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DEPAUL UNIVERSITY

Creating Knowledge

THE LAS STUDENT RESEARCH JOURNAL

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FORWARD

DEAR STUDENTS, FACULTY COLLEAGUES, AND FRIENDS,

It is my great pleasure to introduce the sixth volume of the College of Liberal Arts and Social Sciences' "Creating Knowledge," our undergraduate student scholarship and research journal. First published in 2008, the journal is the outcome of an initiative to enhance and enrich the academic quality of the student experience within the college. Through this publication, the college seeks to encourage students to become actively engaged in creating scholarship and research and gives them a venue for the publication of their essays.

This sixth volume is, however, unlike the previous ones in one major respect: the papers in this volume reflect a decision to alter the very method by which papers were selected for inclusion and a decision about the best way to more fully represent the considerable breadth of subject matter that reflect the many different departments and programs that we have in the college of Liberal Arts and Social Sciences. Each major undergraduate department and program was challenged to develop a system whereby the single best scholarly essay written by a student during the academic year would be decided by faculty within that academic unit and awarded a publication slot in the current annual issue. This necessitated the cooperation and hard work of many within the undergraduate units in our college. The resulting collection of papers representing the efforts of our best students and the collaboration of faculty reviewers in 20 of our programs is certainly ample testimony to not only the creativity, hard work, and sophistication of our undergraduate scholars, but of the dedication of our programs to the quality of the educational experiences and opportunities offered by them to students. It is through the continuing annual publication of this undergraduate student journal that we aim to underscore that leadership within their disciplines requires students to not only be familiar with the knowledge base of the discipline, but to have the experience of being actively engaged in sustaining an intellectual community. Students must understand how their creative work and the work of others also depends on its dissemination and on the sharing of that knowledge within a community of scholars.

I want to congratulate, first and foremost, the many student scholars whose work is featured in this sixth volume of the journal. They truly represent the best of the best. I also want to thank the faculty who served to make this publication possible—those who served on the editorial committees in each department and program who had the difficult task of selecting the best submissions their respective programs could make for this edition of the journal. I want to particularly thank Warren Schultz, Ph.D., associate dean for undergraduate studies, who spearheaded this year's efforts and coordinated the implementation of the new paper selection process —no small undertaking. To the students who are featured in this edition, it is my fondest hope that this will lead you to make similar contributions beyond the department and program, the college and DePaul University. To one and all, I extend my most sincere congratulations and gratitude.



CHUCK SUCHAR

Dean

EDITOR'S ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

Echoing the statements of Dean Charles Suchar, I would like to thank the hard work of all the student authors and faculty advisors who helped bring these papers together in this volume. I especially acknowledge the work of the Department of Art, Media and Design to establish a college-wide system by which our student-artists could submit their work for consideration. Finally, the college thanks University Marketing for their assistance in the production of this volume.

A handwritten signature in black ink that reads "Warren Schultz". The signature is written in a cursive, flowing style.

WARREN SCHULTZ

Editor, Creating Knowledge

Associate Dean for Undergraduate Studies, College of Liberal Arts and Social Sciences

THE MIRROR STAGE AND NARCISSISM: THE ROLE OF REFLECTION IN *GO TELL IT ON THE MOUNTAIN* AND *GIOVANNI'S ROOM*

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James Baldwin maintains that narcissism plays a central role in the way in which we internalize and repress important parts of ourselves. More specifically, in *Go Tell it on the Mountain*, Baldwin uses the narcissism of Gabriel and Florence to highlight their internal self-hatred. Baldwin shows how people see in others the very aspects of themselves they have repressed. He also employs this technique in *Giovanni's Room* through the relationship between David and Giovanni. Baldwin is in fact providing proof for Lacan's theory of the mirror stage through the characters in both novels. Baldwin maintains that such tendencies only lead to self-destruction. Baldwin creates these two universes to highlight the effects of the mirror stage on our personal and psychological development which can lead to our internalized hatred, based on their race and sexuality.

First, in *Go Tell it on the Mountain*, Baldwin characterizes Florence to highlight the internal racial hatred that can operate within the Black community. Moreover, when Florence is in the presence of other Black people, she detaches herself from her Blackness or what she perceives as Blackness. More specifically, she associates Black with the same stigma and stereotypes that White racist culture would associate with Blackness. Baldwin illustrates this through Florence's view of both her brother, Gabriel, and her husband, Frank. Both men in fact act as a sort of parallel for each other in the story, especially with respect to their relationship with Florence. When Florence is talking to Deborah and describes Gabriel, she says "I hate him! I hate

him! Big, black prancing tomcat of a nigger!" (Baldwin, *Early Novels & Stories* 70). Florence's expression of hate for her brother echoes her own internal hatred of her skin, which Baldwin makes more obvious later in the text. The diction Baldwin employs here is significant because it strongly resonates with the language of hatred and racism, and even further Black stereotypes. The selection of the words "big," "black," "prancing," "tomcat," and "nigger," all emphasize racial hatred because they highlight stereotypical images of Black men. By reiterating racial hatred towards men like Gabriel, who are perceived stereotypically as the Big Black Buck and the hyper-sexualized tomcat (whether a Black man is one, both, or neither, he is still a "nigger"), Baldwin is drawing attention to the power that hatred can have on perception. Furthermore since Florence is the one who expresses this hate towards her brother, who because they are of the same flesh and blood are a part of each other, Florence is disassociating herself from her blackness, more precisely her false perception of Blackness. Baldwin appropriately uses Deborah to make this point when, in response to Florence, she argues, "You know, honey, the Word tell us to hate the sin but not the sinner" (Baldwin, *Early Novels & Stories* 70). Baldwin does this to emphasize how Florence is not making a distinction between the acts of Black people and the Black people themselves; thus, she is contributing to the hate generated by racist stereotypes. More specifically, she does not separate the color of her brother's skin from his actions, actions deemed by the White racism as immoral and animalistic.

Florence's negative perception of Blackness is further emphasizes though her relationship with Frank. For instance, Florence says to Frank "You think I want to stay

* This paper was prepared during Fall Quarter 2012 for Professor Bill Johnson Gonzalez's course ABD 290: Major Authors: James Baldwin.

around here the rest of my life with these dirty niggers you all the time bring home?" and Franks response is "Where you expect us to live, honey, where we ain't going to be with niggers?" (Baldwin, *Early Novels & Stories* 81). Frank, and Gabriel, act as reflections of Florence, and the very aspects of herself she hates, which is her Blackness. During the period in which this novel is set the possibility of Blacks and Whites living together was unthinkable. Since Florence is unable to advance because of colorism, she views the color of her skin rather than the racist and capitalist institutions as the source of her oppression. Frank eventually poses the question to Florence "what you want me to do, Florence? You want me to turn white?" (Baldwin, *Early Novels & Stories* 81). This question is significant because it reflects Florence's own desires for herself and her condition. Florence believes that if her skin were white, then she would be able to attain some degree of happiness. Since Frank is the one to expose, or reflect, this to Florence, this is also the reason why Florence becomes angry at Frank after his statement and says "You ain't got to be white to have some self-respect!" (Baldwin, *Early Novels & Stories* 82). Here is another moment where Baldwin is revealing Florence's perception of Blackness as something without self-respect. In "Straight Black Studies: On African American Studies, James Baldwin, and Black Queer Studies," Dwight McBride analyzes Kali Gross and his characterization of black respectability stating that:

Historically, as a form of resistance to the negative stigmas and caricatures about their morality, African Americans adopted a "politics of respectability"... [allowing African Americans] to assert agency to redefine themselves outside the prevailing racist discourses. Although many deployed the politics of respectability as a form of resistance, its ideological nature constituted a deliberate concession to mainstream societal values (McBride 71).

This statement provides some context in terms of understanding Florence's use of the term "respect," and why Florence has detached herself from Frank, viewing

him as an "other." Florence's statement about "respect" serves a dual function for her as a character, as it directly reveals how she views herself as a member of the Black community. More specifically, since Frank acts as a mirror for Florence, and for Florence to view Frank as "lacking self-respect," she simultaneously views herself as both having and lacking self-respect. According to Jacques Lacan's theory of the "mirror-stage," a type of alienation occurs in a child when they become aware of the image within the mirror. More specifically, "although the mirror-stage is a crucial developmental stage, it also represents a profound alienation as the child identifies with something that is, by definition, imaginary and other. It thus implies a process of simultaneous recognition and misrecognition" (Payne and Barbera 455). By looking at Frank, and Gabriel, and equating them with lack of respectability and "common niggers" who are "big, black prancing tomcats," she both recognizes them as other, while misrecognizing and recognizing her own relationship to them. Moreover, Frank and Gabriel reflect onto Florence both the aspects of her Blackness that she hates, and wants to repress, and an imaginary and exaggerated version of herself that she desires, via her detachment and disassociation with her Blackness. To reference back to Gross' analysis of respectability, Florence misrecognizes what respectability means because she doesn't assert agency and doesn't redefine herself "outside the prevailing racist discourse." Instead, she, in a sense, assimilates to the views of mainstream White culture and further contributes to racially stereotyping the Black community, which makes her internalized hatred all the more destructive.

The way Baldwin ends the section on Florence in *Go Tell it on the Mountain* is very significant as well because it is the first time he actually uses the symbol of the mirror when describing what Florence is doing. For instance, Baldwin reveals that "she sat before the mirror and rubbed bleaching cream into her skin," and "she stared at her face in the mirror, thinking angrily that all these skin creams were a waste of money, they never did any good" (Baldwin, *Early Novels & Stories* 84). This obvious example

of Florence literally trying to disassociate herself from her skin color, her Blackness, emphasizes not only her self-hatred, but also highlights how she has not correctly developed passed this stage of narcissism. The idea of narcissism is closely intertwined with Lacan's theory of the mirror stage, the idea of the mirror being central, because narcissism, by definition, is simply a self-evaluation of a reflected image, which is a distorted version of the self. Baldwin's use of the mirror as a symbol creates a sense of misrepresentation and distortion both literally, with Florence looking into the mirror and putting on bleaching cream, and figuratively, reflecting internalized racism as a result of the stigma attached to Blackness. Since Florence believes that Blackness is actually equivalent to the racial stereotypes and stigma attached to by White racism, she also, in the same way that White racist culture does, views Blackness as a threat to American ideology, the ideology in which Florence wishes to assimilate. She has essentially betrayed her identity by disassociating herself from her Blackness as a means to attain her desire identity of being closer to Whiteness.

Baldwin characterizes Gabriel as the ultimate extreme example of a narcissist. In the same way that Baldwin uses Florence, and her relationship to Gabriel and Frank, to reveal her internalized hatred, Baldwin uses Gabriel, and his relationship to Ester, to emphasize his repression of his sexuality via Christianity. Baldwin expresses how Gabriel essentially adopted Christianity for two reasons: first because he was afraid of going to Hell, which is where sinners go, and second because he wanted authority. More specifically, Baldwin reveals that Gabriel:

Desired in his soul, with fear and trembling, all the glories that his mother prayed he should find. Yes, he wanted power—he wanted to know himself to be the Lord's anointed, His well-beloved, and worthy, nearly, of that snow-white dove which had been sent down from Heaven to testify that Jesus was the son of God. He wanted to be master, to speak with that authority which could only come from God (Baldwin, *Go Tell It on the Mountain* 89).

The religious rhetoric that Baldwin utilizes here emphasizes the power structure within Christianity. More specifically, “glories,” “anointed,” “well-beloved,” “worthy,” and “master” work together to create a sense of dominance and even narcissism. Gabriel desires to become “the Lord's anointed” because he fears the repercussions of what would happen to him if he is not saved. Gabriel wants the power to transcend his body, which is the source of his sin, according to Christianity. Richard Dyer points out, in *White*, that “Christianity is founded on the idea of incarnation, of being that is in the body yet not of it” (Dyer 14). Based on this idea, it is inevitable that Gabriel would struggle with his body, which is the source of his sins and the symbol of his sexuality, and the very thing that can keep him out of heaven. According to Dyer's statement, Christianity essentializes the idea of transcending bodily desires, sexuality.

Moreover, the stigma attached to his flesh, and sexuality, is troubling for Gabriel because he cannot successfully understand a way to transcend his bodylines, which creates a feeling of not being in control. This lack of control over his body is the reason Gabriel represses his sexuality and hates his body. Gabriel's hatred of his sexuality is strongly emphasized in his relationship to women. Baldwin reveals that since Gabriel is repressing his sexuality, it is further creating internal hatred of both his sex and his body. For example, when Baldwin describes Gabriel and his sexuality, he states:

Thus, when he came to the harlot, he came to her in rage, and he left her in vain sorrow—feeling himself to have been, once more, most foully robbed, having spent his holy seed in a forbidden darkness where it could only die. He cursed the betraying lust that lived in him, and he cursed it again in others” (Baldwin, *Go Tell It on the Mountain* 90).

This is significant because the reason Gabriel goes to the “harlot” in rage and leaves “in vain sorrow” is because of this whole idea of the stigma attached to sexuality. More

specifically, he is in rage because he cannot control his sexuality, but then after he engages in sexual activity with the “harlot,” he feels “robbed” as if the harlot has taken advantage of him. The way in which Gabriel detaches himself away from his sexuality, and sexual exploits, and victimizes himself is another way in which Gabriel’s narcissism becomes obvious. By victimizing himself, he can belittle the harlot because *she* is immoral. Even though he also engaged in the same activity, *he* is not immoral because he was “fouly robbed,” or, in other words, he views himself as the victim.

Furthermore, the feelings that Gabriel has towards women is a result of his own repression of his sexuality. This repression is also the source of his internalized hatred of his sexuality. Baldwin reveals that “he longed, nearly, for death, which was all that could release him from the cruelty of his chains” (Baldwin, *Early Novels & Stories* 89). This emphasizes the struggle Gabriel is having with his sexuality because he thinks that he is unable to transcend his body and hates his body for being the source of his lack of control. In “Utopian Body,” Michel Foucault points out “my body: it is the place without recourse to which I am condemned” (Foucault 229). This is how Gabriel feels; Gabriel feels condemned because he cannot successfully detach himself from his body, which is what he wants because he sees it as the only means of salvation, creating a sense of existentialism. The irony lies in Gabriel projecting this image onto everyone else. Furthermore, Gabriel refers to women as harlots because they reflect back on to him the ways in which his own sexuality is stigmatized and how he has no control over his sexual desires. By referring to them as such, he is attempting to exert some authority over them, which he himself is lacking in his authority of his sexuality. This process of recognition and misrecognition is revealed in Lacan’s theory of the mirror stage. For instance, the mirror stage is outlined in *A Dictionary of Cultural and Critical Theory* as followed:

Although the mirror-stage is a crucial developmental stage, it also represents a profound alienation as the child

identifies with something that is, by definition, imaginary and other. It thus implies a process of simultaneous recognition and misrecognition. From the outset the child identifies with an ideal image which provides the matrix for the ego viewed by Lacan as an imaginary construct in which the subject is alienated. The ego is always an alter ego marked by an aggressive relatively and therefore cannot be equated with the subject. The mirror stage is responsible for the subsequent appearance of the threatening and regressive fantasy of what Lacan calls the “body-in-pieces,” in which anxiety about fragmentation or disintegration comes to the fore (Payne and Barbera 455).

It is very likely that this idea was in the back of Baldwin’s mind, as Lacan began to teach and promote this theory in the mid-1940s, and Baldwin writes *Go Tell it on the Mountain* in 1953 and *Giovanni’s Room* in 1956, using motifs of mirrors and reflection in both. Lacan’s theory provides a model by which we can view Gabriel’s relationship to Ester. The reason why Gabriel is both attracted to Ester and offended by her is because she acts as a mirror and reflects onto him his repressed sexuality and desires, and to a greater extent his inability to understand and control his sexual desires. For instance, in the novel, when Gabriel is reflecting upon the people who he encountered (Deborah, Ester, and Royal), he remembers Ester as “looking at him with that look in which were blended mockery, affection, desire, impatience, and scorn; dressed in flamelike colors that, in fact, she had seldom worn, but that he always thought of her as wearing. She was associated in his mind with flame...and with the eternal fires of Hell” (Baldwin, *Early Novels & Stories* 111). Ester mirroring back onto Gabriel “mockery, affection, desire, impatience, and scorn” reveals what Gabriel actually feels about himself. On the one hand, Gabriel interprets his lack of control over his own body as the fault of women and not his own. On the other hand, Gabriel feels that he is in control of his sexuality because he is God’s chosen, and since he is saved, he is somehow more powerful and has authority. Gabriel associating Ester with Hell and flamelike further reinforces his fears of both

his sexuality and going to hell. Even though she did not wear these “flamelike” colors, for Gabriel to associate her with these colors and associate her with sin, highlights his narcissism as well. When he looks at Ester, he is viewing a distorted version of himself, a version in which he places himself as more powerful and worthy than others. Moreover, Baldwin emphasizes this when he reveals how Ester told Gabriel “you looked at me just like a man, like a man what hadn’t never heard of the Holy Ghost. But he believed that the Lord had laid her like a burden on his heart” (Baldwin, *Early Novels & Stories* 118). Ester reveals a truth in Gabriel that he has repressed and refuses to see. Gabriel’s narcissism is even further highlighted by the fact that he basically turns what Ester says around to make himself seem like the hero when he says that Ester is a burden given to him by God. Instead of recognizing his own humanity and bodylines, his ego leads him to project that stigmatized image onto Ester. Valerie Rohy points this out in “Displacing Desire: Passing, Nostalgia, and *Giovanni’s Room*” how “the term passing designates a performance in which one presents one-self as what one is not, a performance commonly imagined along the axis of race, class, gender, or sexuality” (Rohy 219). Gabriel is essentially passing because he is playing the role a Christian who is in control of his sexual desires, and this is actually not true as Baldwin shows us how Gabriel has several moments where he succumbs to his sexual desires. Moreover, Gabriel’s narcissism arises because he turns reality on its head so that the impression of himself is favorable and the impression of others in comparison to him is less favorable. Ultimately, Gabriel’s narcissism is evidence of the way in which he has developed as a result of the mirror stage. Gabriel as a character did not develop psychologically because of his strong narcissism.

Baldwin also tackles this issue of the mirror stage and narcissism in *Giovanni’s Room*. Baldwin uses David to further explore the ways in which others reflect onto us those aspects of ourselves we either hate or wish to emulate. More specifically, Baldwin begins the novel by characterizing David in a way that he is more informed

about his identity as he is in a moment of reflection. More specifically, Baldwin sets up David in the following way:

I stand at the window of this great house in the south of France as night falls, the night which is leading me to the most terrible morning of my life...I watch my reflection in the darkening gleam of the window pane... My face is like a face you have seen many times. My ancestors conquered a continent, pushing across death-laden plains, until they came to an ocean which faced away from Europe into a darker past. (Baldwin, *Early Novels & Stories* 221).

Baldwin immediately sets up the idea of reflection as a motif in the beginning of the novel. Baldwin juxtaposes two important concepts in this description which highlight his understanding of how the narcissism in the mirror-stage may be reconciled. He juxtaposes the idea of reflecting (I watch my reflection) with darkness (in the darkening gleam of the window pane), and these two ideas work together to emphasize the process of looking to those dark abysmal parts of ourselves in order to fully reconcile and understand the source of our internalized hatred and repression. Even the way in which Baldwin incorporates race into this excerpt is significant. Some critics have critiqued Baldwin for creating this “all White” universe in *Giovanni’s Room*; however, it is precisely because he has created an “all White” universe that he can make problematic the issue of race. For instance, McBride’s article references Marlon Ross, who writes that “if the characters had been black, the novel would have been read as being ‘about’ blackness, whatever else it happened actually to be about. The whiteness of the characters seems to make invisible the question of how race or color has, in fact, shaped the characters” (McBride 78). This statement is incorrect because Baldwin does in fact tackle the issue of blackness by tackling the issue of whiteness by employing this motif of reflection. More specifically, Baldwin makes the choice to have David reflect on the imperialist history of his White ancestors, which works to underline the issue of race simply by mentioning the conquered continent.

Given the history of imperialism, there is a racial undertone, positioning White westerners at the top as superior and powerful and people of color as inferior and enslaved. Baldwin essentially tackles the issue of race by revealing the nuances of what it means to be White, which indirectly nuances the issue of race on all scales. As Rohy reveals in her article, Western White culture “champions the white, heterosexual, bourgeois home as icon of a mythical and sentimentalized family whose “values” reflect those of the dominant culture” (Rohy 218). David’s character is no exception to this standard of what it means to be White; David questions his whiteness every time someone or something reflects those values of dominant culture that provide the safety that David yearns to be a part of.

Baldwin shows the ways in which David questions his whiteness, and thus his manhood, by projecting a particular image onto those he is involved with. In the case of Joey, after he and David have sex, David reflects on the act revealing:

It was borne in on me: But Joey is a boy. I saw suddenly the power in his thighs, in his arms, and in his loosely curled fists. The power and the promise and the mystery of that body made me suddenly afraid. That body suddenly seemed the black opening of a cavern in which I would be tortured till madness came, in which I would lose my manhood. Precisely, I wanted to know that mystery and feel that power and have that promise fulfilled through me. The sweat on my back grew cold. I was ashamed...A cavern opened in my mind, black, full of rumor, suggestion, of half-heard, half-forgotten, half-understood stories, full of dirty words. I thought I saw my future in that cavern. I was afraid (Baldwin, *Early Novels & Stories* 226).

The description David projects onto Joey is one that empowers Joey and strips David of power. David looks at Joey and essentially sees the manhood that he does not see himself as possessing, and because he sees himself as at risk to lose his manhood, he is ashamed and afraid. This

is one of the many moments throughout the novel, where David looks at someone and they reflect his internal fears of losing his manhood.

Another example of this idea of reflection and mirroring is the moment when David is confronted by the zombie-type character when he is in the bar. David expresses “now someone who I had never seen before came out of the shadows towards me. It looked like a mummy or a zombie—this was the first, overwhelming impression—of something walking after it had been put to death” (Baldwin, *Early Novels & Stories* 251). This figure works as a mirror for David in that he reflects onto David his repression of his homo-sexuality. After having sex with Joey, and feeling ashamed and afraid, David represses those desires because they ran contrary to the American ideal as outlined in Rohy’s description. David goes on to say how “it did not seem real, he did not seem real. Besides—no matter what I said, those eyes would mock me with it” (Baldwin, *Early Novels & Stories* 252). Here again David is trying to further deny the possibility of homosexuality, which puts his manhood and Whiteness at risk. The zombie mocks David because David is ashamed, and because he is ashamed, mockery is the only thing he will see in any reflection because he refuses to explore it. David is trying to “pass” for straight, and Rohy’s description of passing reveals “the term passing designates a performance in which one presents one-self as what one is not, a performance commonly imagined along the axis of race, class, gender, or sexuality” (Rohy 219). Throughout the novel, David is projecting an image of a stigmatized “other” onto those he comes in contact with, while portraying himself in a more positive way, highlighting his narcissism. Even his relationship to Giovanni is crucial as it reveals the way David has not been able to reconcile his internalized hatred of his sexuality, which poses a threat to his manhood. David says how “the beast which Giovanni had awakened in me would never go to sleep again,” and he goes further to say “with this fearful intimation there open in me a hatred for Giovanni which was as powerful as my love and which was nourished by the same roots” (Baldwin,

Early Novels & Stories 288). David developing both love and hate for Giovanni is significant because it shows the joint process of the mirror. As Lacan's theory points out, there is a simultaneous recognition and misrecognition that occurs, which can also lead to opposite and extreme feelings. On the one hand, David loves Giovanni as he represents something that David wants to be close to, or even acquire. On the other hand, he also hates Giovanni because he represents the stigmatized homosexuality that David has repressed. Giovanni is a reflection of David's repressed sexuality, as well as the nuances of his manhood and Whiteness, which David fears. The fact that Giovanni reflects back onto David his internal fears and desires is also the reason that David has a "unstated desire to escape the room" (Baldwin, *Early Novels & Stories* 287).

The way Baldwin ends *Giovanni's Room* is significant because it reveals a way that we can begin to think about ways to transcend and overcome the fears that become our internalized hatred. The mirror motif that Baldwin uses at the end, with David looking into the mirror revealing:

The body in the mirror forces me to turn and face it. And I look at my body, which is under sentence of death...it is trapped in my mirror as it is trapped in time and it hurries toward revelation...I long to make this prophecy come true. I long to crack that mirror and be free (Baldwin, *Early Novels & Stories* 359).

This is moment where David as a character is undergoing a process of growth; a growth that Baldwin believes is healthy and essential. David looking into the mirror and acknowledging the ways in which he has been entrapped and limited by the standards set by the ideal White model. David's acceptance of what he sees and his longing "to crack that mirror and be free" reveals his acceptance of difference. At this point, David will attempt to accept his identity and be free, as opposed to betraying his identity and being imprisoned by it. Lacan's theory also stipulates that in order to mature pass the narcissism of the mirror stage, you have to "crack" the mirror, emphasizing how the reflected image

disassociates one person from the vision, stating "this vision excludes the stranger, the one with whom I cannot identify lest he break my mirror" (Julien 28). The means by which one can attain a sense of freedom and accept an identity, which they once internalized, repressed, and despised, is by "breaking" the mirror, which has limited and imprisoned them. Essentially, the institutions that are in place, which oppress a group of people and attach stigmatized labels to that group, leading to their own self-hatred, need to be reevaluated in terms of credibility.

In conclusion, Baldwin reveals in both novels that in order to find some sort of freedom, we have to turn inward to view those aspects of ourselves that we fear and reconcile those issues in order to find a way to live. We must accept our differences and not assimilate into dominant culture because even dominant culture has its own issues to work out. Essentially, we all have to accept the idea that everyone has some aspects of the "other" within themselves, and this can be a way to think about transforming the stigma associated with oppressed groups. ■

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SKIN DEEP: STORYTELLING THROUGH TATTOOING

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Utilizing the body as a canvas for decoration, manipulation and mutilation is a practice that is at least 30,000 years old (Mascia-Lees, Sharpe 1992: 1). Similar to implants and body piercing, but different from makeup, tattooing is the form of body modification that has become the most popular over the past few decades. Tattooing is formally defined as a “mark (a person or a part of the body) with an indelible design by inserting pigment into punctures in the skin” (oxforddictionaries.com). It has transformed from branding royalty, to creating community, to marginalizing individuals, to a means of storytelling. The purpose of this paper is to look at these stories and discern how tattooing displays and legitimizes them.

No two tattooed bodies are the same. Some people display their permanent markings flauntingly, on their chest, forearms or face. Others choose to remain more discreet and place tattoos on their ribs or back. There is a distinction made between *tattooed* people and people *with* tattoos. A tattooed person fits the first description and a person with tattoos, the latter. (Roberts 2012: 153). The difference between tattooed people and people with tattoos may seem irrelevant, but in a society where the display of status is desired and a prerequisite for living a public life, this differentiation remains key to understanding who gets assigned which standing.

One’s external skin is used as an invitation to the internal self. The skin is literally the point of confluence between one’s

external and internal self, and perhaps those who understand this best are tattooed individuals and individuals with tattoos.

Methods

I partnered with tattooed people and people with tattoos in a series of formal interviews, in a large, Midwestern city¹. The interview partners included five women and four men as summarized the following table:

Participant	Age	Gender	Employment Status
F1	21	Female	Part-time
F2	21	Female	Part-time
F3	33	Female	Full Time
F4	27	Female	Full Time
F5	28	Female	Full Time
M1	23	Male	Part Time
M2	21	Male	Part Time
M3	39	Male	Full Time
M4	33	Male	Full Time

Diversity was most important to me while partnering with participants. Variance in age, gender and employment status allowed me to cross various demographics and avoid assigning the culture of tattooing to a particular type of individual. For example, had I only interviewed part-time, twenty-one year old males, my findings would only apply to one generation, gender and economic status.

Establishing rapport was relatively easy. A person with five tattoos myself; mutual inquiry about tattoos forged an organic conversation. This led to ready consent; only two interview requests refused and some individuals’ volunteered acquaintances as additional contacts.

* This paper was selected by the Department of Anthropology Awards Committee. Dr. Ginger Hofman guided the initial research on which the paper is based. Dr. Robert Rotenberg helped Ms. Acharya edit it for submission.

1 All names have been changed to protect the identities of participants.

Academic literature on contemporary tattooing is extremely limited. I only found one article written by Derek John Roberts titled *Secret Ink: Tattoo's Place in Contemporary American Culture* (2012). The main similarity between my findings and Roberts' article was the concept of partnering. However, there were more differences than similarities between our findings.

The only similarity I found between Roberts' findings and mine was the important role that going to get a tattoo with a partner played. However the reasoning behind going with a partner varied from his participants to mine. Many things contribute to our dissimilar findings. Roberts interviewed his participants before, during or immediately after getting a new tattoo. The interviews I conducted took place in cafes months to years after my interviewees had acquired their tattoos. My interviewees took an approach that reflected on their experience, whereas Roberts' participants spoke from an immediate stream of thought. Additionally, Roberts conducted his research in a "tattoo shop in a medium sized, Midwestern city" (2012: 156). The difference between Roberts' medium-sized city and my larger urban setting results in greater diversity. Roberts conducts his interviews informally, whereas mine are structured and detail oriented.

History

Similar to agriculture and many other phenomenon, tattooing was born in different parts of the world around the same time. However, one thing remains the same: the attachment of tattooing to narratives.

Egyptian mummies with tattoos tell the story of hierarchal structure. Although "no mention of it in their preserved written records" exists, a significant group of tattooed mummies paired with intricate wall paintings allow historians to conclude that it was, indeed a part of their physical adornment, marking royalty and separating them from peasants (Bianchi 1988: 21).

An ancient Japanese *Jōmon* Period dating to 10,000 B.C. utilizes tattoos as ritualistic narratives. Through the collection and analysis of corpses, archeologists have been able to identify that over time, facial markings became a common practice in their culture (McCallum 1988: 112). *Jōmon* society did not utilize hierarchal structure, therefore their tattoos told the story of unity and ritual.

Tattooing was introduced to non-traveling, Anglo-Americans by travelers who encountered "tattooing cultures of the South Pacific (Caplan 2000: xv). Attractions known as "tattoo natives" were often popular in carnivals, therefore "people were willing to pay to view such a thing, (and) a new type of freak was created" (DeMillo 2007: 259). Margo DeMillo writes, "...As competition among attractions developed, the tale of "native capture" developed. Here the tattooed exhibit would tell the crowd of the circumstances surrounding the acquisition of the attractions tattoos" (2007: 260). One tattooed attraction recalls:

There was too much competition. We were forced to embellish our already heavily decorated bodies with exotic stories in order to compete with each other. Many performers used the popular theme of having been abducted as children and forcibly marked. Circus performed, Miss Maura, ruralized the tale, billing herself as the *Abducted Farmers Daughter* (Govenar 2000: 225).

This element of storytelling followed tattooing as it continued to transform. In the 1940's tattoo equipment and advertisement was on the rise, allowing tattooing to undergo a "rebirth" (Govenar 2000: 226). Tattoo artists worked to regulate hygienic tattooing methods, thereby making tattooing more accessible with less risks. What followed are the attempts of various subcultures to adopt this phenomenon to share the story of their alternative lifestyles. Whether it is soldiers personifying wartime tales, or grunge followers who wished to mark their disdain towards the dominant society, every

transformation tattooing went through was paired with a new type of storytelling.

I would argue that right now, tattooing is undergoing a new redefinition. None of the participants I interviewed considered their personality or lifestyle as radical or alternative. Rather, they shared their intentionality behind getting a tattoo as grounds to exchange stories.

By using discursive strategies, tattooed individuals and individuals with tattoos are able to minimize or deflect negative reactions (Atkinson 1971: 207).

The Interviews

I collected the allegories of nine tattooed individuals. The number of tattoos on each participant varied from one to nine, placed on various parts of their bodies: chest, back, arms, legs, head, and abdomen. Three prevalent themes around storytelling emerged: 1) placement 2) memorial tattoos and 3) partnering. Although many other themes were discussed during the interviews, these three storytelling topics generated the greatest detail and importance.

On Placement

The placement of tattoos shares the story of gender. Placement was also the category of greatest discrepancy between my interview partners. Both male and female participants held great concern in regards to the importance of anatomy in determining where individuals could get tattoos. Most participants agreed that males could get tattoos on any part of their body while females have limitations on what is considered feminine. John elaborates:

I think a guy can get a tattoo anywhere, any, like, place on his body and be looked upon as like yeah, that's a tattoo that's great. But for like females, there are very specific areas that get looked upon as like class, or sexy, or whatever. [...] When you see girls with biceps tattoos [...] it looks weird.

Many male participants also took great concern in regards to the stylistic difference between the tattoos men and women receive. They consider tattoos related to nature objects such as leaves and fish to be more feminine, while determining that styles related to gore or tribal and animalistic prints to be masculine. They noted that there were some themes that were considered unisex like words, lyrics and quotes.

The male interviewees also seemed more attuned to the role that gender plays in tattooing than females. Most female interviewees felt a stronger sense of equality across both genders and never considered their gender before receiving their tattoo. Stephanie explains:

Not anymore. [...] It used to be a more male thing. [...] I would say over the last twenty years it has become more acceptable for females to have them. I think people in general. [...] It's evolved.

It cannot be determined with complete certainty why males see a greater stigma attached to females with tattoos. Perhaps because females strive for equality in all aspects of their social life, they cannot leave behind the importance of tattooing and the social sharing of stories. Perhaps it is a determination to reclaim their bodies: *I* decide that *I* want to tattoo on *my* body.

On Memorial Tattoos

Conversations about memorial tattoos took up the majority of the interviews. Whether the memory of a place, time or person, remembrance resonated with six out of nine of my interviewees. In addition to listening to their memories, I also challenged them by asking: When you miss someone, something or someplace, you can keep a photograph in your wallet or on the wall to keep their memory alive, why the desire to go one step and three hours of pain further to brand their chronicle in your skin?

The participants answered this question in two ways, the first being the indestructible nature of a tattoo. Jack, who

displays a memorial tattoo of his late grandfather with pride, highlights the difference between a photograph and needle:

Yeah, I could put a picture on my wall, or I could do this, but this, I'm going to see it every day, I'm going to have it... no matter where I go, I'm taking this with me, and I look down today and I remember my grandpa. So it's just like that kind of always symbolically carrying with me. No matter where, no matter what I do I am always going to have this with me.

The first element of a memorial tattoo is the purpose of keeping a memory alive for oneself through a permanent daily reminder. A tattoo cannot be washed off as a photograph can be rained on and destroyed. Some even mentioned that you couldn't part with it until death, literally keeping their memory alive through a new medium.

The second element that plays into a memorial tattoo is sharing the story of a person's life with others. Not only is it important that their memory stays alive, but the story of their lives must be shared with others. Sandra, who wears memorial tattoos for her late brother, late grandmother and parents, affirms:

[...] if you just really love and miss someone you just want to immortalize them in a way. And you can on your body because that is going to be with you until, you know, until you pass away. And I think, also, some people like to look down at it and see it. And some people want other people to see it so they can share their story.

There are two ingredients to creating and exhibiting a memorial tattoo. The first is the desire to create an everlasting physical reminder of a person, event or place. The second is sharing the story of this person, event or place with others, keeping their memory alive through words. With the body as a canvas, the memorial tattoo acts as this symbol.

On Partnering

Roberts mentions that his clients choose to go with another person to get a tattoo to better cope with the fear of physical pain and apprehension of the unknown. Although these were concerns my participants mentioned, they were not the sole reason they bought a companion with them.

Seven out of nine of my interviewees went with someone to get their very first tattoo. When asked why they decided to bring someone with them, there was nearly a unanimous agreement that the act of getting a tattoo holds nearly as much meaning as the tattoo itself. Janet recollects:

It is a very social thing just because I think people... if you were by yourself you might not want to do it. [...] It's also like a bonding thing too, you know what I mean? Like, um, I'll always remember where I was and who I was with and all that stuff. [...] Because I don't talk to Luke anymore, I mean we were in high school, but I still think of him. [...] Like a fondness. [...] Who you go with is just as important as what you get.

Nearly all of my interviewees shared a similar intentionality when deciding who they wanted to accompany them. Ted, a thirty-nine year old full time employee, was able to recollect, with precise detail, the series of events leading up to his first tattoo twenty years ago.

I was with my friend... we were stupid... and we were driving around. He was my best friend at the time. [...] We drove around looking for a tattoo shop. [...] I don't talk to him anymore, but that's who I went with.

When asked the meaning behind each of their tattoos, nearly all of my interviewees explained both the meaning of their tattoo and provided a brief description of who they went with, even if they went alone. What can be drawn from these recollections is that there are two stories attached to every tattoo: a story of its meaning and a story of its creation.

Analysis and Conclusion

Storytelling has found a new mobile medium: the skin. Whether it is a furtive personal experience reflected by the discreet location of a tattoo, or a proud turning point brightly worn on one's forearm, these narratives attempt to create permanent individuality in an ever-changing world. Some describe these stories as a right of passage into a secondary world outside of their usual social exchanges. It is a world that can only be entered with an anecdote permanently attached to one's skin.

As one participant explains, "(People) want to distinguish themselves from the norm [...] it provides an alternate identity outside the norms". Although we are uniform as workers, consumers and family members, through tattoos, we are able to create unique identities through the stories shared.

When asked to explain the hope for the future of tattooing, all of my interviewees agreed that although tattooing will probably be more accepted by society, there would always be groups of people who look down upon it. As long as there is an action, there will be resistance.

Tattooing is a cultural phenomenon that carries with it meaning and history. Like any cultural event or object, the meaning will change from generation to generation. In the case of tattooing, it even varies from person to person. Whether they hold the same demise as so many other fads that pass through society, or fight the test of time victoriously, these permanent symbols will always carry with them a rich journey through their lifetimes.

Individuals remain hopeful- not only for tattooing, but also for all varieties of body modification and alteration. Jack concludes, "I hope it will not be stigmatized at all. It will become more of a defining for yourself [...] Let me see what character you have as opposed to let me just judge you by what's on your skin". ■

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Chammaine Tan | *Untitled* | Digital Photography

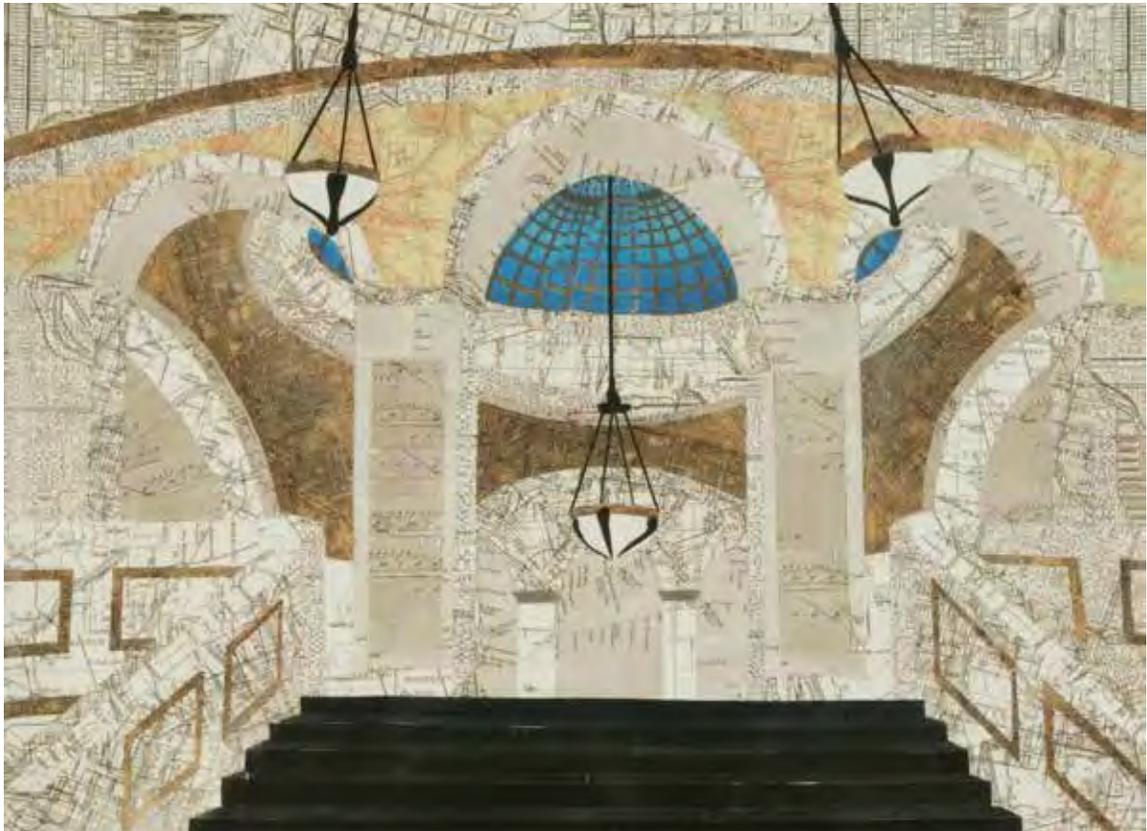
'THE SCENT OF JASMINE' BY ISSA BATARSEH

Translated from the Arabic by AMANDA SAMAWI AND HANNA ALSHIEKH
Arabic Studies Program, Department of Modern Languages

Alwaibdeh is one of Amman's seven mountains known for the jasmine plants at the entrances and fences of its homes.

The Jasmine of Alwaibdeh
does not talk a lot.
When you pass by
it gazes at you with tenderness,
encircles the entrances of the homes
that bask carefully
in the perfume from its palms.
Morning and evening
It scatters itself in the lovely path
under the footsteps of the passers-by
with silence and kindness
without boasting or clamor.
Alwaibedah thinks, talking a lot is not
a noble virtue.
It comes to you, a lively, tender whisper
soft like the cheek of a child
white, white, white,
pure like a child
newborn
clinging to your footsteps
your hearing
your senses
your soul.

It comes to you from nowhere
but you hear it everywhere.
It shades your path with its scent
fills the dome of the sky
surrounds you with shade and companionship
the scent turns in a blink of an eye
to a formation of clouds
the size of the jasmine's newborn hand
waters your eyes
and places a necklace around your neck.
The scent takes you far away
as if you are not really you
it tucks you under a wing of flowers,
beneath the wing you breath it in
like the eyelid celebrating the morning dew
over a village that has not risen from its slumber.
Like the whisper of a creek
the scent reaches your ears,
offers you greetings and love
peaceful and passionate
reads to you
with the yearning of an infatuated lover
a psalm of love. ■



Amanda Hoyle | *Chicago Cultural Center* | collage, mixed media

THE ROAD TO RECOGNITION: THE STRUGGLE FOR BLACK IDENTITY IN THE CATHOLIC CHURCH

DONZEL LEGGETT*

Center for World Catholicism and Intercultural Theology

To assume that Catholicism is a “white man’s” religion is to write off an important part of American and Catholic history. Most people do not realize that African-Americans have had an important impact on the history of Catholicism. Through the hardships of slavery and oppression, African-American Catholics kept their faith and battled through adversity to achieve the recognition they deserved not only in the Catholic Church but the United States as well. Black Catholic legends like Father Augustus Tolton, Mother Mathilda Beasley, and Daniel Rudd all help to provide a model for future generations of Black Catholics.

As stated by Cyprian Davis, author of *The History of Black Catholics in the United States*, Black Catholic history began in the Acts of the Apostles 8: 26-40, when Philip the Deacon converted the Ethiopian eunuch (3). The eunuch interestingly came from Nubia, and the term “Ethiopian” was a name used for black Africans by the Greeks (Davis 4). This Nubian man is recognized as the first black man to enter Christianity. This moment is important in the Bible because it depicts Christianity as a religion accessible to everyone, no matter your differences.

While Christianity is depicted as being accessible to everyone, this idea seemed to stray from the interpretation of Christianity as slavery entered the soon to be United States. In 1565, Spanish colonists arrived in northern Florida and founded the city of St. Augustine, according to Thomas Craughwell, author of the online article, “History

ILLUSTRATION 1

Fr. Tolton as pastor of St. Monica’s Church in Chicago, where he served the last eight years of his life (1889-1897)



of African-American Catholics.” They brought with them Africans, some of whom were free, and others who were slaves. These Africans were Catholics. The Africans, both freed and enslaved, were ministered to by French and Spanish missionaries in their communities. Even though some of the Africans were converted to Catholicism by their oppressors, they remained proud members of the Catholic faith. This created the foundation for Black Catholic communities in the United States, like Mobile, Alabama, New Orleans, Louisiana, and St. Augustine, Florida (History, Heritage, and Truth).

Hundreds of years of oppression faced the African-American community. Even white Catholic bishops and priests were slave owners during this time. It was difficult to exhibit courage and break the prejudice rules of “the

* This essay was the first place winner of the CWCIT’s second Annual Augustus Tolton Essay Contest, Spring 2013.

white man.” But if progress was to be made and barriers broken, it had to begin with bravery. Mathilda Taylor was born into slavery in New Orleans, Louisiana in November of 1832 (Georgia Women of Achievement). Little is known about the early years of Mathilda and the means by which she escaped slavery. As a young woman, Mathilda moved to Savannah, Georgia and operated a school for African-American children that had to be kept a secret, due to laws that prevented the teaching of free or enslaved African-Americans (Georgia Women of Achievement). The punishment for this act was a fine and whipping. Fortunately, Mathilda was able to keep her noble efforts from reaching authorities.

Later in life, Mathilda traveled to England and became a Catholic nun. When she returned to Savannah, Georgia, she became the first African-American nun in Georgia, breaking the color barrier (Georgia Women of Achievement). Mother Mathilda opened an orphanage for African-American girls in 1887, and she fought tirelessly to keep it open until her death at age of seventy-one (Georgia Women of Achievement). Mother Mathilda earned recognition not only within the Catholic Church, but also the Protestant community as well. In her obituary in the Savannah Morning News, it is stated that “Protestants speak in the highest terms of her life and character, and among the Negroes the feeling prevails that they have lost one of the best and truest friends and benefactors” (Georgia Women of Achievement). It is remarkable that Mother Mathilda was remembered in such glowing terms in one of the most racist states in the country at the time. Her testimony was inspirational to other African-American Catholic women.

The recognition the African-American Catholics sought was furthered by the life and example of Augustus Tolton. Augustus Tolton was born into slavery to a Catholic mother. His father enlisted in the Union Army in hopes of fighting for freedom for his family and ended up dying in a St. Louis hospital (Father Augustus Tolton). At the young age of seven, Augustus was already working in the field. After his mother

Martha Jane recognized that all she had left after her husband had passed away were her children, she took the great risk of planning an escape from slavery for her family. During these times, a runaway slave could face punishments that even resulted in death. Fortunately, Augustus, his mother, and sister were able to successfully escape slavery and crossed the Mississippi into the town of Quincy, Illinois.

Due to financial struggles, he and his sister had to work in a tobacco factory (Davis 154). During three months the factory was closed in the winter, Martha Jane thought that she should try and get her son Augustus an education. He attended an all white school, but due to the hate he faced by the other students, his mother withdrew him. During his young life he had little formal education, moving around to different schools and spending about one to three months at each school (Father Augustus Tolton). Father Peter McGirr, who was assigned to St. Lawrence in Quincy, became aware of Augustus’s troubles with public school and made arrangements for him to attend the Sisters of St. Lawrence Catholic School. Augustus’s interest in priesthood came when he began serving in Mass, and later he had a discussion with Father McGirr about the possibility.

Even though early education was unpleasant for Augustus, he continued to pursue his interests in becoming a priest. Although rejected by every American seminary to which he applied, Tolton was persistent and eventually able to study in Rome at the age of twenty-six. The course work included philosophy, theological studies, doctrinal theology, moral theology, ascetical theology, sacramental theology, and church law (Father Augustus Tolton). When he was not in class, Augustus kept himself busy by walking the streets of Rome and making sketches of the art and architecture of the buildings while recording their histories (Father Augustus Tolton). In 1886, after completing his studies in Rome, Augustus Tolton became the first African-American priest (Davis 155).

Father Tolton’s sermons were so interesting that he eventually attracted white Catholics to his church

(Craughwell). This proved that African-Americans can be priests and that a black priest could do just as well as a white priest. Even though it showed that race should not be a barrier in the Catholic Church, the white religious superiors still thought otherwise. A white pastor in Quincy, where Father Tolton's church was, claimed that his parish's finances were being undercut due to the interracial audience Tolton was attracting. Father Tolton was reassigned to Chicago and was ordered to only minister to Black Catholics (Craughwell). A basement is what he had to work with when he arrived in Chicago. But through fundraising, a church was consecrated in 1894 for the African-American Catholics in Chicago to worship (Craughwell). This struggle is important because Father Tolton's determination was not broken, even after being rejected throughout his life. The American seminaries, the white pastor in Quincy, and being given little to work with on the spot in Chicago all were excuses Tolton could have used to quit. But he showed leadership in the African-American Catholic community by standing up when times were the hardest, and he showed through example that Black Catholics needed to do the same.

In the late 1800's, the National Black Catholic Congress was founded by a man named Daniel Rudd (Celebrating Black Catholic History Month). Before the formation of the congress, Rudd had begun work on a newspaper in 1884 called the Ohio State Tribune, which later became the American Catholic Tribune. The pride of the African-American Catholics is shown through Rudd's focus statement on the newspaper in 1886 that read:

We will do what no other paper published by colored men has dared to do-give the great Catholic Church a hearing and show that it is worthy of at least a fair consideration at the hands of our race, being as it is the only place on this Continent where rich and poor, white and black, must drop prejudice at the threshold and go hand in hand to the altar. (Celebrating Black Catholic History Month)

This statement summed up what African-American Catholics were feeling at the time. They felt that they were not being fairly recognized within the religion due to their skin color, and that they at least deserved to be treated fairly. Furthermore, it explained their belief that both whites and blacks should be able to celebrate the word of God together.

The importance of being recognized in the Catholic faith was further shown through the five congresses that were held. The congresses, which were held in different locations around the country, discussed issues that concerned the African-American Catholic community. These congresses were perhaps one of the biggest successes of the African-American Catholic community. They showed that a Black Catholic community existed, and that it was active, dedicated, and proud. Another thing it gave the Black Catholic community was real leadership, which was lacking in the previous years.

Father Tolton was among the leaders that were a prominent part of the movement and spoke at the first congress. The congresses started a movement that spawned key ideas such as, "the mass conversion of blacks and the power of the church to change racism within this country" (Davis 193). The African-American Catholic community believed that the problem of racism could be changed in the country through cooperating with whites in religion. An interesting fact that further shows the pride and determination of the African-American Catholic community is that there were not more than two general Catholic lay congresses. Black Catholics, by contrast, had five in the nineteenth century (Davis 194).

The Black Catholic congresses laid the foundation and support for the future generations of Black Catholics. The congresses drew attention to issues that concerned the future of African-Americans in America, such as education and discriminatory actions in Catholic schools. The congresses even attracted the attention of President Grover Cleveland, who invited 200 delegates

to the White House at the end of the first congress (NBCC). The objective of the congresses was best put in a nutshell by the President of the Fifth Black Catholic Congress, Dr. William Lofton, who stated,

“We hope to hail the day...when the American people, the hierarchy of the Catholic Church, and the laity shall rise up in their might and stamp out the prejudice which is today destroying the life’s blood of the country.” (NBCC)

The African-American Catholic leaders were not only looking to better their lives, but the lives of all African-Americans in country, Catholic or not. These leaders recognized that the power of the church could be used to improve race relations in America, creating a better future for everyone.

Today, there are three million African-American Catholics in the United States, with 250 African-American priests, and 798 Catholic parishes with predominately black congregations (Demographics). Leaders like Father Tolton, Mother Mathilda, and Daniel Rudd played important roles in the growth and recognition achieved by African-American Catholics. Hard work, determination, leadership, and courage are all qualities that led to the rise of African-Americans as a people to be recognized in the Catholic faith. ■

ILLUSTRATION 2

Fr. Tolton as pastor of St. Joseph’s Church in Quincy, Illinois (1886-1889)



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SOCIAL VALUES IN A GLOBALIZED WORLD AND THE GROWTH OF LOCAL FOOD

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Introduction

The 1980's brought with it the widespread acceptance of free trade and neoliberalism as the foundations of growth and modernity, and these policies have led to ever increasing global connectedness and interdependency. This process, termed globalization, has profoundly changed the way firms run, and, as a result, has made a huge variety of goods available at much lower prices to first-world consumers. However, the beneficiaries of this process are also the ones most actively fighting it. Since the 1970's countless movements in first-world countries have arisen in opposition to globalization and free trade. Since the economic crisis of 2008, growing numbers of everyday people have begun to doubt the conviction that an unrestrained global market is the key to prosperity and well-being. The present paper will focus on the local food movement in first-world countries and how its existence and growth in recent years demonstrates the insufficiency of classical economic theory to predict consumer behavior. Local food alternatives integrate the concepts of trust, reciprocity group bias, social distance and altruism into market transactions, and, as a result, consumers feel more fulfilled by their purchases.

