DePaul University

Creating Knowledge

THE LAS JOURNAL OF UNDERGRADUATE SCHOLARSHIP

DePaul
UNIVERSITY

COLLEGE OF LIBERAL ARTS
AND SOCIAL SCIENCES
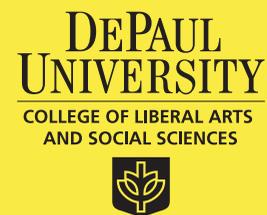
Cover Artwork:

Kevin Barry | *Tree in puddle* (detail)

Kevin Barry | *Tree in puddle*

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STUDENT ARTWORK

Anthony Hernandez | (Top to bottom) *Half Asleep, Foggy, Eyes Wide*

Dear Students, Colleagues, Alumni and Friends,

At DePaul we are all in the business of envisioning the future. Our students seek to imagine their future careers and how they are going to take over the world with the aim of making it a better place. Our faculty design curricula imagining the developmental trajectory of our students many years into the future. They also invest in scholarship that is in tune with the challenges and opportunities of years to come. Our faculty, staff, and administrators—through shared governance, service, and leadership—look toward a future where our community of teachers and learners can continue to drive to fulfill our mission. In a similar way, everyone who has contributed to this new issue of *Creating Knowledge: The LAS Journal of Undergraduate Scholarship*, produced almost completely from geographically distributed spheres mediated by digital technology, has imagined and hoped to be back on campus by the time it is published.

And indeed, we are back on campus as you receive this issue of *Creating Knowledge*. Last year most of you were able to enjoy a digital version delivered to your screens before the hardcopy was available. This year we invite you once again to enjoy the journal's physicality as it arrives in your hands and you can actually thumb through its pages. I am sure that, as always, you will find it to be a carefully reviewed publication of exceptional rigor and intellectual sophistication. *Creating Knowledge* continues to makes palpable the exceptional commitment of our community to not only consume knowledge but also to fully engage our undergraduate students in its creation and dissemination in published form.

With this volume, we celebrate the work of our students in 26 different programs including an inaugural contribution from our new program in Applied Diplomacy. All of the essays and artwork are a product of advanced coursework during the 2020-2021 Academic Year. Some of the essays hereby presented have already been recognized through departmental 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 includes 20 images of student artwork curated by faculty in The Art School at DePaul. I am, in particular, moved by the cover artwork provided by Kevin Barry entitled *Tree in puddle*.

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. I would like to convey a special thank you to Associate Professor Jessica Larva for her work as art jury coordinator and copy editor. 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.

This will be the last issue edited by Associate Professor Lisa J. M. Poirier, who has served as editor of *Creating Knowledge* for the last three years. Her dedication to this project has been extraordinary, including putting out the call for submissions, supporting the faculty work of reviewing, selecting, and editing the student essays, and finally coordinating the production of the print and digital edition of the journal. Our college community will remember with deep gratitude the always-evident love she invested in sharing the work of our students.

It is my pleasure to invite you to enjoy this new issue of *Creating Knowledge: The LAS Journal of Undergraduate Scholarship*, a powerful example of the compelling future our faculty and our students are forging.

Sincerely,

Guillermo Vásquez de Velasco, PhD
Dean

THE REAL COST OF TOURISM IN THE PACIFIC ISLANDS WITH CASE STUDIES IN HAWAI'I AND GUAM

Maya Tersigni*

Global Asian Studies Program

Introduction:

When foreigners travel to the islands, they seldom recognize that where twenty-story buildings now stand was once a jungle. While tourism bolsters the economy in Pacific Island Countries (PICs),[1] bringing industry jobs, higher incomes, and opportunities for growth, industry interests often fail to meet the demands of local and indigenous communities. Islands like Hawai'i and Guam are still heavily controlled by government interest, foreign landowners, and privately-owned hotels. Tourism, ignited by settler colonialism, globalization, political and economic opportunity, has caused the islands to experience considerable environmental and cultural degradation from travelers. The hyper-focus on performative aspects of culture exploits "culture as a device for promotion and monetization" (Cheer et al. 2018, 443). Tourism often subverts tradition in PICs, has misappropriated native languages and cultural symbols, and compromises the natural environment from exploiting marine life to diminishing the quality of beaches and reefs. The relationship between tourist perceptions of the islands and the cultural reality creates friction due to a lack of education and awareness of customs and tradition among travelers.

The exploitation of rituals, symbols, language, and natural resources make casualties out of culture and tradition in PICs due to the shortcomings of tourism. Using various scholarly articles written by Pacific Islanders and interviews with long-term residents of Hawai'i and Guam, including employees within the tourism industry and local activists, this paper explains, from a local perspective, how tourism has impacted the Pacific Islands beyond the economy. Beginning with an overview of geographic location, economic dependence and growth in PICs, the case studies, Hawai'i and Guam, illustrate the cultural and environmental impact of tourism, emphasizing the misuse of indigenous symbols and linguistics, and general lack of awareness of history and culture among travelers.

Firsthand accounts from locals on the islands delineate the process and presence of tourism as a modern-day widely-accepted and normalized version of settler colonialism through land acquisition and damage by non-Indigenous people looking to capitalize on the industry. They explain the stereotypes created by non-Pacific Islanders that inform social assumptions about islands in Oceania that are not Hawai'i and how these shape travel patterns, tourist behavior, and overall lack of cultural awareness. As a solution, first, local governments and major tour companies and hotels need to educate travelers about the history and culture of the island, to deconstruct the stereotypes that inform tourist attitudes. Providing tourists with the educational tools they need to learn about the significance of language, cultural symbols, monuments, etc., gives large corporations invested in the tourism industry in PICs the opportunity to invest in a meaningful cultural exchange, which is ultimately the purpose of tourism. As a policy measure, Hawai'i has

1 PICs include the Commonwealth of the Northern Mariana Islands (including Guam), the Federated States of Micronesia, Fiji, French Polynesia, Kiribati, the Marshall Islands, Nauru, New Caledonia, New Zealand, Palau, Solomon Islands, Tonga, Tuvalu, Vanuatu, and Wallis and Futuna, (WHO 2013). While Hawai'i is legally a U.S. State, it is considered an occupied nation to Native Hawai'ians—similar to Guam, which is an unincorporated U.S. territory.

taken steps in this direction by implementing an Ocean Conservation fee for all non-resident travelers arriving in Hawai'i. Beginning in January 2024, a small $1 per person fee is expected to accumulate to $30 million over 15 years (*HNN* 2021). The question remains, is this enough?

Next, local communities and small business owners, including indigenous people and long-term residents, need the proper technological and financial infrastructure to develop and expand their entrepreneurial efforts to localize tourism (Jayaraman and Makun 2020, 374). In addition, newer trends such as ecotourism support sustainable practices among travelers to PICs, where visitors acknowledge the importance of sustainability not only to indigenous communities but to all the interconnected global ecosystems that depend on Oceania for food, commerce, etc.

Important distinctions fall between the demographics of tourists traveling to Guam and Hawai'i, with 80% from Japan and a small but growing portion of Korean travelers to Guam and generally white and East Asian tourists in Hawai'i, as these demographic groups tend to have the means to travel. Furthermore, the behavior of tourists, including lodging choice, spending habits, and leisure activities often point to cultural values (i.e. East Asian collectivism being in closer geographic proximity to Guam compared to American individualism being closer to Hawai'i) (DeLisle 2016, 564). While Guamanians shared their general satisfaction with the cultural conscientiousness of Japanese tourists, Hawai'i residents call attention to the fact that most white *and* East Asian travelers neglect to acknowledge their own history that is deeply rooted in exploitation of indigenous people and their resources. For instance, one of the main reasons why Native Hawai'ians are being pushed out of their own land is the boom of Japanese property ownership in the 1970s according to Elina,[2] Guamanian and former

Guam resident Japanese tourists who had never or rarely traveled to Hawai'i purchased vast neighborhoods of property on Hawai'ian land *over* asking price to ensure that indigenous people could not outbid them.

The presence of opportunistic travelers and settlers on the island not only contributes to economic inequality but widens social divisions as well. One interviewee, Hawai'i resident Paige,[3] shared their grievances regarding white college students at the University of Hawai'i at Manoa disrespecting locals while misappropriating Hawai'ian sayings to appear 'cultured.' One way this issue is exacerbated by current policies is through the Western Undergraduate Exchange (WUE). In California, high school graduates can attend UH Manoa at a lower cost, along with any public high school student on the West Coast, due to WUE, a coalition of public state colleges on the West Coast including Idaho, Oregon, Washington, Arizona, California, Nevada, and Hawai'i. Many students who partake in WUE and are non-Pacific Islanders oftentimes behave as though Hawai'i is their vacation spot. Given that they reside on the island for several months out of the year for school, they at times identify as being "locals," but in actuality the United Nations World Travel Organization (UNWTO) defines tourism as travel "outside one's usual environment for not more than one year" (Goeldner and Ritchie 2012). Students are still classified as travelers not residents if they do not stay within a location for a full year or more (Goeldner and Ritchie 2012). Similarly, as Paige highlighted, Asian settlers[4] and former residents routinely self-identify as "being from Hawai'i" and "a person of color," when in actuality, they disassociated from locals while living on

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2   Elina (former resident of Tamuning, GU and KPDN newscaster) in discussion with the author, January 2021.

3   Paige (resident of Honolulu HI) in discussion with the author, February 2021.

4   Asian settlers are defined as any person typically from East Asia and Southeast Asia whose ancestry line does not derive from the Hawai'ian Islands or Tahiti (now French Polynesia). If a non-indigenous Hawai'ian person is born in Hawai'i, they are still defined as a settler despite ties to the community. Politically, East Asians in particular are generally not looked upon favorably by Indigenous people and activist groups especially.

island, thereby sharpening social divisions and increasing distrust (Paige 2021).

Ultimately, the conflict between government interest and the demands of local indigenous activist groups remains unresolved in many PICs. Recent case studies including the Guam Visitors Bureau's "Tourism 2020," a plan to revamp Guam's tourism industry in favor of expansion and revenue growth offers insight on the government's agenda. Meanwhile, local indigenous Chamorro[5] activists push back on these policy proposals on the grounds of cultural erasure, condemning the Guam Government's use of Chamorro icons like the sinâhi for tourism promotion (DeLisle 2016, 565). Pacific Islanders share many of the same struggles with tourism: how to weigh the economic benefits against the cultural and environmental detractors that often violate the cultural sanctity and tradition created by indigenous people.

Overview: Geographic Location, Economic Dependence and Growth

As the Pacific Islands with the closest proximity to the U.S., Guam and Hawai'i are two of the most easily-recalled destinations for Americans to understand the impact and draw of tourism to PICs, hence why they were chosen as case studies. Situated almost at a midpoint between Guam and the U.S., the 137 Hawai'ian islands cover 10,931 square miles and span 1,500 miles.[6] Located 2,000 miles southwest of the U.S., Hawai'i was first inhabited by Tahitians and other Polynesians prior to colonization and is now home to 1,415,872 people. Hawai'i attracts 7 million tourists annually, growing by 65% in the past 2 decades (Friedlander et al., 2005, cited in Wiener 2009, 489). In the Western Pacific as part of Oceania, Guam covers

212 square miles as the largest island in Micronesia and is home to 167,294 people. The island originally formed on top of a dormant volcano near the Marianas Trench, the deepest part of the ocean, at -35,797 feet. Located 13 degrees off the equator, Guam's tropical climate, averaging about 80 degrees year round, attracts visitors during all seasons.

Economic Dependence on Tourism:

Driven by globalization, tourism fuels the economies of Hawai'i, Guam, and most PICs. Without revenue generated from imports or exports, tourism represents 60% of Guam's annual revenue as the single largest industry, generating $1.4 billion annually out of a $5 billion economy and employing over 18,000 residents out of 160,000 (GVB 2014, Cagurangan 2017, 10). Prior to COVID-19, Governor Eddie Calvo discussed the future of tourism on Guam, predicting that Guam's then 95% capacity would increase to 110% (Cagurangan 2017, 10). In Hawai'i, however, tourism fuels only 21% of the economy and supports 204,000 jobs, about ⅓ of the economic dependence of smaller PICs like Guam (Szigeti 2018).

The World Bank and the South Pacific Tourism Organization recorded 2.30 million tourists that visited PICs as of 2016, increasing at an average rate of 4.9% in the last decade (Cheer et al. 2018, 444). They predicted that by 2040, "transformational tourism opportunities" could produce an additional US$1.7 billion in revenue and 116,000 jobs to PICs (Cheer et al. 2018, 444). However, significant economic leakage results from foreign ownership of indigenous land that stifles the potential revenue generated by local business owners. With this model, ultimately the unequal distribution of wealth in favor of international corporations like Hilton and the Four Seasons, property developers, and travel companies illuminates who actually benefits from this lucrative industry. In alignment, Hawai'ian resident Paige lamented that tourism does not benefit all people in Hawai'i, especially Native Hawai'ians, yet their culture is the

5   "Chamorro" is the term used to identify people from Guam, including the Indigenous people. Native Pacific Islander people are directly identified as "Hawai'ian" or "Chamorro" for example. This is separate from settlers, who can be any ethnicity but are not indigenous to the island they live on or are visiting.

6   Both Guam and Hawai'i provide significant military advantages to the U.S. due to their location and played a key role in global conflict with the U.S. during World War II.

product being commodified, a concept Chamorro author Christine DeLisle discusses later.

Demographics of Tourists:

Once again, important demographic distinctions exist between tourists on Guam and the Hawai'ian islands, which poses the question of why, besides geography, there are virtually no white people on Guam, other Micronesian or small South Pacific islands. Largely unrecognized to many is that tourism in Hawai'i began with the opening of military bases, bringing the first white American settlers to Hawai'i who would return to the mainland to share stories (Paige 2021). Today, due to tourism, Hawai'i's image is stereotypically regarded as exotic and tropical for the purpose of commodification. Among East Asian tourists, Guam's image of being "close and cheap" or the "poor man's Hawai'i" still exists today as discussed in an interview with Elina, a former resident born and raised on Guam (Lee and Lee 1982, 925). Conversely, Hawai'i is considered "safe" compared to other PICs, given its association with the U.S., she says. This can also be attributed to the global, long standing issue of anti-indigenous sentiments from white people. According to Tara,[7] a lifelong Guam resident, who has worked for United Airlines for 32 years and has witnessed the evolution of tourism firsthand and offers a deeply informed perspective on travel patterns, spending habits, and economic trends among those traveling to Guam. She observed that Japanese tourists on average stay for 3 days in upscale hotels and spend more money than other groups. The duty free stores that have come to define Guam and other island nations like the Philippines and the newly constructed shopping malls and other places in Global Asia cater to Japanese tourists, who have generally spent more than other groups from East Asia. Walking through Guam's luxury shopping mall in Tumon on any given day, 9 out of 10 people are Japanese tourists, not because they outnumber locals in the island's population but because locals cannot afford to shop there.

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7   Tara (United Airlines employee and Guam resident) in discussion with the author, January 2021.

Comparatively, South Koreans, with less experience traveling to Guam, also stay for 3 days on average but have cheaper consumer habits according to Tara, which has created new demands in the tourism industry, particularly in the area of real estate purchasing. Some buy homes to Airbnb out, but rarely stay for extended periods of time and tend to stay within their own group (Elina 2021). However, indigenous Chamorro activist groups and some locals push back against this, as they believe that indigenous people have land sovereignty. In reality, many new property owners from South Korea may be unaware of the historical undertones connected to East Asian imperialism on Guam that incite many of these sentiments of distrust from Chamorros. By educating tourists on this history and current indigenous movements for cultural preservation, they can have a better idea of what to expect from their experience on Guam and how to treat the people, land, and resources with reverence. This way, travelers could integrate more comfortably on the island and know what considerations to make to better inform their decisions to buy land or invest in local businesses.

Cultural Impact: Performativity, Stereotypes, and the Exploitation of Language and Symbols

Pointing to the stereotypes of PICs, including the allure of "paradise, friendly "natives," and tropical splendour," Cheer et al. (2018) criticize the "tourist gaze," noting "the dual colonization and missionary agendas [as] key drivers for visitation" (443). First, the authors lament the use of "culture as a device for promotion and monetization," identifying the strategic and exploitative focus on performative aspects of island culture (Cheer et al. 2018). By presenting Hawai'ian culture through dance, luaus, and grass skirts, all of which have been heavily appropriated by white people visiting Hawai'i and in the contiguous U.S., tourism today not only fails to encompass the depth of Hawai'ian culture but is actively harmful (444). Cheer et al. (2018) note that the "very notion of tourism can be seen to act as a powerful ideological category or trope" and that "through their reparation such tropes become endlessly sedimented as 'self evident' essence" (446). This endangers

the preservation of culture, as it manipulates the narrative of Hawai'ian and Chamorro culture through the lens of the "tourist gaze" that sidesteps any accountability to care for the land and respect the local communities. In regard to their point about missionary agendas, the authors challenge the assumption of many tourists that their visit is 'saving' the Hawai'ian people as some sort of lifeline. This connects to the age-old stereotype of all indigenous people being 'uncivilized' without the influence of colonialism, which is still generally accepted by foreign travelers even if not as loudly.

In conversation with Elina about the culturally deteriorative aspects of tourism, we discussed the impact of icons who ignited the intersection of popular culture and tourism. The performative aspects of Hawai'ian culture—Hawai'ian shirts, Tahitian dance, and luaus—were popularized by Hawai'ian icon Don Ho. On Guam, Jimmy Dee, who coincidentally was one of my grandma's classmates, was responsible for the cultural dissemination of Chamorro songs and the classic Chamorro fiesta meal. These two men contributed greatly to the globalization of PIC culture and consequential tourism boom before the social media era.

Another issue locals on PICs face is the appropriation of language and the misuse of linguistics. In Hawai'i, tourists use traditional Hawai'ian phrases to appear "cultured," without any regard for their actual meaning (Paige 2021). Local and indigenous communities reject the current use of the Hawai'ian terms "*hapa*" and "*haole*" by tourists, settlers, and non-indigenous people. *Hapa* means half Hawai'ian, not half Japanese or half Asian, as most mainlanders understand it today, a result of language appropriation (Paige 2021). Similarly, *haole* translates to *foreign* not white, but has been regularly misused by nonnative settlers to create separation between Asian settlers and white settlers (Elina 2021). Unfortunately, since these Hawai'ian terms have been misused by Japanese people for so long, eventually disseminating to other parts of Asia, many unknowingly misappropriate these terms,

reestablishing why education about Indigenous culture is so important prior to visiting.

On Guam, locals are currently facing an issue that has persisted since Guam became a U.S. territory: the irreverence shown toward sacred indigenous symbols, such as the sinâhi and latte stones.[8] Indigenous activists have been protesting the commodification of indigenous symbols like the sinâhi and the destruction of latte stones, which are stone pillars thousands of years old, found only on the Mariana Islands. The base of a latte stone is shaped from limestone called the *haligi* and the capstone, or *tåsa*, is composed of a large brain coral or limestone. The *sinâhi* is a crescent moon shaped clamshell necklace that signifies, "outward defiance of modern lifestyle under U.S. colonialism, in protest of military land confiscation and environmental degradation" (DeLisle 2016, 566).

Now widely worn by all Pacific Islanders, offering us a connection to our homeland, these symbolic necklaces were popularized by the Chamorro nationalist group Nasion Chamoru (Chamorro Nation), led by Angel Santos, but many tourists simply use the sinâhi to

8   Military presence catalyzed the presence of white tourism on Guam, leading to the infamous image of a white woman sitting on top of a latte stone, posing for a photo.

FIGURE 2

"Controversy: A Navy service member is pictured at San Ramon Falls on Guam, sitting on a latte stone." Photo courtesy of Prutehi Litekyan, cited in the *Guam Daily Post*, July 17, 2018.

FIGURE 4

"Hima sinahi with spondylus (oyster) beads. This piece is owned by Francis Mendiola." Photo courtesy of Maga'Lahi, a blog that disucusses issues, topics, and arts related to Chamorro culture. March 28, 2010.

FIGURE 3

"Latte: Stone Pillars and Capstones." Archaeological research has found that during Guam's late prehistoric period, from about 1200 BP to 300 BP (before present), *latte* began to be used and became increasingly common before abandonment after Spanish colonization. Throughout what is now the Commonwealth of the Northern Mariana Islands (CNMI), *latte* have been found in the southern CNMI islands of—Rota, Tinian, Aguiguan, Saipan—and even in some of the smaller islands, such as Pagan. Photo courtesy of Guampedia.com

FIGURE 5

"Ben "Sinahi" Del Rosario" wearing a sinahi necklace at Chamorro Village on Guam. Photo courtesy of Guampedia.com, "CHamoru Jewelry." June 15, 2020.
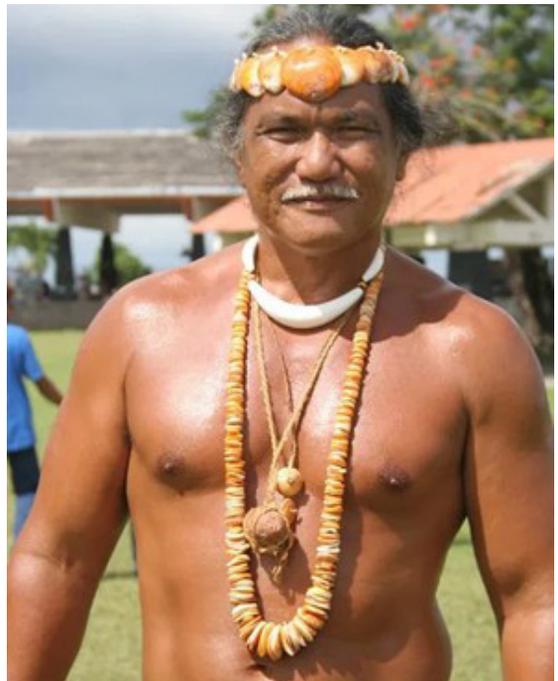
associate themselves with islander culture (DeLisle 2016, 566). The linguistic and symbolic cultural substance that tourists are exposed to should not be diminished to just words and items with a cheap price tag; they are sacred. Today due to tourism, sites in PICs that are significant to local communities charge everyone, including locals and indigenous people, to enter their own sacred land. One place is Talofofo Falls on Guam that charges $20 for access to a space that was once an open jungle, where adults like Elina used to play with her siblings after school and where I regularly spent time with my cousins growing up (Elina 2021). In Hawai'i, the Kamaaina discount, offered to locals with a valid ID, helps to lower the cost moderately but the real problem is the principle of land being taken in the first place (Paige 2021). The conversion of culturally significant areas is "gentrifying" the environment in favor of profit, with the demands of tourists taking precedence over cultural integrity and tradition (Paige 2021). Paige notes that, "Taking favorable aspects of Hawai'ian culture and watering down the experience takes away agency from owners of the land." Tourists being allowed to visit sacred sites and monuments intended for veneration is a privilege. Watching white settlers treat thousand-year-old structures like playgrounds is damaging to tradition and disturbing to any native Pacific Islander and anyone who deeply cares for these communities. Further, having to pay to access your own land is not merely an inconvenience. When those who purchase the land for these tours are not Indigenous, it is settler colonialism alive and well.

Unfortunately, many of these cries have fallen on deaf ears among political officials. On Guam, the Guam Visitors Bureau (GVB) seeks to expand tourism in their newest plan, Vision 2020. There remains a persistent dissonance between the powers that be and local interests. Vision 2020 cites the following objectives: "Promote the Chamorro Culture," "Promote Our Unique Attractions," and "Extend Tourism Beyond Tumon" (GVB 2014). However, policy decisions ultimately only reflect the interests of the government and corporate powers in the tourism industry (Cagurangan 2017, 10).

GVB chairperson Mark Baldyga in his statement about Tourism 2020 shared that the plan aims to preserve the integrity and richness of Chamorro culture to elevate Guam's ranking as a top tourist destination by diversifying its current 80% Japanese tourist population and breaking away from the reputation of being "close and cheap" (DeLisle 2016, 564). The ultimate question is at what cost will these changes happen and at whose expense?

As with any tourism experience, travel opens up opportunities to foster local pride, share infrastructure, provide direct socio-cultural support, and increase cultural awareness to other countries. However, the commodification of culture remains an issue for maintaining the integrity of indigenous customs, history, and tradition and if that can withstand the effects of tourism that we are already witnessing.

Environmental Impact: Marine Life, Beaches, and Sacred Sites

Ideally, the positive impacts of tourism would result in the restoration of ancient monuments, sites, and historical buildings, with extra care put forth to preserve the natural environment, but unfortunately tourists are notorious for damaging these structures and the natural habitat like coral reefs even after being warned. Some examples of this range from hunting and fishing to walking on vegetation, damaging ancient monuments, and constructing tourism superstructures that take away from the natural aesthetic. In "Hawai'i's Real Life Marine Park: Interpretation and Impacts of Commercial Marine Tourism in the Hawai'ian Islands," interviews with tour boat employees, operators, and other experts reveal the industry-wide issue of "depreciative" behavior in commercial marine tourism (Weiner 2009, 491). As expected, common violations include swimming with and feeding wild cetaceans, crowding or encircling dolphins and humpback whales, and destroying coral reefs (Weiner 2009, 498). Without the ocean, its biodiversity and vibrant species, there is no tourism.

FIGURE 6

Children swimming with a dolphin while holding on to its fin, a dangerous activity given that dolphins are wild animals held in captivity by marine entertainment companies and children can be easily harmed or killed. Photo courtesy of Julie Cappiello, "5 Reasons You Should Never Swim With Dolphins on Vacation," *Animals in the Wild.* worldanimalprotection.us, December 4, 2019.

Private employees in the industry like tour guides serve as "environmental interpreters," increasing the importance of their thorough understanding of protective and respectful practices. (Cheng, Thapa, & Confer, 2005; Medio et al., 1997, cited in Weiner 2009, 492). Over 80% of visitors to Hawai'i participate in marine activities, including snorkeling, diving, surfing, and ocean kayaking (van Beukering & Cesar, 2004, cited in Weiner 2009, 489). Coral reefs and other coastal habitats alone generate over US $800 million in revenue and an additional US $360 million in added value each year (Davidson, Hamnet, & Minato, 2003; van Beukering & Cesar, 2004; cited in Weiner 2009, 490). The most well-known activity, swimming with dolphins on Oahu, has raised ethical concerns due to the minimal management and regulation of tourism expansion. Under the Take and Harassment Laws of the Marine Mammal Protection Act, swimming with and feeding wild cetaceans is illegal, but tourists tend to ignore this (Weiner 2009, 498). While out sailing or jet skiing, many target dolphin habitats without any knowledge of how to treat the animals properly, leading to the most common violations of crowding or encircling dolphins and humpback whales (Weiner 2009, 498).

As the hotel industry in Waikiki has taken over widespread land, a resounding sense of entitlement has informed the behavior of white tourists whether on the beach or at sacred sites intended for veneration. According to Paige, tourists often violate the privacy of locals. She stated, "It seems as though white travelers do not know what people of color look like," as shown through their habit of taking photos of brown-skinned locals, most of the time without their permission, as they have experienced with their friends. Further, she laments that they often take up large spaces on the beach and fail to pick up after themselves. Furthermore, tourism has exacerbated a well-known and growing issue in Oceania of coral bleaching that has drawn global attention to famous habitats like the Great Barrier Reef that is now slowly decaying due to bleaching (Rhodes and Piculell 2017). Essentially, coral bleaching can result from rising sea temperatures, but it

FIGURE 7

A side-by-side comparison of a healthy portion of the Great Barrier Reef (left), compared to a bleached portion (right). As climate change warms ocean temperatures, coral bleaching is reaching epidemic levels.

Left photo courtesy of Gary Bell / Oceanwideimages.com. Right photo courtesy of Greenpeace / Roger Grace. Cited in "What's Killing Coral Reefs and How can We Stop It?" John Hocevar. Greenpeace.org. April 6, 2016.

is also caused by sunscreen (Rhodes and Piculell 2017). The ramifications of this are highlighted in the film *Chasing Coral*, winner of the Sundance Film Festival U.S. Documentary Audience Award and Audience Choice Awards at the Yale and Princeton Film Festivals in 2017. The responsibility to regulate or correct tourist behavior should not fall on those who call Hawai'i home, much less indigenous people, yet it almost always does. Tour guides and hotels setting parameters for how visitors should treat the environment and sacred sites will set the tone for how tourists should respect the community and their land.

How to Combat These Damages:

The emergence of ecotourism as a restorative effort to repair damages caused by tourism offers a beacon of hope to environmental activists and Native Hawai'ians (Jayaraman and Makun 2020, 371). Ecotourism is defined as responsible travel to natural areas that conserve the environment and sustain the well-being of the local people, involving interpretation and education. According to Jayaraman and Makun (2020), the development and spread of information and communication technology (ICT) by expanding digital infrastructure to make the market more accessible to locals would make this widely accessible, even for low-income travelers (371). This would diversify the tourism population in PICs by democratizing travel resources. To facilitate ecotourism and close the economic wealth gap between corporations and local Hawai'ians, small business owners need the proper infrastructure to build their client service base and disseminate information. ICT facilitates more opportunities for foreign exchange, and home stays, increasing the income of hospitality industry workers and creating local jobs (Jayaraman and Makun 2020, 374).

Other necessary changes on Guam to preserve the environment, according to Tara, include holding tour companies and GVB accountable for integrating environmental consciousness in their tours. She suggests that Guam establish clear rules for the development and maintenance of buildings to improve the sustainability of various spaces on the island. This would include regulations on water, zoning, and the presence of wild animals colloquially referred to as boonie dogs (Tara 2021).

In Hawai'i, the Sustainable Tourism Association of Hawai'i (formerly the Hawai'i Ecotourism Association) was founded in 1995 to support the development of sustainable tourism in Hawai'i. It offers a certification program to educate and recognize conservation-minded tour operators in Hawai'i, the first certification program of its kind in the U.S. The newly passed Ocean Conservation Fee also establishes a clear boundary and expectation from travelers that can hopefully set the precedent for future changes in favor of sustainability in Hawai'i and other PICs to address imminent issues like coral bleaching.

Conclusion:

As the Pacific Islands with the closest proximity to the U.S., case studies in Hawai'i and Guam illustrate the cultural and environmental impact of tourism through the exploitation and misuse of indigenous symbols and linguistics by tourists and non-indigenous people. The deconstruction of racial stereotypes and the preservation of indigenous culture and the environment is predicated on major changes in the tourism industry that must be executed by government officials, hotels, and tour companies. The real expense of tourism should not fall on the creators of culture.

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MONTESSORI EDUCATION FOR BLACK LIBERATION

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Introduction

Education offers the single greatest opportunity for self-exploration. It builds community, raises consciousness, and can be the vehicle for liberation. However, what many students experience is "schooling" rather than education. Shujaa explores this distinction, explaining that schooling prepares students for institutionalized power structures. However, education is "the process of transmitting from one generation to the next knowledge of the values, aesthetics, spiritual beliefs, and all things that give a particular cultural orientation its uniqueness" (Shujaa 1993, 330–31). Although these terms are sometimes used interchangeably, schooling in America suppresses the academic and intellectual opportunities necessary to pursue liberation.

This paper explores the possibility of adapting Maria Montessori's pedagogy for the sake of Black liberation. Named after its founder, Italian physician and educator Maria Montessori, the Montessori Method deconstructs and reconstructs the entire learning experience. Montessori offers individualized curricula that are oriented around peace and justice, facilitate self-exploration, and reject standardization. Montessori has emerged as the most popular alternative pedagogy in the US public school system. Studies show the academic, intellectual, and communal benefits offered by the Montessori Method. As of 2017, there are more than 500 public Montessori programs; Black students are enrolled in Montessori programs at a rate that is 11% higher than the national average (Debs and Brown, 2017). Teachers can integrate culturally responsive practices and critical pedagogy into the Montessori Method to empower Black students to escape the constraints of schooling. Afrocentric critical emancipatory Montessori pedagogy can educate Black students in direct contribution to their intellectual and social liberation.

Black Trauma in Schools

The American education system teaches students to conform to the dominant culture while relegating other cultures to the periphery. According to Shujaa, "one of the functions of schooling in the United States has been to effect a gradual destruction of the identity of African-Americans…justified as being consistent with the promulgation of a common American culture" (Shujaa 1993, 345). Schooling forces students to conform to the values, norms, and identity of a dominant culture which, in the US, is determined by white Americans. An implicit intention of such schooling is the "devaluing… of knowledge centered in the cultures of others in the same society who do not trace their origins to Western Europe" (Shujaa 1993, 346). On the other hand, truly effective education "means empowering [Black adults] to ensure that African-American cultural knowledge is systematically transmitted to [Black] children" (Shujaa 1993, 347–48). Black students find themselves in a crisis of identity, culture, and oppression at school. The solution is the perpetuation of Black culture, a cultural imperative for Black Americans.

According to Farrell, there exists a systematic effort by an 'Education Cartel' to undermine American schooling to benefit the rich and powerful. This cartel consists of private interests from Wall Street to the Koch Bros, who have lobbied tirelessly for the expansion of voucher programs, increased privatization of public education, and the enforcement of Race to the Top (RTTT) and Common Core standards. These policies have led to a schooling system that does not foster students' intellectualism or promote their academic and cultural growth. Rather, it forces students to repress their culture and identity in order to conform to a system that upholds the status quo, which in America is white supremacy (Farrell 2015).

There are several key features of American schooling: predatory zero-tolerance policies, overreliance on subjective disciplinary rules, and the targeted surveillance, punishment, and incarceration of Black students. Kupchik finds that the infestation of schools with School Resource Officers (SROs), the integration of surveillance technology, and the racialized and gendered enforcement of subjective school rules represents the expansion of the prison state into American schooling. Black students are subject to a disproportionate amount of punishment, expulsion, and arrest, funneling students out of the classroom and into prisons where they are further subjected to state violence (Kupchik 2010). This is the school-to-prison pipeline in action. Rather than enjoy their childhoods and learn in school, many Black students are forced into prisons, which "deprive individuals from access to the basic necessities of life and have disproportionate effects on Black ex-offenders, preventing them from rehabilitating and reintegrating into their communities" (Finzen 2005, 322). While it is not the experience of all Black students, thousands of students nationwide end up in prison due to minor interruptions in schools that have only ever treated them as criminals.

Zero-tolerance school policies are the crucial component of the school-to-prison pipeline. These refer to rules that disproportionately target Black students for subjective rules such as misbehavior or dress code violations without any leeway. Shedd names the expansion of the prison state into and throughout schools as the "universal carceral apparatus" (Shedd 2015, 33). This apparatus fails to normalize fair treatment and procedural justice in schools. The system then reproduces academic disadvantages, conflicts, and barriers for students nationwide. Shedd concludes that "the youth contained in [carceral schools] are in danger of fulfilling the expectations that authorities project onto them via negative racial, gender, class, and neighborhood stereotypes" (Shedd 2015, 162). Many Black students' experiences with schooling can be interpreted merely as the forced integration into a system of intersecting oppressions.

Abuse of special education programs has also segregated Black students within integrated schools. Black students, especially young Black men, have for decades been seen by white teachers as problematic, disruptive, and criminal (Kunjufu 2005). "African American students nationwide are nearly three times more likely than whites to be labeled [mentally retarded], almost two times more likely to be labeled [emotionally disturbed], and almost one and a half times more likely to be diagnosed with [learning disabilities] and not included in general education classrooms" (Jordan 2005, 128). This results in Black students representing 19.8% of the special education student body in 200001 while only accounting for 14.8% of the overall school population (Kunjufu 2005). Such failure of public education must be seen as a failure to address Black students' unique cultural and developmental needs. Even if Black students evade the school-to-prison pipeline, so many are segregated from the classroom into special education programs that their academic and social potential is still squandered.

Three primary unaddressed burdens affect Black students at school: (1) widespread employment difficulties force many Black students to serve as secondary household wage earners, (2) rampant community violence threatens their existence, and (3) personal and historical trauma goes untreated (Hall 2019, 54–55). These conditions affect Black students' behavior, which is too often interpreted as laziness, criminality, or disability. When school systems do not meet their needs, Black students are victimized and mis-educated. Schooling has become a traumatizing experience that is in dire need of systematic, culturally responsive reform.

The Montessori Method

The Montessori Method offers free-flowing mixed-age classrooms, prioritizes self-exploration, and centralizes peace education. In 1907, Maria Montessori was tasked with educating young students who were believed to have physical or psychological deficiencies. She developed her pedagogy at the Casa di Bambini through close observation of students whose needs could not be met by traditional school. Montessori combined Edouard Seguin's idea of sequential difficulty in education with Jean-Jacques Rousseau's methodology of curricular individualization and exploring theory through practice, with Friedrich Froebel's conception of school as a garden fostering growth (Yezbick 2007, 7). Each of these elements became the tenets of the Montessori Method, a pedagogy that is student-driven, progressively challenging, individualized, praxis-oriented, and growth-focused. Maria Montessori's method proved extremely effective, as her students outperformed Italian public school students.

During her observation at Casa di Bambini, Maria Montessori noticed that in certain settings, students showed signs and exhibited behaviors of intense focus and flow, which she called 'sensitive periods.' Years later, these periods were named optimal experience or flow, an "intrinsically motivated, task-focused state characterized by full concentration, a change in the awareness of time

(e.g., time passing quickly), feelings of clarity and control, a merging of action and awareness, and a lack of self-consciousness" (Rathunde and Csikszentmihalyi 2005, 346). The Montessori Method is specifically designed to facilitate these sensitive periods with three-hour long learning sessions during which students are empowered to freely learn what interests them most.

Additionally, the Montessori Method is dedicated to peace learning, which offers students a way to practice peace and conflict resolution on personal, communal, and global scales. Peace is fostered through the development of prosocial skills through group work and mixed-age classrooms. Altruism and social duty are developed through the blending of work activities like classroom maintenance into academics. Students' social imaginations are grown through playful academic activities that make practicing peace simple (Duckworth 2006).

By decentering the teacher and recentering education around the student as the agent of learning, self-determination becomes integral to Montessori education. Students are encouraged to freely move about the learning environment, manipulating specially designed Montessori learning tools, progressing through sequential levels of academic difficulty, and learning at their own pace during multi-hour free learning periods (Hedeen 2005, 186). A key element of this process is the improvement of meta-cognitive skills through self and group reflection (Yezbick 2007, 18). These pillars of the Montessori Method equip students with the independence, social, and introspective skills necessary to thrive in any academic or social setting.

Montessori schools grew in popularity throughout Europe and the Americas over the course of the twentieth century. In the US, the pedagogy was well-received in the 1910s and 20s by a private school movement, followed by a period of slow growth until a resurgence during the 1960s when Montessori magnet schools exploded in popularity

(Jor'dan 2017). They offered the alternative teaching model to public schools during the reform movement. Montessori charter schools then emerged in 1992 and maintain the steady growth in popularity of the Method in the US. Today, Montessori schools are the most popular alternative pedagogy in the United States public school system with over 500 schools nationwide (Debs and Brown 2017). There are among 5,000 Montessori schools in the US and 22,000 across six continents (Jor'dan 2017). So many Montessori schools exist because numerous studies have proven the benefits of the Method over various other pedagogies.

In a study at a Midwestern Montessori school, researchers found that the Montessori Method allows students to "find themselves citizens rather than subjects" and to "naturally find a sense of control in their environment," challenging existing power structures (Vaughn 2002, 197). A three-year study found that "Montessori children have a higher level of self-regulation and a more consistent growth in self-regulation skills … than non-Montessori children" which confirms the efficacy of Montessori in fostering productivity and motivation (Erwin, Wash, and Mecca 2010, 29). Similar results were found by a later study that found that fourth and fifth graders who had been in Montessori environments for several years boasted significantly better achievement scores in reading and math than their non-Montessori peers. (Mallett and Schroeder 2015, 49). A comparative study of over 100 five and twelve–year–old students in Montessori and various non-Montessori programs in Milwaukee found similar benefits:

By the end of kindergarten, the Montessori children performed better on standardized tests of reading and math, engaged in more positive interaction on the playground, and showed more advanced social cognition and executive control. They also showed more concern for fairness and justice. At the end of elementary school, Montessori children wrote more creative essays with

more complex sentence structures, selected more positive responses to social dilemmas, and reported feeling more of a sense of community at their school. (Lillard and Else-Quest 2006, 1894)

Beyond these general benefits, the Montessori Method especially benefits Black students in Montessori schools that are culturally responsive.

Black Montessori

Education reform must be culturally responsive, taking account of differences in learning and communication styles across ethno-racial groups and holding "student learning, cultural competence, and socio-political consciousness" as its goals (Brunold-Conesa 2019). Culturally responsive learning takes place within students' cultural contexts, curriculum centers the student, and instruction is mediated by culture, all of which is facilitated by the teacher. Montessori by its nature and structure is culturally responsive (Hall 2019). However, the tenets of cultural responsiveness "must be thoughtfully cultivated and internalized" by Montessori teachers and administrators (Brunold-Conesa 2019).

When educating students whose cultures are suppressed in traditional schooling, it is vital to know the child, their family, and their cultural background; when done with this awareness, Montessori can become culturally responsive pedagogy. Yezbick argues for seven best practices to integrate culturally responsive pedagogy into Montessori environments. These are: (1) individualizing learning and socializing; (2) integrating cross-cultural literacy, communication, and language practices; (3) carefully documenting student; (4) referencing specialists help when needed; (5) learning about anti-bias frameworks; (6) incorporating a range of activities to promote various skills; and (7) committing to equity and educational justice absolutely (Yezbick 2007, 54–56). Hall and Murray (2011) found that this makes Montessori valuable to Black students as it centralizes their culture in the curriculum,

"maximizing learning potential as well as taking steps towards dismantling the stratification of society" (Yezbick 2007, 20). However, there exist several significant barriers that affect Black students' success: high tuition for alternative programs, the complexity of school choice, and misunderstanding the Method (Debs and Brown 2017). Predominantly Black Montessori institutions have grown in popularity since the early 1920s. Montessori preschools serving majority Black student bodies were established in Harlem in the 1920s, and a Black association pioneered the first Montessori teacher training program in the US in 1968. Black Montessori schools have often led the movement for access, awareness, and popularization of the Method in the US (Sabater 2019, 2–3). Amongst 125,000 public Montessori students in the US today, Black students are enrolled in public Montessori schools at a rate 11% higher than non-Montessori public schools (Debs and Brown 2017, 2). One of many Montessorian support organizations, Ayize Sabater founded the Black Montessori Education Fund (BMEF) in July 2020, which grants scholarships, trains teachers, facilitates meetings, and shares knowledge of, by, and for Black Montessorians.

The humanness of the Montessori Method improves students' social and academic development across the board. Hilliard found that Montessori succeeds because of student's decision-making about their curricula, their free manipulation of the learning environment, and the focus on dialogue (Hilliard 1998, 128–129). He compares Montessori to *kindezi*, the Congolese art of childrearing, finding that it goes beyond professionalized, standardized education to a more human, more effective way to raise and educate young people.

Many recent studies have found that Montessori offers staggering social, intellectual, and academic benefits to Black students, specifically. One such study found that Black students in Montessori score significantly higher in reading than their peers in magnet schools, and several points above the national average in math. This is because the Montessori learning environment is better adapted to the needs of Black students than is traditional schooling (Brown and Lewis 2017, 445). Another study found that Black Montessori students demonstrate better math and science achievement several years after graduation than their non-Montessori peers, proving the long-term benefits of Montessori (Dohrmann et al. 2007). Another study found that Black third graders in Montessori scored significantly higher in reading than their peers in magnet schools but fared about the same in math (Hall and Murray 2011). But a comparative study of the academic achievement of fourth and eighth grade Montessori and non-Montessori students showed varied results: no significant differences in language arts and slightly better math scores for Montessori compared to magnet schools, but worse than traditional schools (Lopata, Wallace, and Finn 2005). Results from these studies are inconsistent, especially those in relation to math, since there is no testing in the Montessori classroom, therefore, studies that rely on tests use a medium with which Montessori students are unfamiliar to measure their success.

Studies must acknowledge this inherent difficulty in measuring Montessori students' academic success, but regardless, Montessori offers much more than grade spikes. "Montessori education has a positive long-term impact on student achievement" (Dohrmann et al. 2007, 215) which manifests as academic achievement, cognitive and social skills, and an aptitude for peace, conflict resolution, and justice. Most importantly, Black Montessori students accrue academic knowledge that is ingrained in their unique cultural heritage and identity, empowering them as complex, multidimensional individuals rather than suppressing them as in traditional schooling. The cultural responsiveness of the Montessori Method for Black students transforms a century-old pedagogy developed for poor Italian students into a pedagogy that advances Black liberation.

Critical Emancipatory Pedagogy (CEP)

CEP is an educational framework that liberates students via critical thought, discourse, and community action. It is largely based on themes derived from Paulo Freire, whose ideas were influenced by critical theory. Freire put critical theory to practice with his emancipatory pedagogy that fosters students' critical consciousness through reflection, dialogue, and action, a tripartite process which he called 'praxis.' Twenty-first century theorists developed these ideas further, integrating three primary theoretical frameworks: social reproduction theory, which analyzes the roles of schools in reproducing the social order; Bourdieu's critical reproduction theory, which critiques the reproduction of white middle class cultural norms in schools; and theories of resistance, which offer a praxis for students to resist dominance and transform social relations (Jennings and Lynn 2005). A primary critique of critical pedagogy is the Marxist focus on class, thus an Afrocentric CEP focuses on race, critical race theory, and Black intellectuals.

Paulo Freire argues that a truly liberatory pedagogy involves "a methodology of *conscientização,*" a process of critical thinking about the world and the pursuit of action to confront oppression (Freire 2005, 104). Freire's emancipatory pedagogy rejects the 'banking method' of education by eliminating the authoritative teacher-student dichotomy, centralizing student dialogue as the content of education, and fostering critical analysis of the world together in the classroom. This process creates emancipated knowledge about the world, liberating students in what Freire calls "a radical process of humanization" (Freire 2005, 44). This is the basis for much of the ongoing, iterative critical theory and pedagogy that is the basis for CEP. Freire's work on emancipatory pedagogy is guided by the tenets of (1) problem-posing education that fosters solutions-oriented cooperative discourse; (2) dialogue that reifies democratic ideals; (3) praxis, as education is most useful if it consists of reflective action; (4) building community within and around the learning environment; and (5) building self-confidence for the sake of identity formation, affirmation, and development (Freire 2014). These are the Freirean tenets of emancipatory pedagogy, which are embedded in critical theory.

King argues that CEP for Black students must build on the foundation of the Black liberation tradition (King 2017). This entails resistance to both the denial of Black peoples' identities and elevation of white supremacy. In similar fashion, bell hooks argues for a pedagogy that mandates beloved community through rejection of and opposition to "imperialist white-supremacist capitalist patriarchy" (hooks 2003). Acknowledging everyone's potential for ideological transformation, hooks recognizes the need for community and coalition-building in the struggle against intersecting oppressions. hooks' primary argument is that we can choose to resist the socialization of schooling, and that we must do so through dialogue that situates itself firmly within the Black and Black feminist liberatory traditions (hooks 2003, 56). This discipline is inherently important to the discussion of CEP because it is designed to raise Afrocentric consciousness around intersecting oppressions to foster radical, critical ideology in students. Gloria Joseph outlines four tenets of a liberatory Black feminist pedagogy: "(i) the use of dialogue in assessing knowledge claims; (ii) the centrality of personal expressiveness; (iii) the ethic of personal accountability; and (iv) concrete experience as a criterion of meaning" (Joseph 1995, 465). These are mirrored by Murrell, who argues that Afrocentric CEP disentangles learning spaces from institutionalized racism through an ongoing revisionary process that defines education to be what Black students truly need it to be: liberatory (Murrell 1997).

Critical race theory emphasizes the institutional nature of racism and the nature of race as a social construct upheld by white supremacy, which leads to critical race pedagogy. Such pedagogy incorporates (1) an understanding of

the endemic nature of racism, (2) a critical recognition of the power dynamics of schooling, (3) an emphasis on reflexivity, and (4) the centricity of an explicitly liberatory pedagogy (Jennings and Lynn 2005). These elements create a CEP that does not diminish the effects of race, racial identity, and racism on students and teachers of color, but rather is based upon it. This pedagogy "has the potential to provide youth with a breathing-space to openly express their identities, to enliven their intellectualism by questioning, and to constructively act on individual and social change as they see fit" (Hall 2015, 52). To combine critical race pedagogy with Freire, Hughes (2007) argues for a critical race pedagogy of hope that specifically uplifts liberation in Black students' education. An Afrocentric CEP focuses on the cultures and values of people of African descent and integrates critical race theory with Freirean emancipatory praxis. This must be the platform from which Montessorian education reform is developed, so that the needs of Black students are fully met by a pedagogy that empowers them.

Liberatory Black Montessori

American schooling is characterized by hopelessness, which negatively affects students' intellectual, social, and developmental outcomes:

> The means by which inner-city students are being oppressed is a manifestation of a master-slave morality in conjunction with the perpetuation and reinforcement of myths that bind individuals (students and educators) to the discrepancy between what they perceive to be true ... and what is actually true. (Jackson 2017, 157).

American schooling consistently fails to adhere to the liberatory aims of what education is supposed to be. Jackson argues that schools and teachers must build rapport with students "based on fundamental fairness and respect," set high expectations for them, and support their achievement of these expectation in order to reify a pedagogy of hope in education (Jackson 2017, 156). Doing

so creates egalitarian cultural relationships between students and teachers from different backgrounds, which are key elements of a diverse liberatory education.

When integrated with culturally responsive practices and Afrocentric CEP, the Montessori Method offers a direct path toward Black intellectual liberation. By design, the Montessori Method incorporates culturally responsive and critical emancipatory pedagogy. The groundwork for cultural responsiveness is found in the Method's curricular individualization, as the pedagogy centralizes the student rather than enforces disembodied standards. Montessori curricula incorporate students' individual academic interests, learning styles, and cultural values. This improves students' academic achievement generally and synchronizes Black students' education with their cultural background to foster academic success. This foundation of cultural responsiveness in Montessori makes it culturally relevant for Black students.

The Montessori Method is aligned with Freirean problem-posing education as the Method employs a sort of *conscientização*; it employs a methodology of critical thinking about the world through practical pursuit of action to confront oppression. The Montessori Method rejects the regurgitation of formal knowledge in textbooks in favor of discourse- and action-based education that transforms the social potential of Montessori students. In Freire's words, "the oppressed unveil the world of oppression and through the praxis commit themselves to its transformation" (Freire 2005, 54). This is accomplished through problem-posing discourse which "cannot be purely intellectual but must involve action; nor can it be limited to mere activism but must include serious reflection: only then will it be a praxis" (Freire 2005, 65).

Afrocentric CEP is characterized by the application of critical race pedagogy with Black liberation as its explicit goal. It offers a path toward intellectual and social liberation for Black students when the cultural responsiveness of Montessori generates a culture of

Afrocentricity. Investing in Black Montessori schools that maintain Afrocentric critical emancipatory ideals will not only provide an escape for Black students from oppressive schooling but will offer a path toward truly liberating education. Such schools will ingrain liberatory discourse and praxis into every aspect of the academic experience. Doing so fights back against the systematic annihilation of Black culture and identity in American schooling by assuring that Black youth immerse themselves in their own cultural knowledge, heritage, and activism via their education. The cultural imperative to transmit Black culture and pursue Black liberation can be achieved through the investment in Afrocentric critical emancipatory Montessori education.

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Aaron Krupp | *Dead Body under a Sheet after an Accident*

LABOR AS A VIRTUE: THE POORHOUSE IN ANTEBELLUM NEW YORK

Ally Marcella*

American Studies Program

The fundamental belief that people are rewarded proportionally to their labor is at the forefront of American culture, impacting how we work, how we decide to live our lives, and how we view others. It isn't an active thought or decision, but rather an ideology or tendency baked into our political systems, policies, and dominant or popular thought. This idea is more commonly known and recognized as the American Dream, a seemingly optimistic ideal of endless possibilities that is solely dependent on the hard work of individuals. In reality, an analysis based in this atomizing, meritocratic idea works to "other" or shame those living in poverty who, the assumption is, simply have not worked hard enough. The American Dream has manifested itself in different ways throughout our history, working as fuel for a capitalist labor market in conjunction with its power in the dominant culture. These ideas create the mindset that wealth equates to hard work which equates to human value, drawing attention away from structural causes of poverty and rather focusing on the individual, under the misguided belief in the existence of a fair and equal meritocracy.

Before the New Deal, the United States lacked a national welfare policy. Poor people were tended to and made the responsibility of states, counties, other local municipalities, or even private institutions like churches. Included in these localized policies was the institution of the poorhouse, dating back to 16th century England and then adopted in the American colonies. Poorhouses were voluntary institutions, housing both the able-bodied poor and the so-called undeserving poor, and they acted as a mark of shame. Poor people typically ended up in the poorhouse due to desperation and the threat of starvation, calling into question how much of a choice it was to admit oneself.[2] These institutions acted primarily as deterrents to poverty—a way to force people into the workplace through shame—rather than welfare institutions.[3] It wasn't designed for long-term residents and actively encouraged labor for the sake of labor rather than relief on the basis of a shared and universal humanity.[4] Poorhouses housed most "undesirables" in American society, but saved the most scorn for the "undeserving" poor: able-bodied, nonlaboring adults.[5] For example, the poorhouses, or almshouses, of New York City encompassed workhouses, hospitals, penitentiaries, and asylums, demonstrating how the institutions generally lacked specialization and acted as a way to cast off traditionally unproductive members of society.[6] Reinforcing the importance of the value of labor, most poorhouses required its residents to labor while taking refuge there. The tasks varied depending on the individual poorhouse, and many poorhouses in geographically isolated locations established

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*   Created for Dr. Allison McCracken, AMS 301 Senior Seminar, Autumn 2020

2   Judith Landes, "Poorhouses in America," *Touch Magazine*, Fall 2019. http://www.ncsociology.org/torchmagazine/v931/landes.pdf

3   Michael Katz, *The Undeserving Poor* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2013), 83.

4   Ibid., 46.

5   Ibid., 38.

6   Ibid.

accompanying poor farms for the purpose of labor.[7] This structure very much resembles modern prison farms, typically attached to correctional facilities, where inmates are forced to do manual labor.[8]

The first poorhouse in the United States was implemented in Jamestown in 1622 with the next following decades later in 1660 as the Boston Almshouse.[9] These slowly gained popularity in British colonies that eventually became the United States, with other counties and cities adopting the policy. In New York City, the first almshouse was created in 1736 in response to "poverty and regular outbreaks of measles and smallpox [overtaking] its streets. Greater care and responsibility of the city's poor and sick, along with their dependents, was needed."[10] The city officially became responsible for the well-being of the poor, absorbing the responsibilities of prior privately-run workhouses and taking some responsibility off of churches, who acted as the primary source of relief for New York City's poor.[11] The adoption of welfare by the state rather than primarily through churches and other private entities represents the combination of religious morality depicted in the Protestant work ethic and the needs of capital through emphasis on production and productivity.

In this paper, I argue that the poorhouses worked to shame those who didn't labor in the capitalist system under the guise of poverty assistance, contributing to the prevalence of the meritocracy in the dominant culture while, in reality, "othering" those who didn't participate. The specific locations of poorhouses worked to reinforce the dominant culture surrounding capitalism and to reorganize American life. The poorhouse also acted as an example of how physical and political structures can influence dominant thought and exclude those that don't conform to those ideals. In examining the role of the poorhouse, we can better understand the way in which the past and present are connected in our continual promotion of the laboring meritocracy myth and the shaming of the poor. The American Dream ideology of meritocracy reflected in early poorhouses has been so ingrained in our dominant culture that it has remained constant throughout the changing structures of the welfare state.

Methods and Sources

Throughout this paper, I examine the poorhouse and its legacy in the United States from an explicitly Marxist lens, with the assumption that economic inequality existed in Antebellum New York and was not due to individual moral failings but rather systems set up that made it inevitable to allow the wealthy to profit. I'm also specifically focusing on labor history to understand how the makeup and conditions of the workforce can relate to the development of the dominant culture. Much of my analysis and my textual methods are drawn from the work of labor historian Michael Katz, who has done extensive research on the welfare state in the United States and how it relates to the development and maintenance of the dominant culture. He has written several books on the treatment of the poor, but I primarily draw from his books *The Undeserving Poor* and *In the Shadow of the Poorhouse* to understand the function of excluding the non-laboring from the dominant culture. [12]

I also employ textual and discourse analyses of primary sources to understand the role poorhouses played in the American welfare state, as well as how they and its residents were viewed in dominant thought. Because my focus is poorhouses in New York State in the Antebellum Era, I draw on individual poorhouse archives, documents

7   Michael R. Daley and Peggy Pittman-Munke, "Over the Hill to the Poor Farm: Rural History Almost Forgotten," *Contemporary Rural Social Work Journal* 8, no. 2 (2016).

8   Gordon Hawkins, "Prison Labor and Prison Industries," *Crime and Justice* 5, no. 1983 (1983).

9   Martha C. McCarthy, "Richman, Poorman, Beggarman, Thief: Down but Not Out in Colonial Virginia," *Colonial Williamsburg*, Autumn 2000. http://www.history.org/foundation/journal/autumn00/poorhouse.cfm

10 "Almshouse Ledgers," *NYC Department of Records & Information Services*, October 2015. https://www.archives.nyc/almshouse

11 Ibid.

12 Michael Katz, *In the Shadow of the Poorhouse* (New York: Basic Books, 1996).

from the New York State Assembly hearings, Census records, and several local newspapers as primary evidence. I also draw on evidence and testimony from the New York Secretary of the Board of Charities and from former poorhouse residents to depict how the institution acted as a source of lifelong shame.

Beyond providing evidence of the scorn directed at the poor and their exclusion from society, my primary evidence also works to understand the "othering" present within the poorhouse itself. There were social hierarchies within the poorhouse according to race, immigration status, ability to work, age, etc. For example, while people of color were vastly outnumbered in the poorhouse by whites, when they were present, they were treated as less than even "undeserving" able-bodied non-laboring white adults. Immigrants were also "othered" and European immigrants were stripped of their white privilege within the poorhouse, reducing them to xenophobic national labels. Those deemed the "deserving" poor were viewed with more sympathy, though still exposed to many cruel and unusual treatments that defied their humanity. Throughout my paper, I outline these differences further, calling on Michael Katz's insightful and informative *The Undeserving Poor*.[13]

The other approach I take in my examination of NY poorhouses is a spatial analysis, demonstrating the growth of public, county-run poorhouses in New York during the rise of industrialization. Through Geographic Information Systems and employing ArcGIS, I map where poorhouses were located as well as how they expanded and disrupted rural life due to their formal inclusion in the public welfare state. My primary data for this analysis comes from Poorhouse Census records in New York State, now compiled on Ancestry.com. This geographic examination will spatially demonstrate the growth of the policy of the poorhouse in the public welfare state after the 1824 County

Poorhouse Act passed, requiring each individual county to establish a poorhouse. I map which counties established poorhouses prior to the law and then the growth in official state poorhouses on the county level from 1824-1835. These maps demonstrate both the increase of poorhouses in conjunction with industrialization and their widespread inclusion in the formal welfare state, reflecting how the value of labor was embedded in the dominant thought.

The Poorhouse and the Rise of Industrial Capitalism

While the poorhouse existed in the United States before the rise of American capitalism, it was a sparse institution, and by no means widespread. The industrial revolution lasted from about 1760 to 1840 in the United States, dramatically changing how people lived and worked; such changes included increasing urbanization, the growth of wage labor, mechanization, and the atomization of time, leading to the understanding of labor in an individual, hierarchical sense.[14] These factors worked to slowly reorganize the American way of life from an agrarian model to one centered around capitalist efficiency, heightened by increased productivity. Before the individual urban model, the American economy was broadly organized under an agrarian model, supporting the family or community as a work unit rather than the individual under American capitalism.[15] This communal way of thinking and living had bounds past the nuclear family. Historian William Chauncy Langdon describes community in agrarian America as inclusive of all laborers on the farm: "The hired man and 'the hands' are added to the family household and it grows in the direction of a limited community."[16]

In preindustrial America, when most people lived in rural environments or small towns, time and work was irregular and leisure was valued significantly more as part of the

13 Katz, *The Undeserving Poor*, 5.

14 Stephen Price, *Mind the Machine: Languages of Class in Early Industrial America* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2005), 55.

15 William Chauncy Langdon, *Everyday Things in American Life* (New York: C. Scribner's Sons, 1937), 73.

16 Ibid.

everyday rhythm of life. According to labor historian Daniel T. Rodgers, "Farming, the dominant colonial occupation, oscillated between bouts of intense labor and the short, much slower days of winter and was punctuated by country recreations – fishing, horse racing, visiting, and tavern-going."[17] Even in Puritan New England, these activities were just as important and central to colonists' way of life as back-breaking labor in the fields. Only by 1860 did machinery and a consistent, predictable work schedule become a commonality for most workplaces.[18] Urbanization, wage labor, atomization of time, and the growth of the middle class were bolstered culturally by the individualistic ideals promoted in American Dream discourses of the time that worked to justify this exploitation of labor. This redefinition of the American Dream (discussed further below) worked to incorporate the rise of capitalism and wage labor as the primary mode and standard of productivity.

Obviously, participation in a system of wage labor wasn't done out of choice, but necessity. After industrialization swept across the nation, other options to labor and other lifestyles became increasingly impractical, evidenced by the interference of large-scale manufacturing in rural areas as well as urban. New-style factories began to appear along rural waterways and large factories were built in the countryside. Along with this transformation came the reconceptualization of work life, as these factories employed a corporate form of organization rather than being family- or community-run, as was the case with the agrarian model.[19] This major shift in the conceptualization and nature of labor in the United States dramatically changed rural life and is reflected in the influx of state-run poorhouses in rural areas after the 1800s. Rather than primarily the community or private institutions such

as churches caring for the poor, the influx of state-run poorhouses demonstrates the promotion of capitalism and the idea of labor as a virtue codified in state policy.

With a dominating social class and state promoting capitalism that values individualism and the meritocracy, it's easier to understand the moral implications placed on those who failed to labor in the system. Though many workers were aware of their own exploitation, they lacked a lot of choice in the matter. The idea of the meritocracy that fuels and is fueled by these developments in the dominant culture is also impacted by the ideology of the Protestant work ethic, which tied morality to labor in a more extreme and pointed way than was the case in other capitalist countries.

The Protestant Work Ethic and the American Dream

The Protestant work ethic was present before the rise of industrialization but solidified its hold on the dominant culture during the Antebellum Era. The rise of capitalism along with the Protestant work ethic upset what historian Daniel T. Rodgers describes as the original American Dream: a life of leisure.[20] According to Rodgers, at the time of its "discovery," "Europeans eagerly turned the hints the new continent offered into visions of a world untouched by the age-old curse of work."[21] The Americas were a refuge. They were depicted as Eden: a place unplagued by the struggles and common labors of the time. Though this was obviously not the reality on the ground in the Americas, this idea was prominent in dominant European thought. The roots of the Protestant work ethic in the United States began with Puritan colonizers seeking to "tame" the wilderness of the Americas – combining moral duty and labor. The idea of paradise became dependent on hard work while leisure was a sign of immorality. In a rebuke of the idea of rest as a virtue in Catholicism and as a motivator for work, Puritan colonials reminded

17 Daniel T. Rodgers, *The Work Ethic in Industrial America, 1850-1920*, (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1978), 18.

18 Price, *Mind the Machine*, 57.

19 Lawrence A. Peskin, *Manufacturing Revolution: The Intellectual Origins of Early American Industry* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2007), 63.

20 Rodgers, *The Work Ethic in Industrial America*, 1850-1920, 1.

21 Ibid., 3.

themselves that, "God sent you not into this world as into a Play-house, but a Work-house."[22] This ideology had solidified in dominant American culture and life in the early 19th century, transcending strictly religious associations.

Work as a virtue and reflection of morality manifested itself in a uniquely American way as what we now call the American Dream. The initial American Dream of progress and unlimited possibility retained its promise, though it became dependent on a duty to labor. Through a great deal of secularization, the term "'calling' faded from common speech and with it the idea that in work one labored in the first instance for the glory of God."[23] The underlying virtue of labor, however, did not fade, but was rather infused in political writing promoting labor in service of the common weal rather than God. The pursuit of leisure was perceived as laziness, inherently immoral, and un-American. Manifestations of the American Dream and values centered around hard work have remained apparent in our civic religion through the idea of the "self-made man" and a country founded on dogged persistence. These ideas were maintained throughout the decades and centuries to follow. During his presidency in the early 1900s, Theodore Roosevelt mimicked these ideals and underlined their power in the dominant culture by stating, "nothing in this world is worth having or worth doing unless it means effort, pain, difficulty."[24] In our national discourse, toil and labor became deemed necessary to being American, a civic duty unto themselves.

The internalization of the American Dream is also clear in personal stories coming out of the almshouse in Barrier Islands, Virginia. In the 1860s, Amanda Outten Doughty was admitted to the poorhouse at age four after she became orphaned, living there for ten years until finding her way

out and working for a lighthouse keeper's wife.[25] This decade of her life was evidently traumatizing and a source of shame for Doughty as her grandchildren and great-grandchildren were totally unaware of her experience there. Her great granddaughter, Iris Higbee Clemente, was shocked at the revelation, claiming "Grandmommy never spoke of living at the 'poor house' and I never heard about it from any family member. It was just recently that I found out about her stay at the 'Alms House', and what crossed my mind was a vision of a tiny child with no one to love or comfort her." The silence and lack of recollection from former residents of the poorhouse further demonstrates the individual shame placed on them by being associated with the institution at all.

I don't want to suggest here, however, that these values promoted by the poorhouse were only a product of industrialization or concentrated only in urban areas during the Antebellum period—this ideology was pervasive throughout American culture, most obviously in the institution of slavery. Although removed from an industrial context, slavery offers an example of this ideology in its most brutal form during the years of poorhouse growth. On the Antebellum plantation, enslaved people were viewed as valuable only as far as they could labor. According to historian Nathanial Windon, enslaved people's lives were notably measured based on how much longer they were able to labor, not by how old they were. Windon states, "Once the value of enslaved persons fell below a quarter-hand, they were labeled *no value*."[26] When an enslaved person was unable to labor, they were cast off, isolated, and abandoned. One of the most famous examples of this is Betsy Bailey, Frederick Douglass' grandmother, who was essentially left in a tent to die after she failed to generate profit for the slave holders. In his autobiography, Douglass uses Bailey

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22 Ibid., 7.
23 Ibid., 9.
24 Ibid., 7.

25 "Stories of the Almshouse Farm," *Barrier Islands Center*, December 17, 2019. http://www.barrierislandscenter.org/blog/2019/12/17/stories-of-the-almshouse-farm
26 Nathaniel A. Windon, "Superannuated: Old Age on the Antebellum Plantation," *American Quarterly* 71 (2019), 767.

FIGURE 1

This map demonstrates where county-run poorhouses were located prior to the passage of the 1824 County Poorhouse Act.

Poorhouses Established by County Before the 1824 County Poorhouse Act

No poorhouse established
Poorhouse established before 1824

N

Data source: Poorhouse Census Records, New York State Archives, and GIS.NY.GOV
Created by Ally Marcella, 2020
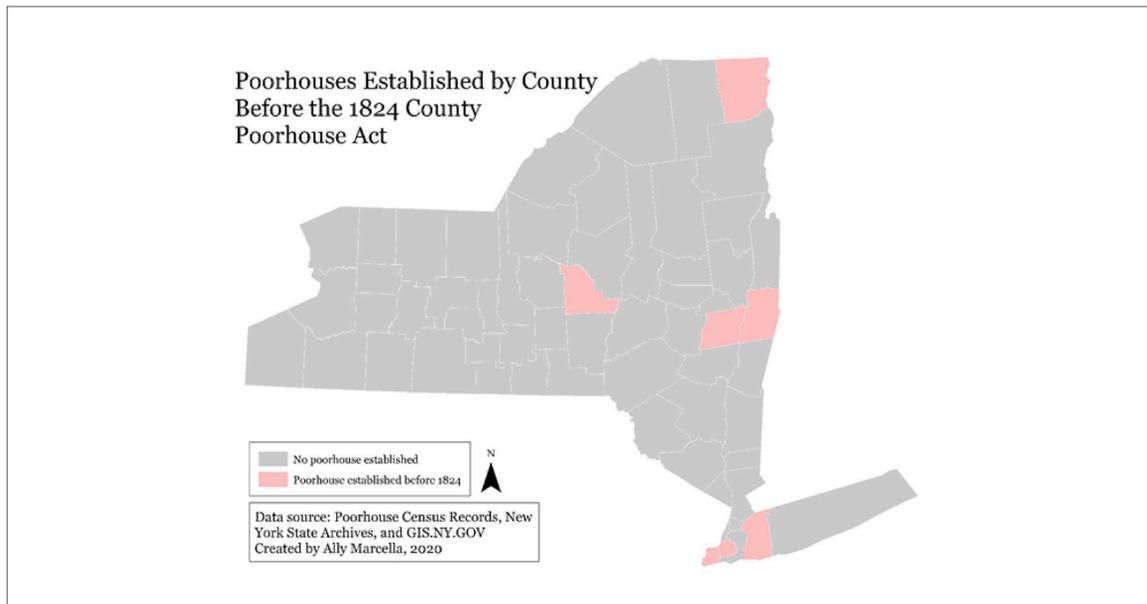
as an example of how enslaved people are only viewed as useful as far as they could generate profit, painting her as loyal and hardworking and still discarded when she became no longer useful.[27]

State-Run Poorhouse Increase with Industrialization

The formal state inclusion of the poorhouse in the public welfare state and its disruption of the agrarian lifestyle is clearly demonstrated through the increase of poorhouses in New York on the county level during the Antebellum Period. My spatial analysis specifically focuses on poorhouses established at the county level prior to 1824 and then in the decade directly after until 1835. I chose this period of time to understand how the 1824 County Poorhouse Act, passed by the New York State Assembly, played a role in the expansion of state-run poorhouses in New York State. As mentioned previously, this formalization of the poorhouse by the state and its

intrusion in rural life worked to disrupt agrarian ways of life, embed meritocratic ideals, and reinforced a stigma or shame surrounding poverty.

As depicted in the map above, county-run poorhouses were sparse prior to the passage of the 1824 law. There were certainly other poorhouses in operation at the time, but they were run on either the city level or privately-run by churches, charities, or other private institutions.[28] Poorhouses were always locally run despite their establishment en masse by the state government in New York.

This map depicts how rapidly state-operated poorhouses expanded during the Antebellum Era.[29] I decided to set the period of expansion analyzed to the decade following the passage of the law considering several counties took years to acquire the land, build the structures, and then admit

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27 Frederick Douglass, *Narrative of the Life of Frederick Douglass, an American Slave* (New York: Signet.1968), 728.

28 Katz, *In the Shadow of the Poorhouse*, 128.

29 "GIS Data Set Details," *GIS.NY.GOV*, http://gis.ny.gov/gisdata/inventories/details.cfm?DSID=927

FIGURE 2

This map demonstrates how rapidly new poorhouses were established in New York State as a result of the 1824 law.

