

VOLUME 16  
2 0 2 3

DEPAUL UNIVERSITY

Creating Knowledge

THE LAS JOURNAL OF UNDERGRADUATE SCHOLARSHIP

VOLUME 16 | 2023

DEPAUL UNIVERSITY

# Creating Knowledge

THE LAS JOURNAL OF UNDERGRADUATE SCHOLARSHIP



CREATING KNOWLEDGE

The LAS Journal of Undergraduate Scholarship



Tessa Collins | *Write with Me* | Color photograph

**EDITOR**

---

Jane Eva Baxter, Associate Professor and Chair of Anthropology

**COPYEDITOR**

---

Maria Luisa Dorado

**ART EDITOR AND ART JURY COORDINATOR**

---

Jeff Carter, Professor, The Art School

## TABLE OF CONTENTS

### FOREWORD

---

7 Dean Guillermo Vásquez de Velasco, PhD

### STUDENT RESEARCH

---

8 Adeline Kehrberg *Finding Feminism* (American Studies Program)

---

17 Isabella Parenti *Seeds of Resistance: Examining Guerrilla Gardening as a Method of Anti-Capitalism and Neoliberal Defiance* (Department of Anthropology)

---

24 Allison Scott *Liminality: The Realm of Diplomacy* (The Grace School of Applied Diplomacy)

---

33 Daria Hamelin *The Relationship between the Mystic, God, and Love through Suffering* (Department of Catholic Studies)

---

37 Nora Piepgras 《死神永生》读后感 (Chinese Program, Department of Modern Languages)

---

40 Kate Griffin *Two Sides of the Same Coin: Visual Landscapes and Thematic Counterparts in Paradise Lost* (Department of English)

---

48 Anthony Bevevino *Comment s'est formée la langue française?* (French Program, Department of Modern Languages)

---

54 Helena Mencke *Amending Japan's Article 9: A judicial necessity or a symbolic gesture?* (Global Asian Studies Program)

---

59 Tarek Jabri *Religiosity, Nationalism, and Ambition: Imagining, Perceiving, and Remembering the Arab Revolt* (Department of History)

---

67 Nora Ryan *Passion and Pain: Francisco Goya's Rise to Modernity* (Department of History of Art and Architecture)

---

73 Joelle Trasoweck *The Value of Invisible Work: Women and the Double Burden* (Department of International Studies)

|     |                   |  |
|-----|-------------------|--|
| 82  | Winter Johnson    | <i>Symbiotic Memories: Exploring the Active and Passive Remembering of Early Modern Ireland</i> (Irish Studies Program)  |
| 88  | Anna Finerty      | <i>La Questione della Voce Nelle Lettere di S. Caterina da Siena</i> (Italian Program, Department of Modern Languages)   |
| 92  | Claudia Grzyb     | <i>1950s Lesbian Literature in The Ladder: The Early Rungs to the Radical Lesbian Expression and Advocacy of the American 1960s</i> (Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, Transgender, Queer Studies Program) |
| 100 | Leena Jere        | <i>An Analysis of Phatic Body Language in Minecraft</i> (Linguistics Program)  |
| 108 | Katie Drypolcher  | <i>Rwanda: How to Recover from Genocide and Its Ideology</i> (Peace, Justice, and Conflict Studies Program)  |
| 115 | Andrew Koller     | <i>Expanding Upon the Connection Between the Übermensch and Buddha</i> (Department of Philosophy)  |
| 124 | Finn Andersen     | <i>Latino Voters in Texas: Shifts and Trends from 2016-2020</i> (Department of Political Science)  |
| 134 | October Wankovsky | <i>The Discourses of British Pacifism in the First World War: Understanding Conscientious Objection as Both a Religious and Political Act</i> (Department of Religious Studies)                  |
| 141 | María-José Lema   | <i>Canción del estireno: proyecto creativo de los riesgos del plástico y el poliestireno para la salud</i> (Spanish Program, Department of Modern Languages)                                     |
| 144 | Angelina McAdory  | <i>Embodying the Revolution: The Intersection of Dance and Feminist Theory</i> (Department of Women's and Gender Studies)  |
| 154 | Miranda Kincer    | <i>Tony Stark as an Icon for Alcoholism and Recovery: How Details in Iron Man #182 Reveal the Detriment of Alcohol Addiction</i> (Department of Writing, Rhetoric, and Discourse)                |

## STUDENT ARTWORK

|       |                       |  |
|-------|-----------------------|--|
| Cover | Tessa Collins         | <i>Write with Me</i> (detail)  |
| 2     | Tessa Collins         | <i>Write with Me</i>   |
| 16    | Daphne Posadas        | <i>Cara de Nopal</i>   |
| 23    | Alexandria Yates      | <i>Lola</i>  |
| 32    | Julieanne Dworkin     | <i>Sunset</i>  |
| 36    | Jamie Davis           | <i>Self-portrait as St. Agatha</i>   |
| 39    | Maici Williams        | <i>Uncanny</i>   |
| 47    | Jakob Ferguson        | <i>18 Years After Alicia Frantz (2/1/2023 -<br/>W Division St &amp; N Throop St)</i>         |
| 53    | Imani Barnes          | <i>College Years</i>   |
| 58    | Evelyn Rubi Hernandez | <i>Navigating Independence</i>   |
| 81    | Jakob Ferguson        | <i>Breonna Taylor Mural on Emmett Till Rd<br/>(10/12/22 - W 71st St &amp; S Stewart Ave)</i> |
| 107   | Jamie Davis           | <i>The Betrayal</i>  |
| 114   | Julieanne Dworkin     | <i>Peace</i>   |
| 123   | Daphne Posadas        | <i>La Presentación</i>   |
| 133   | Imani Barnes          | <i>Bar Scene I</i>   |
| 140   | Evelyn Rubi Hernandez | <i>Absence of a Hug</i>  |
| 153   | Shaina Lieberson      | <i>Julia 0:29</i>  |



## FOREWORD

DEAR STUDENTS, COLLEAGUES, ALUMNI, AND FRIENDS,

Every year at about this same time, I have the pleasure of reviewing a draft copy of our new issue of *Creating Knowledge: The LAS Journal of Undergraduate Scholarship*. This year, I am once again energized by the exceptional commitment of our community to not only consume knowledge but also be fully engaged at all levels in its creation and dissemination. In particular, and remarkably, *Creating Knowledge* celebrates work by a talented group of undergraduate students who have fully embraced the practice of intellectual curiosity and its enactment as rigorous scholarship. Repeatedly, year after year, I am amazed by the intellectual sophistication of our students and their faculty, as the latter supports them in such an extraordinary endeavor.

In this volume, we celebrate the work of our students in 22 different programs. Each of the essays and artworks are products of advanced coursework during the 2022–2023 Academic Year. All have been selected by department-based faculty committees as the best of the year's student work, and all have been revised for submission under the supervision of faculty. This volume also includes 16 images of student artwork curated by faculty in The Art School at DePaul. The cover artwork provided by Tessa Collins, entitled *Write with Me*, further celebrates the work of her fellow students.

Our editor, Associate Professor Jane Eva Baxter, has engaged our community by calling for submissions; supporting the faculty work of reviewing, selecting, and editing the student essays; curating the student artwork; and, finally, coordinating the production of the print and digital editions of the journal. Professor Baxter will be passing on the editorial baton next year, and I want to make use of this space to thank her not only for her work in this issue but also for her leadership in transitioning the publication into a post-pandemic place that reflects the incredible breadth of study that a liberal arts education provides.

I would also like to express my gratitude to all our faculty and staff who supported, reviewed, selected, and helped edit this extraordinary collection of student work. Also, a big thank you to the faculty who served as jurors of the student artwork, Professor Jeff Carter for his work as art jury coordinator, and Maria Luisa Dorado for her work as copyeditor.

Now, it is my distinct pleasure to invite you to enjoy this new issue of *Creating Knowledge: The LAS Journal of Undergraduate Scholarship*.

Sincerely,



GUILLERMO VÁSQUEZ DE VELASCO, PhD  
Dean

# FINDING FEMINISM

ADELINE KEHRBERG\*

*American Studies Program*

This project is not what it started out as. Going into my conversations about feminism with my mother and grandmother, I planned to hear my grandmother's conservative rhetoric and my mother's religious brainwashing. I planned to expose ignorance as a product of their environment, but I discovered so much more. Over the years, I have developed a significant disdain for my mother and grandmother's place of origin in long-standing rural religious communities. The politics and social culture of my generation completely turned me off from what I determined to be their community's entire history. These conversations taught me how surface level my understanding of their community is and revealed my true outsider perspective.

## **Introduction: Northeastern Ohio's Anabaptist Communities**

A contextual sense of my family's home is crucial to understand my findings in these interviews. My mother's family has been living in rural northeastern Ohio for generations. Spread between Holmes and Wayne counties is a collective of active religious communities, mainly communities of Amish and Mennonites. The Amish and Mennonites are Anabaptists, originally from present-day Switzerland, Germany, and the Netherlands. Anabaptism developed out of Martin Luther's reformation movement across Europe in the 1500s, which criticized the corruption in the Catholic church. Anabaptists expanded on

reformation principles of the individual's authority over their faith, and they were notable for their belief in the separation of church and state, their pacifism, and their practice of adult baptism. Both Mennonites and Amish are Anabaptist groups, but a split occurred in the mid-1600s when the Anabaptist minister Jacob Amman advocated for stricter rules to live by that, if ignored, should result in excommunication from the community. Amman's beliefs attracted a group of followers that became known as the Amish. Both groups fled religious persecution in Europe and immigrated to the United States starting in the late 17th century. They first settled in Pennsylvania, then moved westward. My grandmother's ancestors are Amish from Holmes County, Ohio, and my grandfather comes from four Swiss-Mennonite families that settled in Kidron, Ohio (in Wayne County) in the early 1800s.

Historically self-sustaining farmers and tradespeople, Amish and Mennonite communities live simple lives. They're generous, solemn, and kind. Despite sharing many core values, Mennonites have always been more assimilated and less strict. For the Amish, their isolation along with the loss of farming land over time has, in some ways, made life difficult. Because their cultural practices do not permit education past the eighth grade, the Amish are turning more and more to business and tourism to support themselves and the community. Church is the center of both communities and reproduces textbook evangelical Christian conservative beliefs and practices, including teaching directly from the Bible. Church doctrine is reflected in their schools, places of work, and social culture. It also governs their values. My grandmother's parents were Amish but left to start their own church before she was born. For most of her adulthood, my grandmother has

---

\* This paper was the final project in Nina Wilson's WGS 255 (Deconstructing the Diva) in Winter Quarter 2023. It received an Honorable Mention in the deCordova Scholarship competition from the deCordova Awards Committee of the American Studies Program. The Committee members then selected the paper as the *Creating Knowledge* entry for American Studies. It was prepared in collaboration with Allison McCracken, Director of the American Studies Program.

lived in Kidron. She married my grandfather there, and my mother and her siblings were raised as Swiss-Mennonites there on a dairy farm. Kidron is almost a village. Settled by four families, many people share last names and histories. It is a small community of dedicated believers who live each day with each other, and everyone knows everyone.

**FIGURE 1**

Holmes and Wayne Counties, Ohio.  
[www.ezilon.com/maps/images/usa/ohio-county-map.gif](http://www.ezilon.com/maps/images/usa/ohio-county-map.gif)



**FIGURE 2**

The Kidron community, Ohio.  
[www.google.com/maps/@40.8369841,-2.0660223,11.05z?entry=ttu](http://www.google.com/maps/@40.8369841,-2.0660223,11.05z?entry=ttu)



A thorough religious education and the isolation of living in a small town gave my mother and grandmother a narrow view of feminism and other social issues. The Amish are limited by their refusal of higher education and inability to travel farther than a horse and buggy can take them. As non-Amish, my mother and grandmother attended high school and college, and they were able to explore life outside of their communities without being shunned by family and friends. Originally, I wanted to correlate their religious environment with their ideas; while I found that this environment played a role in their exposure and reaction to feminism, it was a smaller role than I thought. Any woman's relationship to feminism is deeply personal, and my mother and grandmother developed their stance on the ideology while observing their own lives. Living in a tightly structured, devout Anabaptist community did not mean they weren't thinking for themselves or making their own choices. Additionally, both my mother and grandmother have great respect and love for Kidron. My grandmother has remained there, and my mother consistently returns. My mother and her siblings are still Mennonites practicing the faith.

Exclusively white and predominantly straight, these communities have had little exposure to the reality of many social issues other than distorted representations in the media. They just didn't need to care. However, women have always had a place in their communities. This project was the final for my WGS class in Winter Quarter 2023, and I pursued an oral history project with my family because I was curious about how mothers inform their daughters' understanding of feminism. I wanted to examine my beliefs and investigate how my mother's and grandmother's experiences have impacted my own. My first ideas about womanhood came from my mother, and I imagine the same thing happens between many other mothers and daughters. This project is a critical autobiography and a brief evaluation of each of our lives in relation to feminism as I understand it. I found that the absence of feminist conversation in our childhoods, adolescence, and even adulthood informed our beliefs and

understandings more than anything. My grandmother was born in 1956, my mother in 1978, and I in 2003. With each generation, we are becoming more aware.

**Miriam (b. 1956)**

*My mom is actually this like amazing story that could really have traction if she would, like, take ownership in it, but she doesn't, so whatever.* — Sarah, Miriam's daughter

When my grandmother, Miriam, realized the struggle it would be to define herself amid her strict, patriarchal community, she found agency in her role as a mother. Her introduction to feminism came through her older brothers who gave her access to feminist writing during the second wave of feminism in the late 1960s and 1970s.

MIRIAM. They would come home from college and bring all their books.

MIRIAM. With all the talk that was going on back then, and this was the time of Betty Friedan and Gloria Steinem, your grandmother was very concerned about position back in those days.

MIRIAM. The whole idea of women having an equal consideration made a lot of sense to me but being that it's fair. It's never equal, but it needs to be fair.

The community attitudes are clear here: women will never reach equality to men.

While hearing her talk about her teenage experiences, I discovered she was rather loud and very self-aware.

MIRIAM. Your grandma has always taken this faith business very seriously.

MIRIAM. I remember being audacious enough. [Church leaders] were doing an evaluation of the preacher, and I didn't like him, so I convinced my mother as a sixteen-year-old to go to the listening board and give my schtick. And, honestly, I'm so embarrassed as an adult now that I would think at sixteen that I would have . . . it's a good example of brazenness.

MIRIAM. I remember my mother being embarrassed that I had done that.

She recalled her high school PE coach who left the girls class for dead while they were playing soccer.

MIRIAM. I remember going over and accosting him and said, "Why aren't you teaching us any skills? You're the soccer coach, but you don't feel like you have to teach us at all." And he said, "I hear you."

MIRIAM. I felt that was a very good thing [talking to him].

When talking to my mother, she recalled my grandmother's attitude toward education and its value.

SARAH. My mom always said in high school, you go to college, and you get your degree just like if you never got married . . . Maybe you'll have kids and not work like she did, so maybe you won't even use your degree, but you want to make sure you get that degree, you know?

SARAH. I feel like I was raised in a very female-forward home in which I always assumed I was as smart and as capable, you know, as any man if not more so. I mean, mom made fun of a lot of guys.

The thing is, my grandmother did not go to college until she was thirty-five. She got married only days after graduating high school and had her first child at nineteen. I wondered how someone so clearly aware of her own ideas could sacrifice exploring them for a life of domesticity.

MIRIAM. In many ways, I experienced much of life young.

I asked if it was difficult being so young.

MIRIAM. Your grandmother is an idealist. In many ways, I was disillusioned with "I can do much better on my own." It's a very prideful thing to say, and I'm not proud of it because it's not true. I've learned many, many times that I need others.

But she has done better on her own. She raised her children on her own despite my grandfather's chronic negligence and irritability. It was clear that one dairy farm would not support five children, so my grandmother attended college as an adult to become a teacher and support her family.

MIRIAM. I saw the idea of getting married meant we were starting a family that then you could run it the way you needed to.

MIRIAM. When you have a husband and you are the wife, you really do want the husband to give you lots of room to raise the family and get her done, and you do not want someone constantly in your face.

MIRIAM. It's 'til this day the most important thing I ever did in all my life was having those five children. There's nothing unique about it at all.

It's clear my grandmother felt empowerment in her identity as a young and independent mom but being that it's something every woman will experience. She recalled specifically the birth of her fourth child and a doctor's judgment.

MIRIAM. The local doctor made some kind of a disparaging comment about four babies in four years, and I just remember looking at him and thinking, "You don't count. You don't get it. These are the best children in all the world, and I am the best momma in all the world. And, honestly, you couldn't say anything that would disparage this wonderful experience that I'm having." That's how I felt about my children.

I think motherhood offered her the control she decided at her young age she couldn't find anywhere else. It gave her a space to share her mind with people who respected her, and I think becoming a teacher fifteen years later continued to provide that space for her. I couldn't help wondering what her life might've looked like had she waited to marry and perhaps moved away, but that really doesn't matter. What matters is that she decided to go

through with it despite everyone begging her not to marry at eighteen. It was her choice. She accepted what I know to be an exhausting marriage within a community that did not value her intellectual contributions. Regardless of my speculation, whatever the real reason for her choice makes me truly sad because I know she deserved better. She deserved a loving marriage and the opportunity to be a leader in her community.

My grandmother would be much too proud to admit any of this, and she always has been. She is not one to feel sorry for herself or anyone else. Of modern feminism, she says, "Whenever you have victim mentality, then everyone else is an oppressor, and that's just the biggest malarkey there ever was."

This mentality has let her fabricate lots of hateful rhetoric against women and others. When I was talking with my mother, she recalled the discussion of women in church leadership during her childhood.

SARAH. I have heard people from the Kidron community who *did* notice, and it bothered them that men were the only ones in charge. I think for me, it didn't because I just assumed a capable woman could be in charge if she wanted to be.

SARAH. The problem was my mom always portrayed these women as nutjobs. They were too emotional; they were too spiritual; they couldn't be trusted to be in leadership.

SARAH. If I would've sat down and said, "But wait, mom, I want to be a pastor; I want to preach a sermon," I think she would've had a problem with that. And, I think that would've been a problem for us, but I never wanted to.

I think denying women positions of power consoled my grandmother as a young wife and helped her believe that this was her only option. The alternate success of other women discouraged her because it made her feel jealous and weak. It felt better to attack them. Because

my mother and all her siblings are straight, married, parents, Christian, and so on, I have always thought my grandmother was lucky she didn't have to raise a rebellious child. Maybe she was just that authoritative or her children really all do agree with her. Either way, she never got proven wrong. A traditional marriage and family structure isn't the most fulfilling thing for all women, and she never had to wager that against a relationship with one of her children. Since no one else matters to her, over the years she has become increasingly ignorant of the experiences of others. This I blame in part on the polarizing political climate of our country because my mother says she was not always so bigoted and extreme. Either way, she is not a feminist. She would deny many the right to live their lives through individual agency, and, in my opinion, she denied herself that luxury as well.

SARAH. She said the highest calling a woman has is to be a mother, and she was actually fairly judgy against people who didn't.

**Sarah (b. 1978)**

*I swallowed it pretty much hook, line, and sinker.* — Sarah

My mother, Sarah, had and still has a very healthy relationship with the church, and this is perhaps the biggest difference between us.

SARAH. I don't remember ever disliking [church]. It was just what you did.

SARAH. For me, I think it was pretty healthy. And I've thought about it.

Notably, the church hasn't always been overtly political, which has completely defined my experience with it.

SARAH. That is something that has totally changed. I probably couldn't tell you about the president most of the time.

SARAH. Most people didn't vote.

I asked her if she ever questioned anything she heard in church.

SARAH. I don't remember questioning a lot.

SARAH. [Her and her sisters] talked about religion but not about rebelling. I did not have a rebellious spirit.

When asked about the attitudes in her community toward queerness, she told me no one really talked about it other than to make the joke, "That's so gay." She knew being gay was wrong according to the church but really had no idea what "gay" even meant. In 1994, she went to a Mennonite convention where she heard religious sociologist Tony Campolo give a seminar on homosexuality. She was a sophomore in high school. This was her first time hearing homosexuality discussed in a religious context, and it was also the most she had ever heard about the subject.

SARAH. [Campolo] said he has come to believe that God made [gays] that way, and it's not a sin that they're made that way, but to live as a homosexual is wrong because the Bible says it is. And I remember really believing that strongly in high school.

SARAH. I would've said that God calls them to celibacy.

I asked her when this view changed, and she mentioned a book called *Rescuing Jesus*, where author Deborah Jian Lee interviewed queer students attending conservative colleges. My mother recalled their perspectives.

SARAH. "You would think if I'm sinful, I would feel distance from God. I feel called to God."

SARAH. "Why would God not want me to be part of the church where I can do all this good stuff?"

Her redefinition of homosexuality went as follows:

SARAH. I started thinking, my stance of "it's ok that you're gay, like that's not a sin. God made you that way, and you're fine except that part of you [gay sex] is

gross” is weird to me. It’s more kind to think that they can change. I don’t think that you can change, so [gay sex] must be fine.

SARAH. I was like, “I feel really peaceful about that.”

Her definitive lack of hostility despite the underlying community attitudes was significant to me. When I asked her to look back now on the social climate of Kidron then, she recalled a gay effeminate teacher at her high school.

SARAH. Definitely there was a vibe [from her mom] that he was yucky.

SARAH. I know in mom’s generation there were people who felt that gay people were maybe sexual predators.

She continued investigating the queer experience by reading a manifesto published by her friend who had recently come out.

SARAH. I read the manifesto, and one of the things he said was, “Being gay is not just about having sex with the same gender person. It’s an identity thing, and if you don’t understand that, ask somebody who is gay to explain it.”

She asked him to explain, and afterward she came to a new conclusion.

SARAH. I was thinking about how as a kid you see parents with their kids . . . you imagine your wedding . . . you see older couples and you’re like, “that’s gonna be me someday.” That’s not just about having sex with somebody; that’s my whole life.

SARAH. You can’t just turn off a whole part of yourself.

It was so interesting for me to hear a straight person talk about queerness, and it was hard sometimes not to acknowledge how obvious I found those observations to be. I was proud of her initiative to reach out to a queer person. It took my mom nearly forty years of her life to be comfortable with the existence of queer people, but

I think she always knew; she just didn’t understand. Her confusion never became hostility, and even throughout my queer adolescence, I was never scared of her. That has been a gift she may never understand. Compared to the rest of her generation in her family, she is distinctly among those more aware and concerned. She took time to educate herself, checked her privilege, and learned something about herself because of it. She said, “[Sexuality is] not just about having sex with somebody; that’s my whole life.”

A few years ago, my parents—with my full support—left the Mennonite church in North Carolina that I grew up in. The church’s crushingly traditional values were finally becoming a barrier to their spiritual lives. Leaving that church was hard for my mother because of her upbringing as an Anabaptist. Joining a different congregation felt like a betrayal of her identity, but an association with homophobia, among other things, felt even more dishonest. When I go to church with my mother now or listen to her discuss religion, her beliefs are undoubtedly her own. She is also significantly more confident, happy, and proud. Now, she too understands liberation and is rewarded for her empathy. She has more education still to do, but her journey of understanding thus far establishes her life as a feminist one.

### **Adeline (b. 2003)**

*I’m not a groupie, and I’m not in the sisterhood. I’ve never had a gaggle of women.* — Miriam

Imagine that you are a young boy, and you’ve made your first real friend. There is space between you to hold nothing back. No joke about others is too mean; no thought is too stupid or scary. He is your equal, and you trust him. He is just like you. The two of you see the world in the same way, and within this safe space, you are perfectly at peace.

When I look back on my childhood through this project, I find that even when I was very young, I was fascinated by male experience. I am the eldest child of three, and I looked up to older boys as a younger sister would her

brothers. I longed to be let into exclusively male spaces, and I loved being the only girl.

My first male idol was the teenage drummer, Junior, in the church band. I was probably three years old. Junior and his cousins would let me hang around during basketball in the church gym and play with me as if I were their own sister. I remember them being very kind. I think I was captivated by how liberating drumming looked while watching Junior play. I saw freedom and joy, and I was envious. But girls don't really play drums, and I think part of my jealousy came from knowing that drumming wouldn't look or feel the same if I were doing it. At home, I played with my imaginary best friend, Christian, on a little tin drum Junior's parents gifted me. My obsession with him was that obvious.

When I was a bit older, I remember my dad's friend's son Ruben. Ruben had his own room while I had to share with my younger sister, and he masterfully communicated his interests on the walls and through many treasured items. He was auspicious, always happy, and a little offbeat. I never noticed I was five years younger when I was around him. He showed me his large bumper sticker collection for his future Jeep and let me investigate his room and his things. I think, again, I saw freedom in Ruben's childhood. He was innocently exploring the world, and he could embarrass himself. He didn't seem insecure or aware of any judgment of his behavior, and I wanted that for myself.

I grew up in Asheville, North Carolina, and as a young child visiting Kidron during Christmas and the summers, I have only fond memories. I was set free on eighty acres of green grass, tall trees, cow shit, and mud. As one of the older cousins, I could even exert some discipline and control over the boys. Looking back, my control and authority during traditionally male activities were two of the most valuable parts of going to Grandpa and Grandma's house. I was respected, and these were exactly the experiences I longed for. I anticipated it all year and

cried miserably each time we had to leave. It wasn't until I gained social consciousness that I began loathing my time there.

I think the gender binary when I started school was a slap in my face. Suddenly, I was aware of my physical appearance. I was aware of my clothes. I was aware that I was a girl and not a boy. That had not been important to me before. It wasn't until the middle of high school that I stopped feeling confused in my body and the clothes that were on it. When I became socially aware of Kidron, I realized that who I wanted to be had nowhere to fit there. I saw no respected and independent femmes; I saw no family without marriage, and sexual attitudes were negative. I saw no diversion from a heterosexual family model and or from the gender binary. I began to feel like I was choking every time I visited.

When I first heard the word "feminism" in middle school, I associated it with the hatred of men. I didn't want to be affiliated with that. I wanted boys to be kind to me. I wanted them to love me and consider me one of them. I wanted them to let me hear their jokes and ideas, and I wanted them to let me participate. I wanted to claim the simple happiness and freedom I saw under the umbrella of innocent boyish behavior.

There is no equivalent to brotherhood in the world of women. There is girlhood, of course, and these relationships are beautiful, but they are often permeated with the female experience. I have yet to have a female friendship where we do not face an obstacle that pertains to our identities as women. In some ways, we cling to each other to survive. Among men, there is more joy, loyalty, comfort, and unconditional love. How I longed to have these themes sewn through my childhood and adolescence, and I still long for a taste of that kind of bond.

My definition of feminism now comes from the realization that I will always be perceived as a woman, regardless of



a queer understanding of my gender. My experiences as a child and teenager revealed the indifference and scorn that condition social attitudes toward women, and I know this is rooted in the suppression of certain communities in society. The patriarchy and other oppressive systems have become fundamental to my understanding of gender, and I want to reject the ways that straight white male structures control our lives. In this way, I am undeniably a feminist. I owe it to my sisters and everyone else to cherish the beauty of our solidarity and defend against the resentment that defines our experiences.

### **Final Remarks**

When I think about my, my mom's, and my grandmother's understandings of feminism side by side, it's difficult to compare them. Our experiences as women were defined by many individual factors. The encompassing presence of religion in northeastern Ohio gifted my mother with a Christian identity she treasures in a way I don't exactly understand. My grandmother's choice to marry young and raise five children is a reality I can't imagine for myself, and I've already missed the window. Their communities undoubtedly affected their experiences as women and shaped their thinking about social issues in a way that my thinking and experiences have not. But it's our choices that determine whether we live as feminists or not. The conversations we had during the interviews were not shared between mothers and daughters in their family, nor likely in the larger community, and this was the first time I talked to my mother and grandmother about these things. My decision to undertake this project has given me hope that perhaps my daughter will not have to learn so much for herself.

### **WORKS CITED**

- Sarah K. Interview. Conducted by Adeline Kehrberg, 9 Mar. 2023.  
Miriam K. Interview. Conducted by Adeline Kehrberg, 9 Mar. 2023.



Daphne Posadas | *Cara de Nopal* | Acrylic on canvas

# SEEDS OF RESISTANCE: EXAMINING GUERRILLA GARDENING AS A METHOD OF ANTI-CAPITALISM AND NEOLIBERAL DEFIANCE

ISABELLA PARENTI\*

*Department of Anthropology*

Resistance to capitalism comes in many forms. Some people demonstrate it by marching in the streets or rioting, while others boycott or buycott. One group of activists takes a different approach. They display their resistance through a unique form of civil disobedience: their weapons of choice are shovels, and their pockets are stocked with seed bomb arsenals. These are the guerrilla gardeners, and they work to combat the debilitating effects of capitalism and neoliberalism through the creation of public gardens in unconventional landscapes. Throughout this paper, I examine the guerrilla gardening movement and how it is used as a form of anti-capitalism and neoliberal resistance. Guerrilla gardening practices can serve as a method of anti-capitalism and neoliberal resistance by fighting food insecurity, combating the effects of environmental racism, and reclaiming privatized land.

Guerrilla gardening can be defined as intentionally planting in unconventional and sometimes illegal spaces with beneficial intentions. Some examples of this could include turning an abandoned lot into an urban community garden to provide a source of healthy food for the neighborhood, sprinkling native wildflower seeds into monoculture grass lawns and medians to restore landscapes, or planting flowers in garbage-filled

sidewalk spaces to beautify the neighborhood. Whatever the method, guerrilla gardeners always plant to support community and environmental betterment. While the goal is sometimes to create a source of fresh food for a community within a food desert, the reintroduction of native species is just as vital. According to Ellen Miles, a guerrilla gardener and activist with a prolific social media presence, “guerrilla gardening is grassroots planting in a public place with a purpose” (Rasbash, 2021). It has also been described as illegal gardening for good. According to Zoe Rasbash’s article in *Shado Magazine*, “It’s [guerrilla gardening] not just about planting flowers but has been seen as a radical anarchist organizing tactic. It is the act of gardening on land that you don’t have the legal right to cultivate, and through this process, you make spaces greener with a purpose of reclaiming land to benefit the community” (Rasbash, 2021). Guerrilla gardening can be anything from small acts of defiance such as “seedbombing”—a technique of mixing native seeds with paper pulp or clay, fashioning it into balls, and throwing them into medians or vacant lots in hope of dispersing seeds when rain comes—to bigger acts of resistance such as illegally transforming an abandoned plot of land into an urban farm or planting trees in neglected areas.

Guerrilla gardening<sup>1</sup> has an extensive history that can be traced back to the seventeenth century, seemingly originating in England with a group of radical Protestants

---

\* This paper was originally written for Dr. Hofman’s ANT 386 (Cultural Analysis: Consumer Culture) during Spring Quarter 2022. Many thanks to: Dr. Baxter and Dr. Kersel for their support and roles in the selection committee; Dr. Hofman for her mentorship; Emily Hamilton and Winter Johnson for their help editing this paper; and my beloved friends and family for their endless support.

---

1 For this paper, I will only be focusing on guerrilla gardening in the United States and England.

known as “The Diggers” (Rasbash, 2021). The group formed in pursuit of agrarian socialism to combat food insecurity and fight against regional land privatization that was growing rampant around the time of the First English Civil War (Libcom, 2006). In the United States, guerrilla gardening was popularized first in New York in the 1970s. Trailblazers of the guerrilla gardening movement during this time in New York were Liz Christy—who was a part of a larger group called the Green Guerrillas—and Hattie Carthan, who dedicated years of her life to planting trees in her disinvested neighborhood in Brooklyn. Thanks to the foundation these women laid, today there are over six hundred urban community gardens in New York City alone (Green Guerrillas, 2022).

Due to the COVID-19 pandemic, guerrilla gardening rapidly spread throughout the world—especially in the United States. Guerrilla gardening ideas and tutorials were spread through social media platforms such as TikTok and Twitter. The global pandemic exemplified inequities of all forms, including the uneven access to green space and the environmental injustice that poor communities faced. People noticed that only wealthy individuals had access to green space, whereas low-income and marginalized communities did not. In Chicago, for example, Mayor Lori Lightfoot closed all public parks and beaches for fear that congregations in public spaces would become a spreading environment for the virus. Because of these restrictions, people’s movements were limited to the boundaries of their homes and properties. During this time, only wealthy people had guaranteed access to private green space, such as front yards and gardens, whereas poor people were not afforded the same luxury. Many people began to realize this and take matters into their own hands by creating their own green space in unconventional places—by beginning to guerrilla garden.

Since its inception in seventeenth-century England and throughout its global existence, guerrilla gardening has been used to combat food insecurity. Guerrilla gardeners use illegal planting to make fresh and nutritious

foods available in communities that otherwise do not have access or are located within food deserts. These communities have little to no access to affordable, fresh produce or other nutritious foods. In the United States, disinvested communities are in food deserts because they have been systemically neglected by local governments and are chronically underfunded. Many times, this is due to systemically racist practices such as redlining, gentrification, and disinvestment, which I shall discuss momentarily. Because of this, those affected by food deserts in the United States are largely communities of color and low income. As sociologist Wendy Wiedenhoft (2016) explains, food deserts are an environmental crisis for low-income people in the United States with rippling ill health effects. She states:

According to the U.S. Department of Agriculture (USDA), approximately 23.5 million Americans resided in food deserts in 2009, mostly those living in low-income areas, communities of color, or rural locations. Lower-income zip codes have 30% more convenient/corner/liquor stores than middle-class zip codes, few transportation options to reach stores with healthy food items, and more fast-food restaurants in urban areas. Many people who live in food deserts suffer from food insecurity because they do not have a consistent supply of food or know when they will eat their next meal. (Wiedenhoft, 2016, p. 87)

Guerrilla gardening practices can therefore help combat the food desert epidemic plaguing people—disproportionately people of color—in our country. By turning abandoned lots into gardens filled with fresh, growing produce, the community not only gains access to healthy food sources but also learns how to live independently and sustainably outside of the crippling cycle of racially motivated capitalism.

Ron Finley, a guerrilla gardener in South-Central Los Angeles, uses guerrilla gardening to fight food insecurity in his neighborhood. South-Central Los Angeles has

experienced a significant amount of disinvestment. Due to intentional governmental neglect, neighborhood residents have no access to grocery stores with affordable fresh fruits and vegetables. South-Central Los Angeles is a food desert—or, as Finley calls it, an “inner-city food prison” (Ron Finley Project, 2023). Finley began guerrilla gardening in 2010 by planting vegetables in a long-neglected patch of dirt by the street in front of his house. Soon after, he was cited for gardening without a permit by the city of Los Angeles. Finley fought back by starting a petition with other gardeners and environmental activists. He demanded the right to grow in his own neighborhood. After a long fight, Finley won, and he now continues growing produce in abandoned dirt patches and vacant city lots throughout the greater Los Angeles area. Throughout the past few years, Finley has done incredible urban gardening work in his community and has inspired others across the country and throughout the world. He now has his own gardening organization called the “Ron Finley Project,” where he helps teach members of his community and those outside of it to grow their own food and live a more sustainable lifestyle. According to his website mission statement, Finley’s project aims “to grow strong communities that think presently, act intentionally, and lay the groundwork for something beyond what we can see,” as well as to “spread the dream of edible, urban gardens, and nourish our neighborhoods one city-block at a time” (Ron Finley Project, 2023).

In addition to fighting food insecurity, guerrilla gardening can be used to combat the effects of environmental racism. One of the many forms of ingrained racism in the United States is the racist practice of redlining, which includes discriminatory housing and zoning laws throughout cities. This practice has had crippling effects on Black communities. Redlining, in short, is the discriminatory practice of refusing a loan or insurance to someone considered a financial risk. In the 1930s, a US government agency classified different neighborhoods based on how “safe” it was to give out mortgage loans.

These classifications were color-coded and drawn onto maps: green was the best, while red was considered the most “hazardous.” Neighborhoods with high populations of Black families were marked red (thus, redlined), and neighborhoods with high populations of white families were marked green. Along with blockbusting and other racist urban planning practices, the perpetuation of segregation within cities led to subsequent disinvestment and neglect from local governments. The effects of redlining and racist urban planning practices are still prevalent to this day. In addition to creating food deserts, one of the ways in which these effects appear is through environmental inequities. According to a 2020 study: “Nationally, land surface temperatures in redlined areas are approximately 2.6°C warmer than in non-redlined areas” (Hoffman et al., 2020). Higher CO<sub>2</sub> emissions and a lack of green space are both factors that contribute to this statistic. A 2019 *New York Times* article mentions the issue of shade in Los Angeles. Low-income, disinvested neighborhoods have fewer trees and therefore less shade than wealthier neighborhoods: “Shade in Los Angeles sits at the intersection of two crises: climate change and income inequality. City officials are rushing to deploy cover to hundreds of bus stops and plant 90,000 trees” (Arango, 2019). On a planet that is rapidly warming, shade and green space will become increasingly important and more of a luxury.

Throughout the 1960s, Hattie Carthan noticed these same environmental inequities within her own neighborhood of Bed-Stuy and made it her life’s mission to combat this environmental racism by planting trees throughout her neighborhood (New York Preservation Archive Project, n.d.). Bedford-Stuyvesant, or Bed-Stuy, is one of the many New York City neighborhoods that were redlined. According to the Brownstoner, “Red zones were widespread and included the neighborhoods of Bedford Stuyvesant, Crown Heights, [and others]” (Spellen, 2016). Typically, trees dot the sidewalks of urban neighborhoods because the city has invested money in planting them. Due

to redlining and disinvestment, Bed-Stuy did not receive the same treatment. Carthan noticed this and decided to act. She began planting her own trees without a permit and raising money to continue her efforts. People doubted her at first, but after years of effort and continued pressure, she succeeded in coordinating a tree-matching program with the city of New York that saw them provide six trees for every four she planted. By the end of the 1960s, “Carthan was presiding over one hundred block associations in Bed-Stuy, which she chaired under the umbrella Bedford-Stuyvesant Beautification Committee, and advising the New York City Parks Department on numerous city-wide tree planting programs. Under her leadership, the beautification committee planted more than 1,500 ginkgo, sycamore, and honey locust trees throughout Bed-Stuy” (New York Preservation Archive Project, n.d.). Hattie Carthan was a pioneer in environmental activism in Bed-Stuy, and her legacy remains strong to this day. Today, there are many gardening programs and urban community gardens throughout Brooklyn named in her honor, such as the Hattie Carthan Garden on Lafayette Avenue.

Finally, guerrilla gardening can be used to reclaim privatized land and resist neoliberal ideals. A key principle of neoliberalism is the intense focus on the privatization of land and formerly public spaces. Many guerrilla gardeners find the concept of privatized land ownership absurd and aim to use methods of guerrilla gardening to reclaim it for the community. Ellen Miles, a popular guerrilla gardener with over 70,000 followers on TikTok, often uses her platform to speak about the importance of reclaiming privatized land. In an interview with *Shado Magazine*, she states, “This idea of ownership of land is so ridiculous. Guerrilla gardening is just about taking back what is ours, and using space in ways which are productive, fair and beneficial to the people and the planet, rather than being just low maintenance areas for councils to neglect” (Rasbash, 2021). Miles has been guerrilla gardening for years but started getting serious about it during the beginning of the COVID-19 pandemic in 2020.

Similar to many others, Miles became aware of the uneven distribution of green space throughout London during the pandemic and wanted to make a change. She states:

92% of British land is not accessible to the public, and 50% of the land in the UK is owned by 1% of the population. We used to have common land, where people were free to graze animals, collect firewood, and gradually over the years it got taken by the nobles, and now 1 in 8 British homes don't have gardens. And that is four times higher for Black households. (Rasbash, 2021)

She started turning small, garbage-filled plots of land near her home into miniature urban community gardens for herself and her neighbors to enjoy. After developing several of these gardens, Miles felt the need to expand her platform to provide educational resources outside her neighborhood. Miles turned to TikTok to create free, accessible educational videos about guerrilla gardening for the public. Some of these videos include step-by-step tutorials on how to clear a small plot of land or how to create seed bombs out of paper mâché and native wildflower seeds.

In the northeastern part of the United States, an independent grassroots organization comprising a group of guerrilla gardeners and agroecologists called “Poor Prole’s Almanac” is working to reclaim privatized land in an effort to restore it environmentally. They have extended this practice to their community through a native plant seed distribution program where they collect native plant seeds, create seed packets, and distribute them for free to their community and blog subscribers. All their working expenses are paid for through AdSense from their Instagram meme account (@poorprolesalmanac). They encourage the dispersal of native seeds in urban patches of monoculture grass to restore the landscape and provide a much-needed sanctuary for pollinators. Andy C.—co-founder of Poor Prole’s Almanac—describes the intentions

behind this program to Robert Raymond in an episode of the *Upstream* podcast:

The whole idea is finding a hole in the wall that needs restoration. So, if you live in a city, and there's a little weird weedy patch that's two feet by three feet, that's perfect! That's where you want to restore . . . You may or may not claim legal ownership to it, but you have access to it and no one else cares. And you can provide a home for countless native insects and pollinators. That, to me, is the most empowering aspect of it all: giving people the access to create change without having to draw significant financial resources or to have already been given financial resources, whether it's land access or something like that. You can do this on the side of the road, you can do this next to the parking lot at work. (Raymond, 2023, 31:04–31:49)

One often-overlooked consequence of settler colonialism was the removal of native plants and the introduction of monoculture lawns and invasive, non-native species. Because of this, the biodiversity of the land and soil throughout the United States has largely been decimated. This seed distribution program is about reclaiming privatized land with the intention of restoring and reintroducing native flora. It is about creating access to native seeds and educating the public on how to rewild their own local landscapes based on indigenous agroecological knowledge. The Poor Prole's Almanac group and Ellen Miles alike work to reclaim privatized land and improve their communities through guerrilla gardening practices.

In addition to reclaiming privatized land, Miles talks about using guerrilla gardening to break free from the cycle of capitalism and use it as an alternate form of food consumption. She states, "We are stuck in a system where we have to buy all of our food from supermarkets, making us dependent on capitalism to sustain our most basic needs" (Rasbash, 2021). This theme of breaking away from

mass consumerism and capitalism via alternative forms of consumption is largely discussed by Wiedenhoft (2006): "Considering the social problems that mass consumer society has created, some consumers are making a deliberate effort to try to become less dependent on consumer goods and services and de-commoditize their lives by engaging in alternative forms of consumption" (p. 158). Wiedenhoft refers to gardening through a critical lens while talking about the Voluntary Simplicity Movement. She claims that many consumers make the deliberate choice to cut back on consumption and garden instead because they are in a position of privilege to do so. While this may be true for some guerrilla gardeners—such as Ellen Miles, who chooses to resist the capitalist cycle—it is important to also remember the ways in which guerrilla gardening provides a healthy option for people who live in food deserts and underfunded neighborhoods and thus have no other choice, like Ron Finley and his South-Central Los Angeles community.

In recent years, guerrilla gardening's popularity has rapidly grown. This is an amazing event to witness. However, as we live in a late-stage capitalistic society, its popularity ironically comes with its own commodification. During its Spring 2023 collection launch, Target started selling its own cute (and highly overpriced) seed bomb kits. These kits include "Pizza Garden," "Rainbow Garden," and "Wildflower Garden" and are priced between fifteen and twenty dollars. The commodification of guerrilla gardening goes against the entire purpose of the movement. It is likely that the marketers behind this are not familiar with or do not care about the history of the movement; they probably have never even heard of the term "guerrilla gardening" and perhaps saw a viral seedbombing tutorial on social media as an opportunity for corporate profit. This appropriation of guerrilla gardening methods highlights the ways that big businesses exploit inherently anti-capitalist ideologies for profit. It is important to ensure that these counter-intentional influences do not taint the larger movement.

To summarize, guerrilla gardening is the practice of illegal gardening on public, privatized, or unconventional land with the intent of benefiting the community with which it is associated, whether by ownership or proximity. Guerrilla gardening is a method of anti-capitalism and neoliberal resistance through fighting commerce-driven food insecurity, combating the effects of environmental racism and settler colonialism, and reclaiming privatized land

for the community. It is crucial to realize the long history of guerrilla gardening, which was led by historically oppressed groups of people such as lower-class citizens and Black and Brown individuals combating the harmful effects of systemic racism and colonization. Overall, guerrilla gardening provides an outlet for so many individuals to heal and strengthen their communities, one seed at a time.

## REFERENCES

- 1642-1652: *The Diggers and the Levellers*. (2006). Libcom. <https://libcom.org/article/1642-1652-diggers-and-levellers>
- Arango, T. (2019, December 1). 'Turn off the sunshine': Why shade is a mark of privilege in Los Angeles. *The New York Times*. <https://www.nytimes.com/2019/12/01/us/los-angeles-shade-climate-change.html>
- Green Guerrillas. (n.d.). *Our history*. <https://www.greenguerrillas.org/history>
- Hoffman, J. S., Shandas, V., & Pendleton, N. (2020). The effects of historical housing policies on resident exposure to intra-urban heat: A study of 108 US urban areas. *Climate*, 8(1). <https://doi.org/10.3390/cli8010012>
- New York Preservation Archive Project. (n.d.). *Hattie Carthan*. <https://www.nypap.org/preservation-history/hattie-carthan>
- Rasbash, Z. (2021, July 22). Guerrilla gardening: Taking back the city one seed bomb at a time (J. Huxley, Illus.). *Shado Magazine*. <https://shado-mag.com/all/guerrilla-gardening-taking-back-the-city-one-seed-bomb-at-a-time/#:~:text=Guerrilla%20gardening%20has%20a%20rich,and%20fight%20rampant%20land%20privatisation>
- Raymond, R. (Co-Producer/Co-Host). (2023, February 27). Surviving the collapse, agroecology, & mutual aid with Andy C. of Poor Prole's Almanac (In conversation) [Audio podcast episode]. In *Upstream*. <https://open.spotify.com/episode/7Ce1tZKveJoeA3EAnkJKau>
- Ron Finley Project. (n.d.). *Our story*. <https://ronfinley.com/pages/about>
- Spellen, S. (2016, March 30). *From redlining to predatory lending: A secret economic history of Brooklyn*. Brownstoner. <https://www.brownstoner.com/history/redlining-racism-brooklyn-neighborhoods-bed-stuy-williamsburg-2>
- Wiedenhof Murphy, W. A. (2016). *Consumer culture and society*. SAGE Publications. <https://doi.org/10.4135/9781071800560>





Alexandria Yates | *Lola* | Watercolor, chalk pastel, charcoal on Stonehenge paper

# LIMINALITY: THE REALM OF DIPLOMACY

ALLISON SCOTT\*

*The Grace School of Applied Diplomacy*

The concept of liminality can be understood in a number of ways. Coming from the Latin word *limen*, it can denote a threshold or boundary between spaces. Liminality can also be conceptualized as a state of transition, describing the space within the shift from one phase to the next. In either conception, liminal spaces are the realm of diplomacy, and liminality is central to diplomatic praxis. This reality is only becoming more apparent as our conception of diplomacy morphs to include less traditional manifestations, bringing in both formal and informal spaces, actors, and issues. As Merje Kuus explains in her exploration of the interstitiality of EU diplomacy, “The challenge is to understand the hinges between these spheres: the spaces of movement, articulation, and friction at the boundaries of diplomacy.”<sup>1</sup> Referencing Costas M. Constantinou, one of the pioneers of transprofessional diplomacy, she explains, “the Greek deity Hermes, often cited as the god of diplomats, is the guardian not only of messages but also of hinges and doors, of ‘regulating the inside from the outside.’”<sup>2</sup> The idea of the “gray areas” of diplomacy—signaled by terms like *informal*, *interstitial*, and *transnational*—is becoming increasingly relevant in the study and practice of diplomacy and represents an increased recognition of the power of the liminal. Diplomacy (especially effective, transformative diplomacy) requires entering into the unknown, unfamiliar, and even uncomfortable in order to

create and nurture collective spaces owned by none but open to many. It is in these spaces that individuals and groups that are often not naturally predisposed to working together can collaboratively build something. The future of diplomacy is found in embracing the liminal.

## The Women of Northern Ireland

The case of Northern Ireland and the 1998 Good Friday Agreement offers many excellent examples to explore diplomacy and its relationship with liminality by considering both a physical and transitional definition. As outlined in the case study *Women’s Participation in the Good Friday Agreement Negotiations* by Rebecca Turkington, the negotiations over the transition of Northern Ireland in the late 1990s offer an opportunity to examine the limits and possibilities of liminal diplomacy.<sup>3</sup> In many senses, the negotiations themselves took place in liminal spaces as the transition from conflict to peace in a region caught between different nations and worldviews was reached by a highly diverse and unique set of actors. And the actors involved (namely women’s groups) demonstrated the power of harnessing and fostering liminality within these diplomatic spaces.

Although, as Turlington acknowledges, the conflict in Northern Ireland and the implementation of the peace agreements are ongoing, the Good Friday Agreement signaled the end of battle deaths after nearly thirty years of struggle. The central conflict lay between the opposing ideologies of the Unionists who wanted to remain within

---

\* Written for Dr. Shiera Malik and Dr. David Wellman, DPL 201 (Diplomacy: Its Present and Future), Winter Quarter 2022. Selected and edited by Dr. David Wellman.

1 Merje Kuus, “Interstitial Expertise and International Governance: Cultivating Diplomatic Practitioners in Europe,” *Geografiska Annaler: Series B, Human Geography* (2023): 2, <https://doi.org/10.1080/04353684.2023.2211078>.

2 Kuus, “Interstitial Expertise,” 2.

---

3 Rebecca Turkington, *Women’s Participation in the Good Friday Agreement Negotiations: A Case Study on Northern Ireland* (Washington, D.C.: Georgetown Institute for the Study of Diplomacy, 2017).

the United Kingdom and the Nationalists who argued for a united Ireland.<sup>4</sup> Although details of this process will be further explored later in this article, it is necessary to emphasize here the central role of women in identifying, understanding, and, most importantly, creating the liminal spaces of diplomacy in both physical and transitional senses. As Turlington explains, peace processes such as these typically center “top-down” actors—like political and diplomatic leaders—while excluding more grassroots actors that represent the public. Further, these formal peace talks “historically have excluded women, despite the ubiquitous role women play in informal peace processes.”<sup>5</sup> The Good Friday Agreement saw involvement of women at all levels, and they played a key role in securing a sustainable peace. The Northern Ireland Women’s Coalition (NIWC) was a central player and will be a focus of this examination as its members were “elected to serve as official delegates, with a direct seat at the negotiating table.”<sup>6</sup>

Throughout the conflict, women increasingly found themselves both inhabiting and leveraging the power of liminal spaces. With men increasingly missing from the household due to the conflict, women had increased opportunities for employment and more general freedom. Turlington explains how “[s]top-and-search policies and home raids, combined with the arbitrary arrest of male family members, blurred the lines between private and communal space and tended to politicize women’s day-to-day lives.”<sup>7</sup> She tells the story of women creating warning systems through the banging of pots and pans and organizing regular patrols to protect their neighborhoods. Protestant or Catholic, women were experiencing both increased mobility and increased hardship with rises in poverty, domestic violence, and the general turbulence of living in a conflict zone. Organizations began arising to promote women’s empowerment, which brought

Protestant and Catholic women together through training and capacity-building exercises.<sup>8</sup> While some women were even involved in paramilitary efforts on both sides, it was women at the forefront of the push for peace. Turlington describes efforts that mobilized thousands from both communities to march for ceasefires, explaining how “Women later leveraged networks built during this time to access and influence the Good Friday Negotiations.”<sup>9</sup>

Through an exploration of the Good Friday Negotiations and the central role women played in this diplomatic peace process, an understanding of how diplomacy exists within liminality can be established. For diplomacy to succeed, actors must be both able and willing to enter these liminal, middle-ground, transitional spaces and understand the transformational power that comes with diplomatic liminality. Understanding diplomacy as uniquely situated in and centered upon liminality can help to explore both diplomatic limits and futures, allowing for the creation of an inclusive, creative, and transformational theory of diplomacy.

### **Physical Liminality**

In the most basic sense, diplomacy can be understood as the physical undertaking of meeting, communicating, and forming relationships across boundaries of difference. Diplomats engage in the spaces that connect the known and the unknown—creating, fostering, and existing in meeting points between separate groups. Referencing James Derian, Costas M. Constantinou and Paul Sharp outline some of the earliest explorations of defining diplomacy with medieval Judeo-Christian thought, recognizing that “diplomatic missions reflect attempts at the horizontal ‘mediation of estrangement’ between earthly communities but also vertical ‘mediation of estrangement’ between the human and the divine.”<sup>10</sup>

4 Turlington, *Women’s Participation*, 1.

5 Turlington, *Women’s Participation*, 1.

6 Turlington, *Women’s Participation*, 2.

7 Turlington, *Women’s Participation*, 4.

8 Turlington, *Women’s Participation*.

9 Turlington, *Women’s Participation*, 5.

10 Costas M. Constantinou, Pauline Kerr, and Paul Sharp, *The SAGE Handbook of Diplomacy* (London: SAGE Publications Ltd, 2016), 14, <https://doi.org/10.4135/9781473957930>.

While this understanding alludes to two levels of liminality within the practice of diplomacy—one literal and one more theological—the former references the physical entering of liminal spaces between communities as the essence of diplomacy. The central pillars of diplomatic engagement—namely communication, negotiation/mediation, and advocacy—implicate interaction with some form of difference, which arguably can only be achieved by physically entering into these in-between spaces. But, like diplomacy, liminality does not necessarily denote positive action. While meeting points can promote connection and collaboration, they may also foster conflict and harm. Still, as will be further explored, conflict is itself a source of possible transformation. In either case, positive or negative, liminal spaces are the home of diplomacy.

The case of Northern Ireland offers two salient examples of physical liminal spaces that elucidate both positive and negative aspects. From one perspective, the Good Friday Agreement Negotiations took place in a liminal space that gathered actors from a wide range of communities to engage in diplomatic relations and peacebuilding. Utilizing a unique proportional electoral system to decide those actors involved in the talks, the Good Friday Agreement was a pivotal point of inclusion and self-determination in the struggle for Northern Ireland.<sup>11</sup> From another perspective, Northern Ireland itself functioned as a liminal space where considerable harm took place with the years of conflict building up to the Good Friday Agreements, resulting from the contestation of the land caught between the UK and Ireland. In both examples, it is crucial to fully understand how physical liminal spaces create the conditions for diplomatic engagement, whether they be helpful or harmful.

Starting with the big picture, the Good Friday Agreement emerged in response to years of fighting over Northern Ireland known as the “Troubles.” Northern Ireland was the liminal threshold between the UK and Ireland, with

the struggles that ensued within it stemming from this ambiguity. While this example initially appears to frame liminality as a source of conflict, it is this disagreement that creates the conditions necessary for diplomacy. In the language of transformation, conflict is a source of relational growth and reinforcement, if correctly handled. The way to approach conflict in order for it to become a foundation for progress is through diplomacy. In their article, Magnus Marsden, Diana Ibañez-Tirado, and David Henig acknowledge that “People living in such ‘frontier realms’—which are peripheral but not marginal to both multiple polities and often culture areas—are frequently documented as being sophisticated boundary crossers who are also endowed with the capacity to forge connections between politically divided spaces.”<sup>12</sup> Despite Northern Ireland being the location of many conflicts, animosity, and harm, it was also a site with great potential for diplomacy.

Moving to the other physical site of liminality central to the diplomacy of the Good Friday Agreement, we must explore the negotiation room itself. As extensively shown by Turkington, obtaining a seat at the table was central to many actors’ capacities for diplomacy.<sup>13</sup> The negotiation room occupied a threshold between the parties where communication, negotiation, and advocacy could ensue. Bruno Latour recognizes the power of bringing opposing parties into the room, referencing again the transformational possibilities of conflict. He acknowledges that while it may be easy to limit those involved to “rational” or “cooperative” actors, this cannot and does not lead to sustainable peace. However, he suggests, “the outcome might be entirely different if you pit proponents of different common worlds one against the other. Because then diplomats could begin to realize that there are different ways to achieve the goals of the

---

11 Turkington, *Women’s Participation*, 6.

---

12 Magnus Marsden, Diana Ibañez-Tirado, and David Henig, “Everyday Diplomacy,” *The Cambridge Journal of Anthropology* 34, no. 2 (2016): 5, <https://doi.org/10.3167/ca.2016.340202>.

13 Turkington, *Women’s Participation*, 6.

parties at war, including their own.”<sup>14</sup> As will be further discussed, no interaction exists in a vacuum immune from existing power imbalances and hierarchies; diplomatic negotiations do hold a sort of equalizing power. By stepping into the room, parties agree to enter a liminal space that suspends expectations of traditional forms of power and replaces them with diplomatic tools. In the case of Northern Ireland, the Good Friday Agreement negotiation table created a space much more open to conventionally “bottom-up” actors, placing them with equal power in the liminality.

### Transitional Liminality

Having considered the physical liminal spaces that create the conditions for diplomacy, it is now possible to explore the liminality created by the practice of diplomacy itself. In this less literal sense, liminality is understood more as a transformation, the stage between what was and what will be. Arguably, diplomacy is an instrument of transformation, a force that brings relationships both into and out of this phase. When fully embracing liminality, actors can realize their full ability for what Latour describes as “the great quality of diplomats, that they don’t know for sure what are the exact and final goals—not only of their adversaries but also of their own people.”<sup>15</sup> Understanding the power of liminality to foster creative and transformational solutions is one of the most influential roles of the diplomat. Turkington centers her case study on the inclusion of women’s groups in the Good Friday Agreement, which can help reveal this power of liminality on many levels, especially for grassroots, bottom-up actors. Not only did the women of Northern Ireland uniquely understand and exist within liminality, but they were also able to both utilize and, more importantly, create the liminal spaces that foster diplomatic interactions.

Even before entering the space of diplomatic negotiation that was the Good Friday Agreement, the women of Northern Ireland existed in liminal spaces. During the Troubles, Turkington details the liminality of the women of Northern Ireland who participated in many acts of “everyday resistance.”<sup>16</sup> Already, the women were placed on a threshold of the conflict, not directly involved but still playing an undeniable role. Even further, women in general often have a unique understanding of situations in liminal spaces, as do other marginalized people. Existing within a hierarchical system is in itself a sort of liminality, not to mention the complex intersectional relationships that come with the overlapping identities of oppressed and oppressor. In her exploration of gendered diplomacy, Ann E. Towns discusses this idea through the concept of figurations. This complexity can be attributed both to the “multiple axes of differentiation—for example, class, race, nationality—[that] intersect with gender in schemes of representation” and to how “people’s complex, contradictory and changing lived experiences as gendered subjects do not align very well with the often-simplified tropes and narratives in spoken or written discourse. Performative enactments are thus rarely perfect enactments, and each iteration may thus shift figurations if ever so slightly.”<sup>17</sup> A key example of the liminal strength of marginalized identity described by Yolanda K. Spies is the role of African states in creating and navigating the international legal system.<sup>18</sup> This is not only a liminal realm between the law and diplomacy but also one encompassing African actors who themselves exist in the liminality of marginalization due to their significant history with colonialism, exploitation, and conflict. This existence within and experience of an oppressive system arguably offers marginalized groups invaluable perspectives in diplomatic arenas like the one in which the

---

16 Turkington, *Women’s Participation*, 4.

17 Ann E. Towns, “‘Diplomacy Is a Feminine Art’: Feminised Figurations of the Diplomat,” *Review of International Studies* 46, no. 5 (2020): 581, <https://doi.org/10.1017/S0260210520000315>.