This paper will first review research in behavioral economics demonstrating the existence of social motivations in transactions, which often cause individuals to act against their own economic self-interest. The effects of globalization on food production will then be explored, as well as the subsequent emergence and growth of local

food alternatives. It will then be demonstrated that the absence of social values in globalized market transactions has caused a growing number of first world consumers to purchase and support locally grown food.

Literature Review

Behavioral economic research into non-economic factors that affect market and individual interactions provides a foundation from which we will analyze the existence of the local food phenomenon. Much research has been done in recent decades on the existence of cooperation. According to classical economic theory, humans are purely self-interested and have no interest in what the right thing to do might be. The writings of Dawes and Thaler on Cooperation (1988) demonstrate that these classical assumptions do not hold true in many situations. To test the limits of traditional theories, they conducted various public goods experiments in which individuals were given a sum of money, which they could either keep for themselves or invest in a public good. The amount received from the public good was less than the individual contributed unless the entire group contributed all of their money, in which case everyone received more than they contributed. Even in single trial experiments, meaning that the actions of the participants had no effect on future player relationships, the public good was provided at 40-60% of the optimal quantity. Dawes and Thaler provide a few different explanations for these high levels of cooperation among individuals in situations where it is not rational. One of the reasons they explore is altruism, or the idea that people are driven by positive gains for others as well as for themselves. However, this is not entirely the case, since people often don't care as much about the actual effect of their action as much as their role in eliciting the effect.

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Therefore, another type of altruism is proposed, termed *impure* altruism to explain the satisfaction of conscience or the pleasure individuals gain from the act of cooperating. Research by Dawes demonstrates that discussion is the most powerful motivating force behind cooperation in group games, overwhelmingly leading the group to choose cooperation and gain a bigger payoff in the end. Dawes and Thaler postulate that discussion triggers ethical concerns, and thereby leads to impure altruism or doing the right thing for the satisfaction of conscience. Another notable finding was that individuals were more altruistic when the money went to their own group but much less cooperative when the money was going to a different group, even though the groups had been formed randomly only hours before.

The research of Bohnet and Frey (1999) further investigates the motivations and reasons behind cooperation through other-regarding behavior and its relationship to social distance. The authors postulate that social distance is not based on the perceived degree of reciprocity in a transaction, as has been previously thought, but is instead based on identification with the “other” in a transaction or game. They tested this idea by hypothesizing that cooperation based on reciprocity would yield equal divisions of money in a dictator game while cooperation based on identification with the other person would yield a larger spread of divisions. The latter turned out to be the stronger force in determining cooperation in the dictator game as the percentage of individuals who offered equal division increased tremendously with the amount of information individuals shared about each other. When no information was offered by either the dictator or the recipient, only 26% of dictators chose to divide the money equally. However, when both the dictator and recipient shared information with each other, 71% of dictators chose to split the money evenly. These findings demonstrate that the more individuals know about each other the more they care about the well-being of the other. This supports the findings of Dawes and Thaler (1988) that levels of cooperation are highly correlated with discussion and communication.

The boundaries of self-interest and the role of social distance in cooperation have also been explored by Buchan, Croson and Dawes (2002). Their research explored the level of value gained by individuals from either direct transactions (when the trusting individual is the recipient of any returned money) and in indirect transactions (when the trusting individual does not receive the returned money, and it instead goes to either a stranger or someone in his or her group). To do this, they set up various situations in which an individual was able to choose to send a certain amount of money to a responder who then received triple the sent money and could choose to return whatever proportion of this total that she wished. In the indirect variations of this experiment, once the responder received the money, she could choose to send on part of the money to another anonymous individual who was either part of their group or a stranger. The authors’ results show that individuals strongly prefer direct exchanges in which they are able to benefit directly from their trusting actions. Responders also reciprocate more when the money they are returning goes back to the original sender. Another significant finding of this research was that people are more trusting of their neighbors than of strangers, though they reciprocate equally towards both. These results partially go against the findings of Dawes and Thaler (1988) that participants are significantly less altruistic towards those of a different group, but Buchan et al.’s work shows that when one has received something there is an obligation to reciprocate no matter the group identity of the sender.

Additional research on the impact of group identity on cooperation was done by Ruffle and Sosis (2006) who examined one of the most successful modern day collectives, the Israeli Kibbutz, and the willingness of its members to cooperate with other Kibbutz residents versus Israeli city residents. To test this, they designed a game in which two participants were told that they could take money from an envelope with \$100 in it. Both participants decided independently how much they would like to take, and, if the sum of these amounts exceeded 100, both participants

received nothing. The authors found that Kibbutz members took much less money from the envelope when paired with others of their group than they did when paired with Israeli city residents. In addition, when asked, Kibbutz members predicted that Israeli city residents would take more than other Kibbutz members. These results show the strength of group bias in determining cooperative behavior. Even among the Kibbutz members, who are highly socialized to be cooperative with everyone, there is a predisposition to favor their own group over others.

Toler, Briggeman, Lusk and Adams (2009) also demonstrated the tendency of subjects to cooperate more with those who are perceived to be part of their “group” through an experiment testing consumers’ willingness to pay for four different tickets. The first two tickets involved paying \$7 to either a local or non-local farmer, and the second two involved paying \$1 to either a local or non-local farmer. The amount received by the buyer remained the same for every ticket. Subjects were asked to place a bid for each ticket, and it was found that they were willing to pay, on average, over a dollar more for the ticket which gave \$7 to the local farmer than for the ticket which gave \$7 to a non-local farmer and over \$2 more than for the ticket which gave only \$1 to the local farmer. These results show that participants placed much more value on aiding a local “group” member than on helping someone outside of their community.

These behavioral economic concepts help to paint a richer picture of human interaction and demonstrate conclusively that individuals often do not act out of purely selfish motivations but cooperate to varying degrees depending on the situation. Another piece of this picture is the role played by trust in market transactions. This was explored by Thaler (1985) in his research on consumer choice. He postulates that there are two types of utility which consumers take into account when evaluating how they feel about a purchase. Acquisition utility is determined by the value of the good in relation to how much was spent on it, and transaction utility is dependent upon

the perceived merits of the deal. Transaction utility has important implications when exploring the relationship between the buyer and seller of a good and why a seller might not charge the market-clearing price for a highly valued good, thereby going against the very principles of supply and demand. Thaler postulates that this is due to the transaction disutility engendered when a seller charges a price seen as unfair or unusually high by the consumer. The seller must maintain prices at a fair level to maintain the trusting, ongoing relationship between it and the buyer or choose to trade short-term gain for the eventual loss of good will and sales. This provides an important analysis of the buyer-seller relationship, which is particularly important in local contexts, as well as the importance of perceived fairness and the building of trust to the consumer. Therefore, when individuals enter into a market transaction, depending on the context, they take much more into account than just the price and quality of a good.

The Development and Growth of the Local Food Movement

The twentieth century has seen the industrialization and globalization of production, not only of goods, but also of agriculture. Growing mechanization of farming has allowed the production of food to increase rapidly while the number of farmers needed has decreased significantly. Ownership of agricultural production has become ever more concentrated, and today, only a handful of transnational corporations in first world countries control the vast majority of agricultural output. Additionally, the large scale farming systems used by these companies requires the centralization of food distribution, processing and marketing systems in order to maximize efficiency. Specialization has become a central aspect of the move towards maximum efficiency in food production, as regions have been encouraged to exploit their comparative advantages (Lyson and Guptill, 2004). As a result, the distance between where food is produced and where it is eventually consumed has progressively increased over the last decades, and food now travels 50% further than it did

in 1979, and in the United States, food travels an average of 1,200 miles before it reaches consumers. (La Trobe, 2001).

These trends are reflected in the growth of large supermarket chains and the loss of local food retailers. Whereas shopping was once a fairly social experience in open-air markets or small specialty stores, today's consumers frequent large mega-stores where they can buy everything needed in just one trip. These stores are organized for the most efficient circulation of shoppers and designed so that consumers can encounter the largest variety of goods possible. As a result, shoppers most often have little to no interaction with each other and employees are kept largely separated from consumers, leading to even less social interaction (La Trobe, 2001).

However, in recent years increasing numbers of consumers are choosing to forgo these mega-stores in order to buy local produce through farmers markets and community supported agriculture initiatives. According to the 2012 USDA National Directory of Farmers Markets, the number of markets in the U.S. increased from 7,175 in 2011 to 7,864 in 2012, a 9.6% increase. This number has grown rapidly since information was first gathered in 1994. Additionally, the number of winter markets, markets open between the months of November and March, increased by 52% during this same time period, rising to 1,864 in 2012. The USDA also has a number of programs in place aimed at supporting local food initiatives, such as a searchable database for consumers looking for a nearby market and has actually operated its own farmers market for 17 years.

Another local food alternative, which has grown increasingly popular in recent decades, is community supported agriculture. When an individual chooses to become part of a community supported agriculture arrangement, he or she pays in advance for a share of a farmer's harvest over a certain time period. As a result, consumers take on both the benefits and risks of food production, as the size of their share depends on the success of a particular harvest. The first of these was started in

1984, and by 2007, the USDA Census of Agriculture found that 12,549 farms in the U.S. reported using a community supported agriculture arrangement.

At the same time that grocery stores are getting bigger in order to offer a larger variety of goods, as well as more options within types of products to consumers, growing numbers of shoppers are opting to purchase food at local markets with far fewer options available. A study sponsored by the Northeast Organic Farming Association of Vermont (Claro, 2011) found that the prices of conventional foods at farmers markets, such as tomatoes and eggs, were only lower for 5 out of the 14 items compared, about 36%. If prices are not significantly lower on the majority of goods and variety is less, it seems that the traditional economic theory of utility maximization is unable to sufficiently explain why consumers choose to shop at farmers markets over large grocery store chains. Consumers who choose to enter into community supported agriculture arrangements even further defy the assumptions of utility maximization by voluntarily taking on the unnecessary risk of a bad harvest. It seems, then, that shoppers who choose to buy their food in these ways are acting on other motivations.

Behavioral Economics and Local Food Alternatives

Most farmers markets have specific requirements as to how far away farmers can live from the market, and usually about 88% of vendors live within 50 miles or less. Additionally, about two-thirds of consumers live within 10 miles of the market, meaning that food producers and consumers are most often from the same community (Zepeda and Levitin–Reid, 2004). As shown by the research of Ruffle and Sosis (2006), of Dawes and Thaler (1988) and of Buchan et al. (2002), people tend to be more cooperative with members of their own group or community, and this can be related to the willingness of consumers to cooperate with and support local producers at farmers markets. A focus group study done by Zepeda and Levitin–Reid (2004) on consumer attitudes towards local food found that this was at least partially the case. One participant expressed this view quite explicitly, “It means that I’m putting

money into the local economy, which is very important to me, and helping Wisconsin farmers and Wisconsin people in general.” A similar study by La Trobe (2001) interviewed shoppers at a farmers market in Kent and found that 35% of interviewees answered that wanting to help the local economy was an important factor in why they wanted more locally produced food to be available. This could be said to demonstrate that consumers gain some sort of utility from feeling that they are helping their “group” which they don’t feel when they pay for something produced by an anonymous “other”. The experiment done by Toler, Briggeman, Lusk and Adams (2009) further supports this idea in demonstrating that consumers were willing to pay more for a ticket which benefitted local farmers than for a ticket which benefitted non-local farmers. This demonstrates that people place more value on helping those whom they consider to be within their “group.”

The concept of group bias is closely related to the idea of social distance. The research of Bohnet and Frey (1999) demonstrates that knowing more information about someone else significantly decreases social distance and definitively leads to more cooperative behavior. An important aspect of local food alternatives is the personal relationship consumers are able to form with the producer. According to the experiments of Bohnet and Frey, this should lead consumers to be much more invested in the market transaction. Interviews done by Moore (2006) with shoppers at a local farmers market in Ireland confirmed this idea quite clearly, as nearly every consumer interviewed cited face-to-face interaction with producers as one of the most important factors in their decision to shop there. As said by one consumer, “they’re a smashing bunch, you build up a very personal relationship with them, they’re lovely, lovely people. It’s like times in the past . . . it’s not impersonal.” This shows that on some level consumers gain utility when they are more invested in the buyer-seller relationship. Moore (2006) found over and over again that people complained that large grocery store chains were overly impersonal and functional. The

findings of Buchan et al. (2002) that people prefer direct transactions in which they are able to reciprocate to the same person in an interaction also supports this idea. Individuals generally prefer to know with whom they are interacting in an on-going relationship in order to establish trust and reciprocity, something they are unable to do find in the ever more efficient, electronic transactions of supermarkets.

It is possible that the pleasure consumers feel in interacting and cooperating with producers at farmers markets can be explained by Dawes’ and Thaler’s (1988) idea of impure altruism. This justifies consumers’ general willingness to pay more in order to help the local economy. They simply feel good about themselves for cooperating or “doing the right thing.” Dawes’ and Thaler’s observations on how communication triggers these feelings of impure altruism are also relevant, as consumers at a farmers market are in a much more social setting than in a traditional grocery store, and therefore theoretically more likely to act on these altruistic feelings.

Thaler’s earlier ideas (1985) on consumer behavior also provide important insights into why consumers choose a socially involved interaction over the impersonal one of large stores. Many of the shoppers in Moore’s (2006) study related their personal interactions with the farmers to an increased feeling of trust in the products they bought, which they didn’t feel when shopping at large supermarkets. Several shoppers said they felt that supermarkets only cared about income, and this bothered them. As one interviewee said, “The ‘trust isn’t there, I suppose . . . when you read some books about behind the scenes . . . they want cheap food, they’re set up for profit, now everyone’s’ entitled to profit but their sole aim is profit” (Moore, 2001). The feelings expressed in this statement relate back to the Thaler’s observations about the disutility engendered in buyers when they perceive the seller as taking advantage of them, or of violating the trust between the two. This is part of his theory on transaction utility, which provides a basis from

which to analyze how these social values contribute to a buyer's overall satisfaction. As stated earlier, transaction utility is related to the perceived merits of the deal to the consumer. The views expressed by farmers market shoppers and demonstrated by the growing popularity of local food initiatives reveals that these merits are not always economic. People actually gain utility from feeling invested in market transactions, as a result of group bias, altruistic feelings, trust and decreased social distance. These values, then, could be said to increase the perceived merits of the deal. Not only do consumers receive a high quality product, they feel good about themselves and establish social connections in the process.

Conclusion

These ideas do have their limitations. In all the consumer studies I have mentioned many shoppers cited additional reasons such as quality and freshness for their decisions to shop at farmers markets or to become part of a community supported agriculture arrangement. These motivations can more easily be explained by traditional economic theory. However, local food has become more mainstream in recent years with large chains such as Wal-Mart pledging to carry it in their stores in 2010 (Clifford, 2010), and yet, the number of farmers markets and community supported agriculture arrangements continues to grow tremendously each year. Therefore, it seems that there are other factors besides pure quality which motivate people to give up the variety and convenience of supermarkets.

In addition, the movement has largely been limited to the upper and middle classes who are generally more informed about the benefits of and options available at farmers markets. However, this too is changing as the USDA has taken an active part in promoting their existence and has begun outfitting farmers markets to accept food stamps, so that a wider range of socio-economic groups can have access to fresh produce. In addition, they have begun a "People's Garden" initiative with the goal of promoting community gardens in urban and rural areas where it is difficult to access supermarkets and therefore fresh food.

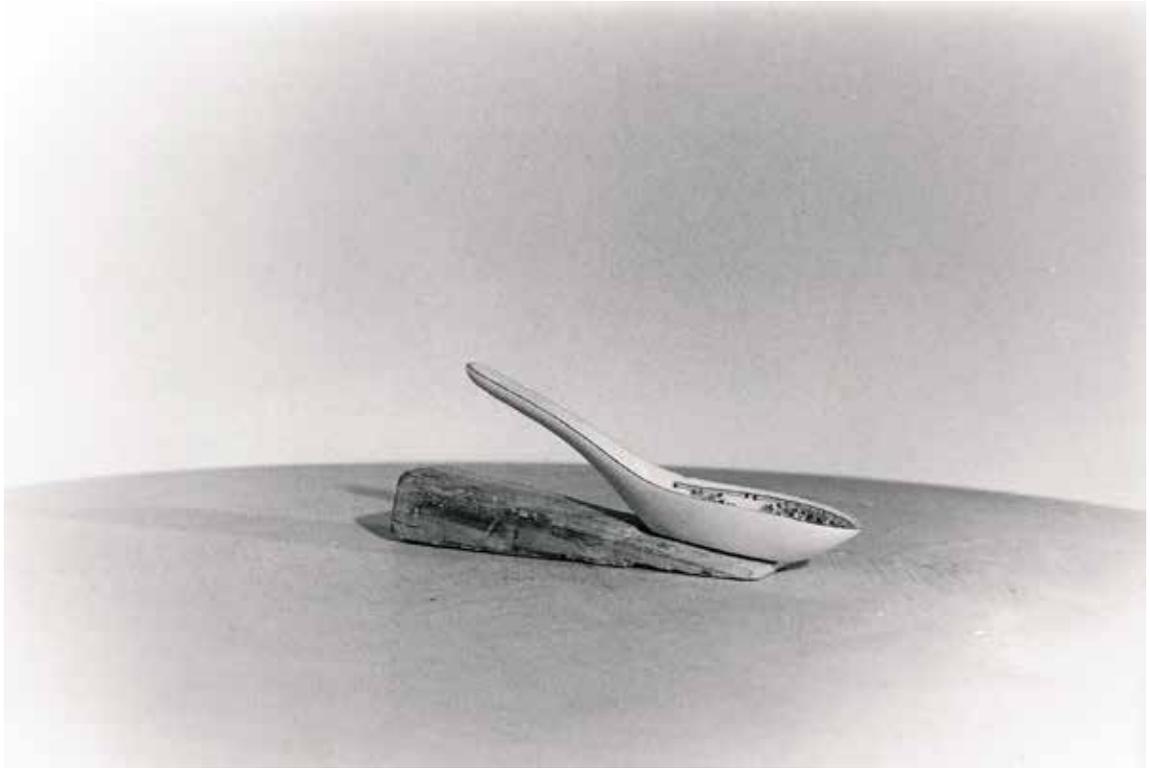
This has also been incorporated into First Lady Michelle Obama's "Let's Move" initiative (Community Garden, n.d.). These campaigns focus on bringing healthy foods to low-income communities but also aim to foster community cooperation and closeness. As these initiatives become a part of federal policy, a wider range of income groups will be able to learn about and benefit from local food.

Finally, there is a lack of quantitative data available about the consumption trends and demographics of farmers market and community supported agriculture consumers, as the trends are relatively recent and have really only entered mainstream consciousness in the last few years. This will most likely change in the near future, and, as a result, the dynamics of these local food alternatives may be analyzed more precisely.

Behavioral economic research has demonstrated conclusively that people do not always act out of economic self-interest. Instead, they are often motivated by feelings of trust, reciprocity, altruism, and group bias. However, the local food phenomenon shows that these not only exist, but that people actually feel more satisfied when they are integrated into a market transaction. Globalization has profoundly affected the way people purchase goods, and though it may be more efficient and affordable, the rapid rise of farmers markets is demonstrating that this isn't necessarily what consumers want. People have an intrinsic longing for social interaction and to feel connected with a community, and not even economic motivations can make this disappear. ■

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Christina Buerosse | *Untitled* | silver gelatin print

READING FAULKNER WITH OPRAH: THE DEMOCRATIZATION OF A “DIFFICULT” AUTHOR

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In the spring of my senior year of college I was driving through Oxford, Mississippi, and paid a visit to Rowan Oak, the home of William Faulkner. Despite the fact that Rowan Oak is one of only three tourist destinations advertised on the road into town, it proves difficult to find. It is tucked behind a wooded corner at the end of a quiet street lined with houses, some of which are appropriately grand and shabby for a college town and others that are simple two-story post-WWII homes. Hanging branches cover the only signage for the manor and it took me three laps around the neighborhood before I finally asked one of the residents, an old woman getting her mail, to direct me. From the sign I learned that Faulkner moved to Rowan Oak in 1930, one year after his first experimental novel, *The Sound and the Fury*, was published, living there until his death in 1962. I recognized Rowan Oak, an old, white manor at the end of a tree-lined walk, from the cover of my copy of *The Sound and the Fury*, read for class earlier that year. Walking up to the house, I discovered that I was too late to do the open tour (*\$5 for everyone but Ole Miss students*, said a notice taped to the door), so I was confined to the grounds. The grounds are perhaps less well-cared for than one might expect at a historical landmark, once owned by the town's most famous resident, now curated by the University of Mississippi. The paint is peeling, the cedars that line the walk are diseased and crippled-looking, and several pieces of old furniture have been thrown haphazardly into the servants' quarters in the

back. Through the trees on the side of the house, I could hear the neighbors having a pool party, with the sounds of water splashing, children's voices squealing in delight, a grown man shouting, "I'm gonna get you!" and wet feet slapping on cement. The juxtaposition of past and present is unavoidable at Rowan Oak; the decay of the old manor butts against the vitality of the neighborhood, which makes touring Rowan Oak more like discovering something abandoned and forgotten than stepping back in time to the manor's former glory.

As I prepared to leave, I went around the house, looking for a way to see in. It seemed a pity to have come all the way to Oxford and not even to see inside. In one corner of the first floor there was a window with a thin drape, drawn back a few inches. I bent down and peered through the tiny sliver where the late afternoon sunlight was sneaking in. Despite the poor appearance of the outside of the house, the inside appeared to be in good shape. The attempt to make it seem lived in was not lost on me. The room I was looking into was well-furnished; right next to the window was a desk with a typewriter and a book, both set neatly in place. This, it seemed, was Faulkner's workspace, the exact place where, I imagined, he wrote the bulk of his works. And there I was, not ten inches away.

From my spot at the window, I felt like Caddy Compson, who, in the first section of *The Sound and the Fury*, climbs up a pear tree next to the family house in muddied drawers, rubbernecking at the window, trying to see into the house and witness the funeral of her grandmother. According to Faulkner, this is the image from which the whole story poured out, the source of his inspiration. In an

* Written for Professor Lucy Rinehart's capstone seminar in Spring 2013, ENG 390, "The History of Reading." The English Department selection committee included professors Rebecca Cameron, Jenny Conary, Paula McQuade, and Lucy Rinehart.

introduction to *The Sound and the Fury*, unpublished in his lifetime, Faulkner called this image of Caddy looking into the house “the only thing in literature that would ever move me very much” (227). The placement of characters in this scene—Caddy in the tree, her three brothers looking up at her, afraid to climb it themselves—give the reader a clear representation of the form of the book, three perspectives of Caddy, which are materialized in the novel’s first three sections, each narrated, in turn, by one of the brothers. But it is Caddy’s perspective, eschewed in the novel, which the reader’s experience most closely resembles.

A high-modernist text known for its meandering stream-of-consciousness narration and its attempt at replicating the free-associating thought patterns of the mentally handicapped Benjy, *The Sound and the Fury* is hard to crack open and drain of its literary juices. It provides little help sorting itself out to the reader, who spends most of the time trying to figure out who is speaking (many lines of dialogue are not formally attributed to characters and there are also two Quentins, which causes major confusion), who is thinking (there are four narrators, one of whom is mentally handicapped and one whose thoughts are frequently presented in half-formed sentences), and when the action is taking place (there are many unannounced time jumps over the span of over twenty years).

Along with its reputation for being an important classic, *The Sound and the Fury* is consistently described by common readers as an extremely difficult read. The “official” Amazon review of the novel describes it as “Notoriously ‘difficult,’” iconic, and elusive. This infamous perception that the prose is dense and incoherent has dogged the novel since its first publication in 1929, when the earliest reviews rejected Faulkner’s first attempt at what would become his signature experimental narrative techniques (Inge 33-41). Writing for the *Providence Journal* in 1929, Winfield Scott called the book’s stream-of-consciousness narration “downright tiresome” (38). In the same year, Walter Yust, a reviewer for the *Philadelphia Public Ledger*, called the book a “stunt” (35). Although there

were also many positive reviews, many reviewers criticized the text for its “deliberate obscurity” and “considerable incoherence” (quoted in Minter ix).

Although the reader is expected to read the story from the perspectives of Caddy’s three brothers, the difficulty of the novel forces the reader to assume the role of Caddy in the pear tree, stranded outside of something that he has been told has something worth seeing inside. In my first reading, as I struggled with the novel’s dense, incoherent, and at times highly allusive style, I felt like I was looking at the stylistic tools of a gifted author, unable to derive meaning from the story. As at Rowan Oak, where I snuck a peek at Faulkner’s typewriter (his literal tool), I was locked out, rubbernecking at the window.

On the shelf at Barnes and Noble there are two different editions of *The Sound and the Fury*. One is the Norton Critical Edition, edited by David Minter, a thick blue volume with a picture of Rowan Oak on the cover; this is the one that I had struggled with in my post-WWI American literature survey course the previous fall. The type in this edition is small (an average page shows 559 words), the footnotes are many (especially in Quentin’s section, “June Second, 1910”), and the margins are tiny, giving the page an appearance that it is crawling with thousands of ants or termites. Paratextual aids take up more than half of the book, including many scholarly essays and a reprinted correspondence between Faulkner and his agent, Ben Wesson. The more information stuffed into the volume, the better, seems to be Minter’s thinking, despite his contrary-seeming advice to readers “to begin with the novel itself, mindful that a part of its remarkable achievement lies in its success in teaching readers how to read it” (x). But even with all the extra information and material, the edition seems less interested in making the text a coherent read than in expanding the reader’s consciousness of the ideas contained in the text and the scholarship surrounding it.

The other is the Vintage edition, bearing the Oprah’s Book Club sticker; this is the same edition that was included

in the *Summer of Faulkner* box set in 2005, when Oprah Winfrey selected *As I Lay Dying*, *The Sound and the Fury*, and *Light in August* as her book-club picks for June, July, and August. The pages of the Vintage edition are closer in appearance to the pages of the first edition, published in 1929; there are no footnotes, no citations, and a scant 300 words on an average page. And there is no paratextual or scholarly apparatus, with one exception: the addition of an appendix, Faulkner's linear history of the Compson family, written for Malcolm Cowley's *The Portable Faulkner* in 1946, and included in almost every edition of *The Sound and the Fury* published since then.

The existence of the two versions side by side implies that two very different readers might come along and purchase two very different forms of the novel. These two editions effectively represent two different models of literary discourse, each grounded in a distinct relationship between reader and text. In his 2002 *New Yorker* essay, "Mr. Difficult: William Gaddis and the Problem of Hard to Read Books," the novelist Jonathan Franzen makes a distinction between these two models, calling them the "Status model" and the "Contract model" (100).¹ The Contract model "represents a compact between the reader and the writer, with the writer providing the words out of which the reader creates a pleasurable experience." In this model, the "purpose of reading and writing fiction is to sustain a sense of connectedness, to resist existential loneliness; and so a novel deserves a reader's attention only as long as the author sustains the reader's trust" (100). According to this model, "difficulty is a sign of trouble" (100). On the other side, the Status model posits that "the best novels are great works of art, the people who manage to write

them deserve extraordinary credit, and if the average reader rejects the work it's because the average reader is a philistine; the value of any novel, even a mediocre one, exists independent of how many people are able to appreciate it" (100). The Status model "invites a discourse of genius and art-historical importance" (100).

Indeed it is through such a "Status model" lens that William Faulkner's books have historically been viewed. Whether judged by their place in many college curricula or by the popular perception of them (a quick read through the current Amazon reviews of *The Sound and the Fury* yields a number of descriptions of the novel as a "classic," "one of the best books ever written," and other various claims of its venerable place in the canon), the importance of the novel is stressed and Faulkner's genius is extolled. For Faulkner's novel, the mystique comes not only from the fact that it's a tough read, but also from the fact that *everybody knows it's a tough read*. Jonathan Franzen is right that a text can be labeled either "Status" or "Contract" as a result of its difficulty and an author's apparent willingness to make a "compact with the reader," but that's not the whole story. In the introduction to their edited collection, *A History of Reading in the West*, book historians Guglielmo Cavallo and Roger Chartier remind us "no text exists outside of the physical support that offers it for reading" (5) and cite the bibliographer Roger Stoddard's quip, "Authors do not write books; they write texts that become written objects" (5). In the case of *The Sound and the Fury*, we can see that the same text takes two very different forms on the same bookstore shelf. The difficulty or accessibility of a text—its being labeled as a "Contract" or "Status" text, in Franzen's term—can be as much the function of the physical form of the book as it is of the linguistic or structural features of the narrative. When we consider this, it becomes possible to see the history of reading *The Sound and the Fury* as heavily dependent upon the various forms it has taken since its initial publication in 1929.

Faulkner himself was aware of how the book alienated readers with its incoherence, calling the novel's structure a

1 Although Franzen's article is ostensibly about his experiences of reading William Gaddis, it is clear from his timing and his opening paragraph that it is also a response to the negative criticism he received after a highly publicized feud with Oprah in 2001 when Franzen's novel, *The Corrections*, was selected for Oprah's Book Club. Franzen was disinvited from appearing on the show after he publicly expressed reservations about the club's literary value. In the article he rejects much of the snobbery that he was accused of in the wake of the controversy, declaring that he believes entirely in the "Contract" model of literary discourse.

“failure” in later years while he was Writer-in-Residence at the University of Virginia, acknowledging that the very first section, told by the mentally handicapped Benjy and perhaps the most challenging section of the book pushes readers away (236). Since even before *The Sound and the Fury*'s initial publication, he was trying to remedy the incoherence of the novel, taking some of his own steps to establish, in Franzen's terms, a “Contract” with his reader. First, Faulkner advocated for a colored-text version of the book before it was ever published (221). He thought that by color-coding the text according to the year in which the action takes place, he could make it more readable.² Then in 1933, he wrote at least two drafts of an introduction for a new edition of the book that was never published, further hoping to give the reader some sort of orientation to the novel before being assaulted by the incoherence of the Benjy section. Finally, seventeen years after the original publication of *The Sound and the Fury*, Faulkner wrote the appendix, a history of the Compson family. Faulkner called the appendix an “obituary” of the family, stating that it is “the key to the whole book” (203). Faulkner also desired that the appendix be printed at the beginning of subsequent editions. Although now usually included (more properly) at the end, it has been published with nearly every edition of the novel since *The Portable Faulkner* was published in 1946.

The Portable Faulkner is widely recognized as the edition that brought Faulkner's works out of obscurity and into the public eye (perhaps quite literally, for a “portable” edition is more likely to be carried around and seen). This compendium edition, one of many such editions published in the 1940's in the Viking Portable Library series, was edited by the well-known novelist and critic, Malcolm Cowley. *The Portable Faulkner* was the first move to organize and democratize Faulkner's works. In 1946, Cowley claimed, Faulkner was “little read and often disparaged” (vii). By 1949, Faulkner had received the Nobel

Prize, a feat that Cowley suggested (rightly) was largely his own doing in the second edition of *The Portable Faulkner*, which concludes with a reprint of Faulkner's Nobel Prize address. What made *The Portable Faulkner* a success was the way that Cowley organized the material. He presented a number of Faulkner's shorter works and novel chapter excerpts, including one from *The Sound and the Fury*, all of which take place in the fictional Yoknapatawpha County, together with Faulkner's hand-drawn map, and organized them into a rough chronological order (according to the story's action, not the author's composition). In the introduction to the first edition, Cowley writes that all the works must be appreciated together rather than alone. He calls Faulkner's Yoknapatawpha stories “a sustained work of the imagination such as no other American writer had attempted. Apparently no one knew that Faulkner had attempted it [before *The Portable Faulkner*]” (5). By putting all of the works in one place, *The Portable Faulkner* does a lot of the work for the reader. Cowley's organization of the texts represents a strong move toward a “Contract” model of discourse for Faulkner's work.

The Portable Faulkner gave rise to a surge in popularity for Faulkner.³ Today we recognize Faulkner as one of the greatest American authors of the twentieth century. But with that reputation comes also the impression among readers of all kinds that he is a “difficult” author. One place in which this is evident is on the Amazon message boards, where readers of all expertise levels complain about the difficulty of getting through *The Sound and the Fury*. One reaction of readers who fail to enjoy the novel is to self-deprecate. In an Amazon review, one reader wrote, “I wanted to really like this novel. I wanted it to get under my skin. I wanted to re-read it again and again and discover subtle nuances that I missed in earlier readings; but I have to say it never happened. I'm reluctant to write this review because I suspect that fans of the novel will label

2 Interestingly, it wasn't until 2012 that such a colored edition of *The Sound and the Fury* was published, in limited edition by the Folio Society. Along with a typesetting similar to the first and Vintage editions, the Folio Society edition includes a color-coded key, printed on the book jacket flap, for matching up sentences with their time and place.

3 When Cowley's edition was published, *The Sound and the Fury* was out of print, having sold only 3300 copies in fifteen years; a new edition was reprinted in 1946 (Minter, “Preface” ix).

me as yet another unsophisticated reader who is unable to appreciate the complex genius of Faulkner's masterpiece" (Norburn). This reviewer's reticence to take ownership of his own opinion seems to me symptomatic of a common interaction to Status texts. In this case, the reader feels bad for not enjoying Faulkner, conceding that he missed subtle nuances, and thereby looking to invalidate his own opinion before he even speaks it. He doesn't get it, so he feels beaten by it.

Perhaps it was with readers like this in mind that Oprah Winfrey selected three of Faulkner's works—*As I Lay Dying*, *The Sound and the Fury*, and *Light in August*—for Oprah's Book Club in the summer of 2005, calling the whole thing "A Summer of Faulkner." Choosing three novels instead of just one, she approaches the "problem" of reading Faulkner in the same way as *The Portable Faulkner*, where Cowley provided a variety of stories taking place in the same setting to help to give the reader the "big picture" of Faulkner's world and art. In order to give readers a fighting chance at getting through the stream-of-consciousness narration, Oprah's Book Club posted supporting materials on its website, including several essays on how to read to books and selections of literary criticism, videos of lectures by some noted Faulkner scholars, and bookmarks with character lists. Providing these materials (titled "Faulkner 101" collectively), the architects of the *Summer of Faulkner* project anticipated that readers would have trouble understanding the books. These materials are primarily aimed at guiding the reader through the text rather than supplying extra information. One article titled "How to Read Faulkner," written by the director of The Center for Faulkner Studies, Robert Hamblin, empathizes with the reader, saying "Believe me, when it comes to finding Faulkner difficult, we've all been there." From there he offers suggestions for understanding the text, referring often to his method for teaching college students, as if the Oprah readers are part of his class. One reader, a *Slate Magazine* contributor, described the lectures as "a thoughtful grounding in basic literary history, in lectures that ranged from belletristic commentary on Faulkner's

life to characterological assessments of the Compsons—all from a professor as likely to allude to Pound ('make it new') as to *Desperate Housewives* (where 'Faulknerian' flashback technique thrives)" (O'Rourke). Reflecting on the *Summer of Faulkner* a year later, Hamblin notes, "Within twenty-four hours following Winfrey's announcement of her choice of Faulkner, the boxed set of three Vintage paperbacks climbed to number two on the best seller list, trailing only J. K. Rowling's announced Harry Potter sequel" ("Oprah's 'Summer of Faulkner'").

Oprah's move to bring Faulkner to her book club tells us something about how difficult texts are currently being taken up by average readers. In *Bring On the Books for Everybody: How Literary Culture Became Popular Culture*, Jim Collins refers to a change that has taken place in the development of literary taste as a result of the internet, increased accessibility to texts, and Oprah's Book Club. The old way of thinking about great literature, and about modernism in particular, says Collins, invoked a sort of religious relationship between author, critic, and reader. Illustrating the point, Collins quotes John Barth's 1979 essay, "The Literature of Replenishment," "The difficulty of access that distinguished modernist fiction was responsible for 'the engenderment of a necessary priestly industry of explicators, annotators, allusion chasers, to mediate between the text and the reader'" (20). In the Norton Critical Edition of *The Sound and the Fury*, where reproducing the text in the densest way possible might appear to a common reader to fetishize difficulty, editor David Minter is clearly taking up the role of priest, a sort of mediator between the reader (the parishioner) and the author (God). The heavily annotated structure of the book weighs against Minter's claim that Faulkner's novel teaches you how to read it. Jonathan Franzen invokes the same sort of religious language when discussing the cult of high art fandom. "From a Congregationalist childhood I'd gone straight to a collegiate worship of Art," he says, noting that the religious pull of "Status" art lovers is perhaps greater than many organized religions. "It's much harder to leave a small, embattled cult [of art lovers]," writes Franzen, "than a mainstream suburban church" (104).

Franzen touches on something that strikes me as a fundamental necessity to the priestly status model of reading modernist texts: It doesn't just forgo mainstreaming; it is actively anti-mainstream. As Jim Collins argues, "The use of religious tropes to characterize the exchange between writers and critics exemplifies a longstanding experience of marking off culture as a transcendent experience within a profane society, an experience that could be enjoyed only by restricting access" (20). So it is by restricting access to the text through dense critical editions that this mystery and religiosity become possible. Critical editions, while still offering a way to access the text, do so with so much distraction that they consistently remind the reader that the text is for a certain academic class of expert reader. On the other hand, the change in readership marked by *The Portable Faulkner* or a selection for Oprah's Book Club, Collins says, is a paradigm shift from the critic-as-priest model to a "secular" model of reading. "The most profound difference between the current situation [in which canonical texts are more accessible and mainstream] and...the good old days [before mass literary culture]," claims Collins, "is the rejection of the sacred conversation altogether; a new *secularized* conversation about books has changed the power relations within the triangular relationship between author, critic, and reader... because in this conversation readers are capable of becoming authors of their own reading pleasure" (28-29).

This endorsement of reader as author is one of the moves that Oprah's Book Club makes to encourage *Summer of Faulkner* participants. Robert Hamblin's essay, called "How to Read Faulkner," which appears on the Oprah's Book Club website, claims:

It was noted previously that Faulkner prizes active, not passive, readers. And what a compliment Faulkner's novels pay to energetic, intelligent, enthusiastic readers! 'Join me as a partner in creativity,' he says. 'Help me discover and order and understand the story. Think of these characters and actions what you will. Interpret the story for yourself. Write your own ending.' Readers are artists, too, you know.

Hamblin sounds like a cheerleader for the Oprah's Book Club readers, inspiring and empowering them to take up their own reading with confidence and feel-good vibes—and Faulkner's sanction. The aesthetic that permeates Oprah's show—which favors inspiring stories about overcoming troubles and redemption—comes through in Hamblin's essay. In "As I Lay Reading," an article for *The Nation* about the *Summer of Faulkner*, J.M. Tyree points to the materials in "Faulkner 101" as indicative of Oprah's brand. They are evidence of her "perpetually relevant tonic of faith in ordinary people" (39). Other "Faulkner 101" materials push this reader empowerment even further, especially an online exercise called "Tap into Your Stream of Consciousness" in which participants are encouraged to write their own narrations in Faulkner's stream of consciousness style and read them back to themselves. "If your thoughts seem to flow together in random ways, congratulations—you've found your stream!" ("Tap into Your Stream of Consciousness").

If Cowley's *The Portable Faulkner* represents the moment in which the university audience found Faulkner, then Oprah's selection of Faulkner for her book club represents his introduction to a much greater audience. In *Reading with Oprah: The Book Club that Changed America*, Kathleen Rooney argues, "Winfrey has proven through her admirably democratizing book club that there are in fact large and largely untapped portions of the population who are willing and eager to interact with literary texts, and through them, with each other" (2). Oprah's Book Club effectively introduced Faulkner to entirely new readers, but her motive seems less adoration for Faulkner than it is her habitual exhortation to her viewers to take charge of their lives, commit to self-betterment, and accomplish personal goals. Tyree paraphrases Winfrey's attempt to motivate the Oprah's Book Club readers to go after Faulkner like this: "*These books are difficult*, Oprah seems to be saying to her followers, *but you can do this, I will help you, and don't let anyone tell you that you can't*" (37). "Her vision of a bootstrap literary education for the masses might be something of a leap of faith," concludes

Tyree, “But it’s also an admirably American assertion about the democracy of reading, and it appears to be paying off.” (38)

The *Summer of Faulkner* appropriated what Franzen would categorize as “Status” texts in service of an essentially “Contract” objective: to connect with others. Some even posit that the difficulty of the novel makes it more fun to read as a group, giving the reader a sense of camaraderie with others who are simultaneously struggling to read it. As Megan O’Rourke writes in *Slate Magazine*, “Its demanding textual challenges have a strangely democratizing effect. No matter how many lit-crit terms you can throw around, Faulkner’s jagged, wildly original style is *hard*—and can jar confident readers as well as less confident ones.” Reading Faulkner with Oprah, she argues, we feel like we are in it together: “We were online solving textual puzzles and then sitting down for a dose of synthesized information [from the online lectures].” One reviewer on Amazon even went so far as to suggest that the best venue for *The Sound and the Fury* was not in universities and that the book ought to be kept out of classrooms, saying, “BEST BOOK EVER READ, MOST DIFFICULT ESSAY EVER WRITTEN. IT IS REALLY FUN AND I ENCOURAGE U ALL TO GET IT. JUST DONT LET TEACHERS USE THIS BOOK FOR UR LIT CLASS” (Friend). I don’t know if it’s a good or a bad thing that someone with such inattention to their grammar and punctuation is declaring *The Sound and the Fury* to be their favorite book, but there is no question that such a post corroborates the claim that mass audiences are reading Faulkner and therefore putting into question any easy distinction between Status and Contract texts. If the laypeople are reading the same things as the academic class of expert readers, what then is the distinction? As Rooney writes, there may be no real legitimacy in designating a difference between what she calls highbrow and lowbrow (which are roughly equal terms for “Status” and “Contract” models of discourse), for, “We stand to discover substantial evidence that such arbitrary and binaristic classifications as high and low may actually have the same limits, boundaries, and scope” (2). Furthermore,

the *Summer of Faulkner* shows us that a text itself is perhaps more independent of its classification as “Status” or “Contract,” but it is in fact in large part the way the text is packaged, sold, and supported by different literary authorities (publishers, editors, scholars, book clubs) that invites or constrains our reading of it.

Looking through the window at Rowan Oak, I eyed the typewriter once more. This, it seemed, was the writer’s workspace; the place in which Faulkner dreamed up many of the Yoknapatawpha stories. Now I found myself asking something else about the desk at the window: Was it Faulkner who put the desk there? Did he put the typewriter there or was it the historical society? Mindful that my reading of *The Sound and the Fury* was very much shaped by the curators of the Norton Critical Edition, I wondered if my viewing of Faulkner’s home itself was also subject to the choices of those presenting it to the public. The artificial constructions of “Status” and “Contract”—“high” and “low,” “difficult” and “accessible”—seemed to frame my experience at Rowan Oak. As the pool party raged on next-door, music and laughing and barbecue smells wafting through the trees, the venerability of the old crumbling manor and the modern commonness of Faulkner’s neighbors comingled in the air, sharing the same space. Going around the back of the house, I saw two more windows about two feet above my head; these windows had no drapes. I had found another way to see into the house, but it was just out of reach. There was no step or ladder to stand on. I looked around for a way to get up and look inside. Behind me, there was a tree I could climb. ■

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THE PANAMA CANAL: A CENTURY OF DISPLACEMENT AND ENVIRONMENTAL CHANGE

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The Panama Canal is widely heralded around the world as an engineering feat. Its opening in 1914 significantly decreased the length of international shipping routes by eliminating the lengthy trip around Cape Horn, the southern tip of South America. The construction of the Canal and its accompanying development of the surrounding area, however, have destroyed much of the natural environment. Since its inception, the Canal has increased cattle ranching, deforestation, water scarcity, and pollution. Over the past century, this deterioration has sped up the development of regional climate change indicators, making the environment even more susceptible to damage. Further, this environmental degradation has negatively altered the social and cultural landscape of the Canal's surrounding areas, putting local people who have depended on the natural landscape for subsistence and survival at a higher risk. The damage continues today, owing to the fact that in 2006, a proposal to expand the Panama Canal was approved so that larger ships that currently exceed the size of the Canal can traverse through it. If history is any indication, the expansion will be further accompanied by social and ecological changes. Using the lens of Political Ecology, a geographical perspective that "combines the concerns of ecology and a broadly defined political economy" (Blaikie and Brookfield 1987, 17), this paper will examine how environmental change in the region surrounding the Panama Canal has affected those people that depend on the land for survival, and their subsequent resistance to the state.

* Written for GEO 269 (Political Ecology), taught by Associate Professor Alec Brownlow.

The Natural Landscape of Panama

Panama's natural landscape has been formed over millennia, a result of its location on Earth's tectonic plates. In the land mass located between Colon and Panama City alone, there are six major faults and five major volcanic cores. The volcanic activity that has occurred over time there has produced unpredictable rock formations underground. The topology of Panama has taken multiple forms over time, from being completely submerged under seawater to its modern composition of primarily dense rainforest. Panama's tropical climate, consisting of hot sun and torrential rains, has created an environment exceptionally susceptible to flooding, primarily from the Chagres River. The culmination of these inherent environmental traits proved to be difficult challenges for merchants, engineers, and entrepreneurs, both foreign and domestic, in their quest to conquer the natural landscape by building a canal (Panama Canal Authority).

1900s: Construction

The idea of building a canal through the Isthmus of Panama was first conceived by Vasco Nunez de Balboa in 1513 on his voyage from Spain, when he discovered that the Atlantic and Pacific Oceans were separated by an isthmus only fifty miles wide at its most narrow point, and realized the potential for international trade if a canal were constructed. In 1881, the French made an initial attempt at canal construction, but failed due not only to the aforementioned landscape and weather conditions, but also to a lack of funding and public support. In 1904, the United States picked up where the French left off, also encountering numerous challenges, but ultimately prevailing with the opening of the Panama Canal in 1914 (Panama Canal Authority).

FIGURE 1

Gatun Lock Construction, Panama Canal, March 1912.
(Source: US Army Corps of Engineers Archives)

<http://www.hq.usace.army.mil/history/Brief/05-growing-nation/Canal-Ig.jpg>



American political and economic interests brought to Panama racist perspectives of tropical societies and cultures not uncommon in the imperialist early-1900s; perspectives deployed and activated to justify the exploitation of the Panamanian people and environment. One American summed up this mentality particularly well, noting, “In all the world, there is not perhaps now concentrated in any single spot so much swindling and villainy, so much foul disease, such a hideous dung heap of physical and moral abomination” (quoted in Lindsay-Poland 2003). Both orientalist and determinist theories are evoked in this sentiment. From Said (1978), orientalism asserts that indigenous or native people are viewed as exotic and thus “othered” by Westerners as a means of distancing themselves from the “exotic” population, thus elevating themselves to a superior status and ultimately justifying ensuing imperialist and conquering actions and policies. The closely related, early 20th century practice of *environmental determinism* ascribed human character and social progress to the environmental and landscape conditions in which they lived and survived (Semple 1911 in Agnew 1996). From this perspective, this American’s perception of Panama’s environment as a “dung heap” was

then applied to the Panamanian people as “villainy” and a “moral abomination.” The combination of these ideological representations of place and people rationalized the United States’ imperialism for the purpose of economic gain via international trade, justifying their destruction of the Panamanian environment and displacement of local populations (Lindsay-Poland 2003).

The environmental consequences of the initial construction of the Panama Canal were vast. The merging of the Atlantic and Pacific Oceans to create the Canal resulted in a mixing of marine ecosystems that affected the biodiversity and fishing practices of indigenous Panamanians. Additionally, the damming of the Chagres River submerged more than 150 square miles of jungle and diverse, agriculturally-productive landscapes to create Gatun Lake, which would be used to store water for the Canal’s operations (Lindsay-Poland 2003). This effectual elimination of the natural landscape displaced twenty-one known communities at the time, and degraded the landscape for those communities that were able to remain on the periphery of the Canal (Oliver-Smith 2010, 137). Furthermore, American entomologists, in an effort to clear the landscape of malaria-inflicting mosquitoes, drained the wetlands and coated the land in oil, undeniably destroying the natural plant life and removing from production and use once productive environments (Lindsay-Poland 2003). Interestingly enough, scientists eventually realized that it was the interference with the environment by American engineers that was the direct cause of the influx and growth of mosquito populations, due to the increased breeding sites from an ever-expanding volume of standing water. This finding was kept under wraps, however, insofar as it “did not mesh well with an American ideology of tropical triumphalism premised on the notion that the Americans had conquered unalloyed tropical nature in Panama.” (Sutter 2007, 741). Unfortunately, the entomologists’ compliance with the U.S. government’s goal to “control and domesticate tropical vegetation as a symbol of American environmental mastery” led to the degradation of the Panamanian landscape, by draining ecologically productive

and diverse wetlands and cutting grass (Sutter 2007, 748). Ultimately, these environmentally destructive practices limited the subsistence capabilities for future generations of Panamanian farmers and indigenous populations.

Case Study: Watershed Management in Panama and Campesinos during the 1970s

In the 1950s and 1960s, the Panamanian Ministry of Agriculture wanted to modernize agriculture in rural areas through the intensification of agricultural practices and involvement in the market economy. This resulted in the development of an agricultural infrastructure that “supported and incentivized particular, often extractive, relationships between rural people and the land” (Carse 2012, 552). In 1968, the Guardia Nacional, who, in response to a history of rural marginality, came to power through a military coup, pushed for “improving the condition of the marginalized rural population through land reform” via road construction and forest clearing for agricultural purposes (Carse 2012, 551). Cattle ranching was encouraged through the 1970s when the Inter-American Development Bank (IADB) and Banco Nacional de Panama loaned US\$543 million to ranchers “without environmental restrictions” (*Ibid.*).

There was a turn of events in 1977, though, when the Panama Canal Treaties were signed and power over the Canal would be transferred to the Panamanian state after 1999. Now, the revenue of the Canal, rather than being sent abroad to the United States, would instead be returned to the Panamanian economy; to this end, the Canal instantly became more important to the government as a means of revenue production. As Carse explains, “When a landform is assigned value in relation to one cultural system of production rather than another, different environmental services become relevant and the landscape is reorganized to prioritize the delivery of those services and support that system” (Carse 2012, 557). Whereas forests and watersheds had formerly, under an imperial gaze, been conceived as interfering with agriculture (which had been the prior principal form of national revenue), now

it was of the utmost importance to conserve them for the Canal (*Ibid.*, 553). Insofar as “forests were understood to ‘produce’ water” for the Canal, watershed management in Panama was born (Carse 2012, 552). The shift in control from Canal administration to watershed management led to “an attempt to manipulate water flows through the legal protection of forests and restriction of agriculture.” As a result, forests were assigned the “infrastructural function” of water storage, and local *campesino* farmers were unwittingly assigned the responsibility of forest conservationists, a role that conflicted with their agricultural practices and economy (Carse 2012, 539).

These ideas of conservation contrast with the Panamanian government’s prior position on land use. Whereas the *campesinos* had previously been the face of national economic development via agricultural production, the introduction of conservation had now made them a “development problem” (Carse 2012, 553). One policy that became particularly problematic for the *campesinos* was Forest Law 13 (1987), which redefined land that was not farmed for more than five years as protected forest. The *campesinos* practiced swidden agriculture (also referred to as shifting cultivation or slash-and burn), which is defined as “always involving the impermanent agricultural use of plots produced by the cutting back and burning off of vegetative cover” (Conklin 1954, 133). The burning and subsequent regeneration of the soil’s nutrients allowed for long-term agricultural productivity, as opposed to industrial agriculture that systematically removes nutrients from the soil without replenishment. Ideally, the *campesinos* let the soil, called *rastrojo*, regenerate for upwards of 20 years. In response to Forest Law 13, however, *campesinos* were forced to speed up their *rastrojo* turnover before the soil could to its full nutrient potential; they did this so that they would not lose more land to the forest reserve. As a result, once productive soils gradually and permanently lost their nutrient capacity over time due to intensified overuse, ecological degradation and increased subsistence risk (i.e., vulnerability to hunger, famine, etc.) became inevitable for the *campesinos*. Scott writes, “Living close

to the subsistence margin and subject to the ... claims of outsiders, the peasant household has little scope for the profit maximization calculus of traditional neoclassical economics. Typically, the peasant cultivator seeks to avoid the failure that will ruin him rather than attempting a big, but risky, killing” (1977, 4). Understandably, this drastic shift in policy was challenging for the *campesinos* to adjust to. Indeed, watershed management employees found it “difficult to convince rural people that the forests they lived and worked in were not exclusively theirs, but part of a hydrological support system for shipping” (Carse 2012, 553).

