

VOLUME 9
2 0 1 6

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THE LAS JOURNAL OF UNDERGRADUATE SCHOLARSHIP

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VOLUME 9 | 2016



CREATING KNOWLEDGE

The LAS Journal of Undergraduate Scholarship

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FOREWORD

DEAR STUDENTS, COLLEAGUES, ALUMNI AND FRIENDS,

Throughout my career as faculty and administrator in higher education I have been honored with the opportunity to introduce and celebrate the publication of scholarly work by colleagues and graduate students in many disciplines and institutions around the world. After more than three decades of doing so, this is the first time that I have the pleasure of introducing a formal publication of work created by a talented group of undergraduate scholars. This honor is further magnified by the fact that beyond its formal format, this is a reviewed publication of extraordinary rigor and evident intellectual sophistication. This publication makes palpable the exceptional commitment of our community to not only consume knowledge but also be fully engaged, at all levels, in its creation and dissemination.

In this ninth volume of [Creating Knowledge: The LAS Journal of Undergraduate Scholarship](#), we celebrate 19 essays and 13 art works, representing advanced coursework produced in twenty different departments during the 2015-2016 academic year. Most of the work hereby presented has already been subject of recognition through department awards and supported by undergraduate research and creative grants. All have been selected by department-based faculty committees as the best of the year's student creative work and all have been revised for submission under the supervision of faculty. The first footnote to each essay provides information about the class in which it was written and the processes of selection and revision. Together they represent the intellectual diversity for which our college is rightfully renowned.

I hope that our readers will experience the same sense of pride on the work of our students that I feel. I also hope that our students see the work of their more advanced colleagues as a challenge soon to be transformed into the opportunity to build on the accomplishments of their predecessors. Last, but certainly not least, I hope that our alumni and friends of the college will take this opportunity to renew their support of our students through the establishment of additional scholarships and the inclusion of our graduating students in their recruitment and hiring plans.

In closing I would like to express my profound gratitude to the more than 60 faculty who supported, reviewed, selected, and helped to edit this remarkable collection of student work. Thanks are also due to the three Department of Art, Media and Design faculty who served as jurors of the art work and the three masters in writing and publication students who proofread the volume. In particular, I would like to thank Warren Schultz, associate dean of undergraduate studies in the College of Liberal Arts and Social Sciences, who serves as editor of the volume, putting out the call for submissions, supporting the faculty work of reviewing, selecting, and editing the student essays, and coordinating the production of the print and digital editions.

We are a collective of perpetual learners that finds great joy in creating knowledge. It is my pleasure to invite you to enjoy this new issue of [Creating Knowledge: The LAS Journal of Undergraduate Scholarship](#).

Sincerely,



GUILLERMO VÁSQUEZ DE VELASCO, PHD
Dean

MORAL ECONOMY: BLACK CONSUMERISM AND RACIAL UPLIFT IN *TAN CONFESSIONS*, 1950-51

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African and Black Diaspora Studies Program

“Capitalism and market forces welcomed black folk into the world of hedonistic consumerism. Rather than worry our minds and hearts about social justice, antiracist struggle, women’s liberation, the plight of the poor, or the failure of democratic principles, black people were urged to see consumption as the way to define success and well-being.”

bell hooks, *Rock My Soul: Black People and Self-Esteem* (2003)

The Post World War II Economic Boom

During the mid-twentieth century, the economic growth following World War II marked an incredible period of material consumption in the United States. One’s status as a citizen was measured by how much they could consume. In *The Unfinished Journey: America Since World II*, historian William H. Chafe chronicles the political, cultural, and economic climate of the decades after the second World War. He writes that as a result of the postwar boom, nearly 60 percent of the American population had achieved a ‘middle-class’ standard of living by the mid-1950s in contrast to only 31 percent in the last year of prosperity before the Great Depression.¹ With the proliferation of highways that led to suburbs sprawling with spacious multi-level homes, the desire to buy household luxuries like television sets, washing machines, and automobiles especially increased concomitantly. Chafe argues consumerism represented one of the primary consequences—

as well as one of the essential ingredients—of this prosperity.² Despite such financial expansion and material gain, Black families struggled for inclusion in the economic prosperity more easily attained by whites. Federal poverty statistics illustrate that by the late 1950s, only 16.5 percent of white families lived in poverty, a percentage vastly smaller than the 54.9 percent of poor Black families.³ Moreover, Blacks faced a paucity of opportunities for social advancement as they struggled to secure quality education and the right to vote.⁴ The Civil Rights Movement of the 1960s had yet to happen, as the landmark decision of *Brown vs. Board of Education* and the crisis at Little Rock Central High School during this decade helped catalyze subsequent Black liberation movements.⁵

One effort to assuage the feelings of inferiority that Blacks often felt as a result of economic and social exclusion came from editor and publisher John H. Johnson. Utilizing his background as a businessman, Johnson founded Johnson Publishing Company in 1942.⁶ His publishing enterprise successfully tapped into a literary market that previously failed to acknowledge the wide range of experiences in Black life. Some of the company’s earlier publications were *Ebony*, which featured success stories of the Black working class, and *Negro Digest*, a monthly magazine that included

* Prepared for ABD 399, an independent study course, with Professor Julie E. Moody-Freeman in winter quarter 2016. Professor Amor Kohli assisted in the editing for publication.

1 William Chafe, *The Unfinished Journey: America Since World War II* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2014), 106.

2 *Ibid.*, 114.

3 Amy Glasmeier, *An Atlas of Poverty in America: One Nation, Pulling Apart 1960-2003* (New York: Routledge, 2006), 1.

4 Chafe, *The Unfinished Journey: America Since World War II*, 140.

5 *Ibid.*, 151.

6 John H. Johnson, (1950). *Tan Confessions*, 3, Periodicals, DePaul University Lincoln Park Microforms.

articles written by African-American scholars.⁷ Often overlooked, however, is *Tan Confessions*. Though its life on newsstands was ephemeral, *Tan Confessions* undoubtedly had one of the most significant impacts on the development of Black culture at the time. In a welcome letter published in its debut issue, Johnson stated the magazine's purpose "to reflect a new side of Negro life that is virtually ignored in most publications today."⁸ This new side Johnson referred to involved the everyday concerns and triumphs of Black people. Short stories and longer confessional narratives would revolve around themes such as love, romance, and marriage. *Tan Confessions* would also feature an extensive home service section devoted to child care tips, health practices, cooking recipes, interior decoration, fashion, and shopping. Johnson also encouraged readers to mail in letters of their personal accounts with these themes in an effort to make the magazine more authentic.⁹ Ultimately, the primary goal of the magazine was to foster racial uplift among Black people battling discrimination in nearly every facet of society.

The advertisements published in *Tan Confessions* unearth the ways in which the magazine failed in achieving this goal. Through a critical analysis of the advertisements' language, images, and representations, my preliminary argument is that while *Tan Confessions* advocated for Black inclusion in social, cultural, and political life in the United States, the magazine inadvertently cultivated a destructive culture of Black consumerism.

Moral Economy

In *Moral Economy and Political Economy*, sociologist Andrew Sayer emphasizes the importance of interrogating ethical consumer relations through moral economy theory. It is useful here to separate the words 'moral' and 'economy' to underscore the context in which they will be used in this paper. 'Moral' by definition refers to the ordinary values,

customs, and norms in relation to one's well-being. A critical analysis grounded in morality helps to determine whether the products promoted in the advertisements published in *Tan Confessions* aided in the well-being of Black people. Definitions of 'economy' vary, but here it is expressed as a process of exchange and activity beyond a simple system of free markets and trade. Economic activity necessitates that something is continually to be gained and lost.¹⁰ Concluding, Sayer defines moral economy as "the study of the ways in which economic activities—in the broad sense—are influenced by moral-political norms and sentiments, and how, conversely, those norms are compromised by economic forces."¹¹

Situating Sayer's moral economy theory in the context of the 1950s, the larger society's emphasis on consumption led many Black people to believe they could simply buy their way out of misery and poverty and into economic prosperity. Rather than forming solidarity and advocating for change on a political level, Black peoples' sense of community was informed by the material possessions they owned. In *Darker Than Blue*, cultural studies scholar Paul Gilroy provides a historical account of Black people's shift from a political consciousness to an awareness rooted in consumption. He writes that political outlooks were being reshaped by patterns of interaction in which racialized subjects discovered themselves and their agency through their social life as consumers rather than as citizens.¹² Essentially, the racial community's journey toward human and civic recognition involved the retreat of publicity and the privatization of their culture.¹³ Black people's sense of self became aligned with how much they could consume rather than their collective potential to mobilize, a costly trade-off considering how

7 Paul Finkleman, *Encyclopedia of African American History, 1896 to the Present* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2009), 51.

8 *Ibid.*

9 *Ibid.*

10 In a financial transaction, a customer buys a product with money. The outcome of the transaction is that while the customer has gained the item, they have lost their money.

11 Andrew Sayer, *Moral Economy and Political Economy* (United Kingdom: Studies in Political Economy, 2000), 2.

12 Paul Gilroy, *Darker than Blue: On the Moral Economies of Black Atlantic Culture: The W. E. B. Du Bois Lectures*. (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2011), 11.

13 *Ibid.*

much was at stake in terms of bonding through shared struggle and pushing for economic reform.

Advertisements published in *Tan Confessions* aided in this destructive culture of Black consumerism, further hindering any inclination for a liberation movement. The ads published in *Tan Confessions* viciously attacked and sought to police the physical presentations and cognitive psyches of Black women especially. Harmful items such as skin lighteners, illusive hair products, and body shapers were positioned as enhancement products that would make finding a male partner less stressful, presuming that was the primary goal of women at the time. In *Ladies' Pages: African American Women's Magazines and the Culture That Made Them*, feminist scholar Noliwe M. Rooks writes about the devastating effects these destructive advertisements in *Tan Confessions* had on Black women. Rooks writes that *Tan Confessions* relied upon an ideological construct that suggested to African American women that one means of both conforming to accepted gender norms and combating race-based discrimination was to consume.¹⁴

With an understanding of the economic prosperity pervading life in the United States in the 1950s, and Black exclusion of this prosperity, it is now possible to move forward to a critical analysis of select advertisements published in *Tan Confessions*. Using moral economy theory, I will examine how their language, images and representations contributed to a destructive culture of Black consumerism.

Analysis of Advertisements

Advertisements for Dr. Fred Palmer's Skin Whitener were common in publications marketed towards African-Americans in the 1950s.¹⁵ The image in this particular advertisement (see Fig. 1) displays a sleeping woman with a dream cloud floating atop her head. The grey shading

on the woman's face suggests that she has a dark skinned complexion. Located inside the dream cloud is an image of the same woman, only this time awakened with a confident and lighter physiognomy. The text adjacent to these images imply that the woman has fantasized about wanting a lighter skin complexion, and by using Dr. Fred Palmer's Skin Whitener her dream of becoming beautiful is guaranteed to come true. Another powerful observation of the advertisement lies in the language used to describe the product. The use of 'skin whitener' as opposed to 'skin lightener' concretely expresses the advertiser's inclination to uphold white supremacist aesthetics over Black aesthetics.

The overt conflation of love and beauty represented in these advertisements also negatively impacted the cognitive psyches of Black women (see Fig. 2). The image of a darker skinned man and lighter skinned woman confirms the advertiser's hegemonic belief that a woman can be desired by men only if she has lighter skin. The prominent text at the top asserts that it is in a Black woman's best interest to lighten her skin and allow herself the opportunity to be loved. The use of the word "fast" concurrently creates a sense of urgency that compels the reader to buy the product immediately, wasting no more precious years with undesirable dark skin.

Such fabricated images, coercive language, and negative representations of Black women in Dr. Fred Palmer's Skin Whitener advertisements profoundly regress from the goal of racial uplift *Tan Confessions* aspired to. When moral economy theory is applied, these advertisements seek to convince Black women to spend money on a product that would seemingly solve cognitive issues like loneliness and low self-esteem. In this exchange, however, monetary funds are lost and only more problems are gained as the contents of these advertisements aid in the perpetuation of divisive colorism and preferential treatment based on skin color, much like the color caste system developed during the Atlantic Slave Trade.

¹⁴ Noliwe M. Rooks, *Ladies' Pages: African American Women's Magazines and the Culture That Made Them* (New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press, 2004), 130.

¹⁵ Anne A. Cheng, *The Melancholy of Race: Psychoanalysis, Assimilation, and Hidden Grief* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2001), 4.

FIGURE 1

An advertisement for Dr. Fred Palmer's Skin Whitener. *Tan Confessions*. June 1951. Microform. Jan. 2016.



The effects of skin whitening advertisements like Dr. Fred's Skin Whitener pervade Black culture today. In *Rock My Soul: Black People and Self-Esteem*, feminist scholar bell hooks challenges the passive acceptance of these dangerous notions of beauty. hooks notes that most Black Americans, from slavery to the present day, along with white Americans and other nonblack folks, have passively accepted and condoned color caste. Shaming on the basis of skin color is one racially based trauma retention that has been passed on from generation to generation.¹⁶

Although hairstyles worn by Black women during the 1950s were intricate and unique, long, straight hair texture was preferred over natural kinky curls. Kotalko, a popular brand of shampoo, was marketed as an all-natural healthy alternative to shampoos saturated with chemicals. The images and language used in Kotalko ads published in *Tan Confessions* dangerously conflate long hair with ideals of love and beauty (see Fig. 3). The most noticeable image in this advertisement features a dark-skinned woman (emphasized by the grey shading) with shiny locks of hair trailing down the right side of the page. Next to the woman's face are bolded headlines, "At Last! LOVELIER, MORE LUSTROUS, LONGER HAIR-MAY BE YOURS." The particular use of the phrase "At

¹⁶ hooks, *Rock My Soul: Black People and Self-Esteem*, 38.

FIGURE 2

An advertisement for Dr. Fred Palmer's Skin Whitener. *Tan Confessions*. May 1951. Microform. Jan. 2016.



Last!" implies that the targeted audience, Black women, have been trying endlessly to tame their difficult, coarse hair. Additionally, the use of the comparative and superlative forms of the short adjectives "long" and "lovely" suggest that Black women are *almost* at a level where they can be called beautiful, with Kotalko being the product to theoretically upgrade them.

The most striking component of this ad is the overt patriarchy expressed in a small paragraph centered near the bottom of the page. In this testimonial, a woman writes "I am grateful to my husband. He ordered Kotalko for me. It worked almost like magic...now my hair is more attractive" (Fig. 3). The romanticization of Kotalko as a mystical product that would make hair "more" attractive crudely posits that there is something inherently wrong with the natural state of Black women's hair. Emphasizing success and happiness as a result of using the product through an "authentic" testimonial further tempts readers not only to buy Kotalko, but to look at men through a paternalistic lens. These advertisements suggest that it is men who know what is in a woman's best interest.

Dependency on male approval is echoed through another advertisement for G&T Real Human Hair (see Fig. 4). The headline on the flier reads "Now...men call me beautiful!"

The use of the word “now” delineates beauty as a process that Kotalko can aid in. This trajectory of beauty is most clearly expressed in the before/after images located underneath the headline. The “before” image features a presumably single woman with an unadorned facial expression. A line points to the “after” image which displays a joyous, smiling woman now accompanied by a man. Such powerful imagery conveys a deceptive ideology that conflates happiness with beauty. Moreover, these ads suggest happiness and beauty are things to be attained through consumption rather than critical vigilance.

Advertisements for illusory hair products in *Tan Confessions* significantly undermined its goal of creating racial uplift for Black people. Again, moral economy theory allows us to unearth the ways in which these ads were detrimental to the welfare of Black people. Rather than using inclusive language that celebrates all hair types and aims to genuinely solve common problems like dandruff or dry scalp, these ads purely demanded money in exchange for a product that would not only lessen the burden of managing natural hair, but also eradicate the shame and inferiority inherently tied to simply *having* natural hair.

In *Hair Story: Untangling the Roots of Black Hair in America*, journalists Ayana Byrd and Lori Harps highlight the implications of the negative images regularly found in hair product advertisements. Byrd and Harps write that straight hair was slick, modern and attractive. The beauty ideal that existed at the time overwhelmingly favored a light-skinned, straight-haired aesthetic for both men and women.¹⁷ They also add that advertising throughout the first half of the century, as well as popular culture figures and images, did not offer an alternative Black beauty ideal.¹⁸

Advertisements for body alteration products made apparent the paradox of the larger society’s ideal body image. The language used in an advertisement by the Laurel Company (Fig. 5) suggests that a heavier figure is more desirable than

FIGURE 3

An advertisement for Kotalko. *Tan Confessions*. Jan 1951. Microform. Jan. 2016.



a slim one. While readers may be inclined to believe this advertisement as altruistic, a close reading of the language suggests otherwise. Hostile questions like “Don’t you want a body that you won’t be ASHAMED OF?” and “How long have you sat on the sidelines while LOVE, ROMANCE, and excitement passed you by?” prey on the readers’ presumed insecurities. Furthermore, this denigration of slim figured women starkly contrasts an advertisement for Kyron published the same year (see Fig. 6). This ad in particular encourages women to “LOSE UGLY FAT”, with the language “Don’t envy a slimmer, attractive figure any longer.” This language further emphasizes the contradictory notion that slimmer is better. These ads assume that if a woman is heavy, she is unsatisfied and desires to shed pounds or inversely, a thin woman is equally unsatisfied and always wishes to gain weight. Moral economy theory highlights how these ads offer no real solution to body dysmorphic disorders other than to consume.

Communications scholar Kim B. Sheehan emphasizes the significant role advertisements play in informing society’s perceptions of beauty in *Controversies in Contemporary Advertising*. Sheehan writes that theories of beauty are culturally constituted, primarily because of common socialization experiences. Thus, individuals in a society

¹⁷ Ayana Byrd and Lori Harps, *Hair Story: Untangling the Roots of Black Hair in America* (New York: St. Martin’s Press, 2001), 41.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*

FIGURE 4

An advertisement for G&T Real Human Hair. *Tan Confessions*. Mar 1951. Microform. Jan. 2016.



posses shared cultural ideals.¹⁹ Had *Tan Confessions* sought to publish, say, medicinal ads that combat the body's internal problems rather than external, it would have potentially succeeded in its goal of ensuring the well-being of Black people.

Conclusion

The first two issues of *Tan Confessions* published in November and December of 1950 contained no advertisements. As time progressed, however, ads for beauty products, household items, and expensive jewelry proliferated throughout the magazine. What were once quarter-page advertisements eventually evolved into full-page spreads, constituting almost one-third of the entire publication. Such a rise in advertisements in *Tan Confessions* reflected the larger society's accepting attitude toward consumerism.

While I have pointed out the multiple ways in which *Tan Confessions* failed in its goal of racial uplift among Black people, it is worthwhile to mention how racial uplift was practiced before the period of economic prosperity during the 50s. bell hooks recounts the shared values associated with Blacks in the south during this time:

¹⁹ Kim B. Sheehan, *Controversies in Contemporary Advertising* (United Kingdom: Sage Publications, 2004), 95.

FIGURE 5

An advertisement by Laurel Company. *Tan Confessions*. Jan 1951. Microform. Jan. 2016.



A child of the fifties in that part of the American south that was always seen as culturally backward, I was raised in a world where racial uplift was the norm. Like their nineteenth-century ancestors, our working-class parents believed that if we wanted freedom we had to be worthy of it, that we had to educate ourselves, work hard, be people of integrity. Racial uplift through self-help meant not just that we should confront racism, we should become fully cultured holistic individuals.²⁰

Unfortunately, the value placed on integrity and education was replaced with hedonistic consumption as *Tan Confessions* so clearly emphasized through its advertisements. Useful strategies to move away from the destructive culture of Black consumerism involve rejecting negative images, languages, and representation of Blacks in advertisements and mass media. Again, hooks describes the formation of this damaging culture of consumerism: When many black Americans measured their potential for freedom, success, and well-being against the standard set by white middle-class culture and the burgeoning culture of class privilege that prioritized consumerism and greed, they saw ethical and moral values as impediments.²¹ When the compulsion to consume is suppressed, a re-

²⁰ hooks, *Rock My Soul: Black People and Self-Esteem*, 11.

²¹ *Ibid.*, 57

emphasizing of self-awareness, communalism, and education that once permeated Black life can emerge, as all these components are critical in the contemporary journey toward racial uplift. ■

FIGURE 6

An advertisement for Kyron. *Tan Confessions*. Mar 1951. Microform. Jan. 2016.

SKINNY-
ADD ALLURING POUNDS and inches to your appearance

Don't you want a body that you won't be ashamed of? Alluring/Intriguing Curves that be yours this year can be yours with SKINNY-ADD! Add the wonder preparation that restores, beautifies, promotes elegance and movement that can come add plenty of fun back to your bones.

Then try, here you will find and have called SKINNY-SWEET or SKINNY-SWEET! Here they have you up on the solution while LOVE, ROMANCE and excitement await you to!

Would you like to look like your sister and see a healthy, well rounded body with curves where they belong. All this can be yours if you are understanding and in good health. SKINNY-ADD! See the wonders in a short time. You'll see how good again and see normally will eat more.

BE ONE OF THE CROWD AGAIN!
With your skin firm and shining, radiating curves you will be proud to mingle with friends. See SKINNY-ADD! to add cheer and health to your skin and hair. Your skin looks and you will look like people have to look at you with awe admiration. If they do what you want then take advantage of our SKINNY-ADD! SKINNY-ADD! Beauty that shows up your beauty reflected in your skin, hair and eyes and radiant complexion. SKINNY-ADD! In 10, 15, 20, 30, 45, 60, 90, 120, 180, 240, 300, 360, 420, 480, 540, 600, 660, 720, 780, 840, 900, 960, 1020, 1080, 1140, 1200, 1260, 1320, 1380, 1440, 1500, 1560, 1620, 1680, 1740, 1800, 1860, 1920, 1980, 2040, 2100, 2160, 2220, 2280, 2340, 2400, 2460, 2520, 2580, 2640, 2700, 2760, 2820, 2880, 2940, 3000, 3060, 3120, 3180, 3240, 3300, 3360, 3420, 3480, 3540, 3600, 3660, 3720, 3780, 3840, 3900, 3960, 4020, 4080, 4140, 4200, 4260, 4320, 4380, 4440, 4500, 4560, 4620, 4680, 4740, 4800, 4860, 4920, 4980, 5040, 5100, 5160, 5220, 5280, 5340, 5400, 5460, 5520, 5580, 5640, 5700, 5760, 5820, 5880, 5940, 6000, 6060, 6120, 6180, 6240, 6300, 6360, 6420, 6480, 6540, 6600, 6660, 6720, 6780, 6840, 6900, 6960, 7020, 7080, 7140, 7200, 7260, 7320, 7380, 7440, 7500, 7560, 7620, 7680, 7740, 7800, 7860, 7920, 7980, 8040, 8100, 8160, 8220, 8280, 8340, 8400, 8460, 8520, 8580, 8640, 8700, 8760, 8820, 8880, 8940, 9000, 9060, 9120, 9180, 9240, 9300, 9360, 9420, 9480, 9540, 9600, 9660, 9720, 9780, 9840, 9900, 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COKEYS, GONGS, AND THE REEFER MAN: CAB CALLOWAY'S USE OF STRATEGIC EXPRESSIONISM DURING THE HARLEM RENAISSANCE

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During the Harlem Renaissance, writers and intellectuals such as Langston Hughes, W.E.B. Du Bois, and Claude McKay sought to define Harlem by providing rich accounts of the city's nightlife. Writers of the time period offered a social commentary on racial and sexual limitations present in 1920s Harlem. While popular jazz artists also contributed to Harlem's culture through their performances for black audiences in clubs and cabarets, many of the biggest venues for black performance were those which served white audiences; in these venues, music producers carefully packaged black jazz performances as representations of Harlem that supposedly demonstrated black people's "authentic" lives. A shining example of this careful marketing occurred at the cabaret the Cotton Club. Situated in the black district of Harlem, the Cotton Club and its black artists came to exemplify what was perceived as a "natural" demonstration of black culture for middle and upper class white socialites. Their performances allowed white audiences to get a taste of Harlem culture in a meticulously controlled environment, and to return to their safe homes via their costly cars at the end of the night.¹ Jazz musician Cab Calloway's extraordinary performances and improvisation ability, both in song and in dance, became widely popular amongst white audiences across the nation at the end of the Harlem

FIGURE 1

Cab Calloway in an advertisement featured in *Billboard Magazine* in 1942²



* This paper was written for HON 301, American Popular Culture of the 1890s to 1930s, taught by Allison McCracken, PhD, in fall quarter of 2015. It was selected as the Richard deCordova Scholarship award recipient by the Department of American Studies in 2016. McCracken aided in editing this essay for publication.

1 Shane Vogel, *The Scene of Harlem Cabaret: Race, Sexuality, Performance* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 2009), 81.

2 Source: Billboard Magazine. https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Cab_Calloway.jpg

Renaissance. Hired as a replacement at the Cotton Club for Duke Ellington during Ellington's national tour, Calloway quickly proved his worth as his signature "Hi-De-Ho" scatting, zoot suit, and white baton transformed jazz music and culture.³ While various scholars have examined Calloway's performances and songs, and in the process, have uncovered his drug-laden lyrics, there is little scholarship regarding the intersection of his coded drug references and his scatting techniques. In this paper, I will argue that the jazz techniques present within his coded, drug-related songs distracted the white audience from registering their deeper meanings. Additionally, I will argue that although Calloway's producers and marketers recognized these references, they chose to ignore them. They understood that his white audience would expect Calloway to scat indecipherable phrases and throw himself around; these displays coincided with the producers' preconceived notions about black primitivism and musical naturalism. Thus, they allowed him to introduce Harlem drug culture coding into his songs without concerns about censorship.

Therefore, Calloway songs such as "Minnie the Moocher," "Kicking the Gong Around," and "Reefer Man" were able to gain broad popularity at a time of prohibition and censorship, despite their coded drug references. Harlem's jive language was presented to the public within the framework of Calloway's signature scatting and call and response techniques, allowing drug references to go unnoticed as white audiences admired Calloway's improvisation ability. In order to illustrate the strategic placement of Calloway's scatting and call and responses, I will first situate these jazz techniques in the larger context of popular jazz of the time period. Next, I will provide close textual and performance analyses of three Calloway songs that include coded drug references to demonstrate the intensity of these references, and explain how he strategically structured them to appeal to a mass audience.

3 Alyn Shipton, *Hi-De-Ho: The Life of Cab Calloway* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2010), 45.

Lastly, I will briefly dispute previous scholars' assumptions that record companies failed to recognize these veiled drug references. Because of the immense popularity of these songs, it is unlikely that record companies didn't notice Calloway's integration of drug culture. What is more likely is that Calloway's managers and producers understood that the white audience would perceive his references as a natural part of his performance, and essentially, who he was as an artist. Calloway's work ultimately helps to understand the impact of American popular culture of the time period by illuminating racial stereotypes. His successful image as a musician did not mask his blackness, and Calloway often played into primitive stereotypes while performing. Additionally, black Harlem stereotypes partially helped white audiences interpret his language as a natural portrayal of Harlem by reinforcing their preexisting beliefs about blacks and Harlem drug culture, subsequently allowing drug references to go unquestioned. While his contributions to jazz and immense talent should not be downplayed, his work carefully appealed to a white audience that craved a false sense of black Harlem, which Calloway willingly provided them.

