existed. The first diocese in the new world was established in 1511 at San Juan, Puerto Rico, now a commonwealth associated with the United States" (Matovina 7). Furthermore, it is important for me to point out that it is impossible to speak of Marisol's Puerto Rican identity as a sole representative for the diversity of Latinx experience, but discussion of the character's world can be a helpful reflection of many of the experiences held by Latinx identifying Catholics, regardless of national origin.

History: Assimilation vs. Incorporation

"Dear God, All-Powerful, All-Beautiful, what do I do now? How do I get out of this? Do I have to make a deal?" (Rivera 48)

In broad terms, Latinx people represent one-third of the U.S.'s roughly 70 million Catholics, but a deeper look into this statistic reveals a vast history stretching beyond what any number could encapsulate (Chesnut). That being said, it would be impossible to try and cover the depth of history surrounding Latinx Catholics in America in such a specific context as this, so I will recap what is necessary for our understanding of Rivera's piece, particularly the conversation around national parishes in the U.S Catholic community. In his book, *Latino Catholicism*, Timothy M. Matovina explores the complex history of addressing immigrants (particularly Latinxs) as a crucial aspect of Catholic history, as well as how national churches contributed to both integration and separation of ethnic communities. In the Catholic church in America as early as 1871, separate ethnic parishes (national parishes) emerged as a way to preserve the culture of a particular community "as a means to retain their language, cultural practices, sense of group identity, and Catholic faith" (Matovina 27).

Although national parishes at the time served as a foundational place for communities to establish themselves in America during mass waves of immigration, the separation led more closely towards isolation of these communities. While there was once great benefit to the homogeneity of these national parishes, it was discrimination in the first place that served as a driving factor in the creation of these groups. An "outsider mentality" surfaced in many white American Catholics during large waves of immigration, as fear was sparked surrounding potential changes in the comfort of already established communities. Immigrants grouped together in these national parishes in order to find commonality and avoid mistreatment altogether.

After a 1955 conference dealing with the spiritual care of Puerto Rican immigrants, Cardinal Francis Spellman of New York wrote that although "the national parish has always been the usual arrangement that provided for the spiritual care of previous immigrant groups, it was no longer a viable pastoral strategy, because the third generation of an immigrant group frequently moves out of these parishes, leaving the congregation depleted and the church building in disrepair" (Matovina 48). With this predicament in mind, we can see how even more recent numbers back the severity of the decline, as well as acknowledge the urgency of finding a solution that moves beyond exclusive national churches. Because although "70 percent of adult Latinos identified as Catholic in 2006, that figure fell to 57 percent by 2015, according to The Center for Applied Research in the Apostolate (CARA), a nonprofit research center" (Chesnut).

The Catholic faith rests on "one, holy, and apostolic church" and yet the national parish dynamic questions the arrival of unity in faith (*What We Believe*). There is no discounting that the national parish dynamic has the ability to provide a safe space for Latinx communities; it might be argued that "their traditional rituals and devotions, recognizable spiritual and material needs, preference for Spanish, and

deep resonance with pastors who express solidarity with them make them relatively easier to form into vibrant faith communities" (Matovina 51). But the future of a *unified* Catholic church cannot rest on safety alone. If the national parish dynamic failed to sustain itself harmoniously in the Catholic church, what options remain for community-wide convergence?

The issue at hand provides two distinct tensions: assimilation vs. incorporation. Assimilation is the forced surrender of identifying markers in exchange for acceptance into the community (i.e. the church), and integration is the recognition of another's differences as valuable to the continuing future of a community's culture (i.e. the Catholic faith). What tends to cause controversy here is agency over the merge: if the Catholic church focuses too strictly on forced integration, there might be a question of Latinx people's authentic choice in identifying with the church. However, if the Catholic church does not review current structures of worship, there will be no room for the practice to evolve into something more inclusive of non-white cultures. Marisol provides commentary on where the Catholic church falls short in practicing what one preaches in regards to the integration of Latinx American Catholics, and gives readers/viewers the space to reflect on this topic in an environment not hosted by white patriarchal church leadership. The reminder of the past and the warning for the future that this play conjures points towards the gaps in universal love towards Latinxs, but ultimately poses a brighter future upon action of remedying this.

Marisol: A Synopsis

"Welcome to the new world order babe" (Rivera 41).

The question of didacticism, then, must be asked: How can a play serve as an applicable puzzle piece in this discussion? While other print mediums serve as a stamp in the time capsule of history, a play is born again and again—a timeless conduit of communication. In this way, Rivera's piece might be the best vector through which we warn the world of the future perils of American Catholicism; we cannot hide from the conversation it illuminates to modern audiences. The fact that Rivera is telling this story from both a non-white ethos and a non-white leading character perspective goes a substantial distance away from traditional literature on the Catholic church. His perspective from outside church leadership comes with nuances that reflect more on his personal experience as a Latinx individual raised in the Catholic faith, and his is a voice that we can't have this discussion without.

Though it would be impossible to share a retelling of the whole play without derailing this conversation, I provide enough synopsis for our understanding, and highlight themes and quotes that emerge for our benefit. Manhattan-working copywriter and title character Marisol Perez from the Bronx experiences a series of abnormal encounters on her way to the office that point towards hate crimes of someone with her exact name. Although Marisol is not actually dead, omens pop up all around the city until these dangerous warning signs come to a climax, and Marisol is visited by her guardian angel, who has "urg'd the heavenly hierarchies….to vote to stop the universal ruin…by slaughtering our senile God" (Rivera 14). Marisol attempts to regain normalcy in the everyday people that surround her, but these familiar faces begin to distort themselves into nightmarish characters that in this day and age, might not stray too far from reality. Her best friend and white coworker, June, transforms into a Neo-Nazi on a burning tirade against homeless New Yorkers and POC. This play is a test of Marisol's patience, and more importantly, her faith. A visceral minefield of echoes from the past, it serves as a resurgence of rising tensions among both racial and religious groups.

Threats To Integration: Fear Of Immigration

"Why is there a war on children in this city?" (Rivera 12)

Although the U.S has been coined as the quintessential melting pot of the world, the hypocrisy surrounding immigration concerns fails to give that title full truth. Although the Catholic church extends beyond U.S. borders, restrictive feelings surrounding immigration in the U.S threaten to diminish the presence of Latinx Catholics. If the reader is to gain one essential point about Marisol's content, it is that the angels come down from Heaven in order to fight a God that is no longer serving the common good, and demand that the structure of faith be revitalized. The War on Heaven that Rivera paints in *Marisol* is alarmingly similar to the current war on immigration in the U.S. Every threat of universal destruction mentioned by the angels is Rivera's desperate call to action for reform.

In act 1 of the play, Marisol demands to know why there is a war on children in the city. In the first visitation to Marisol, the angel replies to her: "I can't expect you to understand the political ins and outs of what's going on. But you have eyes. You asked me questions about children and water and war and the moon: the same questions I've been asking myself for years" (Rivera 17). It is clear from this that Rivera believes there has been an ongoing ignorance to the severity of immigration's impact on the U.S. Catholic church. Regarding young people, "about 50 percent of U.S. Catholics ages 14 to 29 are Latino," and yet the continued neglect of children at the U.S-Mexico border fails to represent how the Catholic church has managed to intervene in the abominable treatment of the children of God (Chesnut).

Just as the presence of the Catholic church acted as a foundational element amidst Spanish colonialism in Latin America, now too does the Catholic church find itself irreversibly involved. In 2006, a *New York Times*

Sunday Magazine noted that "Today, more than 40% of the Hispanics residing in the United States, both legally and illegally, are foreign-born, and the fate of the American Catholic Church has become inextricably intertwined with the fate of these immigrants and their descendants" (Rieff). But the responsibility of the U.S Catholic church is being clouded by outdated outlooks on the matter. Regarding immigration, the United States Conference of Catholic Bishops explicitly states:

"Because there seems to be no end to poverty, war, and misery in the world, developed nations will continue to experience pressure from many peoples who desire to resettle in their lands. Catholic social teaching is realistic: While people have the right to move, no country has the duty to receive so many immigrants that its social and economic life are jeopardized" (Betz).

Self-preservation of the U.S should not trump the safeguarding of humanity. In fact, it should be the duty of the Catholic church to defend unjust policies and treatment, even at the expense of a country's social and economic life, as the first principle of the article states that "people have the right to migrate to sustain their lives and the lives of their families" (Betz). We can see the heavy lack of ally support in this venture. On "national-level immigration policy questions [in regards to] birthright citizenship, family preferences in immigration admissions, and comprehensive immigration reform, Latino Evangelical Catholics were more likely to support the liberal position, whereas their Anglo counterparts were more likely to support the more restrictionist position" (Leal and Patterson 580). It is these white (Anglo) counterparts that should be proponents of the safety and wellbeing of fellow Catholic brothers and sisters into the community in the first place. Policy issues are religious issues.

We can see the most recent occurrence of this on August 3rd, 2019, when there was a mass shooting in El Paso, Texas, that intentionally targeted and killed people of

Latinx descent. Being a border city, El Paso has a vast history of immigration between Mexico and the U.S. In response to the shooting, Catholic Bishop of El Paso, Mark Joseph Seitz, relayed that

> "the burden of the history of injustice on the border is heavy. We must wrestle deeply with this legacy, lament over it passionately, confront our own biases candidly and repudiate racism completely. God offers us the chance to build a new history where racism does not prevail" (Seitz).

This call to action was a shift in previous styles of Catholic leadership, and it began the conversation that has been brewing for centuries. The Catholic church in America needs to be a role model for the evolution of the faith by continuing explicit statements such as Seitz's. This is why Rivera's piece is so striking in this discussion. It has been begging for decades for something as upfront as the response to the El Paso shooting. Rivera's War on Heaven *is* this country's war on immigration; which side will the Catholic church support moving forward?

Threats to Integration: Objection of Language

> "I lived in the Bronx...I learned new vocabularies... commuted light-years to this other planet called-Manhattan! I mastered arcane rituals...and amputated neat sections of my psyche, my cultural heritage..." (Rivera 43)

"The vibrant faith among Hispanic immigrants in many Catholic parishes feeds the misconception that the vast majority of Hispanics will retain indefinitely their cultural ties and Spanish-language ability," but without advocacy on the part of churches to promote multilingual worship, Latinx faith will diminish (Matovina 62). The truth of Marisol is that her use of Spanish language in the play is relatively limited. Only in her solitude, her communication with God, and in her interactions of fear does it emerge.

Rivera actually took more Spanish out of the play between his two published versions, and this exemplifies his attempt to show erasure of language in interaction in white spaces. At its root, this holds a mirror to the cyclical language erasure that happened in many Latin American communities when indigenous languages were replaced with the language of the colonizer (Spanish).

The white characters in the play invalidate Marisol's Puerto Rican Bronx identity, and cause her to reconfigure her lifestyle. After her coworker, June, convinces her to move to Brooklyn, the audience hears Marisol singing in Spanish (Rivera 30). Rivera's intentional placement of the song at the moment of her packing away her life from the Bronx signifies a transitional point in the play, right before destruction wreaks havoc on New York City. It is symbolic of the transition many Spanish-speaking individuals have made in order to exist among the pressures of predominantly white, English-speaking spaces.

Threats to Integration: Cultural Assimilation

> "We don't have to be enemies! We can talk to each other the right way!" (Rivera 41)

Archetypal images of the Catholic church bring to mind traditional displays of the celebration of the Mass, but in the Latinx community, worship extends beyond the walls of the church. One of Rivera's particular stage directions points to an intimate glimpse into the extension of the faith: "*(She checks the crucifix, horse shoe, rabbit's foot, prayer cards, milagros, Stars of David, statuettes of Buddha and other good luck charms kept under her bed)*" (5). These are not words that the audience hears, but they are actions and ways of being. They are the unspoken truths of a group of people whose expression of faith has been silenced. The expectation for Marisol is that she act white, but these solitary moments speak of the pressure she remains under to assimilate.

In a way, Marisol's "otherness" in the play is intentional, as she is the only human character in the play who is not white. Although she experiences extreme doubt of her faith throughout the play, it is these moments of devotion outside of the church that point towards the differences in the everyday practices of Latinx Catholics. The constant threat Marisol faces to practice behind closed doors makes her story passion-play-esque, and she embodies martyrdom on both an individual and mass level when she is killed at the end of the play. The shift towards integration in coexistence with the preservation of culture is crucial in order to avoid a similar situation to the apocalyptic universe that Marisol finds herself in.

The Future: Cultural Plurality

"'Cause we have God, Marisol. We have God in common. Maybe it's God's will I'm with you now…" (Rivera 41)

When thinking about the future of any organization, community, or faith, "some propose an image like the stew pot to replace that of the melting pot, arguing that in a stew pot the various ingredients remain distinct but mix to bring out the flavor in one another" (Matovina 53). It is only through the honoring of the diversities of Latinx culture that the Catholic church can continue to enrich itself and the people it is comprised of.

The U.S Catholic church can begin an authentic introspection of change by considering the following things: taking a firm allyship with those being impacted by strict immigration policies, by encouraging regular Mass programming in Spanish for mixed-language parishes, and by letting go of Catholic church practices that solely reflect the traditional lifestyles of white Catholics. This is not "equating unity with uniformity," rather, it is promoting authenticity (Matovina 63). And while there is no "rush" to inauthentically mend broken relationships within the Catholic church, there is also nothing stopping

the community as a whole from having a conversation, just like Seitz initiated in El Paso.

We need writing from positions of leadership in the church that continue "critiquing evangelization efforts that promote Western culture as if it were intrinsic to the Gospel and Catholic faith" (Matovina 53). The pure recognition of the need for such change is a starting place for reparation. Seitz most poignantly writes:

"This may be hard. I know it will be difficult at times for me. Words like *racism* and *white supremacy* make us uncomfortable and anxious, and I don't use these labels lightly. We live in a brutally unforgiving culture where these words are tossed about like weapons. But perhaps we are also aware that these conversations may require changes to the way we think and live" (Seitz).

Bishop Seitz's message is radically recent, and yet everything he discussed shows up in one form or another in Rivera's play.

A place to start this long and complex conversation is through the production of stories like *Marisol*. A play is not something you let collect dust, only to pick up and read years later. The very act of producing a play is a revolutionary act, as it inherently begins a dialogue with whatever political situation its audience finds itself in. Stories are the texture we are missing from today's distorted retelling of history; seeing it makes it real. One of the major transactions of any play is collective empathy, and unity of the Catholic church should be no different. Otherwise, the very values that make up the faith will hardly be recognizable in the long run. Maybe Rivera has no heavenly authority in this realm, but his broad awareness makes his words deeply accessible. Although Rivera's play is a heightened poetic adventure of New York in the 1990's, there is no denying the truth of the perils that lie beneath.

If the Catholic church fails to listen to the stories of Latinx Catholics, the future of the U.S church will be empty. Rivera's play, although not a realistic vehicle for immediate change, is a meaningful start to this discourse. Along with this, we can take a note from Seitz's letter to the people of El Paso: "God can only be calling our community to greater fidelity. Together we are called to discern the new paths of justice and mercy required of us and to rediscover our reasons for hope" (Seitz). Through storytelling and conversation, we are best able to see the posterity of Latinx Catholicism in the U.S. to a brighter future filled with hope and change.

"Oh God. What light. What possibilities. What hope" (Rivera 86).

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Mackenzie Farel | *Caged*

WAND'RING THROUGH THE ANCIENT NEIGHBORHOOD:
MILTON'S INTERTEXTUAL DAEMONS AND THE CONCEPTION OF COMUS

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Perhaps John Milton, like a romantic rival, could not help but emulate the literature he desired to eclipse. Whether in his poetic odes, legal tracts, or Christian epics, Milton's personal artistic battle was one that tiptoed the line between allusion and intertextuality. His work clearly demonstrates a strong familiarity with many artistic traditions, but it is the tension between his reverence and ridicule for these texts that produced, as I see it, conflict in all his work. Among his largest aesthetic and intellectual influences were the sagas of Greek and Roman mythology and their respective pantheons: one need look no further than the first passages in his most famous work, *Paradise Lost*. As he wrote in the first invocation to the Christian muse (or Holy Spirit), the intention of this artistic endeavor was to soar "Above the *Aonian* mount,"[1] that is, to create a Christian mythos superior to the centuries of Greco-Roman lore. It could be argued that his prolonged sojourn on this mount, as proven by his copious references to Ovid, Homer, and Virgil, was a failing of this intention to surpass his sources. I would like to argue otherwise— Milton may never have reached the peaks he sought, but I believe Milton soared, and closely. Charles Martindale asserts in his analysis of Ovidian influence in Milton and in *Paradise Lost* in particular, that "the pagan house of cards has been laboriously constructed for the purpose of demolition; beauty is evoked, then undermined."[2] This is, however, an unfair evaluation of Milton's work—his lyric is in no way dry, and his comparisons do not undermine any beauty he evokes, nor does a desperate sweetness emerge.[3] Rather, Milton's allusions are sturdy, recognizable, and at least in *Paradise Lost*, confidently matched with his version of Christian mythos. Milton does indeed, however, see myth through a "romantic, shimmering haze,"[4] a haze that can, at times, confuse the intention of his lyric. From Milton's work arises what Don Cameron Allen calls an attempt (a bold one at that) to effect "a compromise that is both poetically and intellectually greater than the warring opposites."[5] Paradise Lost is perhaps Milton's most polished, lyrically lush example of such an attempt, but it is his earlier, lesser known voyage into that ancient neighborhood of pagan mythology, *Comus*, or, *A Mask Presented at Ludlow Castle*, 1634, that better exposes Milton's internal conflict between two seemingly opposed theologies. This was a conflict that Milton, at this point in his life, had not yet explored, a flight not yet taken.

The subject of this mask is an initial example of Milton's struggle between the supremacy of the classical form versus the Christian. A young Lady lost in a treacherous wood is found by a demon: Comus, the son of Circe,

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1 John Milton, *Paradise Lost*, in *Complete Poems and Major Prose*, ed. Merritt Yerkes Hughes (Indianapolis: Hackett Pub., 2003), 1.14-15.

2 Charles Martindale, "Paradise Metamorphosed: Ovid in Milton," *Comparative Literature* 37, no. 4 (1985): 319.

3 Martindale, 319.

4 Martindale, 319.

5 Don Cameron Allen, "Milton's 'Comus' as a Failure in Artistic Compromise," *ELH* 16, no. 2 (June 1949): 109.

Greek literature's most famous temptress, and Bacchus (Dionysus in the Greek tradition), the god of wine and ritual madness, characters both extensively written about by Ovid and Homer. Perhaps a forerunner to his creation narratives in *Paradise Lost*, Milton's early conception of a demon born of two lascivious Greco-Roman gods reflects a budding preoccupation with emulation and rivalry. Tenderly, as a result of his intimacy with these texts, Milton mimicked aspects of Ovid's and Homer's (and many others') famous tales, and by no means was this rare, especially for his contemporaries. Like an artistic Protestant rival to the classical tradition ought to, he prioritized in his narratives Christian virtue, Neo-Platonic ideals of sexuality, and deep aversion to at least some aspects of classical theology. With Comus comes a host of daemonic activities antithetical to the temperance, chastity, and faith of the Lady: the zealous worship of gods, the idolatrous abuse of nature, the practice of secret rites, metamorphosis, the use of magic to manipulate others. Milton's Lady is the epitome of a good Christian woman (read: an obedient, modest, beautiful virgin), and his Comus, the epitome of an immorality long-since associated with paganism.

What is so remarkable and hard to reconcile about Milton's torrid love affair with these Greco-Roman narratives is, as Martindale suggests, his "extraordinary sensitivity towards the stories he rejects."[6] For as much time as Milton spent demonizing classical mythos, he also seemed to adore it, or at least aspects of it. Included among the vaguely classical, pre-Christian facsimiles in Milton's mask: a holy Spirit guarding the forest; a declaration that virginity is dear to both Angels and "the old Schools of *Greece*";[7] the river nymph that eventually saves the Lady; even the pastoral ambience of the mask itself. From these examples of Milton's allusive ambiguity, a struggle emerges between several "esthetic and

intellectual daemons" straining for "superior utterance."[8] As I remarked earlier, this early flight toward literary supremacy over the classical was one not so sophisticated as the one Milton took while authoring *Paradise Lost*. The many conflicting representations of classical myth in the mask complicate the strongly defined archetypes of Comus and the Virgin, and even within those characters lie disparities between the theological and aesthetic poles. If Milton's primary intention throughout his career was to soar above that Aonian mount and declare the dominance of Christian virtue, his continuous intertextual conflict with Greco-Roman mythos complicated this intention greatly. Still, to use a metaphor Cameron Allen used in his analysis of Milton's "Nativity Ode,": the clashing of divergent myth may set all in vibration like a struck lyre, but "a discord will do this as well as a harmony."[9]

A Son, Much Like His Father

To investigate Milton's conception of Comus, the enemy to "Heav'nly Chastity,"[10] we must first look at two noteworthy literary depictions of the demon's parents. I will begin with his father, Bacchus, "that first from out the purple Grape / Crusht the sweet poison of misused Wine,"[11] found in Homer's seventh Hymn to Dionysus (as he is named in the Greek tradition). This rendition of Dionysus is conventionally Homeric, Comus's father depicted as "stripling in the first flush of manhood: his rich, dark hair was waving about him, and on his strong shoulders he wore a purple robe."[12] Homer illustrates, in his 26th Hymn, the "ivy-crowned" Dionysus, naming him "loud crying god, splendid son of Zeus."[13] These images are recalled later in Milton's description of the youthful Bacchus,

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6   Martindale, "Paradise Metamorphosed," 319.

7   John Milton, "Comus, or, A Mask presented at Ludlow Castle 1634," in *Complete Poems and Major Prose*, ed. Merritt Yerkes Hughes (Indianapolis: Hackett Pub., 2003), line 439.

8   Allen, "Failure in Artistic Compromise," 105.

9   Allen, "Failure in Artistic Compromise," 105.

10 Milton, "Comus," line 420.

11 Milton, "Comus," line 46-57.

12 Homer, "Hymn 7 to Dionysus," in *Homeric Hymns and the Homerica*, trans. Hugh G. Evelyn-White (Cambridge, MA., Harvard University Press; London, William Heinemann Ltd., 1914), lines 1-5.

13 Homer, "Hymn 26 to Dionysus," in *Homeric Hymns and the Homerica*, trans. Hugh G. Evelyn-White (Cambridge, MA., Harvard University Press; London, William Heinemann Ltd., 1914), line 1.

whom the Nymph Circe "gaz'd upon his clust'ring locks, / With Ivy berries wreath'd."[14]

Milton co-opted not only the aesthetic traits of Dionysus for his characterization of Comus, but the location of his origin story. Like his son, Bacchus was raised by nymphs in a sweet-smelling cave (akin to the Circean cave in Homer and Ovid's depictions), leaving to wander eternally in an ivy and laurel-filled wood, "the boundless forest" filled with his and the Nymphs' outcries.[15] The ambrosial cave is also the site of Comus's childhood, and the site of his adolescence, the Celtic and Iberian fields of his parents' exploits. We come upon Comus "in this ominous Wood, / And in thick shelter of black shades imbow'r'd."[16] This placement of Comus in a similar "leavy Labyrinth"[17] is not only an allusion to his mother Circe's own home. By relegating Comus to a pastoral setting, the English-Welsh countryside in particular, Milton imbued in Comus's character an obscurity long associated with pagan ritualism and malevolent activity—for where else would witches and demons perform secret rites than in the woods, a space so dark and uncontrollable, so much like Comus himself?

Of malevolent ritualism, the Ovidian Bacchus is, compared to Homer's depiction, characterized far more wickedly than his Greek counterpart, anticipating Milton's similar condemnations of the god. In Book 3 of Ovid's *Metamorphoses*, Pentheus, the grandson of Cadmus, relative of Bacchus's mother, attempted to persuade his family from participating in the "filthie" and "fonde illusions"[18] of Bacchanalian rites: running about the woods, howling, performing orgies. The story that fisherman Acoetes related of his conversion to the cult is another rendering of the story told in the 7th Homeric Hymn, in which Bacchus enveloped a ship in clustered grapes and transformed disbelieving shipmates into beasts. These essential Bacchanalian qualities are later referenced in Comus's first speech, when he soliloquizes on his "dazzling Spells" and "power to cheat the eye with blear illusion."[19] Though Milton by no means perfectly honored the Ovidian perspective, he did converge with Ovid on this very point: classical myth makes a superb moral exemplar. What Homer identified as abundant was transformed into excess and evil by Ovid's brittle pathos and Milton's Puritan prejudice. Dionysus's wealth became Bacchus's intemperance and barbarity, not the stuff of a god oft-hymned, and if hymned, then wrongly so. Bacchus, by crushing the purple grape, transformed the wine (what has been traditionally sacred in the Christian tradition) into a misused poison, and thus misdirected nature and the will.

Bacchus's association with the abuse of nature, as symbolized by the crushed fruit, is paralleled by Comus's ensuing attempts to deflower the Lady. The Lady's own elder brothers compare her beauty to "the fair Hesperian tree Laden with blooming gold" which "had need the guard / Of dragon... To save her blossoms and defend her fruit / From the rash hand of bold Incontinence."[20] Deforestation, the sapping of fruit in particular, seems to be a necessary part of existing in Nature according to Comus: "Wherefore did Nature pour her bounties forth / With such a full and unwithdrawing hand, / Covering the earth with odors, fruits... / But all to please and sate the curious taste?"[21] If Comus (and his parents) were endowed with physical abundance, Milton endowed the Lady with spiritual abundance, which should have, in theory, withstood the demon Comus's attempts to disrupt her "lean and sallow Abstinence."[22]

But His Mother More

Milton did sew a masculine line through Comus's

14 Milton, "Comus," lines 54-55.

15 Homer, "Hymn 26," lines 5-10.

16 Milton, "Comus," lines 60-63.

17 Milton, "Comus," line 278.

18 Ovid, *Metamorphoses*, 3.509, trans. Arthur Golding (London, 1567).

19 . Milton, "Comus," line 154-55.

20 . Milton, "Comus," lines 393-97.

21 . Milton, "Comus," lines 709-13.

22 . Milton, "Comus," line 708.

character, as evinced by the stylistic kinship with his father Bacchus. However, what was reasonably more condemnable to Milton was not Comus's barbarian virility, but his feminine mystique. To understand this, one must take a closer look at the masks Milton very likely had in mind when conceiving of this demonic entity: *Temple Restored* (1632) and the *Balet Comique de la Royne, or Circe* (1581). Both dramatic productions bore striking similarities to the one Milton presented at Ludlow Castle in 1634: both featured the character of Circe, who, in impious envy, transformed humans into beasts using a poisoned chalice and had her spells dissolved by a divine entity or drug. Both productions were surely familiar to Milton's artistic collaborator Henry Lawes, who staged both *Temple Restored* and *Comus*, and it is not out of the realm of possibility that this influenced Milton's mask in both characters and setting. Circe's abode in *Temple Restored* and the Balet became the castle in *Comus*, tucked behind a grove of trees in the navel of the woods, where nymphs and Nyades collect herbs and flowers to brew magic potions in an enchanted cup. Furthermore, to originate and locate Comus in a site so like his mother's own sweet-smelling cave recalls yonic imagery from the *Odyssey*, in which Calypso literally and figuratively traps Odysseus in her hollow caves for seven years. Calypso, much like Circe, is scolded by Hermes, the same god who later protects Odysseus from physical temptation. To fix the battle between Comus and the Virgin in such a setting was no coincidence and foretells the characterization of Comus as one that aligns with the classic Circean archetype. This very ancient neighborhood is the exact site of Circean sexuality, drawn directly from Ovidian and Homeric conceptions of the classical era's most notorious witch, especially wicked when combined with the revelry and tipsy dance of Dionysus.

Circe is an early example of the sharp, sexually motivated, shape-shifting literary enchantress. As Demaray notes, "Circe is said to represent desire in general and can lead some living creatures to Vertue, and others to Vice."[23] The "beautiful, dreadful goddess"[24] Circe is, first and foremost, an emasculating goddess, one who makes men cowardly and unmanly with her poisons and *pharmaka*,[25] losing their "upright shape."[26] She is only defeated by Moly, a drug given to Odysseus by Hermes (Mercury in the Latin tradition). What characterizes Circe is a carnal sensuality that degrades "the unpolluted temple of the mind" and "clot[s]" the brain "with contagion."[27] Ovid's portrait of Circe is analogous to Homer's: her transformation of Ulysses's men into hogs is reversed by Mercury's Moly and, defeated, she becomes Ulysses's devoted lover.

The Circean template was a primitive source for Milton's creation of Comus, but Comus "Excels his mother at her mighty Art,"[28] and is able to poison hordes of wandering travelers without interruption. What is apparent about both Homer and Ovid's depictions of this lecherous witch is their attention to the immorality of erotic spell-binding: as Ovid once wrote of Medea, another infamous sorceress, "Love should be acquired through character and beauty. It is wrong that it should be sought through herbs."[29] Comus's use of herbs, binding spells, necromancy, and shape-shifting magic closely mirror the actions of Ovid's several old crones in his poetry: Medea with her enchanted sickle, the Thessalian witch who causes impotence, and the violating Dipsas. These women surely were in Milton's mind as he conceived of what a son of Circe might look like, might do. Comus, like the woman who raised him, intends to violate chastity, to roll in pleasure and ecstasy, to reduce the god-like consciousness into the bestial. This association with unbridled lust very well may have played a part in Milton's close attention to the Virgin's purity.

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23 John G. Demaray, "Milton's 'Comus': The Sequel to a Masque of Circe," *Huntington Library Quarterly* 29, no. 3 (1966): 251.

24 Homer, *The Odyssey*, trans. Emily R. Wilson (New York: W.W. Norton and Company, 2018), 10.136.

25 Translated from Greek as "drugs" or "medicine."

26 Milton, "Comus," line 52.

27 . Milton, "Comus," lines 461, 465-67.

28 Milton, "Comus," line 63.

29 Ovid, "Heroides," in *Magic, Witchcraft, and Ghosts in the Greek and Roman Worlds: A Sourcebook*, ed. Daniel Ogden (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009), 126.

Now to My Charms

After meeting Comus's parents, the first illustration Milton provides of Comus should be familiar: locks braided "with rosy Twine Dropping odors, dropping Wine,"[30] Comus enters with a "Charming Rod in one hand, his Glass in the other, with him a rout of Monsters... like Men and Women... making a riotous and unruly noise, with Torches in their hands."[31] Surrounded by a Circean horde of unruly cultish creatures, wielding the symbolic weapons of both his parents, Comus begins his first speech outlining the medley of features he derived from his ancient mother and father: "charms and wily trains,"[32] "dazzling Spells" with the "power to cheat the eye with blear illusion,"[33] the "conceal'd"[34] performance of rites. With great force he ushers in "Joy and Feast, / Midnight shout and revelry, / Tipsy dance and jollity."[35] His doctrine assails all the Lady is aligned with: rigor, structure, advice, maturity, and severity.[36] In his first speech, Comus demonstrates his own design of divinity, preaching that "We that are of purer fire Imitate the Starry Choir."[37] In this speech, Comus recalls Medea, another of Ovid's terrible witches, when he, like her, invokes the night-riding goddess "*Hecat*," queen of the underworld and patroness of sorcerers.[38] These two sorceresses have long been tied to satanism—the leading Catholic treatise on witchcraft in 1600, *Disquisitiones Magicae*,[39] identified Ovid's witches as "particularly evil" for their ability to cause "immense harm with words alone."[40]

Milton's allusions to both of these wicked women once more calls attention to all things associated with sorcery: orgies, herbs, drink, and so forth. As Comus and his motley crew of sundry Beasts begin to perform their wicked rites, "knit hands, and beat the ground, / In a light fantastic round,"[41] the demon Comus notices the "chaste footing" of "Some Virgin sure... Benighted in these Woods."[42] He commences his wicked temptation of the yet-unknown Lady, preparing his "charms / And wily trains,"[43] and recalling his own mother's sequestering of Odysseus's men, hinting at his plan to do the very same to the Lady. Here, Comus begins to sound quite a bit like Homer's Odysseus, the very victim of Circe's tricks: the wily Comus sets to, "under pretence of friendly ends," place "words of glozing courtesy"[44] upon the lady, mirroring Odysseus's cunning oration and rhetoric throughout his journey. Milton's illustration of Comus as deliberately cunning and disguised also evokes Odysseus's return to Ithaca disguised as a homeless man, transfiguring to appear "some harmless Villager."[45] This is yet another example of the Homeric echo throughout the mask, but this is also a moment where Milton's allusive complexity really shines. That is, to summon the quintessential Homeric hero, Odysseus the Cunning, signals Milton's particular ability to identify the demonic in both villain and hero. Not only is Circe's lustful trickery sinful, but so are the sneaky ways Odysseus employed to escape her.

Thus begins Comus's persuasion of the Lady, the virginal figure supposedly completely cast against all that is Circean, Bacchanalian, pagan, even Odyssean. Milton's Lady is marked by her chastity, "clad in complete steel, / and like a quiver'd Nymph with Arrows keen"[46] is hypothetically able to go through the "blind mazes of this tangl'd Wood"[47] unscathed. No goblin or fairy is strong enough to defeat her all-powerful chastity; like the armed virgins Diana with her dreaded bow and Minerva with her snaky-headed Gorgon shield, "so dear

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30 Milton, "Comus," lines 104-5.

31 Milton, "Comus," measure between lines 90-95.

32 Milton, "Comus," line 150.

33 Milton, "Comus," lines 154-55.

34 Milton, "Comus," line 142.

35 Milton, "Comus," lines 103-7.

36 Milton, "Comus," lines 107-9.

37 Milton, "Comus," lines 111-12.

38 Milton, "Comus," line 135.

39 Martín Del Rio, "The Maleficia of Witches," in *The Witchcraft Sourcebook*, ed. Brian P. Levack (London: Routledge, 2015), 96.

40 Martín Del Rio, *Disquisitiones Magicae*, trans. P.G. Maxwell-Stuart (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2000), Book 3, Part 1, 5.

41 . Milton, "Comus," lines 143-44.

42 . Milton, "Comus," lines 146, 150.

43 . Milton, "Comus," lines 150-51.

44 . Milton, "Comus," lines 160-61.

45 . Milton, "Comus," line 166.

46 . Milton, "Comus," line 422.

47 . Milton, "Comus," line 181.

to Heav'n is Saintly chastity, / That when a soul is found sincerely so, / A thousand liveried Angels lackey her."[48] What is difficult to mediate (and so classically Miltonian) about the description of the Lady's chastity is that his references to classical mythology are ambiguous, mixed with Christian phrase—is the Lady somehow closer to heaven than these virgins, or are all virgins so holy? Even the doubt as to whether the angels lackeying the Lady are Christian, Pagan, or otherwise, can be raised. This mask was certainly, at least to Milton, a Christian work, in which the doctrine of virginity as a heavenly virtue is vindicated and defended by divine grace. Yet, Milton did this clumsily, mixing in a heavy dose of pagan myth and moral consideration.

There are remnants of early Christian mythos to be found in the character of the Lady, namely Jerome's tales of the exorcism of a virgin by Saint Hilarion,[49] and Lucian's conversion narrative of Saint Cyprian by the holy virgin Saint Justina.[50] While Milton never outright alluded to these stories, it is likely he was, at the very least, familiar with these Catholic legends. In Jerome's lore, a young man falls in love with a virgin, and after his flirtation proves unsuccessful, returns to town with magical techniques intended to secure her seduction. The girl is seized by a demon, and after the Saint exorcises the spirit from her body, is warned not to encourage such lustful attention in the future. This should recall some aspects of Milton's mask, in which a virgin is implored and pestered, caught against her will, saved by a spiritual being, and blamed for the entire ordeal by her brothers. The conversion narrative of Cyprian is very similar to the tale of St. Hilarion—Justina declares herself betrothed to God and makes the sign of the cross at every attempt by Cyprian to seduce her. She dispels every demon he

sends, including himself, and eventually, persuaded by her prayers, Cyprian converts to Christianity. The dispatching of a demonic entity to encroach upon the virgin is the obvious similarity to Milton's mask, although Comus is never converted by the Virgin's protests. Still, the reprisal of these myths is crucial to cementing Milton's Christian ethos within the mask. That the virgins forcefully insist upon the preservation of their innocence is key to understanding Milton's formation of the Lady's sun-clad chastity, a doctrine so sage and serious that no amount of wit or gay rhetoric (or charming, divine philosophy) could possibly unfold it.[51] Despite Milton's keen attention to the myths and philosophies of Ovid and Homer, it is the "sober laws / And holy dictate of spare Temperance"[52] that the Lady, cautious and spiritually devoted, wields as she begins her journey into the woods.

Of Malice or of Sorcery

Hearing "Riot and ill-manag'd Merriment,"[53] the Lady, unsure of where to inform her "unacquainted feet,"[54] remarks upon the rude and insolent revelers, "late Wassailers"[55] potentially lurking in the dark Woods, dancing wantonly and praising "the bounteous *Pan*,"[56] thanking the gods amiss.[57] To name them "Wassailers" (*wassail* being an English mulled cider) recalls the earlier image of Comus's father, the god that misused the purple Grape and transformed a part of God's bounty into a sweet poison, literally rotting a product of divinity. Abandoned by her brothers, perhaps themselves tempted by the darkness, the Lady (and the reader) is presented with a grand spiritual quandary: how should one, alone, get through a wood so fraught with sin and danger? As she carefully tiptoes through the "single darkness"[58] of the wooded bowels of Comus's home turf, "A thousand

48 . Milton, "Comus," lines 453-55.

49 . Jerome, "Life of St. Hilarion the Hermit" 21, PL 23, 38-9 in *Magic, Witchcraft, and Ghosts in the Greek and Roman Worlds: A Sourcebook*, ed. Daniel Ogden (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009), 230.

50 . "Lives of SS. Cyprian and Justina," 3-9 in *Magic, Witchcraft, and Ghosts in the Greek and Roman Worlds: A Sourcebook*, ed. Daniel Ogden (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009), 329.

51 . Milton, "Comus," lines 781, 785-86, 790.

52 . Milton, "Comus," lines 766-67.

53 . Milton, "Comus," line 171.

54 . Milton, "Comus," line 180.

55 . Milton, "Comus," line 179.

56 . Milton, "Comus," line 175.

57 . Milton, "Comus," line 176.

58 . Milton, "Comus," line 204.

fantasies" begin "to throng into" her memory, "Of calling shapes and beck'ning shadows dire, / And airy tongues."[59] Milton's Lady, rather than fall victim to any potential lurking dangers, defends herself with a neo-Platonic theory of mind, her steadfast chastity illuminating the "Dim darkness and this leavy Labyrinth."[60] "These thoughts may startle well," she says, "but not astound / The virtuous mind, that ever walks attended / By a strong siding champion Conscience."[61] To bolster her, she creates her own pantheon of protective spirits—Conscience, Faith, Hope, and Chastity—and holds her faith in the supreme Good as her own magic wand. What is striking about the Lady's character, aside from her impressive moral acuity and commitment, is her essential humanity—the Lady is a heavenly being, but she is no more immune to temptation than Milton himself.

How, then, to prevent such a formidable wizard from sapping the sacred virginity of the lady? How to destroy a wizard hidden "Within the navel of this hideous Wood, / Immur'd in cypress shades,"[62] "Deep skill'd in all his mother's witcheries,"[63] "whose pleasing poison"[64] and obscured, abhorred rites, "baits and guileful spells / To inveigle and invite th'unwary sense"[65] and unmold "reason's mintage"?[66] The Spirit that presides over the woods and protects the travelers from Comus's trickery (like Raphael and the other angels in the Garden of Eden in *Paradise Lost*), suggests that, "to secure the Lady from surprisal,"[67] the Brothers should employ Moly, "a bright golden flowre"[68] with a reputation for repelling demons and poisons. It was this very plant that Hermes, in the *Odyssey*, bore down to Odysseus

to defeat Circe's bewitchment, and the attempt by the brothers to reverse Comus's spells with the same method is no accident. Milton was certain to be familiar with the drug, associated with a god described by Charlotte Otten as "the personification of all that is bright and clear in thought, possessor of knowledge and mediator of all hidden wisdom."[69] Moly is "self control, circumspection in conduct... fortified against temptation."[70] Still, the Moly is rendered ineffective against Comus's charms, and as Cameron Allen writes in his critique of Milton's failure in artistic compromise, "Comus escapes unpunished with all his crew, and the Lady is finally released not because of her virginity or through the offices of one of 'the thousand liveried angels' but through the magic powers of a pagan water spirit, whose myth was renovated for this purpose."[71] The questions remain as to why the Moly was rendered useless against Comus, a demon born to a witch with a debilitating weakness for it, and why the brothers would resort to what is a famously Greco-Roman technique of curse reversal, if they themselves are Christian. What can be said, in light of Cameron Allen's identification of Milton's failure to compromise between and eventually supersede two forms of myth, is that this apparent failure is strongest in this early example of writing. That is not to say the work is not valuable in its own right, or that Milton never achieved the compromise Allen demanded he make–– ironically, Milton is often regarded as "our prime classicist."[72]

Goddess of the Silver Lake

Of all the literary demons haunting Milton's *Comus*, the virgin nymph who does save the lady from Comus's attacks is the most like the Lady herself. Sabrina is not the only nymph summoned in the mask; the attendant Spirit, upon discovering the "Sin-worn mould"[73] of the "drear

59 . Milton, "Comus," lines 205-8.