FIGURE 2

Panama Canal Map (Source: Encyclopedia Britannica)



Expansion: 2000s

Today, an average of 13,500 ships pass through the 80-kilometer Canal annually, or 35-45 ships per day (Carse 2012, 539). Globalization has ushered in a new era of high volume trade, and larger boats have been developed to adjust to these expanded volumes. As a result, many of these boats exceed “Panamax standards” (that is, the maximum size in which a boat could fit through the Panama Canal) and the Panama Canal Authority claims

to be losing money because it cannot accommodate these larger vessels (Oliver-Smith 2010, 138). This has been the reasoning used to justify the expansion of the Canal. In 2006, Panamanians voted to endorse the expansion of the Canal, which is estimated to be a \$5.25 billion project. The referendum was passed with 79% of the vote, but only 40% of the population voted. The expansion’s principal component is the addition of a third lane in the Canal, which will double the Canal’s ship capacity (Lacey 2006).

Governments and industries worldwide speculate that the expansion of the Canal will allow the vast expansion of trade due to decreased transportation costs. The United States, in particular, is preparing for increased business when the enlarged Canal opens in 2015. Several American ports along the East Coast are being considered (in fact, billions are already being budgeted) for deepening and expansion to accommodate the larger container ships: Miami and Jacksonville, FL; Savannah, GA; Charleston, SC; and various locations in New York and New Jersey (Schwartz 2012).

Environmental Implications

The environmental effects of expanding the Canal are potentially vast. The Panama Canal Authority (ACP) conducted an Environmental Impact Study (EIS) in 2007 to assess the impacts of the expansion on physical, biological, socio-economic, and historical-cultural elements. In relation to climate change, the most notable impacts from the construction and operation of the Canal are: loss of vegetative cover, increase in soil erosion, and decrease in air and water quality (Rep. of Panama 2007). The clearing of land to expand the Canal will result in significant vegetation loss. Most immediately, this is expected to spur “distinct, localized (microclimate) weather changes” indicated by “an increase in ambient temperature and an ensuing drop in humidity” (Rep. of Panama 2007, 7-13). In the long-term, vegetation removal will increase soil erosion, thus decreasing soil productivity. Water quality is also affected by soil erosion. The retention of existing freshwater resources in Panama is singularly

consequential since freshwater sources are in short supply, and are being wasted as it is; currently, the Canal uses 1.8 billion gallons of fresh water each day, 52 million gallons of which are leaked into the ocean (Oliver-Smith 2010, 137; Carse 2012, 539).

The EIS periodically presents a partial and conflicting understanding of the effects on climate change. First, it cites a study conducted in 2007 that determined “transportation is one of the major contributors to the production of CO₂ emissions” (Rep. of Panama 2007, 7-17). Later, it claims, “the impact on gas emissions causing a greenhouse effect during the operations phase of the Project is considered, overall, to be indirect, positive, [and] of a probable occurrence... Considering [this], the impact of the relative reduction of CO₂ emissions or loss of potential carbon capture during the operations phase has a low level of significance” (*Ibid.*, 7-20). It would seem then, that gas emissions would have a higher level of significance insofar as ship emissions would make significant carbon dioxide contributions. Interestingly enough, the EIS report later claims in a heading that the Canal will actually reduce greenhouse gas emissions, then refers back to a previous section in which the terms “greenhouse effect” or “climate change” does not even appear (*Ibid.*, 7-156, 7-12), inconsistencies that call into question the credibility and motives of the ACP.

Social Consequences

The environmental health risks of increased traffic at the Canal are widespread. Ships are a major contributor to air pollution, which is concentrated in port communities where ships idle for days as they unload. One study has suggested “ship emissions may cause as many as 60,000 deaths a year worldwide from heart disease and cancer” (Hricko 2012). Air pollution is further perpetuated by the necessary increase in truck traffic to and from the ports when the volume of goods is increased. Insofar as port communities are largely lower-income and already have substandard air quality, ship emissions can significantly worsen the air quality and add to “health inequities,” not to mention contribute (*Ibid.*).

According to Oliver-Smith, the Panama Canal Authority (ACP) is known by Panamanians for its opacity with information, and the *campesinos* are at a particular disadvantage due to their rural location. Most notably, the ACP’s studies are only published in English, which keeps the general public under-informed of even the most basic (granted, biased) information from the ACP. This is particularly offensive to the general population as it is seen as a “cultural insult” (Oliver-Smith 2010, 139). Furthermore, Rosales found in his analysis that the media, along with the political and economic elite, purposely present an argument that is “partial and biased” and ignores the “complexity and contradiction” of the expansion of the Canal (2007, 234).

The Canal has been the primary source of national revenue for decades, and its expansion has been anticipated to create significant growth in employment opportunities. Rosales argues that elites have created a trickle-down discourse to convince the *campesinos* and other powerless groups that the Canal expansion would be beneficial to them, when in reality it has benefited only the wealthy few (2007, 233). Panama is renowned for its dual economy, where the Canal operates as a “dynamic, high-wage, export-oriented segment” and the rest of Panama operates as a “rigid, low-earning, domestic-oriented segment” (Bussolo 2012, 79). Yet the Canal accounts for only 0.5% of total employment in Panama, whereas agricultural activities account for more than 21% and “informal activities” account for 30%. As a result, the Canal has perpetuated a stark, unequal distribution of wealth among the Panamanian population, with Canal employees earning ten to twenty times more than the national average (*Ibid.*, 80). “[The ACP] claims that if they don’t enlarge the Canal, it’ll become obsolete,” said one farmer, “So what? The Canal has been obsolete for small farmers like us since the very start, since we haven’t received any benefits from it” (quoted in Oliver-Smith 2010, 138). Indeed, indigenous populations and *campesinos* subsist well below the national average. In 1997, 86.3% of indigenous peoples were living in extreme poverty and 95.4% in moderate poverty; in 2003, those figures had risen to 90% and 98.4% respectively (Bussolo

2012, 81). Insofar as the expansion of the Canal has the most immediate impact on rural indigenous and farming populations, these figures are likely to increase further over the coming years.

FIGURE 3

CCCE Protest outside of ACP Headquarters, accusing of ACP of lying. (Photo by Renzo Rosales, in Oliver-Smith, 2010)



Resistance

In response to these negative impacts, Panamanian *campesinos* and indigenous people have combined forces to fight against the state's Panama Canal Authority (ACP) and resist any further economic or environmental marginalization. The most prominent organization of rural resistance is the Peasant/Farmers Coordination Against the Dams (CCCE), who believes that the Canal should benefit all Panamanians, not solely the elite, and whose primary goal is to achieve greater transparency of the ACP and its agenda. The CCCE claims that the ACP frequently lies about the negative effects of the expansion and feeds these lies to the media, thus misinforming the general public. Indeed, upon the passing of the referendum for expansion in 2006, officials claimed, “no residents will be displaced under the current proposal” (Lacey 2006). Additionally, in the Environmental Impact Study by the Panama Canal Authority, the section titled “Impact on Indigenous Peoples” received a mere three sentences on

the topic, whereas most other sections received multiple pages. The section in its totality reads that the population of indigenous people in the area of focus is “very small, being practically non-existent... Inside the DIA [Direct Impact Area] there are no protected areas or sections with special dispositions for human groups. Consequently, it is considered that this will not apply to the Panama Canal Expansion—Third Set of Locks Project” (Rep. of Panama 2008, 7-153). On the contrary however, Law 44, which established the legal boundaries of the Canal watershed in 1999, eventually removed 213,000 hectares of land and displaced 8,000 farmers and 35,000 others (Winner 2005, quoted in Chiru 2007).

The CCCE was formed in 1999 as a response to the formation of Law 44. In addition to enclosing the Chagres River watershed, the Indian, North Cocle, and Cano Sucio Rivers would also be dammed to create three artificial lakes with hydroelectric power plants (Rodriguez 2007). Farmers were especially angry with the new law and with the proposed expansion of the Canal formed CCCE, and each community appointed a local leader and spokesperson to form the larger body over the course of two years. In 2001, the Escobad Valley community held one of the first meetings, at which community leaders criticized that Law 44 had been passed without consultation with the people living in the affected region and “maintained [their] opposition to this project of death” (Chiru 2007). Furthermore, they asserted that, “the ACP while recognizing the need to move these communities, presented no compensation, relocation, new employment generation, food security, etc... for farmers” and that the canal expansion project “involves the disappearance of our communities, forced migration, loss of our food security and irreparable ecological damage” (Rodriguez 2007).

In the years following their formation, the CCCE gained more support from local organizations and universities and also organized large marches and rallies in protest against the expansion of the Canal. Their message became more widely dispersed due to increased media coverage,

and as a result, in 2006 the ACP agreed to repeal Law 44, and the master plan for expansion “excluded the possibility of building dams in rivers... to ensure water supply through deepening the canal ditch and tubs using water recycling.” However, by mid-2007, the ACP still had not repealed Law 44 and stated that, in fact, dams would be needed in the future to prevent the collapse of the canal. In addition, upon examination of the ACP’s public financial records, the CCCE along with select academics, engineers and journalists, found discrepancies in the records and believed them to be falsified. (Rodriguez 2007). To make matters worse, in May 2007 the state began to censor criticism of the Canal in the media, and the Catholic organization Pastoral Social Caritas Panama from which the CCCE had received much logistical support, was “expelled” from the country. Despite these setbacks, the Peasant Coordination Against the Dams continues their advocacy against the expansion of the Canal, even though the expanded Canal is still projected to debut in 2015.

Conclusion

This paper has examined socio-ecological history and consequences of the Panama Canal using a Political Ecology perspective; doing so demonstrates that the experiences of the Panamanian *campesinos* is just one example of many narratives of environmental degradation and displacement experiences by local people at the hands of the state and international economic interests. Roderick Neumann offers a similar example in his book *Imposing Wilderness* (1998), which details the struggles between the local Meru people of Tanzania and the Arusha National Park officials. In the case of both the *campesinos* of Panama and the Meru of Tanzania, the narrative follows a similar timeline: first, the pressure to intensify agriculture; second, the enclosure of formerly common lands for conservation and/or economic purposes; third, the displacement of local people and increase in overall subsistence risk; fourth, the formation of local forms and institutions of resistance. Like the Meru, *campesinos* were forced to cope with reduced access to ancestral lands and restrictions on their customary resource uses. While

Arusha National Park was ostensibly created to preserve the Western ideal of nature, ultimately, the reasoning for both the establishment of Arusha National Park and the Canal Watershed was for national revenue accrual via tourism and trade, respectively (Neumann 1998). Oliver-Smith notes that the rationale behind development-forced displacement and resettlement plans are almost always economically grounded, and those issues that “economics cannot address [are] dismissed as external to the problem, statistically insignificant, or unimportant” (2010, 140).

The conceptualization of the natural landscape in Panama from the 1900s to the present day has changed very little, insofar as the prevailing viewpoint of decision-makers (i.e. political and economic elite) in both the colonial state and the Panamanian state is that the environment is something to be exploited for short-term monetary gains. This viewpoint stands in contrast to that of the *campesino*, who values the environment for long-term survival. *Campesinos* are constantly resisting against state efforts to force them to adjust to an economic and political system that has served the needs of the Canal first and foremost, promoting short-term gains while disregarding the long-term effects on the environment, on which the country ultimately relies. As global climate change continues at a rapid rate, the Panama Canal and the basis for Panama’s national revenue will become more threatened than ever due to loss of freshwater supplies and potential for the formation of new trade routes that would make the Canal obsolete. History suggests that Panama’s ruling political and economic elite, supported and abetted by an increasingly international cast of shipping interests, will go the necessary lengths to avoid any such future, no doubt with accompanying social and ecological implications among an increasingly marginalized, if increasingly mobilized, agricultural class. ■

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“HEIMAT” IN EMINE SEVGI ÖZDAMAR’S “*DER HOF IM SPIEGEL*”

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ABSTRACT This essay examines the concept of homeland as it appears in *Der Hof im Spiegel* (The Courtyard in the Mirror), a collection of short stories by the German-Turkish author Emine Sevgi Özdamar. Özdamar’s stories reveal an understanding of “homeland” that is far broader than simply that of an immobile landmass of origin. In fact, it is her rejection of the concept of the immobility of homeland that forms a common thread throughout the book. Özdamar allows ‘homes’ to take form on trains, through mirrors, and in foreign cities. The state of being in between two places, which may appear to be a kind of homelessness, is actually transformed in her writing into a homeland of its own. Through a variety of literary techniques- plot devices, word choice, symbolism and metaphor- Özdamar fashions a homeland that is flexible, mobile and universal.

Vor kurzem erschien das Wort “Heimat” als “Wort der Woche” auf germany.info (German Missions in the United States, “Word of the Week: Heimat”). Die Website konnte dieses Wort nur unter Schwierigkeiten übersetzen, und am Ende wählte sie zugunsten eines “Dazugehörigkeitsgefühls”, oder “a sense of belonging”. Es ist diese Art Heimat, von der Özdamar in *Der Hof im Spiegel* schreibt: eine schwer feststellbare Heimat, die oberflächlich draußen liegt, wobei sie in ihrem tiefsten Sinne innerhalb des Menschen liegt.

Özdamar identifiziert sich nicht mit dem Begriff einer stillstehenden Heimat—eines Ortes nach dem man nach seinen Reisen zurückkehrt—sondern mit der Idee, dass die Reise selber eher zur Heimat geworden ist. In “Die neuen Friedhöfe in Deutschland” erstaunte sich eine Freundin von Özdamar vor dem exzessiven Schreiben in ihrem Pass. “Ich wusste gar nicht,” ruft sie aus, “dass dein Pass auch dein Tagebuch ist!” (Özdamar 120). Aber anscheinend ist er schon: Mehr als jeder feststehende Ort, sind es ihre Zugehörigkeit zu vielen Ländern (durch

ihrer Pass symbolisiert) und ihr Dazwischensein, die ihre Identität definieren.

Ihr ist am wohlsten, wenn sie an zwei verschiedenen Orten gleichzeitig sein kann. “Ich bin ein Mensch vom Weg,” erklärt Özdamar. “Am liebsten ist mir, im Zug zu sitzen zwischen den Ländern. Der Zug ist ein schönes Zuhause” (Özdamar, Bucheinband). Falls sie nur an einem Ort sein kann, versucht sie, Auswechslungen für das Dazwischensgefühl zu finden, so wie zum Beispiel mit den Spiegeln in ihrer Berliner Wohnung. Immer wenn sie in den Spiegel schaute, schreibt sie, war ihr wohl, denn sie war “zur gleichen Zeit an mehreren Orten” (Özdamar 31). Durch diesen Spiegel entdeckt sie, dass ihre Nachbarin *Alice im Wunderland* liest. Özdamar ist begeistert, denn dies ist eines ihrer Lieblingsbücher. Kein Wunder, dass sie dieses Buch so liebt, da die Hauptfigurin einen so leichten Eintritt in andere Welten schafft- manchmal sogar mit Hilfe eines Spiegels. Özdamar glaubt aber nicht, dass die flexible Heimat nur ihre persönliche Eigenart ist, sondern dass sie dieses Gefühl auch mit andern teilt. Sie zitiert einen Gastarbeiter, der behauptet: “Ein Arbeiter hat keine Heimat, wo die Arbeit ist, ist die Heimat” (Özdamar 47). Das Wort „Gastarbeiter“ selber wirkt auf Özdamar

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als Beispiel der menschlichen Fähigkeit, gleichzeitig an verschiedenen Orten zu existieren, und mit gleichzeitig verschiedenen Erfahrungen: Wenn sie dieses Wort hört, denkt sie an zwei Menschen, der einer ist Gast, der weil der andere arbeitet (Özdamar 47).

Auch mittels ihrer Wortwahl, Metaphern und Symboliken unterstützen Metaphern und Symbole Özdamars Idee der flexiblen Heimat, und beweisen, wie "unstationär" eine angeblich stationäre Heimat sein kann. In "Mein Istanbul" beschreibt sie eine Stadt, die es schafft, in zwei Kontinenten gleichzeitig zu sein, obwohl sie unbeweglich ist. Ihre Verwendung der Motive "Brücke" "Mond" und "Schiff" bringt auch eine Art Flüssigkeit hervor. Die Brücke, obwohl sie immobil ist, steht sowohl in Europa als auch in Asien. Der bloße Begriff "Kontinent" kommt in diesem Zusammenhang lächerlich vor, denn die Landmassen sind nicht durch tausende Kilometer, sondern nur durch den schmalen Bosphorus von einander getrennt. Auch der Mond bringt diese Flüssigkeit vor, indem er überall auftaucht. Vielleicht ist der Mond sogar beneidenswert, denn im Gegensatz zu den meisten Einwanderern, sieht er so aus, als ob er perfekt dazugehöre, wo auch immer er ist (Özdamar 68). Das Schiff ist nicht nur flüssig, es erfährt auch eine Reise, die Özdamars eigener Reise ähnelt: Es fährt in eine Richtung an, kehrt um, macht eine Weile Halt, fährt in die erste Richtung, dann kehrt für den Rest seiner Reise wieder um. Özdamar ist in der Türkei geboren, war in den 60er Jahren zwei Jahre in Deutschland, kehrte wieder in die Türkei zurück, wo sie einen Aufenthalt verbrachte, und kam dann wieder nach Deutschland zurück (Stiller-Kern, Gabriele). Das Schiff, wie Özdamar, verbringt die meiste Zeit irgendwo zwischen zwei Welten.

Die Idee, dass ein Ort genauso eine geistige Konstruktion wie eine konkrete Realität ist, taucht auch oft in ihren Werken auf. Sie stellt dar, wie jeder einen Ort im Bezug auf sich selbst definiert, eine Tatsache, die den Begriff eines konkreten Ortes oder Heimat abschwächt. Sie zitiert einen Freund, der behauptet, jeder habe in einer Stadt seine persönliche Stadt und seinen persönlichen

Stadtplan (Özdamar 17). Özdamars Werke sind nicht unbedingt Erforschungen "Einer Stadt", sondern Reisen durch ihre persönliche Stadt, oder eine Stadt innerhalb einer Stadt. In ihren Beschreibungen von Berlin und Istanbul fängt sie mit Beschreibungen von Dingen an, die jeder Tourist bemerken könnte: Berlins Gedächtniskirche und Checkpoint Charlie, Istanbuls Moscheen und steile Gassen. Doch bald untersucht sie unter der Oberfläche bis sie in ihre persönliche Stadt kommt, und ihre weiteren Beschreibungen sind eher von Sehenswürdigkeiten, die nur für sie wichtig sind: ein "einsamer Ostpolizist am Bahngleis", und ein "Lokal mit Musik aus den 40er Jahren" in Berlin, und "Verrückten, Toten, Lebendigen" in Istanbul. (Özdamar 56-57, 74). Das Thema der persönlichen Stadt taucht wieder in "Das Fahrrad auf dem Eis" auf, als sie Freunde fragt, was sie über Amsterdam schreiben soll. Die Antworten sind sehr unterschiedlich je nach den Erfahrungen der Freunde. Für Özdamar ist die Errichtung einer persönlichen Stadt nicht nur eine natürliche Reaktion, sie ist sogar eine Rettung vor dem "Ertrinken" in einer fremden Stadt. Sie erzählt von einer Freundin, die ihr das Schwimmen mit dem Hinweis lehrte, immer ein Ziel im Wasser zu haben, und Özdamar benutzt dieses Ziel auch in fremden Städten (Özdamar 86). Dieses Ziel ermuntert sie, ist ihr ein Anker, und verwandelt fremde Orte in Teile ihrer inneren Heimat.

Sogar das Thema vom Tod ist in Özdamars Geschichten eng mit Heimat verbunden. Es unterliegt vielen Erzählungen in "Der Hof im Spiegel" und erscheint mit dem Tod ihrer Eltern und Großmutter, vieler ungenannter türkischer, Freunden, und Deutscher, für die sie weint, ohne sie wirklich zu kennen. Dieses Thema strömt endlich mit der Idee von Heimat zusammen, und betont dadurch die Universalität der flüssigen Heimat. Wegen des Todes ist Heimat für jeden nur eine zeitweilige Wohnung. Wie Özdamars Mutter sie beschreibt, "Die Welt ist die Welt der Toten, wenn man die Anzahl der Lebenden und der Toten bedenkt" (Özdamar 13). Eine Freundin ist mit der Idee des Doppelpasses einverstanden, denn "wir sind alle nur

Gast auf dieser Welt...alle sind Fremde in dieser Welt, letztendlich" (Özdamar 124).

Doch die Lebendigen sind nicht nur Fremden in der Welt der Toten, sondern auch Fremden in der Welt der Lebendigen. Wieder betont Özdamar, dass "Heimatlosigkeit" auf eine Weise nicht nur Einwanderer betrifft, sondern für jeden Menschen relevant ist. Heimatlosigkeit ist hier ein breiter, variiertes Begriff, und kann sowohl körperlich, als auch psychologisch und emotional verstanden werden. Ein Teil ihrer Heimatstadt ist den Ost-Deutschen körperlich weggenommen, und in "Ulis Weinen" entdecken die Ostdeutschen zu welchem Grad sie Fremde in ihrer eigenen Stadt sind. "Die Menschen aus dem Osten sahen aus wie Schauspieler aus einem Maxim-Gorki-Stück, die plötzlich ihre Bühne verloren hatten und auf einer anderen Bühne, in der ein ganz anderes Stück gespielt wurde, gelandet waren" (Özdamar 64). Hartmut von "Der Hof im Spiegel", obwohl er völlig Deutscher ist, kann aufgrund einer psychischen Erkrankung, die ihn von anderen entfernt, und ihn bezwingt, immer unterwegs zu sein, keinen Ort sein Heim zu nennen. Selbst Menschen, die von ihrer Heimat nicht entfernt wurden, und angeblich "normal" sind, fühlen sich auch manchmal in ihrer Heimat fremd. Karl, der Klavierspieler in "Der Hof im Spiegel", spielt ein deutsches Lied, das mit den Worten, "Fremd bin ich eingezogen, fremd zieh ich wieder aus" beginnt (Özdamar 27). Dieses Lied zeigt die widersprüchliche Natur der Zugehörigkeit, sogar unter Leuten, die den Eindruck vermitteln, dass sie völlig dazugehören. Das Lied selber spiegelt diesen Zweispalt: als ein Lied von Franz Schubert, hat es einen sicheren Platz in der deutsch-österreichischen Musik, doch es übermittelt gleichzeitig ein Gefühl der Heimatlosigkeit.

Özdamar liebt die Sprache und erkennt welche wichtige Rolle die Sprache in den Verhältnissen zwischen Menschen und Orten spielt. Aber auch hier sind Özdamars Meinungen flüssig und flexibel, statt schwarz-weiß. Sie bemerkt, zwar kann die Sprache Mensch und Ort verbinden, aber vertreiben kann sie auch. Sie schreibt, dass

sie "in der Türkischen unglücklich wurde" (Özdamar 129); die Sprache hier verkörpert ihre Nöte in der Türkei. Dann schreibt sie, "Ich drehte meine Zunge ins Deutsche, und plötzlich war ich glücklich" (Özdamar 129). Da sie bei ihrer Ankunft in Deutschland kein Deutsch sprach (Stiller-Kern, Gabriele), ist dies wahrscheinlich nicht nur ein Kommentar auf ihr neues Land, sondern auf die Sprache selber, und die Verbindung, die sie später durch die Sprache fühlte, bezogen. Auf ihrer Reise durch Amsterdam begegnet sie jedoch Leuten mit einem völlig anderen Verhältnis zur deutschen Sprache. Dreimal trifft sie holländische Juden, die eine Abneigung äußern, Deutsch zu sprechen (Özdamar, 88, 92, 106).

Nur selten zeigt sich Özdamar kritisch, aber sie bemerkt doch die Inkonsistenz, mit der Heimat und Zugehörigkeit angesehen werden. Als sie auf der Bühne war, war es fraglos hingenommen, dass sie in einer anderen Sprache präsentierte. Aber als Schriftstellerin, nimmt man an, sei sie im Deutschen irgendwie behindert, da dies nicht ihre Muttersprache ist (Özdamar 130-131).

Trotz ihrer Behaglichkeit, in vielen Ländern gleichzeitig zu sein, ist ihr bewusst, dass sie manchmal nicht vollkommen dazugehört. Nach einer Begegnung mit einer besonders unfreundlichen Deutschen, schwört Özdamar, nie wieder mit Deutschen zu sprechen (Özdamar 41). Obwohl sie diesen Schwur schnell bricht, verrät er trotzdem ihre Erkenntnis, dass sie kein komplettes Mitglied dieser Gruppe ist. Ihr Leiden wegen der Heimatlosigkeit erscheint anderswo auch. Sie fühlt, zum Beispiel, eine starke—sogar körperliche—Verbindung zu deutschen Wörtern, aber sie weiß immer, dass diese Wörter keine "Kindheit" in ihren eigenen Erfahrungen haben (Özdamar 131). Auch in "Mein Berlin" ist dieses Gefühl spürbar. Da schreibt sie von einer Freundin, die in der Türkei erzogen wurde, aber in Berlin geboren ist. Diese Freundin war sogar zu einer Arie von Wagners Tristan und Isolde geboren—ein zusätzlicher deutscher Stempel. Diese Freundin erreichte mühelos etwas, was Özdamar, trotz ihrer vielen Jahren in Deutschland, und ihrer Kenntnis von der

deutschen Sprache, nie erreichen kann: Ein unbestrittenes Recht, Deutschland ihr Heimatland zu nennen und den Besitz eines Passes mit den Wörtern "Geburtsort Berlin" (Özdamar 57). Ihre Identität als Türkin wird mit der Zeit trotzdem schwächer. Sie zitiert den französischen Regisseur Godard: "Man muss sein Vaterland verraten und an einen anderen Ort gehen, damit man gleichzeitig an zwei Orten sein kann" (Stiller-Kern, Gabriele), und in ihrem Buch "Mutterzunge", schreibt sie, "Wenn ich nur wüsste, wo ich meine Muttersprache verloren habe" (Stiller-Kern, Gabriele). Als sie die Stadt Istanbul besuchte, fühlte sie sich einerseits völlig zuhause, als sie die Szenen ihrer Kindheit sah. Aber andererseits weiß sie, dass sie zu dieser Stadt nicht mehr gehört: als sie sich dort fotografieren lässt, entdeckt sie, dass sogar das Bild von einer Istanbuler Katze schärfer ist, als ihr eigenes Gesicht (Özdamar 76).

Für die Autorin, die behauptet, ihr sei es egal, ob man sie als deutsche Schriftstellerin mit türkischer Herkunft, oder nur als deutsche Schriftstellerin beschreibt (Balthaser, Susanne), ist die Heimat schließlich eine Sache der Akzeptanz und des inneren Gefühls, dass man zu einem Ort gehört. "Wenn mich jemand fragen würde," schreibt Özdamar "was Heimat ist, würde ich sagen: Jugend. Wo du noch eine Zukunft hast, wo alles so magisch ist noch für dich... dass Du deine Freunde noch hast, deine Eltern, alle Liebesquellen sind noch da, die sind nicht ausgetrocknet" (Balthaser, Susanne). ■

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Samantha Martin | *Untitled* | digital photography

ALAMEDA: A SPACE FOR RACE, CLASS, AND POWER

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Mexico City is one of the most sprawling, expanding and racially diverse cities in the world. That is true today, but it was also true during the Spanish Colonial era. In 1325, the Aztecs of Mesoamerica settled in a swampy valley between two volcanoes and established what would become the empire's capital city named Tenochtitlan, an island in the middle of Lake Texcoco.¹ Aztec power grew and prospered until 1521 when the Spaniards invaded the land. Spanish conquistador Hernán Cortés defeated Aztec king Moctezuma and claimed the land for Hapsburg rule. Tenochtitlan was destroyed and replaced by Mexico City. Centuries of a complex history infused with both native and Spanish peoples divided the city racially and socially. In 1700, the Spanish Crown switched from the Hapsburgs to the Bourbon Dynasty. Control, over the people and the city, was something that the Bourbons felt needed to be re-established, reasserted, and used for political advantage. The city was divided up, and the race of a person was labeled and given meaning: people were spatially placed and confined based on race. The colonial government strove to contain, restrict, and monitor races as a way to maintain order in a city that was very disordered naturally and demographically.

The Alameda, a public park in the center of Mexico City, was a specific location where racial and social tensions played out. Control had always been an underlying issue in Mexico City; the control of nature is one assertion of power

FIGURE 1

Anon. *Vista de la Alameda de México*. First half of the eighteenth century, oil on canvas. 46 x 55 cm. Museo de América, Madrid. From: *Urban Images of the Hispanic World 1493-1793*. Edited by Richard L. Kagan. New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2000. Plate 6.5.



that marks both Aztec and Spanish dynasties. With the shift in 1700 to the Bourbon Dynasty there were renewed efforts to assert governmental authority and command in Mexico City. In the 1750s a set of urban reforms called the *Principal Cuarteles* allowed for Spanish viceroys Carlos Francisco de Croix (r. 1766-1771) and Antonio María de Bucareli y Ursúa (r. 1771-1779) to renovate the park.² The adaptations made to the Alameda at the time of these reforms reveal some of the societal anxieties and changes within the populace and government. By looking at two specific paintings, we can assess the changes and social fears that were present in eighteenth century Mexico City. *Vista de la Alameda de México*, from the

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1 Michael W. Mathes, "To Save a City: The Desague of Mexico-Huehuetoca, 1607," *The Americas* 26 (1970): 419.

2 Barbara Mundy, "Images of 18th Century Urban Reform in Mexico City and Plan of Jose Antonio Alzate," *Colonial Latin American Review* 21 (2012): 70.

FIGURE 2

Anon. *De alvina y español produce negro torna-atrás*. circa 1775, oil on canvas. 46 x 55 cm. Colección Banamax, Mexico City. From: *Urban Images of the Hispanic World 1493-1793*. Edited by Richard L. Kagan. New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2000. Plate 6.7.



first half of the 18th century (Figure 1) and *De Alvina y Español Produce Negro Torna-Atrás*, circa 1775 (Figure 2), straddled the urban reformations. These two works show how the Alameda was a racially and socially charged space that was a platform for an assertion of spatial and social control by the peoples and the ruling government. They demonstrate how control is the central issue in Mexico City's history.

In Aztec Tenochtitlan (1325-1521), urban green space took the form of chinampas. According to anthropologist Edward Calnek, chinampas are “narrow, rectangular beds or platforms... constructed by alternating layers of lake mud and thick mats of decaying vegetation over lake bottoms”.³ Since Tenochtitlan was an island city, this technique of building raised land was used to either create a residence or create gardens. Chinampas were used for agriculture for single or multiple families, but not for

3 Edward Calnek, “Settlement Pattern and Chinampa Agriculture at Tenochtitlan,” *American Antiquity* 37 (1972): 105.

mass production.⁴ Whole communities were built around chinampas; and the chinampa system is thought to be “one of the most ambitious and costly reclamation projects in Mesoamerica”.⁵ Chinampas made life sustainable in Aztec Tenochtitlan but human interaction with the land had an effect on the climate and the environment.

Flooding was not an issue for the first few years of Aztec Tenochtitlan since few people lived there and the land remained fairly untouched. But as citizens began to move into the city, enhanced infrastructure was needed. Travel by canoe was the most popular form of transportation but calzadas (causeways) were constructed to allow for foot traffic.⁶ Also, more and more chinampas were excavated as more people moved in. Population growth fed the expansion of causeways and chinampas, which heightened lake water levels.⁷ Tenochtitlan encountered high rainfall along with flooding. In 1449, Netzahualcoyotl, the ruler of Texcoco and an Aztec ally, mandated the construction of a dike to prevent flooding.⁸ The dike served as only a temporary solution; eventually, the city would flood again. The city already had an aqueduct system, but it was not sufficient enough for irrigation, so more springs were opened outside of the city with an increase in aqueducts. There were more dikes constructed and a consolidation of chinampas in an effort to stop the overflow.⁹ Aztecs would not find the ultimate solution to water problems before the Spanish invasion. But we see that notions of urban green space, water, and control over nature were all issues with which the Aztecs grappled and that the Spanish, too, would eventually face.

Although the Spaniards destroyed Tenochtitlan and then built Mexico City on top, this did not “alter the fundamental

4 *Ibid.*, 114.

5 Lee J. Arco and Elliot M. Abrams, “An essay on energetics: the construction of the Aztec chinampa system,” *Antiquity* 80: (2006): 916.

6 Mathes, “To Save a City,” 421.

7 *Ibid.*, 421-422.

8 *Ibid.*, 422.

9 *Ibid.*, 423.

relationships between the lake and the island”.¹⁰ Flooding did not have much presence in the first few decades of Spanish rule.¹¹ They built their own buildings and enlarged causeways to allow for horse traffic. It was not until the 1550s when flooding became a concern for the Spanish; erosion and lake levels rose because of the expansion of causeways and the demand of agricultural and livestock production, which resulted in large deforestation efforts. Desague (drainage) of the lake was a controversial plan that was debated for fifty years before it was actually carried out in 1608, after a large flood the previous year. The desague was complete “in a period of ten months, the greatest engineering feat of its time...[the] City of Mexico was, for a time, free from floods”.¹² Mexico City’s tension with nature did not end in 1608, but rather the control of natural resources, especially water, continues today.

The Alameda was built in 1592 on the western outskirts of the city,¹³ in the midst of flooding and an out-of-control landscape. It was erected as celebration of the Spanish success in the New World and as a pleasure park reserved for society’s elite. From the beginning the park was racially segregated and used as a tool for the assertion of governmental spatial order and control. The official drainage of the city happened only sixteen years after the park was constructed; it was in the midst of natural mayhem that a controlled, perfect urban oasis was built.

The Alameda de Hércules in Seville, Spain was the inspiration for the Alameda in Mexico City. It was built in the 1570s as a public park, located near the palace to house the “Columns of Hercules”.¹⁴ According to legend, Hercules himself had erected these columns at a temple to celebrate

the formation of Seville.¹⁵ Much like in the mythology of the columns, their new location was a commemoration. The pillars represented “Spanish Manifest Destiny” and their progress and accomplishment in the New and Old worlds, at the center of which sat Seville.¹⁶ The park was a symbol of change and power; Hercules as an icon stood for power, heroism, and civic order.¹⁷ This park was a place built for the public, but it had intentions and symbolic meaning. It gave a strong image of colonization and power in both Spain and abroad. The park used local mythology to emphasize the political statements it was trying to assert.

In Seville, the Alameda had two major hurdles to overcome: the moving of the Columns of Hercules to their new location and altering the geographical site for the park. The pillars, enormous in weight, were currently residing at the ancient Roman Temple of Mars on Seville’s Marmoles (Marbles) Street,¹⁸ and it was quite a feat to move them to the new site. Bartolome Morell was called in to be the engineer on the project. His plan “transported the columns in wooden crates, broke through a wall to reach the park, and used twenty-eight poles borrowed from a Flemish merchant to heave the columns upright. Once raised... capped with a pair of antique capitals and new statues of Hercules and Julius Caesar”.¹⁹ The other obstacle was the swamp landscape of the park location. It was necessary to “drain the lagoon in the northern end of the city, a foul marshland that had been spreading disease... This required rerouting and repairing the entire city’s waterworks. Once cleared, the former swamp was planted with poplar trees and re-baptized the Alameda”.²⁰ One of the reasons for the drainage of the lagoon was because it collected city sewage and tended to flood during rain season, which would then create more problems.²¹ In the sixteenth century, the city

10 David Fox, “Man-Water Relationships in Metropolitan Mexico,” *Geographical Review* 55 (1965): 526.

11 Mathes, “To Save a City,” 423.

12 *Ibid.*, 437.

13 Richard Kagan, “Four Cities and Their Images” in *Urban Images of the Hispanic World 1493-1793*. (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2000), 156.

14 Amanda Wunder, “Classical, Christian, and Muslim Remains in the Construction of Imperial Seville (1520-1635),” *Journal of the History of Ideas* 64 (2003): 203.

15 *Ibid.*

16 *Ibid.*

17 *Ibid.*

18 Paul Reuber, “Seville: Herculean Sidewalks,” *The Canadian Architect* 46 (2001): 27.

19 Wunder, “Imperial Seville,” 204.

20 *Ibid.*

21 Reuber, “Seville: Herculean Sidewalks,” 27.

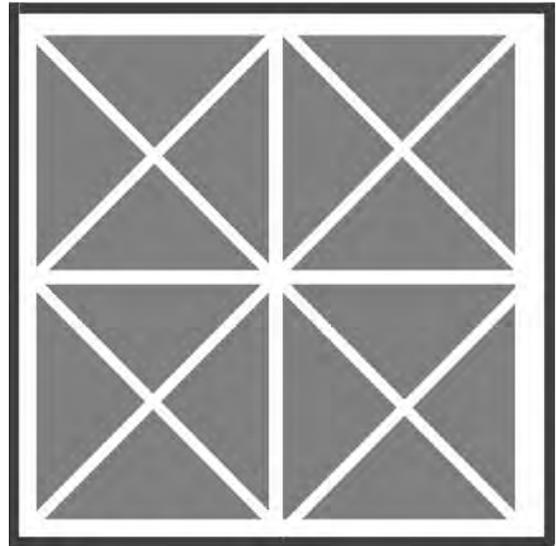
created underground sewers to address the issue, and that allowed for the construction of the Alameda. The park was a rectangular shape and sat in the center of town. Its tree-lined walkways were a common space for the Spanish ritual the paseo, where the elite would enter, walk, and lounge in the park. As one French visitor recounts, “it is a pleasure to see the coaches and the people of quality strolling al fresco”.²² The tourist takes note that this is a place of “people of quality,” not just anyone, but rather greenspace created for and used by the upper crust of society.

Seville’s Alameda de Hércules and Mexico City’s Alameda have many commonalities. Twenty years after Seville built its public park, Mexico City constructed its Alameda and looked to Seville as a model. Because the close proximity in timing and design automatically connect the two together, we cannot discuss the Alameda in Mexico City without looking first to Seville. These are both urban parks for which engineers had to physically adapt the natural landscape to create a new controlled green space. Seville’s Alameda was in swampland that needed to be drained, and a new sewage system had to be implemented. Mexico City also was dealing with drainage, flooding, and water control. The lake was completely drained less than twenty years after the building of the park, and the location of aqueducts were positioned in close proximity to the Alameda. Also, both parks were celebrations of the Spanish Crown’s success in their land and abroad and representations of how the government is able to control the natural, spatial, and social environment. Finally, their enjoyment was for the elite, places of pleasure for those who wanted to see and be seen as they participated in the paseo. These spaces have meaning; they are not just green spaces but rather spaces where social interaction had significance.

Viceroy Luis de Velasco, the same man who oversaw the drainage of the city, constructed Mexico City’s Alameda

FIGURE 3

By Author. Illustrating the Alameda’s plan circa 1772.



in 1592.²³ It was sited on the western edge of the city and quickly became a favorite place for Creoles, those of Spanish descent and born in the New World, and the city’s richest citizens. It became a space to escape urban life. The park had “a central fountain and a series of shaded walkways lined with poplars and oaks”,²⁴ which happened to be the same trees that lined Seville’s Alameda. The Mexican Alameda first appears on a map in 1628,²⁵ but the park has since been present in almost every map of the city and in many paintings it is either included or the main subject of the work.

Vista de la Alameda de México, whose painter remains unknown, gives us insight into how the Alameda looked and functioned by the early eighteenth century. It also demonstrates how representations of the park become an effort to control the space. This painting has the park as the

²² Wunder, “Imperial Seville,” 204-205.

²³ Kagan, “Four Cities and Their Images,” 156.

²⁴ *Ibid.*

²⁵ Fox, “Man-Water Relationships,” 527.

main subject matter, but the image includes people as well; they seem to be lounging, strolling or playing in the park. We can see the poplar trees fully grown and all the tree-lined walkways lead one towards the large central fountain. The park, at this time, takes on a very square, symmetrical look, with four sections of criss-cross shaped pathways (figure 3). There are three large gates that flank the entrances on three sides, centrally located. The fourth side, which does not have a gate, backs up to the aqueduct that is used to transport water into the city and alludes to the power and control of the natural world that Mexico City was battling at the time. All people present in the park seem to be well dressed and pale-skinned, some walking alone, others with partners or children. Creoles adopted the Spanish tradition of the paseo, common ritual among the elite; “during the paseo, elite status was displayed through ostentatious clothing and coaches, which were paraded for all to see”.²⁶ The Alameda was one of the public spaces for the practice of the paseo, and we can see this played out in the painting. Clearly, the artist wished to showcase the park and what it looked like, but the inclusion of people gives the painting richer meaning. This is a social space, not just a static urban green space. Life happens here and the park’s significant presence in art calls us to explore that meaning.

Historian Richard L. Kagan considers the dynamics of the Alameda and its artistic depictions. He argues that while the Alameda in *Vista de la Alameda de México*, appears as a place of refuge from urban life, it yet also seems to stand as a symbolic representation of order and a sense of *policía*, the notion of surveillance present in Spanish Colonial Mexico City.²⁷ In the bottom right-hand corner of the painting is a legend that reads, “bracero en que se queman los judios” translated to “the stake where victims of the Inquisition were burnt”.²⁸ The Inquisition was a medieval practice by the Catholic Church to cleanse

itself of religious impurity by arresting, torturing, and burning those who refuted Jesus Christ. This reference to the Inquisition adds a deeper layer of tension, and this image goes beyond just a classic painting of a park. This work references the government’s watchful eye; it is both a warning and a suggestion of the intended spatial purity of the Alameda.

The eighteenth century was a time of political unrest and change. Just before, in 1692, the lower class revolted against the elite and Spanish rule. They burned a portion of the Viceregal Palace and instilled a fear among the elite and a need to control the citizens of Mexico City. In the 1700s, a number of Spanish viceroys “implemented, or tried to implement reform”²⁹ as a way to create order in this very disordered city. The reform came in way of three projects: the “reorganization of Mexico City into cuarteles... the 1769 reform of parish structure under its archbishop... and the creation of censuses of its inhabitants by secular authorities, the first produced in 1753”.³⁰ It is important to note that these projects aimed to create spatial and social change, and we can see these tensions and the found “solutions” by looking at the Alameda. The first and the last project are most applicable and apparent in the second painting to be examined here, a later painting of the reformed Alameda entitled *De Alvina y Español Produce Negro Torna-Atrás* (figure 2).

The first of these projects was a new organizational programming to repair the social ills of society. From the time of civilian revolt in 1692, the government and the elites were concerned about what was happening on the streets of Mexico City. The Crown had a strong interest in “stopping the robberies, killings and other crimes” and drew up plans for the city as early as 1713.³¹ In 1782, the plan was officially published, which “created eight ‘cuarteles principales ó mayors’ (principal or major

26 Magali Carrera, “Regulating and Narrating the Colonial Body,” in *Imagining Identity in New Spain*. (Austin: University of Texas Press, 2003), 115.

27 Kagan, “Four Cities and Their Images,” 156-157.

28 *Ibid.*, 157.

29 Mundy, “Images of 18th Century Urban Reform,” 52.

30 *Ibid.*

31 *Ibid.*, 53.

cuarteles), each with four smaller jurisdictions known as 'cuarteles menores' (minor cuarteles), for a total of thirty-two units in the city".³² The cuarteles divided the city into "six large quadrilateral spaces," each about two and half to four miles.³³ By dividing the city up it soon became apparent which new neighborhoods belonged to which racialized groups. The "Spanish" spaces stayed near the center of the city, while the "Indian" ones remained on the outskirts. People were zoned. Not only were they sectioned off, but also within each of the new districts officials set mandates that were instituted to supervise the daily activities of their assigned districts.³⁴ According to art historian Magali Carrera, there were lists of citizens that stated a "person's name, last name, calidad, marital status, and office held... information about the general estate of each person... specifying his or her house address, casta designation, and sex".³⁵ Surveillance of Mexico City's inhabitants became easier with the cuarteles. Cosmetic and infrastructure changes came about the city as well, such as new streetlights, street cleaning, and a reordering of public spaces.³⁶ The Crown saw the Alameda as a social ill of society, and its reconstruction had long been a part of the reordering of the city that had been in the planning process since 1713.

Another one of the projects of reform was the implementation of the census. It was the era of enlightenment and focus of "scientific" exploration. Mexico City had an exploding population, where racial and social identities became more and more ambiguous. The 1753 and 1792 censuses were compiled by local officials for the use to organize the population, as art historian Barbara E. Mundy argues.

High-level Bourbon administrators were interested in using numbers and social or caste categories to capture the population. The documents themselves, compiled by

officials on the ground, show the remainders that failed to fit into the system by offering the messy and mobile features of urban peoples.³⁷

The census added to the already existing eighteenth century genre of painting in Mexico City called castas.

Castas were paintings that showed the results of racial breeding of people in order to establish a racial hierarchy. They were usually little vignettes that showed the parents and the child they produced, in blank or generic backdrops, with inscriptions that would label the parents' racial identities as well as their offspring's identity. Patronage of such works is unclear, but we do know that the Spanish were interested in their production.³⁸ Beginning around the middle of the eighteenth century, we see the figures in the paintings placed not in generic backdrops, rather in specific interior or public spaces.³⁹ As Carrera writes the "discrete categories of casta hierarchy were disappearing demographically," but yet the genre of castas prevailed throughout the eighteenth century. This was a strategy of visual surveillance that was "not just about looking; it is about construction of the very object of its observation, hybrid bodies".⁴⁰ People's racial identifiers became unclear as the population grew and expanded, but there was a continuous effort to try and control the large mass of bodies in the city. The reason to look at these forms of reformation is to examine and set the tone for the reconstruction of the Alameda in Mexico City, which is evidenced in the casta painting, *De Alvina y Español Produce Negro Torna-Atrás*. The painting shows a freshly renovated park, with a new design and freshly planted trees.

The Alameda was altered as part of the many mandates that sprung from the principal cuarteles. In the late eighteenth century, the "peace and tranquility of the Alameda," such

32 Carrera, "Regulating and Narrating the Colonial Body," 110.

33 Mundy, "Images of 18th Century Urban Reform," 54.

34 Carrera, "Regulating and Narrating the Colonial Body," 111.

35 *Ibid.*

36 *Ibid.*, 112-114.

37 Mundy, "Images of 18th Century Urban Reform," 59.

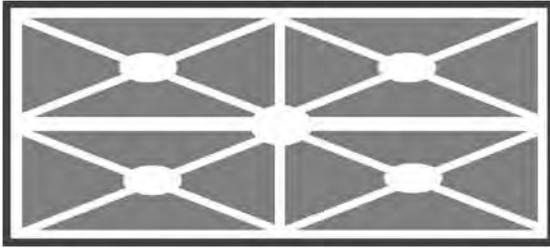
38 Magali Carrera, "Envisioning the Colonial Body," in *Imagining Identity in New Spain*. (Austin: University of Texas Press, 2003), 49.

39 *Ibid.*, 68.

40 *Ibid.*, 53.

FIGURE 4

By Author. Illustrating the Alameda's plan circa 1778.



as depicted in the *Vista de la Alameda de México*, had “become threatened by street smells, the noise of vendors, and the violence of thieves”.⁴¹ In the 1770s, the Viceroy Croix and Viceroy Bucareli renovated the park, with the notion that by implementing spatial reform, social reform would follow. These changes increased the size of the Alameda and “added two avenues that crossed it diagonally, as well as trees, fountains, and an enclosing wall with a continuous bench around the perimeter”.⁴² Mundy calls this new more rectangular layout a “quadripartite design”⁴³ which alludes to the new quadrilateral spaces of the city designated by the cuarteles (Figure 4). In August 1791, almost 200 years after its initial formation in 1592, “an order was given to place sentinels at the entrances of the park to keep out improperly dressed people and provide better security of the Alameda in order to preserve the harmony of the paseo”.⁴⁴ This new space not only emulated the new physical boundaries of the city, but it specifically stated for whom the park was intended. It was a place for the elite to participate safely in the paseo; it was a place where a Creole citizen could escape the urban metropolis and find an oasis free of racial tensions. The painting *De Alvina y Español Produce Negro Torna-Atrás* further confirms that this public space is not a place free of racial tensions but rather a breeding ground for them. The Alameda takes on a symbolic role that asserts control and segregates people.

41 Carrera, “Regulating and Narrating the Colonial Body,” 116.

42 *Ibid.*, 115.

43 Mundy, “Images of 18th Century Urban Reform,” 46.

44 Carrera, “Regulating and Narrating the Colonial Body,” 116.

De Alvina y Español Produce Negro Torna-Atrás was painted circa 1775 as part of a larger genre of casta paintings, a unique art form dedicated to the depiction of racial mixing or mestizaje in Mexico. The racial messages of this casta are more ambiguous than the earlier castas that showed a clear hierarchy of white and than other darker skinned peoples. The painting has essentially two parts that interact with one another. The first is the three main figures that sit atop their roof, and the other is the Alameda that acts as the backdrop and takes up two-thirds of the painting. The main figures include a white Spanish male whose wife is an “*albina*, which is to say that she had one black grandparent and three of Spanish descent”, and their son who is a “*tornatrás* or ‘throwback,’ which accounts for his dark skin color”.⁴⁵ Kagan argues that the presence of the dark-skinned child reveals the shameful black genes present in the albino woman that are hidden by her light skin tone. “This discovery, together with the loss of social status that it implies, has clearly upset her and no doubt explains why she is looking to heaven for guidance”,⁴⁶ yet her husband is unbothered by this discovery because his status, as a white Spaniard, remains intact. He is still allowed to freely enter and engage in the city, including the Alameda. He holds a spyglass and surveys the city, which belongs to him. Meanwhile, the woman and his *tornatrás* child have their backs to the park, implying their loss of privilege and access into the Creole haven. The park is a racial space that can include or exclude based on racial and social status. Kagan states the Alameda’s presence is representation of an “important lesson about the role of race in the eighteenth-century Mexican society”.⁴⁷ There is a message present; it is not just a picture of the park but rather an allegory for life or a social prescription for how life should be in Mexico City.

The Alameda was always a place of pleasure reserved for elite classes in Mexico City, beginning with its original

45 Mundy, “Images of 18th Century Urban Reform,” 46.

46 Kagan, “Four Cities and Their Images,” 159.

47 *Ibid.*

design and construction in 1592, based on the elitist park, the Alameda de Hércules in Seville. By the 1700s, the park had become “dangerous” and the government stepped in to reclaim the space as a Creole pleasure site through redesign and ordinances. The government reasserted this space as racially and socially charged. The Alameda has appeared in hundreds of maps and paintings since 1628, but the late eighteenth century alteration to the Alameda highlights its symbolic importance as an assertion of power in Mexican society.

Control is the common theme that links all these threads together. Tenochtitlan was a place that the Aztec rulers needed to assert their power and control over their people. The natural elements that were connected to the land proved to be a challenge that was never fully eradicated. And the problems of Tenochtitlan followed the Spaniards to Mexico City. Water and natural elements always seemed to be constantly threatening order. The viceregal government strove to build its capital city as a representation of Spanish power, which was determined to control every aspect

of Mexican life, including nature. Hence, the formation of the Alameda, a controlled natural landscape, sent a message to its citizens. The Spanish government had the power and authority to control the geography of the city just as it sought to control the people that inhabited the landscape; this was a celebration of their triumph in the New World. The Alameda was established as a pleasure site for those who were given the most privilege in society: rich, white Spaniards. When this status was in jeopardy by the 1700s, reformation implemented by the government reclaimed the park through the physical landscape and public policy. The Alameda is an icon whose wide expanse in the visual culture highlights its importance in society. The two paintings, *Vista de la Alameda de México* and *De Alvina y Español Produce Negro Torna-Atrás*, show us the park before and after the 18th-century reformations. But both are not just paintings to show off the look of the park, rather they include people. These are social paintings that represent a charged space that the Spanish Crown employed to send a warning about the dangers of civic unrest and disorganization within Mexico City. ■

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IN PICTURES AND WORDS: VINCENTIAN MISSIONARIES' REPRESENTATIONS OF CHINESE CHILDREN IN THE 1930s AND 1940s

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How photographers choose to represent their subjects in photographs is often crucial to understanding the relationship with their subjects. When assessing the American Vincentian missionaries' photographs of Chinese children in the 1930s and 1940s, we must examine what the photographs say about the relationship between the missionaries and the children and what purpose this representation serves. The American Vincentian missionaries traveled to China with the purpose of spreading Catholicism amongst the "pagan" Chinese. It seems a foregone conclusion to classify the Vincentian presence as an example of cultural imperialism. Yet, a complex relationship existed between the Vincentian missionaries and the Chinese children; though the Chinese mission photographs portray their creators as cultural imperialists, the missionaries' letters to confreres and friends reveal a much more complicated and caring connection between the missionaries and the Chinese children.