Calloway's Jazz Techniques

Calloway's mastery of scat improvisation allowed him to put on a unique performance every time. Various recordings of "Minnie the Moocher" from the early 1930s are different not only in terms of venue, but also in lyrics. In one recording of "Minnie the Moocher" from 1942, Calloway's scatting is distinctly different from a recording of the same song from 1955 at the Apollo Theater. Both versions' scatting verses start off with Calloway's signature "Hi-dee-hi-dee-hi / ho-dee-ho-dee-ho-dee-ho," but then each scat differs thereafter. In the 1942 version, Calloway scats phrases involving "skip," "de-doop," and "whoop," ending his scat with a drawn out howl that sounds like "lourey lourey lourey loo."⁴ In the 1955 Apollo Theater performance, scat phrases emphasize completely

4 "Cab Calloway Minnie the Moocher 1942," YouTube video, 3:08, posted by TheModernDayPirate, August 25, 2010. https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=iSnwf__guls.

different syllables and notes. Playing with a letter “B” alliteration, Calloway’s phrases include “blime,” “ba-doop,” and “schabop.” He concludes this scat by hitting a high note that verges on the side of a high-pitched screech.⁵ During the early evolution of jazz, scat singing became popular as a way to transform one’s voice into a sound quality similar to that of an instrument.⁶ Calloway’s inventive use of scatting also incorporated the popular call and response song pattern, making Calloway’s songs exciting for audience members. While many jazz artists scatted during the 1930s, Calloway’s renditions were unique and masterful because of his ability to project and control his voice.⁷

Calloway’s use of call and response is noted for its cultural significance in Alyn Shipton’s Calloway biography titled *Hi-De-Ho*. While Calloway emulated the preacher (call) and congregation (response) song structure, he put his own spin on it by introducing subversive lyrics that were far from religious, which was also done in popular race records at the time.⁸ However, his modern, urban interpretation of call and response did not change the fact that the cultural perception of such a song model was associated with slave songs. As Barry Wallenstein noted in “Poetry and Jazz: A Twentieth Century Wedding,” jazz can include elements dating back to the church services of plantation blacks.⁹ These emotional sermons were characterized by call and response patterns initiated by a preacher moaning and flailing about, seemingly taken over by the Holy Spirit. Hence, while Calloway diverged from traditional racial classifications, his call and response verses to his black orchestra at the Cotton Club worked to enforce a sense

of primitivism that was consistent with white audiences’ perceptions of black Americans.¹⁰

However, appealing to the preexisting primitive and racial beliefs of white people was not unique to Calloway’s performances. Many other prominent black performers reproduced racialized tropes and stereotypes. Scholar Karl Hagstrom Miller explains the industrialized nature of the music business in the early 1900s, stating, “In practice, separate race and old-time classifications functioned as both advertisements and censors...Companies, however, often refused to allow black artists to record selections the musicians held dear – from pop songs and arias to hillbilly breakdowns – that did not fit within corporate conceptions of black music.”¹¹ Black artists had to work within the framework of white expectations of black musical forms and styles, which meant performing blues or jazz. In the case of Calloway, this came in the form of urban call and response, laced with slick Harlem jive language.

While Cotton Club performances seemingly provided the white audience a glimpse of the rich black culture present in trade papers such as *Variety* and magazines such as *The New Yorker*, the Harlem that was being carefully marketed to whites did not reflect black people’s lived experience, as it helped to reinforce white people’s preexisting racial beliefs, rather than construct new ones. Those who performed at the Cotton Club were presented as natural talents who were born with the musical gift of jazz. It wasn’t learned and practiced; it was inherent. The strategic marketing that took place within the walls of the Cotton Club, against a background of antebellum set pieces that served “to represent the Land of Cotton,” ultimately decreased the value of musical accomplishments by artists like Calloway and Ellington.¹² However, through Calloway’s urban take on popular jazz

5 “Cab Calloway Minnie the Moocher Live Apollo Theater,” YouTube video, 2:39, posted by bettyb88ga, November 15, 2009. https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=_zvxIZZUyAk.

6 Robert S. Gold, “The Vernacular of the Jazz World.” *American Speech* 32, no. 4 (1957): 275. Accessed November 15, 2015, doi:10.2307/453976.

7 Samuel A. Floyd Jr., *The Power of Black Music: Interpreting Its History from Africa to the United States* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1995), 117.

8 Shipton, *Hi-De-Ho*, 44.

9 Barry Wallenstein, “Poetry and Jazz: A Twentieth-century Wedding.” *Black American Literature Forum* 25, no. 3 (1991): 598. Accessed November 15, 2015, doi:10.2307/3041814.

10 Floyd, *Power of Black Music*, 117.

11 Karl Hagstrom Miller, *Segregating Sound: Inventing Folk and Pop Music in the Age of Jim Crow*, eds. Ronald Radano and Josh Kun (Durham: Duke University Press, 2010), 188-189.

12 Vogel, *The Scene*, 81.

techniques, he was able to gain some sense of agency in his performances, even though his work was marketed to a white audience that largely interpreted them in ways which affirmed their assumptions about black people. While his white producers put his blackness on display for a white audience, Calloway was able to subversively use his spotlight to appeal to a black one as well by inserting phrases that would resonate with his black audience. His use of Harlem jive language through drug references demonstrated an element of control that Calloway had over his own image. This is significant because not many artists were able to make these types of appeals to black audiences through song lyrics.

In order to have a better understanding of how Calloway maintained some agency within this racist structure, I will now examine select examples of Calloway's songs to demonstrate how he employed jazz techniques and coded language to address the black community.

Cokeys, Gongs, and the Reefer Man

Calloway's early success at the Cotton Club led him to perform original songs with his orchestra within a month of his debut.¹³ His manager, Irving Mills recognized Calloway's distinct style and wanted Calloway to perform songs that best fit his vocal talents.¹⁴ Hence, Calloway and Mills wrote "Minnie the Moocher" together in 1931.¹⁵ Wallenstein describes "Minnie the Moocher," as a monologue "with coded language: words used as 'covers' for subjects such as sex, drugs, anger, and sorrow not discussed 'on the outside.'" ¹⁶ While this coded language is obvious today, during the 1920s the language was more obscure. Examining "Minnie the Moocher," one verse in particular stands out for its now overt references to cocaine and opium. After the first scat verse, Calloway sings, "She messed around with a bloke named Smokey / She loved him though he was cokey / He took her down to Chinatown

/ And he showed her how to kick the gong around."¹⁷ The fictional character Smokey is a user of cocaine and opium, which he then introduces to Minnie. The Chinatown reference also connects the kicking the gong around line to Chinese Opium dens, a stereotype that was present in the early 1900s even in white texts, which suggests that not all whites would have been ignorant of this meaning. While the narrative is short, the song's real power and energy comes from the alternating call and response scat verses. The song is classic Calloway entertainment as he demonstrates his mastery of scat improvisation and shows off his vocal range, eventually earning him the title of "Hi-De-Ho" Man. While Calloway's distinct hi-de-ho calls gave him an image that would stick with him for the rest of his life, the drug imagery went into one ear of most whites, and out the other.¹⁸ What stuck with them was Calloway's lively and energetic vocals as he hooted and hollered through intense scatting improvisations in between the Minnie narrative.¹⁹ Calloway's strategically placed call and responses in his first original song debut proved his worth as an entertainer and served the purpose of introducing the audience to Harlem jive drug codes within a distractingly fun and upbeat framework of music. The original recording of "Minnie the Moocher" even went on to become the first million-selling disc by an African American artist.²⁰

Using the jive language of Harlem, Calloway gave his white audience the "genuine" experience they craved.²¹ They enjoyed the upbeat, fast "jungle music" and popular call and response scatting, which they believed to be a natural part of black performers' acts.²² This discourse was popular in prominent reviews, such as one from the *New York Times* in 1933, "The savage and faintly blood-curdling yells of Cab Calloway, fresh from the Harlem jungles...

¹³ Shipton, *Hi-De-Ho*, 47.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*

¹⁵ *Ibid.*

¹⁶ Wallenstein, "Poetry and Jazz," 599.

¹⁷ "Moocher 1942."

¹⁸ Shipton, *Hi-De-Ho*, 49.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*

²⁰ *Ibid.*, 48.

²¹ Wallenstein, "Poetry and Jazz," 599.

²² Shipton, *Hi-De-Ho*, 49.

Mr Calloway writhes, prances, throws back his head and screams in that high-priced state of delirium for which he is famous.”²³ This review is pertinent to understanding the marketing of Calloway because it suggests that whites viewed his talents and performance as an “authentic” representation of black Harlem. It is easy to see how the audience focused on Calloway’s presentation and Harlem roots, bypassing the coded meanings of his song lyrics. Calloway’s lyrical content was not what drew people to him. His words, either written by himself or by others for him, were merely an avenue in which to show off his musical talents.

Another prime example of a lyrically ignored song was “Kicking the Gong Around.” While the somber “Kicking the Gong Around” was not as lively of a song as “Minnie the Moocher,” it included a great demonstration of Calloway’s scat abilities as well as call and response techniques, which increased his fame.²⁴ However, similar to “Minnie the Moocher,” this song masks drug references through coded language, but more importantly, through the structural nature of the song. Call and response litters the verses, pulling the audience into the performance and causing them to possibly interpret the phrase “kicking the gong around” as nothing more than harmless Harlem slang. Although not written by Calloway, the song was written for him by songwriting team Ted Koehler and Harold Arlen.²⁵ In a video recording of “Kicking the Gong Around” in the 1932 film *The Big Broadcast*, Calloway uses his physical movements to make the drug references more explicit.²⁶ At the line, “Kicking the gong around,” Calloway continuously acts as if he is snorting a substance by sniffing his wrist and then acting disoriented. Such references were probably apparent to some of the more sophisticated urban

audiences and industry insiders, although it didn’t phase them. While Shipton suggests that these mimes most likely went unnoticed by the director of the 1932 performance, Frank Tuttle, who was used to working with safe performers such as Bing Crosby, what is more likely is that Tuttle understood the strategy behind Calloway’s movements and carefully controlled image.²⁷

Like “Kicking the Gong Around,” Calloway’s “Reefer Man,” also employed scatting and call and response techniques to strategically distract from too close of an examination of his “jive” language. The performance was filmed for the 1933 film *International House*.²⁸ The opening of the scene is especially important: Calloway talks to his bassist who pretends to act stoned and calls, “Man, what’s the matter with this cat here?” To which his orchestra responds in unison, “He’s high...he’s full of weed.”²⁹ The call and response then progresses to eventually name the bassist as the reefer man. While this interaction is going on, the bassist continues to play his instrument, staring off into the distance. In “Reefer Man,” drug references are no longer as heavily coded as they were in “Minnie the Moocher” and “Kicking the Gong Around.” Calloway and his orchestra’s call and response unpacks the bassist’s stoned behavior by directly stating that he is high and that he is the reefer man. At the end of the original call and response, Calloway states, “Why look at that dog, he looks like he’s losing his mind.”³⁰ While it is important to note that *International House* is a pre-Code comedy,³¹ it still is amazing that Calloway’s song about getting

23 B.R.C., “Cab Calloway Reappears,” *New York Times*, September 16, 1933, accessed November 15, 2015, <http://ezproxy.depaul.edu/login?url=http://search.proquest.com/docview/100857569?accountid=10477>.

24 Shipton, *Hi-De-Ho*, 59.

25 *Ibid.*, 57.

26 “Cab Calloway - Kickin’ the Gong Around,” YouTube video, 3:40, posted by SyberkaPL, October 25, 2008. <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Gnt6zCDO73M>.

27 Shipton, *Hi-De-Ho*, 62.

28 “Cab Calloway - Reefer Man (1933),” YouTube video, 2:15, posted by TV Intros by sebvannistel, May 13, 2014. <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=gPkPyVYp6ik>.

29 *Ibid.*

30 *Ibid.*

31 The Motion Picture Production Code was officially launched in 1930, but not fully enforced until 1934. The Production Code Administration was run by prominent Catholics, and deemed material, such as drug references and sexual activity, immoral.

high became popular amongst white audiences.³² While “Reefer Man” lacks scatting verses, the intensive call and response fills the void. With “high,” “reefer,” and “weed” clearly stated in the song, it is difficult to imagine that his audience was completely oblivious to the drug references. However, these references were still not acknowledged by the general press, and the song received no backlash in performance or film reviews. The Motion Picture Herald published a review of *International House* in 1933, which listed simply the cast of the film and notable songs.³³ While Calloway and his orchestra were listed in the cast, nothing was written about his song or exact role in the film. In a gossip magazine titled *The New Movie Magazine*, however, a review for ‘Reefer Man’ contained an explanation for what a reefer man was “for those who came late and (didn’t) know.”³⁴ Later, the reviewer stated, “When you hear Cab Calloway explaining the peculiarities of ‘Reefer Man’ you’ll know how he got that way. There may be a great deal more truth in this song than poetry.”³⁵ Given the tabloid genre of magazine, which appealed to mass audiences through gossip and scandal, this explanation is not surprising. Mass audiences that read tabloid magazines would have been more against censorship than *The New York Times*, and would have wanted to know more “inside” information about the big stars of the time.

The Marketing of Cab Calloway

While Calloway’s broad audience seemingly failed to decode his drug references within songs, much scholarly research assumes that his record label also failed to recognize these references. For example, in an entry regarding Cab Calloway in *The Encyclopedia of New Music*, the encyclopedia states, “His greatest popular hits were a

succession of songs, the lyrics of which were replete with veiled references to drugs that, presumably, the record company executives failed to recognize.”³⁶ This assumption is hard to validate however, as Calloway’s image was fiercely protected and carefully curated by his manager Irving Mills. In 1934 Mills produced a press kit for Calloway that controlled every aspect of Calloway’s marketing “from press ads to posters, from band photos to portrait pictures, and from a formal biography to short pitchy catch phrases designed for lazy editors to appropriate as previews or reviews,” according to Calloway’s biographer Shipton.³⁷ Mills was also largely responsible for hiring writers to create new songs for Calloway.³⁸ Choosing songwriters and even co-writing “Minnie the Moocher” with Calloway, Mills had a clear grasp of Calloway’s material.³⁹ With this knowledge, it is unrealistic to think that Mills was unaware of the coded language in Calloway’s songs.

Mills had a tight grip on all the stars he managed, including jazz musician Duke Ellington.⁴⁰ He capitalized on their performances at the Cotton Club and helped them play to preexisting primitive stereotypes through choosing descriptors such as “jungle music.”⁴¹ It is instructive to compare and contrast Calloway’s image with Ellington’s since Mills managed both of them. While Ellington and Calloway both gave performances that were read as “naturally” black by white audiences, Ellington was marketed by Mills as a more refined figure in jazz music. He didn’t rely on the jive language of Harlem as an element of entertainment as Calloway did. As music historian Mark Tucker explains, “Ellington came to embody the ideals of the New Negro artist

32 Gregory Black, “Hollywood Censored: The Production Code Administration and the Hollywood Film Industry, 1930-1940,” *Film History*, 3, no. 3 (1989): 167-189. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/3814976>

33 Quigley Publishing Company, “International House,” *Motion Picture Herald*, April-June, 1933, 42.

34 Hugh Weir, “Music of the Sound Screen,” *The New Movie Magazine* (July-Dec., 1932): 90.

35 *Ibid.*

36 “Calloway Cab,” in *Encyclopedia of Popular Music*, ed. Larkin, Colin (New York: Oxford University Press, 2006). <http://www.oxfordreference.com.ezproxy.depaul.edu/view/10.1093/acref/9780195313734.001.0001/acref-9780195313734-e-4057>.

37 Shipton, *Hi-De-Ho*, 47.

38 *Ibid.*

39 *Ibid.*

40 “Mills Irving,” in *Encyclopedia of Popular Music*, ed. Larkin, Colin (New York: Oxford University Press, 2006). <http://www.oxfordreference.com.ezproxy.depaul.edu/view/10.1093/acref/9780195313734.001.0001/acref-9780195313734-e-19069>.

41 Shipton, *Hi-De-Ho*, 49.

in his dignified manner and cultivated persona, his social consciousness, his use of vernacular sources as the basis for original compositions, and his deep pride in the Afro-American heritage.”⁴² In contrast, Calloway’s performances and musical style were more risqué, portraying him as coming from a lower class, when in fact, Calloway had grown up in middle-class family. Although they were both marketed as natural talents, Ellington and Calloway served different purposes with their musical abilities.

Calloway was a huge draw in New York City; Calloway orchestra member Doc Cheatham recounts, “Cab was so famous that he was booked to play most of the large theaters in New York at one time or another...there was no time to sleep, and we’d be playing five or six shows a day.”⁴³ Beyond his New York fame, however, Calloway was also played on radios across the nation and toured around the country.⁴⁴ With so many performances and fans, it’s perplexing how his songs were not further examined, decoded, and censored. Censorship was part of a nationwide morality movement, most notably in the Motion Picture Production Code of 1930.⁴⁵ While it is true that motion pictures were thought to be more influential and suggestive than music and books because of the immediate imagery provided by film, Calloway’s drug references directly reflected what the production code sought to eradicate.⁴⁶ As I have shown, however, by employing racist tropes, Calloway’s managers presented his jazz techniques and showmanship as inherent to who he was not only as a performer, but as a person. While Calloway did maintain a sense of agency through his coded language, this agency was limited through the reinforcement of racial tropes and stereotypes.

42 Vaughn Booker, “An Authentic Record of My Race”: Exploring the Popular Narratives of African American Religion in the Music of Duke Ellington.” *Religion & American Culture* 25, no. 1: 5.

43 Adolphus “Doc” Cheatham, *I Guess I’ll Get the Papers And Go Home: The Life of Doc Cheatham*, ed. Alyn Shipton (New York: Cassell, 1995), 35.

44 Cheatham, *Get the Papers*, 35.

45 “The Production Code” from *Major Problems in the History of Sexuality*, ed. Kathy Peiss. (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 2001), 136.

46 *Ibid.*

Conclusion

Calloway’s white audience’s perception of his blackness and primitiveness indicates that Calloway’s image was racially constructed in response to their assumptions. It is hard to believe that so many people, whether they were radio listeners, audience members, directors, managers, or record company executives, failed to understand Calloway’s drug references. What is more believable is that racial stereotypes of the time situated drug culture as a natural part of black, minority culture, which made Calloway’s mentions of gongs, cokeys, and weed acceptable. In “Signifying Afro-Orientalism, The Jazz Addict Subculture in *Nigger Heaven* and *Home to Harlem*,” Allen Borst analyzes drug vernacular present within Harlem literary works.⁴⁷ Arguing that jazz and drug vocabularies were intertwined during this era, Borst’s work situates the intersection of drug usage and black Harlem as a key subculture during the Harlem Renaissance, as seen through Carl Van Vechten’s and Claude McKay’s respective publications.⁴⁸ Borst’s findings are consistent with Calloway’s drug language and illustrate the existing stereotypical association of black Harlem and drugs. Therefore, while Calloway’s talent and entertaining charm distracted people from the drug messages within his songs, these songs were also interpreted as a natural portrayal of Harlem that reinforced the preexisting beliefs of his white audience. Calloway put Harlem on display, and his carefully curated image relied on his performance of blackness on stage and in recordings to be successful. Calloway was arguably one of the greatest jazz musicians of his time. His unprecedented scatting ability and charisma put him on the musical map as a top-tier entertainer. While Calloway was musically endowed, it is an understatement to say that he was a natural star. He worked his orchestra hard and pushed himself to the limit with rehearsals and performances.⁴⁹ Unfortunately,

47 Allan G. Borst, “Signifying Afro-Orientalism: The Jazz-Addict Subculture in *Nigger Heaven* and *Home to Harlem*.” *Project Muse* 16, no. 4 (2009): 692. Accessed November 20, 2015, doi: 10.1353/mod.0.0148.

48 *Ibid.*

49 Shipton, *Hi-De-Ho*, 51.

Calloway's white audience thought his talents were an inherent part of who he was as a black entertainer. His "jungle music" could seemingly be traced back to his African roots, and his call and response mirrored the black South. Calloway's drug references were not a

point of controversy in the 1930s, however, examining the allowance and acceptance of these references is important to better understand racial perceptions of black performers and Harlem in American popular culture. ■

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Allison Nolden | *Untitled*



Allison Nolden | *Untitled*

ICELANDIC COFFEE SHOPS AND WES ANDERSON

AMORPHOUS TIME

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It started with a small interaction: I stepped out of the grey, chilly Reykjavik air and into the cafe. The smell of espresso filled my nose as soft music played from the record player, just louder than the hum of voices. Groups of friends gathered around tables scattered around the tiny and cozy Reykjavik Roasters. I walked up to the black painted counter and ordered a chai before seeking refuge in the white painted corner in an orange armchair. I rested my feet on the coffee ‘bean bag’ burlap chairs and looked around. I noticed the white walls, paint chipping ever so slightly. Above me were wooden shelves filled with ‘trophies’ of old coffee grinders, and a coat rack that had one old red scarf hanging from it. In another corner was a hand-stitch of coffee. The blue coffee roaster was next to my corner. The tables and chairs were all mismatched, like the kind you buy at a flea market. I had the sense that this place held a collection of things with a different history. I also had the sense that this place could be a sort of *heima* (“home” in Icelandic), a living room for community. What became even more interesting was this feeling reoccurring at two other cafes, Simbahöllin and at Brædborg. Stepping into these cafes seemed to transport me to a place outside of time, both at once old and new. It reminded me of the utopian worlds created by Wes Anderson. And I began to wonder how intentionally decorated these cafes were, and if the owners were aware that the shops perpetuated myths of Iceland as a place outside of time. Iceland was, for a long time in its history, truly isolated from modernization. I wanted to explore if the materials used throughout coffee

shops in Iceland were purposefully still old to tie the shops to history, or if the decorations were rather what was around. These are a few of the questions I set out to pursue. Through the exploration of these traces, regime in the designs of Wes Anderson films, the HandPicked Iceland Maps, and the three coffee houses mentioned, I set out to explore how the nooks and crannies of Icelandic coffee shops helped to perpetuate the myths surrounding Iceland as a ‘timeless’ place and a utopia of purity. I used the coffee shops as the basis for understanding Icelandic cultural biographies.

First I must define some terms, particularly the idea of timelessness. According to most dictionaries, timelessness is the idea that something never goes out of style. Such as a timeless little black dress (LBD), or the timelessness of Beatles music. However, I would like to define timeless as a place that is in-between time, which is not tied to time and has no era. The myth created about Iceland is that it is a place outside and separate from time. It is neither then nor now. It is simply Iceland. In *Iceland Imagined: Nature, Culture, and Storytelling in the North Atlantic* Karen Oslund writes about the tension between ideas of Iceland and modernity. She says, “The tension between Icelandic modernity and the notions of its history and traditional beliefs has even provoked cynical commentary from Björk herself, who remarked, ‘When record company executives come to Iceland they ask the bands if they believe in elves, and whoever says yes gets signed up’” (Oslund 2011: 4). Thus, the idea that Iceland has not let go of its history even though it is a player in the global world, is a myth. The myths of Iceland’s amorphous time and remoteness are ones that I saw in the coffee shops I visited, most visibly

* This paper was completed during Wellesley College’s Anthropology 299: Home and Away summer study abroad course in Iceland in 2015, led by Professor Armstrong. Professor Robert Rotenberg assisted in preparing it for submission.

in the way they were decorated. In exploring the visceral (feeling), communal (cultural), and moral (statements of value) aesthetics of Icelandic coffee shops then, I chose to utilize this myth and see what I could make of it.

When exploring the history of these three coffee shops, the significance of their cultural biography became increasingly important. Cultural biographies tell the history of a space in an earlier occupation. Traces, or remnants of that place remain and help weave together the biography. An example of this is Freja the owner of Simbahöllin and her favorite nook of the shop. She liked the drawer by the waffle maker that was filled with old buttons and other little goodies that went back to when the building was a general store. Traces remain in a variety of manners: from the building itself to an old photograph, to the guestbook that has been signed by travelers who made that shop their home for an hour or a week. Finding and understanding these traces in the formation of the

cultural biography proved very important when trying to understand the sentiment of timelessness that surrounded the shops. Similar to this is the idea of ruination, and what makes a place important, saved, abandoned, or made new. Most of the shops I visited were originally something else, and they had been “saved” when they were transformed into the cafes they are today. This idea of ruination and cultural biographies ties these shops to a different part of Iceland’s timeline, and in some cases helps the cafes remain with one foot in this time. There is then, an air of nostalgia that is felt in these cafes. Finally, we must keep in mind the concept of remoteness. While remoteness can be geographical, more commonly it is a mindset that creates a history of its own. One of the shops, Simbahöllin was in a town of 260 residents and thus geographically remote. Yet, its publicity and stream of visitors made it feel more like an independent coffee shop in Chicago than the lone establishment on a curvy road en route to the Westfjords. Therefore, the idea of remoteness and the myth of a place as static in its setting was challenged by Simbahöllin.

FIGURE 1



HandPicked Iceland Maps and Authenticity

To begin this journey of understanding these coffee shops and the creation of their amorphous time, let us look at the idea of *maps*. Maps are two-dimensional fold-ups of paper meant to guide an outsider to a place. Thus, they become a cultural text that creates expectations of a space. Some cover the very basics: roads, rest stops, places to sleep, and places to eat. Some are more specific to a city, giving details and covering a large portion of the eateries and shops in town. Still more are specific to a *type* of tourists: campers, or coffee shop goers. The company HandPicked Iceland was formed in 2014 by the publishing house í bodi náttúrunnar (“by nature” in Icelandic). The goal was to find places that represent the uniqueness of Iceland and to “hand-pick places that we would personally like to visit or have visited or would recommend to our closest friends. HandPicked maps are like having a local friend in Iceland” (HandPicked.is). The maps are adorable little fold-ups of Iceland: *Eat & Sleep, Shop & Play, Kids & Culture, and Reykjavik*. They feature about 40 places each complete with hand-drawn

maps with little people and drawings representing different places featured on the maps. For example, the cover of the *Eat & Sleep Iceland* map features a drawing of a cute girl eating a fermented shark head (see figure 1). That drawing by itself portrays a common myth of Iceland as a place of odd traditional food, while simultaneously making it accessible to a generation of hip tourists coming for the more urban Reykjavik experience. Given the company goal of creating a map that is like having a local friend, two important questions come up. First, if maps have *symbolic grammar* of a place that translates into the translation and understanding of Iceland by the non-Icelander, what do these maps say about Iceland? What does the aesthetic appeal attempt to claim about a real 3D local Icelander-friend? The second question centers around what the maps do not show or tell about Iceland. For example, the Tar House Fish Restaurant in Isafjordur is not listed on any of the maps, yet having been, I would say it is certainly a hub of community in the town and is mostly frequented by locals, even in the summer. It was a place that our real 3D local Icelander-friends suggested we eat. Why then is it not on the maps? Perhaps it does not fit the Iceland that the mapmakers are trying to portray. This could be the case for a variety of reasons. Although it is a cute place with large wooden tables in a barn and twinkle lights hanging throughout, if there is a specific *sentiment of Iceland* that the mapmakers desire Iceland to be known for, perhaps it does not fit. True, all the furniture is uniform there are no mismatched antique chairs, there are no collectables of any sort on the walls or tables like in the coffee shops featured in the maps. In addition, there are no direct ties to artists of any type. It does however, have traces of the past in its cultural biography. Isafjordur was long a center for trade and in 1757 The Shop was built to accommodate trade. In 1782, Tar House was built as the warehouse for the shop (Creek, fieldnotes). However, there seemed to be a lack of nick-knacks in the restaurant to document this past, and perhaps the fact that its history is not mentioned boldly, unlike some of the coffee shops, make its aesthetic not quite as “HandPicked” as it needed to be to make the map.