Poorhouses Established from 1824-1835 by County
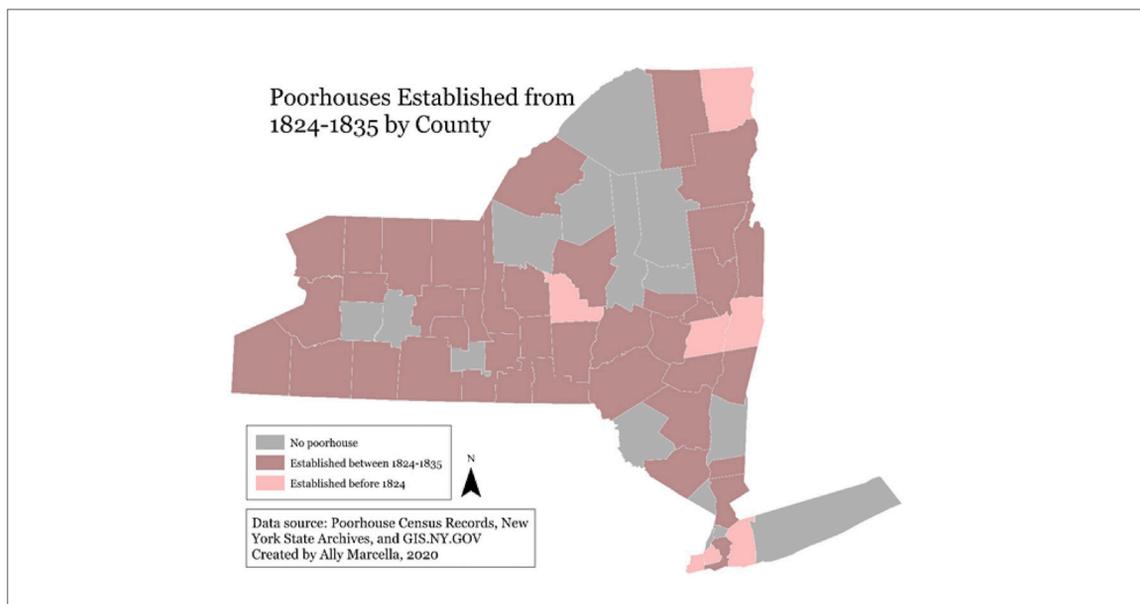
residents after the law was passed. Counties that didn't establish poorhouses at the time were exempt, or slow at implementation, or unestablished as a county at the time. This clear expansion in all areas of the state demonstrates how both rural and urban life were disrupted by the rise of capitalism and institutions such as the poorhouse that reinforce meritocratic ideals.

While the maps only demonstrate the expansion of the structure itself, populations within the poorhouse also expanded dramatically. The New York State Poorhouse Census was only required to be completed after 1875, making reports from individual poorhouses inconsistent prior to that point.[30] Rather than mapping this data on a mass scale, then, I decided to exclude them to ensure reliability of information, since reports prior to 1875 were all voluntary and wouldn't accurately reflect

poorhouse populations. From other sources, however, it is clear that an increase in poorhouse population did follow the increase in structure. In 1835, the *St. Lawrence Republican* featured a petition of concerned citizens on the dramatically increasing populations, and consequently, the increase in their taxes to support the poor in the rural St. Lawrence County Poorhouse.[31] The petition states that the poorhouse was established in 1825 (most likely a result of the state law) and by 1827, only 56 paupers were in residence. By 1831, however, the number had more than doubled to 131 paupers and then nearly doubled again by 1834 to 228 paupers.[32] These figures demonstrate the dramatic rise in poorhouse population in rural St. Lawrence County as a direct result of the 1824 law. This trend is not unique to St. Lawrence County and was generally reflected by other poorhouses statewide. The rise of capitalism that reinforced the value of labor for

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30 "New York State Board of Charities Census of Inmates in Almshouses and Poorhouses," *New York State Archives*, https://iarchives.nysed.gov/xtf/view?docId=ead/findingaids/A1978.xml

31 "Petition to the Honorable the Senate and the Assembly of the State of New York," *St. Lawrence Republican*, January 27, 1835. http://nyshistoricnewspapers.org/lccn/sn83031401/1835-01-27/ed-1/seq-3/

32 Ibid.

the sake of labor coincided with this surge in poorhouses and their residents that actively worked to dehumanize those that failed to labor in the system. In conjunction with one another, capitalism and poorhouses worked to reinforce meritocratic, individualistic ideals in rural and urban areas alike, disrupting the dominance of the prior communal, agrarian way of life.

Stakes and Relevance Today

We need to understand the poorhouse to understand the way in which the past and present are connected in our continual promotion of the laboring meritocracy myth and the shaming of the poor. Our welfare policies today may seem, on their face, starkly different from the English Poor Laws which acted as our country's first welfare policies. They aren't as outwardly cruel and dehumanizing. We no longer auction poor people to the lowest bidder as included in the Poor Laws or condemn and geographically shun them out of communities into a poorhouse, but we still do require physical labor to prove worthiness of public assistance.

The core of our national welfare system today is Temporary Assistance for Needy Families Act (TANF), passed in 1996 by the Democratic Clinton administration. Rather than seeking to eliminate or relieve poverty, work requirements embedded in the policy as well as a cap on benefits seeks to push people off of welfare rolls unless they are deemed worthy through a show of physical labor.[33] The "undeserving" poor at the time of TANF's passage were so-called "welfare queens" – single mothers, generally Black – young Black men, and Mexican, Latin American, and Asian immigrants.[34] While the specific groups considered undeserving changed over time, the concept of forcing labor upon them remains a constant. TANF focuses on aid solely through the lens of work – aid

is awarded to those who work, with a restricting five-year lifetime cap for benefits. The poor are no longer ostracized in a physical poorhouse, but throwing people off welfare rolls, leaving them at the mercy of private charity, or requiring them to work often temporary, low-paying jobs to receive aid has the same societal effect on the poor and the same ideological roots in the American Dream.

TANF replaced Aid to Dependent Children (AFDC), a national welfare policy enacted under the Social Security Act of 1935.[35] Work requirements were new to TANF, but the underlying ideas of the deserving and undeserving poor were still front and center in the AFDC. Recipients of the AFDC were single mothers who weren't expected to work at the time, though the policy was still selectively applied to only "deserving" applicants. Benefits were cut off "to those determined to be unsuitable, and reduced to those found in violation of any of AFDC's myriad regulations."[36] Once again, this demonstrates the prevalence of the distinction between the deserving and undeserving poor in who receives benefits. Although the AFDC was still an inadequate welfare policy in terms of actual assistance to those living in poverty, assistance to people in poverty plummeted under TANF, as non-working women became less acceptable in the political economy of neoliberalism. If the honest goal of TANF was to eliminate poverty, then it failed miserably.

Conclusion

The rise of industrialization and the reorganization of American life around wage labor, the rise of the middle class, and the atomization of time worked along with the formalization of the policy of the poorhouse in the public welfare state functioned to reinforce meritocratic ideals. These ideas and policies promote labor on its own as virtuous – to fail to labor is justification for

33 "Policy Basics: Temporary Assistance for Needy Families," *Center on Budget and Policy Priorities*, February 2020, https://www.cbpp.org/research/family-income-support/temporary-assistance-for-needy-families

34 Katz, *The Undeserving Poor*, 9.

35 Linda Gordon and Felice Batlan, "The Legal History of the Aid to Dependent Children Program," *VCU Libraries Social Welfare History Project*, https://socialwelfare.library.vcu.edu/public-welfare/aid-to-dependent-children-the-legal-history/

36 Ibid.

dehumanization. Derived from the Protestant work ethic, the American Dream formalized the moral implications behind labor into the dominant culture and the values promoted by the state itself, justifying the rise of capitalism. The policy of the poorhouse and its infusion in urban and rural spaces alike demonstrates how labor as a virtue promoted by the poorhouse worked hand in hand with capitalism in reorganizing American life and justifying industrialization.

The role of the poorhouse in the further consolidation of the American Dream around labor is significant because this discourse still impacts how we live, work, and view others today. Our dominant culture still adheres to the idea that labor is a sign of good character and toil, hard work, and perseverance is required to reap the full rewards of the American Dream. This dream is supposedly available to everyone and operates under the assumption of a perfect meritocracy. Under this assumption, those living in poverty appear inherently immoral. This individualistic analysis is just one factor that contributes to the dehumanization of the poor and the fundamental misunderstanding of their situation. The internalization of meritocratic ideals places significant roadblocks in the way of changing our economic system and its current power structures. Through the understanding of how the poorhouse became more popular along with the rise in capitalism, we can understand how the values it promotes are bolstered in our dominant culture and live on beyond the structure itself.

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Emma Stevens | *Ancestry*

RECREATING THE BALNAKEIL BURIAL GOODS: A PROBE INTO VIKING AGE SOCIETY AND TECHNOLOGY

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When people hear the word "Viking," they tend to conjure up images of brutish men with flowing blond hair and piercing blue eyes. This is due, in part, to movies such as *Conan the Barbarian* and comics like *Hägar the Horrible*. While the former spreads the idea that so-called barbarians were outrageously buff warriors, the latter depicts Vikings as mindless oafs who could only pillage and loot. Pop culture has thus created a distorted image of who the Vikings were and what their society was like. To gain insight into actual Viking society and technology, this project used experimental archaeology to reconstruct objects from the Viking Age burial at Balnakeil in Scotland. The items that people are buried with speak volumes about who they were in life and how they were viewed by those around them. As a result, by recreating a selection of burial goods from Balnakeil, I was able not only to explore Viking technology but also to learn about their society.

Viking Age Scotland

Most historians agree that the Viking Age started in AD 793 with the Norse raid on Lindisfarne and ended in AD 1066 with the Norman invasion. However, Viking activity in Scotland began much earlier than 793, with the areas of cultural interaction relegated to the north and western coasts. At the site of Norwick in the Shetland Islands, evidence of sustained Viking settlements could date as early as AD 650-880 (Ballin Smith 2007:294). Although

popular culture today depicts the Vikings solely as raiders, "[t]extual sources tell us that the Vikings came to Scotland to settle" (Halstad McGuire 2016:64). This means that entire Norse families were migrating and bringing their livelihoods with them. The burial found at Balnakeil yields insight into the Viking community living in Scotland.

The Balnakeil Burial

The burial was discovered in 1991 when heavy storms eroded a sand dune along the northern coast of Scotland. [Figure 1.] The Balnakeil burial dates to around the mid-to-late ninth century (Batey and Paterson 2012:655) and is a unique burial for the Viking Age. This uniqueness stems from the burial's form, associated grave goods, and occupant.

Balnakeil is an example of Viking Age inhumation where "[b]odies were generally laid in rectangular grave cuts, either directly on the ground, on textiles or on mats of bark, in shrouds or in coffins of various kinds" (Price 2008:261). Inhumations are rare because cremation was commonplace during the Viking Age, both in the Scandinavian homeland and in places the Vikings settled. The Balnakeil burial had a plethora of grave goods interred with its occupant. The grave goods include amber and glass beads, a bronze brooch, a bronze pin fragment, a copper-alloy pendant capping, an antler comb, bone gaming pieces, a copper-alloy stud, an iron fishhook, a needle cluster, two iron rods with attached flint, an iron knife, an iron sword, a shield, an iron spear head, a possible iron shear arm blade, a pumice stone, flint flakes, and a quartzite pebble (Batey and Paterson 2012:637-653). Inhumation graves with grave goods are even rarer in

FIGURE 1

Location map of Balnakeil
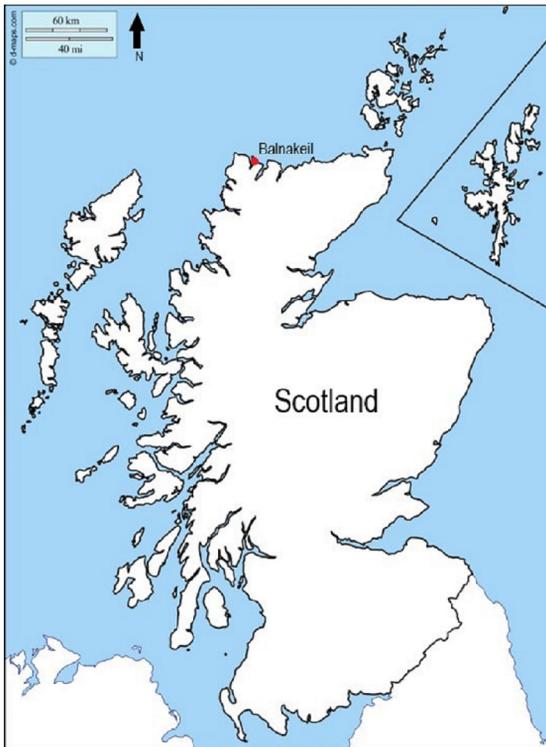
Scandinavia and the British Isles. This is because people of wealthy status were the minority. Therefore, the chance of finding a grave like Balnakeil is incredibly low. Even more unusual is the occupant of the grave.

Upon osteological analysis, the body in the grave was determined to probably belong to a boy between the ages of 9 and 14 years old (Batey and Paterson 2012:637). Determining the biological sex of a juvenile is fraught with many challenges since the osteological features that pertain to sex do not become evident until after an individual has gone through puberty. "Although the sexing of adolescent skeletons is problematic, features such as slightly prominent orbital ridges, a crest at the posterior end of the zygomatic process, a narrow subpubic angle of the pubic bone and large mastoid processes can be taken to indicate male attributes" (Batey and Paterson 2012:636).

In addition, the grave goods suggest a male gender identity. Since weapons were recovered, the individual was buried in a male-fashioned grave. This inference is not necessarily correct as weapons were occasionally interred with women in the Viking Age (e.g., Price et al. 2019). Nevertheless, both the body and the grave goods lean towards the occupant being male.

It is this uniqueness that primes this grave to be used to dispel myths about the Vikings and their Age. The Balnakeil grave raises questions such as: Was the boy a child or a man within Viking society? Since he was buried with weapons, was he a battle-hardened warrior or was he in training? Were the burial goods used during life, or were they intended for the afterlife? Beyond that, what do these grave goods say about Viking Age technology? How might they have been made? How do these goods reflect the structure of Viking Age craft production? These kinds of questions get at the heart of what Viking society and technology could have been like.

Methodology

I recreated the shield, knife, sword, and spear. Of the grave goods found at Balnakeil, these items did not need a lot of interpretation to recreate. The sword, spear, and shield boss were of known type and construction. I had clear measurements to aim for, and there were other archaeological examples to help bolster my interpretations. It should be stated that my recreations are not carbon copies of the original objects. They are my interpretations of the grave goods based on measurements given in the Balnakeil report, outside sources, and my own experience as a blacksmith.

To adhere to the context of the grave, I used my cousin as a proxy for the Balnakeil boy. He is 12 years old and falls within the height range for the boy in the grave. I took measurements of my cousin's hand to tailor the goods to his dimensions while still leaving room for him to grow, as was probably done for the Balnakeil boy. For the

recreations, I used modern materials, both power and hand tools, and forging methods that could have been used during the Viking Age. Unlike many modern blacksmiths, I use all hand tools during the forging process. I used hand hammers, files, drifts, a 102lb London pattern anvil, and a forge. The only power tool used in the forging process was the forge blower. All of my other tools could have been used by Viking blacksmiths, just in different shapes and sizes as seen in the Mästermyr Find. The Mästermyr Find is a Viking Age blacksmith's tool chest that was discovered in 1936 on the island of Gotland (Arwidsson and Berg 1999). The tools from the chest are essentially the same tools that I used in my forging process.

Shield

Only the iron shield boss and small mineralized fragments of the wooden shield board remain. Since the majority of the shield was not recovered, I based my reconstruction on experimental archaeology sources that recreated Viking shields (Warming 2014), other analyses of Viking shields (Boast 2017), and Viking shields recovered from the site of Trelleborg and the Gokstad Ship Burial (National Museum of Denmark n.d.). My shield board was constructed from six 1"x5"x3' pine boards purchased from my local hardware store. I used pine because "[f]rom the archaeological record spruce, fir, oak and pine boards have been found to be used for Viking shields" (Boast 2017:39).

The boards were butted and glued using modern wood glue and left to dry overnight. I then hammered a nail into the center of the boards and tied a string to it. This string was cut to the radius of 444.5mm, and a marker tied to the end was used to draw a circle. After establishing the diameter, I sawed off the corners of the boards to create the circular shape of the shield. I repeated this process to create the hole for the hand. [Figure 2.] The next task was to thin the board. Viking shield boards varied in thickness from 6 to 30mm, "and it is reasonable to suggest that the center of the shield would have been thicker, going out to a tapered thinner edge" (Boast 2017:41). I used a hand

FIGURE 2

Wooden base of the shield

plane to reduce the shield board's thickness, creating a taper from 10mm in the center to 6mm at the edge. This greatly reduced the shield's weight and improved its balance since the weight was centered at the handle and not the edge.

Next, I glued on the linen cover. Analysis of the Balnakeil shield boss recovered "[f]ragments of a smooth mineralized organic surface on parts of the flange [that] may represent the remains of a leather covering" (Batey and Paterson 2012:642). Unfortunately, leather of the size needed to cover the board was too expensive for this project. To keep within historical bounds, I used real linen instead. Linen made from the flax plant was used during the Viking Age, so it is certainly within reason that the Vikings might have used linen as a shield board cover. To attach the linen to the board, I used spray adhesive.

Once dry, I drilled a series of holes around the edge to sew on rawhide. The rawhide adds structural integrity and protection for the shield, serving as a buffer between the board and the impact of weapons. The edge of a Viking

FIGURE 3

The completed shield boss

shield "can be bound in leather, rawhide or metal and is sometimes brought together by stitching leather through drilled holes in the wooden boards" (Boast 2017:43). For my shield, I used rawhide from two large dog chew bones. After soaking the chew bones in water to soften the rawhide, I untied the bones and cut them into strips. I placed the strips on the board and used an awl to punch holes into the rawhide. I then stitched the strips onto the board with cotton string. The stitching pattern ensures that if the string were to be cut, the entire rim would not unravel. After completing the stitching, I left the rawhide to dry and shrink, which pulled the string taut and further compressed the board.

The shield boss found in the Balnakeil grave is characterized as a "high-domed shield boss, of 130mm diameter and 75mm in height, [with] a sharply angled concave neck between the base of the dome and the offset flange (of approximately 18mm in width)" (Batey and Paterson 2012:641). To forge the boss, I bought a section of mild sheet steel from the hardware store. The tools needed to create a boss are a ball peen hammer, dishing stump, and tongs. However, the dishing stump is the most important tool when contouring metal like a boss. The dishing stump is simply a tree stump that has a bowl shape cut, burned, or bored into it. The dishing process begins by hammering little divots into the steel while it is over the void of the stump. For 80% of this process, the metal looks nothing like a boss. Eventually, a distinct dome or dish shape begins to appear. This part of the dishing process is done cold, meaning the metal is not heated, in order to help prevent the steel from becoming too thin near the apex of the dome which undergoes most of the hammering. Once the steel has taken the shape of the stump, the flange can be formed.

To make the flange, I heated the steel in my forge and strategically hit it with the ball peen hammer to neck down the bowl. I used the hammer to pinch the sides of the bowl inwards, which caused the outer rim to flare outwards. This helped isolate what would become the flange. I then hammered the flange flat on the anvil to better define the edge between the dome and the flange. Returning to the dishing stump, I refined the shape of the dome until I was satisfied with its dimensions. [Figure 3.] Next, I drilled four holes into the flange and the shield board and attached the boss to the board using rivets created from a rod of mild steel.

The final step was making the handle. I used oak because it is a hard wood that would serve as further reinforcement for the shield. While pine is good for bending, oak provides rigidity. I drew the outline of the handle on the oak and used wood chisels to carve it out. I switched to wood rasps and hand files to contour the final shape, coated the handle in linseed oil to protect the wood, and used six rivets to attach it to the back of the shield. [Figure 4.] Completed, the shield weighs about 9lbs. The shield's final diameter is around 889mm, and the boss diameter is around 177.8mm with a flange of 31.75mm. [Figure 5.]

FIGURE 4

Wooden base of the shield

FIGURE 5

The completed shield

Knife

Unlike the other grave goods, the knife was discovered in very poor condition. "Although little core metal survives, x-ray reveals the outline of a knife of 140mm total length beneath the mineralized organics visible on the exterior of this corroded object. The exact shape of the knife's profile is hard to determine on account of its advanced state of corrosion" (Batey and Paterson 2012:645). Given this level of deterioration, I based my recreation on a group of Viking age knives in the collection of the York Archaeological Trust (n.d.) and on the recreation of the Balnakeil grave goods by the National Museums of Scotland (1998).

Using steel from a railroad car spring, I began by forging the tang of the knife and then the blade. I forged a distal taper into the blade, making the tip thinner than the base. Once the blade was forged to shape, I added bevels by holding the knife at a slight angle to the anvil

FIGURE 6

The completed knife

and hammering on the edge. This pinches the steel down, creating the triangular cross section of the knife's edge. Next, I cleaned up the knife on my electric belt sander. I made the knife's handle out of oak, coated it in linseed oil, and attached it with a brass pin. The knife's final dimensions are 190.5mm in overall length, with an 88.9mm handle and a 101.6mm blade. [Figure 6.] I tailored the knife to my cousin's hand since it would have been used by the Balnakeil boy in life and was most likely made specifically for his size.

Sword

The sword from Balnakeil was in a remarkably good state of preservation with large sections of its scabbard remaining. The sword is described as having "a total surviving length of 860mm and is now in three major fragments: the hilt with the majority of the blade, and two further fragments of blade now conjoined" (Batey and Paterson 2012:639). Because the sword is mostly intact, defining features such as the pommel and guard shape are still visible and lend it towards being a Petersen type B, C, or H. "The apparently broad, elliptical cross-section of its lower guard suggests that it belongs to type H, though hilt components of the above types are known to have been interchangeable" (Batey and Paterson 2012:639). Since the type is known, it is easy to recreate the sword as the length and widths of this type are well documented. For the sword, I used a blade steel known as 1075 from a supplier in New Jersey. I chose a blade steel that is not historically accurate because I couldn't make my own. In addition, sword making is a very intricate process, so I wanted to use a steel that I have extensive experience working with.

I started out with a 457.2mm long bar of 1075 at 6.35mm thick. As with the knife, I began by isolating the tang. This created a strong area for my tongs to grab onto when forging the blade. To forge the blade, I compressed the steel in width, causing the bar to become thicker and longer. Once I had stretched out the bar to just short of its intended length, I began thinning it out. [Figure 7.] This step added to both the width and length of the blade and illustrates the importance of thinking ahead during every step of the forging process.

Once I had the rough shape forged out, I began working on the bevels. Forging bevels on a sword is incredibly difficult because you must do everything four times to create the four bevels. There are essentially two main challenges when forging bevels. To forge bevels, you hold the blade at a slight angle on the anvil and match that angle with your hammer blows. However, since it is nearly impossible

FIGURE 7

Forging the sword blade

FIGURE 8

The central fuller of the sword

to hammer at the same angle at which you are holding the bar, the bar takes on the shape of a parallelogram. The lack of alignment between the two edges then needs to be corrected by flipping the bar over and hammering on the opposite side. If this is done correctly, the final edges will have the same geometry and match one another. The perfect bevel. If this is done incorrectly, the blade will begin to corkscrew, bending and twisting along its length. The second challenge encountered when forging bevels is what is known as "banana-ing". As you forge bevels, you expand the steel on one side. This causes the bar to curve away from the side you are hammering on, taking the shape of a banana. To correct this, you must forge the opposite side equally to pull the bar back to being straight.

After the bevels were completed, I took the sword to the belt sander to clean off the forge scale, a form of iron oxide caused by the forging process. I then used the bottom contact wheel of the sander to create the fuller, which is the central groove that runs down the blade. [Figure 8.] One of the hallmarks of Viking Age swords are their very wide fullers that serve both to strengthen the blade and to reduce its overall weight. Once the fuller was established, I cleaned up the bevels with hand files. Viking smiths would have used a combination of files and stones to refine the bevels. Finally, I used sandpaper to polish the entire blade. With the blade complete, I moved on to the hilt.

Another hallmark of Viking swords, including the Balnakeil sword, is their distinct hilts which consist of lower and upper guards and a pommel. To make the guards and pommel, I forged down a large cylinder of steel. After it was forged to shape and cleaned, I used a center punch to mark the width of the slot needed for the tang. Then, I began hot punching the slot for the tang. Once punched, I took the guards and pommel to my belt sander to establish the distinct mid ridges described in the Balnakeil sword. However, I noticed that the slot I had punched on the lower guard was too small and needed to be widened before I created the handle core. The handle core was made from oak. After using hand chisels to carve

out the tang bed, I contoured the handle, sanded it to its final shape, and applied linseed oil. Last, I assembled the sword and peened over the tang mechanically to lock the hilt in place. The sword's final dimensions are 863.6mm in total length, with a 698.5mm blade and a 165.1mm hilt. It weighs just under 3lbs. [Figure 9.]

Spear

The spear is described as "being in three fragments, with an overall length of 144.8mm. It originally had an elongated slender blade" (Batey and Paterson 2012:644). It was described as a Petersen type K, which would have been a light throwing spear. The spear head was made from the same steel as the sword. I began by forging the transition between the socket and the spear head, creating a narrow waist. I used the cross-peen hammer to increase the width of the section for the socket without increasing

the length. Nevertheless, I lost some metal to length, and the socket came out longer than I had originally intended. After the metal for the socket was forged out, I used a mandrel to form the socket into a pipe. I then shaped the spear blade, forged the bevels, and cleaned the blade up on the belt sander. The blade and socket measure 241.9mm each, with an overall length of 483.8mm.

Next, I began work on the spear shaft. The only intact Viking spear is the Lendbreen spear, found in a melting ice patch in Norway. The preserved shaft was made of birch and tapered in design (Pilø 2017). For my spear shaft, I used a 2"x2"x6' oak board simply because birch was too expensive. Using the belt sander, I shaved down the oak and turned it into the shaft. Like the Lendbreen spear, my shaft tapers away from the socket, with the widest part in the middle where the hand would grasp it. This shape helps with weight distribution and aids in throwing. The shaft was coated in linseed oil, and a hole was drilled through both the shaft and socket to rivet them together. The final spear measures 2108.2mm in overall length. [Figure 10.]

Discussion

This project demonstrates the importance for a researcher doing experimental archaeology to be an archaeotechnician. An archaeotechnician is "a skilled craftsperson with a good knowledge of the archaeological sources" (Paardekooper 2019:8). Researchers can employ archaeotechnicians to recreate the objects they want to test in experiments. However, by being both the researcher and the archaeotechnician, I gained greater insight into Viking technology and society. While this may seem insignificant to some archaeologists, I argue that it is far more important than people realize. To achieve the fullest understanding and appreciation of an experimental archaeology project, the researcher should learn how to recreate the objects they want tested. The process of recreation provides a wealth of information about earlier technology and craftworking before testing even begins. This type of critical insight simply cannot be acquired by

FIGURE 10

The completed spear

hiring a craftsman to create the goods.

By being the archaeotechnician, I gained an appreciation of the high level of skill needed to create the Balnakeil grave goods. Viking Age technology and craft production were multitiered institutions made up of masters and apprentices, with centuries of accumulated knowledge being passed down from one generation to the next. Complex iron objects—such as shield bosses, knives, swords, and spears—required an incredible amount of skill and knowledge to create. To gain these skills and knowledge, Viking smiths would have apprenticed under a master, who was the vessel of knowledge for all the smiths who came before him. This legacy of craft production would have been incredibly valuable and closely guarded (Callmer 2003:358).

This project also provides insight into Viking society. While most archaeological research has focused on adults, the Balnakeil burial allows exploration of the transition from childhood to adulthood during the Viking Age. The Balkankeil boy was buried with goods associated with both adults and children. "The adolescence of the Balnakeil young man may be reflected in the presence of a needle cluster; an object type more commonly associated with adult female burials but also found in child burials" (Batey and Paterson 2012:654). However, he was also buried with a complete set of weapons "typical for an adult male and all are full size, suggesting that within contemporary society he was regarded as an adult" (Batey and Paterson 2012:653). This concept of adulthood in Viking society is important to understand since it is different from today. Today, a boy between 9 and 14 years old would be seen as a child. However, "a Viking age boy might have been accepted as a 'man' by around the age of 12 years and this could have been an important factor in governing an individual's involvement in conflict and warfare" (Raffield 2019:815).

Viewing the Balnakeil boy as a man, the question now is whether he was a warrior. The weapons are full sized and designed for an adult body. In addition, the Balnakeil individual's "right clavicle, humerus and ulna seem enlarged compared to the left side, suggesting right-handedness and a physical lifestyle, possibly as a response to the over-use of developing limbs" (Batey and Paterson 2012:637). This overdevelopment could reflect extensive training with the weapons. However, given the fact that he had not yet reached his full adult size, he was most likely not a warrior. Based on my recreations, the sword, shield, and spear would have been too large and heavy for him to wield adequately in battle. This leads me to believe that the goods he was buried with were intended for use in the afterlife since he had died prematurely. Last, I want to emphasize the human aspect of the Balnakeil burial. It should never be forgotten that the interred individual was someone's son. It is clear that whoever buried him loved him very much. They spent time to dig his grave, created a bed to lay him on, and included objects they felt had meaning to him. In focusing on these grave goods, we should not lose touch with the fact that we study people through objects, not just objects.

Conclusion

The goods that people are buried with offer a unique glimpse not only into their life but also into their society. This project demonstrates how the recreation of a selection of the Balnakeil burial goods can serve as a window into Viking Age technology and society. By recreating the shield, knife, sword, and spear, I learned both about how Viking smiths could have made the objects and how their craft production system worked. Viking Age craft production would have been highly specialized with multitiered institutions made up of masters and apprentices. These recreations also shed light onto the society in which the Balnakeil individual lived and who he was in life. Given the number and quality of the grave goods, he would have been very wealthy for the time and held high status within Viking society. Although he was buried with weapons and could have been seen as an adult, he was not yet a warrior. He was still too small to adequately wield the weapons. More generally, this

project highlights the importance of researchers being their own archaeotechnicians since this knowledge was gained through the recreation process. In the end, this project helps illuminate a historical period that is shaded with myth and misinformation by using experimental archaeology.

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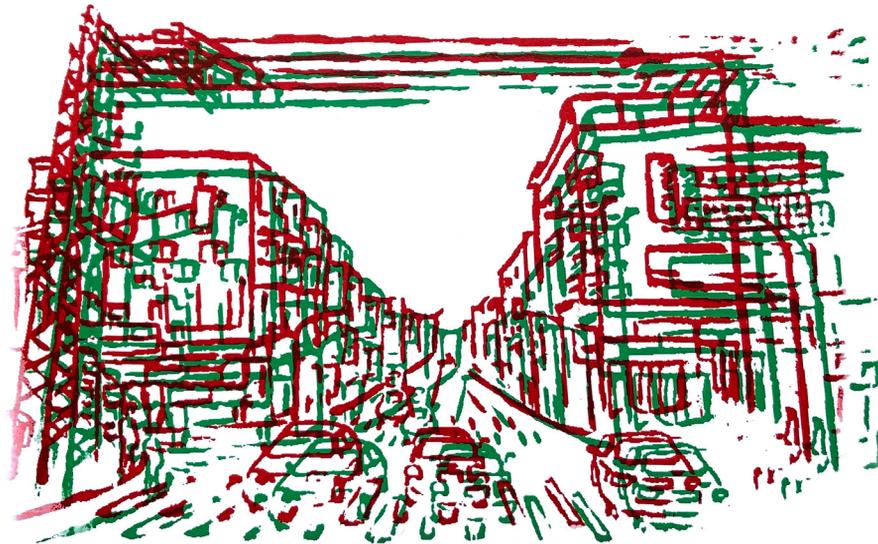
A JOURNEY INTO THE CENTER OF THE IMPERIAL NARRATIVE

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Humans have four basic needs: air, water, food, and shelter. Across all fields of study, these four are agreed upon as essential to survival. However, these are not all of the essential needs. Stories animate the human spirit and provide breath to human societal relations.

Story (*noun*): 1. (a) An account of incidents or events, (b) a statement regarding the facts pertinent to the situation in question... 2. (b) the intrigue or plot of a narrative or dramatic work... 5. legend (Merriam-Webster.com, 2021).

Stories are all this and more. They are the essence of humanity. They tell us about our origins. They narrate the happenings of the day. They might seed memories, lessons, and warnings for the future. Classrooms, friends, and families rely on stories to communicate. Individuals are not the only entities that rely on stories to survive; in fact, all human collectives - villages, towns, countries, states, even empires - depend on stories to shape relations, create buy in, and boost legitimacy.

This essay examines how imperial powers use stories to maintain power. It explores how to fracture those stories as acts of resistance. In what follows, I rely on the work of four theorists: Ariella Azoulay's *Potential History – Unlearning Imperialism*, Trinh Minh-ha's *Lovecidal: Walking with the Disappeared*, Christina Sharpe's *In the Wake: On Blackness and Being*, and Julietta Singh's

Unthinking Mastery: Dehumanism and Decolonial Entanglements. All four theorists use epistemological and ontological frameworks to think past the 'human' and imagine other possible futures. Every theorist starts with the observation that the current conception of 'human' is based on exclusion. From there, they argue for a strategic approach to forge a world built on something other than epistemic violence. Within this essay, I use their frameworks to think against imperial societal formations. I identify the imperial narrative and probe methods for thinking past that narrative.

This paper is experimental in form and content. If the praxis of postcolonial thinking aims to move beyond imperial methods, I accept the challenge and reject the traditional academic form. Although, I do not relinquish rigor. Rather than accept the position of a passive actor in the story of the imperial, I expose the imperial story. I define the imperial narrative as the collection of stories told by powerful state entities. The imperial narrative manifest itself in a multitude of ways; but one of the fundamental aspects of the imperial narrative is the dominance it holds in the minds of the populace. It *is* the story that comes to mind. This essay is structured based on the traditional narrative, with an exposition, conflict, rising action, climax, and resolution. This essay is a plot diagram[2] of the imperial narrative. In the exposition, I introduce the characters of the imperial narrative. In the conflict, I explain the consistent problem the imperial power faces. In the rising action, I specify what tools are

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2 All information about the plot diagram structure comes from Docimo and Lupiani (2021).

FIGURE 1

Plot Diagram of the Imperial Narrative
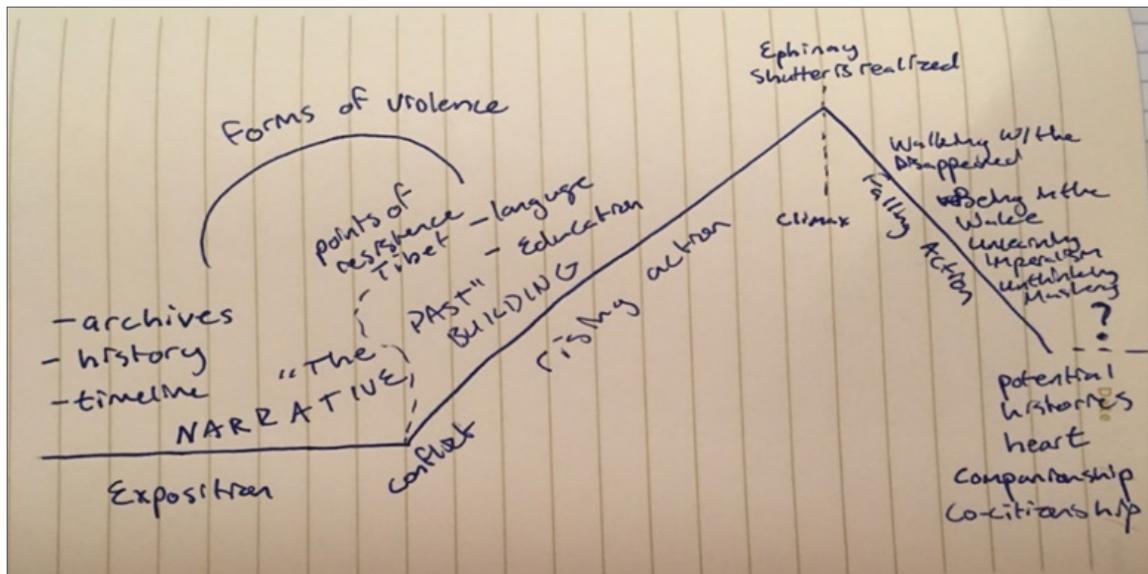
used to build and maintain the imperial narrative. In the climax, I present the turning point against the imperial narrative. In the falling action, I restate the ontological and epistemological methods of our four authors. In the resolution, I set forth why a conclusion is not achievable; but show how a path outside the imperial narrative is possible. Lastly, I punctuate this story with interludes. I utilize the interludes to connect the theorists' arguments and the narrative arc to the practice of diplomacy. I attempt to show how diplomacy in the abstract and in practice benefits from the experimental and historicized engagement with the presented theoretical thinking.

> **Interlude I:** *"The Past, or more accurately, pastness – is a position. Thus, in no ways can we identify the past as past."* (Trouillot, cited in Sharpe 2016, 9).

The notion of 'past' marks something as over. As history. Indeed, history is the literal formation of the past. History marks an event as something to be studied. Timelines are used as teaching tools of history. Dates are listed in chronological order that show events in the 'past' and their relation to that which comes before and after. Inasmuch history and timelines set some narratives, they erase others. The conception of the 'past' defines who can and who cannot be a citizen (Azoulay 2019, 19). This insight has made me wonder how powerful time and timelines as historical representation of time are in the construction of narratives.

> "narrative" (*noun*): 1. (b) A way of presenting or understanding a situation or series of events that reflects and promotes a particular point of view or set of values. (Merriam-Webster 2021).

What does it mean to construct a narrative?

> "narrative" (*adjective*): 2. Of or relating to the process of telling a story. (Merriam-Webster 2021).

Thinking about the past and narratives is imperative to diplomacy for two reasons. First is awareness. Recognizing the role citizens, the role diplomats play in enacting violence onto others is the first step in stopping the

FIGURE 2

Morning

violence. Awareness brings change. Second, the definition of a narrative points out the 'promotion of a particular point of view'. Understanding what point of view is being voiced and what point of view is being shuttered is critical in the practice of diplomacy. Who is being heard and who is not at the table? In a profession centered on dialogue, admitting what perspective has dominance then allows one to search for the unheard voices. A diplomat should see more than one point of view. In order to do so, they have to first understand what point of view they are seeing.

Exposition: An exposition sets up the story. It names the characters, creates the setting, and states the time. The characters involved in the creation of the imperial narrative are numerous. I start with myself: I am an American citizen. The concept of citizenship emerged with the modern nation-state. The state relies on violence, concepts of mastery, antiblackness, and categorizations of people to exist. "The celebratory narratives of modern citizenship conceal its role in the destruction of worlds and their modes of caring and sharing, wherein those who were

made noncitizens dwelled and were doomed to aspire to become citizens, that is, imperial citizens" (Azoulay 2019, 19). I am indoctrinated in the imperial narrative because of my citizenship. I am a citizen perpetrator, not in the sense that I actively try to fulfill the violent goals of the empire, but because the empire made me. "Citizens are often born into the position of the perpetrator by the mere fact of being born citizens or privileged members of a differential body politic" (Azoulay 2019, 49). The American education system trained me. I learned and internalized 'history.' I was socialized in subtle forms of mastery. My language is riddled with metaphors and analogies of mastery. "The political function of humanization and *dehumanization* [is] through language use and acquisition" (Sin-gh 2018, 69). As a native English speaker, the language I speak has been used to violently suppress other languages. I major in the humanities. What are the power dynamics inherent in a field that dissects other people's world for study (Azoulay 2019, 295)? Who gets to study and who is studied? I am not the only agent of the imperial narrative. The media aids in the creation of the imperial narrative by using state-created categories in reports. Words like 'refugee', 'undocumented', and 'noncitizen' are categories created by the state to divide people into boxes; those with rights and those without. "With the 'new world' a political principle of differentiality was invented" (Azoulay 2019, 35). Some tools - law, archives, history, citizenship - are created with modes of mastery embedded within. "For a master's house to exists, tools are needed in order to preserve groups, communities, and nations only in the service and at the behest of the master class" (Spillers cited Azoulay 2019,303). People who do not fall into the category of 'citizen' are subject to violence. Violence upon people labeled 'noncitizens' is permitted by the very tools that serve the master's house. Divisions of personhood are tools to build the imperial narrative. Class, gender, sexuality, and religion play a role; however, race is the most used to sow divisions. "Racism [is] the engine that drives the ship of the state's national and imperial projects" (Sharpe 2016, 3). Early elites deliberately created the narrative of difference (and showed it in the labor/

spatial relations) to maintain power. Our authors provide us methods to un-hide the violence of these societal narratives and thus, create new futures.

> **Interlude II:** *"Every empire, however, tells itself and the world that it is unlike all other empires, that its mission is not to plunder and control but to educate and liberate."* (Said 2003.)

Our authors use contemporary examples throughout their books to connect the abstract to reality. Ripples of colonial violence continue to shape the world we live in. Power structures of the past have not been erased, just reformed in new ways. As a student of diplomacy, I recognize that several state-sanctioned diplomats have consciously or subconsciously enacted violence onto others, and many great foreign service officers across the nation-state spectrum have aided in perpetuating the imperial narrative. This is intrinsic to a position where one of the primary goals is to advance national interests. It does not have to be this way. As State workers, diplomats are uniquely positioned to bring about change. The thinking within in this paper charts a path away from imperial violence. If diplomats apply this thinking, it is one step closer to the state applying this thinking. Diplomacy outside the imperial narrative is a diplomacy based on care instead of harm. The profession of diplomacy, of a connector, is not limited to the state. It is an act anyone can take. Expanding everyday diplomats is crucial to forging diplomacy based on care. It is crucial to creating a world where we are beholden to each other.

Conflict: A conflict is the primary problem that drives the narrative. The conflict of the imperial narrative is resistance to the narrative. The imperial narrative requires constant work to maintain dominance in the minds of the populous. Acquiescence to that domination is required for political stability. Small resistances such as refusing to occupy a chair on stage and leaving it empty threaten to crumble state authority. "In today's times of trouble, this empty chair emerges as a site and a 'material

evidence' of enforced absence [of the Dalai Lama by Chinese authorities]. It has often taken on the political role of exposing, as well as defying in absentia, the abuse of power and its diverse mechanisms of subjection via censorship" (Minh-ha 2016, 228). Small acts of resistance against the imperial narrative expose the fragility of control. To maintain power, the empire must violently squash resistances. The dominant narrative constantly works to erase counter narratives. Take, for example, the American teachings of westward expansion. The move to the western half of the US was told and retold as Manifest Destiny, the God-given pioneering of an empty land. Of course, the land was not empty. Thousands of indigenous groups lived on and with the land. This retelling of 'history' by the imperial power of Manifest Destiny erases the counter narrative of indigenous people who lived on the land. Critical thinkers must ask themselves: what narrative appears commonsensical? What events/people/ knowledges do these commonsensical narratives obscure? Adversaries in the imperial narrative are those who resist the narrative.

Singh (2018) argues that even the most prominent post-colonial thinkers like Fanon and Gandhi still embody ideas of mastery (which is an essential part of the imperial narrative). She also recounts examples of un-masterful living in humanimal companionship, post-humanist fictions, and ways of cultivating discomfort. Azoulay (2019) pulls back the curtain by showing us the tools that allow imperial violence and the imperial narrative to function. Sharpe (2016) shows us how the past is a position. Our authors represent the *conflict* in the imperial narrative because they expose that which is meant to remain hidden. Our authors unmask the inner workings of imperial power and control.

Rising Action: A rising action is the period of a story that leads to its climax. One of the key tools to produce and reproduce the imperial narrative is people. A story requires an audience. An imperial narrative is produced, reinforced, and reproduced as not to forget it. The

FIGURE 3

Evening

camera is another tool of the imperial narrative. "What is suppressed and made irrelevant is excised by the shutter" (Azoulay 2019, 2). The camera (photography / the shutter) aids in the production and reproduction of the narrative. It literally frames the story by showing who and what is in the frame versus who and what is not. Legality is another imperial tool. Law constructs hierarchies of who matters versus who does not matter. Law destroys personhood and constructs categories: illegal, criminal, noncitizen; categories of law dehumanize. In reconstructing the timeline of a slave ship labelled *Zong*, Sharpe states, "the text of the 1783 court case Gregson v Gilbert tells us it was not the case of murder... a portion of our fellow creatures became property" (Sharpe 2016, 45). Another imperial tool is documentation. Archives reduce the human experience into a document. To be 'human', you must have documents (birth certificate, social security card, passports). Where does the document end and the person begin? "The drive to preserve documents... emerged together with the drive to displace, destroy and re-use them for other purposes" (Azoulay 2019, 193). Moreover, the city itself is an imperial tool. Minh-ha provides the example of the Chinese government incentivizing Han Chinese to move to the Tibet region to make ethnic Tibetans a minority

in their homeland.[3] "Beijing is also intensively invested in large-scale ethnic and environmental-economic colonization – or in the power of authoritarian capitalism to undermine all ungovernable social relations of old" (Minh-Ha 2016, 206). Within the city, imperial powers use technology to surveille populations. Capitalism plays a role in maintaining the imperial narrative. To my mind, capitalism, imperial violence, and mastery are interrelated. One cannot exist without the other. Capitalism, and the exploitation it requires, is the engine of imperial violence. Capital produces classes, patriarchy produces genders, [and] the global European colonialism produces races (Azoulay 2019, 29). Perhaps the most important tool of the imperial narrative are the tools that are considered banal: language, education, and archives.

Language transmits the imperial narrative. Language shapes perception. It enforces master roles in the dialects of mastery.[4] The language of mastery enforces legacies of violence in which the nation and our institutions are constructed (Singh 2018, 66). Education reproduces the imperial narrative to younger generations. "Education as a practice of subjecting others to the exclusive force of a firmly established hierarchy" (Singh 2018, 67). This sentence is reminiscent of Eugen Weber's *Peasants to Frenchman*. Education wasn't for the good of the people, but a tool to make them 'French' (Weber 1976). Education is only valuable (to the imperial powers) when it benefits them. According to Minh-ha, the French did not educate the Vietnamese until after the Vietnamese rebelled against French rule. Mundane 'goods' like education and humanitarian aid are examples of mastery at play. Archives are tools of the imperial narrative because they

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3   Tibetans are not the only ethnic group under attack by the Chinese. Although the histories and realities of action are different; the Uyghurs in the Xinjiang Province provide another example of an imperial narrative trying to erase counter stories. For more information, see Raffi Khatchadourian's excellent article in the April 12, 2021 issue of the New Yorker. https://www.newyorker.com/magazine/2021/04/12/surviving-the-crackdown-in-xinjiang

4   A prominent example Singh mentions is educational titles. What is a master's degree? Why do we think it is possible to master anything?

FIGURE 4

An opening

are the vessels that store 'history'. I ask the Reader to note this rising action; if the 'past' is a tool of the imperial narrative used to maintain control, then so are the institutions that store the 'past'. Archives are not objective – they are a subjective curation of the imperial narrative. There are two elements to the past. That which happened and that which is said to have happened (Trouillot 1995, 3). The imperial narrative relies on the latter to obliterate the former. Archives are documents of what is said to have happened that support the dominant narrative. The more the imperial narrative is seen as Truth, the more powerful the imperial narrative becomes. However, we must not forget the imperial narrative is extremely fragile.

Climax: The climax of our story is short. It is the moment where imperial narrative is no longer hidden. It is the exposure of the shutter. It is the awareness of the wake of imperial violence. When agents of the imperial narrative recognize the curtain of the imperial narrative - a turning point occurs. Once the narrative can be observed; it can be disrupted. "A growing number tacitly commit their individual spaces to the struggle through weekly singular

acts of resistance" (Minh-ha 2016, 220). These small acts run counter to the imperial narrative. The refusal to succumb to the narrative – to the forms of violence and mastery inherent within it – interrupts the imperial narrative. We can see its weak spots start to crumble.

Falling Action: Unlearning imperialism is a long process. "Unlearning imperialism refuses the stories the shutter tells" (Azoulay 2019, 7). Potential history is a new way of thinking that seeks to obliterate the idea that an event ends. "Potential history is a form of being with others, both living and dead, across time, against the separation of the past from the present" (Azoulay 2019, 43). The goal of potential histories is to release the past from its 'pastness'. (Azoulay 2019, 350). Because 'history' is an imperial tool; potential history looks to obliterate the creation of the 'past'. The idea of the 'past' is just that - an idea. In reality, tendrils of events that happened before our life are still impactful. The ripples of an event can fan out for eternity. Sharpe uses this idea to talk about Black being. The imperial narrative tells us slavery is over; that 'we' as humans living in 2021 are not to blame. Yet, its consequences are still present (Sharpe 2018, 8).[5] "I use the wake in all of its meanings as a means of understanding how slavery's violence's emerge within the contemporary conditions of spatial, legal, psychic, material and other dimensions of Black non/being" (Sharpe 2016, 14). The world I live in was built on antiblackness. Thus, I exist in the wake of it. "Antiblackness is pervasive as climate" (Sharpe 2016, 106). It is the air we breathe. By failing to recognize we are in the wake, we fail to recognize reality. Change cannot materialize. Minh-ha's subtitle *Walking with the Disappeared* indicates her epistemological method for disrupting the imperial narrative. She centers stories of real people doing this work. A group of Argentinean mothers gather in public squares to remind the nation their children are missing, and the state is

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5   The film 13th directed by Ava DuVernay articulates Sharpe's argument in an accessible way. Oppression has not ended, the way it manifest itself has.

doing nothing. "The power of the Disappeared lies in the uncertainty of their deaths and the very elusiveness of their whereabouts" (Minh-ha, 2016, 111). Minh-ha cites the heart of the Tibetans contrasted against imperial China who are *heartless*. Thus, to walk with the Disappeared we must regain our heart. "Only three things matter: how much you loved, how gently you lived, and how graceful you let go of things not meant for you" (Minh-ha 2016, 278). The act of regaining our heart coincides with Singh's epistemological method of care. She wants us to be attuned to the subtle forms of mastery so we do not reproduce it. She wants us to find new ways to live together. Singh wants to redefine the collective in ways that do not invoke mastery. "This always inquisitive, always revising, always expansive "we" is as hopeful as it is necessary for survival" (Singh 2018, 173). One method to expand 'we' is vulnerable reading. Vulnerable reading can be understood as the process of reading with open minds, annotating, and communicating with others about thoughts and feelings from the text. We can practice being beholden with each other by being openly vulnerable about matters of the heart. We can walk with the disappeared by refusing to succumb to the imperial narrative. The point of potential histories, being in the wake, or walking with the disappeared is to acknowledge the ongoing imperial present. It is about approaching the world with care in mind. With care, we can begin to restructure the world in a way not dependent on violence.

> **Interlude III:** *"If it takes a village to raise a child, it certainly takes a movement to undo an occupation"* Ruth Wilson Gilmore 2007, 238.

Interrupting the imperial narrative is just. It is equitable. It makes the world safer. It opens up more space for democracy. It opens opportunity. It opens humanity to a world built on care. Growing the capacity of track III diplomats, of amateur diplomats, results in a system reliant on relationships not supremacy. It centers people, not states. It fosters a system built on mutual aid instead of dominance.

FIGURE 5

Out of Time

Resolution: In literature, the resolution signals the end of the story. It indicates the conflict of the story has been resolved. Unlike literature, there is no resolution in the imperial narrative. After all, the imperial narrative still exists. Nonetheless, there are paths forward. Opportunities exist in acknowledging the reality of the wake. "I mean wake work to be a mode of inhabiting and rupturing this episteme with our known lived and un / imaginable lives" (Sharpe 2016, 18). We might walk with the disappeared or move through the heartless imperial world with heart. "When educating the minds of our youth, we must not forget to *educate their hearts*" (Minh-ha 2016, 255). We might unthink the roles of mastery we inhabit. "We must abandon mastery in order to give ourselves up to a wider and less hostile horizons... via a practice of vulnerable engagement, a practice of opening ourselves up to our dependence on other discourses, peoples, beings, languages" (Singh 2018, 91). Apart of unlearning imperialism is unlearning the human. Our interlocutors want us to look towards a dehumanist future. "To survive mastery, we must begin to deconstruct our own movements (intellectual, activist, corporal) that remain entangled with the violent erasures of other lives... survival depends on new forms of living together"

(Singh 2018, 173-174). We can unlearn the imperial narrative by transforming from citizen perpetrator to co-citizen. Cocitizenship rejects the imperial citizenship that makes us perpetrators. "Co-citizens – potential history is the transformation of violence into shared care for our common world" (Azoulay 2019, 57). These epistemological and ontological methods further the plot diagram. But the plot diagram never ends. We are no longer seeking an ending because systems of oppression and forms of hierarchy reimagine themselves to maintain power. If we believe the work of unlearning is ever complete, we fall into the imperial trap of seeing an event as finished. The narrative arc of imperialism does not have an ending, but it does carry a resistance.

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"THREE IN THE MORNING": A SHORT GUIDE TO A NOTABLE PASSAGE FROM THE *ZHUANGZI* FOR THE ASPIRING DAOIST SAGE

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ABSTRACT   The *Zhuangzi* is an ancient Chinese text from the late 4th century BCE. Along with the *Daodejing*, it is considered as a definitive text of the ancient school of thought known as Daoism. While covering a wide range of topics, the *Zhuangzi* puts a particular emphasis on the fundamental Daoist theme of "living in accordance with the Way." The text is a compilation of 33 chapters, most of which were written by the Chinese philosopher commonly referred to as Zhuangzi. The book features many fantastical allegories and fables, one of which this essay aims to provide an in-depth analysis.

Introduction

But exhausting the spirit trying to illuminate the unity of things without knowing that they are all the same is called "three in the morning." What do I mean by "three in the morning?" When the monkey trainer was passing out nuts he said, "You get three in the morning and four at night." The monkeys were all angry. "All right," he said, "you get four in the morning and three at night." The monkeys were all pleased. With no loss in name or substance, he made use of their joy and anger because he went along with them. So the sage harmonizes people with right and wrong and rests them on Heaven's wheel. This is called walking two roads. (Zhuangzi 218)

In this short passage, Zhuangzi offers a practical example of what living in accordance with the Dao, or the Way, might look like. However, many elements of this passage remain rather ambiguous and unexplained. This is frustrating for the aspiring Daoist sage who wishes to embody the Way in a manner similar to that of the monkey trainer, but is unable to decipher the meaning of Zhuangzi's cryptic terms and metaphors (i.e., "walking two roads" and "Heaven's wheel"). Therefore, this essay aims to provide a more holistic understanding of the content of this specific passage, drawing from multiple scholarly sources from leading academics in the field. By the end of this essay, it is my hope that our hypothetical student will be far better equipped to take the knowledge contained within this passage and apply it to their own efforts to harmonize with the Dao.

The Question of Monkey Morality

Before tackling Zhuangzi's more enigmatic expressions, it is in the Daoist student's best interest to first grasp the basic structure of the passage. The passage can be reasonably split into three distinct parts: the first part

makes an obscure claim, the second part tells a story, and the third part ends once again in obscurity. Next, it is vital to understand the events of the story, as they are necessary to decoding the meaning of both the first and the last part of the passage. To summarize, a monkey trainer's offer to give the monkeys three nuts in the morning and four nuts at night leaves the monkeys displeased. Therefore, responding to this displeasure, the trainer switches the offer instead to four nuts in the morning and three nuts at night, to which the monkeys are well pleased. Without changing the overall number of nuts or the name (or substance) of said nuts, he was able to evoke the best possible outcome of the circumstance. At its base level of comprehension, it appears that the passage is making a case in favor of the trainer's second offer. The reason for this conclusion coincides directly with the response from the monkeys. In other words, the second offer was deemed "better" because it "made use" of the monkeys' natural tendency to favor more nuts sooner rather than later.

This leads to the first fundamental question: does this outcome project an inherent morality onto the monkeys' natural tendencies? Likewise, does this passage suggest that the trainer's response to the monkeys' displeasure was morally commendable? In his essay "Daoist Spontaneity and the Dichotomy of 'Is' and 'Ought'," A.C. Graham explores this question as it pertains to the *Zhuangzi* as a whole. He claims that the general Daoist prescription, commonly translated as "Live according to the Way" can also be conceived as "Live spontaneously" (Graham 3). This translation, however, can lead to confusion—a confusion that has been debated since Hume—that is, whether or not the fact that "I am spontaneously inclined to do X" necessarily leads to "I ought to do X" (3). Graham provides a possible solution to this problem as it frequently presents itself in the *Zhuangzi*:

> The [D]aoist ideal is a spontaneity disciplined by awareness of the objective. Let us say then that "Follow the Way" is translatable as "Respond with awareness (of what is objectively so)." The awareness will be, not

only of the mirrored situation, but of how as a matter of objective fact things can be done (not of what on prudential or moral grounds they ought to be done), knowing how, knack, skill, art. Of how much one has to be aware may be left vague. Presumably the [D]aoist should be aware of everything relevant to his intent. But he has no fixed ends, only fluid goals to which he spontaneously tends, which will accord with the Way to the extent that he is indeed aware of all the factors relevant to them. The more aware he is, the more likely he is to attain them (When he moves he succeeds). (Graham 11)

This can be directly applied to our passage because in the story, the monkey trainer *responds* spontaneously to the monkeys' displeasure. This spontaneity, however, is guided by his awareness of the monkeys' natural tendencies. This decision has nothing to do with morality, only objective facts as they relate to the task at hand. He doesn't question *why* the monkeys are inclined towards one way and not the other; he merely goes along with them, fashioning the present moment as it presents itself in the general direction of good will. If he had changed the number of nuts given, or instead offered fruit, this might be problematic, because this could have the potential of introducing punishment or reward into the story, leading back to questions of morality. Luckily, the trainer is wise enough to hold on to the mean (no loss in name or substance) and bend it as he sees fit in order to make use of the monkeys' natural tendencies.

This level of "awareness," however, leads to another problem pertaining to the practical application of Daoism. The question stands whether or not this passage and therefore the *Zhuangzi* is advocating for a complete cognitive switch to this "god-like" awareness of the Dao and its mandates. Such a switch would have the potential to dramatically change the manner with which one conducts and decides their day-to-day actions, perhaps leaving them lost and without any sense of reality or direction. Many passages throughout the *Zhuangzi* do

indeed seem to be advocating for such a mental state, beyond that of a normal human. Fortunately, in his essay "Was Zhuangzi a Relativist?," Phillip J. Ivanhoe puts things into perspective by offering the suggestion that perhaps this "awareness" might be better understood as a therapy of sorts, aimed at reducing our selfish tendencies by reminding us of the greater pattern within which we play only a small part (200). He states:

> The therapeutic use of the Heavenly point of view does not entail that human beings should view the world *only* from this perspective. One could believe that from the perspective of nature all things *are* equal and at the same time still believe that there are better and worse ways for us—as human beings—to be. We each have particular roles to fulfill in the great scheme of Heaven, according to our different natures and circumstances. We are not to abandon our individual roles but we must play them in light of an understanding of the greater natural pattern (Ivanhoe 201).

As for the monkey trainer, he sees the world both from the perspective of "Heaven," i.e., the things beyond his control (in this case, the monkeys' preference), and from the human perspective, that is, recognition of the things over which he does exercise control. In other words, he is simultaneously aware of both Heaven's role (albeit unable to understand the origin) and his own role within that role. This realization is the first step in what Zhuangzi refers to as "walking two roads."

The Meaning of "Walking Two Roads" and "Heaven's Wheel"

For much of ancient Chinese literature (e.g., Confucius, Mencius, etc.), the word *Dao* can literally be translated to "road." This translation's meaning can be extended to the non-physical, understood as a "method or means, a course of cultivation or procedure for attaining a particular end" (Ziporyn). However, Daoism and the *Zhuangzi* take this definition, and seemingly flip it on its head. In his chapter on the *Zhuangzi* in *The Encyclopedia*

of Philosophy of Religion, Brook Ziporyn states, "The radical Zhuangzi however speaks of 'a dao that is not a dao' 不道之道 (Chapter Two)—i.e., a way of making things happen which is no particular way, done by no particular agent, embracing no particular vision of what things count as legitimate outcomes, done without either oneself or anyone else, human or divine, knowing how or why." In other words, the traditional conception of the Dao is somewhat linear in its outcomes; the "road" travels in a predictable direction and leads to an established end (despite perhaps being unattainable for humans). Zhuangzi's definition has none of these characteristics, and instead remains completely spontaneous regarding both the means and the outcomes. In the story of the monkey trainer, the trainer embodies Zhuangzi's definition, responding to his circumstance as it presents itself, always keeping his goals fluid, never settling upon a fixed or desired outcome. This conception of the Dao, as Ziproyn points out, has staggering implications both practical and metaphysical:

> This means that no single meaning or identity can be attributed to any event or set of events, that inexhaustible transformation of identities and values is imminent to existence. And yet that this does not lead to nihilistic despair but rather to a new opening up to the world that exceeds that originally sought by connection with Heaven or definite "way" in its earlier sense; now it is "way" as such, interconnection and openness in all directions, between every position and every other position. That is what the radical Zhuangzi means by Dao. (Ziporyn)

In simpler terms, the latter understanding of the Dao takes into account every possible *why* or *how*, giving equal credibility to each in our understanding of the world, its origin, and how we might behave in it. This fundamentally abolishes any traditional notion of right or wrong, and instead makes them equal to each other. Yet Zhuangzi goes even further: to even make such a claim as the equality of right and wrong negates the definitiveness of

such claim, and once again the distinction between the two becomes validated. The back-and-forth exchange of such claims, which spontaneously respond to each other with "awareness" of the ever indefinite/definite nature of the Dao, evokes an image of endless motion. This image is expressed in our passage as "Heaven's wheel," or in some translations the "Potter's wheel of Heaven." Ziporyn offers his own interpretation of the image, stating, "the character used for 'Potter's Wheel' also means 'equality.' The two meanings converge in the consideration of the even distribution of clay made possible by the constant spinning of the wheel: the potter's wheel's very instability, its constant motion, is what makes things equal" (14).

To understand this image within the context of our story, we must pay close attention to Zhuangzi's word choice as he paints it. Following the trainer's response, he states, "So the sage harmonizes people with right and wrong and rests them on Heaven's wheel" (Zhuangzi 218). Ziporyn further points out that the use of the word *rest* here is significant, saying, "This shows the deliberate irony of the use of the verb 'rest' in this context, which is connected to the idea of the unmoving center of the spinning wheel, the stability that exists in the midst of this instability without eliminating it: Walking Two Roads" (14). Here, Zhuangzi points to the profound dichotomy of instability and stability, motion and stillness, as revealing of the true nature of the Dao. The monkey trainer sees the world in much the same way, that is, he is aware of the constant transformations of things into other things (the monkeys' pleasure and displeasure) but is also attuned to the reality of those constant things beyond his control (the monkeys' natural tendencies). In this way, he assumes two perspectives, i.e., "walks two roads," that of Heaven and that of earth. In doing so, he is able to practically and appropriately respond to the circumstance, leaving no options off the table, and therefore assured in his final decision. In the same way that the trainer utilizes the monkeys' natural tendencies, the sage is able to make use of the deep sense of "right" and "wrong" that exists in people's hearts and minds without unnecessary coercion. By fashioning the circumstance according to the neutral inclinations of the people, the sage creates peace and harmony by "resting them on Heaven's wheel."

Conclusion

In our analysis of Zhuangzi's famous passage of "three in the morning," we have explored the events and meaning of the story within its acute context, as well as within the *Zhuangzi* as a whole, paying special attention to clarifying obscure expressions like "Heaven's wheel" and "walking two roads." In doing so, the aspiring Daoist sage is better able to navigate and make sense of Zhuangzi's cryptic metaphors, so that he may find practical use of the lessons within the story and is overall better equipped to continue his efforts to "Follow the Way."

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THE NUCLEAR GAME: AN ECONOMIC ANALYSIS OF NUCLEAR NON-PROLIFERATION

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Introduction

Since the weaponization of nuclear power in 1938, its proliferation has been a highly contested debate with over 110 nations choosing to disarm while only 9 nations continually increase their nuclear weapon production to counter a potential threat. The risk of mutually assured destruction has led some to rationalize that all nations possessing nuclear weapons would paradoxically bring about peace. In modern discussions, the notion of nuclear nonproliferation has become an increasingly popular idea examined by contemporary ways of thinking, like game theory. The decision-making related to nuclear warfare can be categorized as a game as it contains several key players, strict rules, the uncertainty of outcomes, and payoffs that incentivize the players to win. The fatally high stakes of this game-theoretical application suggest an urgency to analyze previous and potential future nuclear conflicts.

In the first and only nuclear weapon deployment in the history of warfare, the United States bombed the cities of Hiroshima and Nagasaki during World War II. These decisions remain highly contested. In recent years, historians and high-ranking individuals involved in that fateful choice have speculated on the controversy surrounding the administration's lack of just cause for the deadly display of power. As the only point of reference for nuclear conflict, the U.S.'s murky justification fails to set a precedent for countries considering increasing

their nuclear stockpiles in different regions of the world. Especially complex conflicts exist between neighboring nations with unique cultural challenges, generating geopolitical nuclear conflicts. The religious and political histories of India and Pakistan have created a combative pattern of violence at the border, and the worsening conflict between the two nations has caused a race toward nuclear armament. This regional conflict has global implications that further complicate the players and the game. While many individuals view nuclear disarmament as a positive, conscious choice portraying a pacifistic stance, most non-nuclear-weapon states were pressured by treaties or international compulsion to disarm. Many countries, such as the United States, Russia, China, and India, have kept and continue to produce their nuclear weaponry to signal strength outrightly.

The game of nuclear warfare has become a permanent part of modern international politics. The choice to have nuclear arms involves players worldwide. As countries engage in nuclear non-proliferation treaties, nuclear armament can be understood as both a simultaneous and sequential game. In this game, signaling is a key factor. By choosing to disarm, nations could be signaling a sign of goodwill. However, it could also be interpreted as a sign of weakness on the world stage. Negotiation, meaning, and interpretation are fundamental elements of cultivating global cooperation. According to game theorist Len Fisher, threats are cheaper than promises in the negotiation process (Fisher 111). As such, threats can serve to intensify conflict, while non-proliferation promises foster cooperation. Threatening behavior, such as nuclear arms

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build-up, can escalate existing animosities. In applying game theory to political decision making, communication (or the lack thereof) drives the future of nuclear warfare; this phenomenon can be analyzed through the case studies of Hiroshima-Nagasaki as the indeterminate precedent for nuclear warfare, the current conflict between India and Pakistan as geopolitical nuclear adversaries, and the nonproliferation of South Africa as the effects of economic incentives.

Historical Case Study: Hiroshima and Nagasaki

Nuclear activity and disarmament can be analyzed through a sequential game-theoretical lens when one considers how the issue itself has evolved as a central debate in historical warfare. When engaging in any sequential game, it is vital to consider history. Analyzing each players' past moves, perspectives, goals, and strategies can help observers predict upcoming plays and react accordingly. For this reason, our analysis of global nuclear relationships will begin with a look back at the only time nuclear weapons have been used during a conflict, when the U.S. dropped bombs on Hiroshima and Nagasaki in Japan. This historical atrocity of war is not consistently recalled by those involved, resulting in both a dangerously unclear precedent for such a deadly decision and an argument still prevalent today regarding the justification of dropping the bomb. There are groups on two distinct sides of this conflict called the Traditionalists and the Revisionists. Traditionalists argue that deploying the nuclear bombs in Japan was crucial to winning World War II. They claim there was no way to ensure the Emperor of Japan's genuine unconditional surrender, as desired by Truman and Roosevelt before him, without the bomb as a signal of the U.S.' power and resolve (Bellafaire 414). They also argue that the use of the bomb ended the war so much earlier than it would have without the bomb that it actually saved lives by avoiding the prolonged conflict, even after all the immediate fatalities of the bombing were added to the war's body count ("Debate Over the Bomb"). Revisionists disagree on almost every point. They quote high-ranking members of President Truman's cabinet who

These numbers are derived from average fatalities per country per month multiplied by estimated months of continuing warfare)

U.S. Japan	Drop Bomb on Populated Japan	Drop Bomb on Unpopulated Land in Demonstration of Power	Do Not Use Nukes at All
Surrender Immediately	0 200,000	0 0	n/a; lacks initiative
Surrender Upon Military Defeat	n/a; bomb ensures surrender	6,000 30,000	18,000 90,000

opposed the bomb and advised against its use, including his Chief of Staff William Leahy, who wrote in his memoir that "the use of this barbarous weapon at Hiroshima and Nagasaki was of no material assistance in our war against Japan. The Japanese were already defeated and ready to surrender …. In being the first to use it we had adopted an ethical standard common to the barbarians of the Dark Ages" (Leahy 134). Over time, more scientists and politicians have come forward to testify to their opposition and proportionate advice at the time, none of which seemed to deter Truman. It is easy to say in hindsight that the bombings were unjustifiable, but it was certainly more difficult in the moment. To better understand the ultimate decision, we can use a model to outline the options and understand consequences at the time in the cost of lives.

Regardless of the exact fatalities, it is clear that the U.S. was predicted to lose far fewer lives by the end of the war. Arguably, the decision should have been made based on total lives lost rather than lives lost by nationality, the logic of which rates the tragedies at Hiroshima and Nagasaki as the very worst option. If a demonstration of nuclear power in an unpopulated location could have shortened the war, the war still would have ended with five times fewer American deaths than Japanese deaths. It is

FIGURE 2

Drop Bomb on Populated Japan	Drop Bomb on Unpopulated Land in Demonstration of Power	Do Not Use Nuclear Weapon
U.S. known as ruthless, not to be crossed. Less opposition, fewer resources extended to get their way in global politics.	U.S. known as timid, can be taken advantage of. Probably won't ever actually drop the bomb on innocent people, just bluffing.	U.S. known as forgiving, can be taken advantage of. Harder to convince stronger countries to ally.

also important to consider that the options to demonstrate without fatalities, avoiding the bombs entirely, count only soldier deaths, while the 200,000 deaths that were a direct result of the nuclear attack were all unsuspecting civilians. All of these tragic options lead to the same final result: the ultimate surrender of Japan, the stated goal of President Truman. Assuming the veracity of Truman's advisors' recounts that the Japanese surrender was sure and imminent, regardless of U.S. action, it cannot be concluded that the bomb was truly used out of pure necessity when it was not the best path to reach the same result. Why would a U.S. president choose to unnecessarily destroy generations of innocent lives? What was his strategy? McCarty and Meirowitz write that when parties have preferred outcomes, as they often do in war, they can be categorized as "satiable," in that their needs can be possibly satisfied. Truman was satiable but absolute in his desire for "unconditional surrender," which made satiation more expensive in terms of lives and practical costs. The authors of *Political Game Theory* also state that "satiable preferences must produce risk-averse behavior at least in regions near the ideal point" which could explain the extreme measures taken by Truman to ensure the Allied victory (36). It could be argued (albeit in a lower-stakes context) that deploying the nuclear bomb was a risk-averse strategy by Truman to increase the likelihood of a result closer to his desired outcome of unconditional surrender. Another possible explanation could come from the aforementioned economic research that shows that threats are not as effective as promises and allows us to assume transitively that actual actions are the most valuable of all (Fisher 111). It is possible that Truman felt the demonstration of the nuclear weapons on unpopulated land resulting in fewer or zero casualties, was, as a threat, not as stern of a stance to take. We assert that the more likely case is that dropping the bomb was a highly-valued opportunity to send a signal to the rest of the world that the U.S. not only possessed an ultimate power but also was not afraid to use it. In addition, war is a very high-stakes game and the U.S. completely altered it when they bombed Japan. Rewriting the rules certainly has its advantages. It is also interesting to note that most applications of Game Theory in war are made under the assumption of the condition of imperfect information. If it is true that Truman knew that Japan was close to surrender, then the analysis of the game changes to one without any guesswork, a choice under certainty. This is another indicator that that bombing had less to do with the situation in Japan specifically and more to do with the U.S. sending a message. This changes the scope of the game from the U.S. and Japan in WWII to the much larger U.S. versus the world at any point. A change in scope

necessitates a change in the model. This model indicates that the U.S. may have been playing a different game with different stakes.

The effectiveness of this irresponsible display of power could be argued, considering the U.S.' current standing in world politics and economics, but the loss of so many human lives is (one would hope) difficult to morally justify. The bombings of Hiroshima and Nagasaki resulted in the dual effect of simultaneously normalizing and scrutinizing the bomb, but the indeterminate justification for its use failed to set a precedent for following conflicts in which nuclear weaponry would be considered, which, nowadays, is nearly every conflict.

Geopolitical Case Study: India and Pakistan

The geopolitical conflict between India and Pakistan is a prime example of the game-theoretical decision-making behind nuclear stockpiling and potential nuclear war. This violent conflict originates from territorial disputes over the Kashmir region, which sparked Indo-Pakistani wars in 1947 and 1965, and a limited war in 1999 ("Conflict Between India and Pakistan"). The two enemy nations diverged, in part, based on a religious clash between the majority-Hindu nation of India and the majority-Muslim nation of Pakistan. Kashmir is a majority-Muslim region and currently considered to be part of the northernmost part of India, taking up a sizable 118,930 square miles. The hostility stems from a dispute over land ownership. Despite international efforts to reduce the conflict, the Council on Foreign Relations explains that the struggle is still worsening. There are over 300 nuclear warheads between India and Pakistan. Earth Institute's senior editor for science news, Kevin Krajick, explains that "many experts have long regarded Pakistan and India as the most dangerous players, because of their history of near-continuous conflict over territory and other issues" (Krajick). In game theory, a game is defined as anything involving the choice of a strategy that takes into account the choices of other strategic decision-makers. To evaluate this particular conflict using game theory, we must first understand the players, their goals, potential actions and abilities, and consequences. In this case, that pertains to analyzing the military capacities and potential fallout for all players.