60 . Milton, "Comus," line 278.

61 . Milton, "Comus," lines 210-13.

62 . Milton, "Comus," lines 520-21.

63 . Milton, "Comus," line 522.

64 . Milton, "Comus," line 526.

65 . Milton, "Comus," lines 537-38.

66 . Milton, "Comus," line 529.

67 . Milton, "Comus," line 618.

68 . Milton, "Comus," line 632.

69 . Charlotte Otten, "Homer's Moly and Milton's Rue," *Huntington Library Quarterly 33*, no. 4 (1970): 369.

70 . Otten, 369.

71 . Allen, "Failure in Artistic Compromise," 115.

72 . Martindale, "Paradise Metamorphosed," 319.

73 . Milton, "Comus," line 17.

Wood"[74] Comus calls home, relates the story of the creation of the kingdom of Wales, "this tract that fronts the falling Sun,"[75] "the greatest, and the best of all the main,"[76] of which "*Neptune*" quartered to his "blue-hair'd deities."[77] To set this scene on the banks of the River Severn, the longest river in Great Britain that spans both England and Wales and the home of the nymph destined to protect the Lady's chastity, infuses in this story a myth more acceptable to Milton's Puritan palate. This nymph is none other than the daughter of Locrine, "That had the Scepter from his father *Brute*,"[78] and "Sprung of old *Anchises* line."[79] Milton's *Brute* is undoubtedly Brutus, Aeneas's Anglo-Saxon equivalent, the Trojan founder of Britain as depicted by Geoffery of Monmouth in his *Historia Britannica* and in several other British pseudo-histories. This particular literary borrowing is certainly interesting—for Milton, to choose her, the "guiltless damsel"[80] whose fair innocence was flooded by the river, as the one who frees the Lady's "ensnared chastity,"[81] and not, as Allen points out, any angels, or even the Spirit sent by Jove for the very purpose of protecting wanderers in the wood, signals his deep commitment to the neo-Platonic ideal of chastity, one that even he admitted surpasses philosophical categorization. That is, of all of the nymphs to choose, better to choose a virgin, and a British-Welsh one at that.

Maidenhood, virtue, celibate chastity—this is made, perhaps unwittingly by Milton, into a magic power, one dear to both the ancient philosophies and the Puritan, a power that "can teach ye how to climb / Higher than the Sphery chime."[82] Milton's desire, then, to climb up the mount of literary greatness and ascend to the heavens, seems almost silly, for it can be seen Milton scaled the mount using the very same rope his predecessors left behind. That is to say, Milton's intense preoccupation with proving the unreconcilable difference between the pagan and the Christian shows that he did so not by reinvention but appropriation. And that is so much like the history of the institutionalization of Christianity in Europe—a long one, marked by violent persecution of the pagan and pantheist, rampant reuse of sacred symbols, and doctrinal dominance. Still, Milton, throughout his work, time and time again betrays his own ideology, his own sacred symbols, unconsciously and vigorously revealing the hidden mystique lurking behind the Puritan creed. Perhaps, as readers, we can accept Milton's unapologetic borrowings and find beauty in their imperfect reproductions of well-loved myth.

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74 . Milton, "Comus," line 37.
75 . Milton, "Comus," line 30.
76 . Milton, "Comus," line 28.
77 . Milton, "Comus," line 29.
78 . Milton, "Comus," lines 827-28
79 . Milton, "Comus," lines 848-50.
80 . Milton, "Comus," line 923.
81 . Milton, "Comus," line 909.
82 . Milton, "Comus," line 1021.

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Mady Fast | *Great Gig In My Mind*

LE SEXISME, LA PRÉCIOSITÉ, ET LE ROMAN POLITIQUE AU 17ᴱᴹᴱ SIÈCLE

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ABSTRACT Dating back to 17th century France, *préciosité* is a socio-literary movement that can be recognized by its iconic salons in which were held intellectual and witty discussions by educated women, such as Madeleine de Scudéry and Madame de Lafayette. Though these women are now held in high regard by academics and their contributions to the evolution of the novel as a genre acknowledged, during the era of *préciosité* they were degraded and mocked by other male authors, poets, and academics alike; even Molière wrote a piece called *Les précieuses ridicules* deriding the female intellectuals. This resentment and sexist attitude towards the *précieuses* caused their work to be heavily scrutinized, and publishers with each new edition took out any political analysis they might contain in order to relegate them to the status of frivolous works.

Certaines femmes érudites au 17ème siècle étaient renommées pour leur association à la préciosité, un mouvement socio-littéraire où les intellectuels discutaient de la littérature et des beaux-arts. Ce phénomène a popularisé les « salons » – un espace où les femmes érudites et bourgeoises pouvaient discuter la littérature, les arts, le théâtre, etc., ainsi que la littérature courtoise par des femmes identifiées par la suite comme « les précieuses ». Les précieuses ont promu une vie cultivée et le grand thème sur lequel elles ont écrit était l'amour courtois.[1] Bien que ces femmes aient eu la possibilité de parler et d'écrire d'un point de vue féminin, elles ont eu aussi à affronter le sexisme des hommes. Dans cette analyse je vais d'abord expliquer les problèmes causés par la misogynie à l'encontre des précieuses et la dégradation du mot « préciosité » par les critiques pendant le 17ème siècle. Ensuite, je vais analyser l'influence du machisme dans l'œuvre de Madeleine de Scudéry et son roman *Artamène*. Finalement, je vais discuter de la réception sexiste réservée à *La Princesse de Montpensier* de Madame de Lafayette.

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1 L'amour courtois est défini par l'encyclopédie Universalis de la façon suivante : « La courtoisie concerne en effet, de façon particulière, les rapports entre les sexes. Elle s'oppose à une situation de fait que nous entrevoyons à travers les « chansons de geste », poèmes dont la thématique remonte, pour l'essentiel, au milieu du XIᵉ siècle, sinon plus haut encore : mépris des attachements féminins, indignes d'un chevalier, indifférence à la volonté de la femme et complète impudeur de parole. Les mœurs, pendant longtemps encore, consacrent la dépendance totale de la femme, attribuant au mari un droit de correction à peine limité, livrent la fille à la volonté de son père, puis à l'époux qu'il lui choisit. Quoique, depuis la fin du XIe siècle, les exceptions à cette règle deviennent de plus en plus nombreuses, l'idéal courtois représente sur ce point une insurrection contre la réalité dominante. »

La critique Domna Stanton soutient que nos idées sur la qualité de la littérature sont influencées par les hommes : « our conceptions of genres and schools, methods and readers, first and second-rate texts, these are the ideological creations of the first, not the second, sex » et elle remarque que ce phénomène de sexisme persiste encore aujourd'hui (107). Le premier problème pour la préciosité est qu'elle n'était pas reconnue comme telle au 17ème siècle. En fait, le terme « préciosité » ne figurait pas dans le dictionnaire de l'Académie-Française, le groupe qui a publié le premier dictionnaire de la langue française. Myriam Maître et Anne R. Larsen notent également qu'« aucune femme du temps n'a revendiqué le titre « précieuses » » (800). Pour ces femmes, qui prenaient leurs études au sérieux, leurs travaux et discussions étaient importants. Mais, selon Stanton, le mot « preciosity or the *précieux* has been masculinized and progressively valorized as a poetic tendency, while the female specificity of *la précieuse* has been effaced » bien que l'idée soit importante pour comprendre la culture érudite du 17ème siècle (110). A cause de cet effaçage par les critiques, la spécificité des apports littéraires des femmes n'a jamais été complètement reconnue. A cette époque, la connotation de ce qui allait être recouvert par le mot « préciosité » était négative à cause de l'idée que les conversations par les femmes étaient seulement pour le loisir et s'est accompagnée d'un rabaissement des femmes qui étaient les précieuses, pour la plupart par des hommes. Vivre et écrire au 17ème siècle, comme ce fut le cas pour les auteures Madame de Lafayette et Madeleine de Scudéry, était donc d'autant plus difficile. Dans les salons, les femmes participaient aux activités académiques, mais en dehors des salons, les précieuses recevaient beaucoup de critiques. Les critiques, comme le dramaturge Molière et le polémiste Somaize, célèbres pendant la vie de Madeleine de Scudéry, ont été responsables de la dévalorisation du mot « préciosité ». De plus, on peut avancer que les satires qui étaient produites par les critiques « signal[ent] les fortes contradictions qui sont au cœur du statut de l'écrivain et de la définition de la littérature » (Maître and Larson 800). L'écrivaine Madeleine de Scudéry est la femme qui représente les précieuses (Stanton 113).

Madeleine de Scudéry, auteure de grands romans comme *Artamène ou Le Grand Cyrus* (1649) et *Clélie* (1654 à 1660), était une précieuse avec un style littéraire particulier pour l'époque. Mais, à cause de la société et du préjugé envers les femmes, « elle existe uniquement à travers le prisme de la dégradation comique » (Stanton 113). Et, ça n'était pas simplement la littérature produite par Madeleine de Scudéry qui était dégradée, c'est aussi ce dont elle discutait dans les salons. Par exemple, dans « Histoire de deux caméléons », elle n'était pas d'accord avec la théorie mécanique de Descartes selon laquelle les animaux n'ont pas d'âme. Elle fut vivement critiquée pour sa position. Cette querelle est représentative de la marginalisation des femmes intellectuelles (Osler 582). Le roman *Artamène*, quant à lui, promouvait la littérature féministe. L'historienne, Joan DeJean, a souligné l'importance des femmes écrivaines pour le développement du genre du roman : « the strains of prose fiction writing in which today's readers would recognize the emerging modern novel were the creation of women writers » (43). Un roman comme *Artamène* est exactement ce dont DeJean parlait. *Artamène* contenait également un message politique (une déclaration sur La Fronde), ce qui participait à sa popularité auprès des Français, bien que la plupart des travaux de Madeleine de Scudéry « has been dismissed as literary frivolity » (DeJean 44). En général, il y avait une sorte de mythe selon lequel la femme devait être une femme « naturelle », faisant preuve de « sincérité, spontanéité, négligence » qui « éloigne(nt) la parole et l'écriture féminine de l'éloquence publique et des genres littéraires » (Maître et Larsen 801). La préciosité a détruit le mythe vague de cette femme naturelle. Donc, au mieux, le livre de Madeleine de Scudéry était considéré comme un bon roman, mais pas comme sérieux. DeJean a noté qu'*Artamène* était la première réponse littéraire à La Fronde, et il est clair que Madeleine de Scudéry (et plusieurs autres précieuses) était une victime du sexisme contre la préciosité et les précieuses.

Madeleine de Scudéry n'était pas la seule écrivaine à lutter contre le sexisme par le biais de son écriture pendant le 17ème siècle. Madame de Lafayette (Marie-Madeleine Pioche de La Vergne 1634-1693) a écrit le grand roman

classique *La Princesse de Clèves* (1678), ainsi que la nouvelle *La Princesse de Montpensier* (1662). Les problèmes qui étaient présents pour Madeleine de Scudéry sont similaires pour Madame de Lafayette et *La Princesse de Montpensier*, mais la réception de cette nouvelle historique a été bien différente. Madame de Lafayette était célèbre pour la création du roman d'analyse (surtout *La Princesse de Clèves*) et ses écrits sur l'amour courtois et les passions. Selon Schlieper et Steinbrugge, l'idée d'une préface était particulièrement importante au 17ème siècle (143). Aussi, la préface est un mode qui réunissait les lecteurs et les auteurs. *La Princesse de Montpensier* avait une préface avec la version originale, qui a été conservée à travers les republications du texte ; donc, heureusement, on peut lire ce que Madame de Lafayette a voulu dire aux lecteurs dans sa version originale. Mais Schlieper et Steinbrugge suggèrent que les republications de l'œuvre après la mort de Mme de Lafayette étaient moins politiques. On peut lire la préface au lecteur de la première version, mais l'œuvre a changé pour être moins politique et historique avec chaque nouvelle publication. Ces changements étaient si grands que le titre original – *Histoire touchant les amours de la duchesse de Montpensier avec le duc de Guise dict le balafre* – n'est pas connu. Au début, ce titre suggérait un amour entre la duchesse, et non pas la princesse, de Montpensier et le duc de Guise, et parce que la duchesse de Montpensier était une vraie femme, Schlieper et Steinbrugge pensent que c'était une nouvelle beaucoup plus politique qu'il n'en parait (comme *Artamène*). La guerre de religion et les évènements politiques étaient importants pour Madame de Lafayette et l'histoire d'amour était juste une toile de fond pour explorer le pouvoir, même si les précieuses n'avaient pas une réputation pour la littérature politique (156). Cette femme était confrontée au même genre de sexisme que Madeleine de Scudéry ; elles étaient de bonnes écrivaines mais elles ne pouvaient pas avoir le sérieux politique d'un homme. Mais pour Schlieper et Steinbrugge, Madame de Lafayette a ajouté la mort de la princesse à cause du climat social : « social and patriarchal power relations and less individual lapses of virtue that sealed the protagonist's unhappy fate » (157).

Ainsi la réception des textes de ces deux femmes a-t-elle été influencée par ce que les hommes voulaient y lire.

En conclusion, les précieuses ont été affublées d'une mauvaise réputation, et la « préciosité » a alimenté les moqueries au cours du 17ème siècle. A cause du mauvais accueil de la préciosité, les femmes qui écrivaient des romans politiques étaient injustement représentées. Les thèmes politiques étaient généralement cachés par leurs détracteurs, qui avaient beaucoup de pouvoir sur les femmes de cette période. Le roman de Madeleine de Scudéry, *Artamène*, parlait de La Fronde, mais il était difficile de prendre son ouvrage sérieux étant donné la réception critique. La nouvelle historique *La Princesse de Montpensier* avait le même problème, et Madame de Lafayette ne pouvait pas parler des guerres de religion facilement. Le patriarcat a préféré mettre en avant la mort de la princesse, et le sexisme de l'époque a décidé d'ignorer l'aspect politique *d'Artamène* et de la *Princesse de Montpensier*.

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DIE DREI GOLDENEN BLUMEN
(THE THREE GOLDEN FLOWERS)

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ABSTRACT This story emulates the tales collected and revised by the brothers Grimm by drawing on the motifs that the brothers either found in the tales or developed over multiple editions of their collection. A farmer's wife finds three magical golden flowers in the forest which grant her wish to bear children. The mother dies in childbirth, and the father marries an evil witch intent upon killing and voraciously eating the three daughters because they are so much prettier than she is. The magical flowers allow the third daughter to save the day and restore her entire family.

Es waren einmal ein armer Bauer und seine Frau, die gerne Kinder haben wollten, aber keine bekommen konnten. Nach einigen Jahren, als die Frau durch den Wald ging, sah sie Blumen, die so schön waren, dass sie sich hinunter beugte und die Blumen aus dem Boden pflückte. Doch bevor sie die Blumen pflücken konnte, fingen sie an zu singen.

> Schöne Frau bitte lass uns leben
> Wir können dir etwas geben
> Wenn du nach Hause kommst
> Ist dein Wunsch nicht umsonst

Weil die Frau so schön und rein war, entschied sie sich, die Blumen zu verschonen. Sie drehte sich um und ging nach Hause. Als sie zu Hause ankam, hatte sie so ein gutes Gefühl, dass sie anfing zu weinen. Eine einzige Träne fiel auf den Boden nieder und blieb da.

Und wie versprochen bekam das Ehepaar nach neun Monaten drei Töchter. Die Frau jedoch verstarb während der Geburt. Der Vater war so traurig, dass er in den Garten ging und anfing zu weinen. Eine einzige Träne fiel auf den Boden nieder und blieb da.

Die Familie lebte wohl zusammen, und die Töchter wuchsen auf. Die erste Tochter hatte Haare so golden wie die Sonne, die zweite Tochter hatte blutrote Lippen und die dritte Tochter hatte Augen so grün wie der Wald. Der Vater liebte sie alle, aber er wollte seinen Kindern eine Mutter geben. Nach ein paar Jahren heiratete der Vater wieder. Diese Frau war sehr schön von außen, jedoch war sie eine böse alte Hexe. Die Hexe hasste die drei Töchter, weil sie alle so viel schöner waren als sie.

Einmal musste der Vater weggehen, um die Ernte zu verkaufen. Die drei Töchter waren sehr traurig, dass er weggehen musste, aber er meinte, dass er bald wieder da wäre. Am nächsten Tag wollte die Hexe die drei Töchter los werden. Sie entschied sich eine Tochter mit in den Wald zu bringen, um sie aufzufressen.

Zu der ersten Tochter sagte sie: "Ach wie schön deine Haare doch sind, wir sollten nach draußen gehen. Sie würden doch so viel besser unter der Sonne aussehen."

Als sie nach draußen gingen, brachte sie die Tochter in den Wald und fraß sie mit Haut und Haaren auf. Die zwei anderen Töchter fragten die Stiefmutter, wo ihre Schwester sei. "Ein Prinz kam vorbei" meinte die Hexe "und er nahm sie mit". Die zwei Töchter freuten sich für ihre Schwester, obwohl sie sie vermissten und traurig waren.

Am nächsten Tag wollte die Stiefmutter die zwei anderen Töchter immer noch umbringen. Sie ging auf die zweite Schwester zu und sagte: "Ach wie schön sind deine Lippen. Wir sollten Beeren holen, die so rot wie deine Lippen sind". Sowie mit der ersten Schwester brachte die Hexe die zweite Schwester in den Wald und fraß sie auf. Die dritte und schönste Schwester fragte die Stiefmutter was mit ihrer Schwester passiert war. Die Hexe antwortete, dass ein Prinz schon wieder vorbei gekommen wäre und sie mitgenommen hätte. Die dritte Schwester war sehr traurig, das zu hören. Sie freute sich für ihre Schwestern, aber sie fühlte sich nun sehr alleine und vermisste ihre lieben Schwestern. Weil sie so traurig war, ging sie in den Garten und weinte eine einzige Träne. Die Träne fiel auf den Boden nieder, neben die Tränen ihrer Eltern. Aus den drei Tränen wuchsen plötzlich drei wunderschöne goldene Blumen. Die dritte Tochter war sehr erschrocken, aber sie fand die Blumen so schön, dass sie eine pflücken wollte. Dann, wie bei ihrer Mutter, fingen die Blumen an zu singen.

> Schöne Frau bitte lass uns leben
> Wir können dir etwas geben
> Deine Schwestern starben im Wald
> Die alte Hexe frisst dich auch bald
> Aber jetzt bitte bloß nicht verzagen
> Du musst uns nur nach Hilfe fragen

Die dritte Schwester erschrak und ging in die Küche. Sie wünschte sich, dass die alte Hexe für ihre Sünden büßen würde. Sobald sie es wünschte, verschwand eine der Blumen. Die verbliebene Schwester und die Hexe setzten sich beide zum Abendessen hin. Als die alte Hexe ihre Suppe aß, genau wie die Blumen versprachen, wurde sie sehr krank. Ihr ganzer Körper kämpfte gegen sie. Die Hexe

lief nach draußen und ihr Körper riss durch die Mitte in Zwei. Jetzt, wo die böse Hexe weg war, war das letzte Kind endlich in Sicherheit. Es lief wieder in den Garten und war sehr glücklich. Die Blumen meinten, dass sie sich noch etwas wünschen könnte. "Ich wünsche mir, dass meine Schwestern wieder hier wären". Als sie dies sagte, verschwand die zweite Blume und ihre zwei Schwestern erschienen im Garten. Sie waren alle so froh und hielten einander sehr fest in den Armen.

Es gab aber noch eine Blume. Weil die drei Schwestern alles hatten, was sie brauchten, schenkten sie den letzten Wunsch an ihren Vater. Er wünschte sich, seine geliebte Frau wieder zu sehen und genau wie mit seinen zwei Töchtern erschien seine Frau im Garten und auch die letzte goldene Blume war weg. Die Familie lebte wohl zusammen. Und wenn sie nicht gestorben sind, dann leben sie noch heute.

BARONESS ELSA, MARCEL DUCHAMP, AND NEW YORK DADA'S IMPACT ON CONTEMPORARY DRAG

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"[Dada] is a movement that does away with everything that has always been taken seriously. To poke fun at, to break down, to laugh at, that is Dadaism."[1] -Joseph Stella, 1921[1]

Introduction: Situating New York Dada

It is well known that the Dada of New York in the 1920s was an anti-art movement concerned with absurdity and wit. Born out of the horror of World War I, the Dada movement began in Zurich with draft dodgers and artistic vanguards dedicated to shocking the academic art world and fighting normalcy under the guise of artistic freedom. The importance of sexuality and queerness in the art of New York Dada, however, has been overlooked.[2] Two artists that explored these subjects at length were Marcel Duchamp and Baroness Elsa von Freytag-Loringhoven. The attitude and fundamentals of New York Dada are embodied in the work of these two artists, particularly their play with androgyny and in the overwhelming queer undertones that belong to most of their art. This essay argues that the influence of the erotic, androgynous works of Baroness Elsa and Marcel Duchamp are felt in contemporary culture, and, in particular, the LGBTQ+ drag scene. Duchamp and the Baroness eroticized their

art in their daily lives, synthesizing the mundane with the radical through performance. The historical context of WWI, its enormous death toll, and subsequent political instability were all political motivators for the subversive nature of Dada art. Comparing the historical moment of New York Dada and the current political atmosphere in the United States demonstrates how the policy of the Trump administration and its consequences have encouraged solidarity within the queer community. This solidarity pushes the boundaries of the art of drag, making it even more subversive, sexual, and absurd. After situating the art of Baroness Elsa and Marcel Duchamp within the historical moment of New York Dada, this essay will establish an understanding of how New York Dada is relevant in the contemporary moment and how its fundamentals of humor, sexuality, and absurdity maintain a presence in the LGBTQ+ drag scene.

The Roots of Contemporary Drag

A brief history of drag is essential in contextualizing contemporary drag. Evidence of female impersonation and gender-crossing reach as far back as antiquity. Many cultures have incorporated gender-crossing acts into rituals and ceremonies.[3] Cross-dressing became popular in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, when the need for female actors arose in the performing arts. During this period, it was considered indecent and offensive for to women perform in public theater, so straight white men

1   Francis M. Naumann, *Making Mischief: Dada Invades New York*, Whitney Museum of American Art (1996), 227.

2   The word queer is used in this paper to identify any person or group that does not adhere to heteronormative or heterosexual ideas of sexuality and/or gender identity.

3   Ryan Roschke, "Sashay Through the History of Drag Queen Culture," *Popsugar*, 2019, https://www.popsugar.com/news/History-Drag-Drag-Queen-Culture-44512387.

who wanted to exclude women from theater assumed their roles. Drag would not become associated with queer communities until the nineteenth century with the invention of the "drag queen."[4] Drag queens were never simple cross-dressers; they crafted their own personas and caricature acts to be performed onstage—identities often divorced from their daily gender presentation. In the 1930s, female impersonators began performing their own unique personas in vaudeville acts—a type of entertainment popular in the US in the early twentieth century that incorporated a mixture of burlesque comedy, song, and dance.[5] These personas became more specialized and exaggerated, eventually leading to the emergence of the 'camp' aesthetic, which is characterized by excess, irony, humor and exaggerated dress. During the 1960s, drag was brought above ground and into public consciousness; however, it wasn't until the 1980s that the camp aesthetic became popular within drag communities.[6]

When Marcel Duchamp and Baroness Elsa were living in New York City, Greenwich Village served as a refuge for the marginalized, and maintained this reputation through the 1990s. During the '60s when homosexuality was illegal and there were no protections from discrimination for the LGBTQ+ community, the Village served as a safe space—especially for queer people of color. While the gay rights movement progressed nationwide, increased police scrutiny set New York's LGBTQ+ community on edge. When the NYPD raided the Stonewall Inn on June 28, 1969, both black and white queer people reciprocated police violence by throwing bottles and bricks at the officers.[7] Marsha P. Johnson—transgender black woman, drag queen, and activist—was one of the first to clash with police, throwing the brick that incited chaos.[8] A crowd of almost 600 people resisted arrest and thwarted police from subduing others, forming human chains to protect the vulnerable in their community.

The first pride parade celebrations occurred following the riots in 1970 with the Christopher Street Liberation Day March.[9] Although newfound pride permeated the LGBTQ+ community as a whole, transgender people were still pushed out of the movement. Sylvia Rivera—transgender activist and friend of Johnson—once proclaimed, "If it wasn't for the drag queen, there would be no gay liberation movement."[10] Despite continued prejudice against trans people, New York's queer community experienced "changed self-perceptions within the subculture: from feeling guilty and apologetic to feelings of self-acceptance and pride."[11] This sense of pride led to the emergence of high camp and unabashed exaggeration in clubs and ballroom competitions. Videos and articles about drag on popular sites, such as *Popsugar* and *Vulture.com*, are a testament to the popularity of the art form in the contemporary landscape. In a video from *Vulture.com*, drag queen Linda Simpson discusses the dramatic reinvention of drag that occurred in the East Village in NYC. Simpson argues that New York City drag of the '80s and '90s was quite different from elsewhere in the world, with its emphasis on humor, nihilistic attitudes, and campiness. Flamboyant public displays of the art of drag with festivals such as Wigstock, reflected changing attitudes about LGBTQ+ visibility and acceptance.[12] Increased media coverage allowed the world to recognize the art form as trendy and even high fashion. The hype around the art of

4 Ibid.

5 Roschke, "Sashay."

6 Rachel Buckner, "Subcultures and Sociology: Underground Ball Scene," Grinnell College, https://haenfler.sites.grinnell.edu/subcultures-and-scenes/underground-ball-culture/.

7 Emanuella Grinberg, "How the Stonewall Riots Inspired Today's Pride Celebrations," CNN, 2019, https://www.cnn.com/2019/06/28/us/1969-stonewall-riots-history/index.html.

8 Gillian Brockell, "The Transgender Women at Stonewall Were Pushed out of the Gay Rights Movement; Now They Are Getting a Statue in New York," *Washington Post*, 2019, https://www.washingtonpost.com/history/2019/06/12/transgender-women-heart-stonewall-riots-are-getting-statue-new-york/.

9 Grinberg, "The Stonewall Riots."

10 Brockell, "The Transgender Women at Stonewall."

11 Buckner, "Subcultures and Sociology."

12 Liz Rowley, "A History of the New York Drag Scene that Launched RuPaul," *The Vulture*, 2018, https://www.vulture.com/2018/06/a-history-of-the-new-york-drag-scene-that-launched-rupaul.html.

drag simmered in the mid-1990s and would not return to the mainstream until 2009 with the premiere of the reality television competition *RuPaul's Drag Race*.

The Baroness: Biography-Informed Art Practice

Baroness Elsa von Freytag-Loringhoven (née Elsa Plötz) embodied exaggeration and other elements of camp drag within her Dada personality. She was one of the only avant-garde artists to vehemently reject modern bourgeois society in exchange for a life of political radicalism and subsequent poverty. Co-editor of *The Little Review* Jane Heap once said Baroness Elsa was "the only one living anywhere who dresses Dada, loves Dada, lives Dada."[13] She was a poet, sculptor of found objects, and performance artist. She injected sexuality and anti-capitalist ideals into each element of her life. Presenting herself androgynously, with short-cropped hair, slim boy-like body, and bizarre outfits made of everyday objects, she projected intense originality into the streets of New York. She confronted the people she met with her brazen sexuality and her androgynous body in its feminine delicacy.[14]

Born in Germany to an artistic yet abusive household, Elsa Plötz quickly learned to fend for herself and reject the bourgeois lifestyle that brought little happiness to her home life.[15] This anti-bourgeois ideology lingered in each chapter of her life, during which she suffered extreme poverty.[16] As a young woman, Elsa spent a period in Berlin consumed by sexual experimentation and interaction with queer communities.[17] During the 1890s in Berlin, Elsa Plötz crafted her identity, testing out an impressive range of "erotically charged positions—erotic art worker,... chorus girl cum prostitute,...cross-dresser, lesbian, and syphilitic patient."[18] This erratic play with identity terrified

the male avant-gardists in Germany. Their power over female sexuality and traditional ideas of gender roles were threatened by the "New Woman" embodied in Elsa Plötz.[19] The term "New Woman" was used to describe sex-positive often androgynous women that subverted traditional views of feminine sexuality in the early 1900s. Elsa soon realized the power of her body to attract and repel, to disrupt cultural norms and elicit arousal from both men and women. When Elsa was hired as a chorus girl, she became immersed in Berlin's underground lesbian community.[20] Feminist scholar Marsha Meskimmon describes the lesbian scene in Berlin as such: "It was more than just a sexual scene for women, it was a place where artistic and independent women could go out in public without the intrusion of men and a place where new, modish female identities could be played out through fashion and performance."[21] Having witnessed creative expression independent of male avant-gardists, Elsa Plötz crafted her artistic perspective with little concern for how her male counterparts would receive it. While this uncompromising attitude was crucial for her subversive art, it made it nearly impossible for Elsa to make a living. Accounts from Jane Heap testify to Elsa's stubborn nature that placed significant strain on her friendships and professional relationships.[22]

Despite the relational strain Elsa's outspokenness put on her relationships, she and French expatriate Marcel Duchamp became friends almost immediately after she moved to New York City. As a soft-spoken yet magnetic man, Duchamp was the focus of much romantic affection, including that of Elsa Plötz. There is significant documentation of Elsa's unreciprocated obsession with Duchamp.[23] Despite his resistance to her advances, Duchamp deeply respected her practice and remarked that

13 Gammel, "Limbswishing Dada in New York Baroness Elsa's Gender Performance," *Canadian Review of Comparative Literature* 29 (2002): 13.

14 Gammel, *Baroness Elsa: Gender, Dada, and Everyday Modernity: A Cultural Biography* (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press), 182.

15 Naumann, *Making Mischief: Dada Invades New York*, 184.

16 Gammel, *Baroness Elsa: Gender, Dada, and Everyday Modernity*, 57-70.

17 Ibid.

18 Naumann, *Making Mischief*, 57.

19 Ibid., 58.

20 Ibid., 66-69.

21 Catherine Lord and Richard Meyer, *Art & Queer Culture* (London: Phaidon Press: 2013), 21.

22 Gammel, *Baroness Elsa: Gender, Dada, and Everyday Modernity*, 304-305.

23 Gammel, *Baroness Elsa: Gender, Dada*, 160.

FIGURE 1

Baroness Elsa in costumes of found objects, 1920s

commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Baroness_Von_Freytag_-_Loringhoven_LCCN2014714092.jpg

her art was the future.[24] Baroness Elsa was immediately attracted to Duchamp for his looks and his mind. She appreciated his quiet genius and artistic subversion, although she criticized his adherence to bourgeois lifestyle. To the Baroness, Duchamp was a sell-out; he did not live Dada like she did. Instead, he represented Dada ideals in artworks that became highly commodified and was preoccupied with making money.[25] Regardless, Baroness Elsa considered Marcel Duchamp to be a male version of herself, as they shared "a profoundly antiacademic view of art."[26] The Baroness was more serious in her approach—transforming her body into a performing entity—whereas Duchamp maintained lightheartedness in his use of wordplay and ridicule of serious things. Ultimately, Baroness Elsa and Marcel Duchamp had complementary natures that resulted in radical artistic exchange.

Performativity of the Androgynous Body

While both Duchamp and Elsa Plötz were against academic art, Elsa was intent on living her art.[27] After moving to New York in 1913, she met and married Leopold Karl Friedrich Baron von Freytag-Loringhoven, becoming "the Baroness."[28] While this marriage would be her third to fail, the new title allowed Elsa to embrace her power as a baffling performing entity. Her search for creative liberation landed her in bohemian Greenwich Village that attracted immigrants, political radicals, and queer people in search of liberation.[29] The Baroness' adhesion to erotic performativity in daily life made her lived art difficult to document. The examples cited here are first hand accounts of the Baroness' masquerades from people with whom she came into contact. Deeply impacted by the free-spirited atmosphere of the Village, the Baroness crafted costumes and adorned her body with found and stolen objects.

As previously described in the section on drag history, drag had foundations in the early decades of the 1900s, especially in Greenwich Village where ballroom culture was rampant. Irene Gammel describes the Baroness' assimilation of the early drag ballroom scene, quoting Louis Bouché:

> The popular costume balls...had been flourishing in New York's vice districts since the 1880s, and for the Baroness they were a reminder of Munich's carnival balls...'she had the first false eyelashes ever heard of and these were bigger than the modern version. They were made of parrot's feather'...Ventriloquizing male homosexual codes, the Baroness had dressed herself in the feathery camp of the Village drag balls, where men could be seen 'in a trailing cloud of feathers'....[30]

Impacted by the exaggerated beauty of the drag scene, the Baroness continued this spectacle into the streets, making visible the multiplicity of gender presentation in New York City's queer culture. By highlighting the androgynous eroticism of her body, the Baroness' lived performances threatened the status quo of a heteronormative society. These street performances are reminiscent of the camp drag that burst into the queer scenes of Greenwich Village and Harlem in the mid-1900s (Fig. 2 & 3). Camp drag would come to characterize the unique drag style of New York City—ironic, explicitly sexual, and shock-inducing; the same fundamentals as the art of New York Dada. Both Marcel Duchamp and Baroness Elsa adhered to these fundamentals throughout their artistic practice, making 'camp' high art and increasing visibility for the artistic innovation of LGTBQ+ communities.

Homoeroticism of Duchamp's *Fountain*

Although the Baroness was the first to make art of found objects, Marcel Duchamp propelled the readymade to the forefront of his Dada practice. Arguably the most famous readymade of Duchamp's oeuvre is *Fountain*, a urinal

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24 Naomi Sawelson-Gorse, *Women in Dada: Essays on Sex, Gender, and Identity* (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 1998).

25 Gammel, *Baroness Elsa: Gender, Dada*, 170-174.

26 Ibid., 172.

27 Naumann, *Making Mischief*, 244.

28 Gammel, *Baroness Elsa: Gender, Dada*, 160.

29 Susan Fillin-Yeh, "Dandies, Marginality and Modernism: Georgia O'Keeffe, Marcel Duchamp and Other Cross-Dressers," *Oxford Art Journal* 18, (1995): 33-34.

30 Gammel, *Baroness Elsa: Gender, Dada*, 239.

FIGURE 2

Baroness Elsa in costumes of found objects, 1920s

commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Elsa_von_Freytag-Loringhoven_portrait_3.jpg

Marcel Duchamp, *L.H.O.O.Q.*, 1919
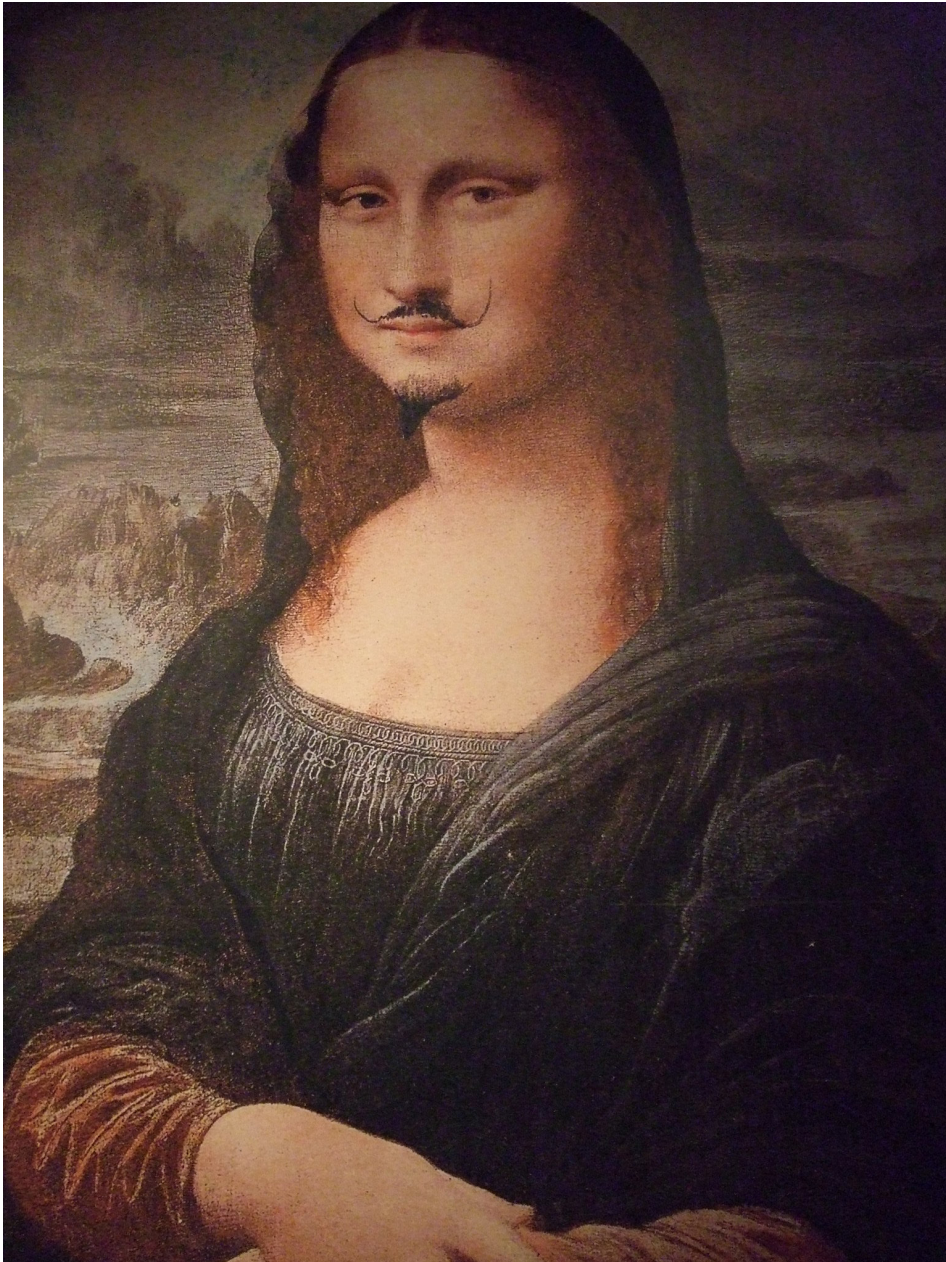Reproduction of the Mona Lisa with graphite mustache

Marcel Duchamp, *Fountain,* 1917
Gelatin silver print, photographed by Alfred Stieglitz

signed R. Mutt and dated 1917 (Fig. 4).[31] The concept of a readymade caused an uproar in the 1917 Independents Exhibition, and the underlying implications of this object for its board of directors were even more heinous. The Independents Exhibition was governed a "no jury, no prizes" policy, where anything could be entered if entry fees were paid.[32] Sitting on the board of directors for the show—his mischievous nature piqued—Duchamp dared to challenge these parameters.

Most analyses of *Fountain* assert that it was offensive to the board of directors because it was a prosaic object they did not define as art. Additionally, because *Fountain* was a urinal, it was seen as indecent for display. Another compelling perspective comes from Paul Franklin who examines *Fountain* as a sexually explicit work that alludes

to public toilets called *pissoirs.*[33] While these toilets were seen as unhygienic and dangerous to public health, Franklin argues that "behind these worries lingered another more pernicious threat, one putatively indigenous to the urban jungle and exacerbated by the existence of public toilets— male homosexuality."[34] *Pissoirs* were inherently homoerotic spaces, and were understood as such by those within and outside these communities. These spaces, however, also had connotations of uncleanliness and were often used for sex work, making them taboo to the general public.[35] When Marcel Duchamp arrived in New York from France in 1915, he was already acquainted with the *pissoir* culture of Paris and found the same phenomenon in New York City. Even the name *Fountain* has sexual connotations seen as inappropriate by the board of directors. Franklin compares the title *Fountain* to the "queer lexicon" of the "golden shower" or "champagne fountain," indicative of urine play during intercourse.[36] These implications were responsible for the chaos that ensued when *Fountain* was submitted to the Independents Show. *Fountain* was not allowed on display. Duchamp withdrew his submission from the show, taking it to Alfred Stieglitz' Gallery 291 a few days later to be photographed.[37]

Inside Gallery 291, *Fountain* was framed and photographed to emphasize its homoerotic implications. Duchamp and Stieglitz worked together, framing it as if the viewer were slightly below the object, both literally and figuratively putting it on a pedestal. The urinal is elevated to a position of reverence, forcing a "fetishistic/homosexual" interpretation upon its viewer.[38] Franklin argues: "Erect and symmetrical, this surrogate male figure stands over me and thrusts his bare, thick, round organ...in my face, as if ready to relieve himself and perhaps even soliciting me

31 Calvin Tomkins, *Duchamp: A Biography* (New York: Museum of Modern Art, 2014), 178.

32 Ibid., 176.

33 Paul B. Franklin, "Object Choice: Marcel Duchamp's Fountain and the Art of Queer Art History," *Oxford Art Journal* 23, (2000): 23.