This paper utilizes the China Missions Photographs and Vincentian Personnel Files in the DePaul University Special Collections and Archives to provide evidence for the basis of my argument. The fifteen boxes of Chinese Mission Photographs provide an ample foundation to show how the Vincentian missionaries represented Chinese children as there are over one thousand photographs,

and over 25% of them feature children. The Vincentian Personnel Files contain letters that provide insight into the thoughts and opinions of the missionaries stationed in China during the 1930s and 1940s. The photographs and letters each represent a distinct point of view, and analyzed together we can uncover a contextualized, more complete history of the Missionary-Chinese connection.

In order to understand the China Mission Photographs through the framework of cultural imperialism, we must first define the terminology. Historian Ralph H. Bowen described cultural imperialism as "the domination and eventual subversion of a previously autonomous and vital culture by a more powerful one."¹ Twenty-first-century impressions of cultural imperialism commonly equate the term with the diffusion of American products and pop culture throughout the rest of the world, to the detriment of non-American cultures. Historians have often applied this term, however, in attempts to analyze the processes of colonialism. Noted cultural theorist Edward Said applied the term "cultural imperialism" in his work on postcolonial theory. While only using the term "cultural imperialism" once in his work *Culture and Imperialism*, Said nonetheless scrutinizes "dynamic and complex connections" between culture and imperialism.² In any definition of the term, the concept always includes a "stronger" culture prevailing over a "weaker" one. Bowen notes that the dominating culture can be "a conquering civilization, religion, or nationality."³ The ascendancy of one religion over

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1 Ralph H. Bowen, "American Cultural Imperialism Reconsidered," 179.

2 Edward W. Said, *Culture and Imperialism*, 14.

3 *Ibid.*

another has been studied by many historians through the application of the concept of cultural imperialism.

In contrast, Ryan Dunch argues that the term “cultural imperialism” is not sufficient to classify the Missionary-Chinese relationship because the Chinese were also actors in that relationship. By outlining scholarship surrounding cultural imperialism in “Beyond Cultural Imperialism: Cultural Theory, Christian Missions, and Global Modernity,” Dunch presents a historiography of the concept of cultural imperialism and uses the study of Christian missionaries in China to illustrate his argument. In the article, Dunch explores how scholars have used the term “cultural imperialism” to describe the interaction between two cultures. He finds a problem with their liberal usage of this phrase and how it implies that the interaction between cultures is a dichotomy between “actor and acted upon.”⁴ Dunch argues that just because missionaries taught their “superior” culture to natives does not mean that they had an effect on indigenous culture.⁵ He also encourages emphasizing the “receptors” of culture as well as the “transmitters.”⁶

Dunch’s article generates discussion about the ways historians have used cultural imperialism in past scholarship and creates further opportunities to discuss the term and its effects. Dunch’s historiography, however, does not use many, if any, primary sources to make his argument. In contrast, I will make use of a multitude of primary sources available on Vincentian missionaries. This paper will continue Dunch’s scholarship in arguing that the relationship between Christian missionaries and the Chinese was complicated and cannot be easily labeled as cultural imperialism, though the Chinese Mission Photographs might suggest otherwise. Yes, the missionaries wanted the Chinese to embrace Christianity, but there was no struggle for complete dominance over

every aspect of Chinese life. The missionaries provided useful services, safety and security during tumultuous decades in Chinese history. The appearance of cultural imperialism in the photographs served a purpose: to encourage donations to the Vincentian Foreign Mission Society (VFMS).

One motive for taking photographs was to document Vincentian experiences in China. These photographs were shared between the missionaries and their confreres as well as with the people back in the United States. The missionaries and the VFMS in the United States also used photographs of their experiences in VFMS publications like *China Clippings*, which had articles and photographs relating to the Vincentians in China. This publication, produced from 1936 to 1945, was written primarily for children in the United States. It frequently asked the readers to donate money to help support the missionary enterprise. The photographs, even if they were ultimately not used in publications, were probably taken for purposes of fundraising or as evidence of successful missionary work.

The missionaries photographed various aspects of their experience in China: the countryside, cities, tourist sites, themselves in their new surroundings, and the people they encountered. The people of China, especially children, were the purpose for the Vincentian presence in their country. They set up orphanages and schools in each district to provide for and educate Chinese children. Because children were a large part of the Vincentian mission, it is fitting that they are represented in a significant volume of photographs. Many of these photographs show missionaries posing along with the children or candidly interacting with them. These photographs show the work that the missionaries were doing in China from the missionary perspective, and act as a validation of their mission. There is another category of Vincentian images that feature Chinese children. These images show non-Christian children, and they are often represented as impoverished country folk. In these

4 Ryan Dunch, “Beyond Cultural Imperialism,” 302.

5 *Ibid.*, 310.

6 *Ibid.*, 325.

FIGURE 1

Fr. Leo Fox at Yukiang Orphanage, ca. 1941/1942



Box 7, DeAndreis-Rosati Memorial Archives (DRMA) China Mission Photographs, Special Collections and Archives Department, DePaul University Library, Chicago.

photographs, the Vincentians imply that these pagan children are in need of help.

When Vincentians were in photographs with Chinese children, the photographer tended to emphasize the caring relationship between missionary and child. This is exactly the case in a photograph taken at the Vincentians' Yukiang orphanage. The central focus of Figure 1 is Fr. Smith holding two Chinese orphans.⁷ There are Chinese orphans in the foreground of the photograph and a woman holding an orphan to the side of Fr. Smith. The photographer captures a spontaneous moment between Fr. Smith and the children; he is smiling and clearly enjoying their company. The photographer placed Fr. Smith as the focal point of the photograph. It takes the point of view that the orphans, who were receiving spiritual guidance and physical necessities, thought favorably of the American missionaries which would validate the missionaries' presence in Yukiang, China to other missionaries abroad and the supporters

⁷ Box 7, DeAndreis-Rosati Memorial Archives (DRMA) China Mission Photographs, Special Collections and Archives Department, DePaul University Library, Chicago.

FIGURE 2

First Communion, Poyang, May 22, 1938



Box 4, DeAndreis-Rosati Memorial Archives (DRMA) China Mission Photographs, Special Collections and Archives Department, DePaul University Library, Chicago.

and wallets at home. As the missionaries' primary goal was to introduce and convert the Chinese to Christianity, this photograph could be taken as the Vincentians succeeding in their mission.

We will now focus on the category of photographs that show the Chinese children who became a part of the missionary enterprise.⁸ The Vincentians' mission was to spread Christianity, and a photograph of Chinese children during their first communion is evidence that this goal was being fulfilled. A May 22, 1938 photograph shows a group of 20 young Chinese girls from Poyang lined up in front of the camera.⁹ For this photograph, see Figure 2. All 20 girls are wearing identical outfits: a white shirt, white pair of pants, and a white communion headpiece. Their identical outfits are paired with identical expressions. All are looking straight into the camera with unsmiling faces. This posed photograph was probably the "official"

⁸ The two categories of photographs are those that feature Christian children and those that feature pagan children. See below for more explanation.

⁹ Box 4, DRMA China Mission Photographs.

image of the girls during their first communion. In fact, it was featured in the June 1940 edition of *China Clippings*, presenting the new communicants to American readers.

The Vincentians took many candid photographs of the first communicants as well. Figure 3, a candid photograph from the same May 22 event, captures three young communicants and a young boy standing in front of a Sister of Charity.¹⁰ The communicants are wearing their white outfits and smiling. The boy is smiling, looking toward the nun, while she is peering down at the children. The communicants appear to be happy, enjoying the Christian religious event. In this photograph, a viewer could deduce that the children enjoy being Catholic and enjoy the influence of the missionaries.

Another photograph, taken at the Yukiang Middle School, portrays the academic aspect of the missionary enterprise. The photographer captures Fr. Tom Smith teaching his middle school students English in 1946.¹¹ In Figure 4, the children are sitting in rows of wooden desks, their backs to the camera. The photographer's vantage point from the back of the classroom allows for a view of the teacher and the chalkboard, evidence that the Chinese children are receiving a proper American education. The American culture seems to be eclipsing the Chinese. The children were learning the English language from an American in an American-looking classroom. The angle the photograph was taken coupled with its content and the knowledge that the students were learning English allows for a cultural imperialistic reading of the Missionary-Chinese relations.

The Vincentians also photographed the Chinese children participating in "American" activities. Boys participated in Boy Scouts and played soccer; girls joined Girl Scouts and engaged in basketball games. Figure 5 shows the Girl Scouts in their uniforms marching in a parade, all walking

FIGURE 3

First Communion, Poyang, May 22, 1938.



Box 4, DeAndreis-Rosati Memorial Archives (DRMA) China Mission Photographs, Special Collections and Archives Department, DePaul University Library, Chicago.

FIGURE 4

Fr. Tom Smith teaching English to his middle school students, Yukiang Middle School, 1946.



Box 8, DeAndreis-Rosati Memorial Archives (DRMA) China Mission Photographs, Special Collections and Archives Department, DePaul University Library, Chicago.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*

¹¹ Box 8, DRMA China Mission Photographs.

FIGURE 5

Girl Scouts in Primary School, Yukiang



Box 6, DeAndreis-Rosati Memorial Archives (DRMA) China Mission Photographs, Special Collections and Archives Department, DePaul University Library, Chicago.

FIGURE 6

Boy Scouts Awaiting Fr. Winne, 1948.



Box 11, DeAndreis-Rosati Memorial Archives (DRMA) China Mission Photographs, Special Collections and Archives Department, DePaul University Library, Chicago.

with a flag perched on their left shoulders.¹² Similar photographs exist of the Boy Scouts. The Boy Scouts welcomed Fr. Winne on his arrival to China in 1948; a photographer captured the welcome party, complete with their Boy Scout uniforms, drums, and a flag-bearer.¹³ This event is seen in Figure 6. The Boy Scouts and Girl Scouts are another example of American influence in China. The image of Chinese children in these organizations' uniforms invokes the idea that the missionaries were instilling American values into the Chinese.

The photographs used in *China Clippings* can be separated into two distinctive groups. In the first group, photographs show the healthy, fulfilled lives led by those that had embraced Christianity and the Vincentian teachings. This is in contrast to the second group of images that portray the Chinese as impoverished and in immediate, desperate need of assistance. The former group includes the photographs of Chinese girls playing basketball. It also includes photographs of children smiling. These photographs are accompanied by captions like, "Can you widen his smile with your pennies?"¹⁴ and "These Chinese boys and girls smile even when there is war and suffering in their land. They are smiling thanks to you for helping them in their time of need."¹⁵ Images with captions are Figures 7 and 8. The *Clippings* articles imply that only through the missionaries' help and through Americans' money can the Chinese children be happy and lead meaningful lives.

Figure 9 presents an image of two pagan children from the Linchwan district that acts as an example of the latter group. They were identified as pagan in a caption on the back of the photograph. The Vincentian photographer's focal point in this image is a small child, probably around three or four years old.¹⁶ The gender of the child is not

¹² Box 6, DRMA China Mission Photographs.

¹³ Box 11, DRMA, China Mission Photographs.

¹⁴ *China Clippings*, Oct. 1940, vol. 5, no. 1, Box 7, DRMA, VFMS, Special Collections and Archives Department, DePaul University Library, Chicago.

¹⁵ *China Clippings*, Nov. 1940, vol. 5, no. 2, Box 7, DRMA VFMS.

¹⁶ Box 1, DRMA China Mission Photographs.

FIGURE 7

“Can you widen his smile with your pennies?”



China Clippings, Vol. 5, no. 1, Box 7, DeAndreis-Rosati Memorial Archives (DRMA) VFMS, Special Collections and Archives Department, DePaul University Library, Chicago.

distinguishable. There is dirt on the child’s face and the face reveals a sad expression. The Vincentians placed this photograph in the September-October 1943 edition of *China Clippings* with the title, “We are Homeless!”¹⁷ The caption requests that Americans reading the publication send Defense Stamps and War Bonds to the VFMS to help rebuild the orphanage, which was bombed by the Japanese. Photo with caption can be seen in Figure 10.

These photos were used to persuade Americans at home to donate to the VFMS. Frankly put, in the late ’30s and ’40s the VFMS needed money. The Great Depression crippled the economy of the United States. The missionaries were able to weather the first half of the 1930s due to an excess of funds leftover from the late 1920s. Because of the mission’s economic security in the previous decade, the VFMS did not actively fundraise in the early 1930s. According to Fr. Stephen Dunker, Bishop Sheehan, in charge during this time, did not manage money effectively. By 1938-39, the China mission needed

17 *China Clippings*, Sept.-Oct. 1943, Box 7, DRMA VFMS.

FIGURE 8

“They are smiling their thanks to you for helping them in their need.”



China Clippings, Vol. 5, no. 2, Box 7, DeAndreis-Rosati Memorial Archives (DRMA) VFMS, Special Collections and Archives Department, DePaul University Library, Chicago.

funding so Fr. Lloyd became Director of the Vincentian Foreign Mission Society and began to organize funds.¹⁸ These funds proved integral to the continuance of the China mission because in addition to domestic economic troubles, the missionaries faced worsening conditions abroad. Floods, destruction of property by the Japanese, and threats of Communism riddled the Chinese countryside and made fundraising necessary.

The photographs, if seen by themselves, could condemn the Vincentian missionaries as cultural imperialists who convinced the Chinese to adopt Christianity and other aspects of American culture at the expense of their own. Those who did not adopt the culture put forth by Vincentian missionaries lived a life of poverty and simplicity. These photographs, however, lack the context necessary to truly analyze the Missionary-Chinese relationship, which is why it is essential to also analyze the Vincentians’ letters. The

18 Stephen Dunker, “Background of China Missions and Vincentian Foreign Mission Society,” Box 1, DRMA Stephen Dunker Personnel Records.

FIGURE 9

Two Pagan children, Linchwan.



Box 1, DeAndreis-Rosati Memorial Archives (DRMA) China Mission Photographs, Special Collections and Archives Department, DePaul University Library, Chicago.

content in the Vincentian missionaries' letters supports the claim that their first and primary goal in China was to convert pagans to Christianity. The priests mentioned baptisms often in letters to their superiors as well as other priestly duties performed while in China. A letter written by Fr. Harry Altenburg to Paul Connors in 1935 epitomizes the missionary work that the Vincentians did. "Since I last wrote Perryville—I made some country missions. Some hundred and more annual Communion and Confessions; four marriages- and seven or eight infant baptisms...three of the several towns I visited want catechists to teach them."¹⁹ The Vincentian missionaries found baptisms, communions, and catechism integral to their experience in China. Unsurprisingly, they found

19 Harry Altenburg to Paul Connors, April 1, 1935, Box 1, DRMA Stephen Altenburg, Personnel Records.

FIGURE 8

"We are Homeless!"



China Clippings, Sept.-Oct. 1943, Box 7, DeAndreis-Rosati Memorial Archives (DRMA) VFMS, Special Collections and Archives Department, DePaul University Library, Chicago.

Christianity superior to the religions practiced by the Chinese.

The Vincentians commented on Chinese customs in their letters, especially if they considered them particularly strange or irritating. Fr. Louis Bereswell outlines a few different customs to Sr. Mary Rosanna that he found particularly perplexing. In a 1931 letter he recalled his irritations over a Chinese procession. "At present the pagans are practicing some of their superstitious customs. For the past six nights they have been parading about with lighted torches, and beating on tin pans... their idea of music is our idea of discordant notes, or in better term, noise."²⁰ Since 1931 was Bereswell's first year in China,

20 Louis Bereswell to Sister Mary Rosanna, March 15, 1931, Box 1, DRMA Louis Bereswell Personnel Records.

these customs were completely unfamiliar to him. His American ear did not recognize or appreciate Chinese music. He went on to say, “at times they let out whoops which sounded very close to what I imagine the devils let out in hell...At first these noises did not meet my fancy, but now I am getting use to it.”²¹ He himself recognized that he needed to acclimate to a different way of life.

Bereswell’s early annoyance with the Chinese and their behavior was reflected in this letter and another letter early in his Chinese experience. He stereotyped the Chinese, giving them all a negative character trait: “One must never take a Chinaman’s word seriously, for they are great for soft soaping one. This is especially the case if they think they might want something in the near future.”²² These excerpts from Bereswell’s letters prove that insensitivity toward the Chinese and their customs did exist, and there is no point in denying that the Vincentians were sometimes racist and felt a sense of superiority over their Chinese acquaintances. Other letters, however, reveal Vincentian attempts to respect Chinese culture.

As noted previously, it was customary for the Vincentian missionaries to venture into the country to meet with country Christians or to convert pagan Christians. Vincentian letters identify that they tried to adhere to Chinese customs on these trips. Fr. Bereswell wrote to Sr. Mary Rosanna about one such experience. “The Bishop took Fathers Murphy, Misner, and myself into the country to visit some Chinese Christians...We went to two different homes, and it is the custom of the people to give some Chinese cakes or candy to priests, and plenty of tea... the Chinese cakes and candy is not very good tasting to Americans, but we must eat it otherwise the Chinese would feel insulted.”²³ The missionaries did not want to disrespect their country Christian friends, so they followed Chinese customs. The missionaries did not always make

the right decisions or know how to navigate cultural barriers, but they did not always thrust Western culture upon the Chinese they encountered.

There seemed to be instances when the Chinese welcomed Vincentian influence. Bereswell wrote about a conversation he had with a Chinese boy in 1931. According to Bereswell, the boy requested assistance from the Vincentians in case the Chinese Communist Party reached their town. “Just now a little Chinese boy...came to my room to tell me that the Reds will come here... so this little fellow wanted to know if he could go with me if they come. He is afraid that they will capture him and make him follow them.”²⁴ If Bereswell transcribed this exchange accurately, we can surmise that the boy felt secure with the Vincentians, or at the very least felt that they could offer him protection that other Chinese villagers could not.

The Chinese countrymen and women realized that Vincentians could provide medicine as well as protection. Sickness was a constant presence in the Chinese countryside; Vincentian letters often noted Chinese deaths in their letters. Fr. Leo Fox wrote to a confrere in 1937, voicing his concerns about the real threat of sickness. “People get very sick and perhaps it is a very good thing that there are no “doctors” as we know them at home, else the list of the names of these sicknesses would scare you.”²⁵ That Fox would write this passionately in a letter about the persistent sickness indicates that sickness and death were rampant amongst the Chinese. The Vincentians provided medicine when they could and many Chinese knew that Vincentians had medicine and would ask for it on occasion. An Altenburg letter confirms this: “The rescuer got sick with fever for about a week—and Father Verdini gave her plenty of quinine—so both are happy now and ready for baptism.”²⁶ Fox recounted a similar situation in 1947: “We have a large mission and about 35 orphans.

21 *Ibid.*

22 *Ibid.*

23 Louis Bereswell to Sister Mary Rosanna, March 31, 1931, Box 1, DRMA Louis Bereswell Personnel Records.

24 Louis Bereswell to Sister Mary Rosanna, May 3, 1931, Box 1, DRMA Louis Bereswell Personnel Records.

25 Leo Fox to Son, July 18, 1937, Box 1, DRMA Leo Fox Personnel Records.

26 Harry Altenburg, Box 1, DRMA Harry Altenburg Personnel Records.

Some of them were just in here to get medicine, several have malaria.”²⁷ The Vincentians treated the illnesses that they could, saving lives that would have otherwise been lost to treatable diseases.

The care and keeping of Chinese girls is perhaps the most remarkable service that the Vincentians rendered. In their letters, the missionaries often remarked on the number of girl children given to the orphanages. Fr. Paul Misner explained this peculiarity in his correspondence with Provincial William Ball while explaining the reforms he would like to see occur to the mission: “During the time of frequent floods when the Chinese family was no longer able to feed their children; the very first left on our church or brought to us were the girl children.”²⁸ Misner wrote that when Chinese women married they “became the property of their husband’s family,”²⁹ so families gave away their girl children. Misner wrote, “We received them with pity and love; and when grown with what education we could give, became the devoted Catholic Mothers of many a farm family.”³⁰ Indeed, there are many Chinese girl students present in the China Mission Photograph collection. The fact that the girls were all brought up Catholic aside, the Vincentians took care of girls at a time when their families could not.

Though the Vincentians understood a girl’s place in Chinese society and cared for the unwanted girls, there is evidence of “women-as-victim” in their description of the situation. Clara Wing-chung Ho explains that this approach only speaks about Chinese women as “severely oppressed and enslaved by patriarchal values” with absolutely no agency.³¹ “Missionary views often stressed Chinese women’s subordination and the usefulness of Christian values in upgrading women’s statuses and in improving the

quality of their lives. The victimization of Chinese women spread among Westerners as an Orientalist fascination, and it was believed that only Western values could liberate and modernize Chinese women.”³² This argument is supported by the Vincentian treatment of women in *China Clippings*. An article chastises Chinese parents for their treatment of girls and emphasizes that “a girl is every bit as good as a boy” according to Christian values.³³ Like with the photographs, the article emphasizes that the Chinese need Christians’ help in order to live a fulfilling, cared-for life. This view would have been promoted, like with the photographs, to encourage donations.

Though they acted as providers and protectors, the Vincentians also formed emotional bonds with the Chinese children, especially the children in their orphanages or schools. The smiles seen on the faces of Vincentians in photographs when they were in the presence of children may very well have been genuine, not just a ploy for donations. When Bereswell wrote of children’s deaths, he seemed affected by their losses. “One of our little school children died this week. He was sick only two days. I knew him very well, for I played with him. This makes one feel as though he lost a brother.”³⁴ Bereswell seemed to develop a soft spot for the children during his time abroad. He wrote to Sr. Mary Rosanna, “I like the Chinese children very much.”³⁵ He would have no reason to fabricate a detail such as this in a letter; after all, he did not hesitate to voice various other complaints about the Chinese to the Sister. The missionaries were not merely Christianity-conversion machines; they created friendships and affinities with their Chinese charges.

So then, if the Vincentian missionaries were not guilty of cultural imperialism, how can we classify what

27 Leo Fox, April 19, 1947, DRMA Leo Fox Personnel Records.

28 Paul Misner to William Ball, May 26, 1926, DRMA Paul Misner Personnel Records.

29 *Ibid.*

30 *Ibid.*

31 Clara Wing-Chung Ho, “Women in Chinese History,” 100.

32 *Ibid.*

33 *China Clippings*, Vol. 6, no. 2, Box 7, DRMA VFMS.

34 Louis Bereswell to Sister Mary Rosanna, August 2, 1931, Box 1, DRMA Louis Bereswell Personnel Records.

35 Louis Bereswell to Sister Mary Rosanna, March 31, 1931, Box 1, DRMA Louis Bereswell Personnel Records.

sort of relationship they developed with the Chinese children? Dunch argues that the Chinese were not merely “helpless receptors of culture.” Through the missionaries’ letters we see evidence of paternalism, ignorance of Chinese culture, and even some racist language. This is indicative of the time period as well as the feeling that the missionaries believed some of their customs were superior to Chinese customs. Some of the missionaries’ reactions to Chinese culture can be explained by culture shock. Like any foreigner in a new land, the Vincentians found some Chinese cultural practices strange and uninviting. These factors do not necessarily lead to cultural imperialism. The Chinese were active members in their relationship with the Vincentians. The Vincentians provided services for the Chinese during the tumultuous pre-war, WWII, and post-war years when the Chinese government could not. They offered protection, security, medicine, and education to the Chinese—basic human wants not always guaranteed to the poor countrymen and townsmen in China.

But can we say that the Chinese children were not merely helpless receptors of culture? Children rarely have full agency over their own lives; adults, usually parental figures, dictate the actions of children. All children are, in a way, helpless. They are not autonomous in the way adults are and would not have the same ability to resist

the Vincentians’ missionary enterprise. The missionaries’ letters indicate, however, that the Chinese children expressed a feeling of security under the protection of the priests. In their letters, the Vincentians indicate that they cared for the children and developed personal relationships with them. The children benefited from Western medicine and Chinese girls benefited from Western notions of gender roles. There were multiple instances in which the Vincentians respected the customs and practices of their Chinese acquaintances even if they found them strange.

Of course, just as we analyzed the photographs, we must analyze the Vincentian letters with scrutiny. The Vincentians had their reasons for writing what they did to the receivers of letters, and we will never know if they are telling the complete truth. Letters only show part of the story, they only reveal one half of the Vincentian-Chinese relationship. It is an unfortunate limitation to this type of scholarship that we cannot examine the Chinese view of missionaries. We may never know how the Chinese children viewed the Vincentian missionaries. It is entirely possible that they felt that the Vincentians acted imperialistically. From the evidence available it appears as though the relationship, unlike the availability of sources, was not one-sided. Analysis of just the China Mission Photographs or of just the Priests’ letters cannot do justice to the complexity of their relationship. ■

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Nikolaus Massey | *Under Stage* | digital photography

THE COST OF DOING BUSINESS: JAPANESE CORPORATE GOVERNANCE IN CHINA & THE LESSONS OF UNIQLO

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Introduction

China is considered the “factory of the world” and it is not hard to understand why. Lax legal and environmental legislation, low wages, oppressive and relatively stable political climate, the lack of unions, and being the single largest potential consumer market makes China heaven on earth for firms. But then why are Japanese firms abandoning their investments and market share in China at alarming rates? This paper will explore why certain Japanese firms are leaving China while other Japanese firms are continuing to expand. This paper will use the clothing giant, Fast Retailing Co., Ltd and its main subsidiary Uniqlo as a case study of good practices. Using the Japanese cellular industry and the Japanese general retail industry, this paper will argue that because most Japanese firms have been in a protected domestic market that has fostered a vertical centralized corporate governance structure, this has made Japanese firms unable to compete in the politically hostile market of China.

Recent demonstrations in 2005 and 2012 made many Japanese firms reconsider their investments in China.

These events triggered violent actions and boycotts against Japanese products and firms. Wages in China had been increasing steadily with the average urban worker making 13% more each year, while wages for migrant workers have been increasing 14.9% per year (Orlik and Davis 2012). The steady stream of Japanese FDI started to leave China as their assets and personnel faced violence. Companies such as Toyota, Panasonic, and Canon are halting further expansions for the foreseeable future and in some instances abandoning newly built factories. Though some firms are abandoning China, some are staying in spite of the turmoil.

Corporate Governance in Japan

Japan heralded the creation of the developmental state (Johnson 1982, 24). Before World War II, the imperial government of Japan took an active role in directing the market through industrial policy for the purpose of catching up to the West. The Japanese government actively promoted heavy industry and chemical production in order to spur Japan into the great military power that it became by the Second World War. The Japanese government concentrated most industrial manufacturing into several monopolies owned by single families called zaibatsu groups. These monopolies included modern companies such as Mitsubishi and Nissan. After the United States occupied Japan, these zaibatsu groups were supposed to have been formally disbanded, but they simply changed their names and continued to the modern day. These former zaibatsu groups are now called keiretsu groups and for the most part operated the same way until the recession in the early 1990s (Ibata-Arens 2005, 2).

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Corporate governance in keiretsu groups is highly centralized and vertically hierarchical. Only about one percent of Japanese firms are keiretsu groups and employ about 25% of the working population. These keiretsu groups are inherently hierarchical in nature, and most suppliers and small market enterprises catered to and supplied these keiretsu groups (Ibata-Arens 2005, 1-2). This kind of top down management style worked during the pre-war and post-war period until the 1990s when the Japanese housing bubble collapsed. These keiretsu groups could no longer maintain internal practices such as life-time employment. These Japanese firms, instead of adjusting their corporate governance structure to adapt to the recession, chose to move operations overseas to countries such as China. This kind of vertical integration and centralized decision making relegated suppliers and small non-keiretsu firms into second-class firms with little autonomy, decision making power or price control measures. Keiretsu groups could always force decisions and price increases onto their suppliers. This system also stifled radical innovation in favor of incremental innovation (Ibata-Arens 2005, 3-5). In contrast, Japanese firms still successfully operating in China were never part of the keiretsu groups and tended to take a more decentralized role in decision making and had more horizontal relationships with suppliers. The next section will explore Japanese foreign direct investment (FDI) in China

Japanese FDI in China

When Deng Xiao Peng opened the Chinese market to FDI in the 1980s, Japanese companies were the first to take advantage of the situation and have since played a major role in the Chinese economy. Japanese manufacturers took advantage of Chinese production in several ways. The first is through reverse exports, especially in material and energy intensive industries such as heavy metals and chemicals. The first wave of Japanese investment in China was part of a global strategy of acquiring input materials from around the world (Alvstam et al. 2009, 202).

The second category of Japanese FDI was to use China as a base for exports to other countries; this part of the strategy grew as Japan shifted to high value-added productions while dealing with rising domestic labor costs and a stagnating domestic economy. China eventually becomes the most important production location for the Japanese. Japanese companies shifted investment into China more readily after the Asian financial crisis hit in 1997 and when it seemed like China was going to enter the World Trade Organization (WTO). The third category is Japanese companies hoping to enter the domestic Chinese market. But Japanese firms face much opposition from other foreign firms and domestic Chinese companies. The majority of FDI in China has been in the manufacturing industry, particularly the production of electrical and transportation equipment and chemicals (Alvstam et al. 2009, 202-203).

Most Japanese companies find it easy to do business in China, as the similarities between the Japanese and Chinese language make it easy for educated staff to communicate. Chinese partners view Japanese companies positively because they generally see Japanese investment as a long-term investment rather than for short-term profits (Alvstam et al. 2009, 211). Though Chinese management and Japanese management seem to get along, this is not so among Japanese management and Chinese labor. Official Chinese government data shows that industrial conflicts such as strikes were much more common in Japanese firms than in Western firms (Taylor 2001, 606). Generally speaking, Japanese firms have been forced to move to China because their investments in other Asian countries are being out-competed by investments and domestic firms in China. But currently Japanese firms are being out-competed by domestic Chinese firms in both the business and consumer markets, in raw material inputs and in talented personnel (Alvstam et al. 2009, 201-212). This is one of the reasons Japanese firms have been forced to exit China and reinvest in the rest of Asia. The next section will give some insight into the political hostility between China and Japan.

Historical Context of Political Interaction between China and Japan

The bilateral relations between Japan and China are unique. Historically, China has seen Japan as an area under its sphere of influence. When Japan became the only Asian nation to industrialize before the nineteenth century, it was a blow to Chinese national pride. When Japan waged a brutal war across the Pacific, and China went through a brutal occupation, embarrassment turned to outright hatred for the Japanese. This animosity still exists today among older Chinese, especially, but also amongst the college-educated. Chinese consumer animosity towards Japanese products and companies is one measure of such tensions.

A 1998 study measuring animosity among average citizens in Nanjing, the site of the Nanjing Massacre associated with the Japanese occupation of World War II, pointed to the animosity against the Japanese, and that those from the region were significantly less likely to purchase or own Japanese products. However, the same persons who expressed the most animus also admitted that Japanese products were of good quality (Klein et al 1998, 94-96). This means that animosity is independent of a consumer's understanding of the product. Cai et al. (2012, 1660) updated the study and found that animosity against Japanese products was still strong. Further, Chinese students felt special animosity, believing that Japanese firms were crowding out Chinese firms. Still most students recognized that Japanese products were quality products.

Political wrangling between the two nations has frequently exacerbated the economic tensions. In 1978, a group of right wing Japanese and Taiwanese politicians negotiated among themselves concerning the Diaoyu/Senkaku islands in an attempt to cut China out of the negotiations. Their meetings gave rise to Chinese nationalist demonstrations (Koo 2009, 216). Another unhelpful political tension emerged when Koizumi visited the Yasukuni Shrine, which honors Japanese World War II soldiers, thirteen of whom

committed class A war crimes against the Chinese. Japan's refusal to apologize for wartime atrocities and the Senkaku/Diaoyu islands dispute follow a pattern (Koo 2009, 216-221; Wan 2006, 235-327): Japan or China instigates some kind of international incident, which then triggers overblown rhetoric from both sides. Diplomatic relations between the two countries become cold until eventually both countries deescalate for economic reasons.

Japan's refusal to apologize for World War II atrocities has caused special resentment from Chinese nationals. While younger Japanese personally feel little responsibility for World War II atrocities, Japanese nationalists on the other hand take a more active role in opposing any official Japanese apology. They downplay the atrocities committed by the Japanese in China, while extolling the achievements of the war. The turning point in Japan taking a hardline against apology occurred in 1998 when Premier Jiang Zemin visited Japan. Premier Jiang's constant demand for an apology alienated many Japanese and gave Prime Minister Obuchi Keizo the popular political capital to refuse to apologize to China. The Japanese government's approval of nationalist textbooks sparked more protests in April 2005 (Lam 2005, 278-279).

Japanese politicians' politically charged rhetoric and actions have had international repercussions in China and have been responsible for the kind of animus the Chinese feel against Japanese FDI in China. Moreover, when political disputes flare up, Japanese companies face boycotts, property destruction, and strikes, and Japanese brands are removed from Chinese commercial establishments. When there are no disputes, Japanese companies still face both economic and war-related animosity, creating a hostile environment for companies hoping to exploit both the Chinese market and labor.

The Chinese Consumer Market

Japanese firms, like many other foreign firms, are focused on the urban consumer market in China. Most high-income (more than 10,000 USD a year)

and medium-income (2500-4000 USD a year) Chinese reside in urban areas. Japanese firms generally split the Chinese market into three tiers: the newly rich, middle class, and blue collar. Most Japanese firms focus on the newly rich and upper-middle class brackets leaving the masses for domestic producers (Horn 2010, 105-106).

Studies on Japanese interests in China confirm that they lag behind their foreign competitors when it comes to social appeal, not only because of political tensions that have fueled consumer animosity, but because of growing Chinese national pride and the increasing quality of Chinese brands. Though Chinese consumers still associate foreign brands with better quality and prestige, this trend is slowly being eroded. Brands such as Haier (an electronics manufacturer) and Lenovo (a computer manufacturer) are re-branding Chinese products as high quality, high status products, effectively doing away with negative images associated with the label, “Made in China” (Horn 2011, 112; Yang 2011, 27). Table 1 shows how Chinese graduates in China feel about companies. The Chinese brand Haier is ranked number one while eight other Chinese firms are among the top twenty most highly rated. Not a single one is Japanese-owned.

Successful Japanese companies are those able to distance themselves from the nationality of their products, either through viral marketing techniques or outsourcing production to local firms. Certain areas are more receptive to Japanese products and investment, such as Dalian—which benefited economically from Japanese occupation. By contrast, those in Nanjing, because of war time atrocities, have thwarted Japanese investment and are less open to related products. Here, Japanese firms are failing in image management in part because consumers purchase clothing from local specialty stores, the non-Chinese brands of any such store being hard to hide (Yang 2011, 28). The next section will look at Japanese management styles of shopping centers in China.

TABLE 1

Employer image ranking among Chinese graduates (Horn 2011, 113)

Rank	Company name	Nationality	Ownership structure in China
1	Haier	China	Listed company
2	IBM	USA	Foreign capital 100%
3	Procter & Gamble	USA	Joint venture
4	Lenovo	China	Listed company
5	Huawei	China	Private company
6	China Mobile	China	Listed company
7	Microsoft	USA	Foreign capital 100%
8	LG Electronics	Korea	Foreign capital 100%
9	Siemens	Germany	Foreign capital 100%
10	GE	USA	Foreign capital 100%
11	Samsung	Korea	Foreign capital 100%
12	China Telecom	China	Listed company
13	Intel	USA	Foreign capital 100%
14	TCL	China	Listed company
15	Nokia	Finland	Foreign capital 100%
16	Motorola	USA	Foreign capital 100%
17	Hewlett Packard	USA	Foreign capital 100%
18	Mars	USA	Foreign capital 100%
19	Sinopec	China	Listed company
20	Unicom	China	Listed company

(Source: Horn 2011, 113)

Japanese Management Style in China

Though workers have been able to adapt industrial technology transfer with relatively ease, this has not been the case for Japanese management techniques. Interviews among Japanese managers seem to establish that they feel a general sense of apathy among their workers. Some managers complained about workers not having any kind of collective association with the company. This is in comparison to what these managers are used to in Japan, where company loyalty is very prominent. Interviewees also had to crack down on absenteeism, which one Japanese manager explained usually meant the absent person was searching for a new job. Japanese managers cannot handle this level of labor mobility simply because there was no real labor mobility in Japan until the 1990s (Taylor 2001, 606).

Concerning training regimes Japanese firms in China follow a similar pattern. A one week course in company rules and skills training and then a probation period of about two or three months where the worker is monitored closely. This international training regime abandons the long tradition of Japanese firms fostering a collective corporate culture where employees are emotionally invested in the well-being of the company through extensive months of indoctrination. Instead, Japanese firms operating in China simply focus on training workers in technical skills. There is little interest in corporate indoctrination of Chinese workers. Also, most shop floor workers have little motivation due to a lack of promotions or career advancement opportunities, especially amongst women and older workers unlike in Japan where seniority in a company guarantees slow but incremental advancement.

Jos Gamble (2011) who studied department stores in China found Japanese firms operating in China were centralized around the use of Japanese expatriates and coordination with its central offices much more so than western firms. A cross section of three Japanese merchandise stores operating in China found that communication between

offshore firms and central offices was much more intensive. In all three stores, only Japanese staff held senior positions, including management positions at local stores. Moreover, an average of ten to fifteen Japanese staff managed the first outlets, compared to an average of two employees sent from western companies, in part a sign of the much tighter and more centrally organized culture of Japanese firm management (Gamble 2011, 120).

The mobility of Chinese workers means that the Japanese will have to abandon their current style of recruitment and hiring practices if they are going to make any headway. Japanese firms in China have unsuccessfully tried to replicate the centralized college recruitment scheme that operates in Japan. One of the stores that Gamble studied tried to replicate domestic college recruitment practices in China by headhunting college graduates for senior management positions. In 1993 when the store opened its first store, it recruited a group of university graduates to groom for managerial positions. By 2002, however, all of them had left the firm. Managers at the firms cited “job-hopping” as the problem, something anathema to traditional Japanese corporate culture (Gamble 2011, 122). Such hopping could, however, not only be due to simple competition within the labor market, but the result of the general animus of college students towards Japanese firms (Cai et al 2012, 1660).

Japanese customer service styles also create alienation among consumers and workers alike, worsening the image of the Japanese as the foreign “other”. Chinese consumers are not used to the ritualized pleasantries of Japanese retail politeness, and do not trust them. Japanese retailers, for instance, require that their Chinese employees carry out a Japanese-style greeting ceremony every morning: staff and management line up in front of store entrances, bow, and say in unison, “Good morning, welcome to the store!” to incoming customers; this is done at the beginning and the end of each work day. Many customers found themselves feeling ill at ease, going out of their way to avoid the ritual. In China, persons bow only at funerals

(Gamble 2011, 125). Some customers went as far as to say they felt hostile towards the practice, knowing it was from Japan. Some customers called the staff 卖国贼 (mai guo zei), which means traitor.

The exporting of their worker management and consumer relation styles is not serving Japanese companies well. They have had to abandon their corporate indoctrination models for low level workers and managers because the latter are so mobile. Japanese firms have consequently come to rely on a punishment and reward system that, while effective, is not fostering the kind of company loyalty they enjoy domestically and that has supported their unique centralized corporate governance system. Retail practices, such as morning greetings, moreover, are alienating Chinese consumers while the overuse of Japanese expatriates is alienating workers. If other foreign firms engaged in similar practices, it might not matter as much. The problem is that the Japanese firm faces special historically driven obstacles that have as yet to be addressed or overcome.

The Failure of Japanese Firms in the Chinese Mobile Phone Market

Innovation in Japanese firms is traditionally registered within their domestic spheres and later transferred to overseas operations. Though some firms have begun to outsource their developments overseas, the top down approach of the Japanese still prevails, making it extremely hard for them to succeed in China. The failures are particularly clear in the context of the Japanese mobile phone industry. During the development of second generation (2G) cellular phone systems, Japanese researchers invented and used a format, known as the Personal Digital Cellular (PDC). By contrast, non-Japanese producers opted for the European Global System for Mobile (GSM). Having to switch to the GSM model could explain why the Japanese cellular firms failed in China. Though, neither Samsung nor LG had trouble (South Korea also uses the PDC system), both were able to maintain sizeable market shares in the GSM market; as of 2010,

they held 10.6% and 3.7% of the international GSM market, placing them third and fifth in the terms of world market share of the GSM market, respectively. Chinese firms, meanwhile, have faced larger barriers to market entry, mainly because they lack the technological innovations needed to penetrate the market. Still, many Chinese firms have out-competed Japanese ones (Marukawa 2010, 124).

In 1999, the Chinese Communist Party, in hopes of fostering a domestic mobile phone industry, implemented “the Opinion on the Promotion of Mobile Phone Industry Program” (OPMPIP). The OPMPIP compelled all foreign mobile phone manufacturers in China to export 60% of their goods. Foreign producers were also compelled to increase local production by 60% to keep the domestic market flush with local products, to foster technology transfers, and to increase employment levels. The imperative was successful in that domestic producers of cellphones immediately began to spring up after the OPMPIP was implemented. Whereas domestic cellphone producers made up 3% of the market in 1999, by 2009 this figure had reached 55%. Foreign firms at the time cared little for the OPMPIP’s restrictions because it did not fit into their business plans at the time. Firms planned to exploit China as a base of production rather than expend resources on cultivating less lucrative local markets. The fact that Japanese companies focused mainly on Japanese markets meant that Japanese firms, afraid to sacrifice employment in Japan, chose to curtail exports curtailed from China. They thus sacrificed the Chinese market share by under producing (Marukawa 2010, 128-129).

Model production in Japanese cellular firms is centralized. It usually starts with the service operator telling manufacturers what functions they want to add to new models one year prior to the release date. Manufacturers then submit their plans, and the service provider awards a contract to the best proposal. Afterwards, a prototype is developed, which typically goes through numerous iterations until it is finalized. This relationship is similar

to the ones between suppliers and keiretsu firms in domestic Japan. Product development in China, by contrast, usually excludes the service provider. As a result, new product innovation and production by Chinese firms takes less than half the time it does for Japanese ones (Murakawa 2011, 133).

Because Japanese cellphone models tend to be designed centrally, there are less Japanese model options than there are Chinese ones. Looking at Japanese manufacturers in China in 2010, each company on average had only 13 models on sale at one time while Chinese firms had around 60 models, each one targeting different sections of the population. Because Chinese brands are produced in a more decentralized fashion, each *manufacturer* places their own logo on their phones. By contrast, Japanese brands typically feature the *service company's* logo on it, each service company preparing their own models (Marukawa 2010, 131). Japanese brands are consequently less able to accommodate local tastes. Moreover, the phone names hark back to Japanese service providers. Hence, when political tension between China and Japan gets hot, the phones can be singled out for retaliation.

Japanese phones in China are marketed in a bundled phone-service package. The phones cost a fraction of the production price because they are tied to sales of a service plan. Phones and plans can be retailed directly from service provider specialty stores. By contrast, Chinese domestic firms sell cellphones as they would any appliance; they sell them wholesale to stores, the stores then retailing them to consumers. The sheer volume of phones distributed in this way, though not perfect, has allowed Chinese brands to crowd out others. Chinese consumers have also figured out that they can buy the much cheaper phones from Japanese firms and simply switch out the SIM card to allow them to use the phones with cheaper Chinese service plans (Marukawa 2010, 138-139).

In Japan, firms focus on getting subscribers for their phone service. In China, Japanese firms provide both

the phone itself and the wireless service. In Japan, firms make only several models, but in China, firms have to make many different models to appeal to the much more segmented Chinese market. Japanese firms in China have also adapted only a couple of their models to the GSM technology, and have done little with marketing, hoping that their superior product will sell itself.

Japanese tactics in the cellphone industry largely failed. Faced with the high cost of adjusting their business models to ones similar to those of Chinese domestic firms, Japanese firms chose, instead, to leave. By 2005, with the exception of Sony, all Japanese cellular phone manufacturers and service providers had left China, the same year that many Chinese staged anti-Japanese protests (Marukawa 2010, 140). Into this mix comes an exception, the maverick company of Tadashi Yanai.

Fast Retailing Co. and the Rise of Uniqlo in China

Uniqlo, a subsidiary of the Fast Retailing Co., Ltd is a major player in the Chinese textile and informal wear industry. Fast Retailing Co. was started in 1949 by Hitosh Yanai (Yamaguchi and Yoshida 2011, 19) In 1984, Tadashi Yanai the current CEO of Fast Retailing CO., LTD, launched the first Uniqlo store then called Unique Clothing Warehouse because of its warehouse-style storefronts (Choi 2011, 87). It was then that Mr. Yanai chose to focus exclusively on casual wear at low prices. The stores adopted a help-yourself system where staff took a hands-off approach and allowed customers to browse casually. This represented a break from the formal style of Japanese service mentioned earlier (Yamaguchi and Yoshida 2011, 20). Mr. Yanai chose to adopt a system of “fast fashion” based on a system developed by the US company GAP after a visit to Hong Kong (Choi 2011, 88).

The system that Uniqlo uses is called SPA (for specialty-store/retailer of private-label apparel). It seeks to internalize almost every aspect of the production, development, and retail. Compared to more traditional retailers that operate between producer, supplier, and consumer, SPAs have

shortened this process to only producers and suppliers. Uniqlo, instead of relying on third party retailers to reach consumers, simply creates their own stores, cutting out the supplier-to-consumer step. This is why Uniqlo stores resemble warehouses. Another aspect of the SPA system is faster reaction to new trends and consumer demands. This process has been called fast fashion after American style fast food franchises. In 1988, a point-of-sale (POS) system was introduced where computers are used to track inventory and centralize all the information (Yamaguchi and Yoshida 2011, 21). Though similar to the Japanese mobile phone industry mentioned before, Uniqlo does some very interesting and innovative things in order to avoid what had happened to the Japanese *mobile* phone industry.

Uniqlo, unlike the Japanese cellphone industry, has situated more than 90% of their production line in China. While other SPAs trying to enter the Chinese market entered via contracts with Chinese factories via the Sogo Shosha companies, Uniqlo skipped the Sogo Shoshas and went straight to Chinese manufacturers. Sogo Shosha, meaning general trading companies, are unique to Japan. These companies act as investment banks, generally acting as middlemen, supplying large volumes of raw materials and sometimes management for Japanese firms. While other SPA companies put management and quality control into the hands of Sogo Shosha companies, Yanai chose instead to create Uniqlo's own offices in Shanghai and Guangzhou (Yamaguchi and Yoshida 2011, 24-25). Being in control of their own supply chain and management is what allows Uniqlo to apply its unique management style. Uniqlo's international success is causing other Japanese firms with global aspirations to take notice.

Uniqlo employs a group of experienced Japanese engineers called Takumi who rotate between the factories in order to maintain a set of standards. Uniqlo also maintain a group of 90 Chinese staff members who visit the factories three days a week for the purpose of quality control. Each factory also has a direct link to the central offices, which can make changes to products based on orders or on market trends

and shares the information directly with its local material companies so they can prepare themselves (Yamaguchi and Yoshida 2011, 25-26). Though Uniqlo employs Japanese expats, they also use Chinese personnel in high level management which helps distance the Japanese managers with local suppliers.

But the most important and innovative step that Uniqlo took in its investments in China was its incorporation of local Chinese manufacturers under its brand. Instead of building or acquiring its own factories, Uniqlo chose to go into long term contracts with local producers in south China. Uniqlo brought these companies into its own brand but encourages local producers to innovate and develop their own products and suggestions and allows them to negotiate with Uniqlo over prices and quality (Choi 2011, 91). It allows local Chinese producers and designers to tailor their products specifically for the local market and tastes. This also distances Japanese management from the Chinese laborers since if they were to riot they would be destroying Chinese factories with Chinese owners.

Textiles are a relatively low tech industry with little risk of technology spill and creating its own competitors. But instead of simply trying to control every manner of production Uniqlo has chosen to give its low tier manufacturers leeway to innovate on their own. Though Uniqlo, like other Japanese companies, is very centralized, it is willing to allow domestic firms and designers into its brand and gives them some rein to innovate on their own. Therefore, the relationships are more horizontal rather than vertical. Though it is not to say that Uniqlo just lets the local manufacturers and designers do whatever they want. Uniqlo shares all market and fashion trend information with its manufacturers hoping to push them in the right direction. It also has design headquarters in Tokyo and New York that produces designs, meaning that there is some centralization of design elements (Choi 2011, 91). Also, designers and workers from local manufacturers are dealing with wholly Chinese management meaning that the Japanese foreignness is not present on the

manufacturing floor. Uniqlo is able to effectively distance themselves from their brand at the factory level. The casual shopping experience, generic looking storefronts and English brand name allows Uniqlo to distance itself from animosity from Chinese consumers towards Japan.

Conclusion

Japanese firms are leaving China due partly to political turmoil and partly to rising wages of workers in China. More important to their departure, however, has been the lack of success that Japanese firms have enjoyed in exporting to China the pre-1990s keiretsu model of management. Initially, many Japanese firms invested in China because they could not compete with the low cost of Chinese labor, and because Japanese firms could no longer support the rigidities of their own corporate structure after the housing market collapse of the mid-1990s. Despite the keiretsu model's ineffectiveness, Japanese firms took it with them to China.

Uniqlo, on the other hand, employed a different strategy, which allowed it to remain competitive. It outsourced around 90% of its supply chain to China, including manufacturing and distribution, leaving its highly centralized management system and elite fashion design centers in New York and Tokyo. Uniqlo hence allowed *local* manufacturers to contribute to the innovation process, fitting designs to local tastes and creating horizontal relationships that facilitated innovation. Its stores, clothing styles, and brand name was generic, allowing Fast Retailing Co. to distance themselves from the animosity that other Japanese firms suffered. Also because Uniqlo was once removed from manufacturing, Chinese labor felt they worked for a Chinese company and were less likely to strike. The lessons from Uniqlo is that Japanese firms in China must be willing to decentralize their innovation and production system, create horizontal partnerships with suppliers, and distance themselves from their own national brand. ■

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Chammaine Tan | *Untitled* | digital photography

EXPLAINING IRISHWOMEN'S NATIONALISM IN THE EASTER RISING

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Often in Irish history the roles of women have been undervalued or overlooked. To someone studying Ireland's past, it can be difficult to understand the impact women have in historical events. The nationalist women's movement at the turn of the twentieth century is just one ambiguous moment in Irish history. Before, during, and after the momentous revolt of the Irish Easter Rising of 1916, women actively participated in the Celtic Revival of literature and the uprising itself, which in turn spread more nationalism around the island. From Maud Gonne to Margaret Skinnider to Constance Markievicz, women nationalists in Ireland had a significant role in cultivating Irish nationalism and fighting right next to men for Ireland's freedom. Yet too often in historical texts women are invisible. Through an investigation of Republican Irishwomen's memoirs and letters, this essay will demonstrate that nationalist women played a more significant role, especially in the origins, but also in the course, of the Easter Rising than standard accounts tend to portray.