Despite being a regional conflict, the consequences of nuclear war between India and Pakistan would be severe and global. The theory of nuclear winter—a years-long planetary freeze brought on by airborne soot from nuclear bombs—has been around for decades (Krajick). The climate impacts of a nuclear winter would affect food supply, productivity, and life as we know it on a global scale. Krajick and other experts estimate that shifts in precipitation, solar radiation, and temperature drops would certainly occur in the event of nuclear bombing. The production and trade of wheat, rice, maize, and soy would be heavily impacted by these changes. Beyond the direct domestic implications of India and Pakistan, large production changes could have cascading effects through the global food trade system (Jägermeyr et al. 7072). It is in the interest of the United States, Canada, Europe, Russia, China, and Australia to help prevent this type of warfare, as these most important cereal grain exporters would be disproportionately impacted (Jägermeyr et al. 7074). Despite efforts to improve global literacy of the potentially extreme environmental, economic, and social consequences, experts still fear escalatory retaliation could result in the use of nuclear weapons.

When considering the likelihood of either nation launching a nuclear weapon, the countries' military capacities and alliances are chiefly important. In their article analyzing India and Pakistan's rapidly expanding nuclear arsenals, Toon et al. believe that "neither Pakistan nor India is likely to initiate a nuclear conflict without substantial provocation" (Toon et al. 2). Game theorist Len Fisher explains that displays and signaling are key elements of communication and negotiation (Fisher 110). Per Fisher's research, threatening displays or explicit threats for a nuclear launch would risk severe escalation of the already highly contentious conflict. As a gesture

FIGURE 3

of goodwill, India has declared a policy of no first use of nuclear weapons, except in response to an attack with biological or chemical weapons. Their statement is especially significant considering that India has conventional military superiority over Pakistan which determines it more likely to be an offensive player. Pakistan's statement, on the other hand, declares that Pakistan would only use nuclear weapons if the country could not stop an invasion by conventional means or in response to an offensive nuclear attack (Toon et al. 3). These promises have clear rewards and incentives. Both nations have very densely populated urban areas and Toon et al. predict that "should a war between India and Pakistan ever occur, as assumed here, these countries alone could suffer 50 to 125 million fatalities, a regional catastrophe" (Toon et al. 10). In addition, the China-Pakistan Economic Corridor, which is an element of China's broader "Belt and Road Initiative," increases the odds of a Pakistani-Indian war spreading to China. If a regional nuclear war between India and Pakistan were to draw China in, it could lead to far greater losses. Military and economic alliances such as these further complicate the currently difficult situation. The propensity for a concentrated nuclear war to spread to a global scale makes every country a player in this game.

Len Fisher defines a coalition as "an alliance in which the members coordinate their strategies to work cooperatively toward a common objective" (Fisher 112). Coalition-building will be a crucial step in mitigating the threat of nuclear war. Cooperation not only between India and Pakistan, but amongst all nations, is a necessary step toward nuclear non-proliferation. Toon et al. emphasize that close to 95 percent of nuclear warheads worldwide belong to the United States and Russia. Disarmament by these leading nations could act as a signal for nuclear de-escalation everywhere. Fisher goes on to suggest that the act of cooperation could turn a deadly conflict into a win-win game (Fisher 113). Game theory reveals that it is every nation's interest to cooperate and avoid the development and deployment of any nuclear weapons. In the geopolitical instance of India and Pakistan, figure 3 reveals that both players have the highest payoff when nuclear weapons are not used. In this model, the conflict between India and Pakistan can be viewed as a prisoner's dilemma. A prisoner's dilemma is typically a visual explanation of why, in a game, two rational players may not cooperate, usually due to self-interest and lack of communication and trust. In a classic prisoner's dilemma, two prisoners are arrested and pitted against each other in a police questioning. Without any prior communication or opportunity to discuss strategy, the prisoners are given the options to confess and throw their counterpart

under the bus in exchange for a lesser punishment or not cooperate. Predictably, each players' decision affects the other's outcome. A Nash Equilibrium is a dominant strategy to solve and find the winning strategy for a prisoner's dilemma. In figure 3, the prisoner's dilemma shows that the Nash Equilibrium can produce the win-win result of avoiding nuclear war.

Figure 4 demonstrates how Pakistan's promise to only launch if invaded by India could play out. Based on the assumption that India would make the first move, this extensive form model represents the various outcomes associated with India's initial strategy. While this scenario could involve more players, such as the U.S. or China, the possibility of a solution in which no one launches their nuclear arsenal or calls upon allies remains. To solve this game, the economic method of backward induction can be used to identify the highest payoffs for both India and Pakistan. From this, we can see that the optimal course of strategies entails no invasion by India and only the use of conventional weaponry on both sides, as this yields the highest utility. Extrapolating this analysis, it is clear that nuclear non-proliferation is the most favorable way

forward in the case of this geopolitical conflict.

Economic Case Study: South Africa

While several countries, like India and Pakistan, actively practice modern-day nuclear proliferation, most countries have opted to disarm their nuclear weapons and declare themselves advocates against nuclear warfare. South Africa is an example of a nuclear weapons researcher and producer that disarmed and defunded their nuclear research program in 1989. Prior to this disarmament in the late 1980s, South Africa established the Atomic Energy Board to oversee the development of the uranium mining and trade industry which later led to the construction of a reactor to produce plutonium. As part of the "Atoms for Peace" program, South Africa signed a 50-year nuclear collaboration agreement with the United States in 1957 which led to South Africa's acquisition of a nuclear reactor and a supply of highly enriched uranium (HEU) fuel from the United States. South Africa's pursuit of nuclear weapons can be attributed to their "growing feeling of isolation and helplessness, perceptions of major military threat, and desires for regional prestige" ("Nuclear"). South Africa's strategic position and resources allowed for it to

FIGURE 4
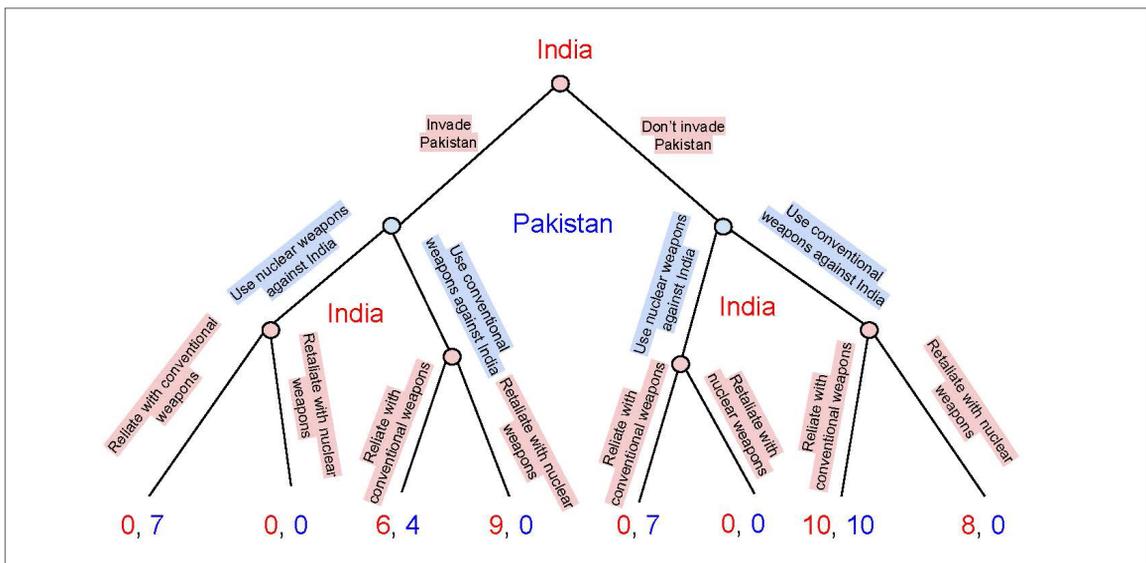
FIGURE 5
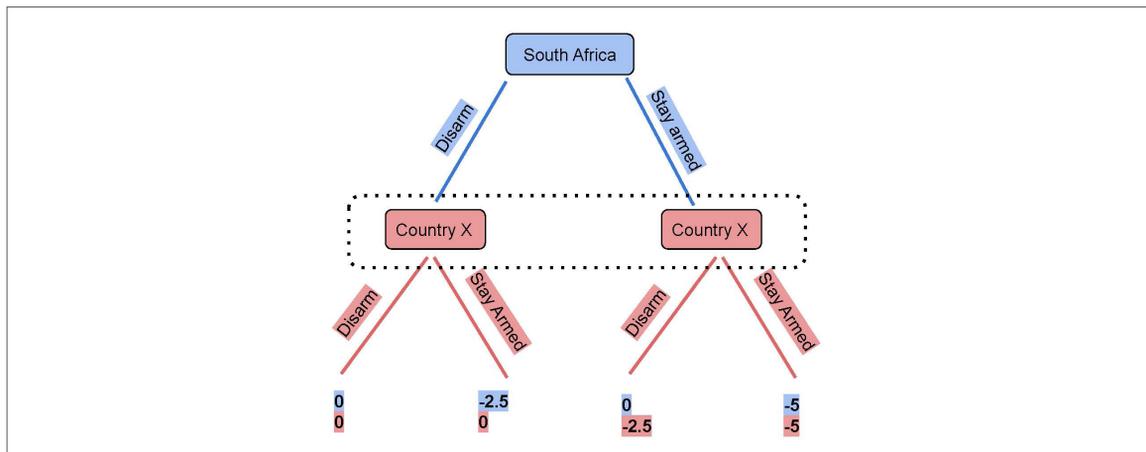
emerge at the forefront of nuclear weapons production and research during the span of the Cold War, a time where great importance was placed on nuclear weaponry. Moreover, South Africa's nuclear weapons production was heavily regulated by several world powers including the Soviet Union and, especially, the United States.

With the end of an era that placed great importance on nuclear weapons, South Africa's funding of nuclear weapons was nonsensical as it did not provide any defense or economic benefit anymore. Therefore, South Africa assumed a pacifistic approach. This transition to a pacifist stance can potentially be viewed as a signaling game where South Africa initially developed nuclear weapons to display strength in order to combat the isolation it felt due to the effects of apartheid and the transition to democracy. The continued development of nuclear weapons after the Cold War could have potentially signaled a hostile threat to both the United States and the Soviet Union. Therefore, South Africa's disarmament signaled an approach towards peace and neutrality in hopes of international acceptance. A zero-sum is a situation in game theory in which one player's gain is equivalent to another's loss. Some initially believe that the issue of nuclear proliferation can be described as a zero-sum game, as increased stockpiles by one nation decrease the security of all others. However,

there are also options for both parties to lose or for both parties to win. In this specific situation, South Africa is less likely to attack the United States due to U.S. sponsored resources for South Africa's development. As seen in Figure 5, the best possible scenario would be for both South Africa and any other country to disarm as there would be no casualties or nuclear fallout.

If both countries retain nuclear weapons, the number of potential casualties doubles as countries inevitably retaliate at least once. While South Africa's decision to disarm its nuclear weapons makes it vulnerable to attacks from countries that have retained their nuclear weaponry, this situation is not very likely as only 9 countries still actively possess nuclear weapons. Moreover, South Africa's decision to disarm nuclear weaponry emerged from an understanding that South Africa will benefit more from the potential strengthening of relationships with non-proliferative states than the military or economic opportunities that keeping nuclear weapons will provide. Ultimately, South Africa's disarmament stems from a desire to assimilate into the international stage and to portray a nonviolent post-apartheid image. As the risk of nuclear warfare between itself and any other countries is highly unlikely, nuclear nonproliferation is the logical solution for South Africa's economic development in

future trade agreements and global negotiations.

Conclusion

The nuclear game is a multifaceted and high-stakes issue. Through the analyses of historical precedent, a modern-day existing conflict, and an example of a successful non-proliferation transition, we can determine the decision-making principles that countries assume when considering nuclear disarmament. In the example of the Hiroshima-Nagasaki conflict, the U.S.' decision to bomb the Japanese cities was arguably irrational from an economic standpoint, but when analyzed through a game theoretical lens can exemplify the strategic value of signaling. The ongoing geopolitical conflict between India and Pakistan reveals that repeated interactions exacerbate the threat of nuclear war when either country is noncooperative. Analyzing this regional conflict demonstrates that it is in the interest of both countries, as well as the whole world, to disarm. South Africa's conscious pacifistic transition demonstrates the power of economic incentives as South Africa's disarmament emerged from an overhaul of their approach to government and global trade relations. All three of these case studies show that strengthening global communication regarding nuclear weapons can promote open discussions and the potential for a nuclear-free world.

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TO THINE OWN SELF BE TRUE: RICHARDSON'S SCIENTIFIC EXAMINATION OF HAMLET AND THE SELF

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Introduction

Shakespeare's plays have remained almost consistently popular since the Bard began to write; however, the cause for his appeal has not retained that same consistency. Critics have focused on various plays that seemed to align with the *zeitgeist* of their time and emphasized the parts of Shakespeare that most resonated with the audience or the culture. Just as Shakespeare productions have changed with time, so too has Shakespearean criticism developed to reflect the preoccupations and key developments of the age.

Interactions with Shakespeare in the eighteenth century formed a relatively uniform type of literary criticism consisting of partial criticisms and defenses thereof or an emphasis on the "various excellences of [Shakespeare's] work which might have otherwise escaped notice" (Richardson, *Philosophical* 41). This period also witnessed a shift in focus from the plays themselves to Shakespeare's characters. First published in 1780, William Richardson's *A Philosophical Analysis and Illustration of Some of Shakespeare's Remarkable Characters* was among the first of these, and his work aligns with the "best critical work of the period…responding to Shakespeare's characters" (Vickers 12). Richardson's work is notable, however, for rejecting the subjective perspectives from which Shakespearean criticism originated; his analysis of Shakespeare's characters reflects his conviction that the Enlightenment's emphasis on reason in science and philosophy was the best method for critical inquiry. Richardson approaches the characters from the position of a philosopher, but unlike the natural scientists whose methods he esteemed, he found that moral and ethical scientists—philosophers—were at a fundamental disadvantage. Whereas scientists may observe their subjects objectively, Richardson claims it is impossible for philosophers to inquire into the self without the passions simultaneously affecting the objectivity of the observation. The multiple editions of and expansions to *A Philosophical Analysis* were attempts to resolve the precept 'know thyself'— the ancient question of self-knowledge—with the methods of a natural scientist while bypassing the philosophers' impediments.

Richardson asserts that the best poets can perfectly imitate the human, and he believes that Shakespeare is unsurpassed in this regard. The first edition of *A Philosophical Analysis* was an attempt to examine Shakespeare's greatest characters as surrogates for the self in a type of scientific case study in order to better understand their actions and thereby gain an understanding of the nature of the self. By rendering this understanding of the inner workings of Shakespeare's characters, Richardson hoped to create an objective study of the self as scientists study, for example, the nature of an insect.

In this paper, I examine Richardson's analysis of the character of Hamlet—it is the most extensive—and I consider the extent to which Richardson achieves his goal of a scientific examination. By examining Richardson's analysis of Hamlet, I hope to demonstrate not only how Richardson's goal in writing the *Philosophical Analysis* was informed by the society and culture surrounding him, but also how approaching Hamlet with a scientifically guided philosophical goal affects the analysis of the character.

Prior to the modern concept of science, the word "science" retained its Scholastic definition; "it referred to demonstrative knowledge of the essence of things" (Osler 91). This 'demonstrative' use of the word "science" was coined by Aristotle, and it remained the word's denotation until Francis Bacon prompted a turn from syllogistic demonstration to demonstration through observation and experimentation (Ross 67). This movement away from the *de facto* traditions of the past towards reason culminated in contemporary science. The term "philosophy" eventually narrowed to exclude natural philosophy—science—such that "an English man of science who called himself a philosopher now did so rather self-consciously, or hastened to qualify the name with the adjectives 'experimental' or 'natural'" (Ross 71). The change in the conception of demonstration split philosophy into the experimental knowledge of science and the syllogistic knowledge of philosophy.

For clarity, I will refer to study through experiment and observation as science or natural philosophy, and I will use philosophy to refer only to the metaphysical and moral subjects which employ syllogistic demonstration; however, it must be noted that Richardson was writing his various editions of *A Philosophical Analysis* at the exact middle of this etymological evolution (Miller 256). His use of the word philosophy must be read with awareness of the possible dual meaning especially since Richardson engages both sides of the Enlightenment.

The Development of Science and Philosophy in the Enlightenment

The general inclination of the Enlightenment towards reason and natural philosophy created a milieu grounded in those scientific principles and methodologies. Richardson's *A Philosophical Analysis* emerged from this new societal elevation of natural philosophy. Richardson understood that events that had previously been mysterious, terrifying, or unknown were all now within the reach of scientific explanation. He admired the methodology of scientific inquiry. Richardson's observation that natural philosophers could examine and explain "minute objects of sense, as well as the greatest and most remote" served only to enhance his sense that "science was the key to the future of the human race" (Richardson, *Philosophical* 7; Stewart 60). Extrapolating from that conclusion, Richardson came to believe that if moral and ethical philosophers emulated the scientific method, they would be able to move beyond conjecture and to achieve the same concrete answers which scientists had begun to achieve, so he took it, along with the notion of a fully ordered, rational universe, into his own field.

Though society elevated natural philosophy, the professor of humanities also found the Enlightenment's push towards reason in moral and ethical philosophy to be extremely important. His title, *A Philosophical Analysis,* is a reflection of various Enlightenment works like Burke's *Philosophical Enquiry into the Origins of Our Ideas of the Sublime and Beautiful* and Hume's *Enquiry Concerning Human Understanding* (Stewart 56). By emulating those titles, Richardson placed his work within the Enlightenment philosophical tradition, and thereby linked his work to their intellectual achievements. The connection to these philosophers was of the utmost importance to Richardson's credibility, since it grounded him in the Enlightenment's philosophical progress as firmly as his methodology grounded him in the Enlightenment's scientific progress.

Unlike earlier eighteenth-century criticism focusing on taste or on defending Shakespeare's excellence, Richardson's alignment with both scientific and Enlightenment ideals moved his literary analysis towards the field of objective truth. His analysis began an attempt "to make poetry subservient to philosophy," and his declaration is clear insofar as he ranks the literary aspects of poetry such as amusement and style lower than philosophical aspects (*Philosophical* 41). Though natural philosophy had been deemed to be the path to more tangible advancement, given the goal of the book, Richardson may use the term "philosophy" to refer to the moral and ethical knowledge that is imparted through poetry. It seems most likely, however, that Richardson employs "philosophy" in its pure sense here as the love of wisdom without regard to specific developing definitions of philosophy, natural or otherwise. The Enlightenment's influence on Richardson, both scientific and philosophical, helps to support the dual use of the word "philosophy" (Rhodes 42). What Richardson seeks to elevate, then, is the "reason" of the Enlightenment and the scientific methodological approach insofar as that reason can be applied to the work of a moral philosopher through literature.

Despite philosophy's dual meaning in the title, the distinction between the two types of philosophy here is necessary because the Enlightenment, specifically its moral philosophy, did not benefit from the success of the scientific method. Furthermore, moral and natural philosophers have very different areas of interest. Richardson suggests that it is natural philosophers who enjoy the benefits of the difference in subject:

> Natural philosophers possess great advantages over moralists and metaphysicians, insofar as the subjects of their inquires belong to the senses, are external, material, and often permanent. Hence they can retain [their subjects] in their presence till they have examined their motion, parts, or composition. (*Philosophical* 15)

Unlike natural philosophy, the subject of moral examination is neither permanent nor objectively observable. Morality and ethics are not tangible things, nor indeed are the faculties and passions of the mind. Philosophers seem always to investigate the abstract, which necessarily does not contain those permanent aspects that the natural philosopher can observe. Without those permanent observable subjects, moral philosophy is incapable of attaining the scientific claim to truth.

"Know Thyself"

Hamlet's Polonius dictates many precepts to his son, culminating in the pronouncement, "And this above all, to thine own self be true" (Shakespeare 1.3.77). This line is often remembered and frequently quoted, but like many of Polonius's other hollow or obvious precepts, it seems to lack substance. It fails to amount to valuable advice because "the self" is too obscure. Does it refer to what a person believes themselves to be, or to how others perceive them? There are countless interpretations of what the self is, and Richardson hopes to elucidate the question of the self through scientific means in his *Philosophical Analysis*, echoing the Delphic precept "know thyself." In 1773, Alexander Pope (qtd. in Bristow) elaborated on the precept turning it into a scientific goal: "Know then thyself, presume not God to scan / The proper study of mankind is man". Unfortunately, the command to "know thyself" and study mankind, despite its renown, suffers the same disadvantage that impedes philosophy: it has no permanent and tangible subject. The self is, at best, difficult to know. It is comprised of passions, yet people are unable to ascertain any truth or self-knowledge from reflection because the faculty of reflection is functionally deficient. Reflection upon past emotions fails to recall the true nature of those emotions, leading to an incomplete assessment of the self. Reflections made in the midst of the experience of an emotion are equally unable to present true self-knowledge, for those reflections "made, while the mind is inflamed, are difficult in execution, incomplete, and erroneous" because their objectivity is inhibited by the emotion under examination (Richardson,

Philosophical 16). Richardson summarizes the problem: "While the passion prevails, you have no leisure for speculation; and be assured it hath suffered abatement, if you have time to philosophize" (*Philosophical* 17). What other option, then, is left for one to know thyself in a scientific way when introspection is impotent?

The observation of another seems to eliminate both difficulties presented in self-reflection, yet this option introduces a new problem: the subject may be opaque. In observing another person, the observer cannot know whether the subject presents the emotion they are experiencing or are merely presenting an appearance of that emotion as would an actor on a stage; therefore, regardless of whether the philosopher examines their own passions or those of another, the precept to "know thyself" seems to be altogether impossible. It is only by "elevat[ing] literary criticism to the level of scientific inquiry by combining it with philosophy" that Richardson resolves this problem and creates a viable path to self-understanding (Mulryan 35). This new path to self-understanding is a philosophical analysis of characters who portray human nature in all its complexity. He finds in literary characters the solution to the problems that self-reflection and the observation of others pose to self-knowledge.

Only the fictional characters created by a great poet are sufficient as the subjects for moral philosophers:

> The genuine and original Poet, peculiarly favored by nature, and intimately acquainted with the constitution of the human mind, not by a long train of metaphysical deductions, but, as it were, by immediate intuition, displays the workings of every affection, detects the origin of every passion, traces its progress, and delineates its character. Thus, he teaches us to know ourselves. (Richardson, *Philosophical* 1)

Poets' creations offer insights into the human mind through the examination of the other and thereby offer a path to self-knowledge. Richardson claims that his philosophical analysis finds the true poetic imitation of human nature in the characters of Shakespeare's plays. He describes Shakespeare as the "Proteus of the drama," referring to the Greek sea god capable of changing his form, because Shakespeare imitates human nature and its passions (*Philosophical* 38). He creates characters with more depth than ones that merely have multiple complex attributes; he creates characters that are insistently alive in every way except literally. Through his Protean nature, Shakespeare fashions the perfect subjects through which to gain an understanding of human conduct and the self because the characters fulfill the standards of a natural philosopher's experiments.

Out of the characters that Richardson engages, his examination of Hamlet is the most substantial. It also clearly displays the ways in which scientific methodology contributed to Richardson's overall approach. His examination of Hamlet's emotions is fundamentally an examination of Hamlet's mind, and by taking up the subject of the mind, regardless of whether the subject is a literal person or a person in literature, Richardson affirms his place among the ranks of the "many Enlightenment thinkers who aspired to be the 'Newton of the mind'" (Bristow).

Richardson's Analysis of Hamlet

Richardson's examination of Hamlet's mind begins with the identification of Hamlet's grief, aversion, and indignation, though this is merely a preliminary discussion. Richardson's goal of self-knowledge requires an examination of the "antecedent passion[s] or affection[s]" causing those emotions which Hamlet experiences (Richardson, *Philosophical* 82).

Richardson first delves into the antecedent passions' effects on Hamlet's actions in Hamlet's first soliloquy. In Act 1 Scene 2, Hamlet exclaims "O that this too too sallied flesh would melt, / Thaw and resolve itself into a dew"; Hamlet wishes to die (Shakespeare 1.2.129-30). In order to examine the emotion's underlying causes, Richardson

seeks to determine the primary affecting emotion. He initially considers Hamlet's grief over his father's death to be the cause of the desire for "self-slaughter," but he goes on to dismiss this antecedent (Shakespeare 1.2.132). Although the death of a father rightfully causes grief, it is "a natural evil, and as such [Hamlet] endures it" (Richardson, *Philosophical* 89). Richardson then considers aversion directed at Claudius as the source of the desire. He believes this to be far more plausible than grief, since aversion is an active emotion, one which "creates apprehension of suffering . . . and, consequently, a desire of avoiding" the object of the aversion (*Philosophical* 84). Though Hamlet's aversion to his uncle/father is great and causes a desire to escape, Richardson believes absolute cessation is again too excessive a desire given the cause, so he goes on to consider the last of the three emotions: indignation.

It is this final emotion of indignation that Richardson concludes is the cause of Hamlet's desire for death, but this conclusion must be understood through careful examination. Indignation, like aversion, seems not to match the desire; however, it is here that the goal of using the characters as experiments to gain self-understanding appears, for Richardson goes beyond the apparent emotions in order to discover their causes. The word "indignation," he points out, is etymologically related to dignified, so he posits that indignation is the result of a contrast. Richardson explains that "[t]his contrast is either between the antecedent behavior or imagined good character of the agent, and the particular actions that expose him to our present censure; or it is between the merits of a sufferer, and the injuries he sustains" (*Philosophical* 85).

Hamlet's uncle fails to equal the merit of his father, and his mother's behavior bears no resemblance to that which Hamlet had previously expected. Hamlet's indignation is therefore a result of failed expectations, and Richardson emphasizes this facet of indignation.

Since Hamlet's indignation causes him to desire death, the indignation must have been an intensely powerful feeling. Richardson suggests that the realization of Gertrude's marriage to Hamlet's uncle "cast [Hamlet] into utter agony," and Hamlet felt this indignation so strongly is because of proportionality (*Philosophical* 90). A person with exceptionally refined moral virtue will be "susceptible of every moral impression, the display of virtuous actions will yield delight, and the contrary excite uneasiness" (*Philosophical* 92). Richardson explains that Hamlet has such a refined sense of virtue that any minute failing will cause immense pain. As such, Hamlet's refined virtue is "frequently a fountain of bitter suffering" (*Philosophical* 90). His indignation towards the untimely marriage of his hitherto-thought-virtuous mother to his uncle with none of the qualities of his father was unbearable, and they caused death "[d]evoutly to be wished" (Shakespeare 3.1.63).

This is Richardson's first productive conclusion from his scientific examination of Hamlet: he uncovers the causes of the feeling of indignation. This examination demonstrates that in order to "know thyself," it is fundamentally necessary to understand not just the surface-level causes of an action or desire, but also the origins of those emotions. The analysis of Hamlet's desires and affecting emotions also produces for Richardson a "ruling principle" by which Hamlet lives and acts: his refined virtue (Rhodes 42). A reader, by understanding the repercussions of Hamlet's extremely refined virtue, may likewise understand their own actions by substituting their own virtue for Hamlet's.

Richardson then delves into Hamlet's "I doubt some foul play"—his suspicion of Claudius's guilt (Shakespeare 1.2.254). Hamlet's suspicion is an entirely sensible subject for Richardson because it is a common or understandable feeling to most people, and as such, the ability to better understand it ought to illuminate another aspect of the self. Hamlet's suspicion of his uncle is a direct result of his "shock and astonishment at the degeneracy of [Gertrude's] actions" (Richardson, *Philosophical* 111). This

reaction, like the indignation, is also connected to his highly refined sense of virtue, for had he felt less aversion towards his uncle and less indignation about his mother, "he would have entertained no suspicion, nor have given way to resentment" (Richardson, *Philosophical* 112).

Richardson generalizes the relatively simple analysis of Hamlet's suspicion to explain his findings in relation to his goals. He explains that imagination, when governed by passions like extreme indignation fueled by refined virtue, "follows the impulses it receives" (*Philosophical* 107). Impulses excited by passions lead people to blame the object of their passions "not only with the infamy of the crime they have committed, but with that of the crimes of which we believe them capable," thereby explaining suspicion, not just in Hamlet's case but in general (Richardson, *Philosophical* 110). He points out, however, that although Hamlet's suspicions turned out to be correct, "even a slight probability will influence our belief" (*Philosophical* 108). Regardless of the truth of the initial belief, when one begins with indignation, suspicion of further wrongdoing will follow, and to start with reverence leads one to revere more devoutly. Richardson, here, extracts from Hamlet knowledge that not only provides insight, but also acts as a sort of warning against potentially incorrect instincts. Presumably the goal of the precept "know thyself" is improvement, and better understanding this aspect of human nature is certainly beneficial towards that end.

Richardson moves on in his investigation of the character of Hamlet to the topic of Hamlet's madness. The critical debate on this subject generally centers on whether Hamlet's madness is real or if, as Hamlet explains it, he has simply "put an antic disposition on" (Shakespeare 1.5.170). Richardson avoids this debate entirely by simply taking Hamlet at his word. Richardson is more interested in the underlying reason for Hamlet's decision to act mad in order to illuminate some aspect of the self which was previously obscured.

Upon confirmation of his suspicions about Claudius, Hamlet resolves to conceal his plan of punishment with madness, and Richardson finds that at this moment, "the condition of Hamlet's mind becomes still more curious and interesting" (*Philosophical* 115). It is curious because Hamlet's actions, specifically his decision to present his "mad" self to Ophelia, reveal a truth about human nature. Hamlet reveals that "there is nothing that reconciles men more readily to believe in any extraordinary appearance than to have it accounted for" (Richardson, *Philosophical* 116). The proof of Hamlet's assumption is in the actions of the other characters, all of whom believe Hamlet. This different approach to the madness of Hamlet suggests that people believe what they see, despite its possible speciousness. It is not the same type of self-knowledge as the other insights that Richardson's analysis develops from the character of Hamlet, yet it is still beneficial to the goal of self-knowledge to understand what many convictions are based upon.

Because of Richardson's unique focus on the various motivations and causes of Hamlet's actions, *A Philosophical Analysis* is one of the first attempts to examine not only the mind, but also Hamlet's delay (Vickers 13). Upon receiving ocular proof that his uncle murdered his father and confirmation of the Ghost's accusation, Hamlet does not immediately kill Claudius. His delay is very important to Richardson's inquiry concerning self-knowledge because it is probably the most incomprehensible (non)action of the play. Richardson hopes that an understanding of why Hamlet delays avenging his father will illuminate his character and that using Hamlet as an experimental subject may extract from Hamlet's delay a general truth that aids the task of knowing thyself.

Richardson begins his discussion of the delay by critiquing its dramatic effect. He explains that the events following Act 3 fail to add to the tragedy, just as they fail to add anything to the play's characters, with the exception of Ophelia. His critique goes so far as to say that the

delay "diminishes our solicitude for the fate of Hamlet, and almost lessens him in our esteem" (*Philosophical* 136). The necessity of the delay, he argues, returns to the refined sense of virtue that Hamlet possesses. Richardson suggests that Hamlet's virtue is not merely an influential aspect of his character, but rather that it is his "ruling principle" (*Philosophical* 136). It causes Hamlet to feel indignation to a higher degree than seems probable and to desire justice all the more, but this virtue also "disposes him to be cautious in admitting evidence to the prejudice of another; it renders him distrustful of his own judgement" (*Philosophical* 138). Hamlet himself consciously feels the conflict between these two drives, knowing that he has been "thinking too precisely on th'event," but he cannot change that virtue (Shakespeare 4.4.32). When he ultimately declares "from this time forth / My thoughts be bloody or be nothing worth," he does so against his nature and goes to his death (Shakespeare 4.4.63).

This is the final part of Richardson's analysis of the character of Hamlet. Richardson highlights the fact that taking revenge upon his uncle did not coincide with Hamlet's guiding principle of virtue, and as such the action led to tragedy. However, heightened sense of virtue is not the most common of traits. Its specific nature makes it relatively difficult to discern anything generalizable with regards to the problem of self-knowledge, but Richardson's examination of Hamlet, in finding that Hamlet's tragic mistake of going against his ruling power, does suggest one specific thing: the importance of self-knowledge. By ending his examination of Hamlet with the delay, Richardson emphasizes the importance of his own goal and the effectiveness of his methods.

Response to Edmund Burke

After the completion of *A Philosophical Analysis*, Richardson sent a copy to Edmund Burke: one of the preeminent statesmen of the time who was "in the political what Shakespeare was in the moral world" (qtd. in Langford). More than a politician, though, Burke was also deeply involved in the philosophical society of the time. He authored *A Philosophical Enquiry into the Origin of our Ideas of the Sublime and Beautiful*, which engaged aesthetics guided by the Enlightenment to focus on "the linking between human psychology and cultural phenomenon" (Harris).

Burke responded to Richardson in a letter which was published in later editions of *A Philosophical Analysis*. He began the letter by affirming Richardson's project, saying Richardson is "certainly in the right, the study of poetry is the study of human nature . . . [he could] not have chosen a fitter subject than Shakespeare" (Richardson, "Additional" 440). He believed that Richardson "unraveled the mazes and perplexities of passion and character which appear in the play," but he felt that the work was not complete (Richardson, "Additional" 441). Burke believed that Shakespeare failed to fully execute the play in its entirety. He believed that for Richardson's analysis to be complete, Richardson must turn his attention to Shakespeare's faults.

In response to Burke, Richardson wrote an additional chapter for his book entitled "Additional observations on the Character of Hamlet: in a letter to a friend" (Richardson, "Additional" 147). In this additional chapter he writes the following: "I frankly confess, that notwithstanding [the] ingenuity [of Burke's remarks], I still adhere to my opinion, and I am solicitous that you should agree with me" (Richardson, "Additional" 147-8). He explains that the faults Burke perceives within the play, generally related to inconsistency, must in fact be "infirmities of a mind constituted like that of Hamlet"; specifically, a mind governed by refined virtue (Richardson, "Additional" 150). This defense, separated into five further explanations of Hamlet's actions, takes a different course than the initial chapter, and his focus diverges from the purpose of self-knowledge. Instead, Richardson provides additional information to protect

Hamlet's status as a viable experimental subject for his initial purpose.

This change of focus, though in service of his initial goal, reverts to the standard form of Shakespearean criticism: critique, or in Richardson's case, the defense against critique. The response changed the tone of later editions of *A Philosophical Analysis*. Rather than maintaining his focus on Hamlet as an experimental subject, Richardson justifies Hamlet's actions within the play by referring to Hamlet's refined sense of virtue. This justification extends to the murder of Polonius and his cruelty to Ophelia. By writing this additional chapter, Richardson seems to ignore Burke's suggestion that "indiscriminate admiration of this poet [Shakespeare] has done something towards hurting our taste" (Richardson, "Additional" 441).

Burke's letter reveals a necessary aspect of Richardson's approach. It could not function without characters who were perfect facsimiles of humans. Richardson, having undertaken this project, had no alternative but to "justify Hamlet's moral sense" at every point (Vickers 15). Ultimately, Burke's critique, in combination with Richardson's response, demonstrates that the scientific examination of a character in literature is dependent upon the unceasing defense of that character as they have been written. Unfortunately for Richardson, his critique necessarily reverts to the subjective literary defense which he had attempted to move beyond.

Conclusion

Though the ultimate success of Richardson's *A Philosophical Analysis* is dubious, at least insofar as its objective grounding is concerned, it presented to the world the first truly philosophical engagement with *Hamlet* as well as Hamlet's madness and his delay. Beginning in the latter half of the eighteenth century, Shakespeare and specifically *Hamlet* have increasingly crossed paths with philosophy, both in the works of major philosophers and in philosophically based literary criticism. William

Richardson took up Hamlet—whose most famous line is "to be or not to be"—even before the first existentialist, Søren Kierkegaard. Renowned philosophers, especially those in the Continental tradition like Kant, Nietzsche, and eventually Camus, would also go on to reference the Danish prince in their works. This modern engagement began with William Richardson and his attempt to "make poetry subservient to philosophy" (Richardson, *Philosophical* 41).

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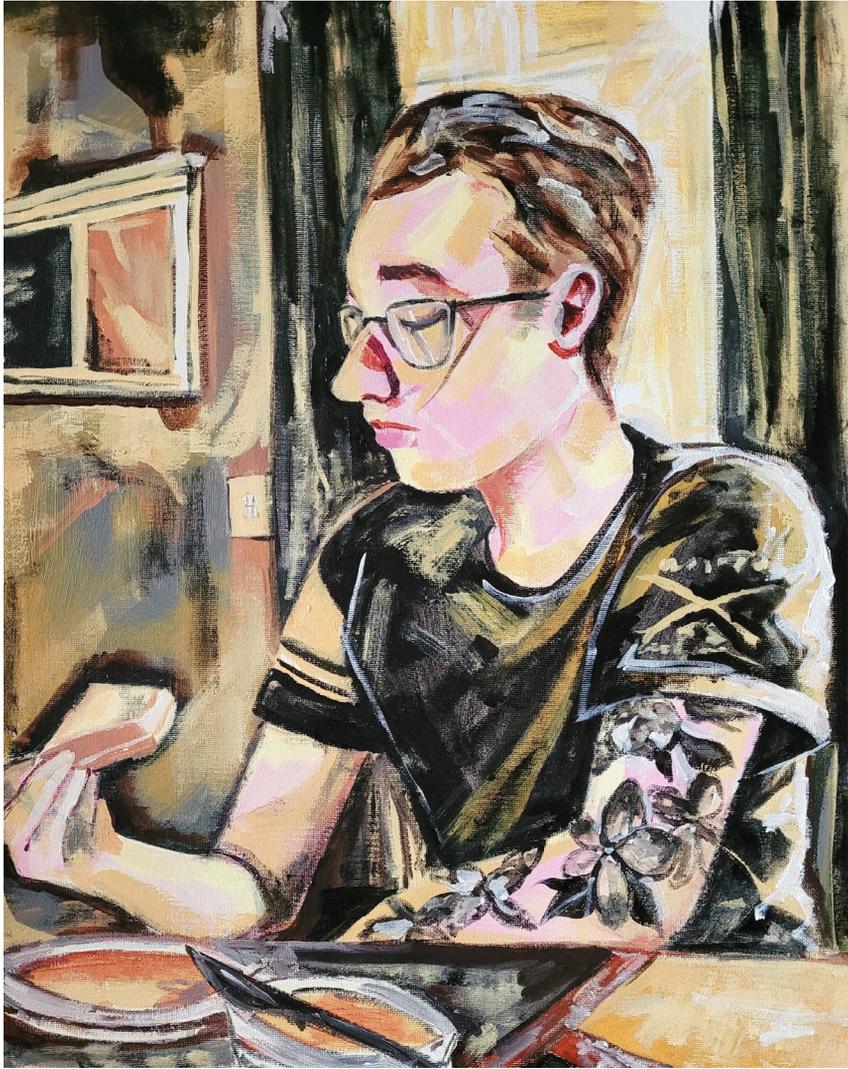
Pauline De Leon | *until we meet again*

"LES VRAIS SAUVAGES"

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ABSTRACT   Using some 16th century French writings, this essay entitled "The True Savages," explores the (mis) treatment of indigenous people of North America to help us reflect on where we are in the present. I argue that although society's opinion on natives today has moved in the right direction, the savage rhetoric that has existed for hundreds of years is still around; this idea of "the Other" and of "us versus them" is very common, especially in the United States. The moral conclusion that Michel de Montaigne helps me come to is that you should not judge what you do not understand.

Le 28 septembre 2020, Joyce Echaquan, une femme de trente-sept ans, est morte au Centre hospitalier de Lanaudière à Saint-Charles-Borromée, au Québec ("Décès de Joyce Echaquan"). Echaquan, qui était autochtone de la nation Atikamekw, et qui ne maîtrisait pas le français, a fait l'objet de remarques racistes de la part du personnel de l'hôpital. La journée de sa mort, elle a enregistré une vidéo en ligne où quelques membres des services de santé l'ont insultée et l'ont maltraitée à cause de sa race et de sa langue maternelle. La nouvelle de sa mort a déclenché le hashtag #JusticePourJoyce sur les réseaux sociaux pour démontrer la solidarité et renouveler la discussion du racisme contre les autochtones au Canada.

À cause de cette situation, le Conseil des Atikamekw de Manawan et le Conseil de la Nation Atikamekw ont présenté le « Principe de Joyce » au gouvernement du Canada et du Québec. Le Principe de Joyce inclut six propositions pour répondre aux problèmes du racisme systémique contre les autochtones au Canada. Le but du principe est de:

garantir à tous les Autochtones un droit d'accès équitable, sans aucune discrimination, à tous les services sociaux et de santé, ainsi que le droit de jouir du meilleur état possible de santé physique, mentale, émotionnelle et spirituelle. Le Principe de Joyce requiert obligatoirement la reconnaissance et le respect des savoirs et connaissances traditionnelles et vivantes des autochtones en matière de santé. (Ottawa and Awashish 10)

Pourtant, cette idée que les autochtones au Canada sont inférieurs n'est pas une nouvelle chose. Durant la seconde moitié du XVIIIe siècle et la première moitié du XIXe siècle, Jacques Grasset de Saint-Sauveur, un écrivain et diplomate français au Canada, a décrit les coutumes des autochtones au Canada à travers « sa production graphique et plus spécifiquement à sa représentation des Iroquois du Canada » selon Chantal Turbide, conservatrice du musée et du patrimoine artistique et professeure de l'histoire de l'art au Québec (637). Bien que quelques descriptions de Grasset de Saint-Sauveur soient assez justes, sa langue demeure raciste même si ce langage était courant à l'époque. Dans son article intitulé « Sauvages au Canada », il appelle les autochtones « les bons sauvages », une expression qui provient du mythe du « bon sauvage » au XVIIIe siècle. La phrase a paru pour la première fois

en 1672, et donc, lui et plusieurs écrivains, en s'y référant, faisaient montre de racisme dans leur vocabulaire parce que cette expression indique que l'autochtone est barbare d'une « bonne façon » parce qu'il n'est pas corrompu par la civilisation. De plus, concernant le peuple autochtone, il dit « que seroit-il donc si la philosophie poliçoit son ame & ses mœurs! … il y perdroit peut-être: il deviendroit un peuple policé, mais corrompu » (Turbide 647). Le mot « policé » dans cette phrase veut dire formé par la civilisation, réglé par la police. Tout en pensant qu'une discipline comme la philosophie pourrait bien corrompre les autochtones, il ajoute que cela les civiliserait aussi ce qui signifie qu'il croit qu'il y a quelque civilisation qui vaut la peine d'être partagée.

Cependant, Grasset de Saint-Sauveur n'est pas la première personne à écrire au sujet des autochtones. En fait, Michel de Montaigne a écrit l'une de ses œuvres les plus connues, « Des Cannibales », en 1580. Ce texte qui fait partie de sa collection *Essais* parle de la rencontre entre les Européens des pays colonisateurs comme l'Angleterre, la France, et l'Espagne et les Amérindiens. Montaigne traite des accusations de barbarie contre les Amérindiens qui étaient des choses courantes à entendre telles que leur violence, leur médecine primitive, et leur philosophie naïve, et il loue leur sagesse, leur culture et le naturel de leurs coutumes. Montaigne croit que des écrits d'auteurs comme Jacques Cartier altère un peu l'histoire: ces écrits racistes contre les autochtones « ne vous representent jamais les choses pures ; ils les inclinent et masquent selon le visage qu'ils leur ont veu : et pour donner credit à leur jugement, et vous y attirer […] l'allongent et l'amplifient » (Montaigne). Cette remarque que Montaigne a écrite il y a plus de 400 ans décrit la tactique de la peur que quelques leaders utilisent parce que les gens ont peur de l'inconnu, de ce qui est étranger. Une fois qu'on humanise les étrangers, il n'y a plus la peur, la haine. Donc, en démontrant que ce que les personnes appellent barbarie ne désigne que ce qui ne correspond pas à leurs propres coutumes, Montaigne tend aux Européens un miroir qui reflète la véritable sauvagerie.

« Des Cannibales » commence par une histoire à propos des Grecs et des Romains. Selon Montaigne, vers 275 avant notre ère, en référence aux Romains, le Roy Pyrrhus a dit à sa propre armée « je ne sçay quels barbares sont ceux-cy mais la disposition de cette armée que je voy, n'est aucunement barbare » (Montaigne). Le Roy Pyrrhus et sa déclaration sont hypocrites parce que c'est seulement leur adversaire qui est barbare, un mot à cette époque qui désignaient les étrangers, l'Autre. C'est le même phénomène qui se reproduit avec les Européens et les « Américains ». Les colonisateurs Européens appelaient les Amérindiens des sauvages alors qu'eux-mêmes faisaient des choses très similaires et, souvent, pires. Montaigne conclut que « nous les pouvons donc bien appeler barbares, eu esgard aux regles de la raison, mais non pas eu esgard à nous, qui les surpassons en toute sorte de barbarie » (Montaigne). Il pense que leur guerre, leur violence sont plus nobles et généreuses que la guerre et la violence des Européens. Par exemple, les Amérindiens tuaient pour « l'honneur de la vertu, à combattre, non à battre » (Montaigne).

Les observations de Montaigne restent tout aussi positives lorsqu'il discute du mariage. Il a observé que les hommes autochtones avaient plusieurs femmes. C'est parce que les femmes ont le droit de choisir autant de compagnons qu'elles veulent avoir. Montaigne respecte cela, et il semble presque envieux. Il le décrit comme « une beauté remarquable en leurs mariages […] C'est une vertu proprement matrimoniale : mais du plus haut estage » (Montaigne). C'est touchant qu'il trouve leur culture si belle et tendre.

De la même façon, son admiration des Amérindiens remet la question de l'honneur et les valeurs des Français en question. Skenazi, dans son article intitulé « Montaigne et l'Honneur des Cannibales », affirme que « l'honneur s'inscrit à cet effet dans un champ de valeurs à la fois sociales et politiques. […] il n'est sur ce point qu'une illusion au service du pouvoir, une illusion entretenue de concert par dominants et dominés » (246). Le groupe

avec le pouvoir impose ce qui est correct et ce qui est incorrect. Par conséquent, ce qu'est l'honneur est décidé par les dominants, les gens qui se disent « honorables » ; c'est une situation problématique. Cependant, Montaigne dit que les Amérindiens sont honorables, peut-être plus honorables que les Français. Au sujet de la violence, il argumente que les Amérindiens ont plus de raisonnement, et que le raisonnement est meilleur que celui des Européens. La violence des Amérindiens n'intervient que pour des revanches d'honneur; c'est un échange réciproque entre « nous » et « eux » :

> Les revanches d'honneur des cannibales s'inscrivent dans le registre vindicatoire de l'échange réciproque de violences entre nous et les Autres: les règlements de comptes de tribus antagonistes s'intègrent dans le fonctionnement d'une justice publique fondée sur le rétablissement d'un équilibre entre offenseur et offensé. Celles des nobles français par contre, véhicule de la colère, même de haine contre l'Autre. (Skenazi 247)

Cela montre les contradictions entre les divers types d'honneurs et de justices; les Français suivent l'honneur personnel, alors que les Amérindiens suivent l'honneur collectif. Les Amérindiens cherchent et servent la justice alors que les Français cherchent le pouvoir.

Par conséquent, l'un des messages principaux de Montaigne se référant aux dominants est qu'« il se faut garder de s'attacher aux opinions vulgaires, et les faut juger par la voye de la raison, non par la voix commune » (Montaigne). Il est facile de faire et de penser comme tout le monde; après tout, certains avancent que le bonheur se trouve dans l'ignorance. Cependant, il est important de défier le statu quo et de penser de manière critique. Ce qui est différent et peu commun n'est pas nécessairement mauvais. Beaucoup des pratiques culturelles en ce temps-là qui étaient considérées comme bizarres ou mauvaises sont bien mieux acceptées aujourd'hui, tout au moins dans un contexte occidental: l'homosexualité, les droits des

femmes, les relations interraciales, et cætera. Le contraire à propos de pratiques culturelles est aussi vrai; de même dans la plupart des cultures, on condamne la violence familiale, l'antisémitisme, l'esclavage, etc. Néanmoins, il y a toujours des choses à améliorer.

En conclusion, bien qu'aujourd'hui l'opinion sur les Amérindiens ait évolué dans le bon sens, la rhétorique sauvage existe encore. Depuis les années 60, il y a eu du progrès avec le droit à l'autodétermination des tribus Amérindiennes et plus de compassion de la part du public en général pour rectifier les injustices contre les Amérindiens ("Rights of Native Americans"). Cependant, comme on l'a vu, Echaquan, autochtone du peuple Atikamekw, a été maltraitée. Comme Skenazi l'écrit, « ces remarques prennent pour cible, comme chacun le sait, les préjugés envers l'Autre qui font passer pour universelles les conventions de notre propre société » (239). Cette idée de « l'Autre » et cette rhétorique du « nous contre eux » est très courante, notamment aux États-Unis; c'est pourquoi Donald Trump est considéré par ses sympathisants comme une personne qui veut lutter pour son pays parce qu'il « a longtemps fait campagne sur les principes de « l'Amérique d'abord » » et il déteste l'Autre: les Mexicains, les musulmans, les Noirs américains, les Chinois, et ainsi de suite ("Donald Trump policies: Where does the president stand on key issues?"). Alors, qui sont les vrais sauvages? Les Amérindiens? Les Européens? Les Américains? Non, c'est trop général. Les vrais sauvages sont les gens qui créent un fossé, détestent l'Autre, et utilisent ce fossé et cette haine à leur avantage. Même si Montaigne avait un avis que peu de gens partageaient à l'époque, cet avis est plus juste et plus répandu aujourd'hui: il ne faut pas juger les choses qu'on ne comprend pas, mais plutôt chercher à les comprendre. Peut-être que si on avait écouté ce que Montaigne avait à dire il y a 441 ans, nous ne serions pas dans cette situation aujourd'hui.

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CHICAGO, THE RACIAL WEALTH GAP, AND SPACE:
HOW TIF DISTRICTS REFLECT AND PERPETUATE INEQUITY

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I. Introduction

Historically, the racial wealth gap in the United States has been defined as the misappropriation and maldistribution of capital in order to maintain a racially unjust society (Baradaran, 2019). The racial wealth gap (RWG) was originally created through the destruction of black banking, deprivation of community resources, and lack of opportunity for property ownership for black families in order deepen the inequity between white and black populations (Shapiro, 2017). Prior to the 1968 passing of the Civil Rights Act, it was legal to codify practices that discriminated against black banking, voting, and housing. It stands to reason that, if completely effective, the Civil Rights Act should have eliminated the RWG due to its elimination of explicit bias in banking, voting, and mortgage lending. However, by 2020, the black-white wealth gap had reached a 20-to-1 ratio, nearly tripling since 1984, a strong indication that discriminatory practices continue to exist and function in in the distribution of capital across American communities (Markley et al., 2020). Among those who study the racial wealth gap, it is a commonly held position that the path to closing the RWG rests on increasing homeownership among black populations, an economic mechanism available to and used by white populations for creating and growing long-term wealth for nearly a century (Baradaran, 2019). Using homeownership as a key indicator, the RWG revolves around a single, historical point – the country's history of discriminatory lending and disproportionate wealth creation has actively deprived black communities in America the opportunity to own homes and increase wealth at the same rate as white communities. As of 2019, rates of property ownership among blacks in the U.S. is (and remains) about half the rate of what it is for whites, and the rate black homeownership relative to white homeownership is the same as it was in 1890 (Urban Institute, 2019). So, if the path to shrinking or altogether eliminating the RWG involves an increase in homeownership among black communities, what factor(s) has been limiting or preventing black people from purchasing homes in a city like Chicago? While the answer is certainly multifaceted, in this paper I demonstrate how one of the most widely used local development tools in the City of Chicago -Tax Increment Finance Districts, or TIFs - contribute to the longevity of the RWG in that city.

TIFs: An Overview

Since the late 1980s, the City of Chicago has used Tax Increment Finance Districts (TIFs) to promote development in areas otherwise experiencing stagnant growth. The Cook County Clerk reports that, in 2018-19, 30% of Chicago's area was located within TIF districts (Figure 1; Cook County Clerk, 2019). According to data from the 2020 Cook County TIF portal, almost half of all TIF districts are established on the South and West sides of the city, which contain a majority of the city's communities of color (City of Chicago, 2017). Typically, a location will be earmarked as a TIF for an average of 23 years, giving the area that timespan to develop, increase

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FIGURE 1

Cook County TIF Districts, 2018-2019.

Tax Increment Financing Districts - City of Chicago Tax Year 2020
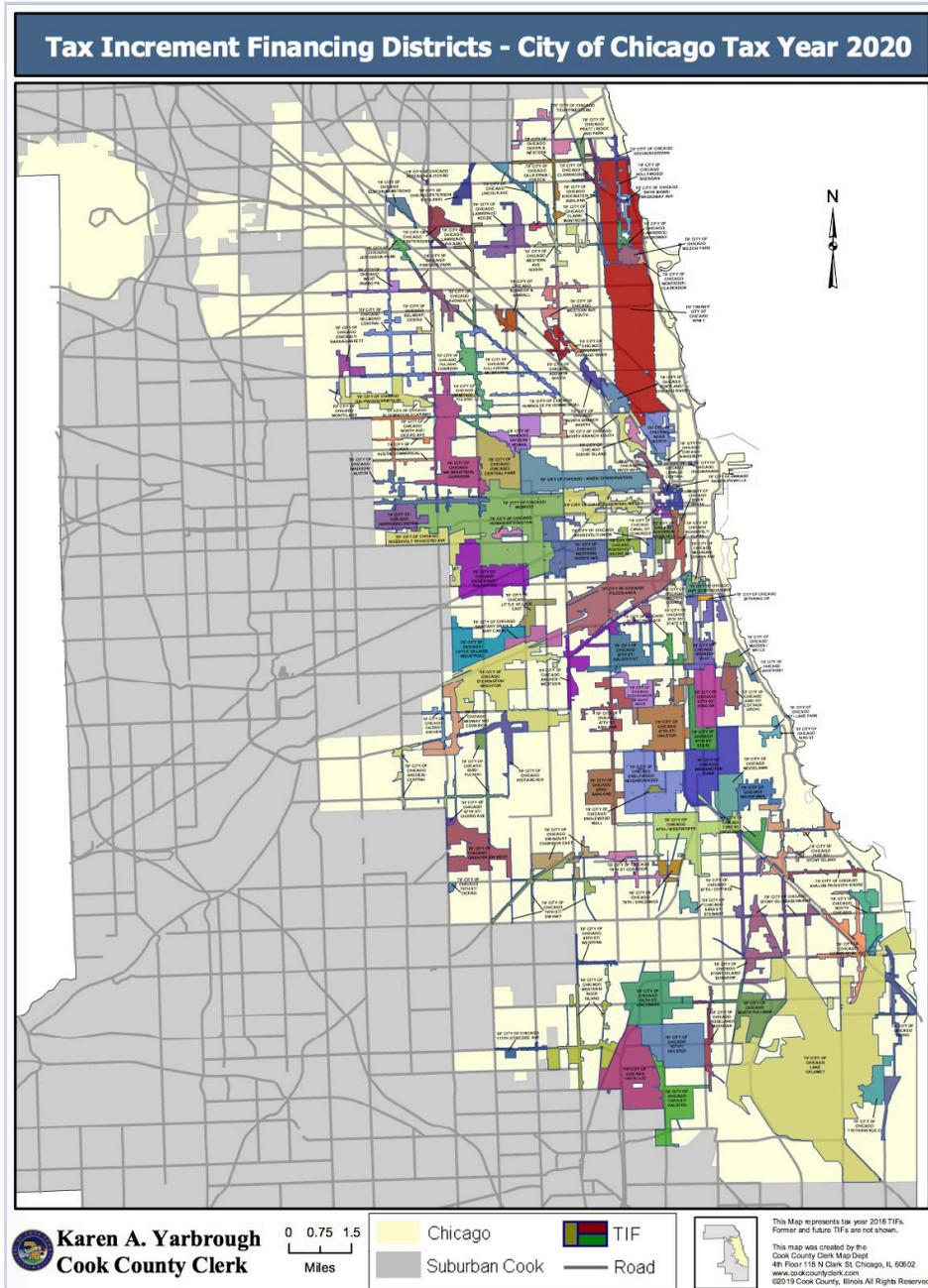
FIGURE 2

TIF Function and Equalized Assessed Value (EAV)
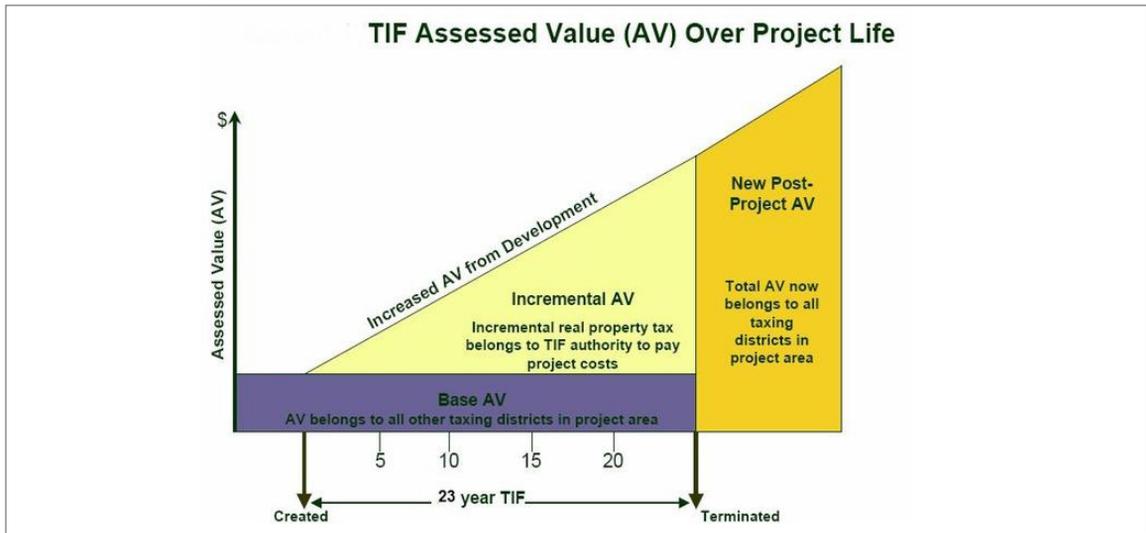
in value, and have the excess value re-invested into the city. TIF districts are a mechanism intended to subsidize development in "blighted" areas that have been unable to achieve sufficient development on their own. In order for a TIF district to be established, the area must be assessed by the city as capable of economic development *only with* the development of a TIF. The mechanism by which TIFs attempt to incentivize development is the equalized assessed value (EAV) of an area. The EAV is the result of an annual process which determines the property tax rate based on the calculated value of that area. When an area is determined to be sufficiently blighted as to warrant the establishment of a TIF, the city freezes the EAV of the area for 23 years. Once established, the TIF syphons all of the tax revenue above the frozen EAV and deposits it in a city fund specifically intended for investment in city projects (Figure 2; Cook County Clerk, 2019). The newly available excess funds earmarked for investment are intended to incentivize an inflow of development into the blighted, economically stagnant areas. However, the excess tax revenue that results from increased development is re-invested in city projects at the government's discretion, and not necessarily invested within the bounds of the TIF

district from which the funds were originally collected.

On paper and in theory, TIF districts maintain the potential to close or begin narrowing the RWG and remove, if only partially, the economic inequities between black and white neighborhoods. That is because, in theory, when a blighted district's value is frozen and development increases, property values and jobs should increase within the boundaries of the district. Theoretically, creating a TIF in low-income black neighborhoods should, through the reinvestment of tax revenue, decrease poverty, lower unemployment with an increase in jobs, and grow rates of black homeownership. Combined, these results should work towards decreasing the racial wealth gap. However, that is not the case.

A 2018 report for the Lincoln Institute for Land Policy found that the City of Chicago's use of TIF funds are the least transparent among the cities using TIF, leading to inaccessible data or misleading data about the outcomes of each TIF (Merriman, 2018). The report declares, "The academic study of (Chicago's) TIFs as a whole suggests that it often fails to deliver economic growth beyond what

otherwise would have occurred and may often simply result in the relocation of economic activity" (Merriman, 2018, p. 37). Merriman, the report's author, is not alone in his findings about Chicago's unique brand of TIF usage. The Office of the Inspector General of the City of Chicago released a statement in 2019 criticizing the continued lack of transparency as to where TIF monies are going or being directed. In their statement, the Inspector General notes the discrepancy between what TIF districts are intended for and their actual result, stating, "TIF is a tool designed to eradicate blight, improve infrastructure, and foster economic development, which can also serve as an important mechanism for promoting equitable development of affordable housing, expanding the City's job base, and putting vacant land to productive use. Unfortunately, this potentially important redevelopment tool is closer to an engine for perpetuating inequity than eradicating it" (Office of the Inspector General, 2019). The conclusions of Merriman and the Inspector General offer critical insight into Chicago's usage of and history with TIF districts: there is an inconsistency between their intended purpose and their actual impact on inequity and the racial wealth gap.

TIFs, Race, and the Quality of Life of Chicagoans

In a review of Chicago's TIF districts outcomes, Twyla Larnell and Davia Downey (2019) conclude that "There exists a need to reconsider change in equalized assessed valuation as the measure of TIF effectiveness given that the 'growth' in TIFs does not seem to reflect a higher quality of life for TIFs with higher proportions of non-white residents" (p.328). They conclude that while TIFs established in non-white communities may increase some level of development (job creation, entrepreneurship, etc.), the increase in value that results from that development is collected and given to the city, depriving the neighborhood of the opportunity to make use of the excess value the TIF created in the first place. The TIF fund is often not being used to improve the community that the TIF is located in, but instead used as mechanism for the relocation of capital out of non-

white TIF communities and its redistribution elsewhere. Improvement projects that TIF funds could subsidize (i.e., investment in schools, infrastructure, community centers etc.) in non-white neighborhoods is not being completed with the use of TIF funds, thus any blight identified as requiring TIF development in non-white communities is not being mitigated by the establishment of TIFs. TIFs are perpetuating the deprivation of real opportunity for residents to make meaningful strides towards meaningful homeownership, and thus ensuring that the path to closing the RWG is effectively blocked.

It would stand to reason that, with the goal of equity in mind, the TIF money should be allocated to the black and low-income community areas in the South and West side that have been the primary victims of the country's history of racism and segregation and have been unable to increase intergenerational wealth at a meaningful rate because of the city's legacy of segregation and racial inequality. However, what has taken place is a codified 23-year instrument of capital extraction from these South and West communities to be reinvested at the city's whim. In Chicago, 2019 saw an all-time record collection of $1.8 billion in collected revenue from TIF districts (Cook County Clerk, 2019); meanwhile the last 23 years of TIF establishment have not resulted in a higher quality of life for the residents that need it most. Using the Hardship Index, an economic indicator that evaluates quality of life through several socioeconomic factors, Figure 3 shows the percentage of residents living under economic hardship by community area in 2016.

The highest concentrations of hardship appear on the South and West sides. The following maps, developed using the Heartland Alliance's Chicago City Data portal, bring this discussion about TIFs directly back to the RWG and homeownership.[2] Figure 4 shows the rate of homeownership by community area. Figure 5 shows the

2   Heartland Alliance is a Chicago based non-profit dedicated to eradicating poverty.

FIGURE 3

Level of Hardship by Community Area in 2016, Cook County
Map provided by the University of Chicago Illinois Great Cities Project

Number	Community
1	Rogers Park
2	West Ridge
3	Uptown
4	Lincoln Square
5	North Center
6	Lakeview
7	Lincoln Park
8	Near North Side
9	Edison Park
10	Norwood Park
11	Jefferson Park
12	Forest Glen
13	North Park
14	Albany Park
15	Portage Park
16	Irving Park
17	Dunning
18	Montclare
19	Belmont Cragin
20	Hermosa
21	Avondale
22	Logan Square
23	Humboldt Park
24	West Town
25	Austin
26	West Garfield Park
27	East Garfield Park
28	Near West Side
29	North Lawndale
30	South Lawndale
31	Lower West Side
32	Loop
33	Near South Side
34	Armour Square
35	Douglas
36	Oakland
37	Fuller Park
38	Grand Boulevard
39	Kenwood
40	Washington Park
41	Hyde Park
42	Woodlawn
43	South Shore
44	Chatham
45	Avalon Park
46	South Chicago
47	Burnside
48	Calumet Heights
49	Roseland
50	Pullman
51	South Deering
52	East Side
53	West Pullman
54	Riverdale
55	Hegewisch
56	Garfield Ridge
57	Archer Heights
58	Brighton Park
59	McKinley Park
60	Bridgeport
61	New City
62	West Elsdon
63	Gage Park
64	Clearning
65	West Lawn
66	Chicago Lawn
67	West Englewood
68	Englewood
69	Greater Grand Crossing
70	Ashburn
71	Auburn Gresham
72	Beverly
73	Washington Heights
74	Mount Greenwood
75	Morgan Park
76	O'Hare
77	Edgewater

Hardship Index Values

- 8.6 – 15.0
- 15.1 – 30.0
- 30.1 – 45.0
- 45.1 – 60.0
- 60.1 – 82.7

2.5   5   10   Miles

N

FIGURE 4

Homeownership Rate by Community Area in 2018, Cook County
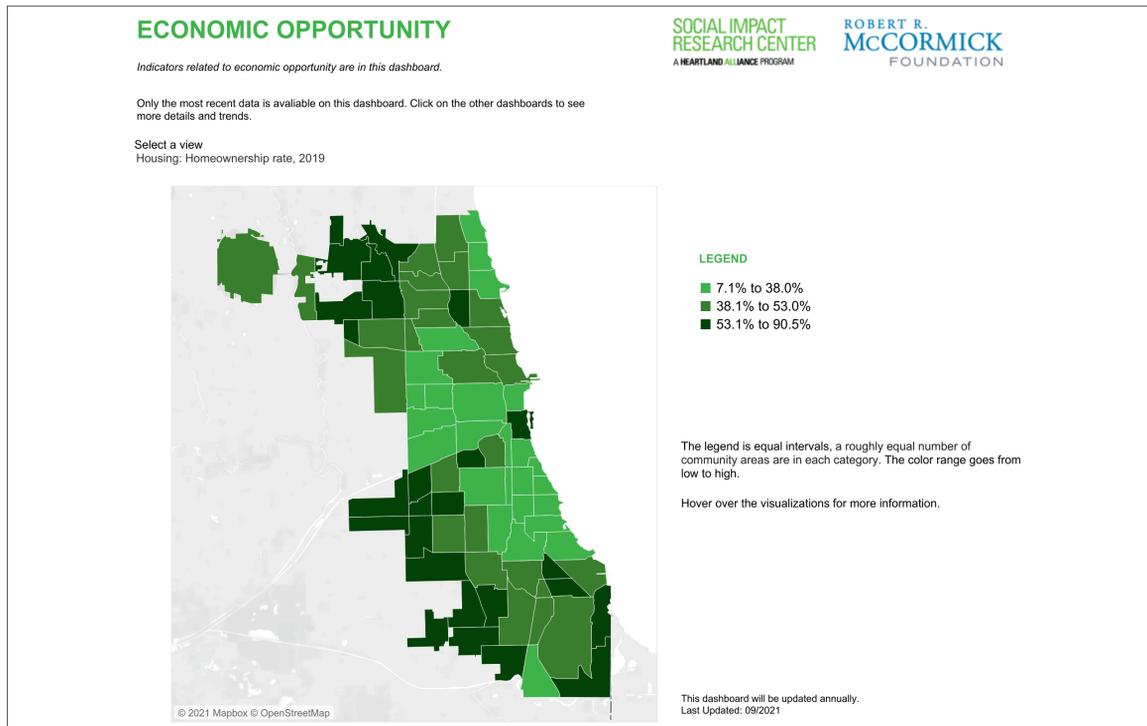
racial makeup of the city by community area. Combined, they demonstrate that homeownership in black and Latino communities remains significantly lower than homeownership in communities where blacks and Latinos are less represented.

This comparison serves as a metric to indicate the racial wealth gap remains a persistent and hegemonic reality for Chicago's low-income residents of color (Figure 6). TIFs, many which have been established in the South and West sides since the 1980s, should, both in theory and in practice, have had some equalizing effect on homeownership rates and lowering economic hardship in comparison to the whiter communities.

However, it is clear that the City of Chicago's TIF implementation has instead served as a tool of wealth extraction from these areas to relocate into the city's fund. For example, a cursory analysis of publicly available balance sheets from the City of Chicago listing the total cost of all projects financed within TIF districts since 1986, reveals that 68% of all dollars spent on all TIF-financed projects over the last 34 years were invested in neighborhoods north of the Loop or in the Loop (City of Chicago, 1986-2021). Over half of all TIF districts in Chicago are located in the communities most in need of policies and economic instruments to eradicate the racial wealth gap but a majority of all TIF funds have been spent on Michigan Avenue, in Lincoln Park, or by improving the North side's access to public transportation. TIFs are not closing the RWG through eliminating barriers to black homeownership; instead, TIFs are re-routing potential gap-closing capital into white areas.