34 Ibid., 23-24.

35 Ibid., 29-30.

36 Ibid., 40.

37 Tomkins, *Duchamp: A Biography,* (2014), 78-181.

38 Franklin, "Object Choice: Marcel Duchamp's Fountain," 33.

to assist him in this biological function."[39] Duchamp and Stieglitz intentionally evoked the "raw, malodorous air of a pissoir," directly contradicting the sterility of the modern art gallery.[40] Furthermore, the painting *The Warriors* by Marsden Hartley shown in the background of Stieglitz' photo aligned with this perception. Hartley was a gay man and the painting glorifies the male anatomy, specifically the male rear end. Hartley depicts the Prussian military on horseback, rear-facing giving attention to eroticism of the male ass, and emphasizing the soldiers' upright, phallic quality.[41] Duchamp was very intentional in providing his work with queer contexts, and thus, using *Fountain* as a symbol of international homosexual culture.

Performing Gender Identity: Rrose Sélavy

Marcel Duchamp's drag persona named Rrose Sélavy was photographed for the first time in 1920, although her name makes appearances in Duchamp's oeuvre before her identity was fully realized. In a letter to his sister Suzanne from 1917, Duchamp writes:

> A female friend of mine, using a male pseudonym, Richard Mutt, submitted a porcelain urinal (pissotière) as a sculpture. No reason to refuse it: there was nothing indecent about it. The committee decided to refuse to exhibit this thing.[42]

Some scholars argue that this "female friend" was the Baroness and suggest that Elsa was the true author of *Fountain*. The Baroness was certainly an influence on Duchamp, inspiring his fascination with genderfluidity, however, one of her later works seems to debunk this assertion. She and Morton Livingston collaborated on a readymade in retaliation to *Fountain*, a contorted piece of metal resembling a broken phallus titled *God* (Fig. 5). This title ridicules the public's reverence of commodity while "brilliantly turning tables on the [Dada] woman-

39 Ibid.

40 Franklin, "Object Choice: Marcel Duchamp's Fountain," 35.

41 Ibid.

42 Robert Harvey, "Where's Duchamp?: Out Queering the Field," *Yale French Studies*, (2006): 96.

FIGURE 5

Baroness Elsa von Freytag-Loringhoven & Morton Livingston, *God*, 1917, gelatin silver print, object made of plumbing trap on a carpenter's miter box

as-machine trope."[43] Because both *Fountain* and *God* are plumbing fixtures, it seems the Baroness crafted her piece after the Independents' Exhibition in response to Duchamp's readymade.

It is safe to say that this "female friend" under a pseudonym was a reference to Rrose, as *Fountain* was exactly the kind of queer, practical joke that playful Rrose loved. In the quote above, Duchamp demonstrates willful ignorance of the homoerotic associations that so enraged the board of directors. By involving Rrose in the creation of this readymade, however, Duchamp opens *Fountain* to queer interpretation. As a drag queen, Rrose Sélavy was familiar with marginalized communities, and her creation and identity were a personification of the free-spirited community of New York's Greenwich Village. Rrose occasionally made appearances in letters and signatures

43 Naumann, *Making Mischief*, 247.

during the 1910s as a result of Duchamp's participation in the Village, but her identity was not fully formed until Duchamp decided to add another 'r' to her name. This modification changed the pronunciation from an innocent 'Rose' to an erotic 'Rrose', who, like Duchamp's *L.H.O.O.Q.* is sexually ambiguous and hot and ready (Fig. 3). Rrose Sélavy, through French pronunciation, becomes "eros (sex), that's life!" The sexual undertones of this wordplay are indicative of Duchamp's artistic endeavors during New York Dada and demonstrate the influence Baroness Elsa had on him.

When Rose became Rrose, Marcel Duchamp documented her existence, recruiting his friend Man Ray to style and photograph her (Fig. 6 & 7). There has been some speculation that Duchamp and Man Ray suppressed homosexual feelings for each other, and that the photographs taken of Rrose were used to translate those feelings into art rather than a romantic relationship.[44] Deborah Johnson writes in her analysis of Rrose Sélavy: "At the very least, it seems that Ray was engaged in a long-term homoerotic fantasy with or about Duchamp that Rrose mediated."[45] Both the name Rose and Sélavy were very Jewish names in the 1920s.[46] These invocations of Jewishness seem to be an allusion to Man Ray's Jewish heritage, a heritage he subverted by changing his name. In the same way, Duchamp subverts his male identity and replaces it with a female one, rejecting heteronormativity and channeling his supposed homoerotic desires into an entirely new identity. The photographs taken by Ray of Duchamp as Rrose are highly seductive, as Duchamp's feminine identity confronts the

44 Deborah Johnson, "R(r)ose Sélavy as Man Ray: Reconsidering the Alter Ego of Marcel Duchamp," *Art Journal* 72 (2013): 80-94. "R(r)ose Sélavy as Man Ray," 88-89.

45 Johnson, "R(r)ose Sélavy as Man Ray," 88-89.

46 Ibid., 82.

FIGURE 8

Yvie Oddly, Season 11 winner of RuPaul's Drag Race, 2019
commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Dragcon-25_(47937194866).jpg

viewer with her direct gaze (Fig. 7). Rrose is styled in the fashions of the decade, wrapped in a fur and wearing a cloche hat. Rrose's long fingers are held up around her face, emphasizing the angles of her chin and lushness of her fur. Allowing Man Ray to witness and capture this performative act seems to be an indicate intimacy between them. In Rrose's case, Duchamp's appropriation of queer culture is used as a device to shock audiences of the avant-garde. Many conclusions can be drawn from Rrose Sélavy's name but the context surrounding her creation—including Duchamp's *Fountain* and his relationship with Man Ray— are evidence of Duchamp's nuanced understanding of queer culture in New York during the 1920s.

Presence of New York Dada in Contemporary Drag

Over the past two decades, the formerly underground art of drag has rocketed into mainstream culture. Drag's current popularity owes much to the premiere of *RuPaul's Drag Race* in 2009. The reality show competition has given the contemporary art of drag a global platform, where its key elements of humor, explicit sexuality, and shock are on full display. Drag queens within the queer scene today often use puns and phonetic sounds to create humorous stage names, much like Rrose Sélavy. Names like Sharon Needles, Alaska Thunderfuck, Sasha Velour, and Bob the Drag Queen are personas that reference symbols of queer culture. These queens—like Duchamp and the Baroness— enact absurdity and make sexually explicit references while performing.

The Season 11 winner of *RuPaul's Drag Race* Yvie Oddly is a subversive queen who pushes the boundaries of sexuality and humor in drag, much like Baroness Elsa and Duchamp pushed these boundaries in New York Dada. Her conglomerative drag style is reminiscent of Baroness Elsa's costume assemblages, in its abundance and media mixture (Fig. 8). In a performance at Roscoe's in Chicago's Boystown on May 18, 2019, I witnessed Yvie saunter onto the stage wearing an eyepatch over one eye and a ripped, sparkling, bright yellow dress. "Circle of Life" from the popular Disney movie *The Lion King* played while Yvie lip-synced its lyrics. Recalling Duchamp's ridicule of the incredibly revered *Mona Lisa* with *L.H.O.O.Q.,* Yvie produced a tiny dildo halfway through her performance and proceeded to shove it down her throat, eliciting gasps and cackles from the audience. Yvie Oddly exuded explicit sexuality and humor in using a Disney song as the backdrop for her subversive performance. Her tattered yet glamorous outfit clearly reflected the absurdity of camp and the humor of the lip-sync.

Another example of these contemporary elements of drag is Manila Luzon's menstrual pad outfit from Season 4 of *Drag Race All Stars*. The form-fitting dress hugs her curves and emphasizes the center of her body, where a large blood-stained pad appears. She crafted this outfit for the show, but RuPaul never allowed her to walk it on the runway, claiming

it was in bad taste. Manila Luzon attempted to destigmatize the natural process of menstruation by making it funny and absurd, but as RuPaul's rejection of the outfit demonstrates, drag, like Dada, can be polarizing. Similar to the outrage surrounding Duchamp's *Fountain*, Manila Luzon's pad dress subverted traditional notions of the art of drag. While there are hundreds of other examples of contemporary drag that represent themes of sexuality and absurdity, this paper is limited to these particular drag queens. However, Manila Luzon and Yvie Oddly are both subversives in the world of drag just like the Baroness and Marcel Duchamp were radicals in New York Dada, each employing themes of humor, explicit sexuality, and absurdity.

Political Motivators for Dada and Drag

As previously stated, the political instability and massive death toll of WWI prompted vanguard artists to search for new ways of expressing themselves. The uncertain atmosphere during and following the war fueled the need for artistic escape in the forms of humor and absurdity. In a similar way and almost a century later, the political rhetoric and instability of the Trump administration has encouraged hatred in many citizens against people of color, LGBTQ+ people, and women. This hatred was exemplified in the ban on transgender service in the military, recalling the ban on gay people in the military until the '90s.[47] This ban is just one example of discrimination that has created a divide in the United States. This division has ironically encouraged solidarity within marginalized communities, especially among people of color and the LGBTQ+ community. This radical empowerment is seen in contemporary drag; the practice of masquerading a different gender identity has always been a radical artform, often being hidden from the mainstream and conflicting with law enforcement.[48] The

LGBTQ+ response to police profiling in the '60s was to stand together in solidarity; the response in the present is the same. Drag has always been embedded with humor, but the current environment of increased solidarity intensifies this humor with exaggeration, absurdity, and explicitly sexual elements in performance.

Conclusion:

Both Marcel Duchamp and Baroness Elsa von Freytag-Loringhoven experimented with queerness and androgyny in ways that had been little explored during the 1920s and within New York Dada. The characterization of New York Dada as absurd, humorous, and ironic is accurate, but the works of Duchamp and the Baroness encourage us to see eroticism as an essential addition to that list. New York Dada as translated through their bodies of work becomes incredibly relevant to contemporary queer culture. Duchamp's love of wordplay and absurdity has certainly found a legacy in contemporary drag, and some drag queens even mimic Baroness Elsa's chaotic costume assemblages. Not only did both artists subvert traditional ideas of art, they interacted with queer culture through performativity and lived experience. Duchamp's enthusiasm for scandal found a home in queer culture, as *Fountain* and Rrose Sélavy demonstrate. In adapting new identities and bringing public attention to her eroticized body, Baroness Elsa von Freytag-Loringhoven made the queer communities visible in her masquerades in the streets of New York. The history of New York Dada and the current moment in the United States both provoke similar responses from the art world. The horror of WWI and the social division under the Trump administration both encouraged solidarity among artists and queer people, forcing them to express their feelings through humor, play with sexuality, and absurdity.

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47 Grinberg, "The Stonewall Riots."

48 Tim Lawrence, "'Listen, and You Will Hear all the Houses that Walked there Before': A History of Drag Balls, Houses and the Culture of Voguing," http://www.ezratemko.com, 2013.

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Viviana Favela | *Auténtica*

'FLOGGING CRAZE' OR 'CIVILIZING PROCESS?': STATE OF CORPORAL PUNISHMENT IN GREAT BRITAIN 1900-1914

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During the early twentieth century, reformers such as Henry Salt detailed the brutality of judicial whipping:[1]

> There was a boy, seven years of age, accused of stealing a watch. He was brought before the magistrates... said they would not send the boy to prison, but ordered him to receive four strokes with the birch rod... I saw the boy... after the infliction of the punishment, and his little back was covered with wounds which extended right through the skin to the muscles... the wounds had come round to the front of the abdomen...[2]

From 1900-1914, the theft of watches and other larceny-related crimes accounted for over 70% of recorded crime.[3] Parliament questioned how to treat youthful offenders.[4] In over 30 debates between 1900-1914, Members of Parliament (MPs) discussed expanding the use of corporal punishment as a method of deterrence and retribution. Despite these debates, the scholarship of early twentieth century corporal punishment remains underdeveloped, in part because major sociologists have argued that criminal punishment moved from the body to the soul.[5] Michel Foucault, for example, saw the punishment of crime after the nineteenth century as primarily focused on the soul, distributed through imprisonment and reformatories.[6] However, historian Carolyn Strange's article, "The 'Shock' of Torture: a Historiographical Challenge," was dedicated to refuting claims about corporal punishment as part of the "distant past."[7] Strange asked the question, if instances of torture and corporal humiliation such as the Abu Ghraib scandal exist in the twenty-first century, why have scholars claimed that mankind has moved toward a psychological-based penal system?[8] For Strange, remaining instances of corporal punishment after sociologists claimed that they disappeared is not a shocking exception, but instead punishment incorrectly categorized by historians as exceptions.[9] By advocating for historians to turn the chronological dial of corporal punishment up to the

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1 Great Britain Parliament, Secretary of State for the Home Department, *Report of the Departmental Committee on Corporal Punishment*, Hon. Edward Cadogan, et. al. (London: His Majesty's Stationary Office. 1938); This paper uses the terms "corporal punishment," "flogging," and "birching" when discussing the process of judicially sanctioned violence on criminal offenders, though a method of whipping the bare flesh of the back or buttocks with a 'cat o' nine tails' or 'birch rod.'

2 Henry Salt, *The Flogging Craze: A Statement of the Case Against Corporal Punishment* (London: George Allen & Unwin LTD., 1916), 46.

3 Office for National Statistics, Recorded Crime 1898-2002, *United Kingdom National Archives*, https://assets.publishing.service.gov.uk/government/uploads/system/uploads/attachment_data/file/116649/rec-crime-1898-2002.xls; see section "total theft and handling of stolen goods."

4 The term "youthful" refers to criminal offenders generally under the age of 14, while some statutes also included offenders up to age 16.

5 Michel Foucault, *Discipline and Punish: The Birth of the Prison*, translated by Alan Sheridan (New York: Vintage Books, 1979); David Garland, *Punishment and Modern Society* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1990); Norbert Elias, *The Civilizing Process*, translated by Edmund Jephcott (Malden, MA: Blackwell Publishing, 2000).

6 Foucault, *Discipline and Punish*, 7.

7 Carolyn Strange, "The 'Shock' of Torture: A Historiographical Challenge," *History Workshop Journal*, no. 61 (Spring 2006): 135-152, https://www-jstor org.ezproxy.depaul.edu/stable/ 25472840.

8 Carolyn Strange, "The 'Shock' of Torture," 140.

9 Carolyn Strange, "The 'Shock of Torture, 136-144; Carolyn Strange, "The Undercurrents of Penal Culture: Punishment of the Body in the Mid-Twentieth-Century Canada," *Law and History Review* 19, no. 2 (Summer 2001): 344-345, https://www.jstor.org/stable/744133.

present, Strange argued that there is a large gap in the historiography of corporal punishment.[10]

Following in Strange's footsteps, a chronological analysis of twentieth century corporal punishment's historiography reveals a base of sociologists who ignore context, while historians ignore theories surrounding the continuation of corporal punishment. Sociologists such as Norbert Elias and Michel Foucault disagree why corporal punishment ended but do not acknowledge the factual continuity of corporal punishment in the twentieth century.[11] The small body of historians who discuss corporal punishment do so only peripherally, seeing any corporal punishment after 1850 as an exception to broader social changes.[12] This project adds to this body of literature by documenting the continuity in British governmental attitudes toward corporal punishment between the start of the twentieth century and the start of World War I.

This project will use early twentieth century Home Office reports and Parliamentary debates to demonstrate the shocking continuity of corporal punishment in the United Kingdom. Despite the protests of reformers, government attitudes about corporal punishment did not trend towards reform during this period, but surprisingly regressed. In fact, new laws that expanded judicial whipping were passed in 1912.[13] British politicians advocated for violent forms of punishment that were meant to deter or seek vengeance against criminals. By understanding the persistence of the vengeful state during an era that was traditionally regarded as reformatory, we can begin to contextualize the early twentieth century as an era of penal regression.

The primary source analysis will begin with the *Report of the Departmental Committee on Corporal Punishment*, also known as the Cadogan Report, a report directed by Edward Cadogan, a conservative politician. Although published in 1938, the Cadogan Report's history of corporal punishment in Great Britain sheds light on what laws were enacted and who they affected. Cadogan used the report to first construct a chronology of corporal punishment, even providing the committee's opinion on why each law was passed. Importantly, the Cadogan Report provides vital statistics on how many youthful offenders were subject to whipping in the years 1900-1936, allowing for the examination of patterns of corporal punishment before World War 1 (WWI). Supplementing this data are Parliamentary debates, over 30 of which discuss corporal punishment between 1900-1914. Debates subject to analysis are those which debated corporal punishment in the criminal court system, such as debates about the Youthful Offenders Bill and Criminal Law Amendment Bill. Specifically analyzing these two debates provides a window into the different sides of corporal punishment and represents the main efforts of parliamentarians to expand corporal punishment between 1900-1914. This paper first provides context on Britain's history of corporal punishment, and then examines how British politicians regarded corporal punishment from 1900-1914. This paper constructs a full narrative in what change occurred, how it occurred, and who presented each argument.

Cadogan Report

The Cadogan Report was a comprehensive review of British laws relating to corporal punishment and data covering corporal punishment convictions.[14] When examining criminal sentencing for both youthful offenders

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10 Carolyn Strange, "The 'Shock of Torture, 136-148

11 David Garland, *Punishment and Modern Society*, 235.

12 Victor Bailey, "English Prisons, Penal Culture, and the Abatement of Imprisonment, 1895-1922," *Journal of British Studies* 36, no. 3 (July 1997), 289-290, https://www.jstor.org/ stable/175790; John Pratt, *Punishment and Civilization: Penal Tolerance and Intolerance in Modern Society* (Thousand Oaks, CA: SAGE Publications Inc., 2002), 20.

13 Secretary of State for the Home Department, *Corporal Punishment*, 7.

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14 While the Cadogan Report covers corporal punishment codes for adult offenders, youth offenders, and convicts within the penal system, this project will focus on corporal punishment administered as a sentence for a crime, not punishment while a prisoner was incarcerated. Prison punishment codes are critical aspects to altering the scholarly attitudes toward corporal punishment, but data surrounding its continuation is vastly under reported in Home Office documents such as the Cadogan Report.

and adults, the Cadogan Report revealed a persistent use of corporal punishment during the early twentieth century. Analysis of the Cadogan Report will be divided into two sections: the history of corporal punishment in Great Britain, and the process from 1900-1914 of convicting and administering corporal punishment to adults and children. Using the historical background as a reference illustrates 1900-1914 as a determined movement away from early twentieth-century attitudes of reform.

Cadogan's report states that corporal punishment had been used as a common law punishment in England since the earliest of times, but only was expanded after 1827 when benefit of the clergy was abolished.[15] This abolishment ended the death penalty as a punishment "for felony" but made felons "liable to transportation or imprisonment and, if a male, 'to be once, twice or thrice publicly or privately whipped' in addition to imprisonment."[16] However, soon after this expansion, Cadogan writes that a penal reformation movement took root in Britain, which lead to decreasing possibilities of corporal punishment: after 1824, offenders of the Vagrancy Act were only whipped for second offences, and the 1843 Commissioners on the Criminal Law recommended broad movements away from corporal punishment, listing the Treason Act as the only exception.[17] On the surface, the trend towards decreasing corporal punishment for adults even carried into the second half of the nineteenth century. By 1861, adult corporal punishment had been removed as a penalty from the most common crimes such as "coining, forgery, larceny, malicious damage, and offences against the person."[18] In fact, whipping was reserved as a penalty under only four Acts: the Vagrancy Act (1824), the Treason

Act (1842), the Knackers Act (1786), and certain provisions of the Diplomatic Privileges Act (1708).[19] Considering that offenders of these Acts constituted less than 1% of all recorded crime from the years 1900-1914, the whipping of adults was the problem of a small minority, outweighed by large-scale prison reform and claims of the privatization of punishment.[20] However, this is where the story of curtailing corporal punishment ends.

Running parallel to the reduction of adult corporal punishment during the middle of the nineteenth century was rising juvenile corporal punishment. During the same period that imprisonment and transportation replaced corporal punishment for adults, Cadogan et. al. wrote that "it was recognized by Parliament that corporal punishment was often more suitable than imprisonment as a penalty for young offenders."[21] Therefore, in 1847, just a few years after laws began to limit adult corporal punishment, whipping became allowed for boys under 14 convicted of larceny, the most common crime.[22] By 1879, the Summary Jurisdiction Act allowed whipping for boys under 14 who were convicted of "any indictable offense," with "specific provisions" permitting the whipping of boy up to 16 years old.[23]

This expansion of flogging continued, as the end of the nineteenth and beginning of the twentieth centuries saw extensions to corporal punishment that affected both adult and juvenile offenders. In the 1860s, a series of garroting (or attempted strangulation) scares took place, leading to the Garrotters Act of 1863, allowing whipping for adult and youth offenders of the Act.[24] The 1885 and 1912 Criminal Law Amendment Acts extended corporal punishment to sexual offenders of all ages, while the 1898 Vagrancy Act

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15 Secretary of State for the Home Department, *Report of the Departmental Committee on Corporal Punishment*, Hon. Henry Cadogan et. al. (His Majesty's Stationary Office, 1938), 1. Benefit of the Clergy: Persons convicted of a felony could avoid capital punishment if they could read a verse from the Bible.

16 Secretary of State for the Home Department, *Corporal Punishment*, 1. Transportation: Process of sending convicts to various penal colonies within the British Empire.

17 Secretary of State for the Home Department, *Corporal Punishment*, 2-3.

18 Secretary of State for the Home Department, *Corporal Punishment*, 3.

19 Secretary of State for the Home Department, *Corporal Punishment*, 3.

20 Office for National Statistics, Recorded Crime 1898-2002, *United Kingdom National Archives*, https://assets.publishing.service.gov.uk/government/uploads/system/uploads/attachment_data/file/116649/rec-crime-1898-2002.xls; Victor Bailey, "English Prisons," 285-293.

21 Secretary of State for the Home Department, *Corporal Punishment*, 3.

22 Secretary of State for the Home Department, *Corporal Punishment*, 3.

23 Secretary of State for the Home Department, *Corporal Punishment*, 3.

24 Secretary of State for the Home Department, *Corporal Punishment*, 4.

TABLE 1

Birchings ordered by summary courts in England and Wales, 1900-1920.

Year	Birchings	Year	Birchings	Year	Birchings
1900	3,385	1907	2,086	1914	2,415
1901	2,859	1908	2,053	1915	3,514
1902	2,991	1909	1,883	1916	4,864
1903	2,898	1910	1,702	1917	5,210
1904	2,458	1911	1,727	1918	3,759
1905	2,529	1912	2,164	1919	1,689
1906	2,210	1913	2,219	1920	1,380

Source: Secretary of State for the Home Department, *Corporal Punishment*, 19.

amendments extended possible offences to include living under the earnings of prostitution.[25] By 1914, there were six Acts under which adult men could be sentenced to corporal punishment, if convicted in the Superior Courts.[26] Boys could still be subject to corporal punishment upon being found guilty of any indictable offense under Summary Jurisdiction, and five Acts under Superior Courts.[27] The increasing offences resulting in corporal punishment signifies a counter-reformation movement on part of the British government. However, did the presence of laws permitting corporal punishment mean that men and boys were being whipped en masse? Fortunately, the Cadogan Report discussed these issues, outlining how many boys corporal punishment affected [Table 1].

In total under Summary Jurisdiction, 35,569 boys were ordered to be whipped from 1900-1914 (before WWI), with an additional 20,416 whipped from 1915-1920 (during WWI).[28] If sociologists claimed that corporal punishment had disappeared from the English criminal justice system by 1861,[29] then why were thousands of boys being whipped at the beginning of the twentieth century? Cleary, judicial whipping of juvenile prisoners did not stop during the eighteenth century, and corporal punishment remained a major method of punishment against youthful offenders. Worse, judicial whipping was not decreasing, holding steady until 1914, and suddenly doubling from 2,400 birchings to 5,000 birchings ordered by 1917. This marked increase during World War I is particularly disturbing: while fathers were dying and mothers working, their children were being whipped in ever-increasing numbers.

25 Secretary of State for the Home Department, *Corporal Punishment*, 4. The 1885 Act first allowed the conviction of youthful offenders (under) 16 with carnal knowledge of a girl under 13. The 1912 Act was passed in response to scares about White Slave Traffic and extended corporal punishment as a penalty for procurement and living on the earnings of prostitution.

26 Secretary of State for the Home Department, *Corporal Punishment*, 7. 1. Diplomatic Privileges Act s.4 (1708); 2. Knackers Act s. 8 and 9 (1786); 3. Vagrancy Act s. 10 (1824, 1898); 4. Treason Act s. 2 (1842); 5. Garrotters Act s.1 (1863); 6. Criminal Law Amendment Act s. 3 and 7 (1912).

27 Secretary of State for the Home Department, *Corporal Punishment*, 8.

28 Secretary of State for the Home Department, *Corporal Punishment*, 19.

29 David Garland, *Punishment and Modern Society*, 201.

Corporal Punishment Law Formation: Causes, Debates, and Responses

While the *Report of the Departmental Committee on Corporal Punishment* allows for an in-depth analysis of the legislature and statistics of early twentieth century corporal punishment, the arguments in Parliament provide a window into politician's views on the practice. Particularly, there are two examples of bills introduced from 1900-1914, one which failed and one which became law, that illustrate the political attitude toward corporal punishment at this time: The Youthful Offenders Bill (failed) and the Criminal Law Amendment Act of 1912. Parliamentary debates surrounding the bills and *The Times'* (of London) coverage of the bills reveal how MPs advocated for the expansion of corporal punishment.

The Youthful Offenders Bill, drafted by the Conservative party in 1900, was designed to "diminish the number of cases of imprisonment among youthful offenders under the age of sixteen after conviction."[30] For conservatives, whipping was still seen as an efficient process that stopped children from becoming "hardened criminals," and even a process still used by many of the aristocratic, and therefore civilized, families in England.[31] Deeper in the House of Lords debate, even stronger measures are made clear, as Conservatives thought that "by a strange anomaly there [was] no power to administer the simple and effective remedy of whipping to incorrigible boys."[32] Therefore, the Youthful Offenders Bill sought to "simplify" corporal punishment codes by giving more power to magistrates who wanted to punish the boys immediately after they were found guilty of an offense that could result in corporal punishment.[33] In reality, this simplification had two consequences which demonstrate a movement dedicated to vengeance instead of reform. First, by hastening the flogging of youthful offenders found guilty of nearly any indictable offence, politicians were making the argument that children should not be allowed to appeal their conviction (since they would be whipped as soon as possible), which would result in a system favoring pain instead of seeking justice. Second, a provision of the bill would extend sentencing so that guilty children's parents would be liable to a fine if the court determined that negligence played a factor in the boy committing the crime.[34] Penalties for non-payment included additional flogging for the child, where children could be whipped for their parents' poverty or inability to pay a fine.[35]

As portrayed by the liberal MPs, punishment based on parents' wealth was not the only flaw identified by opponents of the Youthful Offender's Bill. Immediately after the Youthful Offenders Bill's initial introduction to debate, a Liberal politician, John Carvell Williams, commented that another bill, the Corporal Punishment Bill, was rejected a few months earlier on the basis of whipping's general ineffectiveness and inequality.[36] Adding on to the already clear economic inequality of the Youthful Offenders Bill, Williams argued that "some magistrates may be hard-hearted, and others tender-hearted" and "what would be a comparatively light punishment for some [children] would be absolute torture in the case of others."[37] In other words, Williams believed that corporal punishment was not applied equally to youthful offenders, being administered differently by each magistrate and that the results were impossible to predict in children. Williams was not unique in his apprehension towards the bill, as other MPs viewed the bill as an "inhuman step"

30 House of Lords, Second Reading, Youthful Offenders Bill (Debate), 21 May 1900, https://hansard.parliament .uk/ Commons/1900-05-21/debates/1092de7e-456b-4676-a9 4c91b1d875c6/YouthfulOffendersBillLords, c. 808.

31 House of Lords, Second Reading, Youthful Offenders Bill (Debate), 21 May 1900, c. 835.

32 House of Lords, Second Reading, Youthful Offenders Bill (Debate), 21 May 1900, c. 809.

33 House of Lords, Second Reading, Youthful Offenders Bill (Debate), 21 May 1900, c. 809.

34 House of Lords, Second Reading, Youthful Offenders Bill (Debate), 21 May 1900, c. 821.

35 House of Lords, Second Reading, Youthful Offenders Bill (Debate), 21 May 1900, c. 820-821.

36 House of Lords, Second Reading, Youthful Offenders Bill (Debate), 21 May 1900, c. 810.

37 House of Lords, Second Reading, Youthful Offenders Bill (Debate), 21 May 1900, c. 810.

for the British penal system.[38] In this case, although the British government was determined to expand corporal punishment, as the Youthful Offenders Bill was proposed by the Home Department, Liberal MPs made it clear that this sentiment was not unanimous, reflecting a system conflicted between revenge and reform.

After hours of discussion, the Youthful Offenders Bill was moved to a Second Reading, and eventually was dropped in committee review. Even though the bill faced heavy opposition and did not pass, it brought out the advocates of bodily punishment in strength, showing the potential of future penal regression. During the debate, an opponent of the Youthful Offenders Bill, Timothy Harrington feared that by expanding "the alternative [of corporal punishment] in this Bill, the system of corporal punishment [would] grow to be a regular system and a disgrace to the Empire."[39] While this fear would not be realized with the Youthful Offenders Bill in 1900, a crime scandal would completely change Parliament's outlook on corporal punishment.

A scare about white slave traffic and procurement[40] during the years 1910-1914 led to widespread debate among the English public and politicians on the need to expand corporal punishment. In *The Times* (of London), the number of articles mentioning white slave traffic spiked by nearly 100 (33 reports in 1909 up to 129 in 1910), covering stories of foreigners brought into England against their will as prostitutes.[41] Proponents of corporal punishment were quick to act, drafting a revised Criminal Law Amendment

Bill (or CLB) and bringing it before the House of Lords.[42] The CLB had momentum from the beginning, described as:

> … not the work of any Party caucus or political organization. [The bill] represents the views of no single political Party. It is a Bill brought forward with the general assent of all right-minded persons, because it stands for the heightened sense which the community has of a great evil which obtains among its people.[43]

Compared to the Youthful Offenders Bill, the CLB's bipartisan support represented a massive shift in opinion. Most notably, the CLB's opening supporter was the Lord Chancellor, Viscount Haldane, a liberal politician.[44] For Haldane, a liberal and head of the court system, to be the opening supporter of the CLB meant that the bill had transcended party lines, whereas the Youthful Offenders Bill was bitterly divided between liberals and conservatives. This unity between party lines allowed corporal punishment to return in force.

Haldane and the CLB's other advocates argued that white slave traffic was a premeditated crime and deserved particularly swift and cruel punishment, specifically one which would command fear. These crimes of procurement were said to be "the work of cold, deliberate, and callous natures," making it necessary to "sharpen the instrument of punishment."[45] Therefore, corporal punishment was selected as a penalty for first offenders as a method of

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38 House of Lords, Second Reading, Youthful Offenders Bill (Debate), 21 May 1900, c. 836.

39 House of Lords, Second Reading, Youthful Offenders Bill (Debate), 21 May 1900, c. 853.

40 Secretary of State for the Home Department, *Corporal Punishment*, 74-75. White Slave Traffic: Process of transporting women around Britain, or into Britain from foreign countries for the purpose of prostitution. Procurement: Process of grooming prostitutes and, in some cases, living under the earnings of prostitution.

41 "The 'White Slave' Traffic," *The Times*, news article, Jan. 15, 1912, p. 3, GALE|CS51445295.

42 The Criminal Law Amendment Act (1912) was an amended version of the preexistent Criminal Law Amendment Act of 1885, not an entirely new Act.

43 House of Lords, Second Reading, Criminal Law Amendment Bill (Debate), 28 November 1912, c. 1182.

44 H. C. G. Matthew, "Haldane, Richard Burdon, Viscount Haldane (1856–1928), politician, educationist, and lord chancellor," *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, 23 Sep. 2004, https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/33643.

45 House of Lords, Second Reading, Criminal Law Amendment Bill (Debate), 28 November 1912, c. 1183.

deterrence.[46] This pattern of seeking deterrence and punishment towards a criminal class instead of reform, with bipartisan support nonetheless, is another reflection of a regressing penal state.

While there was debate on the inclusion of corporal punishment, the reasoning against whipping had changed. In the Youthful Offender Bill's debates, those who fought against expanding corporal punishment saw it as ineffective, immoral, and unequal.[47] By 1912, MPs were more concerned with withholding corporal punishment from more egregious offences. For instance, when an MP attempted to make flogging a punishment only for second offenses, his amendment was denied, losing by over 70 votes.[48] In another instance, an MP tried to protect citizens with large land holdings, who may have unknowingly leased a building to a white slave trafficker, but was eventually convinced by his peers that rich landowners would not be incriminated on "mere superstition."[49] Noticeably weaker than the Youthful Offenders Bill, the counter arguments to the CLB were either denied overwhelmingly, or designed to protect wealthy landowners. MPs were less concerned with reform than deterrence; consumed with responding to a scandal largely based in class and race politics. Even more, these counter arguments also took a secondary role in the debates, as Parliament was determined to pass the CLB to save "thousands of helpless girls who [were] to be carried away by the visionary kidnappers during the Christmas holidays."[50]

Overall, the lack of resistance to expanding corporal punishment allowed the CLB to pass by the end of 1912.[51]

The Criminal Law Amendment Act of 1912 was met with support from the press, who wrote that the "miscreants of foreign nationality" left London the day after the expansion of corporal punishment was enacted.[52] This is another point, in addition to the constant flogging of children (which still had not slowed down), where sociological theories have not accounted for historical evidence. Based on a situation rife with emotion, the British government once again broadly supported a system of punishment full of vengeance yet void of correction and penance. Unfortunately, it seems that there was a lack of political effort to reform and reduce the practice of corporal punishment.[53] Out of 203 parliamentary debates containing the term "corporal punishment" between 1900-1914, none advocated for the repeal of corporal punishment as a criminal sentence. British politicians were either unwilling or unable to reform corporal punishment statutes between 1900-1914; instead of reform, one sees a continuation in the popularity of corporal punishment among those who sentenced juvenile offenders.

Entering the twentieth century, the British government was confronted with the problems of criminality and the treatment of criminals. Between 1900-1914, crime was steadily rising, growing from nearly 78,000 recorded crimes in 1900 and peaking in 1909 with over 105,000 recorded crimes.[54] More concerning for British politicians was how to punish youthful offenders, who MPs desperately wanted kept out of prison.[55] Despite the voices of reform, children

46 House of Lords, Second Reading, Criminal Law Amendment Bill (Debate), 9 Dec. 1912, c.108.

47 House of Lords, Second Reading, Youthful Offenders Bill (Debate), 21 May 1900, c. 836.

48 House of Lords, Second Reading, Criminal Law Amendment Bill (Debate), 9 Dec. 1912, c.114.

49 House of Lords, Second Reading, Criminal Law Amendment Bill (Debate), 9 Dec. 1912, c.128.

50 House of Commons, Second Reading, Criminal Law Amendment Bill (Debate), 11 Dec. 1912, c.703.

51 House of Commons, Second Reading, Criminal Law Amendment Bill (Debate), 12 Dec. 1912, v. 45.

52 "The White Slave Traffic: The New Act in Operation", *The Times*, news article, Dec. 14, 1912, p. 6, GALE|CS101646222.

53 Secretary of State for the Home Department, *Corporal Punishment*, 19.

54 Office for National Statistics, Recorded Crime 1898-2002, *United Kingdom National Archives*, https://assets.publishing.service.gov.uk/government/uploads/system/uploads/attachment_data/file/116649/rec-crime-1898-2002.xls.

55 House of Lords, Second Reading, Youthful Offenders Bill (Debate), 21 May 1900, https://hansard.parliament.uk/Commons/1900-05-21/debates/1092de7e-456b-4676-a9 4c91b1d875c6/YouthfulOffendersBillLords, c. 808. Prison was seen by MPs as a place that could only serve to corrupt children even further. If children were put in prisons, they would learn from other hardened criminals, and become repeat offenders.

were still whipped by the thousands.[56] Additionally, MPs from both sides of the political spectrum actively advocated for flogging as both a method of deterrence and revenge against an inherently criminal class.[57]

Through the examination of early twentieth century Home Office reports and Parliamentary debates, the surprising persistence of corporal punishment is revealed. Corporal punishment not only persisted into the twentieth century but actually expanded in 1912 with the Criminal Law Amendment Act of 1912.[58] Even worse, efforts to repeal corporal punishment failed, as MPs relied on traditional methods of whipping, and failed to draft reform-centered bills between 1900-1914. This paper demonstrates the constant support of punishment focused on the body well into the twentieth century. Echoing the centuries before them, British politicians were focused on instituting punishment based in deterrence of the inherent criminal class, and vengeance against the offender.

This slowness of reform may seem paltry to the British penal system as a whole, but persisting corporal punishment had real consequences for an unknown number of men and boys. In fact, and even worse, the greatest limitation of this paper is its underrepresentation of the victims of the birch. This project is not able to hear the cries of children who were pulled into the office of a constable, teacher, or reformatory worker acting as both the judge and jury, who could legally flog children without having to bring them to court. Even without these cases, we are still presented with over 35,000 children birched in the span of just 14 years. How many others were whipped?

This project responds to historian Carolyn Strange, who has advocated to "further up the chronological dial [of torture] to the present,"[59] challenging previously established sociological narratives of corporal punishment patterns.

Sociologists were wrong in their claim that corporal punishment disappeared as a method of discipline by the late nineteenth century. Instead, the relentless use of whipping and the expansion of offences liable to corporal punishment show that the body remained a place of both discipline and punishment. This Parliamentary persistence rolled back protections generally given to children before 1861, providing a narrative of gradual decivilization regarding corporal punishment in Great Britain. By providing detail for Strange's "historiographically neglected" corporal punishment, this paper disproves the theory of corporal punishment as a vice of third-world or "totalitarian states," and instead demonstrates the flaws of societies thought to be leading civilization.[60]

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56 Secretary of State for the Home Department, *Corporal Punishment*, 19

57 House of Lords, Second Reading, Criminal Law Amendment Bill (Debate), 28 November 1912, c. 1183.

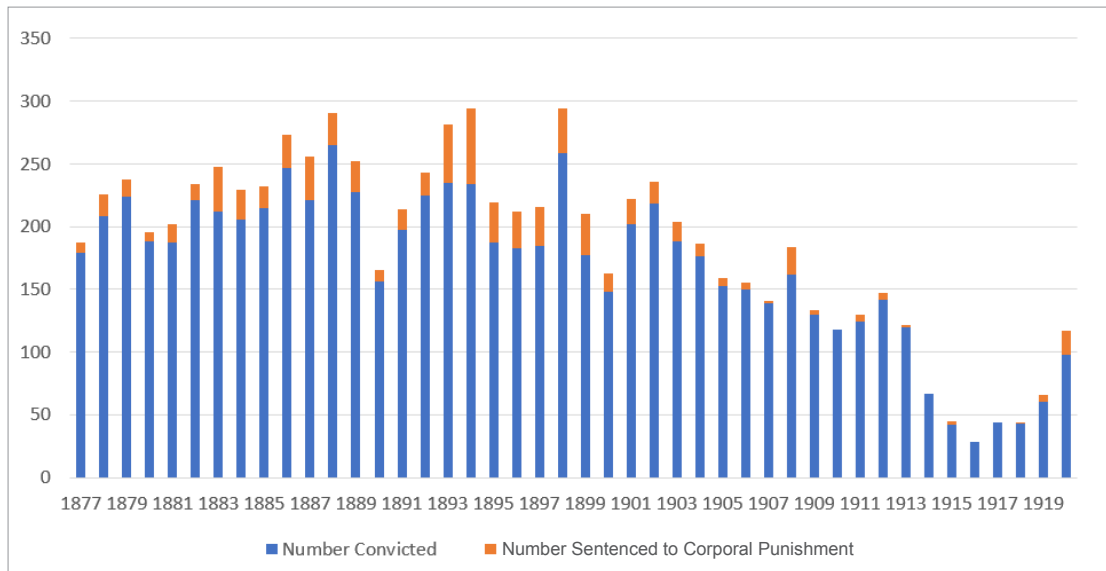58 Secretary of State for the Home Department, *Corporal Punishment*, 7.