The exclusion of a local-favorite and old restaurant from the HandPicked Iceland maps is important for a couple of reasons. One, when looking at specialty maps, it is equally as important to consider what is not on the map and why as it is to consider what is on the maps. The maps themselves invoke a visceral response about “adorable Iceland” as well as carry a moral weight. The maps indicate that the important places to eat and visit are the ones that fit into this idea of tying the past to the present seamlessly. The maps were created with a specific type of new traveler in mind. They are ideal for the café lover, the city lover who came to Iceland to experience the awe, but who still wants their coffee and a place to read and write. They appeal to the artist-traveler. Second, this particular *breed* of coffee shop or restaurant picked for these maps reminded me immediately of movie director Wes Anderson’s aesthetics and the idea of timelessness felt in his films. I decided to go ahead and explore the regime behind the Wes Anderson look to see if it was possible to uncover similarities within the coffee shop culture of Iceland. If similarities arose, I would be able to make the claim that Iceland participates intentionally in its own myth-making and amorphous time.

Wes Anderson films: Representation of Amorphous Time + Three Places

Tony Bravo writes, “No matter what part of the movie you happen to come in on, you can always tell when you’ve

FIGURE 2



FIGURE 3



stepped into Wes Anderson’s cinematic world. The color schemes, the cinematography that pre-dates Instagram filters but looks nearly identical to a rich “Kelvin” in some scenes, the retro pastiches of archaic technology that you can never quite place in any one era” (Bravo 2014). Each Wes Anderson film is intricately constructed to create a world that is purely Wes Anderson. Everything on screen matters: the color and placement of Suzie’s record player in *Moonrise Kingdom*, the cover of Margot’s plays in *Royal Tenenbaums*, and the suitcases in *Darjeeling Limited* are all examples of this precision and choice. Every prop in the movies looks as though it could be an antique, yet the characters seem modern. There is almost no way to uncover the intended time period of any of his films—they are fluid. In their way, the three coffee shops that were listed in the perfectly planned HandPicked Iceland Maps that I visited felt like stepping into a Wes Anderson movie. These shops were Reykjavik Roasters, Simbahöllin and Bræðborg. Each of these shops displayed the traces of their past, openly discussed the cultural biography of the place, and had an amorphous air about them. Stepping into the shops without looking at the people could have been the same 10, 20, 30 years ago, except that they did not exist then. They did not, however, feel old. They felt fresh and new. In this sense, I was curious whether the Icelandic coffee shops were pulling back to the authentic or simply being as they had been and had allowance to continue being.

Examples of this “pull back to the authentic” in the United States would include the use of old Ball Mason jars or

FIGURE 4



the attempt of some to grow their own food “off the grid” and participate in farmer’s markets as their main source of groceries. Supporting ‘Made in America’ and local are manifestations of this nostalgia for the past and desire for authentic.

Before getting into details of each shop and the attempt to weave together the answer, I am choosing to use this lens of Wes Anderson films to look at these ideas of amorphous time and traces, because the films are accessible to my understanding of these things. To begin, I grew up in a household decorated beautifully in flea market treasures, but I did not think I would do that as an adult. Then I watched Wes Anderson. His worlds made me fall in love with simple things and trinkets: my Instagram reflected the classic aerial layouts of items (see figure 2). I bought my own beautiful record player though I’d used my dad’s simple one for years; I started shopping vintage and buying flea market furniture for my apartment, “The Burrow.” In this example, my mom has the role of director Wes Anderson: she enjoyed flea markets and finding beautiful things that were made new in catalogues and fixing them up with my dad as a hobby they could do together. I, on the other hand, followed the Wes Andersonization of aesthetics. Inspired by the movies, I began to strive for “the look,” which led me to strive for “authenticity.”

So, we come back to the original question regarding the materials used in the coffee shops of Iceland and their origins. In creating cozy, livingroom-esque places, these

FIGURE 5



shops were doing one of three things: highlighting the reality of Icelandic homes, perpetuating the myths of Iceland, or attempting to fit into a global trend.

I will begin with a discussion of Reykjavik Roasters, the shop I had the greatest number of experiences enjoying. HandPicked Iceland describes the coffee shop as:

A cosy little café with grandfather chairs and old furniture where the aroma of freshly roasted coffee beans fills every corner. It's the freshest brew in town as the baristas do their own roasting and grinding on the premises. A real asset to Reykjavik's coffee culture.

When I first walked into the shop, I immediately felt at peace. The feeling occurred my other three visits as well. On my final visit the coffee shop was stuffy because the doors were closed to keep out the rain. Coffee was being roasted, and if I had not been sitting next to the record player, I would not have heard the music. I stayed for three and a half hours. When I had arrived it was full, but by the time I left it was just me and a few groups of locals, most of who had been there as long as me. The first time I went my initial observation was that Reykjavik Roasters was a local joint and a place particular friend groups must meet often. The shop has white walls littered neatly with old things, concrete floors that look stained, and a lot of old mismatched furniture. The owner, Aga says,

I like old furniture and recycling, and I wanted to make people feel at home, have a cozy atmosphere. But because the furniture is used and old, their life often ends in the café, sometimes after a short while. So because of that we have had to change the look a bit. Also our roaster used to be pink and now it's blue.

In addition, she confirmed my observation of this as a pretty Icelandic-zone. She says, "The local sure are more visible in autumn, winter and spring, but tourists in the high season summer time, the impact is only over crowded and long lines instead of cozy and local atmosphere. We do not do any changes because of the tourists and we always want to keep our local happy." I asked Aga what her favorite nick-knack at her coffee shop is. She chose the record player, "because I like music and it is a good conversation starter" (see figure 3). When she said this, my immediate thought went back to my American/Wes Anderson striving for authenticity. In recent years, new albums are released on vinyl and despite music sharing applications such as Spotify, record sales are the highest they've been since they were the only option. My father says its because people are realizing the music "sounds better on vinyl." That could very well be true, but it's clear that this pull to antique commodities is deeper than simply good sound. The company Buy Folk recently posted "5 reasons to Shop Vintage" on their instagram. Their reasons were:

1. All things vintage have a unique past & connect you to another time and place.
2. Vintage shopping allows for freedom of expression & creativity with fashion.
3. Vintage goods were made in an era of quality and fine craftsmanship and have stood the test of time.
4. A vintage buyer is a conscience consumer.
5. More affordable and supports small businesses!

Although all five reasons tie to these Western attempts to get away from capitalism, numbers one and three seem most relevant. People buy vintage and antique

goods to connect them to a “simpler” time and let them live their nostalgia. This time was of course, not simpler. In fact it was probably much for difficult. But the idea of the “golden age” consumes minds of consumers. For evidence of this, one needs not look further than the movie, “Midnight in Paris” based on that very idea. In addition, the idea that these goods are of better quality is a reaction to capitalization and the mass production of goods. Therefore, I wondered if Aga’s love for her record player was really her love of music or if it was the idea that her shop was unique in that the patrons could pick their own music and use a well-made machine that sounds better than an iPod? This ties to *Nature, Nostalgia, and Narrative: Material Identity in Icelandic Design* by Ólöf Gerdur Sigfúsdóttir of the Academy of the Arts. She discusses the idea of “crafts” as non-Western and therefore more authentic. Her paper discusses souvenirs, but the concept is the same as highlighted by Buy Folk. She says:

References to “authenticity” are attached to craft and design objects in the outlets in question, either in implicit or explicit ways. Judith Attfield describes authenticity as “the legitimacy of an object or experience according to established principles of fundamental and unchallengeable “truths,” and how it “depends on particular, apparently unchanging belief systems of authoritative knowledge that distinguish the authentic from the inauthentic as a natural matter of course.” In that way, the souvenir can play a fundamental role in providing an authentic experience to the tourist. Just as the search for an authentic experience becomes stronger in today’s world of mass tourism, so the search for the authentic artefact becomes critical (2011: 357).

Thus, like the tourist who wants a souvenir that is made in Iceland, is purely Icelandic (such as a *lopi* sweater) and not mass-produced to prove that they experienced the authentic Iceland, perhaps Aga likes to have a record player to provide an authentic coffee shop/music experience for her patrons. In addition, Antonia Kloskowska says that,

FIGURE 6



“One of the significant features of the present, paradoxical times is the coexistence of globalization on the one hand and strongly manifested, national and nationalistic tendencies on the other” (Kloskowska 1998: 4). This is evident in Iceland’s attempt to create art and design that is purely Icelandic, while using elements of other areas in the world. The myth of the *lopi* sweater is a great example, how it used the only wool available during WWII, and inspiration from a Norwegian sweater and Incan art and is now seen as the quintessential Icelandic craft. This relates to the aesthetics of coffee shops as well. What was seen as “quirky Icelandic” or homey to Icelanders has converged with world style. The reusing of old things was an Icelandic survival mechanism and is now a global style trend. This convergence of globalization and national Icelandic style is reaching a peak.

Onward to Simbahöllin Café. As HandPicked describes it Simbahöllin is, “a beautiful and homely café featuring original interior, hardwood floors, stairways and furniture dating from 1916. They take pride in offering one of the best Belgium waffles in Iceland—and its true!” When driving to Isafjordur we stopped at the Simbahöllin Café, a green painted house decorated with white walls and with a collection of art and wooden tables. We feasted on carrot bread and celery root soups with waffles for dessert. While there I got the information to reach out to the owners and heard a little about their story over the next few weeks.

The coffee shop was founded in 2009 by a couple from Denmark and Belgium who had met in Iceland. In 2005, they purchased the abandoned general store in Þingeyri. They wanted to “keep the history of the place alive and create a culture and cozy space where people could listen to music and look at art.” Originally they hoped to “To create a ‘public living room’” for the locals in Þingeyri however, mostly they said locals only really come in to show visitors, while the café is frequented by tourists. When transforming the general store into the café, they said that there were a lot “of things left behind from when the hues was a grocery store so we kept everything old and nice!” Their favorite nook is “The little drawers behind the waffle iron where they used to keep buttons and other stuff.”

According to the owner Freja the history of the place, and the re-writing of the town that most people move away from is what makes the shop the most unique. In giving the general store a new history, it seems clear that the use of old things was meant to both preserve the history of the town and to make the transformation simpler. They did not have to create a new interior or buy nick-knacks to decorate with; they used what was there. In addition, the shop has a winter artist residency, and the artwork is sold and displayed in the shop. The owners, using the things left behind took on the role of director, using what they had to make their shop beautiful. They attempted to create a local/public hub as they described as a living room. But, that did not work out. As foreigners, despite their use of the town’s past, one could wager a guess that the environment they created did not represent the Icelandic community authentically enough for the local. In an interesting take though, we see the artists as continuing that aesthetic that was created by the owners, The art I saw used old pie tins and maps and was new yet made to appear vintage and old. Therefore there were implied traces that perhaps never existed at all. Simbahöllin is particularly interesting because the status of its owners as two foreigners who seemingly failed at creating a local space and succeeded in creating a tourist space. What is most interesting to me about this contradiction is that the tourists found in

this place the “authentic” Iceland: a place tied to history yet somehow outside of time, serving good food and promoting Iceland, yet it is a place that was not created under the inspiration of authenticity. Rather the owners say that the transformation was difficult and so they used as much of the original structure and things left to make it easier. There is, however, a myth about the place that tourist obtain when there—and it creates a myth of Iceland as an amorphous place. As one hashtag on Instagram said, it shows the seemingly “#quirkysideofIceland (quirky side of Iceland). Yet, to define the #quirkysideofIceland once again brings up the meaning behind the quirks.

FIGURE 7



Our last stop on the map was Bræðborg Cafe in Isafjordur. The café is part of Borea Adventures, yet is completely its own place. There are old maps everywhere on the walls and old mismatched chairs pulled up to map-covered tables. The seats have funky knit pillows and Icelandic tapestries hang from the walls. The walls are covered in antique snow gear. The shelves hold beautiful porcelain mugs, local music for purchase, and even a stuffed Artic fox. HandPicked describes the café as, “a unique café serving only delicious and fresh food. The bread and cakes, jams, dressings, hummus, and soups

are homemade from fresh ingredients. Choose between mouth-watering organic dishes to sugarcoated pastries like grandma used to bake.” This was the only shop that I could not reach the owners, yet what I could glean from the website was most helpful. The website claims the café to be the place to call home on travels, with a “homey, cozy atmosphere.” The café was opened in 2012, using the name of the family house the building once used to be. The name means, “brother’s house” and was once the watchmaker’s shop and candle shop owned by two brothers starting in 1907. Although I am not sure if any of the photographs on the walls or tapestries are from the original home, the use of the original name ties the place to its cultural biography. Many of the photographs and old snow gear are the family traces of the owners of Bora Adventures. Despite the fact that everything in the café appears old: tapestries, maps, photographs, Danish furniture, etc, the place feels new.

Conclusion

I conclude that there may be something to a few of the ‘myths’ of Iceland, particularly the idea that though life is much easier now, there remains nostalgia for the simpler Iceland, and also awareness against waste. Thus there remain the trinkets, furniture, and history of places in the minds of Icelanders. Cafes keep old interiors, furniture, and names both to keep this “Iceland” alive, and also to inform tourists about it. Some of the new and extremely hip places in Reykjavik I saw, such as Kex Hostel and Laundromat Café, certainly capitalize on this mentality and the parallel mentality of many Western tourists regarding authenticity in an age of globalization. However, I am not convinced that the shops themselves are using these traces to curate a sense of amorphous time on purpose. Iceland has always utilized recycling of goods and sharing its history. While that does, to some degree, keep the old with the new, I found that it is actually the tourists and the tour-guides that intentionally perpetuate the myths of Iceland as a timeless place. The makers of HandPicked Iceland maps picked each and every shop mentioned, described it in specific words, and accompanied each description

with specific pictures. The words and pictures indicate a continuation of history, yet the maps are made specifically for the modern traveler. These maps, and other tourist places attempt to give the world the “authentic” Iceland, which the world has believed is a mythological and history rich place. So, while these coffee shop owners certainly hold on to traces and display them in their shops, carefully as if they were Wes Anderson planning a film, they are doing so with what they have, what is important to them, and what appeals to their patrons.

I think it is safe to say that I would need many more months of spending time in a variety of cafes, living rooms of Icelanders, and reading up on the global nostalgia for a time not driven by capitalist globalization in order to answer the great multitude of questions I came up with as I sifted through my notes. Iceland’s coffee shop aesthetics may simply be converging with the Western ideals of consumption and authenticity of this time. What will be interesting in the future will be to see if Icelanders decide to continue on whatever path globalization will continue down, or if Iceland will remain amorphous and as is: creating new histories of old places and remaining uniquely Icelandic. I have barely scratched the surface of these huge questions regarding Iceland. Yet, those scratches will be traces that remain on these pages and hopefully allow for deeper analysis as time goes on. ■

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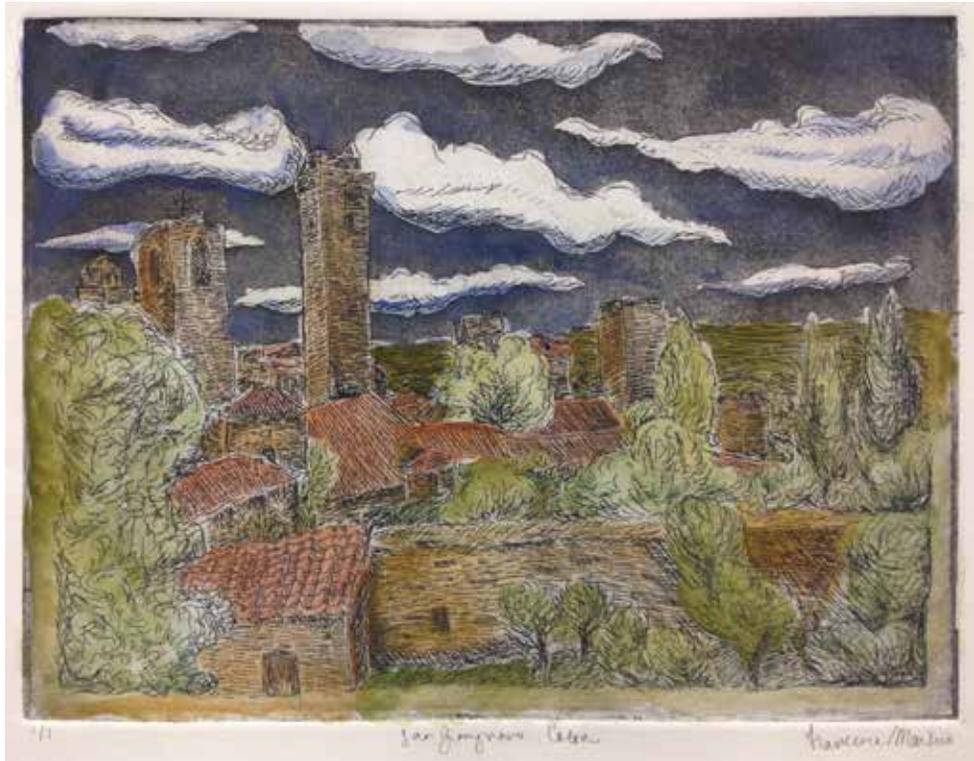
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Francesca Martiono | *San Gimignano Color*

THE EYES OF CHRIST

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Introduction

“You can count on five fingers ‘You-did-it to-Me.’” The great Blessed Mother Teresa of Calcutta, founder of the Missionaries of Charity, put this saying at the core of her being. Her simple words are derived from those of Jesus Christ:

For I was hungry and you gave me food, I was thirsty and you gave me drink, a stranger and you welcomed me, naked and you clothed me, ill and you cared for me, in prison and you visited me.¹

Are we not just humans of flesh and blood; atoms, chemical make-up, highly intelligent animals, a blend of earthly matter? To see life beyond humanity in another... “Impossible!” many would say. I experienced otherwise in Calcutta with the Missionaries of Charity.

Working with the poorest of the poor in India shook me to the core. The dying and destitute persons of India showed me a life beyond chemical composition. They revealed to me that the heart is for much more than pumping blood, the hands are for much more than completing tasks, and the eyes are for much more than sensual delight.

The downcast of India showed me a universal longing within every human heart; a particular desire which seems to be universal. This longing pierced directly through the physical. This longing: a thirst for the infinite.

* This essay was prepared for a Catholic Studies independent study course under the direction of Michael Budde, PhD, last summer. The course was in conjunction with a mission trip Ryan Martire took to Calcutta, India, where he worked with the Missionaries of Charity. This essay won the annual Michael and Valerie Paulson Family Endowed Award in Catholic Studies for academic year 2015-2016.

1 Matthew 25:35-40.

Through these beautiful souls, the words of Jesus, which Mother Teresa clung so tightly to, resonated deep within my being: “I Thirst.” It made me question, “Thirst for what?” One thing was clear: His thirst was for much more than water.

Jesus Christ on the Cross thirsted for souls with an unquenchable thirst. Blessed Mother Teresa wanted nothing more than to satiate His thirst. I had the opportunity to partake in quenching the thirst of Christ while in India. This thirst was experienced through the eyes of the other. The saying “The eyes are the windows to the soul” became clear.

1: The Eyes of Christ

“The lamp of the body is the eye. If your eye is sound, your whole body will be filled with light.”²

What is it about the eyes that intrigue? The most significant moments in life involve looking into the eyes of the other. Eyes are the greatest force in our relationships. Eyes are extremely powerful. Why?

At the Home for the Dying and Destitute in Calcutta I encountered a man named Raju. This man had the disease hepatitis C and was projected to die in a month. The right side of Raju’s brain was shut off, causing his right eye to be closed shut and the right side of his body unable to move. This beautiful soul could not speak: silent. Yet, it was Raju who taught me the most in my short time in India. His soul: piercing.

What was it about Raju that made me long to be with

2 Matthew 6:22.

him? I fed him, I changed his clothes, I gave him drink; but there was something beyond these services performed that was much more moving. One eye was shut; but the eye that was open penetrated beyond humanity.

I fed Raju his special milk as he silently stared at me with his eye. It dawned upon me in these moments that his eye was identical to that of Jesus in Mel Gibson's *Passion of the Christ*.

I kept these thoughts to myself. Later that day a Canadian volunteer spoke to me saying: "Raju's eye looks exactly like Jesus in *The Passion of the Christ*." Days later a Spanish volunteer said to me at random, "Raju has this eye that is piercing."

If we are only animals, then why do we have these profound experiences upon looking into one's eyes? Why is it that one person's eyes are glazed over with death and the other's shines forth with the light of life? Perhaps it is because we do, in fact, have a soul. We can know much about a person by their eyes, for the eyes are the windows to the soul.

Another story will suffice: I saw one of the Missionary of Charity Sisters working in the Home for the Dying and was captured by her holiness. Her eyes beamed with life. She emitted peace wherever she glanced. I got the privilege to speak to her towards the end of my journey. Her name was Sister Eta.

My time in India was enraptured by the phenomena of seeing the Eyes of Jesus Christ in others. When I spoke with Sister Eta, she, not by any intention of mine, started to speak of the holiness of eyes. It began with me asking her if she had met Mother Teresa and what Mother Teresa had told her. Her response: "She looked deeply into my eyes and said, 'Be Holy.'"

She began to elaborate about the light that shone forth from Mother Teresa's eyes. She spoke of the deep presence

of Christ in her eyes. I have not heard any contrary remarks from others who have met her. She also said she had met Saint John Paul II and Pope Benedict XVI and spoke of their eyes in the same way.

Holy eyes filled with a deep peace which penetrate the soul with love, eyes which have the deep resemblance of the Crucifixion of Christ; this is what she seemed to be describing. It made me recount a conversation I had with a priest in high school.

This priest was deeply holy, as he was formerly a hermit for six years of his life. He had spoken of the privilege he had of meeting Blessed Mother Teresa many times as well as Saint John Paul II. I asked him about his encounters with them and I clearly remember his words: "After meeting them both, I recognized that I was looking into the same eyes; and those were the Eyes of Christ."

These thoughts all referred back to those eyes filled with the deep intensity of Jesus Christ. My conversation continued with the holy Missionary of Charity sister. She began to describe a striking instance of an encounter with Jesus in the eyes of the poor.

Sister Eta pointed to the bed of a former patient in the Home for the Dying, and said, "One day a volunteer came in carrying a picture of Jesus with him. This day one of the patient's eyes were beaming with an intense light. The volunteer brought the picture of Jesus up to the patient's face. The patient looked identical in comparison to the image of Jesus. The patient, face radiating with the light of Christ, died the same day."

These various stories are further proof for the existence of the soul in the human being. The Catechism of the Catholic Church states:

The human person: With his openness to truth and beauty, his sense of moral goodness, his freedom and the voice of his conscience, with his longings for the infinite and for happiness, man questions himself

about God's existence. In all this he discerns signs of his spiritual soul. The soul, the "seed of eternity we bear in ourselves, irreducible to the merely material," can have its origin only in God.³

It is true that we bear in ourselves the seed of eternity, irreducible to material. In recent centuries, many philosophers have attempted to reduce man down to material. They have used a form of digression to break man down to atoms. This philosophy is focused on "how" living beings work, rather than "why" they work.

This philosophy has caused many to equate man with animal. It has endeavored to block the transcending of the mind to the heights of God, reducing everything down to material. In this philosophy, we have come to believe that the human is equal to the animal, determining the only variance to be intelligence. The eyes of the human tell us otherwise.

The eyes are the objects of one of our five senses: sight. Through the eyes we see and perceive all that is around us. We see both natural and man-made objects with our eyes. They help us to do physical actions. These facts are true to all animals.

Though, there is a key difference with the eyes of the human: reason. The eyes of the human see, and then they are able to make rational judgments. These judgments are made either in accordance with or deviating from the truth. This truth is the law written in every human heart by the hand of God.⁴

Thus, the eyes are strongly united to the soul: the eye perceives and the rational soul chooses. The eye sees the physical object and the soul sees the goodness of this object. The eye and the soul work hand in hand.

If the human is more than a physical composite, and our eyes are in cohesion with our souls, the saying: "the eyes

are the windows to the soul" proves true. Moreover, eyes with their gaze towards God will reflect the human image of God in their soul which is Jesus Christ; eyes with their gaze towards the things of the world will reflect the filth of sin.

I was brought into greater perspective after a comment from Sister Eta. She spoke of her numerous encounters with the eyes of Jesus in the eyes of the poor. "It is because they have suffered so much... They are united to Christ without even knowing it." Perhaps this is why Servant of God, Father Emil Kapaun, said "Out of suffering emerge the strongest souls." Suffering united to God sanctifies the soul, consequently, purifying the eyes.

Blessed Pier Giorgio Frassati says, "Suffering that is nourished by the flame of faith becomes something beautiful." Truly beautiful this suffering is as I saw it in the eyes of so many souls in Calcutta. Eyes that pierce through the impurities of the world is the sign of a soul that knows how to suffer. The souls placed in the care of the Sisters at the home for the dying may never have heard of Jesus Christ, but He graciously brought them there and was pleased to take His abode in them. "Abide in Me, and I in you. As the branch cannot bear fruit of itself unless it abides in the vine, so neither can you unless you abide in Me."⁵

I saw these eyes once more in another man at his death bed. The sisters and volunteers were all surrounding him with numerous prayers in his last moments. I was captivated at this beautiful soul's last breaths as his gaze transcended to the heavens and expressed tremendous hope.

Sin makes the soul dull and virtue chisels the soul. Thus, the virtuous soul has eyes that pierce through suffering and the eyes of the soul that remains in sin become glazed over with emptiness. The eyes of holiness possess character and the eyes of sin possess boredom. The soul filled with the grace of God will have a "sound eye" filling the world with the light of Jesus Christ.

3 Catechism of the Catholic Church: 33.

4 2 Corinthians: 3:3.

5 John 15:4.

2: You-Did-It-To-ME

Then the King will say to those on His right, ‘Come, you who are blessed of My Father, inherit the kingdom prepared for you from the foundation of the world. ‘For I was hungry, and you gave Me something to eat; I was thirsty, and you gave Me something to drink; I was a stranger, and you invited Me in; naked, and you clothed Me; I was sick, and you visited Me; I was in prison, and you came to Me.’ “Then the righteous will answer Him, ‘Lord, when did we see You hungry, and feed You, or thirsty, and give You something to drink? ‘And when did we see You a stranger, and invite You in, or naked, and clothe You? ‘When did we see You sick, or in prison, and come to You?’ “The King will answer and say to them, ‘Truly I say to you, to the extent that you did it to one of these brothers of Mine, even the least of them, you did it to Me.’⁶

A leader of an organization of the poor in India once said to Mother Teresa: “Mother, there is a key difference between the work that we do and the work that you do. We do our work for something and you do your work for Someone.”⁷ Mother Teresa’s work is beyond social work. The work of the Missionaries of Charity (MC) is not of this life, but of the life to come. The MC’s are not in the business of feeding stomachs, but the business of saving souls. Jesus did not come to preserve the physical body, but to give eternity to the soul. The Missionaries of Charity follow suit of Jesus Christ.

Jesus takes his dwelling place in the poor, for they have emptied themselves and made room for him. We see this most clearly as the God of the Universe chose the most humble Blessed Virgin Mary to come into the world “because he has regarded the humility of his handmaid.”⁸ God the Father through salvation history never ceases to exalt the humble as Mary proclaims in the Magnificat:

He has cast down the mighty from their thrones, and has exalted the humble.

He has filled the hungry with good things; and the rich he has sent away empty.⁹

There is no room for Jesus Christ to dwell in the prideful, for they are filled with themselves. In truth, Christ can only take abode in those who have humbled themselves and left room for Him. This is why the most humble Mary was “Full of Grace.”¹⁰

In the Beatitudes, Christ says, “Blessed are the poor in spirit, for theirs is the kingdom of heaven.” Truly, for the whole kingdom of heaven¹¹ comes and takes their dwelling in the poor of spirit. Consequently, when we touch the hands and feet of the poor, we touch the Hands and Feet of Jesus Christ.