In the midst of such a strong, patriarchal society, many historians have overlooked the importance of women in Ireland's past. Only some women make it into the discussions and often, they are discredited or described in unfavorable terms. Many sources reviewed for this paper are prime examples of this, whether it be Margaret Skinnider's memoir being labeled as "nationalist propaganda" or Constance Markievicz's remembrance as "ignorant" or "dramatic."¹

This downgrading of character by male contemporaries and historians adds to the reason why women are often ignored or treated indifferently in scholarly accounts. Many monographs that cover the Easter Rising, in which both women personally partook, only briefly mention their roles in the insurrection's planning and execution. In the early stages of the Rising, Maud Gonne, a feminist and nationalist, was vital in spreading separatist and feminist thinking, yet any mention of the Celtic Revival usually amounts to a description of W.B. Yeats and J. M. Synge or Douglas Hyde and his Gaelic League.² In two standard monographs of the event by prominent historians, the unfortunate tradition in Irish historiography of neglecting or relegating women's roles in nationalism is somewhat still upheld. In Alan J. Ward's monograph, *The Easter Rising: Revolution and Irish Nationalism*, only three pages referencing women involved in the Rising are listed in the index. Constance Markievicz is mentioned on two pages and the Cumann na mBan named on just one.³ Ward is a well-regarded political historian with various writings on Ireland and a Professor Emeritus in the Government Department at The College of William & Mary.⁴

In a more recent book, Charles Townshend's *Easter 1916: The Irish Rebellion* contains a more extensive look at women's role before and during the revolt than Ward's. As one reviewer described, it provides "a fresh and vigorous study of one of the key events in modern Irish history, an incident seminal to both the formation of two Irelands and

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1 Karen Steele, *Women, Press, and Politics During the Irish Revival* (Syracuse: Syracuse University Press, 2007), 106; Cal McCarthy, *Cumann na mBan and the Irish Revolution* (Doughcloyne, Cork: Collins Press, 2007), 59.

2 Alan J. Ward, *The Easter Rising: Revolution and Irish Nationalism*, (Arlington Heights, IL: AHM Publishing Corporation, 1980), 59-60. This so in Ward's monograph.

3 *Ibid.*, 175 & 180.

4 The College of William and Mary, "William & Mary—Alan J. Ward", http://www.wm.edu/as/government/faculty/emeritusfaculty/ward_a.php (accessed on January 20, 2012).

Anglo-Irish relations.”⁵ However, he hints at skepticism in some statements that are usually taken as facts, which will be addressed later.⁶ Analysis of women’s memoirs and letters reveals more information about women’s actions and thus they can be accorded the credit they may deserve. Relying on Constance Markievicz’s prison letters and the recollections of Margaret Skinnider and Maud Gonne, this essay strives to define and distinguish Irishwomen’s nationalism in the planning and course of the Easter Rising.

To fully understand Irishwomen’s move from the cult of domesticity to the ardent, militant nationalism in the Easter Rising of 1916, it is important to understand the ideas circulating among women in Irish society at that time. Ireland’s history is full of stories and events expressing Irish resentment of English rule. From the Rising of 1798, to Emmet’s daylong revolt in 1803, to the failed Fenian outbursts in the middle of the nineteenth century, the Irish people had protested with little success against imperialism and for nationalism. There is thus a long history of people who sacrificed themselves for Ireland, in the process becoming martyrs to many Irish citizens and symbols of nationalism which were revived and immortalized in the press.

At the turn of the twentieth century, Irish nationalism began to expand with ideas of separatism and romantic militarism. These beliefs seeped out of the press as Ireland’s most devout nationalists promoted and spread ideas of self-determination through various publications. This literary revival was a call to the Irish people to return to their Celtic roots with Gaelic culture and to revoke England as their imperialist rulers. As a contemporary, Margaret Skinnider explains, “England had never

understood us so little as in these last ten years. Our pride was growing tremendously—pride not in what we have, but in what we are. The Celtic Revival was only an expression of this new pride.”⁷ Women took hold of these ideas and published columns during the revival describing Celtic goddesses and the role of women to nurture a nation; the *Shan Van Vocht* is an early example of shaping female perceptions towards nationalist causes yet still invoking an awakening of feminist thought.⁸ The *Shan Van Vocht*, circulated between 1896 and 1899, was published by three Republican women and retold nationalist memories of the Rising of 1798.⁹ Debates on England’s action in the Boer Wars and the onset of the Great War added to the political discourse.¹⁰ Women actively took stands on such issues and voiced their opinions.

In founding the *Inghinidhe na hÉireann* (Daughters of Ireland), Maud Gonne rallied for Irishwomen to join together to stop conscription in Ireland which was seen as backing England’s imperialist actions. She “called a meeting of all girls who, like myself resented being excluded, as women, from National Organisations. Our object was to work for the complete independence of Ireland.”¹¹ Her society worked with Arthur Griffith’s paper, *United Irishman*, to spread the word of the organization.¹² They advertised free classes for music, dancing, history, and Irish language for children, in hopes of spreading the Celtic Revival and teaching future generations to take pride and fight for Ireland. The women published leaflets as well, which were handed to Irish girls who were found consorting with British soldiers, shaming the young

5 Alan O’day, review of *Easter 1916: The Irish Rebellion* by Charles Townshend, *English Historical Review* 121 (Feb 2012): 849-850, <http://ehr.oxfordjournals.org.ezproxy2.lib.depaul.edu/content/CXXII/497/849.full> (accessed on January 20, 2012).

6 Charles Townshend, *Easter 1916: The Irish Rebellion* (Chicago: Ivan R. Dee, 2006), 165.

7 Margaret Skinnider, *Doing My Bit for Ireland* (New York: The Century Company, 1917), 67.

8 Steele, 36-37.

9 Guy Beiner, “Disremembering 1798?: An Archaeology of Social Forgetting and Remembrance in Ulster,” *History & Memory* 25, no. 1 (2013): 28-29, http://muse.jhu.edu/journals/history_and_memory/v025/25.1.beiner.html (accessed July 2, 2013).

10 Steele, 91.

11 Maud Gonne, *An Autobiography of Maud Gonne: A Servant to the Queen*, ed. A. Norman Jeffares and Anna MacBride White (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1995), 291.

12 Steele, 70.

women for betraying Ireland. They also disseminated pamphlets written by a Catholic priest that explained the moral wrongs of the “unjust war” in the hopes of preventing Irish men from enlisting in the British military forces.¹³ Gonne’s belief was that, “Ireland is always at war with England till she is free.”¹⁴ This mentality was shared by many others who campaigned through press for the Boers. The little war the nationalists waged by fighting enlistment meant the British could not so readily recruit Irish men to fight her wars, and at least some Irish men would stay home and fight for Ireland while others went off to South Africa for mainly financial reasons. Gonne also used England’s colonial distraction in Africa to undermine the imperialists through her membership of the Irish Republican Brotherhood (IRB). The IRB was a secret group of insurrectionists that had been around for decades and was involved in many ventures to separate Ireland from Great Britain. Using her connections in France, where she grew up, Gonne worked to make secret deals with France and even Belgium on behalf of the IRB, since their enemy—at least prior to 1914—was England as well. The plots ended up foiled, but her contributions and dedication to the nationalist cause were evident in her consistently active protests against English rule.¹⁵

As the times evolved and feminism began to create a stir around the world, new literature emerged with women’s voices on nationalist and suffragist issues. It must be noted that within the emergence of female voices on politics, feminist and militant nationalist views were often entwined for a variety of reasons. However, these fusions would end up separated, and the feminist movement would lose momentum as Unionist, Republican, and pacifist feminists split, unable to cooperate in the growing political environment in the wake of the Rising.¹⁶ Maud Gonne

became one of the most important women in the Irish press as her influence on various publications, the *United Irishman* and *Bean na hÉireann*, articulated the urgency of Irishwomen’s engagement with politics. This was especially evident in the all-women’s journal of the *Bean na hÉireann*, the *Inghinidhe na hÉireann*’s publication.

In addition to Gonne’s contributions, the periodical also expressed the voice of Constance Markievicz, a more militant nationalist who attempted to bring together feminists, nationalists, and socialists to Ireland’s separatist cause.¹⁷ Markievicz worked closely with James Connolly, a socialist leader and head of the Irish Citizen Army, to improve working conditions in Dublin and aided the beginning plans of the Easter Rising. From co-founding the *Na Fianna hÉireann*, the Irish militant boy scout organization that rivaled the Unionist organization, to her work with Connolly on rallies for workers with her own feminist writings on how women should militarize, she was a prominent figure for the different groups in Ireland. Markievicz gained the trust of the leaders of the Rising as, in her role as Chief Scout, she trained the *Fianna* boys in shooting.

Shortly before the Rising, Margaret Skinnider, a member of the *Glasgow Cumann na mBan* (Women’s Council), remarked how, while preparing for the insurrection in Dublin, Markievicz showed off Skinnider’s skill in marksmanship to some boys of the *Fianna* who were, “not much surprised... for by her own skill [Markievicz] had accustomed them to expect good marksmanship in a woman.”¹⁸ Markievicz also was involved in testing detonators and holding ammunitions in the *Surrey House*, her residence which was a favorite meeting place for Republicans.¹⁹ She was entrusted, as well, with serving as a “ghost” for Connolly. These “ghosts” were people “who stood secretly behind the leaders and were entrusted with enough of the plans of the Rising to enable them to carry on

13 Gonne, 292.

14 *Ibid.*, 309.

15 *Ibid.*, 306-7.

16 Dana Hearne, “The Irish Citizen 1914-1916: Nationalism, Feminism, and Militarism,” *The Canadian Journal of Irish Studies* 18, no. 1 (July 1992): 6, <http://www.jstor.org/stable/25512892> (accessed on January 18, 2012).

17 Steele, 112.

18 Skinnider, 27.

19 Skinnider, 52 & 59.

that Leader's work should anything happen to himself."²⁰ Markevicz's work in the spreading of republicanism and the planning of the Rising helped to generate more support for the Rising at a time when support by the Irish public overall was dismal.

Another part women played in the preparation and course of the Rising was through membership of the Cumann na mBan. Mentioned briefly before, the Women's Council, as it is translated, was founded as an auxiliary group to the Irish Volunteers.²¹ The founders of the Volunteers were cautious about adding women to the group for various reasons; some did not believe they should be involved in warfare while others believed that their help in support would be useful in recruitment. Many did not consider the women's group on the same level of involvement that the men's group would have in the Easter Rising.²² Members of the Cumann na mBan included Constance Markievicz and Margaret Skinnider. However, from the beginning, Markievicz was wary about working for the group, since the founding aim of the organization was simply providing assistance to the Volunteers. There was no mention of women actually participating in the fight for independence.²³ Skinnider, on the other hand, was a proud member of the Cumann na mBan and worked with Markievicz and Connolly to prepare for the insurrection. In her memoir, she tells of helping transport ammunitions and map the Beggar's Bush Barracks, which the Volunteers planned to blow up if conscription were instituted in Ireland.²⁴ The rest of the Cumann na mBan served to gather funds for the Volunteers who were rapidly expanding.²⁵ Prior to the rising, Dr. Kathleen Lynn also taught her fellow members first aid so they could help with

any wounded. These were more typical preparations for the Cumann na mBan; nonetheless, a few branches of the group participated in rifle practice, determined to take a greater role in the Rising.²⁶

Politically, Ireland was in the midst of slow reform over land and, eventually, politics as John Redmond and his Irish Party in Westminster worked for Home Rule before the turn of the century. Home Rule would overturn the Act of Union of 1801 which bound Ireland to Great Britain and dissolved its parliament in Dublin. By 1912, Home Rule was enacted because of a new change in the legislature of Westminster. The act was passed by the House of Commons but vetoed by the House of Lords, delaying the implementation of Home Rule in Ireland by two years. Once 1914 came, however, the war became a distraction to the Westminster Parliament and the Home Rule Act fell by the wayside never to be put into effect. As Unionists in the Northern counties formed armed paramilitaries, fearing the implementation of Home Rule and England was preoccupied with war, Irish Volunteers prepared to fight for independence. Their chance came during Easter week, 1916, with British soldiers off for holidays and a shipment of arms on its way. Unfortunately, the German ship carrying the munitions was scuttled after arousing the suspicions of a British navy ship. No one came for the arms because of miscommunication, so the German ship sat in the harbor until coming to the attention of the British. So instead of rising up on Easter Sunday, the rebels began proclaiming a free republic on Easter Monday, April 24.²⁷ Six days of fighting ended with Dublin in flames, the Republican leaders' surrender, and Britain's struggle to decide what to do with all the rebels.

With the start of the Rising taking place on Monday rather than the planned Sunday, there was much confusion among the rebels. With Eoin MacNeill canceling his orders to his Volunteers, the Irish Citizen Army led by Connolly

20 Jacqueline Van Voris, *Constance de Markievicz in the Cause of Ireland* (Amherst, MA: University of Massachusetts Press, 1967), 173. Here, Markievicz herself gives a description of her role as a "ghost."

21 McCarthy, 17.

22 *Ibid.*, 14.

23 Steele, 126.

24 Skinnider, 39 & 79.

25 Margaret Ward, *Unmanageable Revolutionaries: Women and Irish Nationalism* (London: Pluto Press, 1983), 94.

26 Margaret Ward, 104.

27 Alan Ward, 3.

and some volunteers under Eamon de Valera, Padraic Pearse, and Thomas MacDonagh mobilized to take the key buildings in Dublin as planned. From St. Stephen's Green to the General Post Office and Jacob's Biscuit Factory, all the participants of the Rising were dispersed around the city. The Cumann na mBan were among the many who were confused with all the changes and had to seek out the places where they were needed. The brigades of women did what they could to help the men by splitting into groups and moving around the different positions where the men were stationed. Often in the Rising, they served as cooks and nurses for the rebels.²⁸ Some used guns to hold up bread trucks attempting to deliver food, but Dublin soon shut down as shops closed, electricity was cut, and people were stranded in their homes.²⁹ The members of the Cumann na mBan also ran dispatches between the various rebel strongholds, which they were pleased to do even if it meant danger.³⁰

Eventually, at the end of the fight, it was the Cumann na mBan who would work out the surrender of the rebels to the British.³¹ A decent amount of them would surrender right next to the men and women of the Irish Citizen Army they aided.³² However, it is the actions of Constance Markievicz and Margaret Skinnider that deserve more attention than usually given. The two of them fought under Commandant Michael Mallin with a group of Irish Volunteers. Mallin would promote Markievicz to second-in-command (which historian Townshend expressed skepticism about in his monograph), and gave her orders to dig trenches in the

Green or help get rid of snipers.³³ When their group came under heavy fire, Mallin and Markievicz ordered everyone to retreat to the College of Surgeons with members of the Cumann na mBan. Here, they hung the tri-color flag of the Irish Republic and sniped at passing British soldiers.³⁴ On Wednesday, Skinnider was shot in the arm while running from a building she and others had set aflame. She took three bullets from British soldiers and was carried back to the College.³⁵ Previously, Skinnider had served as a messenger, riding her bike through the city and even gunfire.³⁶ By the end of the week, tired and hungry, the rebels surrendered on April 30, and Markievicz made a point of kissing her pistol before handing it over to the British.³⁷ Women's roles were clearly significant in the rebellion, but these "women are still often depicted as auxiliary to the men in contemporary accounts of the Easter Rising... rather than the leaders and warriors many of them proved themselves to be."³⁸

In Ward's and Townshend's books, women nationalists and their roles are only briefly mentioned or explained. Ward's monograph touches on the nationalist movements before Easter week in his chapter, "Revolutionary and Romantic Nationalism"; but his treatment of women is more than inadequate. His description of the separatist movement is limited to the men who were involved. However, women most definitely had a role in spreading nationalist thoughts through many different publications. He mentions nothing of Gonne's work with the Inghinidhe na hÉireann or the United Irishman.³⁹ Ward references a poetic description by W.B. Yeats where Yeats comments on Markievicz's "shrill voice" and "ignorant good-will." The question remains, why

28 Constance Markievicz, Eva Gore-Booth, and Esther Roper, *Prison Letters of Countess Markievicz (Constance Gore-Booth): Also Poems and Articles Relating To Easter Week By Eve Gore-Booth And A Biographical Sketch by Esther Roper* (London: Longmans, Green and Company, 1934), 40.

At this point in the book there is an excerpt by Markievicz herself that explains the roles women had in the Rising of 1916.

29 *Ibid.*, 39.

30 McCarthy, 64.

31 *Ibid.*, 65.

32 *Ibid.*, 67. Little is known about the women who served in the Irish Citizen Army besides Constance Markievicz. There is not much literature about these republican women.

33 Markievicz, 39; Townshend, 165.

34 Van Voris, 192.

35 Skinnider, 146-148.

36 *Ibid.*, 125.

37 Van Voris, 196.

38 Lisa Weihman, "Doing My Bit for Ireland: Transgressing Gender in the Easter Rising," *Éire-Ireland* 39, no. 3 & 4 (Fall/Winter 2004): 244, <http://muse.jhu.edu.ezproxy2.lib.depaul.edu/journals/eire-ireland/v039/39.3weihman.html> (accessed on January 30, 2012).

39 Alan Ward, 47-64.

would Ward use Yeats's incendiary caricature of Markievicz to support his argument that ordinary Irish people understood the actions taken by the rebels. Ward even admits that Yeats described Padraic Pearse and Thomas MacDonagh "politely but condescending[ly]," but the use of Yeats' view of the rebels is not relevant to his point.⁴⁰ The Cumann na mBan receive a brief mention of their role in the rising as cooks and nurses, but it is clear that they did more to help prepare and aid the men.⁴¹ With Markievicz and Skinnider fighting alongside male rebels as Cumann na mBan members, Ward could have mentioned their significant role in the event. In fairness, however, Ward does explain Markievicz's position within the Irish Citizen Army as second-in-command after Mallin.

Because there were sixteen years between the publication of Ward's book (1980) and Townshend's (2006) treatment of the Rising the differences between the two are significant. Within *Easter 1916: The Irish Rebellion*, Townshend sheds more light on women's roles before Easter week and in the actual rising itself. He covers Gonne and Markievicz's work during the literary revival, but his language carries a tone that suggests their work was a "drama movement" which carries a slightly negative connotation.⁴² From describing the roles of the Cumann na mBan in the middle of the fight from nurses to cooks to messengers, he gives the reader more details about what women were in charge of at certain places, as well as uses quotes from group members to describe different situations.⁴³ Townshend mentions Skinnider's role as messenger and soldier.⁴⁴ His incorporation of women's roles leading up to and the course of the Easter Rising justifies the fact that they played a significant role. One thing that would be helpful to his portrayal and analysis would be to place greater emphasis on the memoirs and letters of women who participated; this would give a far more realistic

depiction of their role. Townshend's monograph remains primarily centered on the contributions of men. Since his work is more recent, it could be viewed as at least a partial response to the frequent complaints of women's erasure in older monographs.⁴⁵

As prominent scholars, Alan J. Ward and Charles Townshend discuss the events leading up to and during the Easter Rising of 1916. While Townshend's account provides a more complete picture of women's roles in the Rising than Ward's, much more needs to be done to give women credit where it is due in Irish history. By examining the writings of women involved, an understanding can be reached on the women's contribution to such a significant event like the Easter Rising. Between Maud Gonne's work to spread nationalism among women and the central role played by Constance Markievicz, with Margaret Skinnider's assistance, in the planning and execution of the revolt, it is clear that women had quite a significant role in the history of the rebellion. The gaps in the history forwarded by both Ward and Townshend show that, even though historians have come some distance in acknowledging Irishwomen's participation over the last twenty years, much more remains to be done in order to completely credit Irishwomen and reverse the negative character judgment of women who have been portrayed to date. ■

40 *Ibid.*, 14-15.

41 Ward, 5.

42 Townshend, 16.

43 Townshend, 261-261.

44 *Ibid.*, 169.

45 Townshend, 414-428. To resolve the indifference towards women in Irish history, it could be argued that there needs to be a reinvestigation into women's primary sources. This is how Townshend found most of his information on Constance Markievicz and Maud Gonne, as seen in his bibliography. This would also help to stop the perpetuation of character judgments seen in older monographs, but this would be a whole other paper.

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Miti Kotak | *The Little Boy* | digital photography

DA URBINO A ROMA. I DUE SCOPI DELLA MADONNA COL BAMBINO DI RAFFAELLO

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ABSTRACT Madonna and Child images were one of the most popular themes of Italian Renaissance art and Raphael Sanzio's collection stands as one of the most renowned and original. How did one artist in his short life manage to master and innovate a theme that was already so popular? By following the artist's journey from his beginnings in Urbino under the master Pietro Perugino to his final days at the will of Pope Leo X in Rome, this paper shows that Raphael's Madonna and Child images were so popular and innovative because they not only incorporated Catholic doctrine, but also portrayed the Madonna and Child in a way that made them relatable to the wealthy citizens of the day. These elements were even more important in a time when some believers were starting to doubt the role of the Virgin Mary and liturgical elements of the Catholic Church.

Raffaello Sanzio ha dipinto immagini della Madonna col Bambino fin dall'inizio della sua carriera, dal 1500 alla sua morte, nel 1520. L'artista ha ricevuto commissioni da ricchi mecenati per questi dipinti. Ci sono 27 quadri della Madonna col Bambino e sono tutti diversi. Siccome i dipinti erano diversi, il mecenate si sentiva importante perché riceveva una creazione unica. Raffaello è stato influenzato dal suo maestro, Perugino, a Urbino. Tuttavia, quando l'artista è andato a Firenze, ha iniziato a produrre arte con una iconografia più profonda. Verso la fine della sua carriera, mentre era a Roma, Raffaello ha dipinto immagini con una profonda simbologia cattolica e un tema materno. I dipinti su pannello della Madonna col Bambino hanno avuto successo perché hanno illustrato la natura umana di Cristo rendendolo più familiare ai propri mecenati e hanno incorporato la dottrina cattolica in un periodo in cui la fede della popolazione cominciava a vacillare.

Intorno al 1500, Raffaello ha iniziato a dipingere i quadri della Madonna col Bambino con il suo maestro, Pietro

Perugino. I dipinti della Madonna col Bambino erano molto popolari durante il Rinascimento italiano. I genitori erano incoraggiati ad avere immagini sacre nella loro casa per insegnare ai loro figli a vivere una vita virtuosa. L'immagine della Madonna è stata usata per dimostrare l'ideale comportamento materno.¹ I dipinti sono stati utilizzati anche per incoraggiare la fede dello spettatore e illustrare la dottrina cattolica. Raffaello ha prodotto le seguenti immagini a Urbino: la *Madonna Solly* del 1502, la *Madonna di Pasadena* del 1503, e la *Madonna Conestabile* del 1503-4. Queste tre immagini sono state influenzate da Perugino. Nei primi due quadri della Madonna, l'influenza si vede nelle figure a mezzo busto. Tuttavia, Raffaello è superiore a Perugino nella sua rappresentazione dell'interazione tra la Vergine e il Bambino.² Anche se la cornice è quadrata, la *Madonna Conestabile* è un tondo circolare. Il tondo era popolare tra Perugino e i suoi seguaci. Questa scelta è stata fatta da Raffaello per dichiarare l'influenza del suo maestro nel suo lavoro.³ La

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1 Rona Goffen. "Mary's Motherhood According to Leonardo and Michelangelo." *Artibus et Historiae* 20 no. 40 (1999): 36.

2 Bette Talvacchia. *Raphael*. New York: Phaidon, 2007, 61.

3 *Ibid.*, 64.

Madonna di Pasadena è stata l'inizio dell'inserimento della dottrina della Chiesa e la natura umana di Cristo nei quadri di Raffaello.

La *Madonna di Pasadena*, mentre è molto simile alla *Madonna Solly*, incorpora maggiormente la natura umana di Cristo e la dottrina cattolica. Il dipinto è l'immagine di un momento tenero tra madre e figlio. Il bambino accarezza il dito della Vergine e rende la scena intima. Ciò dimostra il comportamento materno menzionato in precedenza. A differenza della *Madonna Solly*, il libro in possesso della Vergine ha un ruolo molto importante. Il testo, che può essere letto, è parte della preghiera dell'Ora Nona e connesso alla Passione di Cristo.⁴ In particolare è connesso all'accettazione di Cristo del suo destino e la contemplazione della sua morte e al fatto che Cristo potesse leggere dalla nascita perché era divino.⁵ La Vergine e Cristo hanno così mostrato che si può ricordare allo spettatore la salvezza del mondo.⁶ In questa prima immagine della Madonna, Raffaello ha incorporato la dottrina della Chiesa e l'umanità di Cristo attraverso la sua nudità e il rapporto del bambino con sua madre.

Raffaello ha iniziato a dipingere quadri della Madonna a Urbino, ma era a Firenze nel 1504 quando ha scoperto il suo vero potenziale. Giorgio Vasari, nella biografia dell'artista, ha scritto "poi che fu stato a Firenze, che egli variò et abbellì tanto la maniera, mediante l'aver vedute molte cose e di mano di maestri eccellenti, che ella non aveva che fare alcuna cosa con quella prima se non come fussino di mano di diversi e più e meno eccellenti nella pittura".⁷ Ciò è particolarmente vero per le sue immagini sulla Madonna. Raffaello ha studiato le opere di Leonardo e Michelangelo e ha iniziato a preferire il tema della Madonna dell'Umiltà per le sue immagini. La Madonna dell'Umiltà raffigura

la Vergine come una donna umile e non una regina, il che la rendeva più familiare per i cittadini ricchi. Sia Michelangelo che Leonardo hanno utilizzato questo tema, che hanno rappresentato nello stile del triangolo di Leonardo. Il metodo del triangolo era una composizione creata da Leonardo che ha posto le figure nella forma geometrica. Ciò ha realizzato un equilibrio scientifico. Quando Raffaello è arrivato a Firenze, queste immagini erano popolari tra i cittadini d'élite.⁸ L'artista giovane ha approfittato delle molte richieste e ha prodotto diciassette quadri della Madonna. Alcune immagini della Madonna che Raffaello ha prodotto a Firenze sono la *Madonna del granduca* del 1505, la *Madonna della Rosa* del 1505-6, e la *Madonna Bridgewater* del 1507. Questi dipinti mostrano la Madonna e il Bambino che si abbracciano al chiuso. Ci sono anche dipinti della Madonna con il Bambino in un luogo all'aperto come la *Madonna della Colonna*, *Madonna Tempi*, e *Grande Madonna Cowper*, tutti del 1508. Tuttavia, solo una rappresentazione include San Giuseppe, la *Sacra Famiglia Canigiani* del 1507. Questo è strano perché in una famiglia ideale la madre e il padre sono entrambi presenti. Tuttavia, a Firenze, San Giuseppe non era una figura molto rispettata. La gente in questo periodo si riferisce a lui come ad un uomo vecchio e non molti bambini venivano battezzati con questo nome.⁹ Invece di San Giuseppe, Raffaello ha incluso Giovanni Battista in molti dei quadri. Anche se questo non era un tema nuovo, Raffaello ha posto nel Battista maggiore significato.¹⁰ Le tre immagini seguenti della Madonna, dimostrano la crescita della carriera di Raffaello in entrambi i temi.

La prima immagine della Madonna che Raffaello ha prodotto a Firenze è la *Piccola Madonna Cowper* del 1505. Questa Madonna rappresenta la transizione tra il periodo di Urbino e il periodo fiorentino. Lo stile di Raffaello a Urbino è illustrato dalla figura che viene mostrata a mezzo

4 *Ibid.*, 61.

5 Anne VanBuren. "The Canonical Office in Renaissance Paintings: Raphael's Madonna at Nones." *The Art Bulletin* 57 no. 1 (1975): 43.

6 *Ibid.*, 52.

7 Giorgio Vasari. *Le Vite dei più eccellenti pittori, scultori, e architetti*. Roma: Grandi Tascabili Economici Newton, 2005, 621.

8 John Pope-Hennessy. *Raphael: The Wrightsman Lectures*. Edinburgh: R & R Clark LTD, 1970, 193.

9 Goffen, 55.

10 Marco Grassi. "A Raphael 'Madonna' Restored." *The New Criterion* 27 no. 10 (2009): 24.

busto.¹¹ Tuttavia, la Madonna è bionda, ha le pelle chiara, e ha tratti di piccole dimensioni, il che era comune per le Madonne fiorentine.¹² Raffaello ha cambiato l'aspetto fisico della sua Madonna per conformarsi alla preferenza fiorentina. Durante il Rinascimento in Italia, le donne più belle avevano i capelli biondi e la pelle chiara. Queste qualità hanno sottolineato il fatto che queste donne non avevano bisogno di lavorare al sole. Questo ha reso il loro rango sociale più importante. Raffaello ha anche sottolineato l'importanza dell'umanità di Cristo in questa immagine.

Dipingendo Cristo più umano che divino, Raffaello ha reso Cristo e la Madonna simili ai cittadini fiorentini molto benestanti. Mentre la posa della mano della Madonna appare leggermente innaturale, poiché la Vergine dovrebbe avere il palmo sollevato verso l'alto, essa dimostra l'intimità fra la Madre e il Bambino. Questo forte legame è dimostrato nell'abbraccio del Bambino alla Vergine quando le circonda il collo con le braccia.¹³ Come altri pittori prima di lui, Raffaello rende il Bambino più umano che divino dipingendolo nudo (come aveva fatto ad Urbino). Lui dipinge le aureole con sottili linee d'oro che rendono quasi invisibile la differenza tra Cristo e la sua famiglia rispetto alle altre persone. Nel lavoro *Piccola Madonna Cowper*, mentre pare che l'umanità e la relazione tra madre e figlio sia la priorità, viene anche articolata e descritta la dottrina cattolica. All'interno del paesaggio unico, nell'angolo destro c'è la chiesa di San Bernardino, che è ad Urbino.¹⁴ Questa chiesa ricorda la liturgia cattolica e anche una dottrina importante riguardante l'Eucarestia. Questa dottrina afferma che dopo la transustanziazione, il pane diviene nella sostanza il corpo di Cristo. In questa immagine, la Vergine sostiene Cristo e fa le veci del prete a messa. La *Piccola Madonna Cowper*, con la posizione della Vergine e Cristo, e con la

chiesa sullo sfondo, dimostra non solo la natura umana di Cristo, ma celebra anche la dottrina dell'Eucarestia.

Mentre nel quadro *Piccola Madonna Cowper* c'era una reminiscenza dei modelli di Perugino, Raffaello trasforma completamente la sua Madonna seguente con lo stile fiorentino. La *Madonna del Prato* è stata dipinta nel 1505-6 per Taddeo Taddei, un banchiere fiorentino. Il quadro venne dato come regalo di nozze dalla famiglia Taddei al re Ferdinando d'Austria, che era l'erede della terra degli Asburgo. È appropriato che il quadro venisse dato come regalo di nozze grazie ai simboli matrimoniali presenti nello stesso, come le fragole nell'angolo destro. Le fragole erano un simbolo di fertilità, che era un aspetto importante del matrimonio perché la moglie doveva dare un erede maschio alla famiglia di suo marito.¹⁵ Questo quadro è stato fatto per una famiglia molto influente, il che dimostra la fama crescente di Raffaello, e il successo che stavano accumulando le sue immagini della Madonna.

Nella *Madonna del Prato* l'umanità di Cristo è illustrata nella tradizione fiorentina, ma anche nella relazione tra le figure. Il Cristo nudo era un tema popolare a Firenze sia in pittura che in scultura. Il Cristo nudo era spesso usato per mostrare la sua natura umana e il fatto che era sia mortale che divino. Un altro modo in cui Raffaello ha usato i modelli fiorentini precedenti erano le aureole appena visibili sulle tre figure, il che rende la scena più naturale. Sia la connotazione delle nozze che la relazione tra le figure rendono il dipinto riconducibile alla famiglia Taddei. La madre, con il proprio rapporto ideale con il figlio è vista come la Madonna che elargisce uno sguardo compassionevole ed elegante agli infanti. Tuttavia, non è solo il rapporto tra la madre e il figlio che sottolinea l'umanità di Cristo. In un disegno iniziale, Raffaello mette Cristo nel grembo della Madonna. Ha cambiato la composizione, in modo che Cristo stia sulla terra, ad un

11 Talvacchia, 66.

12 Goffen, 41.

13 David Alan Brown. "Raphael's 'Small Cowper Madonna' and 'Madonna of the Meadow': Their Technique and Leonardo Sources." *Artibus et Historiae* 4 no. 8 (1983): 22.

14 Talvacchia, 66.

15 Paul Crenshaw. *Discovering the Great Masters: The Art Lover's Guide to Understanding Symbols in Painting*. New York: Universe Publishing, 2009, 122.

livello di parità con il suo compagno di giochi.¹⁶ Giovanni è in ginocchio davanti a Cristo a segnalare la differenza tra il bambino umano e divino. Tuttavia, Giovanni non sembra compiere il ruolo di battista. Sostiene la croce, ma non è vestito nel suo abito tradizionale di pelo di cammello.¹⁷ Il fatto che Giovanni non porti vestiti tradizionali rende la premonizione del battesimo di Cristo un indizio molto sottile. Questo è stato un cambiamento accettabile, perché Giovanni era uno dei santi patroni di Firenze e la gente conosceva bene il suo ruolo. Raffaello ha incluso anche un simbolo minore dell'umiltà di Cristo sullo sfondo. Nel paesaggio a sinistra del quadro c'è un piccolo riparo che contrasta con la città. Questo riparo è un ricordo della nascita di Cristo, ed è necessario per la salvezza del mondo.¹⁸ Il riparo illustra anche la nascita modesta di Cristo. La salvezza del mondo grazie al sacrificio di Cristo, è anche presente nel quadro con la famiglia nel prato.

Nella *Madonna del Prato* ci sono molti simboli che alludono alla Passione di Cristo, che porta al riscatto del mondo. Un esempio illustre è la croce, che è sostenuta da Giovanni e è afferrata da Cristo. Questo gesto sottolinea la dottrina cattolica secondo cui Cristo ha accettato il suo sacrificio.¹⁹ Altri simboli della Passione sono il rosso del vestito della Madonna e i papaveri, i fiori rossi alla destra della Vergine. Predicendo la futura Passione di Cristo i papaveri servono ad un altro scopo, predire il futuro della Vergine.²⁰ È dogma cattolico, dichiarato nel 1950 che la Vergine è ascesa al Paradiso sia con il suo corpo che la sua anima. Ha lasciato il mondo in pace.²¹ La gente qualche volta associa questa fine dolce al significato che la Vergine non è realmente morta, ma sta solo dormendo.²² Anche se la *Madonna del Prato* allude al sacrificio futuro di Cristo,

diventa più gradevole grazie alla relazione della giovane famiglia. Il momento tenero tra le figure nel prato accentua i sentimenti comuni che un spettatore potrebbe sentire. Per un momento, lo spettatore non riconosce il futuro di Cristo, ma riflette sulla vita di Cristo quando lui era un bambino umano.

Un altro dipinto creato nel 1506 che è simile alla *Madonna del Prato* è la *Madonna del Cardellino*. Raffaello ha dato questa Madonna come regalo di nozze al suo amico Lorenzo Nasi, un commerciante fiorentino. La scena raffigura la Vergine con Cristo e Giovanni Battista nel prato con un paesaggio sullo sfondo. Mentre i simboli del quadro alludono alla futura Passione, Raffaello ha sottolineato la natura più umana di Cristo in questo quadro a confronto con la *Madonna del Prato*. Il simbolo della Passione in quest'opera è il cardellino che è tenuto nelle mani da Giovanni (come la croce nell'opera precedente). Il cardellino era un simbolo della Passione perché quest'uccello mangia tra le spine; le spine sono un ricordo della corona di Cristo.²³ Il *Tondo Taddei* di Michelangelo ha influenzato la composizione di Raffaello in questa narrazione.²⁴ Taddeo Taddei ha commissionato a Michelangelo un rilievo della sacra famiglia che lui ha completato nel 1504. È possibile che quando Raffaello ha visitato la casa di Taddei, abbia visto questo rilievo.²⁵ In quest'opera Michelangelo ha scolpito Giovanni Battista che presenta un cardellino a Cristo. Raffaello ha reso la famiglia più umana, ma ha anche dimostrato la dottrina cattolica con la posizione del cardellino. Un confronto tra la composizione di Raffaello e Michelangelo dimostra l'attendibilità di questa ipotesi.

Nel rilievo di Michelangelo, Giovanni presenta il cardellino a Gesù, mentre il bambino si agita in braccio a sua madre. Sia la Vergine che Cristo sembrano spaventati

16 Brown, 17.

17 Crenshaw, 122.

18 *Ibid.*, 123.

19 *Ibid.*

20 *Ibid.*

21 Frederick Holweck. "The Feast of the Assumption." *The Catholic Encyclopedia*. Vol. 2. New York: Robert Appleton Company, 1907.

Accessed June 2, 2011. <<http://www.newadvent.org/cathen/02006b.htm>>.

22 Crenshaw, 123.

23 "Raphael's Masterpiece Returns with Fresh Face." *Biblical Archaeology Review* 35 no. 2 (2009): 10.

24 Jill Burke. *Changing Patrons*. University Park: The Pennsylvania State University Press, 2004, 193.

25 Pope-Hennessy, 187.

dal significato dell'uccello. L'unica persona che agisce nel ruolo assegnato è Giovanni che sta predicando la futura Passione di Cristo. Raffaello potrebbe essere stato ispirato dal rilievo di Michelangelo, ma il cardellino sembra essere l'unico elemento che ha usato. Invece di allontanarsi dall'uccello, Cristo accarezza la sua testa. La Vergine sembra anche abbracciare il destino di Cristo nell'abbraccio a San Giovanni, che tiene il cardellino in mano. Il rapporto tra le tre figure è anche più importante nel lavoro di Raffaello. La tenerezza tra madre e figlio è illustrata in Cristo che sta pestando delicatamente i piedi della Madonna.²⁶ Il ruolo di Giovanni è anche più significativo perché interagisce con Cristo e l'uccello, incoraggiato dallo sguardo della Vergine. Questo dipinto è stato apprezzato non solo dal destinatario del regalo ma anche dalla sua famiglia. Quando una frana ha distrutto la casa della famiglia Nasi, nel novembre del 1547, Battista di Lorenzo Nasi ha cercato tra i detriti per trovare il quadro.²⁷ Quando il dipinto è stato trovato, la famiglia ha riparato il lavoro a costi elevatissimi.²⁸ Questi atti dimostrano il valore elevato del dipinto, non solo perché è stato dipinto da un maestro, ma perché la composizione e il significato delle immagini della Madonna di Raffaello erano così profondi.

Le immagini della Madonna a Firenze hanno aiutato Raffaello a diventare famoso nella città, ma il pittore è stato convocato a Roma dal Papa. A Roma, l'artista ha avuto molti progetti come le stanze del Vaticano, ma lui ha prodotto molte immagini della Madonna. La produzione di Raffaello era maggiore a Firenze che a Roma, ma si trovano bellissime Madonne anche a Roma. In questi dipinti della Madonna, Raffaello ha usato ciò che ha imparato a Firenze e che ha mescolato con il suo stile individuale per produrre immagini ancora più spirituali. Comunque, Raffaello ha reso sempre l'umanità della Madonna e il bambino una priorità.

²⁶ Talvacchia, 69.

²⁷ Burke, 194.

²⁸ Talvacchia, 75.

A Roma Raffaello ha completato immagini della Madonna al chiuso a Firenze, come la *Madonna di Loreto* del 1508-9 e la *Madonna Aldobrandini* del 1509. Infatti, l'unica immagine di Raffaello che è stata dipinta all'aperto a Roma è la *Madonna d'Alba* del 1511. A prima vista, questa composizione è molto simile alle immagini che Raffaello ha completato durante il periodo fiorentino. La *Madonna d'Alba* è stata forse commissionata da Paolo Giovio che ha voluto donare questo quadro a una chiesa.²⁹ In questo quadro mentre l'umanità di Cristo è importante, è data più importanza alla spiritualità perché questo dipinto celebra la dottrina cattolica.³⁰

La dottrina cattolica celebrata in questo quadro è la fede che Cristo sapeva della sua Passione dalla nascita. Nel dipinto Cristo non ha mostrato dipendenza da sua madre; la ha usata solo per sostenersi mentre sta per prendere la croce. Sia San Giovanni nel vestito tradizionale che la Vergine capiscono il significato della croce. Il peso che la Vergine porta a causa di questa coscienza è dimostrato dal fatto che sembra essere molto pesante e prende molto spazio nel quadro; questo accade perché sarà molto triste in futuro.³¹ Il trio forma la via della salvezza: la Vergine che è la madre di Cristo, il Battista che ha predetto la sua nascita, e Cristo che si è sacrificato. Lo scopo di questo quadro è celebrare la divinità di Cristo, ma dove è la celebrazione della sua umanità in questo dipinto?

Raffello, che non ha voluto interrompere la dottrina del quadro, ha dato priorità al mondo naturale. Questa scelta è sufficiente perché è un ricordo del fatto che Cristo è vissuto fra gli uomini. In questa scelta Raffaello ha fatto anche un riferimento all'Umanesimo rinascimentale. In questa immagine le aureole della sacra famiglia sono invisibili, una pratica comune fra gli artisti che rende la

²⁹ "Alba Madonna." *The Collection: National Gallery of Art*. Accessed May 15, 2011. <<http://www.nga.gov/collection/gallery/gg20/gg20-26-none.html>>.

³⁰ *Ibid.*

³¹ Regina Stefaniak. "Raphael's Madonna of Foligno: Vergine Bella." *Konsthistorisk Tidskrift* 69 no. 2 (2000): 186.

sacra famiglia più umana. Quando il dipinto è stato pulito, sono state trovate le aureole sulla testa del trio di figure. Le aureole sono sottili dischi d'oro in cui l'elemento dell'oro è importante. L'aureola d'oro era un simbolo dell'eternità perché non ha un inizio o una fine e inoltre è il solo metallo che è incorruttibile.³² Poi Raffaello ha fatto di tuttata la composizione un cerchio. Facendo la composizione come un cerchio, Raffaello ha coinvolto tutto il paesaggio, e raffigurato il mondo naturale come sacro.³³ Lo sfondo sottolinea anche l'importanza del mondo naturale con le grandi montagne e il vasto lago. Inoltre il trio è collocato a un livello basso. Questa scelta rappresenta l'importanza del mondo naturale perché è come se il trio fosse insieme alla natura.

La *Madonna d'Alba* è servita come omaggio alla dottrina cattolica e il mondo naturale. Tuttavia, nella *Madonna della Seggiola*, il rapporto tra madre e figlio diventa un interesse significativo di Raffaello. In questo dipinto della Madonna col Bambino, Raffaello ha dipinto Cristo come un bambino completamente dipendente da sua madre. San Giovanni Battista è visibile in alto a destra mentre rende omaggio in ginocchio alla coppia. La Madonna è stata probabilmente commissionata da Papa Leone X o qualcuno nella sua casa.³⁴ La Madonna è vestita in abiti alla moda per il periodo storico, tra cui un turbante elegante. Questo abbigliamento ha aggiunto uno stile contemporaneo e elementi decorativi al dipinto.³⁵ Raffaello era il primo artista a vestire la Madonna in abiti contemporanei. Questa scelta l'ha resa identificabile con le donne ricche del periodo. Sarebbe stato certo importante per il Papa sottolineare l'importanza della Madonna, viste le critiche alla Chiesa nel corso della Riforma. Questa immagine affronta infatti due dottrine importanti che sono state messe in dubbio dai riformatori. Martin Lutero ed i suoi seguaci credevano che la Vergine avesse troppa

importanza nella Chiesa cattolica. I riformatori hanno rispettato la Vergine, perché era la madre di Dio, ma non credevano nella sua verginità eterna o la sua immacolata concezione. Per queste credenze i riformatori tentavano di diminuire l'influenza della Vergine. Questo dipinto di Raffaello, vuole invece elevare la Vergine ad una posizione di importanza nella mente dei fedeli.

La devozione alla Vergine Maria è stato uno dei temi principali su cui i riformatori hanno dibattuto con la Chiesa cattolica. In questo quadro, se la Madonna non è una Madonna dell'Umiltà, non è neanche una Madonna sul Trono. È raffigurata nel quadro come elegante e seduta su una sedia elaborata.³⁶ L'abbigliamento che indossa era considerato di moda, e sarebbe stato costoso. La sedia sulla quale si siede è stata identificata come una sedia Savonarola, comunemente usata dai papi.³⁷ Raffaello ha utilizzato questa sedia anche nel suo dipinto *Leone X con due cardinali* del 1518. I riformatori avevano messo in dubbio che la devozione alla Vergine fosse appropriata. Tuttavia, la dottrina cattolica afferma che la Vergine deve essere tenuta in alta considerazione perché era una parte importante della nascita di Cristo.³⁸ Raffaello ha dimostrato l'importanza della Vergine per la salvezza del genere umano in questo dipinto dipingendola in abiti eleganti e seduta su una sedia Savonarola. Raffaello ha dipinto la Madonna su una sedia invece che su un trono, con un'aureola per dimostrare che lei era solo una donna umana scelta da Dio.

I riformatori hanno anche criticato la dottrina cattolica sull'Eucaristia. La dottrina cattolica proclama che dopo la transustanziazione il pane diventa nella sostanza il corpo di Cristo. I riformatori credevano invece che il pane fosse sia il pane che il corpo di Cristo.³⁹ Raffaello aveva già fatto

32 George Grinnell. "Heaven and Earth Reconciled: The Common Vision of Renaissance Art and Science." *Leonardo* 21 no. 2 (1988): 197.

33 *Ibid.*

34 Talvacchia, 116.

35 *Ibid.*

36 Pope-Hennessy, 216.

37 Talvacchia, 116.

38 Mirella Levi d'Ancora. "The Doni Madonna by Michelangelo: An Iconographic Study." *The Art Bulletin* 50 no. 1 (1968): 43-50.

39 Diarmaid MacCulloch. *The Reformation*. New York City: Penguin Group, 2004, 342.

un'allusione all'Eucaristia nel suo dipinto della *Piccola Madonna Cowper*, ma in questo caso il significato è più rilevante. Questo dipinto è uno degli unici casi in cui Raffaello ha dipinto Cristo con un vestito, così in effetti la Vergine non tocca la sua pelle. La Vergine rappresenta un sacerdote in questo dipinto. San Giovanni sta compiendo due ruoli. Rende omaggio alla Vergine come madre e alla Vergine come sacerdote. Giovanni rende omaggio alla Vergine come madre non solo sottolineando il suo ruolo nella salvezza, ma anche per onorare tutte le madri che vedono questo dipinto. Quando rende omaggio alla Vergine come sacerdote la rende partecipe alla liturgia della messa cattolica. La *Madonna della Seggiola* è un dipinto importante, perché Raffaello ha incorporato la dottrina della Chiesa e inoltre ha creato un'immagine con cui il popolo poteva identificarsi.

I quadri di Raffaello della Madonna e il Bambino hanno avuto successo perché hanno illustrato la natura umana della Vergine e di Gesù e anche perché hanno incorporato i simboli della dottrina cattolica. Ci sono molte immagini della Madonna col Bambino, ma la collezione di Raffaello

è tra le più conosciute. Durante la sua vita la richiesta per questi dipinti era molto forte. È stato il talento di Raffaello nel combinare la spiritualità e la naturalezza che ha reso i suoi quadri popolari. A Urbino ha iniziato la sua carriera con un'educazione di base e a Firenze ha cambiato il suo stile diventando un artista molto popolare. Le sue rappresentazioni della Madonna sono evolute dallo stile giovanile allo stile fiorentino. È però a Roma che Raffaello ha aumentato d'intensità il significato spirituale della Madonna e il Bambino e ha incorporato simboli e celebrazioni della dottrina cattolica. Ciononostante ha fatto in modo che anche le persone del periodo potessero identificarsi con la Madonna e il Bambino. Comunque Raffaello è morto prima che la Riforma iniziasse ufficialmente, così è solo possibile immaginare se le immagini della Madonna col Bambino avrebbero soddisfatto i riformatori e avrebbero fatto tornare i riformatori alla Chiesa cattolica. ■

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Gregory Rothstein | *Hay* | digital photography

“ARE YOU THERE VINNY? I’M GAY.” DEPAUL’S RESPONSE TO THE SOCIETY OF THE INDIVIDUAL IN THE EARLY 1980S

COLLEEN ANNE CANNIFF*
LGBTQ Studies Program

“I am a gay student at this school and I feel that it is time that a member of this minority spoke up. [...] I pray that [straights and gays] can get together [...] in harmony and Christian peace...”

Anonymous Letter to the Editor, February 1981¹

This declaration, in February of 1981, was a seemingly isolated letter to the editor of *The DePaulia*, DePaul University’s student newspaper. There was no story or news feature that acted as its antecedent, and there were no published responses in subsequent issues. The letter simply informed students of a “new gay student’s organization that was recently formed by some students of Loyola, DePaul, and Circle [sic].”² No name, date, or location was given as a contact or meeting point. Yet, this letter indicates that there was a desire to increase visibility and awareness on campus, and that organization in Chicago on college campuses like DePaul had begun.

Concentrated and documented efforts toward organizing an official student group for gay and lesbian students on DePaul’s campus began in early 1983. The group, later known as the “Society of the Individual” or simply “Individual” had to tread delicately in gaining approval as an official student group on campus.³ The movement

towards official recognition produced a complex reaction from the student body and administration. Tensions formed in the student body and faculty between those who relied on traditional teachings of the church and depended on a literal reading of the Bible,⁴ faculty who saw no place for non-academic clubs at DePaul,⁵ and others who advocated for gay students as the “last minorities to be recognized in this country.”⁶ During a time in which student, faculty, Catholic, and societal responses were mixed, what guided DePaul’s decision regarding the early student gay and lesbian organization? I argue that DePaul students were able to establish a gay and lesbian group during the early 1980s because DePaul administrators prioritized the needs of a minority student population over the prevailing precedent set by other Catholic institutions. This prioritization was enabled by the administration’s perception that the group’s purpose was consistent with the Vincentian mission of DePaul.

In order to examine these questions, this study considers a variety of source materials and contexts in the early 1980s, from the publication of the first notable article in *The DePaulia* regarding gay organizing at DePaul to Student Affairs documents regarding recognition of the Society of the Individual in 1984. DePaul’s unique situation

* Originally written as a final project for Professor Roshanna Sylvester’s History 299 course, this paper was awarded the LGBTQ Studies Program Best Essay Prize for 2012-2013.

1 *The DePaulia*, “Letters to the Editor—Gay Student Organization Formed,” February 13, 1981, From DePaul University Special Collections and Archives, *DePaulia* Collection—1980 to 1981, DePaul University Library, Chicago.

2 *Ibid.*

3 “The Constitution of Individual,” From DePaul University Special Collections and Archives, Student Affairs Collection—Society of the Individual 1983-1984—Box 29, DePaul University Library, Chicago.

4 See for example, Donna A. Gregg, “Letters to the Editors—Gays wrong,” *The DePaulia*, January 21, 1983, from DePaul University Special Collections and Archives, *DePaulia* Collection—1982 to 1983, DePaul University Library, Chicago.

5 Dr. Hans Schieser, Professor of Education, “Standpoint: Non-academic clubs waste of time and energy,” *The DePaulia*, February 11, 1983, from DePaul University Special Collections and Archives, *DePaulia* Collection—1982 to 1983, DePaul University Library, Chicago.

6 *The DePaulia*, “Letters to the Editors—Gay rights,” January 21, 1983, from DePaul University Special Collections and Archives, *DePaulia* Collection—1982 to 1983, DePaul University Library, Chicago.

as a Catholic-Vincentian university and its location in a major metropolitan area gave the university a complex set of questions to answer in the formulation of their decision regarding gay and lesbian groups. Events that were happening on a national level, such as the Bowers v. Hardwick (1986) Supreme Court decision, state sodomy laws, and Chicago anti-discrimination ordinances provide context for the political climate. DePaul's proximity to the Boystown neighborhood helps provide the social context.⁷ Secondary source materials and newsletter articles regarding theological texts and directives coming from the Catholic Church help establish the religious moral standard which DePaul as a Catholic institution was expected to follow.⁸ Internal university reports on the DePaul Vincentian mission lent insight into the interplay of Vincentian values within a Catholic academic institution.⁹ Additionally, official letters and correspondences from DePaul administrators indicated what decisions were made with regard to student groups and academic programs.¹⁰

7 Boystown is typically associated with the area surrounding Belmont and Halsted Avenues.

8 *The Spirit Shared—A Newsletter from Dignity/Chicago* 13, no. 3 (March 1984).

9 Ann Folwell Stanford, Peggy Burke, and Liz Ortiz, "LGBTQ Issues and Solutions Leading Up to the Sponsorship of the 'Out there' Conference and 1+1 Benefits at DePaul University," Internal Report, Personal Records of Peggy Burke, 17 September 2009.