FIGURE 5

Racial Composition by Community Area in 2018, Cook County

Map provided by the Heartland Alliance Chicago City Data Portal in collaboration with the McCormick Foundation
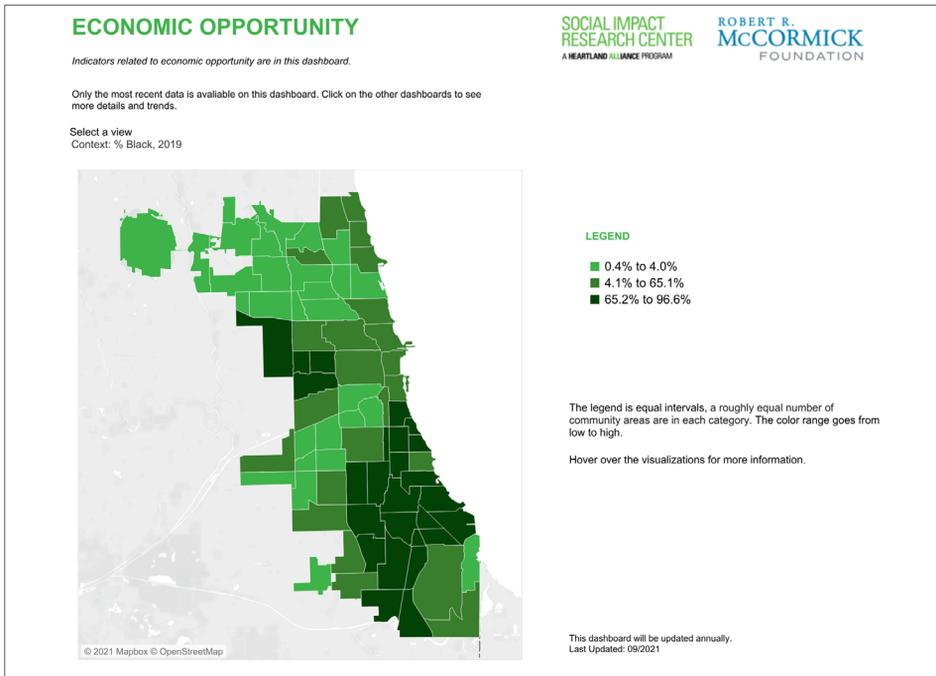
FIGURE 6

Percentage Below Poverty Line by Community Area in 2018, Cook County

Map provided by the Heartland Alliance Chicago City Data Portal in collaboration with the McCormick Foundation
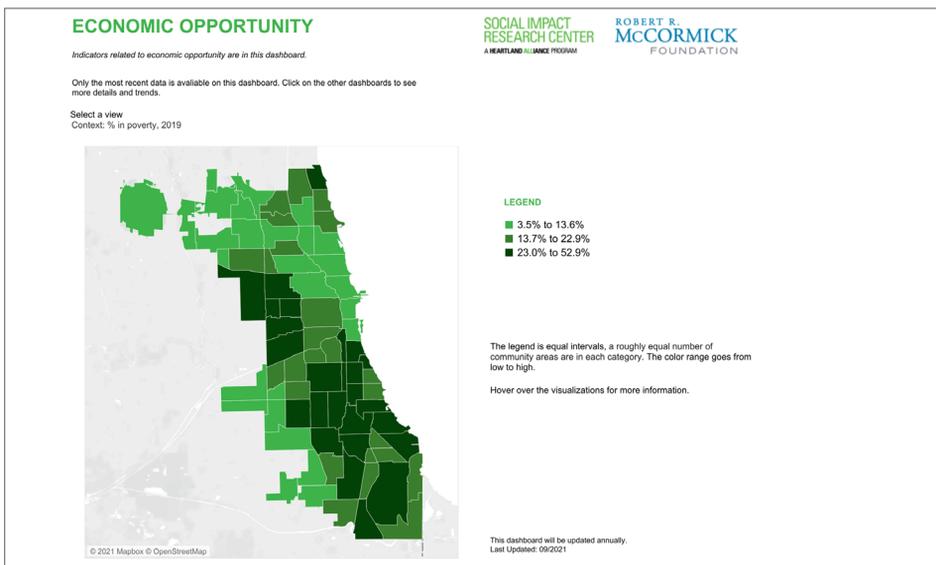
FIGURE 7

Redlining Map of Chicago, 1939
Map provided by Frankie Dintino
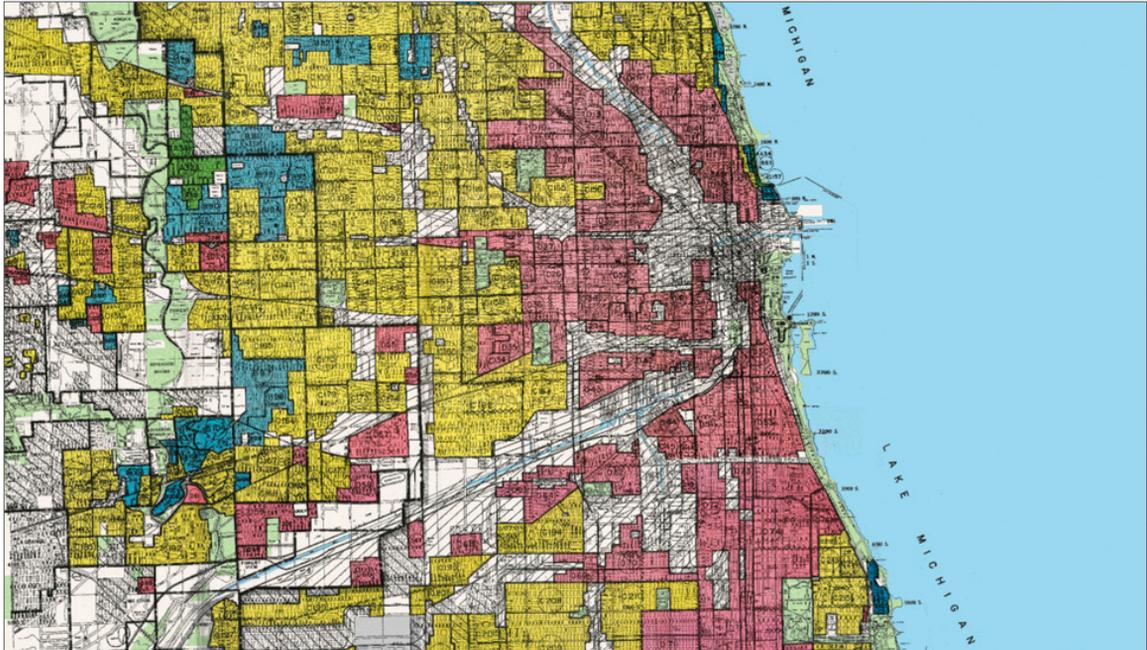
Conclusions

TIFs are more than procedural local tax policy. Economic stagnation in communities of color is not coincidence. TIFs' false promises of creating opportunities for wealth accumulation is not isolated to Chicago by any means; the cooperation between opaque local development policies like TIF districts and a history of systemic racism is an issue that continues to confront and marginalize communities of color in almost every major metropolitan area in the U.S.

Twenty-nine years prior to the 1968 Civil Rights Act, redlining remained a key political tool of economic segregation and stagnation in Chicago (Figure 6). At this time, the RWG was codified through a complex and overlapping set of explicitly discriminatory policies at the local, state, and federal level to ensure inequality by explicitly excluding black families from owning homes.

Little has changed in the decades since redlining was outlawed; the redlined areas on Figure 6 remain, for the most part, where black people continue to live in homes they do not own, despite the Civil Rights Act being passed and despite the promised benefits of TIF policies. Low rates of homeownership, stagnant wealth accumulation, and a growing racial wealth gap are all still a part of Chicago's past and present. The city's use or misuse of TIF districts is a microcosm of a larger national network of systemic policies that continue to enforce the RWG. Redlining is no longer legal, laws with explicit racial bias in lending, banking, and voting are no longer on the books: however, systemic racism in the United States has changed form and manifested itself in a variety of obscure ways—such as Chicago's use of TIF districts. The continuation of disinvestment in Black communities ensures that of racial inequity remains a part of not just Chicago's narrative, but ensures that inequity remains a part of America's story as a whole.

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Devin Thompson | *String Feather*

VERWANDLUNG DURCH SEXUALITÄT IN KAFKA, „STIMMEN" UND *MULHOLLAND DRIVE*

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ABSTRACT   While sublimation, including of sexuality, has been argued as central both to Kafka's method and work, sexuality in these texts should be recognized not only as an object of symbolism, but itself as symbolically rich. Namely, sex and sexuality act as sites of disorientation and transformation, as especially illustrated by Kafka's "A Country Doctor" and *The Metamorphosis*. Drawing also from Daniel Kehlmann's "Stimmen" in his novel *Ruhm* (2009) and David Lynch's *Mulholland Drive* (2001), I argue that sexuality and associated ties (e.g., familial) form a significant basis for the expression of broader themes still, including the destabilization of identity, that are fundamental to these texts.

In seinem Artikel „Kafka & Sex" argumentiert Stanley Corngold, dass Sublimierung zentral zu Kafkas Schreiben (vielleicht hauptsächlich zu der *Aktivität* des Schreibens, aber auch den resultierenden Werken) ist. Corngold behauptet, dass „through all the letters and stories Kafka sent to his fiancée Felice Bauer, he is at work offering her a verbal body in place of his actual, unavailable body" (84). Also laut Corngold kann Schreiben an die Stelle von Sexualität treten, obwohl es immer noch deutliche Spuren von Sexualität in Kafkas Texten gibt (z.B., am Ende „des Urteils'" eine Geschichte, die in Kafkas Briefen explizit mit Sexualität verglichen wird).

Vielleicht können wir Kafkas Werke durch diese Interpretation seines Schreibens besser kontextualisieren. Ich argumentiere, dass dieser Prozess vielseitig ist; obwohl Kafkas biographisch anerkannte Assoziierung zwischen Sex und Schreiben deutlich ein wichtiger Teil dieses Bildes ist (wie von Corngold beschrieben), kann man hier keine direkte Gleichsetzung merken. Trotzdem behaupte ich, dass Sex und Sexualität wichtige Mittel für Kafka in der Darstellung seiner Hauptthemen sind.

Hier will ich spezifisch auf die Idee von Verwandlung konzentrieren, und wie sie als desorientierender Prozess in Kafkas Werk auftaucht. Weiter werde ich beschreiben, wie dieses Konzept in Daniel Kehlmanns „Stimmen" und David Lynchs *Mulholland Drive* funktioniert, um Identität zu entstabilisieren, wodurch eine eindeutig kafkaeske Wirkung erreicht wird.

In Kehlmanns „Stimmen" verwandelt der Protagonist Ebling sich in Ralf (oder besser gesagt, in Eblings Vorstellung von Ralf; ein echter Ralf ist ihm und uns unwichtig) hauptsächlich durch seine (wenn sie eigentlich so charakterisiert werden können) sexuelle Beziehungen. Nach einem Gespräch mit einer Freundin von Ralf, „fasste [Ebling] zum ersten Mal seit langem wieder seine Frau an. Zunächst war sie nur verblüfft, dann fragte sie, was denn los sei mit ihm und ob er getrunken habe, dann gab sie nach" (Kehlmann 7). In solchen Szenen wird die Grenze zwischen Ebling und Ralf immer unklarer, und Eblings echtes Leben und echte Verhältnisse verschmelzen mit dem konstruierten, vorgestellten Leben „Ralfs". Dass seine Frau dieses Verhalten mit Betrunkenheit vergleicht ist aufschlussreich: obwohl Ebling natürlich körperlich immer noch Ebling ist, werden seine Gedanken hier ganz anders als vorher dargestellt.

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Obwohl Kafkas Beschreibung von Sex typisch subtiler ist als in „Stimmen", ist Sex immer noch ein wichtiges Thema für ihn. Der Kritiker Ritchie Robertson integriert Sex in seine Interpretation von Gregor Samsas Verwandlung in Kafkas gleichnamiger Novelle. Robertson charakterisiert Gregors menschliches Sexualleben als begrenzt: etwas, wovon er ausgeschlossen ist. Unser erstes Bild von Gregor deutet diese Begrenzung an—zum Beispiel, das gerahmte Bild der Frau an seiner Wand, das er nach seiner Verwandlung immer noch hochschätzt. Robertson behauptet aber auch, dass Gregors Verwandlung befreiend ist, weil er Freude und unbegrenzter Sexualität näher wird (55–56). Die fehlende Sexualität Gregors ist eine der ersten Indikationen, dass seine Entmenschlichung viel mehr als eine Körperliche ist; sie ist ein psychischer Zustand, der sein ganzes Leben eingrenzt. Mit anderen Worten: Sex in Kafkas Text ist gleichzeitig symbolisiert und symbolisierend.

Die Verwandlungen dieser Figuren scheinen oberflächlich auch klar unterschiedlich zu sein: Gregor wird ungeheuerlich und tierisch, und Ebling wird attraktiv und charismatisch. Gregors Verwandlung ist eine der Einschränkung, Eblings eine des Potentials. Die Enden der Geschichten zeigen aber die Schwachpunkte dieses Verständnisses. Die Person, die Ebling wird, ist vielleicht unmenschlicher als das Insekt, das Gregor wird. Auch nach seiner Verwandlung versucht Gregor sein früheres Selbst (das schon allerdings entmenschlicht wurde) zu sein, einschließlich seiner Pflichten; Ebling andererseits nimmt jede Chance, uncharakteristisch nachlässig und grausam zu sein. Kafkas Beschreibungen von Gregor sind also klar anders als Kehlmanns Beschreibungen von Ebling.

Familie im traditionellen Sinn hat auf die eine oder andere Weise etwas mit Sex zu tun, und die Funktion der Familie und die Familienpflichten der beiden Hauptfiguren sind bemerkenswert in diesen Werken. Beide Gregor und Ebling fühlen sich von ihren Familien und ihren Identitäten getrennt, obwohl diese Trennungen unterschiedlich erscheinen. Die unterschiedlichen familiären Zustände der Hauptfiguren—nämlich, dass Gregor sich vielleicht zu viel um seine Familie kümmert, wogegen Ebling sich zu wenig mit seiner beschäftigt— führen zu ihren jeweiligen Enden. Laut Robertson ist Gregors Sexualität vor seinen Eltern verdrängt, aber durch seine Schwester ausgedrückt. In diesem späteren Moment aber werden Gregors Gedanken unlogisch, und die Zusammenhanglosigkeit der Prosa wachst. Am Ende ist es Grete, die Gregors endlichen Tod inspiriert. Wenn wir also Robertsons Interpretationen glauben, ist das Objekt Gregors sexuelles Verlangen (d.h., Grete) grundlegend in der zweiten wesentlichen Verwandlung (d.h., Gregors Tod) des Textes zu finden. Im Gegensatz ist die größte Rolle Eblings Frau, nur die Ersatzpartnerin zu spielen, wodurch Ebling sein Fantasieleben als Ralf weiter errichten kann; mittlerweile existieren seine Kinder kaum. Wegen dieses Fehlens der Verbundenheiten ist es also nicht Eblings Tod, sondern eine andere Frau, die Eblings Verwandlung zeichnet. Dieser Unterschied ist indikativ der früheren Familiedynamik, aber beide Ereignisse zeigen, dass die Quasipartnerin, nicht die Hauptfigur selber, diesen Wandel bekräftigt.

Auch Kafkas „ein Landarzt" reflektiert diese Funktion der Sexualität. In diesem Text ist die Wunde ebenso ein wichtiges Beispiel der Verwandlung durch die Sexualität, und ihre Anwesenheit (und Abwesenheit) ist eine der primären Instanzen der unzuverlässigen Wahrnehmung. Als der Arzt den Patienten zuerst untersucht, sieht er gesund aus, und der Arzt merkt keine Wunde. Aber das zweite Mal, das er den Patienten anschaut, erscheint sofort eine große Wunde:

> In seiner rechten Seite, in der Hüftengegend hat sich eine handtellergroße Wunde aufgetan. Rosa, in vielen Schattierungen, dunkel in der Tiefe, hellwerdend zu den Rändern, zartkörnig, mit ungleichmäßig sich aufsammelndem Blut, offen wie ein Bergwerk obertags…. Armer Junge, dir ist nicht zu helfen. Ich habe deine große Wunde aufgefunden; an dieser Blume in deiner Seite gehst du zugrunde. (171–172)

Die Beschreibung von dieser Wunde ist mit vielen sexuellen und erotischen Elementen (die, wie Robertson behauptet, für Kafka oftmals Verbindungen zur Gewalt haben) hier geladen: Seine Form und seine Platzierung schlagen etwas Genitales (bzw. Vaginales) vor, und der plötzliche Wechsel in narrativem Stil, indem die Sprache dramatisch beschreibender und zarter wird, funktioniert, die Stimmung etwas sinnlich zu machen. Dass die Wunde zuerst als *rosa* beschrieben wird ist natürlich auch ein sehr wichtiger Aspekt dieser Wirkung; dadurch wird der Patient mit dem vorherigen Objekt des geschlechtlichen Verlangens, dem Dienstmädchen Rosa, in der Erzählung fast gleichgesetzt. Diese Beziehung ist auch die Seite der anderen Verwandlungen und Verdopplungen und funktioniert, wie Gregor in *der Verwandlung* und Ebling in „Stimmen", den existierenden Zustand des Erzählers zu betonen. Der Landarzt kann Rosa weder retten noch selber haben, sondern nur den Patienten, der auch ein Symptom seines Unvermögens wird; gepaart ist diese Ohnmacht mit der Kraft des Pferdeknechts (und die zwei Figuren miteinander). Dem Landarzt fehlt die Kontrolle—der Pferden, des Schicksals—und Macht, die sein männlicheres, potentes Gegenstück charakterisieren. Wenn, wie Corngold über Kafkas eigenes Leben vorschlägt, die Sexualität in die Arbeit sublimiert wird, ist dieser Fall vielleicht besonders illustrativ einer Störung davon, die von dem Pferdeknecht aufgezeigt wird. Obwohl nicht der Erzähler, sondern der Patient, die deutlichste Verwandlung in der späteren Passage erfährt (d.h., dass sein Körper den Körper Rosas ersetzt), bleibt es ja klar, dass Sexualität in Kafkas Texten etwas Transformatives ist.

In *Mulholland Drive* ist eine ähnliche Wirkung zu sehen. Obwohl die deutlichsten Doppelgänger des Filmes natürlich Betty/Diane (Naomi Watts) und Rita/Camilla (Laura Elena Harring) sind, spiegeln die einzelnen Frauen in beiden Liebespaaren (d.h., Betty und Rita; Diane und Camilla) einander auch. Wahrscheinlich sind diese Ähnlichkeiten nirgendwo klarer als in den Sexszenen. Die Filmaufnahmen von den Frauen sind in dieser Szene oft parallel; Betty und Rita werden so ähnlich dargestellt, dass sie fast ununterscheidbar werden. Egal ob Rita die blonde Perücke trägt, ist ihre Identität durch diese Szene schon abgelöst. Dieser Moment ist natürlich nicht der einzige, indem Betty so eine Verdopplung erfährt: Auf die gleiche Weise, zum Beispiel, ersetzt die Schauspielerin, die Rita in dem Film ersetzt und Camilla heißen soll, auch Diane, als offensichtliche Partnerin der (anscheinend) echten Camilla. Dieses Spiel könnte vielleicht eine Art Egalität vorschlagen, aber wahrscheinlicher ist es, dass es eine weitere Verwirrung des Selbsts repräsentiert. Interessanterweise werden die homoerotischen Elemente in Kafkas einem „Brudermord" auch von Corngold diskutiert; laut Corngold gibt es eine Brüderlichkeit der Schwulheit, die im Laufe des Textes verloren ist, und eine metaphorische Vergewaltigung folgt. Hier gibt es mögliche Parallelen mit den Machtverhältnissen, die zwischen Diane und Camilla in *Mulholland Drive* auftreten.

Obwohl die Sexualität der „neueren" Werke (Kehlmanns „Stimmen" und Lynchs *Mulholland Drive*) oft direkter ausgedrückt ist als in den Werken Kafkas, gibt es immer noch wichtige Ähnlichkeiten dazwischen. Die Sexualität in Kafka, egal wie direkt sie ausgedrückt wird, bietet ein Muster für eine drastische Verwandlung in das Andere, das auch klar in Eblings Verschlimmerung in „Stimmen" und den unendlichen Verdopplungen von *Mulholland Drive* zu sehen ist. In allen Texten wird Sex mit der Desorientierung und Verwirrung, besonders des Selbsts, eng verbunden, und dadurch werden Sex und Sexualität als Stellen der Verwandlung für Figuren und ihre Geschichten verwendet.

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Andy Klenzman | *I Miss Dancing*

GERICAULT'S *THE RAFT OF THE MEDUSA*: ACCUSATION, LEGITIMACY, AND ROMANTICISM

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The relationship between the government and its people in nineteenth-century France was decidedly tenuous. Between social classes existed a sense of distrust with the greatest being held for the Restoration Government. This tense socio-political atmosphere became uniquely exemplified in Théodore Géricault's *The Raft of the Medusa*, 1819 which utilized a relatively recent historical event to provide social commentary. For this reason, a study of the primary elements and methodologies present within Géricault's work provides a comprehensive picture for how this work challenges the academic understanding of what constitutes a history painting in the nineteenth century. In the depiction of this brutal scene of suffering and death, Géricault manages to manipulate various pertinent methodologies of his time to engage his audience and critics. This engagement is achieved through the depiction of survivor's elevation above the divisiveness of class, race, and politics in a moment of iconographic fraternity. However, in order to present such a statement to the public, Géricault ensured that the formal composition and execution of his work was flawless, thereby affirming its status as one of the most important works of social commentary of the French Romantic period. This importance does not stem from a critic's review of the work, but the work's ability to champion the liberal democratic population of France under the Restoration Government following the fall of Napoleon. Géricault's academic construction of *The Raft*

of The Medusa legitimizes his highly contentious use of class, semiotics, and race to critique the aristocracy and French Government.

Prior to Géricault's famous exhibition in the salon of 1819, he primarily painted on a smaller scale with less confrontational intentions than those seen within *The Raft of the Medusa*. The annual French salon was an art exhibition hosted by the École des beaux–arts, the premier Parisian art school, in the halls of the Louvre. To have a work accepted into the salon, let alone earn a prize, was a great achievement for an artist and marked them as an individual of true talent. Géricault painted prolifically until his death in 1824 at the age of 33, succumbing to serious injuries which occurred in a riding accident.[2] The prestige and importance of *The Raft of the Medusa* has continued to remain relevant throughout history due to its acquisition by the Louvre in 1824 following Géricault's death.[3]

In order to fully understand the importance of Géricault's *The Raft of the Medusa*, one must first understand the historical background and content of the scene before examining any kind of stylistic or methodological content. An understanding of the period's historical state is crucial since the incendiary subject matter of this work

2   Norbert Wolf and Ingo F. Walther, *Romanticism*, trans. John Gabriel (Köln: Taschen, 2018), 54.

3   Klaus Berger and Diane Chalmers Johnson, "Art as Confrontation: The Black Man in the Work of Gericault," *The Massachusetts Review* 10, no. 2 (1969): 301-40, http://www.jstor.org.ezproxy.depaul.edu/stable/2508785710.

FIGURE 1

Théodore Géricault, The Raft of the Medusa, 1819, Oil on canvas, 16′ 1″x 23′ 6″

was immediately apparent to everyone at the 1819 Salon. In fact, its title *The Raft of the Medusa* was not even attributed to the work in its initial display as its content was so inflammatory, leading Géricault to submit the piece simply titled as: *Shipwreck Scene*.[4] The public's ability to connect this *Shipwreck Scene* with the *Medusa* resulted from the horrific disaster's coverage in the papers. In June of 1816, the frigate *Medusa* departed alongside its convoy of three other ships for Senegal in order to establish a colonial outpost.[5] On its way to Senegal, the incompetent captain Hugues Duroy de Chaumareys chose to blatantly disregard navigational advice while traversing the African coast. *The Medusa* ran aground off

the coast of Africa in early July, forcing its occupants into the six available lifeboats which proved to be incapable of holding all passengers. The occupants aboard the raft included engineers, a surgeon, and colonial settlers. The remaining majority were soldiers, some being of other nationalities, and were called the "scum of other nations."[6] This categorization by survivors Alexandre Corréard and Henri Savigny stemmed from their understanding that "beneath the uniforms that incorporated these diverse men within the French nation were bodies betraying their deviance."[7] Coded within this description are notions of the same xenophobia and classism which compelled many of the colonists in the convoy to flee the French state.

4   Éléa Baucheron and Diane Routex, *The Museum of Scandals: Art That Shocked the World* (Munich: Prestel, 2013), 52.

5   Albert Alhadeff and Julian Barnes, "The Raft of the Medusa," *The French Review* 82, no. 2 (2008): 276-91, http://www.jstor.org.ezproxy.depaul.edu/stable/25481546, 276.

6   Darcy Grimaldo Grigsby, *Extremities: Painting Empire in Post-Revolutionary France* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2002), 173.

7   Grimaldo, *Extremities*, 173.

As the Medusa sank, those unable to board the lifeboats were forced to tie together a makeshift raft, which for many would become their grave. Those in lifeboats gave the raft a rope with the promise they would be taken to shore. Infamously, shortly into their trip, the Captain Chaumareys chose to cut the raft loose without oars, charts, or a compass and thus left them all to die.[8] The raft's occupants' descent into madness was rapid. On the first day there were one hundred and fifty people aboard, standing room only, with water up to their waist or chest. By the second day, there was a mutiny resulting in sixty-five deaths. Another mutiny the following day claimed fifteen more lives. On the fourth day, all surviving members of the raft engaged in cannibalism with the fifth day leaving only thirty survivors. Of these remaining thirty, only one woman remained. She had been the only woman aboard the raft from the very beginning. Her survival did not extend beyond the seventh day at sea due to her execution because of her broken leg. The woman's husband was also executed for the purpose of rationing their supplies.[9] Surviving entirely on the consumption of wine, urine, and human flesh, fifteen managed to survive until the final thirteenth day when they were rescued by the *Argus*. Afterwards, five more individuals succumbed to malnourishment.[10] For a year this tragedy's investigation was kept quiet by the French Restoration Government, hidden from the public eye, until the testimonies of survivors Alexandre Corréard and Henri Savigny were published in newspapers.[11] Reports of this tragedy horrified and politically enraged the public. Subsequently, the presentation of Géricault's *Shipwreck scene* in the Salon of 1819, one year after the report, became a defining symbol of Romanticism's attack upon aristocratic power.

In order to accurately present what took place after the *Medusa* sank, Géricault elected to depict the survivors just before their rescue. To do so persuasively, Géricault constructed a replica of the survivors' raft.[12] This replica enabled Géricault to establish the painting's foundation, where he then utilized posed studio models and cadavers to fill the raft. Géricault's use of dead bodies to improve his accuracy is reflected in the sickly hues of green and yellow which are applied across every person aboard the raft. When constructing the architecture of the scene, Géricault balances the appearance of chaos and disaster within a carefully designed pyramidal composition.[13] Despite the first glimmer of hope, the survivors are far from safe as they are faced with waves which appear as walls, blocking them from a possible rescue. Further increasing the emotion of sickness and overwhelming helplessness is the canvas' monumental scale of 16 by 23 feet which engulfs the viewer in the *Medusa's* tragedy.

With this understanding of cultural context and academic construction, it becomes easier to understand the public's reaction to this work. One of the most central and overarching methodologies guiding this work is the portrayal of class and its significance in the outcome of these events. In the public's eye, Captain Chaumareys' decision to abandon the raft reflected the government's disregard for civilian life typically reserved for times of war. Beyond this parallel existed the fact that Captain Chaumareys was a royalist aristocrat, the anthesis of the democratic liberal's psyche.[14] This loyalty permitted Chaumareys to be chosen as captain not because of his qualifications, but because of his loyalty to the Bourbon regime. Chaumareys originally served Louis XVI and was given this position due to this relationship despite the fact that he "had not been at sea for several decades".[15] The selection of Chaumareys as captain encapsulates the Restoration Government's practice of exclusively valuing established members of society. These individuals who

8   Jonathan Miles, *The Wreck of the Medusa: The Most Famous Sea Disaster of the Nineteenth Century* (New York, NY: 2008), 65.

9   Miles, *The Wreck of the Medusa*, 107.

10 Patrick J. Noon and Stephen Bann, *Crossing the Channel: British and French Painting in the Age of Romanticism* (London: Tate Pub., 2003), 75.

11 Wolf, *Romanticism*, 54.

12 F. Antal, "Reflections on Classicism and Romanticism-IV," *The Burlington Magazine for Connoisseurs* 77, no. 453 (1940): 188-92, http://www.jstor.org.ezproxy.depaul.edu/stable/868172, 191.

13 Baucheron, *The Museum of Scandals: Art That Shocked the World*, 52.

14 Wolf, *Romanticism*, 66.

15 Alhadeff, *The Raft of the Medusa*, 178.

possessed social status exercised their position to reaffirm their placement, just as it prevented upward mobility for the social classes below. This dichotomy between the privileges held by the upper class versus the resentment experienced by the lower class becomes inseparable from both the public's understanding of events and Géricault's *The Raft of the Medusa*.

Despite this disaster being a product of captain Chaumareys' shocking decision to cut loose this raft, Géricault elected to show only the consequences of the captain's actions rather than the captain himself. Géricault's selection of the moment serves two purposes. On one hand, the imagery of the survivors focuses the viewer's energy on their abandonment to evoke sympathy instead of anger at the captain. On the other hand, by selecting the moment of rescue, Géricault eliminates the one woman who was initially on the raft as she did not survive to see the *Argus*. In Géricault's mind this decision was likely made in hopes of focusing the viewer's thoughts upon the struggle of class and race, instead of attempting to also tackle the plight of women in France during the early nineteenth century. Those of a higher status within France did not appreciate this work, as it revived their fear of being associated with this historically shameful event and cover up.[16] Gericault's distaste toward those of the aristocratic class is extraordinarily clear despite the complete lack of reference to the captain.

Géricault intelligently makes the decision not just to attack those of the upper class, but to depict how those aboard the raft disregarded their preexisting notions of societal class structure.[17] This disregard is evident in the assorted social status of the survivors as one's position had no effect upon the chance of survival over the course of those thirteen fateful days. The ensuing class critique identifies members of aristocracy, such as captain Chaumareys, as the cause of the working class' suffering. Reinforcing the narrative of the oppressive regime, upon

hearing Chaumareys' (untruthful) account of events, the Restoration Government chose to not speak publicly about what truly happened to the *Medusa* or to reprimand those involved with the disaster.[18] Instead, the public became aware only after Alexandre Corréard and Henri Savigny's accounts were published. The fact that those aboard the life rafts, after reaching shore, never made any mention of the abandoned raft or requested a rescue party to be sent out for their recovery intensified public horror.[19] Those responsible for the lifeboats not only abandoned a mass of people due to their incompetence, but abandoned their own morality through their concealment of the truth.

Tragically, not all individuals within the convoy were lucky enough to reach land. The psychological descent of the one hundred and fifty souls aboard began shortly after their abandonment. For French viewers, shipwreck scenes were not uncommon and were often seen in public. However, for many viewers, *The Raft of the Medusa* left a sour taste in their mouth with the knowledge that human cannibalism took place on a large scale in order for these people to survive. The simple knowledge of cannibalism rattled many audiences which contributed to the artistic decision to "repress the fact they were being devoured by one another."[20] Géricault's knowledge of the public's disdain for the topic influenced his decision not to picture this aspect of the *Medusa's* tragedy. Géricault also had to balance his desire to sicken the audience with the Academy's definition of what was acceptable for public consumption. Presenting a submission to the salon which was too graphic would result in a refusal and not allow the work to be placed on display for the public, thereby erasing the function of this work. Any inclusion of cannibalism had to be done carefully and with consideration for how the topic had been approached in the past. Prior to *The Raft of the Medusa*, one of the most publicly known artistic works containing cannibalism was Daniel Defoe's 1719 novel *Robinson Crusoe*. However, there were no

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16 Baucheron, *The Museum of Scandals: Art That Shocked the World*, 52
17 Grisby, *Extremities*, 231.

18 Grisby, *Extremities*, 218.
19 Miles, *The Wreck of the Medusa*, 115.
20 Grisby, *Extremities*, 224.

visual elements to these actions, unlike the allusions in Géricault's work. Readers instead were left to their own imagination, confining them to the mind's image of this impossible breach of humanity. Even without a textual description, the monumentality of Géricault's work forces viewers to see the repercussions of cannibalism and the level of despair necessary for such actions to occur. Géricault's balancing act between the accusatory and the formal is only enabled through the public's possession of an "informed eye," a result of their historical knowledge of this real-life incident. Many of this work's most important components are not depicted and instead rely upon viewers' "informed eye" to piece together the visual cues within the work.[21]

An understanding of visual semantics is crucial when viewing this work—which Géricault spent the majority of his year working on. In fact, Géricault became so devoted to the production of this work he utilized real cadavers to model the bodies, only adding to the reasons why some viewers held this work in contempt.[22] Additionally, Géricault eventually resorted to shaving his head to prevent himself from going out into society and becoming distracted.[23] Behavior of this kind reveals two primary pieces of information about Géricault's relationship to this work. First, he was racing against the clock to have it ready for the Salon of 1819, for all of France to see. Secondly, and more importantly, one can identify that this work was more than just a project, but a philosophical medium for Géricault to express his democratic political views to the masses in something that ultimately would be seen as his social manifesto.[24] In order to guarantee its placement within the Salon, Géricault made sure that his technical execution was exact, allowing for all figures to have a high degree of modeling and studio posing, each of which are pictorial strategies sanctioned by the Academy. Structurally, Géricault utilized pyramidal composition in conjunction with his already acute use of realism and

knowledge of classical form to make this work undeniably fit for the Salon. The more classical and academic components Gericault included, the harder it would be for the Salon to justify refusing his submission. This knowledge is reflected through the pyramidal composition as its use was common throughout artistic periods such as the renaissance. Similarly, academic modeling of the human body, as seen in the languishing figure's defined musculature, furthered Géricault's adherence to the École des Beaux-Arts desired compositional construction. Additionally, Géricault utilized stylistic techniques gained from his trips to Italy and knowledge of Renaissance Italian painters.[25] However, Géricault wanted this work exclusively to be shown to the public and not hung for some private individual, and thus when executing all of these precise details, he did so on a monumental canvas of 16 by 23 feet, mirroring the scale of the highly respected neoclassical period. This monumentality ensured only renowned museums such as the Louvre could hold the work.[26] These intentional formal steps taken by Géricault validate and expand the boundary of permissible content beyond what may have otherwise been possible.

One technique utilized to validate the work was the reference to elements of the classical period, an era held in reverence by art academia at the time. For Géricault, this meant the inclusion of the father and son pairing within the painting's bottom left quadrant who operate as a semiotic reference to academically respected genres. These figures are inspired by Moses Haughton after Henry Fuseli's *Ugolino Bereft of Tears I Inward Turn'd to Stone* of 1809 which is a very apt choice given the actions which are alluded to in *The Raft of the Medusa*.[27] Fuseli's work depicts a scene from Dante's *Inferno* where an Italian nobleman is locked in a tower to starve to death with his sons and grandsons, who he eventually eats.

21 Alhadeff, *The Raft of the Medusa*, 281.

22 Baucheron, *The Museum of Scandals: Art that Shocked the World*, 52.

23 Berger, *Art as Confrontation*, 8.

24 Noon, *Crossing the Channel*, 71.

25 Donald A. Rosenthal, "Géricault's 'Raft of the Medusa' and Caravaggio," *The Burlington Magazine* 120, no. 909 (1978): 838-36, www.jstor.org/stable/879432, 838.

26 Wolf, *Romanticism*, 54.

27 Noon, *Crossing the Channel*, 84.

FIGURE 2

Moses Haughton after Henry Fuseli, Ugolino Bereft of Tears I
Inward Turn'd to Stone, 1809, Etching, 20" x 15"

FIGURE 3

Théodore Géricault, The Raft of the Medusa, 1819,
Oil on canvas, detail

perfection or even contain redeeming qualities. Instead, it can depict catastrophe and raw suffering in order to highlight national and governmental injustice.

Numerous sources support the semiotic representation of the father son pairing in the bottom left corner of *The Raft of the Medusa* for Ugolino's cannibalization of his own sons. Additionally, a large number of sources never fail to mention Géricault's attention to detail so as to present the most accurate depiction of the figures in their varying states of agony. However, an individual hardly ever touched upon beyond occasional mention by scholars, even Géricault himself, was of the one woman aboard the raft.[29] The importance of race and class, while crucial to the work's interpretation in 1819 and now, dominate the narrative with very little mentioned of this singular woman. Of course, Géricault's decision to select the moment of rescue as his scene requires the removal of this woman as she and her husband were executed on the seventh day due in part to her broken femur and the desire

Semiotic elements such as these are key attributes which not only validate Géricault's goal to define this work as a piece of academic art, but redefine the academic conception of what it means to create a history painting. Previously, history paintings were grand works which often depicted a central hero or narrative that conveyed redeeming actions and morals to viewers. Géricault's *The Raft of the Medusa* challenges this definition with a work devoid of heroes, uplifting morals, or ancient history. Instead, Géricault presents a history painting which personifies the ultimate human suffering, anguish, and portrayal of seemingly hopeless conditions.[28] It is in effect a claim that art no longer has to be the pursuit of

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28 Antal, *Reflections on Classicism and Romanticism-IV*, 189.

29 Miles, *The Wreck of the Medusa*, 95.

to conserve the little remaining wine aboard.[30] However, one of Géricault's drafts, *Scene of Cannibalism*, replaces the father-son dyad with a family triad of a mother, child, and father.[31] Had Géricault chosen a day where the woman was still alive, a depiction of her alone would have further expanded his work's critique of French social constructs. Increasing the surprise that this sole woman is hardly discussed in literature is the fact that Savigny mentions her extensively in his documentation of events.[32] While Géricault's adherence to events is admirable, his decision to completely exclude femininity from his work's "carefully orchestrated symphony of masculine desire" is unambiguously intentional.[33]

Géricault's *The Raft of the Medusa* is often identified as the preeminent work of the Romantic period within the artistic canon. Art produced during the Romantic period primarily sought to elicit emotion from viewers alongside notions of knowledge and truth. Rather than the goal of a work simply being the execution of a religious or classical scene, artists began to elicit emotion from viewers through their art. However, despite this association, Géricault utilizes multiple elements within the work which are not Romantic. This deviation stems from Romanticism's ideals which "developed largely in opposition to a neoclassicism that had become entrenched in the traditions of Greco Roman antiquity."[34] In other words, many of the common tropes present within Romanticism's frameworks aimed to reject neoclassical tradition, which emphasizes flat immovable figures who stand as if constructed of marble. With this in mind, it becomes surprising to then discover that Géricault's use of monumental scale paralleled the preeminent French neoclassical artist, Jacques-Louis David. David's repetitious use of monumental scale to emphasize the importance and grandeur of his figures

thereby couples his style with notions of neoclassicism. For Géricault, the adoption of a monumental canvas signaled to the École des Beaux-Arts that this history painting should be viewed in the same manner as David's past works.

Romanticism's reaction against neoclassicism was influenced by philosopher Jean-Jacques Rousseau, who contributed to European thought with his desire to "overcome the alienation of man from nature."[35] Of course, the concept of Romanticism existed not only within the artistic atmosphere, but also within the literary and scientific spheres as well. Each academic field's use of Romanticism is unique to their studies. For artists in the late eighteenth century and early nineteenth century, Romanticism often revolved around the depiction of framed landscape or seascape scenes such as *The Raft of the Medusa*. The presence of tormented bodies in social commentary, while not Romantic in the sense of beauty, is Romantic in the sense that the work exemplifies the pursuit of knowledge and truth in order to elicit emotion. As time progressed, Romanticism claimed victory over neoclassicism at the salon of 1827, eight years after Géricault's *The Raft of the Medusa*.[36] Géricault's contribution to the Romantic canon not only influenced French contemporaries such Delacroix, but future artists such as British J.M.W. Turner, a notable Romantic artist. Turner's *The Slave Ship* of 1840 draws upon similar characteristics that are present within Géricault's *The Raft of the Medusa* -- principally, the portrayal of abandonment and tragedy at sea. Géricault's work then was influential beyond his own oeuvre or contemporary developments. Géricault's *The Raft of the Medusa* aligned past classical construction with Romantic ideology to develop the Romantic system and impact future works.

When discussing this work's methodologies, a study of

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30 Miles, *The Wreck of the Medusa*, 107.

31 Nochlin, Linda, "Géricault, or the Absence of Women," *The MIT Press* 68 (October 1994): 45-59. Accessed February 23, 2021. doi:10.2307/778696.

32 Nochlin, *Géricault, or the Absence of Women*, 49.

33 Nochlin, *Géricault, or the Absence of Women*, 49.

34 Wolf, *Romanticism*, 6.

35 Wolf, *Romanticism*, 21.

36 Wolf, *Romanticism*, 21.

The Raft of the Medusa would not be complete without the mention of race within the work and within France during its creation. In 1791 a "massive, well-organized uprising erupted on Sant-Domingue" in what is today known as Haiti.[37] Following this uprising, France abolished slavery in 1794 only to have Napoleon re-establish it eight years later. France once again saw the slave trade "abolished" in 1817, although this ban would not take effect until 1826. This relationship between France and the slave trade infuriated abolitionists such as Géricault, who became motivated to place the documented black survivors at the heart of this work to best admonish the regime's decisions regarding slavery. The central placement of a black figure within a history painting deviates from past artistic practices of hiding or removing black people from art. As a result, Géricault is able to admonish those who advocated for or were indifferent toward slavery as the figure's placement makes their injustice impossible to avoid. The figure at the pinnacle of bodies is revealed to have been Haitian and is the primary subject of the work as he is the one who first glimpses the *Argus'* arrival and rescue.[38] While many of the visual strategies present within this work are executed in a manner which relies upon the viewer utilizing their "informed eye," Géricault realized that the inclusion of Haitians and Africans within any dialogue during this period would likely go unnoticed and thus concluded that viewers would have an "uninformed eye" with regard to these three individuals aboard the raft. As a democratic-minded, bourgeois liberal living in France, Géricault was acutely aware of the continuing sale of Africans into slavery for profit and was sickened by it. France following the rule of Napoleon lost all of its colonies in Africa. This four-ship convoy was the embodiment of France's return to Africa, and its return to the sale of slaves for profit despite other countries such as Britain already adopting abolitionist policies. The inclusion and prominence of Haitian and African individuals within the painting

FIGURE 4

Théodore Géricault, The Raft of the Medusa, 1819,
Oil on canvas, detail

solidifies the claim that this work operated as Géricault's social manifesto against the Restoration government.

Inclusion of these three figures goes beyond merely including them amid a mass of human figures. This scene is not a moment of passive awareness, but a moment where survivors unite with one another through their sighting of the *Argus*. Géricault captures the moment in which all social, political, and racial boundaries are broken in a moment of "inconographie de fraternité" (iconographic fraternity).[39] No longer can anti-abolitionists hide from the presence of black people within France and their state's engagement in the proliferation of slavery. Instead, one's eye is inescapably drawn up the pyramid of tormented bodies to one which stands above the rest, who is seemingly rejuvenated at the knowledge that hope may exist. However, the role of the Haitian man extends well beyond his own physical state and positioning within this work's structure. Instead, as he looks out into the vast tumultuous sea before him, he transforms into the physical embodiment of everyone who has

been forced into slavery.[40] No matter what tragedy they are confronted with, they continue to desperately seek liberation from the chains of their suffering. The tragedy which occurred on this raft was horrific and avoidable as their abandonment was not necessary. Yet the tragedy of slavery, which had been occurring on a global scale, also is done without reason other than that it was profitable to be racist and dehumanize another population. This kind of racial catastrophe and the overall struggle of the human condition is one of the elements which prevails into our modern interpretation of how human struggle often finds itself intrinsically attached to art.[41]

The tragedy of the *Medusa* consumed not only the souls of those who did not survive the thirteen days, but the French populace as well. Alexandre Corréard's and Henri Savigny's accounts of the events that transpired shed light upon the shocking capabilities of human beings and the shocking incompetence of the aristocratic Restoration Government. While the papers may have fed the public the details of this tragedy, Géricault's 1819 *The Raft of the Medusa* brings them to light in this monumental history painting. This work is devoid of classical heroism and drowns viewers in suffering as it hopes to show what the government attempted to conceal from the public to protect its aristocratic counterparts. In order to confront and accuse the Restoration Government in the halls of the Salon, Géricault ensured that his work championed academic techniques so his audience could not belittle it on the grounds of form. Instead, viewers then and now must confront Géricault's liberal democratic manifesto as he addresses the flaws within France's Government and social structure.

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40 Berger, *Art as Confrontation*, 10.
41 Alhadeff, *The Raft of the Medusa*, 284.

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NEGOTIATING RACE, GENDER, AND CAPITAL IN THE GILDED AGE: THE WASHERWOMEN'S STRIKE OF 1877

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Introduction

On the morning of August 1, 1877, a group of Black laundresses took to the streets of Galveston to demand higher wages with a minimum wage of one dollar and fifty cents per day, or nine dollars per week for their labor. They cited the need to provide for their children as the reason for this demand.[2] Their protest came mere hours after their husbands, fathers, and brothers took to the streets with similar demands, inspired by the Great Railroad Strike of 1877 that happened just weeks before. This strike was not the only thing that brought these women to foster a movement of their own, however. The Galveston washerwomen's strike was an ephemeral localized strike that contained demands specific to the city and the laundry business. These women were not only demanding a better wage for all female domestic workers in the city, but control of the city's laundry market as well.

The laundry business was quite large in Galveston as wealthier people in cities outsourced their laundry and other domestic services. There were three main types of laundry business in the city: white-owned steam laundries who typically employed low-income white women, Chinese laundries typically run by men, and Black washerwomen who ran independent laundries out of their homes. In their demands, the women took a stand against both the white and Chinese laundries. On the morning of the initial protest, the women accosted both the laundries of J.N. Harding, a white-owned steam laundry, and Slam Sling, a Chinese laundry. They marched to Harding's place of business and demanded that his workers not cross the proverbial picket line and start working that day. They then brought out wood and nails and boarded up the laundry's door, so that no other women could come to work that day.[3] This strike was also marked by violence as they traveled through the streets, and according to news media reports, they physically attacked a Black woman who appeared to not be in the strike alongside them.[4] The group of women then travelled to Chinese laundryman Sling's place of business and demanded that he and all other Chinese laundrymen leave Galveston.

Historians have hardly treated this juncture of Jim Crow and the Gilded Age, but Glenda Gilmore offers insight into the intersections of gender and race in the Jim Crow era in South Carolina. Gilmore writes about the ways in which Black women navigated formal avenues of politicking, specifically voting, despite the fact that women did not yet have the right to vote. Gilmore's work is important in understanding Black politics and the liminal spaces that were offered for Black women who were too Black for women's spaces and too woman for Black spaces. The story of these washerwomen has rarely been told before with the exception of the work of labor and race historian Tera Hunter. Hunter details the strike and how these women's actions set the stage for a much larger strike

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3   Tera Hunter, *To 'Joy My Freedom*, (Harvard University Press, 1997), 76-78.

4   *Daily*, August 1, 1877, 2.

which occurred in Atlanta in 1881. Hunter, however, does not pay much attention to the anti-Chinese demands that these women put forth. The primary difference among her work is that she argues the organizational skills used by the Galveston strikers came out of the Republican party.[5] To suggest this does a disservice to the informal ways African-American communities had been organizing throughout most of American history. These methods of organization preceded formal political avenues in these communities. There has not been a substantial historical treatment of the relationship between the Chinese and Black laundresses in Galveston beyond a mention of the attacks against the Chinese in the strike.[6] There is very little work done to detail the relationship between these two minority groups in the American South. There has, however, been some scholarship recording the relationship between them, particularly in the American West. Historian Helen Jun argues that we must not view attacks by Black people against Chinese people as anti-racist versus racist attitudes, rather we must understand them in the context of citizenship because the definition of such forces the groups to negotiate the exclusions of each other.[7] This project contends that it is not so much citizenship that dictated this relationship in the case of the Galveston story, rather it was control over a market in a newly emerging capitalist and contract society.

The washerwomen's strike of 1877 allows us to look at the racial and gendered implications of the growing labor contentions of this time period in the urban South. The strikers effectively placed themselves as participants in the construction of both race and gender that provided windows of maneuverability in their fight to gain capital and power. The women challenged notions of race and gender by taking bold action and utilizing democratic tools in their strike. These actions were rooted in the

female-centric nature and kinship ties that were part and parcel of working-class African-American communities that predated emancipation and act in direct contrast to emerging capitalist sentiments of the time period. However, notions of gender, race, and a self-interested ideology as constructed in America were maintained in their attacks on the Chinese laundrymen as they denied the men space in the private sphere of domestic labor.

The Ladies of Labor and Organizational Styles

The women approached their issues with an activist state of mind by utilizing both formal and informal tools of localized politics and grassroots organizing to achieve their goals. The women utilized formal avenues of organization and use of democratic tools throughout their strike. Following the initial protest on August 1, the washerwomen banded together with other female domestic laborers to unionize as the Ladies of Labor. Over two-hundred and fifty women strong, this union included not just washerwomen, but cooks, housecleaners, servers, and many other women making a living within the private sphere.[8] The first indication of when this group formed was when they submitted a report of their first meeting to the *Galveston Daily News* on August 5, 1877. This meeting revealed that there was a hierarchical structure within the organization, as they named Rosetta Green the chairman of the union. They then appeared in the paper again on August 7, writing an open letter to Mayor Stone, Wright Cuney, and Sling, airing their frustrations with the current state of affairs regarding women's pay and the proliferation of Chinese laundries in Galveston.[9] The sheer number of women formally organized in a union for a greater pay in Galveston demonstrated a great deal of political efficacy that was earth-shattering at this time. Just over a decade before, Black women organizing in such a manner was illegal. The tools that these women gained from engagement in Reconstruction politics, such as the forming of women's clubs, was strongly exhibited

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5   Hunter, *My Freedom*, 75.

6   Joan Wang, "Race, Gender, and Laundry Work," *Journal of American Ethnic History* 24, no. 1 (2004): 78.

7   Helen Jun, "Black Orientalism: Nineteenth-Century Narratives of Race and U.S. Citizenship," *American Quarterly* 58, no. 4 (2006): 1049.

8   *Daily*, August 7, 1877.

9   *Daily*, August 5, 1877, 4.; Ibid.

in the existence of this organization alone. These women exhibited a strong sense of political efficacy in using the newspaper as a way to disseminate information about their strike and protest. Even more intriguing is the fact that the *Daily* was a Democratic newspaper which harbored negative sentiments about Black people. The fact that these women were able to get their messages published on multiple occasions certainly speaks to the ways in which they demonstrated socially meaningful power in order to achieve their goals in the strike.

Those formal tools of organized protest may have come from the Republican party through these women's involvement in Reconstruction politics; however, there were African-American organizational structures that the women utilized in this strike that predate such notions of party involvement and were staples in Black community structure. We must look at the informal methods of organization in order to understand how and why these women organized within their respective context. Their organizational structure was heavily rooted in African-American traditions of matriarchy and kinship. Prior to emancipation, African-American culture was heavily based in a female-centric manner and tied deeply to kinship relationships, regardless of biological relationship. This hierarchy was set up because of the ways in which domestic labor was essential to slave communities, and women were confined to such roles. These women were nurses, educators, caretakers, and providers for the slaves on the plantation and these roles solidified themselves as part of African-American culture even following emancipation.[10] Given that this strike took place just over a decade after Emancipation, these women were likely ex-slaves, or daughters of former slaves. These community structures certainly did not disappear following Reconstruction, the communities simply adapted to the new social and political landscape to sustain their practices.

In the organization of the strike, the washerwomen exhibited the importance of kinship in community. Their actions acted in direct contrast to emerging capitalist sentiment that demanded self-interest over community. A key part of protecting this kinship connection is seen in the physical fight that occurred among the women during their initial protest. As aforementioned, the women in the protest physically accosted a Black woman who appeared to not be joining them. They did this out of a demand for solidarity within race and gender lines. Discord among lower-income women, particularly Black women, was just as important to maintaining relationships as friendliness. These passionate displays of action signified deep interpersonal relationships.[11] This fight did not occur necessarily out of anger, rather out of a demand for solidarity in the fight for a better life for Black domestic workers. The Black washerwomen did not physically accost white domestic workers because there were no familial ties between these two groups. White women were allowed to be included in the strike, but it was Black women who led the strike, and therefore required solidarity by other Black women to realize the power within the strike. These women understood that there was power within community, and the fact that these women felt comfortable enough to demand support in this fashion speaks to a communal bond in a subverted fashion.

The formal methods of organization were just as intrinsic to the strikes as the informal structures that sustained the strike, i.e., kin relationships. This speaks to how localized the strike was and exemplifies what these women felt was at stake. This idea of kinship is seen again when we learn that the women began their protest and subsequent strike inspired by the men in their families and familial networks. This showed, again, that it was an entire community of Black laborers coming together for the purpose of demanding a better life for private sphere workers out into the public sphere. This type of communal behavior acts in direct opposition to the

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10 Steven Hahn, *A Nation Under Our Feet*, (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2003), 39-40.

11 Hunter, *My Freedom*, 89.

emerging capitalist notions coming into the Gilded Age. These women did not act alone, instead they were united by the struggle and demanded better for their community. This type of collective action rejected capitalist notions of individuality and demonstrated that these women were a force to be reckoned with as they challenged the new reality of the market system unfolding in the latter half of the nineteenth century.

This notion of kinship among Black laborers was not the only thing driving the structure of the organization: the women were also organized heavily among gender lines. The Ladies of Labor were devoted to amplifying voices of women, particularly Black women. White female domestic laborers were a part of the movement, but it was spearheaded and led by Black women working in the private sphere. This is due largely to the fact that women of color and low-income white women made their livelihoods in the domestic sphere, while white women were involved in outsourcing this labor. This notion of a female-centric organizational structure is apparent in the way these women organized.

Women of all races were welcomed in the strike, but this same opportunity was not afforded to men, especially non-Black men. The *Daily* reports suggested that Black men were allowed in the spaces in which these women organized, but they were not welcome as leaders or as major voices in those spaces.[12] Most striking was the denouncement of the male leadership of Cuney, a prominent political activist and son of an ex-slave. In the report of the Ladies of Labor meeting published in the *Daily*, the chairwoman Rosetta Green stated that the women must withhold the strength of their male kin and denounce any such leaders they bring forth, namely Cuney. He was especially disliked and unwelcomed in their space because, in her eyes, his mixed-race heritage disallowed him any loyalties to a particular race.[13] Despite

being the son of a Black ex-slave, these women did not afford Cuney the status of a Black man in their space. The women also actively denounced a known political activist. This act of denouncing Cuney was not only based in race and gender, but a desire to maintain community control and reject political elitism in their space. This displays not only the female-centric nature of the organization, since white women were allowed in the union, but just how deeply these women distrusted any man who was not Black.

Anti-Chinese Sentiment in Galveston

The Chinese story in Texas did not begin until 1869, when the first large group of Chinese laborers left the West Coast to pursue other opportunities. The first group of Chinese men came to Texas under a labor contract to build railroads for Houston and Texas Central.[14] The companies employing the Chinese laborers sought to capitalize on the negative labor conditions following the Civil War and brought over the men from California. However, the Chinese were not always performing hard labor in America. Chinese men picked up laundry skills when they first arrived in America in the West in the 1850s. As these men were increasingly shut out of the American labor market due to anti-Chinese sentiment, they were forced into these domestic roles to make a living.[15]

Galveston was a port city facing major demographic changes in a short period of time. In the early half of the 1800s, Galveston was described as "small, rickety, irregular, fragile, and overrun by dog-bitten, tailless pigs."[16] Once desolate, the city recovered extraordinarily following the Civil War. In the latter half of the 19th century, it became a port city which grew to be both a home to immigrants and hub for commerce, including

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12 *Daily*, August 1, 1877, 2.; *Daily*, August 5, 1877, 4.

13 *Daily*, August 5, 1877, 4.

14 Edward Rhoads, "The Chinese in Texas," *The Southwestern Historical Quarterly* 81, no. 1 (1977): 1-2.

15 Wang, "Race, Gender, and Laundry Work," 89-90.

16 David McComb, "Galveston as a Tourist City," *The Southwestern Historical Quarterly* 100, no. 3 (1997): 331-332.

tourism on the beaches.[17] During late Reconstruction is when Galveston started booming; this coincides with the arrival of the Chinese. Not only were the Chinese starting to settle and open businesses in the city, but the city also overall saw major demographic changes just before the 1877 washerwomen's strike. In 1870 Census data, there were a total of 18,818 people living in Galveston county as a whole. By 1880, Galveston county was large enough to split into multiple wards for census taking purposes. Just in the city of Galveston alone, there were 22,248 people.[18] This large growth over a ten-year span is indicative of the large role that Galveston was forming in the state of Texas following Reconstruction.

When the Chinese first came to Texas in 1869, Galveston was generally receptive of the group and what they offered in terms of labor. The *Daily* wrote that the Chinese were the "best, cheapest and most reliable laborers ever known." The *Daily* also supposed that former slaves would be happy to be put to work once they see that their potential jobs are being taken by men from China.[19] As time went on, however, this positive regard for the Chinese declined as shown by multiple newspaper articles maintaining negative stereotypes about Chinese people. The *Daily,* the most prominent Texas newspaper at the time, fostered an environment that welcomed attacks on the Chinese. The *Daily* frequently reported on Chinese issues in California in an attempt to drum up the nativist sentiment that was prevalent on the west coast. In an October 1876 article the *Daily* stated, "The almond-eyed Asiatic threatens to overrun the land of gold as the grasshoppers do the fertile fields of the Atlantic slope, but the Californians, who are descended from western races, are not disposed to submit without an effort to check the invasion."[20] This article is wrought with terrible assumptions regarding the Chinese, but most striking is the way the group is compared to an

invasive insect species. The newspaper posed the Chinese as an imminent threat with plans to dominate the areas they are in. This kind of rhetoric is bound to instill fears in the paper's readers. Given that the washerwomen frequently used the newspaper to relay messages, it is not unlikely that they may have been aware of this awful rhetoric.

The washerwomen on strike in August of 1877 had a plethora of demands, but one that was at the heart of the strike was the demand that all Chinese laundrymen leave the city of Galveston within fifteen days.[21] In an open letter published in the *Daily*, the women called out laundryman Sling. They stated that the Chinese needed to be ready because the women were armed with rifles and prepared to walk through "bloody seas" and "die for" their businesses. They closed their note stating, "look out Chinaman."[22] These women meant business and were ready to lay down their lives to protect their livelihood. This racist attack on Chinese men is striking because Chinese laundries were not the only competition that these washerwomen faced. There were a number of white steam laundries in the city that could have affected business as well. In their physical strike on the first of August, the women do accost a white steam laundry owned by Harding; however, they did not demand the owners of white steam laundries leave the city as they did with the Chinese.[23] The women were also not nearly as violent with the white steam laundries. In this open letter and during the strike, the women threaten to kill the Chinese laundrymen.[24] These women depicted this idea of going to war over the laundry business. It is certainly indicative of this idea that these women wanted to foster long-term economic and social stability in the community of Galveston, and the Chinese posed as a threat to that.

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17 McComb, "Tourist City," 334.

18 U.S. Census Bureau, "Population of Civil Divisions Less Than Counties," 1880.

19 Rhoads, "The Chinese in Texas," 2.

20 *Daily*, October 4, 1876.

21 *Daily*, August 1, 1877, 2.

22 *Daily*, August 7, 1877.

23 *Daily*, August 1, 1877, 2.

24 Ibid.

The Chinese appeared to arrive in Galveston and begin their laundry businesses almost overnight. The threat described by the *Daily* became very real for these women in a short period of time. After their arrival in Galveston in 1874, the Chinese laundrymen quickly set up shop. The 1874 Galveston City Directory indicated that there was just one Chinese laundry established in Galveston. In the directory published for 1875 and 1876, there were a total of six Chinese laundries listed. The directory published for the following year revealed that there were five Chinese laundries in Galveston. No more than three white steam laundries are ever listed in the directories in this time period. Furthermore, there were absolutely no indication of any Black-owned laundries or laundresses present in the directories.[25] Over a span of three years, the Chinese laundry business grew rapidly in Galveston. There is no information regarding why the Black laundry businesses were omitted from the directory, but it may have to do with the informal nature of the Black laundresses' mode of business. These women typically performed their duties within their own homes or the homes of their customers. They did not have brick and mortar stores where the labor was performed. This may have kept them from being formally published in the directory. However, nearly every person has their occupation next to their name in the publication, but not a single woman is listed as a laundress or washerwoman. This reveals that the Black washerwomen's anxieties about control over their livelihoods were not unfounded. Omitting the laundry businesses of Black folks from the directory indicates that they were being left out of the market in a formal manner. If someone in Galveston needed their clothes washed, the directory would not even show the Black laundresses as an option. The future of the laundry business appeared to be dominated by the Chinese. As these women were just gaining control of this domestic market and a sense of independent livelihood out of Reconstruction, they decided to take a stand. Mixed up with the nativist sentiment that was being run by the local newspaper and being effectively left out of the formal market, the Black washerwomen attacked the Chinese out of necessity to protect their livelihoods.

As aforementioned, these women were likely former slaves or daughters of former slaves. This idea of freedom and performing labor for legitimate compensation was just newly forming for these women. With the major changes occurring in Galveston, there was a real fear that that freedom to enter into a contract for pay was going to be taken away. Zeroing in on the laundress' case, the data also tells us what the Chinese were doing in Galveston. According to the 1880 Census, there were only 186 Chinese people living in the state of Texas, and the Galveston Chinese population accounted for just fifteen out of that total.[26] This number may seem miniscule; however, the Chinese were almost exclusively doing laundry in the city. Though there were just fifteen Chinese people in the city, there were five known Chinese-owned laundries present in Galveston when the 1876-1877 City Directory was published.[27] Suppose that even only one Chinese person was working at the laundry that was established, that suggests that one-third of the new Chinese population in this growing city is taking part in the laundry business. This small number of Chinese people present in Galveston made it even easier for the laundresses to attack that group. White people were the overwhelming majority in Galveston, it was not socially feasible for Black women to attack white-owned laundries. This made the Chinese a relatively easy target. To the Black laundresses that had been working in Galveston, this apparent takeover of their industry was a direct threat to them. It solidified that their stake in the local economy and a means to provide for themselves and their family could be out of reach again.

25 John Heller, *Heller's Galveston City Directory*, (John Heller Publishing, 1874.); *Heller's Galveston City Directory*, (John Heller Publishing, 1875-1876.); *Heller's Galveston City Directory*, (John Heller Publishing, 1876-1877.)

26 US Census Bureau, "Population by Sex, Race, and Nativity," 1880.

27 Heller, *City Directory*.

The gendered nature of the work both parties performed reveals why these women attacked the Chinese. Laundry was something that women did, and these women maintained that gender norm because it is what gave them income. At this time, women were not necessarily interested in performing labor that was not domestic in nature. This idea of performing domestic work for legitimate pay was a new reality for these women as the country moved between Reconstruction and into the Gilded Age. They were now being paid for labor that was formerly reserved for female slaves. It was a mode of labor that belonged to them and they were not going to let it out of their grasp. Not only were the Chinese seen as foreign people and taking over their market, but they were also men that were taking over this female-dominated market. There is a well-documented stereotype that Chinese men were docile and effeminate because they performed this domestic labor.[27] These women were no strangers to denouncing men in their spaces, particularly non-Black men as was apparent in their organizational strategies. This also explains why the white owned laundries were attacked on a much smaller scale than the Chinese laundries. The steam laundries were owned by white men, but the employees were all women. If anything, the protest during the strike made it clear that the strikers wanted all women laundresses to join them regardless of race. The Chinese were not afforded that opportunity.

Targeting the Chinese laundries was an avenue to gain leverage in a situation where these women felt as though they had none. The Chinese's status as foreign male domestic workers provided the Black washerwomen windows of maneuverability to attack them in an attempt to gain control of the market and maintain their livelihoods. The women wielded a double-edged sword in targeting the Chinese as enemies. On one side of the coin, they actively challenged gender roles by emasculating these men. On the other side, the strikers upheld gender norms by driving men out of the laundry business. This

glaring demand that became the spotlight of the strike maintained the rigid dichotomy of what was and was not women's work. Even more prominent is the fact that these women were demanding these things within the public sphere. They subverted expectations of domestic work by bringing it into the public sphere. This pushed forth this idea that their work did not necessarily rest solely in the private sphere, as the public sphere affected their ability to perform this work. The women constantly complicated notions surrounding domestic work within their actions.

The Chinese were targeted by the Black washerwomen not necessarily because of their race, but because of their status as another minority community. This added layer of gendered work only exacerbated this issue. The Black washerwomen had to work within the framework of white supremacy and use it to their advantage in order to maintain whatever power that they had gained through the laundry business. It was the conditions of race as set up by the culture of white supremacy and patriarchy in America that led them to attack the Chinese for leverage in the market. That is not to say that these groups were actively participating in upholding white supremacy, rather, they were forced to work within its framework to gain proximity to power in the emerging market system.

Conclusion

The Galveston washerwomen's strike of 1877 provides insight into how minority groups navigated structures of white supremacy and used this framework to provide windows of maneuverability to gain economic and social capital in the Gilded Age. These women were at once, both reaching for proximity to power in the forming market-based system and also generating their own socially meaningful power in order to do so. These actions were both located inside and outside of capitalist notions of individuality and market control. The washerwomen participated in capitalism because it put food on the table, but they also organized in a communal manner in order to demand that this newly forming system work for them, too. As Americans moved between Reconstruction and the

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27 Wang, "Race, Gender, and Laundry Work," 79.

Gilded Age, Black women were just growing accustom to this notion of legitimate pay for their labors.

This strike was not just about gaining capital, but it was also about maintaining their roots in Galveston. The strikers wanted a long-term future in Galveston, especially for the Black population as a whole. The washerwomen strike not only exemplified this movement between Reconstruction and the Gilded Age, but also a through line of Black culture and tradition that could not be erased via white supremacy. Though there is no indication of how the strike ended and whether or not the women's demands were met, the Black washerwomen's strike of 1877 shares with us an important narrative of strong Black historical figures who bravely fought for a better life in their community. The story of this strike reminds us that Black historical actors are actors: people who are not passive receivers of social structures, rather they are active participants in the subversion and construction of such notions.

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"HYPERINFLATION": A COMPARATIVE ANALYSIS OF US AND VENEZUELAN MEDIA FRAMES

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ABSTRACT   Since 2010, Venezuela has experienced an economic, political, and humanitarian crisis. In 2017, massive protests broke out after the arrest of multiple opposition leaders, adjustments made to the constitution, U.S. sanctions on various political leaders and a worsening of economic crisis, further politicizing economic reporting and raising the stakes of media framing. To explore this contested framing environment, I will conduct an analysis of reporting and commentary on "hyperinflation" as it pertains to the ongoing socio-economic and political crisis in Venezuela. The analysis adopts Robert Entman's cascading activation model to understand how frames arise and become part of "frame contests" that reflect the power, strategy and motivations of key actors (Entman, 2004). To do so, I will comparatively analyze news articles published by Venezuelan and US-based press outlets during the summer and fall of 2017. I conclude that, while U.S. media frames were mixed, Venezuelan news sources, unless backed by the government, were more critical of the government's economic practices and called for immediate action to stop hyperinflation.

Introduction

Venezuela has been mired in crisis for most of the past eleven years. The ongoing socio-economic and political crises that began under the presidency of the late Hugo Chavez have been marked by hyperinflation, escalating food shortages, disease, crime and mortality rates, resulting in massive emigration from the country. According to economists interviewed by *The New York Times,* the situation is the worst economic crisis in Venezuela's history and is more severe than the Great Depression in the U.S., the 1985–1994 Brazilian economic crisis, or the 2008–2009 hyperinflation in Zimbabwe (Kurmanaev, 2019). While Venezeualans have been suffering under immense economic hardship, both domestic and foreign journalists have been framing the issue in vastly different ways, supporting a range

of positions on how the problems emerged and their causes, as well as what to do next. To test the salience of frames across a range of political perspectives, the paper analyzes selections from both left- and right-leaning U.S. and Venezuelan sources. The goal is to map the framing terrain around hyperinflation and to create a provisional typology of frames in use.

The paper focuses on news stories and commentary from the summer and fall of 2017, when protests grew to their largest and most volatile stage since they had become prominent in 2014. A major precipitating event was the March 29, 2017 takeover of legislative powers by the Supreme Tribunal of Justice (TSJ) of Venezuela. The Tribunal, mainly supporters of President Nicolás Maduro, also restricted the immunity granted to the Assembly's members, who mostly belonged to the opposition. The dissolution was called a "coup" by the opposition (Watts, 2017) while the Organization of American States (OAS) termed the action a "self-coup" (Vassigh, 2017). The

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decision was condemned by some U.S. media outlets, with analysts characterizing the move as a turn towards authoritarianism and one-man rule. In response, the U.S. sanctioned dozens of Venezuelan government officials for undermining democracy and human rights, condemned the Venezuelan Constituent Assembly election, and refused to recognize the Constituent National Assembly, stating that they "will continue to take strong and swift actions against the architects of authoritarianism in Venezuela, including those who participate in the National Constituent Assembly" (U.S. State Department, 2017).

As a result of both the constitutional and economic crisis, violent protests continued throughout the summer and dozens of people died. During the summer and into the fall 2017, media outlets in Venezuela operated in a politically charged environment with state control and censorship a looming threat. The concept of hyperinflation developed into an open frame that could take on many nuanced meanings both domestically and internationally. While Venezuela had been experiencing the economic phenomenon of hyperinflation, or very high and typically accelerating inflation, since 2011, the hyperinflation frame could problematize the Venezuelan government's economic policies and performance in a way that suggested also corruption or malfeasance: a crisis frame with normative weight. Understanding of this framing contest is aided by an awareness of the hegemony model, which suggests "government officials will keep the information available to the public within such narrow ideological boundaries that democratic deliberation and influence are all but impossible" (Entman, 2004). Entman's cascading activation model provides further that "the ability to promote the spread of frames is stratified; some actors have more power than others to push ideas along to the news and then to the public" (Entman, 2004). The paper shows framing differences on the right and left of the Venezuelan press to have strong parallels in the US media. Right-wing sources, such as Fox News, framed hyperinflation as a symptom of Venezuela's "communist dictatorship," while a left- or liberal-leaning source like

CNN Business downplayed inflation as an issue and presented Venezuela's crisis as humanitarian. In addition, the paper shows that right-leaning Venezuelan media sources framed hyperinflation as an issue of fundamental socialist economic policy failures and lack of proper leadership, while left-leaning sources adopted a more data-centric, technical or quantitative frame that remained moderately critical of the government.

Media Framing of Venezuelan Crisis: Venezuela

According to the Committee to Protect Journalists, a non-partisan watchdog organization, during the 2017 protests "local and international media have found it increasingly difficult to operate in Venezuela due to government obstruction. Police and armed pro-government gangs have detained, harassed and attacked journalists" (Committee to Protect Journalists, 2017). Critics from the left, such as Joe Emersberger, argue that "the idea that Venezuela has a 'caged' media has to be one of the most unforgivable pieces of Western propaganda about the country" (Emersberger, 2019). Reporters Without Borders, an international non-profit and non-governmental organization that is partially funded by the U.S. government and has an alleged bias that favors Europe and the US, ranked Venezuela 137th out of 180 countries in its World Press Freedom Index 2015 and classified Venezuela's freedom of information at the "difficult situation" level. Social media platforms, especially Twitter, have provided an important alternative source of information. Nonetheless, the government partially blocked internet access during the 2017 protests and has applied media censorship during the country's economic downfall.

Despite such fraught conditions, the paper finds that Venezuela's media system offered a potential range of framing positions during the protests of 2017 that may accurately reflect the polarized nature of the society. Framing analysis of the word "hyperinflation" during the summer and fall of 2017 can be seen to vary depending on the political perspective of the media sources' typical political stances, with hyperinflation marking an

important boundary issue that delineated right from left.

Right-wing Venezuelan News Sources

The first source I will analyze is an article from *El Confidencial*, a Spanish language digital newspaper with a right-wing, economically liberal bias, entitled "Fin del bolívar para los turistas en Venezuela: Maduro busca dólares a toda costa" or "End of the bolivar for tourists in Venezuela: Maduro seeks dollars at all costs."[2][**] In the article, journalist Alicia Hernandez notes that the hyperinflation within the Venezuelan economy is due to the fall in oil prices, as the country depends entirely on crude oil exports, and that Venezuela is moving "towards a double Cuban economy," suggesting that the cost of certain commodities will be nearly double in comparison to existing local price, as the government attempts to stabilize the economy. The author continues to say that hyperinflation is causing the Bolivar to "free fall" and that the high costs of government services are only encouraging its demise. By framing the Bolivar as "free falling" and comparing the Venezuelan economy to Cuba's, the author frames hyperinflation as out of control, blaming the ineptitude and size of the Venzuelan government and arguing that such inflation is inevitable in socialist countries, while omitting the context of dollarization that occurred in Cuba following the collapse of the Soviet Union.

Another article, which was posted originally by *Diario ABC*, a right-wing Spanish newspaper known for generally supporting conservative political views and defending the Spanish monarchy, criticized Maduro for raising the minimum wage, as they said it "will only bring more hunger for the country, directly affecting the poorest" (Vinogradoff, 2017). To emphasize how extreme hyperinflation had become and how it affected the poor, the article utilizes shocking percentages noting, for example, "in August, [inflation] was 33.7%, the highest in history" and "the accumulated inflation of 350% so far this year is higher than the integral salary increase" (Vinogradoff, 2017). While the article was critical of Maduro's move to raise the minimum wage, it is because such a wage increase would ultimately "undermine the purchasing power of workers." This position, though conservative, may be contrasted with that of a harder line of discourse that might be less oriented toward the plight of the poor or even willing to blame the poor for their plight.