18 Yolanda K. Spies, “Africa, the International Criminal Court and the Law-Diplomacy Nexus,” *The Hague Journal of Diplomacy* 16, no. 4 (June 2021): 421, <https://doi.org/10.1163/1871191X-bja10019>.

---

14 Bruno Latour, *War of the Worlds: What about Peace?* (Chicago: Prickly Paradigm Press, 2002), 38.

15 Latour, *War of the Worlds*, 38.

Good Friday Agreement was forged. Connected by their understanding of liminality, women on all sides of the conflict formed communities with the aim of promoting peace, laying the groundwork for the much-needed work of diplomacy.

Within the negotiations, women's groups were able to harness the unique power that comes with liminality. A prime example of the power of the liminal is found in the work of the Northern Ireland Women's Coalition (NIWC). After obtaining a seat at the table from which it would usually be excluded, the internal constitution of the NIWC made it an incredibly useful addition to the negotiations in its impressive use of the liminal. By including women from both sides of the aisle, encouraging dissent, and accepting liminality within itself, the members of the NIWC had already begun doing the work of conflict transformation before arriving at the negotiations, allowing them a more influential voice and making them a powerful example of bottom-up diplomacy.<sup>19</sup> They possessed what Mikhail Bakhtin (cited by Daniel Banks) named "bilingual consciousness," described by W. E. B. Du Bois as "double-consciousness, this sense of always looking at one's self through the eyes of others."<sup>20</sup> Accepting liminality in their group allowed them to gain even more practice, which transferred to their ability to influence the agreement as a whole. As Latour argues, "Peace negotiations are not possible unless both sides give up exoticism and its perverse complacency with the false difference,"<sup>21</sup> which the NIWC was able to do by placing themselves at the threshold between both the opposing sides of the conflict and the many levels of actors involved. NIWC members were able to harness the power inherent in embracing the liminal, thus shaping the transformation of Northern Ireland and revealing the importance of liminal diplomacy.

---

19 Turkington, *Women's Participation*, 13.

20 Daniel Banks, "The Question of Cultural Diplomacy: Acting Ethically," *Theatre Topics* 21, no. 2 (September 2011): 115, <https://doi.org/10.1353/tt.2011.0026>.

21 Latour, *War of the Worlds*, 42.

## Limits and Futures

In attempting to establish a full understanding of any concept, be it diplomacy or liminality, it is critical to examine its limits. Neither of these concepts is inherently moral as they can be used to perpetuate both good and bad. While diplomacy, fully cognizant of the potential of liminality, can be a powerful mechanism for transformative conflict resolution and peacebuilding, there are many ways it can fail to live up to this potential. Diplomatic liminal spaces that should be inclusive, creative, and transformational easily become elitist, rigid, and harmful. Globalization—spurred by technological advancements—is blurring our borders and revealing challenges that seem almost too big to tackle (e.g., climate change, global pandemics), especially when considering how conversely fragmented our world seems to be becoming. In considering the future of global governance, we are experiencing (as described by W. Andy Knight) "what can only be referred to as 'a new world disorder'—an environment of turbulence, flux, fragmentation, disequilibrium, and uncertainty—which cries out for the establishment of novel forms of governance activity and institutions, since the existing ones seem so ineffectual."<sup>22</sup>

In considering the current state of our world, an argument can be increasingly made that all the challenges we face stem from an increased level of liminality, which we are collectively failing to diplomatically leverage. Globalization reveals a world that is both more physically and transitionally liminal as we are witnessing a blurring or graying of global society. It is then not unreasonable to suggest that an increase in liminal challenges should encourage an increase of liminal solutions. As Knight writes, "We have now come to the realization that there is a need for a new conceptualization of global governance to match what is occurring on the ground. Even states

---

22 W. Andy Knight, "New Thinking about Global Governance in an Intermestic World," in *Fundamental Challenges to Global Peace and Security*, eds. Hoda Mahmoudi, Michael H. Allen, and Kate Seaman (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2022), 51, [https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-030-79072-1\\_4](https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-030-79072-1_4).

have begun to realize that governing the globe requires the cooperation not only of fellow-state actors but also of non-state actors.”<sup>23</sup> In exploring how diplomacy has been limited and corrupted, particularly by shying away from the “gray,” the potential of embracing the liminal is revealed. The case of the Good Friday Agreement offers a lens from which to view this idea as the NIWC and other women’s groups worked to combat the failures of “traditional,” ineffective attempts at diplomacy that had allowed the conflict to continue. In order to build better diplomacy in the future, it is necessary to explore what currently limits our contemporary diplomatic efforts.

A principal way diplomacy is limited is through exclusion. Liminal spaces theoretically should be open to all, but the hierarchical systems in which they exist often create barriers and close doors to many. As described by Sam O. Opondo, diplomacy has a long history of perpetuating colonial ideas and harms by creating preconditions and standards of acceptability (based on white Western perceptions) for entering spaces of liminality that fundamentally should be unconditional.<sup>24</sup> Despite the inherent understanding of liminality by those with marginal identities, as shown by the women of Ireland, minoritized groups are more often than not excluded from many diplomatic spaces. Still, while existing within a very Western context, the Good Friday Agreement broke this unproductive cycle of exclusivity by creating a system that included groups seen as occupying the fringe.<sup>25</sup> They recognized the importance of building true liminal spaces without conditions for entry in creating sustainable agreements. As Opondo (quoting Michael Shapiro) argues, diplomacy must be willing to “engage the other as other” and promote “more creative ways of encountering otherness.”<sup>26</sup> When liminality is embraced in its entirety

and diplomacy becomes a place where differences can meet in full, it creates more opportunities for growth and relationship building.

Related to the pitfalls of exclusive and conditional liminal spaces is the failure to realize the power of liminality within diplomatic relations. This limit is most clearly revealed in the inability of some diplomats to embrace ambiguity, which is arguably a foundational dimension of liminality. In entering a physical boundary space or transitional period, it is necessary to embrace liminality in its lack of definition or prescribed outcome. As argued by Diane Karp, “When we enter another cultural domain, we need to avoid dashing in with our solutions and ideas before we have spent time as a guest, listening and contextualizing our ideas in terms of the visited culture.”<sup>27</sup> Too often, actors will only partially enter liminality, not fully ready to accept the shedding of preconceptions necessary for transformation. The uncertainty can be uncomfortable for many, but it is the role of diplomats to find comfort in the ambiguity. This issue of avoidance was prevalent in the conflict between Unionists and Nationalists in Northern Ireland but was adeptly addressed by the members of the NIWC and their embrace of liminality. As mentioned, the NIWC’s members included voices from many different perspectives, focusing on the rather imprecise goal of achieving peace. Following the suggestions of Paul Sharp (as noted by David Wellman), they understood that diplomacy is most successful when it recognizes the “realities of people’s differences and separateness, rather than their similarities and togetherness.”<sup>28</sup> While the NIWC members had general ideas of what they would like out of the negotiations, they created a liminal space for creative problem-solving by combining a multitude of unique worldviews without defined borders or limits. As Latour posits, “There are more ways than one to differ—and thus more than one way to agree—in the end.”<sup>29</sup> In

---

23 Knight, “New Thinking,” 70.

24 Sam O. Opondo, “Decolonizing Diplomacy: Reflections on African Estrangement and Exclusion,” in *Sustainable Diplomacies*, eds. Costas M. Constantinou and James Derian (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2010), 109–27, [https://doi.org/10.1057/9780230297159\\_6](https://doi.org/10.1057/9780230297159_6).

25 Turkington, *Women’s Participation*, 6.

26 Opondo, “Decolonizing Diplomacy,” 121–22.

---

27 Banks, “The Question of Cultural Diplomacy,” 112.

28 Constantinou, Kerr, and Sharp, *The SAGE Handbook of Diplomacy*, 577.

29 Latour, *War of the Worlds*, 43.

faithfully entering into and accepting liminality, actors can build a diplomacy that reveals connections through the acceptance of ambiguity and difference.

The most critical and often neglected aspect of liminality in relation to diplomacy is its requirement for active engagement. As pointed out by Erik Ehn, “Neutrality, properly constructed, doesn’t mute dissent, but allows space for diversity. The reality is that any frame is definitionally partial, and peacemakers as well as productive-problem-makers alike need to acknowledge that they are violent to a degree in their exclusions.”<sup>30</sup> The key to creating these spaces that foster effective diplomacy is actively looking to address common failures and fully embracing liminality. In doing so, diplomacy can consistently come to exist within liminality instead of occasionally entering it—reflecting ideals of cosmopolitanism, which is arguably the praxis of diplomacy. As described by Wellman, again referencing Sharp, diplomats must embody the ideal of the “professional stranger,” becoming conduits and creators of the liminal.<sup>31</sup>

Liminality is both the realm, praxis, and future of diplomacy, as revealed by the importance of unconditional, inclusive, and unexpected diplomacy found in cases like the Good Friday Agreements in Northern Ireland. Diplomacy itself is currently experiencing a unique liminality, transitioning away from its traditional, state-centric framework to a more transprofessional approach. We live in an increasingly liminal world and therefore must pursue an increasingly liminal diplomacy. As Noe Cornago argues, it is necessary to recover the “old meaning of diplomacy as a way of knowing and dealing with otherness,” fully embracing liminality in its most basic conceptions.<sup>32</sup> Considering Andrea Bartoli’s assertion that diplomacy is currently in a system

creation phase,<sup>33</sup> it is critical to recognize the central role of liminality in this project, both as a key tool and as an overarching framework of transformation.

Recognizing the power and importance of embracing the liminal, we must ask ourselves how to best create spaces that reach across boundaries and bring others in. Liminality alone can feel uncomfortable or unwelcoming without active and engaged creativity that attracts those in conflict to the table. Future conversations must explore how we can shape and influence these spaces to invite a range of diverse actors into the vital praxis of diplomacy. We should continuously look at the wisdom of history, asking what lessons can be learned from the feminist work of the members of the NIWC in informing both the biggest challenges our world faces today and the work of everyday diplomats. We must move forward with a sense of intentionality and a continuous effort to understand the importance of identifying, creating, and leveraging the diplomatic power of liminality. Diplomacy and diplomats must become true connoisseurs of the informal, the in-between, and the unfamiliar, learning to find comfort and opportunity in the gray.

30 Banks, “The Question of Cultural Diplomacy,” 117.

31 Constantinou, Kerr, and Sharp, *The SAGE Handbook of Diplomacy*, 578.

32 Marsden, Ibañez-Tirado, and Henig, “Everyday Diplomacy,” 15.

33 Andrea Bartoli, “Diplomacy, the COVID-19 Pandemic and the New Emerging Diplomatic Landscape” (Conference webinar, DePaul University’s Grace School of Applied Diplomacy, Chicago, IL, October 16, 2020), <https://las.depaul.edu/academics/applied-diplomacy/about/conference-recordings/Pages/transprofessional-diplomacy.aspx>.



## BIBLIOGRAPHY

- Banks, Daniel. "The Question of Cultural Diplomacy: Acting Ethically." *Theatre Topics* 21, no. 2 (September 2011): 109-23. <https://doi.org/10.1353/tt.2011.0026>.
- Bartoli, Andrea. "Diplomacy, the COVID-19 Pandemic and the New Emerging Diplomatic Landscape." Webinar from *Transprofessional Diplomacy: Deepening Collaboration Among Governmental and Non-Governmental Diplomatic Actors*, Chicago, IL, October 2020. <https://las.depaul.edu/academics/applied-diplomacy/about/conference-recordings/Pages/transprofessional-diplomacy.aspx>.
- Constantinou, Costas M., Pauline Kerr, and Paul Sharp. *The SAGE Handbook of Diplomacy*. London: SAGE Publications Ltd, 2016. <https://doi.org/10.4135/9781473957930>.
- Knight, W. Andy. "New Thinking about Global Governance in an Intermestic World." In *Fundamental Challenges to Global Peace and Security*, edited by Hoda Mahmoudi, Michael H. Allen, and Kate Seaman (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2022), 47-75. [https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-030-79072-1\\_4](https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-030-79072-1_4).
- Kuus, Merje. "Interstitial Expertise and International Governance: Cultivating Diplomatic Practitioners in Europe." *Geografiska Annaler. Series B, Human Geography* (May 2023): 1-15. <https://doi.org/10.1080/04353684.2023.2211078>.
- Latour, Bruno. *War of the Worlds: What about Peace?* Chicago: Prickly Paradigm Press, 2002.
- Marsden, Magnus, Diana Ibañez-Tirado, and David Henig. "Everyday Diplomacy." *The Cambridge Journal of Anthropology* 34, no. 2 (2016): 2-22. <https://doi.org/10.3167/ca.2016.340202>.
- Opondo, Sam O. "Decolonizing Diplomacy: Reflections on African Estrangement and Exclusion." In *Sustainable Diplomacies*, edited by Costas M. Constantinou and James Derian (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2010), 109-27. [https://doi.org/10.1057/9780230297159\\_6](https://doi.org/10.1057/9780230297159_6).
- Spies, Yolanda K. "Africa, the International Criminal Court and the Law-Diplomacy Nexus." *The Hague Journal of Diplomacy* 16, no. 4 (June 2021): 421-42. <https://doi.org/10.1163/1871191X-bja10019>.
- Towns, Ann E. "Diplomacy is a Feminine Art': Feminised Figurations of the Diplomat." *Review of International Studies* 46, no. 5 (2020): 573-93. <https://doi.org/10.1017/S0260210520000315>.
- Turkington, Rebecca. *Women's Participation in the Good Friday Agreement Negotiations: A Case Study on Northern Ireland*. Washington, D.C.: Georgetown Institute for the Study of Diplomacy, 2017.



Julianne Dworkin | *Sunset* | Digital photograph

# THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN THE MYSTIC, GOD, AND LOVE THROUGH SUFFERING

DARIA HAMELIN\*

*Department of Catholic Studies*

In their respective works *Visions and Revelations of Divine Love* Hadewijch and Julian of Norwich describe both the religious experience and the relationship between the divine and humanity, in opposition to the belief that a relationship with the Lord was infinitely different and unreachable. Both women often describe the relationship between themselves and the divine realm as personal, referring to God as a lover rather than merely an omniscient and distant being. In the writings of Hadewijch and Julian of Norwich, the medieval ideology of God is inverted to be interpreted as an intimate relationship accompanied by numerous physical sufferings. This relationship ultimately aids the mystics in achieving spiritual equality through the cultivation of absolute love for the Lord.

In the reports of visions experienced by the thirteenth-century mystic Hadewijch, it is apparent that the relationship between the mystic and the divine is one deeply rooted in love. Hadewijch reveals that she has a complex relationship with God and even refers to this divinity in both masculine and feminine gendered terminology; she utilizes the masculine “He” along with the feminine “love” (translated from *minne* in her native tongue, Dutch, which is the feminine form of “love”) to describe God. The dichotomy between the feminine and the masculine is apparent throughout her visions, and she often refers to God as her only “love” in the majority

of her writings. The Holy Spirit, who had allowed her to understand “all the languages that are spoken in seventy-two ways,” had revealed that the multiplicity and seemingly fragmented world were in fact unified under God as his spirit and love are a common factor in the similarity among all beings (Hadewijch 271). This revelation sent Hadewijch into an intellectual spiral as she continued attempting to define God’s love and eventually decided that God *himself* exemplified love in such a way that it was only appropriate to call upon his love as a lover would call upon a partner. In this sense, Hadewijch refers to the biblical *Song of Songs*, which discusses the journey to finding God through the narrative of a bride and groom constantly searching for each other. This relationship-like status is maintained in her seventh vision, in which she reveals that she felt as though she “did not content [her] Beloved, and that [her] Beloved did not” content her (280). Upon being asked to become purified in goodness and love by the Lord in order to match his divinity, Hadewijch believes that she may fall short and, more radically for the time, that God himself may be unable to satisfy her longing to be with him. The reference to God as her “Beloved” and her expectation of mutual respect and equality toward the fulfillment of her longing furthers the overall motif of her visionary pieces as she treats God as both an equal and a lover. Upon recognizing her internalized fear of either “lover” not reaching the standards of the other, Hadewijch begins experiencing immeasurable pain caused by her “desirous love” for God (280). These accounts of “suffering, pain, and misery” help her fulfill the process of purification through her unwavering love for God (280).

---

\* This paper was written for PHL 202 (Philosophy of God), taught by Professor Sarah Simms during Spring Quarter 2022. Catholic Studies professors Dr. Michael Budde and Dr. Karen Scott served on the selection committee.

Hadewijch's discussion of the divine as a lover and equal rather than a static being was adopted by various other spiritual authors, including female mystic Julian of Norwich. In her *Revelations of Divine Love*, Julian discusses the relationship between loving God and suffering. Similar to Hadewijch, Julian refers to God in a loving tone and reveals that her undying love for the Lord is unmoved by the sufferings of the world. Upon experiencing visions surrounding the sufferings of Jesus on the Cross and those who were closest to Him at His death, Julian is shown "a spiritual sight of His homely loving" (5). In this instance, the word "homely" is meant to represent God's innate familiarity and sense of warmth and welcome, which symbolizes the intimate love being shared between Julian and the Lord during this vision. Julian then goes on to describe the vision that God showed her of a "little thing, the quantity of a hazelnut," which ended up being "all that is made" (6). In this revelation, Julian begins to question how such a small, fragile, and vulnerable item should last and comes to the ultimate conclusion that "it lasteth, and ever shall [last] for that God loveth it" (6). This small tangible item—so vulnerable in her hand—is determined to survive so long as the Lord continues to love it, therefore implying that the very intention of being and existing is to be loved by God, as this "being" is synonymous with love. Further, Julian discusses the necessity of entering into union with God as one cannot understand God or even the relationship between love and being without entering a union with Him. Subsequently, Julian experiences visions of Christ's crucifixion through the eyes of Mother Mary who was suffering as well due to her intense love for her son. Upon reaching the union with God that Julian herself determined humanity must reach in order to fully understand the love of the Lord, the Virgin Mary was "so oned in love" with Christ that she was able to experience the pain and sufferings He experienced (21). Through this oneness and intimate connection with Christ, Mary was able to be so in love with him, "more than all others, that her pains passed all others" (21). According to Julian, the

ultimate show of love is through suffering, as her utmost hope is to reach oneness with God in order to feel the sufferings he experienced.

Although each mystic has a uniquely distinguishable experience with God, the visions experienced by Hadewijch and Julian of Norwich expressed both distinct contrasts and similarities. Both women have intense feelings toward the Lord and his power pertaining to love, through the "truth of His will" and the "hard pain that He suffered" for humanity (Hadewijch 271; Julian 22). However, unlike Hadewijch, who believes suffering is merely a method of reaching perfect union with God, Julian truly believes that suffering is the end goal as to suffer one's pain is ultimately to love the divine sufferer without question. Hadewijch describes her suffering as a "return to [her] material being" in which she finds herself "as someone in new severe pain" (284). Hadewijch's suffering—resulting from being removed from union with God and ultimately experienced in order to reach such union again—is inherently different from the account of Julian of Norwich, who describes the suffering as the sign of "the higher, the mightier, the sweeter" love that one experiences when they reach an understanding of God's love and ultimate unity with him (41). Nevertheless, these female mystics take complete advantage of their individualized experiences with the Lord and similarly depict the love of God. Julian describes God as "a glad giver," suffering for all things in existence without receiving anything in return due to his intense love for all beings (21). Much like Julian of Norwich, Hadewijch describes God as "nothing else but sweet love," depicting the relationship one should strive for with him as an intimate bond that cannot be feasibly broken by material beings (231).

As is evident from the experiences of both mystics, God is filled with passionate love for His creations. Through His sufferings, God also wishes to expunge the sins of humanity. Through their differing definitions of the union

with the Lord, in each account of visions pertaining to love and suffering, both Hadewijch and Julian of Norwich depict the love of God and the relationship between such love and human suffering. Through this oneness, the mystics believe they can eventually reach spiritual equality with God as well as understand the essence of “being” at its root, which is the Creator’s ultimate love.

#### WORKS CITED

Hadewijch. *Hadewijch: The Complete Works (Classics of Western Spirituality)*. Translated by Mother Columba Hart, Paulist Press, 1980.

Julian of Norwich. *Revelations of Divine Love*. Translated by Grace Warrack. *Project Gutenberg*, 2 Sept. 2016, [www.gutenberg.org/files/52958/52958-h/52958-h.htm](http://www.gutenberg.org/files/52958/52958-h/52958-h.htm).



Jamie Davis | *Self-portrait as St. Agatha* | Monoprint and acrylic paint pens on Stonehenge paper

## 《死神永生》读后感

新芬, NORA PIEPGRAS\*

Chinese Program

Department of Modern Languages

---

### ENGLISH ABSTRACT

This paper provides a brief summary. Following the summary is an analysis of *Death's End* by well-known Chinese science fiction author Liu Cixin. In this book, there is an alien species trying to invade and take over Earth. The Trisolarans fail, but Earth is still vulnerable to other species coming; thus, humans begin living in space. The book follows an innocent, naïve main character—Chengxin—as she navigates being seen as a leader to help save humans from issues including food scarcity and a boss that tried to murder her. All the while, Chengxin is navigating a college love that has managed to survive centuries.

---

这是刘慈欣《地球往事》三部曲里的第三本书。在这本书里人们知道三体人现在正在飞往地球的方向，未来他们会控制地球人。三体人想要监视地球人所以他们把两个智子送到地球。智子让三体人马上知道人们在地球上做的任何活动，而且干扰人类科学的新发明。于是人类组成各种课题组，他们想到了阶梯计划。阶梯计划是放一个人到一个小宇航器上，送到太空以后，三体人会截获那个宇航器，这样人类可以收到关于三体人的信息。程心听说她以前的大学同学云天明要进行安乐死，马上就跟他联系了。云天明同意了。然后程心去冬眠了。她醒来的时候，人类需要选一个新的执剑者。人类选了程心，结果程心没有启动引力波宇宙广播系统，所以三体人完全占领了地球。有两艘人类飞船现在还在太空里。他们觉得地球有问题，于是投票表决启动飞船的引力波宇宙广播系统来暴露三体星球的位置来暂时拯救

地球。广播启动以后，三体人马上离开了地球，智子也释放了人类。但是地球和整个太阳系却面临更大的危险。

我觉得读这本书的英文和中文版本都有点儿难。这本书有很多刘慈欣自己想出来的新理论，所以不是真实的理论。他是一位工程师，所以他的很多想法是从他的工作得到启发的。因为刘慈欣在文化革命后期长大，他的书还受中国政治的影响。比如这三部曲中的第一本书发生在文化大革命期间。即使这本书有一点点儿难读，我还是觉得很有意思。因为他是中国人，这本书里有很多中国的看法。

刘慈欣有很多悲观的看法，而且他对女性的看法是她们都很脆弱。程心是《死神永生》的主人翁，在这本书里她是一个乐观的人。不管程心做什么，人类都不会憎恨她。刘慈欣把她描述得像一个天真，脆弱和优雅的人。程心其实是一个很聪明的人，她每次做的选择都是对的，真的很厉害。但是在书里程心变得越来越

---

\* The paper was written for Dr. Li Jin's CHN 399 (Independent Study) in Spring Quarter 2023. Dr. Li Jin assisted with revising and guidance for this paper.

笨，好像如果没有男人就不能生活。真的像 Peter Berard 程心的性格太软弱了(Berard)。不只是太软弱，而且她的错误经常会被男人改正。她的女性气质描述起来像一个缺点。另外，程心苏醒以后发现每一个人都有阴柔的性格。没有男人看起来像现在的男人，他们长得像女人。因为程心很阴柔，人类就选她变成执剑者。这仿佛是刘慈欣在说女性的性格太天真，女人不能做很难的决定。所以我认为刘慈欣对女人没有那么高的评价。

读这本书时，有点儿像刘慈欣想让维德成为这本书的反派。但是，如果维德担当程心的职位，每次他都会成功。他比程心冷酷很多。维德知道有时候需要做很难的决定，这样人类才可以生存下去。维德和程心有相反的性格。虽然维德不像程心那么天真，他也不是一个坏人。如果需要，他可以牺牲自己。Tyler Roney 说程心的天真衬托了维德的狂妄，我不太同意(Roney)。维德是狂妄，但是如果他真的是那么狂妄，他就不会问程心可不可以去跟联邦政府大战。程心说不以后，他听从了她的决定。维德不需要遵从程心的决定，但是他是很守信用的人所以他遵守以前跟程心的约定，听从了她的决定。他完全可以做他自己想要做的事，因为他有自己的军队。

虽然我以前没有读过那么多科幻书，我还觉得这本书很好看。我觉得刘慈欣不是那么悲观，而是比较现实。外星人没有任何原因会对人类友好的，外星人也没有原因会对人类很暴力，但是人类总是很有攻击性。人们对其他人类也有攻击性，像书里在澳大利亚的时候，人类开始同类相食。人类不会帮别人寻找新食品，相反马上开始同类相食。这种事情在现实中已经发生过的，比如 Donner Party (“Donner Party”)。他们向西旅行的时候没有食物了，而且下了八天的雪了，所以他们停止前进。因为没有食

物，他们开始同类相食以活下去。因为这样的情况我觉得刘慈欣写的关于澳大利亚的部分很真实。

云天明和程心的关系也很奇怪。特别奇怪的是最后一部分，刘慈欣影射云天明和AA最后在一起有了孩子。但是在整个故事里云天明只倾心于程心。而且程心知道云天明对她的感情后，突然也对云天明倾心了。但是在最后一章，程心和云天明都跟不同的人在一起了。不只是最后一部分，他们开始的关系也很奇怪。在大学的时候，程心真的没想过云天明。但是云天明一直在暗恋程心，他经常偷偷观察程心，如果在现实中，我想她会对云天明感觉有些讨厌。另外我不明白为什么她选了云天明。她是一个很聪明和天真的人，一定有比云天明更好的男人喜欢她。所以这样的故事情节非常奇怪。

我建议你们都读刘慈欣《地球往事》三部曲，会让你对人类有一个新看法，而且很多地方会让你思考人类会不会做一样的选择。你会相信外星人是真的，并且有时会思索如果外星人来到地球什么会发生。这本书告诉了我们一个结果，而且人类弱点造成的结果。因为这些书用了很多科学词汇，如果你有科学知识这本书有可能读起来更容易。我觉得他写的东西我从来都没有想过，都是很有创意又现实的东西。最后，刘慈欣描写的人物有点儿好笑因为他们的性格很夸张。

#### WORKS CITED

Berard, Peter. "The Dark Forest and Its Discontents: Cixin Liu's 'Death's End.'" *Los Angeles Review of Books*, 19 May 2018, [lareviewofbooks.org/article/the-dark-forest-and-its-discontents-cixin-lius-deaths-end/](http://lareviewofbooks.org/article/the-dark-forest-and-its-discontents-cixin-lius-deaths-end/).

"Donner Party." *Encyclopedia Britannica*, 8 May 2023, [www.britannica.com/topic/Donner-party](http://www.britannica.com/topic/Donner-party).

Roney, Tyler. "Three Body the Third." *The World of Chinese*, 25 Sept. 2016, [www.theworldofchinese.com/2016/09/three-body-the-third/](http://www.theworldofchinese.com/2016/09/three-body-the-third/).





Maici Williams | *Uncanny* | Digital collage

# TWO SIDES OF THE SAME COIN: VISUAL LANDSCAPES AND THEMATIC COUNTERPARTS IN *PARADISE LOST*

KATE GRIFFIN\*

*Department of English*

John Milton's *Paradise Lost* is a seventeenth-century biblical epic poem about Adam and Eve's fall into sin. It is an immense text that has prompted innumerable critical approaches over the past several centuries, with many scholars focusing on how to interpret Milton's rendering of Adam and Eve's relationship before and after their fall. Interpreting this relationship is only possible through a careful consideration of the Garden of Eden itself as Milton took great pains to illustrate both the theological and visual details of his central narrative stage. The keen aesthetic of Eden combined with Milton's precise theological arguments—for Milton sought to persuade his readers to see the justification of God's ways—create a vision of Paradise that is eternal and full of life; it breathes and changes just like its inhabitants. As such, it too is different before and after the Fall.

Prelapsarian Eden invokes a descriptive language of innocent literality as Adam and Eve process and interact with their habitat in the way that is proper, alternating between work and pleasure. Milton's respect for divine nature and creation ensures that the garden cannot be perfect as a level of disorder is aesthetically important. However, the garden as a whole is constrained and contains within its bounds multiple smaller levels of containment, such as the daily schedule and the Bower,

adding a thematic insistency to the aesthetic landscape. The Fall causes a rupture in the equilibrium of all creation, catalyzed by Satan's interruption of divine place and hierarchy. Indeed, the very earth feels the wound of irrevocable transgression. As a result, Milton's language of postlapsarian Eden becomes overgrown, fraught with implications. An untenable landscape of unchecked lust plays out as a result, and while natural imagery is still central to the narrative, it is no longer harmonious. Milton's linguistic landscaping is a key part of his overall argument and composition. Counterparts are a constant motif in *Paradise Lost*; whether it be heaven and hell, God and Satan, light and darkness, or pre- and postlapsarian Eden (Adam and Eve included), Milton is deliberate in the words he chooses to conjure a pattern in the minds of his readers. His well-read intelligence also confers a deliberateness toward the structural composition of his theodicy. Milton's argument could not exist—or at least not carry as much of an impression—without the visuals that define the patterning of pre- and postlapsarian Eden, which in turn is reflected in Adam and Eve. At the same time, Milton's precisely honed rhetorical skills are essential in laying the groundwork of his scale, which gives shape to an all-encompassing impression of God that foreshadows the events of the story and lingers once they come to pass.

---

\* This paper was written for Prof. Paula McQuade's course ENG 327 (Milton) in June 2022. The paper was selected by a faculty committee in the Department of English consisting of Prof. Jim Fairhall, Prof. June Chung, and Prof. Paula McQuade and convened by Prof. Rebecca Cameron.

Book IV of *Paradise Lost* lays out a panoramic picture of Eden that is steeped in harmony and beauty: "A Heaven on Earth, for blissful Paradise / Of God the Garden was"

(Milton 4.208). Satan continues to scope out the scene, offering an emphasis on the fierce omnipresence of nature. Here too Milton invokes the idea of the garden's creation being a part of God—rivers are likened to “veins,” and fauna is “fed” by nectar (4.227, 4.240). Satan's eyes are the first lens through which Paradise is rendered in detail, and his flair for the dramatic outlines a “delicious” view that includes thick wilderness, grand trees, blossoms, fruit, and the lush green walls that limit Eden to one entrance and exit (4.133–80). The aesthetic judgment of “not nice Art” is a phrase that exemplifies, after the lengthy descriptions of Eden's “life,” that nature is (by nature) not perfect, but neither is it out of control (4.241). The free will of man is what allows for the loss of control. Before the Fall, roses lacked thorns; similarly, wild animals posed no threat (4.256, 4.341).

Descriptions of prelapsarian Adam and Eve also carry aspects of “not nice” nature; Eve's hair is “[d]isheveled, but in wanton ringlets wav'd / As the Vine curls her tendrils,” which lends to her “coy” yielding to Adam (4.306, 4.310). After working the garden, Adam and Eve rest and whisper by a sweet fountain and eat and drink; their sensory needs made all the stronger due to their work and thus all the more perfectly satisfied (4.326–31). Subtle rules of action are brought forth with that pleasure. The balance in prelapsarian Eden is tranquil and gentle; the work is easy and pleasure modest; things flow naturally without much thought except gratitude and exalting prayer (4.415–33). The pattern of Edenic desire involves a moderation of desire through labor, and a “joyful abundance . . . through the hedonistic pursuit of variety” (Scodel 198). While there exists a daily schedule of waking, eating, working, and sleeping, it encompasses a range of activities and locations.

Classical poet Ovid's *Art of Love* embodies a Cavalier aesthetic much like Milton's “not nice Art” and his ideal of pleasurable restraint as exemplified in the lines: “The pleasure of love must not be tened, / But instead gradually

lured on by slow delay” (Ovid 2.717–18; trans. Scodel 202). In the same poem, Ovid writes, “Love may gain entrance under friendship's Dress” (Ovid 42). These ideas of coyness and courtship combined with the connection between friendship and love—which for Ovid has a tongue-in-cheek tone while Milton approaches it with an earnest belief—are important to the way Adam and Eve are characterized as a pair, each different but together one. However, the idiosyncrasy in their dynamic with Adam being in pursuit of Eve more than she of him can also be read as suggestive of a future ill event, even if the Edenic pair is unaware of their future rift.

Aristotle's *Rhetoric* also influenced Milton and his Edenic themes. In his chapter on “*things delightful*,” Aristotle writes, “For all follow Pleasure, and covet it for delights sake. But the good and end of Pleasure is bounded within limits” (51). Moreover, pleasure is an “entirely sensible disposition of the mind, according to the perfect condition of nature” (57). The alternation between work and play and the seclusion of Adam and Eve's Bower, the only place where they may have intercourse, are ways in which Edenic pleasure is constrained both in action and physical landscape, respectively. Such is a hallmark of Milton: his themes and story operate on the plane of character action and knowledge as well as on the grand stage that the reader is traveling through.

The interloper Satan—both an action-based character and plot device—is able to sow the seeds of destruction and to sharpen the reader's unease due to the fiery hell within him, the power-hungry desire he seethes with, and his lack of joy and love (4.509). These sensations and feelings are unnatural and in opposition to everything about Eden; indeed, they do not exist except in him. As Satan carries hell within him, his status as a narrative device (as it were) is the catalyst that changes the visual landscape of Paradise. Scodel writes, “Unfallen Adam and Eve's combination of ‘gentle’ hierarchy and communion closely mirrors the paradoxes of the entire cosmic hierarchy

in *Paradise Lost*, which properly functions only when superiors and inferiors are happily united by the spirit of equal fellowship” (206). In challenging the hierarchical relationship of divinity and subsequently invading the garden, the proper functioning of the created world is no longer guaranteed. While Milton insists on hierarchy, his ideals are firmly egalitarian through the emphasis on *harmonious* hierarchy that, if maintained, makes everyone happy (McColgan 95).

Prelapsarian Eden is encapsulated by the divine eternity of God’s omnipresence. Eve describes to Adam her perception of the progression from morning to night: “[P]leasant the Sun / When first on this delightful Land he spreads / His orient Beam . . . then silent Night” (4.642–47). God does not act directly in the garden, but He is everywhere, even blessing the wedded, chaste love of Adam and Eve as they walk hand-in-hand to their marital bed. As Carnes reminds us, for Milton, “God is the author of all language and as a consequence, words have meaning only in relation to the Word. It is, in fact, this consonance between the human and the divine which gives language before the Fall its substance” (523). The descriptive language of the garden is innocent, untarnished, and can be taken at face value:

Adam and Eve, intensely aware of their position in the scale of being and of their time as analogous to God’s, instinctively echo the language of divinity. “Light,” “dark,” “taste,” “deep,” “root,” “head,” “seed,” and “grace” continually recur in their speech. The relevant point here is that these terms . . . are used by the pair in happy ignorance of their moral and theological implications. Adam’s and Eve’s language is almost as literal as Satan’s, but for very different reasons. (Carnes 530)

Clearly, untainted paradise is highly symbolic. “Fallen” readers and intelligent readers can recognize the dichotomy between the literal interpretations Adam and Eve make of their habitat and creation and the symbolic suggestiveness of Milton’s word choices. Moreover,

prelapsarian Adam and Eve allow readers to glimpse, and perhaps reclaim, the Edenic pleasure of “self-restraint” in harmonious balance (Scodel 230).

In Aristotle’s *Poetics*, the philosopher delineates what makes the epic so grand and how the “variety” of its narrative “avoids satiating . . . its audience with excessive sameness” (Scodel 199). Aristotle writes:

Epic poetry differs from Tragedy in the scale on which it is constructed . . . the beginning and the end must be capable of being brought within a single view . . . Epic poetry has, however, a great—a special—capacity for enlarging its dimensions . . . [I]n Epic poetry, owing to the narrative form, many events simultaneously transacted can be presented; and these, if relevant to the subject, add mass and dignity to the poem. (24)

The idea of the varying episodes, simultaneous events, and grand dimensions all being brought together as a structural whole is quite plain in *Paradise Lost*. The structural whole is, thematically, God and, rhetorically, Milton’s argument for God. The episodes of angels, devils, and the happenings in the garden all work on top of this structure. Particularly in the garden, “simultaneous” events are depicted when Satan infringes on Paradise and subsequently in Adam and Eve’s trains of thought, actions, and ultimate divergence (and reconnection). Therefore, the Fall is the crux of the argument and a perfect aspect of epic structuring. Its occurrence within the narrative—situated with “before and after” representations at the beginning of Book IV and the end of Book IX—provides the depth of dimension necessary for Milton to prove the strength of his God and to allow room for the impressions of the intelligent reader.

By nature of the epic’s variety of episodic moods, in the invocation to Book IX of *Paradise Lost*, Milton expressly warns his reader that tragedy is imminent. Ever the vehicle for disruption, Satan’s prowling provokes threatening feelings once again since his presence in Eden continues

to be out of balance, and he cannot rest nor find a proper place to fit in: "I in none of these / Find place or refuge" (9.118). To even enter and exit Eden, he relies on the cover of darkness (9.58). Satan's motivation continues to be predicated on the pleasure and beauty he sees, which makes him more miserable. Here, the idea of negatively connotated language is evidenced in Satan's ironic and hyperbolic laments, which only heighten the purity and innocence of Eden. Milton's patterning continues to grow as Book IX gets underway, signaled first by his invocation and then by the reemergence of Satan.

When Eve suggests separating from Adam, even if briefly, it is because their work is getting to be too much; Eden's plants grow far too fast for them to keep up with. She says, "Our dayes work brought to little, though begun / Early, and th' hour of Supper comes unearn'd" (9.225). Balance is shifting, and pleasurable restraint starts to become more difficult. Adam objects, saying their joined hands are necessary to keep "Wilderness" at bay and that their children will one day help, but he reluctantly concedes that a short separation might increase their pleasure once they reunite (9.250). Adam's reasoning ultimately returns to the security of God's reasoning in that God's "creating hand" left nothing imperfect or incomplete, and Eden should be secure as a result (9.345). Free will is introduced again, this time as a counterbalance to the interloper, Satan, as it too is a force independent from God.

Satan's infringement on Paradise collides with free will when he encounters Eve. Milton is sure to suffuse this moment with beautiful language introducing Eve: "Veiled in a Cloud of Fragrance . . . the Roses bushing round / About her glowd . . . Her self, though fairest unsupported Flour" (9.420-32). This final image of innocent beauty makes her deception and ill-fated choice all the more poignant. When Satan speaks to Eve who is "amaz'd" that he can speak to her as a snake, he appropriates the descriptive natural language of untainted Eden into a suggestive, lustful temptation: "Then smell of sweetest Fenel or the Teats / of Ewe or Goat dropping with Milk at

Eevn, / Unsuckt of Lamb or Kid, that tend thir play" (9.581-84). He even twists the earlier idea of pleasurable restraint as he does not wait to eat, but he nonetheless refrains from eating his fill (9.586, 9.595).

As Satan leads Eve at her behest to the forbidden tree, Milton employs language that truly embodies Satan's link between pre- and postlapsarian events:

To mischief swift. Hope elevates, and joy  
Bright'ns his Crest, as when a wandering Fire  
Compact of unctuous vapor, which the Night  
Condenses, and the cold invirons round,  
Kindl'd through agitation to a Flame,  
.....  
Hovering and blazing with delusive Light,  
Misleads th' amaz'd Night-wanderer . . .  
To Boggs and Mires, and oft through Pond or Poole,  
to the Tree  
Of prohibition, root of all our woe. (9.633-45)

Like a fire blazing through the night, Satan is a false "light," leading Eve in noontime away from a proper place of rest through suddenly treacherous terrain until they finally arrive at the "root" of woe. Now, language has implications, depth, and dark suggestiveness. A root is no longer just a root. And the fruit of the forbidden tree exists in excess, heavy with threat as Eve's hunger rises.

Milton states, "Earth felt the wound, and Nature from her seat / Sighing through all her Works gave signs of woe, / That all was lost" (9.783-84). As a direct result of the earth's harm, Eve's radar for balance falls out of whack, and she gorges on the fruit (9.791). When Adam realizes what she has done, he is horrified, chilled, and rendered immobile. Gone is the gentleness of their previous banter and their imperfect yet content dynamic. He drops the flower crown he'd created for Eve and, as it drops, the "faded Roses shed" (9.893). The effect of the Fall on nature is profound. Moreover, with the newly layered language, roses falling and fading symbolize the larger structural theme of

darkness being associated with descent. When Adam eats the forbidden fruit, Milton revisits the language of Earth's pain: "Earth trembl'd from her entrails, as again / In pangs, and Nature gave a second groan, / Skie lowr'd, and muttering Thunder, som sad drops / Wept at completing of the mortal Sin / Original" (9.1000-04). The newly deepened meaning of language is exceptionally striking here as the wording almost suggests birthing. Additionally, the "completing" of original sin implies that both Adam and Eve were necessary for the Fall, accentuating Milton's structural and linguistic usage of pairs.

Milton's language of lust as Book IX continues becomes more and more depraved as the revelation of shame moves closer, "dewie sleep / Oppress'd them, wearied with their amorous play"; and later, "grosser sleep / Bred of unkindly fumes, with conscious dreams / Encumbered, not had left them, up they rose / As from unrest" (9.1045-52). The lustful sex did not come about in a proper way, leading to improper and unsatisfying sleep and an overall toiling within a previously tranquil environment. Aristotle cites a reason for shame as being when a man lies with a woman "where and when he ought not, as proceeding from lust" (*Rhetoric* 105). Shame, then, occupies the mind as the result of evils in the past, present, or future (104). This concept of shame is interesting in connection to God's omnipotence regarding the inevitability of the Fall and man's freedom to fall in the first place. The profound shame of Adam and Eve's fall is not just the result of one moment but also a reverberating chasm, which breaks Eden from God's timelessness while at the same time emphasizing the Fall's presence from first potential (creation) to future implication (endless).

When Adam and Eve seek to find coverings for their naked bodies, they enter a thick wood and find long, broad branches of a fig tree: "that in the ground / The bended Twigs take root, and Daughters Grow / About the Mother Tree" (9.1103-05). The repeated language of "root" associated with Mother Earth, Eve, original sin, and connected descendants is a vital touchstone Milton revisits.

Finally, as Adam and Eve weep from their shame, Milton uses landscape-like descriptions to fully express the level at which they feel:

The sate them down to weep, nor onely Teares  
Raind at thir Eyes, but high Winds worse within  
Began to rise, high Passions, Anger, Hate,  
Mistrust, Suspicion, Discord, and shook sore  
Thir inward State of Mind, calm Region once  
And full of Peace, now tost and turbulent. (9.1121-26)

In this passage, Milton suggests that once Adam and Eve completed original sin, their damage to the landscape of Paradise was internalized within their hearts and feelings. The pair's prelapsarian feelings were consistently mild, tempered, blissful—like the landscape itself. After their sin, they weep rain; feel winds of passion, anger, and hate; and their inner state (indeed, region) is shaken and turbulent. The Fall caused a sort of earthquake outside and within; Paradise is only Paradise with Adam and Eve and therefore loses its utopian qualities once its residents wound their home and themselves. Eden is no longer secure. Fallen Adam and Eve embody the fierceness of nature, perhaps as penance or perhaps because the hierarchy between creations was opened up and subsequently intertwined.

Throughout *Paradise Lost*, Milton's "interplay" between opposing imagery "as vehicles for meaning" is never more profound than in pre- and postlapsarian Eden and within its contained counterparts and images (McColgan 90). Lightness and darkness, rising and falling, and before and after can all be used to describe the beginning of Book IV and the end of Book IX. In Book IV, Eden was typological—able to be ordered, understood, appropriately enjoyed. In its embodiment of God's eternal, all-seeing time, Eden also "anticipated and prefigured a point in future time," which was the Fall (Carnes 535). There is the constant tension between knowing the Fall is going to happen and observing Adam and Eve's ignorance of the symbols all around them (20). This adds to Milton's careful consideration of both his readership and the theological

and aesthetic strength of his epic. As such, the structural, thematic, and visual unity between the Books always carries the double perception of what the characters see and experience and what the reader, inevitably, knows:

At odds with this prelapsarian “goodness” of both darkness and light, height and depth, are the potentially paradoxical associations of these images . . . even in the unfallen world, the imagery possesses a doubleness, particularly when viewed from a postlapsarian perspective . . . the same can also be said of rising and falling. (McColgan 94)

Milton’s work is meticulous, and he shores up his argumental consistency through the use of deliberate visual keynotes, contrasting patterns, and the implied change of the very meaning of language post-Fall. His planning leads to a “heightened awareness of the texture and concepts embodying this magnificent statement of God’s purpose” (qtd. in McColgan 90). Prelapsarian Eden is beautiful, innocent, and yet cannot be perceived in a vacuum since the reader is aware of not just what’s going to happen but also the implications of God’s omnipotence and the carefully laid-out hierarchy of created life alongside the visual construction of Paradise. McColgan explains, “For the reader, the cycle of human action and divine intervention continues: the seed at the end of *Paradise Lost* is embedded in ‘the Fruit / Of that Forbidden Tree’ at its beginning; Christ is the fruit of Mary’s (Eve’s) womb” (100). Just as the tree is a symbol, the cross represents the ultimate “intersection of time and eternity” for Milton; his goal of expressing the true light of God finally comes into full perspective (100).

Eden is a central construction within *Paradise Lost*: a turning point, the place of before and after—where creation began, free will was born, and the human race was set in motion. This setting in motion of human consequence began with the Fall, just as the creation of Adam and Eve set in motion the potential to fall. This cyclical structuring and narrative arc is punctuated by

the Fall yet surrounded by God’s omnipotence. While the rhetorical strength of Milton’s opposing counterparts of pre- and postlapsarian Eden is precisely strengthened by the differences between the two halves, each half needs the other to bring into focus the structural whole of God’s omnipotence and *Paradise Lost* as a text. The earth’s wound is felt all the more after taking in the pristine, peaceful, and loving nature of Eden before the Fall. The external consequences of Adam and Eve’s sin are present in the visual language and also in their internalization of sin—which Milton describes through vivid imagery on the plane of the body—and character action.

Milton believed in the divinity present in nature and the beauty in all creation, which is why Eden itself was imbued with its own life and intertwined with the Fall. His visual descriptions make this clear since the way he describes the ripple effect of the plucked fruit is so much more heightened and affecting due to the way he lays out the garden and its sensory, visceral details. Pre- and postlapsarian Eden is not just the stage on which the Fall occurs but also a blueprint encompassing the cyclical nature of creation, God’s eternal sight, and the centrality of nature in mankind’s past and future (literally and symbolically). Thus, Milton’s God is the backbone and through lines of his epic story created the structural whole built through Milton’s linguistic capabilities and the synthetization of his artistic influences with his earnest and profound faith. It is within this structure that he allows his players to act through the narrative, never deviating from the duality of the surface and the underlying, implied depth. This surface and depth are cast into stark relief at the moment of the Fall; they are elucidated through the events post-Fall and harmonized once more only after the epic is completed and the cyclical themes of God’s omnipotence and free will, as well as the structural and aesthetic counterparts, are most pronounced. Milton most definitely finished what he started, and his work functions best as a balanced whole or a whole made of balances.

## WORKS CITED

Aristotle. *Aristotle's Rhetoric, or, the True Grounds and Principles of Oratory Shewing the Right Art of Pleading and Speaking in Full Assemblies and Courts of Judicature*. *Early English Books Online*, 9 Jun. 2023, quod.lib.umich.edu/e/eebo/a25820.0001.001/1:2?vid=56515;view=toc.

Aristotle. *Poetics*. Translated by S. H. Butcher. *Project Gutenberg*, 13 Jan. 2013, [www.gutenberg.org/files/1974/1974-h/1974-h.htm](http://www.gutenberg.org/files/1974/1974-h/1974-h.htm).

Carnes, Valerie. "Time and Language in Milton's *Paradise Lost*." *ELH*, vol. 37, no. 4, Dec. 1970, pp. 517-39, [www.jstor.org/stable/2872380](http://www.jstor.org/stable/2872380).

McColgan, Kristin P. "'Light Out of Darkness': The Interlocking Pattern of Visual and Spatial Imagery in 'Paradise Lost.'" *Milton Quarterly*, vol. 25, no. 3, Oct. 1991, pp. 89-101, [www.jstor.org/stable/24464928](http://www.jstor.org/stable/24464928).

Milton, John. *Complete Prose and Major Poems*, edited by Merritt Y. Hughes, Hackett Publishing Company, 2003.

Ovid. *Ovid's Art of Love with Hero and Leander of Musaeus*. *Oxford Text Archive*, 23 July 2023, [ota.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/repository/xmlui/bitstream/handle/20.500.12024/A53593/A53593.html?sequence=5](http://ota.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/repository/xmlui/bitstream/handle/20.500.12024/A53593/A53593.html?sequence=5).

Scodel, Joshua. "Paradise Lost and Classical Ideals of Pleasurable Restraint." *Comparative Literature*, vol. 48, no. 3, 1996, pp. 189-236, [www.jstor.org/stable/1771642](http://www.jstor.org/stable/1771642).





Jakob Ferguson | 18 Years After Alicia Frantz (2/1/2023 - W Division St & N Throop St) | In-camera double-exposure photograph

# COMMENT S'EST FORMÉE LA LANGUE FRANÇAISE?

ANTHONY BEVEVINO\*

*French Program*

*Department of Modern Languages*

---

## ENGLISH ABSTRACT

This paper aims to describe how the modern French language came to be by discussing the influence pivotal periods in the history of France, particularly the late Middle Ages and the beginning of the Renaissance, had on the formation of the language. The modern French language—both in its written and spoken forms—is the product of many linguistic developments, initiated by the process of dialectalization. This process occurred throughout the territory of modern France, subsequently followed by the promotion of one singular dialect native to the Paris region. The linguistic fragmentation as well as the prestige of the Parisian dialect can be demonstrated through linguistic maps in addition to excerpts from renowned works of literature composed during the Middle Ages and the Renaissance. The paper also includes a section explaining the ways in which the French language is still evolving, demonstrating how the notion that a stable, unchanging language can exist is rather misguided.

---

La langue française, telle qu'on la connaît aujourd'hui, à la fois la langue écrite et la langue parlée, implique plus de mille ans d'histoire et de changements politiques, culturels, et sociétaux qui ont contribué à la formation d'une langue commune et standardisée. Malgré la complexité de cette longue histoire, on peut trouver plusieurs moments et périodes précis qui paraissent être particulièrement décisifs en ce qui concerne le développement du français en tant que langue cohérente. Plus précisément, on peut citer des événements qui se sont déroulés au cours du Moyen-Âge jusqu'au début de la Renaissance qui symbolisent collectivement la naissance longue et étendue de la langue française, c'est-à-dire la réponse à la question "comment s'est formée la langue française?" Ainsi, il faut analyser la valeur linguistique de cette période historique pour la France en discutant

deux sujets principaux: la réalité linguistique de la France au Moyen-Âge et les dialectes qui l'ont caractérisée ainsi que les aspects culturels de la fin du Moyen-Âge et du début de la Renaissance qui ont influencé l'ascension de la langue française. En outre, puisque le français est encore en train de subir des changements et de se transformer, l'évolution linguistique qu'on voit même à notre époque mérite également d'être discutée en plus des périodes précédemment mentionnées.

Tout d'abord, la réalité linguistique de la France au Moyen-Âge peut être caractérisée par une fragmentation géographique; bien que le latin soit l'outil principal pour la composition d'œuvres littéraires et pour les affaires religieuses à l'époque, la plupart de la population utilisait un dialecte régional non-standardisé comme mode de parler pour toutes les affaires quotidiennes. "À cette époque, les gens du peuple étaient tous unilingues et parlaient l'un ou l'autre des nombreux dialectes alors

---

\* Written for FCH 341 (Introduction to French Literature I), taught by Professor Polly Mangerson in Autumn Quarter 2022. This manuscript was selected for publication in *Creating Knowledge* by Professor Mangerson.

en usage en France. Seuls les 'lettrés' écrivaient en 'latin d'Église' appelé alors le 'latin des lettrés', aujourd'hui 'latin ecclésiastique', et communiquaient entre eux par cette langue" (Leclerc). Quand il s'agit des dialectes français médiévaux, on parle surtout des langues qui sont effectivement des mélanges entre le gaulois et le latin, notamment le gallo-romain, qui peut-être divisé en trois camps linguistiques: l'occitan, le français, et le francoprovençal. Le français, la langue d'oïl et la langue dont le français moderne dérive, peut être divisé autrefois en plusieurs catégories dialectales: lorrain, bourguignon, normand, picard, etc. (voir figure 1).

**FIGURE 1**

Carte linguistique de la France au Moyen-Âge (Xème - XIIème siècles). [www.axl.cefau.ulaval.ca/francophonie/images/france-langues-XV.GIF](http://www.axl.cefau.ulaval.ca/francophonie/images/france-langues-XV.GIF)



Il faut noter que les variations entre les dialectes de cette époque sont parfois bien distinctes, ce qui rendait la communication entre les divers groupes, même dans le domaine d'oïl, bien difficile et qui demandait l'omission de phrases dialectales et de régionalismes. En outre, le nord de la Gaule, ce qu'on appelle parfois le domaine d'oïl, est l'endroit où le français en tant que dialecte est né, et il se divisait alors en trois régions dialectales: l'Est et le Nord-est, l'Ouest et les dialectes centraux.

Il est important de mentionner aussi que les lignes qui séparaient les frontières dialectales dans ce domaine sont devenues plus claires au cours des premiers siècles du Moyen-Âge, renforcées par la dynastie carolingienne et par d'autres événements liés à la politique du territoire ainsi que par d'autres obstacles naturels tels que les fleuves et les forêts. Par exemple, la naissance du village et aussi l'émergence des principautés du royaume jouaient un rôle important dans la fragmentation linguistique du pays dans la mesure où elles ont établi de diverses identités territoriales et isolé les communautés. Le manque de mobilisation parmi les habitants du pays, c'est-à-dire la tendance à rester et à s'attacher à un village à cause d'une barrière naturelle ou politique, avait également un effet séparateur qui facilitait le processus de la dialectalisation; chaque ville développe au cours des années un parler distinct et unique (Leclerc). Néanmoins, les témoignages conservés suggèrent que "les divergences entre dialectes parlés étaient encore peu de chose en face de la masse des éléments communs provenant soit de la fidélité au latin, soit de l'identité des innovations survenues sur l'ensemble du domaine d'oïl" (Rey et al). On peut citer *La Chanson de Roland*, une des chansons de geste les plus anciennes et célébrées, comme un témoignage de la fragmentation et du manque de normalisation linguistique de l'époque car on y trouve dans le texte non seulement un mélange des dialectes français, notamment l'Anglo-Normand, mais on y trouve aussi des vers qui suivent des règles grammaticales et phonétiques diversifiées, ce qui montre que le texte est né dans un territoire linguistiquement fragmenté et que sa composition a eu lieu sur plusieurs siècles (Farrier). Par exemple, des analyses de la version du texte de Oxford montrent qu'on y trouve que la diphtongue *ai* s'associe avec deux sons différents selon l'âge des laisses dans le texte et aussi selon le dialecte dans lequel une laisse a été écrite; dans 17 laisses cette combinaison de lettres produit un son qui ressemble au son phonétique *a* tandis qu'il produit le son phonétique *e* dans d'autres laisses plus récentes dans le texte (Farrier).

À l'égard des premiers signes d'une unification linguistique en France, ce n'est qu'à la fin du Moyen-Âge qu'on voit des phénomènes qui poussent la population vers l'adoption d'une langue commune. On peut noter premièrement une population croissante; à la fin du Xème siècle, le territoire compte 5 millions d'habitants, tandis qu'à la fin du XIVème siècle, elle en compte entre 12 et 17 millions. Certes, cet accroissement a augmenté l'exigence des centres urbains, particulièrement dans le domaine d'oïl, qui ont par la suite permis le mélange des divers peuples du pays qui devaient trouver un moyen de communiquer oralement entre eux. En plus, cette urbanisation permettait la création d'un "schéma biparti entre aire gallo-romane de l'Est (wallon, lorrain, picard, bourguignon, champenois oriental) et aire de l'Ouest (Angleterre et Normandie, Poitou-Saintonge, Ile-de-France)" (Rey et al.). Les différences entre ces deux aires dialectales concernent désormais des caractéristiques phonétiques, telles que la dipthongisation et la prononciation des mots. En outre, à mesure que les difficultés associées avec l'intercompréhension commençaient à disparaître, des cercles lettrés et aristocratiques, y compris le roi Philippe et la reine Adèle, ne se contentaient plus de la simple intercompréhension entre les locuteurs et ils commençaient à promouvoir une langue plus "purifiée." Du coup, on voit l'ascension de la langue *françoise*, une variété du dialecte français provenant de l'île de France, plus précisément de la ville de Paris, qui est devenu au cours du Moyen-Âge un des centres culturels et économiques les plus importants de la France ainsi que de toute l'Europe. Le *françois* commence petit à petit à remplacer le latin en tant que la langue véhiculaire pour l'écriture; la réputation de cette langue lui a conféré le statut d'un dialecte bien prestigieux utilisé dans la cour royale ainsi que de la norme linguistique pour le domaine d'oïl, particulièrement pour les documents administratifs. Néanmoins, il faut souligner que la langue irradiée sur l'étendue du territoire n'est pas le dialecte parisien net; plusieurs groupes dialectaux, notamment le Picard et l'Anglo-Normand, se sont intégrés dans le *françois* grâce à leur utilisation dans les œuvres écrites et

populaires de l'époque et aussi grâce aux diverses langues que pratiquait la population parisienne.

Dans ce cadre, il faut faire référence aux *Lais* de Marie de France qui ont été écrites pendant le XIIème et le XIIIème siècles dans la langue *françoise*. Le langage des ses œuvres représentent effectivement ce qui était alors la langue courtoise des cours royales anglaises et françaises dont les membres renforçaient leur statut social par le langage qu'ils utilisaient; autrement dit, Marie de France écrivait ses *Lais* dans une langue qui se voulait le symbole de la norme linguistique et du pouvoir royal. On peut donc conférer aux *Lais* un rôle promoteur pour la cour royale qui est implicite. Ses œuvres contiennent cependant des traces du dialecte Anglo-Normand, particulièrement quand il s'agit de la diptongisation *oi* (*saveir* au lieu de *savoir*, *rei* au lieu de *roi*, etc.), ce qui témoigne la présence d'autres dialectes dans la langue courtoise d'Ile de France. Pourtant, en dépit des influences des autres dialectes sur cette langue parisienne prestigieuse, les efforts pour normaliser et pour irradier la langue de Paris par la cour ont mené à l'effacement des *scriptae*, c'est-à-dire les témoignages écrits des dialectes, dans le domaine d'oïl. En outre, les siècles suivant La Guerre des Cent Ans, qui avait elle-même un effet unificateur sur le langage dans tout le pays, sont marqués par non seulement l'effacement des anciens textes dialectaux mais aussi par le remplacement des dialectes par le *françois* issu de Paris comme l'outil principal de communication pour toutes formes de l'écriture et puis pour la communication orale dans le domaine d'oïl. Enfin, la normalisation linguistique a été bien consolidée par l'établissement de l'Académie Française en 1635 sous Louis XIII, ce qui représente la naissance d'une organisation dont l'objectif est toujours "de travailler avec tout le soin et toute la diligence possibles à donner des règles certaines à notre langue [français] et à la rendre pure, éloquente et capable de traiter les arts et les sciences" (Académie Française).