59 Carolyn Strange, "The 'Shock' of Torture," 148.

60 Carolyn Strange, The 'Shock' of Torture," 139.

TABLE 2

Robbery with Violence: Convictions and Corporal Punishment Sentences, England and Wales, 1877-1919.

Source: Secretary of State for the Home Department, *Corporal Punishment*, 130.

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BEAVER ISLAND 1838-1856: RISE AND FALL OF A UTOPIAN MORMON KINGDOM

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Located thirty-two miles off of Michigan's northeastern coast, Beaver Island has changed hands many times after its initial indigenous population was dispossessed by white settlers in the early seventeenth century. The paper looks at the Strangite Mormon sect, followers of James Strang, starting with their displacement in the Midwest in the mid-1840s. Due to their religious and lifestyle difference, the Mormons constantly faced hostility from mobs and were pushed to the far geographic reaches of the country, leading the Strangites to Beaver Island. The Strangite Mormons eventually outnumbered the predominantly Native American and Irish Catholic population and expelled them forcibly, paving the way for an autonomous religious kingdom creating a contentious relationship with the US federal government. I examine how the Mormons used their majority status on the island and region to violently create a religious kingdom. For a brief period, the kingdom was institutionalized with a seat in the Michigan State Legislature as well as many local political positions. The thirteen-mile-long island was large enough to be self-sufficient and the Mormons strengthened the kingdom by keeping politicians in office and making powerful allies. More broadly, the 1840s and '50s signaled a time of immigration and population expansion in the Midwest which ignited racial and religious tension. The research shows the process by which the Mormons transformed their status as displaced people to build a homogenous kingdom and how it was maintained for a brief period through a combination of legitimate diplomacy, organized

violence and religious beliefs.

My family owns what used to be a small farm near the Beaver Island harbor which was acquired by my great-great-great-grandfather in 1865 after immigrating from Ireland. Every summer since I was a child I have visited the island that hosted this storied piece of American history. In this paper I have used primary material that include first-hand accounts, newspaper articles from 1840-60, and census data. I have used critical theories and comparative histories of nation-state building to conceptualize and frame the story of the community's charismatic leader King Strang, and his short-lived Mormon Kingdom on Beaver Island, and their eventual demise and displacement. These events took place during a turbulent period of US history, marked by the Civil War and the westward expansion that followed.

Two Countries One State

"A skeptical follower of Strang wrote: 'No man can serve two masters. You cannot serve a temporal king and a Republican government at the same time. The thing is preposterous.' And yet, under Strang, such a system survived for six years on Beaver Island" (Van Noord 1997, ix). During his brief reign, King James Strang created a religious kingdom that operated under its own laws, tax system and militia, and somehow managed to slip through the net of the federal courts. Through a combination of ruthless violence, charisma, and indoctrination through the use of the printing press, Strang crowned himself king, and held power over his followers on Beaver Island, which he called "God's Kingdom." Not only did he exercise

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FIGURE 1

1856 daguerrotype of James J. Strang

texts. These texts contained an alternative Christian history which Smith translated and compiled in the Book of Mormon, named after an ancient prophet. His preaching gathered the support of thousands and he soon found himself at the head of a powerful church.

As the Church's followers grew, so did the animosity towards the Mormons. The highly organized and hierarchical group was able to set up institutions wherever they went, challenging those in place. Mormons believed that their mission was to create a utopian society of the righteous called "Zion." The Book of Moses describes the ancient city of Enoch, which became a model for the Saints. Enoch's city was a Zion "because they were of one heart and one mind, and dwelt in righteousness; and there were no poor among them" (Bushman 2008, 9). The Mormons jockeyed for power with state and local governments and religious groups across the Midwest, sometimes peacefully and often violently.

Proselytizing is a key component of Mormonism and the calling pushed the religious movement west toward developing townships on land inhabited by Native Americans. First arriving in Ohio and then later to Missouri and Illinois where the Mormons first encountered Nativist mobs. Nativism was a movement that had begun in the 1830s based on the idea that being American meant being white, Anglo-Saxon and protestant. Groups outside of this purview were often attacked and pushed to the margins of society, or fled persecution by migrating westward. The mid-nineteenth-century midwest became the site of numerous ethnic and religious groups, such as Irish and German Catholics, Mormons, and many other sects, who had fled racist and xenophobic persecution and attempted to carve out tightly-knit and insular communities.

sovereign political authority, but he also claimed divine authority as 'the mouthpiece of God." Strang created an "imagined community" by highly regulating information by operating the only printing press in northern Michigan. Through the highly regimented church structure and ability to communicate with that base daily, the Mormons were a versatile force on the island with their ability to coordinate their actions. To better understand James Jesse Strang, I provide background on how Strang came to power and eventually made his way to Beaver Island.

In the Beginning

Joseph Smith founded the Church of the Latter Day Saints, also known as the Mormons. In the 1820s, Smith had religious visions while living in upstate New York and claimed he was the touchpoint for an angel to find buried

The Kingdom-to-Be on Beaver Island

After Joseph Smith's death from a mob in Nauvoo, Illinois, 1844, there were many claims to the rightful succession of power. James Strang was able to convince a small following to join his community in Voree, Wisconsin. Unable to

FIGURE 2

Beaver Island, Michigan
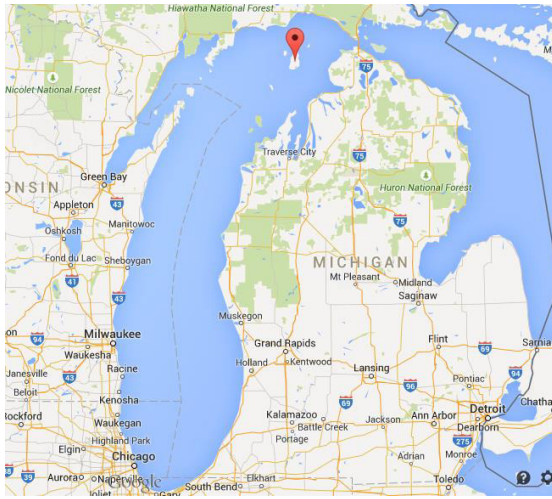
generate enough resources to sustain the community, he sought to find a new location for the Strangites to thrive. "After he returned from the East, Strang said the place for such an Indian mission 'has already been pointed out by the finger of God, and measures for its occupation are now far advanced.' He gave no further details except to say that 'the situation is a most delightful one, in immediate proximity to vast numbers of Indians and secure from the molestation of any kind.'" (Van Noord 1997, 67). This place, as it turned out, was Beaver Island. "Certainly, to such a man a kingdom on an isolated island was nearly as good as the kingdom of heaven. And to many of his followers, Beaver Island was to become, indeed, the Promised Land" (Weeks 1976, 38). Even from an early age, Strang wrote in his diary of having dreams of "royalty and power as great as any Caesar or Napoleon" (Strang 1961, 26). With a background as a lawyer, journalist and theologian, Strang borrowed upon these fields to create his kingdom.

Strang first heard of the "Island of Big Beaver" in Lake Michigan in 1846 and that the government was going to put it up for sale soon. He heard that "[the island's] inhabitants comprise a little band of semi-civilized survivors of the Odawa and Ojibwe tribes, and a white population of traders, fishermen, and farmers, not greatly exceeding one thousand in number" (Backus 1955, 14). Strang and a mission of his followers went to scout out the island to see if it was suitable for his kingdom. They reported that it was attractive, habitable, well-timbered, fertile, and in the midst of good fishing waters.

Between 1846 and 1850, a Mormon colony began to take shape on Big Beaver with more families arriving each season. "Their Gentile neighbors strenuously resisted their immigration, but they were persevering, industrious, and sober, and their foot-hold in the islands constantly grew firmer" (Backus 1955, 29). Strang was not alone in his machinations of his kingdom and surrounded himself with a cadre that supported his religious and political power. "Although the secret order [Council of Elders] advanced Strang's moves toward a political kingdom, those followers who were seeking a church centered around spiritual values were disillusioned" (Van Noord 1997, 68). Strang had a willing and unquestioning base and advisors to help create his kingdom.

The land on Beaver Island was not yet for sale, but the land granting officials said that the Mormons could settle the land until it was on the market and have the first right to buy it. "Cheap land was almost a necessity if Strang were to develop an empire" (Van Noord 1997, 70). The land in the west wasn't only seen as cheap by settlers, but rather free. Having a kingdom with the goal to start a mission next to Native Americans created the opportunity to take that land as well as its surrounding. "Indian poverty was the result of Indian waste: underused land, underused natural abundance, underused human labor" (Cronon 1992, 88). These "underused resources" were the kindling for Strang's kingdom and gave opportunity for his kingdom to develop it.

Setting up Shop: Organizing Land Usage on the Island

By 1850, Beaver Island's Mormon population had grown to over 500 people, where they made up nearly two-thirds of the population. "Neither the church nor king had title to

the land on Beaver Island. He [Strang] parceled out federal land from 40 to 160 acres" (Van Noord 1997, 74). Beaver Island was far from US government law enforcers, so Strang took the land. "He had his sheriff issue 'certificates of sale,' selling for nominal sums—or for nothing at all—land that belonged either to the government or to absentee Gentile owners" (Weeks 1976, 54). "Strang wanted the population to be all Mormon—or at least submissive to the Mormons" (Van Noord 1997, 76).

Strang created a tithing system that was used to fund the religious kingdom, from caring for the poor to building his fortress palace. This tithing was not just for the practicing Mormons; all that lived and fished on Beaver Island had to pay. The Mormon followers were given land from Strang, but they did not have freedom to use the land as they wanted. "The Mormons were barred from selling their

FIGURE 3

Aerial view of St. James Harbor

land or giving it in inheritance to ensure that it would stay under the king" (Van Noord 1997, 77). The fishermen from Mackinac did not warm up to the demands from Strang as it was affecting their fishing profits and livelihood. "Land acquisition [Mormon theft], fishing rights, and trade with the Indians were basic causes of friction between the Gentiles and the Saints. All three were in various ways rooted in the theocratic ground plan of Strang's utopian community" (Weeks 1976, 46).

"No fact can be more certain than that throughout the United States there is no legal protection to a Mormon" (*Daily Northern Islander*, April 3, 1851). The Mormons were organized and had numbers which allowed for them to come to Beaver Island and take land and resources from the Natives, Gentiles and the land. "Faced with such unity and power, it is no surprise that many Gentiles, including some of the island's early settlers, were abandoning valuable homes and property to the Mormons" (Van Noord 1997, 80).

Reception of a Mormon King

Strang made his intentions on the island clear that he wanted to create a kingdom. "A kingdom of God must shortly be established to fulfill the scripture. You know what constitutes a kingdom. In a kingdom there must be a king, laws, officers to execute those laws, dominion or a certain extent of the country to rule." (*Gospel Herald*, Nov 15 1849). He followed through on his word and in 1850, Strang crowned himself King of Beaver Island.

With his position as king, he created a "Book of Law" that he scribed from the Plates of Laban and prophetic visions. "Strang had the revelations and the council of twelve voted it a law. And they had the power to enforce the law and punishment any who disobeyed" (Williams 1905, 78). Strang surrounded himself with people who knew full well that their kingdom on Beaver Island challenged the national sovereignty of the US government. Strang used the term "king" literally and practiced it in such a way where he was the ultimate authority. "[Strang] had the

sense to realize that this rule could not be imposed upon unbelievers, and that its practical application even to his own followers was subject to limitations" (Quaife 1930, 34).

While his kingdom was religiously legitimated, Beaver Island was part of the Union in the United States. "Strang was a shrewd and able man, and he could not fail to realize the folly of engaging in rebellion against the government of the United States" (Quaife 1930, 35). Strang used his power as the nominal king to command his followers how to vote. He used this to take control of local government and did so successfully. "The prophet had in theory made himself the head of a theocratic monarchy; but in practice he ruled as best he might through a combined process of dictation to his followers, and manipulation of the ordinary agencies of local government" (Quaife 1930, 39). Only such a framework could work in the American West as the US made claims to land while granting a lot of latitude to the settler for how the land is used.

Amplifying the Mormons, Minimizing the Gentiles
Strang addressed the public shortly after his coronation on relations between Gentiles and Mormons. A Gentile viewer of the speech recounts: "Gentiles are to be a help and a support to God's people, meaning themselves, the Latter Day Saints, and that it was right for his people to take whatever was necessary for them to have. That is was their privilege to take from the Gentiles" (Williams 1905, 75). From 1850-53 the native islanders found ways both legally and illegally to ward off Mormon immigration. As the Mormon population grew, their attitudes toward the native islanders changed and they "commenced to club the disturbers of their meetings, and to retaliate violence with harder blows." (Backus 1955, 32). The divide between the Mormons and Gentiles continued to grow as the Mormons accumulated more power and settlers.

With calls from the *Northern Islander* for more Mormons to settle on Big Beaver, worried Gentiles began to organize to counter their threat. The Gentiles had support from fishermen on Mackinac, but their means of communication,

leadership and military abilities paled in comparison. "For any little disobedience of his harsh laws, he [Strang] ordered floggings... He sent to loot Gentile stores and even had pirates sailing around the island to rob fishing boats" (Egan 2017, 72). Strang organized a large armed militia to help impose his rule over the island. A Gentile girl remembers the militia patrolling "Kings Highway" for tolls: "Very often they remained all night, and then they were always sure to let us see the big knives they carried hanging on the belt they wore." (Williams 1905, 81).

In spring of 1850 the Mormons won a majority of officers in Peaine Township, which had jurisdiction over Beaver Island, giving them effective control. Other Politicians began to reach out to Strang for his support in getting the "Mormon vote." With the large population of Democrats on the island and the only printing press in northern Michigan, Strang positioned himself as a powerful potential ally, and a dangerous enemy. "Although O'Malley had an Irish background, he knew he had little hope of election without the full support of the Mormons on Beaver Island" (Van Noord 1997, 95). Strang successfully and illegally took land from Beaver Island settlers and mobilized his base to make his claims legitimate and institutionalized.

Strang reacted to local resistance by sending an island-wide notice saying that if they collaborated with the resistance they "would be taken as enemies, and their homes made as bare as a sand bank" (Van Noord 1997, 90). Ultimately, the Gentiles were unable to get momentum for their rebellion due to lapses in communication and poor leadership. Strang's blatant display and usage of violence ignored United States sovereignty and made stronger authority of the borders that Strang drew. "As the outcome of this chronic frontier skirmishes, the Mormons, who were constantly growing in numbers and had the advantage of a definite organization, became, in the end, practically sole possessors of the islands, and were heartily hated and feared along the entire coast" (Backus 1955, 33).

Arrest and Trial of Strang by US Government

Strang's kingdom did not go unnoticed by the rival media and the Federal Government. On April 30, 1851, President Fillmore authorized the arrest of James Strang on charges of secession and dispatched the USS *Michigan* iron gunship to deal with the armed militia. Much to the surprise of the Gentiles, Strang peacefully agreed to board the *Michigan* and sailed off to Detroit where he was put on trial in federal court. Strang was charged with "leading a lawless band who have forcibly and unlawfully organized a government of their own in open defiance of the laws of the United States" (Van Noord 1997, 96). He was also charged with trespassing on federal lands and misusing public resources, obstruction of federal mail, and counterfeiting.

Strang was a trained lawyer and leaned on his political connections and alliances that he had won in northern Michigan to protect himself. The federal prosecutor "believed that state authorities were not vigorous in their efforts to bring Strang and his followers to trial because they felt the Mormon vote helped to keep them in power" (Van Noord 1997, 98). Strang was a Democrat and happened to get a judge who he knew was also a Democrat. Strang stacked his defense with Democratic lawyers and played to the politics of the time. "At first sight Strang will be taken [by the Democrats] for one of those true American sovereigns, who till our soil and fell our forests, rather than the reigning king of a community in open rebellion against a government so powerful as the US" (Van Noord 1997, 103).

The court adjourned and the prosecutors went back with Strang to Beaver Island to get depositions. Due to the fact that the only news outlet was the *Northern Islander* and all of the depositions were taken by people in the Mormon church, their answers were in lockstep. The control over information in and out of the island created an environment where Strang steered the narrative on the island.

When all was said and done, Strang was acquitted and more popular than ever. He returned to Beaver Island as a hero and used the momentum from the trial to run for state representative in the Michigan State Legislature. King Strang won and went on to serve one and a half terms in the chambers.

The Mormon Kingdom on Beaver Island, (MI?): Who is Sovereign?

"The practical test of the real degree of King Strang's sovereignty impended on the moment the crown was placed upon his head" (Riegel 1935, 17). The coronation was the moment where Strang openly challenged the sovereignty of the US government. He was tactful with his phrasing of the ceremony, but his subjects knew the reality of it. "Sovereignty of the state, inward-looking, is the assertion that, within its boundaries the state may pursue whatever policies it deems wise, decree whatever laws it deems necessary, and do this without any structure inside the state having the right to refuse to obey the laws" (Wallerstein 1999, 144). He created a "Book of Law" which contained all the rules of his Mormon Kingdom. He did not allow anyone else to modify this, claiming that it was the divine word of God whose mouthpiece he was. According to Wallerstein, the "sovereignty of the state, outward looking, is the argument that no other state has the right to exercise any authority, directly or indirectly, within the boundaries of the given state, since such an attempt would constitute a breach of the given state's sovereignty" (Wallerstein 1999, 145). Strang's relationship with the US puts the Kingdom in a grey area. Strang answered to the US courts and technically never broke from the union, but operates autonomously with its own laws, militia, and taxes.

If one looks at national sovereignty on Beaver Island and in the region, the Mormons drove out any subjects that would not obey the "Book of Law" and were able to pursue any policy without Gentile approval. The Mormons had sovereignty on different geographic levels. Inwardly, Beaver Island became homogenously Mormon, where people attended the same sermons, read the same newspaper and lived in the same style house. Outwardly, the Mormons

were able to defend themselves from the Fishermen on Mackinac without their intervention in political decisions. The American western frontier provided a unique platform where political entities drew their own utopian boundaries, but under the banner of the United States. "Unless the people I live with recognize that I own something and so give me certain unique claims over it, I do not possess it in any meaningful sense. Moreover, different groups will permit me different bundles of rights over the same object" (Cronon 1992, 90).

Strang was able to get support for his movement not by claiming to create a nation on an island, but rather through saying he was the mouthpiece of God. The formation of Strang's kingdom was driven by displacement and religious claims. "Nationalist sentiment is the feeling of anger aroused by the violation of the principle, or the feeling of satisfaction aroused by its fulfillment. A nationalist movement is one actuated by a sentiment of this kind" (Gellner 2008, 12). Strang pressed on the violation of his national sentiment by printing that the US protected no Mormon under its laws on various occasions in the *Gospel Herald* and the *Northern Islander*. In his view, the US was a threat to their way of life. It did not allow them to thrive, so they needed to create an alternative.

On the American frontier, the US exerted its presence in few ways. Aside from claiming the land, the authority that the US exerts is only if there is an entity that openly states they are breaking away from the union, and then the cavalry comes in. The US government was largely not present to actively enforce law on the frontier which gave settlers the opportunity to settle utopian societies if they ventured far enough. While it is within the US, nationalism can be found within these utopian societies.

Almost all information coming in or out of the island was controlled by Strang who sorted through the mail and telegrams. The microphone of this information and any command of King Strang was printed in the Mormon print house, home of the *Gospel Herald* and the

Northern Islander. Through the daily newspapers, Strang's dictations were able to reach his followers consistently and thoroughly. A prayer was printed daily with an editorial written by Strang detailing some of the most important issues facing the kingdom.

The paper was self-serving in many ways, lauding the work that Strang had done. The *Northern Islander* said that Strang "seldom makes a proposition that isn't unanimously concurred in. We think another man cannot be found on earth so honest that all of his acquaintances will acknowledge him the standard of right" (Van Noord 1997, 65). It served to help create a sense of unity among the Beaver Island readership. "The convergence of capitalism and print technology on the fatal diversity of human language created the possibility of a new form of imagined community" (Anderson 2006, 5). With the accumulation of the land on Beaver Island and access to print technology, the Mormons were able to create an imagined community by requiring islanders to go to school and learn how to read. "Strang established a school for the Indians at his own expense, sent a young Mormon over to Garden Island where he taught school for three years" (Williams 1905, 82). The printing press was the basis for any knowledge on the island and it was used to create a nationalist movement and sentiment on the island.

Fall of the Kingdom

The kingdom on Big Beaver lasted for six years until, in July 1856, Strang was assassinated. Two of Strang's followers were disgruntled by a severe punishment and the loss of their fishing community and sought retaliation "seemingly with the assistance of federal authorities" (Faber 2016, 85). The two perpetrators escaped on a US naval vessel docked in the harbor and were dismissed from court having only to pay a nominal fee.

As the brain and symbol of the kingdom had been taken out, the Mormons on Beaver Island feared more retaliation from Gentiles on the mainland. Before the Mormons could leave the island on their own terms, a drunken angry mob sailed from Mackinac to sack the island. A Gentile girl remembers the sacking written in a diary. "A magnificent fountain of flame, visible far out on the starlit lake, spurted from the north end of Beaver Island... The village of St. James was partly in ashes, and a blue pallor of smoke hung dimly over nearly every hill and hollow for Gentile fishermen crazed with drink and power and long arrears of grievances had carried torch and axe from farm to farm" (Catherwood 1899, 115). The Mormons lost their political clout and connections, their editor at the newspaper, and their mouthpiece to God. Without strong leadership to continue what Strang had in place, the kingdom tumbled and was razed.

Conclusion

The Mormons were caught in a time that repelled their religious beliefs and practices across the country. But the Mormons were not alone; the United States was taking on an influx of immigrants while incorporating more land into the union. The American frontier gave birth to many utopian society experiments where groups carved out a place for their followers to live under the assumption that the land was empty in the first place. The Strangite Mormons stole, developed, and tamed the land once inhabited by Native Americans. "During their eight-year occupancy, the Mormons cleared and cultivated the ground, built roads and houses, and changed the Island from a wilderness to a moderate outpost of civilization" (Backus 1955, 77). If it wasn't the domination of another group, it was of wildlife. The cyclical nature of placement and displacement on the frontier forced groups to move often and use both legal and illegal avenues to make claims to their land.

The legacy of the Mormons can be seen on the Island today, as many of the roads and geographic names remain the same. "They openly re-named the lakes, rivers, hills, and other natural features on the island giving them Mormon or Biblical names as evidence that this land was their God-given inheritance" (Weeks 1976, 97). The titles serve as reminders that the "God-given" land is land that was not given at all, but rather strongly contested. The religious claims were just the beginning of the Mormon's come to power on Beaver Island. By stacking local and state government seats and using organized violence to intimidate and consolidate power on the island, the Mormons became the authority on the island and were able to build society. That society was then maintained and controlled by managing exclusive knowledge released by the Mormon print press.

Contemporary societies have been shaped by organized warfare. Tax collection, surveillance, population control, and practices of governance (even mapping Beaver Island) are imposed by organized warfare of the past and present. Monopolizing organized violence and molding the demography of a population shaped modern nation states, and the Kingdom of Beaver Island is no exception.

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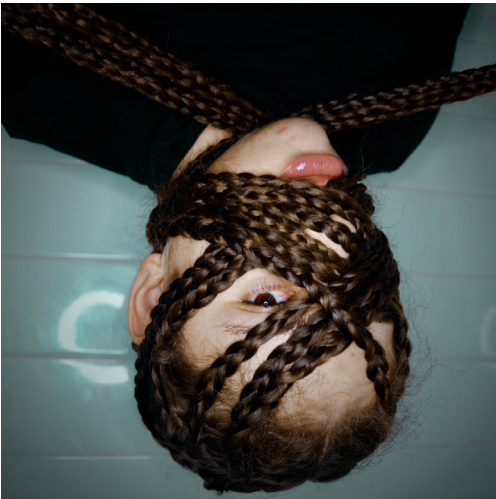
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POLITICS AND STREET ART IN 21ST CENTURY CAIRO

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Inspired by the larger Arab Spring movement that took place throughout the Middle East and North Africa, the Egyptian Revolution of 2011 aimed to combat government corruption with the overarching goal of unseating Egyptian dictator, Hosni Mubarak. In order to achieve this, Egyptian activists exercised numerous forms of non-violent protest, including riots, marches, strikes, and acts of civil disobedience.[1] Centered in the nation's capital of Cairo, these protests were often accompanied by the production of graffiti and street art as a means of resistance and political discourse. Since the Revolution, graffiti and other forms of creative public expression have retained their status as integral parts of the city's cultural and artistic production, though not all works have remained overtly political. Even where street art has been whitewashed, its impact persists. It is worth considering, then, what made graffiti and street art so effective in a city where non-government-sanctioned public art was unprecedented in Egyptian history, and even illegal, some nine years ago. While formal qualities, symbolism, and intended audience are certainly deserving of examination, the location in which street art emerges, in relation to the surrounding built fabric of Cairo, is an equally important aspect to explore. It is through the synthesis of these elements that the significance of Revolution-era graffiti and street art becomes apparent, and that the possibilities for future street art in Cairo are revealed.

For the purposes of this essay, "street art" and "graffiti" will be used interchangeably. While some scholars have noted distinctions between the two, pointing to differences in content, craftsmanship, status (legality versus illegality), etc., many use both terms to refer to colorful painted murals, monochrome stenciled images, and works comprised of only text. Likewise, the terms "artist," "street artist," and "painter" will all be used to describe the producers of such public works, unless it is known that the creator prefers a specific or alternative title.

The success of graffiti as a form of resistance in Cairo is due in part to its accessibility as a medium. Because spray paint is readily available and inexpensive to purchase, it allowed people of all socio-economic statuses to produce public art. In this way, street art acted as egalitarian outlet for individual expression. Money and power no longer functioned as de facto "censors," dictating which opinions were mass-produced and which were suppressed. Similarly, buildings and walls acted as free canvases that were essentially "up for grabs" during this turbulent revolutionary period. Another reason that street art was the favored mode of public expression was because of its anonymity. While the government lacked total control over its citizens, there was still a chance that, if caught, one could be jailed or even killed for producing anti-government art. As the military took power in Egypt following the resignation of Mubarak, they attempted to suppress the production of graffiti. This made the creation of street art following the Revolution riskier, but it persisted nonetheless.

Before the Revolution, graffiti was a rare sight in Egypt. Under the reign of Hosni Mubarak, street art was strictly

1 Jeroen Gunning and Ilan Zvi Baron, *Why Occupy a Square?: People, Protests and Movements in the Egyptian Revolution*, (New York: Oxford University Press, 2014), 2.

Tahrir Square during Revolution, Cairo, Egypt.
Photo: Ahmed AbdEl-Fatah, 29 July 2011, at https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Tahrir_Square_on_July_29_2011.jpg.

forbidden and highly punishable.[2] Even Cairene residents themselves were afraid of street art; it was considered to be devious, unpleasant and, to many, dangerous.[3] Following the resignation of Mubarak, Cairene walls came under an "art attack" by street artists.[4] Street art, much like the protesters themselves, occupied public space like never before in the country's history. The presence of graffiti in public areas came to reflect a loss of governmental control over society and its replacement with popular control. At the same time, similar political and artistic movements were developing throughout the Middle East and North Africa. In fact, the use of street art and graffiti as a means of public expression had been emerging in response to the Arab Spring since 2010.[5] While comparisons can be made between many of the revolutions that took place at the

time, the erupting street art scene in Cairo developed as a result of its unique physical environment and is therefore worthy of its own examination.

During the Egyptian Revolution of 2011, the reclamation of public space in Cairo became more crucial than ever before. Activists not only participated in marches, riots, and strikes, but also covered the walls and streets of Cairo with messages and images of political dissent. Although revolutionary activity took place throughout Egypt, much of the action was centralized within the nation's capital where it was thought to have the most significant impact. The occupation of Tahrir Square was the largest and most successful of the mobilization efforts during the uprising (Fig. 1).[6] Coincidentally, the Arabic word *tahrir* translates to "liberation." While the name initially reflected Egypt's liberation from colonialism, it took on new meaning as Tahrir Square became a significant location for activists

2   Mia Gröndahl, *Revolution Graffiti: Street Art of the New Egypt*, (Cairo and New York: The American University in Cairo Press, 2012), 1.

3   Rana Jarbou, "The Seeds of a Graffiti Revolution," in *Walls of Freedom: Street Art of the Egyptian Revolution*, Hamdy and Karl, (Berlin: From Here to Fame Publishing, 2014), 9.

4   Gröndahl, 1.

5   John Lennon, "Assembling a Revolution: Graffiti, Cairo and the Arab Spring," *Cultural Studies Review* 20, no. 1 (2014): 240.

6   Caram Kapp, "The Utopian State of Tahrir," in *Walls of Freedom: Street Art of the Egyptian Revolution.*, eds. Hamdy and Karl (Berlin: From Here to Fame Publishing, 2014), 48.

who sought liberation from Egypt's own dictatorship. It is no surprise, then, that much of the street art produced during the Revolution was created either within or in close proximity to Tahrir Square. The map reproduced here in figure 2 indicates several significant locations where graffiti has been produced in Cairo, demonstrating the centrality of Tahrir Square to the placement of art related to the uprising. It is important to ground street art in physical space because an artwork's context does not only dictate its audience, it also dictates its meaning. However, in the same way that an artwork's location affects its meaning, so too does an artwork impact the space it occupies. In essence, the artwork becomes an element of the physical space in which it is located. As John Lennon states:

> Just as bullets and blood become part of the materiality of the walls during conflict, changing those walls and infusing them with a new ideological identity and physical form, political graffiti transforms the essential structures of a city, reconstituting the architecture to create for viewers a subjective perceptual relationship with the environment.[7]

It is impossible, therefore, to remove graffiti from the built fabric upon which it was created. For this reason, artworks in this paper are categorized by the location in which they were originally produced: Tahrir Square, Mohammed Mahmoud Street, the American University in Cairo, and the Sixth of October Bridge.

Arguably, the most central location for street art production during the Egyptian Revolution was Tahrir Square. Many prominent works were produced within the square itself and have therefore become some of the most well-recognized examples of Egyptian graffiti. One such political mural located in Tahrir Square is from a series by Omar Fathy, entitled *The One Who Delegates Does Not Die*, which was originally created in 2012 (Fig. 3). The mural features a portrait that is split in half: the right side

7   Lennon, 245.

FIGURE 2

Map of Cairo featuring prominent locations for street art during and after the Revolution of 2011: 1. Tahrir Square, 2. Mohammed Mahmoud Street, 3. American University in Cairo, 4. Sixth of October Bridge.

Map Data: Google, ORION-ME.

FIGURE 3

Omar Fathy, *The One Who Delegates Does Not Die*, 2012 (original version).

Photo: Gigi Ibrahim, 2012, at https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Tantawi_is_Mubarak.jpg.

of the head represents Hosni Mubarak and the left side represents former Defense Minister of Egypt, Mohamed

FIGURE 4

Omar Fathy, *The One Who Delegates Does Not Die*, updated 2013.
Photograph used by permission of Basma Hamdy.

Hussein Tantawi.[8] This particular combination reflects the military's betrayal of the people and the Revolution while the title is a spin-off of a famous Egyptian proverb: "the one who has produced offspring has not died."[9] The mural has been destroyed since its original production, but has been recreated and expanded since 2012. The most recent version of the mural features two additional heads, Mohamed Morsi and his then-undetermined successor, with text above the grouping that reads, "Mubarak * Soldier * [Muslim] Brotherhood" (Fig. 4). This image reflects the series of leadership transfers that occurred in Egypt between 2012 and 2013 and implies that while governance in Egypt had shifted, all too much had remained the same. Likewise, Fathy's updated mural demonstrates the unanswered calls for change and the continued need for protest. The image exemplifies how street art can be modified to reflect new ideas as time progresses.

Another significant site for street art in Cairo, and potentially that most saturated with imagery, is Mohammed Mahmoud Street. Located between Tahrir Square and Egypt's main police headquarters, the street has become a well-known graffiti hotbed in Cairo. It has been referred to as both "Death Street" and "Freedom Street" by locals, as it was the locus of many deadly protests and riots during the Revolution. One of the most famous works produced on Mohammed Mahmoud Street, *Glory to the Unknown*, was created by Ammar Abu Bakr in 2013 (Fig. 5). The image features a young boy with wings holding a piece of food. There is some dispute over the image's true meaning. Some argue that the mural is meant to illuminate the severity of childhood homelessness in

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8   Radwa Othman Sharaf, "Graffiti as a Means of Protest and Documentation in the Egyptian Revolution," *African Conflict and Peacebuilding Review* 5, no. 1 (2015): 158.

9   Basma Hamdy, "Scarabs, Buraqs, and Angels," in *Walls of Freedom: Street Art of the Egyptian Revolution*, eds. Hamdy and Karl (Berlin: From Here to Fame Publishing, 2014), 153.

FIGURE 5

Ammar Abu Bakr, *Glory to the Unknown* (detail image), 2013.
Photo: E.3, 2015, at https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Cairo_child.png.

FIGURE 6

Example of street art on military blockades adjacent to the American University in Cairo.
Photo: Johnathan Rashad, 2012, at https://flic.kr/p/bCJZDe.

imagery, artists' work began to resemble collages in the way that new art was placed adjacent or on top of existing graffiti.

Connected to Mohammed Mahmoud Street, the American University in Cairo was an important site for graffiti and street art during and after the uprising in Egypt. The University is adjacent to the site where several military blockades were put in place to restrict access to governmental buildings during the Revolution. These walls blocked traffic and negatively affected people's businesses and daily routines. Because of this, the walls were an especially notorious location for political street art in Cairo. In fact, they were graffitied over as part of the "No Walls" campaign, which aimed to show that "art can become an agent of change with its potential to break down barriers."[13] The trompe l'oeil image shown in figure 6 demonstrates Cairene street artists' attempt to eliminate these walls through artistic intervention. The graffitied military blockades at the American University in Cairo illustrate the importance of physical location as it relates to street art's meaning.

Egypt.[10] Others assert that the boy is a recognizable child, Sayed Khalid, who was killed during a protest in Tahrir Square.[11] In the end, these interpretations are not entirely different from one another. It is possible that the mural may be a commentary on the multiple facets of corruption that these artists and activists were rebelling against, including child hunger, homelessness, and violence inflicted upon Egypt's own citizens. If nothing else, this uncertainty demonstrates ability of the genre to take on new subject matter as artists deem it necessary. It also reflects the way that street art can have flexible meanings, shifting depending on the viewer. The bottom left portion of the mural contains an image created by Ganzeer, another prominent street artist, who originally produced the image on a poster for Mad Graffiti Week (MGW).[12] As the walls of Mohammed Mahmoud Street filled with

10 Basma Hamdy and Don "Stone" Karl, eds., *Walls of Freedom: Street Art of the Egyptian Revolution*, (Berlin: From Here to Fame Publishing, 2014), 259.

11 Sharaf, 159.

12 Hamdy and Karl, 259.

13 Hamdy and Karl, 160.

FIGURE 7

Ganzeer, Tank vs. Biker, 2011.
Photo: Maya Gowaily, 2011, at https://flic.kr/p/9RAVRy.

One of the most reproduced images from the Revolution was originally located underneath the Sixth of October Bridge. The Sixth of October Bridge has been dubbed the "spinal cord" of Cairo, functioning as the primary route to Tahrir Square. For this reason, the bridge was the site of many now-famous murals, including Ganzeer's T*ank vs. Biker*. Created in May of 2011, *Tank vs. Biker* was another mural produced during Mad Graffiti Week in Cairo (Fig. 7). In fact, MGW was organized in part by Ganzeer himself. The week-long collective effort to cover the city of Cairo in graffiti initiated as a response to new legislation that banned public art with harsher punishments than ever before.[14] The mural depicts a life-sized tank that has just come face to face with a small boy. The boy is riding his bike while carrying a giant tray of bread. In this image, Ganzeer is denouncing Egypt's military rule and exposing the disparity between Egypt's corrupt leaders and its citizens. It should not be overlooked that the Egyptian-Arabic word for "bread," *aish*, also means 'life.' This mural was subsequently altered by a pro-military group, and then again by an anti-government graffiti group. Because of these changes, the image received a significant amount of press.[15] More than any other example of street art in Cairo, this mural shows the lasting effect that a seemingly temporary artwork can have on a population due to the way that it permeated mass media and became an international symbol for the Revolution.

Although graffiti is an inherently ephemeral art form, it becomes permanent through reproduction, publicity, and the physical space in which it was created. While nearly a decade has passed since the Egyptian Revolution, places such as Mohammed Mahmoud Street, the American University in Cairo, and the Sixth of October Bridge are still admired for their vibrantly painted walls. Though murals may be replaced or even whitewashed, their location remains significant as a point of reference for the artwork. Images from the Revolution continue to be reproduced in Egypt today despite the country's increasingly authoritative regime, which shows the effectiveness of the art form in societies where political commentary seems impossible. Therefore, street art acts as a critical source of political

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14 Jennifer Pruitt, "Monumentalizing the Ephemeral in Cairo's Revolutionary Street Art: The Case of Ganzeer," *World Art* 8, no. 2 (2017), 138.

15 Gröndahl, 25.

expression for those who otherwise have no voice. Graffiti is accessible and often safer than other forms of political artistic production, which contributes to its success. Since its introduction during the Egyptian Revolution in 2011, street art in Cairo has reflected the dynamic relationship between both the city's political figures and its public, and the relationship between artwork and place. And it continues to do so through the present day.

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Paige Hall-Petry | *Cherry Bomb*

BETWEEN THE FINGER AND THE MOON

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Here is a scene. They are decorating the Christmas tree and he is carefully selecting his favorite ornaments. He is five or six years old and he is wearing the blue Cinderella dress with the fur lining. His five older brothers are used to this by now and despite their quiet discomfort, he is untouchable. Once Ben, the one trying to hang the porcelain angel, gave him a wedgie so bad that it ripped his underwear and while he still gets pantsed on a daily basis, Mom and Dad are unyielding when it comes to his Cinderella dress. He is mom's "Christmas miracle," born as blue as that dress on December 24th, '94. He is a sensitive thing and although boys are not supposed to cry, he cannot help it when he is so outnumbered. But he does not seem to cry much when he's standing in that blue dress. Made of the finest silk fabric, of course, and encrusted with only the most precious gemstones. Their cramped one-story, with the old wood furniture and seasoned blue carpet, is really a resplendent castle and he is sovereign. A vague understanding sometimes creeps along him like a caterpillar. Perhaps it is not the dress that makes him different. But thoughts such as these are unbecoming for a queen. He rearranges Ben's angel so that it hangs just perfectly off the pointed pine.

When my little sister is born, I am less than thrilled. A picture captures me sucking on the leather of a hospital chair with a perfectly wet face. The rest of us are adoring infant Mary. I am too afraid or embarrassed or angry to join them. She looks just like my mother with her caramel brown skin and black ringlets. She has Saldaña eyes, everyone says. Our Mexican-Spanish-Irish heritage

accounts for our litter of brown and white babies. However cute or strange a Tejano *Brady Bunch* might seem, there were always a few outliers. My mom was often mistaken for my nanny and once she was even kicked out of our neighborhood pool. Then there's my older brothers, who convinced Jac that my parents rescued him from a dumpster in India. Mary would never be resigned to that nonsense, though. At least not by us. She was our first girl and we held her high with *Lion King* precision. We showered her with all of the toys that I would notice from afar: an easy bake oven, a playmobile doll house, pink this and that. Grace is born almost less than a year later and after that, it's game over. It only makes sense to give them the dress. Something feels unequivocally right about getting rid of it.

In a house as full as ours, there is still plenty of room for secrets. Our dad, the son of an FBI agent, became expert at seeking them out. No aluminum soda can used to smoke weed was left unturned. Only a sleuth of equal or greater measure bypassed his eagle eye. Around nine years old, I am standing with my back at the door of the girl's room and a pink feather boa is wrapped around my neck like a flamboyant snake. I am still wearing my grass-stained cleats from football practice and we are directing a play or something. I am careful not to leave my station at the door. This way, if anyone attempts to enter, my small frame will stop them. I then have enough time to discard any evidence on my body and pretend as if I am simply watching over the two girls, perhaps scoffing at the triviality of their dainty imaginations.