If all of these points prove true, then I was surely serving Jesus Christ during my time with the MC’s in India. As I put my hand on the bare chest of a man, I felt the heartbeat of Jesus; as I sat near a younger boy and he clasped on to my hand, the Lord sent life into my soul; as I fed a man food, it was the Mouth of Christ that I was serving.

Many people from around the world come to Calcutta to volunteer with the Missionaries of Charity. Old volunteers leave and new volunteers come in every day. The reality is that the Sisters can get the work done without the volunteers.

If one goes to Calcutta to save physical lives with food and medicine, they will be left hopeless and discouraged, for death and sickness are unending in Calcutta. Though, if one goes to Calcutta to join in the work of Christ for the salvation of souls, they will leave with hope and a heart enkindled by the fire of Christ.

6 Matthew 25:34-40.

7 Malcom Muggeridge, *Something Beautiful For God*.

8 Luke 1:48.

9 Luke 1:52-53.

10 Luke 1:28.

11 Matthew 5:3.

What is the difference between social work and the work of salvation? The former is temporary and the latter is eternal; the first feeds the stomach and the last feeds the soul; one is concerned with business and the other with peace; the minor gives life to the body and the major gives life to the body and the soul; the inferior is concerned with statistics of large quantities and the superior is concerned with individuals; the lesser is done for results and the greater is done for Love.

Then Jesus was led by the Spirit into the desert to be tempted by the devil. He fasted for forty days and forty nights, and afterwards he was hungry. The tempter approached and said to him, "If you are the Son of God, command that these stones become loaves of bread." He said in reply, "It is written 'One does not live by bread alone, but by every word that comes forth from the mouth of God.'"¹²

The concern of the world is to end world hunger, a necessary desire. The Son of God replies, "Surely the needs of the stomach are important, but far more important is the Word of eternal life." The devil tempts the Christ in this way, for he knows that the preservation of the body is useless to the soul which he desires to drag down to hell.

Venerable Fulton J. Sheen expands in *The Life of Christ* (a favorite of Blessed Mother Teresa):

Our Lord was not denying that men must be fed, or that social justice must be preached; but He was asserting that these things are not first. He was, in effect, saying to Satan, "You tempt me to a religion which would relieve want; you want me to be a baker, instead of a Savior; to be a social reformer, instead of a Redeemer. You are tempting Me away from My Cross, suggesting that I be a cheap leader of people, filling their bellies instead of their souls. You would have Me bring outer abundance instead of inner holiness. You and your

materialist followers say 'Man lives by bread alone,' but I say to you, 'Not by bread alone.'¹³

Why is it, then, that the Missionaries of Charity spend the majority of their time feeding the poor, clothing the naked, and sheltering the homeless? Aren't these just material needs? Plastered on the wall in the home for the dying is one of Mother Teresa's quotations: "It is not how much you do, but how much Love you put into the doing that matters."

It is not about who can feed the most people, but who can feed an individual with the most love. It is not about how quickly one can do the dishes, but how much love one puts into the scrubbing of those dishes. It is not about the timeliness in which one does the laundry, but about the love that one puts into wringing out each piece of clothing. All in all, it is not about who is the busiest, but who loves the most. It is the comparison of Mary and Martha:

As they continued their journey he entered a village where a woman whose name was Martha welcomed him. She had a sister named Mary who sat beside the Lord at his feet listening to him speak. Martha, burdened with much serving, came to him and said, "Lord, do you not care that my sister has left me by myself to do the serving? Tell her to help me." The Lord said to her in reply, "Martha, Martha, you are anxious and worried about many things. There is need of only one thing. Mary has chosen the better part and it will not be taken from her."¹⁴

It was Martha who was "getting things done." Isn't Martha the better of the two? The Lord takes the favor of Mary. The precious Mary patiently sat at the feet of Jesus listening to His every word, reminiscent to Mary His Mother standing at the foot of the Cross fully attentive to the consummation of the Word.

¹² Matthew 4:1-4.

¹³ Fulton J. Sheen, *Life of Christ* (New York: Crown, 2008), 71.

¹⁴ Luke 10:38-42.

Mary desired faithfulness and Martha success. “God does not require that we be successful only that we be faithful.”¹⁵ Mary peacefully listened and Martha anxiously acted. Mary had her gaze turned toward the Lord and Martha toward the worries of the world. Surely, Martha was serving, but Mary “chose the better part” as the Lord told Martha, “There is need of only one thing.”¹⁶

What does our Lord mean when He says “there is need of only one thing?” Let us refer to the “greatest commandment in the Law.”¹⁷ It is this: “Love the Lord your God with all your heart and with all your soul and with all your mind. This is the first and greatest commandment.”¹⁸ Mary chose to love God above all else, therefore, choosing “the better part.”

Though Martha had not gone completely amiss, for Jesus continues: “And the second is like it: ‘Love your neighbor as yourself.’”¹⁹ Martha was loving her neighbor through her actions of serving them, but she forgot the most important commandment.

Saint John the Apostle, who laid his head on the Breast of Christ at the Last Supper, puts it well: “We love because he first loved us. If anyone says, ‘I love God,’ but hates his brother, he is a liar; for whoever does not love a brother whom he has seen cannot love God whom he has not seen.”²⁰ There is no true love without the love of God.

Christ institutes the New Covenant simply: Love God and love your neighbor. Thus, we cannot love God without loving our neighbor and we cannot love our neighbor without loving God. The source of love is God because God is Love. If we do not go to the source, our ‘love’ is in vain.

15 Mother Teresa.

16 Luke 10:42.

17 Matthew 22:36.

18 Matthew 22:37-38.

19 Matthew 22:39.

20 1 John 4:19-20.

Mother Teresa named her order “The Missionaries of Charity.” The work she does is not to bring food to empty stomachs but to bring love to empty souls. How is one to bring love to souls most efficiently?

A quotation from Mother Teresa in the Motherhouse reads: “The value of our actions corresponds exactly to the value of the prayer we make.” Prayer is the only way to love. In prayer we grow in love of God as He pours His love into our hearts. Our actions are fruitless and selfish without prayer.

The interior life is the foundation of The Missionary of Charity’s work. The Sisters wake up at 4:45 every morning to begin their prayers and start every day with the Holy Mass. They do spiritual reading in the afternoons and end the day with an hour of Adoration of Jesus in the Eucharist and Rosary to the Virgin Mary.

Saint Paul says, “I can do all things through Him who strengthens me.”²¹ All fruitfulness comes from the love of Christ. Christ lives in us by the means of prayer. The more deeply we enter into prayer, the greater we are united to His love. True prayer is the way to true love.

Mother Teresa speaks: “Unless we have Jesus, we cannot give Him; that is why we need the Eucharist. Spend as much time as possible in front of the Blessed Sacrament and He will fill you with His strength and His power.”²² The Missionaries of Charity receive their strength from the Eucharist.

The Eucharist is the secret to the fruitfulness of the MC’s work. They receive and center their lives on the Word and “bear fruits, thirty, sixty and a hundredfold.”²³ The MC’s center their lives on Love in order to give this Love away. In his book *Soul of the Apostolate*, Dom Jean-Baptiste Chautard speaks of this interior apostolate:

21 Philippians 4:13.

22 MT Letter: St. Alexander Parish in Villa Park, Illinois, July 15, 1996.

23 Matthew 13:23.

Let the men eaten up with activity and who imagine they are able to shake the world with their preaching and other outward works, stop and reflect a moment. It will not be difficult for them to understand that they would be much more useful to the Church and more pleasing to the Lord, not to mention the good example they would give to those around them, if they devoted more time to prayer and to the exercises of the interior life.”²⁴

The MC’s understand this message very clearly. Through the interior life, one centers their life on Jesus Christ. Jesus Christ is God and God is love. The greatest act of love in history is the Death of Jesus Christ on the Cross. On the Cross, Love prevailed over death for the salvation of souls.

In the eternal Sacrifice of the Mass, Jesus is crucified and gives His Body and Blood to us for our salvation. If the death of Christ on the Cross was the greatest act of love ever know, then the Eucharist is pure love. The MC’s receive this Bread of Salvation daily and give life to the poor. “Amen, amen, I say to you, unless you eat the flesh of the Son of Man and drink his blood, you do not have life within you.”²⁵ In receiving the Body and Blood of Christ, one becomes united to Jesus Christ in flesh and blood. Thus, He works through us and we are His instruments. “Whoever eats my flesh and drinks my blood remains in me and I in him.”²⁶

Jesus Christ died on the Cross for the sake of love. He died to bring salvation to the world; to bring others to eternal happiness in heaven with Him. There is no greater love than to desire the eternal happiness of another. This is the aim of The Missionaries of Charity and they accomplish it through the Eucharist: “Whoever eats my flesh and drinks my blood has eternal life, and I will raise him on the last day.”²⁷

This is the great mystery of the reciprocal love of Jesus Christ. He loves others through us and us through others and we love Him through others and others through Him. Regardless, we are His poor instruments and He accomplishes His mission of love and salvation through us. Nevertheless, we can be assured that those words will resound throughout our whole being on Judgment Day: “You-Did-It-To-Me.”

3: I Thirst

After this, aware that everything was now finished, in order that the scripture might be fulfilled, Jesus said, “I thirst.”²⁸

“I thirst.” The two words that are written beside every Crucifix of the Missionary of Charity homes throughout the world. This phrase is at the crux of God’s love for souls. His thirst became clear in an experience with Raju. Day after day in the Home for the Dying I would sit at his bedside tending to him. He would silently stare at me with that ever-piercing eye. I strove to love him the best I could. Raju would stare at me and consistently asked for one thing the whole day: water. Cup after cup I would slowly pour into his mouth as he peacefully opened his mouth again and again. Because the right side of Raju’s brain was shut off, he would never be satiated. Raju had an unquenchable thirst.

Raju continued to stare intensely at me, tapping my shoulder lightly and opening his mouth simultaneously as he was ready for more water. The water would fill to the brim of his mouth as he would shut his eye and swallow. His piercing eye then opened again, looking into my soul once more for me to satiate his thirst.

This is the thirst of Christ Jesus. That was not a mere animal staring at me for a drink of water but it was Jesus Christ staring at me for a drink of my love. He looked deeply into my soul to satiate His insatiable thirst on the Cross.

24 Jean-Baptiste Chautard, *The Soul of the Apostolate* (Charlotte, NC: TAN Books, 1946), 34.

25 John 6:53.

26 John 6:56.

27 John 6:54.

28 John 19:28.

What did Jesus Christ thirst for on the Cross? He thirsted for nothing else but the salvation of souls. His cry of thirst was the second to last thing He said before expiring, saying, "It is finished."²⁹ These are the words of victory.

Jesus triumphed over death and fulfilled all of the prophecies' promises in these last three words. He opened the gates of heaven for the salvation of souls. Though his earthly work was now finished, the new mission had just begun.

His Church was established as The Body of Christ and he chose a select group of apostles to be sent to bring salvation to the world in the name and spirit of Jesus Christ. Large communities of Christians formed into armies of valiant men and women who fought for the kingdom of God. Within these communities arose a diverse multitude of heroic souls. These souls journeyed through life enduring the hardest of sufferings, being martyred for Jesus Christ and the spread of His Kingdom throughout the whole world.

Among these heroic souls was that of the Blessed Mother Teresa. Mother Teresa had one mission: to satiate the thirst of Jesus Christ on the Cross for the salvation of souls. Her call was a call from God and she suffered a great interior darkness in the task of satiating Christ's unquenchable thirst.

Jesus Christ looks upon every single one us on the Cross telling us: "I thirst...for your love and for other's love, for your soul and the salvation of all souls." In the reciprocity of love we ought to respond, "Lord, I thirst...for you, for your love, for salvation and for the salvation of every soul around me." Let us satiate the thirst of Jesus Christ for love and for souls. ■

²⁹ John 19:13.

“WHAT MY EYES HAVE SEEN”: CONSOLIDATING NARRATIVE MEMORY AND COMMUNITY IDENTITY IN *THE HISTORY OF MARY PRINCE, A WEST INDIAN SLAVE: RELATED BY HERSELF*

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The History of Mary Prince, A West Indian Slave: Related by Herself develops a poignant illustration of Mary Prince’s life and of the lives of other slaves around her during her years in slavery in the West Indies during the 1790s through 1831. In the narrative, Mary Prince situates herself as a witness to the cruelties of racial chattel slavery, in effect acting as an intermediary between the British public and the community of the enslaved. Prince works to unite distinct communities of people, and the act of connecting personal experience to group experience is a crucial part of the narrative’s design and its artistry. In several moving examples of calls-to-arms, Prince pointedly articulates that very connectedness between herself and the community of the enslaved, setting before the audience a clear association between the narrator whose words are read and the people who were part of her experiences in the West Indies. The narrator authorizes herself to speak not only to her own experiences, but also to speak for others who do not have access to the social power of print.

Prince emphasizes the abominable realities that slave systems impose on people by providing evidence of many kinds of suffering in her community that take place as a result of the oppressive slave system. In presenting

the audience with graphic descriptions of physical and psychological torture, Prince displays a portrait of imperial slavery that runs counter to popular myths about slavery’s benign nature as it existed abroad in the British colonies, a portrait powerful plantation owners at the time would not have been at all likely to offer their mainland British readership. In doing so, *The History* cogently chronicles the development of a narrative selfhood from the West Indies that survives the harrowing violence of slavery to speak out against it to the very people who support the economy behind that system. Demonstrating acute knowledge of the physical and psychological violence of slavery, Mary Prince’s narrative not only introduces the consequences of slave systems that commodify human beings, but also expresses methods for resistance to tyranny. The following analysis seeks to celebrate Mary Prince for her heroism, and to acknowledge the ways in which her narrative functions as an artifact of resistance in a print culture historically dominated by pro-slavery rhetoric.

Prince demonstrates in several instances a profound concern with the fates of those around her; in fact she actively shapes modes of resistance to specifically white patriarchal rule by utilizing these connections with other people to undermine the socially destructive forces of chattel racial slavery. Prince resists the oppressive forces that bind her by employing distinct methods, such as showing empathy in her relationships for others, and in particular for other women; in fighting verbally with many of her masters; and in generating her own system

* This paper was originally written for the 2016 Newberry Library Undergraduate Seminar. Professors Eric Selinger and Bill Johnson Gonzalez served on the selection committee, and Professor Jennifer Conary assisted with revisions.

of support to counter the isolation and exile her masters sought to impose upon her. I argue in the following essay that Prince effectively positions herself as an intermediary voice between the community of the enslaved in the West Indies and the British public. By constructing this relationship, Prince enables readers to witness slavery in practice just as she appeals to their moral and ethical sentiments in an effort to create allies out of readers, and through uniting these communities, Prince provides a powerful model for instigating social reform.

The History performed dangerous work in speaking out against the social system that benefitted from Mary Prince's bondage, and exploring the methods the narrative employs to protest against slavery reveals profound connections between the creation of narrative selfhood and the construction of community identity as models of resistance. Published in 1831 in London, the narrative describes the life of Mary Prince, an enslaved woman of color who was born in the West Indies and lived many years there in British slave colonies. Often recognized as the first slave narrative written by a black woman in the Transatlantic world, Prince's narrative withstood unfounded and unsubstantial criticism from the moment it was published, which called into question the validity of her biography as well as her moral inclinations as a Christian (Ferguson 1). Not much is known about Prince after the publication of the narrative except for witness testimonies she gave in court testifying for *The History* and its editor, Thomas Pringle, in legal disputes over accused libel in the narrative.

Critical reception of the narrative at the time, for instance from the writer James MacQueen of the popular publications the *Glasgow Courier* and *Blackwood's Magazine*, was polemical in its mistrust of Prince as a reliable source for narration (Thomas 83). In direct contrast to exactly such concerns of validity, the narrative establishes Prince as a sound authority of reporting a history of slavery in the West Indies, which Prince herself affirms in saying, "I have been a slave myself - I know what

slaves feel - I can tell by myself what other slaves feel, and by what they have told me. The man that says slaves are quite happy in slavery - that they don't want to be free - that man is either ignorant or a lying person. I never heard a slave say so" (Prince 84). Just as she dismisses challenges to her position as a valid narrator and authoritative voice on telling a history of slavery, Prince outlines here a principal means of expression that she employs in the narrative to communicate agency, through the construction of a community identity amongst the enslaved of the West Indies.

Moreover, Prince in effect shapes the representations of herself and of the community of the enslaved in ways that highlight agency and flexibility when engaging with oppressive forces. In as much as Prince displays the commodification process that she endures, making available to the reader the harsh realities of slavery, she also shows the reader moments of strength and expression that contradict an image of an enslaved person as defeated or helpless. When threatened with extreme violence after an attempt at escape, Prince speaks up to her master, a Captain I---, vehemently defending herself by saying

"that I was weary of my life, and therefore I had run away to my mother; but mothers could only weep and mourn over their children, they could not save them from cruel masters - from the whip, the rope, and the cow-skin. He told me to hold my tongue and go about my work, or he would find a way to settle me. He did not, however, flog me that day" (Prince 60).

That Prince positions this moment after presenting a series of images of suffering violence is important because here the reader is able to know Prince's inner thoughts as verbally expressed to another human being in reaction, and then observe the consequence of her resistance. Prince is able to withstand suffering, that much is abundantly clear in the narrative up to this point, but significantly she also is able to meet and overcome threats of violence with nonviolence, demonstrating an effective method of

asserting herself in the face of someone who expected submission from any enslaved person. Prince introduces to the reader the unification of the community of the enslaved as a coherent group with similar experiences and goals. By aligning herself with this community and focusing on not only her life but also the lives of fellow slaves, Prince becomes the spokeswoman for those who did not have access to print culture. *The History* underlines this unity among the enslaved by emphasizing intimate, and humanizing, connections between slaves in familial, romantic, and religious capacities. For instance, Prince drew strength from the support of her mother and extended family in early childhood, and while this form of support was severely limited by her circumstances as a slave, the love of her family continued to sustain Prince in later years. Prince also goes to great lengths to ally herself with local men in both formal and informal relationships, some of which were explicitly romantic or marital, in efforts to purchase her freedom or to safeguard herself against many of the gendered dangers slave women faced in the West Indies. Religion also plays a key role in *The History* as a uniting force that consolidates the religious communities of the enslaved with the religious communities of the British public.

During her years as a slave in the West Indies, Mary Prince lived through several different circumstances as a slave, working as a child companion, a maid, a laborer in salt ponds, and a nurse. Under a litany of slave masters, Prince endured cruel punishment and grave mistreatment in addition to the hard labor she was forced to perform. One of the most brutal realities of her experiences that stands out in the narrative was the torture of separation from her family of origin. Prince describes a brutal scene in the narrative where she, as a child, and other enslaved people—among them the young, the old, men, women, and children—were forced to present themselves for sale at an auction. Prince exercises precise narrative control in communicating this scene to the audience, emphasizing for the reader how the traders “handled me in the same manner that a butcher would a calf or a lamb he was about

to purchase, and who talked about my shape and size in like words” (Prince 52). By using an apt simile to describe her situation Prince gives this scene special importance that explicitly likens the slave trade to butchery and the trade in chattel husbandry.

In presenting this scene after telling the story of her childhood, which focused on nurturing humane development, Prince dispels any impression of the innocuousness of the slave trade and thereby speaks to its unforgiving cruelty. This scene becomes the fulcrum by which Prince turns to tell the horrible truth of slavery in the West Indies because she enters young adulthood through the trauma of separation from her family of origin into the alien world of hard labor and unrelenting punishment. The forced disintegration of her family unit is evidence of a common experience for many of the enslaved in the Atlantic world; as Orlando Patterson describes in the book *Slavery and Social Death: A Comparative Study*, in undermining these relationships by means of forcing geographical distance between family members, the slave-owning class subverted these relationships to further institute social control over the enslaved. (Patterson 6).

At the same time Prince was separated from her family, she was assigned to the role of nurse for the children of her masters. The labor of the enslaved in the West Indies was strategically gendered, and at an early age Prince’s masters forced her to work as a nurse, fulfilling the station of caretaker despite being a young girl, herself still a child in need of care. The inversion of needing family support to being a supporter of her master’s family is a significant feature of Prince’s narrative, as it speaks to the regard slave masters had for their slaves. However, Prince in turn interprets the gender roles imposed upon her in a way that is both empowering and community-oriented; indeed, Sandra Pouchet Paquet maintains in *Caribbean Autobiography: Cultural Identity and Self-representation* that “as a child-nurse, [Prince] modeled an incipient motherhood and cross-class,

cross-racial sisterhood that suggests an organic unity of interests in the deviant agency of the slave” (Paquet 30). Instead of resenting the children under her care, Prince says that “I grew so fond of my nursling that it was my greatest delight to walk out with him by the sea shore, accompanied by his brother and sister” (Prince 49). Paquet keenly identifies the relationship between the young Prince and her infant charges as a method of reinforcing social connectedness in order to unite people of distinct classes and races; even among children who would have legal power over her in the racist law of the West Indies, Prince is able to inspire unity and compassion, thereby effectively combatting the system of degradation.

Moreover, *The History* touches on the issue of gender at greater length in its opening pages, as Prince’s experiences with the Williams family as nurse reveal gendered social pressures reinforced through domestic violence that target the women of the family. In spite of the oppressive nature of her relationship with Mrs. Williams, Mary Prince establishes a connection with the woman by empathizing with her when Mr. Williams becomes violent to both of them. Prince demonstrates resilience to adversity throughout the narrative, and an early example should be noted when she says that she obeyed Mrs. Williams out of “the affection I felt for her, and not from fear of the power which the white people’s law had given her over me” (Prince 48). Prince’s ability to feel compassion for Mrs. Williams is a form of resistance that subverts the expectations of the violent slave system in which they exist; real feeling for another person who is oppressed in different ways but in turn is an oppressor herself is a powerful defiance of the social limitations forced upon Prince, and is likewise an expression of her admirable endurance to unrelenting oppression. Privilege and punishment marked the division between master and slave, and in general the more emotional distance there was between the two the more violent was the relationship. When Prince sets herself in companionship with Mrs. Williams, she closes

that distance and shifts the mode of engagement from one of domination to one of mutual experience.

But Prince does not only empathize with Mrs. Williams; she takes great effort to emphasize to the reader her connections to other slaves in the West Indies. In effect, the narrative authorizes the community of the enslaved in Prince’s immediate circumstances, testifying for those who do not have the resources or means of relating their life stories through print. As Prince describes her time in the salt ponds in Bermuda enslaved by a Mr. D--, she uses short references to specific fellow slaves to better anchor for the reader a sense of experience on the plantation that exists beyond Prince’s own. For example, she communicates to the reader the plight of a man known as Daniel, who was an old slave who suffered many hard years in the salt ponds. Prince explains how “this poor man’s wounds were never healed, and I have often seen them full of maggots, which increased his torments to an intolerable degree” (Prince 64). Using the platform of the narrative to emphasize the pervasive violence of slavery as it affects communities of people and not only individuals, Prince successfully employs her narrative memory to position herself as a truth-teller able to tell not only the truth of her own experience, but also the truth of the experiences of others.

Prince includes in this section of the narrative two moving passages that conclude exactly this point. Prince here sets forth before the reader that “in telling my own sorrows, I cannot pass by those of my fellow-slaves – for when I think of my own griefs, I remember theirs” (Prince 65). In doing so Prince familiarizes herself to the reader as the real protagonist in her own story, explicitly uniting her experiences to the experiences of those around her. Prince cares deeply for others in the narrative, and when she demonstrates the ability to feel empathy for others who endure the torments of slavery alongside her, she highlights an indomitable human trait that survives what Patterson refers to as the social dishonoring of slavery (Patterson 11). The concept of social dishonor explains how a society systematically disenfranchises

enslaved individuals and in essence defines them by their “otherness” to the point where they are stripped of any markers of autonomy. Whereas other citizens were given rights to employment for pay, property, and representation in politics, slaves were socialized to endure brutal treatment from birth in a process called natal alienation, where young children were taken from their families and forced to labor as individuals without the support of a community of origin.

Another right denied to the enslaved was marriage, and most romantic relationships between slaves were classified as illegitimate unions by social mores. *The History* records a few notable relationships that Prince had with men living in her immediate context in Antigua, including a ship captain and a merchant (both unnamed); Adam White, who was a free man and a cooper; and her husband, Daniel James. Prince records how during the tumultuousness of her time with the Wood family in Antigua, she would ask her male companions to purchase her freedom from Mr. Wood. She recalls how after one particularly intense argument with her mistress, her master “flew into a passion: but he did not beat me then; he only abused and swore at me; and then gave me a note and bade me go and look for an owner” (Prince 71). However, when Prince’s companions offer to pay Mr. Wood for her freedom, he point-blank refuses to do so, which then calls into question the reasons for his threatening her sale; these were not genuine offers but rather cruel forms of punishment and social control. In reference to the same incident, Prince asserts that “he did this to please his wife and to frighten me” (Prince 71). This push-and-pull approach that Mr. Wood employs when dealing with Prince becomes a theme throughout the narrative; all through the rest of *The History*, and afterwards as the supplementary material attests, Mr. Wood continues his policy of threatening to undermine the relationships she has with the people around her by selling her to a random merchant.

As Prince creates these relationships with other people for whom there is mutual gain in working for her freedom, she thereby forges a support network that directly undermines

the oppression of the Woods. Prince demonstrates in the narrative the ability to produce a community not only among people who are enslaved alongside her, but also with many who are free, befriending free whites and free blacks living in the colonies alike. In aligning herself with the enslaved, she emphasizes a sense of community drawn from mutual experience of surviving oppression; in gathering allies from among the free, she situates herself in an intermediary position between the free and the enslaved, which suggests a commitment to establishing a community whose in-group included a far wider spectrum of experience than was culturally practiced in traditional mores.

When Prince arranges her official sale to someone she trusts, this action becomes an example of her exercising autonomy and power over her situation despite being still legally considered in bondage. Wood’s refusal to acknowledge potential buyers whom he sees Prince trust and who evidently would be far better to Prince than he and his family had ever been, makes clear how Wood tries to leverage this community bond against her. The threat to tear a person away from his or her family or community is a method of social control that, even if only a threat and not followed through, is devastating. This is especially true for the enslaved, whose very status in society made them a target for abuse without reprisal. The dependence on a local community that would protect an individual slave as much as possible was therefore used to manipulate slaves into compliance, for if slave masters knew they could punish someone by punishing her family, her friends, or even just other people she knew, the masters would hold this fact over their slaves and torture others in order to hurt someone else. This problem becomes complicated many times over after Prince leaves the Wood household after they travel to London, and despite her no longer living with them as a slave, Wood’s refusal to grant formal manumission renders Prince effectually in exile from her husband and community back in the West Indies.

In a striking example of her oppressor’s irascibility, the narrative describes how Wood animatedly rejects the offer

Prince's husband makes to buy her freedom. Mary Prince's marriage to her husband marks an important part of the narrative, as their relationship denotes a fulfillment of agency; Prince married Daniel James, a free black man who worked as a local carpenter in the community where she lived with the Wood family in Antigua. Slave marriage was not considered a legitimate social institution by the Church of England, as Prince confirms in her narrative, and because of how it was culturally understood, slaves who wished to be married had to seek alternative means (Prince 74). This fact in and of itself reveals the distinct measures taken to limit the freedoms of the enslaved in the British Empire. Not only were slaves made to suffer terrible violence constrained in bondage, those in power also delegitimized any official social romantic connection like marriage, and thereby further worked to commodify the bodies and lives of the enslaved. In her immediate context then, Prince's marriage to James became a sore point for Mrs. Wood, and Prince relates this in saying that Mrs. Wood "was fearful, I think, that I should lose her time, in order to wash and do things for my husband" (Prince 75). Mrs. Wood then "was always abusing me about him. She did not lick me herself, but she got her husband to do it for her, whilst she fretted the flesh off my bones" (Prince 75). The dynamic between Prince, James, and the Woods becomes a central point of contention and therefore a source of many arguments between Prince and the Wood family, as Prince describes in the narrative.