A third right-wing source comes from *Analitica*, an anti-government economics and business online newspaper. The article is titled "Venezuela and hyperinflation: five perspectives on the economic crisis" and was published on August 14, 2017. The piece presents five takes on how to halt hyperinflation and fix the economic crisis. First, the article describes the most recent hyperinflation trends in terms of the "Family Food Basket," which for the month of July that year was "1,443,634.25 bolivars . . . an increase of Bs. 213,935.90 (17.4%) compared to June 2017" (Mena, 2017). Within the article, political and organizational analyst, Víctor Maldonado, advocates to "castrate the state," as he alleges that the Maduro "regime combines arbitrariness with intervention, because we do not know when they are going to hit you, especially in the productive sector, because it intervenes to decide on your assets, your inventories, your cost structure; about the conduct of your suppliers" (Mena, 2017). The author concludes that "21st century socialism is unfeasible" (Mena, 2017). By framing the state as a interventionist "regime" that arbitrarily determines asset values and undermines productivity, Mena draws a line between Maduro's socialism and the well being of the people. Hyperinflation and the economic crisis are a result of socialist government policies that Venezuelans would be well-advised to reject out of self-interest.

A final example taken from the right came from *El Nacional*, a once center-left publication that appears to have shifted to a more center-right approach despite the increase in censorship in Venezuela during the presidencies of

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2   [**] Translations are by the author unless otherwise indicated.

Hugo Chávez and Nicolás Maduro. *El Nacional* has been described as one of the last independent newspapers in Venezuela, as it is one of most widely read and circulated daily national newspapers in the country (Committee to Protect Journalists, 2018). Due to its criticism of media censorship and opposing views of the government on 14 April 2018 government-sponsored *colectivos* attacked the headquarters of *El Nacional*, kidnapping security workers and a janitor (La Patilla, 2018). The newspaper has since had its website continuously censored by the Venezuelan government. Nonetheless, its article "Debts, sanctions, and deterioration: Venezuela's oil is dying" was published on September 5, 2017, attributing hyperinflation and the starving Venezuelan economy partly to US sanctions. According to *El Nacional*, after the sanctions were imposed by former President Trump, Maduro claimed the status of a "victim of a blockade" (El Nacional, 2017). In addition, El Nacional stated that "in almost 20 years of socialist governments with high public spending . . . PDVSA's [the Venezuelan state-owned oil and natural gas company] profits have been reduced" (El Nacional, 2017) and that "the lack of investment in pipelines and oil fields, together with a strongly interventionist economic policy, scared off foreign firms" (El Nacional, 2017). By attributing part of the problem of hyperinflation and the failing economy to US sanctions, El Nacional indirectly criticizes the Chavez and Maduro governments, both for interventionist economic policy and public sector spending and their failure to manage geopolitical relationships. Maduro's status as a victim of US sanctions is used to show him as powerless, the embodiment of a weak presidency. The article adopts the White House's narrative frame, by reporting that the goal of the sanctions was "to deny the Maduro dictatorship a crucial source of funding to sustain his illegitimate regime" (El Nacional, 2017). Here, the cascading activation model can be extended to capture the trans-national dimension of frame formation, which may start with powerful government actors promoting frames "offshore" that enter a domestic media system's cascading process (Entman, 2004).

Left-wing Venezuelan News Sources

In contrast to the right-of-center press in Venezuela, a pro-government and left-leaning regional newspaper, *El Carabobeno*, frames hyperinflation in more technical, less politicized or less morally judgmental terms. The article presents statistical representations of hyperinflation, showing, for example, that the real inflation rate in 2016 was 1,660%. However, the article's frame is one in which inflation remains unexplored, with no in-depth explanation offered for its origins and causes (Paez, 2017). The piece presents a set of economic indicators as metrics for the crisis of recent years, such as unemployment, minimum wage income, and credit ratings, but omits discussion of the causes of the issue. The article cites a *World Economic Outlook* report by the International Monetary Fund (IMF) and argues that the Venezuelan economic crisis will "deepen" in 2017, as it is "aggravated by the prolonged drop in crude oil prices that generates a currency drought in a country that is completely dependent on its oil production, in addition to importing most of it" (Paez, 2017). In addition, the article says that the Venezuelan economy is "complicated." *El Carabobeno's* framing is consistent with the government's, which prefers to see the problem as one of market fluctuations in the oil sector. The article concludes that "the vast majority of Venezuelans have been calling for a change of government regime for several months, with a new macro-economic philosophy and a 100 percent democratic thread of conduct based on academic knowledge" (Paez, 2017). These final statements reveal by omission the deeper significance of the newspaper's economic frame, as they do not mention socialism or public sector spending, nor for that matter the police crackdown on protestors who were "calling for change."

Another left leaning news source offers a different perspective. *El Impulso*, the oldest running newspaper in Venezuela (founded in 1904), has seen backlash to its publication by the government since the beginning of the economic crisis. Its reporters have been attacked on numerous occasions and the company has been forced

to cease the circulation of physical newspaper copies "indefinitely" due to the mismanagement and alleged censorship practices of the Nicolás Maduro government. When citing the same IMF report as *El Carabobeno*, they also used quantitative data to demonstrate the severity of the economic crisis. However, *El Impulso* tends to make broader political and humanitarian statements regarding the dangers of hyperinflation. For example, the article argues that "continually producing money from a banknote machine to cover insatiable public spending is one of the main causes, if not the most important, of the inflation" in Venezuela (Alvarez, 2017). The article concludes by quoting Milton Friedman and claiming that "the proximate cause of inflation is always and everywhere the same: a too rapid increase in the amount of money in circulation" (Alvarez, 2017). By employing a quote by Milton Friedman, a Nobel Prize-winning American economist whose political philosophy extolled the virtues of a free-market economic system with minimal government intervention, the piece advocates for less government control over the economy and less public spending. This piece in *El Impulso* demonstrates how a left-liberal framing may seek anti-socialist (and thus anti-government) solutions to the economic crisis while offering a humanitarian justification for such free market restructuring.

A similar left-wing framing of hyperinflation can be found at *Aporrea*, a Venezuelan news and opinion website that had shifted from a position of support for Hugo Chávez to one of criticism of the current government, turning the site into a "gathering place for dissidence within chavismo" (Hernandez, 2019). As a result, since February 2019, the site is unreachable to users of Cantv and Movilnet, the state's internet service providers (ISPs), which serve the majority of the country's population. Nonetheless, prior to February 2019, *Aporrea* published an article titled "Our Hyperinflation" on September 4, 2017. Similar to *El Carabobeno* and *El Impulso,* the article cites the IMF's economic predictions for Venezuela when discussing hyperinflation, stating that Venezuela

"continues to be mired in a deep economic crisis that is moving towards hyperinflation," as a new economic contraction of 6% was expected in 2017 after the previous year's 12% contraction caused by "huge economic distortions" (Anez, 2017). The article continues to explain how the "Bolivarian Republic of Venezuela" has now entered a "world of economic chaos, tortuous poverty and death. Its cause should be imprisoned and the keys thrown away" (Anez, 2017). The article concludes by saying that the causes of hyperinflation become "visible when there are unstoppable increases in the money supply or the drastic degradation of the currency sign, and it is often associated with wars (or their consequences), economic depressions, and disruptions, social or political" (Anez, 2017). By making general statements about the causes of hyperinflation and noting the humanitarian crisis that has ensued, *Aporrea* avoids directly criticizing the government's political economic policies. The article even goes so far as to omit mentioning the shifting price of oil, sanctions from the U.S., and the words "socialist" or "communist." This demonstrates how perhaps *Aporrea* is attempting to depoliticize the discourse, remaining uncritical of the government yet acknowledging the problems all around. In addition, this mode of nuanced and depoliticized framing may reflect the shifting censorship within Venezuela, as the article seems unusually forgiving of the government given the data it published and the online newspaper's reputation for being critical of President Maduro.

A final left-leaning source I examined came from *Correo del Orinoco*, a self-described progressive newspaper that was launched in 2009 with government backing. On June 7, 2017, the newspaper released an article titled "Situational cycle June" from journalist Aldemaro Barrios Romero about the state of Venezuela's political and economic conditions at the time. In addition to criticizing the "opposition" and condemning violence that had happened in recent months, Romero acknowledged the issue of hyperinflation and how the public was reacting. According to Romero, the people of Venezuela will

see hyperinflation "cross like nighttime shooting stars over the stratosphere" once they are "activated when electoral processes approach in which Chavismo could have important results" (Romero, 2017). (This quote demonstrates why it is important to assess whether a source may be pro- or anti-government.) By dismissing the topic of hyperinflation and claiming it will stop once more Chavez-style governmental or economic practices are employed, Romero avoids addressing the socio-economic reality of political violence and scarcity that was occurring at the time. In his concluding statements, Romero said that it is important for "triggers to be activated that re-attack oppositionists" and to review "US counterinsurgency manuals to determine what will be June's 'terrorist engineering'" (Romero, 2017). This article may be emblematic of harder left-leaning Venezuelan news sources, embracing the government's perspective. Framing hyperinflation as an issue that will disappear once electoral processes ensue pushes the audience to remain faithful to the Bolivarian movement despite the current hardships. By referencing "US counterinsurgency manuals" to be used against oppositionists, on behalf of the government, Romero aspired to remind the public that the government will not back down to protestors and will employ their military police if necessary.

Media Framing of Venezuelan Crisis: United States

The politically polarized landscape of US media suggests a contested framing environment around issues that touch upon the performance or legitimacy of opposed economic systems or the democracy promotion function the US government pursues globally. As a result, hyperinflation in Venezuela became a terrain for such oppositional framing. For example, when Fox News, a right-leaning media company, brought on Marxist economist Richard Wolff to discuss the causes of hyperinflation and the poor state of the Venezuelan economy, the news anchors continually disrupted him, arguing that the failing economy was due to corruption and the growing communist dictatorship. Wolff argued the problems stemmed from oil sanctions the US government had imposed. Instead of having a

discussion about the topic, a confrontation ensued, with one of the news hosts repeating "you can't get away with that" and turned the discussion abruptly to income tax rates (Tendler, 2017). On the other hand, in an article titled "Venezuela: How a rich country collapsed" from CNN Business, a liberal-leaning media outlet, Gillespie et al. acknowledged the excessive inflation but avoided using the term "hyperinflation," as the article instead highlights food shortages, loss of healthcare, and lack of foreign investment. While inflation and rising prices were mentioned, they were only discussed briefly to segue into a section about the "humanitarian misery" that "has followed the economic plunge" (Gillespie et al., 2017).

Although both media organizations began with similar questions, they came up with contrasting answers. US media framing of hyperinflation in Venezuela is closely related to US hegemonic power and its relationship to non-neoliberal economic systems as the leader of the Free World. Within the parameters of its polarized landscape, US media contest traditional liberalism and question whether social or welfare state oriented domestic economic policy has a place in contemporary society. With this baseline skepticism in place, more right-wing, free-market oriented media, such as Fox News, may be empowered to unrelentingly denounce liberal economic policies. A similar dynamic shapes the terrain even for large, liberal-minded, government-oriented media organizations such as CNN. This is not to judge whether either organization's positions are correct but to show how the existing poles of mainstream media discourse come to shape the acceptable range of framing choices and interpretations.

Conclusion

Altogether, media framing of hyperinflation in the US and Venezuela occurs under a polarized and state managed public communications environment and in the US, framing of hyperinflation during the Summer and Fall of 2017 was contested, with outlets like CNN Business avoiding the term "hyperinflation" altogether and focusing

on the humanitarian crisis while Fox News emphasized Maduro's "communist dictatorship." On the other hand, in Venezuela as violent and peaceful protests raged on, the government became more repressive. Although left- and right-leaning sources had differing viewpoints, most seemed critical to some degree of the Maduro government. From the summer and fall of 2017, articles from the left tended to rely on quantitative economic data to assess the crisis and to mostly remain critical of the government, depending on whether the publisher is backed by the government or not. Nonetheless,

articles about hyperinflation from *Correo del Orinoco*, a progressive publisher with government backing, for example, tended to gloss over the issue of hyperinflation and instead condemn the "opposition." On the other hand, right leaning sources employed harsher language and focused on fundamental economic policy disagreements. They used politically and morally charged words such as the "Maduro dictatorship," "Cuban economy," or "socialist policies" when describing hyperinflation in order to not only intrigue the reader, but also frame the issue as a series of fundamental economic, if not moral, blunders.

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Stephanie Rieck | *Subway*

"A CHANNEL OF POVERTY AND INACTION": JAMES JOYCE AND IRISH INDEPENDENCE

WILLIAM MARINIS*

Irish Studies Program

James Joyce's story "After the Race" is unique among the stories in *Dubliners*. It features a mainly non-Irish cast of characters, most of whom come from wealth and prestige. The story takes place in colonized Ireland, beginning with an international automobile race:

> The cars came scudding in towards Dublin. . . At the crest of the hill at Inchicore sightseers had gathered in clumps to watch the cars careering homeward and through this channel of poverty and inaction the Continent sped its wealth and industry (52).

By labelling Ireland a "channel of poverty and inaction," Joyce uses the story to contrast the wealth of Europe with the poverty of Ireland. The 2,200-word story is deep with symbolism and political statements. Joyce introduces Jimmy, a young Irishman from a family that abandoned its Irish nationalism in pursuit of wealth and status. Through Jimmy's futile pursuit of European status, Joyce exposes how Ireland cannot rely on European powers for development or independence, and that no amount of money can allow someone with an Irish Catholic origin to join the cosmopolitan elite. The final portion of this essay will explore how these issues played out in modern Irish history.

Before exploring the symbolism of "After the Race," it will be helpful to recall the events of the story. Ireland is hosting an international auto race which draws prestigious men from across Europe. Jimmy Doyle, our protagonist, comes from a newly wealthy Irish Catholic family and is a member of Frenchman Charles Ségouin's racing team. With his father's backing, Jimmy is also investing in Ségouin's new motor business. With them for the race is Ségouin's French Canadian cousin, Andre Riviere, and a "huge Hungarian" named Villona (Joyce 52). After their victory in the race, this party attends a fancy dinner where they are joined by an Englishman named Routh. After several drinks, they discuss politics, and Jimmy argues with the Englishman until the topic dissolves with a toast. From there, they join an American named Farley on his yacht for cards and gambling. Jimmy is too drunk to perceive exactly how, but he knows he is losing. He concludes he will regret this in the morning, just as Villona opens the cabin door and reveals that it is already dawn.

The race Joyce describes has historical roots that were contemporary for the writer. In 1903, the annual Bennett Cup Auto Race organizers chose the small Irish town of Athy as its host city. The general feeling of the country was that this represented an enormous opportunity, and the *Irish Times* boasted of "the race's potential monetary benefits" (Fairhall 393). There is some irony here, however, as this opportunity only arose due to Ireland's position as an English colony. Each year, the home country of the previous year's winner hosted the race, and in 1902 that winner was an Englishman. Ireland's status as part of the United Kingdom is, then, what provided this

opportunity. Nevertheless, there was rampant excitement at the prospect of turning economically stagnant colonial Ireland into a worldly scene of industry. The press even held hope that the sight of automobiles might inspire Irish boys to "devote their energies to scientific pursuits to the unmeasurable advantage of the country at large." For perspective, by 1900 there were only fifty cars on Irish roads, meaning this race was the first time most of the spectators saw one of these exciting inventions (Montgomery).

It is worth pausing here to contextualize Joyce's attitude towards industry, capitalism, and Irish nationalism. Joyce did not exactly identify as a nationalist, mainly because he believed the movement placed too much emphasis on Catholicism in the Irish identity. Joyce felt the Catholic Church was a form of "paralysis" for Ireland, hindering her development (Kanter 381). Joyce additionally held that the Irish language revival was one of the main reasons he did not identify with nationalism. This does not mean, however, that Joyce was anything but a believer in Irish independence, and he uses careful language throughout his story to remind readers that Ireland lacks autonomy. In one instance, he refers to Dublin as "the mask of a capital," which emphasizes its loss of even a modest amount of legislative independence following the 1800 Act of Union (Fairhall 394). It is important for Joyce to call attention to this injustice, and he uses "After the Race" to point to the right path forward. Through Joyce's personal letters, we can see a moderate and pragmatic approach to the question of Irish independence. Joyce told his brother in 1906, "I think the *Sinn Féin* policy [of non-violent resistance] would be more effective" than paramilitary violence (Nohrnberg 224). Joyce also expressed here that it was necessary for Ireland to develop capitalism as a stage of development. "The Irish proletariat has yet to be created," he said. "A feudal peasantry exists, scraping the soil but this would with a national revival or with a definite preponderance of England surely disappear." Joyce thus felt that Ireland, to truly develop, had to separate from England and could not rely on imperial powers to provide

industry. Joyce would sympathize with the *Irish Times* in its desire to see Ireland industrialize, but found the idea that industry would come from the capitalist empires who had only ever fleeced the country to be ridiculous. This theme is especially relevant in "After the Race."

The cars in Joyce's story symbolize modernity, industry, and wealth: everything Europe had that Ireland lacked. Joyce establishes this early in the aforementioned line referring to Ireland as a "channel of poverty and inaction," while "the Continent," Europe, sped through with its "wealth and industry" (52). The spectators are the "gratefully oppressed" Irish poor, implying that their admiration for the race involves submitting to subjugation. Notably, Ireland is not represented in this race, and so the Irish spectators cheer for the French. This is symbolic of how the Irish traditionally looked toward France for support of independence, as a rival against Britain and perhaps even as another Catholic country (Fairhall 391). But more importantly, the Irish seem to cheer at the mere spectacle of automobiles, as if what they really root for is wealth. Throughout the story, Joyce critiques the Irish for putting the European bourgeoisie on a pedestal, much as the *Irish Times* did. The French are the essential victors of the race, giving our characters and the Irish spectators cause for celebration.

In this context Joyce introduces us to Jimmy Doyle, an Irishman from a prosperous family riding along with a French automobile in the race. Jimmy is elated by the thrill of being a spectacle. "Rapid motion through space elates" him, as "does notoriety; so does the possession of money." Jimmy "had been seen by many of his friends that day in the company of these Continentals" (Joyce 54). For Jimmy, his Irish friends should be impressed by the number of foreigners he associates with. Perhaps they were, in which case Joyce is making another targeted criticism of the Irish for looking to Europe for guidance. Most importantly, by telling the story in the frame of Jimmy's perspective, Joyce exposes the egotism of the Doyles. Above all else, they want to be perceived as worthy of a worldly identity

and associated with the wealth and power that comes with it.

The Doyle family is newly rich, having recent roots in the same Irish Catholic peasantry as those "gratefully oppressed" onlookers. Jimmy Doyle's father had once been an "advanced nationalist," but found that inconvenient for social climbing. He had made a living as a butcher but had "been fortunate enough to secure some of the police contracts, and in the end had become rich enough to be alluded to in the Dublin newspapers as a merchant prince" (Joyce 53). Police contracts, of course, refer to deals with British colonial authorities, meaning Doyle sold out his Irish patriotism for wealth and the perception by others as a man of status. Doyle embraced Anglicization too, or the process of eroding Irish culture and replacing it with that of the English. His son's name, James, is itself an Anglicized version of the Irish name, Séamus. He sent Jimmy to school in England, representing his hope to broaden the family's status beyond Ireland. This hope was fulfilled, as Cambridge is where Jimmy met Ségouin.

Ségouin in large part represents France's relationship to Ireland. He makes Jimmy feel as if it is a privilege to invest in his company. "Ségouin had managed," Joyce writes, "to give the impression that it was by a favor of friendship that the mite of Irish money was to be included in the capital of the concern" (54). The Doyles only put up this investment to ingratiate themselves into the club of the cosmopolitan elite, but no matter how much they raise, this club has no room for the Irish. The feeling surrounding the investment is one of fraud, as if Ségouin is bound to lose the money. Joyce was alluding to the historic relationship of ineffectual support between France and Ireland. For example, in 1798 the Irish launched a massive rebellion against British rule, which the French sent an expeditionary force to support. And just as the Irish in Joyce's story are inspired by the French, the Irishmen of 1798 were inspired by the French Revolution. But when the British faced a French and Irish coalition in battle, it "ended in honorable defeat and deportation

for the French, but in massacre and tragedy for the Irish" (Fairhall 391, 395). It is as if the British and French both accepted an understanding that the Irish were not worthy of recognition as human. Joyce held that the French had never been interested in truly helping the Irish, but only in using them so long as they could advance their own interests. Ireland is not just a victim of England, but of the entire "international imperialist and capitalist order." And just as the race will fail to reap economic opportunity for Ireland, so will Jimmy's investment fail to be lucrative for him. For Joyce, Ireland had to stop falling for the glamorous traps of empires.

The Doyle family represents a moral failure that Joyce saw in Ireland. As previously mentioned, from Joyce's perspective Ireland would only attain industry through internal development. The Doyles are bad citizens because, despite being native Irish Catholics, they invest their money out of Ireland rather than in their own people (Fairhall 395). They have the capability to improve and develop their country, but choose not to do so. Instead, they chase a Continental identity and elite social circles, throwing their money away in foreign business ventures that will only make rich countries richer. The reason the Doyles admire men like Ségouin is because he has an aura of wealth. Jimmy's father considers the dinner his son is to attend "an occasion," and feels "commercially satisfied at having secured for his son qualities often unpurchasable" (Joyce 55). This line, in particular the phrase "commercially satisfied," represents a critique of international capitalism. Even fatherly pride is phrased in market terminology, reflecting the Doyles' acceptance of the capitalist tendency to commodify everything. But as the events of the story soon demonstrate, no amount of money can purchase an unpurchasable international status for a colonized Irishman.

When this party is joined by an Englishman at dinner, Joyce's exploration of politics is made clearer. Routh is a man Jimmy "had seen with Ségouin at Cambridge," showing his membership to elite cosmopolitan circles

(Joyce 56). Ségouin and Routh are natural friends, implying that both have more in common with each other than with Jimmy, just as France ultimately has more in common with England than Ireland. Jimmy soon reawakens his family's long dormant Irish nationalism, but this happening only after several drinks shows how wealth has separated him from his country. In doing so, "he aroused the torpid Routh at last." In the heated conversation, Ségouin's job as the dinner's host becomes difficult, and "there was even danger of personal spite." By describing Routh as "torpid," and implying that politics rarely becomes personal, Joyce is showing how different politics is for Jimmy compared to these other men. For them, politics is like any other abstract conversation because shifts in political winds do not risk robbing them of their human rights. But Jimmy is still Irish, meaning he understands politics and colonialism's human cost. He has a torn identity, and consequently, he cannot fully fit into either. On one hand he is rich and cosmopolitan, but on the other he is still an Irish Catholic from a colonized country. Ségouin only diffuses the situation by toasting "his glass to Humanity," a vague and meaningless distraction from real issues at play.

It is at the card game that Joyce fully exposes the futility of an Irishman thinking he could be accepted into elite worldly circles. It starts when the cast of characters meet up with Farley, "a short fat man" from the United States that Andre recognizes (Joyce 57). They follow him onto his yacht for more festivities, including dancing, music, and more supper. The atmosphere is festive and celebratory. Eventually, they set up the game of cards. Soon, "play ran very high and paper began to pass," meaning the cast of characters started gambling. It is significant that Jimmy becomes even drunker, to the point that he does "not know exactly who was winning" beyond that "he was losing" (58). Through this portrayal of Jimmy, Joyce creates the image of a drunken Irishman being looted by rich Europeans, an obvious attack on alcoholism as another paralyzer of Ireland. Indeed, this sequence reads largely through the perception of Jimmy, who is too drunk to fairly consent

to gambling. It seems Joyce believed that alcohol, trust in other European powers, Catholicism, and paramilitary violence held back the causes of Irish industrialism and independence. Jimmy's supposed friends take his money, and he blames himself because "he frequently mistook cards and the other men had to calculate his I.O.U.'s for him." Jimmy wishes they would stop, but feels powerless to end his loss. In trying to join this elite circle, Jimmy is reminded that he is Irish, meaning he comes from colonization, not money and empire. Jimmy is fleeced just like the rest of his country.

From the appearances of the competition, "the game lay between Routh and Ségouin," the English and the French (Joyce 58). "Game" can take multiple meanings here, referring to imperial competition and industrial development, as well as the literal game of cards. Routh wins, of course, with Jimmy and Farley being "the heaviest losers," perhaps saying that Americans cannot truly fit into this European club either. This might even be a commentary on the unique relationship formed between Ireland and America, by virtue of mass immigration. In the end, Jimmy knows he'll regret this drunken stupor in the morning, but at present he is content. He knows he has erred but is unable to change or fully process what happened. Then, "[t]he cabin door opened and he saw the Hungarian standing in a shaft of grey light." Villona yells, "Daybreak, gentlemen!" (59).

Villona's symbolic importance becomes clear in this scene. He is the only poor character in the story, a fact that sets him apart from all the other named characters. During the game of cards, "Villona returned quietly to his piano and played voluntaries for them" (Joyce 58). The implication is that Villona is not chasing wealth and status, like Jimmy. He accepts that he is not part of the international bourgeoisie and serves as entertainment in this scene for the wealthy. As a consequence, he does not lose money. By making Villona a Hungarian Joyce is alluding to Hungary as a model for Irish independence (Fairhall 395). For Hungary, this was won by nonviolent

resistance, similar to the method James Joyce endorsed when he wrote to his brother endorsing the Sinn Féin policy over paramilitary violence. Villona, in opening the hatch to reveal daybreak, is literally shining a light on poor Jimmy and illuminating by example the right path forward for Ireland, a path not dependent on other great powers.

Taken as a whole, Joyce's story sends multiple messages on the direction of Ireland. Ireland will not become industrious through a partnership with the Europeans that have done nothing but plunder her for profit. Nor will Ireland prosper by aspiring to be culturally European. Neither will reckless violence lead Ireland into the future. Joyce showcases an example of a native Irish family who, by chasing a cosmopolitan status and neglecting Ireland, end up without either. So long as Ireland neglected to invest in herself, the country would remain poor and economically backward.

After 1922, with Northern Ireland divided from the rest of the island to remain part of the United Kingdom, the newly independent Ireland went from over-protectionism, to overreliance on foreign capital, to a path of internal development. As political scientist Dan Breznitz explains, "After independence, the Irish economy was primarily agrarian with a fiercely liberal economic ideology" (94). When Fianna Fáil (for most of the post-colonial era, one of Ireland's two main parties) won power in 1932, they tried to set Ireland on a path of isolationism and economic nationalism. Taoiseach (Prime Minister) Éamon de Valera embarked on a policy of "abolishing free trade, imposing high tariffs, and waging a proxy economic war against England over land annuities." Part of this occurred while Ireland was still technically an English commonwealth state, meaning they suffered the consequences of colonialism while reaping none of the benefits of a partnership with England. The result, however, was catastrophic, and between 1932 and 1958, the wealth gap between the Republic and Northern Ireland only grew. While Fianna Fáil policies did raise levels of

industrial employment, they caused a sharp decrease in exports to Britain, which caused real income levels to stagnate (Glynn 60). By 1940, average Irish incomes were only half of those of Britain, and little would change over the next twenty years. Emigration also became a major issue, and in 1958, Irish Ministry of Finance Ken Whitaker identified in a famous report that this population loss was "Ireland's existential threat," along with unemployment (Breznitz 95).

As a result of Whitaker's report, Ireland shifted its economic approach, transitioning from a policy of economic isolation to become "one of the most neoliberal free-trade open economies" in Europe. This meant an increased reliance on foreign capital and forming close relationships first with the United States, and later with the European Economic Community, something Joyce might have warned against. It also meant focusing the economy heavily on industrialization and inviting multinational corporations to Ireland. Perhaps surprisingly, this neoliberal industrialization ideology was quickly accepted as the new normal; after 1958, the *Irish Times* moved from focusing mainly on agriculture as the main component of the economy and began publishing debates focused on industrialization and foreign capital (Breznitz 95). It seems the Irish recognized it was time for a change. It might be argued that this was the phase of capitalist development that pre-industrial Ireland needed, as in the two years between 1957 and 1959, unemployment fell twenty percent and standards of living generally improved. This opening up to foreign investment led to a gradually increased per capita GDP, although it should be noted that GDP growth "exaggerates Ireland's progress in terms of living standards," because it includes the large and exaggerated profits of multinationals (Kennedy 34).

This form of neoliberalism, however, came at the expense of developing "local industrial capital" (Breznitz 96). The number-one goal for the Irish government during this period was job growth, which was most quickly and easily accomplished through reliance on outside investment and

foreign companies. The Irish government took an active role in the economy, and early on, Irish politicians sought to treat local industry equally with foreign multinationals. However, this was quickly disregarded out of expediency, and the Irish state developed a mistrust of Irish industry, seeing it as "market distorting, rent-seeking, and best to be avoided." Unlike other developing economies, there was never any pressure applied on multinationals in Ireland to "source locally," meaning that foreign investors were still the ones primarily raking in the profits of Irish labor (97). Still, the increase in industry allowed Ireland to expand its welfare state, as secondary education was made free for the first time. In the words of the *Irish Times*, this would prevent about one-third of Irish children from becoming condemned to be "part-educated unskilled labour … who go to the wall of unemployment or emigration" (98).

As Joyce might have predicted, this heavy reliance on foreign capital failed to be a long-term recipe for economic prosperity in an independent Ireland. The 1980s saw Ireland face a "growth without jobs crisis," as the economy started to again stagnate, and the old existential threats of unemployment and emigration resurfaced (Breznitz 98). In 1989 alone, 44,000 people left Ireland, amounting to a loss of 1.1% of the small country's population. Two reports, the Telesis Report in 1982 and the Culliton Report a decade later, strongly advised reinvestment in domestic industry (Nolan 281). The Culliton Report even "cautioned … against relying on corporate activity for recovery, arguing that sustainability ultimately depended on the stability of indigenous firms" (McCann 110). Undeterred, the Irish government continued toward full neo-liberalization.

Soon, however, the political landscape would shift, which also enabled a change in the perception of local Irish industry. While the Culliton report might have been initially ignored by the Irish government in favor of reliance on multinationals, by 1993 a new coalition of Fianna Fáil and the Labour Party took power (Breznitz 103). This government resolved to finally pay more attention to Irish industry, and consequently restructured the IDA

into two separate agencies: one for domestic industry and one for multinational corporations in Ireland. This change reflects Ireland's increasing skepticism of foreign capital and represents one of the most significant examples of a renewed faith in Irish industry translating into national policy. The Irish state took a large hand in propping up its tech industry, and although the industry took a hit from which it never fully recovered with the 2001 tech bubble, Ireland continued its policy of intervention to assist domestic industry (105). The late 1990s also marked "an unusually favourable demographic transition" in terms of improvement in Irish living standards (Kennedy 36). By 1997, the Irish standard of living was approximately ninety percent the level of the United Kingdom, which suggested a remarkable transformation from where the Republic had been a decade prior (34).

With this understanding of Irish economic development in mind, it is easy to see why Joyce feared an overreliance on European capital, or reverence for European culture and business as somehow more legitimate than Irish culture and industry. Bad experiences with economic protectionism led to a perception of Irish business as somehow riskier and less worthy than already established European industry. Of course, Ireland necessarily had to open up to some foreign capital to develop. But, as Dan Breznitz argues, Ireland also tried to pursue a contradictory path of neo-liberal free trade and internal economic development (107). Ireland needed European wealth and capital, but it also needed to use this source of wealth to invest in developing its native industry and protecting said industry from already developed foreign competition. Eventually, Ireland's continued state involvement in industry and eventual assistance to domestic industry helped assure that the country climbed out of the shadow of colonialism and beat the economic threats of emigration and unemployment.

In ways that might have been unpredictable for Joyce, Ireland has also been able to benefit from its partnership with Europe. According to former Taoiseach Garret

FitzGerald's 2002 analysis, once the Republic joined the EU in 1973, "in economic terms Ireland benefited more from EC [European Community] membership than any other member state" (125). In at least one notable way, the European Union countered Britain's colonial influence over Ireland by requiring the U.K. to abandon its artificial domination over the market of manufactured foods. Additionally, Ireland has benefited from "Structural Funds" which have allowed the Irish state to invest in the less-developed parts of the economy and infrastructure as it saw fit. The European Union's "Common Economic Policy" has also been a godsend for Irish farmers. According to the EU's website, this policy aims to "safeguard European Union farmers to make a reasonable living," and it has provided much-needed loans and relief for Ireland's agricultural sector, ultimately helping the country develop a stronger internal economy. The free-trade policies within the EU have also helped solidify Ireland's status as a country to invest in while also opening the rest of Europe to exportation of Irish goods (Fitzgerald 126). Although membership means yielding on some questions of national sovereignty for all member states, Ireland's relationship with the EU has been less about the subservience and exploitation that Joyce witnessed, and more about respect and mutual benefiting. With this understanding in mind, it is easy to see why Ireland today so readily embraces its status in the EU. Unlike Britain, whose membership took the nation from a dominant power to one player among many, Ireland's membership in the European Union gave a historic victim of colonialism a seat at the table. Consequently, Irish campaigns to leave the EU represent extreme minorities of the population, and the country does not take the most historically significant partnership of democracies for granted.

FitzGerald also noted that EU membership meant limiting the influence of the Catholic Church in Ireland, something Joyce long championed. Ireland has a long history of patriarchal and reactionary legislation, mainly stemming from the influence of the Church. For instance, before joining the EU, Ireland mandated that women employed in the public sector retire from the workforce upon marrying, enforcing the idea that a woman's place is as a homemaker (129). But membership in the European Union mandated that discriminatory gender laws be abolished. As a consequence, Ireland is a less patriarchal country. One has to wonder how Joyce would feel about European-mandated secularization of his country, but in recent years, Ireland has also opted independently to liberalize on a number of social questions, including legalizing same-sex marriage through a 2015 public referendum.

"After the Race" is filled with politically nuanced sentiment: endorsing that Ireland industrialize, but not romanticize European culture and industry; calling for Irish independence but remaining distasteful of reckless violence. Reading it with an understanding of the next century of Irish history and economic development helps validate several of Joyce's warnings about his country. Ireland would fall for many of the traps that Joyce warned against, including economic instability and overreliance on Europe and the United States for job creation. But it would also rise from the shackles of colonialism and overcome its historically imposed conditioning to be an impoverished and economically backward country. Part of this process necessitated a cooperative relationship with Europe, but this was rooted in partnership and assistance rather than subservience to the Continent. Ireland in the 21st century is no longer defined by the threats of imperialism, poverty, unemployment, and violence. In this space, Irish culture is revitalized, and Anglicization is no longer imposed or necessary for social climbing. This new reality of a truly post-colonial Ireland has even led to a revitalization of the Irish language. Although knowing Joyce's opinion on Gaelic, he probably would hate this aspect of independent Ireland.

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Riley Reed | *Self Portrait of an Activist*

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LA FORMAZIONE DI NICCOLÒ AMMANITI E MARCO DONATI TRA AUTOBIOGRAFIA E FICTION

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ABSTRACT   *Branchie* by Niccolò Ammaniti is considered a novel of *autofiction*; a genre at the crossroads of autobiography and fiction where the differentiation between author and protagonist is often blurred. Ammaniti wrote *Branchie* in 1993 in the midst of *postmodernism*, a literary movement that according to French philosopher Jean-François Lyotard, favors the telling of the unique individual over collective identities, grand narratives and the conditioned thinking of modernism. Through his protagonist Marco Donati, Ammaniti uses autofiction to respond to "the postmodern condition" and the imperative to express his unique story. The prologue informs the autobiographical side of the work, allowing the reader to draw connections between Ammaniti and his protagonist from their obsession over fish to their shared experience of not finishing school and feeling lost amongst their peers. As the novel progresses, Ammaniti incorporates fictional details to reach beyond his reality and reenvision his life through a fresh perspective. Through the elements of shared life struggles, interests and language, Marco Donati precisely reflects his author.

Nel romanzo *Branchie* di Niccolò Ammaniti, il protagonista Marco Donati, un giovane malato di cancro ai polmoni che va in India con l'occasione di costruire l'acquario più grande di Nuova Delhi, rispecchia il suo autore. Le varie esperienze e interessi di Marco mostrano ai lettori chi è Niccolò Ammaniti e il momento che stava vivendo quando scriveva questo libro. Specificamente, attraverso la formazione di Marco Donati e tematiche quali la ribellione e la scoperta della propria vocazione, il perdersi e il rifugiarsi nel mondo animale e vegetale e la mescolanza di linguaggio alto e basso, Niccolò Ammaniti prova a scoprire se stesso. Dopo avere lasciato l'università e sentendosi incapace di relazionarsi con i suoi coetanei che si sposavano e attraversavano le fasi della vita mentre Ammaniti restava indietro, Ammaniti ha scritto *Branchie* per esprimersi e creare il proprio percorso attraverso la fiction che usa per sperimentare oltre ai limiti della realtà. Le formazioni di Marco e Niccolò procedono dunque parallelamente tra fiction e autobiografia.

Lo spazio tra questi generi si definisce con il termine *autofiction*, un tipo di prosa a metà fra autobiografia e romanzo in cui autore, narratore e protagonista condividono la stessa identità e dove "la veracità resta inafferrabile" (Martemucci 163). L'autofiction è diversa dall'autobiografia perché la finzione rimuove le censure interiori dell'autore e gli permette di immaginare e condividere la sua realtà in un modo diverso. Attraverso il personaggio di Marco, Niccolò Ammaniti ha potuto scrivere molto più di ciò che ha vissuto nella sua vita e nella sua testa, ma i lettori possono comunque accedere in qualche modo ai suoi desideri, sogni e rapporti complessi. Anche se il romanzo include elementi di fantasia, non significa che è in antitesi alla verità. Piuttosto, l'autofiction prova a spiegare un'altra realtà: la verità dell'autore e la sua storia personale senza pudore.

Branchie inizia con un prologo firmato da Ammaniti, che dichiara l'autofiction di questo romanzo. Ammaniti indica ai suoi lettori il suo amore per i pesci e la biologia, i suoi guai con i genitori e il fatto che si sente perso e diverso dagli altri perché non si è laureato. Il prologo stabilisce connessioni indiscutibili tra le vite e sentimenti di Niccolò Ammaniti e Marco Donati, però sorge la domanda: perché Ammaniti ha scelto di non usare il suo nome per il suo protagonista? Nella *Divina Commedia* di Dante Alighieri per esempio, Dante è l'autore, il narratore e il protagonista, una decisione che rende il racconto di parte perché i lettori accedono all'esperienza di Dante solo attraverso la sua prospettiva singola. A differenza di Dante, forse Ammaniti voleva vedere la sua situazione attraverso gli occhi di un altro da sé per "reinterpretare in modo totale, e non meramente solipsistico, la [propria] vita" (Forest citato in Martemucci 164). Ammaniti non voleva nascondersi, ma il nome è "semplicemente una differenziazione" tra l'autore e personaggio che crea un po' di distanza tra di loro e uno spazio per la finzione ma che "non cambia nulla dell'identità" (Genette citato in Martemucci 164). Dante credeva nel valore universale del suo percorso nella *Divina commedia* e non parlava mai della sua opera come finzione (Martemucci 161). Non si vergognava di dire la sua verità nel modo in cui la percepiva, però forse Ammaniti si vergognava di più della sua realtà e delle sue sfide. Per coinvolgere i suoi lettori ma anche per sentirsi al sicuro, l'uso di un altro nome agiva come uno strato di protezione che si frapponeva tra la sua vulnerabilità e i suoi lettori sconosciuti.

Oltre ad appartenere all'autofiction, *Branchie* è considerato un romanzo del periodo letterario del postmodernismo. Nel 1979, il filosofo francese Jean-François Lyotard ha pubblicato *La condizione postmoderna* in cui afferma che nell'età contemporanea, "la modernità ha raggiunto il suo termine" con la fine dei "grandi racconti," cioè le prospettive filosofiche e ideologiche che hanno condizionato le credenze della società a partire dall'Illuminismo con una prospettiva assoluta del miglioramento costante della condizione umana (Lyotard citato in Patrizi et al.). Nel postmodernismo, non c'è più una forte presenza dei grandi eventi e processi che esercitano un'influenza su tutta la società, per esempio "la Rivoluzione, il Progresso, la Dialettica," e non ci sono sempre la presenza della famiglia nucleare o l'enfasi sulle classi sociali (Patrizi et al.). Il postmodernismo si focalizza sulla realtà singolare dell'individuo e come le realtà diverse coesistono o si confrontano una con l'altra (Harvey 41). Ammaniti esprime la condizione postmoderna attraverso l'autofiction per raccontare la sua storia senza freni. Marco Donati rappresenta una ribellione totale verso ogni aspetto della società, per esempio il fatto che vive nel suo negozio di pesci che ha chiuso perché non ha soldi, il suo rifiuto delle cure per la sua malattia e l'odio per sua madre. Niente della vita di Marco ha struttura e niente sembra migliorare. La condizione postmoderna include anche l'idea che "l'individuo si colloca all'incrocio delle varie forme di conoscenza pratica" (Lyotard citato in Patrizi et al.) senza doverne scegliere per forza una. In *Branchie*, Marco si sente sempre perso e si trova in molte situazioni strane; un momento è a Roma con i suoi pesci, un altro momento è a Nuova Delhi a suonare in una banda e poi in fuga da un castello malvagio. Ammaniti mostra così che non c'è un percorso di formazione assoluto e che se non vuole laurearsi e vuole invece seguire le sue varie vocazioni e passioni come la scrittura e la biologia, può farlo.

Niccolò Ammaniti è nato a Roma nel 1966. Ha sempre avuto un interesse per la scienza e gli animali quindi ha deciso di studiare biologia all'Università di Roma. Ha completato sedici dei diciotto esami per laurearsi e ha mentito a suo padre sul fatto che stava finendo i corsi e preparando la tesi. In realtà ha interrotto il suo percorso e perso la passione per lo studio e cominciato a scrivere *Branchie*. Questo romanzo può essere considerato il risultato della sua paura di confessare a suo padre la verità sui suoi studi (Rajković 13). Il romanzo non era però solo il suo rifiuto dei suoi studi ma anche un modo

per esprimere le sue passioni. Nel prologo, Ammaniti spiega che il romanzo "nasce come un tumore [maligno?] di una tesi in biologia" (Ammaniti V). Ammaniti confessa: "Non pensavo neanche di poter pubblicare, poi con l'università non andava granché e dopo la prima pubblicazione è diventato un lavoro" (Ammaniti citato nell'intervista di Lucia Antista).

Il primo collegamento tematico tra Niccolò Ammaniti e Marco Donati in *Branchie* è quello del desiderio di controllare il loro percorso. Fin dall'inizio del romanzo, Marco rimane sempre fedele al fatto che non vuole essere curato dal suo cancro e nessuno può convincerlo del contrario. Marco scrive in una lettera per la sua fidanzata romana: "Ho scelto, seguendo questa via, di non curarmi, di lasciarmi consumare dal morbo. Sentivo che la mia vita era indirizzata, sin dall'inizio, verso una fine solitaria e dolorosa" (Ammaniti 95). Questo atteggiamento ha effetti negativi e positivi. Da una parte, mostra che Marco è un personaggio incapace di prendere in mano il proprio destino e preferisce guardarsi morire. Dall'altra parte, è una scelta importante perché è la sua scelta e non di qualcun altro. Un ostacolo alla sua autonomia è sua madre Adele Donati che "passa gran parte della giornata in palestra" e che ha "le labbra di silicone" (Ammaniti 45). Adele vuole che lui si sottoponga alla chemioterapia mentre Marco vuole "rimanere lucido fino alla fine" (Ammaniti 14). Nei romanzi di formazione, non è raro che i genitori siano "veri e propri incubi per i figli," "mai utili" e "soltanto fastidiosi e patetici" (Altomonte 270), esattamente come Marco descrive Adele. Nel caso di Niccolò Ammaniti, il fatto che lui abbia scelto di abbandonare la sua tesi di biologia per scrivere questo libro contro la volontà dei suoi genitori e professori mostra che ha voluto proseguire lungo un percorso giusto per lui. Nel suo caso i suoi genitori non sembrano l'ostacolo più grande per lui, ma piuttosto lo è la società in cui è cresciuto. È più o meno normale e quasi previsto che un adolescente finisca il liceo e l'università perché è quello che fa la maggior parte delle persone, però Ammaniti non voleva che la sua

vita fosse predeterminata. Ammaniti dice: "[N]on avevo mai pensato a diventare uno scrittore né di studiare lettere, per me era un modo di trovare uno spazio mio" (Ammaniti citato nell'intervista di Lucia Antista).

Un altro aspetto che avvicina Marco e Niccolò Ammaniti è il sentirsi perso. Quando Marco Donati arriva a Nuova Delhi, dice: "Non ho la più squallida idea di dove mi trovo" (Ammaniti 69). La versione corretta della frase è *non ho la più pallida idea*, ma Ammaniti usa invece *squallida* per descrivere più profondamente il malessere di sentirsi così. Nel manipolare la lingua, Ammaniti mostra anche il desiderio di trovare se stesso come scrittore. Ammaniti dice nel prologo che mentre lui rimaneva in un laboratorio di neurobiologia dove faceva gli esperimenti per la sua tesi, gli altri "si laureavano, si sposavano… io continuavo a stare là dentro" (Ammaniti V). Si sentiva perso perché i suoi genitori volevano per lui il percorso assoluto dell'università che lui non voleva per sé. Un elemento importante che contribuisce alla sensazione di essere perso sono, di nuovo, i genitori. Adele descrive Marco come un fallito e un incapace perché è stato bocciato al liceo (Ammaniti 49). Niccolò Ammaniti non dice esplicitamente cosa pensassero i suoi genitori della sua scelta di lasciare l'università, ma che lo ha fatto "con costernazione dei miei parenti e infinito sollievo dei miei insegnanti" (Ammaniti V). Forse la situazione genitoriale di Marco è un'esagerazione di quella di Niccolò Ammaniti, però entrambe le situazioni procurano loro fastidio e delusione. Secondo Linda Altomonte in alcuni romanzi di formazione italiani, i personaggi "non trovano alcuna guida esterna che possa non solo indicare loro una strada ma che soprattutto dia valore alle loro domande senza risposta" (Altomonte 270). La madre di Marco è troppo ossessionata da se stessa e suo padre è morto tre anni prima (Ammaniti 46). Forse Niccolò dipinge la situazione di Marco così perché i suoi genitori non hanno sostenuto la sua decisione di diventare uno scrittore. Come in molti romanzi di *autofiction*, Ammaniti ha esagerato la situazione di Marco per rappresentare come si sentiva Niccolò, anche se non riflette la verità. È

chiaro che Marco ci mostra che è perso attraverso la sua dipendenza dall'alcol e i suoi rapporti sessuali superficiali. Non è certo se Ammaniti abbia avuto esperienze simili però certamente entrambi sono stati salvati da qualcosa: l'amore di Marco per i pesci e per Ammaniti, lo stesso ma anche la scrittura.

Un altro elemento che collega fortemente Niccolò Ammaniti e Marco Donati è infatti il loro amore per i pesci e la biologia. Da bambino a casa sua, Ammaniti "si curava di dodici acquari sistemati nella sua stanza" (Rajković 13). Marco vive al suo negozio di pesci che ha chiuso alcuni anni prima, quindi in molti modi, vediamo Ammaniti che sta rivivendo i ricordi della sua camera con i suoi pesci attraverso Marco. Ammaniti è sempre stato appassionato di animali quindi non è sorprendente il numero di riferimenti animali e vegetali in *Branchie*.

Ammaniti ci mostra che è un esperto in queste cose, e connette in maniera profonda la biologia e gli animali alla crescita emotiva e fisica del suo protagonista. Usa gli animali per descrivere momenti di formazione in negativo, cioè dove il protagonista sembra "piegarsi ad una costrizione" (Altomonte 266), quando lui afferma che "i pesci, senza più cibo, mangerebbero prima tutte le piante e poi, disperati, si sbranerebbero tra loro. I sopravvissuti morirebbero in un silenzioso digiuno" (Ammaniti 25). Oltre al tema della morte che è prevalente nel romanzo, Ammaniti sembra parlare anche del fallimento nella ricerca delle cose di cui si ha bisogno per vivere una vita felice e che Marco non possiede, come delle relazioni positive e un corpo sano. Il linguaggio figurato animale esprime la formazione in negativo nelle ultime frasi del romanzo, quando Marco dice che è ancora "incerto e turbato" e si nasconde nella sua "tana" a Berlino (Ammaniti 207). Forse Ammaniti ha scelto questi sentimenti per il finale perché c'è una parte di lui che si sente ancora a disagio per il fatto che non si è mai laureato: una carriera in biologia era ciò che i suoi insegnanti, coetanei e genitori volevano per lui. Forse sta immaginando come sarebbero diverse le cose se avesse seguito il suo progetto di vita originale e come una

carriera come biologo non lo avrebbe completato come persona. Per tornare all'idea dell'autofiction, l'inclusione di questa fine quasi mitica "protegge l'autore" dalla sua realtà e "permette di glissare sul sé" (Martemucci 162).

In contrasto alla formazione in negativo, Marco usa la presenza degli animali anche per descrivere la formazione in positivo alla fine, in particolare con l'idea della metamorfosi. Alla fine del libro, Marco ci dice che è diventato un uomo-pesce e vive in un acquario a Berlino con "bellissime branchie filiformi intorno alla testa…" grazie al chirurgo Subotnik e afferma: "Sono tornato al mio primo amore, i pesci" (Ammaniti 207). C'è da chiedersi se Marco abbia avuto una trasformazione o no, e Ammaniti sembra lasciare aperta la possibilità che ci sia una formazione accanto alla non-formazione perché nell'acquario Marco non vuole più morire come prima. Anche se è più isolato dagli altri esseri umani, è contento, vuole vivere. In un'intervista con la giornalista Veronica Cognini, Ammaniti spiega i suoi esordi e i temi principali che collegano i suoi romanzi. Ammaniti parla del tema ricorrente del corpo e del fatto che le idee di metamorfosi ed evoluzione lo hanno sempre interessato. Ammaniti dice che nella vita, siamo sempre in continua trasformazione, un processo che coinvolge il corpo e la psiche, e che a causa di questo "[s]iamo proprio come un girino che si trova ancora ad avere la coda, le branchie, ma che, allo stesso tempo, inizia ad avere i polmoni, le zampe…" (Ammaniti citato nell'intervista di Valentina Cognini). Ammaniti mostra questa metamorfosi con il cambiamento del corpo di Marco.

Oltre ai temi di *Branchie*, il linguaggio e lo stile di Marco riflettono quelli di Ammaniti e mostrano il suo amore per la scrittura e i film ma anche la sua giovinezza e informalità. Un romanzo postmoderno molto spesso "comunica, sia attraverso la lucidità del linguaggio tecnologico e scientifico, sia con lo shock della parola imprevedibile e addirittura del nonsense" (Juri 112). *Branchie* è pieno di colloquialismi e informalità, per esempio, il fatto che Marco parla direttamente ai lettori.

Alla fine del romanzo, Marco ci domanda: "Siete contenti? La storia finalmente è finita e potete cominciare a cercare un altro libro da leggere" (Ammaniti 201), e usa molto l'imperativo per dare ordini ai suoi lettori, per esempio: "Ho un tumore ai polmoni. Non ditelo a nessuno" (Ammaniti 12). Usa anche molti colloquialismi e parolacce, mostrando ancora questo linguaggio medio e termini che "accentuano il tono volutamente familiare, di un tipo di racconto che evoca il racconto d'osteria, fatto a degli amici…" come la parola *cazzo*, inclusa 33 volte nel romanzo (Corrado 146). Attraverso questo linguaggio informale Ammaniti crea un legame con i suoi lettori. Se avesse scritto questo romanzo in un modo più formale o in terza persona, Ammaniti avrebbe creato più distanza tra lui e i suoi lettori. Inoltre, dato che Ammaniti aveva circa la stessa età di Marco quando ha scritto *Branchie*, è probabile che attraverso Marco, vediamo il modo in cui Ammaniti pensava e parlava con se stesso e con gli altri in questo periodo della sua vita.

Al contrario, Marco adotta anche un tono alto e a volte poetico, soprattutto quando parla dei pesci, la natura e "nelle riflessioni meno immediate e più filosofiche che Marco stesso dispensa ai suoi lettori" (Corrado 146). Marco dice che "è una bella serata e il sole è lontano, basso sull'orizzonte. Il cielo è tinto di rosa e l'aria è buona, sa di mango e papaia…" (Ammaniti 91). Marco dipinge perfettamente questa scena della bellezza di Nuova Delhi. I suoi lettori possono sentire il dolce profumo dell'aria e vedere con gli occhi della mente i colori vivaci del cielo. Con questo tipo di linguaggio, Ammaniti voleva mostrare la sua passione per la scrittura che stava sviluppando quando stava scrivendo *Branchie*. Nel corso della sua carriera, Ammaniti è anche diventato un regista che ha diretto il docufilm *The Good Life* (2014) e la serie TV *Il Miracolo* (2018). In *Branchie*, questa passione per i film e dare un'immagine profonda ai lettori/spettatori è già molto preminente. Maria Corrado descrive perfettamente l'esperienza dei lettori quando leggono questa mescolanza dei linguaggi come un'esperienza dove "ci si trova in una sorta di caleidoscopio, in cui la vita, la morte, la volgarità, la poesia si intrecciano in un gioco senza fine" (Corrado 157).

In conclusione, il personaggio di Marco riflette Niccolò Ammaniti in quasi ogni aspetto, dalle sue sfide e passioni al modo in cui si esprime. Questo romanzo è dunque complesso e con molte contraddizioni ma possiamo trovare un aspetto di Ammaniti in ogni frase che Marco dice e ogni situazione in cui si trova. "L'adolescenza è il periodo più interessante da raccontare," dice Ammaniti, "proprio perché a volte abbiamo grandi slanci di maturità, ma allo stesso tempo siamo ancora bambini" (Ammaniti citato nell'intervista di Valentina Cognini). Ammaniti si rende conto che la formazione di un adolescente è come le montagne russe e il modo che aveva più senso per Ammaniti per raccontare la sua verità era farlo attraverso il mondo assurdo di Marco Donati.

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DIGGING DEEPER INTO COBALT MINING

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Since the beginning of the COVID-19 pandemic, the world of work for many has changed. Businesses, education, even religious services had to transition online. Smartphones, tablets, and laptops became even more indispensable. What makes the transition from the real to the virtual possible for some comes at the expense of others. Many primary materials that make twenty-first century technologies conceivable are extracted by underpaid workers in dangerous conditions. Key mineral ingredients such as copper, combined precious metals (gold, platinum, and silver), and joined elements (lithium, nickel, manganese, and cobalt) are often extracted by laborers under perilous circumstances before they can be processed to create the technologies we recognize. As more nations seek to reduce carbon emissions, there is a global desire to shift away from fossil fuels to alternative sources of energy. Electric vehicles (EVs) are one such alternative that utilize lithium-ion batteries to run. In 2019, electric vehicle sales had risen to 2.1 million vehicles, a 6% growth from the previous year (Global EV Outlook 2020). The enormous scale of global demand for minerals that power these electronics contrasts with the fact that many of the primary metals used for these technologies are artisanally mined. Despite its informal nature, more than 100 million people worldwide depend on artisanal small-scale mining (ASM) for their livelihood, compared to only 7 million employed in industrial mining (World Bank 2013).

ASM primarily takes place in rural and remote regions where minerals are located. ASM often occurs at sites where large-scale mining is not commercially viable. At such sites, ASM serves as an essential source of livelihood for local populations devastated by poverty and violent conflict. ASM is especially prevalent in sub-Saharan and central Africa; specifically in the Muslim majority rural areas of Nigeria, Sudan, Mali, Côte d'Ivoire, Tanzania, Ethiopia, and Burkina Faso (ASM Inventory 2018). Although the extraction is concentrated in geologically specific regions, the supply chain is global. Cobalt, a mineral some are calling the "modern-day oil of a low carbon economy" (Sovacool 2019, 915) has a global supply chain. The chain starts with the workers who extract the raw material, the middlemen who buy the minerals from the miners and then supply it to the refineries or processing plants, transnational commodity trading companies (such as Glencore) who then supply industrial companies (like Nokia, Apple, or Tesla) with the refined mineral. Industrial companies then transform the refined material into technologies. Finally, retailers sell the devices to consumers to complete the chain.

Cobalt is essential to the twenty-first century. It is required for several technologies to operate. This paper will focus on small-scale artisanal mining of cobalt in the Democratic Republic of the Congo.[2] In order to elucidate ASM cobalt extraction in the Congo, I will do three things. First, I will provide a brief historical background of artisanal mining

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2   I will use the Congo to refer to the nation-state known as the Democratic Republic of Congo throughout this paper. It also goes by Congo-Kinshasa, DR Congo, and DROC; from 1971 – 1997 it was known as Zaire.

FIGURE 1

Administrative Map of the Democratic Republic of Congo
Image Credit: OCHA 2015
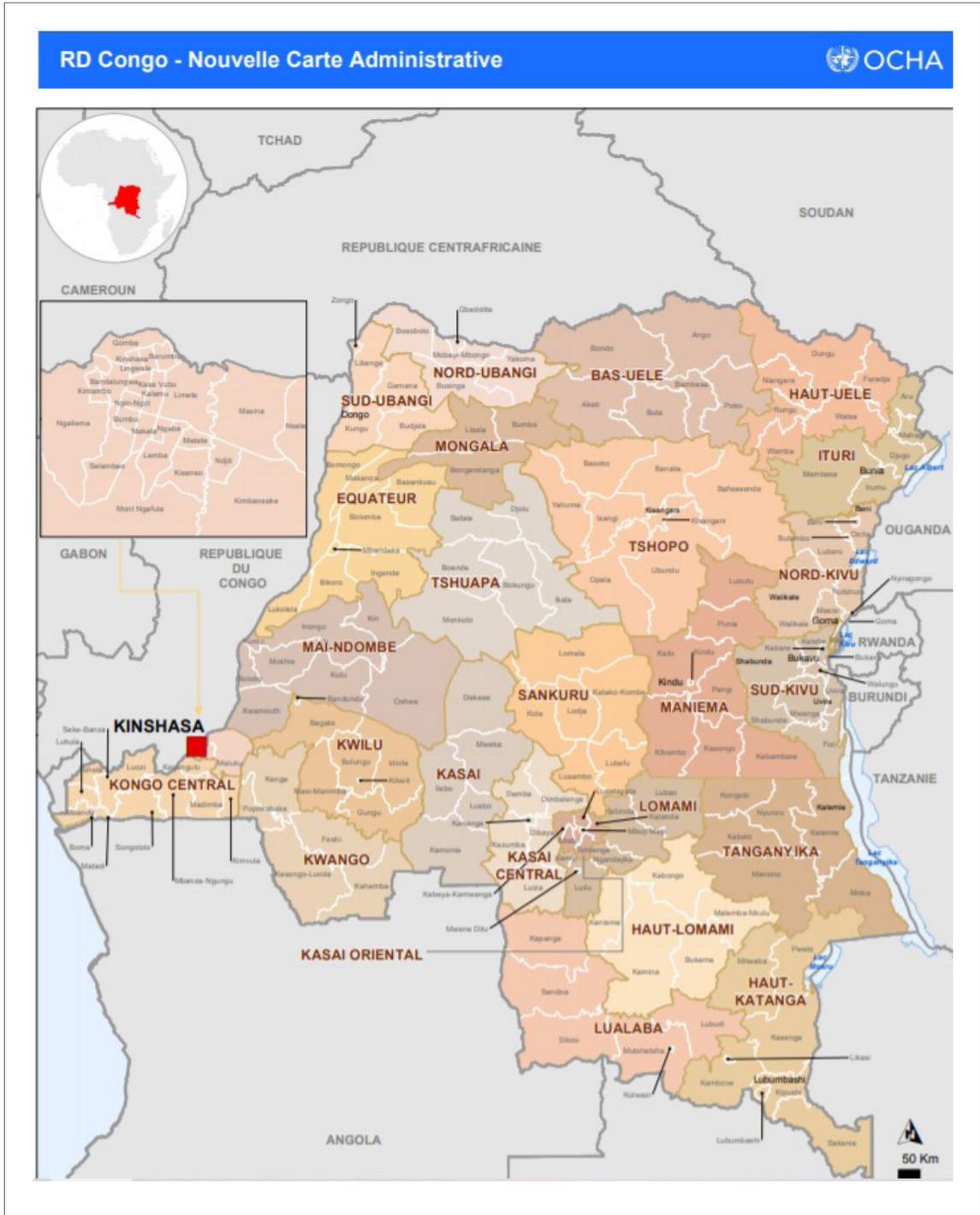
in the Congo. Next, I will specify what cobalt is and why it lends itself to ASM in the Congo. Finally, I will describe artisanal small-scale mining operations in the Congo. This last section of the paper will include a definition of ASM, a description of who performs this work, why this work is performed, and where this work is performed. This section concludes with a discussion of the tensions between artisanal miners and mining companies at the Kamoto mine.

## History of Artisanal Mining in the Congo

The Congo is located in central Africa and bordered by nine states. Figure one depicts the administrative provinces of the Congo. It is the largest state in sub-Saharan Africa and is the fourth most populous nation in Africa, with over 80 million citizens (Barbato 2016). The Congo is a lush country home to an abundance of natural resources including copper, cobalt, diamonds, gold, cassiterite, rubber, and more. Although the Congo is rich in natural resources, its people are some of the poorest in the world. 63% of the population lives below the poverty level (Sovacool 2019, 916). This paradox is in part a result of the Congo's tragic extraction history which is one of continuous pillage. From the rule of outsiders under brutal colonialism to kleptocratic dictators and foreign corporate control; the Congolese people have never benefited from the fruits of their labor or the bounty of their land. The violent history of plunder began with the colonial conquest of the Congo during the so-called "Scramble for Africa" under Belgium's King Leopold II in 1885. Leopold named the region the Congo Free State. It was owned by Leopold, not Belgium, and Leopold used the land as his own personal bank of resources. The main enterprise in Leopold's Congo was rubber. Leopold's reign was extremely ruthless in his pursuit of wealth. If workers did not fulfill the rubber extraction quota, they paid with a limb. It is estimated Leopold's violent rule killed 10 to 15 million Congolese via outright murder, but also because of disease, hard labor, and infections from mutilations (Evans 2018).

Rubber was not the only commodity in the Congo Free State. Copper was also a high value mineral that was both extracted and traded. In 1906, Leopold created the copper company Union Minière du Haut Katanga (UMHK) by royal degree (Gecamines 2017). The vast copper reserves within the Congo allowed the UMHK to become the world's third largest producer of copper and the largest producer of cobalt (Radmann 1978, 28). The UMHK played a role in national politics because of its economic influence. The question of nationalizing UMHK was a highly debated topic during the Congolese quest for independence. In January and February of 1960, Congolese politicians met with Belgian leaders to discuss the division of assets in the Congo (Radmann 1978, 29-30). The division was highly contested among Belgian shareholders and the leaders of various provinces, all of whom had varying conceptions of how the wealth should be divided. Moïse Tshombe, the leader of the Katanga province, believed Katanga should receive one-third of UMHK shares because it contained most of the mineral wealth (Radmann 1978, 30). The shareholders of UMHK agreed with Tshombe's ideology because it allowed shareholders to retain more money than other division plans. The division of assets Tshombe wanted did not occur. In fact, this lack of wealth distribution was one reason why the Katanga province seceded from the rest of the Congo in July 1960. The Katanga secession benefited UMHK shareholders economically and UMHK supported the secession during the initial stages (Radmann 1978, 32). The first Prime Minster of the independent Congo, Patrice Lumumba, argued for a united Congo and for expelling foreign interests, particularly those who supported the secession. In a radio address he stated, "The Belgian government, which made it the Fundamental Law that the Congo and its six present provinces formed an indivisible and indissoluble political entity is the same government that has instigated the secession of Katanga for the sole purpose of keeping the Union Minière" (Lumumba 1960). Lumumba was assassinated in 1961 with the backing of Belgium and the United States, both of which then propped up military-officer-turned-dictator Mobutu

FIGURE 2

GIS Map of Mines in the Congo
Image Credit: Ken Matthysen, Alexandre Jaillon, and Manuel Bouuart 2018
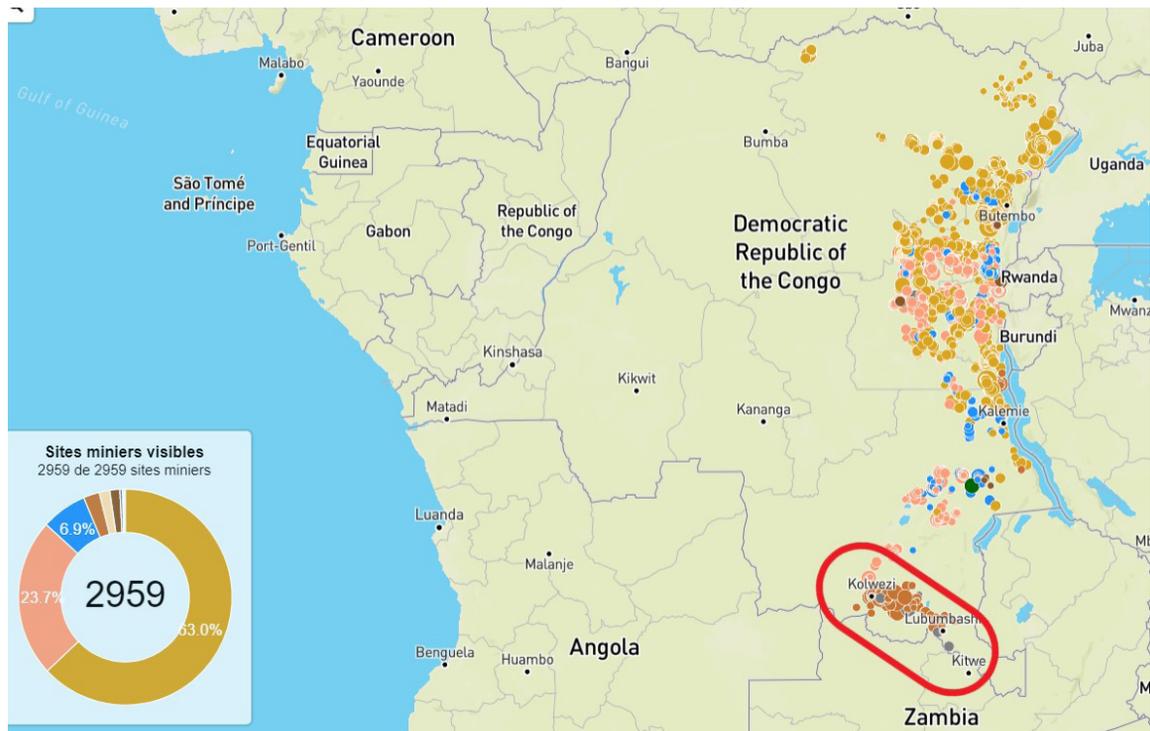
Sese Seko (Evans 2018). Mobutu's regime did not bring wealth to the average Congolese. "Mobutu presided over an almost farcically kleptocratic regime. The country's elite sustained themselves, in part, on the profits from the mines" (Niarchos 2021, 44). Mobutu nationalized the UMHK in 1967, but the Congolese people did not experience economic gain from nationalization. Mobutu was deposed due to the First Congo War (1996-1997), which largely erupted due to economic instability and political fallout from the neighboring Rwandan genocide. In Mobutu's place, Laurent Kabila took power. A year later, the Second Congo War (1998-2003) broke out. Laurent Kabila was assassinated and his son, Joseph Kabila, took power. This sequence of wars was deadlier than any other conflict since World War II (Niarchos 2021, 44). The Kabilas bankrolled their war efforts by selling UMHK (now Gecamines) mining concessions to foreigners (Niarchos 2021, 44). Despite a treaty marking the 'end' of the Second Congo War in 2003, the Congo continues to be besieged in local conflicts across the nation. Extraction of rubber, copper, and cobalt has never stopped, even during the wars.

Extraction of natural resources continues despite conflict for the sake of power and profit. Wars are a market. Wartime activities and fighting for resources create opportunities for people to gain power, protection, and profit (Laudati 2013, 42). This is true in the case of the Congo, a nation plagued by conflict. "Within the context of DRC's longstanding violence [and] state failure... such actions are not only rational but offer one of the few viable livelihood strategies" (Laudati 2013, 42). One form of profit is extraction. James Ferguson outlines the economic benefits of conflict in weak states, or socially "thin" states.

Conflict-ridden states provide more economic benefits for extraction. Ferguson argues that the most successful new mining ventures in Africa are by small, flexible firms operating in mineral rich areas with weakly governed states as opposed to giant conglomerates that built company towns (Ferguson 2007, 205). General instability and weak state structures allow mining companies to profit more than they would in a stable state. Rather than revenues going to social services, they can stay in the pockets of the mining company. Conflict allows "thin" countries to stay thin. In fact, "political instability can be beneficial to some kinds of foreign investors" (Ferguson 2007, 206). Unsurprisingly, the ongoing conflicts have not slowed cobalt extraction. Rather, they have encouraged it. Cheap labor, driven by constant conflict that erases other forms of livelihood, is the bedrock of the mining industry's profit. Previously, exploitation of the Congolese people occurred at the hands of Leopold, the Mobutu dictatorship, and the Kabila reigns. Now, it occurs at the hands of the transnational commodity companies such as Glencore who profit from hot commodities like cobalt. Glencore is an Anglo-Swiss multinational commodity trading company. In the supply chain of cobalt, it sells refined ore to industrial companies that make technologies like EV batteries. Glencore holds copper and cobalt mining concessions in the Congo for both copper and cobalt. Of primary importance to the story of artisanal mining in the Congo is the material being mined: cobalt.

Cobalt

Cobalt is the twenty-seventh element in the periodic table. Historically, cobalt pigments were used as blue dye for ceramics to give them a shiny and lustrous metallic appearance (Poliakoff 2018). Recently, cobalt has been used in electronics and lithium-ion batteries. It acts as a stabilizer to ensure the battery does not catch fire (Bhatt *et al* 2021). Most of the global supply of cobalt is found within the "Copperbelt," located on the border between the Congo and Zambia. It is estimated that the Copperbelt, which is mostly within the former Katanga province, contains 3.6 million tons of cobalt (Sovacool

Artisanal Mining Tunnel
Image Credit: *Manyeva*
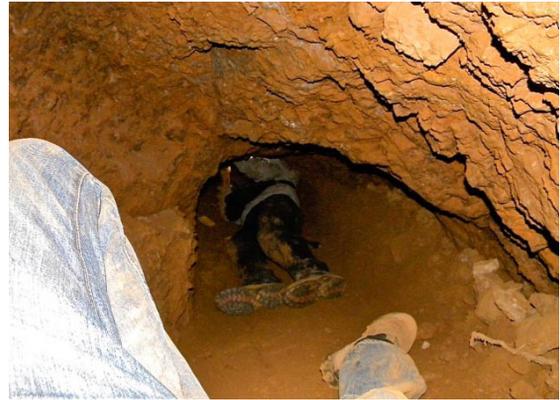
2019, 916). Within the Copperbelt, the Congo contains most of the copper/cobalt deposits. "Congo produced 99,000 tons of cobalt in 2020; around 70 percent of the world total" (Reid and Holland 2021). As a result, cobalt is an important economic factor in the Congo. The Congo's top exports in 2019 were refined copper at 49.8 percent of exports and cobalt at 23.4 percent of exports (The Observatory of Economic Complexity 2018). Despite being rich in cobalt, the Congo's mines are not equally distributed throughout the country. Ken Matthyson, Alexandre Jaillon, and Manuel Bouuaert used field visits and GIS to map commodity mines in the Congo. Figure two illustrates how all mines, not just copper and cobalt, are located primarily in the eastern half of the Congo. The copper and cobalt mines, circled in red, make up forty-two of the 2,959 mapped artisanal mines in the Congo (Matthysen *et al* 2018). [3] Cobalt is primarily mined as a by-product of copper or nickel. It is found in the tailings produced (Sovacool 2019, 916). Cobalt is also found near the earth's surface. To mine these deposits, workers create underground tunnels and chip away at the ore by

3   The International Peace Information service (the organization that published these maps) collects data from field visits, the International Organization for Migration, and USAID. This map was last updated in 2017, so information may have changed.

hand. Cobalt's materiality in the natural world makes it functional for ASM.

Artisanal Small-Scale Mining (ASM)

According to Congolese law, artisanal small-scale mining is defined as, "People carrying out extraction and concentration of substances using artisanal tools, methods, and processes" (Sovacool 2019, 921). Although ASM is performed worldwide, there is no universally accepted definition; rather, it varies country to country (Dutt 2018, 8). Nonetheless, there are common characteristics that define the sector of artisanal mining. All ASM is labor intensive and low-tech.[4] It commonly operates without legal permits, tends to be seasonal, has little regulation, and has a higher proportion of women workers compared to large-scale mining (Kemp and Owen 2019, 1097).