Quant aux différences principales entre l'ancien français, c'est-à-dire le *françois*, et le français contemporain, on peut

premièrement affirmer que l'ancien français est une langue phonétiquement plus complexe par rapport au français qu'on connaît aujourd'hui; toutes les lettres présentes doivent se prononcer. Ce n'est qu'au XII<sup>e</sup> siècle qu'on commence à ignorer les lettres à la fin des mots comme on le fait fréquemment en parlant le français moderne. Les consonnes nasales qui s'entendent aujourd'hui, présentes dans les mots *bien* ou *bon*, par exemple, ne s'entendaient pas; on devait prononcer même la consonne *n* à la fin du mot. On faisait de même avec *s*, une consonne presque toujours ignorée dans le français parlé. On peut relire *La Chanson de Roland* pour démontrer ce phénomène en analysant un petit vers tiré du texte: "des peaux de chievres blanches." Évidemment, on y trouve une orthographe notamment diverse, mais ce qui est le plus important à remarquer ici, c'est que la prononciation de cette phrase signifie une différence encore plus notable: "dé-ss péawss de tchiévress blan-ntchess." On y repère non seulement 26 articulations, ce qui devient 13 articulations dans le français moderne, mais on note également le son *ch* dont la prononciation est plus courte et plus dure, et on note que les voyelles qui comprennent chaque mot sont toutes bien entendues (Leclerc). Ces détails orthographiques et phonétiques qui séparent le français contemporain du *françois* trouvent sûrement leur origine dans le latin, la langue romane qui a eu une influence indispensable sur la formation du français et la langue de laquelle le *françois* s'est éloigné progressivement pendant que d'autres personnes, langues, et dialectes l'ont influencée au fil du temps. Au cours du Moyen-Âge, ces tendances linguistiques distinctes commencent à disparaître en même temps qu'on voit l'apparition des articles, *li*, *li*, *la*, et *les* dans l'ancien français et *le*, *les*, *la* et *les* dans le français moderne. Même si on peut compter un nombre presque infini de différences, celles décrites ci-dessus démontrent vraiment bien ce pour quoi on distingue l'ancien français du français contemporain.

Malgré le fait qu'on peut désormais attribuer au français le statut d'une langue standardisée et officielle grâce à l'établissement de l'Académie Française en 1634, elle ne cesse jamais de subir des changements considérables

liés à l'orthographe, à la phonétique et au vocabulaire. De même que d'autres langues et dialectes se sont intégrés dans le français pendant le Moyen-Âge, plusieurs langues étrangères, notamment l'anglais, continuent de s'y intégrer. Pourtant, il faut discuter premièrement les néologismes, tels que *intensifier*, *s'activer*, *normaliser* et *axer*, qui sont des mots qu'on considérerait une fois comme des expressions inutiles ou même barbares créés par les gens populaires ou par des étrangers, mais qui font partie du lexique quotidien des francophones aujourd'hui: "bien des néologismes (*promotionner*, *compétitionner*, *oscariser*), considérés comme disgracieux ou inutiles, finissent souvent, au fil du temps, par s'imposer et sont attestés par les lexicographes, lesquels justifient leur entrée sur les critères de la fréquence d'usage et de l'utilité sur le plan lexical" (Jeanmaire). Mais c'est peut-être plus utile de discuter des exemples plus récents qui signifient la présence des transformations inévitables dans le langage parlé et qui sont apparus surtout à cause de la révolution numérique; des noms comme *blog*, *chatter*, *smartphone*, *wifi* se sont imposés dans le langage courant et ont triomphé leurs équivalents français, malgré le fait qu'ils ont été tirés directement de l'anglais sans être transformés d'aucune manière. Des changements grammaticaux sont également visibles; un des changements les plus souvent discutés concerne l'usage des verbes qui sont intransitifs ou qui peuvent avoir seulement des objets indirects selon la norme linguistique. Plus précisément, l'emploi transitif de nombreux verbes qui ne sont pas historiquement transitifs est devenu une pratique plus ou moins acceptable dans le langage courant. Par exemple, on peut désormais attacher un objet direct à des verbes tels que *réussir*, *démarrer* et *débuter* afin de rendre les phrases plus courtes et efficaces en parlant. Enfin, on a commencé à ne plus utiliser plusieurs temps verbaux, notamment le subjonctif imparfait, un temps verbal qui est pour la plupart considéré comme archaïque, remplacé plutôt par le passé composé. On pourrait dire la même chose pour la construction *ce sont* qui est vouée à devenir archaïque, étant donné qu'il n'est plus grammaticalement incorrect de la suivre avec un nom au pluriel, même dans la littérature (Jeanmaire). Les exemples des changements

linguistiques présentés ci-dessus ne comprennent qu'une démonstration partielle des nombreux témoignages qui suggèrent que le français évolue et continuera à évoluer au niveau parlé, au niveau littéraire et au niveau institutionnel.

Il est évident que la réponse à la question "comment s'est formée la langue française?" n'est ni simple ni constante; le français est toujours en train d'évoluer et d'être

influencé par ses locuteurs ainsi que par d'autres langues étrangères. Son histoire suggère qu'elle ne cessera jamais de se reconstruire et donc de se former, ce qui rend l'idée d'un français "net" ou "pur" plutôt malencontreux (Cornilliat). Néanmoins, on peut affirmer que le Moyen-Âge et le début de la Renaissance à l'égard de la création, l'unification, et la diffusion d'une langue cohérente sont des périodes bien importantes et décisives.

#### WORKS CITED

Cornilliat, François. "From 'Defense and Illustration' to 'Dishonor and Bastardization': Joachim Du Bellay On Language And Poetry (1549)." *MLN*, vol. 130, no. 4, Sept. 2015, pp. 730-56. *JSTOR*, [www.jstor.org/stable/43932864](http://www.jstor.org/stable/43932864). Accessed 19 Nov. 2022.

Farrier, Susan E. "A Linguistic Dating of the Oxford 'Chanson de Roland' and Stylistic Analysis of the Resultant Strata." *Olifant*, vol. 13, no. 1, 1988, pp. 3-27. *JSTOR*, [www.jstor.org/stable/45298777](http://www.jstor.org/stable/45298777). Accessed 21 Nov. 2022.

Jeanmaire, Guillaume. "Le Français en Mouvement Face à la Norme." *The French Review*, vol. 88, no. 1, 2014, pp. 95-115. *JSTOR*, [www.jstor.org/stable/24547697](http://www.jstor.org/stable/24547697). Accessed 16 June 2023.

Leclerc, Jacques. "La Période Féodale: L'ancien Français." *CEFAN*, 1 Mar. 2023. [www.axl.cefan.ulaval.ca/francophonie/HIST\\_FR\\_s3\\_Ancien-francais.htm](http://www.axl.cefan.ulaval.ca/francophonie/HIST_FR_s3_Ancien-francais.htm).

Rey, Alain, et al. "Le Français au Moyen Âge: Une Langue en Variations." *Mille Ans de Langue Française: Histoire D'une Passion*, Perrin, 2013, pp. 75-154. *Cairn.info*, [www.cairn.info/mille-ans-de-langue-francaise-histoire-9782748903430-page-75.htm#no18](http://www.cairn.info/mille-ans-de-langue-francaise-histoire-9782748903430-page-75.htm#no18).

"Statuts et Règlements." *Académie Française*, [www.academie-francaise.fr/linstitution/statuts-et-reglements](http://www.academie-francaise.fr/linstitution/statuts-et-reglements). Accessed 20 June 2023.



Imani Barnes | *College Years* | Acrylic on canvas

# AMENDING JAPAN'S ARTICLE 9: A JUDICIAL NECESSITY OR A SYMBOLIC GESTURE?

HELENA MENCKE\*

*Global Asian Studies Program*

If a self-described pacifist had a house full of guns, one might struggle to make sense of the image. Such a person could be delusional, a liar, or just concerned about their property while vehemently opposing violence. In any case, they would be a walking contradiction. Today, this contradiction exists in the form of a country: Japan. For seventy-five years, Japan has been a self-described pacifist country since its constitution forbids it from maintaining a military force. However, in 2014, the Japanese Supreme Court (JSC) paved the way for the construction of the Japanese Self-Defense Force (JSDF). Today, Japan is one of the most significant military defense spenders, yet its pacifist constitution and Article 9, known as the peace clause, have never been amended. On a judicial level, the discrepancy between Japan's pacifism on paper and its action poses a problematic dichotomy as the JSC provided no limitations on the use of the JSDF, and the constitution is silent on the matter.

Optically, the discrepancy is two-fold. For one, Japan can maintain its pacifist status by keeping Article 9 as is; this ability allows the nation to save face (*mentsu wo tamotsu*), which is especially important in the Asian political realm. Saving face means keeping others from losing respect for the person or avoiding embarrassment, and it has an ancient history in Japan. The concept is so prevalent that a minor indiscretion can lead to terminated business dealings. In ancient Japan, losing face would even result

in ritual suicide (*seppuku*) as samurai were operating under a strict honor code and believed that suicide was preferable to perceived dishonor.

On the other hand, clarification is needed on the importance of the constitution—including its stipulation on pacifism—if the constitution does not support the existence of the JSDF or, worse, considers it unconstitutional. While Japan can diplomatically benefit from maintaining its pacifist status—allowing it to make use of its soft power skills without alienating its neighbors—the growing gap between the promise of pacifism and the increase in military spending could also lead to growing suspicions about whether the self-declared pacifistic nation is a wolf in sheep's clothing. Nonetheless, this growing tension is not a recent development.

In evaluating Japanese constitutional law, determining whether maintaining the JSDF is unconstitutional and what state activities are prohibited by Article 9 has become a classic problem. Additionally, the discussion about whether Article 9 should be amended is as old as the document itself. However, the need for action is increasing, making such questions contemporary and pressing. The following pages will explore the origins of Article 9, its relevance for Japan, and focus on the problematic Janus-faced appearance of Japan's pacifist status and growing defense force spending. However, before evaluating the contemporary *raison d'être*, it is essential to understand why Japan adopted the peace clause in the first place.

---

\* Written for Dr. Iбата-Arens, PSC 350 (Japanese Politics), in Autumn Quarter 2022 and selected for *Creating Knowledge* by Dr. Li Jin, Director of the Global Asian Studies Program.



## Where the Peace Clause Came From

After the Meiji Restoration, Japan turned into a military superpower. Successful invasions of Taiwan and Korea justified the fear of imperial Japan, which had an army known for its ruthlessness. These fears were realized during World War II, when Japan added Singapore, Hong Kong, and Malaysia to its list of successful invasions. After the United States forced Japan into surrender, together the United States and Japan wrote a new constitution to ensure that Japan would never again be the aggressor of a war. Article 9 of the Japanese Constitution states:

Aspiring sincerely to international peace based on justice and order, the Japanese people forever renounce war as a sovereign right of the nation and the threat or use of force as a means of settling international disputes.

In order to accomplish the aim of the preceding paragraph, land, sea, and air forces, as well as other war potential, will never be maintained. The right of belligerency of the state will not be recognized.<sup>1</sup>

There has been an ongoing debate on whether the new constitution was forced on Japan by the United States or if Japan collaborated on the document in a manner that could be described as a willing adaptation. There are compelling arguments for both positions. However, the history leading up to the peace clause is beyond the scope of this paper. Nonetheless, it is interesting that a discussion about including a provision regarding a self-defense force was taking place at the time of its writing. While the original draft would have forbidden Japan to use military force “even for preserving its own security,”<sup>2</sup> these words never made it into the final draft. As James Auer writes, “Up until Japan regained sovereignty in April 1952,

successive Japanese Cabinets maintained that armed force, even for self-defense, was not permitted.”<sup>3</sup> Given the period between the penning of the Japanese Constitution and the 2014 reemergence of the debate around Article 9, it would be fair to ask what changed. After all, Japan had been operating under the peace clause for decades.

## What Changed in 2014 and 2016 That Made the Question of Article 9 Pressing

Japan relied on US military protection for decades until the Japanese Self-Defense Force (*Jieitai*) was built out of Japan’s existing domestic police force. According to Article 81 of the Japanese Constitution, the Supreme Court—not the DIET—has the authority to decide whether a particular law is constitutional. The JSC rendered the JSDF constitutional without limiting its utilization, begging the question of whether the JSDF is technically a defense force in name only. With the JSC’s approval, it is pointless to argue that the JSDF is unconstitutional as there is no higher court to turn to. The Japanese government preceded to reinterpret the peace clause, stating:

Article 9 of the Constitution should not be interpreted to prohibit Japan from taking measures of self-defense [...] Therefore, although Article 9 paragraph 2 prohibits the maintenance of land, sea and air forces, as well as other war potential, Japan is permitted to possess the minimum necessary level of self-defense capabilities, and that is not categorized as war potential.<sup>4</sup>

Recognizing that every sovereign country has a right to self-defense, it nonetheless becomes necessary to investigate whether the JSDF possesses “offensive” war potential.

1 James E. Auer, “Article Nine of Japan’s Constitution: From Renunciation of Armed Force ‘Forever’ to the Third Largest Defense Budget in the World,” *Law and Contemporary Problems* 53, no. 2 (1990): 176, <https://scholarship.law.duke.edu/lcp/vol53/iss2/12>.

2 Auer, “Article Nine,” 174.

3 Auer, “Article Nine,” 176.

4 Satoshi Yokodaido, “Constitutional Stability in Japan Not Due to Popular Approval,” *German Law Journal* 20, no. 2 (April 2019): 271, <https://doi.org/10.1017/glj.2019.16>.

## Is It Accurate to State That the JSDF Is a Self-Defense Force?

As Satoshi Yokodaido states, “It is reiterated that the self-defense capability to be possessed and maintained by Japan under the Constitution is limited to the minimum necessary for self-defense.”<sup>5</sup> Japan spends 1% of its GDP (5.4 trillion yen, or \$36.9 trillion) on self-defense; in comparison, China’s self-defense spending is 1.7% of its GDP (about \$229 billion).<sup>6</sup> In terms of total defense spending, Japan comes in seventh, behind India. Thus, it is hard to argue that Japan’s defense capabilities are minimal—especially since Japan ranks fifth in the world in overall firepower, superseded only by the United States, Russia, China, and India.<sup>7</sup> Of course, those countries refer to their firepower as a military, not a defense force. Yet it is unclear what, other than labels, distinguishes Japan’s thirty-six “defensive escort vessels”<sup>8</sup> from the forty-one Chinese destroyers; or what distinguishes the Japanese Air Self-Defense Force with a fleet of 1,449 defense aircraft from the 2,182 aircraft in the Indian Air Force,<sup>9</sup> especially given that Japan is seeking to double its defense spending. According to Andrew Salerno-Garthwaite’s article, “If Japan fulfills its budget goals in the next five years, the nation will go from the fifth or seventh strongest military power—in terms of firepower or defense spending, respectively—to third in the world.”<sup>10</sup> Returning to the example of the pacifist gun fanatic introduced at the beginning of this paper, if their house was not only full of

AR15 rifles but also stocked with a rocket launcher in the name of self-defense, their supposed pacifist status might be questioned even further. Japan has more firepower than most of its neighbors, except for China, and thus can hardly argue that its self-defense force does not have war potential. Thus, the question, “Should Article 9 be amended to rectify the dichotomy?” is left unresolved.

## Why an Amendment Makes Sense

Given the stamp of approval the JSDF received from the Japanese courts, it has been argued that amending the constitution would primarily serve a symbolic function. Yet a constitution is the highest law of any nation—a bedrock of its political system. Moreover, suppose Japan has no interest in rectifying the apparent controversy of presenting itself as a pacifist nation while being home to the fifth largest military in the world. In that case, it is fair to wonder what importance Article 9 is given, including its provision preventing Japan from being an aggressor. Indeed, it is not apparent that other nations can count on Japan’s commitment to Article 9 if Japan does not consider it necessary to consolidate the JSDF with the peace clause. A popular argument among those opposing the amendment of Article 9 is that China and North Korea would see such changes as aggressive; this perception would cause them to undermine Japan in negotiations, seeing Japan as limiting itself to soft power politics. But, again, how do such arguments fair if China and North Korea can clearly see that the JSDF is so close to being a regular military force and thus the difference can be seen in name only?

Proponents of keeping Article 9 as it is also argue that a pacifist Japan would save significant funds by refraining from building a proper military. Yet, given the numbers cited above, it is unclear what distinguishes the JSDF from a proper army. Moreover, the distinction will become even more difficult since Fumio Kishida<sup>11</sup>—the current Japanese Prime Minister—recently released a policy roadmap

---

5 Patrick Hein, “Realpolitik versus Principled Politics: Nitobe, Shidehara, Shirasu and the Hollowing Out of the Japanese Peace Constitution,” *East Asia* 26, no. 4 (October 2009): 293, <https://doi.org/10.1007/s12140-009-9093-0>.

6 “Military Expenditure (% of GDP) - Japan,” The World Bank, accessed October 9, 2022, <https://data.worldbank.org/indicator/MS.MIL.XPND.GD.ZS?locations=JP>.

7 “2022 Military Strength Ranking,” Global Fire Power, accessed November 3, 2022, <https://www.globalfirepower.com/countries-listing.php>.

8 John Wright, “Postwar Semantics in Japan’s Self-Defense Forces,” *The Diplomat*, January 13, 2016, <https://thediplomat.com/2016/01/postwar-semantics-in-japans-self-defense-forces/>.

9 Global Fire Power, “2022 Military Strength Ranking.”

10 Andrew Salerno-Garthwaite, “Japan as the Third Global Military Power,” *Army Technology*, October 3, 2022, <https://www.army-technology.com/analysis/japan-as-the-third-global-military-power/>.

---

11 As of May 2023.

that “referred to a 2% of gross domestic product (GDP) commitment,”<sup>12</sup> which would double Japan’s current defense spending. Granted, even if Japan doubled its defense expenditures, “it would still leave Japan far behind China, which already spends almost five times as much on its military.”<sup>13</sup> Yet if the mere existence of a higher defense budget in the region would diminish arguments claiming that Japan possesses war potential, then the only country with war potential in the world would be the United States, the global top defense spender.

### Conclusion

Article 9 has gone through an evolution during its seventy-five years of existence. Once a promise of pacifism and now a political tool, the peace clause has significantly changed without ever being amended. Regardless of whether one believes Article 9 provides protection from Chinese or North Korean aggression or is simply an antiquated provision without teeth, the discrepancy between Japan’s military power and its constitution is undeniable. A more conservative approach to rectifying the dichotomy may be worth considering since an abolishment of the JSDF is neither desirable nor realistic and since doing away with the peace clause would strip Japan of its pacifist identity. Enumerating the limitations of the JSDF in the constitution could alleviate the sheep in wolf’s clothing appearance of the current discrepancy while preserving the promise of peace that Japan has operated under since the end of World War II. At the very least, it will have to be conceded that the current tension is left unresolved; Japan will continue to exist as a contradiction.

### BIBLIOGRAPHY

- Auer, James E. “Article Nine of Japan’s Constitution: From Renunciation of Armed Force ‘Forever’ to the Third Largest Defense Budget in the World.” *Law and Contemporary Problem* 53, no. 2 (1990): 171-87. <https://scholarship.law.duke.edu/lcp/vol53/iss2/12>.
- Global Fire Power. “2022 Military Strength Ranking.” Accessed November 3, 2022. <https://www.globalfirepower.com/countries-listing.php>.
- Hein, Patrick. “Realpolitik versus Principled Politics: Nitobe, Shidehara, Shirasu and the Hollowing Out of the Japanese Peace Constitution.” *East Asia* 26, no. 4 (October 2009): 285-304. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s12140-009-9093-0>.
- Leussink, Daniel, and Tim Kelly. “Japan Calls for Defence Spending Hike in Policy Paper, Notes Threats to Taiwan.” *Reuters*, June 7, 2022. <https://www.reuters.com/business/aerospace-defense/japan-calls-defence-spending-hike-policy-paper-notes-threats-taiwan-2022-06-07/>.
- Salerno-Garthwaite, Andrew. “Japan as the Third Global Military Power.” *Army Technology*, October 3, 2022. <https://www.army-technology.com/analysis/japan-as-the-third-global-military-power/>.
- The World Bank. “Military Expenditure (% of GDP) - Japan.” Accessed October 9, 2022. <https://data.worldbank.org/indicator/MS.MIL.XPND.GD.ZS?locations=JP>.
- Wright, John. “Postwar Semantics in Japan’s Self-Defense Forces.” *The Diplomat*, January 13, 2016. <https://thediplomat.com/2016/01/postwar-semantics-in-japans-self-defense-forces/>.
- Yokodaido, Satoshi. “Constitutional Stability in Japan Not Due to Popular Approval.” *German Law Journal* 20, no. 2 (April 2019): 263-83. <https://doi.org/10.1017/glj.2019.16>.

---

12 Daniel Leussink and Tim Kelly, “Japan Calls for Defence Spending Hike in Policy Paper, Notes Threats to Taiwan,” *Reuters*, June 7, 2022, <https://www.reuters.com/business/aerospace-defense/japan-calls-defence-spending-hike-policy-paper-notes-threats-taiwan-2022-06-07/>.

13 Leussink and Kelly, “Japan Calls for Defence Spending Hike.”



Evelyn Rubi Hernandez | *Navigating Independence* | Digital collage

# RELIGIOSITY, NATIONALISM, AND AMBITION: IMAGINING, PERCEIVING, AND REMEMBERING THE ARAB REVOLT

TAREK JABRI\*

*Department of History*

## INTRODUCTION

In October 1914, as the First World War began grinding into a stalemate, the Ottoman Empire made the fateful move to join the war on the side of the Central powers. Despite being the “sick man of Europe,” the empire’s entry raised some hope in Germany. While the empire was ruled by the authoritarian Three Pashas of the Turkist secularist-leaning Committee of Unity and Progress (CUP), its official head of state—Sultan Mehmed V—held the title of “caliph,” making him the spiritual head of the world’s Muslim population (at least those of whom recognized his claim). The prospect of the Ottoman Caliphate declaring a global holy war against the Allies excited some German policymakers, causing them to expect insurrections and mutinies among large Muslim populations in the Allied Empires of Britain, France, and Russia.

A mere month after their entry into the war, the Ottoman Sultan-Caliph declared jihad on the three main Allied powers, and then . . . nothing happened. The caliphate’s declaration seemed to have been ignored, as most Muslims under Allied rule carried on as usual while others fought valiantly for the Allied cause. Ironically, it would be the Ottomans that would face an insurrection in 1916 in the Hijaz, launched by none other than the Sharif Hussein bin Ali, a Hashemite descendent of the Prophet Muhammad and the prince of Mecca (the holiest city in

Islam). The Hashemite Sharifs were not alone, as they collaborated with the underground Arab proto-nationalist societies of Syria and Iraq (primarily *Al-Fatat* and *Al-Ahd*) and received crucial support from the British Empire.

The Arab Revolt has a complicated legacy among Arabs, Turks, and academics. A burning question remains as to why. Why did the Hashemites, who for centuries lived on the political periphery of the Islamic world, see the war as a justification (or opportunity) to challenge the status quo openly? Why did the Arab proto-nationalists of Syria and Iraq, who had both secular-minded and Christian Arabs among their ranks, recognize an Islamic religious leader as the champion of their movement? How does one comprehend the relationship between religious and nationalist concerns within the movement?

To answer these questions, we can look to those who led the Arab Revolt among the Hashemites in addition to those who participated in or supported it among the Arabists. Through examining wartime statements, diplomatic documents, and postwar personal writings, we can show how the revolt was imagined, perceived, and remembered by its leaders. We will see that the revolt meant different things to different people at different times. It was a Hijazi movement in some contexts and a pan-Arab one in others. It was both a traditional Islamic movement and a modern Arabist one. It was a movement that served Islam and a movement served by Islam. These perceptions will be examined in their respective contexts.

---

\* This paper was written in Prof. Eugene Beiriger’s HST 390 (The Great War Capstone) in Winter 2023. The History Department selected this paper for the James P. Krokaw Award for Best Paper in an Advanced Undergraduate Course at the 19th Annual Student History Conference.

## PRIMARY SOURCES

The greatest challenge of this research is its reliance on primary source documents in Arabic. However, there are a good number of primary sources that have been translated into English and made available to the public, as well as other valuable primary sources originally written in English. The primary sources that I use can be divided into three categories: wartime statements and proclamations, diplomatic documents, and postwar personal accounts (mostly postwar memoirs).

Wartime statements and proclamations can show us how the revolt was perceived and presented. Secret or anonymous wartime statements were largely produced by Arab Nationalists before the revolt and can demonstrate how different Arabists envisioned a hypothetical movement and what it would achieve. Official proclamations were largely made by the Hashemites during the revolt and can show how the movement was framed and portrayed for a public audience.

The diplomatic documents mostly consisted of the letters sent by the Hashemites to the British from 1914 to 1916. In a collection of British Foreign Office papers, there exists the “McMahon-Hussein Correspondence” and the “Kitchener-Abdullah Correspondence.” One would have to read these documents carefully, as certain things could be framed in particular ways solely for political or diplomatic reasons. These documents can give further information on how the Hashemites framed their legitimacy as leaders of a revolt.

Personal accounts can show how certain figures understood the questions raised by this research. This paper will use three postwar memoirs written by Sharif Abdullah bin Hussein (a Hijazi Hashemite), Ja’far Al-Askari (an Iraqi Arabist), and Ahmad Qadri (a Syrian Arabist), respectively. Abdullah’s and Al-Askari’s have been translated into English, but the current translation of Abdullah’s memoirs has some issues and will have to

be supplemented with the Arabic original.<sup>1</sup> Unfortunately, Qadri’s memoirs remain untranslated. However, his short concluding section can be used, as it is where he directly confronts the questions of the legitimacy and nature of the revolt. The chapter’s length makes it easier and less time-consuming to translate.<sup>2</sup>

Of course, like with all memoirs, one will have to confront the limitations and inaccuracies of human memory. Added to this is the political nature of these memoirs. Abdullah and Al-Askari would go on to have postwar political careers, and all three needed to justify participation in a movement that apparently failed. Keeping these limitations and issues in mind, these sources can still provide much useful information, especially as the memoirs will largely be used to show how each writer remembered (or chose to remember) the revolt.

## SURVEY OF SCHOLARLY LITERATURE

While the Middle Eastern theater of World War I is not as well-known as the western front, it has received extensive coverage by academics and researchers in recent decades. The research used for this paper falls into a few thematic areas.

Through his work *The Fall of the Ottomans: The Great War in the Middle East*, Eugene Rogan strove to rectify the marginalization of the First World War’s Middle Eastern theater as a sideshow. Rogan’s work is a holistic approach to the war as it played out in the Middle East. Another approach has been to focus on the Arab Revolt itself. Neil Faulkner’s *Lawrence of Arabia’s War: The Arabs, the British and the Remaking of the Middle East in WWI* focuses on the revolt, integrating it with the British campaigns in Sinai and the Levant.

---

1 Refer to H. W. Glidden, review of *Memoirs of King Abdullah of Transjordan*, by G. Khuri (trans.) and P. Graves (ed.), *Middle East Journal* 5, no. 2 (1951): 251–52, <https://www.jstor.org/stable/4322282>.

2 Ahmad Qadri, *Mudhakkirati ‘an al-Thawra al-‘Arabiyya al-Kubra* (Damascus: Ibn Zaydun, 1956), 281–88.

Some scholars took a narrower approach, focusing on the Hashemite Sharifs who led the revolt and the Hijaz region that was their base. Haifa Alangari's *Struggle for Power in Arabia Ibn Saud, Hussein and Great Britain, 1914-1924* tackles the questions of legitimacy and authority behind the Hashemites revolt and the aftermath in the Arabian Peninsula. As for the Hijaz, William Ochsenwald's article "Ironic Origins: Arab Nationalism in the Hijaz, 1882-1914" studies the religious, cultural, and political contexts of the prewar Hijaz region.

Arab nationalism and proto-nationalism have also received much attention. This can be seen in C. Ernest Dawn's "The Origins of Arab Nationalism," which charts the development of Arab nationalism from its beginnings in the early 19th century to its establishment as a new dominant ideology of the Arab world in the aftermath of World War I. In addition to studying the ideological and intellectual currents behind the greater Arabist movement, scholars have also studied the wartime activities of Arabist groups. Eliezer Tauber takes this approach with *The Arab Movements in World War I*.

What this paper adds to the existing scholarship is an examination of how the Arabs—from both the Hashemite clan and the Arabist parties—imagined, perceived, and remembered the revolt. This paper compares and contrasts the different articulations of the revolt in different contexts over the course of the war and beyond.

### **IMAGINING THE REVOLT: EVOLVING POSITIONS ON THE QUESTION OF REBELLION**

By 1914, the "sick man of Europe" had already faced difficult external and internal challenges. The CUP's revolutions, the rise of Arab and Armenian activism, and three wars in the Balkans had pushed the empire to a breaking point.<sup>3</sup> Neither the Arab nationalists of Syria and Iraq nor the Hashemites of the Hijaz wanted the empire

---

3 Eugene Rogan, *The Fall of the Ottomans: The Great War in the Middle East* (Boulder: Basic Books, 2015), 1.

to enter the war.<sup>4</sup> What can the Arab documents produced early in the war tell us about an "imagined" Arab Revolt?

### **A Resolution by *Al-Fatat* on the War, 1914:**

#### **Neither Anti-Turk nor Pro-European**

The Arabists also had issues with the Ottoman entry into the war. While many of them started to articulate an Arab independence movement, there was still hesitation toward a complete break with the Ottomans or an alignment with the Europeans. In late 1914, *Al-Fatat* passed a resolution on the war, stating that it imperiled the "fate of the Arab provinces" and that "every effort is to be made to secure their liberation and independence." This being said, the resolution maintained "that in the event of European designs appearing to materialize, the society shall be bound to work on the side of Turkey in order to resist foreign penetration of whatever kind or form."<sup>5</sup>

Thus, while some kind of Arab liberation movement was envisioned, it was not to be pro-Western or anti-Turk. This may reflect the underdeveloped nature of Arab nationalism at this time. There was indeed, especially among the *Fatat*, an idea of a larger Arab nation united by the Arabic language and a shared glorious past. However, the Arab nationalists before the war aimed for greater equality between Turks and Arabs under the Ottoman state rather than national independence from it. It was after the Ottomans began repressing the Arabist societies that *Al-Fatat* and other nationalists began thinking of revolting.<sup>6</sup>

However, there were some Arabists who were imagining and pushing for a strongly anti-Turk movement from

---

4 Eliezer Tauber, *The Arab Movements in World War I* (London: Frank Cass, 1993), 57; Neil Faulkner, *Lawrence of Arabia's War: The Arabs, the British and the Remaking of the Middle East in WWI* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2016), 162-63.

5 Quoted in George Antonius, *The Arab Awakening: The Story of the Arab National Movement* (New York: Lippincott, 1939), 153.

6 Muhammad Muslih, "The Rise of Local Nationalism in the Arab East," in *The Origins of Arab Nationalism*, eds. Rashid Khalidi, Lisa Anderson, Muhammad Muslih, and Reeva S. Simon (New York: Columbia University Press, 1991), 168-69.

the very beginning of the war. This can be seen in a provocative nationalist tract that was disseminated in Syria at the start of the war, calling for a united Arab uprising against the Turks.<sup>7</sup>

### **The British-Hashemite Correspondences, 1914–1916: From a Hijazi Islamic Concern to an Arab Question**

Secret negotiations between the British and the Hashemites started before the war with Abdullah's meeting with Lord Kitchener in Egypt.<sup>8</sup> On September 24, 1914, Kitchener ordered a messenger to be sent to Sharif Abdullah to "ascertain" the Hashemite attitude toward Britain should the Ottomans join the war on the side of the Germans.<sup>9</sup>

Abdullah's response was received at the Residency in Cairo on October 30, 1914, a day after Ottoman ships opened fire on Russian vessels.<sup>10</sup> Abdullah's letter expressed the affinity of his family and the "Hejaz high nobility" toward Kitchener's message. Abdullah described Britain as the "second greatest Moslem Power" and tied this status to the "religious importance" of the Hijaz. For Abdullah, this "religious importance" sanctified Hijazi "nationality," "rights," and "customs." Thus, greater "union" between the Hashemites and the British was justified on Islamic grounds, so long as Britain protected "the rights" of the Hijaz and so long as it supported the Hijazis "against any foreign aggression, and in particular against the Ottomans."<sup>11</sup>

An interesting part of this letter is the designation of Britain as the greatest "Muslim" power (presumably second to the Ottomans). However, this is not an idea unique to Abdullah. The idea of the British being the greatest Muslim power was expressed throughout the war across the British Empire.<sup>12</sup>

A key aspect of this letter is the absence of any Arabist or pan-Arabist claims or ideas. While Abdullah did place the Ottomans under the category of potential "foreign" aggressors and called for the defense of "nationality," his letter's scope was limited to the Hijaz rather than the rest of the Arab provinces under Ottoman control.<sup>13</sup> Furthermore, the importance of the Hijaz was based on religion—not language, culture, or nationalism.<sup>14</sup>

Thus, we do not see an "Arab Revolt" in the making but rather a Hashemite request to a great power (which could be considered a "Muslim" power) to guarantee protection of the Hijazi holy land. The only influence of an Arab identity appears in the form of referencing the Turks as foreigners, but even this may be out of a regional Hijazi identity that might view non-Hijazi Arabs in a similar (but certainly not identical) fashion. Indeed, there was little reaction in the prewar Hijaz toward other Arab uprisings in nearby Egypt (1882), Sudan (1880s and 1890s), and Yemen and 'Asir (1902–1905).<sup>15</sup> It is only after nationalist overtures to the Hashemites in 1915<sup>16</sup> does Hussein start speaking of the "whole of the Arab nation without any exception" and

7 Anonymous, "Announcement to the Arabs, Sons of Qahtan, 1914," in *Arab Nationalism: An Anthology of Sources*, editor and translator Sylvia G. Haim (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1962), 83–88.

8 Rogan, *The Fall of the Ottomans*, 276–77.

9 The Arabian Gulf Digital Archives, "A telegram sent by Lord Kitchener, with Sir Edward Grey's concurrence, to Mr. Cheetham, His Majesty's Chargé d'Affaires at Cairo: September 24th, 1914" [FO 464/15], accessed November 13, 2022, <https://agda.ae/en/catalogue/tna/fo/464/15>.

10 Faulkner, *Lawrence of Arabia's War*, 496.

11 The Arabian Gulf Digital Archives, translation of a letter from "The Sherif Abdullah for Lord Kitchener, received at the Residency, Cairo, on 30th October 1914" [FO 464/15], accessed November 13, 2022, <https://agda.ae/en/catalogue/tna/fo/464/15>.

12 The British rested their claims upon British sovereignty over more Muslims than any other state, including the Ottoman Empire, in effect making it the "largest Muhammadan empire." The British Raj also prided themselves on their services to their Muslim subjects. Radhika Singha, *The Coolie's Great War: Indian Labour in a Global Conflict, 1914–1921* (London: Hurst & Company, 2020), 20–21, 23–24.

13 The Arabian Gulf Digital Archives, translation of a letter.

14 The Arabian Gulf Digital Archives, translation of a letter.

15 William Ochsenswald, "Arab Nationalism in the Hijaz," in *The Origins of Arab Nationalism*, eds. Rashid Khalidi, Lisa Anderson, Muhammad Muslih, and Reeva S. Simon (New York: Columbia University Press, 1991), 190–95, 197–99.

16 Rogan, *The Fall of the Ottomans*, 278, 280–281.



a greater “independent Arab state.”<sup>17</sup> However, religious language was still very present in the letters.

### PRESENTING THE REVOLT: THE HASHEMITES MAKE THEIR CASE

By the summer of 1916, the Arabs were now facing an increasingly brutal Turkish government that, despite Hashemite intercession, began a crackdown on the Arab nationalists; the government first exiled some, then hung twenty-one of them in Beirut and Damascus on May 6, 1916. The crackdown greatly weakened and disoriented *Al-Fatat* and *Al-Ahd*, limiting their ability to organize any resistance movement in Syria. Hussein and his sons were now more vulnerable than ever to violent replacement. Hussein officially launched the Arab Revolt in Mecca on June 10, 1916.<sup>18</sup> Not long after, Hussein issued an official proclamation on the revolt on June 27, 1916.

The proclamation began in the name of God and was addressed not to the Arabs but rather to all “Brother Moslems.” Hussein stated his reason to reject Ottoman suzerainty as the CUP had “sever[ed] the essential bond between the Ottoman Sultanate and the whole Moslem community, to wit, adherence to the Koran and the Sunna.”<sup>19</sup>

Hussein argued that the CUP pushed for modern innovations that “touch[ed] the fundamental laws of Islam.” He criticized the CUP for meddling in the religio-legal affairs of Mecca and decried the recent executions of the nationalists, in addition to other injustices. Hussein went on to describe the Turkish shelling of the Kaaba (the holiest site in Islam) in retaliation for the revolt—which, to Hussein, constituted “sufficient proof of how they regard the religion and the Arab people.”<sup>20</sup>

While Hussein did mention the executions of the Arab nationalists as one of the reasons for his revolt and did speak of “the Arab people,” it is clear that religious concerns and issues, rather than Arabist ones, dominated the proclamation. Hussein’s movement was to establish an independent country that was to “defend the faith of Islam, to elevate the Moslem people, to found their conduct on Holy Law.” Hussein believed that all “brother Muslims in the East and West” would support his movement and strengthen the “bands of the Islamic brotherhood.”<sup>21</sup>

It should not be surprising that religious justifications predominated Hussein’s proclamation, as it was “religious authority which mainly determined his right to rule.”<sup>22</sup> Stressing the religious character of the movement was also necessary due to the historic view of Muslims toward revolt.<sup>23</sup> While the tradition of Muslim political thought did not universally reject the validity of rebelling against unjust rule, most Muslims have advocated for political submissiveness provided that the “rulers refrained from interfering in matters of faith.”<sup>24</sup> Taking into account the dominance of religious thinking in the Hijaz, it is clear why Hussein put greater emphasis on Islamic religious issues.

One may ask if the Hijazis were the primary audience. This would make sense due to the crackdown and the move of the Arab 25th Division of the Ottoman Army outside of the Middle East. This effectively meant, in Faisal’s own words, that “the whole burden of the revolt would rest on the Hijaz.”<sup>25</sup> Hence, persuading the Hijazis to join the movement was paramount.

17 The Arabian Gulf Digital Archives, translation of a letter.

18 Rogan, *The Fall of the Ottomans*, 294–98; Faulkner, *Lawrence of Arabia’s War*, 187–88.

19 Hussein, “Proclamation of the Sherif of Mecca by King Hussein, 1916,” in *Source Records of the Great War*, eds. Charles F. Horne, Walter F. Austin, and Leonard Porter Ayres (New York: National Alumni, 1923), 234–35.

20 Hussein, “Proclamation of the Sherif of Mecca,” 235–37.

21 Hussein, “Proclamation of the Sherif of Mecca,” 237–38.

22 Haifa Alangari, *The Struggle for Power in Arabia: Ibn Saud, Hussein and Great Britain, 1914–1924* (Reading, UK: Ithaca Press, 1998), 113.

23 Alluded to in Abdullah’s letters to Kitchener.

24 L. Carl Brown, *Religion and State: The Muslim Approach to Politics* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2000), 54–55.

25 Faulkner, *Lawrence of Arabia’s War*, 187–88; Faisal interview conducted by Stuart Erskine, in Stuart Erskine, *King Faisal of Iraq: An Authorized and Authentic Study* (London: Hutchinson, 1933), 44–45.

Hussein addressing all “brother Moslems” may be interpreted as pan-Islamic rhetoric; however, it could also have been a way to address all the peoples of the Hijaz. As Ochsenwald pointed out, there was “extraordinary ethnic and social diversity of the Muslim communities in the chief towns” of the Hijaz. Muslims the world over came to Hijaz for pilgrimage, religious study, or business. Many stayed, founding non-Arab ethnic enclaves. As Ochsenwald stated, “Insofar as there was a common identity among these peoples, it was based on religion, not on Arab ethnicity.”<sup>26</sup>

While the movement was presented in more religious terms, nationalism did not completely disappear from the rhetoric. A great example is a 1917 memorandum sent by Hussein’s new government to the US Secretary of State, which was a very nationalistic text aimed at portraying the Arabs as a “race worthy of respect.”<sup>27</sup>

#### **REMEMBERING THE REVOLT: WHAT WAS IT ALL FOR?**

By the time the war ended on November 11, 1918, Faisal’s Arab forces had triumphantly entered Damascus, proclaiming the Arab Kingdom of Syria. The victory would prove to be short-lived, however, as the British and French divided up the Middle East, placing Greater Syria and Iraq under European occupation. Even Hashemite control of the Hijaz was lost as the rising Saudis annexed the region after relations between Hussein and the British collapsed. Faced with this new reality, the Hashemites and their nationalist allies crafted a cohesive narrative that would justify their wartime actions.

#### **Abdullah bin Hussein**

In remembering the revolt, Abdullah, now King of Jordan, made a strong connection between Arabism and Islam. This can be seen from his discussion of the Turco-Arab

digression, in which he laments the Turkish move to convert “the Imperial Caliphate administration into a racial ‘Constitutional’ Government and replaced the Islamic and therefore ultimately Arab supervision of the State by a Western juridical control.” It can be further seen from his statement that “Arabs rise or fall with Islam” and that the revolt was a “rightful revolution for the defense of Islam, that the Arabs might take the position with which God favored them.”<sup>28</sup>

What was this “position” that the Arabs would take? In the original Arabic memoirs, Abdullah continued the discussion mentioned above, tying the position that the Arabs would take with a Quranic verse: “You are the best community brought forth unto mankind, enjoining right, forbidding wrong.”<sup>29</sup> In describing Turco-Arab relations, seemingly before and after the war, Abdullah described how Turks were torn between “Islamic unity and Nationalistic pride.”<sup>30</sup> As Abdullah stated, “If we [the Arabs] said that we and you [the Turks] were the people of Islam, they would say ‘yes but we are the masters and you are the followers.’”<sup>31</sup> Abdullah returns to this master-follower dynamic in a recollection of a conversation he had with the Ottoman Vali (governor) Ghalib Pasha after his defeat in Taif at Abdullah’s hands. The Vali lamented that he and Abdullah (or the Turks and the Arabs) used to be “brothers” but were now “enemies.” Abdullah, encouraged by his recent victory, responded that the “master has become master again and is freed from slavery and the yoke of him who whom he enlightened.”<sup>32</sup> Thus, it would

26 Ochsenwald, “Arab Nationalism in the Hijaz,” 200.

27 The Arab Government of the Hijaz, “Vindication of Arab National Rights,” in *Arab Nationalism: An Anthology of Sources*, editor and translator Sylvia G. Haim (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1962), 94–95.

28 Abdullah, *Memoirs of King Abdullah of Transjordan*, ed. Philip Perceval Graves, trans. G. Khuri (London: Cape, 1950), 57, 70, 142.

29 Abdullah, *Mudhakirati* (Cairo: Hindawi Foundation for Education and Culture, 2012), 24. The verse in question appears to be *Quran*, 3:110. Translation taken from Syeed Hossein Nasr (ed.), *The Study Quran: A New Translation and Commentary* (New York: Harper Collins Publishers, 2015), 161.

30 I translated the term “*al-‘asabiyya*” as “unity,” but it more accurately translates to “group spirit.” Hans Wehr and J. Milton Cowan (eds.), *A Dictionary of Modern Written Arabic*, 3rd ed. (London: MacDonald and Evans Ltd., 1974), s.v. “*عصبية*.”

31 Abdullah, *Mudhakirati*, 25.

32 Abdullah, *Memoirs of King Abdullah*, 152.

seem that the movement for Abdullah was one in which the Arab nation would reassert itself as the pious “master” in the world of Islam; this act was also the case in the early Middle Ages when the Turkic peoples lived under the shadow of the Arab caliphates.

It should be noted that this idea of the Arabs regaining a central position in the Muslim world was popular among Arab nationalists. Dawn argued that this was because Arab nationalism, its secular and Christian adherents notwithstanding, was an outgrowth of Islamic modernism and revivalism. This Islamic modernist self-view consisting of past glory—which was shared among all Arabists—came about in reaction to perceived inferiority to the West.<sup>33</sup> Abdullah, however, used it in the context of Arab subordination to the Turks.

### **Ja’far Al-Askari**

Askari discussed his perceptions of the Arab movement in an unpublished document, which may have been intended to be part of his memoirs.<sup>34</sup>

In the document, Askari (like Abdullah) tied Arabism to Islam but in a somewhat different way. Askari believed that when Islam dawned over Arabia in the seventh century, it was a “great and beneficial unifying force” for the Arab nation, with the Arab rulers of the time using it to lead the Arabs “back to glory after a long period of foreign domination.” Islam, along with the Arabic language, ensured that “the Arabs did not forget their past.”<sup>35</sup> Askari’s discussion of Islam and Arabism, particularly his belief that the birth of Islam had returned the Arabs to glory, is interesting given that most Muslims considered pre-Islamic Arabs ignorant barbarians in need

of divine enlightenment. He differs from Abdullah in the sense that Islam, for Askari, served the Arab movement (by preserving Arab heritage), while for Abdullah, the Arab movement served Islam. This difference could reflect differences in the two men’s attitudes as leaders, Askari being a modern nationalist prime minister and Abdullah being a traditional Islamic monarch.

Askari concludes that Hussein’s revolt was not “inspired by the hope of monetary gain nor by British inducements,” as was “believed by some misguided people who know nothing about the Arab cause.” Rather, it was “based on the idea . . . of an Arab Nation” that encapsulated not only the “Arabian Peninsula, Syria and Iraq” but also the entire Arab world. Askari maintained that the Arab Revolt was popular among Arab officers, with those who refused to defect doing so due to a misunderstanding of the “true situation” or “fear of reprisals” from the Turks.<sup>36</sup>

### **Ahmad Qadri**

It is clear from the title of Ahmad Qadri’s memoirs that he wanted to tell the story of the Arab Revolt. Indeed, in his concluding chapter, he sought to answer questions such as, “[W]as it good to launch it [the revolt] or not? And was its champion, King Hussein I who fired the first shot of it in Mecca from those who history will regard as loyal, honest, in the right, or on the contrary?”<sup>37</sup>

He echoed Askari in his defense of Hussein, stating that it was Hussein’s *ghirah* (protective jealousy) over the Arabs’ suffering under the Turks that caused him to launch his revolt. He elaborated further, stating that Hussein was a nationalist hero who was the “first establisher of the desired Arab unity” and a “trust-worthy messenger of the Arab cause.”<sup>38</sup>

What is most significant is Qadri’s discussion of the Arab Revolt and the larger Arab movement. Qadri stated:

---

<sup>36</sup> Al-Askari, *A Soldier’s Story*, 214.

<sup>37</sup> Qadri, *Mudhakirati*, 282.

<sup>38</sup> Qadri, *Mudhakirati*, 282–85.

---

<sup>33</sup> C. Ernest Dawn, “Origins of Arab Nationalism,” in *The Origins of Arab Nationalism*, eds. Rashid Khalidi, Lisa Anderson, Muhammad Muslih, and Reeva S. Simon (New York: Columbia University Press, 1991), 6–9.

<sup>34</sup> Ja’far Al-Askari, *A Soldier’s Story: From Ottoman Rule to Independent Iraq, The Memoirs of Jafar Pasha Al-Askari (1885-1936)*, ed. William Facey, trans. Mustafa Tariq Al-Askari (London: Arabian Publishing, 2003), 92–93, 93, note 1.

<sup>35</sup> Al-Askari, *A Soldier’s Story*, 203–04.

As for the recent Arab movement, it burst out . . . in Istanbul influenced by the nationalist spirit that propagated and circulated among the nations . . . and it was not localist as has occurred to some [people's] minds . . . rather it was from the Arabs and for the Arabs as a whole without division nor discrimination between the lands fluent in the *Dād*.<sup>39</sup> This is the truth that the reader should not forget so that the revolt will not be accused of that which was not in it, and so that those who launched it are not accused of having their own private motives, and so that the reader can realize that it was a result of common widespread feelings and not any group or region to the exclusion of others.<sup>40</sup>

Qadri's main concern was to set the record straight that the revolt was an "Arab" rather than a "localist" one. Much like Askari, Qadri perceived the revolt as a truly pan-Arab venture on behalf of the Arab nation, defined by the language of the *Dād*. It was inspired by the *zeitgeist* of nationalism that the Arabs found themselves in. Such a venture was not limited to the Hijaz (nor any other region) and was not driven by Hussein's, or anyone else's, "private motives." Qadri goes as far as to say that the notion that the Arab Revolt was a localist affair was merely something that had "occurred to some [people's] minds"—a superficial observation with no backing.

### Conclusion

What did the Arab Revolt mean? What did it set out to achieve? The answer depended on who you asked at what time and in what context.

Early in the war, there was no real movement for the Hashemites, just a push for neutrality and British protection of the Hijaz. For the Arabists, some level of Arab

independence was the goal but not at the risk of switching out the Turks for the Europeans. However, some Arabists were more than ready to launch a very anti-Turk revolt.

As the war dragged on and the Hashemites and Arabists found themselves under greater threat from the Turks, Hussein started to articulate a more Arabist vision—with strong Islamic characteristics—in his negotiations with the British, and *Al-Fatat* warmed to the idea of a pro-British independence movement. However, as Ottoman repression weakened *Al-Fatat* and other Arabist societies, the revolt started to be presented as more of a Hijazi Islamic movement in the proclamation of Hussein. However, Arabist rhetoric was still used, particularly in the memorandum to the United States and in an effort to convince the Americans of the worth of Arabs as a nation.

The revolt took similar yet different forms in the memories of different Arabs who lived through it. Abdullah remembered the revolt as an Arabist one that nonetheless had Islam at its core. It was to be a movement that would restore Arab prestige among the world's Muslims. Al-Askari puts more emphasis on saving the civilization and culture of the Arabs, which were great even before Islam, with Islam being one of the things that helped to preserve Arab heritage and paved the way for the Arab National Movement. Both Askari and Qadri maintain that the revolt was indeed inspired by pan-Arabism as opposed to any ulterior motives. For Qadri, the revolt was a turning point for the Arab nation, and Hussein was a nationalist hero.

The Arab Revolt was about different things for the Arabs who participated in it. Overall, the Arab Revolt, much like the Arab revolts that followed, was about hope. Hope that the Hashemites could carry on the centuries-old traditions of their ancestors in spite of modernity. Hope that the Arabists could unite and revitalize their nation. Hope that the Arabs could live free from foreign interventions and tyrannies. Hope that the Arab may one day be "master again."

39 *Dād* (د) is a letter of the Arabic alphabet that the Arabs have commonly used to refer to their language. Arabic was often called the "language of the *dād*" by the Arabs because classical Arab grammarians considered the letter *dād* as unique to and a characteristic of their language. Kees Versteegh, *The Arabic Language* (Edinburgh University Press, 2014), 87, 121.

40 Qadri, *Mudhakirati*, 283.

# PASSION AND PAIN: FRANCISCO GOYA'S RISE TO MODERNITY

NORA RYAN\*

*Department of History of Art and Architecture*

In 1799, Francisco Goya (1746–1828) created one of his most famous projects: *Los Caprichos* (*The Whims*). This series of eighty prints—made using etching and aquatint processes—was meant to be a critique of society's morals, showing sin as a normal part of human life rather than the traditional Catholic notion that sin must be avoided and repented at all costs.<sup>1</sup> These prints are twisted and fanciful, showing creatures with sharp teeth, leering eyes, and leathery wings, creatures that could only exist outside of reality—ones that signal Goya's increasing darkness in his work at the time. He uses dark, heavily inked sections and details to show decrepit humans and animals snarling at the viewer as seen, for example, in *El Sueño de la Razón Produce Monstrous* (*The Sleep of Reason Produces Monsters*) (fig. 1).

While the creatures he uses in *Los Caprichos* are fictional, their realistic nature pushes this series into another dimension, one horrific yet familiar. The facial expressions he gives these beings are clearly recognizable emotions that only serve to heighten the discomfort these shadowed creatures create. The ambiguity of light sources across each print only adds to their separation from real life, thus

FIGURE 1

"The sleep of reason produces monsters," from *Los Caprichos*, plate 43. 1799. Francisco José de Goya y Lucientes. Etching with aquatint and other intaglio media, 1st. ed. 7.44 in. x 5.87 in. The Nelson Atkins Museum of Art, 33-1077. [https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Francisco\\_Jos%C3%A9\\_de\\_Goya\\_y\\_Lucientes\\_-\\_The\\_sleep\\_of\\_reason\\_produces\\_monsters\\_\(No.\\_43\),\\_from\\_Los\\_Caprichos\\_-\\_Google\\_Art\\_Project.jpg](https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Francisco_Jos%C3%A9_de_Goya_y_Lucientes_-_The_sleep_of_reason_produces_monsters_(No._43),_from_Los_Caprichos_-_Google_Art_Project.jpg)



\* Essay written for Prof. Mark Pohlad's course HAA 390 (Senior Capstone), in Winter Quarter 2023, based on an essay written for Prof. Marin Sullivan's course HAA 239 (19th Century European Art), in Autumn Quarter 2022. Selected by Prof. Yun-Chen Lu and Prof. Mark DeLancey for publication.

1 Jerome A. Brown, "Inheritors of the Black Legend: Francisco Goya and Luis Buñuel" (master's thesis, Rice University, 1995), 20, <https://scholarship.rice.edu/bitstream/handle/1911/13930/1376988.PDF?sequence=1>.

making them more universal as these nightmares could exist in anyone's mind.<sup>2</sup> By creating a space that is familiar yet illogical, Goya creates a void for the viewer, a void where his creatures take the main stage. The figures are both fantastic and realistic, both recognizable and jarring, a juxtaposition of life and nightmare.

Goya proved to be one of the most influential artists, in both content and style, to come out of nineteenth-century Romanticism. During his career, Goya's art progressed from light Rococo paintings into demanding works that emphasized social and moral critique. As he made this transition, more and more of his work explored his own principles with particular interest in depictions of society. His dedication to interrogating Spanish society as war and its aftereffects spread through Europe is the lynchpin of Goya's art. By honing his technique early in his career, Goya was then able to use his art to confront the ills he saw in his beloved homeland. It was this willingness to express how he truly felt that set him apart from the other great Romantic painters. Goya's inclination to push thematic boundaries and to think about his world in a new way is what aligns his work with that of later modern artists, especially the Surrealists.

The timing of *Los Caprichos* comes just before his well-known and scandalous painting *Maja Desnuda* (1800). This fact is intriguing because both paintings show how Goya was challenging traditional, moral norms set by the Catholic Church in Spain at the time. The title of the latter loosely translates to "nude lower-class woman." Goya presents the woman as very confrontational, openly staring at the viewer with a slight smile and displaying her pubic hair; this depiction is one of the first to portray a woman as such in a non-degrading manner. However, a few years after its completion, Goya was brought under fire by the Inquisition, which sought to destroy art that it found profane or indecent. While the Inquisition deemed it obscene, *Maja Desnuda* was not destroyed, quite

---

2 Brown, "Inheritors of the Black Legend," 21.

possibly because it was Goya who painted it and due to the fact that the commission came from Manuel Godoy (1767–1851), the then Secretary of State, for his private collection.<sup>3</sup> Goya was willing to be bold in his artwork, and these early works showed the support he had behind him from powerful people, which allowed him to look at society in new ways. Goya was not concerned with the lighter aspects of life that he depicted early in his career; he then chose to display the darker natures of himself and the people around him without concern for moral conformity.

*The Third of May, 1808* (1814) (fig. 2) offers another example of Goya's societal confrontation; this time looking specifically at the devastating effects of violence and war. One of Goya's best-known works, the painting depicts French troops mercilessly executing Spanish fighters one by one after the "Dos de Mayo Uprising," when the country came together on May 2, 1808, to resist Napoleon's invasion.<sup>4</sup> On the right side of the painting are the French, standing in shadow, faces hidden, and guns aimed at the man with his arms spread. This painting focuses on the event's raw emotional power as these men stared down their own deaths. The faces of the Spanish oscillate from covering their eyes and ears to looks of pure fear. The French soldiers are a faceless line while the Spanish civilians are an amorphous mass of fear.

---

3 Elena Deanda-Camacho, "Dys/Eu-Phemisms: The Pornographic and the Erotic in 18th-Century Spanish Poetry," in *Pornographic Sensibilities: Imaging Sex and the Visceral in Premodern and Early Modern Spanish Cultural Production*, eds. Nicholas R. Jones and Chad Leahy (New York: Routledge, 2020), 111.

4 Edward J. Goodman, "Spanish Nationalism in the Struggle Against Napoleon," *The Review of Politics* 20, no. 3 (July 1958): 330–33, <https://doi.org/10.1017/S0034670500033052>.

**FIGURE 2**

"Self-Portrait," from *Los Caprichos*, plate 1. 1799. Francisco José de Goya y Lucientes. Etching with aquatint, drypoint and burin. Sheet: 12 × 7 7/8 in.; Image: 6 5/8 × 4 1/2 in. Los Angeles County Museum of Art, 63.11.1. <https://collections.lacma.org/node/203214>



Art historian Roberta Alford has observed how Goya painted *The Third of May, 1808* to commemorate the bravery of Spanish patriots while reducing Napoleon's troops to anonymous figures centered around the action of killing. Over thirty years after Alford's analysis, art historian Jerome Brown offered an opposing view. Brown writes that Goya uses this piece to capture the split second between life and death . . . to freeze the very moment before everything changes.<sup>5</sup> Brown states that rather than showing the patriots as brave, Goya is showing the futility of martyrdom as well as the brutality and relentlessness of political reason. Brown argues that Goya felt betrayed by

Enlightenment ideals, which the French actively preached while they slaughtered Spanish citizens.

Regarding the social and moral critique Brown outlines, his analysis of *The Third of May, 1808* is especially interesting when considering the development of Surrealism a century later. The Surrealists focused on the world of dreams and the value of imagination over logic and practicality. In "First Manifesto of Surrealism," André Breton argues that society overvalues logic in the service of progress and, in the process, abandons superstition.<sup>6</sup> Goya was clearly grappling with similar ideas about the destructive nature of logic, embodied by the uniformed and anonymous line of French soldiers. The aforementioned soldiers are using reason to justify their killing and attempted conquering of Spain; consequently, reason itself becomes relentless. As Brown suggests, this does not make martyrdom useless. These patriots are victims of fate as war requires sacrifice and thus their sacrifice was never futile because it was in service of their country and beliefs. Goya's creation of the painting renders their sacrifice doubly meaningful as it can now inspire others to fight. Their pain can now inspire passion.