Later, when we are sitting around the TV watching reruns of *The Wonder Years* or ESPN, my sisters run in carrying that damn pink boa. To them, a brilliant invitation. To me, a piñata of shame. Blood rushes to my face. I bark at them to get out and I am unsympathetic to their tears, indignant that they would break our code of silence. My eyes look straight ahead towards the screen. I resist the urge to crane my head and check the pulse of the room.

Suddenly, I am reminded of the kiss I gave Ivan during my third grade birthday party. We were watching a movie, *Poltergeist* I think, in that same TV room. There were about five or so friends I invited over. It was dark and December and everyone was hiding under blankets during the scary parts. The kiss was playful and innocent and we never talked about it again. From the rug, where I am sitting now, I hear the girls wail into the hallway and ask someone to turn up the volume.

Now, take this scene here. I am in the eighth grade and as most teenagers are, I am in a full stricken panic about my body. My girlfriend, Kirsti, told me during the week that I had the body of a twelve-year-old. It does not dawn on me that I am still thirteen and it is perfectly ordinary for me to look like a disproportionate flesh bag. Nonetheless, I am still in my bedroom, the one I share with Seamus, and my feet are tucked under the space of his wooden desk with a towel over them. I am doing crunches furiously, only taking breaks to agonize over my child-bearing hips in the mirror.

At school, I will monitor how I carry my books and how my body moves as I walk but I will do so quietly, naturally, and full of confidence. I am cheerful, but not *too* cheerful, friendly, and inviting. I play football and run track (despite the asthma) and do the Gospel readings during school Mass on Wednesdays. All the Kemmy boys have gone to this school before me—St. Matthew, patron saint of tax collectors. Go figure. We are that "huge" family that moved from Zambia in the 90s, the one that files out of the big red tank like circus folk during carpool. Nick, Ben, Jac, Danny, Seamus, Liam, Mary, Grace, in that order. I hide behind this long veil of tradition and agreeability, where I am simply "little Kemmy." It is safe and familiar there. There is a secret implication in the sensibility of it all, but my neurons are simply forbidden from discussing it.

I had a friend during this time who used to call my mother "the shaman." She has this scattered library throughout the house, piles of books here and there, about mysticism and herbal remedies and the divine feminine. She birthed eight children naturally so she's just on a different level, I guess. Sometimes she would warn me, "The finger pointing at the moon is not the moon. Never mistake the two." I have no idea what this means but it seems to show up in different scenes throughout my life. For example, I am always reminded of that strange riddle whenever I see *La Virgen*. Head bowed in prayer, she stands on a crescent moon, adorned with a cloak of stars. Oddly enough, I always seemed to be seated near her statue during our school's "examination of conscience," her heavy-lidded eyes looking past me. My little white sneakers hover just above the linoleum church floor the first time I receive that crisp yellow brochure with the red text:

Have you doubted in matters of faith? Consulted fortune-tellers? Believed in dreams?
Have you taken the Lord's name in vain? Have you neglected your daily prayers?
Have you criticized God's mercy or justice, or murmured against His providence?
Have you willfully indulged in impure thoughts, homosexuality, sins against nature, or adultery?
Have you entertained unkind thoughts of others? Have you harbored suspicions, nursed resentments, refused to forgive others when they expressed their contrition?

It goes on for ten to twelve separate paragraphs. There's incense in the room and it is heavy and earthy and overwhelming. You'd think they're trying to fumigate us. I think anyone would feel threatened by that yellow brochure. It felt like a giant hand was reaching down my throat when we gathered to read it.

The real magic of mom's spell books was that they allowed you to look deep inside yourself without wanting to look away. Whenever I felt unsatiated by *Wuthering Heights* or *Calvin and Hobbes*, I would skim the textured pages of a colorful spine, taking long pauses with the chapters about suffering and longing. My mom usually had a dry flower pressed between them. In a vague and simple way, my body seemed to understand before my mind did. Whether it was Thich Nhat Hanh or Chödrön or Neruda, they made me feel like I was on the edge of becoming.

In Texas, there are a few absolutes about life. They usually have to do with something about faith, family, and freedom. One of our favorite ones that encompasses all three: God created Marriage for Man and Woman. Most of us drive a truck instead of a saddled horse but everything *is* bigger in Texas; although that's mostly because of BBQ and Whataburger. Now, I do have to say that the stars in the hill country are truly ethereal. I ate a bunch of mushrooms with my older brothers the summer before college and we were out there, in Bandera, and one of my favorite songs by Yusef Cat Stevens was playing, "The Wind." I am planked on my back with my hands tucked under my head, just a few feet away from that hilarious fire, and I can't stop thinking about how many stars there are when they all begin to dance, jumping around like white hot embers. The faintest trails of greens and blues outline their cosmic patterns and I can feel my entire body. It's as if the stars are moving in tandem with the rhythm of the song and the lyrics are clearer to me now than they ever have been.

> I listen to the wind, to the wind of my soul
> Where I'll end up, well, I think only God really knows
> I've sat upon the setting sun
> But never, never, never, never
> I never wanted water once
> No never, never, never

Even though I know it's the psilocybin talking, I cannot help but surrender to an expansive sense of knowing. I am completely alive, in this body, and I'm here—right now. My nose isn't actually that big either! I have never hungered or thirsted or been without a home. I can hear my brother's laughing and smoking cigarettes behind me. And as the wind blows off the big oak, a quiet sadness begins to surface. It's the kind that never really leaves me. I don't know how to name it or why it's there. But then the song is over and I'm on my feet, looking up. Those fucking stars are really something.

I know it all sounds a bit dramatic and overdone. We all have heard some version of the story. The little boy with the big secret. He grows up with the vague understanding of his inherent otherness that becomes compounded by sin or abomination or unlovability. He has too many friends that are girls, not to be confused with girlfriends, and develops a sophisticated radar that seeks out acceptance from the world around him. The unfortunate byproduct of a high-speed chase for affection and approval manifests in his ultimate inability to validate himself. It may come as a surprise to you, because even to him it is unknown, that his deep, dark, secret is not his attraction to men. Beneath the hand-crafted layers, the personal fabrications, glistening dissonance from reality and desire, he is hiding his own self-hatred. He will give pieces of himself away until he no longer really exists. It is not until he is twenty-something when his Dad calls him and tells him that his old friend from grade school, Ivan, shot himself in the head that he reconsiders the vacuum where he keeps concepts like surviving and living neatly tied together.

Olivia Marr | *6:12*
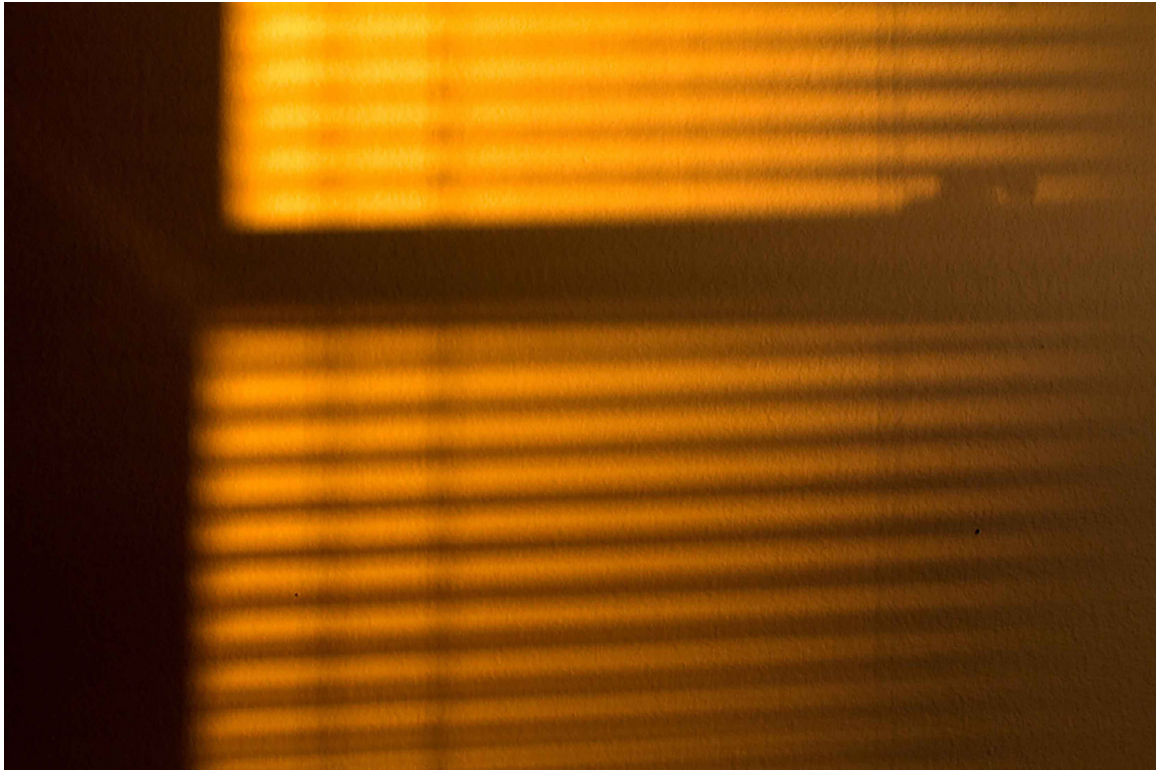
CHINA'S ONE BELT, ONE ROAD TO LATIN AMERICA:
AN ANALYSIS OF CHINESE ECONOMIC RELATIONS WITH ECUADOR, VENEZUELA, & BRAZIL

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China's foreign policy initiative under President Xi Jinping, is known as 'One Belt, One Road'. Latin America was not formally a part of the original initiative, but China extended it to Latin American and Caribbean (LAC) governments. The United States declared the end of the Monroe Doctrine in 2013, a policy adopted under President James Monroe in 1823 that declared the US the dominant power in the Western Hemisphere (Niu 297). After this declaration, China created China-CELAC (Community of Latin American and the Caribbean States) in 2014. Its purpose is to promote, "the development of the comprehensive cooperative partnership based on equality, mutual benefit and common development between China and LAC states" (Department of LAC Affairs 5). China has increased their economic influence by offering LAC countries billions of dollars in loans and investment while also presenting itself as a cooperative state that contributes to the support and growth of its trading partners. The China-Latin American Finance Database shows that Ecuador, Venezuela, and Brazil are the top three recipients of Chinese loans and investments from Chinese foreign policy banks that have played a crucial role in the growth of Latin American (LA) economies in South America. They also have diverse political systems with leaders on different political spectrums. For example, Brazilian President Jair Bolsonaro is a former military captain and an extreme right-wing politician who,

among other constitutional rights, does not recognize Indigenous sovereignty in the Amazon Forest. President Nicolas Maduro of Venezuela was a socialist and an anti-imperialist who was vehemently against United States involvement in the region. In this research and analysis of existing data, I weigh the positive and negative impacts of Chinese economic involvement in Latin America. This research is significant for the field of Latin American and Latino Studies because there are few studies in this emerging area. My methods include reviewing economic reports and databases on economic trends in LAC countries, and case studies from experts on Chinese and LAC foreign policy. In what follows, I provide an overview of Chinese engagement in Latin America, discuss three LA countries with the most Chinese investment, and consider LA attitudes towards Chinese involvement in Latin America.

One Belt One Road

As China looks to extend their economic and political relations into the Western Hemisphere, LAC countries are eager to take advantage of the new investment opportunities available to them. The Chinese government has been able to maintain relations with their LA partners, as long as they don't have relations with Taiwan (there is historic conflict between China and Taiwan in terms of legitimacy of Taiwan as an independent nation) (Albert). After the 9/11 terrorist attacks, the US began to focus its attention in the Middle East. As the US shifted its focus

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away from LA, this gave China the opportunity to increase its relations with LA. LA experience with US-based financial institutions imposing a neoliberal model left the region with stark inequality during the 1980s and 1990s, pushing the region closer to seeking alternative partners. In 2009, China became the number one trading partner with Brazil (Niu 300). The creation of the China-CELAC forum was one of the first official steps towards building closer relationships with Latin American countries. Their initiatives encourage cooperation when building these new economic relationships, along with ensuring "mutual benefits and win-win results." The forum also encourages each nation to take into consideration the myriad of interests and demands of relevant parties (Department of LAC Affairs 12-13). Promotion of a comprehensive cooperative partnership is essential for Beijing. They have also specified what sorts of investments and sectors they are looking to invest in. Jinping visited Latin America for the first time in 2014. In a keynote speech made in front of LAC leaders, Jinping introduced the "1+3+6" framework for pursuing economic relations in the region. Through this cooperative framework:

> "1" means one plan that is aimed at inclusive growth and sustainable development; "3" means three major engines, i.e., trade, investment, and financial cooperation as driving forces pursuing full cooperation; and "6" means six key cooperation areas, i.e., energy and resources, infrastructure building, agriculture, manufacturing, scientific and technological innovation, and information technologies. (Teng 4)

This new cooperative framework created more opportunities for the middle class in Latin America to grow even more than before, and relevant countries have the ability to use these investments to increase revenue for their countries. An expansion in cooperation and partnership will certainly serve China well as they continue to pursue growth. Projections show that they will become the world's largest economy by 2030, surpassing the US (Teng 6-7). South America has become more independent

from the US. For example, Brazil led the efforts to reject the Free Trade Area of the Americas proposal introduced by the US (Niu 301). Although Chinese investment has been growing, the US and Europe are still the largest investors in the region. Foreign direct investment (FDI) trends from the United Nations Economic Commission for Latin America and the Caribbean (ECLAC) show that the largest recipients of FDI are Mexico and Brazil (ECLAC 11).

In 2018, LAC countries saw an increase in FDI inflows by 13.2% (US$ 184.287 billion increase). FDI inflows have been increasing consecutively for two years (ECLAC 11). The 2019 ECLAC report states that this increase does not reflect equity investment, but rather a reinvestment of earnings. The service and manufacturing sector received the most equity, but the natural resource sector also saw a slight increase compared to the previous year (ECLAC 11). Compared to their European and US counterparts who are mostly invested in the service, manufacturing, and technology sectors, China had a less-diversified investment portfolio with cross-border mergers and acquisitions in, "extractive industries and agribusiness, power generation, utilities (electricity, gas, water) and infrastructure" (ECLAC 11). Boston University's Global Development Policy Center reported that LAC trade with China also reached record levels in 2019. LAC countries exported US$141.5 billion in goods to China, and they imported US $161.7 billion in Chinese goods. LAC exports accounted for 2.7% of the region's GDP, whereas China's imports accounted for 3% of their regional GDP (Ray and Barbosa 1-6).

Chinese loans continue to refrain from imposing policy restrictions when financing LAC governments and state-owned enterprises. Commitment to a cooperative and mutually beneficial economic framework for both parties is essential to maintaining long-term partnerships. China has two development banks that it uses for overseas development, the Chinese Development Bank (CDB) and the Export-Import Bank of China (Ex-Im Bank) (Ray and

Barbosa 1-6). Although Brazil, Ecuador, and Venezuela have historically been China's largest loan recipients, they have now decreased their borrowing due to many factors. In 2019, Chinese loans to LAC countries fell significantly with loans only totaling $1.1 billion. This is due to Ecuador, Brazil, and Venezuela ceasing loans for the moment (Ray and Barbosa 1-6).

A major contributor to the increase in cooperation between China and LAC countries was the emergence of state-centered governments. These administrations emerged at the beginning of the twenty-first century in LAC countries, but predominantly in South America. The region saw the rise in politically left-leaning leaders who rose to power through the ballot box. Many of the leaders called for their countries to finally address the historical inequalities and failures of the neoliberal economic model that has allowed wealth gained from exporting mostly natural resources to be in the hands of the few, domestically and internationally (Shifter and Binetti 79). The dissatisfaction with the economic and social inequalities in these Latin American countries caused the rise of politically left leaders like former socialist President of Venezuela, Hugo Chavez, who took a firm anti-imperialist stance against the United States and neoliberalism by nationalizing many industries such as state-owned enterprises (SOE) like PDVSA, a petroleum extraction company that had been used to fund many of Chavez's ambitious redistributive policies. On the other hand, rather than taking an extreme approach to nationalizing Brazil's economy, former President of Brazil, Luiz Inácio Lula da Silva (often referred to as Lula), believed in passing redistributive policies while also sustaining a market that respected private businesses and encouraged foreign investment (Shifter and Binetti 82). Despite differences on the politically left spectrum, these leaders have continued to seek autonomy from the International Monetary Fund that is mostly controlled by the US Treasury Department, along with other US based financial institutions. With this increased self-determination, state-centered governments began exporting more raw materials to China. This

resulted in unprecedented economic growth and political stability (Shifter and Binetti 80). Increasing economic cooperation between their countries and China enabled these governments to create alternatives to US-led institutions and curtail Washington's economic influence in the region.

The foundation of the Bolivarian Alliance for the Peoples of our America (ALBA) was the first of many steps to curtail the economic influence of the US in LAC countries. Led by Hugo Chavez and supported by the vast wealth gained from the commodities boom and exportation of oil, Nicaragua, Cuba, Bolivia, and Ecuador joined the staunchly anti-American bloc that promoted independence from the Washington Consensus (Shifter and Binetti 83-84). Latin American, but specifically South American countries, began to see a shift away from reliance on the US and pursued new relationships beyond the Western Hemisphere. The foundation of autonomous coalitions was something that emerged during and after the rise of state-centered governments. These autonomous coalitions -ALBA, the Community of Latin American and Caribbean States (CELAC), and the Union of South American Nations (UNASUR)- were created as a way to increase their political and economic links with countries other than the US (Shifter and Binetti 8). Data suggests that China prioritizes and maintains strong ties with LA countries that have promoted autonomous regional governance through these organizations (Legler et al. 255). China does not want to establish itself as a hegemonic power in LA as a challenge to the US. In fact, the creation of the China-CELAC forum is an example of Chinese efforts to be a part of discussions on potential economic endeavors, and they continue to participate in other LAC forums (Legler et al. 249 and 257). Despite a decrease in investment from Chinese policy banks to the region in the last year, there has still been sustained investment from Chinese companies through public-private partnerships and other mechanisms. LAC exports to China continue to remain concentrated in raw commodities, such as soybeans, copper, petroleum, and iron (Ray and Barbosa

1). The China-Latin American Finance Database was put together by the Inter-American Dialogue and the Global China Initiative at Boston University's Global Development Policy Center to display all loans made by China's policy banks to Latin America and Caribbean countries.

ECUADOR

Ecuador is the third largest recipient of Chinese loans in Latin America and the Caribbean, receiving a total of USD $62.2 billion from 2010 to 2018. Ecuador saw its largest investment from China in 2015 which totaled USD $7 billion. The largest loan given during 2015 ($5.3 billion) went towards health care, education, and transportation projects (Gallagher and Myers). The majority of loans given to Ecuador have been for energy or infrastructure projects. Since Ecuador has an oil-based economy, they have been an important partner for Beijing as they continue to grow their economy. This was especially important during the commodities boom at the beginning of the 21st Century that propelled China to become the second largest economy in the world in 2010 (US$1.33 trillion), surpassing Japan (US$1.28 trillion) (Teng 7).

The majority of loans given to Ecuador have been for energy and infrastructure purposes. As an oil-based economy, Ecuador has the opportunity to use its resource abundance to seek FDI and grow their economy. The majority of loans made for these investments were transferred between the Ecuadorian Ministry of Finance and the respective policy banks of China (Ex-Im Bank & CDB). The remaining loans were issued between the State Petroleum Company of Ecuador (Petroecuador) and PetroChina (Teng 9). China extended eight loans to Ecuador for the purpose of acquiring crude oil, and in July 2015, almost 90% of extracted oil exports were designated to China in order to pay off those loans (Teng 9). The largest investment made to Ecuador for the acquisition of crude oil was $7.53 billion in 2015, and the money from that investment was put towards a construction project of a Pacific Refinery and public works such as irrigation

and transportation. The Pacific Refinery is owned mostly by three oil companies; PetroChina (30%), Petroecuador (51%), and Petróleos de Venezuela (17%) (Teng 10-11). The Ecuadorian government then turns those investments into creating jobs in the service and manufacturing sector to improve infrastructure in Ecuador. Although strings may be attached to these investments, they are being put to good use for the Ecuadorian people by funding the construction of hydroelectric facilities along with improving Ecuadorian infrastructure. The new refinery allows for Ecuador to become less reliant on US imported oil as they are able to produce and export petroleum to other countries, mostly China.

There is debate whether these investments in petroleum are sustainable not only for Ecuador's economy, but for the environment as well. Given that other potential sources of investment—such as the World Bank—have strict guidelines for sustainability, "developing" countries that seek loans for infrastructure or mining projects incur more expenses. This has caused China to emerge as a crucial resource for countries that seek loans for these projects due to their leniency (Dollar 206). Despite this leniency in sustainability guidelines, the Chinese have diversified their energy investment portfolio and have also been major investors in renewable energy resource projects in Ecuador.

While the Chinese may be investing heavily in the extraction of crude oil, they are also investing significantly in the renewable energies sector, such as hydroelectricity and wind farm projects. The Ecuadorian government has been pursuing a route to replace the consumption of oil by-products by electricity to renewable energy resources such as hydroelectricity, and they have been successful in executing this plan by already constructing eight hydroelectric dams (Teng 11). The Ecuadorians have already decreased their carbon footprint from the consumption of oil by-products by electricity because hydropower now accounts for 90% of energy output in the country (Teng 11-12). Although these hydroelectric dams

have been able to increase renewable energy sources for Ecuador, they have also led to the damage of its ecosystems and displacement of Indigenous peoples.

Environmentalist and Indigenous efforts—which often go hand in hand—to protest or oppose mining or the placement of these hydroelectric dams are often criminalized as terrorists by LAC governments that adopt extractive redistributive models (Jepson 132). These extractive redistributive governments often have an element of authoritarianism to suppress opposition to projects that could negatively impact the ecosystem, whether they involve the extraction of natural resources or renewable energy projects. By completing renewable energy projects such as these, the Chinese greatly improve their image on the international stage by showing that they too can invest in things other than commodities that further propel their stance in the global market. Similar to Ecuador, Venezuela has been able to fund its ambitious extractive redistributive policies by nationalizing their petroleum companies. From 2005 to 2011, "Chinese banks dedicated 60 percent of their lending to Venezuela and Ecuador. This is an enormous share considering that these countries make up only 8 percent of the LAC region's population and 7 percent of its GDP" (Gallagher and Amos 109).

Venezuela

Venezuela has been the largest recipient of Chinese policy banks in all of Latin America. More than half of all loans given to Venezuela have been for energy purposes whether it be mining or oil extraction. The China-Latin American Finance Database reports that Venezuela has received a total of US$62.2 billion in loans. Thirteen out of seventeen loans given have been categorized for the purpose of energy or mining (Gallagher and Myers). The complete nationalization of Venezuela's state-owned petroleum company, PDVSA, under former President Hugo Chavez was essential to grow Venezuela's economy and provide funding for his ambitious redistributive policies and social programs known as "Missions." Leading up to Chavez's

election, there was broad dissatisfaction with the neoliberal economic model and wealth inequality in the country. Despite Venezuela being rich in resources—sitting on top of one of the largest oil reserves in the world—the wealth gained from oil exports continued to remain concentrated in the hands of the elite and traditional white and mestizo ruling class. This changed under Chavez as he undertook an extractive redistributive model that brought PDVSA under greater state control which drove a wedge between the government and the domestic capitalist/ruling class. These redistributive policies were successful due to Chavez's fierce efforts to completely nationalize PDVSA, along with the commodities boom that increased the demand for oil. Venezuela then positioned itself as a viable exporter of oil to China as it was experiencing unprecedented growth (Jepson 116).

The largest investment made towards Venezuela's energy sector was in August 2010. A US$20.3 billion loan was given by the CDB for the purpose of constructing a long-term facility to extract oil (Gallagher and Myers). They have the resources but need the assistance to acquire the necessary technology to refine the oil. Venezuela's reliance on commodity exports would soon come to destabilize the country's economy due to their inability to diversify their exports. When oil prices dropped in 2014, a year after Chavez died from cancer, the economy imploded. The inflation rate was expected to reach 700% by 2016, but it has now reached the thousands as sanctions from the United States only exacerbate their poor economic conditions (Shifter and Binetti 86). As the country has now faced political disruption due to conflicts between current President Nicolas Maduros PSUV party and the opposition, China's concerns and challenges to its interests in the region have been focused on domestic governance issues in Venezuela and Brazil (Niu 312).

Brazil

Like Ecuador and Venezuela, Brazil utilized the benefits of the commodity boom as a foundation for policy autonomy. This meant that as there was an increase in demand

from China and other countries, Brazil began to seek more foreign investment. Under the leadership of former President of Brazil, Luiz Inácio Lula da Silva, the country was able to implement pragmatic economic policies that would lift millions of out of poverty. Lula was seen as the most pragmatic leader that emerged during this period because he was also able to boost and preserve Brazilian companies and private investment (Shifter and Binetti 83). This increase in investment has allowed Brazil to become the largest growing economy in Latin America and the Caribbean. The largest sources of investment for Brazil have been its energy sector and agro-industrial sector.

The China Latin American Finance Database shows Brazil being the second largest LAC recipient of loans from Chinese policy banks (US$28.9 billion). Similar to Ecuador and Venezuela, the majority of loans were issued for energy purposes (almost three quarters). The first loan granted by the CDB in December 2007 was issued to fund the construction of the GASENE pipeline for US$750 million. The largest CDB loan granted to Brazil was given in May 2009 for "pre-salt" oil field development for US$7 billion. An infrastructure loan granted in April 2015 for US$1.2 billion was for the purpose of a soy processing industrial line (Gallagher and Myers). As I have demonstrated, China needs raw commodities from LAC countries to fuel their growth.

Brazil is the largest recipient of foreign investment in all of Latin America and the Caribbean, accounting for 48% of total foreign investment in the region. 79% of Brazil's unprocessed soybean exports have been assigned to China, and this percentage is expected to increase due to current trade tensions between the US and China. From 2012 to 2018, FDI in Latin America has been concentrated in the agro-industrial sector (90.2%) (ECLAC 11, 152, & 169). There was a rapid growth in demand for soybeans over the 2000-2016 period. Since Brazil is the second largest producer of soybeans in the world (first is the US), it is no wonder Brazil is one of China's most important trading partners in LA. As Brazil took a "neodevelopmentalist"

approach to grow their economy—involving a "middle path" between structuralism and neoliberalism as Brazil adapts its old structuralist goals to the demands of a liberalized global economy that was altered by an increase in Chinese demand at the beginning of the 21st century—they were also able to provide state support for the agricultural sector (Jepson 73-74). With a US$10 billion farm support allocation in 2010, Brazil would be able to enforce a credit system that is meant for the expansion and support of small farmers. Due to its strong export performance, "Brazil moved from a current account deficit equivalent to 100 percent of exports in 1999 into surplus by late 2003. Along with substantial levels of capital inflows (partially a consequence of high interest rates), this external turnaround was a prerequisite for Lula's decision to clear all of Brazil's debts to the IMF in 2005" (Jepson 82). As mentioned before, China became Brazil's largest trading partner in 2009, paving a new path for China to expand its influence in the Western Hemisphere. As China continues to expand its cooperative relationships with LAC countries, it is relevant to take into account perceptions of Latin Americans towards China's involvement in the region.

Latin American Sentiments Towards China
According to a study on LA sentiments towards China and the US released in 2017, 57% of Latin Americans either agree or strongly agree that China has contributed greatly to the economic development of the region (Carreras 11). Perceptions of the US and Chinese influence in the region are similar. 66% of Latin Americans perceive Chinese influence in Latin America as positive or very positive, whereas only 16% perceived Chinese influence as negative or very negative. Compared to the US, 65.3% perceive US influence in the region as positive or very positive, and 18% see the presence of the US as negative or very negative (Carreras 10-13). Given the history of US interventionist and imperialistic policies in the region, these results are no surprise. But it is also important to recognize that a large Chinese presence in the region has been fairly recent, beginning in the early 2000s. This

has implications for the trust that Latin Americans have in these foreign countries. 60% of Latin Americans trust the US, whereas only 54% trust the Chinese government (Carreras 14).

Conclusion

To conclude, research shows that Chinese economic involvement in Brazil, Ecuador, and Venezuela has provided mixed results for their economies and the environment. Chinese investment in the region has encouraged LAC countries to form autonomous coalitions to seek trading and economic alternatives to US investment. Due to the historic hegemonic influence of the US in LA politics and economy, LAC countries have emphasized the importance of less reliance and dependence on US investments and loans; therefore, increased economic cooperation with China has provided a path towards a new export market (Denoon 377). With this, LAC countries have been able to boost their economies and improve living conditions in their countries through extractive redistributive policies seen in Ecuador and Venezuela. Brazil has shown its commitment to liberalizing trade, making it the largest growing economy in the region and China's largest trading partner in the region. Loans provided for the purpose of petroleum extraction have assisted these countries with their pursuance of autonomy from the United States to import oil for development. Investment in infrastructure projects have been essential to increased economic productivity and growth in these countries. Although China has also been making investments in renewable energy in all three countries -mostly with the construction of hydroelectric dams- there are also negative ramifications for the construction of these dams.

Although hydroelectric projects aim to reduce carbon emissions and provide clean energy, it has led to the involuntary displacement of Indigenous peoples. Indigenous peoples and living creatures that rely on these bodies of water for sources of food. Looking for new renewable energy sources—off-shore wind farms, solar—

will be essential for LAC governments to prevent the displacement of Indigenous people while still being able to reduce carbon emissions. The agricultural sector in Brazil has been responsible for the continued deforestation of the Amazon Rainforest. After facing pressure from the international community during the Amazon Rainforest fires in 2019, Brazilian president Jair Bolsonaro sent the military to crackdown on loggers and farmers who clear land by burning down the rainforest to make space for pastures or other agricultural purposes (Lopes). This has only further displaced Indigenous people that live in the Amazon and disrupt the existing ecosystems in the region. Under Bolsonaro's administration, development in the Amazon is encouraged to attract investment and grow Brazil's economy.

Ecuador, Venezuela, and Brazil are similar in that they served as strategic trading partners during periods where China experienced unprecedented growth. Agricultural and raw material exports to China provided these countries with an alternative to trading and seeking loans from the US. With China as a reliable trading partner, these countries were able to improve living conditions through extractive redistributive policies, but as China's GDP growth is slowing, the trade balance has turned against LAC countries as China has become a competitor in LAC markets (Denoon 377). LAC governments remain at risk of becoming dependent on volatile export markets, especially with the emergence of COVID-19, but China has expressed its commitment to a sustainable and mutually beneficial cooperation. Future research should consider the possible conflicts that may arise between China and the US as China continues improving its cooperative relationships with LAC governments during and after the COVID-19 pandemic dissipates in the region.

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ART THERAPY: RETHINKING THE ART MUSEUM'S EDUCATIONAL ENVIRONMENT

CAROLINE RAU*

Museum Studies Minor

The museum is an organism, one that is constantly evolving to fit the needs of a changing environment. Museum history is long and complex—developing from a hierarchical institution of enlightenment for elite members of society, to a place of public inclusion actively seeking to improve outreach to all members of the community. Art museums, functioning as public organizations, have gone through major periods of reform. Re-envisioning the public art museum in the US first occurred in 1939 when Francis Henry Taylor, just before assuming the post as Director of the Metropolitan Museum of Art (MET), addressed the national membership of the American Association of Museums with a call to action (Nolan 2010). The Great Depression devastated philanthropy—ultimately diminishing the main source of funding for museums. Until this period, art museums had failed in their mission of relevance to the broader public, leading to losses of over a billion dollars in federal aid during the Depression (Nolan 2010). Losing both sources of funding (federal and private), public museums had to reevaluate their relevance ultimately resulting in a major shift in operation and service. Once again, in the 21st century museums face a similar question of relevance to the general populace as they are under increasing public scrutiny during the time of COVID-19 and decreasing access to funds. Closer examination has resulted in a probe of the educational mandate of the

art museum and public benefit. This essay investigates the ability of art museums to integrate art therapy as an alternate form of museum education in a commitment to inclusion, diversity, and accessibility during the twenty-first century.

Experiences at museums change with destination, mission, and type. In addition to acquiring art and objects and creating exhibits, art museums maintain, curate, and educate in perpetuity. The purpose of publicly-funded art museums is to enhance the lives of individuals and create a space for aesthetic and educational experience through art (Treadon et al. 2006). Traditionally, museums serve specific populations, not necessarily focusing on accessibility. In the last few decades, there has been a major focus on encouraging relevance to non-traditional museum-going populations and the creation of an accessible museum. An accessible museum welcomes people who are differently-abled in terms of physical or mental abilities within all exhibitions, programming, and within the galleries. There are different types of accommodations made for these audiences, ultimately increasing the museum's appeal, and enhancing the museum's inclusiveness (Art Beyond Sight 2014). This shift connects to the change in the creation and consumption of art—art and artistic production shifted to "public and democratic both... [as a means to] serve as a powerful source of alternative [art] education in a community [by] complimenting... educational..." avenues to explore other community needs within the institutional space (Moxley et al. 2012, 704). The art museum is always exploring innovative engagement with communities through arts education. The change in

museum attention is also attributable to larger societal examination of equality in the museum setting—moving towards accessibility within the museum's educational environment. In his 1977 critique of modernity, Michel Foucault (1977, 120) states, "Is it not necessary to draw a line between those who believe that we can continue to situate our present discontinuities within the historical and transcendental tradition of the nineteenth century and those who are making a great effort to liberate themselves, once and for all, from this conceptual framework?" Due to this changing emphasis, art museums have to address their commitment to promoting inclusivity with interest groups often omitted from the more traditional museum narrative. An example of movement towards greater inclusion is the American Alliance of Museums' (AAM) diversity, equity, accessibility, and inclusion statement, in which they construct a framework that strives to enable a positive impact on local and global communities by modeling excellence around topics of diversity and inclusion (American Alliance of Museums 2017).

The art museum, guided by the AAM statement, must now consider all populations, including those living with differing mental health difficulties, an element of society traditionally ostracized and separated from view, frequently due to stigma and lack of understanding. In a study conducted by the World Health Organization, it was concluded that "across 59 countries the average prevalence rate [of those who are differently-abled, mentally or physically] in the adult population aged 18 years or older…was 15.6%"—that amounts to roughly 650 million of the estimated 4.2 billion adults aged 18 or older in 2004 (World Health Organization 2011). "Despite the breadth of this population—or because of it—it is more difficult to identify the individual in a museum gallery or a member of a group visit who might be suffering from a mental illness because the illness itself may not be readily apparent to museum staff" (Flynn 2013). Activities that promote social engagement targeting the wellbeing of individuals on a social level are sometimes provided through schools, the workplace, and community organizations (Ioannides 2016, 102). It is more common

that healthcare interventions—including those that target mental health disparities—are located in a clinical setting. However, there is often a heavy stigma associated with the mental health clinic, where curing is the priority (Senior and Marie 1998, 103). Due to the prioritization of treatment based programs in hospitals—as well as their imposing size and long, bare corridors—healthcare institutions develop an environment that symbolizes the removal from society; the confinement of the body (Senior and Marie 1998, 101). In order to make health care facilities less imposing, outside the US, there have been movements to incorporate art and objects to humanize hospital spaces. The focus and success of art and humanization in these initiatives prove that there is an undeniable connection between human beings and the arts. When examining a museum's current mission of creating an inclusive space to serve a wider population of visitors, the creation of programs for therapeutic interests through social work, specifically art therapy, would be beneficial to both community and individual development. In utilizing this thinking, art museums satisfy the current mission of diversity and inclusion while sustaining their relevance, creating a new role for art within the museum space, in the 21st century.

A Brief History

Before examining the benefits of art therapy, a foundational background about the history of museum criticism is necessary for understanding the direction and values of the museum in the 21st century. As noted previously, museums have undergone major periods of reform in an attempt to sustain museum relevance. The three major periods of remodeling occurred in the 1930s, 1960s, and 1990s. In the 1990s critics and the mainstream press responded to two major problems facing art museum governance: commercialism and issues related to cultural property and ownership.[1] In addition to an examination of museum ethics related to collections and

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1 In 1990 the Native American Graves Protection and Repatriation Act was enacted, which started a change in attitude toward museum collections and ownership with regard to Native American ancestors and sacred items (McClellan 2007).

display, during this period museums were also forced to increase admission fees and to develop commercial strategies as the 1990s were a time of escalating costs and decreasing government subsidies (McClellan 2007). The commercialization of the museums led to "blockbuster exhibitions, shops, restaurants, and singles evenings—to balance their budgets" (McClellan 2007, 567). The museum's mission to educate, steward, and collect was downplayed under this scheme. Although commercialization serves the public by providing a multitude of activities and experiences, it is only serving a public with means to pay, alienating broad segments of the art museum public. Reminiscent of earlier reformations in the 1930s, the 1990s as a period of reform is tied to a very specific sector of the public. A return to the values of diversity and inclusion within the museum as well as movement towards staying relevant in a changing society is found in the contemporary incorporation of health and wellbeing within the museum—initiatives of museum programming in art therapy.

Benefits of Art Therapy

Art therapy is an integrative mental health and human service profession based on the premise that the creative process and the arts "play a crucial role in helping people [heal, whether it be caused by mental illness or based in trauma,]…frame their lived experience, foster self-expression, and engage in productive catharsis…" (Moxley et al. 2012, 703). These characteristics of art therapy provide the foundational basis for individual development. Lusebrink (2004) argues that art therapy has provided beneficial outcomes for those in need of rehabilitation of physical impairments, mental and emotional healing, as well as cognitive and emotional growth (Lusebrink 2004, 122). Art therapy reaches a broad span of people, especially those who are working through the difficulties stemming from mental illness—a population that is often underserved in institutional spaces like the museum. Art therapy is not tied to the quality of the production of art but by the handling and knowledge of the creative process that is integral to the practice of art therapy. "Because

art therapy builds off of something that is inherent in human nature—the creative process—it does not require a special talent" in the arts, or preliminary skill in artistic ability (Ioannides 2016, 99). The use of non-verbal expression to communicate emotion—whether it be to the self or within a group setting—enlists inclusivity to art therapy. The creative process is innately allowing for different forms of expression, in a clinical context, to be more accessible to those who have difficulty verbalizing emotions or issues within their individual experience. The process is also accessible to a wide array of people in need of psychotherapy, for it creates avenues to explore development through a variety of means.

Links Between Social Work, the Arts, and the Humanities

Collaboration and engagement are central to the field of art therapy, bridging social work, and the humanities. There are a great deal of concerns, both individual and societal, that art therapists work with concerning their clients. When connecting the arts, humanities, and social work there are opportunities for "creative avenues for collaboration… [to work out new ways to address] the causes and consequences of social issues brought forth in the daily lives [of clients]" (Moxley et al. 2012, 704). The relationship, specifically between social work and the artist/art historian, is particularly helpful for the art therapist, to gain insights into the medium and tools used in differing practices of art-making, the historical context and narrative, and the processes needed to explore the relationship between a therapeutic affiliation with art for patient use (Ioannides 2016, 103).

An art therapist may choose to engage with a different side of the creative process depending on the population they serve. For example, there is a therapeutic focus on objects or images, the process in which these objects or images were created (aside from the client's own physical creation of art), and the artist's own background history to help a population dealing with various mental illnesses. Collaboration between the

art historian, educator, and art therapist fits neatly into the museum model for education—it is especially true when museums are attached to institutions of higher education. "Museums and their programs encourage dynamic relationships through the provision of safe space, pleasure, and time for reflection and bonding" (Silverman 2010, 55). Architecturally speaking, museums create an environment in which individuals can engage with their place in the historical timeline through the view of the objects on display (Duncan 1995). Museums are a setting in which emotional or spiritual transfer is a product of the built environment. The ability of the individual to place themselves into a narrative is important for the therapeutic process. Understanding emotions and histories that others may have experienced concerning the individual's own experience, opens an inner dialogue for expression and interpretation. The relationship between art history, formal and critical analysis, when brought forth as a form of therapeutic release within the museum space, leaves individuals experiencing "enhanced self-esteem, self-awareness, sublimation, socialization skills, introspection and creativity" (Ioannides 2016, 102). With this in mind, one can appreciate that the museum (as setting and as an educator) has a crucial role in the therapeutic process needed in the practice of art therapy.

Role of the Art Therapist & Art Therapy Groups

Art therapy cannot be conducted without the presence of the art therapist—the therapist works with the incorporation of psychological models within the creative process to engage in a therapeutic environment. The role of the art therapist is to "harness methods that are compatible with the inner laws of artistic creation" (Ioannides 2016, 100). These individuals must have proper training and education so that they can manage information gathered in the session to help facilitate curative growth.