10 Thomas Croak, C.M., *Fr. Thomas Croak to James r. Doyle, VP for Student Affairs. Re: "The Society of the Individual—Gay/Lesbian Student Organization,"* May 12, 1983, Letter, from DePaul University Special Collections and Archives, Student Affairs Collection—Society of the Individual 1983-1984—Box 29, DePaul University Library, Chicago; Lynn Pierce, Letter; See James Doyle, VP for Student Affairs, *James Doyle to Fr. Richardson. Re: Questions regarding the Gay Organization at DePaul University, March 16, 1984*, Memorandum, from DePaul University Special Collections and Archives, Student Affairs Collection—Society of the Individual 1983-1984—Box 29, DePaul University Library, Chicago; James Doyle, *James Doyle to Fr. Richardson. Re: Questions regarding the Gay Organization at DePaul University, March 16, 1984*, Memorandum, from DePaul University Special Collections and Archives, Student Affairs Collection—Society of the Individual 1983-1984—Box 29, DePaul University Library, Chicago; Thomas M. Croak, C.M., Dean of Students. *Rev. Thomas M. Croak, C.M., Dean of Students to The Society of the Individual. Re: Adherence to the Constitution of the Organization, March 16, 1984*, Memorandum, from DePaul University Special Collections and Archives, Student Affairs Collection—Society of the Individual 1983-1984—Box 29.

The DePaulia, the official student newspaper of DePaul, provides a general reaction to student and university decisions and actions. In the early 1980s, *The DePaulia* was recognized as an award-winning college newspaper. Full issues between 1981 and 1984 were examined to determine the level of student and campus awareness of gay student organizing and related issues such as sex and sexuality. Analysis was largely content driven, but attention was also given to how reports and reactions developed over time. Faculty and students alike used the newspaper to make public announcements, statements, and reactions, so a review of *The DePaulia* provided a good sense of what public knowledge the university and students wanted to make known to each other.

To ascertain the social and religious climates of DePaul towards homosexuality, this paper focuses attention on the chronology of gay and lesbian developments at the university in juxtaposition with a chronology of milestones for the gay rights movement in Chicago and nationally. Whether or not DePaul followed the precedent set by other private Catholic universities indicates the degree of awareness DePaul had of local issues and movements within the gay community during the 1980s, and helps to contextualize the university's response and point to influences upon that reaction. Faculty and staff connections and two informal interviews were also used to gather information about the LGBT community at DePaul during the 1980s and 1990s.

Studies of LGBT rights and movements have taken a variety of approaches.¹¹ One approach is historical and thematic.¹² Those who take a historic approach mark the

11 See David A. I. Richards, *Identity and the Case for Gay Rights* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1999) for a critical look at three separate approaches to gay rights: using gender, race, and religion as analogies for procuring rights.

12 Eric Marcus, *Making Gay History: The Half Century Fight for Lesbian and Gay Equal Rights* (New York: HarperCollins Publishers, 2002); Sherry Wolfe, *Sexuality and Socialism: History, Politics, and Theory of LGBT Liberation* (Chicago: Haymarket Books, 2009)

Stonewall Rebellion in 1969¹³ as the critical moment in the push for gay rights. It sparked an increased prominence of student organizing for gay rights in many colleges and universities. Catholic institutions such as DePaul and many other universities, post-Stonewall, had students vying for official recognition. Because of this, some religiously affiliated universities suddenly found themselves in a precarious position because of their traditional beliefs, dogmas, and practices. The Catholic Church's stances on homosexuality are well documented and studied.¹⁴ DePaul University as a Vincentian and Catholic urban institution had many roles to fill. Its religious identity in an urban setting created an interesting interplay of religious and cultural perspectives. However, there is a lack of scholarly research on Vincentian approaches to homosexuality, especially in higher education.¹⁵ This essay seeks to bridge that gap of information using DePaul as a case study. It will examine the beginnings of visible gay and lesbian presence at DePaul through the first official student organization, the Society of the Individual. This organization led to other gay and lesbian gains at DePaul.

13 The Stonewall Rebellion was a riot that happened outside the Stonewall Inn, a bar in New York, that was subject to a police raid and roundup. The crowd turned on the police and fought back. This incident turned into a two-day march through the streets in New York. Gay pride parades were a result of later marches commemorating the rebellion.

14 Mark D. Jordan, *The Silence of Sodom: Homosexuality in Modern Catholicism* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2000); Jeffery S. Siker, ed., *Homosexuality in the Church: Both Sides of the Debate* (Louisville, KY: Westminster John Knox Press, 1994); Keith Hartman, *Congregations in Conflict: The Battle Over Homosexuality* (New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press, 1996). See Michael J. Maher, "Some Background on Addressing the Topic of Homosexuality in Catholic Education," *Catholic Education: A Journal of Inquiry and Practice* 6, no. 4 (June 2003): 498-515 for an examination of homosexuality in Catholic education and see Michael J. Maher, Linda M. Sever and Shaun Pichler, "How Catholic College Students Think About Homosexuality: The Connection Between Authority and Sexuality," *Journal of Homosexuality* 55, no. 3 (2008), 325-349 for more information including quantitative data about attitudes of college student regarding homosexuality.

15 Conceivably, this is due to the small number of Vincentian universities. In the United States, there are only three: DePaul University in Chicago, Niagara University in New York, and St. John's University in New York.

To understand the case of the Society of the Individual and DePaul's response, it is first necessary to examine the religious paradigm in which the institution worked: the Catholic Church's stance concerning homosexuality. During the 1980s, the Catholic Church had a complex stance on homosexuality. In a 1984 letter from Dignity, a local gay and lesbian Catholic organization, to Cardinal Bernardin of the Chicago Archdiocese, the group asked the cardinal to conduct a special Mass for its members and supporters. In his reply, Cardinal Bernardin denied the request but replied that he had a "pastoral concern for those who are homosexuals [...] they are fully children of God [...] [and] should not be discriminated against because of their sexual orientation."¹⁶ Cardinal Bernardin was a very visible member of the Catholic community and despite his "pastoral concern," he felt that he could not officially align himself with Dignity and did not do the Mass. This conveys that at least in Chicago during the early 1980s, there was a concern among Catholics for gays and lesbians and feelings that discrimination against these individuals is wrong. However, members of the Archdiocese were apprehensive about officially aligning themselves with gay and lesbian Catholic groups. This suggests a fear that somehow official recognition conveys endorsement and promotion of that group and an underlying uneasiness with gays and lesbians.

This nuanced "support" for gays and lesbian groups manifested itself in similar ways at prominent Catholic institutions during the early 1980s. Gay and lesbian groups had approached Notre Dame, Georgetown, Boston College, and the University of San Francisco by Spring of 1983. According to a confidential internal memo from the DePaul Dean of Students Father Thomas Croak to the DePaul Vice President for Student Affairs James Doyle, none of these universities granted official recognition when approached by their respective gay and lesbian student organizations. Boston University had sponsored different programs for gay and lesbian

16 *The Spirit Shared*, March 1984.

students such as “speakers, study days, [and] educational programs which were paid for through the Vice President for Student Affairs or the Dean of Students office.” Yet, these four universities all reportedly cited the Catholic religious tradition in their denials of recognition to gay and lesbian student groups.¹⁷ According to a research review article conducted by Dr. Michael J. Maher, Clinical Assistant Professor of the School of Education at Loyola University, gay and lesbian students are generally more ‘in the closet’ at Catholic colleges and universities. Additionally, he argued that the court battles that ensued at Georgetown University, in which the university had denied recognition to the gay rights group at the college, were considered “precedent-setting.”¹⁸

There is some evidence to suggest that these universities’ decisions to deny recognition to LGBT organizations were the result of a combination of the social climate and perceived moral climate. One landmark US Supreme Court case from the era gives some sense of that climate. In August 1982, Matthew Hardwick was arrested in his home for engaging in sexual acts with another consenting male adult under a Georgia Sodomy Law that made non-procreative sex a crime. The Supreme Court upheld the Georgia law declaring homosexual sodomy a crime in *Bowers v. Hardwick* (1986). It was nearly two decades later

when this ruling was overturned with the case of *Lawrence v. Texas* (2003). The rationale was that homosexual persons have a fundamental right to privacy in their sexual acts with other consenting adults. These cases are essential to understanding gay rights because sodomy laws literally made any sexually active homosexual individual into a criminal. Automatic judgment and legal criminalization in society was something that many gay and lesbian individuals feared. The legal cases which essentially criminalized homosexuality are paralleled in the Catholic religious community when individuals or institutions morally condemned (or religiously criminalized) homosexual acts. Previous efforts to organize a gay and lesbian group at DePaul were struck down, some with church teachings and university mission as concerns.¹⁹

One hurdle that the Society for the Individual had to overcome was how to connect a group that supported homosexual individuals with Catholic and Vincentian values. Initially, however, the students organizing the group did not appear to anticipate any trouble in the establishment of a gay organization. In a *DePaulia* article from January 1983, student-journalist Al Romero reported that Lisa Tomoleoni, a freshman lighting design major, was “trying to unite gays and lesbians at DePaul to form an official student organization.” This is what would later be known as the Society of the Individual. Her reasoning was that “[t]here seemed to be a lot of gay students, faculty and staff on campus, and I felt that it would be good to have a meeting or common interest group to serve as a [contact] point. Somewhere along the lines of a special interest group like the others on campus.” Bliss Frings, a junior marketing and communications major, stated that he wanted the group “to serve a social function” but also “to break down any homophobia in general and have an active organization for politicking and other things.” The

17 Thomas Croak, C.M., *Fr. Thomas Croak to James r. Doyle, VP for Student Affairs. Re: “The Society of the Individual—Gay/Lesbian Student Organization”*, May 12, 1983, Letter, From DePaul University Special Collections and Archives, Student Affairs Collection—Society of the Individual 1983-1984—Box 29, DePaul University Library, Chicago. Interestingly, Notre Dame still has not officially recognized a gay-straight alliance on campus. This prevents the unofficial student group from receiving student activity funds. Additionally, Notre Dame does not have “sexual orientation” in their non-discrimination policy to date. See Susan B. Marine, *Stonewall’s Legacy: Bisexual, Gay, Lesbian, and Transgender Students In Higher Education*, (San Francisco: Jossey-Bass, 2011) for information about Notre Dame and LGBT students and see Sarah Mervosh, “GSA Decision Postponed,” *The Notre Dame Observer*, May 2, 2012, online article, <<http://www.ndsmcobserver.com>> for details regarding Notre Dame’s decision regarding LGBT student organizations and non-discrimination policy.

18 Maher, Michael J. “Some Background on Addressing the Topic of Homosexuality in Catholic Education.” *Catholic Education: A Journal of Inquiry and Practice* 6, no. 4 (June 2003): 509.

19 James Doyle, VP for Student Affairs, *James Doyle to Fr. Richardson. Re: Questions regarding the Gay Organization at DePaul University, March 16, 1984*, Memorandum, from DePaul University Special Collections and Archives, Student Affairs Collection—Society of the Individual 1983-1984—Box 29, DePaul University Library, Chicago

group was envisioned as a social and political advocacy organization. Tomoleoni also stated that this organization was unlikely to be opposed by anyone thinking “reasonably and in the best interest of the students.” Also in her justification, she alluded to civil rights organizing, concluding that “it’s about time we got together to present a strong, united front, just like any other minority force.”²⁰ These students were not without opposition. Subsequent issues of *The DePaulia* included letters written against the establishment of this organization citing biblical and dogmatic moral code.²¹ Yet, there was also clear student support that contained Vincentian references and Civil Rights Era rhetoric.²²

While the students appeared certain their organization would be approved, school administrators had to consider how the organization would fit into the culture of the university. In the initial *DePaulia* article on the plans for a gay and lesbian student group, James Doyle, Vice President for Student

Affairs, stated that if he had to make a decision regarding the club, he would have to do so with the university’s mission in mind.²³ By May of 1983, Doyle and Father Thomas Croak, Dean of Students, were advised by Kevin Duffy at Boston College to avoid citing the mission statement of the university as any reason for rejection. Duffy’s reasoning was that mission statements tend to be ambiguous and can be interpreted in a number of ways, which could create later controversy.²⁴ Despite Duffy’s warnings regarding the invocation of a mission statement, the Society of the Individual was officially recognized, not rejected, which suggests that the administration found the group to be consistent with DePaul’s mission and values.

The university’s mission was interpreted by James Doyle and Father Tom Croak in such a way, and the organization’s constitutional purpose was written in such a way, that the Society of the Individual was found to be consistent with the culture of the university. The organization placed a request for recognition on March 3rd, 1983²⁵, was approved by May 12th, 1983,²⁶ and officially

20 Al Romero, “Freshman seeks to start gay and lesbian group,” *The DePaulia*, January 14, 1983, from DePaul University Special Collections and Archives, *DePaulia* Collection—1982 to 1983, DePaul University Library, Chicago.

21 See Donna A. Gregg, “Letters to the Editors—Gays wrong,” *The DePaulia*, January 21, 1983, From DePaul University Special Collections and Archives, *DePaulia* Collection—1982 to 1983, DePaul University Library, Chicago for a strong example of opposition.

22 See *The DePaulia*, “Letters to the Editors—Gay rights,” January 21, 1983, from DePaul University Special Collections and Archives, *DePaulia* Collection—1982 to 1983, DePaul University Library, Chicago. “This is the true Christian Spirit, of which DePaul is so much a part: a Christian Spirit which, in the words of Pope John Paul II, no longer considers being homosexual a sin in itself. DePaul has always been a progressive institution when it comes to minority community involvement. It is only natural, therefore, that one of the last minorities to be recognized in this country, find a guardian of protection within its wall of reason.”; Edward Maldonado, Jr. “Letters to the Editors—Gay Support,” *The DePaulia*, January 28, 1983, From DePaul University Special Collections and Archives, *DePaulia* Collection—1982 to 1983, DePaul University Library, Chicago. “All we are asking is that we are able to exercise our rights as human beings and as Christians to gather and affiliate (using the very words of the Nation Conference of Bishops) for much the same reasons as do other minorities at this school.” David Allen Conklin, “Letters to the Editors—More Gay Support,” *The DePaulia*, February 11, 1983, From DePaul University Special Collections and Archives, *DePaulia* Collection—1982 to 1983, DePaul University Library, Chicago. “As a Catholic Christian I feel the time has come for us as Christians to support those who we cannot. *For this to me is the message that Jesus Christ gave to human kind.*”

23 Al Romero, “Freshman seeks to start gay and lesbian group,” *The DePaulia*, January 14, 1983, From DePaul University Special Collections and Archives, *DePaulia* Collection—1982 to 1983, DePaul University Library, Chicago. “James Doyle, vice president for student affairs said Thursday that if he must make the decision, he would consider the university’s mission. ‘DePaul is a Catholic Christian institution, and it was founded on those principles. The Church has taken a position with regard to homosexuality, and DePaul, as a Catholic university, has to take into accord what the university’s mission is,’ he said.”

24 Thomas Croak, C.M., *Fr. Thomas Croak to James r. Doyle, VP for Student Affairs. Re: “The Society of the Individual—Gay/Lesbian Student Organization”*, May 12, 1982, Letter, From DePaul University Special Collections and Archives, Student Affairs Collection—Society of the Individual 1983-1984—Box 29, DePaul University Library, Chicago.

25 “The Constitution of Individual.” From DePaul University Special Collections and Archives, Student Affairs Collection—Society of the Individual 1983-1984—Box 29, DePaul University Library, Chicago.

26 Thomas Croak, C.M., *Fr. Thomas Croak to James r. Doyle, VP for Student Affairs. Re: “The Society of the Individual—Gay/Lesbian Student Organization”*, May 12, 1982, Letter, from DePaul University Special Collections and Archives, Student Affairs Collection—Society of the Individual 1983-1984—Box 29, DePaul University Library, Chicago.

recognized by January 1984.²⁷ Although sexual orientation was not included in the equal opportunity language of DePaul's Mission and Scope statement,²⁸ I would argue that the "Religious Characteristics" and "Distinctiveness" sections of that statement provide insight into why the group was allowed to form. The "Religious Characteristics" section states that the university has a commitment to "examining knowledge" from viewpoints that are Catholic and also representative of other "diverse value systems." It goes on to state that DePaul is compatible with others who promote Judeo-Christian values to improve society. The "Distinctiveness" section asserts that the institution supports "religious personalism [...] [with] ultimate respect to the human person."²⁹ The "Purpose" section of the Society of the Individual's constitution explicitly states that the organization is in accordance with the "Judeo-Christian principles" of the mission of DePaul.³⁰ Clearly, there was careful attention paid to this purpose in order to make it consistent with the university's purpose and mission. The "Purpose" section begins with the premise of adherence to religious principles, and then goes on to state the more specific functions of the organization.³¹

27 Anna Pries, "Four Student Organizations Recognized Since Fall," *The DePaulia*, January 20, 1984, from DePaul University Special Collections and Archives, *DePaulia* Collection—1982 to 1983, DePaul University Library, Chicago.

28 "Mission and Scope of DePaul University." Official Document. From DePaul University Special Collections and Archives, Student Affairs Collection—Society of the Individual 1983-1984—Box 29. DePaul University Library, Chicago. "...equal opportunities to students and employers, regardless of age, race, sex, handicap, creed or color."

29 *Ibid.* "...to cooperate with those persons and institutions dedicated to the application of Judeo-Christian principles for the improvement of society..."

30 "The Constitution of the Individual."

31 *Ibid.* "Purpose: In accordance with the Judeo-Christian principles upon which the mission of DePaul University is based, this organization will attempt to reach out and provide a sense of community to other members of the DePaul Community with a homosexual orientation. Specifically, the group will provide emotional and counseling support to such persons within the DePaul Community, believing that they as human beings are entitled to a sense of dignity." Support in the form of counseling was originally included in the organization's purpose, but manually struck out in archival records, suggesting (and supported by other records) that this was one aspect of the group's intended function that was not approved by the university.

Administrative officials who approved the group noticed and commended this careful attention to the consistency of the university mission and organizational purpose. According to Lynn Pierce, Director of Public Relations, the decision to approve ultimately rested upon two points: the Society for the Individual used the "appropriate channels" to form, and it agreed to comply with university policy.³² These qualities were not extraordinary in what one would assume a university would expect from other organizations: appropriateness and compliance.

Compliance in the Society of the Individual's case meant adherence to certain caveats placed upon the organization. A set of untitled, undated notes in the DePaul archive regarding the Society of the Individual that appear to be from a meeting between students and administration indicates that the solicitation of membership was not considered adherence to Christian values.³³ The university appeared to be concerned that the group would actively pursue individuals to join the club and somehow recruit them into a homosexual lifestyle.³⁴ Without the date on the notes, it is impossible to discern whether this meeting

32 Lynn Pierce, Letter; See James Doyle, VP for Student Affairs, *James Doyle to Fr. Richardson. Re: Questions regarding the Gay Organization at DePaul University, March 16, 1984*, Memorandum, from DePaul University Special Collections and Archives, Student Affairs Collection—Society of the Individual 1983-1984—Box 29, DePaul University Library, Chicago, 2 for more notes on the recognition process.

33 [Notes on Loose-leaf], From DePaul University Special Collections and Archives, Student Affairs Collection—Society of the Individual 1983-1984—Box 29. DePaul University Library, Chicago.

34 For a letter encouraging adherence of the organization to founding principles, see Thomas M. Croak, C.M., Dean of Students. *Rev. Thomas M. Croak, C.M., Dean of Students to The Society of the Individual. Re: Adherence to the Constitution of the Organization, March 16, 1984*, Memorandum, from DePaul University Special Collections and Archives, Student Affairs Collection—Society of the Individual 1983-1984—Box 29. DePaul University Library, Chicago. "I would remind you ...that your purpose was to provide emotional support and community sense within the DePaul University Community, and that membership is open to all people sensitive to those members of the DePaul University community with a homosexual orientation. Such purpose precludes political activities which introduce non-DePaul University individuals or organizations into the University community as well as the promotion of a life-style antithetical to the University's Catholic and Vincentian character."

and caveat were in response to a particular event or action. Rather, one can gather that this was a fear that the university had about the organization at some point in its existence. The conditions of recognition were more clearly explicated by March 1984 (after the organization's recognition as reported in *The DePaulia* in January) in a memo to Father Richardson, President of DePaul, from Jim Doyle. The words "Gay" or "Lesbian" were not to be included in the official title of the organization.³⁵ Nor was it to provide counseling, engage in political activities, or encourage or condone a homosexual lifestyle.³⁶ It is apparent through the language and specificity in the memo that the administration intended to keep close watch on this organization.

Despite these concerns, what justification did DePaul have, as an institution, to approve the Society of the Individual at a time when no other Catholic universities found basis to do the same with their respective student gay organizations? According to a 2009 unpublished internal report on LGBTQ issues at DePaul, faculty researchers reported that the university always believed that all men and women deserve "full dignity and respect [...] on the basis of our shared humanity."³⁷ In other words, the contemporary self-interpretation of DePaul's mission is one of inclusiveness. As of 2009, approximately twenty years after the formation of the Society of the Individual, this is the retrospective view of DePaul's position towards marginalized individuals. As a self-report, one must be especially critical of the sweeping claim of inclusiveness. What can be concluded is that by the late 2000s, DePaul

University was self-aware of how it treated minority and marginalized populations and wanted to be viewed as an inclusive, benevolent institution.

One staff member present through the formation of the Society of the Individual stated in an informal interview that from a Student Affairs perspective, DePaul was concerned with educating the whole individual—outside, but inclusive, of academic pursuits.³⁸ DePaul—to their own knowledge—was the first Catholic institution to approve a gay and lesbian affiliated group. The Vincentian priests in decision-making roles, such as Father Thomas Croak, were at ease with the progressive "ripple effect" that could occur in other Catholic universities following the recognition of a gay student group.³⁹ However, there was doubt that the decision to recognize would garner significant major media attention.⁴⁰ This is conceivably due to the characteristics of DePaul's geography.

DePaul University's physical location in Chicago, Illinois surrounded the institution with a more liberal political environment. Illinois was the first state to abolish its sodomy law in 1962. Chicago added sexual orientation to its Human Rights Ordinance, preventing discrimination in "employment, housing, and public accommodations," on December 21, 1988.⁴¹ In DePaul's discussion of recognizing the homosexual student group on campus, Lynn Pierce, Director of Public Relations, commented in a confidential memo to James Doyle: "Chicago's gay community is proliferating, is actively visible and is a potent lobbying

35 This explains the shift in word choice used to describe the group from its inception (See Lynn Pierce "student organization for homosexual men and women") to its recognition (See Jim Doyle, March 16, 1984 "student group sensitive to Gay and Lesbian orientation"). This later designation "sensitive to ... orientation" was also a condition of recognition stated in Doyle, James, VP for Student Affairs. *James Doyle to Fr. Richardson. Re: Questions regarding the Gay Organization at DePaul University, March 16, 1984*. Memorandum. From DePaul University Special Collections and Archives, Student Affairs Collection—Society of the Individual 1983-1984-Box 29. DePaul University Library, Chicago.

36 *Ibid.*

37 Standford, et. al., 1.

38 Peggy Burke, Informal Interview by Colleen Canniff, Department of Student Affairs, DePaul University, Chicago, May 9, 2012.

39 Thomas Croak, C.M., *Fr. Thomas Croak to James r. Doyle, VP for Student Affairs. Re: "The Society of the Individual—Gay/Lesbian Student Organization"*, May 12, 1982, Letter, from DePaul University Special Collections and Archives, Student Affairs Collection—Society of the Individual 1983-1984—Box 29, DePaul University Library, Chicago, 2.

40 Lynn Pierce, letter.

41 Tracy Baim, ed., *Out and Proud in Chicago: An Overview of the City's Gay Community* (Agate Publishing, 2008), 167. This addition to the Chicago Ordinance was after the initial formation of the gay and lesbian group, the Society of the Individual, at DePaul, but was the result of several years of gay and lesbian activism and lobbying. See *Out and Proud* for more information.

force” and that the decision to allow the student group to exist “will minimize adverse public relations for the University [...]”⁴² DePaul’s physical location and the gay communities near campus (i.e., “Boystown”) centered around Belmont and Halsted Avenues influenced the decision to allow the club. Students, too, were aware of these communities near campus as noted in the student newspaper, *The DePaulia*. In the two year period between the anonymous February 1981 letter to the editor inviting gay students to meet with other local students and the report of the Society of the Individual’s recognition in January 1983, the student newspaper published an abundance of articles on sexually liberal topics. These topics included the rising visibility of homosexuality and advocacy for acceptance of the gay community,⁴³ a new course offering on human sexuality,⁴⁴ and a sex shop adventure.⁴⁵ Additionally, DePaul did not have the visibility and presence that universities like Notre Dame or Georgetown had. In an informal interview with a staff member from the Department of Student Affairs, DePaul was described in the early 1980s as “the little college by the El.”⁴⁶ Largely, DePaul’s practices slipped under the

mainstream media radar. This quality undoubtedly aided the decision-making process because there was little anticipation of a media response.⁴⁷

Although the Society of the Individual fizzled out by the 1985–86 school year, it paved the way for other gay and lesbian groups and for students and faculty alike to increase their visibility on campus.⁴⁸ DePaul experienced the formation of an informal faculty and staff reading group for gays, lesbians, and bisexuals in the early 1990s.⁴⁹ This group met unofficially at different members’ houses and worked their way through a large scholarly reader on gay and lesbian issues. It gave faculty and staff the knowledge and support to eventually begin talks about the formation of a LGBTQ studies minor. The proposal for the group came out of course offerings from the Women and Gender Studies, Political Science, and English Department⁵⁰ and was officially proposed in September 2004.⁵¹ The proposal built off the foundation and connections that the Society of the Individual established between the Catholic-Vincentian mission and the value of homosexual diversity. Another win for LGB faculty and staff at DePaul was the extension of benefits to same-sex partners.⁵²

Without the increased visibility of gay and lesbians at DePaul during the early 1980s (1982 in particular) these

42 Lynn Pierce, *Lynn Pierce, Director of Public Relations to James Doyle, Vice President for Student Affairs, May 10, 1983. Re: DePaul University Student Organizations*, Letter, from DePaul University Special Collections and Archives, Student Affairs Collection—Society of the Individual 1983-1984—Box 29, DePaul University Library, Chicago.

43 Al Romero, “Emergence of subculture—Out/Right,” *The DePaulia*, April 15, 1982, from DePaul University Special Collections and Archives, *DePaulia* Collection—1981 to 1982, DePaul University Library, Chicago, 8.

44 Mike Zionts, “The Joy of Class,” *The DePaulia*, October 8, 1982, from DePaul University Special Collections and Archives, *DePaulia* Collection—1982 to 1983, DePaul University Library, Chicago. According to the article, “the course [covered] topics such as sexual anatomy, menstruation and menopause, homosexuality and bisexuality, sexually transmitted diseases, and love.” The course designation was PSY 214.

45 John Tomkiw, “Babes in Toyland,” *The DePaulia*, October 29th, 1982, From DePaul University Special Collections and Archives, *DePaulia* Collection—1982 to 1983, DePaul University Library, Chicago. The reporter stated, “I came in search of the bizarre, the unusual and the undocumented. I found a bit of that, but most of all, I found squeaky, clean sex. I found a world with nothing to hide, one that sees nothing wrong. A polite world of courteous bondage. Gentle discipline. I found discipline. Controversy. Indeed.”

46 Peggy Burk, Informal Interview by Colleen Canniff. Department of Student Affairs, DePaul University, Chicago, May 9, 2012.

47 In fact, a cursory search of Chicago newspapers (*Chicago Tribune*, *Sun-Times*) during this time period produced no results about DePaul’s approval and recognition of a gay and lesbian student organization. Later on, there was a reaction from other Catholic Universities criticizing the approval of “controversial student organizations.” See Robert F. Sasseen and William A Frank, “Controversial Student Organizations: Why They Should Not Be Recognized by a Catholic University,” (University of Dallas: 8 Jan1993), from DePaul University Special Collections and Archives, Student Affairs Organizations—ACCU: Controversial Student Organizations and Catholic Universities-1993—Box 26, DePaul University Library, Chicago.

48 See Appendix for “DePaul Gay and Lesbian Chronology.”

49 Thomas Bartlett, “Coming Out of the Catholic Closet,” *Chronicle of Higher Education* 52, v.16. A8-A10, Newspaper Article.

50 Elizabeth Kelly. Interview by Colleen Canniff. Personal Interview. DePaul University, Chicago, April 9, 2012.

51 “Proposal for a Minor in LGBTQ Studies,” From Personal Records of Elizabeth Kelly, DePaul University, 14 September 2004.

52 Barlett.

gains would have been much more difficult. Visibility in *The DePaulia*, through the articles by student Al Romero about the emergence of homosexuality into the mainstream and about the formation of the Society of the Individual, facilitated public discussion and increased awareness of what was self-perceived by many gays, lesbians, and allies as the last minority on campus. Attempts to organize a student gay and lesbian group between 1981 and the Society of the Individual's founding in 1983 had failed for various reasons.⁵³ Additionally, there is a marked absence of articles and student awareness of these attempts in *The DePaulia* during that time. The presence and influence of Belmont and Halsted (i.e., Boystown) also was influential

in exposing the university and students to diverse lifestyles and practices. Finally, DePaul's commitment to its Vincentian and Catholic mission manifested in such a way that it opened the door for future gay and lesbian gains through the tight restrictions placed on the Society for the Individual. Although not perfect, DePaul provided a space for gay and lesbian students at its campus at a time when other universities were not officially recognizing groups, rights for gays were being denied nationally, and when members of the Archdiocese of Chicago would not officially align themselves with local gay Catholic organizations. In this way, DePaul and its Vincentian mission were there for its gay and lesbian students. ■

53 According to James Doyle, *James Doyle to Fr. Richardson. Re: Questions regarding the Gay Organization at DePaul University, March 16, 1984*, Memorandum, from DePaul University Special Collections and Archives, Student Affairs Collection—Society of the Individual 1983-1984—Box 29, DePaul University Library, Chicago, students had approached the Dean of Students Office each year since 1981 concerning the recognition of a gay and lesbian organization. Prior to Society for the Individual, they had been turned down because of the type of activities which the student group wanted to engage in and “the type of student involved in the leadership.”

APPENDIX

Chronology of Early LGBT Organizing at DePaul

February 13, 1981	Letter to the Editor printed in <i>The DePaulia</i> urging straights and gays to get together in harmony and Christian peace
January 14, 1983	Article in <i>The DePaulia</i> reporting the initiative of Lisa Tomoleoni to begin a gay and lesbian student organization on campus
March 3, 1983	Society of the Individual formed
May 12, 1983	Society of the Individual approved on or before this date
January 20, 1984	Society of the Individual officially recognized by this date, reported by <i>The DePaulia</i> Mission: "In accordance with the Judeo-Christian principles upon which the mission of DePaul University is based, this organization will attempt to reach out and provide a sense of community to other members of the DePaul Community with a homosexual orientation. Specifically, the group will provide emotional support to such persons within the DePaul Community, believing that they as human beings are entitled to a sense of dignity."
1988-1989	G.L.A.D (Gay and Lesbian Association of DePaul) existed at DePaul Advisor: Jacqueline Taylor (Professor), Co-President: Val Glaser
December 21, 1988	Human Rights Ordinance passed in Chicago adding sexual orientation to the anti-discrimination ordinance
Early 1990s	Unofficial faculty gay and lesbian reading group formed. Facilitator: Jacqueline Taylor (Professor)
1993-1994	DePaul AIDS/HIV Awareness Project existed at DePaul Advisor: Diane Jakubik, Contact: Tracy Napoli, Heather Truskowski Mission: "The purpose of our organization is to promote peer education concerning AIDS/HIV and to help students get involved with volunteering at the Chicago House, a social service agency dedicated to helping persons living with AIDS/HIV. Peer education will be developed through training seminars, classroom presentation, and the availability of information to the DePaul campus."
1993-1994	Bisexual, Gay, and Lesbian Student Union (BGLSU) existed at DePaul Advisor: William Harrison, Contact: Suzy Stanton and Michael Harvey Mission: "The Bisexual, Gay, and Lesbian Student Union is available to all DePaul Students, alumni, faculty, and staff. We intend to educate the DePaul community about lesbian/gay issues, opposing discrimination on the basis of sexual orientation, while providing a forum of discussion and debate for our group and DePaul University as a whole."
1999-2000	DePaul AIDS Project
1999-2000	Pride DePaul
2001-2002	Pride DePaul
September 2004	LGBTQ Studies Minor proposed
October 19-20, 2007	Second Out There Conference, DePaul University

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THROW AWAY THE KEY:

WHO, IF ANYONE, SHOULD FUND PRISONER EDUCATION?

MAGGIE L. MILLER*

Peace, Justice and Conflict Resolution Program

Confine the criminal. Slam the gate shut. Throw away the key—a strategy being used at a steadily and dramatically increasing rate in the United States throughout the last forty years. Confine the criminal. Slam the gate shut. Throw away the key. Remove the menace from society so that the average, everyday citizen can live a normal life—a life uninterrupted by the likes of the evil menaces that crowd prison halls. Confine the criminal. Slam the gate shut. Throw away the key so that these disturbed men and women have plenty of time to think about the consequences of their actions. Confine the criminal. Slam the gate shut. Throw away the key because the criminal deserves it. Confine the criminal. Slam the gate shut. Throw away the key. Pray for peace and call it justice.

But is it just? Does removing one aspect of a conflict from the tumultuous situation and sitting criminal off to the side solve the problem? And when the criminal is sat off to the side, is he or she to just sit and wait? Or are they to be working toward a peaceful resolution of the mitigating factors that led to the conflict in the first place? One such aspect of conflict resolution often turned to is education.¹ Research has proven time and time again that incarcerated individuals who participate in education programs, both vocational and collegiate, are less likely to commit crimes that would bring them back into the prison system upon their release (Haulard, 2001; Messemer, 2003; Palmer,

2012; Linton, 2011). Despite the heavily researched support for the effectiveness of prison education at reducing recidivism, research which this author has only begun to scrape the surface of, funding for these educational programs has dramatically decreased, while the prisoner population has increased (Palmer, 2012, p.164) throughout the last forty years.

Forty years ago, in 1972, the Pell Grant was established to serve as a source of funding for an inmate's tuitions, textbooks, and school supplies as well as for compensation for educators. Much of this money went to inmates enrolled in collegiate educational programs. Not only did Pell Grant funding make gaining an education in prison a more wide spread opportunity, but public opinion (and consequently private funding) was a significant factor as well. Throughout the 1980s and early 1990s, surveys of public opinion shed light on a prominent tendency among tax payers to support inmate educational programs (Messemer, 2003, p. 32). Further, studies indicated that tax payers tended to believe that, at times, there should be alternatives to the traditional understanding of punishment—alternatives which carry hand in hand alternative understandings of education and reform (Messemer, 2003, p. 32). However, this supportive public mindset, reflected by those participating in the surveys, was not the mindset of the entire voting populous. Many saw the increasing prison population as an indicator that money spent on prisoner education was money wasted.

After all, who was being expected to pay for the education of the ever increasing number of men and women who choose to break the law? The tax payers were, of course, but why should they? They, as a society, have been wronged

* This essay was originally submitted to Scott Paeth for PAX 300, in Winter Quarter 2013. Program director Mary Jeanne Larrabee assisted in preparing it for submission.

¹ While this author is by no means attempting to make a direct connection between one's literacy level and one's likelihood to commit a crime, many who enter the criminal justice system have low reading and writing ability levels (Haulard, 2001, p.158). Since this is a trend within the criminal justice system, it has warranted a great deal of attention.

by the heinous acts of these criminals. Moreover, they are too busy paying for their own educations. Shouldn't their tax dollars tackle the ever increasing student loan debt of those who did not choose to smear their name in society's little black book? What message would it send if it was easier and cheaper to receive a college education as an inmate than as a free citizen? Why, crime would run rampant, of course! Every individual with hopes for a higher education would break laws left and right with the hopes of receiving an education at the hands of their tax paying community members.

In an attempt to avoid what was sure to be such an inevitable travesty, politicians who too reflected this viewpoint, over that of those participating in the surveys (Messemer, 2003), swayed public opinion with the promise of saved tax dollars by getting tough on crime through the passage of the Violent Crime Control and Law Enforcement Act in 1994 (Messemer, 2003, p. 32). The passage of this act made it illegal to use Federal Pell Grant funds for prisoner education (Palmer, 2012, 164), thereby saving tax payers a staggering 1.2% of total Pell Grant funds (Messemer, 2003, p.32). The Violent Crime Control and Law Enforcement Act led to a 90% decrease in education options for inmates (Messemer, 2003, p.36). It brought over 350 national prisoner education programs to a screeching halt, leaving only 2% (a 6% reduction in three years) of the overall United States prisoner population holding the coveted title of student by 1997 (Palmer, 2012, p. 164). While the task of finding money to pour into prisoner education was never an easy one, prior to this pushed shift in public opinion, walking out of prison as a more educated individual at the end of your sentence than you were at its onset was a more widespread realistic opportunity.

No matter which context the spending of tax dollars is being discussed in, it is always a topic which brings about conflicting opinions. Further, it often leads to discussions which boil down to whether or not spending money in that arena is worth it. Will my tax dollars pay off more in sector A than they would if invested in sector B? Will sector A, in

turn, have a greater impact on society, bringing us closer to our ideal level of social functioning, or does sector B have a greater chance of doing so sooner? This debate on how's, where's, and why's of spending tax dollars is at the noticeable center of the back and forth discussion on whether or not there should be governmentally endorsed prisoner education. However, in focusing too much attention on a monetary cost-benefit analysis, many tend to ignore the further benefits proven to be associated with prisoner education.

One such type of benefit often discredited by many members of society as being irrelevant, are the wealth of the positive effects receiving an education can have on the inmates themselves. While, yes, the inmate has, at one point, made a mistake worthy of punishment, but that mistake and the effects thereof do not translate to a strict sentence of limited self improvement. Participation in and completion of prisoner education programs are one way to help inmates achieve that peace of mind while accomplishing something constructive.

Andre J, a man beginning his twenty-second year of incarceration, who recently participated in Statesville Correctional Center's pilot Inside Out² program, knows firsthand the personal benefits that can be derived from taking advantage of prison educational options. In a discussion of the current status of education programs within Stateville, Andre shared that he views the mind as "a terrible thing to waste" (A.J., personal communication, November 9, 2012). Andre further explains that, amidst the numerous stressors that are unavoidable behind bars, he "find[s] peace in education" (A.J., personal communication, November 9, 2012). Andre is not alone in sentiments of self-betterment through education. As Palmer (2012) describes, participation in and completion

2 Inside Out is a national initiative that brings college students and inmates together as one class to discuss the current status of the correctional system and suggestions for improvement. Stateville Correction Center and DePaul University partnered together to pilot the first Inside Out chapter in the state of Illinois.

of such programs often leads inmates to higher levels of self-esteem, greater intrinsic motivation to avoid conflict, and a more frequent exhibition of model, reasonable, and respectful behavior for other prisoners (p.166). Haulard (2003) further advocates that the positive effect of education on a prisoner's mindset not only leads to the behavioral tendencies noted by Palmer (2012), but also gives inmates a greater sense of purpose and makes them easier for correctional officers to manage (p.158). The easier management of inmates deriving from a more tamed peace of mind in turn has its own benefits, both inside and outside of prison walls.

While inmates who participate in education programs are still incarcerated, the most concretely obvious behavior change that makes them easier to manage inside of the prison's walls is the fact that their time is constructively spent with class, reading, and course assignments. Not only is this influence likely to cause course content to spill into everyday conversation with friends and cell mates (A.J., personal communication, November 9, 2012), but it also leaves less time available for less than ideal behavior. Moreover, within prison walls, as a result of the reduction in stress levels from dealing with more peaceful inmates, the correctional staff will have more time and more mental and emotional allowance for coordinating with educators. The stronger relationship that would inevitably develop from the increased cooperation between correctional staff and educators would in turn strengthen the institution's educational endeavors, since so much of whether or not educational programs can run on a daily basis is at the discretion of these two key parties (Palmer, 2012, p. 167). In other words, one could argue that the implementation of educational programs within prisons is a self-supporting, self-advocating, system due to the cyclical nature of the positive affects they can create for correctional staff, educators, and inmates alike.

Outside of prison walls, the easier management of inmates deriving from the more tamed peace of mind which results from participation in educational programs is even more

evident. Key to this discussion is to note that one aspect of this calming peace of mind is often attributable to the self-confidence that comes from the mastering of a topic or skill learned in an educational setting. Not only does this self-confidence make the inmate feel better about themselves and have a higher perception of their ability level, but, ultimately, the fact that they now have a skill to be confident about makes them that much more marketable to potential employers.

The Student Transition Education Employment Program (STEEP) and the Federal Prison Industries, Inc.(FPI) programs are two of many examples proving this connection between one's job readiness and their participation in prison education programs (Haulard, 2001, p. 157). STEEP is a program that aims to teach inmates technical skills and job readiness, as well as encouraging inmates to seize their institution's collegiate education options (Haulard, 2001, p.157). During the early 1990s, participation in STEEP led to an 8% recidivism rate, however, due to a lack of funding the program was a stifled memory by 1996 (Haulard, 2001, p.157). A study conducted by Harer in 1995 noted a 6% reduction in recidivism resulting from participation in educational programs, such as STEEP, while incarcerated (as cited in Haulard, 2001, p. 157). In other words, both STEEP's records and Harer's (1995) study show that recidivism is inversely correlated to educational program participation.

Arguably more successful, FPI was established in 1934 and is still operating today. FPI trains inmates to produce materials, such as furniture and clothing, which are then sold to governmental agencies (Haulard, 2001, p.157). since its inception, FPI has seen \$395 million in sales, led to a 35% reduction in recidivism (Haulard, 2001, p.157). Most impressively, FPI has recorded a 72% private sector employment rate for participating inmates one year after their release (Haulard, 2001, p.157). The attainment of a respected job likely has an effect on recidivism reduction in and of itself.

As Palmer (2012) so eloquently summarizes, a case study of STEEP, FPI, and its many fellow successful educational programs, the more an inmate participates in educational programs while behind bars, the more likely they are to gain employment in a more specialized, higher paying position as a free citizen (p.165). Further, that this higher paying position will then result in more tax revenue for the state. This increased tax revenue is magnified untold times over by the simultaneously decreased likelihood for recidivism, given that tax payers will not have to pay to incarcerate that individual again.

However, despite the promising effectiveness of these programs shown by their statistical success, the question of funding still remains an issue. Even though prison education is proven to reduce recidivism (Haulard, 2001; Messemer, 2003; Palmer, 2012; Linton, 2011), is that reduction worth as much to tax payers as fronting the money for an education program would cost? Amidst one of the worst economic hardships in the last century, many feel that America simply does not have the money to make this promising option a reality. After all, children are losing their fine arts education, physical education, and afterschool program funding. Many may say that the kids need it more than the convicts.

Actually, this author would like to directly disagree with that sentiment. The kids need funding to be allocated for prison education, maybe even more than they need funding to be allocated for their own fine arts education, physical education, and afterschool programs. As Haulard (2001) argues, “by paying a little more for inmate education, [the tax payer] will save be saved from unnecessary pain and suffering in the long run” (p.159). In other words, by spending preventative funds on educational programs that will reduce recidivism, tax payers are not only saving their money, they are saving the potential victims of those future crimes that would push the criminal back into the prison system from having to endure that pain and suffering. The positive effects on society that go hand in hand with educational

programs have roots that extend deeper than our bank accounts. These programs are important.

Recognizing the importance of these programs, there are multiple strategies being put in place to provide prisoners with options for the attainment of a quality education on a tight of a budget as possible. In fact, in Messemer (2003) conducted a study to learn of the national trends in prison educational programs and how they were being funded by sending a survey to each state’s corrections department. With regards to finding these programs at minimal cost to tax payers, some states disclosed that the only fund inmate education when the inmate agrees to repay the state for their tuition (Messemer, 2003, p. 35). These payments are to be made on a monthly basis following their release, under the provision that failure to pay their bill will be considered a violation of their parole (Messemer, 2003, p. 35). Other responding states noted that they offer a work program for inmates, in which their tuition is subtracted from the paychecks they earn through their prison employment program position (Messemer, 2003, p. 35). This option functions much like traditional work study placement programs for students obtaining college educations as free citizens. Both options found through Messemer’s (2003) research aim to reduce tax payer burden through placing the burden instead on the shoulders of the inmates themselves. While there are many who would argue this is an unfair condition to place on inmates, many would consider it to be giving them a what-you-can-afford opportunity for education that is of striking resemblance to the what-you-can-afford opportunity for education given to the general public.

Following this common general public model of shifting the financial burden for education from the government to the student is one option, yes, however, Linton (2011) alternatively advocates minimizing that burden all together. Linton (2011) argues that if educational programs within the corrections system were reinvented to make use of the wealth of free educational tools on the internet, costs of implementing these programs would decrease

dramatically (p.73). Yes, getting internet access into prisons and having the World Wide Web readily available at the click of an inmate's finger poses barriers in and of itself. However, to invest the time to work through these issues now will lead to massive savings and educational program strides in the future.

With an increased focus on vocational training programs, recent efforts have raised the rate of students within the United States prison population to 7% (Palmer, 2012, p.164). Progress has been made since the dawn of the post Pell Grant era, but there is more work to be done. This author is confident that the best way to do so is through a combination of the self-funded programs described in Messemer's (2003) study and Linton's (2011) push toward online education. The marriage of these options would undoubtedly minimize the cost of prisoner education for tax payers and would thus minimize tax payer objections to this proved recidivism reduction technique. Further, in an ideal addition to this marriage, this author advocates a push toward peer education within the correctional system. Peer education, a model of which is currently being practiced in Statesville's Inside Out chapter, enables successful completers of education programs to pass their knowledge onto other inmates.

Not only does this decrease educator compensation costs, but it also increases the inmate's sense of personal responsibility, accountability, and self-worth. Moreover, given that inmates would be working through these educational journeys together, the sense of community within the institution would strengthen under a positive, constructive influence, thus spreading the previously discussed emotional and behavior benefits derived from educational program participation.

Confine the criminal. Slam the gate shut. Throw away the key. Foster accountability, responsibility, and dedication. Confine the criminal. Slam the gate shut. Throw away the key. Teach the criminal to read, teach the criminal to write, and teach the criminal to share his or her newly acquired knowledge with each other. Confine the criminal. Slam the gate shut. Throw away the key. Allow them to exercise their minds and better themselves. Confine the criminal. Slam the gate shut. Throw away the key. Pray for peace and call it justice. ■

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NIETZSCHE AND RELATIONS TO THE PAST

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In Friedrich Nietzsche's "On the Advantage and Disadvantage of History for Life," the second *Untimely Meditation*, we find an examination of the ways in which history can serve, as well as degrade, life. In his *On the Genealogy of Morals*, he looks to the past in order to examine the origins, the conditions for growth, and the value of morality. In this essay, I will argue that Nietzsche's method of relating to the past in the *Genealogy* employs those conceptual tools he creates in the second *Untimely Meditation* in order to place history in the service of life. I will also suggest that the *Genealogy* does more than give a merely historical account of morality, and uses history in order to create a psychological account of present morality; psychological insofar as it examines the hidden drives and conditions for growth of such a morality. In order to make this point, I will first take up "On the Advantage", explaining in what ways relations to the past can be harmful to life and in what ways relating to the past may be in the service of life. After doing so, I will turn to the *Genealogy* and demonstrate in what ways it makes use of history, focusing on the monumental, critical, and antiquarian modes described in "On the Advantage." Finally, I will suggest the ways in which the *Genealogy* is more than historical, making reference to Nietzsche's *Philosophy in the Tragic Age of the Greeks* and *Twilight of the Idols* to help illustrate this.

In Nietzsche's "On the Advantage" he takes up the issue of our relation to the past most directly. Here, he attempts

to describe two different modes of doing history; one which is in the service of life, and the other at its expense. At the outset of "On the Advantage," Nietzsche asks us to consider a herd of cattle, hoping to show the necessarily unhistorical mode in which these creatures live and accomplish their own health. The power of forgetting appears here as vital for life according to Nietzsche. He explains that "there are men who have this power to so small a degree that they will incurably bleed to death over a single experience, a single pain, frequently over a single delicate injustice" (Advantage, 10). Without the ability to forget, one cannot get over any experience, but instead it weighs intolerably on the mind regardless of its inconsequentiality, for it cannot be ejected consciousness. If every experience is valued as equally significant; one is unable to even act under the burden of such historicizing of life. To put it in other words, Nietzsche's words, "there is a degree of insomnia, of rumination, of historical sense which injures every living thing and finally destroys it, be it a man, a people or a culture" (Advantage, 10). Insomnia and rumination, the inability to sleep, to swallow something down or spit it out, the inability to move past. Nothing is immune from the harmful effects of this inability, not even culture. This is the disruption of historical thinking in the service of life, not because historical thinking has been degraded, but, on the contrary, because historical thinking has become unchecked. It is as if the constellation of history and life becomes forever altered by the appearance of blinding new star in its midst; as Nietzsche writes, "such a star has indeed intervened, a bright and glorious star, the constellation is really changed—through science, through the demand that history be a science" (Advantage, 23). It is thus when

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history becomes a science that the unhistorical sense necessary for the propagation of life is lost.

How is this so? Wouldn't a scientific historicizing be all the more rigorous, all the more applicable, and all the more universal?" Knowledge," Nietzsche explains:

taken in excess without hunger, even contrary to need, no longer acts as a transforming motive impelling to action and remains hidden in a certain chaotic inner world which that modern man, with curious pride, calls his unique 'inwardness'. He may then say that he has content and that only the form is lacking. (Advantage, 24)

What does this mean, to have *content* without *form*? To have a wealth of undeveloped, undifferentiated knowledge, applying to nothing because it has been attained solely for the sake of attaining knowledge rather than for living. This is how such a distinction as 'interior' life and 'exterior' life arises, for one who practices history so scientifically finds within themselves inner knowledge that corresponds to no external action on their part, or even to any pressing external force. It is an accumulation of inwardness without any creative outwardness.

Thus, the over-abundance of historical knowledge leads to several debilitating factors in the health of a body, be it the body of a person, of a people, or of a culture. As Nietzsche explains:

The surfeit of history of an age seems to me hostile in five respects: through such an excess the contrast of inside and outside, discussed above, is generated and the personality weakened thereby; through this excess an age comes to imagine that it possesses the rarest virtue, justice... through this excess the belief, harmful at any time, in the old age of mankind is implanted... through this excess an age acquires the dangerous disposition of irony with regard to itself, and from this the still more dangerous one of cynicism: in this, however, it ripens even more into clever egoistic practice. (Advantage, 28)

To begin with the first moment, we have already seen how scientific history leads to an abundance of inwardness with little external form. What form there is, is taken from history and merely reapplied. Nietzsche explains, "The man who no longer dares to trust himself, but, seeking counsel from history about his feelings, asks, 'how am I to feel here', will, from timidity, gradually become an actor and play a role, mostly even many roles and therefore each so badly and superficially" (Advantage, 30). The historical person's constitution is to continue aggregating historical knowledge. When life makes itself un-ignorable, however, and presses itself onto the historical person, such a person's excessive inwardness and weak outwardness of historical aptitude finds itself at a loss for moving into the future. One has lost the creative capabilities of their form-giving will, and so they act on what they have learned from history, and on that alone. They become an actor, having lost the ability to forget themselves and to live unhistorically. It becomes "a matter of indifference what you do as long as history itself is preserved nice and 'objective,' namely by those who can never themselves make history" (Advantage, 31). One fears their subjectivity, fears the creation of a personality, and so they seek objectivity and neutrality, pure knowledge, content without form. Historical creation is no longer sought, but the status quo, based on the strict, 'objective' narrative that has led to it is held to be the final word and the closing of the doors of history.

This sort of objective history taken in excess leads a people into the mindset that they are at the end of the world-historical process, and leads into the final moments of an excess of history's degradation of life. Nietzsche holds this to be the beginnings of an ironic disposition because, first of all, the people of the age cannot justify their actions since it will not be history for a future age, and second of all, because they take their final stage to be the most important and the culmination of the world process, they become hostile to all new historical events and developments. A process of cynicism and the belief in the ability to consciously produce history (further irony) takes root, everything is historicized and all horizons infinitized

as the possibility of an unhistorical sense is lost—such a movement causes one to retreat into themselves, into their egoism. Egoism comes to be held as the motive behind all greatness, and society is transformed into an ego-pleasing body of egos.