Goya himself petitioned the Spanish government in 1814 after the war had ended to paint scenes of resistance, and *The Third of May, 1808* became a piece that set him apart from other artists of the time. The Spanish surely knew the power of Napoleon's troops and the long, difficult fight ahead, but this was not a reason to surrender. Like Breton's manifesto, which highlighted the comfort that can be found in one's imagination, *The Third of May, 1808* shows some of these same ideas.<sup>7</sup> The Spanish bravely fought for their rights, knowing the cost and strength of Napoleon while finding comfort in their ideology. Goya's choice to depict the patriots in this way, with little focus on the French, shows not only his admiration of these

6 André Breton, "First Manifesto of Surrealism" in *Art in Theory 1900-1990: An Anthology of Changing Ideas*, eds. Charles Harrison and Paul Wood (Oxford: Blackwell Publishers, 1992): 87-88.

7 Breton, "First Manifesto of Surrealism," 87-88.

5 Brown, "Inheritors of the Black Legend," 27.

Spanish fighters but also the pure viciousness of war. In 1960, critic Kenneth Clark said this of the painting: “This is the first great picture which can be called revolutionary in every sense of the word—in style, in subject, and in intention; and it should be a model for the socialist and revolutionary painting of the present day.”<sup>8</sup> If Goya had not already established himself before as an artist willing and able to push boundaries, then he did it here by making himself into a harbinger of modernity as this work signals a growing global interest in holding a mirror up to society.

Almost two centuries after Goya created *Los Caprichos*, the Spanish Surrealist Salvador Dalí (1904–89) reinterpreted the series by adding his own surreal elements, overlaying new color, and changing the original titles.<sup>9</sup> Dalí had long admired Goya’s work, and in the early issues of *Stadium* (the magazine Dalí created with friends), Dalí cited Goya as one of “The Great Masters of Painting.”<sup>10</sup> His reverence for Goya helps explain why he made no major changes to the structural elements of *Los Caprichos* but instead chose to focus on adding elements. Beyond his interest in Goya’s technique, Dalí wrote of his admiration for Goya’s curiosity and ability to show “the desires and aspirations of his people.”<sup>11</sup> His reinterpretation can thus be seen as a continuation of Goya’s legacy of social critique through personal expression. Ian Gibson notes in his biography on Dalí that Goya’s etchings became a “vehicle for [Dalí’s] secret obsessions,” created by using a variety of familiar motifs.<sup>12</sup>

For example, the first print in *Los Caprichos* is a fairly simple self-portrait, showing only the artist (fig. 3). In Dalí’s reinterpretation of the series, however, he shrinks

Goya’s portrait and places it in the neck of a larger animal. The creature is recognizably part of Dalí’s visual vocabulary (seen in its build), with a drawer shooting out and a sharp face. Dalí uses the lines of Goya’s shoulder and hat to incorporate his face into the body of the creature, thus blending the two together. The addition of wings is a nod to the frequency with which winged animals appear in Goya’s originals. Dalí also adds the silhouette of Don Quixote in the background; Quixote is one of the most important characters in Spanish literature, famous for his unrestrained chase toward idealistic goals. In selecting the first image of *Los Caprichos*, Dalí signals how he planned to blend his work with Goya’s by choosing to change the composition of the self-portrait drastically and adding elements that are distinctively reflective of his own work.

### FIGURE 3

*El Tres de Mayo*. 1814. Francisco José de Goya y Lucientes. Oil on canvas. 106 in. x 137 in. Museo Nacional del Prado, P000749. [https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:El\\_Tres\\_de\\_Mayo\\_by\\_Francisco\\_de\\_Goya\\_from\\_Prado\\_in\\_Google\\_Earth.jpg](https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:El_Tres_de_Mayo_by_Francisco_de_Goya_from_Prado_in_Google_Earth.jpg)



Dalí was not the only Surrealist to be inspired by the revolutionary qualities of Goya’s work; Luis Buñuel (1900–83) was a filmmaker and follower of the Surrealist movement whose visual techniques, dark subject matter, and play with what makes up reality were all reminiscent of Goya. Buñuel’s first film, *Un Chien Andalou* (1929), was a collaboration with Dalí and shot in France. It is a short film, just under thirty minutes, with an almost nonsensical

8 Kenneth Clark, “The Third of May, 1808” in *Looking at Pictures* (London: John Murray, 1960), 130.

9 *Del capricho al Disparate* (San José, Costa Rica: Museo del Jade y de la Cultura Precolombina, 2022), [https://museodeljade.grupoin.com/Media/jwrh5uur/visita-guiada\\_dali\\_caprichos\\_eng.pdf](https://museodeljade.grupoin.com/Media/jwrh5uur/visita-guiada_dali_caprichos_eng.pdf).

10 Ian Gibson, *The Shameful Life of Salvador Dalí* (New York: WW. Norton & Company, 1998), 99–100.

11 Gibson, *The Shameful Life of Salvador Dalí*, 100.

12 Gibson, *The Shameful Life of Salvador Dalí*, 625.



plotline. Scenes depict a mix of shots of gore, pain, violence, and sexuality, which are themes also explored by Goya. Yet, the real crux of Surrealist art is the idea that one can create and show a space beyond reality—whether that is a dream space or a space outside of the rules of time and nature—a concept quite familiar to Goya. In his work, from *The Third of May, 1808* to *Saturn Devouring His Son*, Goya masterfully created a space outside of our experience. In *The Third of May, 1808*, he froze time to display the horror of a single moment; meanwhile, in *Los Caprichos* and *Saturn Devouring His Son*, he created a void grotesquely beyond the day-to-day.

*Saturn Devouring His Son* (1820–23) is a pivotal piece for examining Goya alongside the work of Surrealists like Dalí and Buñuel. One of Goya's most famous works, it is part of his series of “Black Paintings” that was created toward the end of his life, mostly in Bordeaux, France, where he moved to escape Spain's political turmoil. This painting depicts the Greek myth in which Saturn—a mythical Titan—eats his children out of fear of being overthrown in the future. This fear is clearly present in Goya's painting, with his bright white eyes standing out among the dark tones and shadows he emerges from. Saturn holds one of his decapitated children in both hands, a blood covered torso with half of its arm in his mouth. Fear and desperation are written across the Titan's expression. Saturn's body is not depicted in naturalistic form. While his left forearm is well-defined, his right forearm and legs are a mass of shadows and colors. The background is completely black, only adding to the oddity of the piece. Neither the space nor the lighting make sense naturalistically, thus placing Saturn and his son within a constructed, psychologically charged void.

In *Un Chien Andalou*, Buñuel takes Goya's evocation of the void a step further. Rather than presenting figures in a created, anonymous space, Buñuel puts his characters into a new context meant to heighten viewers' emotional response through juxtaposition. For example, the shot of a calf's head, while gory and gruesome, is not unnatural.

However, the placement of this mutilated head on top of a piano completely throws the context of the imagery into a new, disturbing direction. The scene offers a clash of worlds: the brutality of death literally atop an instrument that can bring such beauty into the world. Buñuel goes even further with his iconic shot of ants crawling out of the center of the palm of a man's hand. Not only is the hand divorced from its body by the door—a woman slams it on him—but the filmmaker superimposes the natural crawling of ants and replaces the context of it with a hand. This, perhaps, conjures images of ants coming from one's own palm and crawling across your arm, a feeling rarely welcomed by anyone. In this way, Buñuel plays with the sense of space in his film, building new contexts for normal actions and sites to create a skin-tingling feeling.

Buñuel, like Goya, experiments with notions of time and perspective. Later in *Un Chien Andalou*, there is a series of shots depicting the lead male actor fondling a woman. Buñuel depicts the man first touching her over her shirt, then the shot quickly fades to him touching her bare chest. It changes back to her clothed body before fading to a shot of him holding her buttocks before a final transition back to her being clothed. These shots of their interaction are interspersed with closeups of his face, eyes rolled back in lecherous pleasure and what seems to be drool coming from his mouth. This combination of shots implies that the viewer sees into his mind and fantasies. Buñuel showing this obsessed look on the man's face seems to indicate that Buñuel is looking down on him and that his behavior is that of a man consumed by lust. The woman clearly seems uncomfortable and in no way reciprocates, which furthers the idea that this sequence was a moral lesson. This motivation aligns with what Goya was attempting with *Los Caprichos* while also conveying some of Goya's approach to psychology and time. Buñuel collapses the time and perspective surrounding the interaction between the man and woman, showing only the pivotal moments, much like *The Third of May, 1808* which likewise depicts only the second between life and certain death.

After the war with France, Goya's art continued to become darker and more complex right up until his death, as evidenced by works like *Saturn Devouring His Son*. This transition to art that reflects artists and their ideas is what allowed for experimentation in the latter half of the 1800s. Goya used the fantastic in combination with the realistic, much like the Surrealists, to better illustrate and interrogate the ills he felt were afflicting society. Goya processed his own personal displeasure by aligning it with recognizable symbols or figures of evil, like the monsters in *Los Caprichos* and later in his series of "Black Paintings." By the time the Surrealists came along, art was both hammer and nail as artists tried to process the world around them and what it meant to create. Goya grappled with these same issues of trying to make sense of his life and then trying to convey it in a way that would deeply affect his audience. One quote summarizes the role Goya played in the development of modern art particularly well, a quote that Breton himself uses in his Surrealist manifesto: "You tremble, carcass, but you would tremble more if you knew where I was taking you."<sup>13</sup> Goya himself had no idea what could come from his own experiments as the art world flourished into a new age that drew on the unconscious and expanded the visual realm.

## BIBLIOGRAPHY

- Alford, Roberta M. "Francisco Goya and the Intentions of the Artist." *The Journal of Aesthetics and Art Criticism* 18, no. 4 (June 1960): 482-93. <https://doi.org/10.2307/428115>.
- Breton, André. "First Manifesto of Surrealism." In *Art in Theory 1900-1990: An Anthology of Changing Ideas*, edited by Charles Harrison and Paul Wood, 87-88. Oxford: Blackwell Publishers, 1992.
- Brown, Jerome A. "Inheritors of the Black Legend: Francisco Goya and Luis Buñuel." Master's Thesis, Rice University, 1995. <https://scholarship.rice.edu/bitstream/handle/1911/13930/1376988.PDF?sequence=1>.
- Clark, Kenneth. "The Third of May, 1808." In *Looking at Pictures*, 123-30. London: John Murray, 1960.
- Deanda-Camacho, Elena. "Dys/Eu-Phemisms: The Pornographic and the Erotic in Eighteenth-Century Spanish Poetry." In *Pornographic Sensibilities: Imaging Sex and the Visceral in Premodern and Early Modern Spanish Cultural Production*, edited by Nicholas R. Jones and Chad Leahy, 110-40. New York: Routledge, 2020.
- Del capricho al Disparate*. San José, Costa Rica: Museo del Jade y de la Cultura Precolombina, 2022. Visitor guide. [https://museodeljade.grupoinc.com/Media/jwrh5uur/visita-guiada\\_dali\\_caprichos\\_eng.pdf](https://museodeljade.grupoinc.com/Media/jwrh5uur/visita-guiada_dali_caprichos_eng.pdf).
- Gibson, Ian. *The Shameful Life of Salvador Dalí*. New York: W.W. Norton & Company, 1998.
- Goodman, Edward J. "Spanish Nationalism in the Struggle Against Napoleon." *The Review of Politics* 20, no. 3 (July 1958): 330-33. <https://doi.org/10.1017/S0034870500033052>.

---

<sup>13</sup> Breton, "First Manifesto of Surrealism," 88.

# THE VALUE OF INVISIBLE WORK: WOMEN AND THE DOUBLE BURDEN

JOELLE TRASOWECH\*

*Department of International Studies*

The rise in female labor force participation has been one of the most marked economic developments of the last century. Yet, while women's participation has risen exponentially, the gendered division of unpaid care work and domestic production has not adjusted accordingly, with women still shouldering most of this burden. Women's contributions to the economy and society as a whole, while largely overlooked, ensure the social reproduction of human beings as well as sustain the social and increasingly economic fabrics that hold families and communities together.<sup>1</sup> However, as a result of the hegemonic social and economic structures that define productivity, women and their invisible work are devalued.

Structural disadvantages, such as the exclusion of invisible work from the Gross Domestic Product and in records of divorce settlements,<sup>2</sup> establish women and their unaccounted-for production as unimportant. Society exploits women as instruments, facilitating productivity for the benefit of the patriarchy. In addition to this erasure, discourse tends to draw women into contrast and competition with each other, restricting the amount of valued space they may possess.

It is important to critically analyze the hegemonic understanding of the production boundary to better understand the implications of these structural disadvantages. Moreover, it is imperative to do so through an international lens to avoid homogenizing the diverse lived experiences that women in different nation-states endure. To understand the value of women's invisible work in the international sphere, significance must be afforded to the intersectionality of identities such as class, gender, and geographical location.

In this paper, invisible work is characterized by various types of unpaid labor that are culturally and economically devalued in capitalist societies.<sup>3</sup> Unpaid care work—or the provision of services for family and community members outside of the market, such as household work, domestic labor, family work, elder care, or volunteering—is one form of invisible work.<sup>4</sup> The common denominator in gendered divisions of unpaid care work across the globe is that women are expected to perform the majority of said work, regardless of their formal or informal employment status. This “double burden”—the combined burden of paid and unpaid labor experienced by working women<sup>5</sup>—is overwhelmingly shouldered by formally employed women, though informally employed women often face

---

\* This paper was written for Professor Kunza Shakil's INT 100 (Introduction to International Studies) in Spring 2023.

1 Youjin Chung, Sera L. Young, and Rachel Bezner Kerr, “Rethinking the Value of Unpaid Care Work: Lessons from Participatory Visual Research in Central Tanzania,” *Gender Place and Culture* 26, no. 11 (March 2019): 1544–69, <https://doi.org/10.1080/0966369x.2018.1556611>.

2 Arlene Kaplan Daniels, “Invisible Work,” *Social Problems* 34, no. 5 (December 1987): 403–15, <https://doi.org/10.2307/800538>.

---

3 Daniels, “Invisible Work.”

4 Nancy Folbre, “Measuring Care: Gender, Empowerment, and the Care Economy,” *Journal of Human Development* 7, no. 2 (2006): 183–99, <https://doi.org/10.1080/14649880600768512>.

5 Arlie Russell Hochschild and Anne Machung, *The Second Shift: Working Parents and the Revolution at Home* (New York: Avon Books, 1989).

similar predicaments. Nonmarket work is defined as the production of goods and services that are not sold in the formal market.<sup>6</sup> Lastly, informal employment is work that is productive but not taxed or registered by the government. There is overlap between these terms, and they are sometimes interchangeably used. Therefore, subsistence agriculture—the production of food for one’s own consumption—can be considered invisible work, unpaid care work, nonmarket work, and informal employment alike.<sup>7</sup>

For the purposes of this paper, Global North refers to developed and industrialized countries including Australia, the United States, and Britain; whereas Global South refers to less developed and industrialized countries such as Tanzania and Uganda.

### **The Importance of Internationalizing Inequalities in the Invisible Economy**

The inequalities identified through analyzing the economic importance of invisible work are not unique to countries with developed economies and high rates of women’s participation in the workforce. Many cultural differences distinguish the Global North from the Global South as well, such as the experienced burden of childcare and the spatial distinction between the workplace and the home. It is necessary to critically analyze the inequalities identified in the invisible economy through an international lens because women in different countries experience profoundly disparate cultural and economic differences. One key difference is women’s access to formal and informal employment. In many low- and middle-income countries—often in the Global South—the vast majority of women engaged in paid labor find employment within the informal economy. For example, in Uganda, almost 95 percent of paid work

outside the agriculture sector is informal. Conversely, in Greece, the corresponding figure is closer to 4 percent.<sup>8</sup> This could be due to several factors, such as fewer formal employment opportunities for women, less overall formal employment within the economy, or higher levels of self-employment. Manufacturing industries, for instance, often employ women with low skills because of the labor-intensive nature of the work. However, this work is difficult and dangerous due to a lack of enforced global labor standards, and women may not benefit from the terms of such employment.<sup>9</sup> Noncompliance with safety and wage standards disproportionately affects women because patriarchal and sociocultural norms play a critical role in their employment. Unfortunately, alternatives to this work are comparably worse. For women, working within the global supply chain—with its low wages and dangerous conditions—is often a better alternative to, say, consensual sex work.<sup>10</sup> In comparison, better laws and policies generally protect women in Global North countries.

In the Global North, since women’s (formally measured) workforce participation tends to be higher than in the Global South, their double burden tends to occur between their formal employment and their unpaid care work. Women’s experience of employment in the Global South is often vastly different from that of women in the Global North, as their double burden often occurs between informal employment or nonmarket production and unpaid care work. A study in the *Economic and Political Weekly* found that in India, 95 percent of women are informally employed in sectors such as construction or food sales.<sup>11</sup> Women’s informal employment in the Global

6 Neasha Mittal, “Invisible Labour: Comparison of Unpaid Work Done by Women and Men across Developed and Developing Countries,” *International Journal of High School Research* 4, no. 3 (2022): 69–75. <https://doi.org/10.36838/v4i3.12>.

7 Folbre, “Measuring Care.”

8 Esteban Ortiz-Ospina, Sandra Tzvetkova, and Max Roser, “Women’s Employment,” *Our World in Data* (2018), <https://ourworldindata.org/female-labor-supply>.

9 Shiney Chakraborty, “COVID-19 and Women Informal Sector Workers in India,” *Economic and Political Weekly* 55, no. 35 (August 2020), <https://www.epw.in/journal/2020/35/commentary/covid-19-and-women-informal-sector-workers-india.html>.

10 M. Kennedy Leavens and C. Leigh Anderson, *Gender and Agriculture in Tanzania* (Seattle: Evans School Policy Analysis and Research Group, University of Washington, 2011), EPAR Brief No. 134.

11 Chakraborty, “COVID-19 and Women Informal Sector Workers in India.”

South looks different compared to women’s invisible work in the Global North due to work standards and policies. Despite these differences, the societal disregard for invisible work and its disproportionate impact on women contribute to the violation of women’s rights around the world. The structural inequalities that foster the erasure of women in society are sexist, as men do not systemically struggle with this same erasure.

### **The Exclusion of Invisible Labor from the Economy**

#### **Is Sexist**

Gross Domestic Product (GDP) is the most standardized summary measure of the value of all goods and services produced by a nation each year. While it is globally recognized as a way to measure the economic success of a country, it fails to encapsulate the true range of goods and services produced by a nation. Unpaid labor varies within different cultures and nations; unpaid tasks may include cleaning, cooking, child and elder care, gathering firewood, and harvesting food.<sup>12</sup> While this is work that household members do for free, a non-household member—such as a housekeeper—doing the same job for remuneration would be accredited as creating productivity. Feminist scholars have argued that the invisibility of unpaid care work in mainstream economics and public policy debates has served to erase women from national productivity.<sup>13</sup> Since unpaid labor is disproportionately performed by women, the lack of accounting for unpaid work in GDP greatly diminishes women’s recognized effect on the economy and its productivity. Therefore, the root of the problem lies in the structural definition of productivity, which is reinforced by our hegemonic social order. As such, how the international community measures economics is inherently sexist.

In her book, *The Value of Everything*, economist Mariana Mazzucato addresses the reasoning behind sexist measures of the economy and their effects. For centuries, economists and policymakers have categorized activities as productive or unproductive according to whether or not they produce value. This has fostered the widespread recognition of a conceptual boundary often referred to as the “production boundary.” Inside the production boundary are wealth creators, and outside the boundary are the beneficiaries of wealth, or wealth “extractors.”<sup>14</sup> However, labeling some as takers and others as makers is a gross oversimplification. Activities conducted outside the production boundary may be required to facilitate production “within” the boundary, and without the former, activities perceived as “productive” may ultimately not be as valuable.<sup>15</sup> For instance, without the nonmarket and unpaid care work that his wife undertakes—such as cooking and cleaning—a man may not be able to create as much or as high a quality of value in the workplace and therefore be less “productive.” To label a man’s wife unproductive just because she does not directly create monetary value while nevertheless lending herself to the system is based on sexist principles.

In their defense of excluding housework from national accounts, accountants claim that this nonmarket labor is unproductive under the theory of the production boundary. Since the implicit production boundary is heavily reliant on whether or not money changes hands for a service, there is extreme difficulty in giving value to work done by women (or men) who are not monetarily remunerated.<sup>16</sup> Our persistently predominant understanding of value and production is rooted in a sexist understanding of what it means to work. While the exclusion of invisible labor and women from the economy is sexist, the reluctance

---

12 Diana Crookston, “Should Unpaid Labor Be Included in GDP?,” *Carnegie Mellon University Journal of Politics and Strategy* 5, no. 3 (Spring 2021): 23–26, [https://www.cmu.edu/ips/research/ips-journal/ips-journal-online/jps-issue-1\\_4\\_crookstond.pdf](https://www.cmu.edu/ips/research/ips-journal/ips-journal-online/jps-issue-1_4_crookstond.pdf).

13 Chung, Young, and Bezner Kerr, “Rethinking the Value of Unpaid Care Work.”

---

14 Mariana Mazzucato, *The Value of Everything: Making and Taking in the Global Economy* (New York: PublicAffairs, 2018), 19.

15 Mazzucato, *The Value of Everything*, 19–20.

16 Mazzucato, *The Value of Everything*, 92.

to reevaluate and reform the system is arguably a truer display of sexism. This reluctance disparages women across the world and diminishes the effect that their unpaid care work and nonmarket labor bring to their societies and families.

### **Tanzania: Unpaid Care Work and Informal Labor**

Among countries in the Global South, Tanzania serves as an effective case study as it is one of the most peaceful and politically stable countries in Africa with a relatively developed economy. Today, Tanzania has the second-largest economy in East Africa. Even so, 34 percent of Tanzanians live in poverty without access to necessities. The country's economy is comprised of several sectors that contribute to its development, the largest being agriculture.<sup>17</sup> About one quarter of the country's GDP comes from agriculture, and approximately three-quarters of its labor force is employed within this sector. Women comprise 54 percent of the agricultural sector's workforce, and 81 percent of Tanzanian women engage in agricultural production compared to 73 percent of men. In rural areas, the percentage of women rises to 98 percent.<sup>18</sup> The agriculture sector of Tanzania is a vital piece of the country's growing economy, in large part due to women's contributions.

An article in *Gender Place and Culture*<sup>19</sup> studied the contribution of unpaid care work to human well-being with a focus on the experiences of women in the agrarian Global South. The 2019 study specifically concentrated on rural women in Tanzania to highlight the diversity of women's and girls' lived experiences in different cultural and geographical contexts. It showed that these Tanzanian women perceived their unpaid care work, nonmarket work, and informal agricultural employment very

differently, even though all of these activities fall under the category of invisible work.<sup>20</sup> The article specifically noted that rural Tanzanian women perceive their unpaid care work as an experience that evokes happiness and satisfaction. One woman expressed great joy when feeding her children porridge, particularly when made with finger millet and cowpea—nutritious ingredients she sowed, harvested, threshed, milled, winnowed, and cooked through her own labor. Although these positive emotions are partially associated with agriculture, the same woman expressed frustration at the physical pain she experienced during common tasks of nonmarket work and household production such as threshing, cooking, and fetching fuelwood. Furthermore, she expressed frustration at her husband's unwillingness to help her in certain areas of household production—such as cooking—due to its cultural association with femininity.<sup>21</sup> The burden for women in Tanzania is especially challenging as they are not expected to perform two forms of invisible labor but rather three: caring for their children, maintaining their home, and agriculturally providing for their family.

In comparison to women in the Global North, the burden of nonmarket work and unpaid care work for rural Tanzanian women is particularly demanding due to the lack of technology and infrastructure. Housework already imposes a disproportionate time burden on women, but for rural women, the lack of water, energy, and transportation infrastructures exacerbates this problem. Tanzania and the Makete district specifically are infamous for imposing transport constraints on rural households. A study in the Makete district found that women account for 67 percent of public transportation use and 85 percent of the loads carried, while men account for 21 percent and 11 percent, respectively.<sup>22</sup> These loads consist of supplies

---

17 Vishwas Gupta, "A Case Study on Economic Development of Tanzania," *Journal of the International Academy for Case Studies* 26, no. 1 (March 2020): 1–16, <https://www.researchgate.net/publication/340271782>.

18 Leavens and Anderson, *Gender and Agriculture in Tanzania*.

19 Chung, Young, and Bezner Kerr, "Rethinking the Value of Unpaid Care Work."

---

20 Chung, Young, and Bezner Kerr, "Rethinking the Value of Unpaid Care Work."

21 Chung, Young, and Kerr, "Rethinking the Value of Unpaid Care Work."

22 Niklas Sieber, "Appropriate Transport and Rural Development in Makete District, Tanzania," *Journal of Transport Geography* 6, no. 1 (March 1998): 69–73, [https://doi.org/10.1016/S0966-6923\(97\)00040-9](https://doi.org/10.1016/S0966-6923(97)00040-9).

like water, fuelwood, and grain. These items are necessary for the entire household, yet women spend three to four hours per day in transport and move about 50 kg a day, while men spend under two hours in transport and move about 6 kg daily.<sup>23</sup> While these rural Tanzanian women are not technically creating production within the purview of traditional economics, they are certainly facilitating it for its beneficiaries.

In Tanzania, the experience of invisible work is composed of not only unpaid care work and nonmarket work but also informal labor. Women create major contributions to the household and the economy, yet the benefits of their production are not accessible to them. Women facilitate production in several ways, but their work is largely unaccounted for due to the belief that remuneration defines productivity. Synthesizing this information, the informal structure of agriculture in Tanzania discounts women's economic contributions and furthers gender inequality.

### **Australia and Unpaid Care Work**

In contrast to Tanzania, Australia is shifting from being a resource trading economy to one that emphasizes national entrepreneurship. It provides a valuable case study because of the recent fluctuations in its economy. As such, Tanzania and Australia have both commonalities and differences that mark their dynamic economic developments.

Australia's economy transitioned from relative stability during the "long boom" after the Second World War into a period of rapid economic and policy change during the 1980s and 1990s. In *Global Restructuring: The Australian Experience*, Robert H. Fagan and Michael E. Webber examine this uneven nature of development in the Australian economy. They argue that Australia represented a peculiar "semi peripheral paradox": it was a so-called outpost of the core economies with similar rapid

urbanization and industry growth and had a trade profile, technological independence, and high levels of foreign control common to the world's peripheral economies.<sup>24</sup> Fagan and Webber's book provides a valuable assessment of Australia's economic development since the rise of globalization and demonstrates Australia's unique position in the global economy. Tanzania, similar to Australia, is not simply a core or periphery country. While Tanzania's economy does not compete on a global level, it does provide core stability for other countries in East Africa. Comparatively, Australia—while considered to be a majority Western-European entity—is economically vital to the East and Southeast Asian regions.

While Tanzania has a high rate of informal women's workforce participation, Australia's women's workforce participation is marked by the country's policy regarding secondary earners. Australia is one of two countries in the Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD) with no statutory paid parental leave (the other is the United States).<sup>25</sup> Furthermore, the out-of-pocket costs for Early Childhood Education and Care (ECEC) services in Australia are exorbitantly high, causing many families to limit their use of paid childcare. As a consequence of the high cost of ECEC services, the majority of Australian mothers reduce or limit their hours of paid employment after having children.<sup>26</sup> This is further encouraged through Australia's tax system, which imposes higher rates on the "secondary earner" (often the

---

23 Leavens and Anderson, *Gender and Agriculture in Tanzania*.

---

24 Robert H. Fagan and Michael Webber, *Global Restructuring: The Australian Experience* (Oxford University Press, 1995); Kirsten Martinus et al., "Global Restructuring' Two Decades On: Australia's Relational Economy in the Twenty-First Century," *Australian Geographer* 49, no. 3 (2018): 341-48, <https://doi.org/10.1080/00049182.2018.1446384>.

25 Lyn Craig and Killian Mullan, "Parenthood, Gender and Work-Family Time in the United States, Australia, Italy, France, and Denmark," *Journal of Marriage and Family* 72, no. 5 (October 2010): 1344-61, <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1741-3737.2010.00769.x>.

26 Kate Jenkins, *The Gendered Costs of Childcare: A Feminist Analysis of the Effects of Australia's Early Childhood Education and Care System on Women's Inequality in the Workforce and Beyond* (University of Melbourne, 2021), [https://www.unimelb.edu.au/\\_data/assets/pdf\\_file/0007/4117192/Kate-J\\_FoWL-Report.pdf](https://www.unimelb.edu.au/_data/assets/pdf_file/0007/4117192/Kate-J_FoWL-Report.pdf).

mother) in couples.”<sup>27</sup> Additionally, generous tax transfers and family benefit payments are made to families in which the second earner does not do paid work or completes very short part-time hours.<sup>28</sup> Mothers that do remain in the workforce must not only shoulder their double burden but also suffer from these discriminatory practices, which exacerbate women’s double burden and effectively encourage low women’s workforce participation.

Due to the circumstances posed by the tax and childcare systems, Australian women constitute 68.2 percent of all part-time employees.<sup>29</sup> Historically, women have done the extra work required of childcare, but these structural inequalities engender a more extreme division of labor in households with children than in households without.<sup>30</sup> This arrangement can prove to be exploitative since it not only promotes an unequal balance of financial power within a household but also contributes to women’s relative economic disadvantage in other ways as well.<sup>31</sup> Women who choose to work part time instead of full time are more likely than men to be employed in “casual” jobs without benefits such as sick and annual leave. Nearly 30 percent of women occupy these types of jobs, compared to 23 percent of men.<sup>32</sup> People who withdraw from formal employment to engage in invisible work suffer other financial losses besides income, such as the cumulative material disadvantage over their lifetime of lost access to promotions, retirement income, and health funds.<sup>33</sup> While young women in the Global North generally have equal access to education and earnings, gendered disparities are only growing as women are continually faced with the question of prioritizing their careers or raising children, which is often associated with financial gain or loss.

---

27 Lyn Craig and Brendan Churchill, “Working and Caring at Home: Gender Differences in the Effects of COVID-19 on Paid and Unpaid Labor in Australia,” *Feminist Economics* 27, no. 1–2 (2021): 312, <https://doi.org/10.1080/13545701.2020.1831039>.

28 Craig and Mullan, “Parenthood, Gender and Work-Family Time.”

29 Craig and Churchill, “Working and Caring at Home.”

30 Craig and Mullan, “Parenthood, Gender and Work-Family Time.”

31 Jenkins, “The Gendered Costs of Childcare.”

32 Craig and Churchill, “Working and Caring at Home.”

33 Craig and Mullan, “Parenthood, Gender and Work-Family Time.”

Care responsibilities potentiate gender-based vulnerabilities. This does not have to be a strictly feminine problem. Whether man or woman, care responsibilities are the common denominator. If men have the primary responsibility for care, they too suffer disadvantages in the workplace; conversely, if women avoid it, they can compete more equally with men in the public sphere.<sup>34</sup> A report by the University of Melbourne concluded that Australia’s current level of government funding for the ECEC is insufficient; this issue is contributing to structural inequalities faced by women, such as the decrease in the likelihood of their upward career mobility and earning potential, an increase in the likelihood of financial insecurity, and the absence of sufficient retirement funds.<sup>35</sup> As such, in addition to the unequal treatment of mothers and part-time workers by the tax system, Australian women experience an exacerbated burden of care enforced by structural inequalities.

### **Tanzania vs. Australia: Unpaid Care Work**

The cultural differences in the performance of unpaid care work between Tanzania and Australia largely depend on the caregivers. While childcare in the agrarian Global South tends to be performed as a double burden of care or as an unremunerated familial activity,<sup>36</sup> women in the Global North are continuously moving away from unpaid care work.

The discourse on women’s workforce participation is divided. In the article “Stay-at-Home Mums Are Heroes: The Left Should Stand Up for Them More,” literary critic and journalist Alice O’Keefe discusses the right-wing press and its overwhelming tendency to encourage women and mothers to embrace their “natural propensities” for domestic production and unpaid care work. Furthermore, it shames women who work full time and ignore their so-called “motherly duties.” On the other hand, the socially progressive debate does not provide adequate support

---

34 Craig and Mullan, “Parenthood, Gender and Work-Family Time.”

35 Jenkins, “The Gendered Costs of Childcare.”

36 Chung, Young, and Kerr, “Rethinking the Value of Unpaid Care Work.”



for women who pursue nonmarket endeavors or exercise their right to prioritize their families over their careers. Instead, such conversations focus on what many perceive as modern feminism—for example, women’s status in the public sphere, how much they are earning, and how many of them sit in boardrooms. Most mentions of children and childcare responsibilities are generally in reference to improving access to institutionalized childcare.<sup>37</sup> Unfortunately, since women in Australia do not have access to affordable institutionalized childcare, they are largely excluded from this discourse.

A preliminary study published by Harvard University and later published in *Work, Employment and Society* found that daughters of mothers with paid employment have better careers and more equal relationships.<sup>38</sup> The findings suggested that, in addition to promoting gender equality across generations, employed mothers model behaviors that promote workforce participation and lead to upward career mobility.<sup>39</sup> This study should have been used to empower women, but it was instead laced with the connotation that unemployed women are not contributing to progress. Rebecca Allen, a senior academic at UCL’s Institute of Education said, “[W]omen who don’t work . . . have to think hard about how the role they have within the household is going to impact their children’s perceptions of what it means to be a woman and to be a mother.”<sup>40</sup> Instead of promoting women’s autonomy in the workforce, this narrative further diminishes the value of women in society and prevents their inclusion in productivity. In

the face of structural disadvantages and discrimination, diverse women cannot agree to support each other’s autonomy. The idea that stay-at-home mothers are a burden to society once again ignores the productivity that they facilitate, further exemplifying that society does not allow enough space for meaningful conversation regarding women’s importance in the economy.

Women in the Global North are continuously moving away from unpaid care work and into the formal employment sector, but women in the Global South do not necessarily have this option. In contrast to the increasingly Western notion that motherhood holds women back, African feminist scholars—such as Oyèwùmí—argue that motherhood is underestimated in most cultures.<sup>41</sup> These scholars say that in African societies, “motherhood is what accords women status and respect.”<sup>42</sup> Even though motherhood is a venerated role alone, it does not seem to promote women’s well-being in African society. In Tanzania, women perform a much larger burden of care than men and do not have access to the financial fruits of their labor.<sup>43</sup> Furthermore, they do not have the same autonomy as women in the Global North—that is, the autonomy to choose their level of participation in the workforce. As seen through the comparative analysis of Australia and Tanzania, the experiences of motherhood and unpaid care work differ according to cultural and geopolitical factors and cannot be homogenized into one general understanding of a woman in this world and in the global economy.

---

37 Alice O’Keefe, “Stay-at-Home Mums Are Heroes: The Left Should Stand Up for Them More,” *The Guardian*, June 26, 2015, <https://www.theguardian.com/global/commentisfree/2015/jun/26/stay-at-home-mums-working-mothers>.

38 Kathleen L. McGinn, Mayra Ruiz Castro, and Elizabeth Long Lingo, “Learning from Mum: Cross-National Evidence Linking Maternal Employment and Adult Children’s Outcomes,” *Work, Employment and Society* 33, no. 3 (2018): 374–400, <https://doi.org/10.1177/0950017018760167>.

39 Richard Adams, “Having a Working Mother Works for Daughters,” *The Guardian*, November 29, 2017, <https://www.theguardian.com/world/2015/jun/24/having-a-working-mother-works-for-daughters>.

40 O’Keefe, “Stay-at-Home Mums.”

---

41 Oyèrónké Oyèwùmí, *What Gender Is Motherhood: Changing Yorubá Ideals of Power, Procreation, and Identity in the Age of Modernity* (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2016).

42 Chung Young, and Kerr, “Rethinking the Value of Unpaid Care Work,” 1560.

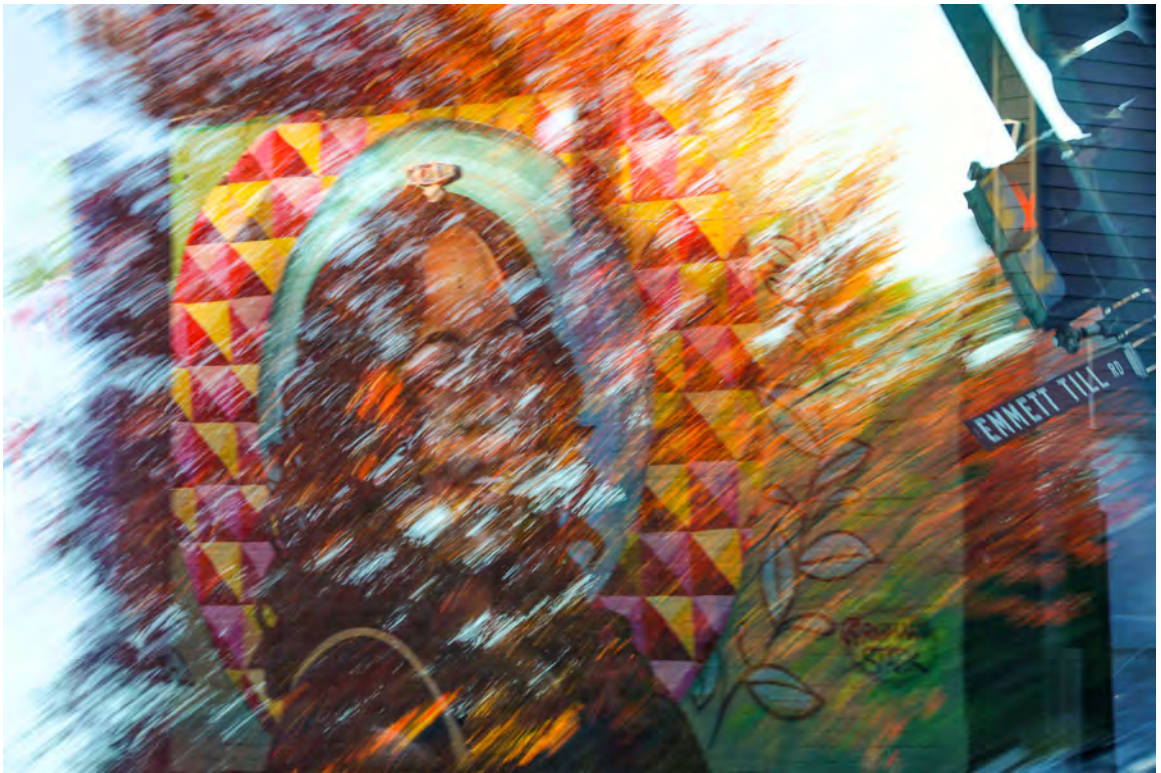
43 Joyce Lyimo-Macha and Ntengua Mdoe, “Gender and Rural Poverty in Tanzania: Case of Selected Villages in Morogoro Rural and Kilosa Districts” (working paper, UK Department for International Development, Whitehall, London, England, March 2002), <https://www.semanticscholar.org/paper/Gender-and-Rural-Poverty-in-Tanzania%3A-Case-of-in-Lyimo-Macha-Mdoe/c56b06b3ef3f5a9f68b573ff8184333bf8daad55>.

## Conclusion

In Global North and Global South countries alike, women experience harm through the gendered inequality of the division of unpaid care work, the exclusion of nonmarket labor from the economy, and the tendency to homogenize their experiences. Across the globe, the dominant understanding of production and value continues to solidify the patriarchy, but this oppression manifests in different ways according to cultural and political factors.

## BIBLIOGRAPHY

- Adams, Richard. "Having a Working Mother Works for Daughters." *The Guardian*, November 29, 2017. <https://www.theguardian.com/world/2015/jun/24/having-a-working-mother-works-for-daughters>.
- Chakraborty, Shiney. "COVID-19 and Women Informal Sector Workers in India." *Economic and Political Weekly* 55, no. 35 (August 2020). <https://www.epwin.in/journal/2020/35/commentary/covid-19-and-women-informal-sector-workers-india.html>.
- Chung, Youjin B., Sera L. Young, and Rachel Bezner Kerr. "Rethinking the Value of Unpaid Care Work: Lessons from Participatory Visual Research in Central Tanzania." *Gender Place and Culture* 26, no. 11 (March 2019): 1544–69. <https://doi.org/10.1080/0966369x.2018.1556611>.
- Craig, Lyn, and Brendan Churchill. "Working and Caring at Home: Gender Differences in the Effects of COVID-19 on Paid and Unpaid Labor in Australia." *Feminist Economics* 27, no. 1–2 (2021): 310–26. <https://doi.org/10.1080/13545701.2020.1831039>.
- Craig, Lyn, and Killian Mullan. "Parenthood, Gender and Work-Family Time in the United States, Australia, Italy, France, and Denmark." *Journal of Marriage and Family* 72, no. 5 (October 2010): 1344–61. <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1741-3737.2010.00769.x>.
- Crookston, Diana. "Should Unpaid Labor Be Included in GDP?" *Carnegie Mellon University Journal of Politics and Strategy* 5, no. 3 (Spring 2021): 23–26. [https://www.cmu.edu/ips/research/ips-journal/ips-journal-online/ips-issue-1\\_4\\_crookston.pdf](https://www.cmu.edu/ips/research/ips-journal/ips-journal-online/ips-issue-1_4_crookston.pdf).
- Daniels, Arlene Kaplan. "Invisible Work." *Social Problems* 34, no. 5 (December 1987): 403–15. <https://doi.org/10.2307/800538>.
- Fagan, Robert H., and Michael Webber. *Global Restructuring: The Australian Experience*. Oxford University Press, 1995.
- Folbre, Nancy. "Measuring Care: Gender, Empowerment, and the Care Economy." *Journal of Human Development* 7, no. 2 (2006): 183–99. <https://doi.org/10.1080/14649880600768512>.
- Gupta, Vishwas. "A Case Study on Economic Development of Tanzania." *Journal of the International Academy for Case Studies* 26, no. 1 (March 2020): 1–16. <https://www.researchgate.net/publication/340271782>.
- Hochschild, Arlie Russell, and Anne Machung. *The Second Shift: Working Parents and the Revolution at Home*. New York: Avon Books, 1989.
- Jenkins, Kate. *The Gendered Costs of Childcare: A Feminist Analysis of the Effects of Australia's Early Childhood Education and Care System on Women's Inequality in the Workforce and Beyond*. University of Melbourne, 2021. [https://www.unimelb.edu.au/\\_data/assets/pdf\\_file/0007/4117192/Kate-J\\_FoWL-Report.pdf](https://www.unimelb.edu.au/_data/assets/pdf_file/0007/4117192/Kate-J_FoWL-Report.pdf).
- Leavens, M. Kennedy, and C. Leigh Anderson. *Gender and Agriculture in Tanzania*. EPAR Brief No. 134. Seattle: Evans School Policy Analysis and Research Group, University of Washington, 2011.
- Lyimo-Macha, Joyce, and Ntengua Mdoe. "Gender and Rural Poverty in Tanzania: Case of Selected Villages in Morogoro Rural and Kilosa Districts." LADDER Working Paper Series No. 18, UK Department for International Development, Whitehall, London, England, March 2002. <https://www.semanticscholar.org/paper/Gender-and-Rural-Poverty-in-Tanzania%3A-Case-of-in-Lyimo-Macha-Mdoe/c56b06b3ef3f5a9f68b573ff8184333bf8daad55>.
- Martinus, Kirsten, Thomas J. Sigler, Phillip O'Neill, and Matthew Tonts. "Global Restructuring' Two Decades On: Australia's Relational Economy in the Twenty-First Century." *Australian Geographer* 49, no. 3 (2018): 341–48. <https://doi.org/10.1080/00049182.2018.1446384>.
- Mazzucato, Mariana. *The Value of Everything: Making and Taking in the Global Economy*. New York: PublicAffairs, 2018.
- McGinn, Kathleen L., Mayra Ruiz Castro, and Elizabeth Long Lingo. "Learning from Mum: Cross-National Evidence Linking Maternal Employment and Adult Children's Outcomes." *Work, Employment and Society* 33, no. 3 (2018): 374–400. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0950017018760167>.
- Mittal, Neasha. "Invisible Labour: Comparison of Unpaid Work Done by Women and Men across Developed and Developing Countries." *International Journal of High School Research* 4, no. 3 (2022): 69–75. <https://doi.org/10.36838/v4i3.12>.
- O'Keefe, Alice. "Stay-at-Home Mums Are Heroes: The Left Should Stand Up for Them More." *The Guardian*, June 26, 2015. <https://www.theguardian.com/global/commentisfree/2015/jun/26/stay-at-home-mums-working-mothers>.
- Ortiz-Ospina, Esteban, Sandra Tzvetkova, and Max Roser. "Women's Employment." *Our World in Data* (2018). <https://ourworldindata.org/female-labor-supply>.
- Oyèwùmi, Oyèrónké. *What Gender Is Motherhood?: Changing Yorùbá Ideals of Power, Procreation, and Identity in the Age of Modernity*. London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2016.
- Sieber, Niklas. "Appropriate Transport and Rural Development in Makete District, Tanzania." *Journal of Transport Geography* 6, no. 1 (March 1998): 69–73. [https://doi.org/10.1016/s0966-6923\(97\)00040-9](https://doi.org/10.1016/s0966-6923(97)00040-9).



Jakob Ferguson | *Breonna Taylor Mural on Emmett Till Rd (10/12/22 - W 71st St & S Stewart Ave)* | In-camera double-exposure photograph

# SYMBIOTIC MEMORIES: EXPLORING THE ACTIVE AND PASSIVE REMEMBERING OF EARLY MODERN IRELAND

WINTER JOHNSON\*

*Irish Studies Program*

Collective memory can be one of the most useful tools in the creation and preservation of a culture, and Ireland's long tradition of storytelling and commemoration is an excellent example of the value of remembering shared history. The Early Modern period, which dates from the sixteenth to the eighteenth centuries, saw several moments of great tension based on religious differences, and the impact of the different interpretations of these shared memories is still felt today. In their book, *Moving Beyond Sectarianism*, Cecilia Clegg and Joseph Liechty (2001) describe communal memory as sometimes adjacent to personal identity, although not always, because it focuses on the meaning communities attach to memory rather than its accuracy in every detail (p. 66). In contrast, academic history—while not free of bias and creating its own interpretation of past events—relies on facts and figures that Clegg and Liechty state may “challenge [the community's] understanding of the past,” which can “foster a more complex sense of the past” (p. 67), thereby providing a more comprehensive (and presumably accurate) interpretation of historical events (Johnson, 2022).

In 2023, Ireland completed its Decades of Centenaries, a program coordinated by the Irish government in which the hundredth anniversaries of key moments in modern Irish history were commemorated—for example, the Easter Rising of 1916; the War of Independence, the foundation of

the Irish Free State, and the creation of Northern Ireland; in addition to, as the decade concluded, the Irish Civil War (Department of Tourism, Culture, Arts, Gaeltacht, Sport and Media, 2020). The goals and actions of many of the men and women involved in these events had been shaped, at least in part, by their society's communal memories. While this essay does not wish to suggest linear or inevitable connections between the events of the Early Modern period and the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, it does seek to emphasize the contributions that varying recollections of these earlier events have had on the development of contemporary Irish memory. Many of these shared memories originated with the long periods of conflict surrounding religion and political power, and this essay seeks to continue the “exploration into why certain narratives emerge” (Beiner, 2019, p. 12) rather than dismissing or favoring one form of commemoration over the other.

Guy Beiner (2019) recently addressed this dichotomy of academic and communal recollection; his extensive work on Ireland's social memories has provided invaluable insight into what he refers to as “particular traditions of forgetting” (p. 15). Beiner challenges historians and social scientists to consider not only the efforts made to commemorate but also the intentional use of forgetting in creating narratives that shape public perceptions of historical events. These narratives are then enforced on local and national levels by both formal and informal actors and can lead to a harmful and misrepresentative “illusion of homogeneity” (p. 17). In doing so, a “chain of mnemonic reactions” can result (p. 19), which contributes

---

\* This essay was written for HST 266, taught by Dr. Mary McCain in Fall 2022. The author thanks Dr. McCain and Dr. James Fairhall for selecting this essay and for their invaluable contributions to the process of expanding and preparing it for publication.

to the development of two categories of memory: public and secret (p. 21).

This challenge is particularly applicable to the events that will be discussed in this essay: the largely unsuccessful Protestant Reformation, the Commonwealth era, the events surrounding the War of the Two Kings, and the subsequent implementation of the Penal Laws. It is through a combination of respect for the nuances of communal memory and attention to academic practice that I approach these subjects. In so doing, I hope to provide an analysis of the varying degrees to which religious identity has influenced public identity while being utilized as an instrument of struggle for political control in Ireland.

Jane Ohlmeyer (2016) has described the status of Ireland in the 1600s as “conquered, ‘civilized,’ colonized, and commercialized” (p. 21), and this process was exacerbated through the creation of the Anglican Church by King Henry VIII in the early 1530s. During the reigns of Henry VIII, his longest reigning heir Elizabeth I, and her successor James I, Ireland was slowly exposed to two new types of Christianity: Anglicanism (here also referred to as Protestantism, following then-customary practice) and Presbyterianism—an egalitarian, nonhierarchical form of Protestantism that emerged first in Scotland and developed from the teachings of John Knox, whom Calvinism had deeply influenced. Anglicanism is the official religion of the Church of England, and its followers maintain that the British monarch is head of the Church. This hierarchy has many parallels to Catholicism but does differ on several points.

However, despite formal political ties between the two countries dating back to the late 1100s, the Protestant Reformation in Ireland was largely unsuccessful. In fact, according to Henry Jeffries (2018), “By the end of the sixteenth century the number of Irish Protestants was reckoned by contemporaries at between 40 and 120 individuals.” Even today, the majority of the population

continues to identify as Catholic, though the percentage of those doing so has been declining. Writing in *The Irish Times*, Ronan McGreevy (2023) noted that at the time of the 2022 census, “The number of people in the State who call themselves Catholic has fallen significantly, from 79 per cent to 69 per cent.”

Communities largely composed of Presbyterians, however, were an exception to this Catholic dominance and were largely found in Ulster—the northeast region of the island (much of which is now Northern Ireland)—thanks to the Plantation of Ulster. Though outside the scope of this paper, this project is a crucial historical moment because it saw the transplantation of Anglicans from England and Presbyterians from Scotland. These Protestants were given incentives to relocate to Ulster, a formerly Catholic stronghold, under the reign of King James I of England (also known as James VI of Scotland) early in the seventeenth century. This disparity is crucial to bear in mind because, despite their minority status, Protestant English and Irish populations exerted control over the Catholic majority through punitive socioeconomic and militaristic methods on several occasions. At times, Catholic elites even aided them.

In the same article, Jeffries (2018) goes on to explain that the “critical difference between England and Ireland was that key aspects of the Reformation resonated with a number of English people from the start, whereas there is no evidence that it resonated among the Irish.” I argue that this resonance (or lack thereof) provides critical insight into the cultural differences not only between Protestants and Catholics but also between those who subscribed to the concept of the monarch of England as head of the Church, as Anglicans did, and those for whom that monarch did not represent ultimate religious authority. Because of the control the British monarchy had over both religious and civil institutions, the decision of whether to convert to Anglicanism was, more often than not, based on more than just theological beliefs because “[a]longside political subjugation and conversion to

Protestantism stood cultural assimilation and the need to reform ‘uncivil’ natives and to anglicize their ‘barbarous’ customs, practices, and culture” (Ohlmeyer, 2016, p. 22). While peerages were predominantly created among the Protestant English and Scottish transplants, native Catholics were “encouraged to serve as exemplars of civility” (Ohlmeyer, 2016, p. 23) and, in complying, were granted a certain amount of power and autonomy with which to influence this new distribution of resources. This participation in the colonization process by some Irish Catholic elites challenges overly simplified public perceptions of a binary narrative of “passive victims” and ruthless oppressors because “many Irish Catholics proved reactive and responsive to civilizing schemes” (Ohlmeyer, 2016, p. 23). While I do not seek to excuse the situations or roles that any group played in the processes of colonization or exploitation, it is essential to consider the realities of historical events and the varying power dynamics that were employed by these figures rather than assume a universal experience. This allows historians to take a proactive approach to acknowledging the humanity, nuance, and complexities of individuals’ decisions based on circumstance.

Nearly fifty years after the end of the Tudor dynasty, Ireland and especially its Catholic inhabitants were faced with a new, sharp shift in religious and political authority in the form of the Cromwellian Commonwealth. In 1649, Oliver Cromwell—a Puritan extremist who had been named Lord Protector of the newly established Commonwealth and was fresh from the fields of victory in the English Civil Wars—sailed across the Irish Sea with a mind for vengeful order. This was largely in response to a series of events beginning in 1641 with the Ulster Massacre on October 22. Alarmed by the English Parliament’s increasing threats to Charles I—the Catholic-sympathizing monarch—and hoping to potentially regain their land, Irish Catholics in Ulster rebelled against England and murdered an estimated two to four thousand Protestant civilians. What Roy Foster (1989) describes as “retaliatory attacks” followed, which resulted in an

even greater loss of Catholic lives (p. 85). In England, the original numbers were grossly inflated to defame Catholics in Ireland and greatly contributed to the vitriolic sentiments already felt by many Anglicans and Puritans—an exaggeration that still appears in some circles today (McCain, 2022). This exaggeration contributes to the “badly blurred” (Clegg & Liechty, 2001, p. 67) boundary between more contemporary perceptions of oppression and communal memory of historical mistreatment, becoming indistinguishable and often resulting in “regrettable and horrific acts of violence” (Johnson, 2022). Foster tells us that “what people thought happened in that bloody autumn conditioned events and attitudes in Ireland for generations to come” (p. 85). The instigators of this rebellion, styling themselves the Catholic Confederates, exerted their authority in Ireland from 1642 until 1649 and fought on the premise of “Ireland united for God, King, and Country” (Clarke, 2011, p. 172). While the interworkings of the Confederacy period are not within the scope of this essay, this background information lends important contextual clues to the political, cultural, and religious motivation for the Cromwellian Commonwealth’s treatment of Irish Catholics between 1649 and 1660 and creates a premise with which to understand the deeply nuanced community memory that persists even today.

I do not intend to make the assumptive declaration that Cromwell’s motivation for marching his New Model Army—which Sarah Covington (2022) explains was developed as an unprecedented, “disciplined force driven on in the theater of Christ and Anti-Christ” (p. 5)—into Ireland was strictly political. While it was certainly an attempt to restore English authority, evidence has shown that Cromwell took satisfaction in his retaliatory massacres of Catholics in Drogheda and Wexford, and his deeply anti-Catholic and radical Protestant beliefs greatly contributed to his treatment of the inhabitants of the island. Covington also argues that this satisfaction is still widely utilized as an additional contributing factor to Cromwell’s status as “a dominant villain in Irish history” (p. 3), despite his time on the island totaling less than a

year. Oliver Cromwell's long-lasting notoriety in Ireland derived from the violence and property confiscation that he permitted there, supplemented by popular memories of the way he expressed his uncompromising religious beliefs in concepts such as predestination and anti-Catholicism.

From a contemporary perspective, Cromwell's so-called "mission against infidels" (Foster, 1989, p. 102) had every indication of a Puritanical crusade set to rid Ireland entirely of Catholics. In some circles, it has been argued that his and his troops' conduct paralleled modern definitions of genocide. His tactics present themselves as deeply and viscerally personal, although accounts of this personality vary and have been "adaptable to different frames of narrative and meaning" (Covington, 2022, p. 5). Following the massacres, Cromwell implemented widespread land confiscations, an illustration of Ohlmeyer's (2016) reminder that "land was the basis for political power in 17th century Ireland" (p. 33). These confiscations forced Catholic Irish to move west of the Shannon River to Connacht and Co. Clare, which meant they were "settled within a cordon sanitaire imposed by the Shannon and the sea" (Foster 1989, p. 110). In addition to suffering physical brutality, this geographical change had a devastating impact on the relocated peasantry due to the direct and negative effect on agriculture and pastoralism that the change in landscape presented; a huge loss of life was reported while, simultaneously, English "adventurers" and soldiers were allotted land as payments and cheap investments.

The Cromwellian period of religious conflict provides an excellent example of the struggle for both self-determination and political authority in Ireland and has directly contributed to public memory and religious identification. This can be seen in what Clegg and Lietchty (2001), speaking of twentieth-century Northern Ireland, refer to as "the latest manifestation of old and enduring themes" (p. 67) that continues to "further polarize the two groups [Catholics and Protestants] by

maintaining a narrative of combatant othering rather than helping the communities move towards reconciliation" (Johnson, 2022). However, as Covington (2022) reminds us, it would be limiting to reduce Cromwell's impact on Irish social memory to one version, especially regarding contemporary and diasporic interpretations of events that these groups are removed from. A recent example of current mythology surrounding Cromwell is the 2020 animated film *Wolfwalkers*, directed by Tomm Moore and Ross Stewart of the Irish animation studio Cartoon Saloon. Although he is not called by name in the film, Cromwell's looming persona is immediately recognizable in the character of the Lord Protector, the film's villain.

Religious polarization in Ireland was perhaps best evidenced next in 1689, which saw the beginnings of what would become centuries of full-blown sectarian conflict and would culminate in the twentieth-century period known as "The Troubles." In 1688, a group of English politicians secretly sent a letter of support and supplication to Mary and William of Orange—the daughter and son-in-law (respectively) of King James II, who maintained a Protestant stronghold in the Netherlands. This invitation has been described as the beginning of the "Glorious Revolution" and was the predecessor to the War of the Two Kings, which is arguably the most important event that was responsible for the firm foundations of sectarianism in Ireland. James II, the brother of Charles II, had converted to Catholicism in adulthood and was allowed by England's Protestant Parliament to succeed his brother based largely on his mature age and the Anglicanism of his daughter and heir, Mary. However, James's second marriage and the birth of a son who would be clearly raised Catholic changed the line of succession and sparked fear in the hearts of many members of the English Parliament. The reaction to this change exemplifies the "strength of anti-Catholicism in England" (Foster 1989, p. 119) at this time. In addition to the fears of an Irish uprising caused by James's inclusion of Catholics in positions of government and military there, this also prompted Protestant action against him.

Upon William and Mary's arrival in England, James fled to France and the court of Louis XIV. The latter was actively engaged in conflict with William and his allies on the European continent and was a believer in the concept of divine right—a theory that promoted royal positions as established by God. Bolstered by French funds and troops, James set sail for Ireland and, in 1689, landed in Kinsale before marching on Derry to lay siege to the city—another act with monumental cultural and historic impact, and one that is remembered with varying degrees of approval. Indeed, the entire war “came to be perceived . . . as a war of Catholic against Protestant” (Gibney, 2011, p. 66) and laid the foundation most effectively for contemporary sectarian struggles; Foster (1989) describes it as not only a “high point of Protestant Ireland's colonial nationalism, but also a revival of sectarian tension” (p. 147). I believe that this memorialization is largely due to the Protestant resistance from within Derry; despite the loss of as many as ten thousand citizens, popular memory has long celebrated the bravery credited to a group of young apprentices at the start of the siege and the perseverance of those inside the city walls, factors that overcame the “weaknesses and inexperience of the besieging forces” (Foster, 1989, p. 147). The subsequent Jacobite loss at the Battle of the Boyne on July 12, 1690—and the hasty exit of James II from Ireland—ensured that the “Irish resistance, however brave, could no longer bring about the kind of success previously within their grasp” (Foster, 1989, p. 149).