The History mentions several important personal relationships as an adult Prince has with other people, most of them men, but James is given credit for offering her the most support as a romantic partner. The narrative depicts the value Prince assigns to her relationship with James even though she "had not much happiness in [her] marriage, owing to [her] being a slave" (Prince 75). Her marriage to James anchors her to the West Indies in an official family bond that helps to heal the natal alienation she was forced to endure in her youth. By speaking about her marriage, Prince is able to articulate her memory in ways that empower her narrative voice; exercising choice

in deciding not only with whom she involves herself romantically, but also when they get married demonstrates the autonomy that she develops over the course of her life. Telling the social history of her marriage, Prince gives an account of how she refused to marry James until he joined the Moravian Church, in which she was an active member. This solidifying of social structures, marriage under religious standards, illustrates how she emphasizes these relationships and the importance they carry in relation to each other. Prince's identifying in meaningful ways with the people around her works directly against the natal alienation that she survived in her youth and throughout her life.

Yet coupled with the idea of natal alienation, which marks the strategic isolation of the enslaved from birth, is the state of exile in which Prince finds herself after leaving the household of the Wood family in London. At the end of the narrative, and indeed afterwards, Wood does not grant Prince her manumission. This is especially vile considering Prince's relegation by the slave laws in Antigua to London where she is legally a free woman while still legally a slave in bondage to Mr. Wood in the West Indies. This separation from her husband, church community, and support system in Antigua causes great pain and grief to Prince, who records her anguish and recalls it in her narrative to spark public debate over the injustice of her situation.

Mary Prince at the end of the narrative closes by saying that the institution of slavery, which separates loved ones and inflicts extreme damage upon communities, is something no person should endure, arguing that "this is slavery. I tell it, to let English people know the truth; and I hope they will never leave off ... till all the poor blacks be given free, and slavery done up for everyone" (Prince 84). Prince here reaches outwards through the narrative to summon forth social action from the reader, and in making available to the reader her history, Prince gives good reason for doing so. The call-to-arms that brings the narrative to an end establishes between Prince and

the reader an intimacy of companionship in fighting slavery. Those who join the cause will become a part of the community that fights real evil in the world, and will have the opportunity to be on the right side of history. Prince argues that abolition cannot be achieved by the efforts of one person alone, and her narrative is a profound example of this social principle set into action.

The History of Mary Prince, A West Indian Slave: Related by Herself is a text that speaks out against the institution of slavery by telling the story of one woman who survived it in the West Indies. As Christopher Hager supports, “during the era of emancipation ... the production of a written text, no matter what information it contained, was itself a historic event,” and thus *The History* should be appreciated for its contribution to emancipation as a revolutionary text not only for its arguments, but also for its existence in a print culture dominated by white male voices (Hager 5). By vocalizing a condemnation of the ways in which the British imperial system conducts itself abroad, Prince effectively uses the literary medium of autobiography to argue for dramatic change in the world.

Prince believes herself to be performing a moral duty in relating her experiences to others who genuinely do not understand the realities of slavery. She articulates this in exclaiming, “oh the horrors of slavery! – How the thought of it pains my heart! But the truth ought to be told of it; and what my eyes have seen I think it is my duty to relate; for few people in England know what slavery is” (Prince 64). Prince summons her memory of extremely painful events, and then makes those memories available to others so that readers of her narrative will understand what actually happens in the West Indies within a slave system. Mary Prince’s narrative is distinct, then, as recording not only a black female voice speaking out in a white patriarchal system, but as presenting one of the only reliable voices that can speak to slavery with the authority that only comes with experience.

Also of importance is the fact that Prince courageously addresses her audience directly just as she directly names her allies in the West Indies. This act in effect shifts rhetorical modes from reporting history to inciting action repeatedly throughout *The History*, thereby giving another dimension of significance to Prince’s words. In decrying the horrors of slavery, she explicitly calls to the British public by saying, “I would have all the good people in England to know it too, that they may break our chains, and set us free” (Prince 64). In effect, the entire narrative is purposed towards not only inserting into popular discourse the experiences of an enslaved black woman, but also towards motivating its audience to action. For example, Mary Prince ends her narrative by confirming that her story tells the truth of her experiences in slavery and that such practice should be immediately abolished, concluding before the reader that abolitionists must not stop their efforts until “slavery [is] done up for everyone” (Prince 84). Prince here becomes the mediator between a representation of the community of the enslaved and a representation of British social activism. Significantly, she does not write to the King but to the people of England, appealing to them to persuade the monarch to enact reform. Inextricably woven into this call to action is Prince’s orientation towards establishing community identity, as notably she does not argue for only her own manumission in the narrative, but rather for the liberation of all those in racialized bondage, seeking to ally the community of the enslaved with the community of the British populace.

By establishing a unique model for cultural debate, one that seeks to unite the distinct publics of the enslaved in the West Indies and the narrative’s readership in Britain, Prince successfully challenges contemporary standards for engagement in popular discourse about slavery. In creating *The History* as she did, involving the strategic representations of herself and the community of the enslaved, Prince positions herself as an empowered authority, one of the few speaking in the discourse at the time, who can legitimately attest to the political

implications of life in bondage. As an intermediary between the enslaved of the West Indies and the British public, Prince becomes too the intermediary between processes of modern historical memory and its relationship to the past. By preserving and sharing her story through print, Prince provides the modern discourse of slavery with textual evidence of the contours of its violence in practice. *The History* asks readers to understand its narrator and to appreciate the nuances in her relationships to others; by providing the narrative as a testament to the strength of cooperation with others in combatting oppression, Prince is then in all senses a worthy representative of those fighting for social justice. ■

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COMMÉMORATION PAR MAYA ANGELOU

FLORENCE XIA*

French Program

Department of Modern Languages

Commémoration

Par Maya Angelou

Pour Paul

Tes mains
légères, taquinant les abeilles
en ruche dans mes cheveux, tu souris à
la pente de ma joue. De temps à
autre, tu te presses sur moi,
rayonnant, jaillissant
d'empressement, le mystère viole
ma raison.

Quand tu te seras retiré
ainsi que la magie, quand
seulement l'odeur de ton
amour s'attardera entre
mes seins, alors, seulement
alors, pourrai-je consommer goulûment
ta présence.

Remembrance

By Maya Angelou

For Paul

Your hands easy
weight, teasing the bees
hived in my hair, your smile at the
slope of my cheek. On the
occasion, you press
above me, glowing, spouting
readiness, mystery rapes
my reason

When you have withdrawn
your self and the magic, when
only the smell of your
love lingers between
my breasts, then, only
then, can I greedily consume
your presence.

* This translation of Maya Angelou's poem into French was prepared for Professor Pascale-Anne Brault's course, FCH 324 Translation III, in fall quarter 2015.

This poem was chosen in part because of the many challenges it presented for translation. To convey the unique cadence and powerful imagery of the original required that the translator find equivalencies in French that evoked both the halting musicality of the English and the graphic character of the topic.



Angela Brown | *Sharper Image*

EINE NIETZSCHEANISCHE INTERPRETATION VON FRANK WEDEKINDS *FRÜHLINGS ERWACHEN*

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ABSTRACT This paper will analyze instances of overvalorization in Frank Wedekind's play, *Spring Awakening*, as a means of understanding the consequences of valuation in Germany society at the turn of the 19th century. I will explore Friedrich Nietzsche's philosophical notions of valuation by focusing on three nietzschean texts: *On Truth and Lies in a Nonmoral Sense*, *The Gay Science*, and *The Will to Power*. I will use the theoretical framework established in these works to determine the role of the transvaluation of all values within *Spring Awakening*, with specificity to Nietzsche's critique of Christian morals and their relation to sexuality, suicide and shame.

Das Ziel dieser Arbeit ist, die Verbindungen zwischen der nietzscheanischen Kritik der christlichen Moral und dem Drama *Frühlings Erwachen: eine Kindertragödie* von Frank Wedekind zu untersuchen. Ich möchte zeigen, dass die deutsche Literatur des 19. und frühen 20. Jahrhunderts die Gefahr des Werturteils demonstriert. Die langsame Entwicklung der politischen Radikalisierung und Polarisierung, die zur Massenvernichtung des europäischen Judentums und der Zerstörung von deutscher Gesellschaft führten, begannen mit dem Werturteil der strengen christlichen Moral. Dieser Aufsatz verwendet Friedrich Nietzsches philosophische Arbeiten *Über Wahrheit und Lüge im außermoralischen Sinn* (1873), *Die fröhliche Wissenschaft* (1882), und *Der Wille zur Macht* (1901)¹, um das extreme

Werturteil in Deutschland, das in Wedekinds 1891 Drama *Frühlings Erwachen* geschildert ist, zu analysieren. Ich möchte mich auf drei Fälle von gefährlichem Werturteil in *Frühlings Erwachen* konzentrieren: die Sexualität, den Suizid und die Scham.

Das sehr bekannte deutsche Theaterstück *Frühlings Erwachen: Eine Kindertragödie* von Frank Wedekind ist ein gesellschaftskritisches Werk, das die extrem konservative deutsche Kultur um der Jahrhundertwende ablehnte. Als Gesellschaftskritik befasst sich das Drama mit einer Gruppe von beeinflussbaren und verlorenen Jugendlichen, die oft durch das Geschlecht getrennt sind. Das Stück wurde 1890-91 geschrieben, aber die erste Aufführung war erst 1906. Die philosophischen Ideen von *Über Wahrheit und Lüge im außermoralischen Sinn*, *Die fröhliche Wissenschaft* und *Der Wille zur Macht* manifestieren sich in *Frühlings Erwachen*, insofern als die Werke die strengen sozialen Werte vom Ende des achtzehnten Jahrhunderts in Deutschland kritisieren.

* Originally written for Advanced German Communication II in winter quarter 2016, taught by Anna Souchuk, PhD; selected for publication and edited by Dr. Anna Souchuk, PhD.

1 *Der Wille zur Macht* (1901), war posthum von Nietzsches Schwester, Elisabeth Förster-Nietzsche, zusammengestellt. Anschließend wurde der Text von den Nazis benutzt, um den Krieg und Genozid zu legitimieren. Die Manipulation des Textes demonstriert eigentlich die Gefahren von dem extremen Werturteil.

Um dieser Zeit wurde der moralische Nihilismus sehr populär gemacht. Der Nihilismus ist die totale Ablehnung aller Formen von Werten. Zuerst untersuchte Nietzsche die begriffliche Gründung von Nihilismus in dem Werk *Über Wahrheit und Lüge im außermoralischen Sinn*. Der Text ist eine ernste Kritik von den theoretischen, sprachlichen und philosophischen Formen des Dogmas, als eine Reaktion auf die gesellschaftliche Verschlechterung Deutschlands wegen des extremen Werturteils der christlichen Moral. Wir können die genaue Bedeutung von Werten durch den folgenden Auszug aus *Der fröhlichen Wissenschaft* verstehen, „... was nur Wert hat in der jetzigen Welt, das hat ihn nicht an sich, seiner Natur nach, - die Natur ist immer wertlos: - sondern dem hat man einen Wert einmal gegeben, geschenkt, und wir waren diese Gebenden und Schenkenden!“ (Nietzsche 1882: 301). Als Reaktion auf die Extreme des moralischen Nihilismus theoretisierte Nietzsche, dass nur die Umwertung aller Werte² die moralische Weltordnung wiederherstellen könnte. Obwohl Nietzsche meinte, dass die Werte unbegründet und unvernünftig sind, wusste er, dass das Werturteil ein unvermeidlicher Aspekt vom menschlichen Verhalten ist. Laut Nietzsche sind die Werten, die Moral, und die Wahrheit nur Illusionen, die wir schaffen. In dem Text *Über Wahrheit und Lüge im außermoralischen Sinn* schrieb er,

Was ist also Wahrheit? Ein bewegliches Heer von Metaphern, Metonymien, Anthropomorphismen, kurz eine Summe von menschlichen Relationen, die, poetisch und rhetorisch gesteigert, übertragen, geschmückt wurden, und die nach langem Gebrauch einem Volke fest, kanonisch und verbindlich dünken: die Wahrheiten sind Illusionen, von denen man vergessen hat, daß sie welche sind, Metaphern, die abgenutzt und sinnlich kraftlos

geworden sind, Münzen, die ihr Bild verloren haben und nun als Metall, nicht mehr als Münzen, in Betracht kommen (Nietzsche 1873: 3).

Wenn das Streben nach den Werten, der Wahrheit, und der Moral wichtiger als die Menschenwürde wird, dann können die Werte, die Wahrheit, und die Moral gefährlich und instabil werden. Das ist genau das, was in *Frühlings Erwachen* passiert, insofern als die christlichen Werte wichtiger als die Menschenwürde der Kinder werden.

Die erste Szene von dem Theaterstück zeigt den elterlichen Kampf, die Sexualität des Kindes zu verheimlichen. Frau Bergmann kann sich körperlich nicht bringen, ihrer Tochter die Wahrheit über ihren wachsenden Körper zu erklären, weil sie sich so unbequem fühlt. Die Eltern im Drama bzw. die Autoritätsfiguren kämpfen aktiv gegen den Verlust der Unschuld. Somit war es unvermeidlich, dass Wendla Bergman schwanger wurde, weil sie die Fortpflanzung nicht versteht. Wendla und Melchior Gabor treten in eine seltsame Beziehung ein, die zu der Vergewaltigung und endgültigen Schwangerschaft Wendlas führt. Obwohl die Schwangerschaft ein klassisches Symbol von dem Leben und der Hoffnung sein könnte, wird die Situation in Wendlas Fall zu etwas ganz Schrecklichem. Das arme Mädchen stirbt nach einer unnötigen Abtreibung, weil ihre Mutter die Scham von einer vorzeitigen Schwangerschaft nicht ertragen konnte. Die Überbewertung von Frömmigkeit ignoriert die natürlichen sexuellen Antriebe und Bedürfnisse von Jugendlichen. Die mangelnden Kenntnisse über die Sexualität und die sexuelle Aufklärung resultieren in dem vorzeitigen Tod Wendlas. Wedekind demonstriert, dass eine solche strenge und ignorante gesellschaftliche Reglementierung nur in Tragödie enden kann.

Wedekind spielt auf die Vorstellung an, dass eine Gesellschaft mit solchen strengen Werten ganz bestimmt furchtbare Erwachsene erzeugen wird. In seinem Essay “Über Erotik” untersucht Frank Wedekind die Wirkungen von der Unterdrückung der Sexualität. Er behauptete,

2 Zuerst wurde die Idee von der Umwertung aller Werten in dem Buch *Der Antichrist* (1895) beschrieben. Die Umwertung aller Werten ist ein philosophischer Begriff in Zusammenhang mit dem Christentum und den problematischen Aspekten der spät-christlichen Moral, bzw. die Keuschheit, die Sanftmut und die Besessenheit mit Sünde. Nietzsche konnte nicht ertragen, dass Christentum eine Religion des Friedens war. Er glaubte, dass die christliche Sanftmut das Überleben des Stärkeren behindert.

“infolge von Unglücksfällen aller Art, Selbstmorden usw. drängt sich uns seit einigen Jahren das Problem der sexuellen Aufklärung der Jugend auf” (93). Er schrieb, dass die absichtliche Unterlassung, Kindern eine Sexualerziehung beizubringen, ein Verbrechen sei. Die starke Ablehnung von der Erotik und die gesellschaftliche Darstellung der Sexualität als Todesünde tragen zum tragischen Ende bei. Die Überbewertung von Reinheit durch das Verbot der natürlichen Prozesse zerstört die junge Generation. Wedekind schrieb,

ein wahnwitziges Verbrechen ist es hingegen, die Jugend systematisch zur Dummheit und Blindheit ihrer Sexualität gegenüber anzulernen und zu erziehen, sie systematisch auf den Holzweg zu führen...Und aus welchem Grunde wurde dieses Verbrechen begangen? Aus Furcht, dass ernste Gespräche über Erotik und Sexualität der heranwachsenden Jugend Schaden zufügen könnten (94).

Die Furcht von dem Gespräch über die Sexualität ist in der Überbewertung der christlichen Sünde begründet. Es ist ironisch, dass die Furcht vor der Scham eigentlich zu noch mehr Scham führt. Diese Beschämung stammt von den christlichen moralischen Werten, die das “richtige” Verhalten diktieren.

Nietzsche bemerkte die schädlichen Auswirkungen des extremen Werturteils in Deutschland. Die Idee des Werturteils als die Universalquelle des Konflikts ist ein ständiges Thema in den Werken Nietzsches. In dem zweiten Buch von *Der Wille zur Macht* kritisiert Nietzsche die Religion, die Moral und die Ideale. Er erklärt, dass die willkürliche Erstellung der Werte und Ideale in der Form von Religion und Moral zu dem Untergang der Menschheit herbeiführen wird: “die Korruption von Werten ist eine Folge der *décadence* (s. 43).” Die Überbewertung der christlichen Moral führt zu der Dekadenz und dem Zusammenbruch der Gesellschaft. Er äußert, dass eine gesellschaftliche Krankheit zu wachsen begonnen habe, “zu begreifen: -- Dass alle Art Verfall und Erkrankung fortwährend an den Gesamt-Werturteilen mitgearbeitet

hat: dass in den herrschend gewordenen Werturteil die *décadence* sogar zum Übergewicht gekommen ist” (s. 39). Diese Ideen wurden in *Frühlings Erwachen* wiederholt, besonders durch die Figur von Moritz Stiefel.

Moritz Stiefel ist sehr freundlich, religiös, fromm und unwissend in Fragen von Erwachsensein. Er ist ein herzlicher Junge, ist aber auch nicht so gut in der Schule. Diese Faktoren führen zu seinem Suizid; in Wirklichkeit aber ist es die Scham, die ihn zu seinem Selbstmord treibt. Moritz verkündet, „meine Moral hat mich in den Tod gejagt. Um meiner lieben Eltern willen griff ich zum ich zum Mordgewahr. ‘Ehre Vater und Mutter, auf dass du lange lebest.’ An mir hat sich die Schrift phänomenal blamiert“ (70). Sein Freitod ist ein entscheidender Moment im Stück: dadurch wird die wirkliche Natur der Gesellschaft gezeigt. Zum Beispiel verleugnet Herr Stiefel seinen Sohn bei dessen Beerdigung: “Der Junge war nicht von mir! -- Der Junge hat mir von klein auf nicht gefallen” (49). Diese Szene betont die Irrationalität von den Reaktionen der Erwachsenen, angetrieben von der blinden Sittlichkeit. Das Stigma von Selbstmord entsteht aus dem extremen Werturteil der christlichen Werte. Die gesellschaftliche Verurteilung vom Suizid ist ein Beispiel von der Überbewertung der christlichen Sünde. Die Gesellschaft kümmert sich nicht um den Grund für den Suizid. Laut dem christlichen Glauben ist Selbstmord eine Todsünde, was bedeutet, dass die Person, die Selbstmord begeht, nicht in den Himmel gehen kann. Die unmittelbare Verurteilung von dem Freitod Moritz Stiefels demonstriert, dass solche dogmatischen moralischen Strukturen die Gesellschaft bedrohen. Diese Überbewertung der christlichen Sünde führt zur Degeneration der Gesellschaft.

Die christliche Moral in der deutschen Gesellschaft konzentrierte sich auf das Leben nach dem Tode, statt des gegenwärtigen Moments. Als Pastor Kahlbauch eine Rede bei der Beerdigung Moritz hielt, dankte er Gott für die “unerforschliche Gnadenwahl” und implizierte, dass der Suizid Moritz einen unvermeidlichen Teil von

der moralischen Weltordnung gewesen sei. Der Glaube an Prädestination zeigt die gefährliche Überbewertung von Schicksal. Nietzsche kritisierte die Popularisierung von christlichen Werten in Deutschland, weil er der Meinung war, dass christliche Werte minderwertiger als die Werte von der Antike und Ostreligionen waren. Es wäre falsch zu behaupten, dass christliche Werte inhärent minderwertiger als die Werte von anderen Religionen wären. Dennoch behauptete Nietzsche, dass der Prozess des gesellschaftlichen Untergangs aus der animalischen Notwendigkeit, eine dogmatische Wahrheit zu erschaffen, entsteht. Er schrieb,

Wir wissen immer noch nicht, woher der Trieb zur Wahrheit stammt: denn bis jetzt haben wir nur von der Verpflichtung gehört, die die Gesellschaft, um zu existieren, stellt: wahrhaft zu sein, das heißt die usuellen Metaphern zu brauchen, also moralisch ausgedrückt: von der Verpflichtung, nach einer festen Konvention zu lügen, herdenweise in einem für alle verbindlichen Stile zu lügen (Nietzsche 1873: 3).

Der Glaube an Prädestination (in Wedekinds Drama) ist ein Musterbeispiel von den Gefahren des Werturteil, insofern als die Erwachsenen alle Tragödien als Schicksal abtun. Rektor Sonnenstich bemerkt, "der Selbstmord als der denkbar bedenklichste Verstoß gegen die sittliche Weltordnung ist der denkbar bedenklichste Beweis für die sittliche Weltordnung, indem der Selbstmörder der sittlichen Weltordnung den Urteilspruch zu sprechen erspart und ihr Bestehen bestätigt" (Wedekind 49). Sonnenstichs Reaktion zeigt, dass diese Gesellschaft die christliche Moral mehr als das Leben von einem Jungen wertschätzt. Die Unterbewertung von Moritz' Leben ist das Ergebnis von der Verderbnis der christlichen Werte durch die Überbewertung.

Der verummte Herr ist eine seltsame Figur, die in der letzten Szene erscheint. Wenn Melchior den Friedhof besucht, um Wendlas Grab zu sehen, erscheint plötzlich der Geist von Moritz. Moritz versucht Melchior zu

überzeugen, sein Leben zu enden. Der verummte Herr rettet Melchior von einem vorzeitigen Tod. Dadurch sagt Wedekind, dass eine Hoffnung für die Erlösung von der Gesellschaft existiert, wenn diese Gesellschaft die gefährliche Überbewertung verlassen kann. Aus einer nietzscheanischen Perspektive stellt der verummte Herr die Umwertung aller Werte dar. Er bietet Melchior ein neues Leben an, durch die Ablehnung der Gesellschaft und ihrer schlechten Werte.

Vielleicht ist die tiefgreifendste Tragödie in *Frühlings Erwachen* die Überbewertung von christlichen Werten, die eigentlich versuchen zu verstehen statt zu verurteilen. Im Rahmen des deutschen Kontextes repräsentieren die Kinder die abschließende Generation der Unschuld und die Entwicklung des Übels in der Gesellschaft. Wedekind und Nietzsche bestätigen, dass, wenn eine Gesellschaft auf dem Weg des extremen Werturteils bliebe, dann könnte diese Gesellschaft sich selbst zerstören. Die aktuelle Relevanz von Umwertung ist besonders klar in Deutschland heute. Angesichts der jetzigen Flüchtlingskrise und der beispielloser Anzahl von Migranten aus anderen Ländern in Deutschland, ist die Idee von Umwertung kritisch. Bedauerlicherweise benutzt der christliche Rechtsradikalismus traditionelle, christliche Begriffe, um ihren Hass zu legitimieren. Die Bewertung der Fremdenfeindlichkeit muss überdacht werden. Kurz gefasst: die ständige Umwertung der Werte ist unbedingt wesentlich für den Wohlstand der Gesellschaft. ■

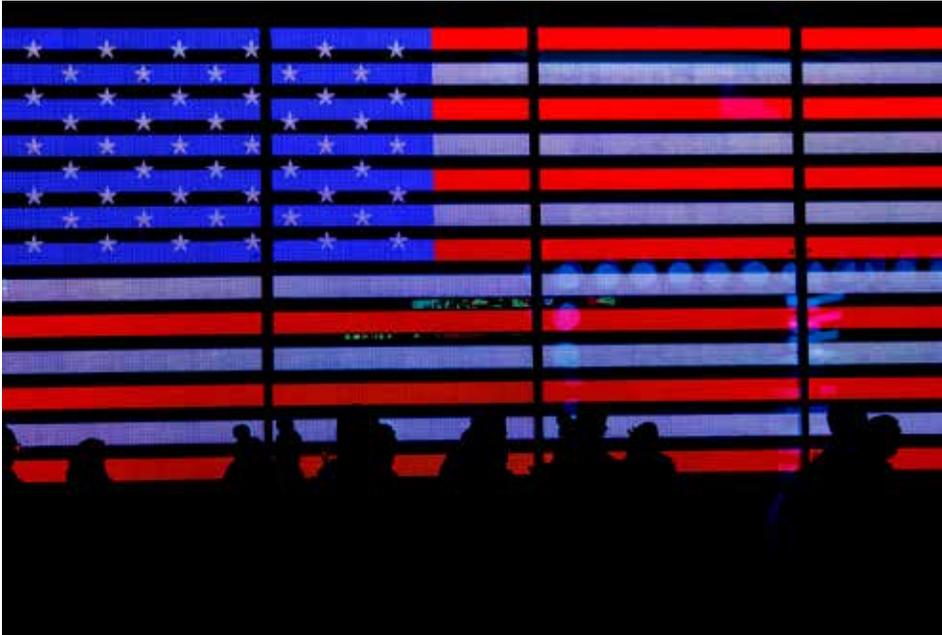
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Willie Burton | *Untitled*

TRISTAN TZARA: DADA IN PRINT

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Tristan Tzara, born Samuel Rosenstock (1896-1963), was a Romanian-born poet, essayist, and performance artist. Known best as a founder and central figure of Dada, Tzara was responsible for many of the movement's primary texts, for which he served as both author and editor. In the early part of the twentieth century, literary and artistic reviews were the primary means where ideas were exchanged between creative communities. The art journal was a vehicle for promoting emerging styles, establishing new theories, and creating a context for understanding new visual forms. These publications were vital to forming the spirit and identity of movements. In the context of Dada, they helped distinguish and define various incarnations of the movement in the many cities it infiltrated throughout Europe and the United States.¹ Having demonstrated an early interest in publications as a student in Romania, Tzara was eager to contribute to early Dada art journals, establishing his role as a major proponent and publicist of the movement. An analysis of his engagement with Dada publications makes Tzara's leadership evident in launching a fundamentally diverse collective and providing a platform through which Dada could continuously expand and reinvent itself.

Tzara's affinity for poetry and modern art began in Romania where his first poems were published in the country's leading literary reviews and where he edited a

successful literary review from the age of sixteen.² It was in Bucharest where he met other young *littérateurs* and began to write poetry under the pseudonym, Tristan Tzara. He, along with the equally erudite young poets Marcel Iancu (later spelled "Janco") (1895-1984) and Ion Vinea (1895-1964), gravitated toward a genus of young writers who were drawn to French symbolism and explored divergent trends in contemporary literature.

The trio's impact on the Romanian cultural sphere manifested largely through *Simbolul*.³ During its four-issue run from October 25, 1912 (Fig. 1) to December 25, 1912, this literary review served as a training ground for poetic development and the internalization of Tzara's role as a cultural impresario.⁴ The editors sought contributions from representatives of contemporary poetry circles, whose work was printed alongside the works of Janco, Vinea, and Tzara. This unification of editor and content creator would later become a fundamental difference between Dada journals and other publications. Further precedents are apparent in *Simbolul's* international reach; the breadth of its content was an unmistakable sign of Tzara's aesthetic ambition.