ASM can also be defined by the externalities it creates. While it provides employment to millions in downstream industries, ASM usually operates informally (Hilson 2016, 547-548). ASM tends to be closely connected with subsistence agriculture. People mine during the dry season when they cannot farm. Because artisanal mining is done by hand, it takes place where large equipment cannot go. ASM can be done at old mines that have been too depleted to make new large-scale capital investments profitable. Changing value in minerals has spurred the proliferation of cobalt ASM extraction in the Congo. Miners go to depleted copper mines to dig for cobalt. During the early twentieth century when the UMHK started mining for copper in the Katanga province, cobalt was not profitable. Now, cobalt is seen as valuable rather than as a wasteful byproduct. In the Congo, artisanal miners are called *creuseurs* (diggers). Figure three shows one *creuseur* descending into a tunnel to mine cobalt (Chavez 2016). ASM contrasts with large-scale mining

(LSM). Large-scale mining is capital intensive, uses massive machinery, and extracts immense quantities of minerals.

In the Congo, an estimated two hundred thousand people are working directly in ASM and over one million, two hundred thousand dependents rely on the sector (Hilson and McQuiken 2014, 113). The people mining for cobalt are diverse. They vary in education, age, professional background, and place of origin (Verbugge 2016, 109). Some have no mining experience, others have decades. All risk their lives when they mine. Because much of ASM is not state sanctioned, it is done clandestinely. Accidents occur six to seven times more frequently than large-scale mining operations (Sovacool 2019, 928). Tunnel collapse and landslides are common in the Congo because of the dirt movement required to get to cobalt. Despite the danger associated with ASM, men, women, and children work in this sector. Men tend to dig for cobalt in the tunnels. Women participate in the washing process, act as intermediary salespersons, and provide downstream industries (food, sex, etc.). Women are vital in connecting the miner to the market (Laudati 2013, 41). Cobalt extraction performed by children is a pervasive issue that garners a lot of press. However, the media depiction of child labor is slightly different from the lived reality. Children tend to be involved in the washing process and in downstream industries, not the actual digging for cobalt. In cobalt-rich areas, mines mushroom without any regard for residential areas. "A major problem revealed by the mapping was the non-existent or inadequate separation of living space and mining area, especially in the cities of Kolwezi and Likasi. This factor contributes significantly to the fact that children are present on the mines or even work there" (Bundesanstalt für Geowissenschaffan und Rohstoffe 2019, 16). I do not mean to dismiss the immorality of forced child labor, but it is important to recognize that the lack of separation between mine and living space make it difficult for a child to live in a non-mine area. Lastly, it would be irresponsible to mention child involvement in cobalt mines without speaking about

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4   Low-technology tools include: pickaxes, hammers, chisels, and headlamps. As a comparison – oil requires large-scale, high-tech mining. ASM and cobalt do not rely on huge machines to extraction material.

poverty. Other livelihoods like civil service and farming have been destroyed either by conflict, lack of alternative livelihoods in other sectors, or global development priorities. The only way to survive is to mine. As a result, families rely on every able body to bring in income. Poverty drives many people to work as an artisanal miner or in downstream industries that emerge from artisanal mining. Poverty is intertwined with artisanal mining in the Congo. The interwovenness of mining and poverty is not natural; rather, it is the result of neoliberal policies and war. Structural adjustment programs and neoliberal policies that center on LSM have led to reforms that have downsized industries, hurt small farmers, and pruned the public sector. ASM and downstream industries absorbed these (now) unemployed people (Hilson and McQuilken 2014, 105). Previous ways of generating income are no longer profitable, so workers must turn to mining. One such example is subsistence farmers. "It seems the vast majority who have 'branched out' into ASM are, indeed, subsistence farmers who face a perilous road ahead because of sweeping changes made by the state in the spirit of adjustment" (Hilson 2016, 555). War and ongoing conflict have only bolstered poverty-driven ASM. The primary economic activities before the wars (the First and Second Congo War) were farming and raising livestock. However, these activities were difficult to maintain during conflict. Displacement, militia payments, and roadblocks to markets by armed groups made it nearly impossible to see a crop profit from seed to market. "Now, we only mine minerals only because there is no more farming, and no more way to raise animals" (Kelly 2014, 102). Mineral extraction is better adapted to conflict compared to farming. Thus, the explosion of artisanal cobalt miners in the Congo is not sudden. It is a culmination of decades of conflict, nonarable land, poverty, and market forces. In the end, it is the income generated from mining cobalt that drives people to it.

High cobalt prices make mining worthwhile. According to the Glencore 2020 Annual Report, the average price for cobalt was $15.40 per pound. Cobalt was very resilient compared to other Glencore commodities in 2020. The combined production of two Glencore mines (Katanga and Mutanda[5]) was twenty-seven kilotons of cobalt (Glencore 2020, 56). Glencore's profits from cobalt based on cobalt's average 2020 price netted them over 33 million USD.[6] Adjusted EBITDA (Earnings Before Interest, Taxes, Depreciation, and Amortization) for Glencore totaled 11.6 billion USD in 2020 despite volatile markets due to the pandemic (Glencore 2020, 22). Cobalt is only going to become more important in the global market as demand grows due to emerging EV markets (Glencore 2020). The other end of the supply chain, the workers who extract cobalt, are earning much less for their labor. The Institute for Geosciences and Natural Resources (Bundesanstalt für Geowissenschaffan und Rohstoffe), the geoscience consulting institution for the German government, interviewed 240 artisanal miners in the Katanga province to calculate the average Congolese artisanal miner's wage. The study found that 68.7 percent of Congolese artisanal miners earned $10 a day (Bundesanstalt für Geowissenschaffan und Rohstoffe 2019, 36). Of those 68 percent, 40 percent earned less than $4.20 a day. Comparing Glencore's $33 million profit to the miners' less than $10 income is striking. As the linchpins of the cobalt commodity chain, workers who extract cobalt get paid almost nothing. Congolese miners are in a double bind. Virtually all other forms of income streams do not provide as much revenue as mining. Yet, the income they do receive from mining is still extremely low. The environmental degradation caused by the mines make the land unable to support agriculture and constant conflict has erased the potential to base a living on agriculture. Global trading companies, development agencies, and academics have continuously recognized the crucial role ASM provides as a source of income for individuals. However, the politicians that prioritize large-scale mining criminalize ASM. Artisanal miners are only legally permitted to mine at zones Artisanal Exploitation Areas (ZEA). ZEA's are sparse throughout the country and do

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5   The Mutanda mine is located 58 kilometers east of the Kamoto mine and 50 kilometers from Kolwezi.

6   One kiloton is equal to 2,204,622.62 pounds. If a pound of cobalt is 15.40, then 2,204,622.62 pounds times $15.40 = $33,951,178.

FIGURE 4

Mining Town of Kolwezi
Image Credit: *Google Maps*

FIGURE 5

Zoomed-in perspective of a mine in Kolwezi
Image Credit: *Google Maps*

not provide miners enough space to mine. Consequently, people mine outside of the ZEA's in order to generate an income. This is categorized as informal mining because it is outside of the permitted zones for artisanal mining.

Informality is another defining characteristic of ASM. Minerals have been mined for centuries, but the advent of capitalism and push for neo-liberal policies have created a distinction between public and private property rights (Dutt 2018, 3). ZEA's are minimal in the Congo compared to corporate concessions. Foreign interventions for the purpose of "development" also generates informality of ASM. World Bank interventions like revised mining codes prioritize the expansion of large-scale mining at the expense of artisanal miners (Hilson and McQuilken 2014, 116). Legal mining activities are permitted by the state through the medium of permits. An aspect of ASM informality in the Congo is bureaucratic slowness in delivering these permits, costly fees to obtain a permit, and mining concessions provided to large-scale companies (Hilson 2016, 548). Tension between formal and informal activities creates disputes of ownership. "Mining land use conflicts are typically most intense in developing world, where the issue of land tenure – more specifically, clarification of who actually *owns* land – is the cause of most problems" (Hilson 2002, 68).

One example of this tension in the Congo concerns the Kamoto Mine in Kolwezi. The Kamoto Copper Company (KCC) is one of the largest producers of copper and cobalt (Kamoto Copper Company 2020, 1). It is a joint venture between Glencore, who owns 75 percent of the mine, and Gecamines, who owns 25 percent (Kamoto Copper Company 2020, 1). Despite the land concessions granted to KCC, artisanal miners still mine there. "In June 2019, more than forty *creuseurs* were killed in a landslide after breaking into a Glencore-owned mine in Kolwezi" (Niarchos 2021, 44). The Glencore mine in question is the Kamoto Copper Company. Rather than question the motivations behind "illegal" mining or provide employment opportunities for artisanal miners, KCC

responded to the accident by increasing security. "KCC is working to strengthen perimeter controls to prevent ASM intrusions [and] securing seized material of ASM" (Kamoto Copper Company 2021, 5). Strengthening the perimeter or seizing cobalt from artisanal miners will not stop mining because mining is the only source of revenue these people can rely on. Furthermore, the Kamoto mine is enormous. Its borders eat away at the living quarters, making it nearly impossible to separate mine from home. I provide two images of the KCC mine and the town where it resides to illustrate how encompassing copper and cobalt mining is in the Congo. Figure Four, a satellite image taken from Google Maps, shows the city of Kolwezi. Kolwezi was created as a settlement for UMHK western headquarters in the 1930s (Gecamines 2017). Today, over half a million people and tons of mining companies call Kolwezi home. Kamoto Copper Company is one of the mines operating in Kolwezi. Figure five provides a zoomed perspective of the red box in Figure Four. Figure Five shows how close residents are to mining areas. I include these images to make two points. First, I want to show the absurdity of believing that increasing security will stop artisanal mining on corporate concessions. When mining is the only way to make a living, people will stop at nothing to ensure their family can eat even if it means illegally mining on company concessions. Second, I want to show the mammoth size of these mines. By using satellite images, one can begin to imagine the significant geographic role the mine has on daily life in Kolwezi. Although not depicted in the images, I provide the KCC official response to the accident that killed forty artisanal miners to show the problem of valuing profit over people. The KCC response focuses on externalities the company will install to ensure miners do not illegally mine on KCC concessions. It does not question the motivations behind mining. For invaluable workers, Congolese artisanal miners are treated as dispensable.

Conclusion

At every turn, artisanal miners are abused. They are belittled by large mining companies. They are

underestimated by state rulers. Their role in the global cobalt market is downplayed. The average income from artisanal mining cobalt remains low, even as revenues are expanding. The world relies on the labor of these workers. Yet, the workers are denied fair wages. They are denied fundamental labor rights like safety training or fair wages. The terrors of artisanal cobalt mining are hidden. Advertising buzzwords like "sustainable," "socially responsible," and "green" hide the cruelties of labor that it takes to produce a product. The twenty-first century does not rely on the labor of machines, but on the underpaid extraction done by workers throughout the world. States and transnational entities like the United Nations should create processes that improve the livelihood of Congolese artisanal miners. As global citizens, it is essential to put pressure on powerful bodies in order to better the lives of Congolese workers who extract cobalt. Without the labor of Congolese men, women, and children; the modern world would not function. The Congo was and continues to be plundered for capitalist interests. The Congolese people suffer. The worker suffers. It is time to reverse this suffering. Artisanal Exploitation Areas need to be expanded. Safety training needs to be put in place. The informality of the sector needs to be reversed. Better wages that accurately account for the work performed need to be implemented. Alternative forms of livelihood need to be promoted. Congolese artisanal miners should profit off their labor. Until they do, cobalt cannot be labeled as "green." It is time for the workers who power the twenty-first century to be recognized.

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QUEERING REPRODUCTIVE JUSTICE

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The term Reproductive Justice (RJ) was coined in 1994 by a group of twelve Black feminists at a conference about health care reform in Chicago (Ross 290). The RJ movement is conceptualized through a Black feminist framework that includes an understanding of how interlocking systems of oppression affect individuals' expressions of autonomy and family planning. According to Loretta Ross, one of the first trailblazers for the modern Reproductive Justice movement, "Reproductive justice is based on three interconnected sets of human rights: (1) the right to have a child under the conditions of one's choosing; (2) the right not to have a child using birth control, abortion, or abstinence; and (3) the right to parent children in safe and healthy environments, free from violence by individuals or the state" (290). This is in contrast to the more mainstream Reproductive Rights movement, which solely focuses on the legal rights to abortion and contraceptives. While important, the legal rights framework is narrow and it does not ensure that everyone has access to use those rights, in addition to assuming that everyone can choose to be a parent if they wish, which is not true for many people of color, people of low-income backgrounds, or other marginalized people. Black feminism emphasizes complete autonomy and liberation for Black women. The groundbreaking collective of Black feminists, the Combahee River Collective, in their 1977 "Combahee River Collective

Statement," used identity politics to describe how their politics "initially sprang from the shared belief that Black women are inherently valuable, that our liberation is a necessity not as an adjunct to somebody else's but because of our need as human persons for autonomy" (3). RJ is likewise geared toward tackling multiple systems of oppression that lead to reproductive violence and harm, including racism, sexism, classism, and more. The goals of RJ include utilizing an intersectional framework to ensure both rights and access to medical care and parenthood.

Many in the queer community have embraced identity politics as well. The term "queer" began to signal a new transformative politic in the 1990s, representing scholars and thinkers who "focused on identifying and contesting the discursive and cultural markers found within both dominant and marginal identities and institutions which prescribe and reify 'heterogendered' understandings and behavior" (Cohen 438). For many, the movement for LGBTQIA rights and the movement for RJ are considered inherently intertwined. According to the National LGBTQ Task Force, both movements are "working for the right to choose who and how we love and how we use our bodies... Those who oppose comprehensive and affordable reproductive healthcare are often the same forces that want to control what we as lesbian, gay, bisexual, transgender, gender non-conforming, two-spirit, intersex, and queer people do with our bodies" (4).

The RJ movement's intersectional framework allows space for all marginalized groups to be a part of the movement and utilize the movement's framework and goals in a way that serves their community. One example is the queer

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feminism and activism surrounding reproductive justice. There is a variety of ways that reproductive justice can be "queered." In this essay, I draw upon Cathy Cohen's work to define "queered" as using the queer politic framework of non-normativity that she describes in her work, "Punks, Bulldaggers, and Welfare Queens." I will compare this framework to another queer framework, suggested or implied in a variety of sources, that emphasizes the moving away from sex and gender binaries when practicing and advocating for RJ. Using these frameworks, I argue that queering reproductive justice through the use of a non-normative politic and a non-binary framework can broaden our understanding of RJ to better recognize the reproductive needs and movement for autonomy for people who live outside of socially mandated heteronormativity.

In Cohen's "Punks, Bulldaggers, and Welfare Queens," notions of heteronormativity and queerness are expounded upon to be about more than people who identity as heterosexual and people who identify as being on the LGBTQIA spectrum, because Cohen believes this conception of queer politics to be inherently limiting. Rather, she is "interested in examining the concept of 'queer' in order to think about how we might construct a new political identity that is truly liberating, transformative, and inclusive of all those who stand on the outside of the dominant constructed norm of state-sanctioned white middle- and upper-class heterosexuality" (441). Socially mandated heterosexuality is more than the norm of being heterosexual. In her work, heterosexuality is the white, economically stable, cisgender nuclear family. In this essay, it also means able-bodied.

Cohen describes how single mothers, Black mothers who use state support, and teen mothers are stigmatized, criminalized, and politically demonized (455). This is visible in politicians' rhetoric of state support being a burden on upper-class taxpayers, abstinence-only education policy, and former U.S President Ronald Reagan's "welfare queen" image. This directly translated

to structural reproductive violence perpetuated by the state. The Hyde Amendment, which has been in place since 1976, prevents any public funding from being used to provide abortion services (Poggi 14). For people who rely on state services like Medicaid, the option of abortion is not provided. This policy disproportionately affects low-income women and people of color. Rather than supporting their ability to decide whether or not to have a child, the state does not allow any room for accidental and/or unwanted pregnancies, implying moral condemnation. This policy hurts both heterosexual and queer people who live outside of social heteronormativity.

The alienation of non-normative individuals is not limited to forcing pregnancy, as it also manifests in the denial of parenthood to many who desire to have and raise children. Alison Kafer describes an incident at the intersection of homophobia, racism, and ableism in her book *Feminist, Crip, Queer*. Kafer describes the case of Kijuana Chambers, a single Black, lesbian, blind woman who was seeking treatment for assisted insemination. The Colorado clinic she went to eventually stopped treating her, citing that she must provide "expert" documentation testifying to her fitness as a parent (80). The clinic did not require documentation for fully able-bodied clients, suggesting that they view disability as an inherent incompetency. Perhaps Chambers and the child she wanted would have been too unconventional of a family for the state to affirm, which they did not when they sided with the clinic after Chambers sued. In June 2020, the Trump administration submitted a brief to the Supreme Court promoting the religious rights of adoption agencies to include discriminating against gay and lesbian couples (Moreau 1). The US government and the culture which it reflects are tied to the romanticized, fictive tradition of the heterosexual nuclear family, to the point that it is considered preferable for a child to be sent to foster care than be cared for by queer people. Zakiya Luna terms families created through adoption, single-parent households, trans-parent households, families who used in vitro fertilization, families living in poverty, families living

under state violence, and others as "disruptive families" because they challenge traditional understandings of family. It is important to pay attention to the reception of disruptive families, because in "questioning who we consider to be family and how we make family, we can problematize the normative constraints so many different kinds of families encounter" (Silver 220).

When people are criminalized for not fitting this standard, it becomes socially acceptable to disregard their health needs and prioritize their punishment over their family. This applies to individuals who are socially criminalized, but also to individuals who are literally criminalized. Over the past fifty years, the number of incarcerated women in the US has increased from 14,000 to 200,000, and most of these women are mothers. Incarcerated women face very low-quality health care, restricted access to abortion, and being shackled and restrained while giving birth; those who are mothers have extreme difficulty caring for and maintaining relationships with their children (Roth 22). Furthermore, individuals who Cohen describes as being on the outside of heteronormativity are overrepresented in the criminal legal system. While only 13% of the American female population, Black women make up 30% of incarcerated women in the US, and Hispanic women make up 16% of the female prison population, but represent only 11% of American women (ACLU). Transgender individuals also face contact with the criminal legal system at a disproportionate rate. In the 2015 US Transgender Survey, 2% of respondents had been incarcerated, despite making up less than 1% of the population. Even more striking, 9% of transgender Black women had been incarcerated in the past year, which is about 10 times the rate of the general population. About 16% of total respondents reported having been incarcerated at some point in their lives, compared to 47% of Black transgender respondents (National Center for Transgender Equality 5). Furthermore, health care for transgender individuals experiencing gender dysphoria in jails and prisons is not guaranteed. While transgender individuals are entitled to constitutional rights to health care, they do not have the right to specific or optimal treatments for their condition, and several courts have affirmed the denial of treatment for gender dysphoria to transgender prisoners based on the argument that they might be violently targeted within the prison (National Center for Transgender Equality 15-16). Under the guise of protecting them, the government oppresses transgender people by denying them adequate health care, especially while incarcerated. The criminal legal system, targeting individuals living outside heteronormativity, operates from a cisnormative and heteronormative mindset by refusing to support their gender expression.

Under the Trump administration, immigrants and refugees seeking asylum at the southern border have been particularly criminalized. Former President Trump's alienating rhetoric about immigrants at his rallies and press conferences has made them sound dangerous and threatening. These immigrants are far outside of socially mandated heterosexuality and are explicitly posed as a threat to white suburban comfort and safety and have been inhumanely detained at the border for weeks to months. In 2020, a whistleblower reported that immigrant women at the border were facing forced or coerced hysterectomies. The report stated that nurses at the border were becoming skeptical of the number of hysterectomies they were performing, in addition to questioning whether or not the women were able to fully understand and consent to the procedure (Treisman 18-19). The women were horrifically punished for trying to seek refuge within the US by having their ability to bear children taken away without their consent, and sometimes without their knowledge.

People of color and queer people both have long histories of facing forced sterilization by the government. Eugenics has been used to justify the forced sterilization and denial of parenthood to Black, Indigenous, Latinx/e people, and queer people. As Loretta Ross, RJ activist and scholar, states:

Determined to lower population growth in African American and Latino communities, many pro-segregation Southern politicians— both Republicans and Democrats—who had formerly opposed family planning, suddenly favored it as a way of regulating the reproduction of these groups (*Undivided Rights* 14).

In the 20th century, Native American, Mexican American, African American, and Puerto Rican women and other women of color were denied the right to have children through systematic and widespread sterilization abuses practiced by the US government and by private doctors who were more often than not subsidized by the US government (*Undivided Rights* 16).

This highlights the difference between the largely white-dominated reproductive rights movement and RJ movements. While the right to not have a child is endangered for many, it has been historically imposed on others. The goal of eugenics, intertwined with ethno-nationalism and white supremacy, is to create a "superior" race, historically necessitating the suppression of Black, brown, and queer families. While sterilization is far less widespread currently, it still exists, and more commonly, other practices are used to less directly prevent people of color and queer people from procreating. American culture still upholds white, suburban, "traditional" families on pedestals of normalcy and righteousness, through policy and prejudice. The queer politic that Cohen presents can change the popular lens used to conceptualize the "proper" family and parents to be more inclusive and accepting of those who are usually deemed as Other, including Chambers and many others.

Within Cohen's queer politic are individuals who live outside of gender and sex binaries. While Cohen focuses on liberating people criminalized and stigmatized by compulsory heterosexuality, it is also important to focus on destroying the conventionally accepted binaries that support and are integral to dominant heterosexuality. In "Bodily Inscriptions, Performative Subversions," Sara Salih

writes, "Butler points out that people who fail to 'do' their gender correctly, or who do it in ways which accentuate its genealogy and construction, are punished by cultures and laws which have a vested interest in maintaining a stable distinction between surface and depth, sex and gender, the body and the psyche, homosexual and heterosexual, masculine and feminine" (93). Most clearly, individuals living outside the sex and gender binary include individuals who challenge gender and sex categories that are assigned at birth, such as transgender people and intersex people. However, people who live outside the binaries also include individuals who subvert gender norms and traditional understandings of womanhood and manhood, including sexually queer people, and to some extent, cisgender and straight people whose actions do not result in a gender performance deemed acceptable and normative enough.

For example, the backlash many women receive for getting an abortion can be understood as a backlash against women for not fulfilling their womanly obligations to society. These obligations could include having and mothering children, only having sex for the purpose of having children, and relinquishing agency over their own bodies. In their discussions of abortion as gender transgression, Carly Thomsen and Grace Morrison propose:

> Because requirements for being considered a "good" woman are sutured to what it means to be a "good" mother, any work to upend gender norms requires critical engagement with ideas about reproduction— even for those of us who plan to avoid parenthood or do not have heterosexual sex. Perhaps, we suggested, aborting that which would turn one into a good woman could be read as a refusal of gendered expectations. Put more directly, refusing motherhood constitutes a refusal of gendered expectations, and this refusal is even more pronounced when it is enabled by abortion. We might approach abortion, then, as enabling gender transgression and, indeed, as a moment of gender transgression. In making this argument, we build upon a

long history of queer studies scholars who view refusals of heteronormativity—which may include avoiding parenting— as crucial to queer politics (719-720).

Reproductive justice is constantly conceptualized in popular culture as supporting the needs of cisgender, heterosexual, upper-class white women. While cisgender white women who seek abortion and contraceptives are punished—or are under the threat of punishment—by society at large for not fulfilling American ideals of womanhood and female sexual purity, transgender people, intersex people, and sexually queer people are also punished for not performing their gender and its expected accompanying sexuality *within* the reproductive rights movement, in the form of their exclusion. In reality, even when solely focusing on the right to abortion, the issue also includes transgender men and nonbinary people. Although these individuals make up a much smaller percentage of the demographic, by constantly referring to abortion as only a women's issue, the popular narrative about reproductive rights contributes to the erasure of different gender identities and enforces binary notions of womanhood and manhood. The cis-hetero-patriarchy works to negatively impact and control the reproductive choices of each group.

Reproductive justice and queer activism includes the fight against biological determinism in regard to sex and gender and the detrimental impacts it can have on the health care provided to transgender and intersex people. The LGBTQ Task Force describes in their Reproductive Justice Toolkit how transgender individuals may have difficulty getting care for transition-related needs or needs not typically associated with their gender, such as breast cancer screenings for transgender women. Some states require "sex reassignment" (gender affirmation) surgeries before they allow someone to legally change their gender marker on legal documents, meaning that individuals must forfeit their reproductive capabilities. These structures exist to enforce both the gender and sex binaries, which are dictated by arbitrary standards. The LGBTQ Task Force's

Reproductive Justice Toolkit states, "Typically we do not say that a cisgender woman who has a hysterectomy is no longer female, but we will say a transgender woman is not really female because she lacks a uterus... a transgender man will be called 'biologically female' even if he has elevated male hormone levels compared to other men" (37). The standards for what society classifies as male and female are subjective and ambiguous. People who identify with the gender that they are assigned based on the sex they are identified with at birth have sex flexibility, in the sense that their sex characteristics can vary more than a trans person's, and their identity likely won't be doubted or invalidated.

Intersex babies—babies born with internal and/or external reproductive organs that cannot be categorized as traditionally male or female—may face medically unnecessary surgeries that permanently alter their reproductive organs and abilities, often making them sterile. The practice of genital surgery became the standard "treatment" for intersex babies in the 1970's, thought of as the morally correct course of action "to correct the defectively gendered body/child" (Braun 53). The Intersex Justice Project demands the right "to exist freely in our communities without scrutiny from the medical establishment. We demand that we be allowed to exist freely in the bodies we were born with. We also desire a world where future intersex children are free from medical harm and are in partnership with their parents and doctors to decide the course of their medical treatment." The emphasis in intersex justice activism is on autonomy and choice that is free from social pressure. Genital surgery on intersex babies is an RJ issue. Intersex individuals often have their autonomy taken away from them, as they obviously cannot consent to the surgeries, which are not required for their well-beings. The only purpose of the surgeries is to try and force children to fit into an arbitrary categorical distinction of male or female, supporting the sex binary. Intersex conditions are labeled in the medical community under the umbrella of "disorders of sex development," even though many of the

conditions included in the label pose no adverse health impacts. Therefore, many if not most of the surgeries performed on intersex babies are for social assimilation rather than physical health benefits.

The law also supports gender and sex binaries at the expense of people who live outside of them by protecting people and businesses who wish to discriminate against them. According to the LGBTQ Task Force's Toolkit, religious exemptions include allowing any religious or religiously affiliated organization to discriminate against queer people, including hospitals, charities, food banks, homeless shelters, and others, even places that receive federal funding (39). While freedom of religion is important, the principle is misused to allow for state-sanctioned violence against queer people. LGBTQ people are not protected from legal discrimination in most facets because they have not been granted suspect class status by the Supreme Court. Suspect class status guarantees that the SCOTUS will use strict scrutiny, or a high critical standard, to judge laws that discriminate against a particular group. Unless the law has a very strong and convincing reason to discriminate, it will likely be overturned and found unconstitutional. Despite LGBTQ discrimination cases having reached the Supreme Court many times, the group has never been granted suspect class status. The three prongs that a group must meet to reach suspect class status are 1) experiencing historical stigmatization and discrimination, 2) share a unifying immutable characteristic by which they are discriminated against, and 3) lack political power (Goodson 2-3). The fact that queer people have never been recognized as meeting these criteria invalidates their identities and the oppression they face by making it seem like their identities are not worthy of protecting.

A recent ruling by the Court established employment discrimination against LGBTQ people as illegal, but not on the basis of discrimination against sexual orientation. Rather, discrimination against queer people was categorized as a form of sex discrimination, which has already been deemed illegal under the Civil Rights Act of 1964. Justice Gorsuch wrote in the majority opinion, "It is impossible to discriminate against a person for being homosexual or transgender without discriminating . . . based on sex . . . If the employer fires the male employee for no reason other than the fact that he is attracted to men, but not the woman who is attracted to men, that is clearly a firing based on sex" (Totenberg 8). Despite this, Gorsuch also noted that there might be some valid religious exemptions to the ruling, which will be up for debate in the future. On the one hand, this legally expands notions of womanhood and manhood, by legally protecting women and men who do not conform to gendered expressions of heterosexuality or cisgenderism. However, it is equally important to question why people on the LGBTQIA spectrum must be protected according to established sex discrimination protections, rather than being secured protections based on their gender identities and sexual orientations. Why is it that it is easier and more legally accessible to prevent queer discrimination by invoking precedent that is entangled in sex binaries? Why is the Court unable to legally validate and value the humanity of individuals who exist outside of conventionally accepted sex and gender binaries? The Court's rulings are a reflection of cultural values, and they usually lag behind as American culture changes and, to an extent, progresses. As Dean Spade notes in his work, *Rethinking Transphobia and Power–Beyond a Rights Framework*, it is important to examine "other ways that power and control operate allows us to see which vectors are addressed and accounted for by legal equality claims and which are not . . . in social movements that work for transformation beyond the limits of law" (102). The law provides an important baseline for rights and protections, but cultural activism—ground-up movements—are crucial to the cultural backdrop required to not only secure those rights, but make them available, in order to continue the dismantling of queerphobia and mandatory binaries in their many manifestations.

Reproductive Justice is an expansive movement that

recognizes how interlocking systems of oppression and privilege shape and change the reproductive needs of different people and groups. Its intersectional framework intrinsically holds space for different marginalized groups to apply the framework to the specific set of conditions that affect them, but approaching RJ using queer, POC lenses especially reimagines and encapsulates inclusivity in the movements for autonomy and reproductive choice for all. Cathy Cohen's queer politics of non-normativity can broaden the RJ movement's political understandings of birthing, family, and child-rearing. Judith Butler's work on gender performativity, coupled with the general goals of transgender and intersex identity-based activism, highlights the political, social, and cultural dangers of

rigid sex and gender binaries and how they support compulsory heterosexuality and heteronormativity. Examining these two frameworks in conjunction makes visible individuals who are often not centered in conversations about reproductive rights or diluted popular understandings of reproductive justice. They provide contextual understandings of our own political locations, and more importantly, can lead us to question how and where we center our own politics in regard to gender, sex, sexuality, autonomy, and reproductive choice. The answers to these questions pave the way for a path forward in reproductive justice, and the cultural, political, and interpersonal changes needed to achieve it.

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TRUMP'S TWEETS AS SYMBOLS PRESENTED THROUGH A POLITICAL DISCOURSE ANALYSIS: IMMIGRATION FROM JANUARY 2017 TO MARCH 2017

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Introduction

Immigration is a controversial topic. Over the last six years, and fueled by Trump's presidential campaign, popular media has increasingly contributed to dehumanizing immigrants from Latin American countries, mainly from Mexico and Central America. Whether it is during a political campaign or an inauguration speech, Central American and Mexican immigrants are depicted as stealing jobs and bringing violence to the US as a result of the pervasive gang violence and drug trafficking experienced in their home countries. These are stereotypes used to target them and transform them into a threat to society. Countless studies have already argued that "immigrants have contributed much to this country both economically and culturally" (Quiñonez 1). Unfortunately, as more waves of immigrants continue to arrive in the US, anti-immigrant sentiments have infused popular narratives in the media.

Xenophobia is the fear of what is perceived to be foreign or strange, which the government uses to its advantage, as Donald Trump did when he was in office. Trump has always been explicit about his views on immigration, whether he was in office or not. But his views towards immigrants became more prominent after he was elected President in 2016 through his use of political symbols.

Heoften used condensation symbols on Twitter; these are symbols where emotions are connected to a specific object or situation. Trump's use of social media platforms became the basis of his communication with his supporters and profoundly shaped the discourse around immigration.

Ramona Kreis in *The "Tweet Politics" of President Trump* argued that Twitter allows "social media to disseminate… ideologies and attract the attention of larger audiences" (608). It is a communication strategy that is cheap, easy, and concise due to the 280-character limitation. I analyze Trump's tweets on immigration from 2017 to get a better understanding of how Trump defines immigration and how he communicates it to the public. I examine Trump's tweets through a discourse analysis of metaphors, dysphemism, and the usage of naming. Thus, this paper will explore President Trump's tweets on immigrants as political symbols that influence allies and construct political enemies. I argue that the constant use of Trump's condensation symbols has negatively shaped innocent immigrants and refugees as constructional enemies in the American society.

Research Question and Significance

The purpose of this study is to examine the types of symbols Trump is employing in his tweets. What do Trump's tweets say about his persona and his views? Trump was elected President of the United States and used language to inflict violence on a daily basis. In fact, Trump was banned from Twitter because of the "incitement of

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violence" that was present in his tweets ("Permanent Suspension of @RealDonaldTrump"). I explore how Trump used language to communicate hateful attitudes towards Latino immigrants.

It is important to educate people on how to recognize negative symbols so that they can fight against them. To better understand symbols, one must know how to describe and analyze them. With my study, I critically examine condensation symbols as powerful and strategic tools that become highly influential, especially during presidential campaigns.

Literature Review

Murray Edelman in *Symbolic Uses of Politics* argues that politics is remote; therefore, politics is symbolic. He says political symbols "bring out in concentrated form those particular meanings and emotions which the members of a group create and reinforce in each other" (11). Edelman lists two different types of tactical symbols that are used in politics: referential symbols and condensation symbols. Condensation symbols are structured around an emotional meaning. For example, if we look at Obamacare as a condensation symbol, the Obamacare program would be the symbol that has negative connotations for some people. Thus, the dislike of Obamacare had more to do with Obama as a political symbol than the importance of a health care policy. Referential symbols deal with more concrete and objective events or occurrences. This means certain events or elements are identified in the same way by different people. For example, most people will agree that a car serving as a symbol can represent movement and transportation.

For this research, I dive deeper into condensation symbols and how Trump used them in his tweets to elicit emotions and cause his audience to react to them. Trump structures his tweets in a very specific way. He either capitalizes certain words, adds many exclamation marks, or uses linguistic strategies to emphasize his ideas which influences people's reactions. Causing reaction in

a specific audience is what gives power to the symbol. In *Liberalism and Political Symbols*, Charles Frankel takes an approach similar to Edelman's: "Symbols…have two salient characteristics. In the first place, the term 'symbol' stands for any object or event which initiates or strengthens feelings . . . In the second place, a symbol . . . directs these feelings to something other than itself" (358). One of the examples Frankel uses is a natural object, a cloud. It can be a symbol for both a sign of rain and the mercy of God. Frankel explains how it is the audience that gives these symbols meaning. In terms of their response to the symbols, the audience is responding "to the difficulties of dealing with the environment directly" (Frankel 359). In addition, the author explains that symbols play a significant role in the construction of our politics and are used to influence people and evoke certain emotions.

In terms of Trump's tweets, these are of political importance because of the large number of tweets he produced daily and the number of topics he tweeted about: "Trump tweets several times almost every day, there is a large number of tweets available" (Kreis 611). Because Trump was known for his barrage of tweets, many people were paying attention to him. Kreis argues that Trump used Twitter to spread his negative comments to his "right-wing populist" audience of Republican supporters (607). Kreis studied 200 tweets from the day of his inauguration to his first address to Congress, all of which took place in 2017. She showed how Trump used Twitter as a communication style. She found patterns of Trump being informal, direct, and provoking. Panayota Gounari, in "Authoritarianism, Discourse and Social Media: Trump as the 'American Agitator,'" argues that the reason why tweeting is so effective is because it is a language . . . [that] is short, fragmented and decontextualized: it is a language that 'tends to express and promote the immediate identification of reason and fact" (213). I understand that Trump used Twitter as a linguistic strategy because it allowed him to get his point across fast. Twitter was also a way for Trump to present himself as authentic since the tweets came from his own words and from his personal

account. His approach for tweeting about immigration was straightforward and opinionated.

Now, in terms of Trump's approach to the topic of immigration, often Trump's tweets referred to the immigration refugee crisis and family separation. I closely followed the works of John M. Weaver and Stephen Lee. In "The 2017 National Security Strategy of the United States" (NSS) that Trump released, Weaver notes that Trump essentially committed to "protect the homeland . . . promote U.S prosperity . . . leveraging strength to preserve peace, and . . . advance U.S influence in the world" (63). In addition, according to Weaver, the NSS was intended to target immigrants as if they were all criminals. Weaver's 2017 study is helpful to analyze Trump's tweets from that same year. In "Family Separation as Slow Death," Lee goes more in depth about how immigrants were treated and portrayed during Trump's administration in terms of the Family Separation policy. In this study, he explains how immigrants detained at the border who are seeking asylum are often treated inhumanely, as reflected in the following quote: "For migrants detained at the border seeking asylum, immigration officials began charging immigrants with child smuggling...transforming a humanitarian... case into a criminal and national security one" (2320). Lee's discussion about the immigrants at the border goes hand in hand with the content Trump was tweeting.

Author Erika Sabrina Quiñonez, further contributes to this discussion. In her dissertation, *(Un)Welcome to America: A Critical Discourse Analysis of Anti-Immigrant Rhetoric in Trump's Speeches and Conservative Mainstream Media*, she analyzes Trump's speeches and the mainstream media outlets that he appears on. This includes an analysis of transcripts that were selected among over 100 speeches, addresses, and remarks made by Trump before and after the 2016 US presidential election. Part of Quiñonez's contribution is based on Trump and his tweets, which can be viewed at www.trumptwitterarchives.com. Quiñonez recognizes the importance of paying attention to what Trump puts out in the media because it is a "dehumanizing

perspective (that) creates a troubling, irredeemable 'non-place' for immigrants, as this discourse reinvents the identity of all immigrants as illegitimate and destructive to the American way of life" (6).

Methodology

Discourse analysis is a subfield of linguistics. Discourse analysis is the study of the ways in which language is used in certain texts and contexts. It examines how and why people communicate in a certain way. Furthermore, it shows how certain people are using this to their advantage to obtain their desired outcomes. Discourse analysis can be used to study the forms of manipulation and power that many politicians use. In this study, I argue that Trump uses his tweets as a type of linguistic discourse to elicit people's reactions. I collected twenty-five of Trump's tweets from January 2017 through March 2017. In January, Trump's inauguration took place and in March he completed 50 days in office. I found these specific tweets on a website (www.trumptwitterarchives.com) that shares all of Trump's tweets prior to him being banned from Twitter. I gathered all the tweets that were related to immigration in that period using the following keywords: border, wall, security, and immigration. During this time, Trump was very motivated to commit to his promise to "Build the Wall" which explains why there is a series of tweets on immigration especially pertaining to Latinx immigrants. By evaluating Trump's tweets from 2017 relating to immigration, this research brings attention to some of the condensation symbols that the audience is reacting to, and how they affect the way immigration is socially constructed. There has been little to no research on Trump using condensation symbols through Twitter. Drawing on Leo R. Chavez's *The Latino Threat: Constructing Immigrants, Citizens and the Nation,* I propose that this kind of language inspired and influenced ugly actions and responses towards Latinos. Chavez demonstrated how Latinos in the US are constructed by the stereotypes and prejudices that are presented in the media. Chavez explains, "The Latino Threat Narrative characterizes Latinos, especially Mexicans, as being too

tied to their countries of origin to want to, or to be able to, integrate into U.S. society" (67). In this sense, he examines that Latinos are being constructed in the media as being unable to assimilate into American culture due to the continual use of speaking Spanish and other factors.

My investigation suggests that there is a repetitive pattern in the way Trump constructed tweets. Trump purposely used a tactic that would go against immigration; he "seek(s) to influence people's thoughts in support of an agenda of exclusion and domination" (Quiñonez 27). Trump used this same tactic to construct an image of immigrants by depicting them in his tweets as either illegal criminals or as stealing jobs. He did this in a way that would cause outrage in certain people. As Edelman puts it, condensation symbols serve as powerful forms of expression for the mass public to convey benefits to particular groups or individuals. In Quiñonez's research on Trump's anti-immigration speech, she presents a framework of linguistic strategies that help further explain Trump's rhetoric. In my study, I focus on three linguistic strategies that pertain to Trump's tweets on immigration.

- *Metaphors* (used to portray a negative representation of immigration in society, at least for some, like "Make American Great Again," "Kids in cages," and "The Wall.")

- *Dysphemism* (derogatory terms used to make something seem more negative rather than pleasant. For example, in a tweet from Trump instead of him using the more neutral verbiage of "Separation of Family," he uses "forced family breakup.")

- *Naming and wording* (Trump tends to use a lot of words in his tweets to target immigrants, e.g., racial or stereotypical terms: "Alien," and "Inhumane." It can even be used to emphasize a certain groups, such as "Democrats" and "Republicans.")

Each tweet was thoroughly examined for its use of the identified linguistic tactics. I argue that Trump frames his tweets in ways that will help people remember them and thus continue being the focus of attention.

Data and Analysis

I reviewed Trump's tweets from his personal Twitter account between January 2017 and March 2017. I narrowed my search to four main categories: border, wall, immigration, and national security. Out of the twenty-five tweets, twelve of his tweets focused on the border, six of his tweets focused on the wall, five of his tweets focused on immigration and two of his tweets focused on national security. For each of the twenty-five, I sought metaphors, dysphemisms, and naming/wording. Some tweets contained more than one strategy. Connecting these topics to the linguistic strategies, I found: Trump used metaphors in twenty out of twenty-five tweets, dysphemisms in eight out of twenty-five tweets, and naming in ten out of twenty-five tweets.

The following analysis is divided according to the three patterns that I identified across Trump's tweets. Each section includes a full analysis of three tweets that pertain to that specific strategy.

Trump's Tweets as Metaphors:
I define metaphors in this paper as a strategy that Trump uses to portray a negative narrative among Latino immigrants, such as "the Wall" rather than using the term border wall.

Big day planned on NATIONAL SECURITY tomorrow. Among many other things, we will build the wall! (@realDonaldTrump)

Trump emphasized the metaphor "National Security" as a threat in order to implement new laws that would prohibit new waves of immigration. He emphasized it by capitalizing the words "National Security." As we can see in this tweet, one of his plans included the building of the

wall. He uses it as a metaphor: "we will build the wall!" The idea of building the wall serves as a metaphor for stopping "illegal immigration" coming from the southern border.

> We will bring back our jobs. We will bring back our borders. We will bring back our wealth- and we will bring back our dreams! (@realDonaldTrump)

Trump's repetitive use of "We will bring back" is a metaphor that targets immigrants. In the past, he blamed immigrants for stealing jobs, crossing the border illegally, and damaging the economy. Trump believes that putting up a southern border wall will potentially stop immigrants from entering the US.

> General Kelly is doing a great job at the border. Numbers are way down. Many are not even trying to come in anymore. (@realDonaldTrump)

One month after his inauguration, Trump pronounced that immigration had slowed down. He was reassuring his supporters that things were coming under control which explains why "numbers are way down." At this point, Trump didn't even have to acknowledge who he was talking about because his choice of wording, "the border," was self-explanatory to an audience quite familiar with his strategic selection of words.

Trump used many metaphors in his tweets to discriminate against immigrants and refugees, creating a negative narrative about them. His metaphors included, "the Wall," "our border," "our jobs," and "MAGA." Trump suggesting that there should be stricter border control in order to make America great again was his attempt to make immigrants seem as if they are ruining America. The use of this type of metaphor helped him build a stronger base of support and enabled him to continue tweeting the same words over and over.

> Had a great meeting at CIA Headquarters yesterday packed house, paid great respect to Wall, long standing ovations, amazing people. WIN! (@realDonaldTrump)

You can identify his enthusiasm through this tweet. He is feeling empowered, hence the ending "WIN!" As he received a significant amount of support for his idea of building a wall, he claimed this support led to a standing ovation. By using the metaphor of "the Wall," he not only threatened the immigrants and refugees but also made them feel defeated. In another tweet on the same day, Trump also claimed the need for more security at the border as if immigrants were crossing to create problems in the US. He used this reasoning to exhort Mexico to pay for the Wall.

> Eventually, but at a later date so we can get started early, Mexico will be paying, in some form, for the badly needed border wall (@realDonaldTrump).

The tone used in this tweet suggested that the Wall was something that was urgently required, or "badly needed." The metaphor we see here builds the connection of the border wall and immigrants. In this tweet, Trump implied that immigrants coming from the southern border cause a threat to the American society. Building on this idea of Latinos as a threat to American society, Chavez explains how Latinos are seen as "altering the demographic makeup of the nation . . . are unable or unwilling to learn English . . . are part of a conspiracy to reconquer the southwestern United States . . . This is why they remain apart and unintegrated into the larger society" (53). Latinos are depicted as not being able to assimilate into the dominant US culture which explains why Trump sees them as a threat. Of course, these are negative connotations that are placed on Latinos. Many studies have pointed out that Latinos are predominantly bilingual, and also partake in American citizen requirements including, getting a driver's license, following the law, and paying their taxes even if they are undocumented (King). The misconception that Latinos are not willing to integrate into the American society have had harmful reverberations in the way Latinos are perceived.

Trump's Tweets as Dysphemisms:

Dysphemisms are disparaging words. Trump used this strategy as a way to make something sound offensive.

> Dishonest media says Mexico won't be paying for the wall if they pay a little later so the wall can be built more quickly. Media is Fake! (@realDonaldTrump)

At this time, Trump's administration wasn't even inaugurated yet and he had planned for Mexico to build the southern wall. He repeatedly called the media "dishonest" and "fake." These are examples of dysphemisms.

> The super Liberal Democrat in the Georgia Congressional race tomorrow wants to protect criminals, allow illegal immigration and raise taxes! (@realDonaldTrump)

This is Trump's attempt to discourage people from voting for a Democrat in the Georgia congressional race through his usage of a dysphemism, "super Liberal Democrat." He described being Democratic and liberal as if it were something offensive. He even described what Democrats are fighting for in negative words to make it seem as if they were going to damage the government.

> Give the public a break - The FAKE NEWS media is trying to say that large scale immigration in Sweden is working out just beautifully. NOT! (@realDonaldTrump)

Trump could not stand the fact that immigration can be beneficial to a society, which caused him to portray the news as fake. He tweeted about Sweden's immigration system to reassure his audience that immigration doesn't improve anything. It was his way of keeping himself from being contradicted by the media. When talking about immigration in his tweets, Trump never failed to mention how they were a threat to society.

Within his twenty-five tweets, Trump called the media either dishonest or fake five times. These tweets all pertained to immigration problems such as the wall and waves of immigration. The linguistic strategy of dysphemism that Trump used to describe the media was built on the idea that the media was attempting to discredit him. He portrayed himself as the authority figure by pointing out that the media couldn't be trusted. Trump also demonstrated his authenticity in his tweets to raise credibility by talking in first person. Even his username implies that he is reliable: "@realDonaldTrump." Gounari explains this kind of behavior as "an 'authentic style' which corroborates his constructed position of an outsider . . . indexes authenticity and closeness to the people because it supports his claim that his tweets come from the 'real' Donald Trump and are not sent by his staff" (222). Trump used his personal account because he wanted to build a relationship with his base by reassuring them that he was tweeting his own thoughts and they were not filtered.

Trump's Tweets as Naming/Wording

Naming is crucial to Trump's strategy because it allowed him to depict Latino immigrants in a specific way, such as calling them "aliens" or "illegal."

> I promise to rebuild our military and secure our border. Democrats want to shut down the government. Politics! (@realDonaldTrump)

Trump's use of future tense implied that he felt like no one could stop him: "I promise." He then targeted those who opposed him through naming them "Democrats," clearly insinuating that they are his enemies.

> The Democrats don't want money from budget going to border wall despite the fact that it will stop drugs and very bad MS 13 gang members. (@realDonaldTrump)

Trump used naming, "The Democrats" to suggest they were the ones stopping the progress of keeping "bad MS-13 gangs" out. He was insinuating that all immigrants coming from the southern border are part of the MS-

13 gang. The MS-13 gang originated in Los Angeles, California and was created to protect Salvadoran immigrants. (https://www.ojp.gov/ncjrs/virtual-library/abstracts/ms-13-gang-profile). But for Trump, all Latino immigrants trying to come into the US are depicted as gang members.

> The weak illegal immigration policies of the Obama Admin. allowed bad MS 13 gangs to form in cities across U.S. We are removing them fast! (@realDonaldTrump)

Within this tweet, Trump used various examples of naming/wording: "the weak illegal immigration," "bad MS 13 gangs," and "removing them." Trump even blamed Obama for the spread of MS-13 gangs. Trump did this intentionally because he knew Obama identified as an ally to the Latino community when he was in office.

In every tweet about immigration, Trump introduced them as "illegal." His choice of negative naming when describing Latino immigrants constructed a negative portrayal of them. He generalized all immigrants as illegal without mentioning how there are immigrants who came to the States "legally."

In 2017, Thomas Jonathan Ossoff was the Democratic Party nominee for Congress in Georgia's sixth congressional district; he lost this election. During the race, Trump spoke against his candidacy on Twitter:

> Democrat Jon Ossoff would be a disaster in Congress. VERY weak on crime and illegal immigration, bad for jobs and wants higher taxes. Say NO. (@realDonaldTrump)

This tweet is a perfect example of how Trump incorporates naming. He put the term "illegal" in front of immigration. He did this intentionally to make it seem as if immigration can only occur if it is done illegally. Another way Trump used the strategy of naming in this tweet was by associating Ossoff as a Democrat. This was Trump's attempt to make it seem as if Ossoff was an enemy or a bad person for advocating for immigrant rights.

Conclusion

Throughout this paper, I explored President Trump's tweets on immigrants as political symbols and argued that the constant use of Trump's condensation symbols negatively shaped innocent immigrants and refugees as constructional enemies in the American society. During his presidency, Trump consistently vilified Latino immigrants with the use of condensation symbols about immigration on Twitter, his primary social media platform. He did this through a political discourse of linguistic strategies: metaphors, dysphemisms, naming and wording.

Andhita Rachman et al. in "Critical Discourse Analysis in Donald Trump Presidential Campaign to Win American's Heart," argue that in terms of a political discourse, an audience was more likely to respond to Trump's demands when he was being dramatic (15). Trump was very expressive about immigration on Twitter. The intention of dramatizing his tweets was to make them memorable. It consisted of negatively representing Latino immigrants, making derogatory remarks towards them, and creating offensive terms for them. Later, these depictions of Latino immigrants were present in the media, further, influencing a Latino threat.

Because of the support of their base, Michael Magcamit in "Explaining the Three-Way Linkage Between Populism, Securitization, and Realist Foreign Policies" argues that a leaders exert "greater power and influence in the political and social construction of threats" (9). Trump, in this case, held immense power with his status as President of the US. He used his tweets as an advantage to help shape a discourse around Latino immigrants. It influenced how people were treating Latinos. They were telling Latinos to "go back to Mexico" or not to "speak Spanish."

Ultimately, Trump's power became a threat to society when on January 5th, 2021, he tweeted:

> I will be speaking at the SAVE AMERICA RALLY tomorrow on the Ellipse at 11AM Eastern. Arrive early - doors open at 7AM Eastern. BIG CROWDS! (@ RealDonaldTrump)

The next day, at the end of his speech, Trump asked everyone there to storm Capitol Hill as a sign of solidarity ("Capitol Riots Timeline: The Evidence Presented Against Trump"). Not only did Trump instigate the riot, but he also praised the rioters during and after the riot: "[H]e had already tweeted again, telling followers they were patriots who would not be disrespected" (Dwoskin & Tiku). Because his tweet incited violence, he was banned from Twitter.

Trump tweeted numerous times defaming immigration coming from the southern border and insisted that immigrants are a threat to society. As Trump was capable of starting a riot at Capitol Hill, he was also able to negatively frame Latino immigrants in the American society and depict them in a way that incited more racism and discrimination towards them. Many studies assert that hate crimes against Latinos increased during Trump's presidency (Canizales et al.). I suggest that some of his tweets contributed to these hate crimes because of the way he described Latino immigrants (bad, illegal, gang members, criminals, stealing jobs and so much more).

In sum, during his presidency, Trump used his Twitter platform to further create a negative narrative about Latinos, specifically immigrant Latinos. The real threat here was not Latinos integrating into an American society, but Trump himself and the discourse of his tweets.

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McKenna Petersen | *Between*

ALTERNATIVE PATHS TO POST-CONFLICT DEVELOPMENT:

THE ROLE OF INFORMAL ECONOMY IN ESTABLISHING COMMON IDENTITIES

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The conclusion of conflict leaves behind many souvenirs: a large human cost, trauma, the need for rehabilitation and repair of infrastructure, a lack of security, and high unemployment among other challenges. Despite the array of issues, the commonality amongst each of these is that the reality of post-conflict societies is fundamentally different from developed nations. This discrepancy is not acknowledged in post-conflict reconstruction, as developed nations are the primary guides of reconstruction policies. In addition to their faulty understanding of the social context, many of these policies have failed to acknowledge the importance of economic relief in resolving conflict. The focus on short term programs and the use of humanitarian aid has proved to be largely ineffective, as 40% of all post-conflict countries return to violent conflict within a decade (USAID vi).

In "A Guide to Economic Growth in Post-Conflict Countries," USAID has proposed a new approach to post-conflict economic reconstruction in which economic intervention is an integral component to the restructuring of a society. With policies that prioritize sensitivity to political and social dimensions of the conflict as well as the fragility of the environment, the USAID policy playbook intends to reduce the risk of a return to conflict and

accelerate the improvement of quality of life for conflict-affected populations. However, the policies proposed continue to operate within a neoliberal framework. For example, many of the suggested policies incorporate elements from the Washington Consensus such as the deregulation of commerce and the promotion of local private-sector participation in humanitarian assistance. The inherent focus on the legalization and privatization of property and economic activity denies a large component of the post-conflict reality: informal economies.

It is approximated that within emerging economies, which include countries like Albania, Bosnia, Bulgaria, Croatia, Kosovo, Macedonia, and Montenegro, informal economies account for 30-35% of each respective country's GDP (Kelmanson et al. 7). Within the neoliberal discourse in which development is associated with the growth of GDP, emerging economies are considered fiscally weak states due to the exclusion of the informal economy in official reports. The mere existence of the informal economy suggests an alternative model of development in the economic reconstruction of post-conflict societies. One such model is community economy which emphasizes the importance of renewing the interpersonal relationships among locals and the relationships between producers and consumers (Ting and Chen 1). The application of community economy in post-conflict development raises the following question: what is the role of informal economies in building community in post-conflict areas? This paper will explore how informal markets in former Yugoslavia have created shared values between groups

and inspired identification with collective goals. By using case studies of ad hoc or adaptive markets found after the Bosnian War and the concept of mutual aid, it will be argued that post-conflict markets are used to establish collective identities. The conclusions drawn by this paper will challenge our understandings of markets and their values in addition to demonstrating the importance of community economy as an alternative path of development to standard neoliberal policies.

Benefits of the Informal Economy in the Face of Criminalization

It is commonly understood that the informal economy denotes criminal activities that are enforced by violence and degrade one's quality of life. This would include activities like the sale of stolen goods and weapons, human trafficking, narcotics, and money laundering among many others (Shelley 113). On a similar note, illicit economies are perceived to be synonymous with organized crime which is defined as "a continuing criminal enterprise that rationally works to profit from illicit activities that are often in great public demand. Its continuing existence is maintained through the use of force, threats, monopoly control, and/or the corruption of public officials" (Hall 842). These immoral activities have been criminalized under various drug use, trafficking, and tax evasion policies recognized internationally. However, the criminalization of informal economies fails to acknowledge the duality of informal economies as many individuals rely on informal economies for survival.

In the ever-growing divide of global inequality as well as extreme poverty, informal economies provide relief to developing countries and their significant population of unemployed individuals. According to a 2018 report released by the International Labor Organization (ILO), it was estimated that 2 billion workers, which represents 61.2% of the world's employed population, are employed informally (*Women and Men in the Informal Economy: A Statistical Picture* 67). The majority of the population which participates in the informal economy is located in developing nations. This is a direct result of the concentration of poverty in the periphery as extreme poverty continues to target regions like Sub-Saharan Africa and South Asia (*The State of the Poor* 4). The exponential population growth rates found in these regions increase the need for an informal economy, as the formal market is unable to meet the needs of every individual. Not to mention, 40% of the global poor live in economies affected by fragility, conflict, and violence which greatly reduces government capacity ("Understanding Poverty Overview"). As a result, informal economies compensate for the lack of government services, which are meant to account for the limits of the market.

In addition to its functionality, informal economies represent marginalized populations and their respective voices. The global economy has disproportionately favored Western nations since the beginning of colonialization. Though colonialization has been denounced by many Western nations, its practices, systems, and institutions are still maintained. As a result, the current international system and its subsequent economic policies have focused on state-centric and capitalist ideas. On the other hand, informal economies represent community-based activities that undermine Western rules, organization, hierarchy, and socio-political entities (Jackson).

For example, the purpose of informal economies in developing nations is the survival of their population and community whereas Western nations deem the market as a form of individual identity. This different set of values asserted through the informal economy challenges commonly accepted and widely used neoliberal policies. However, the denial of the informal economy's existence by the Western world through its criminalization is a way to maintain the narrative of the fiscally weak developing world (Baker and Milne 172). Without the legitimization of the informal economy, subaltern perspectives are silenced and issues like economic dependency become even more pressing.

Informal economies also provide resources for the survival of communities in the face of disaster, conflict, or hardship. This is exemplified through what Baker calls an ad hoc market or makeshift market that is developed by the community to sustain their needs in the absence of the commercial market (Baker et al. 337). Ad hoc markets are unique in their values. The commercial, or pre-disaster, market provides a diversity of goods to create individuality, whereas an ad hoc market is created to serve community needs, resulting in the homogeneity of products. For example, Baker et al. discuss how the color of mobile homes in a commercial market signifies one's ability to express their individuality through product choices (Baker et al. 341). On the other hand, ad hoc markets' emphasis on relief and community needs means that fewer colors or designs are available. Ad hoc economies will also extend beyond standard commercial interactions between the producer-consumer dynamic to better address these needs in times of scarcity by including non-community actors like governments, nonprofits, and other institutions (Baker et al. 338). This means that the public-private alliances between these actors are the primary sources of goods and services in an ad hoc market.

Ad hoc markets' emphasis on community survival over individualism corresponds to Kropotkin's concept of mutual aid. Mutual aid is a different form of organizing social relations from below in which households and communities are the primary sites of economic interactions (O'Hearn and Grubačić 152). This model is used to protect communities from capitalist oppression and regulation. The concept of mutual aid holds substantive value when it comes to policy interventions. Although mutual aid is a form of organization not commonly seen in capitalism, the ability of households and community to provide space for goods and services needed by its consumers, which are the primary principles of a market exchange system, suggests that ad hoc markets should be valued and held in the same regard

as standard commercial markets. This undermines the criminalization of the informal economy and provides a basis for its legitimization.

This paper will add to existing literature by examining the case study of Bosnia's informal economy in its ability to cultivate collective identities and communities in the context of post-conflict societies. Before exploring this connection, it is important to understand the composition of Bosnia's informal economy including the individuals and activities that are encompassed by this term.

Bosnia's Informal Economy

Once the Yugoslavian War broke out, Bosnia's economy effectively collapsed in 1991 ("Bosnia and Herzegovina - Economy"). As a result, increases in oil price, falling imports and exports, and shortages of food created the foundation for Bosnia's black market (Andreas 45). The black market expanded during conflict, as many aspects of the black market were state-sponsored due to the government's inability to perform tasks themselves. For example, the Bosnian government employed released prisoners to form a paramilitary force in the absence of a Bosnian National Army (Andreas 35). The Bosnian government also drew support from organized crime groups to smuggle weapons necessary to fight the war during the arms embargo as well as provide resources and escape routes to those trapped within besieged Sarajevo (Andreas 42-43). Despite the importance of these activities to the survival of Bosnians, the use of smuggling troupes and escaped prisoners was criminalized upon the conclusion of the war.

Bosnia's war economy, characterized by smuggling and organized crime units, has left the impression that Bosnia's informal economy encompasses the same activities. However, it can be seen that there are two different economies at play here: the criminal economy and the survival economy. The criminal economy includes activities that are enforced by violence and degrade one's

FIGURE 1

The 10 sectors most represented in the informal economy. Agriculture is the most represented sector in Bosnia's informal economy, accounting for 54% ("Overview of the informal economy in Bosnia and Herzegovina" 2).
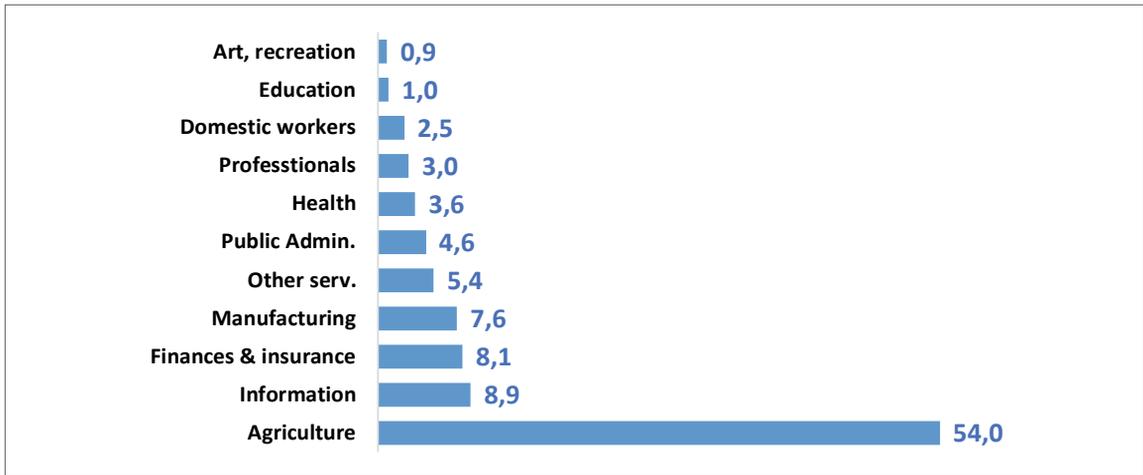
quality of life. On the other hand, the survival economy includes the market mechanisms employed by the general populace to survive. Using these two definitions, it can be asserted that Bosnia's war economy was a survival economy prior to the Dayton Peace Agreement. However, the presence of criminal elite and organized crime like Arkan's Tigers, a Serbian paramilitary force charged with war crimes for ethnic cleansing who continue to play a large role in Eastern European organized crime like petrol smuggling after the war, would define it as a criminal economy ("Gangster's Life of Serb Warlord"). This is contrasted by the reality of Bosnia's current informal economy.

The conclusion of the Bosnian War left the country in financial peril. After nearly 5 years of fighting, the destruction of large financial centers like Sarajevo and Mostar were left as stark reminders of the past. According to a declassified CIA report, the reconstruction of Bosnian productive facilities, infrastructure, housing, and living standards to 1989 levels would cost a minimum of $8 billion to upwards $12 billion USD to restore (*Bosnia and*

Croatia: The Cost of Reconstuction 1-2). Today, Bosnia's youth unemployment rate is amongst the world's highest with nearly 40% of youth out of work ("Alarming Data: 200,000 People Left Bosnia-Herzegovina"). The lack of employment opportunities within Bosnia has caused distressing emigration rates with more than 200,000 individuals having left the country since 2013 ("Alarming Data"). This is especially concerning since the war resulted in 1.2 million refugees, and nearly half of Bosnia's prewar population lives outside of the country ("Bosnia: Refugees and Displaced Populations").

Not everyone is able to support the costs of migration, however, which speaks to the level of poverty the average Bosnian citizen experiences. The average salary for a Bosnian citizen is 6KM an hour (roughly $3) or 13,241KM a year (a little over $8,000) ("Salary Expert - Average Salary in Bosnia-Herzegovina"). Retired citizens, who constitute the majority of Bosnia's remaining population, live on minimum payments of 326KM ($196) a month (Jelenek). The minimum cost of living in Bosnia and Herzegovina is approximately $300 while most basic expenses exceed

FIGURE 2

The rural-urban dimension of Bosnia's informal economy and its resulting employment. It is demonstrated that 74.5% of the informal economy, when including agriculture, takes place in rural Bosnia. Bosnia's informal economy accounts for 18% of employment ("Overview of the informal economy in Bosnia and Herzegovina" 2).
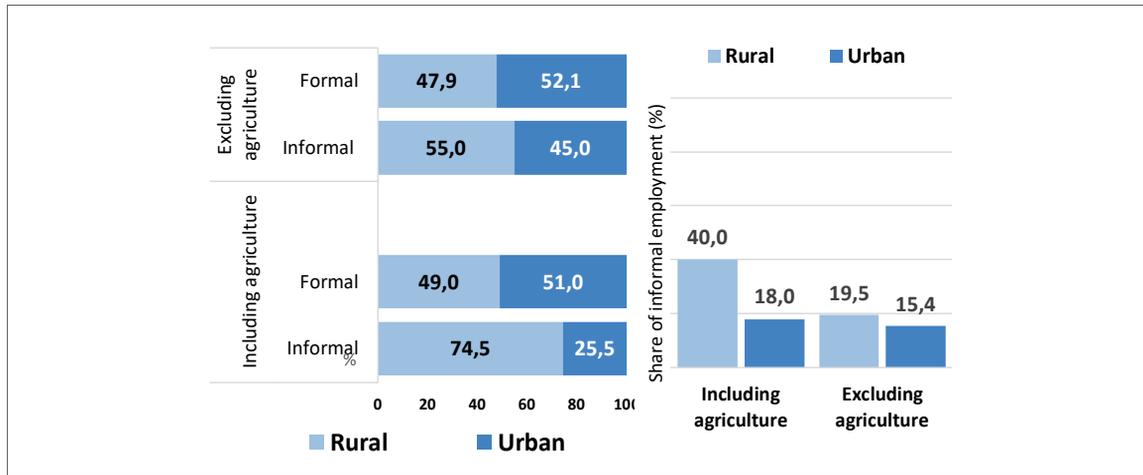
$600 a month ("Alarming Data"). In considering the minimum cost of living and comparing it to the average salary, citizens are left with virtually nothing or in debt.

The realities of Bosnia's economy have forced individuals to find other means to survive, such as the informal economy. The informal economy accounts for 29.7% of Bosnia's economy, 54% of which is attributed to agriculture as demonstrated by Figure 1 ("Overview of the informal economy in Bosnia and Herzegovina" 2). As seen in Figure 1, 74.5% of the informal economy, when including agriculture, takes place in rural Bosnia ("Overview" 2). This correlation shows that those who participate in the informal economy are individuals who are often excluded from economic opportunities typically offered in the core. However, even Bosnia's core, or city centers, lack the opportunities to sustain its population's demand for the most basic necessities. In the absence of the market's ability to provide basic services, Bosnia's informal economy works to compensate for citizen's unmet needs. This reality paints Bosnia's informal economy as a survival economy.

While the informal economy currently comprises a significant portion of Bosnia's economy, there is evidence that it is likely to expand. According to a study completed by Krstić and Sanfey, it was found that of those employed in 2001, 78% remained employed in 2004 while 8% moved into unemployment and 14% moved out of the labor force (Krstić and Sanfey 318). "Out of the labor force" signifies a move to the informal economy. As Bosnia's official economy continues to stagnate with low salaries and even fewer opportunities, more Bosnians will seek supplementary or primary employment in the informal sector to lessen their economic burdens. The fact that Bosnia's informal economy is increasing makes it more important than ever to analyze the effects it has on individuals and their social relations.

Informal Economy in Community Building

While the informal economy serves an economic purpose for the individuals involved, the informal economy's significance in terms of social capital, or shared set of values that allow individuals to work together in a group to effectively achieve a common purpose, is not often explored ("Reading into Social Capital"). According to

FIGURE 3

A visualization of the types of activities encompassed by all levels of the informal economy (Wallace and Latcheva 85).

FORMAL (Monetised inside the law) Legal	HOUSEHOLD (Non-monetized outside the law) A-legal	SOCIAL (Non-monetized outside the law) A-legal	BLACK (Monetised outside the law) Illegal
Earnings of a regular job	Growing own food	What we get as favors	Buying goods with foreign currency
Pension, Unemployment benefit	Repairing house	What we get with the help of friends, relatives	Earnings of a second job
Benefits at place of work, such as holidays, meals			Incidental earnings

Wallace and Latcheva, there are many different forms of economies which include formal (monetized within the law which encompasses "legal" activities), household (non-monetized outside the law or a-legal), social (non-monetized outside the law or a-legal), and black (monetized outside the law or illegal) (Wallace and Latcheva 85). As seen in Figure 3, there is a sharp distinction between what is legal and illegal which typically corresponds to moral and criminal activities respectfully. However, the household and social economies allude to economies with contrasting values from the typical commercial market as they emphasize social relations as capital rather than goods or services.

For example, Wallace and Latcheva stated that "household subsistence economy is not really economically advantageous and represents rather a cultural activity associated with particular kinds of leisure activity" (Wallace and Latcheva 84). This is reflected in the Yugoslav and resulting Bosnian tradition of cultural generosity. People are quick to offer their support to both strangers and friends. Bosnians commonly feel compelled to lend a hand and help others, even when the person has not requested their assistance ("Bosnian Culture - Core Concepts"). These relations often transpire as an exchange of goods and services among community members as "favors" that are to be cashed in later. These can occur between households or marketplaces as seen in Figure 1.

These marketplaces are called *pijace*, the American equivalent of farmers markets. While most *pijace* are structured and organized, it is common for individuals to lay tarps on the side of the road to sell products in increasingly rural regions. Oftentimes, there are "established" prices that can be bartered and lowered according to the shop owner. It is also common for sellers to give a buyer more produce or an extra product as a gift or in exchange for someone's kindness or conversation. There is limited formal research available on the social relations between ethnicities within a marketplace. However, having experienced such relations during the time I studied abroad in Bosnia, I can confidently say that all Croats, Bosniaks, and Serbs share the same cultural practices of generosity and selflessness which coincides with Kropotkin's concept of mutual aid. This tradition, rooted in Yugoslav/Balkan culture prior to the war, demonstrates a commonality that all three ethnic

groups can draw upon in cultivating interethnic relations. Informal markets also provide individuals with a neutral and depoliticized space through which they can talk and share opinions. This is especially important considering the ethnic discriminatory policies in Bosnia. The Bosnian Constitution, established through the Dayton Peace Agreement, has created a power-sharing structure amongst the three ethnicities. As a result, individuals must declare their ethnic identity to run for office as either president or a member of parliament. The constitution also bans people who do not wish to declare an ethnic identity, also known as "others", from running for office. This means that an estimated 400,000 Bosnians, or 12% of the population, cannot run for president or parliament because of their religion, ethnicity, or where they live ("Bosnia and Herzegovina: Ethnic Discrimination a Key Barrier").

Ethnic discrimination, which is legalized in the Bosnian constitution, poses a major problem in the workplace. Considering the high ethnic tensions and highly decentralized government, most workplaces do not have anti-discriminatory policies. This allows companies to fire individuals based on their ethnicity alone. According to a report completed by Amnesty International, the Democratic Initiative of Sarajevo Serbs, a nongovernmental organization (NGO) working mostly on the return of Bosnian Serbs to Sarajevo, it is estimated that between 12,000 and 15,000 Sarajevo Serbs who were unfairly dismissed during the war were still waiting for compensation or to return to their old jobs ("Bosnia and Herzegovina Behind Closed Gates" 16). The 1999 report of the FBiH Ombudsman noted that the ethnic composition of employees continued to resemble the war-time composition when discriminatory policies and practices had been intensively pursued. In Vitez, located in the Federation of Bosnia, 1,416 Bosniak workers had been reportedly dismissed from a Croat-controlled military factory. In 2004, none of the Croat-owned businesses in Stolac, also located in the Federation of Bosnia, employed Bosniaks ("Bosnia and Herzegovina Behind Closed Gates" 20). These examples illustrate the measures that the state and companies take to segregate their citizens, greatly impeding reconciliation processes. As a result, many Bosnians have made the transition to the informal economy which has a history of inclusion. One such example is the Arizona market.