The religious identity politics that were so firmly set in place by this short war are still participated in today, especially in Northern Ireland. The Apprentice Boys of Derry and the Loyal Orange Institution, more commonly known as the Orange Order, still engage in commemoration of this siege through parades and celebrations, many of which have routes that intentionally march past Catholic households and seek to reassert a sense of cultural dominance through these demonstrations. According to their official webpage, the Apprentice Boys of Derry Association “is a Christian, historical and cultural organisation, committed to maintaining the spirit of courage and liberty displayed by

the Defenders of Londonderry in 1688–1689” (Apprentice Boys of Derry, 2023). The cultural phenomenon in Northern Ireland known as Marching Season was highly contested and prone to acts of violence during the twentieth-century Troubles and, in some parts of the region, can still give rise to disputes and tension today. In the years since Brexit, which saw the United Kingdom formally remove itself from the European Union, concerns over potential “renewed violence” (Specia & Testa, 2021) have been voiced. These concerns join ongoing differences of opinion over whether Marching Season should be viewed as a “vital celebration of identity and heritage” (Specia & Testa, 2021) or, in the words of a politician on the other side of the divide, a “representation of hate, of sectarianism, of racism, of very much present and perpetuating a supremacist-type message” (Langfitt, 2021). This range of interpretations provides new and evolving opportunities to examine the role that participatory communal memory plays in the reinforcement of particular historical narratives.

The withdrawal of a formal Catholic ruler from Ireland in 1690 created the environment for both the Protestant Ascendancy and the Penal Laws on which its members relied to maintain their positions—which had a significant, mostly negative impact on the Catholic Irish majority. Despite initial promises of leniency toward Catholics, a new form of political control on religious grounds soon emerged: the Penal Laws. With the first law being implemented in the 1690s, these laws focused on prohibiting the consolidation of Catholic power in a bid to maintain Protestant control, despite their minority population status. This can perhaps be best exemplified by the laws surrounding the intermarriage of Protestants and Catholics and the subsequent changes in inheritance. These laws dictated that any Protestant woman in possession of property would be stripped of their holdings if they chose to marry a man unable to provide a certificate affirming he was an Anglican. Other laws prohibited the accumulation of wealth or potential military strength through restrictions on horse ownership and firearm possession. In addition, occupational



restrictions prohibited Catholics from serving as lawyers, attending universities in Europe, or serving as naval or army officers. The Penal Laws also had a significant effect on the ownership and distribution of land with the implementation of shorter leases (rather than the lifetime leases that had previously been customary). At one point, the laws even prohibited the purchase of land altogether. In fact, by 1730, Irish Catholics only owned about five percent of the land. This deliberate restriction of life, income, and civic participation through disenfranchisement further served to perpetuate class and religious divides between Catholics and Protestants in Ireland, which in turn led to political tensions; although, these were largely at the local level until nearly the eighteenth century, and their effects can still be seen in the events of the nineteenth, twentieth, and twenty-first centuries (Schaffer, 2000).

In examining memory, it can be difficult to distinguish between legitimate, emotionally charged recollections and the unfeeling sterility of historical statistics, and this line is further blurred when taking into consideration the

complexity of nuanced power dynamics. I believe that the analysis of these events in Irish history serves a twofold purpose: it exemplifies the long-lasting impact that the origins of sectarianism had and continue to have on the Irish people, and it provides greater context for the motivations behind these religiously driven events. It would be limiting to insist that each action in the name of religion, whether Catholic or Protestant, was done strictly out of a sense of piety or devoutness, although these sentiments surely played an important role for many individuals. Alternatively, it would be limiting to assume that these religiously motivated acts were done solely for political gain; rather, throughout Irish history, religion and politics have been symbiotic facets of a larger struggle for control. It is vital to the study of Ireland to examine these and other historical and contemporary events. It is important to understand these motivators rather than perpetuating narratives that do not represent the breadth and depth of Irish history, which is a crucial factor in the struggle to move beyond sectarianism.

## REFERENCES

Apprentice Boys of Derry, (n.d.). *Home*. <https://apprenticeboysofderry.org>

Beiner, Guy. (2023). *Forgetting in the decade of commemorations: New directions for Irish historical research*. The National University of Ireland. [https://www.researchgate.net/publication/371164131\\_Forgetting\\_in\\_the\\_Decade\\_of\\_Commemorations\\_New\\_Directions\\_for\\_Irish\\_Historical\\_Research](https://www.researchgate.net/publication/371164131_Forgetting_in_the_Decade_of_Commemorations_New_Directions_for_Irish_Historical_Research)

Clarke, A. (2011) The colonisation of Ulster and the rebellion of 1641: 1603–60. In T. W. Moody & F. X. Martin (Eds.), *The course of Irish history* (pp. 163–75). Mercier Press.

Covington, S. (2022). *The Devil from over the sea: Remembering and forgetting Oliver Cromwell in Ireland*. Oxford University Press.

Department of Tourism, Arts, Gaeltacht, Sport and Media. (2020). *Decade of centenaries*. <https://www.gov.ie/en/publication/a5ead-decade-of-centenaries>

Foster, R. F. (1989). *Modern Ireland: 1600–1972*. Penguin Books.

Gibney, J. (2011). "Sarsfield is the word": The heroic afterlife of an Irish Jacobite. *New Hibernia Review / Iris Éireannach Nua*, 15(1), 64–80. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/25801059>

Jeffries, H. (2018, January 19). Unreformable Ireland?: The failure of the reformation in Ireland. *The Marginalia Review of Books*. <https://themarginaliareview.com/unreformable-ireland-the-failure-of-the-reformation-in-ireland>

Johnson, W. (2022). *Marching sectarianism: Community memory and collective healing* [unpublished student paper]. DePaul University.

Langfitt, F. (2021, July 12). *It's marching season in Northern Ireland: Protestants proclaim allegiance to U.K.* NPR. <https://www.npr.org/2021/07/12/1015185108/its-marching-season-in-northern-ireland-protestants-proclaim-allegiance-to-u-k>

Liechty, J., & Clegg, C. (2001). *Moving beyond sectarianism: Religion, conflict, and reconciliation in Northern Ireland*. Columba Press.

McCain, M. (2022). *Ireland/Britain, 1603–1649, Part II-The wars of the Three Kingdoms* [PowerPoint slides]. D2L. <https://d2l.depaul.edu>

McGreevy, R. (2023, May 30). Census 2022: Number of Catholics in the state falls from 79% of population to 69% as country ages. *The Irish Times*. <https://www.irishtimes.com/ireland/2023/05/30/census-2022-number-of-catholics-in-the-state-falls-by-10-as-overall-population-ages>

Ohlmeyer, J. (2016). Conquest, civilization, colonization: Ireland 1540–1660. In R. Bourke & I. McBride (Eds.), *The Princeton history of modern Ireland* (pp. 21–41). Princeton University Press.

Schaffer, P. (Editor). (2000). Laws for the suppression of popery in Ireland, commonly known as the Penal Laws. Law Library of the University of Minnesota. <https://librarycollections.law.umn.edu/irishlaws/subjectlist.html>

Specia, M., & Testa, A. (2021, July 13). Northern Ireland's marching season begins in a fraught year for unionists. *The New York Times*. <https://www.nytimes.com/2021/07/13/world/europe/northern-ireland-march-brexite.html>

# LA QUESTIONE DELLA VOCE NELLE LETTERE DI S. CATERINA DA SIENA

ANNA FINERTY\*

*Italian Program*

*Department of Modern Languages*

---

## ENGLISH ABSTRACT

Caterina da Siena, also known as *la santa anoressica* or “the anorexic saint,” is the patron saint of Italy (Ciopponi 16). Italian philosopher Adriana Cavarero’s influential work *A Più Voci (For More than One Voice)* centers on the relationship between the voice, language, and the physical body and argues that the voice—both as sound and speech—best expresses each person’s unique humanity. By reading select letters by Caterina da Siena in light of Adriana Cavarero’s philosophy of the voice, this essay will show how Caterina da Siena’s linguistic and stylistic choices (such as repetitions to persuade and the use of modal verbs and the imperative mood to request, warn, and instruct) functioned as tools to subvert patriarchal obstacles as well as engage in political and religious discourse, laying the foundation for the inclusion of women’s voices in those spheres today.

---

“La vibrazione di una gola di carne”: questa è la voce secondo la filosofa Adriana Cavarero (10). Nel suo saggio *A Più Voci*, Cavarero discute di come la voce sia diversa dal linguaggio. Cavarero pensa che la voce, “La singolarità irripetibile di ogni essere umano, l’unicità incarnata che distingue ciascuno da ciascun altro,” cioè il suono della voce, come la voce si sente nel mondo fisico, sia più importante nella comunicazione fra persone di ciò che si dice (15). Nel caso della voce di una donna, Cavarero parla di una voce carnale e sensuale e di come gli stereotipi sulla voce della donna in *Un Re in Ascolto* dello scrittore Italo Calvino possono far riflettere sul tema della misoginia. Inoltre, lei mette a confronto la voce con il linguaggio, chi parla con cosa dice.

Nel contesto della letteratura italiana femminile, chi parla è importante. Nel quattordicesimo secolo, le donne non potevano impegnarsi in discorsi pubblici senza un marito. Santa Caterina da Siena è una delle donne più influenti nella storia italiana. Nata a Siena il 25 marzo 1347, era la ventitreesima figlia nella sua famiglia. Non voleva sposarsi o avere figli. Quando i suoi genitori volevano darla in sposa, lei si è tagliata i capelli chiudendosi in casa (Ciopponi 16). A vent’anni, ha sviluppato una forma di anoressia come un modo per essere più vicina a Dio. Ha consacrato la sua vita alla Chiesa a ventun anni, e ha iniziato a impegnarsi per il ritorno di papa Gregorio XI a Roma. Ha scritto varie lettere al papa e altri uomini di Chiesa, e in generale uomini al potere, più di quattrocento in totale nell’arco della sua vita. Nel 1378, Caterina ha dettato il *Dialogo della Divina Provvidenza*, la sua opera di letteratura mistica più importante (18-19).

---

\* This essay was originally written for ITA 317 (Italian Women Writers), taught by Professor Caterina Mongiat-Farina in Spring Quarter 2023. Professor Mongiat-Farina assisted in preparing the essay for publication.

Ciò nonostante, c'è la questione dell'autenticità dei testi di Caterina da Siena. In questo periodo, le donne venivano educate a casa con insegnanti privati o nel convento. L'istruzione superiore delle donne era sistematicamente negata e questo era particolarmente vero in teologia. Ciò ha fatto sorgere l'ipotesi che Caterina da Siena non abbia scritto i suoi testi. Fino al controllo del Concilio di Trento, l'ortodossia aveva istituito la pratica del padre spirituale per ricordare le esperienze e le visioni delle donne, facendo sì che la maggior parte dei testi non fossero scritti da dette donne. L'enorme mancanza d'istruzione superiore per le donne, non necessariamente la capacità da leggere ma la capacità di scrivere, è il motivo per cui la maggior parte dei racconti delle donne sono ritenuti scritti da uomini (Librandi 48-51).

Dopo il Concilio di Trento, c'è un cambiamento nella scrittura filosofica e religiosa delle donne. Dopo il Concilio, nell'ambito della Controriforma, più italiane hanno cominciato a scrivere loro stesse. Le scritture di questa nuova "mano femminile" hanno una lingua semicolta con segni di analfabetismo, a causa della disparità nella educazione, dimostrando così che i precedenti scritti erano trascritti o compilati da uomini (Librandi 50). Tuttavia, quando si guardano tutti gli scritti di Caterina da Siena, c'è un ritorno alle espressioni retoriche, sintassi, strutture grammaticali, e stile linguistico precedenti con uno stile coerente che dimostra l'autenticità della voce, se non della mano, di Caterina (55-57).

La relazione tra la filosofia di Adriana Cavarero e la scrittura di Caterina da Siena è complessa. Caterina usa la sua voce con forza quando altre donne non avevano la possibilità di esprimere il proprio pensiero. Le sue lettere erano un modo per conquistarsi la libertà: libertà dai suoi genitori, dagli uomini, e dalla società, che nel quattordicesimo secolo stabiliva che le donne non potessero parlare senza l'autorità dei mariti, limitazione che Caterina supera affermando che Dio è suo marito (Cioppioni 17). La voce di Caterina nelle sue lettere è il *'chi parla'* così importante per Adriana Cavarero.

Sebbene Caterina sia morta e non possiamo ascoltarne direttamente la voce, le sue lettere ce ne restituiscono la voce in qualche modo, una voce che, grazie al pensiero di Adriana Cavarero, si dimostrerà essere unica e usata per conquistare la libertà ed esprimere le sue idee per cambiare il mondo in cui viveva.

Nella prima parte del saggio *A Più Voci*, Adriana Cavarero fa riferimento alla storia di *Un Re in Ascolto* di Italo Calvino. La storia racconta di un re ossessionato da ogni suono nel suo palazzo e isolato nella paranoia causata dal suono delle voci dei suoi cortigiani e servitori, che lasciano trapelare la loro infedeltà o congiura (Cavarero 7). Un giorno, una donna apre la sua finestra e canta. Il re, senza vederla, ne sente la voce. In quel momento, lui avverte che è la cosa più bella e più vera di tutta la sua vita (7-10). Cavarero inizia con questa storia per isolare il suono della voce dalle parole e idee che esprime. Secondo lei, "La voce di chi parla è invece sempre diversa da tutte le altre voci, anche se le parole pronunciate fossero sempre le stesse," vale a dire che la voce che emerge dalle corde vocali nella sua unicità è già ricca di significato (10). Lei ha descritto questa idea anche come "la grana" della voce. Questo porta all'idea della voce femminile. Tradizionalmente in letteratura, la voce femminile, o "il canto di una donna," è sensuale, seduttivo, e carnale. Cavarero sottolinea però che se le parole possono essere seduttive, come quelle delle Sirene omeriche, anche il suono della voce è seduttivo, che sia di uomo o donna, perché la voce esprime più semplicemente ciò che significa essere umano (11).

Ma come separiamo la voce delle parole? Per comunicare con gli altri, il linguaggio è importante, perché senza linguaggio saremmo degli animali non umani. Qui sta la differenza fra oralità e vocalità, secondo Cavarero. Paul Zumthor distingue infatti "oralità [come] il funzionamento della voce in quanto portatrice di linguaggio," da "vocalità [come] l'insieme delle attività e dei valori che le sono propri, indipendentemente dal linguaggio" (citato in Cavarero 18). Questo è importante per la nostra prospettiva perché si può dire che Caterina

da Siena inserisce tratti tipici dell'oralità nelle sue lettere, come per esempio la ripetizione. Nella sua lettera n. 273 a frate Raimondo da Capua, ripete molto la parola e l'immagine del *sangue*, come per esempio: “nel prezioso sangue del Figliuolo di Dio,” “dolcissimo sangue suo,” “se non fuste annegato nel sangue,” e “si riposa nel letto del fuoco del sangue” (Caterina 1147). Lei usa il sangue come una benedizione, una forma di purificazione, un simbolo di amore, e una rappresentazione di forza. La ripetizione di questo termine, anche nella sua originalità sonora, aiuta l'influenza politica di Caterina sul frate Raimondo. Se per la voce “la parola costituisce la sua destinazione essenziale” e dunque le parole sono necessario alla voce, *chi parla* è però fondamentale per la distinzione della voce nelle parole (Cavarero 19). Il sangue di Cristo ha qui il suono di una voce di donna.

Nel secondo capitolo del saggio, Cavarero discute “Il Dire piuttosto che il Detto”—la differenza fra l'atto dell'espressione e ciò che si esprime—e di nuovo emerge la problematica di *chi parla* (35). Quando due o più persone parlano, le loro voci rendono le parole diverse. Questo è vero anche per i dialoghi fra il passato e il presente. Le parole di Caterina hanno un significato diverso da quelle di una donna oggi perché le persone sono diverse con diverse realtà. Ciò nonostante, c'è ancora comunicazione fra le voci attraverso l'uso delle parole che Cavarero ha descritto come il respiro (Cavarero 40). La voce si esprimere involontariamente attraverso le parole, come l'atto di respirare. Oggi, le parole delle lettere di Caterina da Siena sono l'equivalente della sua voce. Secondo Amedeo Giannini in *Poesia ed Oratoria di S. Caterina da Siena*, “Ogni lettera è, insomma, un *documento* di vita” (20). Se le lettere sono documenti di vita, e la voce è come gli esseri umani esprimono la vita, la voce di Caterina da Siena è nelle sue lettere. In loro è più facile “vedere la voce” di Caterina da Siena perché lei parla a qualcuno direttamente come se stessa, e nel caso della Lettera n. 238 lei parla con papa Gregorio XI.

Per prima cosa, i desideri di Caterina la hanno portata a dedicare la sua vita a Dio. Lei era una donna di forti convinzioni che sono evidenti nelle sue lettere. All'inizio della lettera a Gregorio XI, lei parla come la voce di Dio. Lei sollecita Gregorio XI con parole come “la volontà di Dio” o “Dio vuole” (Caterina 87). Lei usa la sua voce come la voce di Dio e questo rende la sua voce più potente nella mente del papa. La prospettiva di San Paolo nelle lettere ai Corinzi è utile per evidenziare l'importanza di questa scelta di Caterina nel contrastare la tradizionale imposizione del silenzio alle donne. Paolo aveva scritto infatti riguardo le donne: “Se vogliono imparare qualche cosa, interroghino a casa i loro mariti, perché è sconveniente per una donna parlare in assemblea” (1 Cor. 14, 34-35; citato in Librandi 47). Dicendo che suo marito è Dio, lei ha potuto influire su uomini potenti. Per una donna nel quattordicesimo secolo, questa è una forma di libertà dalle norme sociali.

Ma la sua voce è più della semplice voce della “moglie di Dio.” In questa lettera lei parla di sangue, il sangue di Dio e il suo sangue. Nella Chiesa, il sangue di Gesù Cristo è un simbolo sacro e fondante, di sacrificio e salvezza. Ma il sangue per una donna è anche un simbolo di fertilità, che non pare casuale in una scrittrice che aveva scelto l'anoressia per essere “prolifica” in maniera non scontata per una donna, e cioè come intellettuale. Quando lei parla al papa, e parla di sangue, il ‘chi parla’ di Adriana Cavarero diventa rilevante. Poiché Caterina era una donna, le sue parole potrebbero avere più significati.

Quando si leggono le lettere di Caterina da Siena si capisce che lei ha una voce diretta e forte. Nella lettera n. 238, lei dice al papa: “[ci sono] tre cose vi richiegga” (Caterina 88). Lei vuole che il papa torni a Roma, si impegni in una crociata, e renda la Chiesa buona e virtuosa. Lei poi dice che *Dio* non intende la Croce come simbolo di grandezze e pompe (89). La forza delle sue richieste è nella struttura grammaticale in questa lettera che usa spesso i verbi *volere* e *dovere* e l'imperativo per comunicare l'urgenza e importanza delle sue idee. Lei dice, “Il quale segno pare che la volontà dolce di Dio *voglia*

che 'l leviate," per mostrare l'importanza e forza della sua voce e la voce di Dio all'inizio della lettera (87). Poi, quando lei parla della seconda richiesta dice, "voi doveste andare" e "vada" in riferimento alla crociata (88). Gli imperativi di Caterina da Siena e di Dio attraverso di lei mostrano che nella retorica di questa lettera la voce di Caterina e la voce di Dio sono intrecciate, legate come attraverso lo stesso respiro, come descritto da Cavarero.

Le lettere di Caterina da Siena sono fondamentali anche in quanto segnano l'inizio della scrittura femminile in lingua volgare. In un mondo dove le donne hanno l'obbligo di sposarsi o di prostituirsi per ottenere un minimo di potere, Caterina da Siena ha aperto una via nuova per la libertà femminile, quella della scrittura religiosa. L'uso del linguaggio figurativo come il sangue, o i verbi servili e gli imperativi nella lettera a papa Gregorio XI mostrano che lei era istruita e intelligente. Il fatto che lei abbia scritto al papa, frati, principi, e altri potenti mostra la sua statura nella rete sociale del quattordicesimo secolo (Zancan 151-52). Questo è importante perché come ventitreesima figlia di una famiglia non ricca, ci si aspettava che si sposasse, e Caterina ha infranto le norme sociali ed era una pioniera per le donne religiose e le loro voci.

Per concludere, se non è possibile sentire effettivamente la voce di Caterina da Siena oggi, il concetto di voce nella

definizione di Adriana Cavarero può essere applicato utilmente alla scrittura di Caterina perché la voce è legata alla lingua. Oggi possiamo 'ascoltare' la voce di Caterina da Siena perché le sue lettere sono piene di passione. La sua passione è rappresentata nella combinazione tra *sangue* e *fuoco* nella lettera n. 273. Lei dice sull'amore di Gesù: "Sangue e fuoco, inestimabile amore!" (Caterina 1148). Sono immagini forti, in un periodo in cui molte donne non avevano una voce per promuovere il cambiamento. Le opzioni per una donna del quattordicesimo secolo erano di diventare moglie e madre, suora, o cortigiana. Santa Caterina da Siena, avendo superato con astuzia tutti gli ostacoli per una donna alla vita intellettuale, è diventata una scrittrice e mistica molto importante nella storia. Lei usa la sua voce, una voce di donna, non come una voce carnale o sensuale, ma come tramite per la voce di Dio. Riflettere sul concetto di *chi parla* nelle lettere di Caterina da Siena mostra la complessa relazione fra lei e Dio e come queste due voci abbiano collaborato nella retorica di Caterina alla riforma della Chiesa. I suoi scritti e scelte—di non sposarsi, di dedicarsi alla Chiesa, di privarsi del cibo e del riposo—sono esempi della sua libertà ed espressione della sua personalità. E ci ricordano insieme a Cavarero che la voce, "la vibrazione di una gola di carne," rende ogni persona diversa e che è dunque importante riflettere sempre su chi parla, perché *chi* parla può cambiare il significato di ciò che è detto.

## BIBLIOGRAFIA

Caterina da Siena. *Le Lettere*. Paoline, 1993.

Cavarero, Adriana. *A Più Voci. Filosofia Dell'Espressione Vocale*. Feltrinelli, 2003, pp. 7-42.

Ciopponi, Nadia. "Santa Caterina Da Siena." *Parola di Donne. Otto Secoli di Letteratura Italiana al Femminile*, Edizioni Clandestine, 2006, pp. 16-19.

Giannini, Amedeo. "Poesia ed Oratoria di S. Caterina da Siena," *Aevum*, vol. 22, no. 1, 1948, pp. 18-39. *JSTOR*, [www.jstor.org/stable/25819976](http://www.jstor.org/stable/25819976). Consultato l'8 giugno 2023.

Librandi, Rita. "Capitolo II." *La Letteratura Religiosa*, Il Mulino, 2012, pp. 47-65.

Zancan, Marina. "Lettere di Caterina da Siena. Il Testo, la Tradizione, l'Interpretazione," *Annali d'Italianistica*, vol. 13, 1995, pp. 151-61. *JSTOR*, [www.jstor.org/stable/24006569](http://www.jstor.org/stable/24006569). Consultato l'8 giugno 2023.

# 1950S LESBIAN LITERATURE IN *THE LADDER*: THE EARLY RUNGS TO THE RADICAL LESBIAN EXPRESSION AND ADVOCACY OF THE AMERICAN 1960S

CLAUDIA GRZYB\*

*Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, Transgender, Queer Studies Program*

## Introduction

When remembering the queer activism of the 1960s, many envision this political organizing as the starting point of modern lesbian consciousness and community. However, this lesbian activism has its roots a decade earlier. It was in this dangerous pre-gay liberation environment that the Daughters of Bilitis (DOB) bravely began a social group that they believed would be a safer alternative to gay-friendly bars often raided by police. Through the publication of their national magazine, *The Ladder*, the Daughters hoped to validate, educate, and integrate lesbian women into US society.

The group first advertised itself as a non-politically affiliated source of resources and research on lesbianism. To understand how the values and goals of *The Ladder* and its broader lesbian community evolved from the 1950s into the 1960s, we must analyze the magazine through the lens of the literature discussed in the magazine.

Since the very first publication of *The Ladder* in October 1956, the Daughters of Bilitis have defined their purpose as “education of the variant,”<sup>1</sup> another term for homosexuality at the time. By educating lesbians, the Daughters hoped

to dismantle the internalized homophobia and fear that were common during the period. By educating society about lesbians, the Daughters hoped to create a space for lesbians to integrate peacefully into general society. Their first action to accomplish this was “by establishing and maintaining as complete a library as possible of both fiction and non-fiction literature on the sex-deviant theme.”<sup>2</sup> *The Ladder*’s often overlooked legacy of compiling affirming literature and research marks it as the bridge between a decade of fear and invisibility for lesbians and a decade empowered with feminist activism and pride.

## Primary Sources and Methodology

The primary sources I have used are the digitized copies of *The Ladder*, America’s first nationally published lesbian magazine. The monthly publication was created and published in San Francisco by the Daughters of Bilitis (DOB), a lesbian social organization that began in the mid-1950s and continued until the 1970s. The publication began as a newsletter for its sixteen members and eventually grew into a national magazine that connected the growing chapters of the DOB across the United States. The magazine was first sent out not only to other lesbians but also to psychiatrists, lawyers, and other professionals that the DOB hoped would either be of help to the organization or interested in their compilation of

---

\* Written for Prof. Colleen Doody’s HST 390, Autumn Quarter 2022.  
Selected by the LGBTQ Faculty Advisory Board Creative and Scholarly Works Prize subcommittee: Prof. Gary Cestaro, Prof. Lisa Dush, and Prof. Francesca Royster.

1 Phyllis Lyon, ed., *The Ladder*, vol. 1, no. 1, 1956, 4.

---

2 Lyon, *The Ladder*, vol. 1, no. 1, 1956, 4.

information. This wide audience shows the magazine's initial focus not on radicalism but on social integration. Besides being a source to advertise important group events or informative articles (like a lesbian's rights when arrested), *The Ladder* has focused much of its coverage over the years on gathering and discussing lesbian literature. By analyzing the literature discussed in *The Ladder* from both the 1950s and 1960s, the growth of a visible national lesbian community and its growing alliance with feminist activism are revealed.

During the first volume of *The Ladder*, the length of each issue fluctuated from 14 to 35 pages, at most. After the first issue, each magazine issue averaged about 15 pages, with only small fluctuations in length (with one exception, October 1963, being 32 pages long). In the mid-1960s, some issues covered two months, while during most of its run, *The Ladder* was published monthly. Each issue included the DOB's written purpose statement, a brief listing of the current staff for both the magazine and the social group as a whole, a table of contents, a calendar of events, instructions on how to subscribe or become a member, and that week's piece of their grander "Lesbiana" literature list. Many issues also included amateur creative works, articles on a wide range of issues related to lesbian life or the furthering of the homophile movement, and a section of published positive responses from readers and members of the group. I chose to compare two formative volumes directly: Volume 1 was released in October 1956, and Volume 11 was released a decade later in October 1966.

### Secondary Sources

To analyze how the literature reviewed and published in *The Ladder* reflected the values of the rising lesbian identity of the 1950s and 1960s, the magazine's broader historical context, founding organization, and literature must be closely examined. While some historians argue that the rise of the LGBTQ+ movement in the 1960s and 1970s was in response to the oppression of the decades prior, other historians attribute the growing community to the autonomy achieved by the changing economics of the

postwar period. Historians who closely work with the DOB often nod to literature's role but do not attest to its crucial position in how this community grew and connected.

Historian Marica M. Gallo provides a fantastic chronology of the DOB through her use of interviews and archival research. Her extensive book and journal articles include *Different Daughters: A History of the Daughters of Bilitis and the Rise of the Lesbian Rights Movement*, a journal article under the same name, and "Celebrating the Years of *the Ladder*." Gallo argues that the start of the DOB in the 1950s is proof of disruptions and the organization of women in a period that has been otherwise remembered as "socially quiescent."<sup>3</sup> While Gallo gives fantastic coverage of the DOB writers, some authors who touched the group, and the way research was conducted, Gallo does not attribute enough credit to the impact of the literature on the growth of the DOB.

In her 2013 journal article "An Archive of Anecdotes: Raising Lesbian Consciousness after the Daughters of Bilitis," historian Jean Bessette focuses on the literature created as a result of the organization. DOB Founders Del Martin and Phyllis Lyon compiled an archive of anecdotal letters sent to the DOB and *The Ladder* to create their 1972 book, *Lesbian/Woman*. Bessette argues that the construction of this resource was "strategically curated into middle class categories" to further contrast the lesbian bar scene of the time.<sup>4</sup> Bessette concurs that while Martin and Lyon wanted to portray their audience and community as respectable and enlightened middle-class women, their portrayal excluded diverse or radical readers of the magazine. Bessette's analysis of how the DOB founders wanted to portray their community—and who was deemed qualified to represent it—reveals the

---

3 Marica M. Gallo, "Celebrating the Years of 'The Ladder,'" *Off Our Backs* 35, no. 5/6 (May-June 2005): 34-36, <https://www.jstor.org/stable/20838374>.

4 Jean Bessette, "An Archive of Anecdotes: Raising Lesbian Consciousness after the Daughters of Bilitis," *Rhetoric Society Quarterly* 43, no. 1 (2013): 22, <https://www.jstor.org/stable/41722462>.

period's limits regarding visibility and inclusivity. While Bessette acknowledges a form of literature as the carrier of a curated identity for the DOB, she does not acknowledge the role that previous lesbian literature played in constructing the group's identity in the first place.

In her 2005 journal article, "Deviant Classics: Pulps and the Making of Lesbian Print Culture," Stephanie Foote focuses on the history and power of lesbian pulp novels in the middle of the twentieth century. Foote's intimate research of pulp fiction and its reprinting analyzes the subjects as both bodiless texts with stylistic influence as well as physical, personal artifacts of a growing community. Foote's coverage of the publishing, marketing, and reprinting of lesbian fiction pays special "attention to the social life of a book as a factor in its textuality."<sup>5</sup> Foote refers to *The Ladder*, other alternative newsletters, and both lesbian and alternative publishing houses' roles in reviewing and promoting growing lesbian literature.

### Lesbian Life and Literature in the 1950s

The economic circumstances of the postwar period allotted more opportunity to pursue a (private) "lesbian life" than ever before. The increase of women in the workforce offered women—primarily white, middle-class women—a chance at abandoning family-centered economic support systems and pursuing new independent, urban lives.<sup>6</sup> Their expanded sexual autonomy, access to public spheres, and independent means of income gave women like Del Martin and Phyllis Lyon enough economic stability to relocate their lives to more private urban centers, consume lesbian media or frequent lesbian bars, cohabit with their partners, and eventually, create "respectable" social groups for other middle-class lesbians in the city.

The consumption of lesbian media was frequently limited to pocketbooks or pulp novels. Pulp novels were mass produced books printed on cheap pulp paper that focused less on stylistic devices and more on an engaging, sweeping plot. Often considered lowbrow literature—or lacking literary quality—the mass production of these novels during the war, initially directed at soldiers, drove a new era of accessible and affordable fiction.<sup>7</sup> Mainstream pulps covered a wide array of genres from mystery to western to romance novels, to name a few. Soon, male authors began to write lesbian pulps, initially marketed for other men. Since these were the "earliest mass market texts in which lesbians could see representatives of themselves," lesbian authors and readers quickly appropriated pulp novels and began writing lesbian pulps about and for other lesbians.<sup>8</sup> Many lesbian authors wrote under pseudonyms, sometimes even male pseudonyms, to be taken more seriously but primarily to avoid exposing themselves as authors of queer, lowbrow literature. Many lesbian pulps were not originally intended to be published as pulps, but as lesbian authors faced the realities of the market's limits for homosexual literature and literary expectations, they often edited and rebranded their novels to be published as pulps.

While lesbian romance pulps were acceptable enough to be printed and distributed, their sweeping plots were often limited to sorrowful endings, with the lead characters often being left heartbroken, admitted into psychiatric institutions, or even dying. Some lesbian pulps were even "sequestered behind a cage" to protect the public from "contamination,"<sup>9</sup> but many were displayed with their scandalous covers alongside other cheap pulps in general stores or on the shelves of privately owned bookstores. Due to their depictions of lesbian experience, many lesbian pulps made references to the lesbian pulp genre in their plots, as did many lesbian autobiographies of the

5 Stephanie Foote, "Deviant Classics: Pulps and the Making of Lesbian Print Culture," *Signs: Journal of Women in Culture and Society* 31, no. 1 (2005): 188, <https://doi.org/10.1086/432742>.

6 Stephen Valocchi, "Capitalisms and Gay Identities: Towards a Capitalist Theory of Social Movements," *Social Problems* 64, no. 2 (May 2017): 318, <https://www.jstor.org/stable/26370910>.

7 Foote, "Deviant Classics."

8 Foote, "Deviant Classics," 177.

9 Foote, "Deviant Classics," 176.



time, where narrators experienced scenes of “discovering and reading ‘lesbian’ texts” for the first time.<sup>10</sup> In this self-conscious form of literature, it was not just the text or content that impacted the lives of lesbians in the 1950s but also the physical presence and quality of a book as a private artifact of an underground culture. Foote describes that when lesbians of the time were “isolated, with no one to talk to, they turn[ed] to that most private of pleasures, novel reading, and [found] instead a public expression of their innermost selves, the secret of who they are.”<sup>11</sup>

### **The Daughters Start *The Ladder***

The lack of a visible public lesbian community and the aggressive raids of gay bars in the 1950s pushed four San Francisco lesbian couples, among them future president Martin and magazine editor Lyon, to form the DOB in 1955.<sup>12</sup> The name was a discrete reference to the historic lesbian poet Sappho, as Bilitis was the name of a fictional lover in Pierre Louys’s poems about Sappho’s life. While some “in the know” lesbians would pick up on this reference, the obscure name was meant to further protect the group’s identity, and the inclusion of “The Daughters” mimicked other social sororities that were common in the 1950s.<sup>13</sup> The DOB began organizing local gatherings for their members like bowling outings, holiday parties, group discussions, business seminars, and guest speakers.<sup>14</sup> In this way, the group was meant to provide a safe way for lesbians to gather, mingle, and learn.

To advertise their gatherings, attract new members, and begin educating the general public about the lesbian experience, the DOB began their monthly publication in October 1956, titled *The Ladder*. At this point, the DOB members established numerous policies to protect themselves: members often used pseudonyms at meetings

and in their publications; some advocated more harshly than others to a gender-conforming dress code; an age requirement of twenty-one was established; and the publication stated that they were not affiliated with any other political party or association.<sup>15</sup><sup>16</sup> While the content of the magazine was lesbian-focused, one did not have to identify as a lesbian to join or receive the magazine.

Besides advertising and covering local events, the magazine was heavily focused on gathering literature. The magazine also urged writers to send in their own creative writings and poems, which were published in the following issues. The magazine featured an ongoing “Lesbiana” book list, book reviews, and book advertisements. The discourse of lesbian pulps—what had once been a private lesbian experience—now had a permanent home in the DOB. Much of the magazine’s articles supported efforts at validating scientific research that furthered the general understanding of lesbians or queer individuals, and the DOB even called on their readers to aid in their research efforts.

### **Volume 1 of *The Ladder***

The first volume of *The Ladder* did not specify whether a particular novel listed in the “Lesbiana” list was a pulp, except for one that was referred to as a “pocketbook” (*Odd Girl Out*), but many mentioned were likely pulp novels because of their pulp publishers like Gold Medal Books, Fawcett Publications, Greenberg Publishers, Berkeley Publishing Co., and Pyramid Co.<sup>17</sup> Besides the publishing companies, the subject matter and reoccurring genres also suggest that much of the fiction reviewed and listed in the magazine was pulp. Some of the reoccurring pulp genres were romances that occurred in school settings, whether a relationship between two students, two teachers, a crush on a headmaster, or “another” sorority crush on a school

---

10 Foote, “Deviant Classics,” 176.

11 Foote, “Deviant Classics,” 178.

12 Foote, “Deviant Classics,” 170, 183.

13 Evelyn Bailey, “Shoulders to Stand On: Daughters of Bilitis,” *Out Alliance*, January 7, 2019. This resource is no longer accessible online.

14 Lyon, *The Ladder*, 1956.

---

15 Bailey, “Shoulders to Stand On.”

16 Lyon, *The Ladder*, 1956.

17 Lyon, *The Ladder*, vol. 1, no. 7, 1956, 14.

roommate.<sup>18</sup> An all-girls school was a common environment suitable for a “sensational”<sup>19</sup> novel to take place in because this setting was often a uniquely women’s world devoid of men. Another common genre was the universal pulp genre of love triangles or infidelity in a romance, and the lesbian pulp equivalent sometimes included male counterparts but most often included devastating endings for the newly realized lesbian.

The writers of *The Ladder* would list each title, publication information, and a short summary of the book in the “Lesbiana” list. Their summaries were littered with opinions just as much as their book reviews were, and they would often critique whether a certain title was a “must” in a personal library or not. One critical aspect *The Ladder* warned against in the summaries was whether the book surprised them with a happy ending or whether it had an ending “to satisfy censors.”<sup>20</sup> For example, *The Price of Salt*, authored by the well-known mainstream author Patricia Highsmith under the pseudonym Claire Morgan, was described as having a “hopeful” and “different” kind of ending that “may exemplify a new outlook long awaited by the homosexual world.”<sup>21</sup> Some titles, like *The Well of Loneliness* by British author Radclyffe Hall, were knowingly referred to as “the most well-known of all lesbian novels” that “certainly needs little comment.”<sup>22</sup> These assuming and “in the know” descriptions of titles reveal the existing literary lesbian culture and mark *The Ladder* as indeed having “among the first self-conscious commentators on as well as participants in a self-conscious and growing lesbian literary tradition.”<sup>23</sup> While lesbian literary culture had key titles and trends, something crucial that *The Ladder* writers often critiqued was whether a novel had a positive portrayal of lesbianism. They applauded novels that had established relationships

and that portrayed and promoted “adjusted” lesbians.<sup>24</sup> When one character’s queer life was written “without apology,” *The Ladder* applauded the novel, stating that “We choose to accept!”<sup>25</sup> *The Ladder*’s literary priorities focused on positive and affirming representation in fiction and as many “happy” endings as could surpass censors.

In the first volume of *The Ladder*, there were fourteen pieces published and printed in the magazine that were either works of prose or poetry. Nearly half of those pieces were written by Jo Allyn, while three were written by the DOB president, Martin. It is unclear whether more were written by the same writers since some DOB members admitted to using pseudonyms and some did not. The submitted prose or poems often depicted scenes pulled from an ordinary day—whether that was a day at work, catching the bus and noticing the pretty girl on board, walking down the crowded streets of San Francisco, or dressing a Christmas tree with a partner. Many of the poems alluded to more neutral topics, while the short stories often reflected a narrator’s romantic life and sexuality—such as reminiscing about a first love, coming to terms with their sexuality, or establishing a new relationship. The casual and domestic nature of the submitted works contrast with the sometimes outlandish and scandalous plots of the fiction listed in the “Lesbiana” section, exposing a gap in published literature that amateur lesbian writers filled for readers.

While much of *The Ladder*’s coverage of literature was centered on fiction, the writers included and reacted to the nonfiction of the time as well. Advertisements for anecdotal nonfiction about “the humor, heartbreak, and reality of the gay bar”<sup>26</sup> show that while the DOB may have been formed in direct response to the dangerous gay bar scene, *The Ladder* was well aware of this crucial hearth of the present lesbian identity. Furthermore, educational

---

18 Gene Damon, “Lesbiana,” *The Ladder*, April 1957, 14.

19 Damon, “Lesbiana,” April 1957, 14.

20 Damon, “Lesbiana,” September 1957, 27.

21 Damon, “Lesbiana,” May 1957, 11.

22 Damon, “Lesbiana,” March 1957, 12.

23 Foote, “Deviant Classics,” 174.

---

24 Damon, “Lesbiana,” June 1957, 15.

25 Damon, “Lesbiana,” April 1957, 14.

26 Damon, “Lesbiana,” May 1957, 11.

articles that enlightened lesbians legal rights in the situation of a bar raid showed *The Ladder's* dedication to helping instead of shaming the dangerous realities of this hearth. *The Ladder* also discussed and reacted to published nonfiction works like “The New Approach . . . Sex Offender to Good Citizen,” which was a pamphlet created by patients of Atascadero State Hospital to outline the purposes of the state’s hospital for “sexual psychopaths.”<sup>27</sup> While jarring terminology in the twenty-first century, the aim for quick medical treatment rather than punishment was deemed an honorable change in the state of California and reflects how lesbians were viewed in the 1950s.

The foundational start for *The Ladder* covered about 47 published titles—spanning pulp fiction, general fiction, amateur prose and poetry, medical nonfiction, and personal anecdotal nonfiction—to educate their growing readers and the general public about the lesbian experience. Their extensive “Lesbiana” list was a formative section that became a permanent feature in the magazine, while their range of articles often responded to as well as reviewed works not mentioned in the “Lesbiana” list. The December 1956 issue featured the highest number of short stories and poems submitted to the magazine, offering holiday-specific scenes to promote a subscription to *The Ladder* as a gift that holiday season. The issue with the most pages dedicated to literature coverage was Volume 1 Number 11 (August 1957), which included a whopping 14 out of 32 pages devoted to literature and announced the DOB office library having been officially processed and opened, just shy of a full year after the magazine’s start. About 21.55 percent of the first volume was dedicated to literature, displaying the DOB’s serious and extensive devotion to analyzing and, therefore, furthering, the lesbian literary culture of the 1950s.

---

<sup>27</sup> Damon, “Lesbiana,” March 1957, 12.

### **The Daughters, Ten Years Later**

Over the course of the next decade, the popularity of *The Ladder* grew as the first nationally published lesbian magazine. With its growth, new chapters of the DOB began to spring up across the country in major cities like New York, Los Angeles, and Chicago.<sup>28</sup> While some chapters published their own newsletters, *The Ladder* stayed in constant contact throughout the country’s growing lesbian community. The DOB grew large enough to host biannual conferences, starting in 1960.<sup>29</sup> Founders and avid *The Ladder* participants Martin and Lyon stepped down from their prominent positions as leaders of the organization, believing that the magazine would prove its strength with fresh leadership.<sup>30</sup> Barbara Gittings, a DOB chapter President from New York, and Helen Sanders stepped up as leaders and brought forth exciting advancements that proved the drastic growth in the strength of the DOB community. Gittings did not shy away from appearing political in the magazine, and in 1964, she ushered in lesbian portraiture as the covers for the issues of *The Ladder*, a major step forward in lesbian visibility and confidence from the magazine’s previous hand-drawn discrete covers.<sup>31</sup> In this sense, *The Ladder* of the 1960s was a prominent and proud mirror held up to the expanded lesbian community that formed around the DOB.

Although Martin and Lyon stepped down from their positions, they stayed involved in the happenings and conversations occurring in *The Ladder*, particularly with regard to the active feminist movement of the mid-1960s. While the rhetoric at the beginning of *The Ladder's* foundation was not labeled feminist by its writers, Gallo attests to much of the 1960s women’s movement’s attitudes toward women’s empowerment as already present in founders Lyon and Martin. Their understanding

---

<sup>28</sup> Gallo, “Celebrating the Years,” 35.

<sup>29</sup> Bailey, “Shoulders to Stand On.”

<sup>30</sup> Bailey, “Shoulders to Stand On.”

<sup>31</sup> Gallo, “Celebrating the Years,” 36.

of the lesbian's treatment as a second-class citizen and the pleas for involvement from their readers did not stem from a perspective of sexual orientation but rather often from a basis of gender identification.<sup>32</sup> This attitude existed in the 1950s issues of *The Ladder*, but a radical shift to align the Daughters more politically occurred with Martin in 1966, when she wrote a piece for *The Ladder* asking members to join the National Organization for Women (NOW).<sup>33</sup>

### Volume 11 of *The Ladder*

This shift is evident in the nonfiction literature of *The Ladder* and the rhetoric of its major leaders. While issues of the magazine into the 1960s urged readers to volunteer for affirming psychiatric research, Barbara Gittings wrote that the "[e]mphasis on research has had its day" and that, instead, the 1960s were going to be a time of action.<sup>34</sup> For the ten-year anniversary issue of *The Ladder*, Helen Sanders was announced as the editor of the magazine and brought with her an aim toward the "next" rung, moving away from the lesbian in the homophile movement and instead toward her "identity as [a] woman in our society."<sup>35</sup> Soon, articles like "On the Superiority of Women" by Dr. Paul Snyder and "The Basic Bias" by Dorothy Lyle became common, both focusing primarily on gender's role in society.<sup>36 37</sup>

What stayed consistent even a decade after its start was the magazine's devotion to lesbian literature and, in turn, the community's commitment to literary discourse despite its growing politicization. As the nonfiction

steered away from affirming psychology and instead toward more feminist rhetoric, the fiction remained a unifying element of the lesbian culture represented in the magazine. In a magazine issue advertising "Concrete Steps to Further the Homophile Movement," the cover of the magazine featured the portrait of lesbian author Maureen Duffy to match a corresponding review of her new book about characters in a London lesbian bar.<sup>3839</sup> The priority of writers was evident in the content of much of the Lesbiana literature listed, as more biographies of lesbian authors were seen than ever before. In Volume 11 Number 2's article on Lesbiana Poetry (November 1966), an extensive list of historic lesbian poets was provided, including references to additional nonpoetic texts about figures like Emily Dickinson that attested to their closeted lesbian lives.<sup>40</sup> While the DOB shifted its focus away from integration and more toward activism, the magazine still prioritized lesbian literary figures above all else.

### Conclusion

Through examining the literary discourse in key volumes of the DOB's magazine, *The Ladder*, literature not only united the lesbian community but also was an essential precursor and partner to the 1960s lesbian and feminist activism. The initial goals of the DOB in the 1950s sought to compile affirming psychological research and positive literary fiction to better educate the lesbian sphere and a broader general society. These efforts, while novice, succeeded in creating a committed network of chapters and subscribers across the country. This expansion occurred simultaneously with the beginnings of the 1960s civil rights culture, and soon the magazine's focus shifted away from research and toward activism, aligning with the growing feminist movement of the time. Although this shift was revolutionary, it could not have happened

32 Marcia M. Gallo, *Different Daughters: A History of the Daughters of Bilitis and the Rise of the Lesbian Rights Movement* (New York: Seal Press, 2006), 27.

33 Bailey, "Shoulders to Stand On."

34 Marcia M. Gallo, "Different Daughters," *OAH Magazine of History* 20, no. 2 (January 2006): 29, <https://doi.org/10.1093/maghis/20.2.27>.

35 Helen Sanders, "Another Rung," *The Ladder*, October 1966, 24.

36 Paul Snyder, "On the Superiority of Women," *The Ladder*, January 1967, 17.

37 Dorothy Lyle, "The Basic Bias," *The Ladder*, February 1967, 2–5, <https://archive.org/details/the-ladder-1956-1972-lesbian-periodical/The%20Ladder%20Vol.%2011%2C%20No.%2005%2C%201967%20Feb/page/n11mode/2up>.

38 Shirley Willer, "What Concrete Steps Can Be Taken to Further the Homophile Movement," *The Ladder*, November 1966, 17–20.

39 Damon, "The Epitome of the World," review of *The Microcosm* by Maureen Duffy, *The Ladder*, November 1966, 14–16.

40 Lennox Strong and Terri Cook, "Poetry of Lesbiana," *The Ladder*, November 1966, 21.

without the DOB creating a space for women to read about women. *The Ladder* brought literary discussion to the forefront without relying on activism, philosophy, or other divisions among the lesbian community. Although *The Ladder* eventually outgrew itself and was forced to

dismantle, its lasting impact as a compiler of resources, visibility, and political motivation for lesbians across the country serves as an important and often unsung player in the queer activism and radical expression that preceded the 1960s.

#### PRIMARY SOURCES

- Damon, Gene. "The Epitome of the World," review of *The Microcosm* by Maureen Duffy. *The Ladder*, November 1966, 14-16.
- . "Lesbiana." *The Ladder*, March 1957.
- . "Lesbiana." *The Ladder*, April 1957.
- . "Lesbiana." *The Ladder*, May 1957.
- . "Lesbiana." *The Ladder*, June 1957.
- . "Lesbiana." *The Ladder*, July 1957.
- . "Lesbiana." *The Ladder*, September 1957.
- Lyle, Dorothy. "The Basic Bias." *The Ladder*, February 1967. <https://archive.org/details/the-ladder-1956-1972-lesbian-periodical/The%20Ladder%20Vol.%2011%2C%20No.%2005%2C%201967%20Feb/page/n1/mode/2up>.
- Lyon, Phyllis, ed. *The Ladder*, 1956 [Vol. 1].
- Sanders, Helen. "Another Rung." *The Ladder*, October 1966.
- Snyder, Paul. "On the Superiority of Women." *The Ladder*, January 1967.
- Strong, Lennox, and Terri Cook. "Poetry of Lesbiana." *The Ladder*, November 1966.
- Willer, Shirley. "What Concrete Steps Can Be Taken to Further the Homophile Movement." *The Ladder*, November 1966.

#### SECONDARY SOURCES

- Bailey, Evelyn. "Shoulders to Stand On: Daughters of Bilitis." *Out Alliance*. January 7, 2019.
- Bessette, Jean. "An Archive of Anecdotes: Raising Lesbian Consciousness after the Daughters of Bilitis." *Rhetoric Society Quarterly* 43, no. 1 (2013): 22-45. <https://www.jstor.org/stable/41722462>.
- Charles, Douglas M. *Hoover's War on Gays Exposing the FBI's "Sex Deviates" Program*. Lawrence: University Press of Kansas, 2015.
- D'Emilio, John. "Capitalism and Gay Identity." In *Powers of Desire: The Politics of Sexuality*, edited by Ann Snitow, Christine Stansell, and Sharan Thompson, 100-13. New York: Monthly Review Press, 1983.
- Faderman, Lillian. *Odd Girls and Twilight Lovers: A History of Lesbian Life in Twentieth-Century America*. New York: Penguin, 1992.
- Foote, Stephanie. "Deviant Classics: Pulp and the Making of Lesbian Print Culture." *Signs: Journal of Women in Culture and Society* 31, no. 1 (2005): 169-90. <https://doi.org/10.1086/432742>.
- Gallo, Marcia M. "Celebrating the Years of 'The Ladder.'" *Off Our Backs* 35, no. 5/6 (May-June 2005): 34-36. <https://www.jstor.org/stable/20838374>.
- . "Different Daughters." *OAH Magazine of History* 20, no. 2 (January 2006): 27-30. <https://doi.org/10.1093/maghis/20.2.27>.
- . *Different Daughters: A History of the Daughters of Bilitis and the Rise of the Lesbian Rights Movement*. New York: Seal Press, 2006.
- Gutterman, Lauren Jae. "'The House on the Borderland': Lesbian Desire, Marriage, and the Household, 1950-1979." *Journal of Social History* 46, no. 1 (2012): 1-22. <https://www.jstor.org/stable/41678973>.
- Valocchi, Stephen. "Capitalisms and Gay Identities: Towards a Capitalist Theory of Social Movements." *Social Problems* 64, no. 2 (May 2017): 315-31. <https://www.jstor.org/stable/26370910>.

# AN ANALYSIS OF PHATIC BODY LANGUAGE IN MINECRAFT

LEENA JERE\*

*Linguistics Program*

---

**ABSTRACT** This paper analyzes body language communication systems developed in the video game Minecraft that serve as phatic expressions—a means of initiating connection between players. These expressions—jumping, punching, and crouching—are semiotically indexical of game mechanics and iconic of real-life body language. The signs themselves are indexical of registers with punching being the most informal expression, jumping being the most neutral, and crouching being the most formal. The register of the body language is indexed by whether there is violence on the part of the addresser (in which case it's informal) or violence on the part of the addressee (in which case it's formal). Through analyzing the reasons behind Minecraft body language, one can gain insight into the formation of communication systems.

---

Minecraft is a video game with one of the largest player bases in the world and countless multiplayer communities. The game's longevity and popularity—along with the unique restrictions of communicating in a virtual environment—have necessarily resulted in a new linguistic community of practice. As a player and member of the community myself, I'm particularly interested in analyzing how Minecraft players use their characters' "bodies" to accompany or replace linguistic means of communication. For this paper, I have chosen to analyze three signs that serve the purpose of what Roman Jakobson calls "phatic expressions," formulaic expressions that exist to establish or prolong communication.<sup>1</sup> These expressions—which will be described further—are "jump," "punch," and "crouch." I will be explaining what each

of these signs means and arguing how these nonverbal phatic expressions are able to index different registers—different styles of communication that change depending on the nature of the social situation.<sup>2</sup>

Minecraft is an open-world sandbox game, which means the player is placed in a world where they can go wherever they want and interact with the world with very few limitations. As such, the gameplay in Minecraft wildly varies from player to player, but it can be anything from a survival-based game to a medium for creative expression to a place to spend time with friends. It can be played in single-player or multiplayer mode, but since this paper deals with interpersonal interaction, it will exclusively talk about interactions within the scope of multiplayer gameplay. In order to play multiplayer, players must join servers, which may be public or only open to a few players. The primary means of linguistic communication

---

\* This essay was initially written for Prof. Christopher Bloechl's ANT 106 (Language and Culture) in Spring Quarter 2023. Thank you to Prof. Bloechl for his guidance in developing the essay and to Prof. Bradley Hoot and Prof. Jason Schneider for their comments on the work as part of the Linguistics Program's selection committee. All images in this essay are screenshots taken by the author.

1 Roman Jakobson, "Closing Statement: Linguistics and Poetics," in *Style in Language* (Cambridge: The Massachusetts Institute of Technology Press, 1978), 355-56.

---

2 William J. Frawley, "Register and Style," in *International Encyclopedia of Linguistics* (Oxford University Press, 2003), <https://www.oxfordreference.com/view/10.1093/acref/9780195139778.001.0001/acref-9780195139778-e-0909>.

in Minecraft is the in-game chat, which functions as any text chat does and is visible to all players on the server. However, many players play with voice chat on servers, as will be seen in some of the examples in this paper. This either consists of a voice call in a different application or a mod that enables voice chat according to proximity in order to lend a sense of realism to the game. However, there is no built-in voice chat in unmodded Minecraft, so verbal communication is often unavailable in many situations. In such situations, when a player needs an alternative to typing—whether for convenience or stealth or simply a desire to communicate in another way—expressing oneself through body language can be very useful.

In his second trichotomy of signs, Peirce outlines three different semiotic categories: symbolic, iconic, and indexical. Symbols are defined as an arbitrary connection between the signifier and signified; an icon is a sign in which the signifier resembles the signified; and an index is a sign in which the signifier points to or evidences the signified.<sup>3</sup> The signs in Minecraft body language primarily fit into the indexical or iconic categories. This makes practical sense; no matter how many large public servers there are, Minecraft players don't make up a singular community or social group that consistently interacts enough to develop symbolic signs. It is neither feasible nor intuitive for players to learn arbitrary connections between signifier and signified. Rather, widely used signs derive their meaning either by being indexical of game mechanics or iconic of real-life body language, and very often meaning is derived from both.

The jump is simply a jump (fig. 1 and fig. 2), performed by pressing the spacebar on the keyboard. The jump is used as a greeting or an acknowledgement of another player. Its meaning as a greeting is exclusively indexical. There is no greeting that looks anything like jumping in

real life. Rather, making “eye contact” (fig. 3) with another player and pressing the spacebar is a clear and convenient way to acknowledge another player using the means of articulation and communication that the game provides. It is a textbook example of Jakobson's definition of a phatic expression; it is used solely for the purpose of establishing contact.

FIGURE 1



FIGURE 2



FIGURE 3



3 Charles S. Peirce, “Division of Signs,” in *Elements of Logic* (Bristol, UK: Thoemmes, 1998), 143–44.

The second sign is a punch (fig. 4 and fig. 5). The punch is also used as a greeting, but it is usually used to gain someone's attention. This is how it derives its meaning indexically: a player that is punched will be physically moved and will hear the noise of a punch, so unless the player is AFK (away from keyboard), it's the most surefire way for a player to ensure they are noticed. Iconically, it resembles a tap or a hard slap on the shoulder between good friends and often carries the same meaning as both real-life gestures. The phatic punch is unique on this list as it's the only sign that must be sparingly used to be treated as a genuine phatic expression, lest it be considered an invitation to fight.

FIGURE 4

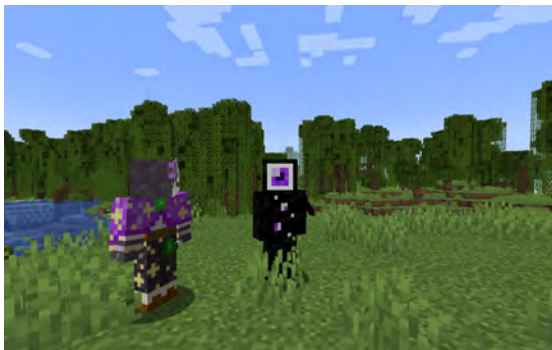
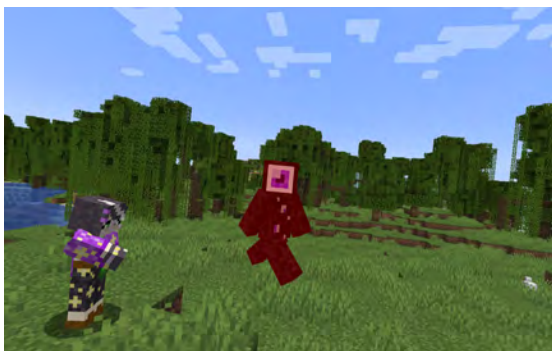


FIGURE 5



The final and most used sign is the crouch (fig. 6). The crouch, depending on the context, can be considered an indication of friendliness, solidarity, deference, or submission. Essentially, the denotational meaning of

a crouch is “peace.” The iconic reasoning behind this meaning is that the crouch is depicted as the Minecraft character bending down at the waist, which resembles a bow in real life. In many real-life cultures, this gesture may also be a simple polite greeting or a sign of deference or submission. The crouch as a sign of peace in Minecraft also has an indexical basis. Crouching has several practical functions, but the two most relevant ones for our purposes are that, first, a crouched player does not fall when they reach the edge of a block like a standing player does, and second, when one walks while crouching, the speed of the player is significantly reduced. Both of these factors make crouching the worst position to be in when engaging in PvP (player vs. player combat). It greatly limits one's movement, making it nearly impossible for a player to deal a critical amount of damage or effectively run from an assailant. Essentially, a crouch is a disarming maneuver. It indexes the lack of desire and inability to fight as much as throwing away one's weapon or taking off one's armor, but it is less risky, takes less time, and is able to be communicated even if the player is completely lacking in such resources.