In 1915, Tzara moved to Switzerland where he reunited with Janco. Weeks later the two attended the opening night of the Cabaret Voltaire, later christened 'the birthplace

* Prepared for the course Duchamp and Dada (HAA 360) taught by Mark Pohlrad, PhD, in fall quarter, 2015. This paper was selected for publication by Simone Zurawski, PhD, and Joanna Gardner-Huggett, PhD, and was edited by Mark Pohlrad, PhD.

1 Irene E. Hofmann, "Documents of Dada and Surrealism: Dada and Surrealist Journals in the Mary Reynolds Collection," *Art Institute of Chicago Museum Studies*, 22, no. 2, Mary Reynolds and the Spirit of Surrealism (1996): 131.

2 Additional Romanian poems were published in the 1930s under the suggested title 'Poems Before Dada,' which Tzara rejected, as it implied a rupture in his creative development. Marius Heneta, *Tata Dada: The Real Life and Celestial Adventures of Tristan Tzara*, (Cambridge, Massachusetts: MIT Press, 2014), 2-3.

3 *Simbolul*, though progressive in its own right, had an impact that can be attributed in part to the fact that publishing was an open field at the time and was largely made up of amateurs. Heneta, 35.

4 *Ibid.*, 32.

FIGURE 1

Issue 1 of *Simbolul*, with cover artwork by Marcel Iancu (Janco), October 25, 1912. Image originally published in Tom Sandqvist, *Dada East. The Romanians of Cabaret Voltaire*, MIT Press, Cambridge, Massachusetts & London, 2006. ISBN 0-262-19507-0.



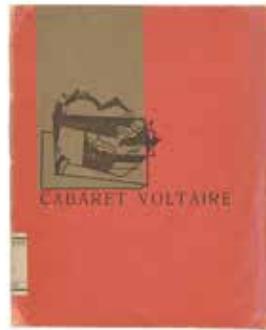
of Dada.' As World War I ravaged Europe, the tavern on Spiegelstrasse in neutral Zürich was transformed into the Cabaret Voltaire by the German poet Hugo Ball (1886-1927) and his partner, Emmy Hennings (1885-1948). Both Ball and Hennings placed great value on artistic freedom, experimentation, and collaboration, and as a product of their irreverent counter-cultural sensibilities, the cabaret attracted a diverse entourage of young artists and writers who sought respite from the war. Resistance to nationalism and hegemony was evident in the emphasis Dada placed on diversity and subversion, two concepts that drove Tzara's approach to production. While evenings at the cabaret had gained a level of notoriety for their insurrection, it was primarily through journals that the news of the movement was disseminated across Europe.⁵

On May 10, 1916, three months after the opening of the Cabaret Voltaire in Zürich, Tzara wrote to René Gaffé, a well-connected Belgian collector, in hopes of advancing Dada further into international consciousness. Together, Ball and Tzara were organizing a review unlike other arts and literature publications, one that would take its name from the Cabaret Voltaire. This letter to Gaffé, coupled with a June 4, 1916 entry in Hugo Ball's diary, has received

⁵ Hoffman, 132.

FIGURE 2

Cabaret Voltaire, edited by Hugo Ball. Original brochure with cover illustration by Hans Arp: Kunsthhaus Zürich, Library, DADA III:37. 32 pages, 13 illustrations, 27 × 22 cm.



attention by scholars who, guided by this primary source material, were able to reconstruct a preliminary draft of the review *Cabaret Voltaire* (Fig. 2) before its publication on June 14, 1916.⁶ The motive for Tzara's letter to Gaffé, however, was not so much concerned with the edit as it was a request for Gaffé to inform his friends about the *Cabaret Voltaire*.⁷ This sort of transaction marks an early stage of what would quickly evolve into an exchange-based system of information distribution. Publications gained currency as they were shared between avant-garde groups across Europe as a primary means of communication and in an effort to increase visibility of contemporary practice.

Ball described the publication broadly as the “first synthesis of the modern schools of art and literature,” a communal vehicle for expression. Contributions came from Dadaists as well as Futurists and Cubists, while literary works were published in French and German. In the single-issue review, Ball wrote, “It is necessary

⁶ A detailed account of the publication's evolution is outlined in Hellmut Whol, “Tristan Tzara, René Gaffé and the Cabaret Voltaire,” *The Burlington Magazine*, 149, no. 1249, Collecting in Spain (April 2007):263.

⁷ *Ibid.*

to clarify the intentions of this cabaret.⁸ It is its aim to remind the world that there are people of independent minds—beyond war and nationalism—who live for different ideals.⁹ Tzara characterized the publication more narrowly as being purely “philo-French.” It has been proposed that the term refers to Dada’s indebtedness to French political and literary precedents, which Tzara would later expand on in his 1948 *An Introduction to Dada Anthology*. He insisted that two traditions, one ideological (the French Revolution, the Commune, etc.) and the other poetic (Baudelaire, Nerval, Rimbaud, Lautréamont etc.), had informed Dada’s anti-bourgeois tone. Though it is difficult to reconcile philo-french with the disparate anti-aesthetic of the works that appear in the review, Tzara would describe the Dada Evening at the Waag Hall on July 14 to be a launch of Dada and a “celebration of the revolutionary genius of France.”¹⁰ It can be argued that Dada’s spirit of anarchic nihilism had appeared repeatedly in the world of literature, from Aristophanes to Rabelais, and from Rimbaud to Jarry and so on.¹¹ Further, it has been proposed that, in Tzara’s eyes, the evening had served as an homage to the French poets and cultural figures, who as he put it, “had shown us the way.”¹² The French avant-garde undertones of Tzara’s interpretation of Dada would become evident in his later texts and would eventually facilitate the inception of Paris Dada.

8 The poster for the opening of Cabaret Voltaire refers to ‘Künstlerkneipe Voltaire,’ *Kneipe* meaning bar. It has been suggested that *Künstlerkneipe Voltaire* refers to the physical space at Spiegelgasse I, where Dada’s practice was staged, and that *Cabaret Voltaire* refers to the group of artists and writers who performed there. Under this assumption, the values held by the cabaret were neither singular nor site specific.

9 Hoffman, 132.

10 Whol, 264.

11 Calvin Tomkins, *Duchamp: A Biography* (New York: The Museum of Modern Art, 2014), 188.

12 Whol, 264. The importance of Baudelaire, Laforgue, Mallarmé, Jarry, Apollinaire, Cocteau and other late nineteenth and early twentieth-century French poets and cultural figures for the Romanian avant-garde in Bucharest (for Tzara, prior to his arrival in Zürich) is outlined in T. Sandqvist, *Dada East. The Romanians of Cabaret Voltaire* (Cambridge, Massachusetts: MIT Press, 2006).

It is apparent that from the outset of *Cabaret Voltaire*, Tzara had intentions to usurp the publication with a more ambitious text. Tzara’s May 10 letter to Gaffé ended with an inquiry regarding a second project: an international review of art, which would be called *Dada*.¹³ From this point, Tzara would channel his efforts into a campaign to spread the ideas of Dada. His contemporary Richard Huelsenbeck (1892-1974) described Tzara as a “zealot propagandist to whom, in fact, we owe the enormous diffusion of Dada.” He further recalled that, as the movement was gaining momentum, Tzara would relentlessly bombard French and Italian writers with letters about Dada activities. He would continue to send issues of *Cabaret Voltaire* to avant-garde cultural figures across Europe,¹⁴ often in exchange for the latest issue of the receiver’s publication, thus creating a mutually beneficial exchange of ideas and achievements. Ten copies of *Cabaret Voltaire*, in which the name, “Dada,” appeared in print for the first time, were sent stateside to Marius de Zayas whose avant-garde magazine, *291*, Tzara had seen in Zürich. De Zayas, who strove to establish contacts with international movements, agreed to put *Cabaret Voltaire* in New York bookstores.¹⁵ In return, Tzara was sent the most recent issue of *219* whose typography and layout, far more advanced than that of *Cabaret Voltaire*, informed the design of Tzara’s later publications.

In his efforts to promulgate Dada ideas internationally, Tzara launched the art and literature review, *Dada*, in 1917 (Fig. 3). At the outset, it was planned that Dadaists would edit the review in turn and an editorial board would be responsible for all major decision-making; however, Tzara would ultimately assume all responsibilities.¹⁶ By taking on the role of editor, as with *Simbolul*, Tzara broke with traditional practices of either generating literary

13 Whol, 264.

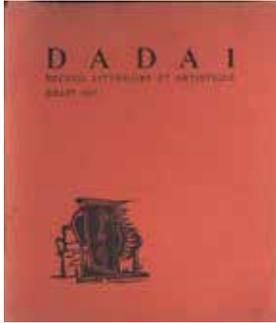
14 Hoffman, 133.

15 Tomkins, *Duchamp: A Biography*, 189. Duchamp remembered seeing a copy of Tzara’s *Antipyrene* text (although not *Cabaret Voltaire*) at the beginning of 1917. He recalled seeing in Dada, “the spirit of Jarry, and long before him, Aristophanes—the anti serious attitude,” which in many ways mirrored his own thinking about art and life.

16 Hoffman, 133.

FIGURE 3

Cover of the first edition of the publication, "Dada." Edited by Tristan Tzara. Zürich, 1917. <http://sdrclib.uiowa.edu/dada/collection.htm>.



and visual works or curating them within the format of a journal. Rather than treating this medium as a mere record of past events, and thus supplemental to Dada practice, Tzara placed *Dada* at the core of the movement. With the loss of the physical space of the cabaret, his and Ball's publication had taken up the qualities of collaboration and experimentation that were integral to Dada practice. Tzara recognized from *Cabaret Voltaire* that publications could serve as sites for avant-garde practice and placed *Dada* not only as an institutional framework but also as a medium of collection production. Infusing *Dada* with the spirit of the movement, Tzara interrogated and destabilized conventional artistic organizing principles and created an international community¹⁷ or rather a network of localized communities that shared a common spirit. Equally significant, the mapping out of a web of complex relations with other movements included Cubism, Futurism, and Expressionism¹⁸, a strategy used to negotiate Dada's role in relation to other avant-garde practices and ideologies.

17 Emily Hage, "The Magazine as Strategy: Tristan Tzara's Dada and the Seminal Role of Dada Art Journals in the Dada Movement," *The Journal of Modern Periodical Studies*, Vol. 2, No. 1 (2011): 33.

18 Tzara was increasingly critical of concurrent modernist groups, particularly Futurism and Cubism. In his 1918 manifesto, Tzara asserts, "We have enough Cubist and Futurist academies: laboratories of formal ideas." Hage, 33.

Rather than adopting a single set of galvanizing tenets, the Dadaists advocated multiplicity, promoting distinct and even contradictory interpretations of Dada.¹⁹ In *Notes for the Bourgeoisie*, which was published in *Cabaret Voltaire*, Tzara had written that he wished to realize a body of text that operated under alternative principles, "which consist in the possibility of letting each listener make links with appropriate associations. [The listener] retains the elements characteristic of his personality, mixes them, the fragments, etc., remaining at the same time in the direction the author has channeled."²⁰ He considered this the modern aesthetic— an aesthetic that is apparent in the ambiguous and contradictory contents and format of *Dada*. Tzara's promotion of individual thought and rejection of pedantic text accounts for the absence of any sort of clear epithet for Dada until the third issue of the publication in 1918.

Additionally, emphasis on the journal was vital to a pluralistic and inclusive model of membership. Through creating and exchanging publications, of which there were dozens, the group forged a sense of identity based on diversity and distance rather than on proximity and intellectual and aesthetic assimilation. Publications were, after all, the most efficient and powerful way to foster connections and learn about each other's works in a time when censorship restricted travel and international exhibitions.²¹

Dada I and *II* evidence a strategic eclecticism in their content. With *Dada I*, published in Zürich July of 1917, Tzara positioned the magazine as a strategy for launching the

19 In his poem *Dada is a Virgin Germ*, Tzara wrote, "Dada is the chameleon of rapid and interested change." This would appear to be among the only sincere sentiments. Dawn Ades. *The Dada Reader: A Critical Anthology* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2006), 64.

20 *Ibid.*, 21.

21 Hage, 34. In the text *Year I of world Peace*, which appeared in *Der Dada I*, Baader, Hausmann, Huelsenbeck, and Tzara declare Club Dada to be in favor of "total freedom of the press-ure, because the press-ure is the cultural weapon." This overtly political statement demonstrates an understanding of the press as a weapon if used pedagogically but also as a powerful cultural tool that could be subversive and progressive. Ades, 84.

schismatic Dada movement. Like *Cabaret Voltaire*, *Dada I* and *II* feature artists from France, Germany, and Italy in an effort to publicize the group's dissident transgression of national boundaries.²² Without any sort of mission statement or manifesto, readers were left to weave their own unifying threads between disparate works and discern what the overall body of materials communicated about how to interpret or define Dada. The content of the first two issues communicated that eclecticism and a lack of prevailing aesthetic principles did not preclude the creation of a modern movement, and that the journal medium was the best way to realize and promote such an atypical model. Tzara presented Dada as an arena, rather than a single player, in which a multitude of artistic currents, languages, and media could coexist in dialogue, transgressing the artistic and national boundaries that were so anxiously guarded at the time.²³ *Dada* as a whole served as an implicit manifesto, one that declared through its make-up Dada's inclusivity, multiplicity, international reach, and collective status. It was notable not only for its contributor's innovative approach to art and literature but also for the focus of creative production and display through publications.

It was not until the third issue of *Dada*, published in December 1918,²⁴ that a manifesto was offered, although Tzara's *Manifeste Dada 1918* (Fig. 4) was more of a negation of the standard purpose and format of a manifesto. Tzara, opposed on principle to dogmatic text,²⁵ declared in his

²² Hage 36.

²³ *Ibid.*, 38.

²⁴ *Dada 3*, published just after the Armistice, was issued in two versions: an International issue, which contained contributions in German, and a French issue, which replaced German material with French material to prevent French government censorship. This allowed Breton in Paris to read Tzara's *Manifeste Dada 1918*, which would instigate Tzara's participation in Paris Dada. Theresa Papanikolas. *Anarchism and the Advent of Paris Dada: Art and Criticism, 1914-1924*, (Cornwall: TJ International Ltd., 2010), 4.

²⁵ In an early 1950s conversation with Dorothy Norman of the *Yale Gazette*, Tristan Tzara explained: "Dogma, [Dada] declared, reduced art to meaninglessness, to anti-art. Dadaists wanted depictions to be human and direct, like all other authentic actions." Dorothy Norman with Marcel Duchamp & Tristan Tzara, "Two Conversations: Marcel Duchamp and Tristan Tzara," *The Yale University Library Gazette*, Vol. 60, No. 1/2 (October 1985): 77-80.

FIGURE 4

Manifeste Dada, 1918. Written by Tristan Tzara and published in *Dada 3*. <http://sdr.lib.uiowa.edu/dada/dada/3/01.htm>.



manifesto, "Dada means nothing." Although this was taken for granted by the inner circle of Dadaists, such a declaration had become increasingly necessary as the audience of the publication grew. He wrote that futile attempts to define Dada are "bacteriological" in character.²⁶ The impulse to find etymological, historical, or psychological origins demonstrates a level of assumed authority or entitlement on the part of the theorist/historian/critic to impose vocabulary and frameworks of knowledge, which is a fundamental opposition to the interests of the movement. The line "I write this manifesto to show that people can perform contrary actions together while taking a fresh gulp of air"²⁷ is telling of Tzara's brand of Dada as one that sought to paradigmatically shift notions stability and intelligibility while ironically advancing towards an understanding of Dada as a paradox.

Manifeste Dada 1918 eventually landed in the hands of André Breton, Louis Aragon, and Philippe Soupault, young poets and editors of the Parisian review *Littérature* (1919-1923), who adamantly pursued Tzara's collaboration. They sensed he was similarly interested in absorbing and ultimately transcending the poetic legacy of their Symbolist predecessors, Mallarmé, Rimbaud, and Apollinaire. *Dada* exemplified for them a strategic use of literature to attack

²⁶ Tristan Tzara, "Manifeste Dada 1918," In *Dada III* (23 March 1918).

²⁷ Hage, 38.

the fabric of society. Tzara moved to Paris in January 1920, facilitating the alignment of these poets with Dada and officially beginning the Paris chapter.²⁸ Paris Dada would take on a distinctly revolutionary character thanks to Tzara's new collaborators, who were similarly rooted in the polemic ideologies of the French literary avant-garde. However, Tzara differed from Breton and the other Paris Dadaists in his disinterest towards defining the movement in relation to literature and the past. Instead, he held on to a deeply individualistic, untethered, and absurdist interpretation, which may have necessitated the continuation of *Dada*, which would exist for two more issues.

Dada VI (*Bulletin Dada*, February 1920) and *Dada VII* (*Dadaphone*, March 1920) were published in Paris. As a founding figure of Dada, and at a time when publications had become a central means of communication, Tzara was keenly aware that others would look to his text to learn about the movement. The final issues also evidence a departure from the visual arts, containing only a handful of images between the two issues. The emphasis is shifted to absurd denunciations, witticisms, and proclamations regarding definitions and the membership of Dada.²⁹ *Bulletin Dada* lists seventy-six "Dada Presidents," figures who were sometimes only tangentially associated with the movement (Fig. 5). In this overblown gesture of inclusiveness, Tzara conveys a desire to emphasize Dada's rejection of unity, hierarchy, and centeredness. Several factors account for Dada's evolution towards a predominantly literary publication. Its expanded audience, which had grown considerably from the small pool of Zürich Dada readers, necessitated a distillation of the ideas put forth in previous issues. Paris Dada, often characterized as the most literary, gravitated toward poetry, theory, and public debate. In response, Tzara refined Dada's voice while at the same time removed the threat of developing a cohesive visual aesthetic.

The evolution of *Dada* is indicative of the nature of publishing in general, and of overriding Dada ideologies,

²⁸ Papanikolas, 4-5.

²⁹ Hage, 44-45.

FIGURE 5

Published in *Bulletin Dada* (Dada 6). Tristan Tzara lists seventy-six "Dada Presidents" in an overblown gesture of inclusivity that culminates in the proclamation "tout le monde est directeur du mouvement dada," or "everyone is a director of the Dada movement." <http://sdrclib.uiowa.edu/dada/dada/6/pages/02.htm>.



which are distinctly unsentimental.³⁰ A departure from the past was indeed precisely what the Dadaists strove for, and thus the publication, which is cyclically regenerative by nature, was perhaps the most appropriate medium for Dada practice. Further, Tzara's intuition had always been guided by progressive literature, from his early *Simbolul* days, to his adoption of the publication as a means to practice and publicize a movement. In his engagement with Dada publications, Tzara successfully resisted submitting to the dictates of superordinate models that treated works of art and text as categorically discrete entities.³¹ This allowed Dada—synchronously a physicality and a concept—to evolve, mirror, and resist its sociocultural context. ■

³⁰ The lack of well-preserved Dada artworks would seem to indicate that its members were decidedly un-precious about their pieces.

³¹ Papanikolas, 17. Whether it be an exhibition catalogue, newspaper, or illustrated book, most existing formats that incorporated image and text employed one as an addendum to the other. In his graphic design, conceptual approach to literature, paradoxical declarations and image pairings, Tzara succeeded in subverting the logic of categorization, merging text, and image in complex ways. While previously, one could expect a publication as a supplement to a body of artworks, Tzara's pursuit with *Dada* introduced the possibility of the catalogue as exhibition.

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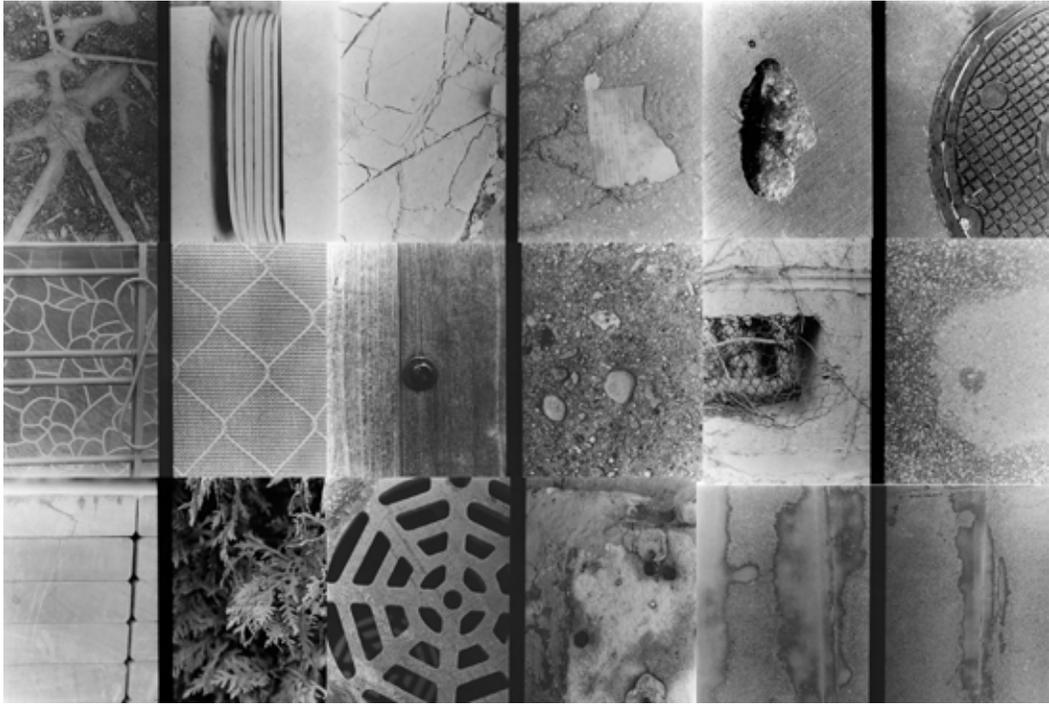
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THE CHICAGO PLAN COMMISSION AND THE VISION FOR POSTWAR CHICAGO

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“It seems to me...that most of our cities as they exist today are all wrong. Most of them ought to be rebuilt in the years to come,” George T. Horton, the new chairman of the Chicago Plan Commission told the *Chicago Daily Tribune* in August of 1940. After listing to a few of what he perceived to be the many ills of the city, Horton concluded that, “All these things considered, it’s not surprising to me that the city is losing its population so fast.”¹ Three years later, the Chicago Plan Commission, in their “Master Plan of Residential Land Use,” would not be kinder to Chicago’s built environment, concluding that “A century of haphazard building has left Chicago with a heritage of thousands of obsolete and physically decayed structures arranged in monotonous rows in badly planned neighborhoods.”²

The period beginning with the end of the Great Depression and the start of World War II was an extremely difficult and challenging period for Chicago and other cities. Years of economic depression followed by years of war had left cities with aged and deteriorating housing stocks. Scarcity of housing, resulting overcrowding, further exacerbated the strains on cities’ housing stocks. By the late 1930s, rates of population growth in Chicago and other cities had slowed down to the point of being almost insignificant, despite the fact that populations in most metropolitan areas

were growing, a phenomenon that alarmed planners and other municipal officials.³ Things would only get worse for Chicago and other cities in the years after the war, for following a few years of growth, federal housing policies encouraged the exodus of white families out of the city and into newly-built suburbs, leading to massive population losses and devastating cities’ tax bases. As a result, of these factors, increasingly large swaths of Chicago and other cities became run-down and deteriorated, or—to use the parlance of the times—blighted.

As Chicago and other cities grappled with these issues, the practice of city planning assumed heightened significance. Increasingly, large-scale clearance and rebuilding was seen as the only adequate option for dealing with the city’s built environment. This large scale urban renewal, in many cases, gave city planners something of a blank canvas upon which to give form to new conceptions of the city. This paper examines urban planning in Chicago in the years immediately before, during, and after World War II. In exploring this topic several questions arise: How did city planners and other municipal officials conceive of the postwar city? What vision of the city emerges from their plans? What effect did these ideas have on the built environment of Chicago and on life in the city?

To answer these questions, I turned to documents produced by the Chicago Plan Commission, Chicago’s primary planning body prior to Mayor Richard J. Daley’s creation of the Department of City Planning in 1957.

* Prepared for History 390 taught by Professor Colleen Doody in winter quarter 2016. This paper was selected as the “Best Paper from a 300-level Course” at the 12th Annual Student History Conference in spring quarter 2016.

1 “New Chairman has Ideas for Dream City,” *Chicago Daily Tribune*, August 7, 1940, ProQuest.

2 Chicago Plan Commission, “Master Plan of Residential Land Use,” 1943, Municipal Reference Collection, Harold Washington Library, Chicago.

3 Chicago Plan Commission, “Population Facts for Planning Chicago,” Feb. 1942, Municipal Reference Collection, Harold Washington Library, Chicago.

The Chicago Plan Commission played a predominantly advisory role, establishing guidelines and principles and providing review for buildings and developments, but did not actually undertake buildings and developments directly. Nevertheless, the plans and documents produced by the Chicago Plan Commission during this period demonstrate a clear vision for the postwar city. Their plans endorsed what was considered to be the soundest and most effective modern planning principles. Whether or not these plans came to fruition, the planning and design principles they promoted would come to be embraced by architects, developers, and builders in urban renewal projects throughout the postwar period.

Through the documents and plans they produced during this time, the Chicago Plan Commission introduced and promoted a new and radically different vision for the city. The members of the Chicago Plan Commission, during this period, envisioned a city of modern high-rises and row houses arranged in geometric clusters surrounded by ample green space with winding, curvilinear streets, minimal traffic arteries, and commercial enterprises grouped together in suburban-style shopping centers with off-street parking facilities away from residential areas—a far cry from the dense development of two-flats, three-flats, bungalows, and courtyard apartments along a gridiron street pattern that constituted the reality of mid-century Chicago.

Two works that deal with the history of urban planning in Chicago are D. Bradford Hunt and Jon B. DeVries' *Planning Chicago* and Joseph P. Schwieterman and Dana M. Caspall's *The Politics of Place: A History of Zoning in Chicago*. In *Planning Chicago*, Hunt and DeVries examine urban planning in Chicago beginning with the creation of the Department of City Planning by Mayor Richard J. Daley in 1957. Hunt and DeVries approach planning largely from the perspective of politics and policy, focusing on the role that different actors and groups played in planning postwar Chicago. *Politics of Place* traces the history of zoning and land-use regulation in

Chicago, from the city's founding to the adoption of a new zoning code in 2004.

Another work that deals with urban planning and urban renewal in Chicago is Michael Carriere's "Chicago, the South Side Planning Board, and the Search for (Further) Order: Toward an Intellectual Lineage of Urban Renewal in Postwar America." In this article, Carriere examines how the members of the South Side Planning Board used the concept of social disorganization to interpret the "blight" that they saw in African American neighborhoods, how they used these ideas to try to legitimize large-scale urban renewal, and how these ideas influenced the ideas, theories, principles, and underlying vision of urban planning at the time.⁴

The city of Chicago has played a major role in the history and development of city planning. The City Beautiful movement—epitomized by the 1893 Columbian World's Exhibition and culminating in Daniel Burnham's 1909 *Plan of Chicago*—that emerged in Chicago around the turn of the twentieth century represented a watershed moment in the history and development of city planning. Robert C. Klove, assistant chief of the geography division of the Bureau of the Census and a member of the Chicago Plan Commission, explained in a 1948 article in the *Geographical Review* how, "In the early years of the twentieth century, Chicago played a notable part in stimulating the development of city planning not only in the United States but throughout the rest of the world as well. The Chicago World's Fair of 1893 awakened interest in civic improvements, parks, and thoroughfares, and the trend in planning known as the 'city beautiful' began."⁵ Albert Lepawsky, writing eight years earlier in the *Journal of Land and Public Utility Economics*, told how Chicago

4 Carriere, Michael, "Chicago, the South Side Planning Board, and the Search for (Further) Order: Toward an Intellectual Lineage of Urban Renewal in Postwar America," *Journal of Urban History* 39 no. 3 (2012): 411-432.