During the height of the Bosnian War, Bosnians gathered outside of Brcko, a city located near the two-kilometers-wide Zone of Separation (ZOS) on either side of the Inter-Ethnic Boundary Line (Sredl et al. 304). This area was geographically neutral as it was located on the border of Bosnia, Croatia, and Serbia as well as in the autonomous region of Brcko which was independent at the time. Local civilians would congregate in this area protected by American troops to exchange information and sell produce on the road at the checkpoint. Furthermore, it was a space for open communication. The people who met in Arizona were individuals from interethnic families and/or were friends prior to the war. These established relationships allowed them to hold conversations like: "Who set us against each other?" "Is it safe to return home?" and "Have you become nationalistic?" (Sredl et al. 306).

These interactions were an expression of peaceful social norms of shared Yugoslav society, and the desire to return to normal was expressed through increasing demand. For example, the Arizona market became such a prominent location for Serbs, Bosnia's, and Croats that international troops demined the field next to it so the road wouldn't be blocked by customers. By the end of 1996, the Arizona Market covered an area of approximately 15 acres with about 2,000 sellers (Sredl et al. 307). Furthermore, the signs were written in both the Cyrillic and Latin alphabets, and goods were termed "domestic" instead of Bosnian/Serbian/Croatian (Sredl et al. 305). Each of these elements of the Arizona market demonstrate that markets have much more value than what is assigned to a KM (convertible mark or Bosnia's currency). Rather, markets are resources that allow individuals to foster trust, meaning, a sense of security, and survivability in the face of hardship or uncertainty.

FIGURE 4

A visualization of the dimensions of an environment needed to foster positive interethnic relationships (Pickering 87).
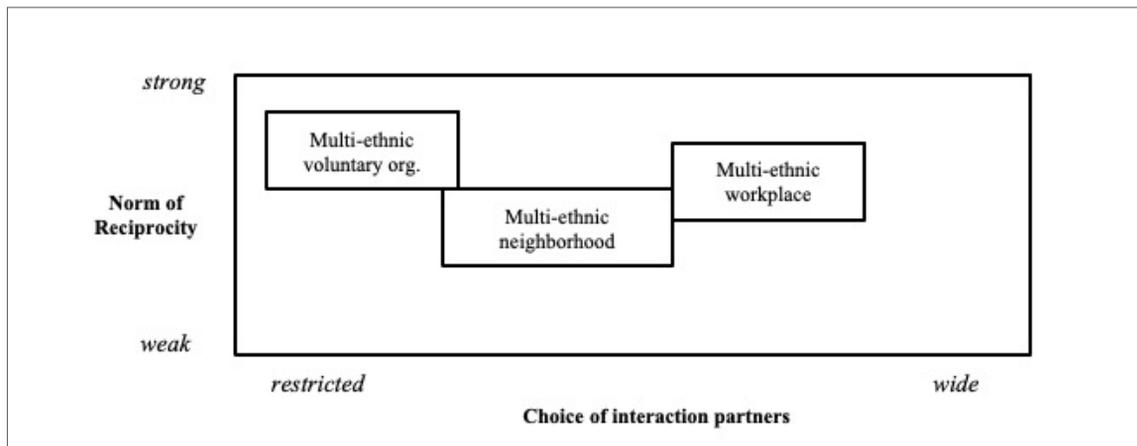
This also applies to the current markets as well. While many individuals were killed or had relocated as a result of the war, *pijace* remain to serve the members of its community. For example, the Arizona market in Brcko became a formalized market upon the conclusion of the war with rented stalls and storefronts (Sredl et al. 308). The market's transition from informal to formal does not undermine its social capital, however. Bosniaks, Croats, and Serbs continue to travel from their respective residences to interact with one another and buy goods. The space that the Arizona market holds can be used as a ground for interethnic interaction.

In 2006, Pickering created a model that demonstrates the dimensions of an environment needed to foster positive interethnic relationships as seen in Figure 4. There are two core components of this model: norm of reciprocity and choice of interaction partners. It is hypothesized that if individuals have multiple spaces where people can address practical concerns together, support individuality, and occur in the context of local culture, negative perceptions of the "other" will fall away (Pickering 87). According to this model, *pijace* are an example of a multi-ethnic workplace where Croats, Bosniaks, and Serbs congregate both for social purposes

as well as to purchase necessities. In the Arizona market, religious symbols are placed in storefronts and windows to serve as an expression of ethnic identity. For example, the display of a nazar (an eye-shaped amulet believed to ward off evil) denotes a Bosniak Muslim owner, whereas the Roman Catholic cross signifies a Croat owner (Sredl et al. 309). By interacting with these symbols frequently within the marketplace as *pijace* are used regularly for grocery shopping, there is a strong norm of reciprocity and a wide choice of interaction partners. These repeated interactions with the "other" continue to break down stereotypes and perceptions perpetuated by the state, its media, and discriminatory policies. Ultimately, informal markets and their manifestations, such as *pijace*, provide the grounds for reestablishing collective identities as they draw on experiences prior to the war. Furthermore, the level of interaction among ethnic groups creates a ground for new positive relationships.

Conclusion

Though research remains limited on the role of the informal economy in cultivating interethnic relationships, this paper drew together multiple concepts that demonstrate the potential of informal markets as an avenue of interethnic reconciliation. Additionally, this

paper demonstrates that the focus/values of the informal economy are incredibly different from the commercial or formal economy. The informal economy's emphasis on social capital is proof that different definitions of capitalism, goods, and services exist. Not to mention, it asserts that these structures and institutions can be used for the benefit of the community without being taken at the expense of the individual. Although the informal economy exists outside of the formal economy, its mere existence represents an alternate path towards development that is rooted in community values and the welfare of all its members. Moving forward, it would be beneficial for ethnographic studies to be completed on current *pijace* in Bosnia to assess the state of interethnic relations. This is especially important as Bosnia is facing high rates of youth emigration which begs the question of whether or not Bosnia's aging population is inclined towards ethnic reconciliation given their trauma and experiences with political aggravation.

While further research is required to explore this connection, this paper also raises questions concerning the future of the informal economy. As established in this paper, the informal economy is a large source of economic potential that, if managed correctly, can greatly improve the quality of life for Bosnians. However, given the difference in values between the informal and formal economy, the following question remains: how can we internalize the values of the informal economy in the formal economy? Is it possible to integrate the two? If so, how can this be accomplished? These questions are key to the ongoing process of economic reconstruction in Bosnia as well as other post-conflict nations.

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PHILOSOPHIZING THROUGH TEARS IN TECHNICOLOR:
PLATO'S *TIMAEUS* AND METAPHORS OF LIGHT

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1. Introduction: Diverse Intonations

Philosophy is a friend of the light. Tracing this friendship to its Platonic roots and calling our attention to its dangers and its oversights was one of Emmanuel Levinas's enduring vocations. Oversight here should be read equivocally, for it names at one and the same time something forgotten as well as an excessive sight, a totalizing supervisory gaze that is promiscuously in bed with control and power and that is precisely responsible for the forgetfulness to which Levinas would call our attention.

In one place, Levinas renders the problem of this philosophical metaphor as follows:

> The light that permits encountering something other than the self makes it encountered as if this thing came from the ego. The light, brightness, is intelligibility itself; making everything come from me, it reduces every experience to an element of reminiscence . . . And And in this sense, knowledge never encounters anything truly other in the world.[2]

To understand philosophical reason as "bringing something to light" is to foreclose the strangeness of things, their otherness and intractable unwillingness to yield themselves entirely to our concepts. As Levinas puts

this point elsewhere, philosophy "remove[s] from being its resistance."[3] When we philosophize in this way, we take there to be a total alignment between the categories of our understanding and the beings they "illuminate," giving us the impression that it is precisely we who are responsible for the meaningful integrity of the things we see—that it is we who lend them intelligibility.

Levinas wants to break from this metaphorical tradition, from the alignment of philosophy with light and vision and gaze. But as Jacques Derrida deftly argues in "Violence and Metaphysics," not only does Levinas fail to break absolutely from this metaphor, but it may also be impossible to fully break with it. As Derrida writes, "Who will ever dominate it? What language will ever escape it? How, for example, will the metaphysics of the face as the *epiphany* of the other free itself of light?"[4] Before concluding the section of the essay in which those devastating questions appear, Derrida nevertheless opens up a different pathway of response to this family of metaphors, one that will guide the present essay: "If all languages combat within it, *modifying only* the same metaphor and choosing the *best* light, Borges . . . is correct again: 'Perhaps universal history is but the history of the diverse *intonations* of several metaphors.'"[5] The question that guides this essay is this: how might we intone the metaphors of light and vision differently? And more

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2 Emmanuel Levinas, *Time and the Other*, trans. Richard A. Cohen (Duquesne University Press, 1987), 68.

3 Emmanuel Levinas, *Totality and Infinity*, trans. Alphonso Lingis (Martinus Nijhoff Publishers, 1979), 44.

4 Jacques Derrida, *Writing and Difference*, trans. Alan Bass (The University of Chicago Press, 1978), 92.

5 Derrida, *Writing and Difference*, 92.

specifically, how might we intone it differently *from the start*, launching the philosophical project otherwise?

If philosophy has from its Platonic beginnings been aligned with light and with vision, perhaps we might find unrealized possibilities for philosophy in Plato's own account of vision in the *Timaeus*, and in particular, in his account of the 'dazzling,' 'bright,' or 'brilliant.' With this account in hand, we will explore how this idiosyncratic experience of vision both does and doesn't inform Plato's thinking of philosophy elsewhere, and we will consider how we might develop this experience of vision toward an understanding of philosophy through the writings of Jacques Derrida and William Desmond.

2. The Color(s) of Brightness

Plato's account of vision and the perception of color has been billed by some as hopelessly enigmatic, but it may nevertheless be recoverable in part.[6] For Plato, sight is made possible by the coming together of the fire within a person that flows through the eyes in a stream and the fire that streams forth from the things of the world. These streams of fire coalesce into a single "kindred substance" of a "similar nature" throughout, and the motion of things communicated in their fire is translated to the eyes and ultimately to the soul in what we experience as "seeing."[7] While all the varieties of fire share in being composed of imperceptibly small, tetrahedral elements, they differ as to the size of these elemental tetrahedrons.[8] The variety of colors that appear in seeing are a result of this variety in the kinds of fire that stream forth from the things of the world. In particular, it is an initial dissimilarity between the fire of a thing and the fire of the visual stream that

makes for seeing. When the elemental tetrahedrons of a thing's stream of fire are the same size as that of the visual stream, they remain imperceptible and result in the "transparent."[9]

Plato identifies four "primary" color phenomena and understands the rest of the varieties of color to be formed from diverse mixtures of these four. One primary kind of fire emitted by objects is formed of elemental tetrahedrons larger than those of the visual stream. As a result, such fire compresses the visual stream and precipitates the combining of its elemental pyramids into larger pyramids kindred to those of the object's fire. This kind results in the seeing of "black." All the other primary colors are composed of pyramids smaller than those of the visual stream. The first of these, "white," with its smaller pyramids cuts through and divides the visual stream's own elemental pyramids until they are of smaller, kindred and similar nature. While both "black" and "white" meet the visual stream in its path, coalescing therewith into a uniform substance, the latter two primary colors, because of their smallness, cut through quickly and rapidly all the way to the eyes themselves. The next smallest pyramids after "white" "reach to the liquid of the eyes and [are] mingled therewith," producing the deep scarlet of "red."[10] Yet it is the last of these primary colors, the one composed of the smallest and quickest of pyramids and the one whose inclusion is most surprising to our modern ears that will interest us here.

This agile variety of fire "strikes upon the visual stream and [divides] it as far as to the eyes" even going so far as to "penetrat[e] and dissolv[e] the very passages of the eyes."[11] In doing so, this variety of fire "causes a volume of fire and water to pour from [the eyes]" and that which pours forth we call "tears."[12] At the same time, the object's fire, in penetrating the eyes, is completely quenched in the

6   I follow here the interpretation of Katerina Ierodiakonou in her paper, "Plato's Theory of Colours in the *Timaeus," RHIZAI II.2* (2005): 219–233.

7   Plato, *Timaeus, in Plato in Twelve Volumes*, Vol. 9, trans. W.R.M. Lamb (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1925), 45b–d.

8   For the claim that the tetrahedrons that constitute fire are imperceptibly small, see *Timaeus*, 56b–c. For the claim that the kinds of fire vary with respect to the size of their elements, see *Timaeus*, 58d. While Plato there is talking specifically about air, Ierodiakonou makes a compelling argument that this account applies to all the elements, including fire.

9   *Timaeus*, 67d.

10   *Timaeus*, 68b.

11   *Timaeus*, 67e–68a.

12   *Timaeus*, 68a.

eye's water. In the simultaneity of fire "leaping out like a flash" from the eyes and fire being snuffed out suddenly in the eyes "colors of all kinds are produced" and it is "this sensation we term 'dazzling' and the object which causes it 'bright' or 'brilliant.'"[13]

There are several things we ought to note about this idiosyncratic experience of sight. First, the brilliant is the only primary color phenomenon that carries with it a violence and subjection to the fire of the other. This fire strikes the visual stream, penetrates the eyes and dissolves their very passage. The agency and control of perception cannot be maintained here. There is no dissolution of the other; there is no removal of the resistance of being. If anything, there is the opposite: there is a dissolution of the self and a removal of our own resistances. Furthermore, there is an almost paradoxical quality to this experience of sight for it is a seeing without sight, without the pathway of sight from the eyes; it is a seeing in the very dissolution of sight. Second, this is the only sight that is more than sight, other than sight, for it involves not just seeing but "crying," as it were. The seeing of the brilliant is a seeing that brings us to tears in a way that is perhaps no more than physiological but nevertheless remarkable. Third, the seeing of the brilliant does not take place in a coalescing, a bonding together in the forming of a uniform, mixed, similar, kindred body. The fires don't quite meet and come together; they displace one another. One charges in as the other leaps out, and it is this simultaneous invasion and evasion that yields the seeing of the brilliant. To put this a different way, the fire within does not become one with the fire without. This sight does not allow itself to enter the confusions of sameness and otherness. The fire of the other remains always other, never to be confused with a protean fire of the self that will take the shape of the other and delude us in seeing the other as "coming from me." This perhaps comes to the fore in the fourth feature of this phenomena: only here does Plato deem it necessary to distinguish a name for the sensation apart from the name

for the object which causes it. For it is only here that we come to apprehend a self that is not assimilable to the other. We don't need to name the seeing of white or black or red, for in these phenomena of sight our eyes and the visual stream they pour forth come together with the fire of the object in a oneness of similarity. Yet with the brilliant, we apprehend difference and otherness, a non-identity between the "dazzling" on the one hand and the "bright" or "brilliant" on the other. Lastly, this primary color is not univocal like "red" or "black" or "white." Instead, it names the coming to presence of "colors of all kinds." There is equivocality, vagueness, indeterminacy in the brilliant. We name it even as we cannot say of it quite what it is, for it has an irreducible plurality.

Being dazzled by the brilliant is thus a different kind of sight than the one that concerns Levinas. The sight of the brilliant is one that subjects us, penetrates us and dissolves us; lets the other be in its otherness; lets this otherness be in its equivocal, enigmatic plurality; brings the self for the first time into a naming of itself as something different than that which its encounters; and lastly, in being a sight without sight, is also a sight beyond sight in the tears it calls forth. All of this suggests an experience of sight that, if allowed to hold the metaphoric ground of philosophy, might bring forth a different kind of philosophical thought and writing. Before we explore that possibility in greater depth, it is worth considering where and how Plato opens and closes himself to this alternative sight and its implications for philosophy.

3. Bright Colors and Tears in Plato's Other Works

There are specific moments in Plato's other works where tears and brilliance enter into the characterization of philosophy, though not together. The experience of being brought to tears plays a crucial role in Alcibiades' account of listening to and undergoing philosophical speech in the *Symposium*. In his encomium to Socrates, Alcibiades compares the man to the satyr, Marsyas, whose tunes were superlatively capable of entrancing mankind. Like Marsyas, Socrates has such a capacity to entrance people,

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13 *Timaeus*, 68a.

though his tunes are comprised of prose, philosophical speech. In describing the effect of Socrates' speech, Alcibiades says as follows:

> For when I hear him I am worse than any wild fanatic; I find my heart leaping and my tears gushing forth at the sound of his speech, and I see great numbers of other people having the same experience. When I listened to Pericles and other skilled orators I thought them eloquent, but I never felt anything like this; my spirit was not left in a tumult and had not to complain of my being in the condition of a common slave: whereas the influence of our Marsyas here has often thrown me into such a state that I thought my life not worth living on these terms.[14]

We see here philosophical speech identified as a kind of speech that causes a leaping of the heart and a gushing forth of tears. Furthermore, this speech is one that subjects the listener, imposing itself on the listener who experiences themselves as a slave, a hostage to the words. It is a speech that dissolves the listener, bringing them to a state of considering their life no longer worth living as they have been. Yet this dissolution brings the listener for the first time to a genuine awareness of themselves, of the possibilities that lie open to them for living otherwise, for living authentically. All of this should sound familiar, for it mirrors in many ways the experience of the brilliant and the sensation of the dazzling. Attending to philosophy is precisely an attending to the brilliant—or rather, an undergoing of the brilliant, a subjection to the light that dazzles and brings us to tears. And this brilliance is figured in the speech of philosophy. This association between the philosopher and the light of the brilliant comes to the fore again in the *Sophist*. There, the stranger identifies the region in which the philosopher can be found as one that is hard to see clearly, precisely because "the philosopher, always devoting himself through reason

to the idea of being, is also very difficult to see on account of the brilliant light of the place."[15]

Despite the space Plato makes for the undergoing of the brilliance of being(s) in the metaphorical ground of philosophy, he falls short of being fully open to its power. For everything we have said about the undergoing of the brilliant pertains to those who are not yet philosophers. When Plato turns his attention to the education of philosophers, it becomes clear that this experience of the brilliant is propaedeutic and temporary. In the end, the brilliant will be domesticated. Plato gives us this impression in the *Republic*, when he offers his allegory of the cave. At first, someone formerly bound and fettered in the cave, upon experiencing the light of the world will feel pain "because of the dazzle and glitter of the light."[16] However, this pain and the light's dazzle are supposed to be overcome through adjusting slowly but surely to the light. Indeed, "finally, I suppose, he would be able to look upon the sun itself and see its true nature, not by reflections in water or phantasms of it in an alien setting, but in and by itself in its own place."[17] Yet if we accept the *Timaeus*'s account of the brilliant, we have done violence to the phenomenon in the course of its translation into a philosophical register. The brilliant is not something illusory that can be domesticated or overcome. To see the brilliant *as* brilliant is to be subject to its law of a sight without sight, an undergoing, a letting be of the otherness of the other, and an excess issuing in tears. If philosophy were to take the brilliant seriously there would be no well-adjusted philosophers.

4. Taking the Brilliant Seriously: Jacques Derrida and William Desmond

Leaving the above quip to one side, we should ask in all earnestness: what would be required to take seriously

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14 Plato, *Symposium,* in *Plato in Twelve Volumes*, Vol. 9, trans. Harold N. Fowler (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1925), 215d–216a.

15 Plato, *Sophist,* in *Plato in Twelve Volumes*, Vol. 12, trans. Harold N. Fowler (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1921), 254a.

16 Plato, *Republic,* in *Plato in Twelve Volumes*, Vols. 5 and 6, trans. Paul Shorey (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1969), 515c.

17 *Republic*, 516b.

Plato's account of seeing the brilliant? What would philosophy look like if we took that experience of sight as the metaphoric ground of philosophical vision? I want to begin working toward an answer to that question through the writings of Jacques Derrida. Derrida, with whom we began, offers some tantalizing possibilities for launching the metaphors of light and vision otherwise, though they are rare and sometimes foreclosed elsewhere.[18]

Derrida, like Levinas, is sensitive to the dangers of the long-standing friendship between philosophy and sight. In places, he (perhaps unwittingly) joins in the Levinasian project of attempting to turn our metaphoric attention elsewhere than sight. Thus, in *Eyes of the University: Right to Philosophy 2*, Derrida calls into question whether sight is in fact enough for knowledge:

> . . . to know how to learn, and learn how to know, sight, intelligence, and memory are not enough. We must also know how to hear, and to listen (*tōn psophōn akouein*). I might suggest somewhat playfully that we have to know how to shut our eyes in order to be better listeners.[19]

He develops this image further, invoking Aristotle's distinction between human beings and "those animals that have hard, dry eyes (*tōn sklerophtalmōn*), the animals lacking eyelids (*ta blephara*), that sort of sheath or tegumental membrane (*phragma*) that serves to protect the eye and permits it, at regular intervals, to close itself off in the darkness of inward thought or sleep."[20] Derrida exhorts the university not to become sclerophthalmic, allowing itself to close its eyes, so as to listen and learn how to know.

Yet even here, Derrida wants us to be acutely aware of the limits of this metaphor, precisely in its unwillingness to keep the eyes open: "Shutting off sight in order to learn is of course only a figurative manner of speaking. No one will take it literally, and I am not proposing to cultivate an art of blinking. I am resolutely in favor of a new university Enlightenment [*Aufklärung*]."[21] Elsewhere, Derrida attempts a different path away from the metaphor of sight that nevertheless insists on keeping the eyes open: the path of tears. In *Memoirs of the Blind*, Derrida suggests to us that perhaps it is in tears and not sight that the eyes come into their essential way of being: "Deep down, deep down inside, the eye would be destined not to see but to weep."[22] This weeping allows human beings to go beyond the work of seeing and knowing and toward a work that is more about a yearning for or an undergoing of that which is other in "prayer, love, joy or sadness."[23] He speaks of these tears as a "blindness that opens the eye."[24] Nevertheless, this opening is not a seeing; this is what Derrida wishes precisely to avoid. Seeing and knowing are set aside, while listening and crying open up something other than sight.

There is something unsatisfactory in Derrida's turn to tears precisely because tears, as we experience them, do not stand in opposition to sight. Chloé Taylor puts this point well when she writes that

> It is significant that wet, soft eyes are not blind eyes, and that we can see through tears, and see tears. We see while in tears, and see others in tears, and cry because of what we see. Vision is not blinded by tears, but rather may respond in tears, tears which blur without

18 This exploration of Derrida's relation to sight draws heavily on the work of Chloé Taylor in "Hard, Dry Eyes and Eyes That Weep: Vision and Ethics in Levinas and Derrida," *Postmodern Culture* 16, no. 2 (2006) doi:10.1353/pmc.2006.0021.

19 Jacques Derrida, *Eyes of the University: Right to Philosophy 2*, trans. Jan Plug and Others (Stanford University Press, 2004), 131.

20 Derrida, *Eyes of the University*, 132.

21 Derrida, *Eyes of the University*, 132.

22 Jacques Derrida, *Memoirs of the Blind: The Self-Portrait and Other Ruins*, trans. Pascale-Anne Brault and Michael Naas (The University of Chicago Press, 1993), 126.

23 Derrida, *Memoirs of the Blind*, 126.

24 Derrida, *Memoirs of the Blind*, 126.

fully obscuring, veil with transparent matter. Seeing in tears is thus an example of the way in which sight may be confused, unknowing, and thus not always an imposition of knowledge on the object of the gaze. Because we cry at what we see, and cry involuntarily, crying is an instance of sight which is passive, a response to the object of the gaze acting upon the eyes, an example of another way of seeing other than that which has dominated Western metaphysics.[25]

Taylor calls our attention to the concluding moment of *Memoirs*, in which Derrida signals his desire to move in this direction, toward a dissolution of the opposition between sight and tears. There, Derrida's interlocutor asks, "Tears that see . . . Do you believe?" Derrida responds, "I don't know, one has to believe."[26] Derrida's hesitant gesture here points toward the work we have been doing in this paper, excavating precisely a way of seeing that occasions tears, a way of seeing that could found and fund a philosophy that is stalwart in its commitment to be affected, to undergo the being of things in their otherness, to let that otherness affect us in joy, sadness, prayer, and love, to see what is confused *as* confused, as ambivalent and equivocal and plural.

It is at this point that we can turn to the work of William Desmond. Early in the first book of his monumental philosophy trilogy, Desmond outlines what he takes to be a central aspect of metaphysical thinking, a fertile ground that is and ought to be always present, even if at times it is occluded, for it is precisely from this ground and within this region that metaphysical thinking can take place. He names this ground "agapeic astonishment." Each word of this name is determined in relation to its other — the former in relation to *eros* and the latter in relation to what Desmond calls "perplexity." To begin with the former, erotic forms of mindfulness are those

which are moved by a sense of lack. In *eros*, "the thrust of mind's transcending seeks to overcome that lack, make determinate what is vague and indefinite, complete what is partial and unintegral."[27] Indeed, erotic mindfulness aims at a comprehensive grasp and knowledge of the whole. By contrast, an agapeic mindfulness begins not from lack but from excess, surplus and plenitude. The agapeic mind is confronted by the surfeit of being, its overdetermined, abundant presence, and seeks not to subordinate being to its categories but "to be genuinely self-transcending in going towards the otherness of being as other."[28] Where *eros* is associated with the movement of perplexity, *agape* finds its fulfillment in astonishment. Where perplexity marks the thrust toward a determinate grasp, astonishment marks that relation to being that precedes this perplexity and arises in the confrontation with the abundant givenness of being.

What is crucial for our purposes is the way in which Desmond articulates agapeic astonishment as a certain experience of light and vision, one that is other than that with which we are familiar. Desmond writes as follows:

> Astonishment, however, captures the sense of being rocked back on one's heel, as it were, by the otherness of being in its givenness . . . In astonishment one does not take possession of, or grasp anything. One finds oneself illuminated by a sudden surge of light: something—exactly what is hard to fix—is being revealed. One does not take hold of an object, one is taken hold of by this surge of light, taken out of oneself. One is impelled to self-transcendence by an initially unchosen illumination that is not objectified.[29]

For Desmond, astonishment, this fertile ground of metaphysical thinking, is an experience of light very much akin to the experience of the brilliant. A surge of

25 Chloé Taylor, "Hard, Dry Eyes and Eyes That Weep: Vision and Ethics in Levinas and Derrida," *Postmodern Culture* 16, no. 2 (2006).

26 Derrida, *Memoirs of the Blind*, 129.

27 William Desmond, *Being and the Between* (SUNY Press, 1995), 7.

28 Desmond, *Being and the Between*, 7.

29 Desmond, *Being and the Between*, 8.

light takes hold of us in a patient undergoing, and what is revealed in that experience is "hard to fix," not because of a lack but because of an abundant, excessive plurality — Plato's "colors of all kinds" — that impels us forward. Furthermore, much like the undergoing of the brilliant, this surge of being is not "simply a mode of mind, since it is a rupturing of mind, a breaking into mind of the enigmatic givenness of being."[30] Desmond is even more explicit about the relationship between this kind of metaphysical astonishment and a certain experience of perception later when he writes that

> There is an agape of the aesthetic . . . Something comes before us; as coming before us, it is prior; it rises before us out of its priority and gives our seeing the jolt of otherness that awakens mindfulness. But this prior mindfulness is anterior to our normal understanding of seeing—namely, as our self-directed perception of what is there. Rather it is an ontological receptivity prior to the usual senses of passivity and activity.[31]

Again, much like the experience of the brilliant, agapeic astonishment is a sight that exceeds sight and is also other than sight. Though Desmond doesn't speak of tears, he does speak of love and of joy. What this astonishment entails is a "love of other-being as other, which is not first chosen by self-conscious will but given, a gift to self-being."[32] As well, there is "a primal joy in being that is made to draw its breath in astonishment and that is a sign of the originary advent of metaphysical thinking."[33] We might hear in the background of Desmond's words Derrida's claim in *Memoirs* that "revelation is the moment of the 'tears of joy.'"[34]

In these passages then, Desmond offers us a first glimpse

at a thinking of philosophy, of metaphysical mindfulness, that is willing to plant its roots in the metaphoric soil of light, vision, and seeing, but that understands this seeing otherwise, in ways consonant with the other, idiosyncratic and enigmatic seeing of the "brilliant" in Plato's *Timaeus*.

5. Conclusion

In the course of this essay, we have traced a path from an obscure passage in Plato's *Timaeus* to vistas of possibility in the writings of Jacques Derrida and William Desmond with the hope of blazing a trail that will have intoned differently the metaphor of light and vision that has so dominated Western philosophy. Much remains to be said about what this kind of philosophical practice amounts to and where it stands in relation to other modes of philosophy and other modes of mindfulness, such as art, craft, and religion. Indeed, much perhaps remains to be said about vision and sight proper and what space remains in our thinking of sight for something like the phenomenon of the "brilliant" as articulated by Plato's *Timaeus*. Still, hopefully this paper offers a glimpse of an overdetermined, abundant, plural thing that is a philosophy to come, and has done so in ways that call forth thought.

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30 Desmond, *Being and the Between*, 9.
31 Desmond, *Being and the Between*, 9.
32 Desmond, *Being and the Between*, 10.
33 Desmond, *Being and the Between*, 11.
34 Derrida, *Memoirs of the Blind*, 126.

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DISCOURSE, RELIGION, AND THE POWER OF DUVALIER

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Haiti's history is one of powerful religion, historic rebellions, and complicated political leaders. One of its most infamous, François Duvalier, tied religion, identity, and politics together in a dangerous and compelling web, seizing and holding power as a brutal dictator. However, Duvalier and Haiti are often overlooked, due to entrenched European Enlightenment notions of religion, politics, and culture.

What happens when European Enlightenment thought interacts with religion, and how has this interaction positioned Haiti at the very corner of Enlightened discourse? Why has Haiti's importance been erased or overlooked? Given the wide-ranging scholarship on Enlightenment thought, Haiti, and power, an interdisciplinary analysis is the strongest option. While this paper is primarily a work of Religious Studies, drawing on the works of Talal Asad, William Rasch, and JZ Smith to explore the ways in which Enlightenment thought and religion have interacted, insights from political theorists such as Michel Foucault, Susan Buck-Morss, Barbara Arneil, and Antonio Gramsci are included for a more robust conversation about the nature of discourse, power, and Enlightenment. I also engage with historians of religion Bruce Lincoln and Paul Christopher Johnson to examine the ways in which Vodou in Haiti helped to bolster the rule of François Duvalier, and I use the work of Max Weber and Judith Butler to examine religion, Haitian

identity, and power. I argue that Duvalier's intimate understanding of Haitian religion, culture, and identity were what propelled him to power and allowed him to keep it.

Central to this paper is the discussion of "discourse," a Foucauldian term referring to the attitudes, language, and knowledge surrounding a concept, person, place, or thing. Discourse is pervasive, all-encapsulating, and its presence may very well be unknown by those who exist within it. Foucault explains that

> The field of discursive events . . . is a grouping that is always finite and limited at any moment to the linguistic sequences that have been formulated; they may be innumerable, they may, in sheer size, exceed the capacities of recording, memory, or reading: nevertheless they form a finite grouping.[2]

In essence, discourse groupings can be so broad that we do not know that they exist, do not consciously perceive them, and cannot pinpoint when they were created. They are often taken for granted and accepted as normative. Foucault argues that we cannot escape power dynamics and constructions, as all-encompassing, hegemonic ideas implicit (or explicit) in discourse are everywhere. Further, being aware of discourse is not enough to escape it, as being aware of power still fails to provide an exit from it. That said, discourse, once seen, can be examined and potentially shifted. I intend to examine the problematic

2   Michel Foucault, *The Archeology of Knowledge and the Discourse on Language*, trans. A. M. Sheridan Smith (New York: Pantheon Books, 1972), 27.

aspects of discourse surrounding Haiti, and to investigate at least one of the root causes of its development.

In 2010, popular *New York Times* columnist David Brooks wrote an op-ed about the 7.0 magnitude earthquake that killed between 45,000 and 50,000 Haitians in the span of a few days. Brooks correctly identifies structural factors underlying the earthquake that made its death toll significantly higher than an earthquake of similar magnitude in San Francisco, but rather than extending a kind hand, he asks readers to "acknowledge a few difficult truths" when considering how to mobilize a global response.[3] He first points to "the influence of the voodoo religion, which spreads the message that life is capricious and planning futile,"[4] implying that Haitians refuse to take control over their lives due to their religion. Brooks further accuses Haitians of not internalizing responsibility, calling their culture "progress-resistant" and advocating "[replacing] parts of the local culture with a highly demanding, highly intensive culture of achievement involving everything from new child-rearing practices to stricter schools to better job performance."[5] Brooks' arguments essentially blame Haitians, their culture, and their religion for the high death toll following the earthquake in Haiti. This piece was not in a far-right newspaper or a blog of Mr. Brooks' own creation: this was an op-ed in *The New York Times* and was deemed to have met its editorial standards. The publication of such an essay speaks to the prevalence of discourse portraying Haitians being at best irresponsible, and at worst, savages. How did such a discourse around Haiti arise? And why has this discourse persisted, even in the late 2000s? I argue that Haiti's religious culture and national origins position it at the fringes of European Enlightenment discourse, thereby making it seem unworthy of discussion and of the descriptor "enlightened."

When an Enlightenment mindset interacts with a religious group, one of two things are most likely to happen: either the influence of religion is thought to be so base that it is not considered, or, if religious influence is considered, it is approached in terms of Christianity. While religion is complex, many societies choose to erase religious nuance in the name of secular unity. Talal Asad argues that Western constructions of a state tend to focus on shared values as a nation, particularly in religiously diverse places. People may have many different reasons for supporting these values; given that they often include things like the right to life and liberty, there are often a variety of religious justifications of their worth.

However, nuanced religious justifications are replaced with "political principles," because stating that most people in a nation agree on a value is much easier and more unifying than qualifying that support with all the varied reasons that people may provide. Factors like religion are grouped together under "background justifications." So, without these nuanced factors in conversation, values become enshrined as political principles and as part of a national identity, rather than as personal convictions.[6] William Rasch explains that religious background justifications make "us" (those in Enlightenment-influenced societies) uncomfortable, using the example of Islamic fundamentalism. He writes that

> [M]ost of us, I suspect, recognize and feel comfortable with [. . .] the Enlightenment and the freedoms it bestowed on us—among them . . . freedom of speech . . . I also suspect that most of us almost instinctually shrink from . . . fundamentalism, especially religious fundamentalism, for most of us, I suspect, presuppose, whether explicitly or implicitly—though more likely only implicitly—the Enlightenment's cultural and political superiority, or, as we prefer to say, its universality, and most of us pit that inclusive

3   David Brooks, "The Underlying Tragedy," *New York Times*, January 14, 2010, https://www.nytimes.com/2010/01/15/opinion/15brooks.html

4   Brooks, "The Underlying Tragedy."

5   Brooks, "The Underlying Tragedy."

6   Talal Asad, *Formations of the Secular: Christianity, Islam, Modernity* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2003), 6-7.

universality against the exclusive particularity we associate with fundamentalism.[7]

Thus, the state is projected as entirely secular, removing the complexities of religion and religious identities or even ignoring them in pursuit of secular unity. While secularism can be useful in constructing a national identity, it minimizes religion. The religious aspects of a culture such as Haiti's are mitigated or washed away in discourse – that is, if Haiti is even recognized at all, because a state constructed with religious values and influence is, by extrapolation, divisive and disunited.

An example of this discourse at work can be found in scholarship on G.W.F. Hegel. Though not an Enlightenment thinker, modern interpretations of Hegel point to scholars' inability to take Haiti into consideration in his theories, even if revolution in Saint Domingue likely influenced his thought. Buck-Morss traces the subscription rates and circulation amongst several European newspapers, including those that Hegel certainly read. She found that the newspapers covered the Haitian Revolution, and that one even had a year-long continuing series about the revolution and the historical factors leading up to it.[8] Hegel wrote that "Reading the newspaper in early morning is a kind of realistic morning prayer. One orients one's attitude against the world and toward God [in one case], or toward that which the world is [in the other]. The former gives the same security as the latter, in that one knows where one stands."[9] But because Hegel never directly referred to the Haitian Revolution in his work, either he turned a blind eye to the revolution that began with a religious Vodou ceremony at Bois Caiman, or he actually was influenced by Haiti and most scholars

ignore that fact.[10] Buck-Morss believes that Hegel's master-slave dialectic, first written about in the time of the Haitian Revolution, was at least partially influenced by Haiti.[11] That Hegel scholars have largely missed this influence is a powerful example of the nature of discourse that frames Haiti, its revolution, and its religion as outside of Enlightenment thought.

An alternative mode of Enlightenment thought that embraces religion requires viewing it in normatively Christian language. JZ Smith explains that there is no natural definition of "religion;" instead, it is a term imposed on a group from people generally outside of that group. Smith explains that historically, religion has been parsed into one of two categories: "our religion" and "their religion," and sometimes even "true religion" and "false religion."[12] Given the encounters that Europeans had with practitioners of other religions, and given the religion that most European scholars of religion practiced, Christianity became a sort of "ideal model" of religion—everything was related to it, even judged in comparison to it.[13] Some religions deemed very different from Christianity were even classified as "natural religions" or "idolatry," creating a stark division between "Christian us" and "uncivilized them."[14] Positioning Christianity at an apex to which all other religions may be compared continued past the Enlightenment, seeping into modern Religious Studies education.[15] Viewing religion as normatively Christian is problematic in multiple ways. First, it creates a schism

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7   William Rasch, "Enlightenment as Religion," *New German Critique*, no. 108, Fall 2009, 115.

8   Susan Buck-Morss, "Hegel and Haiti," *Critical Inquiry* 26, no. 4, Summer 2000. 837-838.

9   Buck-Morss, "Hegel in Haiti," 844.

10 See Terry Rey, "Catholicism and Human Rights in Haiti: Past, Present, and Future," *Religion & Human Rights: An International Journal* 1, no. 3 (2006), 233, for brief discussion and historical contextualization of Bois Caiman as the beginning of the Haitian Revolution.

11 Buck-Morss, "Hegel in Haiti," 844.

12 Jonathan Z. Smith, *Relating Religion: Essays in the Study of Religion* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2004), 187.

13 Smith, *Relating Religion*, 187.

14 Smith, *Relating Religion*, 190.

15 Smith, *Relating Religion*, 191; see Tomoko Masuzawa's *The History of World Religions: Or, How European Universalism Was Preserved in the Language of Pluralism* for an excellent discussion of the problems of the World Religions model often used in contemporary Religious Studies education.

between Christian and non-Christian people, as well as between religions similar and dissimilar to Christianity; it fails to see religions as unique, contextualized, and rooted in culture, and at worst, it values certain religions over others. Second, when not tied to secularism, Enlightenment thought has been tied to Christianity; to not be Christian or like Christians is to be unenlightened. In his *Two Treatises of Government*, John Locke links property value, rationality, Christianity, and industry, implying that stationary farming is more fruitful and rational than migratory or subsistence farming. Barbara Arneil argues that this designation makes English colonizers more rational than the indigenous farmers they were stealing land from.[16] Locke says that anyone can be rational, making space to acknowledge Native Americans as real people and not animals, but that gesture is made empty when he argues that rationality begins with a Christian God. In response to a passage from *Two Treatises of Government*, Arneil writes that

> Locke is not excluding Amerindians from the 'industrious and rational' criteria. On the contrary, when the Indian adopts an agrarian form of labour, a sedentary lifestyle and private appropriation while recognizing the Christian God and developing English forms of education and culture, he will qualify under both criteria and enjoy the fight to share equally in God's gift.[17]

Locke's rationality is inextricably linked to Christianity; even the most generous reading of his work acknowledges that for Locke a Christian-like religion is needed for civil society. Locke is not alone in this linkage. Thomas Hobbes believed in mixing religion and civil society as a way to keep the two powers from acting in opposition, citing Christianity as a highly viable exemplar.[18] Notably, Jean-Jacques Rousseau believed that Christianity was not viable as a unifying religion, since people would be more loyal to priests than to government officials. However, his civil religion still contains many Christian hallmarks such as belief in a benevolent God and a just afterlife of reward or punishment, and it was intended to be a kind of half-way between Christianity and atheism built to engender civil peace.[19] Whether well-intentioned or rooted in ideas of superiority, Christianity and Enlightened society have been linked whenever room for religion has been made. While Haiti is largely Catholic, Vodou is the religion of its masses; it does not quite meet the standard of being a Christian Enlightened society. Haiti is neither entirely secular, nor entirely Christian. Because it is in the middle of acceptable Enlightenment positions, it is pushed to the side of acceptable discourse, discounted for its religiosity.

While the op-ed by Brooks is a powerful encapsulation of Haiti's existence on the margins of Enlightenment discourse, Duvalier's rule provides important lessons about the power that religion and culture have in transforming popular support into tangible political power. Broadly, culture is an important tool to those seeking to exercise power because culture is often hegemonic, composed of a set of values and ideas that are taken for granted as truth. Gramsci writes of power's exercise that "These two levels correspond on the one hand to the function of 'hegemony' which the dominant group exercises throughout society and on the other hand to that of 'direct domination' or command exercised through the State and 'juridical' government."[20] In short, power can be wielded through direct political action and

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16 Barbara Arneil, "The Wild Indian's Venison: Locke's Theory of Property and English Colonialism in America," *Political Studies* 44, no. 1, 1996. 63.

17 Arneil, "The Wild Indian's Venison," 67.

18 David Williams, *Rousseau's Social Contract: An Introduction* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2014) 194.

19 Williams, *Rousseau's Social Contract*, 199-200.

20 Antonio Gramsci, *Selections from the Prison Notebooks of Antonio Gramsci*, ed. and trans. Quentin Hoare and Geoffrey Nowell Smith, (London: Lawrence and Wishart, 1999), 145.

hegemony, with hegemony being just as important.[21] Duvalier himself made great use of culture and hegemony in Haiti, tapping into the anger and frustration of poor Haitians, and into the pervasiveness of Vodou in Haitian culture and history. All of this together provided for a rule bolstered by national subjectivity and charismatic leadership, allowing Duvalier to maintain his power even after his brutal crackdowns began.

Duvalier rose to power by embracing *noirisme* politics. At the time of his campaign, Haiti was stratified dramatically, with a working Black poor with little political power, and a wealthy, powerful class of mixed-race ("*milat*") people.[22] This system was a vestige of Haiti's former colonial domination: just as enslaved Blacks outnumbered their white enslavers, the mixed-race folks in power were vastly outnumbered by comparatively poorer Blacks. The racial hierarchy was also linked to American occupation of Haiti in the early 1900s, and the light-skinned elite were often supported by the United States and the Catholic Church.[23] This stratification was present in nearly all political issues. As Nichols explains, "There has hardly been an important issue in Haiti where colour has not played a part; it is never the sole factor, and is not always the dominant factor, but colour is rarely absent."[24] *Noirisme* politics offered a populist alternative to Haiti's racial hierarchy, positing Blackness as the soul of Haitian identity; to be

light-skinned was to be less Haitian than someone with darker skin.[25] *Noirisme* also represented a nationalizing force, as it was an attempt to build a uniquely Haitian identity and to explore the idea of the "Haitian soul."[26] Part of this was recognizing Haiti's history and roots in Africa, with Duvalier himself writing

> nous avons sacrifié notre jeunesse à luter pour une littérature indigene, de même, nous fumes accusé de prêcher le retour à l'Afrique parce que nous préconisons l'étude de nos origins, la connaissance, la mise en valeur de notre folklore, voire même dans son intégration dans la Vie nationale en vue de conférer une personnalité collective à l'Homme Haitiain.[27]

In short, to be Haitian in the *noirisme* movement was to be Black, to have African ancestry, and to integrate Haitian folklore and literature into a national identity. While popular in Haiti, *noirisme* proved to be threatening to white American elites. While they considered Duvalier the best of a batch of threatening candidates, a *New York Times* article from 1967 charged him with running a "black racist campaign" in a "backward country."[28] This is representative of discourse surrounding Haiti; because Haiti was born out of rebellion, and because it is a Black country, it is attacked, if it is even acknowledged. This is evident in the racist rhetoric in the handful of articles that were written in high-profile American newspapers at the time.

The question of who can be a Haitian is fundamentally grounded in subjectivity, or the creation of subjects. Butler engages in questions of subjectivity, or how a subject is constituted, in several of her works. While Butler is primarily concerned with gender, the broad concept of

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21 I would like to note that because Gramsci is a Marxist, he subscribes to a base/superstructure conception of power, in contrast to a more diffused model espoused by Foucault in the concept of discourse. Discourse and hegemony are not incompatible, however, as dominant discourses are shaped by hegemonic ideas, and vice versa. While Gramsci positions hegemony in base/superstructure, it can easily be supplanted to function elsewhere because of its entrenchment in culture; Gramsci need not be relegated to discussions of class and class domination, as culture's utility extends far beyond those, allowing it to fit in neatly with diffuse power. For an excellent discussion of Gramsci in a poststructuralist work, see Chapter 1 in Jean and John Comaroff, *Of Revelation and Revolution: Christianity, Colonialism and Consciousness in South Africa.*

22 David Nichols, "Haiti: The Rise and Fall of Duvalierism," *Third World Quarterly* 8, no. 4 (Oct. 1986), 1239-1240.

23 Nichols, "Haiti," 1240; Martin Munroe, "Noirisme and the Griots," Florida International University, accessed 24 Nov 2020. http://islandluminous. fiu.edu/part09-slide17.html

24 Nichols, "Haiti," 1240.

25 Munroe, "Noirisme and the Griots;" and Paul Christopher Johnson, "Secretism and the Apotheosis of Duvalier," *Journal of the American Academy of Religion* 74, no. 2, June 2006, 423.

26 Munroe, "Noirisme and the Griots."

27 François Duvalier and Lorimer Denis, *Problème des classes à travers l'histoire d'Haïti* (Port-au-Prince: Les Éditions Fardin, 1965), xiv.

28 "Iron Hand in Haiti," *New York Times*, August 4, 1967, 6.

creating a subject based on constitutive actions can be ascribed to nearly any identity. Butler writes that

> Though phenomenology sometimes appears to assume the existence of a choosing and constituting agent prior to language (who poses as the sole source of its constituting acts), there is also a more radical use of the doctrine of constitution that takes the social agent as an object rather than the subject of constitutive acts.[29]

In essence, Butler asks that we view ourselves as created by certain acts, not subject to them — we are created by them, in perpetuity. Identities have inherent characteristics: creating a group means that someone will not belong to that group. Groups are, by nature, exclusionary.

> For the subject to be a pregiven point of departure for politics is to defer the question of the political construction and regulation of the subject itself; for it is important to remember that subjects are constituted through exclusion, that is, through the creation of a domain of deauthorized subjects, presubjects, figures of abjection, populations erased from view.[30]

In Duvalier's Haiti, *noirisme* constituted who was Haitian and who was not, asking the Haitian people to embrace certain facets of their country's culture, religion, and history to be constituted as national subjects. The *milat* were excluded. By specifically shaping "l'Homme Haitian," Duvalier created a sort of in-group and an out-group, rallying large swaths of the Haitian poor behind him. The creation of such groups made it appear as though Duvalier had more popular support than he actually did: propaganda saying that "La nation entiere l'acclame Dr.

François Duvalier" is much more convincing when there are narrow parameters for who belongs to that nation.[31] By creating a restrictive national subjectivity, Duvalier cultivated popular support that hinged not just on his own image, but on broader beliefs about what constituted a truly Haitian person.

Part of Duvalier's *noirisme* politics was an embrace of Vodou. To Duvalier, *noirisme* required a spiritual identity as well as a racial one.[32] Identity is intertwined with Blackness and nationalism: to practice Vodou is to be Haitian, which is also to be Black. Because of its roots in enslavement, Vodou has also traditionally been viewed as a product of resistance, creating an insular community to weather attacks from a hostile state.[33] In fact, even in the early days of Haiti, Vodou was still persecuted by its new governance.[34] As recently as the 1940s, Catholic leaders in Haiti led "anti-superstition" purges, destroying drums, symbols, and Vodou altars in an attempt to destroy the religion.[35] In contrast, Duvalier recast Vodou as a part of national identity. He reclaimed it as a source of national identity in the face of international attacks: Vodou was pure Haitian, and its existence strengthened a state that needed to stand against other countries (this is highly ironic given the United States' strong support of Duvalier as anti-communist).[36] As a result, Duvalier won the support of a great many *houngans* (Vodou priests), infusing his campaign and dictatorship with spiritual power.[37]

Nationalizing a Vodou identity was not enough to cement Duvalier's power. While Vodou is practiced in a wide variety of ways to adapt to new losses, struggles, and deaths among Haitians, its practice is still fairly

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29 Judith Butler, "Performative Acts and Gender Constitution: An Essay in Phenomenology and Feminist Theory," in *Performing Feminisms: Feminist Critical Theory and Theatre*, ed. Sue-Ellen Case (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1990), 270.

30 Judith Butler, "Contingent Foundations: Feminism and the Question of 'Postmodernism,'" in *Feminists Theorize the Political*, ed. Judith Butler and Joan W. Scott (New York: Routledge, 1994) 13.

31 See this propaganda photo: HaitianPhotos, accessed 28 Feb 2021, haitianphotos.com/photos/francois-duvalier-vouloire-detruire-duvalier-cest-vouloir-de.html

32 Munroe, "Noirisme and the Griots."

33 Johnson, "Secretism," 424.

34 Johnson, "Secretism," 423.

35 Johnson, "Secretism," 428.

36 Johnson, "Secretism," 424.

37 Nichols, "Haiti," 1240.

clandestine, shrouded in what Paul Christopher Johnson calls "secretism."[38] In many indigenous and diasporic religions, there is a layer of exclusivity; this makes sense, as many of these religions have experienced extreme violence, were born of it, or both. Part of this exclusivity is a secrecy that guards certain knowledge; to be privy to this knowledge is to be in the "inner circle."[39] Johnson explains that while secrecy can be a vital part of belonging to a group, secrets and secretism can be powerful tools of totalitarianism.[40] While secrets were a less important piece of Duvalier's political rule, secretism certainly helped him to cement his power as a "man of the people." As a show of Duvalier's authenticity as a practitioner of Vodou, he maintained secrecy similar to other Vodou practitioners. Publicly, he threw his support behind Catholicism, making it the official state religion of Haiti even as he clashed with the Catholic Church.[41] But behind closed doors, Duvalier circulated rumors that he took part in secret, powerful Vodou ceremonies. Amongst these rumors were that he sought spiritual counsel from the *loa* (powerful Vodou ancestor spirits) in his bathtub, that he kept the head of his enemy Blucher Philogènes as a way to receive knowledge of plans against him, and that he used animal entrails to divine the future.[42] Whether or not Duvalier actually did those things is inconsequential. By spreading these rumors, Duvalier brilliantly played on expectations of secrecy to cement his authenticity. Few practitioners would ever publicly admit to their involvement in Vodou, and Duvalier knew that. Keenly aware of Vodou's secretism, he used these cultural norms to position himself as legitimate. Duvalier also dressed as Baron Samedi, leader of the Guédé *loa* (the *loa* of the dead), in many of his public appearances. Johnson recounts the writings of a man who visited Duvalier and was met with black curtains, candles, and darkness as soon

as Duvalier's chamber was opened.[43] Duvalier wore black suits in public, often with tails, and accessorized with top hats, canes, and black sunglasses. His *tonton makoutes*, secret police named after a Haitian bogeyman, wore dark glasses as well.[44] He deliberately invoked the image of the Guédé, who are simultaneously fearsome and popular *loa* called on for issues ranging from everyday troubles to life-or-death situations: their power was fused with his image and rule. Duvalier never made this practice explicit, but as Johnson explains, "the meaning of the garb was never explicated, and it did not have to be."[45] Like the rumors that Duvalier spread, the silent impersonation of Baron Samedi gave him more authenticity. Duvalier's intimate knowledge of Vodoun conventions and culture allowed him to construct a fearsome, accessible, and authentic image.

Vodou was not the only tool Duvalier used to rule with divine power; Duvalier also inserted himself into the pantheon of Haitian heroes by drawing a direct connection to the Haitian Revolution. He specifically referenced Jean-Jacques Dessalines, a member of the infamous trio with Toussaint Louverture and Henri Christophe, the leaders of Haiti's revolution. While all three are all held in high-esteem, Duvalier latched onto Dessalines because of his role in founding the new post-Revolution government.[46] Dessalines was instrumental in writing a new constitution banning slavery and renaming the former colony of St. Domingue to Haiti.[47] He also went on to become the first Emperor of Haiti, known for bold and sometimes violent responses to colonial injustices faced by his people.[48] Beloved by many, Dessalines became associated with the *loa* Papa Ogou Feray, the fiery archetype of Ogou associated with war and weaponry.[49]

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38 Johnson, "Secretism," 421.
39 Johnson, "Secretism," 425.
40 Johnson, "Secretism," 426.
41 Johnson, "Secretism," 423, 426.
42 Johnson, "Secretism," 427.

43 Johnson, "Secretism," 438.
44 Johnson, "Secretism," 438.
45 Johnson, "Secretism," 438.
46 Johnson, "Secretism," 435.
47 Johnson, "Secretism," 435.
48 Johnson, "Secretism," 435.
49 Johnson, "Secretism," 436.

In an effort to weave himself into the tapestry of divine Haitian leadership, Duvalier changed Haiti's flag to the one Dessalines originally designed and declared the day of Dessalines' death a national holiday.[50] Perhaps the most ambitious of his invocations of Dessalines involved hanging posters in Port-au-Prince that proclaimed "Dieu, the great worker of the universe; Dessalines, the supreme artisan of liberty; Duvalier, architect of the new Haiti."[51] Placing himself in a trinity alongside God and the now-immortalized Dessalines, Duvalier not only drew a connection back to the Haitian Revolution, but instilled himself with even more divine power to support his rule. His deliberate choice of Haitian hero and cultural icon-turned-spirit allowed him to build his credibility as a truly Haitian leader through ancestral invocation. Bruce Lincoln explains that when

> separate individuals recall their common descent from (and thus attachment to) a given ancestor that they reawaken their (latent) feelings of affinity for, and attachment to, one another. In this very moment and by the very act of memory, they (re-)define themselves as kin, that is, persons who are joined together in the same familial group. In this way the past shapes the present, invocation of an ancestor being simultaneously the evocation of a correlated social group.[52]

By linking himself to Dessalines, Duvalier positioned himself as the new patriarch of Haiti; Haiti is metaphorically one large family, and he has the power of its creator. By assuming a patriarchal role with the spirit of Dessalines, Duvalier became the inevitably ordained leader of the country. This mixing of a revolutionary figure and a divine power would have been enough to shock Enlightenment senses; positioning himself as Dessalines further placed Duvalier outside the discourse of dictatorship.

All of these factors together present the image of François Duvalier as a charismatic leader, creating powerful subjectivities and tapping into Haitian culture in resonant, adroit, and uncanny ways. He presented himself as a man of the people, but imbued with divine, immortal power. This is an example of how religion and divinity can create what Max Weber calls a "charismatic leader." Weber describes three types of legitimate leadership: rational, traditional, and charismatic. Rational leaders draw on legal authority; traditional rulers on traditions; and charismatic leaders on a cult of personality.[53] Charisma specifically relies on trust in a leader's words, personal heroism, or other innate or demonstrated qualities.[54] Because it relies on trust, charismatic leadership is the most easily fractured of the types of legitimate rule and the most compelling: it relies on individual belief and on showmanship. The qualities that won Duvalier trust and support were a deep understanding of the troubles of lower-class Haitians, a piousness in Vodou, and divine rule through Baron Samedi and Dessalines. Religion was the force that fueled his credibility. Weber shows that charismatic leadership is powerful, and religion can be one of the most useful ways in which to fuel it.

Duvalier's rule demonstrates the power that religion and culture can have in gaining political power, popular support, and a legacy. This is not to say that all Haitians supported Duvalier—especially not all *houngans* and *mambos*. Duvalier had his fair share of political and religious opponents, including many high-profile Catholics, political figures, and everyday Haitians. Yet his invocations of culture and religion worked.

Haiti has largely been ignored in popular discourse and in certain fields because it does not fit the Enlightenment mold. It is neither secular, nor normatively Christian, and because of that, has been marginalized. However, Haiti speaks to the power that religion can have in motivating a

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50 Johnson, "Secretism," 436.

51 Johnson, "Secretism," 435.

52 Bruce Lincoln, *Discourse and the Construction of Society: Comparative Studies of Myth, Ritual, and Classification* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1989), 20.

53 Max Weber, *Economy and Society*, eds. Guenther Roth and Claus Wittich (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2013), 215.

54 Weber, *Economy and Society*, 216.

people, in being part of a vibrant culture, and in allowing some people to seize political power. By eschewing Enlightenment norms and standards, many lessons can be learned from Haiti itself, as well as from the Duvalier regime.

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'WTF IS THIS TREND?': THE SOCIO-CULTURAL CONSTRUCTION OF THE DEPRESSION IDENTITY

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ABSTRACT   In the contemporary United States, young adults, aged 18-29, are more likely to experience symptoms of depression than are people in any other age group (Villaroel and Terlizzi 2020). Moreover, theory on identity formation suggests both that popular culture shapes how people experience their depression and that discussions on social media create and maintain symbolic boundaries (Durkheim 1911; Lamont et al. 2015). In order to understand these processes more fully, this study conducts a qualitative content analysis of 11 Reddit posts on depression and popular culture and a focus group on beliefs about depression and identity maintenance among of three young men. The respondents in the study believe that the increasing representation of depression in popular culture has decreased mental health related stigmas. However, respondents also engage in heavy boundary policing of who is authentically depressed, effectively re-stigmatizing many people with low mood who express their emotions publicly.

In the contemporary United States, young adults are more likely to experience depression than are people in any other age group (Lamont et al 2015) and rates of depression grew significantly faster among adolescents than any other age group between 2005 and 2015 (Weinberger et al. 2018). While some scholars suggest that increasing portrayals of people with depression in popular culture work to decrease the stigma associated with being depressed (Rubin 2014), others argue that these portrayals shift both symbolic boundaries and stigma without actually attenuating (Epstein 1992). In order to better examine the relationships between young adults' experiences and perceptions of depression, the portrayal of depression in popular media, and symbolic boundaries and stigma relating to depression, this study examines 11 Reddit posts and a transcript from a focus group of three young male college students. While preliminary, the study finds that people perceive

a cultural and social shift in attitudes about depression. In particular, respondents believe that it is increasingly common to share personal mental health experiences on social media, celebrate celebrities who disclose their mental health struggles, and advocate for the de-stigmatization of depression. However, mental health discussions on social media can be quite divisive. Many Reddit users argued that attention-seeking young people fake depression and that popular culture had transformed depression from a serious illness to a "trendy" aesthetic. To differentiate themselves, respondents stressed their identity as *authentically* depressed. Hence, among these respondents, experiences and perceptions of depression are inseparable from identity performance and authenticity.

To better understand these results, the study draws on the work of Ridge and Ziebland (2012) who compare the experiences and identities of the LGBTQ community to those who suffer from mental illness. Interestingly, progressive medical professionals constructed both the labels "homosexual" and "depressed" in the 19th and 20th centuries; while these professionals often perceived of

their work as helpful, these constructions solidified and directed stigmas.

In addition, Ridge and Ziebland (2012) note that as people solidify their new identities, they build symbolic boundaries, constructing the world as 'them' and 'us'. In owning their identities, people differentiated themselves from non-depressed others. Ridge and Ziebland (2012) offer a comprehensive explanation for this phenomenon. Identity theory states that it is natural for people to self-categorize themselves into groups. Those with shared group participation are considered the in-group while those who differ from the self-categorized are viewed as the out-group (Stets and Burke 2000). In short, this behavior is to be expected and does not require extensive scrutiny.

Instead, this study focuses on the processes of self-categorization and symbolic boundary maintenance. In addition to labeling themselves as depressed, people stressed their authenticity. Depression might not carry the same stigma it did during the 19th and 20th centuries, but it's medical and cultural meanings are still subject to debate. To investigate the relationship between culture, identity, and depression, I conduct content analysis on 11 Reddit posts and interview 3 college students. Media content and discussion centers around depression as an illness and identity in popular culture, with a focus on social media and music. By narrowing down to these topics, I can understand what depression means in society today.

My analysis yields three major findings. First, I discover that when discussing mental health, people value perceived intentions. Respondents question other people's motives for identifying as depressed to protect their own identities. Moreover, respondents argue that "others" claim to be depressed because they are attention-seekers and because popular culture has deemed depression as trendy (Said 1978). Secondly, respondents worry that depression is trivialized by inauthentic claims

and is romanticized by popular culture. They interrogate other people's motives because inauthentic motives could negatively change societal perceptions of depression. In addition, boundaries around the depressed identity are so unclear that people begin to question their own authenticity. I conclude that efforts to destigmatize depression have been unsuccessful. Rather, depression has been re-stigmatized because judging authenticity of experience is a form of stigma.

The Social Construction of Major Depressive Disorder
Cultural cognitive and constructionist approaches. Eviatar Zerubavel is a leading scholar of the culturalist cognitive sociology paradigm, which:

> ". . . studies the socio-mental conventions by which we perceive, attend to, and disattend to features of social reality, classify and categorize the world, create meaning, construct identity, remember events and comprehend time" (Brekhus 2007:448).

Zerubavel (1997) argues that cognition is not the product of nuances or universals of the human mind; rather, cognition is socially constructed because we live and think as social beings. Additionally, he asserts that culture shapes our thought-processes; we think as social beings under specific cultural conditions. Thus, the meanings we apply to identity are both socially and culturally constructed. The Zerubavelian perspective parallels the social constructionist perspective, so I include both within the literature review. Berger and Luckman (1966) define social constructionism as the belief that phenomena develops through social interaction. Both perspectives state that social realities, meaning, and experiences are directly shaped by society.

The Medicalization Process. The cultural context of the 1970s and 1980s influenced how depression is diagnosed and treated today. Psychiatrists felt pressure to solidify their scientific status in the medical field. As a result, psychiatric professionals revolutionized the way mental

illnesses were classified and diagnosed through the third edition of the Diagnostic and Statistical Manual of Mental Disorders (DSM). The DSM-III is unique from older editions because it broadens what symptoms qualify as depression.

Proponents of social constructionist theory argue that the addition of Major Depressive Disorder to the DSM-III was responsible for the emergence of an "Age of Depression" (Horwitz 2011:42). MDD was portrayed as a common disorder that could be treated with pharmaceuticals. This process is defined as medicalization, in which "human experiences are framed as health and medical matters" (Barker 2014:169). Our culture asserts that symptoms of depression require medical attention, which has the effect of normalizing the frequency of antidepressant prescriptions (Dumit 2005; Scheff 2013). An obvious example is the popularity of Prozac, whose household status made it a cultural symbol for depression management in America.

The Normalization Process and Stigma. Expanding on the concept of normalization, Bröer and Besseling (2017) look at the interaction between low mood and cultural norms. They find that people commonly draw on medical definitions of depression to deal with low mood. However, because depression diagnoses have become normalized in society, the term *depression* takes on new cultural meanings. Horwitz and Wakefield (2007) argue depression has lost its clinical definition and that people now use the term depression to denote normal sadness. One question remains; how has this shift impacted the stigma attached to depression?

Erving Goffman (1963) conceptualized stigma as an undesirable attribute that discredits a person. He goes on to say that identities are damaged when they are stigmatized by society, so individuals must constantly regulate their presentations to others. The medicalization of depression, for example, constructed depression as an unwanted condition that requires treatment. This construction led to stigma, which in turn dissuades people from disclosing their illness and receiving care (Hendry 2020). Accordingly, when people internalize negative perceptions about themselves from others—self-stigmatize—it decreases the willingness of individuals to seek help for depression (Schormerus, Matschinger, and Angermeyer 2009).

The Intersection of Stigma, Identity, and Culture

Stigma and Culture. It is important to note that people can challenge and attenuate the stigma attached to parts of their identities. Studies of popular music have provided numerous insights into the way popular culture and stigma interact. One way to view music is as a way for individuals to express who they are or who they want to be. In this conception, popular music reflects the underlying socio-cultural values of a group or society (Dolfsma 1999). Drawing from these ideas, popular music should be able to communicate how stigmatized mental illness is in American culture.

Kresovich (2020) surveyed college students to measure their attitudes about popular music and mental health. Students who were exposed to pop songs that referenced mental health difficulties stigmatized mental illness less, showed more support for public mental health resources, and were more willing to support people with mental ill health than were students who were not exposed to these songs. Of course, it is impossible to specify causality from such studies as it may be that students who stigmatized mental illness less are more likely to seek out such music. Nonetheless, when students formed a personal connection with either the song or the artist, empathy for those who suffer from mental illness increased. Kresovich (2020) claims that the findings signify a cultural change in our perceptions of mental illness. When role models, like popular recording artists, disclose their own struggles with mental illness, listeners begin normalizing and destigmatizing it.

Identity and Stigma. Many theorists understand identity as produced through roles. When we take on a given role, for example, that of a student, we adopt behaviors and self-meanings that others expect of this role group (Thoits and Virshup 1997; Stets and Burke 2000). As such, Stets and Burke (2000) argue that roles, groups, and identities cannot be separated. When someone occupies a role, they simultaneously belong to a group, and adopt an identity, through which perceptions and behaviors are shaped. This reiterative process is a substantially social one, as people interact with other people in particular social conditions.

If individuals adopt a role or identity that is stigmatized, they can use various techniques to resist that stigma. One of those techniques is positive in-grouping stereotyping, in which people protect their self-esteem by selectively embracing dimensions of a stigmatized identity that wider society can view as positive (Illic et al. 2014). In Ridge and Ziebland's work, depressed people focused on perceived advantages of their illness, like being sensitive and insightful. However, these stigma resisting techniques do not always yield positive results. Media coverage of bipolar disorder in the early 2000s changed how people viewed the illness (Chan and Sterling 2010). Interviews and personal accounts of celebrities with bipolar disorder challenged the stigma that it produces dangerous behavior; rather, bipolar disorder became associated with creativity and celebrity status.

The Value of Authenticity

Questioning Authenticity. Identity and authenticity are strongly related concepts. Echoing a cultural cogitative and constructionist framework, Erickson (1995) explains that both identity and authenticity are grounded through social context and meaning. Authenticity is experienced as a self-referential concept, but it is in fact intensely social and other derived because individuals commit to identities to satisfy their roles, maintain relationships, and earn appraisal from others. Nonetheless, Erickson (1995) believes that following self-values (i.e., being authentic), maintains self-appraisals. As a result, individuals commit to identities that allow them to express their values. When these values are violated, feelings of inauthenticity emerge.

Similarly, Michael (2015) uses a definition of authenticity that explicitly references others. Authenticity is perceived by individuals through the concepts of naturalness, openness, and individuality. In Michael's (2015) study of hipster culture, young people stressed that aesthetic preferences must be inner-directed. Any behavior that they describe as attention-seeking, copied, or being performed for the wrong reasons is labeled inauthentic.

For my own study, I will use both perspectives to analyze authenticity. I agree with Erickson's insistence that authenticity is felt inwardly, but I also believe outward applications should be included. People pursue an identity that is viewed as authentic by others, just as people prefer to consume "authentic" products and interact with "authentic" people (Lehman, Kovacs, and Carroll 2018). Authenticity will depend on several factors within culture and society, so it should not be defined solely as a self-concept.

Methods

To understand the role authenticity plays in identity formation, I conducted qualitative, content analysis of two data types: Reddit posts and a focus group transcript. Because I am interested in the way people perceived culture and depression, I looked for interpretive meaning in the data. While my findings are not generalizable given the small size and non-random nature of my sample, the findings can direct future research and theorizing.

Reddit Posts. The study used a purposive sampling approach to select Reddit blog posts. Reddit content is divided by accounts (subreddits) dedicated to specific topics, interests, and subcultures. Therefore, I was able to narrow down two relevant subreddits to extract posts from, r/depression and r/teenagers. Both communities had a plethora of content dealing with mental illness.

The r/teenagers account provides the perspective of young people who interact the most with popular culture and new musical trends, and the r/depression account ensures my data remains focused. I included posts that met two criteria. First, they had to be posted in either r/teenagers or r/depression between the years 2019 and 2021. I chose that date range because my focus group was conducted in 2020 and I wanted to keep my data rooted within a common time frame. Second, they had to discuss depression in relation to popular culture. I collected 11 Reddit posts in total; 6 covered social media trends, 3 covered music, and 2 covered depression and culture generally.

Focus Group. I interviewed a small focus group of three young men, all of whom are Caucasian, male college students between the ages of 20 and 21. To respect their privacy, I use the pseudonyms Will, Bobby, and David when quoting them. All three participants are in their junior year at the same public college, are members of the same fraternity, live together, and come from middle-class backgrounds. They are interesting participants because they are members of a traditionally very masculine campus organization, the fraternity. Their views on mental health related issues could shed light on how people in our society stigmatize depression today. Since there seems to have been a push in recent years to de-stigmatize mental illness, I expected the respondents to be familiar with the topic, especially with how the topic is portrayed on social media and in music and framed my questions accordingly.

Analysis. The study uses an inductive content analytic approach to code each piece of evidence by its context and tone. First, I identified two opposing tones emerged from the data: people were either supportive or critical of mental illness discourse in popular culture. Next, I used Brekhus' (2007) interpretation of the Zerubavelian method, focusing on "analytic highlight reels" (p.458), through which the researcher isolates key highlights from the data and conducts a theme-driven analysis. Through this process, I isolated pieces of data that were relevant to identity creation and authenticity. Next, I compared the data and identified recurring themes. I narrowed my analysis by taking the perspective of those who identified themselves as "authentically" depressed individuals. This allowed me to understand how these respondents came to view others as inauthentic. Finally, I categorized the data according to assumed motivations (for adopting an identity as depressed) and meanings (surrounding the causes and consequences of inauthenticity).

Preliminary Findings

My observations complement the findings in Ridge and Ziebland's (2012) narrative analysis. They identify, "may construct the world as them and us," as a theme in depression narratives (p.734). I specifically analyzed Reddit posts and interview quotes that were framed with an "us" and "them" world view. I analyzed the data through the lens of the critical presumptively "authentic" people. Through this, I find that these respondents value intentions and question motivations for identifying as depressed. They argue that "others" claim to be depressed because they are attention-seekers and because popular culture has deemed depression as trendy. Respondents believe depression is trivialized by inauthentic claims and is romanticized by popular culture. As a result, they attack other peoples' motives for adopting an identity of depressed, arguing that inauthentic motivations negatively impact societal perceptions of depression. Finally, symbolic boundaries around the depressed identity are currently so unclear that respondents question their own authenticity.

Challenging Motives: "WTF is this trend?"

There are several reasons why an identity's authenticity is challenged. I find that these reasons can be grouped and described as a challenge to motives. The motivations for identifying as depressed are the deciding factor in determining authenticity. Those who are inauthentic use the identity because they are attention-seeking and/or because the identity has become culturally trendy.

One Reddit post titled, *Why does kids think being depressed is an aesthetic now,* garnered lots of attention. The post's creator cites the emergence of emo rap as evidence of depression's appeal. They write, "Seriously, looking at our class, there are some kids who are really suicidal they keep talking about suicide, and listen to xxxtentacion, suicideboy and emo rap now. Wtf is this trend?" Underneath the post, commenters provided their own ideas as to why depression and suicide seem culturally relevant. They evenly blamed attention-seeking behavior and pop culture's production of depression as trendy. Those two themes were repeated in other Reddit posts and by the focus group participants.

Attention-Seeking. A response left under the above-mentioned Reddit post simply read, "Two words: Attention seekers." This claim is echoed by the participants of my focus group. Although the participants never labeled themselves as having depression, they were unimpressed with the efforts to destigmatize MDD. When I asked—Is social media a good way for people to bring awareness to different issues like mental health issues—they expressed doubt.

> *David*: I think it comes back to **virtue signaling**, like when somebody isn't **getting the attention they want**, they are going to go on social media to post something about a movement because they want to feel good about themselves, instead of actually trying to help the issue.

> *Will*: I think there are some people of social media, who not necessarily lie, **but fake a little bit for attention.** So, they take advantage of these true movements to recognize these issues to like...make themselves more popular. I don't know **. . . attention seekers . . .** which I think is a big problem for a lot of good movements.

Words and phrases like "fake," "attention," and "virtue signaling" indicated that the respondents were questioning the authenticity of active social media

movements and users. Even though social media grants people a level of connection and support, not all posts are viewed positively because some users are seen as attention-seekers. Attention-seeking behavior immediately destroys the legitimacy of the individual and the group, so it is undesired.