FIGURE 6



The existence of so many phatic expressions in Minecraft isn't an accident. When a body language sign is widely used in the Minecraft world, it is usually communicating something that must be frequently communicated in the most efficient way possible. Phatic expressions are common, easy to both communicate and understand



without needing any prior knowledge, and easy to turn into a nonlinguistic expression. Really, these signs are a nonlinguistic replication of the linguistic phenomenon of greetings. This is where the meaning of these signs can be affected by culture. “Greetings,” “Hey,” or “Sup” are denotationally similar but index vastly different things about the nature of the interaction and the relationship between addresser and addressee; similarly, the choice between a jump, punch, or crouch also implies vastly different things about the social context of the interaction.

All of these interactions exist on a scale of different registers—different styles of communication depending on the social context.<sup>4</sup> In this case, the scale of registers goes from informal communication to formal communication. At the most informal end of the scale is the punch. Punches as greetings are almost exclusively used between close friends between whom a little violence is not considered offensive or, if it is intended to offend, it is done so in a lighthearted way. When the greeting is used with the right person, the inherent violence of the punch indexes the intimacy of the interaction. If a player punched a stranger or an acquaintance as a greeting, they would almost definitely interpret it as an attack because there is no understanding of intention and no trust built up to contextualize the interaction. However, in an intimate friendship, there is enough comfort between the two people that a little innocuous violence isn’t a big deal, just like how teasing is common among close friends.

One of the best places to witness Minecraft communication is through YouTube videos created by Minecraft players on multiplayer servers. The private server HermitCraft consists of several Minecraft YouTubers who have played together for a long time, which means the players are close friends and intimate interactions are common. An example of the phatic punch in the context of an intimate interaction can be seen when HermitCraft member Grian

announces in the chat that he is “ignoring [building] the back of [his] base,” and his friends come by his base for an “intervention.”<sup>5</sup> In this particular context, there is a mod on the server that allows one to hear players’ voices based on proximity:

[Goodtimewithscar, Geminityay, and Impulsesv start punching Grian.]

GRIAN. Oh, geez!

[Grian unmutes his mic, so his friends can hear him.]

GRIAN. Hello. Hello! Hello. Hello.

GEMINITAY. Bully him.

GRIAN. Hello.

IMPULSES. What are you doing?!

The intention behind the punching here is twofold: The first is to get Grian’s attention effectively by surprising him, which showcases the denotational meaning of the punch. The second intention is to signal an aggressive tone to the conversation, but this does not mean signaling conflict. Grian never fights back as he is being punched, indicating that he knows his friends have no intention of truly hurting him. When he does eventually speak to his friends, his tone is not confrontational either, indicating that he knows no offense was intended. His friends do speak to him in an aggressive tone, but when taking the context into account, it’s clear the tone is not intended to be hostile. There are three main contextual clues. First, the intention behind the interaction is helpful, making Grian complete a creative project he’s been putting off. Second, even if Grian is unaware of their intentions, there is prior knowledge from all involved that all four members of the conversation are friends. Third, this is not a server where it is normal to engage others in PvP randomly, so Grian had no expectation that he was truly being attacked. All of this contributes to the punch, creating a playfully aggressive tone for the conversation rather than a legitimately confrontational one.

---

4 Frawley, “Register and Style.”

---

5 Grian, “Hermitcraft 9: Episode 36 – THE INCIDENT,” May 3, 2023, video, 11:39 to 11:45, <https://youtu.be/a3QioFosUxQ>.

Jumping is the most neutral of all these expressions. As a greeting, it does not index anything other than the mutual acknowledgement of two people in proximity. There is some context that must surround it; the players involved in the interaction must be familiar with each other. Otherwise, it may not register that it is a greeting directed to the addressee or that it is a greeting at all. The jump functions much like a wave gesture in real life.

A perfect example of a jump being used as a wave can be seen in the introduction of the first episode of a series by Xisumavoid<sup>6</sup> where he is saying hello to his viewers and standing in a circle among other players. In this situation, voice chat is enabled.

XISUMAVOID. Hello, everyone, and welcome back to UHC number 9 . . .  
[Several players begin jumping.]

In this context, there is nothing being communicated, linguistically or non-linguistically, other than a greeting. When Xisumavoid says “hello” and a player responds with a jump, it implies that the jump is supposed to match the tone and intention of the greeting, just like saying “hello” back. A jump can be used to start an interaction or simply to establish a connection that begins and ends with the gesture. Of these signs, it is the most neutral phatic expression. It indexes connection—no more and no less.

Crouching is on the formal end of the scale, but it’s also the most versatile. Crouching has so much diversity in meaning based on context that it’s easiest to talk about it on a scale of its own. All crouching is more formal than punching. A crouch is always acceptable to do with a player, whether they are or are not a stranger. Despite what I previously said about the denotational meaning of a crouch being one of peace, a crouch does not have to be

(and often isn’t) used in a context where PvP is expected. In fact, the formality of the crouch and the strength of its denotational meaning are directly correlated with the expectation of PvP in the context. At its most informal and most truly phatic, a crouch essentially serves the same purpose as a jump—a physical way to signal a connection has been made between addresser and addressee but with no other associations. Everything that was said about the jump can be applied to the crouch in this context.

A step more formal than the aforementioned context is the crouch as a polite greeting. This is still mostly phatic but also carries a slightly friendlier meaning than a jump. This is usually done when the players are up close. For example, two players who have been looking for each other may jump or crouch upon seeing each other from far away as a sign of acknowledgement, run toward each other, and crouch again once they’ve approached each other as a proper greeting. For the crouch to be interpreted as a polite greeting and nothing more, PvP must not be expected in the context of the interaction—such as on a server where PvP is disabled, where the goal of the server is creative more than combative, or when peace was already linguistically established earlier on.

In a video by BDoubleO100, he and other players are preparing to play a team-based game, using a randomizer to determine the make-up of the teams. This occurs in a PvP-disabled area where voice chat is enabled:<sup>7</sup>

[BdoubleO100 teleports into the team randomizer.]  
[DocM77 teleports into the team randomizer.]  
[BdoubleO100 begins repeatedly crouching.]  
[DocM77 makes eye contact with BdoubleO100 and begins repeatedly crouching.]  
[Zisteau teleports into the team randomizer.]  
BDOUBLEO100. Zisteau!  
[Zisteau begins repeatedly crouching.]

<sup>6</sup> Xisumavoid, “Hermitcraft UHC IX 01 The Combat Update (Minecraft 1.9),” September 5, 2015, video, 0:34 to 0:37, <https://youtu.be/-fgIywdKUao>.

<sup>7</sup> BdoubleO100, “Minderack UHC X :: Episode 1,” May 6, 2013, video, 0:57 to 1:11, <https://youtu.be/mmyr7qe9Hbg>.

This interaction is entirely phatic and friendly. It's slightly different from a jump because the players are in such close quarters that it's impossible to not notice or acknowledge each other, meaning the purpose of this expression is acknowledgement out of politeness rather than practicality.

In the event that PvP is a possibility in the interaction—such as a greeting exchanged between two strangers on a PvP-enabled but not mandatory server—the interaction takes on a little more of its denotational meaning of establishing peace but may still largely be interpreted as a greeting. In the event that PvP is not only enabled but expected, such as in a competitive last-one-standing-is-the-winner minigame, the denotational meaning is at the forefront of the interaction. Crouching is no longer the equivalent of saying “Hello,” but it very clearly asks the question, “Would you like to be friends?” The most formal and least phatic version of this interaction I have encountered was while playing a speed-dueling minigame on a public server with strangers. The game gave each player a sword and armor, paired them up with an opponent to duel, had them fight, and repeated for several rounds. The player with the most victories at the end won. It's one of the most PvP-centric contexts one can encounter while playing Minecraft. In one of these rounds, one of my opponents made eye contact with me, crouched as soon as the round began, and repeated the gesture several times so that I could get the message. In a minigame that is so strongly about violence, the denotational message of peace was at its clearest. The gesture felt like the player was begging for mercy, which was made clear by the fact that the player did not fight back when I eventually killed them.

By putting these signs on a scale, a clear pattern emerges. In Minecraft, the register of a phatic body language sign is indexed by the amount of violence the addresser or the addressee carries out. Of signs that are commonly used, violence on the part of the addresser but not on the part of the addressee indexes informality. Violence is not expected

in the situation by either party, so the use of violence as communication may come off as rude to an addressee who isn't close to the addresser or may come off as a signal of comfort and intimacy to an addressee who is close to the addresser. A player punching another player unprompted will always be rude unless the players are comfortable with each other and therefore have an unspoken agreement to not take offense to a small bit of violence. If two players engage in an interaction where neither intends to touch the other, such as mutual crouching or jumping, it indexes neutrality between the players. If violence is expected by both parties and the addresser breaks the expectation of violence by engaging in a peaceful communication style, then that break in the expectation of violence indexes formality because it communicates a friendliness that is unnecessary and often actively risky to the addresser, making them submissive to the addressee. A player who crouches at a player who is motivated to kill them—like in the context of a PvP-centric minigame—disarms themselves, which inherently grants power to the other player and thus indexes formality. In a video game where often the only ways to interact with other players are either to watch and be watched or to act violently toward them, it's no surprise that violence is the means by which register is determined. After all, in most cultural contexts, violence is inextricably linked with power.

To conclude, Minecraft body language primarily consists of iconic and indexical signs that serve phatic functions. When analyzing the cultural context behind the use of these signs, there is not only a clear difference in register depending on which sign is used, but there is also a clear association between the register of a sign and the violence it entails. Analyzing language in Minecraft as well as all video games can provide an insight into how communication systems form to fill needs, how players determine what is worthy of being communicated, how aspects of game design can inform the means by which messages are communicated, and how cultural linguistic analyses can apply to said communication systems. In Minecraft, nearly everyone who regularly plays

multiplayer understands the body language. As such, it is a fascinating example of how people find a way to communicate efficiently and how language is inseparable from the cultural context in which it exists.

#### BIBLIOGRAPHY

BdoubleO100. "Mindcrack UHC X :: Episode 1." May 6, 2013. Video, 36:47. <https://youtu.be/mmyr7qe9Hbg>.

Frawley, William J. "Register and Style." In *International Encyclopedia of Linguistics*. Oxford University Press, 2003. <https://www.oxfordreference.com/view/10.1093/acref/9780195139778.001.0001/acref-9780195139778-e-0909>.

Grian. "Hermitcraft 9: Episode 36 – THE INCIDENT." May 3, 2023. Video, 30:31. <https://youtu.be/a3QioFosUxQ>.

Jakobson, Roman. "Closing Statement: Linguistics and Poetics." In *Style in Language*, 350–448. Cambridge: The Massachusetts Institute of Technology Press, 1978.

Peirce, Charles S. "Division of Signs." In *Elements of Logic*, 134–55. Bristol, UK: Thoemmes, 1998.

Xisumavoid. "Hermitcraft UHC IX 01 The Combat Update (Minecraft 1.9)." September 5, 2015. Video, 23:29. <https://youtu.be/-fgIywdKUao>.



Jamie Davis | *The Betrayal* | Monprint and acrylic paint pens on Stonehenge paper

# RWANDA: HOW TO RECOVER FROM GENOCIDE AND ITS IDEOLOGY

KATIE DRYPOLCHER\*

*Peace, Justice, and Conflict Studies Program*

## Introduction

In 1994, the victory of breaking down racial divisions and violence at the end of Apartheid South Africa contrasted with mass violence in the Rwandan genocide. The Rwandan genocide was devastating and raised frightening questions about the human capacity for atrocities. Yet the Rwandan recovery, rebuilding, and surprising lack of enduring reprisals show the other human extremes of forgiveness, reunification, and recovery.

This violence cast a long shadow in south Central Africa, where I was raised. Unlike neighboring nations, the violence of the genocide did not turn into an ongoing conflict. In fact, when Rwanda was spoken about, it was in reference to its incredible recovery, and its infrastructural and economic development seemed to be outpacing others in the region. I desire to understand how these conflicts arise and, hopefully, how we can recover from them.

The enactment of genocide is an intense social bonding experience among perpetrators,<sup>1</sup> and it creates similarly tight bonds among the survivors. However, the ties between these two communities (perpetrators and survivors) are destroyed, and in their place lie suspicion

and confusion.<sup>2</sup> The victims of the genocide are often left with psychological and physiological wounds, often culminating in PTSD. The perpetrators of genocide also experience psychological consequences and regret, which also culminates in PTSD.<sup>3</sup> The keys to recovery for all are social embeddedness, reestablishing social norms, and the development of mutual trust.<sup>4</sup> These elements are all tangibly true in Rwanda.

## Genocide

From 1885 to 1962, the Belgian Empire colonized the Congo Basin, instituting varying degrees of control over territories that make up the modern Democratic Republic of the Congo, Rwanda, and Burundi.<sup>5</sup> The Hutu, Tutsi, and Twa—who had been inhabiting Rwanda for two thousand years—made up the first of many clans that became distinguished by their role in the larger society. Tutsi were cattle owners and a wealthy, elite class; Hutu were the common folk who were cultivators.<sup>6</sup> Their occupations, the land they lived on for their subsistence, and some distinct common ancestors led to some distinguishing features among the classes. Utilizing a divide and conquer tactic to weaken the African populations they were subjecting,

---

\* Written for Professor Ken Butigan's PAX 350-201 (Senior Capstone), Winter Quarter 2023. Dr. Butigan and Dr. Rose Spalding, (Peace, Justice, and Conflict Studies Program Interim Director) were involved in selecting and editing this manuscript.

1 Kevin Barnes-Ceeney et al., "Recovery After Genocide: Understanding the Dimensions of Recovery Capital Among Incarcerated Genocide Perpetrators in Rwanda," *Frontiers in Psychology* 10, no. 637 (April 2019), <https://www.frontiersin.org/articles/10.3389/fpsyg.2019.00637/full>.

2 Bert Ingelaere and Marijke Verpoorten, "How Trust Returned to Rwanda, for Most but Not All," *African Arguments*, September 2, 2020, <https://africanarguments.org/2020/09/how-trust-returned-to-rwanda-for-most-but-not-all/>.

3 Barnes-Ceeney et al., "Recovery After Genocide."

4 Barnes-Ceeney et al., "Recovery After Genocide."

5 Alison Des Forges, *Leave None to Tell the Story* (New York: Human Rights Watch, 1999), <https://www.hrw.org/reports/pdfs/t/rwanda/rwanda993.pdf>.

6 Des Forges, *Leave None to Tell the Story*.

the Belgians created “pseudo-ethnic” categories among themselves to raise the minority population of Tutsi up as administrators over the Hutu.<sup>7</sup> This drew up boundaries between groups so firmly that everyone carried identity cards listing the ethnic group they belonged to.

This policy was reinforced by the general accusation that the Tutsi even looked “other” to the eye.<sup>8</sup> Rather than resembling the Bantu populations in Central Africa, the Tutsi were said to look like the Cushite East African ancestors from whom they branched off from half a century prior. Underground extremist radio broadcasts disseminated propaganda that threatened and justified, othered and dehumanized.<sup>9</sup> For over four hundred years, these populations intermarried, shared a language, lived together, and survived colonization and independence struggles together.<sup>10</sup> Yet, over the course of a hundred days in Rwanda (from April 7 to July 15, 1994), between 800,000 and 1,000,000 Tutsi and moderate Hutu were massacred in hand-to-hand fighting—brother against brother-in-law, neighbor against neighbor.<sup>11</sup> Men, women, and children were killed, tortured, and raped en masse by the *Interahamwe* paramilitary made up of ordinary Hutu.

The mass killing was ultimately halted by the Tutsi-majority Rwandan Patriotic Front (RPF)—a then-rebel force led by Paul Kagame.<sup>12</sup> As the dust settled, the RPF became the ruling party, and Kagame eventually ascended to the presidency. Rwanda’s only post-genocide president has not been a figure free of controversy and scrutiny. The measures outlined in this piece are not a testament to him. Rather, the successes of Rwanda are only possible due to the tireless work of millions of Rwandans who have had to do the daily labor of recovery and healing.

The narrative of the genocide was distilled into three truths.<sup>13</sup> First, the Belgian colonizers planted the seeds of division by creating the ethnic categories, bearing some responsibility for what those seeds grew into. Second, Hutu extremist leadership misled the oppressed Hutu population. Third, the RPF was responsible for Hutu civilians’ deaths in war and vengeance.

After the violence, Rwanda’s new government began to pursue recovery through several methods: punitive courts, the *Gacaca* reconciliation courts, inclusive public and social sectors, new laws, and the construction of a Rwandan identity that was national rather than ethnic.<sup>14</sup>

### Government and International Courts

In the wake of the horrors of the conflict, Rwanda faced the massive undertaking of recovery. An obvious action that was quickly identified was the need to seek justice for the victims. Hundreds of thousands were turned in as perpetrators, and the need for organization was clear. Sentencing criteria and categorization were developed, wherein the worst perpetrators were sentenced to death (later changed to life in prison) in the most formal courts; those least culpable would be sentenced to reparations and community service in a small local court.<sup>15</sup> A few *genocidaires*<sup>16</sup> were tried by the United Nations International Criminal Tribunal for Rwanda (ICTR), particularly when it involved tracking down those who had fled punishment.<sup>17</sup> Some fugitives who were facing the death penalty in Rwandan courts made the choice to turn themselves in to the ICTR for more lenient sentences.<sup>18</sup>

7 Barnes-Ceeney et al., “Recovery After Genocide.”

8 Des Forges, *Leave None to Tell the Story*.

9 “RTLM Transcripts,” Concordia University, accessed July 16, 2023, [http://migs.concordia.ca/links/RwandanRadioTranscripts\\_RTLM.htm](http://migs.concordia.ca/links/RwandanRadioTranscripts_RTLM.htm).

10 Des Forges, *Leave None to Tell the Story*.

11 Des Forges, *Leave None to Tell the Story*.

12 Des Forges, *Leave None to Tell the Story*.

13 Barnes-Ceeney et al., “Recovery After Genocide.”

14 “NURC Background,” National Unity and Reconciliation Commission, accessed June 11, 2023, <http://197.243.22.137/nurc7/index.php?id=83>.

15 “Case Law of the International Criminal Tribunal for Rwanda: Charging, Convicting and Sentencing,” in *Genocide, War Crimes and Crimes Against Humanity* (New York: Human Rights Watch, 2004), <https://www.hrw.org/reports/2004/ij/ictjr/9.htm>.

16 A person who commits genocide.

17 *Justice Compromised: The Legacy of Rwanda’s Community-Based Gacaca Courts*. (New York: Human Rights Watch, 2011), <https://www.hrw.org/report/2011/05/31/justice-compromised/legacy-rwandas-community-based-gacaca-courts#7674>.

18 Human Rights Watch, *Justice Compromised*.

## Gacaca Courts

The decision to set up the *gacaca* process was borne out of the scale of what Rwanda was facing. The need to try hundreds of thousands of perpetrators in a court system that had been decimated meant that sentencing was going to move at a glacial pace. The nation had only fifty lawyers and five judges left as many had been targets or perpetrators of the genocide.<sup>19</sup> To make matters worse, those awaiting trial were facing inhumane conditions as hundreds of thousands of prisoners were in facilities built for tens of thousands.<sup>20</sup> The need for relief saw the Kagame administration fall back on a traditional Rwandan dispute practice called *gacaca*.<sup>21</sup> The Rwandese authorities felt that working off an existing method would be more successful than having foreign judges brought in.<sup>22</sup>

In the wake of the horror, thousands of *gacaca* courts were created. It was referred to as an “African solution to African problems.”<sup>23</sup> *Gacaca* means “grass” in Kinyarwanda and was a traditional process of conflict resolution and restorative justice; a community’s wisest and most respected men would gather in the grass and hear disputes and determine resolutions.<sup>24</sup> The simplicity and accessibility of this process likely contributed to its being chosen over more formal, official, and resource intensive processes prohibitive to a decimated nation. The least serious matters were heard in *gacaca* cells—which were small community courts—and groupings of those cells were overseen by a *gacaca* sector court that heard the more serious cases.<sup>25</sup> The most serious sentence available in the *gacaca* courts was life imprisonment; the mildest was community service.

The courts took a restorative justice approach.<sup>26</sup> Restorative justice seeks to “repair, restore, and establish responsibility,” and these features are present throughout the *gacaca* process.<sup>27</sup> There was an expectation of responsibility and accountability demanded from the perpetrator. A significant part of the process was the function of truth; perpetrators and victims each gave an honest recounting of their experiences in the genocide, and often both found the process cathartic and reparative.<sup>28</sup> Many of the punishments involved the perpetrator doing work to help their victim through rebuilding, working their fields, or other forms of service to the larger community.<sup>29</sup> While punishment was handed down by the courts, it was rarely a jail sentence.<sup>30</sup> The focus was on healing the victim and the larger community rather than punishing the perpetrator.

The community—which was highly involved in the proceedings—helped protect the fairness and integrity of the trials, which involved little training, expertise, or ethical bodies supporting them.<sup>31</sup> The challenges of fairness and integrity were of concern, particularly because of the vast number of Rwandese people involved in the genocide to varying extents. This included the judges who moderated the *gacaca* proceedings.<sup>32</sup> Another concern was that the nature of the crimes meant the traumatized public had to engage with testimonies and confessions that risked re-traumatization. For many, these two concerns were outweighed by the successes of community-based restorative justice and the ability to work through the enormous case backlog efficiently.

The one matter that was a true failing was that no “vengeful” actions carried out by the RPF on Hutus were

---

19 Human Rights Watch, *Justice Compromised*.

20 Human Rights Watch, *Justice Compromised*.

21 Charlotte Clapham, “Gacaca: A Successful Experiment in Restorative Justice?” (essay, University of Sheffield, 2012), <https://www.e-ir.info/2012/07/30/gacaca-a-successful-experiment-in-restorative-justice-2/>.

22 Human Rights Watch, *Justice Compromised*.

23 Human Rights Watch, *Justice Compromised*.

24 Human Rights Watch, *Justice Compromised*.

25 Human Rights Watch, *Justice Compromised*.

---

26 Clapham, “Gacaca.”

27 Clapham, “Gacaca.”

28 Clapham, “Gacaca.”

29 Clapham, “Gacaca.”

30 Clapham, “Gacaca.”

31 Human Rights Watch, *Justice Compromised*.

32 Clapham, “Gacaca.”



eligible to be processed through the courts.<sup>33</sup> Nearly half a million Hutu died in war, reprisals, or illness throughout the 1990s. Those harmed in reprisals from the liberating RPF forces are often ignored as victims or survivors, as those terms are viewed as synonymous with Tutsi.<sup>34</sup> This left justice feeling one-sided for Rwandans.

Ultimately, there has been surprising success in a traditional process transformed to try some of history's worst atrocities. The lack of resources and personnel cannot be overstated. In the two years prior to the *gacaca* courts, the decimated justice system only tried 1,292 of the 130,000 suspects it was holding.<sup>35</sup> In the waiting period, survivors—whether victims, witnesses, or perpetrators—were left with great hesitance and anxiety. The risk of reprisals or ongoing tension was enormous. Yet the nation has shown staggering recovery, and communities are learning to live together once more.<sup>36</sup>

### National Unity and Reconciliation Commission

The National Unity and Reconciliation Commission (NURC) was created in 1999 with a focus on building peace, unity, and resilience among Rwandans.<sup>37</sup> This organization engages in researching and monitoring the success of reconciliation, unity, and recovery among social and public sectors. The NURC provides information and offers education on division and discrimination with an aim to eradicate them in their entirety.

Several NURC programs were created for Rwandans. One is called *ingando*, which derives from the tradition of

community members who would go on a retreat and spend time trying to solve the troubles of their communities as well as meditating on their futures. In post-genocide Rwanda, *ingando* solidarity camps used a process of reeducation and reintegration for perpetrators who were being released back into the community.<sup>38</sup> *Itorero ry'igihugu* is a traditional Rwandan practice to educate on morality, integrity, and the capacity to cope with troubles.<sup>39</sup> In modern Rwanda, *itorero* is a program that is open to most Rwandans.<sup>40</sup> The program gives Rwandans two weeks in which they receive a name that provides them with identity in Rwandan society based on their field, sector, history, or plans; they also learn what their part is in the nation as a whole.<sup>41</sup> These camps have been created to aid Rwandans in reintegration, reconnecting with lost cultural values, seeking solidarity, facing history, serving and participating in the community, and envisioning a united future.<sup>42</sup> The aim of the Rwandan government was to have the entire population undergo the programs by 2020.<sup>43</sup> The combination of living, learning, and doing seems key to the success of the program, as does the fact that it is done alongside former adversaries.

Another effort undertaken in post-genocide Rwanda is *umuganda*, or the act of “coming together with purpose.”<sup>44</sup> This sees all able Rwandans join in clearing, cleaning,

33 Human Rights Watch, *Justice Compromised*.

34 Human Rights Watch, “Rwanda: Mixed legacy for Community-Based Genocide Courts,” May 31, 2011, <https://www.hrw.org/news/2011/05/31/rwanda-mixed-legacy-community-based-genocide-courts>.

35 Human Rights Watch, “Mixed Legacy.”

36 Ignatius Ssuuna, “25 Years After Genocide, Can Rwanda Heal? 6 Villages Try,” *Associated Press*, April 6, 2019, <https://apnews.com/article/ap-top-news-africa-rwanda-international-news-genocides-719ac8f0c4da4d2b80976057d869562a#:~:text=A%20quarter%20century%20after%20the,publicly%20apologizing%20for%20their%20crimes>.

37 National Unity and Reconciliation Commission, “NURC Background.”

38 Immigration and Refugee Board of Canada, “Rwanda: Information on Ingando Camps, Including Organization, Structure, Programs and Participation; Instances of Human Rights Violations in the Camps (2010–November 2014),” accessed July 16, 2023, <https://www.refworld.org/docid/56136dfa4.html>.

39 “Reconciliation Tools: Home Grown Approaches,” National Unity and Reconciliation Commission, accessed June 11, 2023, <http://197.243.22.137/nurc7/index.php?id=81>.

40 Marie-Ann Dushimimana, “Itorero: What the Names for the Different Intakes Mean,” *New Times*, August 26, 2018. <https://www.newtimes.co.rw/article/157711/News/itorero-what-the-names-for-the-different-intakes-mean>.

41 Dushimimana, “Itorero.”

42 Immigration and Refugee Board of Canada, “Ingando Camps.”

43 Immigration and Refugee Board of Canada, “Ingando Camps.”

44 Amy Yee, “How Rwanda Tidied Up Its Streets (And The Rest Of The Country, Too),” *NPR*, July 18, 2018, <https://www.npr.org/sections/goatsandsoda/2018/07/18/628364015/how-rwanda-tidied-up-its-streets-and-the-rest-of-the-country-too>.

building, and planting in community spaces on the last day of every month. The program is marveled at by neighboring nations; some do not believe that a population with such scars can labor alongside one another while others do not believe a national population can be mobilized for a united task.<sup>45</sup> Yet, once a month, Rwandans come together, seeing it as a part of their lifestyle or a mild inconvenience like any other chore.<sup>46</sup> The success of this monthly effort is likely one of the factors in Rwanda's recovery from the aftermath of the conflict as well as their surpassing others throughout the region in economic and infrastructure growth.<sup>47</sup>

### Civic Efforts

Imprisoned *genocidaires* expressed their desires to rejoin their families and communities. In a study, imprisoned *genocidaires* stated they had bonded with fellow prisoners and learned from them.<sup>48</sup> They spoke of receiving forgiveness from family and friends as well as the victims they now receive visits from. Some spoke of further seeking out victims; one even offered her child if her victim had no child to support them.<sup>49</sup>

Communities that have forgiven those who have confessed to their role in the genocide often receive their released prisoners once more. Once they rejoin free Rwandan society, many are on parole programs and must adhere to laws that forbid genocide ideology, minimization of genocide, and divisionism.<sup>50</sup>

Rwanda has also constructed six reconciliation villages, wherein victims and perpetrators live together.<sup>51</sup> These locations are governmentally and internationally

supported, leading some to denounce them as artificial. However, the peace and success found in these communities would say otherwise. Government organizing may have instituted them, but the daily reality is that it is up to the community members' initiative to forge peace and forgiveness.

### Memorial

A final measure of recovery for Rwandans comes from an annual commemoration of the genocide: the period of *Kwibuka*, or remembering.<sup>52</sup> This period has turned from one hundred days of solemnity to a period that allows for reflection on the intervening years of recovery and gathers hope for the future. The language around this event utilizes themes of grief, unity, learning, and togetherness.<sup>53</sup> The importance of this event is considerable as the acknowledgement of these atrocities work to prevent future ones.

Denial of genocide is the number one indicator predicting further massacres.<sup>54</sup> Thus, education, documentation, trials, and commemoration serve to protect future generations of Rwandans from the actions of their past.

### Conclusion

I find myself on Sunday mornings at a church on Chicago's North Side. Our congregation is South Asian, East African, and American. The Rwandans, Burundians, and Congolese stand together in the pews, choosing to exchange greetings, compliments, and encouragements in the mutual tongues of Swahili, French, or English. I catch myself some days marveling at them as the weight of their history strikes me.

45 Ingelaere and Verpoorten, "How Trust Returned to Rwanda."

46 Yee, "How Rwanda Tidied up Its Streets."

47 Redifer et al., "The Development Path Less Traveled: The Experience of Rwanda," International Monetary Fund, no. 10, (August 2020), <https://www.imf.org/en/Publications/Departmental-Papers-Policy-Papers/Issues/2020/08/17/The-Development-Path-Less-Travelled-The-Experience-of-Rwanda-49609>.

48 Barnes-Ceeney et al., "Recovery After Genocide."

49 Barnes-Ceeney et al., "Recovery After Genocide."

50 Human Rights Watch, *Justice Compromised*.

51 Ssuuna, "25 Years After Genocide."

52 Kwibuka29, "Remember," accessed July 16, 2023, [https://www.kwibuka.rw/?remember\\_unite\\_renew=remember](https://www.kwibuka.rw/?remember_unite_renew=remember).

53 "Rwanda Marks the 27th Commemoration of the Genocide Against Tutsi," Republic of Rwanda (blog), April 7, 2021, <https://www.gov.rw/blog-detail/rwanda-marks-the-27th-commemoration-of-the-genocide-against-tutsi>.

54 Stanton, Gregory, "The Logic of the Ten Stages of Genocide," *Genocide Watch*, accessed March 14, 2023, <https://www.genocidewatch.com/tenstages>.

The efficiency and brutality of the Rwandan genocide are difficult to compare to any other act of violence in modern history. For crimes of this extreme, it is difficult to claim justice truly exists. The Rwandans have looked not only to recover a country of survivors but also one of perpetrators; the latter also carry the indelible scars of their acts. Though there has not been a total eradication of divisive ideology, Rwandans continue to work toward it. They are not trying to recover Rwanda as it was before April 7, 1994. Instead, they aspire to build a new, united Rwanda.

#### BIBLIOGRAPHY

Barnes-Ceeney, Kevin, Lior Gideon, Laurie Leitch, and Kento Yasuhara. "Recovery After Genocide: Understanding the Dimensions of Recovery Capital Among Incarcerated Genocide Perpetrators in Rwanda." *Frontiers in Psychology* 10, no. 637 (April 2019): 1-15. <https://www.frontiersin.org/articles/10.3389/fpsyg.2019.00637/full>.

"Case Law of the International Criminal Tribunal for Rwanda: Charging, Convicting and Sentencing." In *Genocide, War Crimes and Crimes Against Humanity*. New York: Human Rights Watch, 2004. Report. <https://www.hrw.org/reports/2004/ij/ict/9.htm>.

Clapham, Charlotte. "Gacaca: A Successful Experiment in Restorative Justice?" Essay, University of Sheffield, 2012. *E-International Relations*. <https://www.e-ir.info/2012/07/30/gacaca-a-successful-experiment-in-restorative-justice-2/>.

Concordia University. "RTL M Transcripts." Accessed July 16, 2023. <http://migs.concordia.ca/links/RwandanRadioTranscripts RTL M.htm>.

Des Forges, Alison. *Leave None to Tell the Story*. New York: Human Rights Watch, 1999. PDF download. <https://www.hrw.org/reports/pdfs/t/rwanda/rwanda993.pdf>.

Dushimimana, Marie-Ann. "Itorero: What the Names For the Different Intakes Mean." *New Times*, August 26, 2018. <https://www.newtimes.co.rw/article/157711/News/itorero-what-the-names-for-the-different-intakes-mean>.

Human Rights Watch. "Rwanda: Mixed Legacy for Community-Based Genocide Courts." May 31, 2011. <https://www.hrw.org/news/2011/05/31/rwanda-mixed-legacy-community-based-genocide-courts>.

Immigration and Refugee Board of Canada. "Rwanda: Information on Ingando Camps, Including Organization, Structure, Programs and Participation; Instances of Human Rights Violations in the Camps (2010-November 2014)." Accessed July 16, 2023. <https://www.refworld.org/docid/56136dfa4.html>.

Ingelaere, Bert, and Verpoorten, Marijke. "How Trust Returned to Rwanda, for Most but Not All." *African Arguments*, September 2, 2020. <https://africanarguments.org/2020/09/how-trust-returned-to-rwanda-for-most-but-not-all/>.

Having learned about the Rwandan genocide and the Rwandan recovery process growing up, I feel it is imperative we study it. We must understand both the basest and grandest human qualities. It makes us better humans and helps build a better community. We have the capacity to be fearful, divisive, and pre-violence actors. Or we can be the pursuers of restoration, healing, and truth.

*Justice Compromised: The Legacy of Rwanda's Community-Based Gacaca Courts*. New York: Human Rights Watch, 2011. Report. <https://www.hrw.org/report/2011/05/31/justice-compromised/legacy-rwandas-community-based-gacaca-courts#7674>.

Kwibuka29. "Remember." Accessed July 16, 2023. [https://www.kwibuka.rw/?remember\\_unite\\_renew=remember](https://www.kwibuka.rw/?remember_unite_renew=remember).

National Unity and Reconciliation Commission. "NURC Background." Accessed June 11, 2023. <http://197.243.22.137/nurc7/index.php?id=83>.

———. "Reconciliation Tools: Home Grown Approaches." Accessed June 11, 2023. <http://197.243.22.137/nurc7/index.php?id=81>.

Redifer, Laure, Emre Alper, Neil Meads, Tunc Gursoy, Monique Newiak, Alun H. Thomas, and Samson Kwalingana. "The Development Path Less Traveled: The Experience of Rwanda." International Monetary Fund, no. 10 (August 2020): ix-99. PDF download. <https://www.imf.org/en/Publications/Departmental-Papers-Policy-Papers/Issues/2020/08/17/The-Development-Path-Less-Travelled-The-Experience-of-Rwanda-49609>.

Republic of Rwanda (blog). "Rwanda Marks the 27th Commemoration of the Genocide Against Tutsi." April 7, 2021. <https://www.gov.rw/blog-detail/rwanda-marks-the-27th-commemoration-of-the-genocide-against-tutsi>.

Ssuuna, Ignatius. "25 Years After Genocide, Can Rwanda Heal? 6 Villages Try." *Associated Press*, April 6, 2019. <https://apnews.com/article/ap-top-news-africa-rwanda-international-news-genocides-719ac8f0c4da4d2b80976057d869562a#:text=A%20quarter%20century%20after%20the,publicly%20apologizing%20for%20their%20crimes>.

Stanton, Gregory. "The Logic of the Ten Stages of Genocide." *Genocide Watch*. Accessed March 14, 2023. <https://www.genocidewatch.com/tenstages>.

Yee, Amy. "How Rwanda Tidied up Its Streets (And the Rest of the Country, Too)." *NPR*, July 18, 2018. <https://www.npr.org/sections/goatsandsoda/2018/07/18/628364015/how-rwanda-tidied-up-its-streets-and-the-rest-of-the-country-too>.



Julieanne Dworkin | *Peace* | Film photograph

# EXPANDING UPON THE CONNECTION BETWEEN THE ÜBERMENSCH AND BUDDHA

ANDREW KOLLER\*

Department of Philosophy

---

**ABSTRACT** This paper seeks to expand upon the relationship between Hajime Tanabe's *metanoetics* and Friedrich Nietzsche's philosophical project, which Jason M. Wirth explores in his book *Nietzsche and Other Buddhas*. Tanabe's Buddha and Nietzsche's *Übermensch* are remarkably similar—both promote the overcoming of the self via a divestment of the ego by similar means. This paper will explore the connections between *jiriki*, *kleśas*, and the *Apollonian*; *honganbokori* and the nihilism that emerges for both Tanabe and Nietzsche; *upāya* and *Amor Fati*; *tariki* as a power shared by both projects; Buddha and the *Übermensch*; and finally, *metanoetics* in relation to *eternal recurrence*.

---

## A Summary of *Metanoetics*

To understand *metanoetics*, we must first understand *honganbokori*, which Wirth identifies as a paradoxical problem at the heart of Tanabe's *metanoetic* project (61). A concept originally developed by the founder of *Jōdo Shinshū* Buddhism in Japan, Shinran, *honganbokori* is a flaunting of the "Primal Vow" known as *hongan*. The *hongan* refers to the numbers eighteenth and nineteenth of the forty-eight vows made by Buddha in the *Larger Sukhavativyuha Sutra*, or *Infinite Life Sūtra*.

Buddha stipulates that his Buddhahood, or the attainment of "the highest perfect knowledge," is contingent upon the shepherding of his followers, *bodhisattvas*, toward the path of enlightenment (Gautama, chs. 18–19). Those who qualify as Buddha's followers are those who have entrusted themselves to his teachings and practice the *nembutsu*; the *nembutsu* is a chant meant to "awaken within oneself the mindfulness of the Buddha" in which the phrase *Namu*

*Amida Butsu*, or "homage to infinite life," is uttered ten times at various intervals throughout the day (Wirth 59). The *hokori*,<sup>1</sup> or "flaunting" in *honganbokori*, comes from a presumption of salvation. As Buddha's task is to ensure the enlightenment of all *bodhisattvas*, theoretically, one needs only to recite the *nembutsu* to attain enlightenment eventually. However, the *nembutsu* does not itself produce salvation—one must also actively strive for enlightenment.

For Tanabe, *honganbokori* extends past the *nembutsu* and is also applied to one's striving toward enlightenment. To understand how one's striving can become corrupted, we must understand the concept of *jiriki*, or "self-power." Though *jiriki* can be understood as an individual's own will, the concept is understood as always subject to the milieu of influences into which one is initiated. Thus, any striving performed out of *jiriki* "is not performed out of one's own designs," as Shinran states in the *Tannishō*,<sup>2</sup>

---

\* This paper was originally submitted to Professor Sean D. Kirkland's Nietzsche Seminar. The paper was chosen by the following members of the Department of Philosophy: Elizabeth Millán Brusslan, Avery Goldman, William McNeill, and Elizabeth Rottenberg.

1 *Hokori* changes to *bokori* in *honganbokori* due to a Japanese sound change rule known as *rendaku*. I would like to thank Dr. James Heisig for pointing this out.

2 A record of the teachings of Shinran, a *Jōdo Shinshū* monk, written by his student Yuien in the thirteenth century.

and thus is not considered a good act (qtd. in Wirth 59). Actions originating from *jiriki* are all corrupted by karmic *kleśas*, which are “destructive emotions and mind poisons,” or passions and desires (59). In undertaking striving for enlightenment, the purity of the action has always already been corrupted by one’s *desire* for enlightenment, and striving itself is a contrived engineering of salvation.

Tanabe’s paradox is clear: one does not possess enlightenment and one has not yet reached the Pure Land, but because *jiriki* will forever be tainted by *kleśas*, neither can one strive to do so. Enlightenment appears to be an impossibility. However, there exists another source of action: *tariki*, or “Other Power”; when attained, *tariki* allows one to push past the paradoxical issue of *honganbokori*.

Shinran states that this “Other Power lies in entrusting ourselves wholly to the Primal Vow while leaving both good and evil to karmic recompense” (qtd. in Wirth 60). It is presumptuous to assume that we know what the “good” is and how best to be “good.” It is equally presumptuous to assume that all our actions are worthless in the face of *kleśas*. In realizing the presumptuous nature that is inherent in our being and divesting ourselves of desire, we essentially evacuate the ego and allow *tariki* into our being.<sup>3</sup> The paradoxical nihilistic reality of *honganbokori* is thus circumvented through the nothingness that is the dissolution of the ego. The unencumbered *tariki* allows us to pursue only a brief enlightenment because once enlightened, we must return and make amends for our desirous transgressions via Shinran’s solution of “karmic recompense.” Realizing our presumptuous nature allows us to harness *tariki*, which emerges when we free ourselves of value judgments, and endeavor forward outside the constraints of *honganbokori*.

*Honganbokori* and the distinction between *jiriki* and *tariki* serve as the basis for Tanabe’s *metanoetics*, a way of doing philosophy that recognizes the limits of one’s understanding. It is also a process of cyclical repentance and conversion one undergoes to reach enlightenment (Wirth 64). Wirth explains this cyclical process in the following way: “I repent for the failings of my old cast of mind, but I could not have a new cast of mind had I not already repented my former cast of mind” (64). The individual that I was prior to enlightenment is different from the individual that I am post-enlightenment. I am reborn through the death of my prior repentant being and subsequently emerge as a new, enlightened being. Once enlightened, I begin the process of death and rebirth once more.

The question arises of how one might enter into the *metanoetic* cycle. Tanabe identifies *upāya*, or a “skillful means,” as facilitating this entry. *Upāya* is a realization that our desirously corrupted *jiriki* can be utilized to develop an expertise—a cumulative knowledge—that can be utilized in the pursuit of enlightenment. To elucidate this process, Wirth utilizes the parable of the burning house used by Buddha in the *Lotus Sutra*, which begins with a wealthy man whose house is ablaze. The man could escape alone but also wished to save his children. His children are busy playing with their toys and do not understand the severity of the situation. The only way to save the children is to offer them newer and shinier toys to coax them out of the burning house. This action of appealing to material desires at first seems like a contradiction, but through an understanding of *upāya*, we realize that we can begin our path to truth from a point of falsity. Instead of quarreling with oneself about whether something is good, one simply does it and asks for forgiveness later. And if one’s actions lead to suboptimal results, then the knowledge of this failing is its own enlightenment for it contributes to one’s skillful means and will ensure a future skill of even greater efficacy.

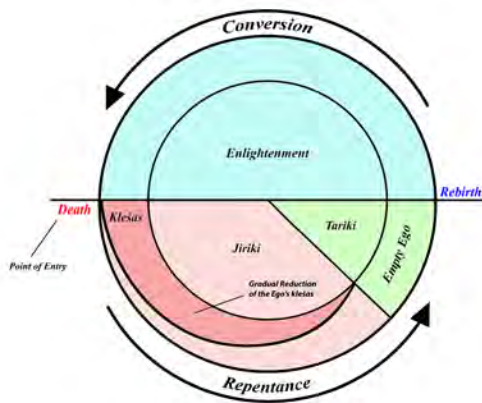
---

3 Officially, *tariki* is gifted to the individual from the “Pure Land” (Wirth 67).

*Jiriki* is, then, the false within the true, or “A *soku* not A” (Wirth 66). *Soku* is a copula that can be translated into “at the same time,” “and also,” “or,” “forthwith,” or “as such” (66). Thus, “A *soku* not A” is meant to convey that even what is contrary to “A” is still within “A”; even the false is included in the true, and even desire is included in pure enlightenment. My enlightened self still contains the unenlightened self that preceded it, and my enlightened self will still become the unenlightened self again in pursuing the next stage of enlightenment. Through *upāya*, we constantly die to ourselves. Our *jiriki* dies, *tariki* is bestowed upon us by the Pure Land, and enlightenment is achieved—*jiriki soku tariki* (self-power within Other Power). But the gift of enlightenment is a betrayal against the Pure Land for *upāya* is still the use of desires—a falsity—for the sake of truth. Thus, once enlightenment is bestowed, one must repent for one’s betrayal, and the cycle of *upāya* repeats itself—*tariki soku jiriki* (Other Power within self-power).

FIGURE 1

The Metanoetic Cycle



### Nietzsche and Tanabe

From Nietzsche’s perspective, Western civilization is steeped in an ascetic, Judeo-Christian moral structure. Consequently, those born in the Western world are, from the outset, inheritors of an ascetic moral tradition, and

this structure shapes their phenomenological experience. According to Nietzsche’s evaluation, the problem with the Judeo-Christian moral structure is that it lauds slave morality over master morality.

As explained in *On the Genealogy of Morals*, slave morality is a moral structure developed by slaves as a reaction against their system of oppression (Nietzsche 228–31). As a slave, one must act with humility; one must deny oneself pleasures; one must obey; and so on. However, the masters live lavish lives, indulge their hedonism, and pursue great works and achievements. These self-centered pursuits are what the masters consider “good.” Thus, a “good” master morality concerns the pursuit of one’s own interests and the fulfillment of one’s own goals whereas a “bad” master morality means denying oneself these self-interested pursuits.

Being under the oppressive yoke of the aristocracy, slaves developed a *ressentiment*<sup>4</sup> toward aristocracy as it was the whims of the aristocracy that caused the suffering of the slave class. Through *ressentiment*, slave morality developed as an inversion of master morality in which the values of a slavish life were lauded over the values of the self-interested aristocratic life. It is this slave morality that Nietzsche sees living on in the Judeo-Christian moral structure, and while slave morality may have served a purpose in supplanting the initially vicious master morality and served as an “antidote against practical and theoretical *nihilism*,” its persistence has been more detrimental than helpful for what Nietzsche considers to be authentic human experience (Nietzsche, *Will to Power* 10).

To be clear, Nietzsche is not advocating the reinstatement of slavery but rather raising the question of whether what the masters stood for—a striving for one’s own interests—is inherent to our being as humans. Are we by nature

4 *Ressentiment* can be described as “the ongoing bite or sting of an embittered feeling, the lingering or resonating sentiment of a ‘sickly’ revenge, one that cannot be directly and ultimately, *sublimated*” (Allison 205).

selfish and hedonistic—only made to feel shameful and guilty for our natural ways through a Judeo-Christian moral structure? Instead of striving for our own self-actualization, we would be saddled with an inherited slave morality that severely hinders our ability to determine what is best for us. Such concepts as original sin, eternal punishment, or eternal salvation—particularly within Christianity—force the individual to continually repent for simply being born, then to repent further for hedonistic behavior later on in life. From the outset and throughout life, we are burdened with debt in the form of guilt.

It may be apparent that Nietzsche's slave morality operates much like *klesās* operates for Tanabe in his *metanoetics*. Both *klesās* and slave morality are the result of an ascetic ideological system that imposes a sense of guilt on the individual for seemingly natural human behavior. Through the denial of the self, salvation is promised. We might say that for both Nietzsche and Tanabe, *jiriki* exists as a base mode of human action that is corrupted by *klesās* and slave morality.

It is also perhaps possible to draw a connection between master morality and *tiriki*. Enlightenment as a means of improving oneself through *tariki* is contingent upon the means being “pure” so that the ends are also “pure.” In other words, when *tariki* is used, the end is pursued for the sake of the end and not for the sake of one's initial desires.

As Migotti points out in his analysis of master morality, nobles pursue activity for the sake of that activity. They are capable of raising “themselves above the common crowd and its vulgar needs,” and by “deigning to engage in [activities], nobles take themselves to honor these activities; when they excel at them, they can therefore honor themselves all the more” (2). While an analogous concept such as *tariki* does not exist within this analysis of Nietzsche's master morality, a Tanabean interpretation would necessitate the use of *tariki* to pursue the activity for its own sake. And nobility too divests itself of the common crowd's “vulgar needs” to pursue the activity

for the sake of the activity. In this way, the conditions for *tariki* within master morality appear to be at least partially met. The end—the ennoblement of the self via the activity completed nobly—does mirror a *metanoetic* enlightenment as the self is understood as having improved. However, hedonism and desirous intent remain as subtending drives that disqualify a master morality from effectively embodying *tariki*.

As we saw above, *honganbokori* results in practical nihilism as there appears to be no way to enlightenment. What is the point of trying to do good—or doing anything for that matter—if all action is corrupted? In Nietzsche's project, nihilism is associated with the death of God and the fact that “the belief in the Christian God has become unbelievable” (Nietzsche, *Gay Science* 279). What exactly this belief entails can be seen in relation to what the early Nietzsche calls the *Apollonian* and *Dionysian* drives.

In *The Birth of Tragedy*, Nietzsche identified two drives as being responsible for the human condition: the *Apollonian* and the *Dionysian*. The *Apollonian* drive exists as a dream state, or perhaps a realm of fiction and fantasy. Epic poetry such as the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey* offer examples of what this *Apollonian* drive produces (Allison 34). Such stories evoke a sense of awe and inspiration and offer a more structured, more pleasant lens through which to view the chaotic and confusing reality of the “waking” world: “From the standpoint of the dream, the newly envisioned world appeared calm, modulated, moderated. The dream world evolved what Nietzsche called ‘a plastic logic of forms’” (35). We can then see how the *Apollonian* drive would be responsible for the creation of Western religion (or really any religion for that matter) as Western religion emphasizes a realm of superiority shrouded in mythos that can only be accessed through the adherence to a set of values, i.e., slave morality. As Nishitani explains in his evaluation of Nietzsche's project, the *Apollonian* and the values espoused by its ensuing ideologies act as handles that the individual can use to better grasp the unwieldy and unnerving reality of nothingness and pure becoming



(46). It is nevertheless the grafting of a system of values over a subtending reality that is inherently valueless.

The opposing *Dionysian* drive is represented by “the most extreme intensification of life”: the subtending valuelessness beneath the *Apollonian* censor of value (Allison 39). The *Dionysian* is an “extreme intensification” because it is life *without* the dream, without *Apollonian* structure. The *Dionysian* is thus associated with intoxication because life without any structure results in, to use Allison’s words, a “rapture and frenzy” (39). We must remember that even something like a wish to attain a thing is in itself a sort of dream; it is the *Apollonian* structure that aids in the development of goals and aims (40). To divest oneself of *all* goals and aims means to transform the self into a human being that is truer, purer, and more authentic. Thus, while the *Apollonian* psychological disposition is concerned with the development and maintenance of the individuated self, situated within an ideological structure of value, the *Dionysian* is a divestment of this structure: “one is disposed—removed—of one’s own individuality, of all that renders the individual a singular and distinctive creature in the first place—the specific constitution of his character, personality, tastes, fears, expectations, reflections, and values” (40). The goal is not to embody the *Dionysian* completely—real-life experiences of mania, drunkenness, and insanity make this clear. And investing oneself exclusively in the *Apollonian* seems like what Nietzsche calls Socratism, which leads to a cultural loss of vivacity. This is why slave morality is problematic: It requires a suppression of the *Dionysian* drive and cuts off access to a more intense and more true reality that subtends the *Apollonian* censor. The terrified repression and devaluation of this subtending valueless truth is what sparks nihilism within Western Civilization.

Nietzsche explains in Book I of *The Will to Power* that Christianity’s infatuation with the pursuit of truth has ironically led to a realization of the subtending *Dionysian* valuelessness, and consequently, all the moral valuations Christianity used to define our reality have

become suspect. Christian moral valuations create more questions than answers, and, as Nietzsche points out at the beginning of Book I, nihilism is produced when “‘why?’ finds no answer” (Nietzsche, *Will to Power* 9). Thus, nihilism is “the conviction of an absolute untenability of existence when it comes to the highest values one recognizes” (Nietzsche, *Will to Power* 10). In the face of absolute value, nothingness is absurd, chaotic, and unpredictable, and without the grafted handles of moral value to manipulate the unwieldy nothingness and becoming, we are thrust into a malaise of uncertainty.

Tanabe’s nihilism and Nietzsche’s nihilism slightly differ. Nihilism in *metanoetics* is the result of having absolute faith in *Jōdo Shinshū* Buddhism and accepting its ideological parameters as sufficient. Nietzsche’s nihilism emerges from the realization that Christianity’s ideological parameters are insufficient for the explanation of reality and subsequently fail to provide the once comfortable reality of absolute value. Tanabe does not question the moral base upon which his values stand while Nietzsche seeks to reevaluate the moral base entirely. Despite these initial differences between these concepts of nihilism, their results are the same in that both nihilisms prevent the individual from overcoming and improving themselves.

Overcoming nihilism for Tanabe involves *upāya*, or the realization that *jiriki* can still be used in the process of enlightenment. Overcoming nihilism for Nietzsche requires a similar shift in one’s perspective in the face of nothingness: *Amor Fati*, or “love of one’s fate” (Nietzsche, *Gay Science* 223). As Nietzsche states in Book IV of *The Gay Science*: “I still live, I still think; I still have to live, for I still have to think” (223). Once God has died and there is no absolute value left to hold onto, what remains? The beauty within the here and now divested of repressive and slavish *Apollonian* valuations. Nietzsche insists that we must affirm this above all else, and if we can affirm this reality, we open the possibility of thriving in it. And to thrive in this reality is to “learn more and more to see

as beautiful what is necessary in things” (Nietzsche, *Gay Science* 223). By “what is necessary in things,” Nietzsche means to convey the circumstances of our existence. According to Nietzsche, we do not have an “intelligible freedom”; we are instead a “piece of fate” (qtd. in Ansell-Pearson 9). As quoted in Ansell-Pearson: “The fatality of one’s being cannot be derived from the fatality of all that was and will be. No one is the result of his own intention, his own will, his own purpose . . . . One is necessary, one is a piece of fate, one belongs to the whole, one is in the whole” (9). Everything that has transpired—and all the influences that come with it—have contributed to who we are as individuals. We did not initiate our creation, and our phenomenological experience is shaped by the context from which we emerge. By this logic, we do not possess a true free will as all our actions are merely inspired by the contextual circumstances of our being. However, this is not a license for quietism; on the contrary, as “pieces of fate,” we also possess a power within the wider spectrum of powers that is capable of making changes in us and the world around us. Affirming our fate and the obligation to act that follows from it can then be understood as *Amor Fati*.

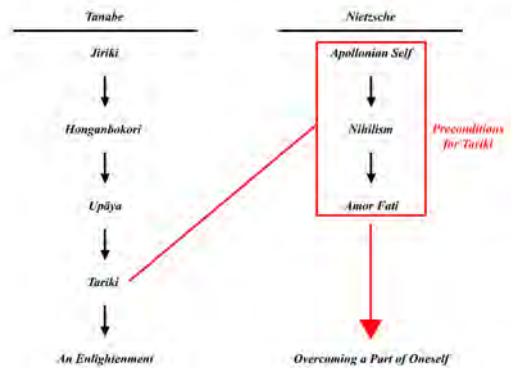
Just as *upāya* arises out of the futility inherent within the presumptuous nature of *honganbokori*, *Amor Fati* arises out of a realization that even though we are *pieces of fate* within valuelessness, there is still a reality of beauty and knowledge that can be pursued. *Amor Fati* is itself an *upāya*. In a reality of valuelessness, the individual generates their own value. Thus, *Amor Fati* is the pursuit of what one considers noble, beautiful, or worthy of learning. And as *upāya* initiates the accrual of knowledge to aid in enlightenment in spite of *kleśas*, *Amor Fati* acts to accrue knowledge to generate meaning and acceptance within this reality by virtue of *kleśas*. As Nietzsche explains in *In Media Vita*, he views “life as a means to knowledge,” and through this knowledge, one can joyfully live in the pursuit of knowledge and the discovery of beauty—as per one’s whims, not the whims dictated by a moral structure (Nietzsche, *Gay Science* 255). Regardless

of the differences, both *upāya* and *Amor Fati* lift us out of nihilism and propel us forward, toward enlightenment. For *upāya*, we move toward Buddhahood, and through *Amor Fati* we are led toward the *Dionysian Übermensch*.<sup>5</sup>

Thus far, the Nietzschean concepts in this essay provide a summary of the preconditions required for the *Übermensch* to commence its eternal striving. One must first divest oneself of slave morality or any *Apollonian* drive that seeks to obfuscate the subtending *Dionysian* nothingness. Should nihilism emerge from one’s divestment, the significance of the here and now must be affirmed (*Amor Fati*) so that one can efficiently operate and dare to develop one’s own values within a reality of valuelessness. In this way, the *Übermensch* must bring itself closer to the *Dionysian*; for in doing so, one comes closer to accessing a more authentic being that is divested of obfuscating *Apollonian* valuations. Once these parameters are met, the *Übermensch* can strive toward self-overcoming.

FIGURE 2

The Steps Toward *Amor Fati* as Preconditions for *Tariki*



Through this construction of the *Übermensch*’s preconditions, we can see how they resemble the

5 For Nietzsche, the *Übermensch* is an ideal state of being in which one overcomes oneself, develops one’s own values and morals, and affirms the here and now (Allison 117–19).

preconditions for *tariki* in the process of enlightenment. What transpires between slave morality and the beginning state of the *Übermensch* is a divestment of the ego—an evacuation of *Apollonian* values. *Tariki* also requires the individual to flush out karmic *kleśas*. While Nietzsche does not specifically develop a word for a power attained through a *Dionysian*-centric state, he certainly clears a path for one's power to operate in an unobstructed manner. In this way, *tariki* could almost be used to define the power the *Übermensch* utilizes in its self-overcoming. It is, however, not absolutely accurate, as the *Übermensch* is hedonistic by nature, and *tariki* requires a divestment of hedonism as well.

The *Übermensch* is not so much a designation as it is a description of doing. As Zarathustra states: “Man is something that should be overcome . . . he is a bridge and not a goal” (Nietzsche, *Thus Spoke Zarathustra* 41–44). No one will ever *be* an *Übermensch* for it is a mode of being that involves overcoming oneself. The moment one stops overcoming, one takes a seat on the bridge of becoming. While the *Übermensch* is not an ideal, it does give the individual an ideal to strive toward, albeit within the more corporeal, authentic context of *Dionysian* self-overcoming.

The pursuit of the Buddha operates in a very similar manner. The *metanoetic* cycle of enlightenment concerns the continual death and rebirth of the individual via a turning of *jiriki soku tariki* and the subsequent *tariki soku jiriki*; one harnesses *jiriki* which is akin to the self, corrupted by *Apollonian* valuations. Out of Tanabean nihilism, *upāya* emerges as a means of operating in spite of *honganbokori*. Out of Nietzschean nihilism, *Amor Fati* emerges and finds beauty in spite of nothingness and valuelessness. Through *upāya*, one accrues a skillful means, which allows one to access *tariki*; through *Amor Fati*, one acquires knowledge of the valueless reality, which allows one to affirm the here and now, and treat this reality as a “gay science” (*fröhliche Wissenschaft*). The more *upāya* accrues, the easier it is to access *tariki*; the closer one adheres to *Amor Fati*, the easier it becomes

to affirm *Dionysian* reality. Eventually, one will reach an enlightenment; eventually, one will overcome a part of oneself.