5 Robert C. Klove, "City Planning in Chicago: A Review," *Geographical Review* Vol. 38, no. 1 (Jan. 1948), 127.

“established one of the nation’s first local planning agencies,” and bragged that Burnham’s 1909 *Plan of Chicago* was “so famous that its models are still available at European exhibits on urbanism.”⁶

Despite this pivotal role in the history and development of the discipline, interest in city planning in Chicago waned in the following decades. In his 1948 article, Klove explained that, “In spite of these many achievements, the vigor of city planning in Chicago waned, largely as a result of the failure to recognize the need for certain practicalities of city form and pattern demonstrated by economic and social research.”⁷ He further explained how, “During the depression years the inadequacy of the ‘city beautiful’ ideal became plain. The rapidly declining rate of population growth, accelerated movement to the suburbs, alarming spread of blighted areas and deteriorating housing, tax delinquencies, and rising costs of maintaining public services and facilities in the area of public decay became problems of increasing concern.”⁸ Although the city beautiful movement that came out of Chicago at the turn of the century was hugely influential in the development of urban planning as a field, then, it quickly proved inadequate to address the issues of the modern city. With the city beautiful framework of urban planning proving to be outdated and ineffective and no new approach arising to replace it, the discipline of planning became largely neglected.

Starting in the late 1930s, the field of city planning began to undergo something of a renaissance in Chicago, culminating with the reconstitution of the Chicago Plan Commission by city ordinance on July 12, 1939.⁹ This new Chicago Plan Commission differed in several important ways from its Burnham-era predecessor. The first major difference was that the 1939 Chicago Plan Commission was the product of a city ordinance, whereas the 1909 Plan

Commission had simply been appointed by the mayor.¹⁰ Another significant difference was that, as Lepawsky points out, Chicago already had a master plan (Burnham’s *Plan of Chicago*) when the Chicago Plan Commission was created in 1909 which was not the case when the Commission was reconstituted in 1939.¹¹

The new Chicago Plan Commission quickly got to work, undertaking a series of studies and producing a series of documents with the ultimate goal of creating a master plan for modern Chicago. Several documents produced by the Commission over the course of the 1940s are of particular significance. Through these plans and documents, the members of the Chicago Plan Commission articulated their vision for the postwar city of Chicago. These documents reveal the Commission’s desire to break from the traditional planning, layout, and spatial organization of Chicago, and to refashion the city in accordance with what they considered to be new, modern, and superior planning principles.

One significant document was “Rebuilding Old Chicago: City Planning Aspects of the Neighborhood Redevelopment Corporation Law,” prepared by the Neighborhood Planning Staff of the Chicago Plan Commission under the supervision of planner George A. Hutchinson Jr., published in October of 1941. In this document, the authors identified three city neighborhoods—the Near North, Near West, and Near South Sides—that they considered “blighted” and presented plans for their redevelopment. In each case, the new plans for these three neighborhoods represented a dramatic change to the existing built environment of the city.

The descriptions and analyses of the physical layout and built environment of these three neighborhoods reveal an attitude that can perhaps best be described as disdainful. One characteristic of the city that was the object of frequent scorn throughout this document was the city’s grid street layout. The authors of “Rebuilding

6 Albert Lepawsky, “The New Chicago Plan Commission,” *Journal of Land and Public Utility Economics* Vol. 16, no. 1 (Feb. 1940), 100.

7 Klove, “City Planning in Chicago,” 127.

8 *Ibid.*

9 Lepawsky, “The New Chicago Plan Commission,” 100.

10 Lepawsky, “The New Chicago Plan Commission,” 100.

11 *Ibid.*

Old Chicago” criticized the grid as drab, monotonous, and lacking in imagination. Additionally, the authors criticized many of the typical urban characteristics of these three neighborhoods—buildings were said to be too close together, yards too small, traffic levels on non-major streets too high, and the prevalence of mixed land-uses was seen as being highly undesirable.¹²

After listing the perceived flaws of the current built environment of the city, the authors of “Rebuilding Old Chicago” presented a series of ambitious large-scale redevelopment plans that they felt would bring these neighborhoods up to “modern planning standards” and remedy their perceived blight. Remedies presented in the three plans included eliminating secondary streets, creating much larger blocks, and decreasing traffic through the neighborhoods by funneling through-traffic to major streets or proposed “super highways.” Additional space created by the elimination of secondary streets, and the increased block size would be converted to green space and off-street parking. Ribbon development of businesses and stores along commercial streets would be largely eliminated and replaced with shopping centers oriented around off-street parking lots. In one neighborhood plan, the authors explained that, “Orderly shopping centers, as opposed to ribbon development of stores, are planned at transfer points... Each store group is provided with a special parking area for shoppers’ cars.”¹³

“Rebuilding Old Chicago” was created, in the words of its authors, to illustrate “the principles of good neighborhood planning” and “to demonstrate methods of adapting typical existing conditions to modern site planning techniques.”¹⁴ The authors made sure to state explicitly that the plans presented were only meant to be informative and were not official or bound in any way, explaining that, “The studies herein presented should

be considered strictly as illustrations of the principles of good neighborhood planning. Although actual sites have been selected, this is purely to demonstrate methods of adapting typical existing conditions to modern site planning techniques.”¹⁵

The plans presented in “Rebuilding Old Chicago” illustrate a thorough departure from the traditional planning of Chicago. With their plans, the authors imagined neighborhoods that would provide suburban features and amenities, like ample yards and green space, off-street parking, minimal traffic through neighborhoods, modern homes removed from major thoroughfares, and suburban-style shopping centers conveniently accessible by automobile to future residents of the three neighborhoods chosen. To the authors of “Rebuilding Old Chicago,” such neighborhoods as they envisioned planned and laid out in accordance with the most modern and enlightened planning standards of the day and represented a far superior living environment than those they sought to replace. Whereas, to them, the neighborhoods they selected to be reimagined were, in their current state, cramped, disorderly, and dilapidated, the new neighborhoods they envisioned would be just the opposite—spacious, orderly, modern, and, perhaps most importantly, safely removed from the hazards of urban life.

Another document, “Building New Neighborhoods: Subdivision Design and Standards,” produced two years later, similarly reveals the Chicago Plan Commission’s vision for postwar Chicago. As the title suggests, whereas “Rebuilding Old Chicago” dealt with rebuilding aged neighborhoods that were felt to be blighted and inconsistent with modern planning standards, the purpose of “Building New Neighborhoods,” published in July of 1943, was to establish “modern standards of design” for new neighborhoods on vacant and undeveloped land within the city limits. As Chairman George T. Horton and Acting Executive Director of the Chicago Plan Commission H. Evert Kincaid explained in their introduction to the document, “Within the corporate limits

¹² Chicago Plan Commission, “Rebuilding Old Chicago: City Planning Aspects of the Neighborhood Redevelopment Corporation Law,” Oct. 1941, Municipal Reference Collection, Harold Washington Library, Chicago, 14-16.

¹³ Chicago Plan Commission, “Rebuilding Old Chicago,” 3.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*

¹⁵ *Ibid.*

of Chicago are 18 square miles of vacant land suitable for new residential building...It is within these tracts that NEW NEIGHBORHOODS, in whole or in part, can be built in accordance with modern standards of design with a minimum of delay and difficulty.”¹⁶

Ultimately, however, the authors of “Building New Neighborhoods” envisioned the neighborhood design standards that they laid out being applied not only to new neighborhoods constructed on vacant land on the city’s edges but to the redevelopment of old neighborhoods throughout the city that they felt would need to be rebuilt in the near future, explaining that, “The recommendations contained herein pertaining to subdivision design and standards would apply not only to the land now vacant but to the redevelopment of the 23 square miles of blighted and near-blighted properties which must be rebuilt within the next generation. “Thus,” they continued, “more than 41 square miles of land in the city would benefit from improved standards of design and from practical specifications for residential land improvements.”¹⁷

“Building New Neighborhoods” was highly critical of the built environment of Chicago. The authors of this document, it seems clear, considered the design and layout of the suburbs to be far superior to that of the city. In contemplating the reasons why people chose to leave the city for the suburbs, the authors of “Building New Neighborhoods” concluded that, “The answers are obvious.”¹⁸ To them, the preference for many to live in suburbs rather than in the city could be explained by the fact that, in their words, “Our large cities have developed as centers of industry and employment and not as places in which to live.”¹⁹ Proceeding to list some of the disadvantages and ills of city life, they describe how, “Smoke and dirt cause the housewife to give up in despair in her struggle to keep the house clean. Traffic dangers

in the street are a constant source of fear to parents with small children, some of whom are struck down never to play again.”²⁰ “In the older neighborhoods,” they argued, “the presence of scattered stores, taverns, and other commercial enterprises which are so located as to be disturbing to the peace and enjoyment of home life offers further discouragement to home owners.”²¹

Speaking of the built environment in the city’s neighborhoods, the authors concluded that, “...one finds indescribably bad architecture; monotonous straight rows of houses crowded together; narrow rear yards spoiled by box-like garages; unpaved streets, or, in many instances, over-improved streets...all contributing to the deterioration of the city and to the consequent flight of families to the suburbs.”²²

To the authors of “Building New Neighborhoods,” there was little doubt that the suburbs represented a superior living environment than the city. In contrast to the ills of the city, the authors listed what they considered to be the many advantages of the suburbs, stating that, “People are attracted to the suburbs because of larger lots, more sunlight and air, less automobile traffic, more play space, less smoke and dirt, more attractive surroundings...”²³ Thus, the authors of “Building New Neighborhoods” extolled the virtues of suburban neighborhoods while disparaging those in the city.

The authors of “Building New Neighborhoods” proceeded to lay out a series of design standards that they felt would ensure attractive and livable neighborhoods in the city. One feature that the authors of “Building New Neighborhoods” promoted as exemplary of ideal, modern design was a winding, curvilinear street system—a far cry from the grid that characterizes the majority of Chicago. Indeed, the authors of “Building New Neighborhoods” had no shortage of criticism for the city’s existing street layout.

16 Chicago Plan Commission, “Building New Neighborhoods: Subdivision Design and Standards,” June 1943, Municipal Reference Collection, Harold Washington Library, Chicago, 2.

17 *Ibid.*

18 *Ibid.*, 8.

19 *Ibid.*

20 *Ibid.*

21 *Ibid.*

22 *Ibid.*, 9.

23 *Ibid.*

They criticized the grid as being drab, monotonous, and rigid. Speaking of the zoning code that dictates this grid system, they opined that, “The present Chicago code regulating the subdivision of land is extremely rigid in that it permits little opportunity for the planning of interesting variations in neighborhood pattern.”²⁴ Thus, the authors felt that the rigidity Chicago’s zoning code foreclosed the possibility of planning and designing aesthetically interesting street systems through neighborhoods.

In contrast to the existing street pattern, which was seen as “very often hazardous and undesirable for continued residential use because of the volume of traffic,” the authors of “Building New Neighborhoods” felt that, “A curvilinear plan of streets provides greater protection to residential properties and increases their desirability.”²⁵ For the members of the Chicago Plan Commission, a curvilinear street pattern was preferable to a grid pattern in terms of both aesthetics and in its ability to buffer homes from the flow of traffic.

Like “Rebuilding Old Chicago,” “Building New Neighborhoods” suggests the elimination of secondary streets, resulting in the creation of “superblocks” intended to serve as self-contained neighborhood units and decreasing or eliminating through-traffic in residential neighborhoods. The authors explained how, in their ideal “community of tomorrow,” “The principal interior streets would be planned to collect local traffic from the minor residential streets and direct it to the schools and shopping centers, or to some outside objective. Emphasis has been placed upon the designing of residential streets in such a manner as to discourage traffic from entering.”²⁶ Additionally, they argued that, “Major thoroughfares should border the neighborhood and carry through traffic around it. All dwellings should be so planned and located as to be protected from the hazards and dirt of traffic... minor streets should never be so located that they invite

through traffic from outside areas.”²⁷ For the authors of “Building New Neighborhoods,” reduction of traffic through residential neighborhoods and the separation of residences from the flow of traffic were considered essential components of desirable neighborhoods.

In addition to the management of traffic in residential neighborhoods, the location of commercial activity was another point of concern. For the authors of “Building New Neighborhoods,” traditional ribbon development of businesses along commercial thoroughfares had no place in the “Community of Tomorrow.” Instead, they argued that businesses should be grouped together in designated shopping centers complete with ample off-street parking. In their view, “‘Ribbon development’ of stores along major streets is obviously far from a satisfactory solution for servicing residential areas...”²⁸ Instead, they argued that, “Retail shops servicing neighborhood needs do best when grouped at planned locations within a convenient distance from the home...the shopping center should be built back from an important major street with adequate off-street space provided for the parking of cars.”²⁹

Together with “Rebuilding Old Neighborhoods,” then, in “Building New Neighborhoods,” the members of the Chicago Plan Commission attempted to establish a blueprint for the redevelopment of the city. The ideal neighborhoods they described represented not simply a minor tweak to the city’s built environment. On the contrary, they represented a drastic, whole-scale transformation of the city, and a completely reimagined and redesigned built-environment.

While the plans devised and presented by the Chicago Plan Commission in plans and documents such as “Rebuilding Old Chicago” and “Building New Neighborhoods,” never came to fruition exactly as the planners envisioned, the planning principles outlined and promoted in such

²⁴ *Ibid.*, 11.

²⁵ *Ibid.*, 37.

²⁶ *Ibid.*, 19.

²⁷ *Ibid.*, 29.

²⁸ *Ibid.*, 34-35.

²⁹ *Ibid.*

documents were nevertheless embraced by architects and developers in developments throughout the postwar era. Two examples of postwar developments that embraced such principles are Lake Meadows and Prairie Shores on the Near South Side. Built between 1952 and 1960, along what is now King Drive (then South Parkway), Lake Meadows consists of ten high-rise apartment buildings, an office building, shopping center, recreational facilities, and a community club arranged over a seventy acre site.³⁰ The ten high-rises that make up the development are built on superblocks created by the elimination of secondary streets, as envisioned by the Chicago Plan Commission. They are surrounded by large expanses of open space created by the elimination of these streets, consistent with the neighborhoods envisioned by the Chicago Plan Commission. As per the Plan Commission's recommendations the development contains a shopping center, ample off-street parking, and is designed to be a self-contained neighborhood unit.

Prairie Shores was constructed shortly afterwards, just north of Lake Meadows along South Parkway (King Dr.) between 28th and 31st Streets.³¹ Describing its physical layout, Schwieterman and Caspall, in their book *Politics of Place*, explain that, "Embracing a similarly creative design [to that of Lake Meadows], this community [Prairie Shores] had five high-rise apartment buildings with a slightly southeast orientation for maximizing sunlight."³² "With its structures covering only nine percent of its 55-acre site," they add, "Prairie Shores represented a radical departure from prewar development patterns."³³ Like Lake Meadows, Prairie Shores embodied many of the planning principles promoted by the Chicago Plan Commission. It consisted of modernist apartment buildings on large superblocks, set back from the street, surrounded by large expanses of open space, and ample off-street parking, as per the Chicago Plan Commission's planning standards.

Lake Meadows and Prairie Shores are not the only examples of midcentury developments that embodied the principles trumpeted by the Chicago Plan Commission by any means. On the contrary, most large-scale developments completed during this time-period represented some variation on the types of developments envisioned by the Chicago Plan Commission in documents like "Rebuilding Old Chicago" and Building New Neighborhoods."

While the planning principles advocated by the Chicago Plan Commission would hold sway for much of the postwar period, many would eventually come to reject this type of planning. By the 1970s, the planning principles promoted by the Chicago Plan Commission had begun to fall out of favor, as many (mostly white middle and upper class, white-collar) people began moving to the city seeking historic, walkable urban. As Suleiman Osman explains in "The Decade of the Neighborhood," the postwar period "...marked the ascension of a new type of urbanism."³⁴ City planners, politicians, municipal officials, architects, developers, housing reformers, and activists during the postwar period of urban renewal, he argues, "All shared a belief in modernity as a solution to the city's ills."³⁵ Such individuals, "turned to modern architecture that favored functional design, geometric form, smooth surfaces, open space, light, and bigness..."³⁶

In contrast, Osman argues, the 1970s "neighborhood movement represented a dramatically different romantic urban ideal."³⁷ Characteristics of old city neighborhoods that had once been viewed with fear, scorn, and disgust, in many cases, came to be seen by some as charming, authentic, and desirable. "A Victorian industrial cityscape that Progressive reformers once deemed frighteningly modern and New Dealers dismissed as obsolete," Osman explains, "was turned to by 1970s community activists as

30 Carl W. Condit, *Chicago, 1930-1970: Building, Planning, and Urban Technology* Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1974.

31 *Ibid.*, 207.

32 Schwieterman and Caspall, *Politics of Place*, 37.

33 *Ibid.*

34 *Ibid.*

35 *Ibid.*

36 *Ibid.*

37 *Ibid.*

a source of authenticity.”³⁸ Whereas the members of the Chicago Plan Commission had derided the city’s older neighborhoods as disorderly, antiquated, and poorly-planned, many who returned to the city in the 1970s sought out precisely these types of neighborhood, enticed by what they saw as their authenticity and historic charm. Osman explains how, “Instead of rejecting old and decaying factories, trolleys, and townhouses,” as the Chicago Plan Commission had, “1970s activists relished their historic character.”³⁹ Whereas the Chicago Plan Commission had derided the grid as monotonous and uncreative, 1970s urbanites, Osman explains, “...celebrated an older Victorian street grid that encouraged walking, face-to-face contact and intimacy.”⁴⁰ Whereas the Chicago Plan Commission had promoted the strict separation of different land uses and functions, Osman explains how, in the 1970s, “activists now championed ‘mixed uses’ and ‘diversity.’”⁴¹ Finally, whereas the Chicago Plan Commission in the 1940s felt that the city was outdated and antiquated, and should be entirely rebuilt, Osman explains how, in the 1970s, “Rather than renewal, neighborhood groups talked of preservation: preserving old buildings, preserving ethnic identity, preserving authentic communities.”⁴²

The period surrounding the Second World War was a pivotal time for Chicago and other American cities. Years of economic depression followed by war had brought urban development to a grinding halt. As a result, cities were left with an aged and increasingly deteriorated housing stock. For many city planners, architects, developers, municipal officials, and others, rehabilitation

was not seen as a viable option. For them, the only sufficient option for addressing the ailments of cities was large-scale clearance and renewal. This strategy gave planners a perfect opportunity to experiment with new ideas of how a city should look and function.

Following its reincorporation by city ordinance in 1939, the Chicago Plan Commission did just that. Over the course of the 1940s, the Chicago Plan Commission produced a series of documents in which they outlined and articulated a new vision for the city of Chicago. The postwar city that they imagined was one of modern apartments arranged in clusters surrounded by ample green space, flanked by superhighways and intersected by a minimal number of winding, curvilinear streets, with commerce and industry strictly separated into suburban-style shopping centers flanked by ample off-street parking lots.

Thus, this was a period in which the city was being drastically reimagined, reconfigured, and reshaped. Although not all of the plans devised by the Chicago Plan Commission came to fruition, many of the ideas and principles they advocated were given shape in urban renewal projects and large-scale developments throughout the era. The ideas and vision of the Chicago Plan Commission and other like-minded groups and individuals, therefore, continue to shape the built environment of the city even to this day. To understand the current built environment of Chicago, then, it is essential to understand the ideas of the Chicago Plan Commission and their contemporaries during this pivotal period. ■

³⁸ *Ibid.*

³⁹ *Ibid.*

⁴⁰ *Ibid.*

⁴¹ *Ibid.*

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Yuting Wei | *Sunset*

AMNESIA ON THE ‘LAKESIDE’: PROSPECTS FOR THE RIGHT TO THE CITY IN SOUTH CHICAGO WAR

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ABSTRACT This paper critically examines the Lakeside Development, a large real estate development formerly planned for the South Chicago neighborhood on the city’s southeast side. Using textual and limited ethnographic research methods, it explores the fraught historical relationship between the Lakeside site and the surrounding community. The history of both are briefly surveyed. Henri Lefebvre and David Harvey’s notions of a “right to the city” are explored in this context. Specifically, the paper identifies some possible grounds for a radical contestation of ownership over the site and suggests some reasons why politics have not emerged to challenge Lakeside, specifically, and neoliberal development in Chicago more generally.

Author’s note

There are two important caveats to this paper. First, the research and analysis presented here (conducted and written in the fall of 2015) have been overtaken by events: the Lakeside Development was cancelled in February 2016, and McCaffery Interests has removed itself from the project. US Steel retains ownership of the site. Though the project has been cancelled, the site remains valuable property, meaning that some of the conclusions I draw here might come into play if a new developer becomes interested. Unfortunately, the Lakeside Development website has been shut down, meaning that many of the McCaffery Interests sources I cite in the paper are no longer accessible.

Secondly, I must confess to strong reservations in the quality of research conducted for this paper. In particular, I am disappointed that I was unable to spend more time in the South Chicago community, meeting people and learning about the area firsthand. Time constraints and

my own inexperience with fieldwork are to blame. The original draft of this paper, which was longer, relied more on the two interviews with South Chicago residents. After reevaluating the original draft, I chose to shift emphasis to my textual sources and de-emphasize the interviews, which can’t be considered representative of the entire community. If I were to perform this research again, I would interview many more residents and spend a longer period of time in the neighborhood.

Lakeside: Ideal Future, Displaced Present

On October 11, 2012, two men stood together on a Copenhagen stage. They were there as representatives of an ambitious new real estate project planned for the southeast side of Chicago. The project, called “Lakeside,” had just been awarded the “Community” prize by online voters at the first annual Sustainia Award Ceremony. Sustainia, a Danish marketing consultancy and self-styled sustainability think tank, called Lakeside “a frontrunner in sustainable city planning” and the harbinger of an innovative “Chicago for pedestrians” (Sustainia 2012b). The two Lakeside men—Ed Woodbury (the president of McCaffery Interests, the lead developer of the site) and

* Adapted from a paper prepared for Kaveh Ehsani, PhD’s International Studies 204 (Cultural Analysis). The author would like to thank Ehsani and the faculty and staff of the Department of International Studies who collaborated to select a student submission for Creating Knowledge.

Douglas Voigt (the Skidmore, Owings & Merrill architect who master-planned Lakeside)—happily accepted the kudos. Woodbury described the award as “instrumental in our efforts to support and back up some of the ideas that we have....As we seek other partners to attract new uses to Lakeside. I think Sustainia will play a key role in that effort” (Sustainia 2012a).

In marketing materials for the ceremony, Sustainia presented Lakeside as a bold and technologically innovative urban vision that could be a model for twenty-first century cities, a global quality that the developers embrace in their own promotional material (McCaffery Interests 2010; 2013; 2015g). But this vision of the future neglects the complex past and present, which Lakeside inherits. The Calumet region of Chicago is the traumatized survivor of wrenching economic and social changes. For most of the century spanning 1860-1960, southeast Chicago was a thriving industrial and shipping zone. But deindustrialization in the 1970s and 1980s eliminated the economic anchors of the region. The population of the southeast side contracted and changed in composition, as white middle-class families fled for the suburbs and the number of available jobs sharply declined (Encyclopedia of Chicago 2005). Between 2000 and 2014, the South Chicago community area that will be Lakeside’s home lost a quarter of its population and suffered a 13.2% increase in the rate of residents living below the federal poverty line (Farooqui 2016).

It is in this discarded place that multiple conceptions of the “city”—the meaning of the urban cultural landscape—have come and gone, tracking an economic history of rapid growth and prosperity, industrial collapse, and stagnation. Lakeside—still unbuilt—seems to bring into this context new ideas of what the “city” can mean. But these are complex and open to contestation. Is this new city master-planned, urbane, and sustainable or artificial, bourgeois, and violent? And what of South Chicago? What does a “right to the city”—especially for the least powerful in society—mean in this place, separated from its industrial history by the gulf of time and social change,

and playing host to an exclusive private city next door? In other words, how can the South Chicago neighborhood meaningfully shape its own future, within and against the context of the neoliberal city vision? Exploring these questions, this paper argues that successful “right to the city” claims may be contingent on a sense of historical-cultural continuity, both material and immaterial, among a community of people.

Methodology

This research was conducted using textual and ethnographic methods. Most of my textual research came from free-searching online for journalistic coverage of Lakeside. There has been very little scholarly investigation of Lakeside, mainly because the development emerged in its current form only recently. I used archival databases to study the social, economic, and environmental history and geography of Southeast Chicago. Basic geographic information system (GIS) research was also helpful in understanding the geography of the area.

South Chicago and the Lakeside Site

The Lakeside Development is somewhat unique in that it will not directly displace any part of an existing community. The site is essentially empty, devoid of any structures besides a pair of enormous concrete walls, indestructible relics of the steel factory which once occupied the land. No one lives or squats there, and the developers own the entire 700-acre parcel. It is physically separated from the adjacent community of South Chicago by the recently-extended Lake Shore Drive (US-41) and some low chain-link fencing. There is sparse housing and commercial development near its borders, meaning that local residents rarely venture close to the site. On the day I toured the site, a warm Sunday in October, I passed only one person using the new sidewalk along US-41, and saw few people at a recently-opened park on the site’s southeastern edge.

Nevertheless, the Lakeside site is indeed part of a wider community. Any development constructed there will

inevitably affect the neighborhood, as there are no land routes into the site that do not pass through it. It also has a very strong historical connection to South Chicago. The Lakeside site is frequently called the “South Works” site, and this is a historical term. Between 1880 and 1992, the eastern portion of South Chicago between the Calumet River, and 79th Street was covered by an operating steel mill. The mill grew in size to become the largest in Southeast Chicago, and at its peak employed 20,000 people. The complex (“South Works” to distinguish it from a north side plant owned by the original mill company) became the economic heart of South Chicago, and the community was heavily dependent on the good wages earned by its employees (Sellers 2006). The identities of the working-class people who lived in Southeast Chicago were shaped by industry. Multiple generations of families would work in the same mills and factories, and the middle-class lifestyles these jobs could support created a strong sense of pride in the work and in the community (Walley 2010).

South Works closed on April 10, 1992, one of the last steel mills in the region to do so (Sellers 2006). The causes of Southeast Chicago’s industrial collapse, and the broader experience of American deindustrialization in the 1980s and 1990s, are usually attributed to vague “foreign competition” and structural changes in the world economy. Competition from foreign industry did increase, and many American steel firms (including US Steel) sought during the 1980s to diversify their business operations, shifting away from steel production and embracing sectors like energy and real estate. However, for the Calumet region, some of the blame lies closer to home, in Chicago’s turn away from industry towards tourism and service-based economic activity. These shifts, conscious decisions by the economic and political elite of Chicago, contributed to the decline of industry and the general marginalization of the city’s southeastern periphery in the late twentieth century (Breitbach 2016).