A Reddit thread discussing depression memes begins with an emotionally charged post:

> "Aah yes, memes about depression. One of my favorite bad coping methods. Exepct when I search for them on instagram there some of them that don't Just make fun of depression, **they're just like: lOOk At ME i aM sOOo dEPrEsseD, loOk aT mE I AM nOt liKe eVERyonE elSE, bECausE dePressION iS mY pERsonALity!!!111!!1 fUCkinG neUrOtyPiCalS rEEEeeEeE!!11!!1** and then bashing people who are seriously trying to help but also bashing people who need a break from your emotional baggage.

> And yeah I know, those memes are SUPPOSED to be edgy but don't forget that those memes are made to make **us** depressive fucks laugh and not make teenagers with depression get taken less seriously because of those **"It's not a phase mom!" kids."**

I bold sections where the user taunts those they deem inauthentic. They repeat the phrase, "look at me," proving the user believes others identify as depressed for attention. This user clearly distinguishes themselves from inauthentic people, supporting the idea that identity synthesis involves an "us" and "them" worldview. They refer to authentically depressed people as "us depressive fucks." The "them" in this case is described as well. They are named "It's not a phase mom" kids. The phrase, "It's not a phase" is commonly used to poke fun at angsty teenagers who try on various styles and personas as an act of rebellion. In popular culture, teen rebellion is often depicted as a means to getting the attention of their parents. Thus, it's reasonable to assert this Reddit user

views inauthentically depressed people as attention-seekers.

Trends. Additionally, respondents labeled people who performed depression in a way that was seen as trendy as inauthentic. Respondents used words including "aesthetic," "fashionable," and "cool" to denote this presumed inauthenticity. There are also references to popular culture, such as music, television shows, and memes. For instance, someone might associate an idol's persona with depression, therefore finding it cool and aesthetically pleasing to emulate their behavior and style. For example, one critical Reddit user writes, "Just cause you listen to Billie Eilish once, doesn't mean you are depressed." In this statement, the singer Billie Eilish is perceived as being clinically depressed. Someone who is authentic would not have to use music to validate their depressed identity.

In this case, the definition of authenticity aligns with Michael's (2015). Authentic people are self-directed individuals who try to position themselves away from the mainstream. The irony in Michael's (2015) study was that the line between alternative and mainstream was blurry, making intent a critical factor in determining authenticity. If you desired to identify as alternative because it was trendy and cool, you no longer held an authentic status. The following Reddit thread exemplifies the irony.

Reddit User 1: personally, i think most people think that they have to be "different" from the rest, (anticonformism), which leads to emos

Reddit User 2: Ironic, I guess. Nonconformism always ends up being the new conformism

Changing Meanings: The Depression Experience
Trivialization and Romanticization. Why should we care if others use depression for attention or because its "cool"? According to my analysis, these behaviors are criticized because they are perceived as making societal perceptions of depression less authentic. The medicalization of depression may have fueled stigma as MDD became a mental illness that required professional intervention and medication. Those with depression might possess traits or display behaviors considered undesirable by societal standards, such as fatigue and disinterest in previously enjoyed activities. Nonetheless, respondents did not valorize de-stigmatizing depression by conveying it as common and normal. In fact, respondents were wary that resisting stigma could lead to the trivialization of depression.

A Reddit comment perfectly sums up the paradox.

"It's great that it's become less stigmatized, it's allowed more services to become accessible. On the flip side though, people who have never experienced it in some form or another see it as a common issue and treat it no differently than the common cold."

Meanings of depression can be understood through a Zerubavelian culturalist cognitive lens. This perspective argues that our perceptions of reality are not innate; they are constructed by culture. Zerubavel (1997) says that people belong to thought communities based on their active identities. These communities influence how individuals organize and derive meaning from their worlds. Therefore, culture must influence what depression means in society at a given time. This is reflected in the work of Conrad and Barker (2010), who claim the meaning of depression is shaped by cultural and social systems, like the pharmaceutical industry and the DSM. "Authentic" sufferers of depression worry that popular culture is changing how society perceives depression. In their view, depression is losing its reputation as a serious, mental illness. Frustration is illustrated in the following quote, "But yeah every time I see a meme with 'crippling depression' in it, I just want to comment with 'I fucking actually want to kill myself straight up suicide' just to tell them how serious this is."

This person uses language to legitimize themselves as authentically depressed. Inauthentic portrayals of depression are insulting. Speaking about memes on social media, one Reddit user writes, "I feel like the memes devalue my actual depression and others who are valid." Again, this user makes a point of differentiating themselves from those who participate in particular kinds of online depression content. Respondents view memes and other forms of popular culture as devaluing the experiences of sufferers and trivializing the disorder.

Questioning Authenticity. Thus far, I have focused on external conflict; the authentic 'us' in relation to the inauthentic 'them'. However, my findings also suggest internal conflict. The following quote is representational of the cause-and-effect relationship between the cultural shift towards mental health awareness and subsequent confusion over identity and authenticity. Under a post titled, *Has the movement to destigmatize depression lead to more ignorance?* the user writes:

> I found that nowadays, because depression has become a rather popular subject, people have become a lot less sensitive about it. I think society managed to desensitize them, in the way that if they hear someone has depression they go 'eh big deal'; everyone's depressed, it's 2021. **This also makes me feel like: 'oh, why am i making such a big deal out of this, grow up and deal with it'**.

Another Reddit user experiences self-doubt:

> does anyone else keeps telling themselves that they aren't depressed that I'm just faking it because it seems like it is the cool thing to be online and if you aren't then your just normal and you've just been faking all of the sad shit to fit in and how your scum for doing it. I fucking hate how I can't tell if my own feelings are real or I'm just forcing myself to feel bad all the time.

In both examples, the individuals question their own authenticity as someone with depression. The cultural and social definitions of depression are so blurred that they lose confidence in their own identity. Because these quotes are of Reddit posts, I am unable to ask if they were diagnosed as depressed by a medical professional. It is possible that receiving validation from a doctor would protect against self-doubt. For those whom doctors have not formally diagnosed, self-doubt may function as a barrier towards seeking help. For example, in the focus group, an interviewee expressed fear over publicly admitting their mental health struggles:

> Like sometimes I feel I'm struggling with something but the idea of being vulnerable about it is almost intimidating because I don't want to get made fun of for it or anything, and sometimes **when I compare it to other people, I feel as though my struggles are not as bad as theirs** so I shouldn't be complaining.

The hostility this individual observed over social media is discouraging. Conflict over who is authentic and who is inauthentic impedes others from entering mental health related communities. As a result, they lose the supportive benefits of belonging to a group. Memes, sad music, and open discussions about mental health have all been credited as coping mechanisms, yet there is disagreement over who can participate in those activities. The question becomes what is worse—destigmatizing depression with the risk of downplaying the seriousness of the disorder or gatekeeping the depression identity to preserve its meaning, but excluding others from joining the conversation?

Discussion

Depression has permeated into popular culture, normalizing mental health issues and urging the public to withdraw stigma. However, depression has simultaneously been re-stigmatized. Disputes over who can qualify as depressed have further blurred what depression means

in today's world. Authenticity of experience is judged, and this stigma can have real consequences. For example, those with clinical depression may feel that society doesn't take the disorder seriously because normalizing depression removes the medical aspect. Secondly, this new stigma, around authenticity, may prevent people who are experiencing symptoms of depression from seeking help, out of fear of being perceived as an attention-seeker or faker.

This study has its limitations. Most of the data I collected came from virtual observations. As such, I am unable to examine the impact gender, age, race, or any other socioeconomic variables on people's perceptions. However, my focus group was more controlled. All three interviewees were college students, male, and belonged to the same social circle. This allowed me to understand how mental health is discussed among this particular population. Future studies should focus on the level of social status afforded to the depression identity. The level of confusion and hostility I observed suggest that the identity has a level of social worth. I believe this would extend the literature culture and identity and offer insights into future mental health issues.

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EL MOVIMIENTO SOCIAL DE LA UFW QUE CONTINÚA LUCHANDO POR LOS TRABAJADORES AGRÍCOLAS

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ABSTRACT   I discuss how the United Farmworkers (UFW) as a labor union developed many strategies to make the United Farmworkers Movement a success in the 1960s and 1970s. This movement sought to improve wages and working conditions for farmworkers in the United States. Some of the strategies that the UFW utilized included the use of the Delano Grape Strike in 1965, the newspaper called *El Malcriado,* and solidarity and help from different groups. The UFW also utilized *el Teatro Campesino*, a specific type of theater that illustrated the social problems that farmworkers encountered and that inspired its audience of supporters and farmworkers to take action. I also describe how, in the present day, farmworkers face substantial struggles that have been exacerbated by the COVID-19 pandemic. Some of these struggles include the lack of accessible COVID-19 tests, an immigration reform, the low participation of farmworkers in the United States health system, and the unavailability of sick days. The UFW today continues to advocate on the behalf of farmworkers and has pushed for the *The Farm Workforce Modernization Act* legislation in the United States Congress. I conclude by stating that, to have true economic and social justice for farmworkers, we must continue demanding that the United States government recognize and support these workers.

El *United Farm Workers Movement,* el Movimiento de la UFW, fue un movimiento social en los Estados Unidos que tuvo lugar en las décadas de los años 1960 y 1970 y que buscaba mejorar los sueldos y las condiciones de vida y de empleo para los trabajadores agrícolas de los Estados Unidos. César Chávez y Dolores Huerta, hijos los dos de trabajadores agricultores, fueron los principales líderes de este movimiento. Su labor conjunta fue esencial en la organización de estrategias para el éxito del Movimiento de la UFW, que se logró después de muchos años a través de una serie de estrategias y acciones para un cambio social sostenible. Este ensayo explora las condiciones que dieron paso a la creación del Movimiento de la UFW y examina la eficacia de las estrategias que utilizaron para lograr sus metas, para las cuales resultaron de importancia primordial el boicot, las revistas literarias, el Teatro Campesino y la solidaridad y asistencia de otros grupos que luchaban por los derechos civiles. Al final del ensayo comentaré sobre los obstáculos que enfrentan hoy en día los trabajadores agrícolas.

Cómo se desarrolló el Movimiento de la UFW

Para empezar, el Movimiento de la UFW se desarrolló como consecuencia del Programa Bracero. En el año 1942, el Programa Bracero se firmó como ley en los Estados Unidos. Fue un arreglo entre los gobiernos de los Estados Unidos y México durante la Segunda Guerra Mundial que, según el historiador Fred Glass, les dio la oportunidad a los trabajadores mexicanos agrícolas para que ocuparan los empleos de los trabajadores agrícolas que se habían

ido como soldados a la Segunda Guerra Mundial o para que buscaran mejores trabajos en otras partes de los Estados Unidos (332). Este programa continuó después de la Segunda Guerra Mundial. Los trabajadores mexicanos que participaron en este arreglo fueron conocidos como braceros y se les pagaba una miseria de doce centavos por caja que llenaban de frutas o verduras (Glass 333). Más tarde, en el año 1964, el Programa Bracero se acabó porque la meta de los trabajadores agrícolas y activistas era poner fin al programa que abusaba de los trabajadores agrícolas y los tenía en condiciones inhumanas. El Programa Bracero proveía trabajadores mexicanos a bajo costo para los empleadores y este programa debilitaba los esfuerzos de organizaciones que abogaban por mejores sueldos y condiciones de trabajo para los trabajadores agricultores (Glass 333).

Por esta razón, cuando este programa fue eliminado existía la esperanza de que las condiciones de los trabajadores agrícolas mejoraran porque entonces existía la posibilidad de tener sindicatos que mejoraran las condiciones laborales en el campo (Glass 333). En la década del año 1960, cuando el Movimiento de la UFW estaba empezando a desarrollarse, el movimiento por los derechos civiles, el movimiento en contra de la guerra de Vietnam y el fin del Programa Bracero crearon un ambiente ideal para el éxito del Movimiento de la UFW y la creación del sindicato UFW (Gapasín 114). Para tener más apoyo y fortaleza, los trabajadores filipinos le pidieron apoyo a la *National Farm Workers Association* y junto con los trabajadores mexicanos se convirtieron en un sindicato para los trabajadores agrícolas conocido como la UFW. La UFW, entonces, abogaba por los derechos civiles de los trabajadores agrícolas filipinos y mexicanos porque los dos grupos eran contratados a bajo costo por sus empleadores y sufrían de los mismos abusos en el campo. Antes de que se desarrollara el movimiento de la UFW en el año 1965, los trabajadores agrícolas que cultivaban uvas solo ganaban $1.20/hora y no se respetaban las leyes estatales para proteger a los trabajadores agrícolas. Muchos campos no tenían baños y, en algunos de los

campos los jefes obligaban a sus trabajadores a que tomaran del mismo vaso de agua y les cobraban por ello (Glass 333). Es decir, las condiciones para los trabajadores agrícolas no habían mejorado con la eliminación del Programa Bracero. En el año 1965, los trabajadores agrícolas filipinos en las fincas de uvas empezaron una huelga en contra de los sueldos bajos y las pésimas condiciones de vida y trabajo en los campos (Minkoff-Zern 163).

El boicot

Una de las estrategias primordiales que utilizó el Movimiento de la UFW fue el boicot para presionar a que los empleadores de los trabajadores agrícolas respondieran a los reclamos que exigían los trabajadores. Todo el esfuerzo que implementó la UFW para organizar el boicot valió la pena porque fue la primera vez que un sindicato había tenido éxito en establecer un boicot. Esta estrategia implica que la UFW se esforzó para que empresas y consumidores dejaran de comprar, en este caso, uvas y, de esa forma, que los empleadores mejoraran los sueldos y condiciones laborales de los trabajadores agrícolas. En el año 1965, Jim Drake, un ministro protestante que era miembro ejecutivo de la UFW, convenció a César Chávez de que el boicot sería un método eficaz (García 146). Sin embargo, esta fue una estrategia que la UFW transformó y desarrolló con el tiempo. La huelga del ocho de septiembre de 1965 en Delano, California, empezó el movimiento social de la UFW (García 147). Esta huelga generó mucha publicidad y apoyo y tuvo mucho éxito (García 147). Primero, la UFW usó la estrategia de trabajar con otros sindicatos aliados para que pararan de distribuir las uvas (García 147). Líderes centrales de la UFW como Dolores Huerta y Gilbert Padilla les pidieron ayuda a otras organizaciones como la *Central Labor Council* —un sindicato de restaurantes y hoteles— y a otros sindicatos como el de trabajadores mecánicos para que juntos bloquearan la empresa *Schenley Company's wine and liquor,* la que utilizaba las uvas de los trabajadores agrícolas representados por la UFW. Dolores Huerta también se aseguró de que supermercados como el A & P,

el más grande de Nueva York, no comparan sus productos. Los empleadores de los trabajadores agrícolas en enero del año 1970 estaban tan desesperados por vender las cosechas que trataron, sin resultado, de vender las uvas a países de Europa. Por fin, los empleadores se dieron por vencidos y en julio del año 1970 firmaron contratos colectivos que pusieron fin a una huelga que había durado cinco años (García 152). Muchos dudaron que la UFW, con los pocos recursos que tenía, pudiera cambiar los hábitos de los consumidores para ayudar a los trabajadores del campo. Sin embargo, la UFW demostró, con mucha determinación, que el boicot era una estrategia excelente para exigirles a los productores y jefes de los trabajadores agrícolas que les dieran mejores sueldos y contratos.

Solidaridad con otros grupos

Está claro que otra de las herramientas que utilizó la UFW fue el poder unir diferentes grupos. Para atraer la atención nacional y para que el boicot de la UFW tuviera éxito, fueron esenciales la solidaridad y el apoyo de otros grupos. Por ejemplo, cuando la UFW quiso empezar el boicot de las uvas, desde el principio, organizaciones y grupos de derechos civiles y contra la guerra, como la *Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee and Students for a Democratic Society*, ayudaron a que la estrategia se volviera nacional (Minkoff-Zern 163). En marzo del 1966, cuando los trabajadores mexicanos que representaba la UFW empezaron a marchar casi 250 millas de Delano hasta el capitolio en Sacramento, una periodista afroamericana, Eleanor Ohman, explicó: "Those who march for Negro freedom have to also march for freedom of other men, for economic freedom and justice" (Araiza 1). De esta manera, aunque la comunidad afroamericana tenía sus propias dificultades, reconoció que podía formar una coalición y estar en solidaridad con la UFW:

> The black freedom struggle's support of the UFW demonstrates the potential benefits of coalitions. Alone, the farmworkers of California's Central Valley were virtually powerless against the forces of agribusiness. But by linking *la causa* with the dynamic

movements for social change of the 1960s and early 1970s, the UFW was able to attract allies beyond the farmworker community of California. (Araiza 167)

Este ejemplo nos muestra cómo el apoyo de sus aliados en contra de las injusticias económicas ayudó a presionar a los productores (Araiza 167). Entonces, con la ayuda de distintos grupos activistas, la UFW pudo lograr sus metas con estrategias como el boicot. Además, Araiza ilustra la eficacia de la táctica solidarista que utilizó la UFW al unirse a distintos grupos activistas.

El movimiento de la UFW fue algo inesperado porque nunca antes se había visto un sindicato que se convirtiera en movimiento social:

> Cesar Chávez and the United Farm Workers fought with this postmodern form of business organization by developing a series of tactics and strategies that are today something close to standard operating procedure throughout the union movement and much of progressive America. Community organizing, corporate campaigns, consumer boycotts, and a high level of political engagement are all hallmarks of the UFW at the height of its creativity and power (Lichtenstein 144).

A través de estos métodos como el boicot, la solidaridad y la organización comunitaria, se logró también establecer la ley laboral progresista llamada *California's Agricultural Labor Relations Act* en el año 1975. Chávez y la UFW reconocieron la importancia de una campaña corporativa y usaron la alianza intercultural para tener conexiones con miembros del clero, estudiantes y figuras políticas progresistas para poder tener influencia en los Estados Unidos (Lichtenstein 144). Una campaña corporativa es cuando existe un esfuerzo organizado por sindicatos o grupos de defensa que trata de presionar a que una compañía que está involucrada en prácticas injustas mejore estas condiciones a través de protestas o mala publicidad de parte de los medios de comunicación.

Entonces, podemos ver cómo el movimiento de la UFW pudo utilizar una variedad de estrategias para extender su influencia por el país.

Al boicot y a la solidaridad estratégica también se les sumaron las tácticas de organización comunitaria que aprendió César Chávez de Fred Ross y Saul Alinski. De hecho, César Chávez trabajó en colaboración con uno de los fundadores de la *Community Services Organization* en Los Ángeles, Fred Ross. Saul Alinsky ocupó varios puestos en la Administración de la Seguridad Agrícola del New Deal antes de conocer a Chávez en 1952. Juntos comenzaron una colaboración de décadas que apoyaría el desarrollo de la UFW por parte de Chávez y Huerta. Entonces, la UFW implementó estrategias de organización comunitaria, campañas corporativas y un alto nivel de compromiso político que ayudaron a que la UFW lograra sus metas de mejorar las vidas de los trabajadores agrícolas (Lichtenstein 144).

El periódico *El Malcriado*

Otro recurso que utilizó la UFW fue el uso de periódicos como *El Malcriado*[2] para que informaran a la audiencia y a quienes los apoyaban. *El Malcriado* fue esencial para formar, según el historiador Colin Gunckel, la cultura impresa del movimiento chicano y la forma en que se visualizaban las concepciones emergentes de identidad, comunidad y política (Gunckel 29). A través de las fotografías que publicaba *El Malcriado,* el periódico ayudó a que su audiencia accediera a una visión de comunidad y solidaridad que era local e internacional (Gunckel 33). La publicación también tenía información actualizada sobre el movimiento social y el progreso de sus acciones. *El Malcriado* cubría y comentaba sobre los boicots, mítines, marchas y huelgas que planeaba la UFW; los editoriales publicados criticaban a los cultivadores, sindicatos rivales y partidos políticos (Gunckel 33). Las fotos en conjunto con artículos mostraban a la audiencia las noticias,

Esta imagen del periódico *El Malcriado* muestra cómo la UFW usaba esta publicación para analizar leyes como H.B. 2134 ("Comprehensive Analysis of Arizona Anti-Farmworker Law").

posturas políticas visualizadas con imágenes y evidencia de documentales que exigían acción (Gunckel 33). Por ejemplo, en la Figura 1, podemos ver cómo la publicación analizaba cómo la ley H.B. 2134 en Arizona iba en contra de los esfuerzos de la UFW porque prohibía la existencia de sindicatos.

Existían miembros de la UFW que vivían en diferentes estados y eran de diferentes razas porque el movimiento social tenía apoyo extenso por todo el país. Este periódico, entonces, le daba a la UFW la oportunidad de comunicarse con todos sus miembros y seguidores. Además, la UFW, a través de los periódicos, publicaba fotos de sus huelgas y

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2   *El Malcriado* is the intellectual property of the UFW and is used with permission of the United Farm Workers of America, www.ufw.org.

FIGURE 2

En esta figura vemos cómo *El Malcriado* ayudaba a mantener a los seguidores de la UFW al tanto de los sucesos, como la huelga de César Chávez en Arizona ("César Chávez Fasts in Arizona").

FIGURE 3

Aquí podemos ver un ejemplo de la portada de *El Malcriado* ("Sí se puede").

protestas. Esto construyó una comunidad internacional (Gunckel 35). Un ejemplo de cómo *El Malcriado* mantenía a su audiencia al tanto de los acontecimientos, como la huelga de César Chávez en Arizona, se puede ver en la Figura 2.

La revista *El Malcriado* también publicó poemas como el de "I am Joaquín," que situaban el movimiento chicano en medio de un legado de colonialismo:

> I am the masses of my people
> and I refuse to be absorbed.
> I am Joaquín
> The odds are great

but my spirit is strong
My faith unbreakable
My blood is pure
I am Aztec Prince and Christian Christ
I SHALL ENDURE!
I WILL ENDURE! (Gonzales and Vásquez 20).

Un ejemplo de la portada del periódico se puede ver en la Figura 3.

De esta manera, la UFW utilizó la revista *El Malcriado* como una estrategia eficaz para avanzar su movimiento social porque usaron esta publicación para mantener a sus miembros y seguidores informados y activos.

El Teatro Campesino

El Teatro Campesino fue otra estrategia utilizada por la UFW para promover su movimiento social ya que ayudaba a crear conciencia política a través de obras de teatro. Este tipo de teatro fue establecido en el año 1956 en Delano, California. Luis Valdez lo desarrolló para crear conciencia política, "fortalecer los lazos solidarios entre los huelguistas" e inspirar a su audiencia para que tomara acción social (Flores 116). Valdez iluminaba los problemas sociales, satirizaba la oposición, mostraba lo que sentía la gente, y enseñaba las opciones o soluciones a problemas sociales (Flores 116). Por lo general, el Teatro Campesino tomaba lugar en los campos de trabajo cuando oscurecía, a consecuencia de que los trabajadores tenían miedo de ser reconocidos. Sin embargo, algo notable es que, aunque la gente tenía miedo de ser descubierta, el Teatro Campesino típicamente tenía audiencias de doscientas a trescientas personas (Flores 121). A través de este ejemplo, vemos cómo la UFW pudo utilizarlo como un medio para comunicarse y ayudar a expresar las preocupaciones de los trabajadores campesinos y motivar a que la comunidad de trabajadores agrícolas tomara acción.

La situación de los trabajadores agrícolas con la pandemia de la COVID-19

A través de este ensayo, hemos visto cómo los trabajadores agrícolas se organizaron con la UFW para mejorar las condiciones de trabajo. Hoy en día, vemos que muchos de los problemas que tuvieron que enfrentar los trabajadores agrícolas aún no han desaparecido. La pandemia de la COVID-19 del año 2020 ha exacerbado las situaciones injustas a las cuales están expuestos los trabajadores agrícolas. Por ejemplo, una trabajadora inmigrante de México llamada Saraí, quien tiene empleo temporal como trabajadora agrícola en el centro de Illinois, ha tenido acceso limitado a pruebas de la COVID-19 (Herman y Cronin). Saraí dice que solamente se ha hecho la prueba de la COVID-19 una vez a lo largo de la pandemia porque el sitio para pruebas más cercano a ella está en otra ciudad y no tiene carro (Herman y Cronin). Diana Tellefson Torres, la directora ejecutiva de la UFW en California, dijo

que muchos de los trabajadores agrícolas trabajan y viven en zonas rurales del país (Herman y Cronin). Además de vivir lejos de los sitios de pruebas de la COVID-19, los trabajadores agrícolas muchas veces no tienen acceso a información en sus idiomas nativos, y generalmente no confían en el sistema de salud de los Estados Unidos o no tienen aseguranza de salud (Herman y Cronin). Además, ha habido miles de muertes entre trabajadores agrícolas y trabajadores de las plantas de carne, pero, dado que no hay un sistema oficial para contarlas, es muy probable que las declaradas no representen correctamente la realidad (Herman y Cronin).

Otra razón por la que algunos de ellos no se han hecho más pruebas de la COVID-19 se debe a que recibir una prueba positiva sería devastador económicamente. Bolaños Robinette, quien ha trabajado con trabajadores migrantes durante diez años, ha sido una gran defensora de los estudiantes migrantes en la Universidad de Illinois Urbana-Champaign. Actualmente ella estudia antropología e intentó ampliar el alcance de las pruebas de la COVID-19 el verano pasado. Una clínica en la cual se desempeña como voluntaria intentó llegar a los sitios de trabajo de los trabajadores agrícolas, pero no tuvo mucho éxito. Ella relató, "[...] some of them said they didn›t even want to take the test, because, in the case they get back [a positive result], they will have to stop working. And then that means, for them, they will not get any money for at least two weeks" (Herman y Cronin). No ir a trabajar dos semanas sería una situación difícil para estos trabajadores porque ellos reciben la mayoría de sus ingresos anuales trabajando en estas labores temporales. En una encuesta reciente, la *National Agricultural Workers Survey*, se encontró que un tercio de los trabajadores agrícolas declararon ingresos familiares por debajo del límite federal de pobreza (Herman y Cronin).

Teresa Romero, tercera presidenta de la UFW, en un discurso a través de Zoom, señaló cómo el último año ha traído una "tormenta perfecta de peligros" para los trabajadores agrícolas debido al calor extremo e incendios

forestales (Spacek, mi traducción). Los trabajadores agrícolas han tenido que seguir trabajando a pesar de la pandemia y la exposición a una calidad de aire muy baja causada por los incendios forestales en estados como California, donde el 90% de los trabajadores agrícolas son inmigrantes y producen un tercio de las verduras y dos tercios de las frutas de los Estados Unidos ("SFSI Solidarity with the COVID-19 Farmworker Study"). Romero dijo en su discurso que este año ha revelado la necesidad de una reforma migratoria, una reforma salarial y protecciones para los trabajadores agrícolas (Spacek). Además, Romero mencionó cómo los trabajadores agrícolas no tienen el lujo de quedarse en sus casas para trabajar, pero, a pesar de ello, no reciben el trato adecuado por el gobierno estadounidense como trabajadores esenciales (Spacek). La organización de la UFW ha tenido un papel importante en las discusiones y negociaciones del proyecto de ley *The Farm Workforce Modernization Act*, el que pasó por la Casa de Representantes, pero no ha sido presentado en el Senado. El 18 de marzo del 2021, la Casa de Representantes también votó a favor de poner a los trabajadores agrícolas en un camino hacia la ciudadanía (Fandos).

Conclusión

En conclusión, existen varias estrategias que ha utilizado el movimiento de la UFW para promover sus metas de mejorar los sueldos y condiciones de vida para los trabajadores agrícolas. En la primera sección de este trabajo, vimos lo revolucionario que fue el movimiento de la UFW cuando usó la estrategia del boicot de manera que ayudara a lograr sus objetivos a pesar de que ningún sindicato había tenido éxito en la organización de un boicot. Observamos también cómo la solidaridad y apoyo que mostraron los afroamericanos hacia la UFW ayudó a crear la presión necesaria para que los empleadores de dichos trabajadores mejoraran sus contratos. A través de la revista *El Malcriado*, la UFW nos enseñó que tener publicaciones y fotos en una revista para sus seguidores fue una estrategia excelente para tener a sus miembros informados y activos. Después, con el uso del Teatro Campesino, vimos cómo la UFW pudo crear empatía y

comunicarse con los trabajadores del campo. Esto ayudó a que más gente viera las dificultades que enfrentaban los trabajadores agrícolas y a que se movilizaran para promover las metas de la UFW.

Por lo tanto, cuando pensamos en el movimiento social de la UFW, podemos decir que fue revolucionario porque logró gran parte de sus metas con mucho esfuerzo y dedicación, cosa que ningún sindicato había conseguido antes. A pesar de que sí han existido otras movilizaciones que se han organizado para lograr metas importantes, con la UFW fue la primera vez que un solo sindicato logró organizar e implementar un movimiento social tan exitoso. Sin embargo, cuando vemos los retos y dificultades que han tenido que enfrentar y que siguen enfrentando los trabajadores agrícolas a consecuencia de la COVID-19, vemos que el trabajo y esfuerzo de la UFW para lograr justicia económica y social para dichos trabajadores es un proceso que no ha terminado. César Chávez y Dolores Huerta lucharon para que los agricultores recibieran mejores condiciones de trabajo y sueldos, pero hoy en día todavía vemos que los trabajadores enfrentan muchas dificultades, especialmente dada la pandemia. En el año 2020, los agricultores no tenían acceso a pruebas de la COVID-19, no podían tomar días libres por enfermedad, y no existían suficientes protecciones laborales. Además, el gobierno de los Estados Unidos no ha logrado aprobar una ley de reforma migratoria para poner a los trabajadores agrícolas en un camino hacia la ciudadanía. Para lograr una verdadera justicia económica y social para los trabajadores y las trabajadoras agrícolas, debemos seguir exigiendo que nuestro gobierno reconozca y apoye a estos trabajadores.

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THE MEDICAL DISMISSAL OF AFAB BODIES:

HOW POPULAR MEDICAL DISCOURSE AND PRACTICES UNDERMINE AUTONOMY FOR PEOPLE ASSIGNED FEMALE AT BIRTH

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Introduction and Historical Context

It can often be difficult to question science and medicine, especially from a critical feminist lens. This is because science, especially in the global north, is seen as infallible; those willing to critique it are dismissed as misinformed and irrational. However, science and medicine alike uphold dominant understandings of sex, race, ability, etc., each of which can deeply impact the framing of research, which topics are researched, how results are interpreted, and what conclusions are drawn. The field of gynecology and the broader landscape of modern medicine in the global north are fraught with misunderstandings about the anatomy of people assigned female at birth (AFAB), which are rooted in misogyny, colonialism, and other prejudicial biases. This lack of awareness surrounding AFAB anatomy, coupled with the dismissal of the importance of sexual pleasure for AFAB people, has led to systemic medical violence and negligence. In this paper, I argue that consent and agency are undermined within the medical community due to misogynistic and colonial understandings of AFAB anatomy and a lack of regard for informed consent. I explore three manifestations of this issue: labiaplasty, postpartum vaginal stitching, and non-consensual pelvic exams.

Although there are shared characteristics and blurred lines between vulvar cosmetic surgery and female genital mutilation, in this paper I focus on procedures labeled as cosmetic or aesthetic surgery in order to deconstruct the liberal notion of choice in relation to medical procedures and practices. I hope to demonstrate how AFAB people are medically misled and abused, compromising their ability to consent, and therefore deeming common Western medical practices as violent and oppressive. Furthermore, there is a need to problematize the fundamental flaws within cosmetic surgery in the West "because of the conspicuous presence of the black other in Western constructions of the 'normal' vulva" (Nurka and Jones 2013, 418), which doesn't function to motivate FGM in the same way that spurs cosmetic surgery.

Literature Review

Previous scholarly work explores how the impacts of colonialism have manifested in an approach of "normalizing" the body within Western systems of medicine. The article, "Labiaplasty, Race and the Colonial Imagination," by Camille Nurka and Bethany Jones, investigates labiaplasty as an articulation of the social construction of racialized anatomy and white supremacy within colonial race "science." They cite the work of colonial race scientists who describe African and Asian women's labia as elongated and unattractive, eventually medicalizing them as inferior and reproductively weak. They continue to trace this type of language and

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stigmatization of protruding labia minora throughout Western medical texts, ultimately suggesting, "the production of desire in contemporary CLS practice and discourse has its roots in colonial anthropological Western representations of black female sexuality" (Nurka and Jones 2013, 417). This has informed Western medicine's initiative of standardizing the body and marking any variants as in need of being fixed. Using Nurka's and Jones' analysis, I explicitly connect this pathologizing to a debased system of consent for people seeking labiaplasties.

The white colonial gaze is further investigated in George Yancy's article, "Colonial Gazing: The Production of the Body as 'Other.'" Using a mix of historical documents and post-colonial theory, Yancy describes how the European colonial gaze used the notions of "accuracy," "truth," and "neutrality" to enforce discursive and corporeal violence on to Black bodies (Yancy 2008, 2). Yancy establishes how these characterizations create a standard that blurs "objective" medical advice with aesthetic preference rooted in white supremacy and the misogynistic pathologizing of women's bodies and female sexuality (Yancy 2008, 12). Pairing Yancy's work with Nurka's and Jones', I critique the discourse within medical articles that abnormalizes labia minora considered to be "too long" as being informed by racist understandings of normality and its importance.

Similar critiques are present within Intersex justice scholarly and activist work, which have particularly established the link between dominant medical "normalizing" paradigms and a lack of respect for autonomy leading to the devaluation of sexual pleasure for people who exist outside the sex binary. The article "Intersex Bodies as States of Exception: Empirical Explanation for Unnecessary Surgical Modification" examines why unnecessary surgical modification and medical management continues to be common practice for Intersex infants and children. The authors of the study conducted sixty-five interviews with physicians, Intersex

individuals, and their parents, which revealed that Intersex bodies are viewed as "states of exception" to the sex binary. Surgeries are viewed as justified intervention to "correct" what are considered errors, and they are presented to parents as medically necessary interventions, even though they are often harmful and unneeded (Davis and Murphy 2013, 129). Pidgeon Pagonis, a leading Intersex activist and co-Founder of the Intersex Justice Project, writes in an article entitled "9 Damaging Lies Doctors Told Me When I Was Growing Up Intersex" about the traumatic physical and mental impacts they faced due to surgeries that were supposed to normalize their anatomy to fit as closely into the "female" category as visually possible (Pagonis 2015). I incorporate this approach of problematizing the medicalization of the body throughout my paper and also make the link between a lack of respect for consent and sexual pleasure by doctors in the name of upholding aesthetic normality. I explore how AFAB people who are not Intersex also have their agency undermined by doctors prioritizing normality and devaluing the integrity of their sexual experience.

Methodology and Epistemological Frameworks

To understand the scope of the systemic harm caused by medical communities, it is crucial to understand the social construction of biological sex. Although many understand the sex binary to reflect objective scientific fact, it is more accurately a construction that reflects Eurocentric social realities about gender and merely incorporates scientific fact (Grewal and Kaplan 2006, 2). This is not to deny the existence of sex characteristics, but to challenge our grouping of them under the categories of "male" and "female" when many people exist outside of this binary. I use the term AFAB in this paper as a tool of resistance against the dominant medical paradigm of enforcing the binary, which is a violent concept that leads to violence against Intersex people (Davis and Murphy 2013, 129). Working within the socially constructed sex binary does not dismantle the medical community's belief in its ability to effectively categorize and standardize bodies, nor does it create solidarity with Intersex justice movements. The

phrase "assigned female at birth" captures the relevant anatomy in this project without essentializing those traits to women, and it also reflects the association of "female traits" with unimportance, harming all individuals who have those body parts or don't conventionally fit into the cisgender male category.

My critique of the medicalization and standardization of bodies is also grounded in decolonial feminist frameworks. Linda Tuhiwai Smith provides a critique of the colonial legacies involved in our understanding of science today in her book, *Decolonizing Methodologies: Research and Indigenous peoples*, which I center in this work. Smith writes, "Once it was accepted that humans had the capacity to reason and to attain this potential through education … then it became possible to debate these ideas in rational and 'scientific' ways" (Smith 2012, 62). Since science is often viewed as infallible and objective, questioning scientific, peer-reviewed studies from a feminist lens is often dismissed as irrational. I use her critique to question the positioning of physicians within Western medicine as all-knowing experts on AFAB anatomy and pleasure. I point out that the ongoing and systemic influence of colonialism, sexism, racism, etc. does not stop within the scientific and medical communities.

By uniting a decolonial feminist framework with an Intersex justice framework, I am able to effectively deconstruct the flawed nature of the medical discourse surrounding labia minora. I take influence from Lynn Butler-Kisber's explanations of qualitative inquiry to conduct my discursive analysis of medical literature. Butler-Kisber writes, "the strengths of a qualitative study are the focus on situations and/or experiences of people, the inductive/emergent nature of the work, and the emphasis on words instead of numbers" (Butler-Kisber 2018, 3). My work centers on qualitatively analyzing the implications of the language that is used to discuss labia, vaginal stitching, and pelvic exams. I seek to communicate why the connotation and word choice of doctors both reflects and perpetuates embedded misogynistic and colonial ideals existing to support white patriarchy.

Due to the severe lack of discourse surrounding unnecessary vaginal stitching and non-consensual pelvic exams, much of my analysis pertaining to those topics relies on interviews and storytelling. To do this, I implement a Latina/o/e critical race theory epistemological framework. Lindsay Pérez Huber explains in "Disrupting Apartheid of Knowledge: *testimonio* as methodology in Latina/o critical race research in education," that Latina/o/e critical race theory has long prioritized centering the direct experiences of individuals who experience oppression as a form of knowledge production (Huber 2009, 639). Although I am not using testimonios, I am using articles that include personal interviews from women who have been harmed by doctors, and I would like to honor the concept of informational interviews about oppression-based harm as a tool created by Latina/o/e critical race theorists that resists dominant understandings of knowledge within academia.

Finally, my methodology credits Regina Rust and Andrea Bertotti Metoyer, who provide an example of analyzing the connotative language about reproductive anatomy within medical texts in their article, "The Egg, The Sperm, and Beyond: Gendered Assumptions in Gynecology Textbooks." Rust and Metoyer frame their work of analyzing the language surrounding the process of reproduction as one way of problematizing the dominant medical paradigm (Rust & Metoyer 2011, 199). I replicate this in my problematizing of the dominant medical paradigms that aestheticize AFAB anatomy and strip AFAB bodies of autonomy due to their extreme medicalization.

The Harmful Discourse of Vulvar Cosmetic Surgery

Much of the attitudes of cosmetic surgeons who perform aesthetic vulvar surgeries are entrenched in misogyny and racist colonial legacies. The most prominent issue in the discourse surrounding these surgeries is the unscientific labeling of "abnormality," primarily of labia

considered too large. In the article "Vaginal Labiaplasty: Defense of the Simple 'Clip and Snip' and a New Classification System," several cosmetic surgeons argue for a new system of categorizing labia consisting of four classes, and possible surgeries for each category, except for Class 1, which is "normal, where the labia majora and minora are about equal" (Chang et. al 2013, 887). Labeling only labia majora and labia minora that are equal in length as normal is misleading and reflective of cultural beauty standards, not optimal health standards. Labia minora that are significantly longer than the labia majora are labeled in the article as "disfiguring," "abnormally protruding," and "deform[ities]" (Chang et. al 2013, 887–891). This negatively connotated language is alienating and encourages people with extended labia to believe that their bodies are malformed, wrong, and in need of "repair" and "reconstruct[ion]," regardless of whether they are experiencing vulvar pain or discomfort because of their labia (Chang et. al 2013, 887).

Furthermore, the article describes labiaplasty as "simple," even though careful attention must be devoted to ensuring that clitoral nerve endings are not damaged during the procedure. In fact, the article boasts that the team of surgeons has been performing labiaplasties with these methods since 2000, even though ground-breaking research about clitoral anatomy was popularized in 2005 (Gross 2020; Chang et. al 2013, 888). This raises questions about what considerations the surgeons are taking into account when designing procedural techniques within their classification system.

These attitudes toward labial aesthetics are not limited to the doctors within this article. Lina Triana, President of the International Society of Aesthetic Plastic Surgery, recently released a book entitled, *Aesthetic Vaginal Plastic Surgery: A Practical Guide*. Triana begins the guide by discussing the need for "vaginal rejuvenation" procedures, stating, "the vagina is a woman's essence, mystery, and deepest sense of self" (Triana 2020, 6). This statement pedestals the vagina as the most important part of a woman, which works to encourage women who don't physically need vulvar or vaginal procedures to undergo surgeries to "perfect" their anatomy in accordance with societal standards of beauty and womanliness. This is Triana's own personal opinion, but she presents it as fact in her professional medical advice. Other personal beliefs Triana masquerades as fact include the idea that "*service is encoded* in women's DNA; it has always been women's priority" (Triana 2020, 8). Triana offers this postulation as an explanation of why women naturally make effective leaders, and suggests that women now need to become leaders in their own sexual lives with the help of plastic surgeons. This understanding of empowerment –- one which must be bought – relies on sustaining beauty standards and insecurities.

Additionally, Triana's rhetoric is objectifying and speaks of AFAB anatomy and its appearances in a dehumanizing and reductionist manner, claiming,

We can compare vaginal rejuvenation to a car restoration… What happens when we choose to only paint the scratched door? The result of this newly painted door will not be seen as an overall improvement of the car's aesthetics … it will not look pretty! (Triana 2020, 13).

The comparison of vaginal surgeries to car restoration frames the conversation around these procedures as though vaginas are material possessions that people should seek to perfect the appearance of, as if most attention paid to the vagina should be about its perceived prettiness, perpetuating the objectification of women and others with AFAB bodies.

Triana's work highlights how femininity is constructed around aesthetic preferences rooted in white supremacy. When Dutch colonists in Africa were studying the Khoi women's "elongated" labia minora, their labia were presented as evidence of their inferiority, a deviation from "civilized humanity" and femininity, in comparison to white European women whose bodies were upheld as

the epitome of femininity (Nurka and Jones 2013, 421). Although upholding whiteness is not typically explicitly mentioned within medical texts anymore, the racist and misogynistic attitudes remain. The preference for smaller labia is a lingering thread from colonial medical texts. Even as late as 1976, an article published in the Obstetrics and Gynecology Journal attributed labia "hypertrophy" to "both racial and sexual deviancy in connection with the Oriental woman" (Nurka and Jones 2013, 435).

One study, titled "Female genital cosmetic surgery: a cross-sectional survey exploring knowledge, attitude, and practice of general practitioners," using a survey of 164 physicians including general practitioners, gynecologists, and plastic surgeons, presented the physicians with four pictures, A,B,C, and D, each successively showing larger labia minora. The study found that while 90% of all respondents believed that small labia minora were the beauty standard, at least to some extent, "more plastic surgeons regarded the picture with the largest labia minora as distasteful and unnatural, compared with general practitioners and gynecologists," who mostly found them to be natural and attractive or neutral. The plastic surgeons were also consistently more likely than gynecologists to be willing to operate on labia in pictures B, C, and D (Simonis, Manocha, and Ong 2016, 3–5). These results further reflect how the recommendations and declarations of plastic surgeons about which types of labia are "disfiguring" and "abnormal" are merely reflective of personal attitudes, and misogynistic bias, rather than legitimate medical concern for individuals' well-being.

The discourse surrounding these procedures is harmful because people with AFAB anatomy are inevitably given information in their consultations that isn't necessarily reflective of reality, and could be influenced to think that their bodies need normalizing surgeries. While it is ultimately up to the individual to ask for a procedure, patients are taught that they can trust their care provider to supply them with an objective opinion without needlessly medicalizing their bodies. At times, the

discourse and labeling of bodies as "deformed" is arguably coercive and unethically convinces individuals that they must cut their genitalia. It is true that some patients receive labiaplasties due to physical discomfort or issues, however, the language and attitudes from plastic surgeons is largely focused on aesthetics.

The "Husband Stitch"

In the 1930's, episiotomy, or the intentional cutting and stitching of vaginas during and post labor, was a routine practice thought to "substitute clean, controlled surgical incisions for jagged, uncontrollable tears in the perineum… to hasten delivery" and the "tight suturing of the perineum would prevent the vaginal introitus from losing tone after childbirth" (Stotland 2004, 186). The practice of intentional cutting is an aspect of the medicalization of birth that privileges medical intervention over the intrinsic abilities of many AFAB bodies. The idea that a doctor-created incision is "clean" and a natural tear is "uncontrollable" reflects a lack of understanding of the AFAB body and assumes the need for medical assistance. The practice is now known to not only be unnecessary, but likely to cause more harm in the healing process of the vagina (Stotland 2004, 186). Moreover, a desire to ensure the vaginal canal doesn't change tone at all, particularly with the addition of the "husband stitch" -- an additional stitch sewn into the vagina postpartum to make it tighter than it was previously -- is symptomatic of Western medicine being a patriarchal institution. Rather than focusing on the most effective and positive healing experiences for people postpartum, the pleasure of their sexual partners is also taken into account to an extent that is harmful for the person who has just given birth.

Although the "husband stitch" is underdiscussed in academic literature, Carmen María Machado's queer anthology, *Her Body and Other Parties,* spurred discussion of the topic in the mainstream. Machado describes her experience of her doctor and husband conferring to give her the "husband stitch" while she was disoriented after labor (Machado 2017). Machado's story has sparked

discussion about the value of storytelling as epistemology, specifically women's stories of survival and navigation under patriarchy (Hood 2020, 989). Storytelling as epistemology is especially valuable for those whose experiences are ignored, dismissed, and deliberately hidden within institutional structures. Perhaps this is why many victims of unnecessary and non-consensual vaginal stitching have turned to blogs, news reports, and social media to share their experiences.

Among the stories that victims of this type of medical violence are willing to share, there are many commonalities. Many report that their doctors used phrases like "nice and tight" to describe the effects of their stitching on the vagina, spoke about it with their husbands/partners instead of them, and discussed their stitches very casually, often with a laugh (Murphy 2018, Machado 2017). Additionally, they report painful, even excruciating, penetrative sex for years, improperly healed perineums, limited advice and guidance for their recovery, and being disoriented or distracted while they were being stitched after labor (Bedei 2018; Halton 2018; Murphy 2018). The husband stitch is performed with the intention of making the vagina tighter for husbands and partners, under the assumption that making the vagina tighter will be more pleasurable to them during sexual intercourse (Murphy 2018). This directly prioritizes the sexual pleasure of men over women's comfort and mental, physical, and sexual health.

Although the "husband stitch" is an unofficial and unrecognized medical practice, women have shared their stories often enough to understand that this practice is not a myth. The doctors who agree – or worse, take the initiative – to give anyone medically unnecessary and likely harmful vaginal stitching to benefit male partners are inflicting gender-based violence within the field of obstetrics. This is not only due to the overt misogyny of altering a woman's body at the request of or in the interest of a man, but it also reflects how ignorance about AFAB anatomy within obstetrics and the broader field of medicine has led to detrimental effects on sexual pleasure for AFAB people. Ironically, the idea that extra perineal stitching will amplify sexual pleasure is false. Not only is vaginal tightness unrelated to the stitching at the perineum, but the stitch is more likely to cause sex to be painful for both partners (Murphy 2018; Davis 2020). Doctors performing this stitch reflects a severe lack of understanding about vaginal tone and pelvic floor strength (Murphy 2018), suggesting that doctors are stitching these women using beliefs solely rooted in misinformation and misogyny.

Non-Consensual Pelvic Exams

In 33 states, it is legal for doctors and medical students to perform pelvic exams on unconscious women without having obtained prior consent (The Epstein Health Law and Policy Program 2020). This practice generally entails a woman being put under anesthesia for a surgery that doesn't necessitate a pelvic exam, and while she is unconscious, a medical student (or students) will use her body to practice conducting pelvic exams. The academic literature about this topic is limited, reflecting the lack of scholarly attention toward gender-based violence within medicine.

In the book, *Feeling Medicine: How the Pelvic Exam Shapes Medical Training,* Kelly Underman delineates how the pelvic exam in particular and gynecology in general is rooted in the racist and sexist exploitation of Black women. The so-called father of gynecology, Marion J. Sims, performed incredibly violent procedures on enslaved Black women and developed the speculum. Underman continues to describe how the pelvic exam transformed from a special exam to a routine practice throughout the 1900's, even including a "premarital" pelvic exam that instructed white women on "proper womanhood" and coerced women of color and low-income women to undergo sterilization (Underman 2020, 29). Similar to the dynamics of labiaplasty, pelvic exams became socially constructed to reinscribe femininity onto the reproductive and sexual lives of white women,

and served to dehumanize more marginalized women. Although pelvic exams are no longer commonly used in this way, the prevailing misogynistic attitudes of control and entitlement over AFAB anatomy are unwavering.

Although Underman acknowledges the problematic origins of the exam, Underman misguidedly argues that feminist activism has significantly changed pelvic exam practices to become more patient-centered (Underman 2020, 33). Underman crucially and inaccurately refers to pelvic exams being performed on unconscious women as a problem of the past, despite the fact that it is still legal and common practice in many states today. Underman's work was published in 2020, even though easily accessible reports of unconscious women being assaulted for pelvic exams were coming out as late as May 2020. It is questionable why academic literature about pelvic exams is generally very hesitant to acknowledge the existence of the practice, and if it does acknowledge it, it is more likely to describe it as no longer being a relevant issue.

While many physicians deny that the practice exists at all, a 2005 study conducted by the University of Oklahoma found that the majority of all junior and senior medical students had performed a pelvic exam on an unconscious woman without obtaining consent beforehand at least once (Schniederjan and Donovan 2005, 386-388). One reason that is offered in defense of this practice is that doctors do not sexualize genitalia in the same way that the average American does, and that the vagina is treated the same as any other body part that wouldn't typically require explicit consent to touch during a procedure (Friesen 2018, 303). This reasoning fully medicalizes the body and prioritizes physicians' and medical students' relationships to anatomy over patients' personal understandings of and relationships to their own bodies. Many physicians do not understand this practice to be an abuse of power because the women who experience this are not generally physically harmed, reflecting their lack of regard for the autonomy of AFAB people. This sense of power lends itself to physicians assuming that they always know what

is best, that their understanding of AFAB bodies is what matters most, and that their conceptualizations of harm are the only conceptualizations of harm.

Moreover, the efficacy of this practice as a teaching tool is also up for debate. While it allows doctors to gain first-hand experience in locating AFAB anatomy, it does not teach any of the interpersonal aspects of the exam. Other important aspects of the exam include speaking sensitively, building a sense of trust, and making the patient comfortable, all of which are not only ignored, but subverted under this practice (Friesen 2018, 301–302). Instead, doctors are learning to assume consent, to refuse accountability, and to treat patients as if they are only their bodies instead of whole people.

Furthermore, this practice dismisses the sexual pleasure of AFAB people by ignoring individuals' relationships to trauma. Many women report feeling violated and traumatized after learning that this exam had been done to them without their consent. It impacted how they viewed themselves, their relationships with their bodies, and their comfort and safety levels with a medical institution that they previously trusted (Goldberg 2020). Some referred to the experience triggering and amplifying trauma from their previous experiences with sexual assault. Ignoring the potential effects that medical trauma could have on the mental, physical, and sexual well-being of AFAB people is a critical devaluation of optimal sexual health for AFAB people.

Conclusion

Because of the lack of published research about the husband stitch and unconscious pelvic exams, it is difficult to discuss or analyze how these practices may affect people differently depending on any other marginalized identities they hold. More research is needed to shed light on if and how people's experience with physicians respecting their agency during stitching and pelvic exams is affected by their income or their use of Medicaid, their race, their disability status, their education level,

etc. Similarly, discussion of the ethical implications of labiaplasty could be deepened with more study about how physicians, particularly plastic surgeons, treat prospective patients differently based on their race.

However, for people who have been affected by these practices, coming forward is not easy. Sharing these experiences can often be difficult to talk about, and they require having or being given a platform, which is often harder for persons who occupy more than one marginalized identity. Additionally, some institutional change is only spurred by legal action, such as one woman whose testimony spurred legal action against non-consensual pelvic exams in Utah (Goldberg 2020), which requires ample time and money that many do not have. Similar barriers apply to those who have been harmed by plastic surgeons, as it is difficult to accuse an institution of injustice. In addition, legal action on these issues doesn't ensure desired outcomes, as it is hard to enforce. For example, many women who have received pelvic exams while unconscious will never be aware of what happened to them. Therefore, while policy changes are important, they are not comprehensive solutions to the issues surrounding the devaluation of sexual pleasure and the related lack of respect for consent and agency within common medical practices. Rather, an effective solution will address the embedded colonialism and racism within Western healthcare, in addition to changes in legal policy, medical etiquette, and cultural attitudes of misogyny.

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Alyssa Snavely | *Quarantine Day 31, 2020*

CRITICAL GENRE ANALYSIS: HALLIDAY POOL

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Genres, discourses, and activity systems are important rhetorical elements that pervade and shape the structures we all reside in as participants in social settings. In rhetorical genre studies, genres are considered typified social actions that respond to recurrent situations—they are a way of navigating social contexts. Genres are carriers of and instantiators of discourses, which can be generally defined as "the socially situated nature of meaning in or through language" (Tardy 62). Both genres and discourses are at play in activity systems. Activity systems are "dynamic, textured site[s] of action" (Bawarshi 118) mediated by genres, composed of the "constellation of situations that make up an environment" (Bawarshi 115). To investigate these rhetorical elements using a concrete example as a lens, I will be analyzing my workplace, Halliday Pool—a public pool in central Illinois where I work as a head lifeguard. My goal is to demonstrate how the activity system's genres interact to structure activity, shape participants' engagement, and construct the identities of those involved at Halliday Pool. In applying discourse and genre theory to this tangible space, I will be able to reconceive the familiar setting of Halliday Pool, using it to illuminate how ideology and power function in even seemingly innocuous surroundings.

Halliday Pool is a public pool run by the City of Sproutington in central Illinois that exists within the larger activity system of the City of Sproutington Parks & Recreation Department. Despite existing in a larger framework and activity system, Halliday Pool is an activity system in and of itself. It is a site of perpetually ongoing action wherein desires are acquired and articulated, often in conflicting ways. The roles of participants such as patron, lifeguard, and management shape the activities and interactions within the system. As a head lifeguard, I have acquired the desire to maintain safety and control over the pool, as well as help guide other lifeguards. I then recontextualize these acquired desires, reproducing them as my own self-prompted desire to perform my job. Some ways I articulate these acquired desires as a head lifeguard are by ensuring lifeguards fulfill their responsibilities, teaching them wherever they fall short, and assisting the managers with many duties, aside from major decision-making. Other roles, such as patron, confer different values and desires, such as seeking enjoyment. Unlike patrons and lifeguards, the managerial role confers the desire to oversee employee operations and ensure our success in performing our jobs, as well as ensure patrons are enjoying their visit. The different roles' desires and values are instantiated through the interactions between various genres, such as scheduling boards, timesheets, guard rotation boards, and whistle codes.

Whistle codes are how lifeguards communicate while they are on duty guarding. A lifeguard may change the number of times they blow their whistle and the duration of their blows to signal a particular message. For example, a lifeguard who blows two short whistles is signaling to a manager that they need immediate assistance. Other whistle codes signal different things. One short whistle

is to get the attention of a patron who is breaking a rule, and one long whistle activates the emergency action plan indicating a lifeguard is going in for a rescue. These whistle codes used by lifeguards help create the overall situation at Halliday Pool by structuring the relationship between the various participatory roles. Whistle codes, and even merely the possession of the whistle with which to use the code, delineate boundaries between roles such as patron and lifeguard as well as characterize lifeguards as rule-enforcers. In this way, whistle codes demonstrate that genres are constructive forces that help create and define social situations, especially as they instantiate motive in participants. In fact, genre and situation are so tightly interwoven, Devitt explains, that a situation may not even exist separately from its genres (Devitt 578). Because social situations result not from perception, but out of definition—any perception only arises out of a definition provided by genres in the first place—genres contextualize the world through language. Whistle codes define lifeguards as rule enforcers and life savers, for instance, as they typify a social action to a recurrent situation: one short whistle when a patron is breaking the rules and one long whistle when going in for a save.

This type of language-based contextualization signifies the importance of genre and discourse as powers that fundamentally shape our world. Genre and discourse do not have to manifest in radical whole-world changes, though they certainly have that capability; they can simply work to change the activity systems within which we reside. Bawarshi defines activity systems as a constellation of interrelated situations which make up an environment (Bawarshi 115). To apply Bawarshi to my workplace, the "constellation of related, even conflicting situations" which make up Halliday Pool's environment are "organized and generated by various genres," effectively shaping the setting with which participants are familiar (Bawarshi 115). At Halliday Pool, these interconnected genres, such as the managerial genres of scheduling and payroll and lifeguarding genres of whistling and rotation boards, form a genre ecology, which works to create and mediate the site of activity. This creation and mediation primarily involves defining the various roles of patron, lifeguard, and manager, cultivating the situations that characterize the site, and organizing how participants respond to these situations through their further use of genres.

In creating and mediating the site of activity, genres work on participants who then work on the overarching activity system. Participants' positioning in the Halliday Pool activity system "within and between genres" is where, as Bawarshi might explain, they "acquire, negotiate, and articulate different desires, which inform the choices they make" (Bawarshi 118). The choices all participants make help instantiate the activity system itself: paying to enter, swimming, breaking the rules, drowning, scanning the pool, enforcing the rules, performing saves, rotating, cleaning, and managing. In performing these acts, participants constantly recreate the activity system as a dynamic system of micro-level interactions. The micro-level activities materialize the macro-level system.

At the same time, the macro-level system is necessary to give the micro-level activities meaning. It is not on their own that genres confer power, but in their relation to one another, especially as they work to construct a discourse. Spinuzzi explains that "a given genre mediates an activity, but it does not do so alone; it works in conjunction with the entire ecology of genres available" (Spinuzzi 6). The genre ecology functions to create a discourse, which "is not a disembodied collection of statements," but rather is "groupings of utterances or sentences... which are reenacted within a social context... determined by that social context and... contribute to the way that social context continues its existence" (Mills 11). Thus, it is through placing these micro- and macro-level interactions against the backdrop of Halliday Pool's whole that they take shape as activity system shaping functions. For example, whistle codes would have neither meaning nor function if not for the existence of the pool and the exigencies the site demands, which depends on the use of other genres. Blowing a whistle in a restaurant, for

instance, would only serve to elicit surprise and confusion as this new situation involves neither the role of a whistle blower nor an exigence that demands whistle blowing. Therefore, the activity system continues existing through the combination of genres that itself only exists through the activity system.

Since genre ecologies are thus shown to be integral to the maintenance of an activity system, it is vital that genre ecologies remain flexible to meet any changing exigencies the activity system faces. Spinuzzi explains that "genre ecologies are constantly importing, hybridizing, and evolving genres (and occasionally discarding them), and these dynamic changes in a genre ecology tend to change the entire activity" (6). As genres change, so do the activity system, and as the activity system changes—perhaps as a result of external genres—so do its own genres.

The most frequently used genres at Halliday Pool are those of lifeguards, who conduct articulations of both managerial and patron desires as well as enact their own desires. Genres that I personally engage in as a lifeguard include shift scheduling boards, timesheets, guard rotation tables, and whistle codes. Shift scheduling boards as a genre work to mediate action at the pool by ensuring employees are appropriately scheduled to show up to work. Timesheets ensure that employees are appropriately paid and continue in their role. Guard rotation tables maintain safety by establishing when and where guards surveille the pool. Whistling is one of the most vital methods of intercommunication at Halliday Pool, as lifeguards must be able to communicate immediately recognizable and distinct messages across distances to maintain the safety of the pool. The genres of shift scheduling boards, timesheets, whistling, and guard rotation tables form an ecology which maintains and forms the process-in-being of the activity system.

In this genre ecology, Bawarshi importantly notes that "not everyone involved . . . is or needs to be engaged in all its genres" (Bawarshi 117). Lifeguards engage in the genres required to ensure the safety of the pool and management engages in the genres required to run the pool. Yet, for how essential these genres are, patrons do not engage in and likely do not even notice most lifeguard or managerial genres. Instead, participants can only engage in genres such as scheduling boards, timesheets, guard rotation boards, and whistle codes as situated by their role. The varying genres of every type of participant "interact in close proximity to one another and . . . together comprise the macro-level activity system" of the pool (Bawashi 117). Thus, the pool is "not only a material site; it is also a discursive site, one mediated and reproduced by the various genres its participants use to perform the desires, positions, relations, and activities that enact it" (Bawarshi 117). In being a discursive site, Halliday Pool's use of genres is integral to its functioning.

The genres which maintain and perpetuate the Halliday Pool activity system vary depending on the power levels associated with the role of the participants which enact them. Power is conferred by control of genres—participants with access to more genres have more power. This relationship between genres and power is a key factor in the characterization of Halliday Pool's activity system. Patrons possess the least genres as they have the least power over the pool ecosystem. Employees possess more genres, such as the aforementioned whistle codes, which allow for power and control over patrons in shaping what actions are allowable (e.g., no dunking). Management possesses the most genres, and therefore commands the most power, having ultimate say not only over patron activity but also that of lifeguards. In this way, the Halliday Pool activity system functions as a sort of microcosm for the larger world in which "access to those discursive frameworks which circulate in society is not equally available to all" (Mills 14). Access to these genres results from social position—patron, lifeguard, and manager—connecting Mills' idea that "power is dispersed throughout social relations . . . produc[ing] . . . possible forms of behavior as well as restricting behavior" (Mills 20). Access to genres therefore shapes Halliday Pool's

activity system by shaping social positions.

Typically, participants with greater command of genres have greater power to shape the discourse and ideology of the activity system. At Halliday Pool, lifeguards and management have access to dominant discourses whereas patrons do not. In using the genres of the dominant discourse, lifeguards and management establish the ideology of the pool that dictates individual actions. Gee describes discourses as an "identity kit" (Gee 3) in which participants learn to fulfill expected roles. Discourses serve this function by structuring "both our sense of reality and our notion of our own identity" (Mills 15). For example, whistle codes as a genre structure my identity as a lifeguard by their use affirming my job role, therefore reinforcing my sense of self as a lifeguard—especially contrasted against other roles like patron. In other words, genre establishes ideology. Ideology is a process which links the activity system "reality to individual consciousness" in that it "establishes a conceptual framework, which results in specific uses of mental concepts, and gives rise to our ideas of ourselves," (Cormack 15). Even "the structure of our thinking about the world, about ourselves and about our role within that world, is related by ideology" (Cormack 15). At Halliday Pool, a major working of ideology functions in the valuation of safety and control. Management exerts its power to control lifeguards who then exert their power to control patrons all under the justification of ensuring safety. Genres work in generating and perpetuating ideology, and so genres create the identities of participants involved in an activity system.

It is the ideology of the activity system which also structures genre usage and participants' roles and allowances. At Halliday Pool, one of the core roles of lifeguards and managers is to uphold our hegemonic power because ideological control is crucial to maintaining and ensuring the safety of all visitors. To achieve this goal of perpetuating the dominant ideology, "all that is needed . . . is for there to be sufficient ideological overlap within the dominant class and sufficient hegemony over the other classes" (Cormack 16). Management determines values, and lifeguards enforce these values in the less powerful patron class. The core values are safety and control, but there is also the peripheral value of ensuring patrons' enjoyment. Because these peripheral values overlap with the patrons' desire for enjoyment, impactful resistance is uncommon.

However, often the values of enjoyment and safety directly contrast each other, especially as rules designed to promote safety may inhibit one's enjoyment. In this way, "the total structure of the dominant ideology is likely to be contradictory and fragmentary, rather than coherent and unified" (Cormack 16). Existing within these contradictions is crucial to maintaining the activity system. Lifeguards must navigate the dominant ideology and maintain their power by securing safety while also evincing a value of enjoyment so that patrons act in accordance with the system. For example, lifeguards must be able to successfully enforce the rules while also presenting as good-natured so that patrons are inclined to listen and act in accordance with said rules, rather than viewing them as a barricade to enjoyment.

It is by utilizing this peripheral value of enjoyment to actualize the dominant values of safety and control that Halliday Pool's dominant classes "win the willing consent of the subordinate classes to the system that ensures their subordination" (Fiske 1273). This system for achieving consent functions similarly to how larger systems of power and control, like policing, ensure the public's subordination through significant and ongoing ideological work convincing the public that police are centrally concerned with safety, rather than the interests of the dominant classes. Ideology is therefore fundamental in activity systems like Halliday Pool's as it structures and maintains subjects' behaviors and beliefs.

Activity systems' patterns of power and access demonstrate how they replicate for their own goals the

rhetorical patterns that appear in the larger world. Halliday Pool as an activity system evinces its own reproduction and continuation through its genre usage. The power of the activity system against external and internal forces is contingent upon the dominant discourses and ideology at play within the system. As Halliday Pool successfully aligns its dominant discourses with its participants through ideology, it is currently not met with challenges from external discourses, nor is it seriously threatened by internal discourses of resistance. Further, Halliday Pool is part of the larger City of Sproutington Parks & Recreation Department (CSPRD) activity system which highly values its safety decisions and protocols. Thus, while Halliday Pool is a whole body in and of itself, it functions as one leg of the overall CSPRD activity system and is therefore under its protection. As the CSPRD's safety decisions and rules are its legal fortitude against potential liabilities, they are valued more highly than disorganized patron resistance to established norms and values. With patrons possessing less genres and therefore less power than employees and management, it would require a large scale and well-coordinated patron resistance to provoke fundamental changes in Halliday Pool's system. As there is little galvanization for such a movement at this time, it is likely this activity system will endure without much change for the foreseeable future.

In elaborating the effects of Halliday Pool's genres on structuring activity, participants' engagement, and forming identity through ideology, it becomes increasingly apparent how power functions through genres in the settings we all engage in. This insight allows us to investigate and reveal how unspoken power structures shaped by the rhetorical powers genre and discourse impact the material and ideological realities of our everyday lives, as they do in Halliday Pool's activity system. Future investigations into these matters may seek to juxtapose various activity systems such as public pool activity systems (e.g., Halliday Pool) to police activity systems (e.g., a police precinct). Doing so would provide a closer understanding of how power is both born of and serves to fulfill nuanced functions depending on contexts, structures, and dominant classes both within and without an activity system. Through this deeper understanding, more meaningful resistance to oppressive forms of power could be inspired and fulfilled.

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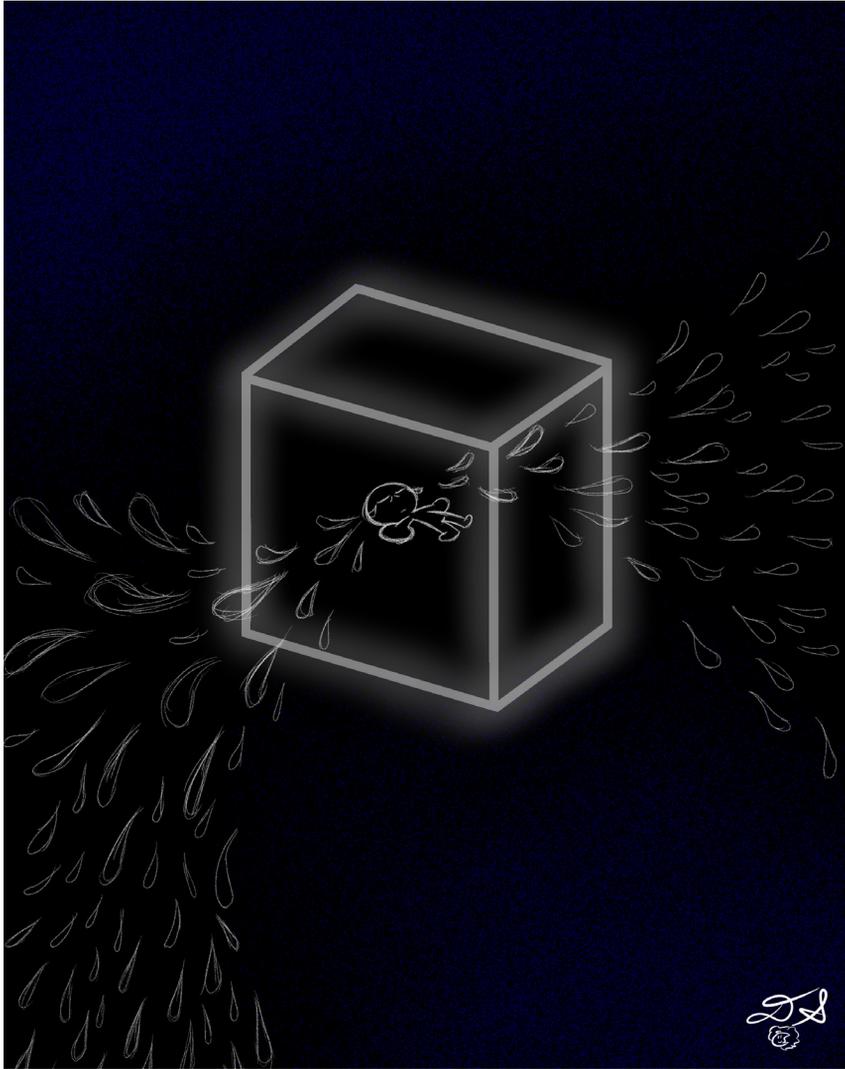
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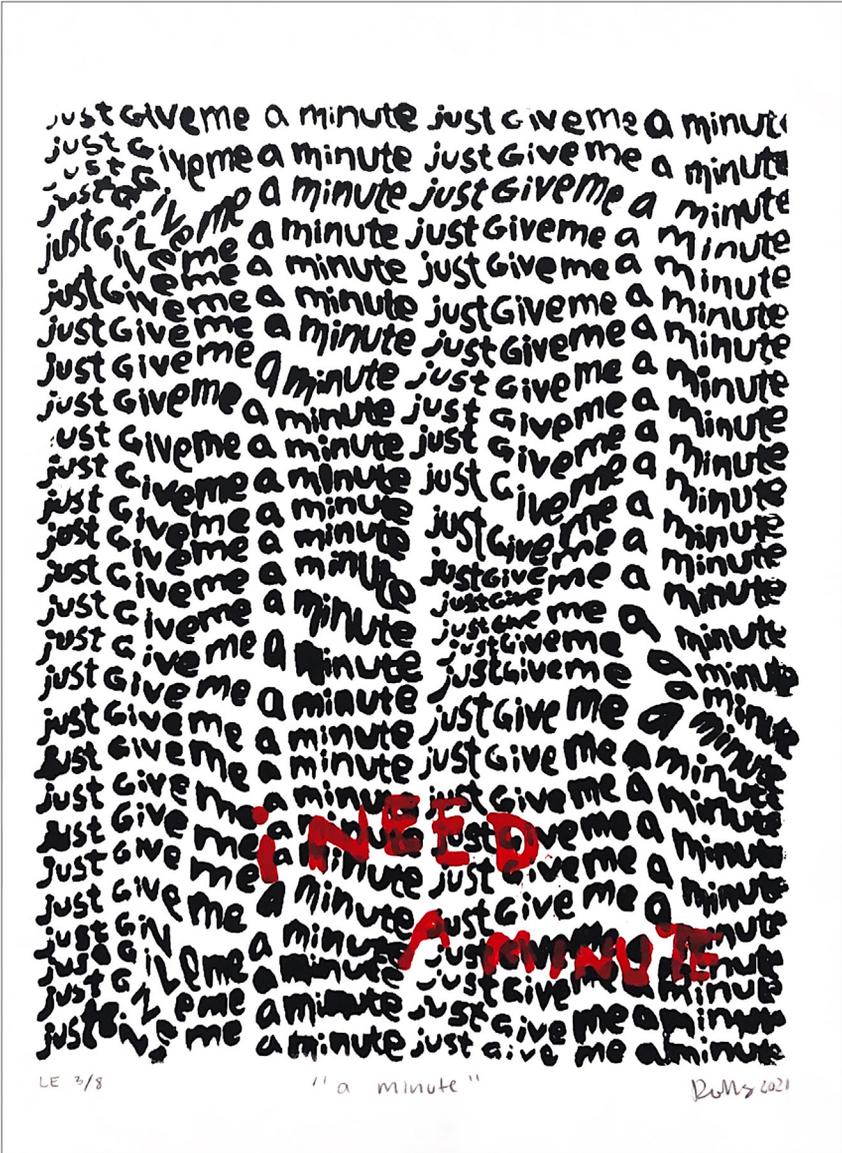
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