Within the museum space, the art therapist can assume multiple roles: "group facilitator, supervisor or reflective practice facilitator, and liaison between partners"

(Ioannides 2016, 101). The roles described result in models in which art therapy, as a public museum program, can incorporate dialogues between participants, both community and individual development. This kind of community-based therapeutic engagement is fostered by the British Association of Art Therapists, who created the Museums and Galleries Specialist Interest Group (MagSIG). The goal of MagSIG is to teach art therapists about the museum/gallery's potential in working toward understanding the complementary aspect art has within the therapeutic process (Ioannides 2016, 101). MagSIG and the National Health Service (NHS) have incorporated art therapy into museum programming at the following institutions, the Ben Uri Museum, the BALTIC Centre for Contemporary Art, and museums in Gloucestershire (Critchley 2016). The UK is currently leading research and development in the study of the benefits of art therapy within artistic spaces. These health organizations are actively seeking to improve existing practice, create models, and identify resources for organizations eager to adopt art therapy (health and wellness) as a type of outreach program. Yet, as current research states, the National Alliance for Museums, Health and Wellbeing is one of the few organizations that has created a direct link between therapeutic undertakings and the museum's educational environment (Ioannides 2016: 101).

Accessibility is a relevant topic for US museums and the US at large. Cultural institutions have the opportunity to stay relevant by focusing on accessibility as it relates to health and wellbeing in the US. With sufficient funding (discussed in the "Challenges to Progress" section), art therapy as a form of museum service is a mode for significant social change in terms of museum missions towards accessibility and inclusion through public programming.

Museum's Role in Treatment

"A museum is only good only insofar as it is of use." – John Cotton Dana (1999: 68).

A case study presented by Andree Salom addresses the museum's role in treatment at the Museo Arqueológico Casa del Marqués de San Jorge in Bogotá, Colombia. The members of this art therapy group (ages 20-35) were connected through a therapy database and knew each other and the therapist (Salom 2011, 83). The participants viewed a small temporary exhibition specifically chosen for its potential to mirror personal histories in the participants (Salom 2011, 83). This is not a small, community museum. This museum has over 13,000 objects in its collection and prevails as one of the most important museums in Colombia (MUSA 2019). The fact that this is a large-scale museum is important to recognize, for it is not just small institutions/not-for-profit organizations that can engage in art therapy outreach.

For the purpose of the essay, there will be a focus on one participant's experience at the museum. Kari began the program by exploring the issues she had with cohabiting with her partner (Salom 2011, 84). Salom (2011) noted that Kari was the only participant to read the labels of the works presented in the exhibit. Kari noted a title that stood out to her, it read: "The encounter of two worlds" (Salom 2011, 84). The label was referring to the cultural differences between Spanish and indigenous Colombian cultures (Salom 2011, 84). In this specific round of sessions participants were asked to create a piece of art out of clay inspired by their personal engagement with the works on display, and their newfound understanding of the prescribed issues they were working through that day.

> Inspired by the title, [Kari] sculpted two spheres on a common base. When her piece was complete, she acknowledged the cracked skin of the spheres, caused by the dried-up clay. She expressed fear about the strain that past wounds could bring to her current partnership but happily pointed out that the areas where the two spheres met had no cracks (wounds) (Salom 2011, 84).

Through the medium of clay, Kari was able to work through her anxieties about the change occurring in her life. Highlighting Kari illustrates the significance of understanding the medium that the therapist introduced into the session. The museum created a contemplative space to connect complex histories and formal analysis to contemporary issues of an individual's experience.

The Museo Arqueológico Casa del Marqués de San Jorge case study describes the function the museum has in art therapy practice. Participants worked with narratives provided in the interplay between experience, geography, history, and culture as well as formal qualities within the art itself to flesh out their own personal narratives and lived experiences. This can only be accomplished through the collaboration present in this case study—museum educators and directors have paved the way for personal expression and transformation through interpretive art exhibits in which the art therapist directs participants.

Challenges to Progress

Art therapy is proven to be beneficial as a therapeutic device and can easily be incorporated into the museum's educational environment, whether it be through collaboration with educators, historians, or museum professionals (Art Therapy in Museum 2020; Barabouti 2019). Yet there are challenges to funding such projects when working with an institutional space as an environment for therapy. Financial support is a central issue when it comes to discussing new methods of service and outreach in public institutions. Although inclusive and accessible programs are not new to the museum, the inclusion of programs like art therapy has not become standard practice in engagement with those of differing abilities in US museums. Challenges facing access to public programs, including the incorporation of services like art therapy into museum engagement programs, come out of grant funding. Grantors are looking for projects that can be specifically identified and supported, resulting in a meaningful outcome that can be replicated. Art therapy as a form of museum encounter is in the preliminary stages of development—research has not been solidified

demonstrating prescribed outcomes of the project in an institutional environment. A reason for the plethora of the research and statistics on art therapy in museums out of the UK can be tied to the ways in which funding is procured for public institutions—UK institutions are funded federally while museums in the US are frequently funded through private means in addition to public funding. Methods in private funding often come with strings attached. Due to the stigmas surrounding mental illness and differing mental abilities, private donors may not be the best mode for funding programs engaging in health and wellness.

An American Model

Many of the models of outreach based on creating a therapeutic environment within public institutions are researched and explored outside of the US. It is important to find a model that could work in US American institutions. This essay has focused on the collaborative nature of linking social work and the arts—an excellent example of which is the Open Studio Project (OSP) in Evanston, Illinois. The Open Studio Project began in the 1990s under the supervision of three Chicago-based art therapists. The goal was to create a new model, outside the clinician setting, for "personal transformation… [through the] creative process… [that could be] developed and refined in an art studio [setting]" (Open Studio Project 2020).

The OSP had a 41% increase in funding revenues, with their 2017 budget of $55,600 growing to $78,155 in 2018 (Open Studio Project 2018). The total revenue is split between gifts, public grants, and program services (Open Studio Project 2018). Their services reach about 1,750 individuals, amounting to roughly 5,825 participation hours in their adult and youth programming and outreach initiatives (Open Studio Project 2018). The programs reach populations of which 73% are of lower-income, while the remaining 27% were individuals with special needs and/or moderate-income (Open Studio Project 2018). OSP is serving lower-income individuals, which reflects and contradicts the inaccessibility of therapy to those on the margins of society. The fact that a non-profit organization is providing access to therapy for marginalized populations is directly confronting wellness and health standards in the Evanston area—a focus on community benefits.

The OSP's model has proven successful in creating an environment that is welcoming to non-traditional (underserved) populations and attains their goal of community growth through the individual, as stated in the mission statement (Open Studio Project 2019). There is a gap in such programming in public museums (not the regional museum) within the US. Since art therapy as a service within institutional space is in an experimental stage it is "important to be creative and inventive…" with the components provided in the framework of the latter (Gurian 2010; Treadon et al. 2006, 301). The OSP model, with sufficient funding, could be integrated into the museum's educational environment—highlighting modes of collaboration and the importance of museums within a community space. The museum's future is at stake—operating as a civil society, there is a demand that public institutions serve all parts of the public.

Conclusion

Art museums have the resources and logistical mechanisms to push for the incorporation of art therapy into the museum's educational environment. The arts, when connected to the humanities and social work, have a synergistic effect on museum programming and services. There is a greater strength of associations to art when it is linked to the humanities as well as health and wellness. The connections with narrative and formal analysis produce a new way to look at art that is both accessible and inclusive, creating relevance to community-based work in museums. As society places pressure on museums to become more community-oriented, the provision of adequate services that engage with social issues from the individual level to a comprehensive societal-level becomes increasingly vital. In the US, clinical treatment is

not easily accessible to all populations living with mental illness, due both to a lack of accessibility of therapy and to an understanding of mental illness. It, therefore, becomes stigmatized by society. By integrating clinical services, like that of art therapy, museums can provide outreach under new terms of engagement with the public. Art has been placed on a pedestal in Western society, providing a space for it to be preserved and studied in perpetuity. Discussions surrounding art are finding value outside of aesthetics and historical background. Museums are not separate entities from the environment they belong to; nothing happens in a vacuum—if museums are to stay relevant in the twenty-first century, there is a need for a profound push to open the dialogue to different forms of engagement with individuals and communities.

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Kyle Moorhouse | *Night Scene*

TRANSGENDER DEPATHOLOGIZATION IS TRANSGENDER LIBERATION

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The experiences of transgender people around the world are heavily defined by institutions that pathologize trans identities, casting trans experiences as disordered and abnormal by requiring a diagnosis to medically transition or, in many states, to change one's legal gender. Despite being a part of the LGBT community, trans identities are the only letter in the acronym that can still be defined, at least in part, by a diagnosis (gender dysphoria) in the fifth Diagnostic and Statistical Manual of Mental Disorders (DSM-V). The problem of trans pathologization is two-fold: the trans community is experiencing an identity crisis of defining ourselves, and the ability to secure trans rights is dependent on challenging long-held trans narratives that rely on pathologization.

Because trans identities have historically been defined and diagnosed by medical professionals, the trans rights movement has failed to break out of the pathologizing logic used by the same transphobic ideologies that advocates attempt to resist. Therefore, trans liberation must simultaneously work to define trans experiences outside of pathologization, demand that the medical industry depathologize trans identities and challenge the pathologization of anti-trans movements. This paper will first analyze the function of pathologization as a barrier to societal acceptance of trans individuals before examining why many trans movements to date have accepted pathologization as necessary. It will then analyze

the case for trans rights by deconstructing a wave of anti-trans healthcare bills in the US and critiquing rights-based trans social movements. This analysis and a brief history of LGBT depathologization organizing will form the basis of a proposal for a different organizing strategy that takes a transformative approach to trans liberation by engaging existing trans depathologization movements and rights-based movements through their visions for systemic change.

Pathologization as a Barrier and a Gateway

Trans identities were pathologized before the adoption of any trans-related diagnosis by the DSM, and trans experiences remain heavily entrenched in the surrounding narratives of diagnosis, fetishism and conversion therapy. Sandy Stone's "The Empire Strikes Back: A Posttranssexual Manifesto," originally published in 1987 critiques different constructions of trans identities historically, which she finds are not representative of common trans experiences. Indeed, she finds that trans people have failed to resist inaccurate narratives of trans experiences because accepting such narratives means being able to access medical transition.

Prior to the publication of Harry Benjamin's *The Transsexual Phenomenon* in 1966, surgery was performed based on the "appropriateness to the gender of choice" (Stone, 1992, p. 160). The selection of surgery candidates was thus very subjective and dependent on each doctor's ideas of gender roles. Benjamin's work provided the

first textbook criteria for recognizing transgender people, based on his own research on trans patients, but his book had been read widely by transgender people seeking medical transition. Having studied the language that medical providers were expecting to hear from candidates for gender-affirming care, trans people were willing to present themselves in ways that would guarantee their access to transition (Stone, 1992). In actuality, the narrative that Benjamin's work created was enormously flawed because it only detailed the behaviors demonstrated by the trans people he studied, and no trans person he worked with mentioned experiencing sexual pleasure. While *The Transsexual Phenomenon* was used to diagnose transgender people, mentioning masturbation was a reason to be disqualified for medical transition (Stone, 1992). In this instance and many others throughout history, failure to conform to expected gender norms and trans stereotypes has been a barrier to accessing medical resources and social legitimacy.

Gender Identity Disorder first appeared as a diagnosis in the DSM-III in 1980. After conducting years of research on transgender people, the first diagnostic criteria for transgender people had not developed much further beyond feeling a sense of "being born in the 'wrong' body," which had been used by the earliest gender clinics (Stone, 1992, p. 162). Stone critiques the issues present in the first diagnostic criteria in the DSM for the continued ambivalence to self-told experiences of transgender people and the simplification of transgender narratives under a diagnosis. With a diagnosis, a transgender narrative "suddenly achieves canonization and simultaneously becomes homogenized to satisfy the constraints of the category" (Stone, 1992, p. 163). While transgender experiences became legitimized with the recognition of the American Psychiatric Association (APA), the DSM-III solidified a trend still ongoing today where the "wrong body" narrative is applied universally to all trans people, at the expense of trans experiences that don't fit into the pathologizing narrative. Transgender people were never given an opportunity to provide any other explanation of

their motivation to transition because psychology treated trans people as "infantilized, considered too illogical or irresponsible to achieve true subjectivity" (Stone, 1992, p. 163). By nature of being deemed mentally disordered, transgender people had their expertise on their identities appropriated by psychologists.

A central element to pathologization legitimizing trans identities is the perception that a diagnosis criteria is backed by scientific consensus. However, the unwillingness of the APA to make much more than symbolic changes to the diagnosis of trans experiences over a span of 40 years demonstrates how the diagnosis has not changed to meet scientific or societal consensus. The three most recent iterations of the DSM have been plagued by criteria that cast trans experiences as fetishes, pathologize so-called cross-gender behavior in children and pathologize trans identities, all the while deemphasizing the distress at gender incongruence and social ostracization. All of these elements of pathologization come back to harm trans people in healthcare and social settings through stereotyping. The DSM-V defines Gender Dysphoria in Adolescents and Adults by the experience of two characteristics out of a list of six that demonstrate showing "[a] marked incongruence between one's experienced/expressed gender and assigned gender, of at least 6 months' duration" and "clinically significant distress or impairment in social, occupational, or other important areas of functioning" (APA, 2013, pp. 452-453). Although the DSM-V changed the diagnosis from Gender Identity Disorder (GID) to Gender Dysphoria, the attempt to switch the label from disordered *identities* to disordered *dysphoria* no less pathologizes trans identities through the inclusion of diagnosing distress caused by one's identity.

The APA's appointment of Kenneth Zucker as the chair of the DSM-V Sexual and Gender Identity Disorders working group and of Ray Blanchard as the chair of the DSM-V paraphilias subcommittee has further been critiqued by the trans depathologization movement (Winters, 2008).

Zucker has been heavily criticized for having stated in 1985, "'It would seem that preventing transsexualism is a goal that will never gather systematic opposition'" (Zucker cited in Tosh, 2016, p. 63). After having promoted conversion therapy for decades, Zucker was fired from The Center for Addiction and Mental Health in Toronto in 2015 for criticisms that he was conducting conversion therapy with transgender youth (Hayes, 2018). This is of particular importance because while a gender dysphoria diagnosis allows for many trans people to access medical transition, a diagnosis can also function to identify children expressing cross-gender behavior for therapy that would attempt to change a child's behavior and identity. For his part, Blanchard coined the term "autogynephilia" in 1989, and the term is still present in the DSM-V. Defined as "a male's paraphilic tendency to be sexually aroused by the thought or image of himself as a woman" in the DSM-V (APA, 2013, p. 703), Blanchard originally used the term to categorize all trans women attracted to other women while denouncing their legitimacy as women. By accepting Blanchard's credibility and theories that delegitimize trans identities that are seen as sexualized, the APA promotes the dangerous and pathologizing stereotype that trans people are sexual predators.

Despite the history of psychological institutions pathologizing trans identities, one side of the trans depathologization movement still believes that an official diagnosis in the DSM is necessary for trans people to access medical transition and gain social legitimacy. Kelley Winters, a founder of the GID Reform Advocates writes in *Gender Madness in American Psychiatry*, published in 2008, that she believes in "a need for some kind of diagnostic coding to facilitate access to this care" for trans people who wish to transition medically (Winters, 2008, p. 3). Despite believing that the language of the diagnosis for GID was harmful for the trans community, Winters still takes the position that reform of the GID diagnosis, as opposed to its removal, is necessary to retain access to insurance coverage. Winters upholds that reform should strategically improve the labeling of trans experiences to still fit the requirements of the

World Professional Association of Transgender Health (WPATH), which mandates receiving a diagnosis in order to get insurance coverage in their Standards of Care (Winters, 2008).

Although Winters' position is in stark contradiction to more radical sides of the trans depathologization movement, her clinical expertise positions her standpoint from a different approach than that of most trans people because Winters is a member of WPATH who has presented papers at the APA annual conference (Winters, 2008). Many trans people have historically used trans diagnoses strategically, even though they may disagree with the existence of a related diagnosis. A 2019 study written by Austin Johnson in *Sociology of Health and Illness* analyzed 158 hours of field-observations and 33 qualitative interviews at a trans community organization. Johnson found that members of the organization overwhelmingly "tended to invoke the medical frame strategically in order to facilitate social understandings and medical intervention" (Johnson, 2019, p. 525). Members of the organization told stories of explaining being transgender by stating that transition is medically necessary and pointing to the gender dysphoria diagnosis, which helped friends and family to be more understanding. At the same time, Johnson described how most members used a social model of dysphoria, where the cause of distress around one's gender is believed to be caused by social conditions, not personal identity or a mental illness. Participants still expressed discomfort at some parts of their pre-transition bodies, but they emphasized that social causes created more discomfort for them (Johnson, 2019). Furthermore, Johnson provides a way of explaining why trans people describe their experiences in ways that conflict with their own personal understandings, writing, "[i]nvoking a medical model to describe experiences with gender dysphoria is not dishonest, [...] but rather is using a specific frame to translate personal experience to others in a language they can understand" (Johnson, 2019, p. 526). This way of analyzing the history of trans people invoking the medical model is useful because it points out that strategically using the medical model is not the issue.

Rather, lacking a better language to communicate trans experiences does create conflict, which depathologization can transform.

Trans Rights and Anti-Trans Bills

Trans depathologization has long been treated as an area of trans activism that requires a psychology background and use of specific jargon to engage with, and that misconception precludes an examination of pathologizing arguments in other areas of trans rights activism. To break this pattern, Evan Vipond argues in his paper "Trans Rights Will Not Protect Us" that the current trans rights movement is dependent on the continued medicalization of trans experiences. Vipond asserts that the recent neoliberal trans rights movement "often states that biology, rather than social construct is the legitimate basis for protection under the law," because trans rights advocates invoke the medical model to demonstrate that being transgender is not a choice and is deserving of legal protection (Vipond, 2015, p. 4). Thus, pathologizing trans identities creates a path towards legitimation in the neoliberal trans rights movement because diagnosis implies that being trans is biological. To Vipond, "[t]his rights-based approach to inclusion creates a paradox: trans people are only granted and guaranteed rights if they are pathologized" (p. 5). Essentially, recent developments in trans rights in the US have depended on the medical model for justification, which ultimately leaves systemically oppressive pathologization in place even in the recent legal advancements for trans people. Not only does this create a vision for trans acceptance that is pathologized, but it also means that trans rights activism fails to address the pathologization of anti-trans legislation.

In the recent trans rights movement, failing to challenge pathologization has turned anti-trans legislation into an unbeatable force. A new wave of anti-trans legislation includes bills that would make it a felony to allow trans youth to medically transition have been proposed or will be proposed in Alabama, Colorado, Florida, Idaho, Missouri, South Carolina, Kentucky, Ohio and South Dakota in the beginning of 2020 (Carson, 2020; Murib, 2020; Romine, 2020). The prominence of these bills around the country marks the pressing imperative to change trans rights language to address the systemic pathologization of trans people that such legislation draws on.

Although it did not pass in the senate, South Dakota House Bill 1057 resembles legislation currently being written around the country. First proposed on January 14th, 2020, the bill would have made it a Class 4 felony to prescribe hormone replacement therapy or puberty blockers or to perform gender affirming surgery on trans people under 18, with the exception of surgeries on intersex children (Deutsch, 2020, pp. 448-449). The bill labels this medical care as "attempting to change or affirm the minor's perception of the minor's sex" when "that perception is inconsistent with the minor's sex" (Deutsch, 2020, p. 448). Hypocritically, surgeries on intersex children that are permitted by HB 1057 function to normalize a child's genitalia to match the gender assigned to a child by doctors. In this instance, surgery is seen to correct the pathologized bodies of intersex children. The reverse is seen as true for gender affirming surgeries on trans people; trans affirming surgeries supposedly harm already normalized bodies to match pathologized identities. Notably, the bill also refuses to use 'gender' and instead employs the language of "perception" of one's sex, implying that the lawmakers do not believe in a distinction between sex and gender. Thus, trans identities are pathologized in the bill because they are seen to contradict biology.

While language of trans rights that invokes the medical model could poke holes in the use of this wording, South Dakota Senate Bill 88 proposed on January 28th, 2020 requires the radical approach of depathologization to fully refute. SB 88 would have made legally mandated school counselors to notify the parents of any minor who expresses experiencing gender dysphoria or "an interest in self-injurious behavior" (Jenson, 2020, p. 190). By grouping gender dysphoria with self-injury, the legislation sends a dangerous message that trans experiences are equally as

unhealthy as self-injurious behavior and must be brought to a parent's attention for treatment. Even though medical consensus openly encourages a gender affirming care model that accepts trans identities and suggests medical intervention when appropriate (Romine, 2020), the APA has failed to denounce the work of Kenneth Zucker, who himself practiced conversion therapy in the present decade. Because SB 88 could be explained as necessary to prevent children from growing up to be trans adults, the transphobia behind the bill cannot be invalidated by invoking the medical model that still allows for conversion therapy to be practiced. Therefore, a movement for trans liberation must be able to articulate the experiences of trans people outside of pathologization.

Depathologization Movements

To ascertain a path forward for trans liberation, I suggest that it is helpful to look back on previous movements to remove homosexuality and GID from the DSM for some insight into what worked and what precluded radical change. The movement to remove homosexuality from the DSM presents the most radical, successful LGBT depathologization movement in the US. In 1963, Dr. Frank Kameny first appealed to the APA to discuss removing the diagnosis for homosexuality in the DSM but was refused (Winters, 2008). It was not until 1971 that the development of a wider movement put enough pressure on the APA and gave Kameny a chance to be heard by the APA. At the APA's annual conference in 1971, LGBT protestors attempted to storm the stage but were stopped. Kameny instead took the microphone to promote the protestors' message, and his platform extended into a wider, facilitated discussion within the APA that went on for years (Winters, 2008). While all diagnoses related to homosexuality were not removed from the DSM until 1987, it appears that the combination of professional psychiatric and non-violent pressure for the depathologization of homosexuality allowed for the incredible success of the gay depathologization movement.

In contrast, the trans depathologization movement has been ongoing for decades because of the need that some in the movement see for keeping a trans-specific diagnosis in the DSM. The GID Reform Advocates formed to push for changes to the GID diagnostic criteria, which have been only partially accomplished. Unfortunately, the change demanded by the GID Reform Advocates was limited by their insistence on keeping a diagnosis and vision of gradual change. Winters writes, "I expect that forward progress to reform or replace the GID diagnosis may require transitional diagnostic nomenclature" as did the diagnosis for homosexuality (Winters, 2008, p. 5). From the start, the GID reform movement accepted the need for incremental change and the necessity of the medical model, lowering their demands from those of the gay depathologization movement. The GID reform movement was further shaped by the fact that the movement was founded and led by trans psychologists who used argumentation on their website and petitions to make change rather than using direct action.

My proposal for a movement for trans depathologization draws from the gay depathologization movement, Vipond's argument for resisting pathologization and the International Campaign Stop Trans Pathologization (STP). STP (n.d.) states in its manifesto, "[w]e demand our right to name us by ourselves," speaking to the extent to which trans people have lacked control over the way we are defined (para. 5). STP applauded the World Health Organization's (WHO) changes in the ICD-11, which removed all trans-related diagnoses from the chapter on Mental and Behavioral Disorders and added Gender Incongruence to the chapter on Conditions Related to Sexual Health. Gender Incongruence of Childhood remains in the ICD-11, however, with STP (2018) calling for its removal to depathologize trans youth and end the justification for conversion therapy (third bullet point). Sadly, STP disbanded in 2017, but the trans depathologization movement should consider modelling itself based on STP's work. Specifically, STP was so revolutionary because the movement combined demands for the APA and WHO with demands for access

to healthcare, protection from anti-trans violence, sex worker rights and rights for intersex people. Additionally, the campaign was made up of trans and intersex scholars from various countries, demonstrating the coalition nature of the campaign.

Looking forward, Vipond articulates that "[t]rans politics must challenge the essentialist notion of the sex-equals-gender binary and reject the idea that medicalization is the only legitimate basis for granting equal rights" (Vipond, 2015, p. 19). In other words, trans activists and allies must demand the total removal of trans diagnoses from the DSM while articulating the need for trans rights, spanning from protections from policing and imprisonment to job and healthcare protections, all without invoking the medical model. Our demands must call out the APA, the WHO and WPATH for the continued systemic pathologization of trans experiences. Participilly, WPATH should be challenged to develop ways for trans medical care to be covered by insurance companies without using pathologizing coding and diagnoses. I will add that the trans depathologization movement must include psychology professionals in supporting roles but center the voices of trans people who are not mental health professionals. The GID Reform Movement was also limited because the trans advocates involved couldn't argue for the acceptance of their personal expertise on trans issues without invoking their clinical credentials. The inclusion of professionals may be necessary to gain the support of the APA, but the trans depathologization movement must emphasize the right of trans people to define themselves. Lastly, the trans depathologization movement must form a coalition with trans rights advocates to articulate the need for trans depathologization in all areas of legal protections and to bring trans depathologization into the spotlight that it deserves. For too long, trans people have accepted the medical model of dysphoria, viewing it as a necessity. To gather the wide support that the trans depathologization movement requires, all trans people must be able to see that there are alternatives to the medical model. Trans people do not need to give into the expectations of cis psychologists to get the medical care we need. We must actively resist the medical model that forces many trans people to change their articulations of their identities.

Conclusion

As can be seen above, there can be no trans liberation without resisting pathologization in the medical industry and in anti-trans movements. Pathologization functions to prevent trans social and legal acceptance and the expression of authentic trans narratives. Because of the trans community's reliance on medical resources, trans people have necessarily accepted pathologization in large and small ways throughout history in order to survive. Taking on liberation through depathologization means challenging the systemic categorization of trans identities as disordered in order to open up pathways to trans rights and to overcome transphobic social stigma. What is needed is the extension of extend trans activism beyond a discussion of rights by examining anti-trans bills around the country. From this, one can understand that legal barriers to trans rights cannot be procured without reframing the legitimacy of trans rights without justifying trans experiences as biological and therefore pathologized. Questioning the barriers stopping trans liberation that have previously been taken for granted as reality opens up a wider conversation for trans identities to be redefined *by* trans people, *without* pathologizing language. Finally, from the successes and failures of previous depathologization movements, it is proposed that a path forward to trans liberation includes an intersectional vision for the future, a combination of strategies including direct action and professional channels of critiquing the APA and a coalition for depathologization that centers the work of trans and intersex leaders of color who need no clinical credentials on trans psychology other than their own experiences.

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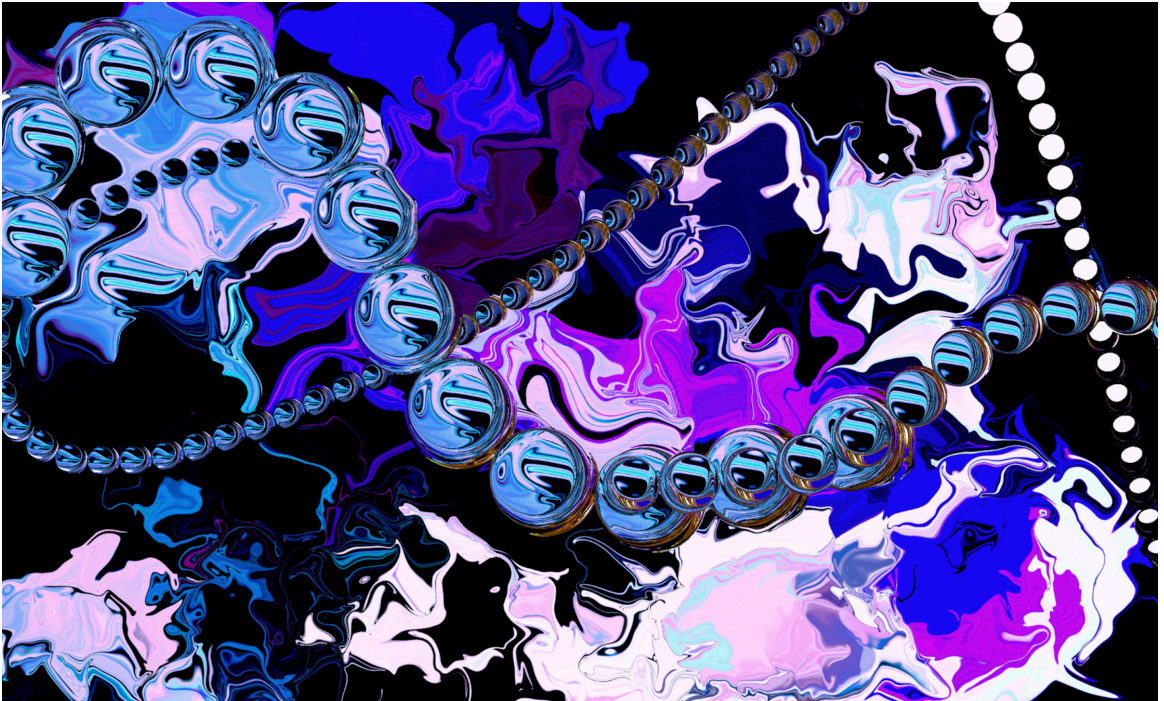
Kimberly Nguyen | *Chroma II*

NO "THYSELF": HOW ONE BECOMES, WHAT ONE IS, AND HOW ONE BECOMES WHAT ONE IS

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There is a distinct, immediate Nietzschean ring to a certain phrase that repeats itself twice in Friedrich Nietzsche's oeuvre: "Each is farthest from himself." Indeed, this statement, which appears in *The Gay Science* and *The Genealogy of Morality*, with its simplicity on its face but subtle connection to—and refutation of—the traditional philosophical doctrine of "know thyself," invokes a constellation of the ideas and themes that echo across Nietzsche's 16-year mission to destroy Platonic dualities and "philosophize with a hammer" (a phrase from the subtitle of his text *Twilight of the Idols*). We can see many of Nietzsche's core thoughts—those regarding knowledge, the construction of the self, the development of 'understanding'—at play here, all writhing beneath the surface of these five words. In attempting an exegesis of this phrase, trying to unpack the layers of meaning with which it applies to Nietzsche's philosophy concerning time, knowledge, and the conception of a self, we can develop a thorough understanding of both his style of philosophizing, and his enterprise therein, and see how, from a Nietzschean perspective, a philosophy that follows the footsteps of Platonic idealism is inevitably a failed endeavor. The purpose of this paper is thus as follows: In unpacking the meaning of the phrase, "each is farthest from himself," we will come to see exactly how the Nietzschean turn away from the philosophy that predates his work operates. This will be done by first, investigating the problems with traditional conceptions of knowledge;

second, discussing Nietzsche's understanding of time and moment; third, applying these ideas to Nietzsche's "affirmation of the sensuous" and the Eternal Recurrence of the Same; fourth, discussing how Nietzsche employs a philosopho-physiology in his conception of the drives and the will to power; and finally, discussing these in the light of selfhood.

Ironically, we begin this journey at the end of Nietzsche's career, with the writing of *Twilight of the Idols* in 1888. This was the last year of Nietzsche's philosophical efforts before he succumbed to madness from some as yet unknown disease (most likely a form of bacterial encephalitis), and in that year he had a sort of explosion of productivity, writing six full volumes of work: alongside *Twilight*, he wrote *The Case of Wagner*, *The Antichrist*, *Ecce Homo*, *Nietzsche Contra Wagner*, and *Dionysian Dithyrambs*. *Twilight*, which functions as somewhat of a primer on the thematic contents of Nietzsche's philosophical corpus, has a short section entitled "How the 'Real World' Finally Became a Fable: History of an error" (it is an interesting fact, though not of much consequence philosophically, to note that the German word Nietzsche uses for history, *Geschichte,* means "tale" or "story" as well as "history"). Nietzsche details the history and future of the idea of the "true world"—the world apart from, above, and behind the sensuous, which traditionally philosophy has taken as the plane of truth—as it started in Platonic thought and evolved to the point where Nietzsche and his contemporaries stand, before showing how the idea is finally refuted through his own later work. At the start, "the real world is attainable for the wise man, the pious man,

the virtuous man—he lives in it, *he is it*" (Nietzsche 464). This is Nietzsche's summation of Platonic thought, where the truest virtue is wisdom and by seeking to rise above the clatter and din of the sensuous world and to intuit the realm of the Forms, one can achieve true knowledge and become truly virtuous. Next, Nietzsche says "the real world [becomes] unattainable for now, but promised to the wise man, the pious man, the virtuous man ('to the sinner who repents')" (Nietzsche 465). The sensuous world remains less real, but the Forms are replaced with Christian heaven. He continues, describing the way in which Kant and Nietzsche's immediate predecessors—Fichte, Schelling, Hegel—have gradually created a world more and more distant from the Forms, without ever reaffirming the sensuous: Kant thought that the 'real world' was unattainable, but three unprovable imperatives of Freedom, Immortality, and God guided our world and made autonomy and causality able to coexist; his followers took this unattainability and began to fracture and turn away from it—"what could something unknown oblige us to do?" (Nietzsche 465). It is not, however, until Nietzsche himself that the "real world" is fully done away with. First, in his early philosophy, it is "an idea with no further use, no longer even an obligation" and thus he turns away from it, rejecting the Forms in favor of the sensuous world. However, it is not truly a fable until his late philosophy, when Nietzsche himself comes to terms with the fact that in affirming the sensuous as the apparent he has upheld this dichotomy. In the light of this, he realizes that the rejection of one necessarily means the rejection of both, and, in doing away with the real, has completely abolished the idea of a merely apparent world as well—and replaced both worlds with the sensuous, which is no longer merely the apparent world. Here, we come to the crux of Nietzsche's rejection of knowledge. If there is no real world, no higher truth to which to aspire to, how are we supposed to extract any knowledge or "truth" at all from the constant flux of experience in which we live? The answer, simply, is that we do not. All knowledge is, by definition, untrue, because by virtue of presenting itself as constant, permanent, and unchanging, it involves

extricating oneself from the lived world, which is in the never-ending process of changing.

It is here that we must appeal to Nietzsche's understanding of time so that we can understand this change. In his magnum opus, *Thus Spoke Zarathustra*, which was written in four segments between 1883 and 1885, we see Nietzsche's philosophy in action. The eponymous prophet goes into the world to preach the word of the Overman; Zarathustra is the Nietzschean philosopher turned prophet, who attempts to share with the world the gift of humanity's true nature as a transitional being between beast and Overman. Zarathustra preaches Nietzschean ideals: the process of the *Untergehen* (down-going), the affirmation of the sensuous realm, the embrace of life in the moment, the rejection of ultimate knowledge. Overall, it is one of Nietzsche's most subtle and philosophically entangled works due to its sheer thematic scope and florid, effusive language. In Part III of *Zarathustra*, Zarathustra finds himself on a ship, and the sailors want him to speak. As "a friend to all who take long journeys and do not want to live without danger" (Nietzsche 277), he gives them a long riddle in the form of a vision he has. The riddle-vision describes Zarathustra coming to a gate labeled "Moment" where the roads of the past and the future meet. "[These paths] are in opposition to one another," Zarathustra says, "they abut on one another: and it is here at this gateway that they come together. The name of the gateway is written above it: 'Moment'" (Nietzsche 278). The gate of Moment always lies at the meeting ground of the paths of past and future. This is Nietzsche's conception of time: time is the Moment, where the road of the past and the road of the future collide, always changing, yet never moving. Time is always the Moment, it is always the exactitude of the present and could never be anything more or less.

However, both roads stretch infinitely in their respective directions, and, as they are roads in time as much as in space, both roads contain every possible finite event that has ever occurred or could ever occur, an infinite

number of times each. This is where we come to our third important idea: the Eternal Recurrence of the Same. Nietzsche first describes this idea near the end of *The Gay Science*, in Aphorism 341: "If some day or night a demon were to steal after you... and say to you: 'This life as you now live it and have lived it, you will have to live once more and innumerable times more... the eternal hourglass of existence is turned upside down again and again, and you with it, speck of dust!'" (Nietzsche 236). Nietzsche confronts the reader directly: is this a blessing, or a curse? There are two ways to read this. First, on its face, the question is one of morality, of pleasure and happiness, of overall satisfaction. If you feel as though this would be a curse, you are probably living your life incorrectly, and should reconsider how you move through the world. On a deeper, more philosophical level, though, treating this as a curse is a symptom of Platonic thinking, of deferring from the sensuous realm into the fictitious world of forms. In the *Phaedo*, on his deathbed, Socrates describes life as a sickness to be overcome, asking his companions to sacrifice a rooster to Asclepius, the god of cures, as a sign of his gratitude for finally being able to overcome the sensuous world and the sickness of embodied life. In this view, the Eternal Recurrence is a curse—damnation to a world where knowledge is never truly attainable, a world without a soul that perdures and transcends time, a world where the constant loop of Moment is the only thing there is. This is the crushing reality of the Eternal Recurrence to the Platonist, the Christian, the Kantian, the Idealist. To the Nietzschean, however, it is a blessing; to the Nietzschean, it is an effervescence of life that is reclaimed and the moment re-gifted forever.

This is because, for the Nietzschean, the most important move into living well—morally and philosophically—is to reaffirm the Moment as Moment, and live in a constant embrace of the sensuous. As human beings, we have been duped into prizing "knowledge" and "truth," two things that seem to exist beyond time and lend some sort of immutable intelligible structure to the world around us, but these are really just masks for our fear and uncertainty towards the world around us. Coiling back from the effulgence of the Moment, blinded by the radiance of our senses and the mixture of awe and fear they conjure up within us as we witness the Moment at all times and nothing *but* the Moment, we invent knowledge and "truth" to paper over the abyss we are confronted with— to paper over the unknowable fluctuating world. This is why knowledge becomes a virtue for the Platonists: the virtuous man is the one who can lie the most convincingly and glue the thickest and most unassailable coat of papier-mâché over the world as it is given. However, the world as Moment is in a constant state of fluctuation and change, always annihilating and re-annihilating any virtuous "knowledge" ascribed to it. Every Moment scrubs clean whatever pieces of knowledge the last Moment held; our connections to past moments come in the form of our memory, recollection derived from sensuous experience and not from knowledge. Nietzschean living is understanding, affirming, and embracing this structure, embracing the Eternal Recurrence by virtue of embracing every particulate on the twin roads of past and future and always standing at their confluence.

In order to understand how Nietzschean living affirms and interprets life in the Moment, we must discuss the quasi-physiological idea of the drives and the will to power. Nietzsche lays out his conception of the drives in Aphorism 119 of *Daybreak*, a comparatively early work of his from 1881. This section starts with this sentence: "However far a man may go in self-knowledge, nothing however can be more incomplete than his image of the totality of *drives* which constitute his being" (Nietzsche 198). The drives, which Nietzsche essentially describes as small psychic organisms whose conglomeration makes us up, might also be called moods or dispositions. In essence, they are attitudes towards the world that feed off of our experiences to nourish themselves and grow stronger so as to overtake one another, and they are *hungry*. At every event, in every Moment, the drives clamber over each other, salivating, chomping at the bit to feast on whatever data comes through to them through our senses.

Drives are always moving towards *gratification*. They are manifold; they interact with the day-to-day, Moment-to-Moment events of our lives and with each other; they are pre-rational and unique; they grow and wither and are born and die and decay in accordance with whether or not they are nourished during our daily experiences. Nietzsche ends the aphorism on the drives with a question and an accompanying answer, before two more questions for which we must ascertain the answer ourselves: "what then are our experiences? Much *more* that which we put into them than that which they already contain! Or must we go so far as to say: in themselves they contain nothing? To experience is to invent?" (Nietzsche 199-200). The drives—these small, indeterminate, pre-rational dispositions—are always already organizing all of our experiences and shaping our perceptions of the world around us. Simply put, there is no unmediated experience—*there is no experience at all without drive*. To move past them is quite simply impossible, as they organize experience. The drives are at the base of all mistaken knowledge, and all mistaken self-knowledge, for both of these concepts mistakenly try to read "past" the drives and find the core truth of experience, when experience is the invention of the drives, the result of some disposition within our totality, digesting for us the sensory data we take in. The root terror of experience is that it is nothing but personal disposition.