These consequences arise from the desire that history be a passive objectivity, a cold taking-in of all that can be taken in. What is needed, if history is to serve life, is an active objectivity, an objectivity of justice. It may seem rather strange to link such an assertion to Nietzsche, especially considering he explicitly states, “Objectivity and justice have nothing to do with each other” (Advantage, 35), but let us clarify our terms. If by objectivity one means the empirical essence of things, then indeed, objectivity and justice have nothing to do with one another. If, on the other hand, one means by objectivity, “that aesthetic phenomenon, that detachment from all personal interest with which the painter sees his inner picture in a stormy landscape amid lightning and thunder,” and, “the total absorption in things” (Advantage, 34-35) then objectivity, as total absorption and loss of self in artistic creation, most certainly plays a part in justice, but in order to see this we must first clarify what we mean by justice as well. For Nietzsche, the one who is just is the one whose hand:

no longer trembles when it holds the scales; pitiless toward himself he places weight upon weight.... at every moment he must in himself do penance for his humanity and tragically devours himself through his impossible virtue... for he wants truth but not only as cold knowledge without consequences, rather as ordering and punishing judge. (Advantage, 33)

Those who are just are beyond confident in their judgment, they judge without trembling, and yet they are pitiless towards themselves as if they know they too are capable of being judged. In this way, they do penance for their “impossible” virtue. They judge while knowing it is impossible to *justify* their own judgments; they judge while accepting judgment for their judging. They want

truth as the total absorption and loss of self-interest in the artistic rendering (active creation) of an impossible virtue; truth is non-essential objective creation for those who are just, and not empty information to be mentally recorded. Justice, then, is the creation of truth, rather than the subordination to it.

With this thinking of justice, history is no longer needed “truthfully,” that is, passively and without value for action. History can still be valuable for life, however, for Nietzsche writes, “History belongs to the living man in three respects: it belongs to him so far as he is active and striving, so far as he preserves and admires, and so far as he suffers and is in need of liberation” (Advantage, 14). To this “triplicity of relations,” as Nietzsche calls it, there are three corresponding modes of history, at least in “so far as they can be distinguished,” and these are “a *monumental*, an *antiquarian*, and a *critical* kind of history” (Advantage, 14). The fact that Nietzsche warns that these are three modes only so far as one can distinguish between them suggests that the distinction is not rigid or exact, and that it is perhaps somewhat arbitrary, formed only so that we may better conceptualize our thinking of history. In addition, this is to suggest that these services to life are to be carried out together, and that to employ only one is to not be employing history in the way Nietzsche propounds. The first mode, the monumental, expresses a conception of the past in which, “the great moments form a chain, that in them the high points of humanity are linked throughout millennia, that what is highest in such a moment of the distant past be for me still alive” (Advantage, 15). Monumental history creates a narrative of the past, it generalizes and leaves out certain details in order to highlight a chain of greatness, and it does so in order to keep the past alive for the present. For the second mode of history, the antiquarian, “the small and the limited, the decayed and obsolete receives its dignity and inviolability in that the preserving and revering soul of the antiquarian moves into these.... The history of his city becomes for him the history of his self” (Nietzsche, *Advantage*, 19). Antiquarian history feels out the roots of the historian,

of the historian's own place in history, utilizing all that is minor and detailed, and which is valued not for its importance to history but for its role in the growth of the historian's historic past and context. The final mode of history, the critical, brings some piece of history "to the bar of judgment, interrogating it meticulously and finally condemning it" (Advantage, 22). Critical history thus passes judgment on history, praising neither its greatness nor its antiquity, but condemning its hold on the present. If we employ critical history, we do not become exempt from the present's inheritance from that history, but "at best we may bring about a conflict between our inherited, innate nature and our knowledge" (Advantage, 22). Critical history, unlike the other two modes, produces conflict in the historian, making the historian a stranger to herself. Indeed, any mode taken in excess holds dangers: monumental history's generalizations, antiquarian history's isolation, and critical history's condemnation. Taken together, however, and practiced in unison, these modes of history may provide great service to life.

Yet it would appear that there is another mode of relating to the past, that Nietzsche himself employs later in his career. As the title indicates, Nietzsche's *Genealogy of Morals* relates to the past "genealogically," but is such a relation really that different than a historical relation that employs history in monumental, antiquarian, and critical modes? In the preface of the *Genealogy*, Nietzsche writes, "We [philosophers] have no right to isolated acts of any kind: we may not make isolated errors or hit upon isolated truths. Rather do our ideas... grow out of us with the necessity with which a tree bears fruit" (*Genealogy*, 452). If Nietzsche's ideas are indeed related like the parts and limbs of the same tree, then could we say that his *Genealogy* is, in part, an outgrowth of his earlier writings, writings that include "On the Advantages?" Any *Genealogy* of morals would have to take into account some aspects of history, however minor, and Nietzsche even recounts how the questions central to the *Genealogy* partially arose from "a certain amount of *historical* and philological schooling, together with an inborn fastidiousness of taste

in respect to psychological questions in general" [italics mine](*Genealogy*, 453). The *Genealogy* thus makes use of Nietzsche's historical schooling, his historical knowledge. If Nietzsche is not to fall into isolated acts, then such historical knowledge will be used in ways influenced by his earlier claims regarding history being used in the service of life, creatively, and displaying aspects of monumental, antiquarian, and critical thought.

Nietzsche tells us that a central question to the book is "under what conditions did man devise these value judgments good and evil? *and what value do they themselves possess?* Have they hitherto hindered or furthered human prosperity?" (*Genealogy*, 453). Anyone who poses such questions as to the value of contemporary value judgments is by necessity calling them into question, holding them up critically. The *Genealogy* is critical of the past, of the value of past moral growth for the present time. In the first essay, addressing priests and on the priestly morality, Nietzsche claims, "with the priests *everything* becomes dangerous, not only cures and remedies, but also arrogance, revenge, acuteness, profligacy, love, lust to rule, virtue, disease" (Nietzsche, *Genealogy*, 469). It is not difficult to see the critical nature of this quote, though it is critical in a very distinct way. It has not passed *moral* judgment on priestly values, but it has judged them as making things dangerous. Furthermore, the criticism at the same time recognizes that its ownself arose of what it criticizes, for Nietzsche continues the quote by writing, "it is only fair to add that it was on the soil of this *essentially dangerous* form of human existence, the priestly form, that man first became an *interesting animal*" (*Genealogy*, 469). Nietzsche is criticizing the past course of morality not as "right" or "wrong," but in terms of what it means for the present, of what it is doing for us *now* and in what ways we have evolved due to it. While it may be true that priestly morality made the world more "dangerous" for us, it was in this way that humanity acquired "depth" (*Genealogy*, 469). The priestly revaluation of values, the sudden valuation which deemed suffering a blessing, and which consequently forced humanity to conceptualize its

values on deeper and more complex levels, required that humanity at the same time acquire the psychological depth necessary to perform such a feat. It is only with such depth that Nietzsche can now turn around and criticize such a system of values.

The past, in this critical way, is still valued, but it is valued as providing the basis for its own criticism, and thus the possibilities of new values. Even the values, in and of themselves, are not criticized, but rather the criticism is directed towards the continued reliance on these values; like philosophical systems, morality is examined in order to gauge the soil out of which it grew, and in order to highlight the new soil of the present in which the old plants are still growing. This is critical history insofar as it is critical of what a morality situated in a particular historical context has of value for the modern age (or at the very least for Nietzsche's modern age).

In this way, the *Genealogy* is significantly antiquarian in its relation to history as the roots of the present, and we see this in Nietzsche's preface to the *Genealogy*, as he muses, "I understood the ever spreading morality of pity that had seized even on philosophers and made them ill, as the most sinister symptom of a European culture that had itself become sinister" (*Genealogy*, 455). The European culture he is speaking of is the culture he himself is writing in. The *Genealogy* is concerned with the morality of the present, with the soil in which the present moral culture grew; a task that requires digging down deep, into the subterranean depths of one's culture, of one's psyche, and of one's past, both personal and world-historical. Nietzsche's examination of the past is, at its core, an examination of the present, and his analysis carries on by way of topics that often seem disparate and, at times, quite trivial. Etymology and morality, economics and religion, social relations and psychology; no single topic is explored fully, but bits of each that relate genealogically are employed. The etymology of the word "good," for example, would perhaps seem to many historians as serving a purpose only as an antiquated triviality." With regard to a moral *Genealogy*,

however, Nietzsche claims it seems to be a "*fundamental insight*" (*Genealogy*, 464). It is the central focus on such "trivialities" that showcases the antiquarian aspect of the *Genealogy*. One could perhaps also go further, and argue that an antiquarian methodology envelops and brings together the various aspects of the *Genealogy*. As a *Genealogy*, it is primarily concerned with roots and growth, and so while aspects of it are both critical and monumental, the overarching direction is an antiquarian pursuit.

Lastly, but no less importantly, Nietzsche's *Genealogy* makes use of history in ways largely monumental, and he himself alludes to this in the preface. He writes, "I discovered and ventured divers answers; I distinguished between ages, peoples, degrees of rank among individuals; I departmentalized my problem... until at length I had a country of my own... an entire discrete, thriving, flourishing world" (*Genealogy*, 453). Out of history, Nietzsche developed an entire world. He created a narrative, linking monumental points as if with a chain, showing tremendous revaluations of values have occurred before, and so they can still occur again. He brings the past to life for the present, making presently apparent the past struggles culminated in Nietzsche's present values.

We can therefore say that it is possible to analyze Nietzsche's use of history according to framework he lays out in "On the Advantages," but there is another aspect to the *Genealogy* as well. Nietzsche remarks that not only did it arise out of his historical schooling, but also from an "inborn fastidiousness of taste in respect to psychological questions in general" (*Genealogy*, 453). That is, it seeks to discover "under what conditions did man devise these value judgments good and evil? *and what value do they themselves possess?*" (*Genealogy*, 453). A *Genealogy*, therefore, seems to be different from a pure history insofar as it contains and makes use of history. A history may examine origins and evolution, but a *Genealogy* examines the somewhat psychological *conditions* of origin and evolution, and the value of the objects under scrutiny.

Furthermore, the problem that Nietzsche concerns himself with in *The Genealogy* is one which entered into his life at an early age. He describes it as, “a scruple that entered my life so early, so uninvited, so irresistibly, so much in conflict with my environment... I might almost have the right to call it my ‘*a priori*’” (*Genealogy*, 452). Is it possible to see in this ‘*a priori*’ the “total absorption” of objectivity we spoke about above? Is it not suggestive of the same loss of personal self that the artist’s objectivity seems to represent? What furthers this train of thought is that Nietzsche calls it his *a priori*, as if it were a subjective *a priori*, a created *a priori*, a “new immoral, or at least unmoralistic ‘*a priori*’ and the alas! so anti-Kantian, enigmatic, ‘categorical imperative’” (*Genealogy*, 453). This is Nietzsche’s judgment, his unjustifiable justice to the past, his artistically objective view of the conditions under which morality arose and grew.

If we ask ourselves how, more precisely, Nietzsche goes about doing this, we are aided in our efforts by looking at his *Philosophy in the Tragic Age of the Greeks*. In this work, Nietzsche argues that all philosophical systems are “wholly true for their founders only” (*Tragic*, 23). For everyone else, there is always some error to be found, somewhere, even if it be minor. In this regard, the only incontrovertible point of any system is, as Nietzsche states, “personal mood, color. [Philosophical systems] may be used to reconstruct the philosophic image, just as one may guess at the nature of the soil in a given place by studying a plant that grows there” (*Tragic*, 23). Is morality itself not a sort of philosophical system? A system of values and metaphysics that orders and conceptualizes the world? Under this logic, any system in place can only ever be wholly true, as ‘objective truth,’ for those who found it (or perhaps, also, those who propagate its founding). As creative truth and artistic objectivity, however, every system of thought is true insofar as it existed and rose out of certain world-historical conditions. Is Nietzsche’s *Genealogy* therefore an examination of what kind of mood, what kind of psycho-cultural-socio-theologico-political soil existed in which morality grew?

It would seem to be that way, although certainly there’s more to it, or else Nietzsche would have perhaps entitled the *Genealogy*, *Morality in the Tragic Age of its Beginnings*. An additional conceptualization is provided in Nietzsche’s *Twilight of the Idols*, or the sub-title, *How to Philosophize with a Hammer*. This imagery of the hammer is important, for in this work Nietzsche tries to be “*sounding out idols*... Posing questions with a *hammer* and, perhaps, hearing in reply that famous hollow sound,” such idols will be “touched here with a hammer as with a tuning fork” (*Twilight*, 155). If we continue to see this as part of the same outgrowth of his earlier works, then it would seem as though the *Genealogy* too is a sort of sounding out. *Twilight of the Idols* does not use a hammer to destroy, it uses it to tune, to cause that which is struck to reverberate and give off its particular tune, its attunement with the world. Nietzsche’s genealogical examination of the soil is a sounding out of the idol morality, it hammers away in order to cause both the past and the present of morality to reverberate through all its levels of existence, and it is the capturing of Nietzsche’s own reverberation with the world, of the objective creation which arose from his own world-historical condition. Nietzsche is struck by morality, struck in an almost *a priori* way by the morality of his European culture, and the resulting resonations between himself and morality are found cascading through asceticism, master-slave relations, notions of debt, music, punishment, and all other topics Nietzsche touches upon in relation to morality.

In this way, *On the Genealogy of Morals* is both psychological and historical. Historical in its use of history; psychological in the ways in which that history is directed. It does not trace the history of morality, but uses history in ways that are antiquarian, critical, and monumental, in order to demonstrate out of what soil such morality existed, and how it is attuned to the society it exists in. The psychological aspect is psychological in that it searches out the subterranean aspects of morality, the unconscious drives which have propelled it forward and the psycho-social makeup which first conceived it. Not only, therefore, does Nietzsche give a historical

account that *may* be used in the service of life, but he has engendered a historical narrative that is for the service of life, for it exists for the creation of something more than mere history. Nietzsche's relation to the past is one that it allows for the creation of something more, of something supra-historical, unhistorical, genealogical. The past, in this case, is never merely the past, but is at the same time a way of examining the present.

In "On the Advantage and Disadvantage of History for Life," Nietzsche explains that history can be both beneficial and degrading to life. In being beneficial, it must

be apprehended in ways that are simultaneously critical, monumental, and antiquarian, but it will only ever actually be beneficial if it is used justly, that is, creatively. We have examined Nietzsche's *On the Genealogy of Morality*, and shown that it does indeed make use of history along antiquarian, critical, and monumental lines, but that it does so in the attempt at something beyond merely historical. In this regard, Nietzsche created a psychological account of modern morality through his genealogical account of such morality, utilizing history in the service of such creation along the way. ■

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Linxin Sun | *Crane* | digital photography

BEYOND STATUS SYMBOLS AND MONUMENTS: HOW SUSTAINABLE ARCHITECTURE CAN SOLVE THE URBANIZATION CRISIS IN CHINA

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China has one of the fastest growing economies in the world, the largest population, and cities whose populations number more than 20 million and counting. 51% of Chinese live in cities, with an expected increase of 9% by 2020.¹ Considering that 9% of China's population is 120 million people, this is not an insignificant increase. This growth has prompted the creation of new cities and sprawl of existing ones, which are often hastily planned to meet pressing demand. These new cities have, since the 1980s, come to spread across a total area the size of Switzerland² and use 40% of the world's concrete and steel.³ As cities grow they require more energy, most of which is provided by coal, a major source of China's air pollution. This is especially concerning given that in 2010 alone air pollution was linked to 1.2 million premature deaths in China.⁴ If these cities continue to grow unsustainably, China will face an increasingly serious environmental dilemma.

The Chinese government still views architecture as pure aesthetic, a tool for creating status symbols, and consequently employs famous foreign firms to create cultural icons like the Giant Egg opera house. Foreign firms almost always have a sustainability agenda in constructing

their buildings, but the preferential treatment of foreigners stifles the domestic architecture scene and the cost of their buildings prevents widespread propagation of sustainable architecture to less wealthy areas. Through understanding the connection between architecture and the environment, as well as the promotion of Chinese architecture firms, the Chinese government can pursue a realistic and solution to the severe environmental problems posed by rapid urbanization.

The Case for Sustainable Architecture: China's Environmental Dilemma

China faces a critical environmental dilemma that stems largely from the expansion of cities. As many as 40% of China's rivers are severely polluted, and approximately 20% are so polluted that exposure to the water is lethal, resulting in uncertainty about tap water consumption.⁵ One percent of the 560 million urban residents breathe air that meets the European Union's criteria for safety. Concurrently, 33 out of 113 cities do not meet national air standards, which is almost certainly linked to the 465% increase in lung cancer over the last 30 years.⁶ In addition to the human cost of pollution, the country has incurred \$230 billion in pollution-related damage as of 2010, which

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1 Xiaocen Hu, "Urbanization to rise to 60% on US\$6.5t plan", *Shanghai Daily*, 12 April, 2013, <http://www.shanghaidaily.com>

2 Jeremy Smith, "Inside China's Booming Cities", review of *China's Urban Billion* by Tom Miller, *chinadialogue*, 28 March, 2013, <http://www.chinadialogue.net/books/5825-Inside-China-s-booming-cities/en>

3 Dong, Huijuan, Yong Geng, Jia Fu, Bing Xue. "Chinese Green Building Standards". *Sustainable Development* 20 (2012): 212.

4 Edward Wong, "Air Pollution Linked to 1.2 Million Premature Deaths in China", *New York Times*, 1 April 2013, <http://nytimes.com>.

5 Elizabeth Economy, "China: Dirty Air, Dirtier Water?", Council on Foreign Relations, *Asia Unbound* (blog), <http://blogs.cfr.org/asia/2013/01/16/china-dirty-air-dirtier-water/>.

6 Yanzhong Huang, "Choking to Death: Consequences of Air Pollution in China", Council on Foreign Relations, *Asia Unbound* (blog), <http://blogs.cfr.org/asia/2013/03/04/choking-to-death-health-consequences-of-air-pollution-in-china/>.

is 3.5% of the China's GDP.⁷ Simply put, the economy has outpaced environmental reform and will continue to do so unless action is taken.

Linked directly to the issue of pollution is that of dirty urbanization, which results from hasty and unplanned expansion of cities to meet rapidly growing demand. In Chinese cities, around two billion square meters of new buildings are constructed every year that use a staggering amount of the world's raw materials.⁸ China's urbanized area has more than doubled in the past fifteen years. This kind of growth is a great drain on resources. China's building sector consumes 30% of China's total energy use,⁹ most of which is generated by coal. If China's urbanization rate were to level off, perhaps this growth and energy consumption would not pose such a threat to the environment. However, the urbanization rate has only increased, totaling over 50% as of 2011. And China is committed to further growth, with leaders in Chongqing, a city of 28.⁸ million people in southwestern China, promising to expand the urbanized area by an additional 70% by 2020.¹⁰

More economic growth means larger cities with more buildings. More buildings mean overall increased energy consumption, but also a greater need for air conditioning and heating units (which consume more than half of a building's energy supply),¹¹ more lights, and more raw materials.¹² More buildings also mean higher CO₂ emissions, which is particularly alarming as Asia's

building sector is responsible for 35% of global emissions.¹³ In coming years urban demands on an already strained environment will only increase.

To give the issue a global perspective, China is the world's largest producer and consumer of coal, and the second largest overall energy consumer.¹⁴ Not only, then, is energy consumption in China spectacularly high, but the energy the country consumes is very polluting, accounting for 70% of the smog that clouds the air.¹⁵ If China is already at this stage and shows no signs of relenting in its quest for growth and urbanization, what will that mean for the future? With more than one billion people, China physically cannot afford to continue constructing conventional buildings. The Chinese already must import a significant amount of resources needed for construction, which means fewer resources for the rest of the world. In a world of finite resources and limited physical capacity, quick and dirty urbanization is simply not sustainable. One can argue that the Chinese are free to abuse their own resources as they see fit, but when their seemingly limitless consumption extends beyond China's borders, depleting foreign resources and contributing to air pollution, unsustainable architecture becomes an international threat.

Unfortunately, the solution is not as simple as realizing the threat of dirty urbanization and flipping a green switch. Although sustainable architecture is a fairly simple solution to this complex problem, it has not been energetically pursued. Partially this is because the country operates under the assumption that the economy must take absolute priority over other issues. Considering China's very recent history with mass poverty and famine, this is

7 Edward Wong, "Cost of Environmental Damage in China Growing Rapidly Amid Industrialization", *New York Times*, 29 March 2013, <http://www.nytimes.com>.

8 Dong et al., "Green Building Standards", 212.

9 Li, Baizhan and Running Yao. "Urbanisation and its impact on building energy consumption and efficiency in China". *Renewable Energy* 34 (2009): 1995.

10 "China's Chicago", *The Economist*, 26 July, 2007, http://www.economist.com/node/9557763?story_id=9557763.

11 Ruili Hou, "Building Energy-Frugal Homes", *China Today*, September, 2010.

12 Peter Wonacott, "China Saps Commodity Supplies", *Wall Street Journal*, 24 October, 2003, <http://www.online.wsj.com>.

13 Regional Resource Centre for Asia and the Pacific, "Eco-Housing Programme for the Asia Pacific Region", United Nations Environmental Programme, accessed 9 October, 2012, <http://www.rrcap.unep.org/eco/house/index.htm>.

14 US Energy Information Administration, "China", US Energy Information Administration, last modified 4 September, 2012, <http://www.eia.gov/countries/country-data.cfm?fips=CH&trk=m>.

15 Elizabeth Economy, *The River Runs Black: The Environmental Challenge to China's Future* (Cornell University Press, 2004): 72.

not surprising. Particularly on the provincial and municipal level, though, economic growth often takes precedence over all other issues. In an undemocratic but meritocratic nation where provincial and municipal leaders must impress the top brass of the Chinese government in order to move up in the bureaucratic hierarchy, city planning designed to maximize economic growth is often a ticket to the top.¹⁶ Thus, in the race to urbanize ever-faster, the environment often is overlooked in favor of the economy. In addition, even when the central government does try to implement sustainable development objectives, since China has abandoned central planning mandates without creating free-market incentives, it is difficult to force provinces and municipalities to comply.¹⁷

Eventually, however, China must realize that unsustainable urbanization is dangerous. Because of the race to grow local economies, city planners often act irresponsibly, seeking to expand urban areas with insufficient planning or regard for the environment. Considering the growing size of China's urban population, Chinese society will never be truly sustainable without cleaner cities, and the first step towards building cleaner cities is practicing sustainable architecture.

Developers might assume that green buildings are more expensive when, in fact, sustainable architecture is its own economic incentive. Considering the environmental and monetary cost of conventional buildings, were Chinese cities to construct sustainable buildings in the first place, governments and companies would save money on construction, energy, and renovations later on (which are usually necessary since the life expectancy of a Chinese building is approximately 30 years.)¹⁸ Green buildings

would also reduce waste by utilizing recycled building materials, as well as saving on the cost of imported raw resources. Sustainable architecture is even cheaper when it comes from within the country, following the organic approach of many Chinese firms who do not rely on the high-tech, energy-saving technology that foreign firms favor. By promoting green building and employing local talent over foreign "starchitects", China can make serious advances in alleviating the environmental problems posed by urbanization.

The State of Sustainable Architecture

There are two main approaches to sustainable architecture in China. The first approach is generally practiced by big-name foreign firms like SOM (Skidmore, Owings, and Merrill), OMA, and Leo A. Daly, and focuses on high-tech, expensive environmental innovations. The second approach is more organic—it generally centers around renovation and using local materials to build low-energy, inexpensive structures—and is practiced more often by smaller Chinese firms like those headed by Wang Shu and Yung Ho Chang.

One example of the high-tech approach is the Chicago firm SOM,¹⁹ commissioned by the China National Tobacco Company in 2005 to build the zero-energy superskyscraper Pearl River Tower²⁰ in Guangdong. Generally, by creating as much energy in the building as it consumes, a zero-energy building does not require the surrounding community to generate any additional energy.²¹ This allows the city to develop cleanly and increase space usage without the environmental expense of conventional buildings. Although it became impossible to construct such a large zero-energy

16 Akhmat, Ghulam and Bochun Yu, "Rapidly Changing Dynamics of Urbanization in China; Escalating Regional Inequalities and Urban Management Problems", *Journal of Sustainable Development* 3.2 (June 2010): 154.

17 Cann, Cynthia W., Michael C. Cann, and Gao Shangquan. "China's Road to Sustainable Development: An Overview", in *China's Environment and the Challenge of Sustainable Development*, ed. Kristen A. Day (Armonk, New York: M.E. Sharpe, 2005), 23.

18 Dong et al., "Green Building Standards", 212.

19 Skidmore, Owings, and Merrill are responsible for the Sears Tower, the John Hancock Tower, and the Trump Hotel and Tower in Chicago, and the Time Warner Center and Random House Tower in New York, as well as countless other projects in China.

20 A superskyscraper is simply an enormously large skyscraper such as the Burj Khalifa in Dubai and the Willis Tower in Chicago.

21 Roger E. Frechette III and Russell Gilchrist. "'Towards Zero Energy': A Case Study of the Pearl River Tower, Guangzhou, China". Skidmore, Owings & Merrill LLP. 2010. Skidmore, Owings & Merrill LLP, 2.

building due to cost²² (the Guangzhou utility refused to connect planned microturbines to the often unreliable electrical grid, which took away the justification for the cost of the turbines and thereby eliminated the possibility of a zero energy building) the Pearl River Tower is still very energy efficient, with a reported 58% overall reduction in energy consumption through sustainable technology.²³

This energy reduction was achieved primarily through the unusual structure of the building.²⁴ It accelerates wind entering on the mechanical floors to maximize energy gain, which allows for an AC system 80% smaller than in conventional skyscrapers. There are many high-tech features on the building such as mechanized blinds that are operated by solar power to prevent overheating. Many of these measure are costly, but “the cumulative benefit of all the environmentally beneficial strategies included in the design of the Pearl River Tower significantly reduces the amount of energy needed to operate the building.”²⁵ If developers in China exercise the same long-term view as SOM and the China National Tobacco Company, they will see that short-term costs are ultimately outweighed by the lasting benefits of green buildings. However, while the Pearl River Tower is a remarkable achievement in sustainable architecture, there are problems with implementing this high-tech approach on a larger scale. Cost has been named as the primary barrier to implementing sustainable architecture since high-tech features add to the overall cost of the building.²⁶ The energy efficient technology in the Pearl River Tower, for example, added \$13 million to

overall construction costs.²⁷ Even though the short-term costs are paid off eventually, they are still quite high and thus unaffordable for smaller municipalities.

The second approach to sustainable architecture is more realistic and cost-effective. This approach is very well characterized by the work of the 2012 Pritzker²⁸ winner, Chinese national Wang Shu, co-founder of Amateur Architecture Studio. Rather than use the high-tech, initially costly methods of sustainable architecture like SOM, Wang returns to sustainability’s roots, as in the History Museum of Ningbo, which is built with more than one million pieces of recycled brick, stone, and ceramic.²⁹ Aside from the poetic beauty of the couple’s work,³⁰ the buildings they design are sustainable and, perhaps more importantly for Chinese developers, very inexpensive.

The most impressive project for the firm was the new campus of the Xiangshan campus of the China Academy of Art in Hangzhou. Wang used yew wood for the walls and the door, and he used bamboo for the railings, both of which are inexpensive, local alternatives to more popular building materials and grow quickly. The campus cost from \$235 to \$392 per square meter, in contrast to \$952 per square meter for a conventional office building in Beijing.³¹ Since China must import a large amount of the raw materials used in construction, or else transport them across the country, Wang’s methods using cheap, local resources are ideal and provide a model for sustainable architecture in China.

22 Roger E. Frechette III and Russell Gilchrist, “Seeking Zero Energy”, *Civil Engineering* (January 2009): 43.

23 Frechette and Gilchrist, “Towards Zero Energy”, 11 and Brett Hansen “China to Construct ‘Zero-Energy’ Skyscraper”, *Civil Engineering News* (January 2007): 11.

24 Brian Dumaine, “World’s Greenest Skyscraper”, *Fortune Magazine*, 24 February, 2010, <http://tech.fortune.cnn.com/2010/02/23/worlds-greenest-skyscraper/>.

25 Frechette and Gilchrist, “Seeking Zero Energy”, 46.

26 Qian Shi, Jian Zuo, Rui Huang, Jing Huang, and Stephen Pullen, “Identifying the critical factors for green construction—An empirical study in China”, *Habitat International* 40 (2013): 2.

27 Jonathan Watts, “Supertower offers glimmer of hope in polluted Chinese city”, *The Guardian*, 27 May, 2009, <http://www.guardian.co.uk>.

28 The purpose of the prize as described by the Hyatt Foundation by whom it is funded is “to honor a living architect whose built work demonstrates a combination of those qualities of talent, vision, and commitment, which has produced consistent and significant contributions to humanity and the built environment through the art of architecture.”

29 Christopher Hawthorne, “Pritzker Prize Goes to Wang Shu, 48-year-old Chinese Architect”, *LA Times*, 27 February, 2012, <http://www.latimesblogs.latimes.com>.

30 Examples of Amateur Architect Studio’s work can be viewed here: <http://www.chinese-architects.com/en/amateur/en/>

31 Jane Perlez, “An Architect’s Vision: Bare Elegance”, *New York Times*, 9 August, 2012, <http://www.nytimes.com>.

The studio also promotes renovation over rebuilding, which is much cheaper and sustainable, since it requires lower construction cost and fewer resources. Wang was recently successful in renovating houses in a village outside of Hangzhou, using the original tiles and bricks. In this case, even fewer raw materials were required, further lowering the cost of the buildings. This approach is also ideal because, while the Pearl River Tower is very impressive and uses innovative sustainable methods, not every developer or company can afford to build a superscraper.

Sustainable architecture meets resistance by Chinese architects because it is often pioneered by foreign firms. Some critics complain that foreign “starchitects” are using China as an architectural playground for radical designs that could never be approved in their home countries.³² This could certainly be said of the Pearl River Tower. Wang has rejected much of the work of his Chinese contemporaries, saying that they had too much Western influence in their work.³³ Certainly this view is beginning to take hold in the Chinese architectural community, as “a commonly held opinion, often expressed in vitriol on the country’s micro-blogging service, Weibo, is that these projects lack any consideration for domestic architectural traditions.”³⁴ This cultural resistance is significant because in a nationalist country that highly values its sovereignty, it is important that such a vital movement in sustainable architecture be at least partially homegrown.³⁵ As Mr. Pritzker said when announcing the prize,

“The fact that an architect from China has been selected by the jury represents a significant step in acknowledging the role that China will play in the development of architectural ideals... In addition, over the coming decades China’s success at urbanization

will be important to China and to the world. This urbanization, like urbanization around the world, needs to be in harmony with local needs and culture.”³⁶

Thus, Wang’s work satisfies the economic demands of Chinese developers while using sustainable methods, and also sets a precedent for Chinese architects to continue the move towards sustainable architecture independent of foreign firms.

Unfortunately, it is still difficult for smaller Chinese firms to land large commissions like government buildings or the Pearl River Tower. The government holds competitions for commissions and invites many foreign architects to compete alongside a few state-owned firms, which creates a bias against small Chinese firms.³⁷ The government makes a point of inviting foreign firms to compete because foreign-designed architecture is a clear indicator of wealth and prestige. Even though there is a great deal of architectural talent in China, and much of it is geared towards sustainable urbanization, there is a disconnect between the central government and the architecture scene where the government views architecture as an aesthetic medium used to indicate status rather than a tool for improving the environment.

The foreign architects who win major commissions often focus on sustainability, but these projects are often initially costly and only affordable to wealthy cities and companies. By contrast, small Chinese firms get overlooked for big projects even though their designs are often cheaper and better for the environment for using low-cost, local material. Both approaches are ultimately beneficial for the environment and for development in China, but the second approach should be encouraged far more.

The Future of Sustainable Architecture and Conclusions

32 Vaughan Winterbottom, “Architecture with Chinese Characteristics”, *China Today*, August, 2012, 72.

33 Perlez, “An Architect’s Vision”.

34 Winterbottom, “Architecture with Chinese Characteristics”, 72

35 There isn’t nearly enough space here to talk about the importance of nationalism in Chinese architecture, but *On the Edge: Ten Architects from China* (ed. Ian Luna and Thomas Tsang) details the issue very well.

36 Josh Chin and Lara Day, “Will Pritzker Be Pivotal for China?” *Wall Street Journal*, 29 February, 2012, <http://www.online.wsj.com>.

37 Ai Weiwei, Uli Sigg, Yonghe Zhang, and Peter Pakesch. *Art and Cultural Policy in China: A Conversation Between Ai Weiwei, Uli Sigg and Yung Ho Chang*. (New York: Springer, 2009): 75.

Sustainable architecture is both environmentally friendly and a long-term investment. Implementation, however, continues to be a problem. The willingness to go green exists, but the issues of implementation on the local level and the preference for big-name foreign architecture firms are significantly damaging to the spread of sustainable architecture. Liang et al. writes that “There is no market guidance for energy efficient buildings and this causes low sensitivity to energy efficient buildings on the property market.”³⁸ If developers and local leaders are not aware of the built-in economic incentive, the government must make this benefit clear by providing direct incentive to promote sustainability, such as rewarding local leaders according to what percentage of new buildings constructed meet sustainability standards or use local materials.

The best solution is for the central government to promote grassroots architecture through awarding grants and commissions to small firms who understand regional needs and design buildings that act as extensions of the natural environment. And while China’s recent opening to foreign architects is encouraging from a political perspective, the country would do well to look inward for important building construction, rather than relying on architecture imports, and treating architecture as a tool for environmental improvement rather than an aesthetic symbol of wealth and status. While foreign firms invest much time and effort in understanding China’s natural landscape and almost exclusively design sustainable buildings, it is more sustainable to promote a robust architecture scene within China than to rely on foreign talent.

The costs of unsustainable architecture are too great to ignore, both for China and for the world. There are not enough resources in the world to accommodate China’s rising demands and waste production, and the economic and environmental costs will be high if China

does not promote sustainable architecture. Particularly because China is a developing country that frequently plays the victim in international relations, for China to take environmental responsibility would be momentous. Everyone is looking to China because of its economic power, its rapidly growing population, and its increasing urbanization rate. China becoming a major force in sustainable architecture would surely have a tremendous impact on China’s environment, but would also galvanize the rest of the world to take similar action. ■

³⁸ Jing Liang, Baizhan Li, Yong Wu, and Runming Yao, “An investigation of the existing situation and trends in building energy efficiency management in China”, *Energy and Buildings* 39 (2007): 1106.

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Meaghan Lidd | *Running Thoughts of Blending Rainbows* | oil on canvass

AIMING FOR SAFETY: DOES HAVING ARMED PUBLIC SAFETY OFFICERS MATTER FOR PREVENTING CRIME ON COLLEGE CAMPUSES IN CHICAGO?

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ABSTRACT This paper examines perceptions of campus safety among DePaul University students, and whether armed public safety officials matter for preventing campus crime at four major universities in Chicago. While some scholars and pundits argue that the Second Amendment should be limited to certain people (i.e., law enforcement agents and the military), others advocate for the complete removal of the Second Amendment from the U.S. Constitution in attempts to attenuate the strong association between guns and violence. Using quantitative, qualitative, and administrative data, this project investigates how, and to what degree, armed security on campus matters for the safety of students. Consistent with student perceptions, and despite having unarmed public safety officials, research findings indicate that DePaul is just as safe, if not safer than, other Chicago universities. The geographic and social ecology of each university may explain different rates of crime, as well as student perceptions therein, regarding the efficacy of armed campus police in creating safer academic environments.

Introduction

Political organizations, educational institutions, and the media produce knowledge of safety and gun control. Collectively, these institutions wield power over perceptions that engender support for, and opposition to, the Second Amendment, which guarantees Americans the right to keep and bear arms. Given the recent school shooting in Connecticut, campus safety has become an important topic in public discourse. However, there are two different approaches to campus safety: arming public safety officials, thereby creating a police force on campus, or relying upon local law enforcement to prevent campus crime. Finding the most effective crime strategy is essential for maintaining safety in academic environments.

Theoretical Framing

According to Kwon (2005) comprehensive gun control legislation lowers the amount of gun-related deaths anywhere between one to almost six per 100,000 individuals in states that have strict gun-related legislation. However, the effectiveness of gun control legislation has mixed reviews. Studies reveal that law enforcement and socioeconomic factors play equally vital roles in containing gun-related incidents. The causal direction between crime rates and gun control is unclear. Moorhouse (2006) finds that there is no statistically significant impact of gun control on reductions in crime. However, high crime rates give rise to political support for stricter gun control legislation.

The 1999 Columbine school shooting began an national conversation about school safety, largely as a result of constant media coverage on the growing trend of youth violence (Muschert, 2007). Rampage school shootings emerged out of the growing trend and were considered

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an epidemic. Media pundits assessed the causes of deadly school shootings, and academic studies, government commissions, congressional working groups and presidential summits soon followed despite the rarity of school shootings (Newman et. al 2004). However, Newman et. al (2004) contends that media coverage does not add to school violence.

Student behavior impacts the entire college community. Any type of disrespectful behavior or violence can disturb student learning processes. Baker (2011) argues that violence, crime and aggression needs to be reported for identification, evaluation, and resolution. Acts of violence and crime at schools have caused educational institutions to review and implement safety measures for students and faculty. However, such assessments usually take funds away from academic needs and redistributes them toward the overall security of the campus.

School violence has largely been attributable to bullying and mental health issues. In most recent school shootings, offenders were repeatedly targeted and accused of being gay. Such harassment can be understood as one cause for school shootings (Klein 2006). Boys that are bullied may feel driven towards retribution as a means of recourse. Additionally, many shooters experience mental health problems before deciding to engage in gun violence (Klein 2006).

Following the Virginia Tech shooting, the need for mental health records became vital for human service agencies, universities, and law enforcement to effectively share information on troubled students (Jenson, 2007). According to Newman et. al (2004) few school shooters are diagnosed with mental illnesses before their crime, yet many are discovered afterward to be mentally ill.

In the aftermath of the Sandy Hook Elementary School shooting in Connecticut, the National Rifle Association advocated for placing an armed security officer in every school. Yet, little is known whether armed security limits or prevents crimes at academic institutions. This paper

investigates student perceptions about campus safety, organizational beliefs and social contexts around arming public safety officials, and whether official data indicate increasing cause for concern about campus safety at DePaul University.

Hypotheses

The main hypothesis of this paper is that respondents who feel safe on campus are less likely to think that armed security will make the campus safer. Alternatively, respondents who do not feel safe are more likely to support arming campus security.

Data

There are three data sources for this project. The first is a random sample of 307 DePaul students who were interviewed on the Lincoln Park Campus during the week of February 18, 2013. The survey contained 74 questions and each student in Sociology 380 administered approximately 15 surveys verbally, for a total of 307 completed questionnaires.

To acquire a representative sample of students, a list of all the buildings on the Lincoln Park Campus was used to randomly interview students. The list was used to generate a probability of selection consistent with the overall distribution of student presence on campus according to following criteria:

- 1 Buildings without instruction were removed (parking garages, residences, administrative buildings etc.)
- 2 Removed places outside due to inclement weather.
- 3 Calculated the probability of selection based on the number of instructional buildings and student activity locations (Student Center, The Ray Meyer Fitness Center, library, 990 W. Fullerton, etc.)
- 4 Numbered the list of valid buildings for sampling, and then chose a random number to initialize the final selection of buildings from the list
- 5 Twenty-two of forty-eight buildings were eligible for sampling. As a result of probability theory, and

rounding up to the next whole number, interviews were administered to every third building on the list (including locations taken with certainty). Every fifth student encountered was eligible for sampling from the list of sampled buildings.

The 307 DePaul students were randomly selected and were asked about student life and specific social beliefs. Each student was informed of confidentiality and could withdraw from the survey at any time. Once the data were gathered, the information was recorded into SPSS for recoding and analysis.

The second source of data are based on qualitative, ethnographic interviews from three college campuses in Chicago: DePaul, Northwestern, and the University of Chicago. The author interviewed unarmed public safety officials and campus police about their perceptions of campus safety and whether officials should carry weapons. These interviews were conducted during April and May 2013.

Lastly, administrative data on campus crime were analyzed to assess the official safety records of each university. The Office of Postsecondary Education (OPE) of the U.S. Department of Education collects administrative data on campus crime statistics and are downloadable from the OPE Campus Safety and Security Statistics website. The data contain information on crime and fire incidents from 2009-2011, as well as basic campus demography. All postsecondary institutions that receive Title IV funding (i.e., federal student aid) are required by law to submit annual crime statistics, per the Jeanne Clery Disclosure of Campus Security Policy and Campus Crime Statistics Act and the Higher Education Opportunity Act.

Measures

The variables analyzed include: public safety, knowledge of the criminal justice system, racial/ethnic background, biological sex, and age. The dependent variable is: "How

strongly do you agree with the following statement: "Campus safety is effective in preventing crime?" (Strongly Agree, Agree, Neither Agree nor Disagree, Disagree, or Strongly Disagree). The response categories were recorded such that those who agreed are compared to those who disagreed. The main dependent variable is: "Do you think having armed security will make the campus safer?" (Y/N). All other variables, their operationalizations, and descriptive statistics are listed in Table 1.

Methods

Quantitative. A Chi-square test was used to measure the association between the support for arming officials and perceptions of campus safety, and logistic regression was performed to predict the odds that campus safety is effective at preventing crime net of social background characteristics.

Findings

Quantitative. Table 1 shows the variable means of the dependent and independent variables.

Chi-Square Test. The Chi-square test indicates a statistically significant and measureable relationship between perceptions of safety and armed security. Respondents believe that having armed security is effective in making campus safer (Table 2).

Table 3 presents estimates from logistic regression. Consistent with findings from the Chi-square analysis, those who support having armed security on campus are 2.5 times more likely ($p < .01$) to think that campus safety is effective in preventing crime (Table 3, Model 1). This finding is robust to the inclusion of factors known to influence student perception. Model 2 adds criminal justice contact variables, and Model 3 includes additional social background controls. Yet, the statistical relationship between perceptions of safety and armed security remains unaltered because there were no statistically different differences found with the inclusion of additional control variables. This finding

TABLE 1

Variable Operationalization

Variables	Operationalization	Mean	Std. Deviation
Category 1: Public Safety			
Campus Safety	Respondent thinks campus safety is effective in preventing crime	0.61	0.49
Arm Security	Respondent thinks armed security will make campus safer	0.41	0.49
Category 2: Criminal Justice Interaction			
Past CJ Contact	Respondent or someone respondent knows has had contact (conviction or arrest) with the criminal justice system	0.75	0.43
Bias/Prejudice CJS	Respondent thinks there are biases/prejudices in our criminal justice system for some members of society	0.92	0.27
Minorities Differentially Targeted	Respondent thinks minorities are differentially targeted by the criminal justice system	0.85	0.36
Category 3: Social Background			
Political Policies	Respondent thinks some laws and political parties are enacted to target specific demographic groups	0.85	0.36
Male	Biological sex of respondent	0.41	0.5
Nonwhite	Primary racial/ethnic background of respondent	0.60	0.5
Age	Age of respondent	21.17	3.35

TABLE 2

Chi-Square Tests: Test of Relationship Between Campus Safety Being Effective in Preventing Crime and if Armed Security Will Make the Campus Safer

	Value	df	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)	Exact Sig. (2-sided)	Exact Sig. (1-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	9.756 ^a	1	.002		
Continuity Correction ^b	8.871	1	.003		
Likelihood Ratio	9.920	1	.002		
Fisher's Exact Test				.002	.001
Linear-by-Linear Association	9.708	1	.002		
N of Valid Cases	201				

a. 0 cells (.0%) have expected count less than 5.

The minimum expected count is 35.77.

b. Computed only for a 2x2 table

TABLE 3

The Odds that DePaul Students Believe Campus Safety is Effective in Preventing Crime Given Beliefs about Arming Public Safety, Prior Criminal Justice Contact, and Social Background Characteristics

Variables	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3
Category 1: Public Safety			
Arm Security	2.5**	2.5**	2.5**
Category 2: Criminal Justice Contact			
Past CJ Contact		1.174	1.290
Bias/Prejudice CJS		0.558	0.521
Minorities Differentially Targeted		0.925	1.100
Category 3: Social Background			
Political Policies			0.758
Male			0.802
Nonwhite			1.653
Age			0.991

*p < .05 ** p < .01

TABLE 4

Rate of Criminal Incidents on Main Campus, by Institution
2009–2011

	2009	2010	2011
DePaul	1.4	0.9	0.5
UIC (armed)	1.4	1.5	1.4
Loyola (armed)	0.5	0.3	0.6
U of Chicago (armed)	2.1	1.6	1.1
Northwestern (armed)	2.6	1.7	2.5

Source: The Campus Safety and Security Data Analysis,
U.S. Department of Education

Note: Rate is number of criminal offenses per 1,000 students enrolled.

emphasizes that students think having armed security makes campus safer, even though DePaul’s public safety officers are unarmed.

Administrative crime statistics for DePaul, UIC, Northwestern, Loyola, and UChicago from 2009-2011 are reported in Table 4. To ensure comparability across campuses, exposure-rates were created, where the crime rate is the number of incidents per 1,000 students on the main campus of each university. Despite having unarmed public safety officials, DePaul is just as safe, if not safer than, other universities in Chicago. While some variability is expected over time, the overall trend for this three year period is unmistakable: DePaul’s Lincoln Park Campus has gotten much safer over time with unarmed public safety, while other universities have experienced no or modest declines in campus crime even though they have police forces with authority to make arrests and to carry weapons.

Qualitative

There were two distinct themes that emerged from interviews of campus safety officials at DePaul, Northwestern, and UChicago: 1) Power to police is important for public safety at educational institutions and 2) joint operations with local law enforcement is necessary to investigate and prevent campus crime. All together, the campus safety officials favored being

armed. However, DePaul University does not have armed campus safety officers or its own university police department. DePaul campus safety officials that were interviewed were not against carrying firearms on the Lincoln Park Campus.

Officer A believes that campus safety officials should be armed, and explains that he can run into a school building (in case of an emergency), but all he can do is “Shout out to people to get the hell out” [Field notes 04.22.13]. The job of campus safety officers also includes responding to calls from the surrounding campus community, which Officer A says consists of million dollar homes. Officer A states that residents of those homes call DePaul public safety before calling the Chicago Police Department. DePaul public safety officers that respond to those types of calls may be at risk while waiting for the local police to arrive. For instance, public safety officials could receive an armed robbery call and would have to ascertain how to detain, or at least contain, the situation without the use of firearms. Officer A states that all he can do is just wait for Chicago police officers. He claims that “Anything can happen within the one to two minutes that it takes for the police to arrive” [Field notes 04.22.13]. He says that responding to those types of calls is like “Being a carpenter without a hammer” [Field notes 04.22.13]. Fortunately, Officer A has not experienced any incidents that required a firearm in order to maintain safety the Lincoln Park Campus.

A second DePaul campus safety officer was interviewed for his perceptions of campus safety. Officer B estimates that the vast majority of DePaul public safety officers wish they were armed. However, he points out that the decision is up to the school board to decide whether they should be armed. He states that “DePaul has a threat assessment team that is always on standby to respond to any threat” [Field notes 04.23.13]. Officer B adds that everyone on campus plays a role in public safety; however, other major universities in Chicago have gone further by having their own police departments. Officer B states that Loyola and U of I are located in “Not so nice areas” [Field notes 04.23.13].

He says that Loyola University hires Chicago police officers to work part time, and claims that “Loyola likes those types of officers because they are fully trained and have experience” [Field notes 04.23.13]. Fully trained and experienced sworn police officers’ means that they should be able to handle any given situation on campus or in the surrounding campus community. Officer B suggests that DePaul should follow the same hiring process if DU were to arm public safety officers [Field notes 04.23.13].

Northwestern University has a police department with the power to detain and arrest. In Evanston, they execute their duties on foot, bicycles, segscooters, and automobiles. Officer C says that university police officers have a lot of ground to cover. The surrounding Evanston area affects Northwestern University. However, Officer C states that the area is relatively safe. The NU Police Department works in conjunction with the local Evanston police district. Officer C says “Both departments work together to handle the drug dealing problem going on near the campus area” [Field notes 05.14.13]. He states that “Every month the university police meet with the Evanston police and they have a very good relationship in working together in dealing with crime” [Field notes 05.14.13]. It appears that the university’s public safety boundaries extend beyond campus grounds, the surrounding campus community and onto to nearby neighborhoods, which may pose an additional threat to the entire Northwestern community.

Lastly, I interviewed a police officer from the University of Chicago Police Department. The university police department has a staff of approximately 100 officers. When asked if the size of the force is sufficient to protect campus, Officer D says “Generally anyone will want more, but everything has a budget and they [the department] work well with what they have” [Field notes 05.14.13]. He states that the university police department works close with the Chicago Police Department in dealing with crime. Officer D says that the university has unarmed securities that typically stand on corners. He adds that “the university has

specialized units, such as undercover and tactical units that work the campus” [Field notes 05.14.13]. Working together with the Chicago Police Department indicates that criminal activity is being committed by outsiders that intersect with the university community and vice versa.

Conclusion & Implications

School shooting incidents in the U.S. have caused stress and anxiety for all academic institutions. Schools are no longer seen as safe havens where students learn and grow. Many schools have implemented strict measures to ensure safety. However, public policy solutions extend beyond the classroom and academic campus. Familial environment and social context play a vital role in understanding school shootings and the need for increased public safety measures. Mental health programs, information sharing, and educational information are necessary in the prevention of crime and violence on campuses.

Of the 307 DU students surveyed, 45% of respondents think campus safety is effective in preventing crime and 55% think that having armed security will make the campus safer. Many students at DePaul wrongly believe that campus safety officers are armed, and therefore think that campus safety is effective in preventing crime. Yet, for those students who know public safety officers are not armed, their perception is that campus is relatively safe. Research indicates that DU is a relatively safe campus, perhaps because of its location. The protective factors of a neighborhood may go further in explaining the very low rates of campus crime present at DU, in addition to having a larger commuter student population.

Compared to other major universities that are armed, DePaul experienced the fastest decline in campus crime. The social ecology (i.e., neighborhood) of each campus may explain why public safety officials at other universities are armed. Officers from Northwestern and UChicago Police Departments acknowledge that their universities are located near high(er) crime areas, resulting in close relationships with local law enforcement agencies to

ensure the safety of their campuses. Similar strategies may be necessary for DePaul if crime rates increase around the Lincoln Park Campus; however, despite current student and officer beliefs, there is little need for arming public officials because official statistics indicate that DU has significantly lower crime rates than many armed campuses throughout Chicago. ■

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WHO IS WOMAN ENOUGH FOR FEMINISM: DIALOGUE AND CONVERSATION AROUND INCLUSIVITY AND EXCLUSIVITY IN FEMINISM

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Mainstream feminism is at a critical turning point in the way that it is opening up, reinventing itself and exposing inherent flaws in its understandings of gender and sex. I am interested in the way that feminism frames the issue of 'women's' rights and how it does not always integrate transgender, gender variant and gender non-conforming individuals into its framework. An historical analysis of exclusion is important and it is critical within feminism to have an understanding of where and when trans*¹ identities and experiences have been excluded and not seen as an inherent part of the movement for self-determination and bodily autonomy. This lack of inclusion often comes from a place of cissexism, which is the belief that trans* identities and gender expressions are less valid and real than cis-gender (individuals whose gender identity match our normative sense of biological sex).

I critique two sources of inherent exclusion of trans* identities and experiences within mainstream feminism: lesbian/radical feminism and the biological essentialism that many feminists have latched onto in order to create safe spaces for cis-women. These two sources have a tangible effect on which women are seen as part of feminism and most important, who is seen as a woman at all. Feminists and women and gender study programs need to be more intentional in not only being more inclusive of

trans* identities but how they do this work. I argue for an integrative approach so we do not further exceptionalize and other trans* individuals. Through looking at various feminists' frameworks and my interviews I came upon different frameworks—such as reproductive justice/intentional organizing, trans*feminism/queer theory and accountability to discuss how cis-allies can be more inclusive. I then compiled a list of advice for all individuals interested in being a better ally in this work. Feminism can no longer exclude and invalidate trans* experiences and identities, to do so perpetuates systems of oppression that affect all of us regardless of our identities.

Through feminist and queer organizing and activism both on DePaul's campus and in the larger Chicago community I have realized that the feminism I hold so near and dear is at a critical stage. Many activists and scholars have reached a point where they started to see the theoretical and essentialist underpinnings of feminism that are inherently oppressive towards gender non-conforming and variant folks. I was at an LGBTQ student conference a few years back where trans* needs and experiences were not discussed during a Planned Parenthood workshop on how to make health services more inclusive of LGBTQ individuals. There was no inclusive language, material and examples given in the workshop however that indicated that they understood that the trans* community is part of the LGBTQ community. I have since realized that it is not enough to be inclusive of sexuality in typically hetero-normative spaces; without the inclusion of gender identity in all spaces (particularly feminist spaces) we are further

[†] This paper was written for WGS 395. The faculty advisor was Dr. Ann Russo.