All things considered, both the *metanoetic* cycle and the pursuit of the *Übermensch* continue perpetually. One continually enlightens; one continually overcomes. One never *completely* attains Buddhahood; one never *completely* becomes the *Übermensch*. Both processes are meant to be infinite: Buddhahood is said to take eons to attain, and Nietzsche admits that the *Übermensch* is never to be attained. Thus, for both *metanoetics* and the pursuit of the *Übermensch*, a *doing* is implied, not a *being*.

This infinite pursuit of *doing* required of the *Übermensch* is embodied within Nietzsche's *eternal recurrence*. Though Allison admits that thousands of interpretations of *eternal recurrence* exist, he claims that the “most considered view” concerns “an endless flux and metamorphosis of energy or matter, constantly transfiguring itself well into an endless future . . . every moment is at once birth and death, a ceaselessly creative apocalypse” (122). By this definition, we understand the *Übermensch* as a being in flux. As the prospective *Übermensch* overcomes itself, it is subsequently reborn into a new configuration—the same self but in a new variation. Being a “piece of fate,” the present is contingent upon the past; therefore, the *Übermensch* is not absolutely reconfigured. This is the actualization of the *Übermensch* within *eternal recurrence*—an infinite flux of transformation from a lesser instantiation of the self toward a greater self.

If we accept this construction of the *Übermensch* within eternal recurrence, then Tanabe's *metanoetic* turning looks remarkably similar. *Metanoetics*, as previously discussed, concerns death and enlightened rebirth. The result of the *metanoetic* process will eventually result in attaining Buddhahood, the penultimate enlightenment. But Buddhahood only occurs after eons of continual enlightenment and thus Buddha too appears more as an ideal that one must strive toward rather than a definitive

state. Like *eternal recurrence*, the *metanoetic* turning toward enlightenment also appears infinite.

Tanabe himself relates this *metanoetic* turning to Nietzsche's eternal recurrence. Whereas Tanabe's turning begins with renunciation (repentance), Nietzsche is concerned with affirmation (conversion); both serve as one half of a *metanoetic* circle. Tanabe sees Nietzsche's entry into the *metanoetic* circle from the point of Zen, or rebirth. To reach Zen, Tanabe then enters from the point of renunciation, death, repentance, or self-overcoming. As Wirth puts it, this type of pivoting is a "renunciation *soku* affirmation or affirmation *soku* renunciation" (69–70). This construction is similar to the earlier description of the *Übermensch's* *eternal recurrence*; once a part of itself has been overcome, the prospective *Übermensch* must deny its accomplishment and begin again. In this way, the prospective *Übermensch* must not rest on its laurels and must immediately begin striving once more via a renunciation of the self. When one stops to rest on the bridge of becoming, one ceases to be an aspiring *Übermensch*.

In both Tanabe and Nietzsche, a general understanding of self-overcoming is understood. As Tanabe writes: "In the doctrine of the superman, which at first seemed so contrary to my own way of thinking, I found proof of *metanoetics* and could hardly contain myself for joy" (Wirth 62). The *Übermensch* does, in fact, appear to resemble a Buddha and *bodhisattva* when considering *eternal recurrence* and *metanoetics*. Both the prospective *Übermensch* and the *bodhisattva* begin with a realized lack of truth, and both push past the ensuing nihilism by self-overcoming. The result for both is a new self, reborn from the death of the previous, unenlightened self. But this cyclical process does not end, and both the *bodhisattva* and the prospective *Übermensch* must come to terms with the infinite self-overcoming that lies before them.

#### WORKS CITED

- Allison, David B. *Reading the New Nietzsche*. Rowman & Littlefield, 2001.
- Ansell-Pearson, Keith. *Nietzsche contra Rousseau: A Study of Nietzsche's Moral and Political Thought*. Cambridge UP, 1996.
- Gautama, Buddha. *The Infinite Life Sutra: The Larger Sukhavativyuha Sutra*. Translated by F. Max Muller. 2020.
- Kirkland, Sean D. "Zarathustra and Redeeming the Past." *Nietzsche and Phenomenology*, edited by Andrea Rehberg. Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 2011, pp. 53–66.
- Migotti, Mark. "Slave Morality, Socrates, and the Bushmen: A Reading of the First Essay of *On the Genealogy of Morals*." *Philosophy and Phenomenological Research*, vol. 58, no. 4, Dec. 1998, pp. 745–79, <https://doi.org/10.2307/2653721>.
- Nietzsche, Friedrich. *The Birth of Tragedy from the Spirit of Music*. Translated by Sean D. Kirkland and Andrew J. Mitchell, Stanford UP, forthcoming.
- . *The Gay Science: With a Prelude in Rhymes and an Appendix of Songs*. Translated by Walter Kaufmann, Vintage Books, 1974.
- . *On the Genealogy of Morality*. Translated by Adrian del Caro, Stanford UP, 2014.
- . *Thus Spoke Zarathustra*. Translated by R. J. Hollingdale, Penguin Classics, 2003.
- . *The Will to Power*. Translated by Walter Kaufmann, Vintage Books, 1968.
- Nishitani, Keiji. *The Self-Overcoming of Nihilism*. Translated by Graham Parkes and Setsuko Aihara, State U of New York P, 1990.
- Tanabe, Hajime. *Philosophy as Metanoetics*. Translated by Takeuchi Yoshinori, et al. 2nd ed., Chisokudō Publications, 2016.
- Wirth, Jason M. *Nietzsche and Other Buddhas: Philosophy after Comparative Philosophy*. Indiana UP, 2019.



Daphne Posadas | *La Presentación* | Acrylic on canvas, fabric

# LATINO VOTERS IN TEXAS: SHIFTS AND TRENDS FROM 2016-2020

FINN ANDERSEN\*

*Department of Political Science*

---

**ABSTRACT** Latino voters have historically supported the Democratic party, but in the 2020 presidential election, they significantly shifted to support Republican Donald Trump in the general election and Independent Bernie Sanders in the Democratic primary. There has been much media speculation about the causes of these shifts, but there is little scholarly work on this topic and no work examining the two shifts in conjunction. My statistical analysis of both candidates' vote share changes in the 254 counties in Texas alongside the counties' Latino population levels reveals a correlation between Latino population and increased support for Sanders and Trump. This correlation connects to a broader trend of Latino rejection of the Democratic establishment. A deeper demographic analysis of the counties with the greatest vote share increase confirms the trend's connection as well as their association with income and education. This trend of Latino rejection of the Democratic establishment could drastically reshape the US political landscape.

---

## Introduction

While far more divided than those of Black Americans, Latino voting preferences consistently favor the Democratic party. Exit poll analyses indicate a downward trend in the Latino vote for Republican presidential candidates since George W. Bush hit the high-water mark of 40% in 2004, with Republicans otherwise garnering between 25-35% from 1980 to 2012, showing solid Democratic preference (Lopez & Taylor, 2012). In 2016, Trump's anti-immigrant rhetoric led many to predict that Clinton would win the Latino vote in a historic landslide; those predictions were disproven, with her 66% mark showing that she significantly underperformed

Obama's 2012 vote share of 71%; on the other hand, Trump overperformed Romney's showing by garnering 28% of the Latino vote (Corral & Leal, 2020). Despite significant Latino backlash to Trump's rhetoric, he was far from anathema to all Latinos and reversed the trend of decreasing Latino Republican support. Trump's surprising performance among Latinos dramatically improved in the 2020 election—with validated voter analysis showing Trump received 38% of Latino votes (Igielnik et al., 2021), the second-best Republican showing yet.

Trump's improved performance was not the only notable shift in the Latino vote in 2020. Bernie Sanders, whose 2016 coalition was disproportionately white, assembled a disproportionately Latino coalition in 2020, with Latino voters playing a critical role in his victories (Altamura & Oliver, 2022). Sanders ran an antiestablishment campaign that particularly appealed to Independents (Altamura

---

\* I thank the DePaul Summer Undergraduate Research Grant program for their support, which enabled this research. I also thank Professor Joe R. Tafoya—as this paper was inspired in his Latino Politics course and he provided essential guidance throughout its creation—as well as Professor Joseph Mello, who selected and further edited this paper.

& Oliver, 2022). He also ran a left-wing campaign firmly against Trump's administration, positioning himself as Trump's opposite within US politics. Given their ideological opposition, it seems contradictory that Latino voters moved toward both candidates in 2020, but this does not necessarily mean that Latino voters were irrationally acting or changing ideologies and, instead, raises the possibility that a nonideological undercurrent prompted both shifts. Sanders and Trump's shared populist, antiestablishment rhetoric suggests that their increased Latino vote shares were part of a larger pattern of Latino voters rejecting the Democratic establishment they have historically supported. Texas, a politically antiestablishment state with nearly 11.5 million Latino residents (U.S. Census Bureau, 2021), offers an ideal context in which to examine this question and is thus the focus of this paper.

### **Literature Review**

The news media have proposed numerous explanations for the 2020 Latino shift toward Trump; one newspaper alone has published interpretations ranging from a gender gap between Latinos and Latinas (Garcia, 2021) to a desire to become part of "multiracial whiteness" (Beltran, 2021) to bolstered Latino outreach efforts by the Trump campaign (Byler, 2020). Another popular explanation is that the economy and COVID became more important than immigration, reducing the salience of a major point of contention between Latinos and Trump (Lauter, 2021). A report by voter data firm Catalist found that—while vote switching from Clinton voters to Trump played some role—a major factor in the Latino vote shift were the 22% of Latino voters who were first-time voters and thus less likely to have established ideological motivations or partisan preferences (Ghitza & Robinson, n.d.). Similarly, the media has paid much attention to Sanders's 2020 improvement, emphasizing his campaign's comprehensive grassroots Latino outreach efforts (Gambino, 2020; Barragan et al., 2020). Others attribute his success to the desire for change among many Latino Sanders supporters, particularly young ones (Barragan

et al., 2020). Despite intense media interest, few scholars have investigated both candidates' 2020 improvements among Latinos, especially Sanders's.

One scholarly work also focuses on the shift of Texas Latino voters toward Trump in the 2020 election (Vega & Cruz, 2022). This paper analyzed Trump's 2020 vote share both in 33 South Texas counties—which were mostly on the border and majority-Latino—and in 17 of Texas's most-populated counties, half of which were majority-Latino. They found a small shift toward Trump and a slightly larger shift away from Biden that was more pronounced in smaller counties and did not represent as large a shift among the overall electorate as some have claimed. Economic factors were highly influential, as majority-Latino border counties with low unemployment and a higher median income were more likely to increase Trump support. This analysis shows that while there is increased Trump support among Texas Latinos, it is not universal, and more studies are needed to understand this phenomenon. No other literature has emerged yet that investigates either candidate's improvement among Latinos compared to 2016.

However, several other pieces in the literature do deal with important components of this paper's focus. One paper found that support for Donald Trump in the 2020 election was strongly associated with belief in conspiracy theories among Latinos (Cortina & Rottinghaus, 2022), which is both a symptom and a driver of distrust in the political establishment. Another article established that Bernie Sanders not only substantially improved his performance among Latinos in 2020 but also that Latinos represented a disproportionate amount of his coalition as opposed to his overwhelmingly white 2016 coalition (Altamura & Oliver, 2022), showing a unique appeal to Latinos in 2020 that was not present in 2016. More research attempts to explain why some Latinos voted for Trump in 2016 despite his rhetoric; third-generation status and evangelical Christianity were commonly identified factors regarding this question (Corral & Leal, 2020; Gutierrez et al., 2019),

with gender also emerging as a component since Latinos voted for Trump significantly more than Latinas (Sanchez & Gomez-Aguinaga, 2017). Trump improved on the 2012 Republican performance among low-income Latinos (Corral & Leal, 2020), and, unsurprisingly, conservative ideology and Republican partisanship were the strongest predictors of Latino Trump support (Corral & Leal, 2020; Gutierrez et al., 2019; Sanchez & Gomez-Aguinaga, 2017).

Another key focus of this paper is Latino dissatisfaction with the Democratic establishment, which several scholars have considered. One article found that in Florida, among Latinos who had their homes foreclosed or their home equity reduced in the aftermath of the 2008 economic crash, Democrats and Democratic-leaning Independents experienced depressed voter turnout in 2016, while Republicans did not (Rugh, 2019). This finding indicates a significant level of dissatisfaction and disillusionment with the Democratic party among Latinos who are disappointed that the Obama administration adequately failed to protect their economic interests. Additionally, the Obama administration's handling of immigration, a highly salient issue for Latinos, deeply disappointed many of them. One paper found that young US-born Latinos—who tend to vote Democratic but do not identify strongly with the party—had significantly more negative views of the Democratic party based on Obama's mass deportation policies, potentially altering Latino politics for decades (Street et al., 2015). While Street et al.'s article was published in 2015, its findings are probably even more relevant now as more young Latinos disillusioned with Democrats become part of the electorate.

While limited explorations of Trump's improved Latino support in 2020—and to a greater extent his 2016 Latino support—do exist, more studies are needed to explore how he obtained the second-highest percentage of the Latino vote of any Republican presidential candidate ever. Moreover, no study has focused on Sanders's marked improvement among Latinos in 2020. However, various sources in the literature do indicate growing

Latino discontent with the Democratic establishment, strengthening the significance of this paper's focus. This paper fills an important void in the literature by examining both the underexamined phenomenon of increased Latino support for Sanders and Trump in 2020 and the previously neglected potential connection between the two.

### **Concepts and Measures**

This paper examines Texas's 254 counties; thus, the unit of analysis is counties. Counties were chosen as the unit of analysis for several reasons. First, they offer an ideal unit to measure both demographic data and election results, as the Census Bureau and Texas Department of Elections provide detailed results by county, which is much less uniform across smaller jurisdictions. Second, the 254 counties in Texas allow for an ample sample size. The state of Texas is ideal to conduct the analysis due to its nearly 11.5 million Latino residents (U.S. Census Bureau, 2021); moreover, its 254 counties include a plethora of urban, suburban, and rural environments, ideal for examining voting preference differences between small and large communities. Third and last, it has an antiestablishment political streak, providing an ideal condition to test whether antiestablishment sentiment is tied to shifts in Latino vote share.

The dependent variables of interest are the improvement in county vote share from 2016 to 2020 for Bernie Sanders and Donald Trump, with the independent variable being the Latino percentage of county population. Demographic data was obtained from the U.S. Census Bureau's publication of their 2020 Census results for Texas,<sup>i</sup> and election results were obtained from the Texas Secretary of State, Elections Division.<sup>ii</sup> In a further analysis of the top 20 counties for improvement in vote share for Sanders and Trump, the demographic factors of population size, median household income, percentage of the population with a high school diploma, percentage of the population with a bachelor's degree, and foreign-born percentage of the population are all examined with data obtained from the Census Bureau's QuickFacts tool, based on the 2020



Census results for Texas.<sup>iii</sup> These measures were chosen because they are associated with either support for Trump or a disconnect from the political establishment and political institutions among Latinos (Vega & Cruz, 2022; Corral & Leal, 2020; Albrecht, 2019; Barreto, 2005).

To conduct the analysis, I created an Excel spreadsheet with rows for each Texas county and columns for Latino percentage, Sanders's vote share in 2016, Sanders's vote share in 2020, Sanders's vote share improvement based off these two figures, Trump's vote share in 2016, Trump's vote share in 2020, and Trump's vote share improvement based off these two figures. I then conducted a Pearson correlation test to determine the correlation between the variables and their statistical significance.

### **Hypothetical Expectations**

Given both candidates' improved performance among Latinos and shared strong antiestablishment message, I predict that Trump and Sanders will have closely matched vote share improvements by county, leading me to develop the following Hypothesis 1: There will be a strong correlation between Sanders's vote share improvement and Trump's vote share improvement. Moreover, given that polling and literature clearly show marked improvement with Latino voters by both candidates, even as their overall vote share in Texas did not improve, I believe that both candidates' vote share improvements were strongest in heavily Latino counties. Owing to the confounding factors of very small Democratic primary vote totals in many low-population, heavily Republican counties—as well as the change from a two-candidate race to a multicandidate race from 2016 to 2020—I believe that this will be less true of Sanders than of Trump. Thus, I have developed Hypothesis 2: The correlations between Sanders's vote share improvement and Latino percentage of county population and Trump's vote share improvement and Latino percentage of county population will both be strong; however, I believe the correlation involving Trump's vote share improvement will be stronger.

In addition to these correlational tests, I will examine the top 20 counties by vote share improvement for both Sanders and Trump and analyze various demographic factors within them. These factors include the Latino percentage of the population, population size, median income, educational attainment, and foreign-born percentage of the population. I will compare them by these factors to the statistics for the entire state of Texas, and I expect that most of these counties will be more Latino than the state of Texas as a whole, further proving the contention that Sanders's and Trump's improved vote shares were closely tied to the Latino population. I expect that most of these counties will be less populated than the median Texas county, have a lower median income and educational attainment than Texas as a whole, and have a larger foreign-born population, all of which are associated with either Trump support or reduced association with the political establishment and political institutions (Vega & Cruz, 2022; Albrecht, 2019; Barreto, 2005). Lastly, following this paper's central theory that Sanders's and Trump's improvements are part of the same general trend, I expect that at least half of the top 20 counties for Sanders and Trump will be the same.

### **Results**

The correlation between the vote share improvement for Sanders and Trump is .37, while the correlation between Sanders's vote share improvement and Latino percentage of county population is .51. The correlation between Trump's vote share improvement and Latino percentage of county population is .72. All these correlations were found to be statistically significant at the 0.001 p-value level. Thus, my first hypothesis of a strong correlation between Sanders's and Trump's vote share improvements was disproven, as a .37 correlation is moderately weak. However, Hypothesis 2—that Sanders's and Trump's vote share improvements would both have a strong correlation with the Latino percentage of the county population, with the Trump correlation being stronger—was proven largely correct. Although, the Sanders correlation at .51 was only moderate, Trump did indeed have a strong correlation at .72.

Several trends were immediately apparent in the data. First, as shown in Figure 1 below—a scatter plot graph showing Sanders’s vote share improvement on the x-axis and Trump’s vote share improvement on the y-axis—most counties saw a slight improvement (0-5%) for Trump’s vote share and a vote share decrease for Sanders, which again is likely at least partially explained by the change from a two-candidate to multicandidate race and small vote totals in many counties in the Democratic primary. Altogether, Sanders’s vote share improved in 45 counties and Trump’s in 196. While Sanders’s and Trump’s vote share improvements did not show a strong correlation, Figure 1 indicates that in most of the counties where Trump’s improvement was largest (<10%), Sanders’s vote share either increased or saw a relatively modest (>10%) decrease. The graph further shows that most of the 45 counties where Sanders’s vote share increased also saw an increase in Trump’s vote share, showing that even though their vote share changes were not strongly correlated, the counties with increased support for Sanders were the same counties with increased support for Trump.

**FIGURE 1**

(Trump Vote / Sanders Vote)

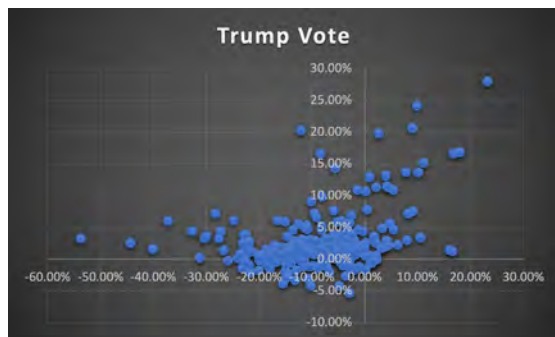


Figure 2—a scatter plot graph seen to the right with Sanders’s vote share improvement on the x-axis and Latino percentage of the population on the y-axis—also provides several insights. First, the correlation is clear, as Sanders’s vote share improvement clearly rises as the Latino percentage of the population increases. Furthermore,

the counties where Sanders’s vote share improved by more than a couple of percentage points were all at least 40% Latino, making them more Latino than the state of Texas overall—excluding the outlier of 265-person King County—where Sanders’s vote share improved by 16.67 percentage points because he went from 1 out of 3 votes to 1 out of 2 votes. Lastly, of the counties with the highest Latino populations (<80%), most saw Sanders’s vote share increase, while the few that didn’t saw modest vote share declines (>10%). These points indicate that, again, while the correlation was not particularly strong among all counties, the Latino population was a heavy factor in the small percentage of counties where Sanders did increase his vote share.

**FIGURE 2**

(Sanders Vote / Latino Population)

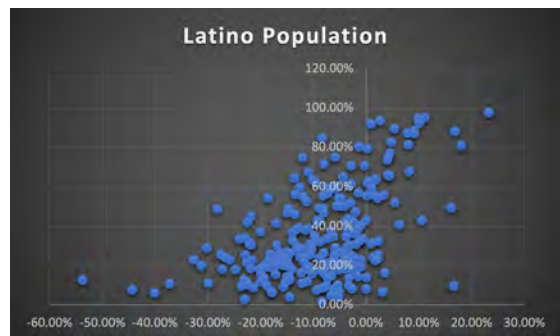
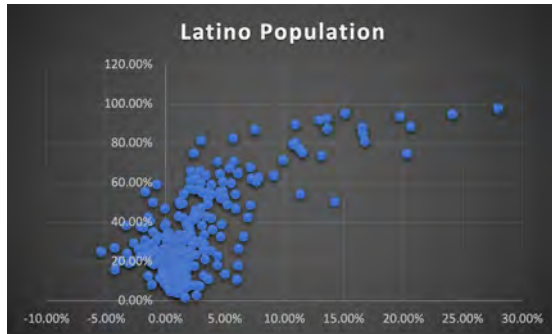


Figure 3 below is a scatter plot graph demonstrating the strongest correlation found in the analysis between Trump’s vote share improvement on the x-axis and the Latino percentage of the population on the y-axis. Not only is the correlation clearly displayed as Trump’s vote share improvement rises as the Latino population increases, but the graph shows several points further highlighting the connection. First, all counties with a greater than 60% Latino population saw Trump’s vote share increase. Second, with three exceptions, the counties with the highest Latino populations (<80%) are all also part of the group of counties where Trump’s improvement was the largest (<10%). Thus, not only is Latino percentage of

the population correlated with improved Trump share, but this effect is especially pronounced in overwhelmingly Latino counties.

**FIGURE 3**

(Trump Vote / Latino Population)



The analysis of the top 20 counties where Trump and Sanders improved their vote shares revealed several significant findings. First, 10 counties were on both lists, confirming my expectation that at least half of their respective top 20 counties were the same. Second, these counties did indeed have high Latino populations, particularly Trump's top 20. All these counties were majority-Latino, and all but one had more than 70% Latino; the average Latino percentage of population in Trump's top 20 was 82.5%. Sanders's top 20 was very Latino as well; all but one were 40% Latino or more, and thus more Latino than Texas overall (with tiny King County the outlier), and 16 out of 20 were majority-Latino; the average Latino percentage of population in Sanders's top 20 was 73.56%. The 10 shared counties have by far the largest Latino population; all were above 75% Latino, and the average Latino percentage of the population was 89.19%. This set of statistics most decisively supports this paper's central concept: that is, in the counties where Trump and Sanders improved the most, the vast majority of voters were Latinos, establishing a clear connection between all three variables: Latino population percentage, increased support for Sanders, and increased support for Trump.

Among the additional demographic factors examined, some of my expectations were borne out, while others were not. Despite the oft-discussed role of rurality in support for Trump and distrust in the political establishment, population size did not appear important: 12 of the counties in both candidates' top 20 were less populated than the median Texas county, while 8 were more populated, showing that this difference could not adequately explain why these counties voted so differently from Texas altogether. I expected the foreign-born percentage of the population would be higher in these counties as foreign-born Latinos tend to have less firm ideological and partisan ties and are less likely to vote for the Democratic establishment, but this was not shown to play a significant role, as only half of both candidates' top 20 counties had a higher foreign-born percentage than Texas as a whole.

The two factors that did appear decisive were income and education. The median income in every single county in Trump's top 20 and all but one of Sanders's was lower than the median income of Texas overall. The average median income of Trump's top 20 was \$42,414—less than two-thirds of the Texas median income of \$63,826—and Sanders's top 20's average median income was just less than \$2,000 higher, still well under the statewide figure. The educational attainment difference with Texas overall was also stark: all top 20 counties for both candidates had lower high school diploma and bachelor's degree attainment than Texas overall, and not a single county in Trump's top 20 had even 20% of its population—two-thirds the statewide percentage of 30.7%—possessing a bachelor's degree. The average bachelor's degree attainment among Sanders's top 20 counties was 16.06%, just barely more than half the statewide percentage, while Trump's top 20 had an average bachelor's degree attainment of just 13.33%, well under half the statewide percentage; the shared top 10 had an even lower average percentage, just 13.22%.

My last question regarding the top 20 counties concerned the differences between the 10 shared counties and the rest of each candidate's top 20. Among Trump's top 20, most demographic factors were largely the same between the 10 shared counties and the other 10, except for median income: the average median income of the shared top 10 was \$39,666 while the 10 counties only in Trump's top 20 had a significantly higher average median income of \$45,162. This income gap was even larger among Sanders's top 20—as the 10 counties that were only in his top 20 had an average median income of \$48,637, almost \$9,000 higher than the average in the shared top 10. Educational attainment was also a significant gap in Sanders's top 20 counties; while the shared counties' high school diploma and bachelor's attainment averages were 67.86% and 13.22%, respectively, the 10 counties solely in Sanders's top 20 had averages roughly 5.5 percentage points higher at 73.22% and 18.89%, respectively. These differences once again illustrate the centrality of income and education, particularly income, to the shared improvement among Latinos in 2020 by Trump and Sanders, suggesting that rejection of the Democratic establishment is not solely taking place among the oft-discussed white working class but also among the Latino working class as well.

### **Conclusion**

My research finds a clear link between Latino population percentage, increased support for Bernie Sanders in the 2020 election, and increased support for Donald Trump in the 2020 election. While the correlational findings pertaining to Sanders's change in the vote share were not as strong as I anticipated, this can be at least somewhat explained by the inherent challenges of studying a Democratic primary in Texas, where many rural counties have very few Democrats, and particularly comparing the multicandidate 2020 primary to the two-candidate 2016 primary. In addition, the graphs and top-20 comparison do show a strong connection both with the Latino population and with the increased Trump vote share. The top 20 analysis findings of the importance of income and education to these vote share increases are also highly

relevant, as they show that Trump and Sanders especially improved their vote shares among Latinos with low incomes and educational attainment, two characteristics marking a disconnect with the established political system. Although only some of my hypotheses were substantiated, the data does support the theory that prompted me to undertake this analysis: that the significant increases in Latino support for Donald Trump and Bernie Sanders were connected and influenced by antiestablishment sentiment rather than two simultaneous divergent ideological shifts.

The biggest limitation in my research was the difficulty in comparing the 2016 and 2020 Democratic primaries; this could have been more effectively controlled for by measuring Sanders's margin of victory or defeat against Clinton in 2016 and Biden in 2020, rather than noting changes in vote share. However, this would not have solved the issue of outliers coming from small counties and could have even exacerbated it; it also likely would have produced incongruity with the comparison with Trump's 2020 improvement. While additional considerations could have addressed limitations and added dimensions to my research, I believe I took the best approach for my main goal of measuring the connection between Sanders's and Trump's improvements among Latino voters in 2020. Future research should take a more qualitative approach through potential methods such as conducting a survey of Clinton to Sanders or Trump 2020 voters to discover why they switched their votes or conducting an in-depth case study of Starr County—which, as the most Latino county in the nation, epitomized the trends studied in this paper. Starr County was also the county where both Trump and Sanders improved their vote shares the most, and thus a deeper analysis of it would greatly enhance understanding of Latino movement toward both candidates in 2020.

This paper's theory of antiestablishment sentiment is certainly plausible, as the many counties where both Trump and Sanders improved suggest that the two phenomena were connected, discounting ideology as the sole political motivating factor and implying that Latinos

are motivated to reject Joe Biden and the Democratic establishment in favor of the opponent, whether it be left-wing Bernie Sanders or right-wing Donald Trump. The counties where these shifts were the greatest dealt with low income and low education, two factors closely connected to a distrust in and lack of connection with the political establishment and institutions. The economically populist rhetoric of Trump and Sanders, including the COVID-19 stimulus checks and bolstered unemployment insurance, could also have increased support among working-class Latinos who may have felt left behind by the Democratic establishment's recent turn toward neoliberal economic policy. Both campaigns' dramatically improved Latino outreach and the mobilization efforts documented in the news media (Byler, 2020; Gambino, 2020) likely drove the shift as well. Both candidates' vote share improvements—specifically among Latinos, despite losing vote share overall in Texas—support the argument that this shift was caused by targeted Latino outreach rather than general campaign outreach and mobilization. Although the exact explanation remains elusive, clearly the two trends are not taking place in isolation, and their manifest connection may involve multiple factors.

This research has several implications for various political actors. Republicans should see their very real potential to build on these trends and further improve their standing with Latino voters, provided they commit to this course of action and their investment in Latino outreach and mobilization, as well as avoid needlessly alienating Latinos with anti-immigrant rhetoric. Progressives in the Democratic party should similarly see their potential

to capitalize on these trends by building a coalition centered around Latino voters to challenge the centrist establishment for control of the Democratic party, further advancing the strategy of the Sanders 2020 campaign. They should also note that much of the motivation for the anti-Democratic establishment shift of Latino voters appears to be nonideological, and so their messaging to Latinos should center around an antiestablishment message of fighting for common people against the elite rather than an explicitly ideological one.

Lastly, the establishment centrist wing of the Democratic party should sound the alarm, as these findings show that they can no longer take Latino support for granted. They need an aggressive strategy to combat these losses and must have sorely needed conversations with Latinos on the ground—not D.C. consultants—to learn the reasons why they are losing their votes and how they can win them back. They would also be wise to incorporate much of Sanders's strategy; the legitimate fears about Sanders's democratic socialism alienating Latinos do not mean they cannot run more candidates with his populist, antiestablishment message or emulate his aggressive investment in an effective approach to Latino outreach and mobilization. Evidence from the 2022 midterm campaigns suggests that Republicans learned from Sanders's Latino outreach and incorporated aspects of it into their campaigns (Facundo, 2022); the Democratic party would cede many votes by not doing the same. Ultimately, one thing appears inevitable: if the Democratic establishment does not meaningfully change its relationship with Latino voters, more Latinos will say “¡Vamos, Brandon!” and vote against them.

## REFERENCES

- Albrecht, D. E. (2019). The nonmetro vote and the election of Donald Trump. *Journal of Rural Social Sciences*, 34(1), 1–32. <https://egrove.olemiss.edu/jrss/vol34/iss1/3>
- Altamura, C., & Oliver, B. (2022). Who feels the Bern?: An analysis of support for Bernie Sanders in the 2020 Democratic primary. *American Politics Research*, 50(5), 643–56. <https://doi.org/10.1177/1532673X221112390>

- America Counts Staff. (2021, August 25). *Texas added almost 4 million people in last decade*. United States Census Bureau. Retrieved September 29, 2022, from <https://www.census.gov/library/stories/state-by-state/texas-population-change-between-census-decade.html>

Barragan, J., Jeffers, G., Morris, A., and Mendez, M. (2020, February 28). Desire for drastic change driving Texas Latino voters to embrace 'Tio Bernie' Sanders. *Dallas Morning News*. <https://www.dallasnews.com/news/politics/2020/02/28/desire-for-dramatic-change-driving-texas-latino-voters-to-embrace-tio-bernie-sanders>

Barreto, M. A. (2005). Latino immigrants at the polls: Foreign-born voter turnout in the 2002 election. *Political Research Quarterly*, 58(1), 79–86. <https://doi.org/10.1177/106591290505800107>

Beltran, C. (2021, January 15). To understand Trump's support, we must think in terms of multiracial whiteness. *The Washington Post*. <https://www.washingtonpost.com/opinions/2021/01/15/understand-trumps-support-we-must-think-terms-multiracial-whiteness>

Byler, David. (2020, November 12). Trump shocked the world with his Latino support: Here's how it happened. *The Washington Post*. <https://www.washingtonpost.com/opinions/2020/11/12/trump-shocked-world-with-his-latino-support-heres-how-it-happened>

Corral, A. J., & Leal, D. L. (2020). Latinos por Trump?: Latinos and the 2016 presidential election. *Social Science Quarterly*, 101(3), 1115–31. <https://doi.org/10.1111/ssqu.12787>

Cortina, J., & Rottinghaus, B. (2022). Conspiratorial thinking in the Latino community on the 2020 election. *Research and Politics*, 9(1), 1–9. <https://doi.org/10.1177/20531680221083535>

Facundo, J. (2022, September 21). Inside the battle for the Latino vote. *The American Prospect*. <https://prospect.org/politics/inside-the-battle-for-the-latino-vote>

Gambino, L. (2020, March 3). 'He's Working for It': Why Latinos are rallying behind Sanders. *The Guardian*. <https://www.theguardian.com/us-news/2020/mar/02/bernie-sanders-latino-voters>

Garcia, E. (2021, March 22). Trump, my dad and the rightward shift of Latino men. *The Washington Post*. <https://www.washingtonpost.com/magazine/2021/03/22/latino-men-trump-2020>

Ghitza, Y., & Robinson, J. (n.d.). *What happened in 2020*. Catalyst. <https://catalist.us/wh-national>

Gutierrez, A., Ocampo, A. X., Barreto, M. A., & Segura, G. (2019). Somos más: How racial threat and anger mobilized Latino voters in the Trump era. *Political Research Quarterly*, 72(4), 960–75. <https://doi.org/10.1177/1065912919844327>

Igielnik, R., Keeter, S., & Hannah, H. (2021, June 30). Behind Biden's 2020 victory. Pew Research Center. <https://www.pewresearch.org/politics/2021/06/30/behind-bidens-2020-victory>

Lauter, D. (2021, December 17). Economy, COVID drove Latino voters toward Trump in 2020. *Los Angeles Times*. <https://www.latimes.com/politics/newsletter/2021-12-17/economy-covid-drove-latino-voters-toward-trump-2020-essential-politics>

Lopez, M. H., & Taylor, P. (2012, November 7). Latino voters in the 2012 election. Pew Research Center. <https://www.pewresearch.org/hispanic/2012/11/07/latino-voters-in-the-2012-election>

Rugh, J. S. (2020). Vanishing wealth, vanishing votes?: Latino homeownership and the 2016 election in Florida. *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies*, 46(18), 3829–54. <https://doi.org/10.1080/1369183X.2019.1592877>

Sanchez, G. R., & Gomez-Aguinaga, B. (2017). Latino rejection of the Trump campaign. *Aztlan: A Journal of Chicano Studies*, 42(2), 165–81.

Street, A., Zepeda-Millán, C., & Jones-Correa, M. (2015). Mass deportations and the future of Latino partisanship. *Social Science Quarterly*, 96(2), 540–52. <https://doi.org/10.1111/ssqu.12158>

Vega, A., & Cruz, M. (2022, March 10–12). "Are South Texas Latino voters really Trump supporters or is there something else going on here?—Still another look at the 2020 presidential election results." [Conference paper]. Annual Meeting of the Western Political Science Association 2022, Hilton Hotel, Portland, OR, United States. <http://www.wpsanet.org/papers/docs/Are%20South%20Texas%20Latino%20Voters%20Really%20Trump%20Supporters%2022822.pdf>

## ENDNOTES

- i America Counts Staff. (2021, August 25). *Texas added almost 4 million people in last decade*. United States Census Bureau. Retrieved September 29, 2022, from <https://www.census.gov/library/stories/state-by-state/texas-population-change-between-census-decade.html>
- ii Texas Secretary of State. (n.d.). *Election results archive*. <https://www.sos.state.tx.us/elections/historical/elections-results-archive.shtml>
- iii U.S. Census Bureau. (n.d.). *QuickFacts Texas*. U.S. Department of Commerce. Retrieved September 29, 2022, from <https://www.census.gov/quickfacts/fact/table/TX/BZA210220>



Imani Barnes | *Bar Scene I* | Ballpoint pen, paint markers, highlighter on paper

# THE DISCOURSES OF BRITISH PACIFISM IN THE FIRST WORLD WAR: UNDERSTANDING CONSCIENTIOUS OBJECTION AS BOTH A RELIGIOUS AND POLITICAL ACT

OCTOBER WANKOVSKY\*

*Department of Religious Studies*

The Military Service Act of 1916—the first conscription act in the history of the United Kingdom—stands as an important episode in a large number of histories, forming a point of intersection for many simultaneous historical developments. For historians of the First World War, the act often represents the pressures that total war imposed upon the participating state with a need to draw up unprecedented levels of manpower. For historians of nationalism and the nation-state, the act marks a shift in thought on the United Kingdom’s military from individualistic volunteerism to a sense of duty—a requirement—to defend the nation. For historians of conscientious objection, the act represented an injustice that galvanized the pacifist movement and led to the ultimate formation of the category “conscientious objector.” This paper hopes to build upon this historiography by generating a deeper understanding of how religion interacted with the discourse around conscientious objection. Often, religious objections to conscription have been presented in an almost apolitical manner as the inherent closed and bounded doctrine of a particular religious sect individuals must follow. However, the words, writings, and lives of conscientious objectors (COs) themselves often bring to light an understanding that

their religious beliefs not only had porous boundaries—mixing notions and rhetoric of different traditions—but also fluidly incorporated what would be labeled “political” understandings of killing, the First World War, and the state of early twenty-first-century British society.

Until more recently, historians studying conscientious objection have largely focused upon individual historical figures such as the pacifist Bertrand Russel and important activist agencies such as the No-Conscription Fellowship (NCF), founded by members of the Independent Labor Party. These older historians (generally writing between 1970 and 1990) essentially created activist histories, attempting to look at the efforts and internal actions of organizations that these historians argued largely made the history of conscientious objection. For example, one of the most important works on British COs in the First World War remains *The Hound of Conscience: A History of the No-Conscription Fellowship* by Thomas C. Kennedy, which was written in 1981. *The Hound of Conscience* largely describes the tactics of the NCF and conflicts within the organization, as embodied by leaders such as Clifford Allen.

Yet, beginning in the 2000s, a number of historians have taken a rhetorical or discursive turn in discussing conscientious objection. These histories focus on how COs actually navigated, justified, rationalized, maintained, and argued their objections. For instance, the 2009 book *Telling Tales about Men* by Lois S. Bibbings avoids

---

\* This paper was originally written for REL 300 (Theories of Culture and Religion) and was mentored by Dr. Kaliani Menon. Drs. Yuki Miyamoto (chair), Christopher Tirres, Naomi A. Steinberg, and Scott Paeth comprised the selection committee for the Department of Religious Studies.



a narrative structure on the history of conscientious objection altogether, opting instead for writing in a format that intends to explore the various ways conscientious objection was depicted—by objectors and by those that reviled them—throughout the war. In this way, Bibbings writes a powerful history of the discourse on conscientious objection. Bibbings in particular focuses a critical lens on constructions of masculinity, bringing groundbreaking analysis of gender that previously went undiscussed.

In the same vein, this paper intends to examine conscientious objection as a discourse on religion. Historians are often quick to emphasize the important ways in which belief was a driving force behind why people objected, quoting grand speeches before tribunals on following in the life of Jesus Christ. Yet many historians fail to explore religion as a discourse. In other words, they use it as an explanation for action but fail to investigate its actual origins. It often leaves religion as a disconnected phenomenon, one that makes people act in the world yet never lets them understand why or how that interacts with their greater socioeconomic and sociocultural environments.

Disconcertingly, historical and scholarly writing often attempts to create a strong demarcated line between the spheres of the “political” and the “religious.” In reality, for many COs—and pacifists generally—the religious was political, and the political was religious. The symbols and rhetoric of socialism, liberalism, Christian pacifism, and any other given ideological category did not exist within their own closed systems; they were part of the field of counter-discourses to the British war efforts, creatively drawn upon by COs. Rather, what this demarcation was primarily intended to do, historically, was allow the state (the UK) to regulate the bounds of acceptable discourse about the war effort and conscription. In doing so, branding anti-capitalist and revolutionary discourses as entirely traitorous and politically laced while declaring the grounds of religious consciousness sufficiently sacred and above politics.

If they wish to make how COs actually navigated the First World War intelligible, historians must abandon the notion that religion and politics were truly two discrete systems of knowledge. Instead, it seems far more apt to adopt Jean and John Comaroff’s understanding of a “cultural field” of symbols and meanings;<sup>1</sup> that is to say, both religious and socialistic, liberal, and other discourses were submerged in the cultural milieu of the United Kingdom and able to be creatively drawn upon by COs. In other words, a “closed system of signs and relations” did not exist but rather “the meaningful world always presents itself as a fluid, often contested, and only partially integrated mosaic of narratives, images, and signifying practices.”<sup>2</sup> This notion helps to understand the actual way in which COs express their worldview in historical documents.

Take, for instance, an NCF propaganda pamphlet entitled *Christianity, a Danger to the State* by Laurence Housman. In it, Housman advances many liberal individualistic arguments against conscription as an overreach by the state, forewarning that conscription will bring about a “State” wherein “the moral conscience of the individual has become atrophied by subordination, and he is not free to choose between right and wrong.”<sup>3</sup> This liberal individualist rhetoric not only coexists with but is also backed up by appeals to a “primitive Christian standpoint” that stands in opposition to a “Christianity,” which “had become absorbed in the State-system and had accepted the view that physical force and persecution were good social remedies.”<sup>4</sup> Similarly, in a letter home on January 21, 1915, a CO by the name of T. Corder Catchpool decried the entire nature of the war, declaring: “I turn away sick

---

1 Jean Comaroff and John L. Comaroff, *Of Revelation and Revolution: Christianity, Colonialism and Consciousness in South Africa* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1991), 23.

2 Comaroff and Comaroff, *Of Revelation and Revolution*, 27.

3 Laurence Housman, *Christianity, a Danger to the State* (London: No-Conscription Fellowship, 1914), 3, <https://hdl.handle.net/2027/uc1.31175035645723>.

4 Housman, *Christianity*, 3–4.

at heart, and go to bed and think that they with all the sublimity of their sacrifice, are dupes; we, dupes; all the world, dupes of the handfuls of charlatans who make wars, exploiting, trading upon those nobler traits of human nature. 'Your country needs you,' cry armament manufacturer, Junker, Chauvinist.<sup>5</sup> His denunciation of "Chauvinism" came while he was serving in the Quaker Friends' Ambulance Unit. In fact, in another letter home on February 8, 1915, Catchpool remarks, "I have had quite a lot of talk recently with folk about Quakerism, our principle against war, and of religion in general."<sup>6</sup> For Catchpool, his declarations against Chauvinism and his beliefs as a Quaker are not two different realms of reasoning; rather, they are both elements of the pacifistic discourse he draws on to denounce the war. Both cases speak to how anti-conscriptionist rhetoric did not simply follow along discrete ideological strands depending upon the individual but rather that anti-conscriptionists drew upon a variety of symbols and meanings—an entire pacifistic cultural field—that does not neatly fit into the religious nor the political.

Yet that is not to say there was, in actuality, no rhetoric or language we could justifiably name Christian, socialist, liberal, or otherwise. Rather, the Comaroffs note that "the semantic scape contains a plurality of 'cultures'—that is, of 'systems' of symbols, values, and meanings."<sup>7</sup> It is not that there was no difference between various ideological discourses, merely that belonging to one did not preclude drawing from or seeing meaning in another. This very suggestion can be found in the research of other, more recent historical works on conscientious objection. For example, Steven J. Sutcliffe's 2018 case study of the CO Dugald Semple critiques the way in which "'religious' or 'political' grounds . . . are presented more-or-less

dichotomously."<sup>8</sup> Instead, Sutcliffe argues that Semple "shows in rich detail the existence of mixed grounds for exemption within a wider 'ecology of conscience.'"<sup>9</sup> Sutcliffe argues that while Semple's ultimate objection was "strategically" grounded in vegetarianism and "Tolstoyan pacifist 'absolutism,'" his decision to be a CO grew out of "contact with progressive politics and 'alternative' philosophies, both religious and non-religious"—which included "fruitarianism, Buddhism," a search for "a simple religion," and "anarchist communism."<sup>10</sup> While it would certainly be hard to argue that these are not different systems of meaning, it is equally difficult to make the case that Semple belonged to any singular one. Thus, while the rhetoric of, for example, socialist traditions may be very distinct from Christian traditions, this did not make such rhetoric *discrete*, and COs creatively and, as Sutcliffe points out, strategically drew upon these systems of meaning.

The utilization of multiple religious and political systems of meaning was not merely the strategy of a small number of scatterbrained COs but was also pervasive in British pacifist discourses throughout the First World War. In railing against conscription, the NCF presented itself simultaneously as "a defender of Britain's great libertarian tradition"—hoping to tap into the "latent spirit of liberalism"—while also leveraging the "opposition" to the act "among laboring classes,"<sup>11</sup> lacing themselves in liberal and socialistic/trade unionist rhetoric. The NCF also appealed to pacifistic notions of shared humanity in both Christian and socialist terms. Historian Thomas C. Kennedy describes that "[t]here was, for example, strong

5 T. Corder Catchpool, *On Two Fronts* (London: Headley Bros. Publishers, 1918), 50, <https://hdl.handle.net/2027/mdp.39015063992039>.

6 Catchpool, *On Two Fronts*, 56.

7 Comaroff and Comaroff, *Of Revelation and Revolution*, 27–28.

8 Steven J. Sutcliffe, "Absolutism and Pragmatism in Conscientious Objection to Military Service during the 1914–18 War: The Case of Dugald Semple in Scotland," *Kirchliche Zeitgeschichte* 31, no. 1 (2018): 44, <https://www.jstor.org/stable/26557626>.

9 Sutcliffe, "Absolutism and Pragmatism," 44.

10 Sutcliffe, "Absolutism and Pragmatism," 44, 48–49.

11 Thomas C. Kennedy, *The Hound of Conscience: A History of the Non-Conscription Fellowship, 1914–1919* (Fayetteville: University of Arkansas Press, 1981), 106.

support for war resisters becoming ‘a great missionary body inside the Socialist and Christian movement,’ linking anti-militarism with international brotherhood and Christian charity as a rallying point for a worldwide peace campaign.”<sup>12</sup> The strategic use of multiple systems of symbols and meaning was not only limited to anti-conscriptionist organizations, which arguably needed a broader appeal to meet the diverse and divergent outlook of thousands of COs. In particular, the combining of socialist and Christian discourses and rhetoric proved to be a repeated tool of the pacifist movement. Historian Lesley Orr has argued that the Women’s Peace Crusade led by Helen Crawford effectively did just this. As an avowed “Christian socialist,” Helen Crawford’s “wartime oratory and political practice drew on the metaphors, the cadences and language . . . from the Bible and the Scottish Reformed tradition” and thus “transposing religious ideas about justice and righteousness into secular organizations and action.”<sup>13</sup> Orr particularly emphasizes Helen Crawford’s agitation against munitions factory management; Orr also emphasized her “Easter Appeal”—which “was introduced as an alternative ‘service’—wherein Crawford “offered ‘to do homage to Him who came to bring Peace on Earth and good will to men’” and frequently referenced scripture.<sup>14</sup> Clearly, it isn’t simply that the a few individual COs blur the line between politics and religion. Rather, to describe the religious and the political as historically separate and monolithic categories fundamentally misrepresents the actual discourses of the pacifist movement in wartime Britain.

Furthermore, delineating a boundary between religious and political understandings of objection fundamentally lessens historians’ ability to examine the origins of

discourse on conscientious objection. In other words, it doesn’t let us get at *why* particular meanings and symbols proved to be more powerful for different COs. Scholars of religion Jacqueline S. Hirst and John Zavos have argued that “[r]esearching and teaching about religion as a discrete category . . . privileges and authenticates particular ideas of religions as bounded, exclusive and grounded in essential characteristics.”<sup>15</sup> Such a critique aptly describes many earlier historical works on anti-conscriptionists. For instance, in a journal article for *Quaker History*, Thomas C. Kennedy states:

F.S.C. [Friends Service Committee] Quakers were sorely disappointed . . . They believed that once British militarism had succeeded in establishing the ultimate weapon of conscription, there were only three effective means of continuing war resistance: by refusing to acquiesce in any activity which might advance the war effort, by engaging in ceaseless anti-war propaganda to persuade the public of the necessity for peace, and, finally, by suffering in prison as silent but willing witnesses to the destructive immorality of war. Within the narrow circle of the F.S.C. these principles were rarely questioned and almost universally adhered to.<sup>16</sup>

In this telling, the Quakers of the FSC are depicted as doing what they do *simply because* they are Quakers. The FSC is implied to be insular, irrational, and unrealistic. Yet Kennedy does not offer origins; he does not bring us closer to why this might be, essentially explaining their actions away as the result of the fundamental stuff of Quaker principle. Hirst and Zavos offer an effective way forward, arguing that “[r]eligion is a discourse. Understanding its meaning is a process of recognising its operation in the context of other discourses, and of the social economic and political environments in which people live.”<sup>17</sup> In

12 Thomas C. Kennedy, “Fighting about Peace: The No-Conscription Fellowship and the British Friends’ Service Committee, 1915-1919,” *Quaker History* 69, no. 1 (1980): 20, <https://www.jstor.org/stable/41946897>.

13 Lesley Orr, “If Christ Could Be Militant, So Could I: Helen Crawford and the Women’s Peace Crusade, 1916-18,” *Kirchliche Zeitgeschichte* 31, no. 1 (2018): 41, <https://www.jstor.org/stable/26557625>.

14 Orr, “If Christ Could Be Militant, So Could I,” 38.

15 Jacqueline S. Hirst and John Zavos, “Riding a Tiger? South Asia and the Problem of ‘Religion,’” *Contemporary South Asia* 14, no. 1 (March 2005): 6.

16 Kennedy, “Fighting about Peace,” 9.

17 Hirst and Zavos, “South Asia and the Problem of ‘Religion,’” 6.

other words, historians must recognize that religion is not an independent and unchanging historical force that compels scripted actions from individuals; rather, religion is simultaneously constructed by and constructs the “economic and political environments in which people live.”<sup>18</sup>

A few of the more recent historical works on COs have sought to evaluate critically the power that class has played in forming the discourses and experiences of COs. In a 2019 comparative case study of two different COs, Historian Albert W. Wetter describes how a working-class objector received “ridicule of his conscientious objection” and “demeaning and abusive treatment compared to Belloch, an Oxford student from a higher social class.”<sup>19</sup> Wetter elaborates that “Congregationalist Churches in Britain were predominantly . . . working-class” and thus “more vulnerable to prejudice compared to the affluent members of Britain’s religious society, namely the Anglicans and Quakers.”<sup>20</sup> Thus, Wetter submerges religion back within the socioeconomic and sociocultural world it is embedded in, making the difference in treatment between these denominations much more explicable.

Yet the socioeconomic contexts in which COs were submerged did not just influence how they were treated. Rather, socioeconomic discourses were always extremely formative for COs, even the more “religious” ones. For example, in a 2006 case study of the CO Malcolm Sparkes, historian Bert den Boggende describes how Sparkes’s “brand of guild socialism” was influenced by the Quakerism of the Fellowship of Reconciliation; the latter believed “it was crucial that social, economic, political and

theological views were more fully united with pacifism” and were deeply concerned with “such seemingly non-pacifist issues as social and industrial reorganisation, education, and rehabilitation of young offenders.”<sup>21</sup> Den Boggende even concludes that “to separate these social issues from pacifism is to misconstrue FOR pacifism.”<sup>22</sup>

Likewise, economic discourse is far from the sole discourse that remains underappreciated. Historian Lois S. Bibbings’s illuminating book *Telling Tales about Men*, for example, shows the extreme importance that cultural discourses around masculinity had in shaping the rhetoric of COs. She notes how “[e]stablishment Anglican (pro-war) notions of Christianity also propounded the idea of fighting as a noble and necessary act as war was justified by the teachings of Christ.”<sup>23</sup> Overall, Bibbings argues that “[m]ainstream Christianity allied with patriotism had encouraged boys and men to see serving their country . . . in a positive light” and notes that clergy from “the Anglican Church and . . . other non-pacifist Christian denominations . . . used their position to call for active support of the national effort.”<sup>24</sup> Bibbings notes that “Lord Derby had called upon ministers of religion to use their influence to boost the number of men joining up and clerics contributed to the recruiting efforts of the press”—evidenced by the fact that “*The Times Recruiting Supplement*, 3 November 1915, included exhortations from the Archbishop of Canterbury, the Bishops of London and Birmingham, the Archbishop of Armagh,” and other religious leaders.<sup>25</sup> Some bishops were particularly explicit; for example, “Bishop Moule of Durham talked in 1915 of the

18 Hirst and Zavos, “South Asia and the Problem of ‘Religion,’” 6.

19 Albert W. Wetter, “I Deny Your Authority to Try My Conscience: Conscripted and Conscientious Objectors in Britain during the Great War” (honors thesis, Bowdoin University, 2019), 82, <https://digitalcommons.bowdoin.edu/honorsprojects/117>.

20 Wetter, “I Deny Your Authority to Try My Conscience,” 82.

21 Bert den Boggende, “Reluctant Absolutist: Malcolm Sparkes’ Conscientious Objections to World War I,” *Quaker Studies* 10, no. 1 (2006): 70, 74, <https://digitalcommons.georgefox.edu/quakerstudies/vol10/iss1/5>.

22 den Boggende, “Reluctant Absolutist,” 74.

23 Lois S. Bibbings, *Telling Tales about Men: Conceptions of Conscientious Objectors to Military Service during the First World War* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2009), 57.

24 Bibbings, *Telling Tales about Men*, 57.

25 Bibbings, *Telling Tales about Men*, 57–58.

'holiness of patriotism.'"<sup>26</sup> Cultural depictions of war were intertwined with mainstream religious understandings of the war, mediating the counter-discourses of COs. For both "patriots" and pacifists, religion would often take center stage as not only a rhetorical tool but also a language to justify and give meaning to their positions on the war.

Historians of conscientious objection must continue to erode depictions of COs, anti-conscriptionists, and pacifists as neatly divided into two ideologically dichotomous categories: the religious and the political. In reality, while a difference should be noted between liberal, socialist, and religious (not only Christian) discourses, pacifists of all stripes drew upon a wide range of symbols, rhetoric, meaning, and discourses that cannot be neatly categorized. Historians must recognize that these are not discrete. Overall, in order to fully comprehend the experience of COs, historians must incorporate a religious studies or comparative religious lens; these religious discourses are one of the major focuses of history on objection.

#### PRIMARY SOURCES

Catchpool, T. Corder. *On Two Fronts*. London: Headley Bros. Publishers, 1918. <https://hdl.handle.net/2027/mdp.39015063992039>.

Housman, Laurence. *Christianity, a Danger to the State*. London: No-Conscription Fellowship, 1914. <https://hdl.handle.net/2027/uc1.31175035645723>.

#### SECONDARY SOURCES

Bibbings, Lois S. *Telling Tales about Men: Conceptions of Conscientious Objectors to Military Service during the First World War*. Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2009.

Comaroff, Jean, and John L. Comaroff. *Of Revelation and Revolution: Christianity, Colonialism and Consciousness in South Africa*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1991.

den Boggende, Bert. "Reluctant Absolutist: Malcolm Sparkes' Conscientious Objections to World War I." *Quaker Studies* 10, no. 1 (2006): 67-86. <https://digitalcommons.georgefox.edu/quakerstudies/vol10/iss1/5>.

Hirst, Jacqueline S., and John Zavos. "Riding a Tiger? South Asia and the Problem of 'Religion.'" *Contemporary South Asia* 14, no. 1 (March 2005): 3-20.

Kennedy, Thomas C. "Fighting about Peace: The No-Conscription Fellowship and the British Friends' Service Committee, 1915-1919." *Quaker History* 69, no. 1 (1980): 3-22. <https://www.jstor.org/stable/41946897>.

———. *The Hound of Conscience: A History of the No-Conscription Fellowship, 1914-1919*. Fayetteville: University of Arkansas Press, 1981.

Orr, Lesley. "If Christ Could Be Militant, So Could I': Helen Crawford and the Women's Peace Crusade, 1916-18." *Kirchliche Zeitgeschichte* 31, no. 1 (2018): 27-42. <https://www.jstor.org/stable/26557625>.

Sutcliffe, Steven J. "Absolutism and Pragmatism in Conscientious Objection to Military Service during the 1914-18 War: The Case of Dugald Semple in Scotland." *Kirchliche Zeitgeschichte* 31, no. 1 (2018): 43-57. <https://www.jstor.org/stable/26557626>.

Wetter, Albert W. "I Deny Your Authority to Try My Conscience: Conscription and Conscientious Objectors in Britain during the Great War." Honors Thesis, Bowdoin University, 2019. <https://digitalcommons.bowdoin.edu/honorsprojects/117>.

---

<sup>26</sup> Bibbings, *Telling Tales about Men*, 58.



Evelyn Rubi Hernandez | Absence of a Hug | Canvas, acrylic paint, thermochromic pigment (changes color when hugged)

# CANCIÓN DEL ESTIRENO: PROYECTO CREATIVO DE LOS RIESGOS DEL PLÁSTICO Y EL POLIESTIRENO PARA LA SALUD

MARÍA-JOSÉ LEMA\*

*Spanish Program*

*Department of Modern Languages*

---

**ENGLISH ABSTRACT** This song aims to raise awareness about the growing health problems resulting from excessive plastic use for food items. In order to break the language barrier and appeal to the many Latinx cultures, the song was written in Spanish as a salsa and educates Latin American communities about health risks that deserve greater attention. The composition of the song required research on the health and environmental issues that come with the excessive use of plastic, which the interpretive note accompanying the song explains is not only a health and environmental hazard but also a social and cultural hazard.

---

Los plásticos y poliestirenos son materiales baratos y muy prácticos. Por esto, se usan mucho para empaclar comidas y bebidas. Como no es un material reusable, se desecha y los químicos y trozos de estos materiales se han metido ya por todas partes: el mar, los ríos, la tierra, el aire, nuestras comidas, ¡y hasta en nuestro propio cuerpo! Bajo ciertas condiciones, como los rayos ultravioleta, el calor o el contacto con ácidos, el poliestireno libera químicos tóxicos. Los químicos que se encuentran en los plásticos y estirenos se han visto relacionados con el desarrollo de varios cánceres, trastornos neurológicos y trastornos reproductivos (Azoulay et al. 8). Hay formas de reducir el uso y el contacto con el plástico. Por ejemplo, se puede comer o beber en casa, se pueden empaclar comidas o bebidas hechas en casa en contenedores o botellas

de silicona, de vidrio, o de otros materiales no tóxicos; también se puede hacer un esfuerzo por comprar menos productos envasados en plástico o comer en restaurantes si se va a comer afuera de la casa.

Esta canción la escribí como una salsa dirigida hacia la comunidad latina. Siento que en nuestra comunidad latina necesitamos ser más conscientes de la cantidad de plástico y poliestireno que usamos con nuestras comidas. Al componer la canción al ritmo de la salsa, el mensaje que intento mandar se vuelve más pegajoso y el tema de la inclusión de las diferentes comidas latinas que tanto gozamos pasa a ser algo más personal.