As the other of the two physiological—and even biological—components of Nietzsche's work, the concept of the will to power lives alongside the drives in his corpus (as in all of ours). We return to *Zarathustra* for this concept; Nietzsche outlines it in a section called "Of Self-Overcoming." The will to power, as Nietzsche outlines it here through the words of Zarathustra, is a will to grow and control. It is the fundamental principle by which life operates: as life expands outwards, it seeks to expand more and exact its power over more things. This happens in a purely physical sense—as a being grows, it requires more food and nutrients to remain alive—but it also happens, for human beings, in a mental sense. This is the root of the

idea of knowledge: to the "wisest men" Zarathustra says, "that is your entire will... it is a will to power; and that is so even when you talk of good and evil and of the assessment of values" (Nietzsche 270). Nietzsche is speaking here to the Platonist philosophers, the "wisest men," and telling them that they are mistaken about the reason they search for truth. They believe they desire knowledge, but beneath it, they desire *control*. Knowledge, once again, becomes about controlling oneself—steeling the mind against the radiance of experience—and about controlling other things and people as well. If one can claim to have access to the truth of virtue, of good and evil, one holds the moral code, to which others can be chained.

But then, we come to a problem: is there a way *out* of this problematic knowledge? If we are, at our core, the will to power, which expresses itself by way of inventing false truths to cover up the drives, how can we escape a cycle that seems self-perpetuating? This is where we return to the Eternal Recurrence (no pun intended). Whereas outside the knowledge and affirmation of the Eternal Recurrence, the will to power can only express itself through the invention of false truths to control the world and wring drops of what seems like lasting knowledge from the drives, when one lives in the shadow of Eternal Recurrence, always aware of one's place at the exact midpoint of two roads that stretch on forever into the past and future, one can exercise control over all past and future versions of oneself by simply living and understanding the manifestation of one's drives. All power is exercised at the gate of Moment, at every point at which it is passed. *The self always overcomes itself as it has been and as it will be*. Control stretches out infinitely in both directions, and the will to power can find consistent manifestation in this eternal process of self-overcoming.

Part of the large problem facing us now is how problematized the traditional notion of the self becomes in this view of knowledge, temporality, and physiology. And thus, we come full circle: Indeed, each truly is farthest from himself. In his last major text, *Ecce Homo*, which

was written in a state of rapturous euphoria preceding Nietzsche's descent into madness, Nietzsche lays out the problems with this traditional understanding of selfhood: If they find themselves, know themselves, intuit the core of their being—they have become other than that which they were by coming into this knowledge. That is to say, in becoming what you are, you become other than what you were, and this self-knowledge remains untenable. This epistemological paradox, where self-knowledge is never knowledge of the self that actually still exists, is typically sidestepped by Platonists by saying that there is an underlying truth to who you are that exists from the beginning, and thus, knowing yourself is simply a matter of coming into this truth. However, as we've seen, this can hardly be true, given our problematization of truth and knowledge; we also know that, per the drives and the will to power, any existing thing is always in the process of becoming something other and more than it previously was. Nietzsche refers to this kind of living as "living on credit" in *Ecce Homo*: Living in the linguistic shadow of a failed way of understanding the world, always living in deference to the truth of the underlying abyssal truth of reality—that all there is, is invented experience and all knowledge is simply the screen we put up to protect us from the gaping chasm that is at the very centrality of existence.

So, then, can one develop a proper conception of self? Yes: if one can develop a proper conception of *time*. Coming into true selfhood, Nietzsche says, is not a question of epistemology, but a question of embracing the Eternal Recurrence, of always standing at the gateway Moment and looking forever in both directions. There is no *being*: there is *becoming*. In fact, the very subtitle of *Ecce Homo* suggests this: "How one becomes, what one is." In the daylight of the eternal return—the "noon," the "moment of the shortest shadow" (Nietzsche 465)—the self becomes understood as the process of becoming over time that characterizes the will to power's reach into the horizons of past and future. A certain stability is found in becoming, a stability characterized by the incorporation of change, of moving-beyond, of rising above and always becoming more than what one is.

"Each is farthest from himself," Nietzsche says, because each is always becoming more than whatever one was in the prior moment. Each is farthest from himself because an attempt to understand oneself as a being with a definite truth to it is always doomed to failure by its very nature as an epistemological expedition. Each is farthest from himself because the self is stretched across time, fragmented and yet whole, undulating and becoming, fluctuating, disappearing and reappearing in the halcyon light of the moment. *This* is the anti-Platonic turn of Nietzsche, away from the need for knowledge, truth, and even self: If we embrace the world as becoming, as change, as the fluctuating invention and digestion of the drives, we come to truly *live*. This is how one becomes; this is what one is; this is how one becomes what one is.

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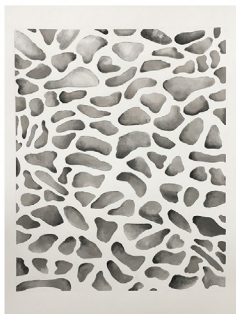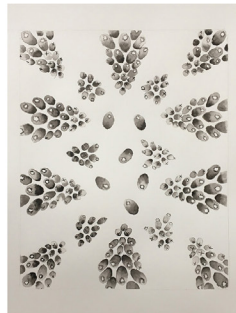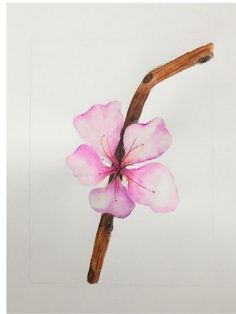
Miranda Novelle | *Memories from Quarantine (series)*

LANGUAGE IN THE CLASSROOM: K-12 RESOURCES ON 9/11

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Nearly nineteen years have passed since the terrorist attacks of September 11th. Several cohorts of young people have now undergone social studies education in the United States, exploring, in particular, the events of September 11th. A great deal of research on the effects of 9/11 examines how individual perceptions are reached from mystified rhetoric in the classroom. Political scientists, sociologists, psychologists, among many other researchers in varying disciplines, have identified flaws in the ways that young people are being educated about the events of September 11th in the classroom. Much of the research up to this point has synthesized several aspects of education including but not limited to student knowledge, language cues for patriotism, the use of imagery and the role of the media, and whitewashing - or covering up - of historical and accurate information.

Specifically, the research about the education of 9/11 in high school textbooks is nuanced. Diana Hess, Jeremy Stoddard, and Shannon Murto have studied how certain types of textbooks, namely American history, world history, and government/civics textbooks, define concepts like "terrorism" and deconstructs phrases like "day of infamy," and then codifies interrogatives presented in texts as either high order thinking (HOT) or lower order thinking (LOT) to measure historical knowledge (Hess, et al., 2008). They find that the language in the textbooks leads to highly heuristic conclusions of 9/11 that portray the United States as "victimized" by terrorism

decontextualizing the historical evidence of what actually happened and why (Hess, et al., 2008). Furthermore, Michael H. Romanowski has continued a similar approach through his analysis of textbooks and finds the omission of key terms like "Jihad" and other information that helps explain the conflicts in the Middle East and provide insights into terrorists' motives (Romanowski, 2009). Similarly, historian Jon Weiner in his analysis of textbooks, finds that they resort to vague words like "Saudi dissident" to describe Osama bin Laden and "group" to describe the Taliban which offer mystified understandings of who these people are and the motives for their actions (Weiner, 2005).

September 11th has also been researched from a broader perspective focusing on language and symbols of the media coverage of the event. Denton discusses the role of the media in producing and reinforcing emotionally evocative content immediately following the attacks of September 11th. Denton further elaborates on content that was considered "taboo" including the falling man, which dehumanized the loss of an individual, while also explaining the use of visual content in the media to coalesce public support for U.S. immediate military action abroad (Denton, 2004). Additionally, James Loewen has done a great deal of research on historical whitewashing—the intentional act of covering up or withholding information that counters a desired cognitive outcome—and provides a less patriotic narrative to historical events of American history focusing on the classroom and the use of textbooks. Beyond creating a narrative in textbooks that exerts patriotism, Loewen also discusses another aspect in

his analysis, which is the information that is intentionally removed from the discussion (Loewen, 2018).

While there is a considerable amount of existing literature on the study of educating young people on the events of September 11th, there is a lack of research on pedagogical resources; the specific area of K-12 resources on 9/11. What has been unclear up to this point, however, is how K-12 resources fit into this dynamic, if at all. It is reasonable to assume, especially in the age of technological advances, that K-12 resources are often easily accessible to educators and can be easier to unpack instead of using more cumbersome textbooks or instructor manuals especially for lower grade levels. If these online resources are anything like textbooks and other content on this matter, these too are problematic because they are ensuring that students are cognitively processing heuristic content while failing to engage with factual reasons as to why 9/11 happened. This primitive stage of socialization, in conjunction with the hierarchical dynamic of the teacher and student, create potential for pupils to align with a cognitive process that prioritizes heuristics over synthesizing real information, potentially transcending the study of 9/11 and becoming evident in how individuals process information generally. With that in mind, this study attempts to analyze both the language structure and the typology of reasoning that is being employed in K-12 literature and lesson plans on 9/11. The results will indicate that the political language of 9/11 in the classroom, is perhaps, just as nuanced and misleading as textbooks.

Methodology

A critical discourse analysis will be employed utilizing concepts established from multiple researchers. This research inquiry will combine the works of Murray Edelman and George Lakoff in recognizing the application of metaphor theory. Furthermore, Otto Santa Ana's technique of discourse analysis will be applied to identify metaphorical language to assess the validity of these K-12 resources in providing students with factual information. After analyzing the literature, data will be produced that identifies several things, including the level of information presented, the employment of metaphors and condensation symbols, and the origin of these resources (where they are coming from).
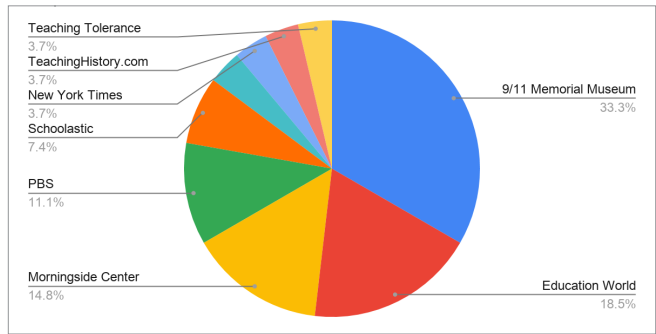
Multiple sources will be examined in this research inquiry from online K-12 historical accounts of 9/11. Upon thoroughly reviewing the sources, content will be codified into the following categories: the number and employment of metaphors and images, and a typology of questions posed (high order vs. low order thinking—like the methodology employed by Hess, McAvoy, and Murto). After reviewing the ensuing data, an analysis of the content will be provided by dissecting metaphors and the utilization of heuristic cognition that linguist George Lakoff has studied.

There are two limitations with this study. First and foremost, the frequency and usage of these K-12 resources by educators is unknown. It is entirely unclear as to when, where, and how these lesson plans are employed or if teachers even access these resources. Second, what is also unknown is the immediate impact of these lesson plans on students. Given that in-person interviews and observations will not be conducted for this study, inferences based on existing literature may be derived. This study will reveal how easily accessible K-12 literature on 9/11 for educational purposes are portrayed with respect to language framing.

For this research inquiry, a total of 27 K-12 lesson plans and resources were sampled. Each of the analyzed sources were selected on a practical basis with the educator in mind. Hence, sources were selected by googling "9/11 educational resources." The point of doing this was accessibility, as the study does not presume that educators will critically analyze their own educational resources for their students, as they too may be susceptible to bias. This study is looking at educational resources that are freely available and easily attainable for educators. Graph 1 below illustrates the diversity of primary sources included in this study.

GRAPH 1

Primary Sources for Lesson Plans

Teaching Tolerance
3.7%
TeachingHistory.com
3.7%
New York Times
3.7%
Schoolastic
7.4%
PBS
11.1%
Morningside Center
14.8%

9/11 Memorial Museum
33.3%

Education World
18.5%

GRAPH 2

Total Sources Sorted by Level of Factual Information Provided

Number of Sources

Highly Factual	Somewhat Factual	Not Factual
27	27	27
5	10	12
22	17	15
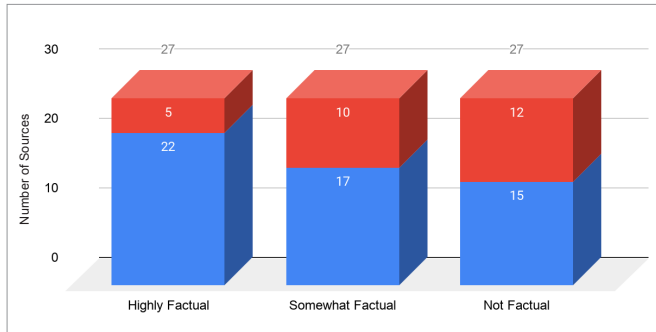
GRAPH 3

Percentage of Sources with Embedded Content vs. Sources without Embedded Content

Without Embedded Content
29.6%

Embedded Content
70.4%
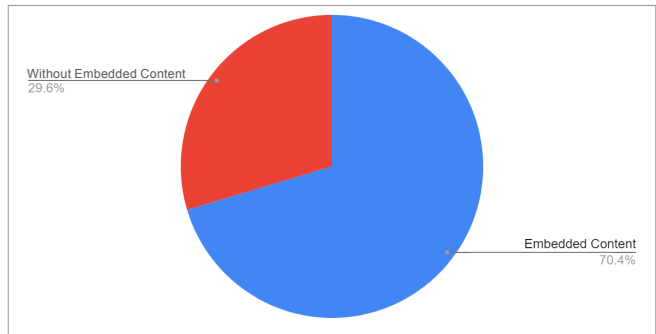
Factual vs. Non-Factual

The first measure of the methodology in this study is purely based on content evaluation. All 27 sources were thoroughly read and examined, and the first control to be measured is the offering of official knowledge. By official knowledge, the implication is that sources are, to some extent, offering information about the events of 9/11 that are factually accurate. To analyze this, all 27 lesson plans and resources were codified into three categories: highly factual, somewhat factual, and not factual. The information being considered is basic, and largely considers the inclusion of information with respect to the events of 9/11 and events related to it, such as the Iraq War, and elements of multiculturalism and U.S. foreign policy. For the purpose of this study, information is official knowledge that is evidently accurate and backed by sources of official knowledge. To measure information for the purpose of categorization, resources that offer official knowledge, such as the 9/11 Memorial and Museum and reputable news sources such as the New York Times, were utilized for this purpose. Next, the three categories of highly factual, somewhat factual, and not factual were distinguished. This was done utilizing normative judgement. If about one third of the content being presented was factual, it was deemed to be somewhat factual. For the purpose of this study, consider one third to be only a portion of the webpage displaying the lesson plan to offer information and/or about five factual statements regarding the events of September 11th. Lesson plans and resources that offered at least half a webpage worth of information and/or more than five factual statements regarding the events of September 11th were deemed highly factual. If neither of the above criteria were met, the lesson plan and/or resource was deemed not factual. While this specific section does not directly interact with the employment of metaphor theory and Edelman's scholarly work on symbolic language, it is imperative to see the correlation between the level of factual information being presented in conjunction with the frequency of symbolic language used in K-12 resources and lesson plans. Graph 2 above

illustrates the level of factuality in these resources and lesson plans. The red coded section reflects the amount applicable to the respective category. The blue section represents the remainder of sources. Graph 3 above illustrates the number of resources and lesson plans that embedded external content, such as a graph, video, or worksheet, etc.

Typology

The next measure of the K-12 resources and lesson plans sampled measures how (and if) critical thinking is employed and embedded within these resources for students to engage with. All resources and lesson plans sampled offered some type of assignment or question posed to students to reflect and/or engage with content presented. These questions and assignments were categorized into several categories, borrowing from the methodology of Hess, Stoddard and Murto, which is derived from Bloom's taxonomy model of thinking. The first category is Low Order Thinking, or LOT. Low Order Thinking requests students to recite information and does not pose a critical analysis of some kind. An example of this would be to ask a student what caused the Twin Towers in New York to collapse (Hess, et al., 2008). The next type, as codified by Hess, Stoddard and Murto, is Unintended LOT. An Unintended LOT is a question posed that appears to be analytical and is really a low order thinking question beneath the surface. An example of an Unintended LOT question would be "Why did the U.S. Government create a new agency after the September 11, 2001, terrorist attacks?" (Hess, et al., 2008). This question, on the surface, appears to warrant critical analysis. However, it is a declarative statement that warrants a "correct" response, which makes it a low order thinking question (Hess, et al., 2008). The other two types of classification are open and/or closed High Order Thinking, or HOT. A HOT question engages in critical analysis of the content and requires students to think beyond recalling, for example, just something that occurred. The difference between open and closed, however, is that an open HOT question

TABLE 1

Amount of Questions Found in Sources

LOT	8
Unintended LOT	6
HOT Open	3
HOT Closed	0
HOT Open/Closed	4
Combination	6

requires critical analysis but does not have a "correct" answer, while a closed HOT question requires the same but has a clear conclusion to be reached (Hess, et al., 2008). Lastly, some resources and lesson plans offer a combination of possible questions and activities posed. In this case, a "combination" category was created for those examples. See Table 1 above for the numerical distinctions between HOT and LOT questions in the lesson plans and resources.

Edelman: Symbols and Language

This section of the research inquiry now dissects the language and discourse analysis components of the research inquiry. To understand the significance of language and symbols with respect to this research inquiry, a reflection on the work of scholars Murray Edelman and George Lakoff is required. To begin, Edelman in his book, *The Symbolic Uses of Politics*, argues that we, as the human beings of society, largely do not experience politics in the physical sense. Rather, we experience the "language" of politics, and that it is "symbolic" (Edelman, 1985). Furthermore, he describes the notion of politics as a "series of pictures in the mind, placed there by television news, newspapers, magazines, and discussions. The pictures create a moving panorama taking place in a world the mass public never quite touches, yet one its members come to fear or cheer, often with passion and sometimes with action" (Edelman, 1985). In essence, information does not permeate so much as perceptions do. For this project, the primary concern is with hortatory language, which is used to not only conceal information but also reinforce a predetermined conclusion, often an emotional

one (Edelman, 1985). The most common with respect to 9/11 is excessive patriotism, which will be discussed and synthesized further down.

Lakoff: Framing and Discourse Analysis

In his book, *Moral Politics*, George Lakoff argues that metaphors are far more than methods of linguistic expression. In fact, he asserts that in many ways, they frame how we think and process information. This is cognitive metaphor theory. Instead of processing information in a pure sense, metaphors are used in the cognitive process to often reinforce a desired outcome. The desired outcomes, in a sense, are biased because they are subjective and derivative of morality. The crux of Lakoff's argument is that metaphors are derived from morality, and morality is defined from the family structure in the early years of socialization (Lakoff, 1996). Morality is the reason why liberals and conservatives find certain values to be "common sense" (Lakoff, 1996).

Given that morality is derived from the family, it is imperative to recognize that there are two types of framing for morality, and they are derived from parenting models. The first is the "strict father" model. This model offers an apprehensive worldview, obligates the necessity of reward and punishment in order for self-discipline and control to be exercised, and operates under both a hierarchical and meritocracy type structure (Lakoff, 1996). The other parenting model that Lakoff introduces is the "nurturant parent" model. This model prioritizes love and care, two-way communication, interactions of love feeding met desires, empathy and protection, and obedience through respect as opposed to fear (Lakoff, 1996). Socialization through parental framing is significant because the subjectivity of one's morality encourages adherence to the metaphoric language, which in turn, can evoke heuristic or emotional response and/ or arrive at misguided conceptions. That said, it is also imperative to recognize that the metaphorical language is intentional and used specifically for the reasons above. With respect to the K-12 resources and lesson plans on 9/11, the data presented below, in conjunction with the

GRAPH 4

Sources Divided by Language Style and Content
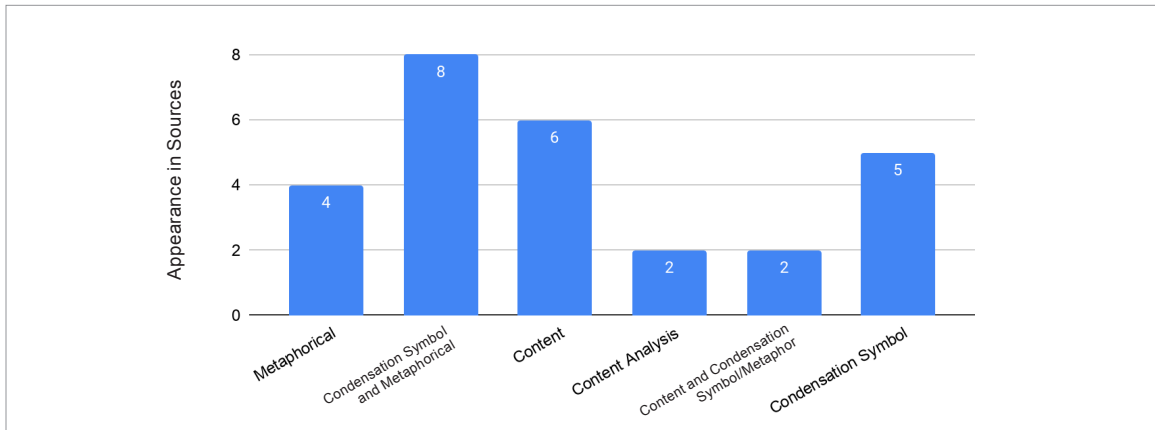
discourse analysis, will illustrate that the language is in many cases, highly metaphorical. This is problematic, as these resources may not present factual information about 9/11 with respect to what happened, and most importantly, *why* it happened. Metaphors also assist in reducing or leaving out vital information to offer explanations, and instead, assist in achieving certain desired reactions. Metaphors can also be used with factual information. It is how they are used that makes them symbolic conduits for misleading content. Lastly, with respect to the methodology of discourse analysis created by Lakoff and utilized by Santa Ana, Joseph Grady's theory of primary metaphor (now integrated into metaphor theory)—which correlates conceptual metaphors with an experiential basis—is employed and apparent in the data below by dissecting the source and target domains of words within the metaphor in question (Costa, 2006). Grady asserts that source domains are: "defined by sensation or sensorial input," "refer[ing] to simple experiences in a phenomenological sense," "related in predictable ways to our goals or actions directed to attainment of the goal," "refer[ing] to universal elements of human experience," and "relational, not nominal concepts" (Costa, 2006). Furthermore, Grady claims that target domains are: "elements of the same experiences that give primary source concepts their meaning," and "refer[ing] to basic

units or parameters of the cognitive function, at the levels we have conscious direct access (or immediately below them)" (Costa, 2006).

Data

Graph 4 above presents an illustration of all 27 lesson plans and resources which were analyzed and then sorted into the following categories based on what each lesson plan or resource was applicable to: Metaphorical, Condensation Symbol and Metaphorical, Content, Content Analysis, Content and Condensation Symbol/ Metaphor, and Condensation Symbol. To clarify, this research inquiry defines "content" as presenting information related to the subject at hand (more in line with LOT typology). Furthermore, "content analysis" is defined to include content that also employs the student to think critically in some capacity (varying typology). Of the 27 lesson plans and resources, only those with just "metaphors" and "condensation symbols" respectively were sampled for analysis.

Selected Metaphors from Sources

Table 2:	
Source:	How can art convey meaning in the immediate aftermath of a tragic event?
Quote	"unbearable loss of life"
Source Domain	life (loss of)
Definition	the existence of an individual human being or animal. (Oxford)
Target Domain	unbearable
Definition	not able to be endured or tolerated. (Oxford)

Table 3:	
Source:	Encountering History: A 9/11 Lesson Plan
Quote	"Terrorist attacks can shake the foundations of our biggest buildings, but they cannot touch the foundation of America."
Source Domain	attack(s) (foundations of our biggest buildings)
Definition	take aggressive action against (a place or enemy forces) with weapons or armed force, typically in a battle or war. (Oxford)
Target Domain	foundation (of America)
Definition	an underlying basis or principle. (Oxford)

Table 4:	
Source:	Teacher Blog: Remembering 9/11 Using Photographs
Quote	"The dichotomy of such freedom promised in the very place where an event like September 11th can imprison your being."
Source Domain	freedom
Definition	the power or right to act, speak, or think as one wants without hindrance or restraint. (Oxford)
Target Domain	dichotomy (imprison your being)
Definition	a division or contrast between two things that are or are represented as being opposed or entirely different. (Oxford)

Table 5:	
Source:	What Are the Most Important Changes, in Your Life and in the World, in the Last Decade?
Quote	"He is among some 3,000 children under 18 who lost not only a parent in the attacks, but also their very sense of security."
Source Domain	lost (loss)
Definition	denoting something that has been taken away or cannot be recovered. (Oxford)
Target Domain	security (sense of)
Definition	the safety of a state or organization against criminal activity such as terrorism, theft, or espionage. (Oxford, political)

Metaphorical

See the data above for an analysis of metaphors that were employed in the lesson plans and resources in this study. For this section, metaphors were employed in 4 out of 27 sources. In some cases, more than one metaphor was employed per lesson plan/resource. Therefore, only one would have been selected for sampling.

Condensation Symbols

See the data above for an analysis of condensation symbols that were employed in the lesson plans and resources in this study. For this section, condensation symbols were employed in 5 out of 27 sources. In some cases, more than one condensation symbol was employed

Selected Condensation Symbols from Sources

Table 6:	
Source:	Local Heroes
Condensation Symbol	"hero" (repeated several times)
Definition (if applicable)	a person who is admired or idealized for courage, outstanding achievements, or noble qualities. (Oxford)

Table 7:	
Source:	Muslims in America after 9/11, Part III
Condensation Symbol	"Muslim"
Definition (if applicable)	a follower of the religion of Islam. (Oxford)
Note: this source breaks down the association of "Muslim" with "terrorism."	

Table 8:	
Source:	9/11 Anniversary Teaching Guide
Condensation Symbol	"minutes of silence"
Definition (if applicable)	a short period of silent thought or prayer. (Merriam-Webster)

Table 9:	
Source:	9/11 Anniversary Teaching Guide (3-5)
Condensation Symbol	"ground zero" (repeats 3x)
Definition (if applicable)	the point on the earth's surface directly above or below an exploding nuclear bomb. (Oxford)

Table 10:	
Source:	Write Letters to Commemorate 9/11
Condensation Symbol	"service heroes"
Definition (if applicable)	a person who is admired or idealized for courage, outstanding achievements, or noble qualities. (Oxford)

per lesson plan/resource. Therefore, only one would have been selected for sampling.

Analysis

Given a total of 27 sources were sampled, a great deal of information can be found among just the four metaphors and five condensation symbols extracted. Bear in mind, some sources were coded under multiple categories as they had overlapping criteria, such as a condensation symbol and metaphor employed. That said, with respect to the metaphors, the target and source domain model explains heuristic cognitive response. For example, in table 2, the phrase "unbearable loss of life" is employed within the text. While this may appear on the surface as a simple contextualization of those who perished on September 11th, it offers no more no less an explanation for the events of 9/11. This research inquiry does not intend to argue against the notion of national solidarity in the aftermath of a devastating event. However, it does not offer an empirical and digestible explanation for

the events of 9/11. It instead explains the "we were all attacked" phenomenon that was expressed post-9/11. This is an example of heuristic cognition at its best. The hortatory language style that Edelman describes here is apparent as the language is vague yet official. There is no quantifiable "loss of life" being exerted in this lesson plan/resource, and yet, instruction is being commenced by the teacher, which makes it official in its own capacity.

The same could be said for the other three metaphors dissected for the study. In table 3, an implied connection between "attacks" and "foundation" is being made to suggest a change in the way of life. The source domain of "attacks" is the physical event and the author is suggesting "foundation" to be the target domain, as it is the intended effect to imply a fundamental change. Again, the language is vague but also official given the contextualization of a classroom setting. This metaphor in its physical presence, appears to evoke a sense of fear-based heuristic cognition with the use of the word "foundation," given that the definition of the word does not necessarily match with the intended use in this excerpt. The language is just simply that: inflamed language that offers little contextual information to the study of 9/11.

The metaphor in table 4 is particularly interesting, as it implicates "freedom," which in and of itself, is a loosely defined word. The use of "dichotomy" is also indicative of the predetermined response to be yielded by questioning if the same "freedoms" that America has historically offered are still available or existent. The "imprison your being" part is also useful in understanding the predetermined cognitive process that is being employed through language. Sure, in the years following 9/11, things became a bit stricter especially regarding air travel. However, what "freedoms" were reduced that "imprisoned the being" as a result of 9/11? Here, the solidarity "we are all victims" philosophy isn't as apparent as the "freedom is at stake" and "'we' must respond" is. The same could be said of table 5 and its respective metaphor.

With respect to the five condensation symbols presented in tables 6-10, the same function of heuristic cognition is being served, only in a different way. Language is as essential here as it is with the metaphors and the discourse of them. However, the condensation symbols, often embedded into metaphors, are employed to resort to a value-based cognitive process. Given that it is value-based, these types of symbols within language make it much easier to not only digest heuristic content but to also conform to it without the notion of fact-checking or considering cross pressures, such as multiculturalism. "Hero" is a condensation symbol that was sampled twice in two of the five samples. It is a vague term because it cannot be clearly defined to one particular example. However, the cues of, for example, fireman or policeman, help the cognitive process resort to, or in some cases, create a value structure for the children adhering to this lesson plan or resource(s). This is problematic because it can assist in developing a pattern for value-based, heuristic cognition in analyzing future societal issues. With respect to socialization, it is known that as an individual ages and advances through institutions, one's values tend to become more solidified. Condensation symbols play a persistent role in this process by implicitly allowing children to determine the "good guys" and "bad guys." In doing so, there is no room for assessing nuance, such as the fact that Islamic extremism is such a small fraction of the overall Muslim community. That said, the value-based, heuristic style cognition negates the ability to synthesize these problems, and with respect to 9/11, persuades students to recognize the personal over the plural, factual, or political. Each of the five condensation symbols presented helps reinforce this notion.

Conclusion

This study hoped to accomplish several things. The first is to understand to what extent these readily available lesson plans and resources on the subject of 9/11 for K-12 were useful in portraying empirical content and/or content analysis. Based on the coding standards applied on all 27 sources, 12 were deemed non-factual, 10 were deemed

somewhat factual, and 5 were deemed to be factual. This study also set out to examine the typology where applicable, understanding how students are intended to think either critically or non-critically. Based on coding standards from previous studies as mentioned above, a typology was utilized to assess the critical thinking skills being employed in these lesson plans if at all. This suggests that informational and critical thinking skills are not applied in most of these sources.

After assessing information standards, the most critical and quintessential part of this study was to explore the language of these lesson plans and resources. What has been discovered is largely in tandem with what was predicted in the beginning. The language style creates nuance and a lack of understanding in a great deal of these lesson plans and resources. The employment of metaphors with predetermined heuristic responses and the utilization of condensation symbols creates an atmosphere of heuristic regurgitation like that of the nuanced high school textbooks studied by Hess, et.al. This is significant given that this information is readily available for instructors online and can give misguided,

non-multicultural and civics-based understandings of the events of 9/11, and most importantly, why it happened. While it is unknown as to who is using these sources if at all, what is known is that the information provided may be detrimental to creating a solid understanding of the events of 9/11 and why it happened. Some of these sources were good at providing information and content analysis. Nearly all, however, employed some type of heuristic language device. With that in mind, it is essential that educators be careful in selecting these resources for classroom instruction. While some have merit and quality to their instruction method, it is imperative that educators consider the language style and its effects that are embedded in these resources. Educators should ask themselves what students will learn from these sources, and will it help them to understand why 9/11 happened. That is arguably the most important part, as time and time again, individuals have struggled to explain why the events take place. While curricula on this subject matter is controversial, educators should be encouraged to think not only about the content but also the language style too, because it does matter.

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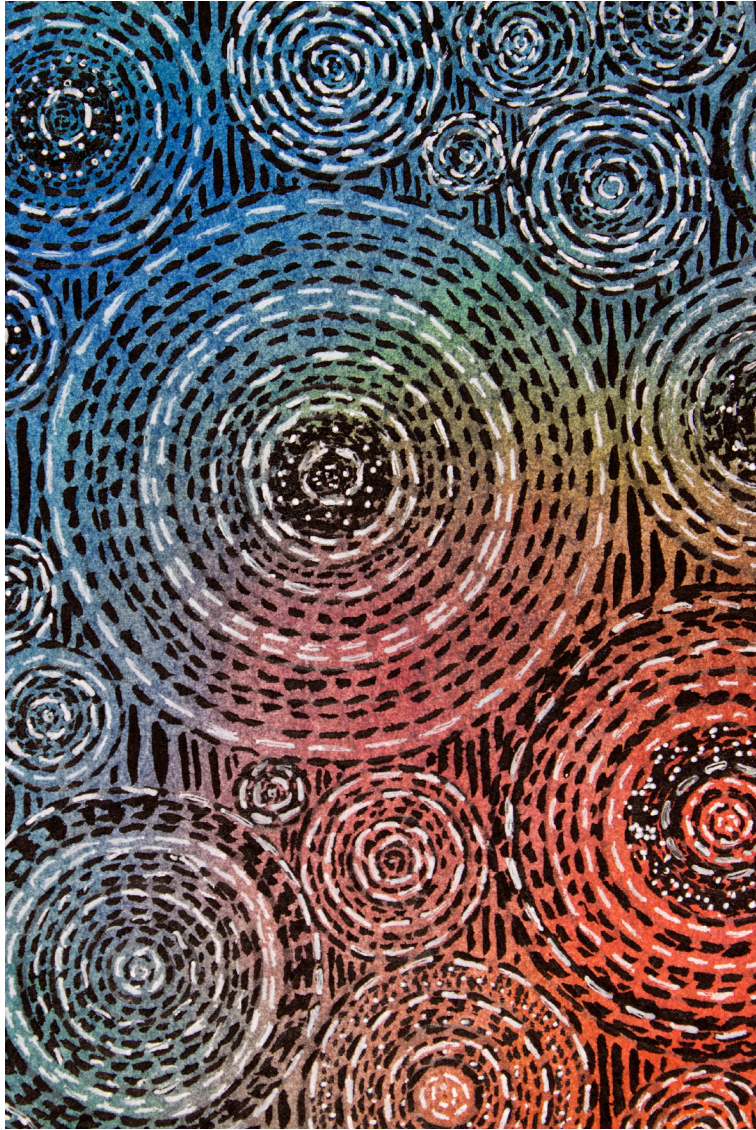
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NORMATIVE SOCIETY AND THE CASE OF JONESTOWN

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On the eighteenth of November in 1978, Christian religious leader Jim Jones led nine-hundred-and-fourteen people in a mass suicide (Moore 2002, 200). The suicide involved "ingest[ing] cyanide-laced punch," an event which had been previously rehearsed many times by the community—without the cyanide—in events called "white nights" (Vandecarr 2003, 39). This occurred shortly after US Congressman Leo Ryan, who was shot along with some attempted escapees from the community, visited the agricultural "utopia" that the religious group had, after moving from Indiana to California, attempted to create in the South American country of Guyana (Smith 1982, 374-76). This utopia was called Jonestown and was composed of members of the People's Temple, the religious group that Jones had founded in the United States. The group had increasingly isolated itself because of, amongst other factors discussed below, the rampant inequality and racism prevalent in US society (Smith 1982, 374). This tragic occurrence is not easily explained at first glance, indicating a need for deeper investigation in terms of societal implications and theoretical concepts.

As I argue in this paper, the People's Temple was considered an outlier amidst normative Christian and mainstream ideology in society. Because of its failure to conform to the norm, the group was categorized under the label of a "cult." This categorization "othered" and deauthorized the group, leading to its increasing isolation and disempowerment. The group emerged in a sociohistorical context favoring mainstream religious ideology and harboring widespread racial inequality. The People's Temple challenged this context, as members positioned themselves in staunch opposition to societal norms of the time. Jim Jones' authority as the leader of the People's Temple stemmed from the widespread perception amongst members of the superiority of his morals against those of mainstream America, and his claimed ability to work miracles. With this understanding of the context of the People's Temple, two possible explanations for the mass suicide surface: first, that the group was committing "revolutionary suicide" after failed attempts at creating complete racial and social equality, and second, that the group, after various failed geographical moves, was escaping invasion from the less-moral society outside its walls.

To begin, the People's Temple was viewed as an undesirable "outlier" in the context of normative Christianity, and broader societal ideologies in the United States. Judith Butler, in "Performative Acts and Gender Constitution: An Essay in Phenomenology and Feminist Theory," explains that while theoretically one has autonomy over actions that portray gender, we also live in a world where preconceived notions exist regarding the "script" of any given gender, for example "gender norms... within the family" (Butler 1990, 277). To apply Butler's analysis of gender subjectivity to the case of Jonestown, while the members of the People's Temple had a legal right to practice Christianity in the way that they wanted, there nevertheless existed "scripts"—which continue to exist—regarding how one normatively adheres to mainstream

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understandings of Christian subjectivity. Because the activities of the People's Temple were deviations from normative Christian behavior and "scripts," they stood out. Butler states that "the body becomes its gender through a series of acts which are…consolidated through time" as a "legacy of sedimented acts" (Butler 1990, 274). She stresses that gender as an "act…requires a performance which is repeated," explaining that "repetition is at once a reenactment and reexperiencing of a set of meanings already socially established" (Butler 1990, 277). Similarly, Christianity's scripts can be seen as the product of many repeated manifestations of the religion in society. These lived experiences and manifestations of Christianity can be said to collectively accumulate as a "legacy of sedimented acts" thus creating a normative idea of what Christianity, and the Christian subject, should generally look like. From the perspective of the norm, the People's Temple was categorized as deviant, either skewing the norm of Christianity or appearing as an anomaly that did not belong. In *Purity and Danger,* Mary Douglas explains that elements that do not fit into "our normal scheme of classifications" or "systems," are rejected as "dirt" or "inappropriate elements" (Douglas 2003, 44-5). From Douglas' analytical framework, Jonestown and the People's Temple are thus "matter out of place," rejected as "dirt" or "inappropriate elements" from the system that is normally classified as "Christianity" (Douglas 2003, 50). In the same vein, in their analysis of cults, scholars Tabor and Gallagher cite Mary Zeiss Stange, who said that "what we don't like or understand we call crazy" and sometimes even "kill" (Tabor and Gallagher 1995, 168). This analysis applies to the general conversation surrounding cults: cults are labelled as "dangerous" and "dirty" (after they are labelled as "cults" in the first place) within the general system of "religion" (Douglas 2003, 44, 49).

It is clear that the People's Temple did not fit into the normative ideas of Christianity. The People's Temple was a "Protestant congregation" which, when most active in the region, was described by the *Sacramento Bee* as "probably the largest…in Northern California"

(Smith 1982, 374). The People's Temple had "Pentecostal origins" and Jones' sermons involved proclamations about the "apocalypse," more specifically, a "nuclear holocaust," from which the "Temple faithful" would be "saved" (Hutchinson 2016, 27-8). Indeed, as transcribed by scholar David Chidester who analyzed numerous tapes obtained from the FBI, Jim Jones proclaimed during his sermons: "I know the day…when bombs are going to burst in America" and "We're close to the time of settling day, of Judgment Day" (Chidester 1991, xii, 110). Scholar Anne E. Dyer writes in *European Pentecostalism* that, while "[t]he evidence of Pentecostalism has mostly been seen in the use of glossolalia—speaking in unknown languages—… healing is cited as another distinctive feature" (Kay 2011, 10). Many Pentecostals highlight "other spiritual gifts" such as recognizing "God's messages of encouraging prophecy and the words of wisdom and knowledge" (Kay 2011, 10). Indeed, Jones emphasized prophecy and claimed extensive divine healing ability. The construction of an impending nuclear apocalypse and the promise to heal those who "[couldn't] get to a doctor or [weren't] rich enough to afford one," illustrated how Jones' ideas deviated from the Christian norm (Hutchinson 2016, 29). The church also had views on justice and societal interactions which deviated from the much less progressive norm in society. To briefly illustrate, Gosney, a former Jonestown inhabitant who escaped the mass suicide in Guyana with three bullet wounds—and whose son "was not as lucky"— explains that "[t]he idea of the People's Temple was that you had to be a good revolutionary" and uphold the "revolutionary calling" as paramount (Vandecarr 2003, 38). This revolutionary calling was deeply linked with a vision of racial and class equality, a deviation from the sense of purpose normative to other Christian groups. In *Salvation and Suicide: Jim Jones, The People's Temple, and Jonestown,* Chidester illustrates what is perhaps the epitome of this revolutionary calling amidst normative society, explaining how the "[c]ollective death" may have "function[ed] as a dramatic, revolutionary inversion of a system of classification that ha[d] classified certain persons as less than fully human" (Chidester 1991, 137).