¹ "Trans*" is used to be more inclusive of all gender identities and expressions. Not everyone who is gender non-conforming and gender variant uses the word transgender to identify themselves. Examples of other identities are genderqueer and bi-gender. Trans* is a more inclusive term.

marginalizing those who need the services the most. I picked the topic of inclusion and exclusion in feminism regarding gender identity and expression to explore the radical work that people are doing to change feminism in order to open it up and center it on the lives of those who are most marginalized because of institutionalized oppressions such as patriarchy, heteronormativity and white hegemony.

To be able to create a space for discussion and dialogue about feminism, I needed to have an interpersonal component to my paper. I decided to use interviews as a method so that I could directly address some of the questions and ideas that I had around my topic. It was very important to me to be able to speak with leaders in the Chicago community about the work that they are doing that is either changing feminism or creating whole new spaces for inclusivity and intentionality. I wanted to look at historic examples of trans* exclusion so that I could explore the way that contemporary feminism's framework has left out a nuanced understanding of gender politics that includes trans* identities and experiences. Mainstream feminism has become an established framework in America to assess media, politics and other phenomena. As a self-identified queer cis white woman, my view of feminism is directly tied to my identities so I sought to both criticize white mainstream feminism while also queering up the framework for how we understand feminism. A queer/ trans* theory framework also helped me situate my argument within mainstream feminism.

Historical Groundings

A space that we have to look at to talk about historical exclusion of trans* individuals from feminist spaces is the Michigan Womyn's Music Festival. This space came out of a sect of feminism called lesbian feminism that sought to create womyn only spaces. While those types of spaces are necessary for community organizing, they also have a history of excluding trans* women from these spaces. Julia Serano in her article "Rethinking Sexism: How Trans Women Challenge Feminism" explains how lesbian feminism came to exclude trans* women:

A dominant ideology within the movement was the belief that sexism constitutes a unilateral form of oppression—that is, men are the oppressors, and women the oppressed, end of story... a first step toward overturning sexism is for individuals to distance themselves from ways of being that are associated with male domination and female subjection and instead revert more natural (and presumably androgynous forms of gender and sexual expression...While lesbian-feminists derided many forms of what we would now call transgender expression, the bulk of their contempt was directed squarely at trans women and others on the trans feminine spectrum...This attitude stemmed from both the assumption that trans women are 'really men'(i.e. oppressors)...Thus according to this logic, trans female and trans feminine individuals were viewed as oppressors who appropriate the dress and identities of the very people they oppress (Serano 1).

Serano is advocating for a more critical analysis of different sects of feminism. Serano points out that this is not just an issue within sects of feminism but within some lesbian/queer women's spaces that do not understand trans* issues and discount trans* gendered experiences. She looks at lesbian feminism, queer theory and transgender activism as well as trans-misogyny and second wave transgender activism. Serano explains why it is so necessary for trans* women to be included in feminist spaces:

MWMF is not only the world's largest annual women-only event, but historically its been a focal point for dialogues and debates on a wide range of feminist issues... I have found feminism to be an indispensable foundation for me to make sense of my experience and to articulate the obstacles and issues I face. For many of us who are trans women, this is about having a voice in a movement that is incommensurably vital to us (Serano 6).

It is important to me to not reify stereotypes about feminism, specifically lesbian feminism. These policies

have come under much criticism. The point of my paper is not to summarize these arguments but rather to give feminism advice about how to make substantial changes within their work, such as Serano's argument that trans* issues are inherently feminist because of their focus on body autonomy and self determination.

Womyn spaces came out of a sect of feminism that was meant to provide safe spaces for women who envisioned a world without male oppression. The idea that female identified trans* individuals cannot be real women is one tenet of this sect of feminism. As Serano discusses in her article, radical feminism believed that trans* women were socialized as men and are trying to further oppress cis-women by appropriating their dress/identities. Germaine Greer is a very famous feminist writer who has been very vocal about her distrust and dislike for trans* women. In her book *The Whole Woman* she writes:

The lack of insight that MTF transsexuals usually show about the extent of their acceptance as females should be an indication that their behavior is less rational than it seems... He then forces his way into the few private spaces women may enjoy and shouts down their objections, and bombards the women who will not accept him with threats and hate mail, he as rapists have always done (Greer 80).

This quote is heavily laced with the idea that trans* individual's identities are less valid than cisgender (individuals whose gender identity are the same as their biological sex) individuals. Greer believes that no trans* person's gender can be valid and real. Greer's beliefs about trans* individuals stem from trans-misogyny. Julia Serano, in her piece "Trans-misogyny Primer" writes, "Trans-misogyny is steeped in the assumption that femaleness and femininity are inferior to, and exist primarily for the benefit of, maleness and masculinity" (Serano 1).

Another famous feminist who is outwardly transphobic is Janice Raymond. Her book *The Transsexual Empire*

placed biological essentialism within lesbian feminism. In her piece "Sappho by Surgery" she furthers this argument. Raymond writes:

We know that we are women who are born with female chromosomes and anatomy, and that whether or not we were socialized to be so-called normal women, patriarchy has treated and will treat us like women. Transsexuals have not had this same history. No man can have the history of being born and located in this culture as a woman. He can have the history of wishing to be a woman and of acting like a woman, but this gender experience is that of a transsexual, not of a woman (Raymond 139).

Raymond's simplification of gender identity and expression shows a weakness in radical/lesbian feminism's understanding of gender; to say that someone is a woman only because of her chromosomes and autonomy reifies the biological arguments used to oppress women.

The second wave and third wave of feminism often implicitly excluded trans* women from their centering of cis-women's needs; organizations such as Planned Parenthood, National Abortion and Reproductive Rights Action League, and National Organization for Women assume that having a vagina is a natural part of the package deal of being a woman. The way that women's issues are framed often explicitly and implicitly exclude trans* women from the agenda. Women and gender studies often does this as well by focusing their course materials around cis-women's issues as opposed to materials that break down the gender binary in order to question our biological understandings of women and the oppression of women.

Integrative Approach

An understanding of an integrative approach to inclusion can give us more guidance on how to make contemporary feminism more inclusive for gender non-conforming individuals. An integrative approach is important because an additive approach is one in which trans* issues and

identities are seen as something that needs to be ‘added’ to a course curriculum, social justice or issue planning for an organization. An additive approach is apparent when an university syllabus has a week of ‘gender as non-binary’ and interests trans* identities and experiences into this one specific section. An integrative approach understands that gender and sex are identities that we all have and that it not just gender non-conforming individuals who have to negotiate gender politics and institutionalized marginalization. Gender identity is something that we all deal with on a day-to-day basis. By assuming that it is just trans* individuals who have to negotiate their gender within the classroom, an inclusive approach can oftentimes further exceptionalize and other gender non-conforming individuals. In their essay “Beyond Addition and Exceptions: The Category of Transgender and New Pedagogical Approaches for Women’s Studies” Toby Beauchamp and Benjamin D’Harlingue “resist casting transgender and gender-nonconforming bodies as exceptional tools for teaching primarily to non-transgender students and avoid a personal-experience framework that positions individual bodies as special objects of inquiry, without attending to the production of such experiences and narratives” (Beauchamp and D’Harlingue 28).

They advocate for a shift away from an additive model in the classroom to a more integrative approach that doesn’t make an exception of transgender students while also assuming that there are no transgender students in the classroom. Important for my project is their critique of women and gender studies’ classroom materials that “set up the bodies of non-transgender women as the default model for the body” and the failure to “attend to the historical processes that produce, position and constitute the identities of subjects and their experiences, the integrity of categories like ‘sex’ ‘male’, ‘female’ ‘women’ and ‘men’ “ (Beauchamp and D’Harlingue 28 -29). In “Identity Matters: Teaching Transgender in the Women’s Studies Classroom” Kate Drabinski also contributes to this work by saying that through their role as professor they “organize class discussions and activities to get students to see how they

too are implicated in social practices of gender, no matter how ‘natural’ gender might feel to them... my first written assignment asks students to think about gender and sex without thinking about human bodies at all” (Drabinski 11). Drabinski wants to avoid the ‘special guest’ paradigm that is often implicit in women and gender studies classrooms’ discussion of transgender issues and identities. To combat this she advocates the use of the ‘transgender phenomena’. Drabinski writes, “Stryker defines transgender phenomena as any practice or act that steps outside the boundaries of gender normativity as against an understanding of transgender as a contemporary practice of identity” (Drabinski 16).

This concept can be extremely helpful for feminists because it gives cisgender individuals a framework through which they can analyze their own gendered experiences and identities, such as our collective ‘understanding’ of what a feminist should look like. By using the concept of transgender phenomena we can start to understand why feminism is equated to gender transgressive behavior. Transgender phenomena gives both the trans* movement and feminism a commonality.

Standpoint Epistemology

Feminism should be centered by and for those who are most marginalized in our society. Sandra Harding in her essay “Rethinking Standpoint Epistemology” explains why standpoint epistemology is necessary:

The starting point of standpoint theory—and its claim that is most often misread- is that in societies stratified by race, ethnicity, class, gender, sexuality or some other such politics shaping the very structure of a society, the activities of those at the top both organize and set limits on what persons who perform such activities can understand about themselves and the world around them...in contrast, the activities of those at the bottom of such social hierarchies can provide starting points for thought-for everyone’s research and scholarship... this is because the experience and lives of marginalized

peoples, as they understand them, provide particularly significant problems to be explained or research agendas(Harding 43).

My hope is that through my research project people will come to understand the reasons why feminism needs to incorporate transgender specific standpoint theory in their work. I do not want to advocate for an additive approach that further excludes trans* individuals; what I want is to center these individuals' lives in feminist movements and organizing. Implicit in a non-additive approach is the re/centering of trans* women's experiences in both the classroom and in activism.

Raewyn Connell advocates for a more serious centering of transsexual women's issues in feminist theory and organizing. They write about how transsexual women's experiences were used as grounds for deconstructing gender to advance the feminist movement, while at the same time excluding transsexual women's experiences from the narrative. They advance that this deconstruction of gender and sex have posed two major difficulties for transsexual women; "The first is that major issues in transsexual women's lives, especially social issues are not represented by identity discourses of any kind...the second difficulty is a powerful tendency in transgender literature to de-gender the groups spoken of, whether by emphasizing only their non-normative or transgressive status"(Connell 864). This speaks to another aspect of feminist organizing that I want to address; the fact that gender constructionist theory has allowed feminist theory to change the way we think of gendered bodies and their historical constitutiveness, while at the same time excluding transgender individuals from the table for being socialized as the sex that they were assumed to be at birth.

Toward More Inclusive Frameworks

From my interviews I came across three frameworks that can help trans* activists and allies shift from a non-inclusive model to one where gender identity and expression is more nuanced and integrated. These three frameworks

came out of my interviews with various community organizers in Chicago whose work is inherently inclusive of trans* identities and experiences. Reproductive justice, accountability and trans* feminism are tools that activists are using to create alternative spaces to work outside of instead of within feminism. I hope that allies who want to work within mainstream feminism can use these frameworks to open up feminism through an integrative approach.

Reproductive Justice Framework

Reproductive Justice is a framework that centers the intersections of individuals' lives into its work. Sister Song, one of the founding organizations that developed the term Reproductive Justice, wrote:

One of the key problems addressed by Reproductive Justice is the isolation of abortion from other social justice issues that concern communities of color: issues of economic justice, the environment, immigrants' rights, disability rights, discrimination based on race and sexual orientation, and a host of other community-centered concerns. These issues directly affect an individual woman's decision-making process. By shifting the focus to reproductive oppression—the control and exploitation of women, girls, and individuals through our bodies, sexuality, labor, and reproduction—rather than a narrow focus on protecting the legal right to abortion, SisterSong is developing a more inclusive vision of how to build a new movement (Sister Song).

This framework is an important one to integrate into feminism so that it accounts for the totality of someone's life and experiences—not just their experiences as cis-women. One of the individuals I interviewed was Kim Hunt, who is the executive director of Affinity Community Services. Affinity Community Services is an organization in Chicago that centers their work from a reproductive justice framework. This organization is an LGBTQ community organization that centers its work around the lives of black lesbians, bisexuals and transgender women. Ms. Hunt

emphasized that reproductive justice provides a framework that allows for grassroots organizations to center their work on the lives of those who are most marginalized.

Reproductive justice as a framework that is changing up feminism was also stressed by Gaylon Topps-Alcaraz who is the executive director of the Chicago Abortion Fund. While Ms. Topps-Alcaraz stressed that the Chicago Abortion Fund is not an organization that centers their work on trans*, gender non-conforming and gender variant individuals, she spoke to the ability of the reproductive justice framework to be inclusive of marginalized communities. She stressed that the difference between feminism and reproductive justice is that the reproductive justice framework is predicated on the belief that systems that are inherently unequal and oppressive had been broken down in order to work through racism, classism, and privilege. Reproductive Justice as a framework for change allows activists a space to work on issues that affect the totality of someone's life. She believes that feminism today is the same as it was in the days of second wave feminism because they still focus on middle class cis-gender straight women's issues. She pointed out that when one looks at organizations like Planned Parenthood and NARAL, they can see that the issues that they focus on still evolve around abortion and birth control and that these are not the only issues that reproductive justice organizations work on. Also, she stated that if one looks at the leadership of these organizations you can see that women of color are still not adequately represented.

Ms. Hunt brought up some current work being done by reproductive justice organizations that is incorporating a more inclusive model of not just gender identity, but also individuals with disabilities and low-income individuals. One example she gave was the Roots Coalition which is a coalition of 12 organizations and 2 collectives that do work around reproductive justice centering on people of color's lives. This coalition was initially structured to be inclusive of all intersecting identities; they structure their meetings around folks with disabilities by using code sheets so that their meetings are accessible to folks with reading, speech

and sight disabilities. This type of structure incorporates the beliefs of standpoint theory by centering the work on the lives of those who are most marginalized within the organization. She advised that feminism have this level of intentionality within the work—by structuring organizations around marginalized communities and by making decisions that don't leave out those who need the services the most.

Accountability Framework

In order for mainstream feminism to change in a way that is more inclusive of gender identity white, cis-gender, middle class feminists need to be more accountable for the work that they do. This idea came from two of the people that I interviewed. Andre Perez is a trans* rights activist in Chicago who co-founded the Trans Oral History Project. The Trans Oral History Project is a

“story telling initiative that uses story from the trans community and tries to create conversation around economic and social justice issues. We draw a lot from feminism in our philosophy and practice... We are pro sex worker and body positive...We also directly talk to folks about women's spaces, including trans women... Finally, we talk to folks about how their experiences of gender have power, which is fundamentally the most feminist thing you can really do” (Perez interview). Andre talked about holding institutions accountable for the policies that they had put into place that were non-inclusive of trans* individuals from the outset. By holding institutions accountable, one is upholding that “accountability is grounded in practice, in concrete action” (Perez interview).

This is extremely important because oftentimes accountability as a concept gets flung about as though it cannot actually have true implications and demands. Perez referenced this problem when he gave this advice:

Mostly, I want feminists to see how our issues are connected and to expand their vision of liberation. I want to see feminists as allies in the same struggle,

to know that women's groups are going to come out to rally when the police kill another trans woman on the streets or rape another sex worker in the back of their car. I want to see people who call themselves feminist embrace a wide range of gendered issues. And our organization creates the kind of media tools that empower people to have these conversations with their own communities. I'm not going to hold anyone accountable who is outside of my community, but if you want to push the issue in your workplace, in your feminist club, in your Women and Gender Studies department, then I am here to help you figure out how to do so. The Trans Oral History Project may even give you a video or lesson plans to help facilitate that conversation. That is what we are about. (Perez interview)

The type of accountability that Andre is talking about stems from the idea of acknowledging and using one's privileges/positionality to reduce harm in communities. This is not about feminist allies speaking for or acting for the trans* community; this is about holding oneself accountable to the fact that unacknowledged and unchallenged privileges reify the structures that lift one community while oppressing another.

Another individual I interviewed spoke to the idea of accountability as well; she spoke to the fact that feminism has maintained its insularity on purpose. Feminism has to hold itself accountable for structuring the movement in such a way that it 'others' anyone who is not a cisgender white, middle class, straight female. As my interviewee put it, feminists have to understand that feminism's goals and values will not be lost if they are applied to other groups and 'alternative' ways of being female. She believes that the current wave of feminism has made a move to be more inclusive but has not done enough work to discontinue the norm that was set up during the 1st wave of feminism. As she put it, feminist ideas are for everyone and we cannot determine who should and should not be included. We cannot consciously separate the feminist movement from the power structures that marginalize all of us individually.

Trans*feminism Framework

Many of the individuals who I interviewed brought up transfeminism as a structure through which work is being done to be more inclusive of gender identity and expression. Transfeminism is an important framework that cis-allies can use to integrate trans* issues into their work because it outlines why and how trans issues should be centered. Robert Hill writes that transfeminism is "a category of feminism, most often known for the application of transgender discourses to feminist discourses and of feminist beliefs to transgender discourse" (Hill). Hill believes that transfeminism is also a part of and integrated into mainstream feminism. He relates transfeminism to feminism by "having specific content that applies to transgender and transsexual people, but the thinking and theory of which is also applicable to all women" (Hill). Emi Koyama, the writer of "The Transfeminist Manifesto" writes, "Transfeminism is not about taking over existing feminist institutions. Instead, it extends and advances feminism as a whole through our own liberation and coalition work with all others. It stands up for trans and non-trans women alike, and asks non-trans women to stand up for trans women in return" (Koyama 2). Transfeminism gives feminism an outline that makes trans* issues something that not only affect trans women, but all female identified individuals. Koyama writes, "Transfeminism holds that nobody shall be coerced into or out of personal decisions regarding her or his gender identity or expression in order to be a 'real' woman or a 'real' man. We also believe that nobody should be coerced into or out of these personal decisions in order to qualify as a 'real' feminist" (Koyama 3). Koyama's argument is a new approach to understanding how trans* inclusion can be integrated into feminism.

It is also imperative to understand the queer theory/trans* framework to start to break down the binaries that dictate our understandings of gender, sex and sexuality.

Susan Stryker is one of the leading activists and scholars in the field of gender studies. Her works ask us to deconstruct gender and sex in a way that proves that both are not

'natural' and therefore shouldn't be forced in a binary that naturalizes embodiments. In her piece, "Transgender Feminism: Queering the Woman Question" she lays out how the category of transgender can help activists move forward in their work:

Transgender practices and identities are a form of gender trouble, in that they call attention to contradictions in how we tend to think about gender, sex, and sexuality...We who work at the intersection of queer and feminist movements, we who have a different vision our of collective future, need to become equally adept in telling stories that link us to ways that advance the cause of justice, and that hold forth the promise of happy endings for all our strivings. Bringing transgender issues into women's studies, and into feminist movement building, is one concrete way to be engaged in that important work (Stryker 87-88).

Stryker is advocating for a more inclusive approach to women and gender studies when it comes to how trans* bodies and experiences are situated within the work. A queer theory approach allows us to work through our essentialist understandings of sex, gender and sexuality. Trans* activists and trans* allies are shifting the discourse of feminism from one of an essentialist idea of what it means to be a woman to one that is critical of our current understandings of sex, gender and sexuality. Feminism needs to ally itself with the trans* movement so that it doesn't reify power structures that marginalize and oppress individuals through gender, sex and sexuality.

Compilation Of Advice

This compilation of advice comes from my interviews that I did throughout my project. I see this compilation of advice as the most important part of my research—it is imperative that cis-allies do this work so that we are not further excluding trans* experiences and identities from our work. Feminism and women and gender studies need to be more mindful of the ways in which they do and do not affirm and integrate trans* activism into their work. Some of the most important

pieces of advice that I compiled seek to break down the gender binary so that we can move toward an organizational model that sees gender as a social construction and not an inherent/biological identity. It is important that cis-allies work toward speaking out against transphobia, which is belief that there is something inherently unnatural and suspicious about trans* identities and gender expressions. Cis-allies need to be willing to use the cis-privilege they have to speak out against essentialist, hateful speech about gender and people's experiences and identities. Please refer to the appendix to see the full compilation of advice for cis-allies.

Conclusion

My interviews created a space where I hope that cis-gender allies can make feminism more inclusive or create spaces where feminism is part of the theoretical approach to social justice. Many of the individuals who I interviewed were skeptical of whether or not mainstream feminism will be able to be more inclusive of trans* individuals. Organizations like Affinity Community Services, The Trans Oral History Project and the Chicago Abortion Fund have created alternative spaces that stem from feminist ideologies. I learned that it is important to realize that much of the work that is being done to change feminism is being done outside of feminism. As a white feminist it is imperative that I check the privilege that I have within the project; I learned so much about other's feelings about feminist organizing and work. What I now realize is that the way that feminism is changing is by creating whole new structures, movements and ways of thinking that use feminist theory to create a foundation. The work has to come from those who are most marginalized. By affirming and supporting separate organizations, mainstream feminism can account for the hurt that has been done in the past and work toward a future is imperative currently because gender identity and expression are issues that are becoming more evident and visible. Feminists need to find ways to provide support for those identities and push for change wherever possible. I hope that my project gives cis-allies some advice and background that can help in pushing feminism to be more radical. We need to recognize that sexism, racism, classism

and cis-sexism affect us all in different ways and that we need to be allies for each other, whether through using materials from an organization such as The Trans Oral History Project or using reproductive justice's framework to center the lives of those who are most marginalized through

institutionalized cissexism. I wanted to create a project that could lead to healing, coalition building and recognition and affirmation of great work that is being done to integrate trans* identities and experiences into feminism. Trans-ally work isn't radical, it is ESSENTIAL. ■

APPENDIX

1. Break down the binary. Everyone is impacted in many different ways by gender and sexuality. Think about how different gender presentations carry different levels of privilege and marginalization. (Perez 2013)
2. Talk to people who have very different experiences than your own. Listening is a revolutionary act in a city and country that is so socially, culturally, racially, and economically divided. (Perez 2013)
3. Educate yourself about trans issues and what you can do to make trans people feel welcome in all the spaces you inhabit. Maybe it means proposing asking people their pronouns at your community center. Maybe it means advocating for gender-neutral bathrooms at your local coffee shop. Maybe it means asking your union to fight for trans inclusive healthcare at your work. Fighting for gender inclusivity is a feminist issue. (Perez 2013)
4. Center trans* women who are doing amazing work in the trans*feminist movement, these are the women who we should be hearing about in the media. For every Caitlin Moran, Cecile Richards and Naomi Wolf there should be trans* women who are just as visible. Women like Janet Mock, Jen Richards and Julia Serano are activists and scholars whose work has transformed the way that trans* women are seen within the feminist movement. Feminism has a history of not giving credit where credit is due to women who have contributed to the work: the Combahee River Collective, Sister Song, and Belle hooks are some examples of feminists and organizations who were not centered in the movement when they should have been. (Lang 2013).
5. Cis-gender allies need to use their privilege to speak out against transphobia within feminism and any other community you are a part of. In "Why Feminism Cant Afford to Ignore Transgender Women" the author references Janet Mock's advice for cis-allies, "When you hear anyone policing the bodies of trans women, mis-gendering and othering us, and violently exiling us from spaces, you should not dismiss it as a trans issue that trans women should out against. You should be engaged in the dialogue, discourse, and activism that challenges the very fibers of your movement"(North 2).
6. Realizing that misogyny and sexism affects women in different ways and that different women face different issues. Cissexism and misogyny also effect men and people who fall outside of the gender binary. Changing perspective from getting women to the status as men to eradicating the system of patriarchy and misogyny as it exists. Its not just sporadic issues that are happening in vacuums, these issues are part of systemic oppressions. (Oyelola 2013).
7. Look at the communities that you are a part of and assess how trans* inclusive it is. Even though you may be involved in social justice issues, many people are cis-sexist in their thinking and praxis. Cis-sexism is when individuals who are trans * are seen then lesser men or women then cis-gender individuals. It is very important to make sure that we are creating spaces where transphobia is not allowed and is called out.
8. Check the cis-gender privilege you have in all spaces. Don't make assumptions about individuals' gender, sex and experiences. Do not ask trans* individuals if they are taking hormones, have had surgery or if they have changed their documents. Use preferred pronouns. Do not ask them to speak for all trans* people. Do not ask them their birth name.
9. Educate yourself on your communities policies around trans* individuals. Does your city include gender identity in their non-discrimination policies? How easy is it for trans* individuals to change their documents? How do your state or town deal with transgender people in prisons? Are trans* people allowed to access their preferred bathrooms? How do your local schools affirm or not affirm trans* students? Educating yourself on these issues will create a space where you can demand and fight for policy changes.
10. Create your own non-profit. Sometimes the best thing you can do when you see that space is not inclusive is to create a space that centers the lives of the most marginalized. Be a leader and show how inclusive work should be done. (Hunt 2013).
11. Push for inclusivity wherever you are, be okay with being the nagging voice. (Hunt 2013).

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GENRE AND POLITICS: POLITICIAN'S TWITTER ACCOUNTS AS A METHOD OF IDENTITY CONSTRUCTION IN ORDER TO GAIN POLITICAL SUPPORT

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Introduction

Social media sites are quickly becoming intricate parts of people's lives. Twitter is one of the fastest growing of these social media sites. A recently published article in *The Telegraph* stated that there are about 500 million users on Twitter with the number of regular users most likely being over 200 million. And according to Twitter's CEO, Dick Costolo, there are roughly 500 million tweets sent per day (Holt). Twitter is a social media site where users create profiles for themselves, complete with a profile picture, a minimal amount of background information, and a unique username. From this account they are able to send short (140 characters or fewer) messages or 'tweets' to their 'followers.' Followers are other Twitter users who have chosen to subscribe or 'follow' another Twitter user; all of the followed account's tweets will then appear in the users' newsfeeds.

With all of these distinct features, such as tweets and followers, Twitter provides a unique social media experience. To average users, Twitter is a social medium through which they can share their lives and feelings through tweets. But sharing personal sentiments is not always the purpose of some users' tweets. Politicians, for example, have exploited the genre of tweets for their own purposes. Politicians use tweets to construct their identity and to spread their political agenda to their supporters and other Twitter users. Taking advantage of Twitter's genre conventions, politicians construct an identity that strikes a delicate balance between professional and personal,

credible and casual. The tweets often strive to appear as if the politicians personally wrote them as a reflection of their lives. However, a politician's tweets are not the personal reflections of the politician, but instead are political and rhetorical tools used by the politician to gain support. Using both genre theory and identity theory to analyze the tweets of ten politicians, this paper argues that the tweets of politicians all have such similar recurring features that they become their own genre of tweets while also showing how political identities are constructed through tweets.

Methods

Genres, as described in *Genre: An introduction to history, theory, research, and pedagogy* by A.S. Bawarshi and M. J. Reiff, can be viewed as "social actions" or "typified ways of acting within recurrent situations, and as cultural artifacts that can tell us things about how a particular culture configures situations and ways of acting" (78). Genres help normalize actions within a given context and make these practices somewhat predictable as "sites of social and ideological action" (Bawarshi 79). Classifying a social practice as a genre and then performing a genre analysis allows one to examine what recurring features define that specific genre. Analyzing tweets as a genre, for example, shows that tweets are limited to 140 characters. There are also recurring features for the content of tweets; besides text, users often put hyperlinks to sites outside of Twitter within their tweets. Another unique genre feature of the tweet is the hashtag. A hashtag is the number symbol (#) followed by a word or phrase with no punctuation or spaces between the words. Hashtags are searchable by users, allowing them to find related

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content. One final action of the tweet genre is that typing another user's username in a tweet will automatically create a link in that tweet to that user's account.

Besides simply observing the common linguistic features of a genre, one can also study the recurring rhetorical purposes of the genre. Identifying the rhetorical purposes can be done effectively through analyzing a specific genre's "rhetorical moves." A notion developed by the social linguist John Swales, a rhetorical move reveals a rhetorical (purposefully persuasive) aim. A rhetorical move enacts a specific purpose—for example, to stir attention or to offer thanks. Moves can vary in length, reoccur throughout a text, or appear simultaneously with other rhetorical moves. Repeated use within a genre causes a given move to become conventional (Swales, Tardy).

Therefore rhetorical moves are an excellent method to use when analyzing the rhetoric and purpose of a genre. In the genre of politicians' tweets, rhetorical moves allow one to investigate what the rhetorical uses of tweets are and can help shed light upon the overall purpose of the genre. A final method used to analyze the purpose of a genre is to see how it relates to and works with other genres. Bawarshi and Reiff, citing Amy Devitt's *Writing Genres*, describe the object of such an analysis as a "genre system," or a collection of genres that work towards accomplishing a specific goal (87). Through analyzing genre systems, "researchers can gain insights into social roles and relationships" (87). Examining a genre through the perspective of genre systems enables one to see how it works in conjunction with other genres and illustrates what the overarching purpose of these genres are. Similarly, an analysis of genre systems demonstrates how a specific genre creates social roles and relationships among those who are involved in the genre.

This study examines thirty tweets from ten politicians. The complete collection can be found in the Appendix. In order to have samples from two distinct communities, half of the politicians are from the Republican Party and

the other half are Democrats. Three tweets from each politician were chosen so that there are a variety of tweets and the identity constructed by the tweets is made apparent. All of the politicians are serving in either the House of Representatives or the Senate. Therefore, these politicians have similar duties and concerns, giving them a similar range of topics to tweet about. Because they are all working in the same environment and dealing with similar issues, greater weight is given to the subject matter of the tweet. All of the tweets in this study are from relatively the same time period, within two weeks, which further emphasizes the importance of what is chosen to be tweeted. The politicians whose tweets appear in the corpus are: John Boehner, John McCain, Marco Rubio, Paul Broun, Ron Johnson, Nancy Pelosi, Harry Reid, Tammy Baldwin, William Cowan, and Jeff Merkley.

Although these politicians appear to write what appears in their tweets, much occurs behind the text of each tweet. William Gross, who has worked for a total of eight politicians, at times in their social media departments, provides a better understanding of what occurs behind the scenes of politicians' tweets that may not be apparent to the average Twitter user. Gross has worked at many levels, from local politics all the way to the most recent presidential campaign. According to Gross, political tweets have an ultimate goal shared with other forms of social media, which is to spread a single message to as many people as possible (Gross). Social media is used to spread the message of a politician to the masses in the hope that this unified message will bring in more support for the campaign and help them be elected or reelected to political office.

The composition of a unified message via the genre of the political tweet is a collaborative one, which draws on the thinking and writing of the various members of the politician's staff, is also the process by which the politician's public identity is in part constructed. Here, one begins to see the close connection between genre and identity construction. The study of genre and genre systems

does more than simply establish what actions qualify as recurring features of a genre. Genre and genre systems also “sequence how we relate to and assign roles to one another, how we define the limits of our agency, how we come to know and learn, and how we construct, value, and experience ourselves in social time and space” (Bawarshi 90). Genre as a form of social action creates identities and roles and defines the experiences of those acting within it, thereby influencing how those within the genre relate to one another and who has power within the genre.

Analyzing the Genre and Identity of Political Tweets

Examining the content of the tweets from visual (specifically the profile pictures), linguistic (noting the language and jargon of the tweets), and rhetorical perspectives reveals the specific type of message politicians hope to spread through the identity that is constructed by tweets. The tweets begin the construction of the politician’s identity with the profile picture that appears with every tweet. Figure 1, a collection of all the profile pictures of the politicians, shows that the majority use a formal picture. The rhetorical purpose of these profile pictures is to project the power and professionalism of the politician. Analyzing the tweets linguistically, there are aspects of the text that also add to the formality of the tweets. Language is highly specialized and often refers to specific legislative bills or actions, for example: “My stmt on *FAA flexibility bill*” (McCain, 26 April 2013, 1:05 p.m.), “...passing the *Marketplace Fairness Act*” (Cowan, 25 April 2013, 12:28 p.m.), and “Introducing *#ENDA* today...” (Merkley, 25 April, 8:09 a.m.) (emphasis added). However, many linguistic features make the tweets seem more casual. Abbreviations are frequently used which decreases the formality of the tweets. These abbreviations take multiple forms, from simply shortening words by leaving out vowels, to acronyms, such as: “POTUS” for President of the United States, “Stmt” for statement, “Rs” for Republicans, and “Cmte” for committee.

Because tweets are restricted to 140 characters, omissions are a key feature of tweets as well. Political tweets follow the same omissions common throughout tweets, showing that they are aware of how to write tweets in the same way as the majority of other users. Punctuation, for example, is frequently omitted. The subject is also often left out of the tweets, especially when the subject is the user. Usually “I” is not included and it is implied that the user is the subject of the verb, such as in the following examples: “Proud to co-sponsor a fully-inclusive” (Pelosi, 25 April 2013, 1:27 p.m.), “Speaking on @SenateFloor” (Cowan, 25 April 2013, 12:27 p.m.), and “Pleased to be working with Senator @MarkWarner” (Johnson, 23 April 2013, 6:31 a.m.); in each of these “I am” is omitted. But there are a few instances in which the subject is named; when this is the case, it is usually third person because the user is specifically referring to someone or something and cannot just leave it to the reader to assume who or what the subject is: “*Congress* should have...” (Broun, 25 April 2013, 12:42 p.m.), “*Americans* understand that it’s time to make sure...” (Merkley, 25 April, 8:19 a.m.), and “*Senate’s* on track to take up immigration reform soon” (Reid, 24 April 2013, 9:48 a.m.) (emphasis added).

Many of the recurring linguistic and rhetorical features unique to tweets, such as what appears other than just simple text, are also frequently used within the political tweets. Often a hyperlink to an outside website is attached to the tweet. For example, these hyperlinks can be to newspaper articles, the user’s personal website or Facebook page, or videos of the user speaking. Usually these websites elaborate on the subject matter of the tweet. By using hyperlinks, the tweet is able to extend its basic message while remaining within the 140-character limit. Hyperlinks also can be used to share resources with readers and to direct their attention to certain articles, websites, or causes. Hashtags also are commonly used; usually the main topic of the tweet is hashtagged. For example, “#bostonstrong” is used in a tweet supporting Boston, “#Obamacare” is used in a tweet calling for the repeal of Obamacare, and “#immigrationreform” is used

FIGURE 1

Twitter profile pictures of politicians



in a tweet dealing with immigration. Finally, due to the features of tweets, when other individuals are referenced, they are often called by their Twitter name rather than their real name. For example, in tweets “@BarackObama” is used to refer to Barack Obama, “@WSJ” is used to refer to the Wall Street Journal, and “@RepScottPerry” is used to refer to Representative Scott Perry.

Utilizing the recurring features of tweets, such as hashtags and tagging other users, is a critical portion of the identity the political tweet constructs for politicians. By using features unique to tweets, politicians’ tweets make it appear as if the politician identifies with the current culture. By using hashtags and tagging users, the political tweet relates to the politicians’ constituents and reaches them through media with which they are familiar. If the political tweet does not use the features unique to tweets, it risks making the politician seem out of touch, as if they do not understand how to use this technology. The use of the tweets’ recurring genre features creates a mix of formality and informality, which illustrates the relationship that politicians’ tweets are trying to create between the politician and the readers, who are most likely potential voters as well. They are trying to bridge the gap between the politician remaining professional and credible, and appearing relatable and casual with the readers. The language used is generally professional and formal, by specifically referring to bills by name for example. This formal language contributes to building up the perceived professionalism of the politician. The goal of the political

tweet is to make the politician appear as if they are credible, hardworking individuals, and can be trusted with the responsibilities of public office, which explains why they are characterized by many professional and formal tones. But the political tweet appears willing to sacrifice professionalism to some degree if the language will make it more relatable and is consistent with the genre of tweets. So political tweets use hashtags, tag users, abbreviations, and leave out letters. Similarly, the political tweet makes it appear as if the politician is performing actions at the very moment, leaving out the “I” so the reader can feel as if they are right there with them. The tweets enable the politicians to appear deserving of their office and are competent and connected to the people they are supposed to be representing.

Investigating the rhetoric of each of the tweets provides further insight into the identity constructed by a political tweet. Figure 2 contains a table of some examples of the typical rhetorical moves found in the genre of the political tweet. It would appear that there are no absolutely obligatory rhetorical moves within this genre. Rather, it seems that each individual tweet is a rhetorical move itself. Writers are so limited in their space that it may be difficult to have multiple moves within one tweet. Even though each tweet uses a different rhetorical move as its central purpose, there are common moves across tweets. The political tweets use a select number of rhetorical moves. All of the tweets in the corpus (with the exception of one) are directly related to politics, contributing heavily to the identity the tweets construct for the politicians. Because the overall subject matter is politics, the political tweet is able to construct an identity that depicts the politician as being constantly involved in politics. Through the tweets, it appears as if the politician truly deserves to be in office and is doing his or her best at the job.

All of the rhetorical moves described in Figure 2 begin to illustrate the overall purpose of the political tweet in constructing an identity for politicians that benefit their public and political goals. These rhetorical moves rally

support for the politician in one form or another. Some examples can be seen in the “Criticizing another” move, which allows the political tweet to tarnish the image of a political opponent, thereby seeking to convince readers to support and vote for either the politician or their party. The “Asking reader to show support” move allows the politician’s supporters to feel more involved, which makes them feel more connected to the politician. And by openly showing their support for this politician, readers may expose their friends to the politician by retweeting, which could bring in more support. By using the “Describing the politician” move, the political tweet is able to illustrate the politicians’ good qualities to the readers and to show exactly what the politician is doing with the responsibilities their voters have entrusted to them. This move serves to both inform voters of what the politician is doing while in office (making them seem like an effective politician) and to gain support from voters who approve of their actions. These rhetorical moves could potentially benefit the politician in their career. For this reason these recurring rhetorical moves are common in the genre of the political tweet (even across different communities, such as Republicans and Democrats).

As previously mentioned, Gross illustrates just how much time and effort is put into a political tweet. The interview revealed what goes on behind each political tweet and that the identities created by them are a constructed image of the politician, rather than a completely accurate depiction of the politician as a person, which is what the tweets claim to be. The level of actual involvement by the politician varies from person to person. As Gross described, “The politician gets as much involvement as they want. I find that older politicians are not as sure of what to do. I have worked with politicians that post from their personal phones all the time. I have also worked with some who could not tell you what Twitter is. It really depends on the person.” Based on the size of the campaign, different departments can be involved in determining what is tweeted. One specific department mentioned is the legal department. “...when I worked on a presidential race, every letter of the 140 characters was manicured and passed through legal” (Gross). Despite the tweets appearing to be solely the politician’s, this genre is written collectively by multiple individuals and is not the work of just the politician him/herself. In larger campaigns, multiple

FIGURE 2

Overall purpose of the political tweet

<p>Directing the reader's attention to outside website. (Optional)</p>	<p>A link is provided for the reader to access an article or the politician's official statement/website</p> <p>Ex: "My full stmt on the President's remarks on #Syria this morning: http://www.mccain.senate.gov/public/index.cfm?FuseAction=PressOffice.PressReleases&ContentRecord_id=5c82d679-e23c-8e2e-04e9-54022cdf0894 ..." (McCain, April 30, 2013, 3:56 p.m.)</p>
<p>Criticizing another. (Optional)</p>	<p>Criticizing another politician, political party, or other political/government entity. Criticizing anything from their inactions/actions, viewpoints, policies, etc...</p> <p>Ex: "Should not leave #immigrationreform in hands of @BarackObama.Have have failed to enforce law.Need reform to make them http://bit.ly/17ZWFF4" (Rubio, April 25, 2013, 5:13 p.m.)</p>
<p>Asking reader to show support. (Optional)</p>	<p>Asking the reader to show their support for the politician's views by retweeting (RT) the tweet or by signing a petition</p> <p>Ex: "RT if you agree w Tammy's support of universal background checks..." (Baldwin, April 23, 2013, 10:05 a.m.)</p>
<p>Describing the politician. (Optional)</p>	<p>The tweet describes the actions of the politician, their viewpoints, what they plan to do, etc...</p> <p>Ex: "I'm proposing a plan to use funding saved from our military drawdowns to delay the implementation of sequestration's damaging impacts." (Reid, April 23, 2013, 12:57 p.m.)</p>

departments are involved in tailoring every word of the political tweet to the politician's message. There is an elaborate process, involving multiple people behind the scene, determining what is tweeted.

Gross also provided insight into what determines the content of a political tweet.

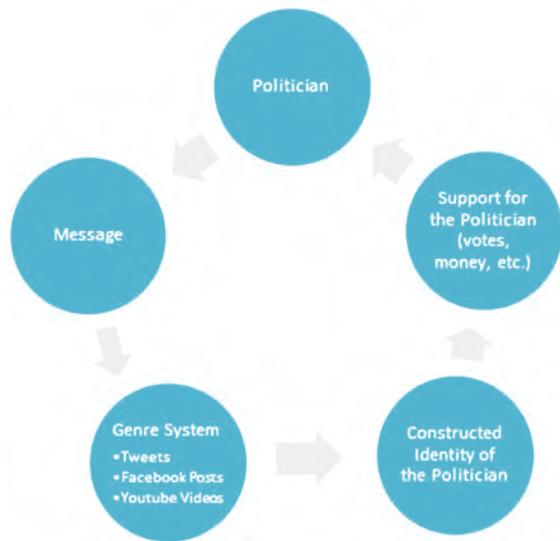
"It really depends on the politician's brand. Usually it is all prefabricated based on the personal brand. One group I worked for had a stack of tweets about issues that were approved, and ready to send any time. Mostly it is about campaign events, important issues, or attacking an opponent's message (during a campaign)."

Often what is posted in the genre of the political tweet coincides with other genres as well. According to Gross, "It is ideal to have one unified message. You will see that when someone posts on Twitter, Facebook, YouTube, or what have you it is 100% the same across all platforms. Regardless of how the user interacts, they read the same message... This does lose some of the personality, but a unified message is needed!" (Gross). Here, Gross touches on how the genre of the political tweet is actually working with other genres such as Facebook posts and YouTube videos for example, as part of a larger genre system. Figure 3 depicts how this genre system (Facebook posts, tweets, Youtube videos, etc...) works to create identity and support. Constructing this identity is the primary goal in what is posted in other genres within the genre system. Every rhetorical act or move is one of identity construction for the purpose of generating political support. The political tweet also constructs for the users of Twitter the roles of followers, supporters, and tools for spreading the influence of the politician. The tweets place the politician into the identity that they create for them, causing the politician to appear as an extremely effective public servant who is at the same time relatable.

A case study of Whole Foods' image construction through social media by Dawn Gilpin provides insight

FIGURE 3

How genre systems work for politicians



into image construction online. While politicians may not be an organization like Whole Foods, they are still just as concerned with their portrayed image in social media, except instead of worrying about stakeholders, politicians are concerned about voters. Hence, many of the principles found in this study correlate to politician's identity construction. Gilpin cites how there is evidence that shows using blogging/microblogging sites such as Twitter to interact with stakeholders (or voters) can lead to a perception of the relationship being stronger than it is. This perception of closeness may be because of the seeming directness of the messages to the readers (Gilpin 268). Gilpin's analysis suggests that just by using Twitter, politicians are becoming more relatable to their constituents. Gilpin writes that, just like politicians, Whole Foods has a specific identity constructed by rhetorical moves deployed in social media (278-279). And more importantly, "At the same time, it develops additional themes, or different facets of these core themes, through the various channels it uses to communicate..." (Gilpin 279). By using different means of social media, politicians are able to create and elaborate on various aspects of their

central, constructed identity just as Whole Foods does. The various interacting subjects of a political tweet all come together to create a fuller picture of the politician's central constructed identity. Tweets carry the themes of the various political opinions of the politician (anti-Obamacare, pro-immigration reform, Republican, Democrat). This creation of a whole picture is why there are numerous smaller themes (or rhetorical moves for example) within the political tweet; they all contribute to constructing the politician's central identity. Finally Gilpin also describes why tweets often need to go through a vigorous review before being posted (such as every word being approved by the legal department as Gross described). "...the immediacy, mutuality, and public nature of Twitter make it a risky venue for organizations who are unwilling to engage in real-time public dialogue with stakeholders, or who fear missteps" (80). Because the public nature of Twitter, a mistake by the posters could be very costly. Mistakes are likely to be noticed by countless individuals, which could greatly damage the image constructed by the tweets. This potential damage could be why the process of creating a tweet is so lengthy.

Because Twitter is public and open to a wide audience, it is crucial that Twitter users realize that the identity constructed by the genre of political tweet may not be an accurate depiction of that politician, either as a person or even as a politician. While most people may know that the politician is not always directly involved in writing the tweets, many others may not realize just how much time and effort is put into constructing an identity for the politician. The rhetorical purpose of the political tweet is to persuade other Twitter users into supporting the politician. The tweets are purposely composed to construct a favorable identity for the politician, an identity that may not include an accurate depiction of the politician as a person. Therefore, Twitter users must be aware that the genre of the political tweet is constructing identities and social roles not only for the politicians but also for his or her followers. In this way, a Twitter user could be manipulated into supporting a politician with whom they do not really agree. Instead, while

they may think they agree with a politician, they are actually agreeing with a constructed identity of the politician, an identity specifically made to raise support for the politician.

Conclusion

The results of a genre analysis on the genre of the political tweet show how a constructed identity ultimately benefits the politician. Linguistically, the political tweet balances appearing trustworthy and proficient but also relatable and up-to-date with the features unique to tweets. The rhetorical moves found in this genre are directly related to politics and serve to benefit the politician politically. On the surface level, the tweets project an image of responsibility, dedication, and professionalism mixed with relatability and awareness of current trends, making it appear as if the tweets are personally connected to the politician. As Gross reveals, though, these identities are carefully constructed and the politician may not even be involved with what is posted in his or her tweets. Instead, political tweets, along with other connected genres of social media that constitute a genre system, serve to craft an identity for politicians that creates a positive image. The rhetorical goal of all the effort put into constructing a politician's identity is to motivate followers to support the politician. Twitter users need to be aware that the political tweet (along with other social media) is designed to depict the politician positively, not accurately. Twitter users should strive to learn about politicians through sources other than those created by the politicians and their staff. Otherwise, they risk being manipulated into supporting a politician who they do not actually agree with. Twitter users must examine how this purposely favorable, constructed identity compares to the real politician and his or her actions. Only by making this investigation and comparison can individuals ensure that a politician truly represents their views and deserves support. ■

APPENDIX

Baldwin, Tammy (tammybaldwin). "RT if you agree w Tammy's support of universal background checks, reducing #gunviolence. From @CapTimes: <http://ow.ly/klnq9>." 23 April 2013, 10:05 a.m.

Baldwin, Tammy (tammybaldwin). "Tammy believes we need comprehensive #immigration reform. Agree? RT & Sign our petition <http://bit.ly/1107Jwt>." 25 April 2013, 10:10 a.m.

Baldwin, Tammy (tammybaldwin). "Preventing employment discrimination of #LGBT is the right thing to do. RT if it's important to you too! [#ENDA](http://ow.ly/ku8Wf)." 27 April 2013, 8:50 a.m.

Boehner, John (SpeakerBoehner). "Early #FF for GOP who spoke on the House floor re: #Gosnell: @RepDennisRoss @KeithRothfus @RepWalberg @RepScottPerry." 25 April 2013, 5:48 p.m.

Boehner, John (SpeakerBoehner). "The House has stepped in to prevent more #ObamaFlightDelays after POTUS chose not to act: <http://j.mp/ZzZsTm>." 26 April 2013, 12:22 p.m.

Boehner, John (SpeakerBoehner). "POTUS must implement his sequester in a way that respects Americans, rather than using them as political leverage. <http://j.mp/ZzZsTm>." 26 April 2013, 12:23 p.m.

Broun, Paul (RepPaulBrounMD). "I plan to vote against H.R. 1549, a wasteful and duplicative bill. We need to repeal Obamacare, not waste more money trying to fix it." 24 April 2013, 4:24 p.m.

Broun, Paul (RepPaulBrounMD). "Congress should have no special exception from #Obamacare. We need to repeal this legislation, not protect ourselves <http://tinyurl.com/bshysj7>." 25 April 2013, 12:42 p.m.

Broun, Paul (RepPaulBrounMD). "Report shows last year the #IRS issued more than \$11 billion in faulty refunds—one example of many abuses of power. <http://tinyurl.com/cvmpdx8>." 25 April 2013, 4:18 p.m.

Cowan, William (SenMoCowan). "#bostonstrong MT @BostonDotCom Mayor Menino: Free parking on Boylston St. & Back Bay to help business recover <http://ow.ly/k09Gq>." 24 April 2013, 1:05 p.m.

Cowan, William (SenMoCowan). "Speaking on @SenateFloor, talking abt resolution honoring the victims of last week's horrific attacks & our brave officers Collier & Donohue." 25 April 2013, 12:27 p.m.

Cowan, William (SenMoCowan). "Also talking the importance of passing the Marketplace Fairness Act & how it will benefit the Commonwealth. #majobs #mapoli." 25 April 2013, 12:28 p.m.

Johnson, Ron (SenRonJohnson). "I'm getting a lot of questions about the Senate debate on gun violence... <https://www.facebook.com/senronjohnson/posts/601454833216715>..." 18 April 2013, 10:12 a.m.

Johnson, Ron (SenRonJohnson). "Pleased to be working with Senator @MarkWarner on the Government Customer Service Improvement Act. <http://bit.ly/ZMpblY>" 23 April 2013, 6:31 a.m.

Johnson, Ron (SenRonJohnson). "Why I voted no: <http://tinyurl.com/9whcohW>" 25 April 2013, 8:10 a.m.

McCain, John (SenJohnMcCain). "My full stmnt on the President's remarks on #Syria this morning: http://www.mccain.senate.gov/public/index.cfm?FuseAction=PressOffice.PressReleases&ContentRecord_id=5c82d679-e23c-8e2e-04e9-54022cdf0894..." 30 April 2013, 3:56 p.m.

McCain, John (SenJohnMcCain). "Must-read @WSJ: "Chemical Weapons and Consequences—#Syria calls President Obama's bluff on WMD" <http://online.wsj.com/article/SB10001424127887323335404578445090349925934.html>..." 26 April 2013, 10:31 a.m.

McCain, John (SenJohnMcCain). "Disappointing but predictable statement by the President on #Syria today." 26 April 2013, 5:19 p.m.

Merkley, Jeff (SenJeffMerkley). "Introducing #ENDA today because it is shocking that there is still anywhere in USA where it is legal to fire someone for being LGBT." 25 April, 8:09 a.m.

Merkley, Jeff (SenJeffMerkley). "Americans understand that it's time to make sure our LGBT friends and family are treated fairly and have all the same opportunities #ENDA." 25 April, 8:19 a.m.

Merkley, Jeff (SenJeffMerkley). "Fine to fix travel cuts, but what about Head Start, cancer treatment & so many other important prgrms cut by sequester? Much more to be done." 26 April, 12:23 p.m.

Pelosi, Nancy (NacnyPelosi). "House Rs say they want a budget, so why are they refusing to start negotiations? Here's how the process should work: pic.twitter.com/Wk4qLlq1SK." 22 April 2013, 8:20 a.m.

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Pelosi, Nancy (NacnyPelosi). "Airports shouldn't be subjected to politics, neither should our seniors or children. Rs need to end the sequester, appoint budget conferees." 26 April 2013, 10:47 a.m.

Reid, Harry (SenatorReid). "I'm proposing a plan to use funding saved from our military drawdowns to delay the implementation of sequestration's damaging impacts." 23 April 2013, 12:57 p.m.

Reid, Harry (SenatorReid). "Senate's on track to take up immigration reform soon. @SenatorLeahy has announced Judiciary Cmte begins markup of Gang of 8 bill in May." 24 April 2013, 9:48 a.m.

Reid, Harry (SenatorReid). "While the FAA fix is necessary, we should have a broader approach. The best FAA solution to sequester = #ForAllAffected." 26 April 2013, 11:39 a.m.

Rubio, Marco (marcorubio). "Should not leave #immigrationreform in hands of @BarackObama. Have failed to enforce law. Need reform to make them <http://bit.ly/17ZWFF4>." 25 April 2013, 5:13 p.m.

Rubio, Marco (marcorubio). "Really like the pick of Dion Jordan by @MiamiDolphins. Only way to beat Tom Brady is when he is on his back. #nfl #nfldraft #miamidolphins." 25 April 2013, 8:47 p.m.

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