Como parte de los cursos de Español para la Salud (SPN 231, 232, 233), este proyecto creativo tiene la meta de comunicar un tema de la salud dirigido hacia las comunidades hispanohablantes. Empezamos con la búsqueda de la información para este tema, y luego

---

\* This project was written for a quarterly creative project assignment for the course series SPN 231, 232, and 233 (Health Spanish), instructed by Dr. María Luisa Ortega Hernández. Dr. Ortega Hernández and Dr. Bradley Hoot helped to select and edit this submission.

basamos nuestros proyectos creativos en la investigación y la reflexión crítica. El proceso de hacer una canción para un curso de lengua y medicina me ayudó a usar mis habilidades creativas y musicales en un ambiente académico, que generalmente no incluye las artes. Yo era una estudiante de música durante mi primer año de carrera, pero, después de haber terminado el año, me di cuenta de que una carrera especializada en la música no era para mí. A pesar de haber hecho un cambio en mis estudios, extraño mucho la música e intento integrarla en mi vida cotidiana de la forma que pueda. Este proyecto fomenta que los estudiantes usen sus talentos en ambientes médicos o lingüísticos, donde normalmente no se esperarían.

La medicina se suele entender como un campo muy frío, poco cálido, incluso estéril. Tradicionalmente, el arte no es algo que se haya asociado con la medicina y la salud ya que las expresiones e imágenes que se relacionan con la sanidad y el contexto clínico son serias y, a veces, intimidantes. Debido a esto, un paciente tiene que afrontar el sentirse como un sujeto en un experimento o un número más en una estadística . . . aparte de todos los otros problemas de salud a los que se enfrenta. Otro problema con la medicina es que hay sensaciones, experiencias y sentimientos que nunca podrán ser un simple diagnóstico. Felizmente, en estos últimos años se ve más y más el uso del arte en la medicina. El arte en el mundo sanitario funciona como un vehículo de comunicación entre la doctora y el paciente, o de la paciente y el doctor. Hoy en día, es muy común encontrar arte que se dirija a la salud puesto que a través de las artes se pueden comunicar mensajes que difícilmente se expresan simplemente con la palabra hablada o escrita. La idea de la medicina narrativa fue creada en Columbia University por la Dra. Rita Charon, “cuya misión es [capacitar] a los profesionales de la salud en la competencia narrativa: la capacidad de ‘reconocer, absorber, metabolizar, interpretar y ser conmovido por las historias’” de cada paciente y de cada enfermedad (McKnight y Kunnheim 56).

De la misma forma que se ve la disolución de la conexión humana en la medicina y en temas de la salud, se ve la disolución de la conexión humana y emocional en todos los aspectos de la vida en nuestra sociedad. Hoy en día, vivimos en una sociedad plástica y descartable. Las cosas se compran, se usan y se botan. Todo se pone más intenso, y dura menos tiempo. Los productos, programas y actividades están obligados a ser más y más llamativos de cualquier forma posible para poder captar la atención del consumidor y vender más. Siempre sale un producto mejor, más grande y más atractivo. Por esto, siempre estamos descartando el producto que se ya quedó antiguo y aburrido para reemplazarlo con el producto nuevo. Al igual que los plásticos que usamos para nuestras comidas, nosotros nos volvemos más y más descartables. Debemos reflexionar sobre los efectos de esta transformación hacia el plástico. Ya no se valora la calidad como se hacía antes, y tampoco tenemos la paciencia para esperar nada. Nos importa demasiado lo que opinen los demás. Físicamente también se ven los efectos nocivos de esta transformación. Según David Azoulay et al. del *Center for International Environmental Law*, “las micropartículas se documentan con más y más frecuencia en el sistema sanguíneo humano y en los tejidos humanos” (63; mi traducción). Nos estamos volviendo seres de plástico que vivimos en un mundo plástico. La producción del plástico contribuye a la contaminación del aire; el medio ambiente se está llenando de los químicos que emiten los plásticos (Azoulay et al. 15). Como menciona mi canción, “las cosas no son como antes.” En tiempos más antiguos, los materiales y los productos en general duraban mucho más, se reusaban y arreglaban, y las modas y tendencias eran de menor importancia. La leche se rellenaba en botellas de vidrio cada semana, la ropa se pasaba entre primos y hermanas hasta hacerse trozos, y los zapatos y electrónicos se arreglaban. Ahora, los envases de leche son descartables, se bota la ropa cuando pasa de moda, y los zapatos y electrónicos se reemplazan apenas haya alguna falla. En un mundo donde hay exceso de todo y donde todo se desecha, no sabemos valorar lo que tenemos.



FIG. 1, “LA COMPOSITORA CON SU GUITARRA.”



#### WORKS CITED

Azoulay, David et al. *Plastic & Health: The Hidden Costs of a Plastic Planet*. Center for International Environmental Law, February 2019, [www.ciel.org/wp-content/uploads/2019/02/Plastic-and-Health-The-Hidden-Costs-of-a-Plastic-Planet-February-2019.pdf](http://www.ciel.org/wp-content/uploads/2019/02/Plastic-and-Health-The-Hidden-Costs-of-a-Plastic-Planet-February-2019.pdf).

McKnight, Kathryn Joy, and Jill Kuhnheim. “Capítulo 1: Las Experiencias Médicas, la Ficción y la Empatía.” *Para Vivir con Salud: Leyendo la Salud y la Literatura*. 2022, pp. 55-75. *PressBooks*. [opentext.ku.edu/paravivir/](http://opentext.ku.edu/paravivir/). PDF download.

#### ***Canción del estireno***

Letra de María-José Lema

Las cosas no son como antes  
Estamos en tiempos cambiantes  
Todo es descartable  
Pero esto es evitable

El plástico plástico pasa  
En tus tacos y pollo a la brasa  
Arepas, sopitas y masa  
El estireno todo lo envasa

Estos materiales contienen químicos  
Que dañan y son cancerígenos  
Interrumpen el sistema-endocrino  
A la-enfermedad estarás en camino

El plástico plástico pasa  
En tu mofongo no hecho-en casa  
En plátanos fritos y causa  
El estireno todo lo envasa

Aunque da mucho miedo, amigo  
La enfermedad no es tu destino  
Hay muchas formas de evitar  
Los daños de esta edad

La comida de casa es mejor  
O envasarla-en vidrio  
Cuando tengas ganas de salir  
Trata no llevar la comida-al fin

El plástico plástico pasa  
En los vasos de café y horchata  
Y la carne asada con papas  
El estireno todo lo envasa

Si nosotros queremos mejorar  
Amigos, debemos colaborar  
Para salvar nuestra salud  
Y cuidarnos para la juventud

# EMBODYING THE REVOLUTION: THE INTERSECTION OF DANCE AND FEMINIST THEORY

ANGELINA McADORY\*

*Department of Women's and Gender Studies*

As a dancer of almost fifteen years, I took my first formal modern dance class in college. Professor Lin Kahn framed the class by first leading us through modern dance movement and ending the class with a brief lesson on the movement we did. This was where I learned about the foundational element of modern dance—free movement. Free movement is significant because it's a countermovement that opposes the framework of ballet. Free movement means dancing without restriction. It differs from ballet in the way that dancers will start and end the movement in a standard ballet position and navigate the entire production through the set classical ballet techniques in syncopation. Putting a dancer in this box would limit the story of the movement. Free movement is a dance method that is the backbone of improvisation and is an approach to dance that inspired the techniques that would shape hip-hop and vogue—two more styles of dance born in New York during a time when Black and queer expressionism were blooming, coming out of the Civil Rights Movement. These dance spaces became spaces for marginalized groups to gather and celebrate life. Free movement not only revolutionized the art of dance but also provided a space for queer, Black, and brown communities to express themselves, which was radical for its time because of the antiblack and antigay legislation in addition to repression controlling the social environments.

---

\* I was first introduced to dance studies at DePaul in a modern dance class during Fall Quarter 2022, taught by Professor Kahn. This project is a self-guided learning journey in dance studies, and this essay was mentored by Dr. Heather Ireland.

Dance theory piqued my interest when my modern dance professor explained how the philosophies of modern dance were the philosophies behind dance theory entirely. Dance theorists “care about the construction of dance history or dance’s relation to other aesthetic languages like music, visual arts, architecture and others” (“Dance Theory,” n.d.). This became more personal to me as I started making connections with my lived experiences within and outside of dance. In *Bodies of the Text: Dance as Theory, Literature as Dance*, Ellen Goellner and Jacqueline Shea Murphy (1995) write: “Western theatrical dance can be interrogated in such a way as to reveal the residues of political actions and representations upon, through, and of the body” (p. 25). If so, then our politics will always interfere with the potentiality of the art, and through this, the idea of this project was born.

In this paper, I will first discuss dance history as I explore how feminist theory is present in modern, hip-hop, and vogue dance styles. I chose to use these three styles of dance for their unique place in American history—each emerging as a countermovement and resistance to ballet’s structure. I suggest that we can use dance to deepen our understanding of the way we engage with each other, and movement can be used for communication and theoretical research yet is devalued. The techniques of each style are representative of not only our shared history but also the dancers’ lived experiences. The call for dance spaces that resisted the traditional structure of ballet reveals to us the desire for spaces without restriction, and with the fostering of freedom, pleasure, and community. The

systems that informed the traditional ballet framework are the same systems that feminist theories challenge and have historically been challenging, leading me to believe that feminism is rooted in US dance history. That is, it is rooted in resistance, and it is powerful.

Additionally, I want to advocate for dance studies to enter feminist studies as a recognized source of methodology and historical examples of artistic resistance. I analyze a performance piece created by Solange Knowles, an artist whose work I deeply admire and who is also widely loved within Black pop culture. I approach this piece informed by a methodological approach called Laban Movement Analysis, or LMA,<sup>1</sup> a tool in professions ranging from dance, acting, music, and sports to health and wellness practices, psychotherapy, peace studies, anthropology, and many more. LMA is one of the most widely used systems of human movement analysis today (Laban/Bartenieff Institute of Movement Studies, n.d.). Throughout this essay, I show that this type of methodology is particularly important to feminist scholarship.

### **A Short History of Dance: Nineteenth-century Europe and Twentieth-century United States**

Ballet was born in Europe in the 1500s and popularized during an uprising in expressionism during the Romantic era of history in the 1800s. Romanticism is defined by its emphasis on emotion and individualism, clandestine literature, and paganism, as well as its idealization of nature. This period marks a transformative moment in dance history. While radical for what dance looked like at this time in Europe, it has affected the trajectory of dance and how formal dance operates in Western contexts. Prior to modern dance, the prominent dance forms were ballet and social dance. Social dance is a style of dance that requires pairings (for example, the waltz), and ballet

dance styles often show women as passive and fragile. Obedience to the ballet technique was imperative to your position as a dancer.<sup>2</sup> And upon making its way to the United States, ballet reinforced Eurocentric standards of body, gender, and sexuality in the dance space, making the art inaccessible to the majority.

I still appreciate ballet; its inherent beauty led me to pursue dance. In fact, I recently saw the New York City ballet *Play Time*, which is choreographed by Gianna Reisen with music composed by Solange Knowles. This was an important production not only because of my admiration for Solange's work but also because she is the first Black woman to compose for the ballet. That energy radiated throughout the audience as I sat beside generations of Black moms, daughters, sisters, and friends. It was Black, and it was beautiful.

I've learned to not look at the body as a set of laws but rather as a site of endless potential and an abundance of knowledge. These laws have created the structure of traditional European ballet, which would continue to be perpetuated through the emerging dance scene in the United States and reaffirmed through the US political system. Men were the only ones allowed into the Opera House as patrons; the male gaze was kept at the center of dance performance, and to remain desirable to the patrons, dancers could not steer far from Eurocentric ideas of beauty. Goellner and Murphy (1995) support this, stating, "While the skill and talent of many ballerinas are formidable and indisputable, their display appears to be, at center, controlled and guided by a male hand, and a male eye" (p. 27). You won't find restrictions in the nature of drag or in the nature of Black feminism because those approaches require the eradication of restrictions, whether that comes in the form of gender binaries, racial

---

1 A multidisciplinary method and language for describing, visualizing, interpreting, and documenting human movement based on the original work of Rudolf Laban—incorporating contributions from anatomy, kinesiology, psychology, Labanotation, and other fields.

---

2 In her article "Sexual Exploitation was the Norm for 19th Century Ballerinas," Erin Blakemore (2018) explores how sexual exploitation was rampant for ballerinas within the Paris Opera House during the nineteenth century.

segregation and discrimination, homophobia—ultimately, Eurocentrism as a whole.

### **Modern Dance in the United States**

The energetic bond between dancers in a dance space is what keeps the dance alive. There is a transformation of language going on between the dancers and the audience. This nonverbal communication can be so loud in the narrative of a dance piece. This is what I consider embodying narrative. Black dance pioneer and dance anthropologist Katherine Dunham demonstrates this in her work across both fields. Dunham helped shape modern dance after being offered a fellowship in the Caribbean to conduct ethnographic work through dance, fieldwork that had a significant impact on her artistic development. In “Katherine Dunham: A Life in Dance,” Vicky Risner writes, “Dunham’s original goal was to analyze the dances of the Caribbean, but she soon recognized that this was much too extensive a task for one trip”<sup>3</sup> (n.d., para 4). Risner continues to say, “From this physical understanding of what she considered her cultural roots, Dunham began to develop the first African American concert dance technique” (para. 4).

Dunham’s goal was to create a technique for movement that captures the meaning, the culture, and the life of the people. As Risner mentions, “During her time in Haiti, Dunham came to understand—both intellectually and kinesthetically—the African roots of [B]lack dance in the West Indies” (n.d., para. 4). Dunham applied this knowledge to the movement of ballet and created a fusion of dance techniques that would revolutionize dance forever (Risner). Now coined the Dunham technique, her approach is representative of the ways we engage with culture and translate that communication into embodiment.

The free movement element of modern dance consists of improvisation—a framework of dance that is based on its intentional absence of structure. The movement that is produced by the dancer is spontaneous and reflective of how they feel. Free movement doesn’t have to be paired with music, nor does it have to have a story behind it. It can simply be movement. Everything is entirely up to the dancer or choreographer—the music, silence, or story would dictate how you experimented with time, space, shape, and energy. For example, my teacher would turn on a song and ask how the melody or rhythm or beat made us want to move. This is where music theory comes into play in the dance space. If the sound felt heavy, we were to dance heavily—interpreted in different ways across that space, creating a scene of juxtaposition, which is another fundamental part of free movement and the modern dance style.

US dancers agreed that the conventional aesthetics of ballet presented an unreal image of the female body. Isadora Duncan’s innovation brought women to the center of reclaiming that narrative. Ines Carvalho (2020) describes how modern dance emerged as a countermovement alongside the first wave of the feminist movement.<sup>4</sup> Carvalho says, “By this time, European ballet was starting to become popular in America. Considered by many as the mother of modern dance, Isadora Duncan deconstructed the image of the classical ballet dancer by creating ‘free movement’” (para. 3). This is demonstrated in the body’s ability to contract rather than lengthen when practicing in baggy clothing and bare feet rather than silk tutus and custom pointe shoes. At this time, US dancers had limited access to the materials required to be a part of the emerging ballet world, which became popular during the Great Depression. Both Isadora Duncan and Katherine Dunham have contributed immense amounts of contemporary thought to the dance floor, which would end up changing the course of the emerging dance world’s trajectory in the United States.

---

3 Dunham visited several other islands before her arrival in Haiti, where she stayed for nine months.

---

4 First-wave feminism advocated for suffrage, reproductive rights, and economic independence.

### **The Rise of Hip-hop in the United States**

The development of hip-hop music in the United States inspired the style of ballet dancing, as the movement of hip-hop style mirrors the beats, rhythms, and poetry of the music. This is why you typically see hip-hop dancing performed to a style of song that is strong in all those elements, creating an intricate yet powerful movement that would defy everything ballet structure upholds. Clive Campbell, known as the “Father of Hip-Hop,” was born in 1955 in Kingston, Jamaica. He eventually migrated to the United States and settled in the Bronx, New York City. During Campbell’s childhood, he was exposed to Jamaican dance hall music and toasting—the act of talking or chanting, usually in a monotone melody over a rhythm or beat, by a reggae deejay (also referred to as a “disc jockey” or “DJ”) (“DJ Kool Herc,” 2020). Campbell grew to become a DJ and began throwing street parties that would become an underground cultural movement, built from the ground up. At one party in 1973, he improvised a DJ technique that isolated and repeated musical breaks, setting the foundation for hip-hop music. As hip-hop music evolved into poetic lyrics known as “rap,” performers used the style to articulate their identity and their politics. This act created a diverse population amongst the hip-hop community, as hip-hop and rap lyrics would reflect the conditions and lived experiences of those in the inner city.

The 1970s can be referred to as the “angry decades” and a pivotal moment in Black feminist history. Expressionism was booming and would become a vessel for Black artists to challenge social norms through art. In Joseph Ward’s video *Clive Campbell aka DJ Kool Herc* (2017), Ward says Campbell’s adoption of the Jamaican deejay technique was imperative to the development of hip-hop dance. Ward explains how a DJ would isolate the break between records by extending the break between each record from a few seconds to five minutes, and listeners would fill this time by adding strategic movement. This break is the instrumental portion of the song that would inspire listeners to dance since there are no lyrics. Through its

focus on storytelling rather than centering desirability on a dancer’s body, this technique solidified an aesthetic for hip-hop that redefined what having a dancer’s body meant. I feel that this directly speaks to bell hooks’s oppositional gaze theory—which is a response to the white or male gaze—in that hip-hop dismantles the Eurocentric beauty standards present in other forms of dance. It is present in the history of hip-hop through the lens of Black feminism, as the gaze is always gendered and racialized, affecting Black women in unique ways. Therefore, hip-hop’s decentering of this gaze provides dancers with a space that resists a value-based system that devalues Black bodies and Black culture.

### **The Rise of Vogue in the United States**

A highly stylized form of dance created by queer Black and brown communities, vogue was “[n]amed after the famous fashion magazine, [and it] took from the poses in high fashion and ancient Egyptian art, adding exaggerated hand gestures to tell a story and imitate various gender performances in categorized drag genres” (Wolde-Michael, n.d., para. 3). Drag is important when considering the intersection of queer history and dance history in the United States, as vogue dance styles are embedded in queer culture, more specifically drag culture. Queerness also exists alongside the history of slavery in the United States; William Dorsey Swann—thought to be the first Black drag queen (on record) in US history—was born to enslaved parents.<sup>5</sup> In the late 1880s, Swann was an openly queer man who would host secret beauty and dance contests we now know of as “drag balls,” which would get raided by police. In “From Slavery to Voguing: The House of Swann,” Marjorie Morgan writes:

---

5 I was introduced to this history through the construction of a timeline of US queer activism for a different project while, at the same time, arranging the contents of this essay. The project was for Dr. Symone Johnson’s Feminist Theory class at DePaul University. The information found comes from a TED Talk by Channing Gerard Joseph, *How Black Queer Culture Shaped History*.

[P]eople in the 21st century are familiar with voguing through the art of Madonna, Lady Gaga, Pose, and RuPaul's Drag Race, yet many fewer people are aware of Swann who chose to express themselves in contrast to the hyper-masculine slave world they were born into. Swann opted for another way of being [. . .] Swann embraced their childlike, playful, delicate, and feminine sides as "The Queen." (n.d., para. 7)

Swann referring to himself as "The Queen," was one of the first positive terms queer people used to describe themselves. The title was a radical term to use at the time as "queen" meant leader.

Eventually, between the 1960s and 1980s, New York's drag competitions transformed from elaborate pageantry to "vogue battles." As Wolde-Michael states in his article, "As part of this ballroom culture, [B]lack and Latino voguers would compete for trophies and the reputation of their 'Houses'—groups that were part competitive affiliation, part surrogate family" (n.d., para. 3). That transformation makes this style of dance another site for radical resistance and a revolutionary approach to dance. I suggest the vogue dance technique can be connected to Juana María Rodríguez's *Sexual Futures, Queer Gestures, and Other Latina Longings* (2014), as the book addresses queerness and gesturing. Rodríguez says that gestures "animated how bodies move in the world, and how we assign meaning in ways that are always already infused with cultural modes of knowing [. . .] gestures are where the literal and the figurative copulate. The reach of the hand forward to touch the face of the other is also a process of extending the limits of one's spirit to diminish the space between bodies" (p. 2). Gesturing embraces the dancers around you, representing connection and communion. Voguing reads as a conversation of gestures organized to showcase a more *avant-garde* element to dance popularized by the queer community. Queer Black and brown communities created a movement that would house the techniques of dance, which would take over the drag ball scene and revolutionize the dance world forever.

### Dance as Healing: Dance Movement Therapy

Feminist studies of art and performance reveal to us the various ways we can build and share knowledge outside of scientific inquiry.<sup>6</sup> In many ways, the history I have uncovered in this project has experienced erasure since US history has been recorded. It is for this reason that dance movement has only recently been institutionalized as a form of therapy. Dance Movement Therapy (DMT) uses somatic movement as a practice for its clients. Somatic movement is "performed consciously with the intention of focusing on the internal experience of the movement rather than the external appearance or result of the movement" (Warren, 2016, para. 1). Somatic movement can be practiced in your own time, on your own terms, and within the comfort of your own home. Access to that information can be revolutionary for people.

Dance styles like modern, hip-hop, and vogue—which have developed through the lens of the experiences of marginalized groups as a way of resistance—have the somatic movement framework baked into them and do not need an institution to credit that truth. However, DMT will continue to be a resource for many who use the practice as a form of healing. Christine Caldwell and Lucy Leighton (2016) explore how the inception and growth of the field of DMT have responded to the feminist movement and addressed feminist issues, arguing that while the field as a whole refrained from directly addressing the structural criticisms brought to light by the feminist movement, DMT demonstrates both the successes and flaws of the movement itself.<sup>7</sup> The diversity of the human experience should be reflected everywhere, especially in spaces that are used for healing or that claim to be spaces that bring people liberation. Body and mind go hand in hand; therefore, a conversation regarding the physical body and

---

6 See Lynn Butler-Kisber, *Qualitative Inquiry: Thematic, Narrative, and Arts-Based Perspectives*.

7 Dance movement therapy developed as part of second-wave feminism, and although DMT embodies feminist frameworks (like second-wave feminism itself), the field severely lacked intersectionality. The feminist movement has room for intersectional growth, as does DMT.

its connection to liberation absolutely needs to address the implications of social systems on mental health and the intersectional ways people experience oppression.

### **Bridging the Gap between Dance Studies and Feminist Studies**

The expressionist movements of the 1970s, led by queer Black communities, yielded a transformative moment for education—an academic approach that not only taught feminist curriculum but also challenged traditional curriculums. Through the evolution of feminist approaches coming from the activism of Black and brown communities, we have reached an understanding of both the desire to know how and why expressionism is in these communities and the urge to know how and why those forms of expression are violated. If the goal of expressionism is to communicate an emotional experience through various forms of art, then dancers are almost always achieving that goal. Applying dance expressionism to the twentieth-century United States, any dance style created to oppose the traditional structure of ballet is a radical act of resistance because the structure of ballet mirrors the structure of the Western, capitalist value-based system that is upheld by and through systems of oppression. That system was built to benefit cisgender, heterosexual, white men—anything produced outside of the value binary that capitalism requires to survive isn't considered valuable at all. The work produced as a dancer is a combination of lived experiences, storytelling, and knowledge sharing; it is the artistic arrangement of the movement of the body that brings all those ideas together to be communicated on a stage.

While I am not the first to initiate a conversation about the connection between dance and feminist theories, it is a way of thinking that resonates with my life. As a dancer, your stage is almost always a political platform. What you are creating is being attacked, as are the body and voice showcasing it. While a form of nonverbal communication, dance is the embodiment of voice. It is a language, and for most marginalized communities, language has been

made inaccessible. If your voice and the voices of your community have been impacted by systems of silencing, then the lack of consideration for dance to stand in for voice assumes the position of the oppressor.

As an act of self-revelation, Audre Lorde challenges these systems of silence in her essay “The Transformation of Silence into Language and Action.” She says, “In the cause of silence, each of us draws the face of her own fear—fear of contempt, of censure, or some judgment, or recognition, of challenge, of annihilation” (Lorde, 1984, p. 42). This statement explains how the systems that “other” us were constructed to make marginalized individuals and communities feel that their voice is powerless. If you are pushed into fear or shamed into silence, your voice will not be heard and let alone acknowledged. In dance, as movement is your voice, it is oftentimes sought out by dancers as a way to express thoughts that might otherwise be unheard or internalized.

### **Laban Movement Analysis of Solange Knowles’s Dance Production *Bridge-s***

As someone who takes an affirmative stance on reproductive justice and freedom of the body, I am interested in the ways that our bodies have historically been controlled and the ways we can combat that. Solange Knowles fosters that same philosophy through her work as a visual artist, vocalist, and dancer, taking each of these concepts and seamlessly blending them. *Bridge-s*<sup>8</sup> explores the theme of the transition of time through a series of performances from dancers, musicians, vocalists, films, and artist talks. Knowles says, “*Bridge-s* is a reflection on how much transition can be controlled and accelerated by our own ideas, thoughts, and movements vs. the natural process of time and space” (LeBeau, 2019, para. 3). Knowles showcases Black artists and highlights

---

<sup>8</sup> *Bridge-s* is an immersive art exhibit by Solange Knowles that premiered back in November 16th and 17th of 2019. It took place at the Getty Center in Los Angeles, California. Here is a video of the performance: <https://youtu.be/wqqkcChoilM>.

their works and philosophies—a display of the power of Black unity—bridging cultural worlds. As mentioned in a *GARAGE* article published by Ashley Tyner (2020), “[Knowles] worked with performance-art company Gerard & Kelly—whose piece *Modern Living*<sup>9</sup> [...] was reimagined for ‘*Bridge-s*’” (para. 3).

As a viewer, I am greeted with a feeling of comfort coming from the building’s architecture, which conveys a sense of openness from the museum’s minimalist aesthetic and intimacy from the soft lighting. The exhibit took place outside, allowing the natural light to be a part of the choreography and used as a source of communication between the dancers and audience. Knowles designed the site around the passage of the sun and the play of shadows. I feel that the use of color here is meant to communicate a relationship with nature, as the dancers’ garments match the hue of the golden hour sun and the glow of their skin. The dancers moved through the space, each abiding by their own choreography. Gerard & Kelly’s choreography reads as a tense relationship between individuality and connection. The moments of individuality demonstrate cruelty: a dancer walks over another lying on the floor, making sure to step on their body. However, the moments of connection are gentle in a sequence of trust falls between the performers. Dancers then connect with each other and build human sculptures, showcasing the power in unity.

As a visual artist, Knowles offers us a soulful embodiment of the contemporary American experience of Black bodies, helping us understand that we can reimagine our world through performance art. These histories create our realities. Knowles says, “It’s not just a performance, it’s not just a color scheme, it’s not just a sonic or a frequency, it’s really about world making” (Tyner, 2020, para. 4). Dance is the embodiment of that philosophy. In *Bridge-s*, “At times, [the dancers] interlock and lift each other to create shapes and play with scale. They move in elliptical, measured

intervals, like a clock” (LeBeau, 2019, para. 3). The creative direction here gestures toward other possibilities, alluding to the trajectory of time and perhaps a reimagined present.

## Conclusion

I danced long before I considered myself a dancer. It wasn’t until modern dance redefined what dance meant to me that I realized how proximal I was to the thesis of this essay. It felt odd to listen to instruction that wasn’t familiar to me because, despite being trained in a variety of dance styles, this particular style didn’t follow the same framework. My instructor would direct us to close our eyes and catch the beat, the rhythm, and the melody, letting that energy move through our bodies. She said that in order to do this, you have to let all other thoughts go and solely focus on the music. This pushed me to become intensely aware of how my body moved, testing myself on how slowly I could get my body to move, or perhaps how my interpretation of what it meant to dance lightly translated to those watching. Was I truly able to capture light energy? With no effort, she would call in those who she could feel a sense of hesitation from and stress the importance of presence, challenging us to free our minds of the thoughts restricting the way we show up to class. I sat with that thought for a while. That wasn’t the first time I’d heard a dance instructor tell me to clear my head and just dance. Dancers often say how euphoric free movement feels and how it’s frequently sought after as a form of self-care. By quieting your mind and using your spirit to channel your body into neutrality, you are opening your soul to invite innovation—that was how modern dance emerged as a countermovement. Ballet was restricted, and where there is restriction, there’s a lack of freedom. Without freedom, there is no free movement, and without that, there is no modern dance. This is where I noticed a curiosity around freedom within dance that felt so familiar to the concern for freedom in my feminist studies. I knew there was a deeper conversation to be had here. I wanted to get to the bottom of that, and the title of this project—“Embodying the Revolution”—dares to incorporate all I wanted to discuss here.

---

9 The video of *Modern Living*, choreographed by Gerard & Kelly: <https://vimeo.com/407244763>.



It seems simple now, knowing what I know: Anything in society will be plagued by the flaws in how humans have been socialized to engage with each other and with nature. Holding the position of both feminist and dancer, I am often situated at the intersection of both theoretical approaches, two that I believe are profoundly connected and that I felt called to understand on a deeper level. The embodiment of narrative is so dancer-like in the sense that it is entirely what the art of dance is. The embodiment of narrative is feminist in the way that it challenges systems of silencing that come out of white supremacy. My experience at this intersection is what inspired me to take on this project. The conversation between dance theory and feminist theory is active, and it will constantly evolve.

I think dance was something I chose to pursue because of my love of music and, more deeply, because of how the sound of voice and the combination of instruments would make me feel. However, dance was not always at the forefront of my mind, and when it became so, it was rarely affordable for me to do it. If I wasn't dancing in real life, I was dancing in my head—sometimes involuntarily. And in my head, I could do more. I could imagine leaping as high as the trees and turning 'til tomorrow. This demonstrates just how imaginative dance can be. Through free movement, you are given the power to create the world you show up in and move through.

In the worlds I created, systems of poverty, racism, homophobia, and oppression were eradicated, leaving nothing in need of control but rather a safe space to just be. I dance to be free. The work of feminist thinkers that expands the language that helps us reimagine another world will always be in conversation with the art of dance. When I dance, I am practicing my version of personal revolution because I am a dancer as much as I am a feminist and as much as I am human. With this freedom, I have the power to bring a revolutionary love to dance, which in turn I've learned to foster in my life outside of dance. It is my intention to live and see life through the lens of radical love. I'm proud of the ways I've been able to

take this interest and use it as a transformative tool for my personal healing.

#### REFERENCES

- Blakemore, E. (2018, January 5). *Sexual exploitation was the norm for 19th century ballerinas*. A&E Television Networks. <https://www.history.com/news/sexual-exploitation-was-the-norm-for-19th-century-ballerinas>
- Butler-Kisber, L. (2018). *Qualitative inquiry: Thematic, narrative and arts-based perspectives*. SAGE Publications Ltd. <https://doi.org/10.4135/9781526417978>
- Caldwell, C., & Leighton, L. (2016). Dance/movement therapy, women's rights, and feminism: The first 50 years. *American Journal of Dance Therapy*, 38(2), 279–284. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s10465-016-9230-4>
- Carvalho, I. (2020, March 7). *The history of modern dance is feminist: The greatest female choreographers who changed the world of modern dance*. Dance Art Journal. <https://danceartjournal.com/2020/03/07/the-history-of-dance-is-feminist-the-greatest-female-choreographers-who-changed-the-world-of-modern-dance/>
- Dance theory*. (n.d.). Contemporary-dance.org. <https://www.contemporary-dance.org/dance-theory.html>
- DJ Kool Herc. (2020, April 13). *In The Art and Popular Culture Encyclopedia*. [http://www.artandpopularculture.com/DJ\\_Kool\\_Herc](http://www.artandpopularculture.com/DJ_Kool_Herc)
- GARAGE Magazine. (2020, February 16). "Bridges-s" [Video]. YouTube. <https://youtu.be/wqqkcChoilM>
- Gerard, B., & Kelly, R. (2020, April 13). *Modern living: Villa Savoye (2019)* [Video]. Vimeo. <https://vimeo.com/407244763>
- Goellner, E. W., & Murphy, J. S. (Eds.). (1995). *Bodies of the text dance as theory, literature as dance*. Rutgers University Press.
- Laban/Bartenieff Institute of Movement Studies. (n.d.). *Laban movement analysis*. <https://labaninstitute.org/about/labani-movement-analysis>
- LeBeau, A. (2019, November 15). Solange shows how she's the director of her own universe with Bridge-s. *Highsnobiety*. <https://www.highsnobiety.com/p/solange-bridge-s-getty-center-preview/>
- Lorde, A. (1984). *Sister outsider*. Crossing Press.
- Morgan, M. *From slavery to vogueing: The house of Swann*. (n.d.). National Museums Liverpool. <https://www.liverpoolmuseums.org.uk/stories/slavery-vogueing-house-of-swann>
- Risner, V. J. *Katherine Dunham: A life in dance*. (n.d.). Library of Congress. <https://www.loc.gov/item/ihas.200152685>
- Rodríguez, J. M. (2014). *Sexual futures, queer gestures, and other Latina longings*. NYU Press.
- TED. (2023, February 2). *How Black queer culture shaped history | Channing Gerard Joseph* [Video]. YouTube. <https://youtu.be/oYT3feUhr44>
- Tyner, A. (2020, February 16). Solange's "Bridge-s" explores past, presence and future at the Getty Center. *Garage*. [https://garage.vice.com/en\\_us/article/pkezbm/solanges-bridge-s-explores-past-presence-and-future-at-the-getty-center](https://garage.vice.com/en_us/article/pkezbm/solanges-bridge-s-explores-past-presence-and-future-at-the-getty-center)

Ward, J. [On the Shoulders of Giants]. (2017, Mar 8). *Clive Campbell aka DJ Kool Herc* [Video]. YouTube. <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Jyb2sODgvfw>

Warren, S. (2016, January 5). *What is somatic movement?* Somatic Movement Center. <https://somaticmovementcenter.com/somatic-movement-what-is-somatic-movement>

Wolde-Michael, T. (n.d.). *A brief history of voguing*. National Museum of African American History and Culture. <https://nmaahc.si.edu/explore/stories/brief-history-voguing>



Shaina Lieberon | *Julia 0:29* | Acrylic on canvas

# TONY STARK AS AN ICON FOR ALCOHOLISM AND RECOVERY: HOW DETAILS IN IRON MAN #182 REVEAL THE DETRIMENT OF ALCOHOL ADDICTION

MIRANDA KINCER\*

*Department of Writing, Rhetoric, and Discourse*

*Iron Man* Issue #182, entitled “In the Morning Tony Stark Will Be Sober or Dead,” was released in May 1984. The issue was written by Denny O’Neil, penciled by Luke McDonnell, inked by Steve Mitchell, and colored by Bob Sharen. *Iron Man* #182 is notable for telling the story of Tony Stark hitting absolute rock bottom in his struggle with alcohol addiction. Although he meets rock bottom, Stark makes the decision to quit drinking and seek help on what will be a complicated path to recovery, which works against the 1980s cultural tropes that depict alcohol addiction and homelessness as one-dimensional issues that can be easily resolved by a single choice. The final text in the comic is a Buddha quote (“work out your salvation with diligence”) followed by a nod to the struggles that come with addiction (“the beginning”) (O’Neil 22). The final illustration shows Stark standing at a crossroads; he can go down a “one way” street or another “one way” street, with the third sign stating, “No standing any time” (22). The three signs show that recovery will be a series of choices for Stark, but he will never be the same person he was before he went to the hospital and decided to get help (21). The reader does not know if Stark will choose the right path, and Stark does not know either. This uncertain ending is why *Iron Man* #182 is the most realistic addiction and recovery story told by Marvel in the 1980s.

*Iron Man* #182 was released in the middle of Ronald Reagan’s presidency, noted for its deregulation efforts as well as its War on Drugs, which involved both American international engagement throughout Latin America and a sterner effort to combat substance abuse within US borders. While Reagan’s antidrug initiatives primarily focused on more regulated substances (like crack cocaine), the D.A.R.E. program in public schools was founded in 1983 to spread awareness about drug and alcohol addiction (D.A.R.E.). The Mothers Against Drunk Driving’s influence on the passing of the Minimum Drinking Age Act of 1984 is another example of anti-alcohol activism programs and legislation becoming popular in the 1980s (MADD).

During this same period of advocacy against addiction, homelessness was becoming stigmatized; the homeless were criminalized and blamed for making immoral choices that must have led to their homelessness. *Iron Man* #182 opens with a conversation between Stark and the police to reflect this culture of addiction being treated as a criminal issue rather than a medical one. To liken homelessness to crime, Ronald Reagan used rhetoric that implicated homelessness as a choice. Reagan famously said that homeless people “make it their own choice for staying out there” (Roberts). The then-president used his choice-based rationale to justify cutting essential welfare programs and to avoid taking responsibility for a growing wealth gap, which proved effective as apathy toward homelessness became a common reaction (Rowen).

---

\* This paper was originally written for Professor Alan Ackmann’s WRD 287 (Comic Books as Visual Argument), Autumn Quarter 2022, and mentored for publication by Dr. Timothy Elliot.

Another cause of apathy toward the homeless might be attributed to Reaganomics. Reaganomics refers to Reagan's economic policies where the rich received tax cuts and welfare programs were reduced or removed under the pretense that the rich would stimulate the economy with their excess spending (Northeastern University Economics Society). Instead of causing prosperity for the rich and poor, Reaganomics widened the wealth gap in America (Rowen). In *Iron Man* #182, a gravedigger represents the results of this increased wealth gap where the working class began feeling disdain for their own social class and apathy for those worse off. Specifically, the gravedigger calls the deceased alcoholic character, Gretl Anders, a "stiff" and a "lousy drunk" (O'Neil 15).

Before *Iron Man* #182, Marvel Comics attempted to comment on social issues but were largely unsuccessful. The restrictions set by the Comics Code Authority (CCA) made it impossible to have a successful comic that also realistically dealt with complicated issues like addiction. The CCA was a system of self-censorship in the comic book industry following a mass panic that comic books were causing juvenile delinquency in the 1950s (Nyberg). The CCA limited authors and artists by providing strict guidelines for the depictions of crime, horror, sexuality, and conflicts between good and evil in comics ("The Comics Code of 1954").

When Stan Lee first created a story about addiction with *The Amazing Spider-Man* #96 in 1971, it was the first Marvel comic to be released without the CCA seal (Williams). Lee's comic features addicts whose struggles the hero, Spider-Man, pities. Afterward, with confirmation that CCA approval was not essential for the success of a comic book, Marvel continued tackling issues of addiction in its publications with increasing complexity. In the *Iron Man* "Demon in a Bottle" story arc from 1979—written by David Michelinie and illustrated by John Romita Jr., Bob Layton, and Carmine Infantino—Iron Man became the first modern superhero to experience addiction. In this arc, Stark concludes without struggle that his dream of helping

others is more important than drinking, so he closes a bottle of Jack Powers whiskey to presumably never be opened again (Cronin). In 1984, *Iron Man* writer O'Neil believed the creators of "Demon in a Bottle" resolved Stark's addiction too cleanly, so he revisited it to provide a more nuanced version of a recovery story (Cronin).

*Iron Man* #182 destigmatizes asking for help with recovering from addiction by showing that anyone can become addicted to alcohol, no matter their success. By Issue #182, Stark has completely lost the version of himself that was a hero to alcoholism and does not wish to find that old self again (O'Neil 6). Stark became Iron Man as a result of working for the US military in Vietnam during the Vietnam War (Genter 966). He clearly carries trauma from the war but tries to reclaim his identity through building wealth and expressing his sexuality when he reintegrates into society (969). However, when money and sex do not heal the wounds of war, alcohol lets Stark forget. Audiences can easily forget Stark's war trauma because of his success as an inventor, but the rewards for his inventions are superficial and leave him searching for meaning. The move to make Iron Man a superhero who helps others but also needs help himself makes Stark relatable to readers and establishes that even the best people can lose themselves to addiction.

By 1990, other heroes were having run-ins with drug abuse, like *Captain America* #375, when Captain America accidentally became addicted to crystal meth (*The Virtues of Captain America*). In all of these issues, the addict enters recovery, which shows some lasting expectations for simple triumphant storytelling that had been established by the CCA.

### **The Copper Age in Comics: Abandoning Censorship for a Harsher Reality**

The Copper Age of comics spans from 1984 to 1991 and is defined by the rise of antiheroes, dark characters, and crossover stories (Moeshlin). Notably, the Copper Age features a number of comic books that practically abandon

the CCA. Although the CCA had strict guidelines, it did not expressly state how the comic books without the seal would be handled by wholesalers who delivered the comics to retailers (Nyberg). Even after the code was revised to be less strict in 1971, it still significantly limited how authors could tell stories about addiction and enforced a strict moral code, including the inability to portray law enforcement in a disrespectful manner or suggest they were distrustful (“Comics Code Revision of 1971”). The CCA also still required good to triumph over evil, a theme not guaranteed in the reality of addiction (“Comics Code Revision of 1971”). Overall, the CCA as a standard for publishing became less desirable during the Copper Age because the comic-reading audiences that had grown up reading family-friendly comic books were now adults and wanted more honest versions of stories in comic books.

At the end of the Copper Age, comic book creators embraced uncensored storytelling, and there was an industry-wide shift toward gritty stories. Such a change was made possible by the Marvel comics that pushed past the boundaries set by the CCA, including themes of addiction. Publishing without the CCA seal also established a direct-to-consumer distribution method that allowed creators to bypass the CCA entirely by selling comics like *Iron Man* #182 in local comic shops (Nyberg).

### **Copper Age Concepts Seen through Depictions of Iron Man’s Alcoholism**

Beginning in 1978 with the famous *Iron Man* #120, titled “Demon in a Bottle,” Stark became a superhero who fought both larger-than-life villains and the common evil of alcohol addiction. By 1984, in *Iron Man* #182, the conventions “translate invisible mental health phenomena into visible, readable occurrences that can facilitate relationships among survivors and the people who support them” (Leone 259). O’Neil and McDonnell depict Stark’s struggles without making him a cartoon. The creators make alcoholism a part of Stark’s character identity throughout their time on the *Iron Man* series rather than making one PSA issue or story arc and moving

on; the reality of alcoholism involves a persistent struggle (Breed 6).

“In the Morning Tony Stark Will Be Sober or Dead” realistically shows readers how Stark’s and his friend Gretl Anders’s lives have been derailed by copious alcohol consumption. Anders appears in *Iron Man* #178–82 and ultimately dies in *Iron Man* #182 while giving birth on the cold New York City streets. *Iron Man* #182 uses both color and colorless panels, moment-to-moment transitions, and additive text combinations to emphasize the direct correlation between alcohol consumption and Stark’s and Anders’s tragic lives.

By publishing without the CCA’s approval, this comic was able to conform to the Copper Age’s convention of telling stories with darker social themes. Because of the newer opportunities to tell stories without the limitations of the CCA, “In the Morning Tony Stark Will Be Sober or Dead” was published as a book for adults. On page 7, there is a sign on a telephone pole reading “CIA PLOT” (O’Neil). This sign represents the skepticism toward government entities during the Cold War, particularly whether these government entities’ interests lie in protecting the people. The poor economic conditions caused by Reaganomics are also reflected in the “CIA PLOT” sign, a type of content expressly prohibited by the CCA because it casts doubt on government authority.

The comic further questions the character of the police when two officers refer to the ambulance as the “meat wagon” and refer to the homeless who die due to the cold as “stiffs” (O’Neil 14). The police officers’ word choices again break the CCA standard by depicting law enforcement in an unfavorable way, but this dialogue was an accurate portrayal of American attitudes toward both addicts at the time and the growing homeless reality in America. Additionally, rejecting the CCA parallels the comic’s argument that it is important to seek help when dealing with addiction. Both the authors of the comic and Stark had to disrupt a system to have a more meaningful

existence; one was a comic book censorship code, and the other was a familiar pattern of alcoholism.

The comic also broke the Comic Code's requirement that good must triumph over evil because Anders ultimately died due to her alcohol addiction. In this story, alcohol is the villain. Stark is not Iron Man—not a hero; he gave the suit to longtime *Iron Man* supporting character Jim Rhodes in Issue #170 due to his struggle with alcohol (Ashford). We see how alcohol has stripped Stark of his identity, financially drained him, left him and Anders on the cold streets of New York, and ultimately taken Anders's life. Without the Iron Man identity, Stark's character motivation departs from seeking goodness to embracing the sentiment that "life has no meaning" (O'Neil 7). Here, breaking the CCA was essential to realistically depict the full devastation that alcohol can wreak on one's life. In this case, evil triumphed over good, and the tragic, permanent triumph of evil over Anders is what leads Stark to seek help at the end of the issue.

### **The Bitter Cold of Color in *Iron Man* #182**

Beyond publishing without the seal of the CCA, which established this comic as a book for adults, *Iron Man* #182 also uses both color and black and white panels to offer political commentary on the deadly nature of alcoholism by illustrating the explicit role alcohol plays in Stark's downward spiral. The only appearance of black and white panels in this comic is the middle sequence of panels on page 6. There are exactly six panels that show the moment-to-moment transition from Stark lifting the bottle to the bottle touching his lips. O'Neil and the art team slow time by elongating this motion across six panels. The authors also change the size of these six panels so that the panels crescendo and decrescendo in size, with the largest two panels emphasizing that nothing in Stark's life has felt as important "as this [bottle]!" (O'Neil 6).

While these textual and artistic devices add to the meaning of the panels, the reason a reader notices these six panels immediately when they flip the page is because

of the lack of color on the middle panels. This stylistic choice contrasts with the full color throughout the rest of the comic book, including on the rest of page 6. McCloud concludes that black and white functions similarly to language because "in black and white, the ideas behind the art are communicated more directly, meaning transcends form." (192). The black-and-white images on page 6 remove the complexity of living with alcoholism to convey its impact as bluntly as possible. Stark's life has been reduced to this one bottle of alcohol. When he drinks it, he is not himself—the millionaire, genius, and superhero. Instead, he is an alcoholic. The lack of color communicates the severity of the disease of alcoholism clearly without trivializing it.

The use of color in the rest of the comic sets a solemn tone as Stark and Anders navigate their addiction. Colorist Bob Sharen uses cool tones—depressing hues of blue, purple, and green—to signal to the reader the depths of internal sadness that overwhelm the characters. The cool tones also visually reiterate the freezing outdoor elements that Stark and Anders are braving. The cool tones remained the issue's common colors until the moment of Anders's death. These colors also reemphasize that Stark is no longer a hero since the scene is absent of Iron Man's iconic reds and yellows. Their absence reveals that no one will come to save Anders or Stark from this particular evil.

When Anders's newborn baby arrives at the hospital on page 15, the page is flooded with vibrant yellow. The yellow, which covers most of the page, signifies hope for the first time in Issue #182. The next few pages, which feature Rhodes as Iron Man, are dominated by warm color palettes. These colors represent Stark regaining control of his life. "I need help," Stark tells Rhodes, and Stark's choice persuades the readers that asking for help is the first step on the path of regaining control over one's own life after suffering from addiction (O'Neil 21). According to the Alcoholics Anonymous website, willpower alone does not keep an alcoholic sober. The warm colors that contrast with the cool ones from earlier in the comic argue that the

help that Stark received truly improved his world view, and the final page illustrates Stark walking home from the hospital with the freedom to choose his new life path. Stark's walk is colored by an orange and pink sky, a yellow taxicab, and a yellow skyscraper, which together bring the story to a hopeful conclusion and indicate that Stark can potentially overcome his addiction (22).

### **Moment-to-Moment Panel Transitions and Tony Stark's Struggles Toward Recovery**

Closure is important in comic books because it is how a reader pieces together individual panels to create a whole story (McCloud 63). The space between comic panels—gutters—requires the reader to use closure to fill in the blanks as the story moves from one panel to the next. Moment-to-moment transitions “requir[e] little closure” because there are only slight movements between panels, which focus on the same subject completing an action in a series of frames (70).

Moment-to-moment transitions throughout *Iron Man* #182 emphasize the role that alcohol plays in the tragic story that unfolds. One example of moment-to-moment transitions occurs in the six black and white panels on page 6, where the transition slows time and emphasizes that the iconic inventor and millionaire Stark is gone. Only a faceless alcoholic remains on the page.

These time-slowing, moment-to-moment transitions continue throughout the text. For example, when Anders appears in the comic on page 8, we see three panels that detail her slowly approaching Stark, emerging from the snowfall. The two panels that show her death on page 12 also use moment-to-moment transitions. In one panel, the reader sees Stark holding Anders's wrist, and the next panel shows her lifeless hand falling outside the panel. At the end of the comic on page 21, the creative team shows Rhodes as Iron Man helping Stark drink a glass of water in three moment-to-moment panels. This transition calls the reader back to Stark drinking the bottle of alcohol earlier in the comic book.

The authors use these tight moment-to-moment transitions because they require the least closure between panels of any type of comic transition. Therefore, little is left to the imagination. It was important to depict alcoholism in this obvious manner that shows every individual moment that led to Stark's downfall and Anders's death because the authors aim to demonstrate to the readers exactly how much alcoholism causes suffering. The cold did not kill Anders's; her addiction did. Limited closure gives the author more control over the readers' perception of the story and characters, which was important in convincing audiences that alcoholism is a disease and that Stark and Anders were sick and needed help.

Since this was a comic book written for adult readers, the creators needed to use these moment-to-moment techniques to encourage their readers to focus on each panel. Children are more likely to become fixated on individual images as they read; meanwhile, adults steadily read without regressions (Martin-Arnal et al. 72). Therefore, the authors must use moment-to-moment transitions as a tool to draw out important images in the comic to keep the adult reader lingering on the issues' key moments. The moment-to-moment transitions in *Iron Man* #182 stand out to the reader because superhero comics typically use action-to-action and scene-to-scene transitions to introduce something new each panel, encouraging a fast pace of reading. The moment-to-moment transitions help emphasize how dangerous and ensnaring addiction is; there is never an easy path forward from alcoholism.

*Iron Man* #182 also illustrates Stark's mental decline through additive word-text combinations, and eventually, those same combinations are used to convey that Stark is regaining control and on his journey to recovery. An additive word-text combination is a “combination where words . . . elaborate on an image or vice versa” (McCloud 154). Page 10 is a single-panel page that shows Stark reflecting on his identity as Iron Man. The striking single-panel image is a montage that features the current Tony Stark and his emptiness, Tony Stark the inventor, and



some Iron Man suits with sad facial expressions (O’Neil 10). The words on this page add to the feelings projected by the image. Stark says he was a “prisoner” to the suit and realizes that he used the suit to not have to feel anything, but he was in so much “pain” inside the suit (10).

Stark must learn to navigate the duality of technology where problems solved result in new problems to solve, which is reminiscent of many of the political issues of the Reagan era (White 280). For example, if a country launches a war on drugs, it must become the incarceration capital of the world. Stark becoming prisoner to the Iron Man suit and then prisoner to the bottle shows that being a superhero comes at a cost. The second and third panels on page 6 also include additive combinations where Stark raises the bottle and explains that the alcohol meant more to him than any of his accomplishments as a “millionaire, industrialist, playboy, inventor—hero” (O’Neil 6). Here, the reader understands exactly what led Stark to his addiction: a feeling of emptiness even after he achieved the ultimate American dream. Like the moment-to-moment transitions, additive combinations keep the text clear so that the reader understands Stark’s addiction. His addiction is a result of grand capitalist promises of wealth and prosperity for everyone willing to work for it that could never truly be satisfying so long as people like Anders were dying in the street.

### **Conclusion: A Culturally Relevant, Intelligent Depiction of Alcoholism in Superhero Comics**

In conclusion, *Iron Man* #182, as a part of the Copper Age of comics, addresses the serious issue of alcohol addiction in a mature way that resonates with adult readers. The comic uses contrasting color palettes, moment-to-moment transitions, and word-text combinations to depict Stark’s and Anders’s battles with addiction. True to social attitudes of the 1980s, Stark’s addiction was stigmatized by other characters in the issue, and both his and Anders’s homelessness were viewed as a choice and met with apathy.

As shown in the comic, the solution to alcoholism is not simply an individual choosing not to drink; the issue uses color to show that alcohol is the lens through which Stark experiences his world, and that lens is able to change by seeking help. Although the reader is left with hope that change is possible for Stark and other alcoholics in their own lives, the final page of the comic shows that wanting to change is only the beginning of Stark’s recovery journey. The moment-to-moment transitions within the comic slow down the story to help the adult reader understand how stagnant and powerless one can feel as addiction seemingly controls their every thought and action. The reader also sees how intrusive thoughts control Stark’s narrative through the additive word-text combinations that provide insight beyond what readers see in front of them, which helps illustrate that alcoholism is an invisible disease.

The conventions O’Neil, McDonnell, and the rest of the art team used in this comic create an intelligent portrait of what alcoholism looks and feels like. By showing that even a superhero needs help sometimes, *Iron Man* #182 advocates for those suffering from alcoholism to seek help. Through the comic book medium, the creative team educated young adult audiences about alcoholism in a convincing and entertaining way that was not possible through other programs or mediums. In this more complicated depiction of his journey as an alcoholic, Tony Stark’s Iron Man became an icon for alcoholism and recovery and helped contribute to the anti-substance movement of the 1980s.

#### **WORKS CITED**

- “About Alcoholism.” *Alcoholics Anonymous*, alcoholics-anonymous.eu/new-to-aa/about-alcoholism/. Accessed 19 June 2023.
- Ashford, Sage. “10 Things You Didn’t Know about James Rhodes’ Time as Iron Man.” *Comic Book Resources*, 31 Dec. 2020, www.cbr.com/iron-man-james-rhodes-facts-trivia/#kept-the-iron-man-armor-from-stane.
- Breed, Lawrence A., and James R. De Foe. “Comic Book Supercharacters and Their Role in Alcohol Education.” *Journal of Alcohol and Drug Education*, vol. 27, no. 1, 1981, pp. 1–13. JSTOR, www.jstor.org/stable/45091453.

"Captain America #376-378 (September-October 1990)." *The Virtues of Captain America*, 24 Jan. 2022, [thevirtuesofcaptainamerica.com/2022/01/24/captain-america-376-378-september-october-1990/](https://thevirtuesofcaptainamerica.com/2022/01/24/captain-america-376-378-september-october-1990/).

"The Comics Code of 1954." *Comic Book Legal Defense Fund*, [cblbf.org/the-comics-code-of-1954/](https://cblbf.org/the-comics-code-of-1954/). Accessed 19 June 2023.

"Comics Code Revision of 1971." *Comic Book Legal Defense Fund*, [cblbf.org/comics-code-revision-of-1971/](https://cblbf.org/comics-code-revision-of-1971/). Accessed 19 June 2023.

Cronin, Brian. "Iron Man: Every Time Tony Stark Fell off the Wagon." *Comic Book Resources*, 10 May 2020, [www.cbr.com/iron-man-tony-stark-alcoholism-fall-off-wagon/](http://www.cbr.com/iron-man-tony-stark-alcoholism-fall-off-wagon/).

Gener, Robert. "'With Great Power Comes Great Responsibility': Cold War Culture and the Birth of Marvel Comics." *Journal of Popular Culture*, vol. 40, no. 6, Nov. 2007, pp. 953-78. *Wiley Online Library*, <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1540-5931.2007.00480.x>.

"The History of D.A.R.E." D.A.R.E., [dare.org/history/](https://dare.org/history/). Accessed 17 June 2023.

Leone, Joshua M. "Drawing Invisible Wounds: War Comics and the Treatment of Trauma." *Journal of Medical Humanities* vol. 39, no. 3, Sept. 2018, pp. 243-61. *SpringerLink*, <https://doi.org/10.1007/s10912-017-9442-8>.

Martin-Arnal, Lorena A., et al. "A Tale about Differences in Eye Movements While Children and Adults Read Comics and Texts Using a Coherence Paradigm." *Journal of Eye Movement Research*, vol. 12, no. 7, Dec. 2019, p. 72. *EBSCOhost*.

McCloud, Scott. *Understanding Comics: The Invisible Art*. 1993. William Morrow, 1994.

Michelinie, David, and Bob Layton, writers. *Iron Man: Demon in a Bottle*. Illustrations by John Romita Jr., et al. Colors by Carl Gafford, et al. Letters by John Costanza, et al. Marvel Enterprises, 2008.

Moeshlin, Brent. "Copper Age Comics: Definition, Value, Notable Issues & More." *Quality Comix*, 31 Jan. 2023, [www.qualitycomix.com/learn/copper-age-comics-definition](http://www.qualitycomix.com/learn/copper-age-comics-definition).

Nyberg, Amy K. "Comics Code History: The Seal of Approval." *Comic Book Legal Defense Fund*, [cblbf.org/comics-code-history-the-seal-of-approval/](https://cblbf.org/comics-code-history-the-seal-of-approval/). Accessed 19 June 2023.

O'Neil, Denny, writer. *Iron Man #182: In the Morning Tony Stark Will Be Sober or Dead*. Pencils by Luke McDonnell. Inks by Steve Mitchell. Colors by Bob Sharen. Marvel Comics Group, 1984.

"Our History." *Mothers Against Drunk Driving (MADD)*, [madd.org/our-history/](https://madd.org/our-history/). Accessed 21 June 2023.

"Political Economics in Brief: 'Reaganomics.'" *Northeastern University Economics Society*, 28 Mar. 2016, [web.northeastern.edu/econsociety/political-economics-in-brief-reaganomics/](http://web.northeastern.edu/econsociety/political-economics-in-brief-reaganomics/).

Roberts, Steven V. "Reagan on Homelessness: Many Choose to Live in the Streets." *New York Times*, 23 Dec. 1988, [www.nytimes.com/1988/12/23/us/reagan-on-homelessness-many-choose-to-live-in-the-streets.html](http://www.nytimes.com/1988/12/23/us/reagan-on-homelessness-many-choose-to-live-in-the-streets.html).

Rowen, Hobart. "A Widening Gap between Rich and Poor." *Washington Post*, 11 Mar. 1982, [www.washingtonpost.com/archive/politics/1982/03/11/a-widening-gap-between-rich-and-poor/c8399a8b-df9d-4087-80ac-488f424ec25d/](http://www.washingtonpost.com/archive/politics/1982/03/11/a-widening-gap-between-rich-and-poor/c8399a8b-df9d-4087-80ac-488f424ec25d/).

Sergi, Joe. "Tales from the Code: Spidey Fights Drugs and the Comics Code Authority." *Comic Book Legal Defense Fund*, 18 July 2023, [cblbf.org/2012/07/tales-from-the-code-spidey-fights-drugs-and-the-comics-code-authority/](https://cblbf.org/2012/07/tales-from-the-code-spidey-fights-drugs-and-the-comics-code-authority/).

White, Mark D. *Iron Man and Philosophy: Facing the Stark Reality*. Wiley, 2010.

Williams, Maren. "Amazing Spider-Man Anti-Drug Story Hastened Demise of Comics Code." *Comic Book Legal Defense Fund*, 27 Oct. 2017, [cblbf.org/2017/10/amazing-spider-man-anti-drug-story-hastened-demise-of-comics-code/](https://cblbf.org/2017/10/amazing-spider-man-anti-drug-story-hastened-demise-of-comics-code/).



DEPAUL  
UNIVERSITY

---

COLLEGE OF LIBERAL ARTS  
AND SOCIAL SCIENCES