In addition to these religiously and politically non-normative characteristics of the group, the People's Temple deviated from the norm in that it became very tight-knit, as seen in its final departure from the US to South America to establish a utopian community. Simon Dein and Roland Littlewood write in an article on group suicide that "[a]pocalyptic suicide involves a shift of personal self and agency to the social self of the charismatic group" (Dein and Littlewood 2005, 198). They define "apocalyptic suicide" here as "a form of suicide amongst a group which believes that the world will end imminently" (Dein and Littlefield 2005, 198). Their observations on a handful of religious groups engaging in apocalyptic suicide—one of them being Jonestown—thus emphasizes this non-normative characteristic of a focus on the collective identity rather than on the self. This is likewise seen in Gosney's description, which will be elaborated upon later, of the punishments that individuals in Jonestown would receive if they "did anything that wasn't considered for the good of the community" (Vandecarr 2003, 39). This religious community's focus on the group rather than the self deviated from the normative focus on the individual self in US society, another example of its position as "matter out of place" in mainstream Christian society.

In interpreting the People's Temple as dangerous and as an "inappropriate element," mainstream Christian society labelled it as a "cult." Butler, in another article, discusses how society uses norms to construct categories; in her example, the attachment of social constructions (i.e. gender) to genitalia allows those in power to define what a woman is and then treat her in certain ways, such as in underpaying her, due to that categorization (Butler 1992, 14). Through her example of "sex," Butler describes how categories "effectively produce...the political meaning of what [they] describe," consequently "regulating what is and what is not designatable" (Butler 1992, 19). Similarly, the creation of the category of "cult" allows society to label religious groups which deviate from the norm—and which they do not like—and feel justified

in marginalizing and questioning them. Indeed, as discussed in *Why Waco? Cults and the Battle for Religious Freedom in America*, Tabor and Gallagher discuss how the "anti-cult movement" (ACM) and "anti-cult network" (CAN)—a powerful network of individuals aiming to eradicate "cults"—"exists precisely because at least some Americans do not share what CAN sees as 'our ethics' and 'our morals' and because some Americans have started or joined religious groups that offer distinct alternatives to widely held civic, moral, or religious presuppositions" (Tabor and Gallagher 1995, 171). Thus, CAN is defining what normative viewpoints and presuppositions are in American society and relegating religious groups that do not conform into the category of "cult." Furthermore, this category is seen as wholly negative, as illustrated during a Senate investigation in which "anticult leader Rabbi Maurice Davis...declared that 'the path of cults leads to Jonestown'" (Chidester 1991, 29). In the view of anti-cultists, those individuals participating in what is deemed as a "cult" are partaking in something "dangerous" and "dirty," because their activities do not conform to those of normative Christian groups (Douglas 2003, 49-50). This demonstrates how organizations such as those in the ACM and CAN "are opposed to freedom of religion, freedom of membership, or freedom of association" and exercise power in society to suppress these freedoms (Tabor and Gallagher 1995, 154). Additionally, it shows the power that groups propagating the norm have in society in their ability to control and categorize the population around them.

The categorization discussed above leads to increased isolation and "othering" of non-normative groups such as the People's Temple. This can have a detrimental effect on such groups. Tabor and Gallagher explain how the problematic oppression of freedoms through categorization, causes groups labelled as "cults" to become increasingly isolated when objectified by those outside of the group (Tabor and Gallagher 1995, 166). To understand the complications with the objectification of "cults," it is illuminating to think about Talal Asad's critique of

scholars who have engaged in the "dramatization of Islam" (Asad 1968, 8). Asad explains that, according to those who dramatize the religion, "Islamic actors do not speak, they do not think, they *behave*" (ibid). This certainly resonates with how members of "cults" are viewed by the mainstream—as people who do not think, but rather simply follow their leaders and group ideology. Members of "cults" are believed to engage in dangerous behavior without rationally considering their actions or morals. By denying the possibility that individuals may be drawn to these groups for complex reasons, mainstream society objectifies, marginalizes, and silences those who belong in "cults."

To expand on this discussion of objectification through labels, it is useful to consider how Michel Foucault's comment that power is "bent on generating forces, making them grow, and ordering them," aligns with the idea that groups such as those in the anti-cult movement try to order nonconformist religious groups (Foucault 1978, 136). In his discussion, Foucault explains that "the law," in order to gain power and "take charge" of others' lives, "has to qualify, measure, appraise, and hierarchize" (Foucault 1978, 144). This ordering by the legal system in turn creates a "normalizing society" wherein the law "operates more and more as a norm" that regulates how those within it are supposed to function (Foucault 1978, 144). It is in just such a normalizing society that the People's Temple's refusal to fit within the norms of society and of Christianity defied the forces trying to regulate it. The religious group's non-conformity could thus be viewed as a threat and a cause for its increased isolation and labelling as a "cult" by those attempting to control it. Therefore, entities outside of a group categorized as a "cult" both oppress it and determine the direction in which it may proceed, "promulgating ideas that can lead to dangerous consequences," such as, in the case of the People's Temple, the deaths of 914 people (Tabor and Gallagher 1995, 166).

Normative perceptions and "scripts" are situated in a sociohistorical context that favors the norms of mainstream religion. Looking again at Butler's article on gender, she explains that each person's performance of gender can be unique and creative, and can affect general understandings of gender (Butler 1990, 272). However, one's gender performance nevertheless exists in "relationship to the deeply entrenched or sedimented expectations of gendered existence" that attempt to regulate what one views as "natural" behavior in one's sociohistorical context (Butler 1990, 275). Similarly, Jim Jones and the People's Temple can be seen as a creative manifestation of Christianity, an embodiment of multiple possibilities within Christianity. However, its positioning in a sociohistorical context of "deeply entrenched or sedimented expectations" of Christianity makes it, again, stand out as an "unnatural" outlier and a potential threat to society's general understanding of Christianity. Indeed, as Chidester explains, the "shocking demise of the People's Temple served to revive the anticult movement" while also becoming "the lens that focused public attention on all alternative religious movements in America" (Chidester 1991, 29). In the sociohistorical context of a majority Christian nation, Jonestown and its anticult revivalism may have consequently prompted individuals wary of "cults" to become even more orthodox and even more opposed to nonnormative forms of Christianity. This is seen in that, at this time, people belonging to the anticult movement were split between organizations with "concern[s] for personal integrity and civic order" and "conservative evangelical Christian" groups who defined "'cultism' as any deviation from orthodox Christianity relative to the cardinal doctrines of the Christian faith" (Tabor and Gallagher 1995, 152, 171-72). The prevalence and power of individuals adhering to more orthodox views of Christianity corresponds to what Talal Asad explores in his analysis of orthodoxy in Islam and the regulation of Islam by Muslims in power (Asad 1986, 15). His explanation that "orthodoxy is not a mere body of opinion but a distinctive relationship—a relationship of power," reflects the power dynamics between Jonestown and the anti-cult groups of America's broader Christian society (ibid).

In addition to deviating from the societal norms of mainstream and perhaps more orthodox Christianity at this time, the People's Temple also challenged the societal context of racism and inequality of the period. This context is a large part of what motivated the moral commitments of the People's Temple. To this point, in an Indiana town which had a prominent Klu Klux Klan presence, and after his "integrationist views forced him out" of leadership at other Christian churches, Jim Jones founded the People's Temple upon a "vision of equality and harmony" (Smith 1982, 374). Jones and the People's Temple challenged the societal context of a nation where racism and inequality were commonplace and accepted as a part of a norm. To emphasize this vision, Smith describes how, by 1960, Jones' commitment to integration had "become so well-known that he was appointed director of the Indianapolis Human Rights Commission" (Smith 1982, 374). After relocating to California, this emphasis on racism continued, as evident in a sermon where Jones announced that American society "had plans to destroy every black person," deeming these plans "racial genocide" (Chidester 1991, 66). Indeed, Vernon Gosney, a bisexual white man, and Cheryl Wilson, a black woman, "moved into the communal housing system the church had built in [the] Redwood Valley" in California, hoping the People's Temple would "provide [the married couple] the accepting and politically progressive family they both lacked at home" (Vandecarr 2003, 38). This focus on racial equality drew many to the movement, and continued to be emphasized after the move to Guyana. Tim Stoen, who moved to Jonestown with his son and managed to escape the deadly fate of his fellow church members (and, very unfortunately, his son) because he was visiting his wife in the US, explains that, "[f]ed up with racism and poverty in America, [he] was looking to create a utopian society where people of all races and classes could create a community" (Stoen 1997, 44). This desire was echoed in a "suicide note" written by Jonestown's nurse Annie Moore who said that, to her, "Jonestown had been...a paradise that had eliminated racism, sexism, elitism and

classism, the best thing that had ever happened for...all the followers of Jim Jones," reflecting the existence of these entrenched visions even in the group's final days (Chidester 1991, 160). These statements illustrate the complex motivations of those who joined the People's Temple, and the ways in which Jones' ideas resonated with their desire for a more just and equal social order. Russell McCutcheon argues that "religious impulses" and "religious feelings" are "the product rather than the cause of other human beliefs, behaviors, and institutions," created within unique historical environments, each with specific "social, political, economic, biological, [and other]...entanglements" (McCutcheon 2001, 6-7). The religious "impulses" and "feelings" that were central to the religiosity of members of the People's Temple were cultivated by the group and by Jim Jones, as an explicit rejection of racist and unequal "human beliefs, behaviors, and institutions" that had become normative in mainstream American society.

Jones' emphasis on countering the racism and inequality present in society was part of what drew people to the People's Temple, and bolstered his authority as a religious leader. To Jones, the Bible, which guided much of society during this time—and which still has significant influence—"sanctioned a system that oppressed Blacks, women, and the poor" (Tabor and Gallagher 1995, 162). He emphasized this, telling his followers, many of whom were black, that while "the Bible ha[d] taught [them] to be content" and "that [they] were not to speak up to a white man," he was "the living embodiment of a new and superior God" driven by equality (ibid). Vandecarr, conveying the reflections of survivor Gosney, further describes how "social service and social justice" were "core values" of the People's Temple (Vandecarr 2003, 38). In this way, Jones' morals seemed more "authentic" to his followers than those held by others in mainstream society, an idea consistent with McCutcheon's explanation that "authenticity" is "an all too common, socio-rhetorical technique used to construct a façade of homogeneous group identity in the face of unpredictable, competing, and inevitably changeable

historical situations and social interests" (McCutcheon 2001, 229). In this case, Jones' claims of moral superiority allowed him to construct a seemingly homogenous group identity within the People's Temple which emphasized equality and promoted the change they desired in society. This moral superiority authorized Jones as an admirable leader as did his claims to "vivid forms of faith healing," including the resurrection of "dead individuals" and his claim "that he was able to cure cancer" (Smith 1982, 374). Ida Lassiter, an activist who "made it a habit to go to the church once a month when [she] wasn't on deadline," and became somewhat of a confidant to Jones for about a decade in the US, recounts a conversation with Jones in which he claimed that "God working through [him]" is what allowed Temple members to be "cured of cancer," to "see," and to be "ambulatory for the first time in years" (Hutchinson 2016, 28-9). Jones' claims and assertions of miracle-working power via divine power, were in this way also part of what authorized him. Although the religious group became increasingly isolated and controlling, Jones' initial intentions in creating the People's Temple were thus consistent with the idea that individuals in non-normative religious groups are looking for an improved and more ethical life, perhaps in the face of anger toward "the world around them" (Stoen 1997, 44).

Finally, this discussion surrounding the ethics of the People's Temple and its non-normativity in the face of mainstream society, creates the foundation from which to speculate on a couple of explanations for the tragedy itself. These explanations revolve around the ideas of "revolution" and an escape from "invasion." J.Z. Smith, drawing on one of the Jonestown tapes he was able to get hold of, describes "revolutionary suicide" as "protesting the conditions of an inhuman world" (Smith 1982, 387). This again resonates with Gosney's explanation that the church emphasized being a "good revolutionary." Smith explains that to the people living in Jonestown at the end of the literal life of the People's Temple, they had failed "to achieve their vision of racial equality" (Smith 1982, 387). This was highlighted by the fact that white members of

the religious group had attempted to leave the community when Congressman Ryan arrived (ibid). Further, this attempt was viewed as an abandonment for a "delegation… perceived as a dangerous threat by an arrogant white person representing [the] white establishment" (Chidester 1991, 167). Gosney, previously discussed, was one of those white escapees. He described to his interviewers that "anyone who did anything that wasn't considered for the good of the community was either beaten or isolated in a 4 by 6-foot box," adding that, although Jones claimed that the residents could leave at any time, "[t]hose who tried to escape were branded as traitors, beaten, or put into the isolation box" (Vandecarr 2003, 39). This demonstrates how the vision held by the utopia was not a reality and not as easily constructed as they had hoped. This failure to create a just and peaceful society and its resulting restrictive and non-utopian reality is what prompted certain members to try to leave. Because of their failure to achieve a utopia guided by morals deemed superior to those held by normative society, Jones' thus led his people in a "revolutionary" act that he felt would "elicit shame" in society and force it to wake up from its backwards and normative inequality (Smith 1982, 387). Indeed, Chidester quotes Jim Jones, explaining that the "revolutionary act… was a symbolic statement by 'one thousand people who said, 'we don't like the way the world is'" (Chidester 1991, 159). The act seemed, to them, all that was left to do to provoke equality in society. However, rather than move mainstream society toward greater introspection, the event only further entrenched the labelling of Jonestown as "dirty" and "dangerous," and perpetuated the stigma surrounding new religious groups. This stigmatization only increases the isolation of such groups and, to draw on Tabor and Gallagher, enables their tumbling into dangerous situations.

The failure of the People's Temple to spark complete equality within its own community relates to a second possibility as to why the community may have committed mass suicide: the idea that their final attempt at utopian equality had been "invaded." As Smith explains, "[u]topia

had been invaded, and it was time for another exodus," an exodus to Heaven, or wherever the members of the People's Temple thought they would end up (Smith 1982, 384). As John Hall argues, Jones had "established People's Temple as a religious organization in Indiana in part by challenging racial segregation," and had then moved the religious organization geographically to California, where "the Temple participated in the tides of social change of the decade—the civil-rights movement, the anti-Vietnam war movement, and the New Left" (Hall 2004, 9). Smith explains that, after founding the church in Indiana, Jones increasingly focused his attention on the congregation in California because the state was thought to be among the "safest from destruction" of his prophesied "nuclear holocaust" (Smith 1982, 374). However, as the People's Temple became increasingly criticized and isolated, the group moved once again to Guyana where it hoped to construct an ultimate utopia. In this final earthly destination, the Temple's deviation from the social norms of mainstream American society could seemingly exist unchallenged. In addition to being an "agricultural mission" and "promised land," this location would again offer, perhaps even more securely, refuge to its inhabitants from any "nuclear holocaust" which might occur (Smith 1982, 374-75). However, the arrival and "invasion" of Congressman Ryan was perceived as an indication that the community could not live out its dream. As Smith explains, in paraphrasing Jones' words, "[n]o further terrestrial exodus [would] serve, there [was] no utopia, no 'nowhere' where they [would] not be sought out," thus the escape to an "afterlife" (Smith 1982, 384). Dein and Littlewood explain this invasion as a challenge to the community's unity, stating that "Because Jim Jones had brought them together, because they had lost themselves and been reborn in the Temple, because they could not imagine any alternative to their unity, because they believed themselves to be under attack, the members were ready and willing to give up their lives rather than lose their community or the leader who crystallized it" (Dein and Littlefield 2005, 205). Interestingly this points to how groups labelled as "outliers" by dominant systems of classification create their own norms which can exclude those who fail to conform to them.

Thus, in sum, the People's Temple was "matter out of place" from normative Christian society and the broader ideological norms in the US at the time (Douglas 2003, 50). Its categorization as a "cult" was an exercise of power by normative society which "othered" and isolated it. Furthermore, this categorization affected the way that the People's Temple developed. The People's Temple developed in a sociohistorical context where particular attitudes surrounding Christianity were acceptable and others not, and where inequality, including racial inequality, was widespread. This social condition largely influenced the morals and attitudes within the People's Temple and gave authorization to Jim Jones as the group's leader. In addition to his "moral superiority," Jones' assertions of miracle-workings gave him credibility. Finally, with these points in mind, the individuals at Jonestown may have committed mass suicide to convey a revolutionary statement to broader society and to make a final escape from the invasion by outsiders.

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TRANSLATION BEYOND WORDS

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Introducción

Siempre me ha fascinado el lenguaje, tanto las lenguas que hablo como el sistema mental del lenguaje que nos permite la comunicación. Esta traducción es la culminación de mi formación lingüística en DePaúl y el producto de mi conocimiento del inglés, del español y de los matices de ambos idiomas. Es con gran gusto que entrego mi traducción del ensayo político "Mis preocupaciones" por la afamada periodista cubana Yoani Sánchez. Espero haber captado su voz clara en esta traducción al inglés para que nuevas lectoras y lectores puedan valorar su mensaje verdaderamente urgente. Ahora más que nunca, no podemos restarle la importancia que tiene el decir la verdad ante el poder. Ser un instrumento para este fin es un honor.

Introduction

Language has always fascinated me, both the languages I am privileged to speak as well as the mental system of language that allows us all to communicate. This translation is the culmination of my linguistic education at DePaul, the product of my knowledge of English,

Spanish, and the nuances of both languages. It is with great pleasure that I submit my translation of the political essay "My Worries" by renowned Cuban journalist Yoani Sánchez. I hope to have captured her clear voice in this English translation so that new readers may also appreciate her deeply urgent message. In these times, the importance of speaking truth to power cannot be understated. To be an instrument to this end is an honor.

My Worries

Written by Yoani Sánchez, 11/26/2012
Translated by Marina Blough

I worry about this little old man, who, after working his whole life, now peddles cigars on the corner. Also about the young woman who looks in the mirror and calculates the value of her body on the "sexual market," where she might find a foreigner who can take her away from here. I worry about the black man with weather-beaten skin who, though he always wakes up early, will never see himself promoted because of the racism—visible and invisible—that condemns him to a menial position. The deeply wrinkled forty-something who automatically pays her union dues even though she can guess that at the next meeting they'll announce that she's out of work. The adolescent from the countryside who dreams about escaping to Havana because, in his small town, the only things that await him are a lack of resources, low-paying jobs, and alcohol.

I worry about the girls I grew up with, who now—after decades—have less, suffer more. The taxi driver who

must carry a machete under the seat because crime is on the rise even though the newspapers refuse to report it. I worry about the neighbor who comes in the middle of the month to borrow a bit of rice, despite knowing she'll never be able to return it. The people who fall upon the butcher shop as soon as the chicken rations arrive, knowing that if they don't buy it that same day their family will not forgive them. I worry about the academic who holds his tongue so that suspicion and ideological insults don't rain down upon him. The middle-aged man who once believed and now doesn't believe, and to whom just the thought of a possible change is terrifying nevertheless. The child who dreams of going to another country, toward a reality he doesn't even know, toward a culture he doesn't even understand.

I worry about the people who can only watch official television, only read books published by official publishers. The *guajiro*[1] who hides the cheese that he plans to sell in the city in the bottom of his sack, so the police won't find it. The old woman who says, "yes, this is coffee" when her emigrant daughter sends her a package with some food and a bit of money. I worry about the people who face worse and worse social and economic vulnerability, who sleep on so many doorsteps of Havana, who look for food in so many garbage cans. And I worry not just about the poverty of their lives, but because they are increasingly relegated the to the margins of public policy and political discourse. I am worried, deeply concerned, that the number of disadvantaged people is increasing, and no channels even exist to recognize and resolve their situation.

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[1] *Guajiro*, a word derived from indigenous populations in northern South America and/or the Caribbean (disputes arise on its etymology within Cuban dialect specifically), refers to a particular kind of native Cuban agricultural worker. The word has strong positive connotations; *guajiros* are considered an essential element of Cuban life and prosperity because of their hard work in Cuba's agricultural sector. English translations such as "peasant" and "farmer" do not adequately capture this richness, so the word was left as is.

FIGURE 1

Foto: Orlando Luis Pardo Lazo

Mis preocupaciones[2]
Yoani Sánchez, 26/11/2012

Me preocupa ese viejito que después de trabajar toda su vida ahora vende cigarros al menudeo en la esquina. También la joven que se mira al espejo y valora su cuerpo para el "mercado del sexo", donde podrá encontrar a un extranjero que la saque de aquí. Me preocupa el negro de piel curtida que por mucho levantarse temprano jamás podrá ascender a un puesto de responsabilidad por culpa de ese racismo —visible e invisible— que lo condena a un empleo menor. La cuarentona de arrugas profundas que paga automáticamente la cotización del sindicato aunque intuye que en la próxima reunión le anunciarán que ha quedado sin trabajo. El adolescente de provincia que sueña con escapar hacia La Habana porque en su

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[2] © Yoani Sánchez 2012. Reimpresión con permiso de la autora, mayo 2020. // Reprinted with permission of the author, May 2020. Generación Y. https://www.14ymedio.com/blogs/generacion_y/ preocupaciones_7_1239546034.html

pueblito sólo le aguardan la estrechez material, una plaza mal remunerada y el alcohol.

Me preocupan las amigas junto a las que crecí y que ahora —al paso de las décadas— tienen menos, padecen más. El chofer de taxi que debe llevar un machete escondido bajo el asiento porque la delincuencia crece aunque los periódicos se nieguen a reportarla. Me preocupa la vecina que viene a mitad de mes a pedir prestado un poco de arroz, a pesar de saber que nunca podrá devolverlo. Esa gente que se lanza a las afueras de las carnicerías nada más llegar el pollo del mercado racionado, pues si no lo compran ese mismo día su familia no le perdonará. Me preocupa el académico que calla para que sobre él no vayan a llover las sospechas y los insultos ideológicos. El hombre maduro que creyó y ya no cree y al que, sin embargo, le causa terror tan sólo pensar en un posible cambio. El niño que ha puesto sus sueños en irse a otro país, hacia una realidad que ni siquiera conoce, hacia una cultura que ni siquiera entiende.

Me preocupa la gente que sólo puede ver la televisión oficial, leer sólo los libros publicados por las editoriales oficiales. El guajiro que esconde en el fondo del maletín el queso que venderá en la ciudad, para que los controles policiales no lo encuentren. La anciana que dice: "esto sí es café" cuando la hija emigrada le envía un paquete con algo de comida y un poco de dinero. Me preocupan las personas que cada vez están en un estado de mayor indefensión económica y social, que duermen en tantos portales de La Habana, que buscan comida en tantos latones de basura. Y me preocupan no sólo por la miseria de sus vidas, sino porque cada vez quedan más al margen de los discursos y de las políticas. Tengo el temor, la gran preocupación, de que el número de desfavorecidos va en aumento y que ni siquiera existen los canales para reconocer y solucionar su situación.

Rebecca Vichi | *Vivian*

LINGUISTIC DISCRIMINATION: THE CASE OF ONLINE COMMENTARY ON THE LANGUAGE OF ALEXANDRIA OCASIO-CORTEZ

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In April of 2019, Alexandria Ocasio-Cortez gave a speech at The National Action Network Convention, a civil rights organization that works to promote and enact a modern civil rights agenda along the lines of racial, ethnic, and gender equality. Ocasio-Cortez is a Democratic United States representative of the 14th district of New York, a Puerto Rican American, and the youngest elected female member of Congress. At the convention, Ocasio-Cortez spoke on the value and dignity of the working class in the United States of America in a speech based on advocating policy and action on issues such as the wage gap, racism, immigration policy, and access to resources such as healthcare. Specifically, Ocasio-Cortez said:

> "I'm proud to be a bartender, ain't nothin' wrong with that. There's nothin' wrong with working retail, folding clothes for other people to buy, there's nothin' wrong with preparing the food that your neighbors will eat, there is nothin' wrong with driving the buses that take your family to work, there is nothing wrong with being a working person in the United States of America" (Alexandria Ocasio-Cortez, NAN Convention 2019).

Ocasio-Cortez's use of dialect in the public speech quoted received two different types of responses online.

On one side, conservative commentators accused her of appropriating Black culture and performing language to appeal to a majority Black audience; on the other side, supporters of Ocasio-Cortez argued that she was code-switching, which is defined as "acquiring the facility to transition from one language faculty to a different one" (Young 50). In this paper, I respond to both arguments through a two-part analysis, ultimately aimed at defending Ocasio-Cortez's right to her linguistic and social identity. First, I argue that the criticism Ocasio-Cortez received in conservative online commentary for her use of dialect, is a subtler and nuanced form of larger racial and identity-based prejudice. I then use linguistic discrimination and language contact as ideas to explain why Ocasio-Cortez used the speech characteristics that critics accused her of appropriating. Second, I argue that the concept of code switching, as put forth in online commentary by supporters of Ocasio-Cortez, is actually a term rooted in historical racism that perpetuates standard language ideology. In total, I argue that linguistic criticism like Ocasio-Cortez received from conservative pundits and, more broadly speaking, forced code switching, are tools of a racist society to determine whose voices are valued and heard or ignored and therefore excluded from meaningful public dialogue.

From Online Critics: Linguistic Commentary as Racial Prejudice

Much of the linguistic discrimination towards the language Ocasio-Cortez used in her speech at the 2019 NAN Convention occurred in news outlets and on Twitter. These outlets accused Ocasio-Cortez of appropriating African American Vernacular English (AAVE) and using it performatively for her majority Black audience. Representative Ocasio-Cortez's speech patterns that triggered criticism were phrases such as "Ain't nothin' wrong with that" or "the fight's been long y'all" (NBC News). Other characteristics of her speech were the elongation of vowel sounds like *i* in "looks like" or *o* in the word "wrong" several times. The elongation of vowel sounds, sometimes referred to as a drawl and the use of "ain't" and "y'all" are particular features commonly associated with AAVE, which is considered a non-standard dialect of American English.

The distinction between standard and non-standard dialects of English comes from standard language ideology, the socially reinforced notion that the speech patterns of a dominant group constitute the standard, while non-dominant groups use language that sounds or looks different from the standard and is therefore non-standard (Lippi-Green 294). Standard English is not inherently better than non-standard English, but the power of social position and capital of standard English speakers reinforces that there is a correct or more highly valued form of English (Kovecses qtd. in Nordquist). Standard language ideology reveals the intersection between social power and language use, which provides grounds to investigate the root causes of the criticism that followed Ocasio-Cortez's speech.

Ocasio-Cortez was ridiculed by Twitter users and conservative networks for her use of AAVE as a way to appease her majority Black audience. The criticism was primarily based on the assumption that this dialect did not belong to her, and that her use of AAVE was inappropriate for the formal public context. The criticism evidenced in these examples shows several ways that language use can be attacked. First, it can be described as nothing more than an "accent," which delegitimizes a dialect as a valid form of language. Second, language can also be described in terms of its lack of formality, of not being endorsed by a social institution. Third, it can be described as not belonging to the actor, which takes away ownership and agency to use a dialect.

Conservative pundits took to online platforms to comment on the perceived performativity of the language that Ocasio-Cortez used in her NAN conference speech. For example, one headline written for *Breitbart* read: "Watch: Ocasio-Cortez Attempts Accent at Al Sharpton's NAN Conference" (Caplan). Additionally, David Webb, a conservative talk show host, columnist, and Fox News contributor tweeted, "Consider the audience at NAN and listen to the accent and inflection" (@davidwebbshow). In these examples, the commentators attacked the characteristics of the dialectal usage, posited as an attempt at an "accent" that is performed for a specific audience. Referring to dialect as an "accent" pushes a non-standard dialect further to the margins of public discourse by insinuating that it is not a complete or acceptably formal version of a language. Furthermore, Webb insinuates that Ocasio-Cortez chose to use an "accent" to perform for and appeal to her audience. This commentary is problematic because it delegitimizes AAVE as a valid and systematic structure of language, which subsequently attempts to take the power out of the speaker's words.

Furthermore, in an article for the American Conservative online, contributor Rob Dreher wrote, "Last week, in a speech to Al Sharpton's group in the Bronx, Alexandria Ocasio-Cortez spoke in a more 'street' accent than she usually does" (Dreher). In this example, the writer describes the use of AAVE dialect as "street." A definition of "street" found in the Merriam-Webster online dictionary is, "an environment (as in a depressed neighborhood or section of a city) of poverty, dereliction, or crime ("street"). "Street" denotes a specific connotation that, in

this case, situates the speaker using a "street accent" as less than, of belonging to the "street," of belonging to an uneducated population. This way of thinking displaces and excludes people from institutions, education, politics, and leadership among other things.

This connotation between accepted, powerful language, and inappropriate, seemingly uneducated speech is inscribed and reinforced in the dictionary definition. There is a distinction between what is institutional and accepted and what belongs to populations associated with crime, violence, and poverty. Dialects associated with Black communities and communities of color are often conflated with belonging to the margins, and Dreher's commentary perpetuates a deficit lens for viewing such dialects. Again, creating a distinction between speech that is "street" or not "street" pushes a divide between what an institution accepts and enforces to be standard and what is not.

Other critics, John Cardillo and Jon Miller, also took to Twitter and accused Ocasio-Cortez of linguistic appropriation of the AAVE dialect as whole, which functioned as a rhetorical tool to mirror left-wing discourse on cultural appropriation. Cultural appropriation is a term often used in left-wing discourse to describe the way that dominant groups absorb and exploit the culture and traditions of non-dominant, marginalized groups (Scafidi qtd. in Nittle). John Cardillo wrote, "In case you're wondering, this is what blackface sounds like" (@johncardillo). Jon Miller wrote "Fake Blackcent alert! Wow. Cringe" (@MillerStream). These two examples of the criticism that Ocasio-Cortez received are particularly interesting because this type of discourse is familiar from other veins of critical commentary on appropriation. For example, discourse on the political left on cultural appropriation will employ the concept of "Blackface" to criticize white people for their racist appropriation of Blackness in the form of costume or even use of language. This discourse is turned on its head and is used as a tool on the other side of the political arena to criticize Ocasio-

Cortez's use of speech characteristics associated with AAVE.

Linguistic Discrimination and Linguistic Borrowing

A distinction between standard and non-standard dialects of English, such as AAVE, in the United States creates a marked difference between the speech patterns of a dominant group and of non-dominant groups, which is perpetuated through standard language ideology. Lippi-Green in "Language ideology and Language Prejudice," defines standard language ideology as "a bias toward an abstracted, idealized, non-varying spoken language that is imposed and maintained by dominant institutions" (293). Standard language ideology creates a distinction between standard and non-standard and it explains the ways that social power intersects with language use and policing, where non-standard dialects and languages are subject to discrimination by those with power.

Linguistic discrimination is the way in which non-standard dialects are persistently devalued and delegitimized as appropriate ways to use language in the public sphere. More specifically, standard language ideology explains that in the United States, the "standard," accepted form of English is the English associated with the powerful group in society, which is that of upper-middle class, educated white people. Linguistic discrimination or criticism of what are labeled as "non-standard" dialects demonstrates a continued cultural bias against those who don't speak standard English. Such a bias is imposed and maintained through diminishing and criticizing any dialects that are not the prescribed notion of standard—often viewed as socially accepted English.

Demeaning language and dialects other than standard English disenfranchises and challenges a speaker not just based on the content or style of the speech but also their social and linguistic identity. Critics did not say that they disagreed with the points that Ocasio-Cortez made or that they did not accept language that they associate with Black people in the United States or negative connotation

explicitly. Rather, they attacked Ocasio-Cortez for using AAVE in what they labeled as a form of language appropriation, which by unspoken association, was meant to erode her platform based on the perceived credibility of the dialect and of those associated with it. Standard language ideology creates a distinction between standard and non-standard languages and dialects, where language use becomes criteria for dismissal from public discourse. Tamasi and Antieau further support the claim that linguistic discrimination indicates a deeper ideological prejudice that goes beyond language. The racially charged criticism that Ocasio-Cortez received points to the idea that "attitudes expressed toward a particular linguistic system tend to actually be a reflection of the attitudes toward its speakers... and, as such, prejudiced views can be hidden within linguistic perceptions" (Tamasi and Antieau 161). This is to say, the critical online commentary on Ocasio-Cortez's use of dialect is not solely about dialect. Standard language ideology enables linguistic discrimination, which is a more subtle manifestation of race or identity-based attacks. Attacking Ocasio-Cortez's use of dialect disenfranchises the community that conservative critics were associating with the language, and it also works to delegitimize her ethos, attacking the content and argument that she presented to her audience personally. In Ocasio-Cortez's case, larger scale prejudice can then work on the individual level as well.

On an individual scale, critical commentary about language use is not only about the language—it is about devaluing the speaker and the identity that is connected to the language. It is a way of pushing a linguistic and overt form of discrimination that will "deny what is near and dear to a person," and "represents an effort to make someone despicable" (Albarello and Rubini 226). Linguistic discrimination then, functions dually to discredit language explicitly and to attack the associated identity of a person and a community implicitly. The critical language seen on Twitter and in news articles is indicative of the way that attacking language use is also about dehumanizing the speaker. By pointing out

that her audience was majority Black, or accusing her of "black face," critics can project racist sentiment by only criticizing her as one individual adopting a dialect that is not her own rather than the entire group or groups who use AAVE and associated speech characteristics.

Ocasio-Cortez used speech characteristics that reflect her identity and are present in the dialect of English that she uses, which share characteristics with AAVE likely due to language contact – "contact between speakers of different linguistic systems" (Tamasi and Antieau 13). The nature of linguistic systems is that they are "dynamic and open; that is, they allow speakers to adopt new forms... by creating or borrowing new words... or by expanding or limiting their range of meanings" (Tamasi and Antieau 3). Language is constantly changing and the contact it makes with other people and linguistic communities affects this change.

In a place like New York, where many linguistic communities are sharing space, AAVE, Puerto Rican English, and other dialects can overlap, leading to language contact and linguistic borrowing. There is a distinction between appropriation of a language, as critics accused Ocasio-Cortez of, and language contact, which explains why people of different socio-cultural and linguistic backgrounds might share speech patterns in common. The concept of linguistic borrowing provides a basis to understand how features of AAVE and features of Puerto Rican English overlap and why then, Ocasio-Cortez spoke the way that she did at the convention. Critics were quick to accuse Ocasio-Cortez of linguistic appropriation or to argue that certain speech patterns do not reflect her identity; however, by nature, language is dynamic and changing and many communities that come into contact share linguistic features in common.

From Supporters: The Insufficient Justification of Code Switching

Ocasio-Cortez spoke in a way that is often associated with AAVE; however, these characteristics are common of other non-standard dialects due to the adaptable

and dynamic nature of language and the overlapping of linguistic communities. When a speaker uses more than one language or dialect of English, particularly when they use "non-standard" dialects, they often code switch, which is a concept that supporters cited in their rebuttal against the critics of Ocasio-Cortez's language (McWhorter).

Code switching is defined by Vershawn Ashanti Young in "'Nah, We Straight': An Argument Against Code Switching," as the ability to consciously switch between different language faculties (50). This is to say that Ocasio-Cortez chose to use her non-standard dialect in a public speech, whereas, she opts at other times to use standard English in similar contexts. While this shift is conscious on the part of the speaker, the decision to switch codes or dialects reflects a larger systemic problem. I would argue that code switching is not sufficient justification or refutation of the criticism that Ocasio-Cortez received, and furthermore, that the concept of code switching is deeply embedded in historical racism which makes it insufficient as a tool to argue against online comments from pundits making comparisons between AAVE and standard English.

Code switching is a strategy that was popular in past decades as a way to promote linguistic assimilation in the education system for children who spoke non-standard dialects in their communities outside of school. Code switching reflects a history of pushing non-standard dialects belonging to Black people and people of color to the margins of society by deeming a dialect "non-standard" and then asking speakers to consciously switch between standard English and other dialects. It is an agent of standard language ideology in that the widely institutionalized and accepted standard English is the expected form of English to be used in the education system, in professional settings, and in the political arena. Those who speak non-standard dialects of English are then required to switch back and forth from dialects they use in their communities to a standard English because not all dialects are socially accepted by the dominant group.

While it is true that Ocasio-Cortez was code switching, her use of a non-standard dialect, an implicit association between language and race, and deeply internalized prejudices triggered criticism. Racial identity and language use are deeply intertwined, and code switching is the device that, as Young argues, forces individuals to shed not only a pattern of speech, but the associated identity when working within contexts where dominant norms are in place. Ultimately, shedding one's linguistic and social identities is a tool of assimilation into a widely institutionalized dominant white culture. Code switching is deeply tied to systems of oppression and the silencing of voices in public discourse and institutions.

Code switching by itself is not a sufficient response to the online commentary that attacked Ocasio-Cortez. Furthermore, code switching is wrongfully and violently imposed on individuals and communities with non-dominant identities, which is to say that code switching is not the fault of those who do it, but rather a symptom of a system that forces people to code switch as the only option to sustain parts of their identities. A deeply ingrained system of linguistic discrimination creates a dichotomy between what is standard and non-standard that pushes non-dominant voices further to the margins of a dialogue. Forcing individuals to code switch and criticizing the use of non-standard dialect, like Ocasio-Cortez's critics did, is a subtle but powerful way to attack the identity associated with dialect and to dismiss the contents of their discourse, their grievances, and their power to contribute to a dialogue. The argument for code switching sustains the discourse that people who use non-standard dialects, often Black people, people of color, and people with marginalized identities, can only combat linguistic discrimination by participating in a forced code switch or in the compartmentalization of their identities.

Conclusion: Linguistic Discrimination Reflects Systemic Prejudice

The case of Ocasio-Cortez reflects attacks on one individual and her linguistic identity; however, the online criticism reflects a much larger systemic racial prejudice against speakers of non-standard dialects of English in the United States. Critical race theory provides a framework to examine the intersection between not only language and power, but also race and identity, to understand in what ways linguistic discrimination echoes larger prejudices. It is important to analyze criticism and discrimination through the lens of racism specifically because "incidents, and others like them, are symptomatic of a society that remains entrenched in racist ideologies" (McCoy and Rodricks 3). While on the surface, a series of similar tweets from conservative pundits reflects a critique of dialect in a specific context, the pundits' comments must be analyzed further to show how their critical commentary is rooted in deeper prejudices against the speaker and against communities that use non-standard dialects.

Critical race theory seeks to "understand how white supremacy and its oppression of People of Color have been established and perpetuated" (McCoy and Rodricks 5). White supremacy and oppression can operate through the use of linguistic discrimination because standard language ideology supports the interests of those in power. McCoy and Rodricks argue that racism is "so engrained in U.S. society that it seems natural and is often unrecognizable or invisible to most individuals" (7). In the case of Ocasio-Cortez, conservative commentators used their platform to criticize language use that is associated with Black communities, to accuse Ocasio-Cortez of appropriating or performing language and invalidating the dialect itself as "street." The pundits' critical discourse is inherently racially charged and indicative of the subtle way that racism can be projected through the policing of language.

In Lippi-Green's discussion of language prejudice, the author argues that this criticism and policing of public dialect presents high stakes as it relates to "who is allowed to speak on a topic – and thus who is heard on that topic" (293). It sustains the "persistent devaluation of the social self" in an attempt to silence the voices of those with marginalized identities (296). In the grand scheme, linguistic discrimination is a tool for sustaining the position of those who already hold power in their status and identities through a persistent devaluation of dialects of English that also devalues the speaker and the identity associated with the language.

Ocasio-Cortez spoke from an intimate place in her identity to an audience that met her with applause and agreement. To say that her language is anything but appropriate for the context then seems contrived. Attacking a speaker's use of dialect allows critics to attack the speaker's racial identity without explicitly saying that they don't want Black people or people of color to have a public platform from which they can speak and be heard. Critics like the ones discussed in this paper can not only denounce dialects of English, they can police who can and cannot use it based on broad stereotypes. Online commentary attacked not only Ocasio-Cortez's identity, but Black identity in the United States, which functions to sustain racism through the subtle and insidious channel of linguistic discrimination. Furthermore, it is not enough to meet linguistic discrimination with the justification of code switching because it is another tool of a racist system that silences and pushes non-standard dialects of English – and associated identities – to the margins of society.

It is generally understood in much of public discourse that overt racism is unacceptable and will be met with backlash; however, this is clearly not to say that as a result, racism no longer exists. By playing on the connotation of a word like "street," a critic can attack and disenfranchise language and the identity that many associate with those who speak this variation of the language without any explicit mention of race. Media personalities on the political right accused Ocasio-Cortez, a prominent progressive public figure, of linguistic appropriation by turning her discourse

on its head, to racially charge her use of dialect without any explicit mention of race; however, this commentary functions as a rhetorical tool because appropriation is actually a term suited to reflect the ways that white people, as part of a dominant group, misuse and arrogate the language of non-dominant groups. Racism is a tool used to reinforce existing power structures, and it is a tool that continues to evolve and change shape over time. Linguistic discrimination combined with manipulation of left-wing discourse by the political right is a rhetorical mechanism that reinforces racism in a subtler form to evade accountability. Racist ideology digs deeper into more nuanced discourse, using broad stereotypes and implicit biases against AAVE to sustain oppression and inequality through linguistic discrimination.

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