The Lakeside Development

The Chicago Lakeside Development LLC, established in 2004, is a joint corporate initiative formed by US Steel and McCaffery Interests to organize the development program at the site (McCaffery Interests 2015d). The property is still owned by US Steel, but McCaffery, an experienced Chicago development and real estate investment firm, is spearheading the project. Lakeside marketing materials generally emphasize McCaffery’s (and other firms) involvement and minimize the role of US Steel (McCaffery Interests 2012; 2013; 2014; 2015a-i). In addition, Lakeside has sought input from public and private research hubs like Argonne National Laboratory and the University of Chicago (Legacy Capital Partners, LLC 2012; Argonne National Laboratory 2014; McCaffery Interests 2015e). Lakeside’s relationship with government bodies has also been critical in laying the groundwork for development. Besides the literal groundwork-laying of the Mud to Parks program, Lakeside has benefited from the southward extension of US-41 (McCaffery strongly lobbied for the extension) and the presence of two tax-increment financing (TIF) districts on the site. One of the TIF districts, located in the northwest portion of the site, will absorb \$97 million of the estimated \$493 million cost of developing the “Market Common,” the first stage of Lakeside (ABC 7 Chicago 2013; City of Chicago 1999; City of Chicago 2009; Cook County GIS 2015).

The future Lakeside is envisioned as an immense planned community, which provides “the ultimate urban experience” for its residents and is being designed as a mixed residential, retail, and research incubator (McCaffery Interests 2015h). The estimated total cost of the project is approximately \$4 billion and is being planned over a 30-40 year construction timeline (Doster 2014). The developers want to build about 15,000 housing units with an average residential unit price of \$250,000 (Guerra n.d.). According to the Skidmore, Owings & Merrill representative at the open house, 20% of Lakeside’s residential stock will be priced at affordable housing

rates as part of Lakeside's TIF obligations.¹ Lakeside ultimately aims to attract young, prosperous professionals and wealthier families, but the immediate priority of the developers is to attract "anchor" businesses and build out infrastructure, according to a McCaffery representative I met during my tour of the site.

The development is ambitious, and has been described as an effort to design a "second downtown" from the ground up (Argonne National Laboratory 2014). As envisioned by the developers, the Lakeside project would stand alongside some of the largest Chicago-area development projects, including the (failed) bid for the 2016 Olympic Games or the construction of the Lakeshore East development downtown. One notable antecedent is the Plan for Chicago, Daniel Burnham's famous urban-planning manifesto that guided Chicago's 20th-century development. Indeed, the Lakeside developers have consciously sought to claim some of Burnham's mantle: an informational sign on the "Lakeside Heritage Walk" (partially funded by the developers) at nearby Steelworker's Park titled "Completing the Burnham Plan" and provided colorful renderings of lakefront recreation at the new development.

The current state of Lakeside on the ground is unimpressive. The only physical development so far has been the conversion of the old South Works employee credit union building into the Lakeside marketing office. Attracting early business "anchors," Lakeside's current goal, has proven difficult. Carrie Breitbach speculates that a general stigma of the area as unsafe and undesirable may be slowing commercial investment, an idea echoed by CR during our interview (Breitbach 2015). KL thinks Lakeside may also face competition from a \$25 million retail development complex being built 10 miles to the Southeast in Hammond, Indiana.

¹ Carrie Breitbach notes that much of this "affordable" housing will still be priced too high for South Chicago residents to afford, because the city's definition for this housing category is based on median income in the entire Chicago metropolitan area, instead of income earned in local communities. The Chicago metropolitan area median income for a household of four in 2012 was \$73,600, while median household income in South Chicago is \$31,000 (Breitbach 2016).

Still, investor interest is increasing. At least one real estate developer was present at the open house I attended, and he told me that Lakeside is "past the hypothetical stage" and that it is attracting serious interest in real estate industry circles. KL corroborated this during our interview, saying that he frequently met developers and businesspeople at the open houses. Breitbach thinks that Lakeside now also possesses a qualitative feeling of inevitability and momentum, given the level of organization and amount of resources being mobilized by the developers (Breitbach 2015). I agree. There seem to be few remaining obstacles to Lakeside's success. With full ownership of the site, the increasing confidence of investors, little local opposition, and the assistance of a city government determined to court private development, Lakeside seems poised to carry out its vision with a free hand.

What Right to the City?

But is Lakeside a good thing for its immediate "stakeholders," the residents of Southeast Chicago? The answer isn't simple. Many residents see economic opportunity in the development (Camarillo 2011; ABC 7 Chicago 2013; CAN-TV 2014). KL, who is more informed about Lakeside than most, thinks that Lakeside could significantly benefit the community by hiring local small businesses, and he, himself, signed up for a small business registry that Lakeside may use in the future. From this perspective, which is congruent with the developers' stated vision for the site, the resources and power being mobilized to create Lakeside can and will be shared with South Chicago in the form of business contracts, job opportunities, recreational space, and increased home values. This is not necessarily a naive vision. The Lakeside developers are very sensitive to accusations of gentrification, and their marketing materials and public statements consistently express a desire to establish a mutually beneficial relationship between the development and the community (Sustainia 2012a; Granskog 2014; McCaffery Interests 2015a; 2015c).

Nevertheless, Lakeside is a private real estate project designed mainly to benefit the owners of the site and the developers, none of whom are based in the neighborhood or are accountable to any local authority. South Chicago finds itself in a decidedly reactive position: without much political or economic leverage for the community, and no legal claim to the site, decision-making power about Lakeside resides almost entirely with McCaffery and US Steel. The potential benefits of Lakeside for South Chicago are real, but those benefits aren't defined on South Chicago's terms. And yet the site is part of South Chicago, geographically and historically. The people of South Chicago may have a legitimate *moral* claim on the site, one which potentially complicates the legal ownership of the site by US Steel and McCaffery Interests. Such a claim might be based on a notion of historical justice. For over a century, the people of South Chicago surrendered their time and labor, their health, their lives, the integrity of their environment, and their access to the lake in exchange for mill jobs. But that relationship had a shaky foundation: US Steel found the South Chicago site convenient and profitable until it did not, at which time access to the middle-class bargain was withdrawn, and the people of South Chicago left behind. What right, then, does US Steel have to return to the community and leverage its long-neglected land for private gain?

From this radical perspective, Lakeside is illegitimate, and the community should defy the developers (and the law) by seeking to assert its own control over the site. This perspective is consistent with the emancipatory "right to the city" notion originally put forward by Henri Lefebvre and imbued with a materialistic politics by David Harvey and Peter Marcuse (Harvey 2012; Marcuse 2009). A popular seizure of the site for democratically-determined purposes would indeed represent "a claim to a totality, to something whole and something wholly different from the existing city, the existing society" (Marcuse 2009).

Alas, this kind of confrontational and highly politicized notion of a right to the city was almost completely absent

from my research. It appears that some important basis for a radical right to the city claim may be missing in South Chicago. This isn't surprising. Radical political actions are now rare throughout the depoliticized United States, because such actions (and discourse about such actions) challenge liberal-capitalist hegemony. Ideological hegemony is by definition difficult to challenge, as it is enforced by an almost irresistible disciplinary power which normalizes some things—like Lakeside—and makes others taboo (Foucault 1995). For this reason, the notion of a group of people (nearly 30,000 of them in South Chicago) simply invading the land, in the name of justice reclaiming it for their own use, seems so ridiculous and impossible. Still, it is worth wondering precisely *why* a radically anti-capitalist right to the city movement, built around a claim of historical justice, has not arisen in South Chicago.

As discussed earlier, there seems to be a historical disconnection between South Chicago and the Lakeside site, with the crucial middle-class bargain broken by the rupture of deindustrialization. This weakens any historical basis of a right to the city claim, but there is also, according to KL, a general feeling of discouragement and disempowerment in the community. He spoke of a wariness that exists in South Chicago today, connecting the issue implicitly to crime in the neighborhood:

Families here, we associate with each other, but everybody doesn't get deeply into everybody else....it's just how people are. They kinda have to be at a distance, because you don't know what people's motivations are....And it's a bad thing, because you need to be able to be close to your neighbors in order to stop some of the things that happen around here.

KL told me that when he was growing up, South Chicago was "the village," but that this is gone, "because people have lost trust with one another." Wondering what effect this might have on people's impressions of Lakeside I brought up the development and the putative community response to it. KL thinks that most South Chicago

residents are resigned about Lakeside, and have a general belief that “[the developers] do what they wanna do, it doesn’t matter about my voice. If I go to meetings and say what’s wrong, ain’t nothing gonna happen anyway.” Some people have misconceptions about the development. KL told me of a friend who believed that the developers were already “building mansions” on the site. Apathy or unformed opinions about Lakeside seem widespread and not just for recently arrived, short-term residents like CR. When McCaffery first began holding open houses, many longtime community residents showed up but now KL rarely sees other residents at the events.

Community organizing around the Lakeside issue is occurring, however. The Alliance for the Southeast (ASE), a coalition of Southeast Chicago churches, schools, community groups, and businesses, has sought to represent the community in negotiations with the Lakeside developers (CAN-TV 2014). The ASE has put forward a proposal for a Lakeside Community Benefits Agreement (CBA). A CBA is a contract, legally enforceable under tort law (though this is empirically untested), which obliges a developer to respect certain wishes of the local community in exchange for community support (Raffol 2012). The ASE has proposed CBA language with five principle demands. For the ASE, a successful Lakeside-community partnership would employ many local residents, offer job-training to residents to ensure future employment at the site, provide housing that is affordable and reserved for current residents, offer tax-relief to long-term residents, and be environmentally sustainable and healthy for the community (Alliance of the Southeast 2014a; 2014b).

McCaffery has refused to negotiate with the ASE or send representatives to community meetings it organizes, claiming that the ASE is not representative of the community at large (NietoGomez 2014). There may be some truth to this claim: KL was familiar with the ASE but told me that their outreach efforts haven’t been much better than those of Lakeside itself. In any case, CBA’s are imperfect tools for asserting local power against

developers: Monitoring the terms of the agreement generally falls on community groups, requiring continued organization. They displace the task of procuring conditions for social reproduction and regulating capital onto communities and away from state entities, and they are often unlikely to achieve their goals because they command far less power than their developer opponents or state entities, which could be doing the same regulatory work (Raffol 2012).

They also represent a vision of human development that accepts capitalist profit-making and unimpeded growth as legitimate and desirable, if they can only be channelled for the benefit of those who are normally excluded. Seen this way, the ASE’s call for a Lakeside CBA is really an attempt at resurrecting the middle-class bargain between South Chicago and the forces of capital, now masquerading in a more “sustainable” guise, but of course, such a bargain is *not* sustainable. Capitalism is a restless and internally contradictory system. All that is solid must inevitably melt into air or be burned into slag. Even if the Lakeside CBA is successful—and I sincerely hope it is—the system it will sustain is not intrinsically different from the one that sustained and then abandoned the community once before. In fact, it may be worse. This version of capital accumulation will have little need of the South Chicago community. Even if the developers make good on their promises to support the community, the neoliberal development model is simply not designed to meet the needs of places like South Chicago. Unlike South Works, which depended on a vast and well-trained labor force to support its operations, Lakeside will need low-skill retail workers paid at minimum wage, and it certainly won’t need 20,000 of them. This is the kind of unequal material relationship that is a hallmark of neoliberal development, and it is why I believe Lakeside cannot ultimately improve the situation of the people living in South Chicago. ■

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OUTRAGES ON THE WOMEN OF IRELAND: SEXUAL AND GENDER-BASED VIOLENCE COMMITTED BY CROWN FORCES DURING THE ANGLO-IRISH WAR

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The armed conflict that followed the declaration of the new Irish Republic in December 1918 was a bloody guerilla war pitting Irish irregulars against the regular British Army and the Royal Irish Constabulary.¹ The Irish Republican Army (IRA), a name the insurgents called themselves, did not have the ability to capture and hold large amounts of territory. To make up for this shortfall, they created “flying columns,” small, highly mobile groups employing guerrilla tactics such as ambushes, raids, and sabotage.²

The British forces were not used to this sort of military campaign. They considered guerilla warfare illegitimate and, therefore, not covered by the laws of war that governed the First World War in which so many of them had fought. In his chapter, “Just War and Guerilla War,” Michael L. Gross explains that traditional armies believe that guerilla armies “violate the principles of just war in the most egregious way and leave state armies to wring their hands in frustration and debate the price of violating the same principles that their adversaries mockingly ignore.”³ This frustration, as well as the inability to ascertain the difference between combatants and

noncombatant civilians, can unfortunately lead soldiers to abuse civilians. The Anglo-Irish War, which is also known as the Irish War of Independence, conformed to this pattern. By viewing the conflict as an insurrection and relying on police instead of soldiers to defeat it, the British government relied upon men unprepared for such a conflict. This unpreparedness led them to behave “in ways that violate their preexisting moral and ethical standards.”⁴ They fought “terror, as they saw it, with terror.”⁵

Sexual violence, specifically rape, has long been both an unintended consequence and a deliberate weapon of war. In ethnic or nationalist conflicts, sexual violence often has much to do with women as a living embodiment of their nation or ethnic group. In *Nationalism and Sexuality*, George Mosse explains that women are symbols and guardians of the nation and its cultural traditions. Women represent the purity and continuity of the nation; to violate a woman is to violate the nation. Exploitation of women’s place in the socio-cultural traditions of their community by use of sexual violence creates an effective weapon of war. Cynthia Enloe explains:

If military strategists (and their civilian allies and superiors) imagine that women provide the backbone of the enemy’s culture, if they define women chiefly as breeders, if they define women as men’s property, and

* This paper was prepared for History 390, the senior capstone, under the direction of Professor Thomas Mockaitis.

- 1 Charles Townshend, “People’s War,” in *The Oxford History of Modern War*, ed. Charles Townshend (New York: Oxford University Press, 2005), 184-86.
- 2 Commandant General Tom Barry, *Guerilla Days in Ireland: A First Hand Account of the Black and Tan War (1919-1921)* (New York City: The Devin-Adair Company, 1956).
- 3 Michael L. Gross, “Just War and Guerilla War,” in *Just War: Authority, Tradition, and Practice*, ed. Anthony F. Lang, Cian O’Driscoll, and John Williams (Washington, DC: Georgetown University Press, 2013), 213.

4 D.M. Leeson, *The Black and Tans: British Police and Auxiliaries in the Irish War of Independence, 1920-1921* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2011), 2.

5 *Ibid.*

as the symbols of men honour, if they imagine that residential communities rely on women's work—if any or all these beliefs about society's proper gendered division of labour are held by war-waging policy makers—they will be tempted to devise an overall military operation that includes their male soldiers' sexual assault on women.⁶

The Anglo-Irish War was not unlike other wars and conflicts throughout history. Violence against women took place, including sexual and gendered violence. Women were subjected to physical attacks on their femininity by having their hair sheared, off and in some instances, they were sexually harassed or raped. In regard to an explicit policy, there is no evidence to suggest that sexual violence, especially rape, was condoned or used as a "weapon of war" in any military strategy. However, evidence does suggest that the gendered attacks, such as hair shearing had, at the least, the tacit approval of those in immediate command.

This paper focuses on sexual and gender-based violence against women committed by Crown Forces in Ireland between 1919 and 1921. Recent scholarship has identified categories of abuse useful for analyzing the Anglo-Irish War: "gender-based violence," "violence against women," or "sexual violence." "Gender-based violence" targets individuals or groups based on their gender. Hair shearing is an example of gender-based violence because of the gender identity represented by a woman's hair and the humiliation and public shaming that follows the act.⁷ "Violence against women" is a broader category that includes any act of gender-based violence that results in, or is likely to result in, physical, sexual, or psychological harm or suffering to women, including threats of such acts. "Sexual violence" is any act, attempt, or threat of a sexual nature that results in, or is likely to result in, physical, psychological, and emotional harm, including but not limited to rape, sexual exploitation or non-penetrating

sexual assault.⁸ Sexual violence or even the threat of it in an armed conflict is used to intimidate, humiliate, or punish a person, which destabilizes a community by creating a general feeling of terror among its citizens.

The Anglo-Irish War has been the subject of extensive study. That being the case, it would be easy to assume that all aspects of the topic have received sufficient attention. Unfortunately, that is not the case. The study of warfare is male dominated, studied by men examining male concerns; the study of women's experience was not a widely researched topic. However, in the last twenty-five years or so, historians such as Margaret Ward, Ann Matthews, Louise Ryan, and Sinead McCool have written extensively on women in Irish history, especially during the revolutionary era of the twentieth century, including the Anglo-Irish War.⁹ Despite the growing historiography in the feminist historical context in Ireland, sexual violence during the Anglo-Irish War has received little attention. This gap in the literature comes as no surprise. Sexual violence has received far less attention than other aspects of armed conflict. The opening of the Bureau of Military History to the public in 2003 and the digitization of the witness statements has granted unprecedented access to these invaluable resources. This access has led to an increase in scholarly research on a variety of aspects of the Anglo-Irish War, including women's involvement.

British security forces in Ireland at the time of the Anglo-Irish War consisted of four components. The first was the Royal Irish Constabulary (RIC), which one of its members describes as "a semi-military organization officered by class ascendancy and controlled, not by Local Authorities,

6 Cynthia Enloe, *Maneuvers: The International Politics of Militarizing Women's Lives* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2000), 134.

7 Eichenberg, "The Dark Side of Independence: Paramilitary Violence in Ireland and Poland after the First World War," 240-41.

8 Elisabeth J. Wood, "Rape During War Is Not Inevitable: Variation in Wartime Sexual Violence," in *Understanding and Proving International Sex Crimes*, ed. Morten Bergsmo, Alf Butenschon Skre, and Elisabeth J. Wood (Beijing: Torkel Opsahl Academic EPublisher, 2012), 391-92.

9 See also: Ann Matthews, *Renegades: Irish Republican Women, 1900-1922* (Cork: Mercier Press, 2010); Ward, *Unmanageable Revolutionaries*. Louise Ryan, *Gender, Identity and the Irish Press, 1922-37: Embodying the Nation* (New York: Mellon Press, 2002). Sinead McCool, *No Ordinary Women* (Dublin: The O'Brien Press, 2015).

but by the Crown, as a substitute for peace officers. Unlike all other policemen the RIC are equipped in military fashion with rifles, bayonets and bombs and their barracks (not stations) are now converted into fortresses.”¹⁰

Three additional forces supplemented the RIC beginning in 1920. The first was the Royal Irish Constabulary Reserve Force of Temporary Constables recruited in England in late 1919 to help the RIC battle the IRA.¹¹ Many recruits were World War I veterans. They are better known by their nickname, “Black and Tans,” derived from the colors of their improvised uniforms: British Army khaki trousers and dark green, almost black RIC shirts.¹² The second supplementary force, the Auxiliary Division of the RIC, also known as the “Auxies,” was a paramilitary unit set up in July 1920 comprised of former British army officers. Their role was to conduct counter-guerrilla operations against the IRA. In addition to the police and auxiliaries, London deployed units of the British Army in the war. Irish people often described all British personnel as “Black and Tans,” but in this study, the term security forces will be used when the unit of perpetrators is unknown.¹³

During the Anglo-Irish War, women and children were in an almost constant nervous state. Homes throughout Ireland were subject to raids by the RIC, Black and Tans, and the Auxiliaries. Lil Conlon describes it as “a reign of terror.” The security forces assumed, with some justification, that many of civilians were assisting the IRA.¹⁴ In 1920 alone, Crown Forces raided 48,474 homes. The sanctity of the home, the women’s domain, was frequently violated.¹⁵

The case of the Fahy family illustrates this pattern of abuse. On April 3, 1921, Mrs. Bridget Fahy’s home was subjected to a raid. Her husband had been arrested a month prior and interred without charge. Fahy and an employee, Bridget O’Neill, described the men who invaded their home as looking like policeman, but when they knocked on the door, they claimed to be military and later declared that they were Black and Tans.¹⁶ They spoke “indecently” to the women and made inappropriate advances. One threatened Fahy’s young son, saying that he should go to sleep “or I will blow your brains out.”¹⁷ After several hours, when the men finally left, the women came out of the upstairs room in which they had locked themselves. They discovered that the men had ransacked and looted the lower part of the house and urinated and defecated in the hall.¹⁸ Aside from the physical harm it caused victims, *The Irish Bulletin* described the threat of home invasions as a “fruitful source of sleeplessness [and] nervous break-down.”¹⁹

Another way British forces specifically targeted women was by cutting or shearing their hair. This form of violence was specifically and exclusively used on women as a form of gender-based violence because a woman’s gender identity and sense of femininity is often associated with her hair. Social norms at the time suggest that “a girl is not a girl without her hair.”²⁰ The amount of hair cut from the woman or girl varied. In one situation, a girl had both of her pig tail braids cut off,²¹ and in another instance, the girl’s hair was cut all the way down to the scalp.²² Since men had to bring scissors and razors with them to cut hair, these acts were premeditated rather than spontaneous.

10 Katherine Hughes, “English Atrocities in Ireland,” 49.

11 Leeson, *The Black and Tans: British Police and Auxiliaries in the Irish War of Independence, 1920-1921*, 24.

12 *Ibid.*, 24-30.

13 *Ibid.*, 30-38.

14 Men on the run were IRA members wanted by the crown; they were supported and aided by Irish men and women. Barry, *Guerrilla Days in Ireland: A First Hand Account of the Black and Tan War (1919-1921)*.

15 “Interim Report,” (American Commission on Conditions in Ireland, 1921), 52.

16 The War on Irish Women (National Library of Ireland, Sheehy Skeffington Collection, MS 33,621 (10)).

17 *Ibid.*, 2.

18 *Ibid.*

19 “The War on Women and Children,” *Irish Bulletin*, March 8, 1920, 2.

20 Anthony Synnott, “Shame and Glory: A Sociology of Hair,” *The British Journal of Sociology* 38, no. 3 (1987).

21 “George F.H. Berkeley Witness Statement,” (Military Archive, Bureau of Military History [hereafter BMH], WS 994), 95.

22 “Thomas Mannion Witness Statement,” (BMH, WS 1408), 15.

The victims of hair cutting were often guilty by association. The perpetrators needed no proof that the victim had aided or supported the Irish cause; simply being related to or involved with a member or suspected member of IRA could make one a target. The British forces used female loved ones of IRA men to get information on their whereabouts and as a form of retaliation against the IRA. They sought not only to punish the active combatants but also to intimidate and punish anyone who supported them.

In two separate incidents in Galway City and Lixnaw, Co. Kerry, women with brothers in the IRA were specifically targeted in retribution for IRA attacks on Crown Forces. In Galway City, Margaret Broderick was one of three girls targeted by a group of twenty armed RIC officers. She was dragged from her home and into the street in her night clothes and had her hair cut off. She describes the incident in her witness statement: "I thought at first they were going to shoot me... then [they] grabbed my hair saying, 'What wonderful curls you've got,' and then they proceed to cut off all my hair to the scalp with blunt scissors."²³ In Lixnaw, two women were targeted following a series of IRA attacks on RIC barracks. Lil Conlon describes the incident in her memoir: "After Midnight a lorry of uniformed men with blackened faces broke down the door of Miss Grady's home in the village of Lixnaw, entered her bedroom and brought her out on the road where they cut off her hair. They then proceeded to Miss Lovett's house, and she was similarly dealt with."²⁴

In another incident, recorded in much greater detail, the victim was clearly attacked because of her strong political opinions and her relationship to a republican martyr. Agnes Daly was the sister of one of the executed leaders of the Easter Rising, Edward Daly. She was also the sister of a prominent member of *Cumann na mBan*, Kathleen Clarke, the widow of Tom Clarke, another executed leader of the Rising. Her other two sisters, Carrie and Madge, were also

²³ "Mrs. Margaret (Peg) Broderick-Nicholson Witness Statement," (BMH, WS 1682), 4.

²⁴ Conlon, *Cumann Na mban and the Women of Ireland, 1913-25*, 125.

vocal republicans involved with *Cumann na mBan* and suffered the same assault. The Daly and Clarke homes were both raided frequently, sometimes as often as five times a week.²⁵ The constant invasion of their homes was far beyond a normal raid and search and was deliberate and methodical harrasment, designed to make them feel uneasy and unsafe in their own homes.

The assault on Agnes Daly began with a knock on the door and a voice whispering, "It's me, Miss Daly, let me in."²⁶ This friendly greeting was not typical for Crown Forces, who would announce their affiliation. Daly let her guard down and opened the door, assuming it was an IRA man needing a place to stay. She quickly realized her error. A group of masked men grabbed her, threw her to the floor, and dragged her face down out of her home by her hair. One man held her down with his foot on her back and cut off her hair with a razor. She was somehow able to pull off his mask; in response, he cut through the mask and down between her fingers, through to her wrist.²⁷ Agnes Daly's assault was recorded in several sources. The brutality of the attack and the family's political background seem to have given it some notoriety.²⁸ This well-planned attack was clearly not something that happened in the heat of the moment but a deliberate assault targeting Daly.

These incidents are just a small sampling of the many women who had their hair sheared by British forces. Irish newspapers during the Anglo-Irish War reported many incidents throughout Ireland of women and girls subjected to the humiliation of having their hair forcibly sheared off. The available evidence suggests that women were not chosen randomly as victims, but that security forces believed their targets were directly involved or associated

²⁵ Helen Litton, ed. *Kathleen Clarke: Revolutionary Woman* (Dublin: The O'Brien Press, 2008; reprint, 4th), 238-52.

²⁶ *Ibid.*, 247.

²⁷ *Ibid.*

²⁸ "George F.H. Berkeley Witness Statement," 95. Conlon, *Cumann Na mBan and the Women of Ireland, 1913-25*, 129. War on Women in Ireland (National Library of Ireland, Sheehy Skeffington Collection), MS 33,621 (10).

with someone involved in the fight. Many women who were members of *Cumann na mBan* were also subjected to this form of brutality. In order to protect themselves and their organization, *Cumann na mBan* stopped holding public meetings and lectures.²⁹ Women still made it a point to be involved in some way, however; many aided IRA men by passing them information or providing them a place to hide.³⁰

In some instances, the assaults by British forces extended beyond violating the home and attacking women's sense of femininity. In these situations, the motive and purpose of these actions was complicated. There is no doubt that members of the British forces raped or attempted to rape women in Ireland during the Anglo-Irish War. The *Irish Bulletin* records cases of rape and attempted rape in Cork, Limerick, Tralee, and Dungarvan.³¹ However, in contrast to the house raids and the hair shearing, no evidence has been found to suggest that those in command had any policy, tacit or otherwise, that used rape or attempted rape as a weapon of war. With the exception of one incident, the only evidence of rape comes from second or third-hand accounts.

The one case that contains a solid first-hand account as well as corroborating testimony was the rape of a pregnant woman on February 8, 1921 in Cork. The incident is described by Denis Healy and his wife in two sworn statements that were part of an appendix to an article published in the *Irish Bulletin*.³² Mr. and Mrs. Healy and their children were sleeping when two men, dressed in "ordinary police uniform and policeman's caps," came into their room. The intruders were masked and held revolvers. The victims described them as speaking with an English accent and smelling of whiskey.³³ The two police officers were searching for an IRA suspect and at first thought that Denis Healy was

their man. After some confusion, and at the insistence of Mrs. Healy, the officers realized they were mistaken.³⁴

After briefly leaving the room, they returned, demanding that Mrs. Healy come onto the landing. At this point, one officer ordered Mrs Healy into the back kitchen and told the other officer to "stand sentry on the two bedroom doors," trapping Mr. Healy in the bedroom.³⁵ In the kitchen, Mrs. Healy tried to fight off the officer. Despite her efforts and pleas that she was near her confinement, he proceeded to rape her. She managed to remove her attacker's mask and was able see his face.³⁶ After he ordered her back upstairs, and the men left, Mrs. Healy told her husband what happened. The following day they contacted a solicitor and made a statement of the incident to RIC Sergeant Normoyle at the Shandon Barracks.³⁷ Despite Mrs. Healy's ability to identify her attacker and the fact that she saw the second officer at the barracks, the sergeant still advised them to say nothing of the incident.³⁸

Incidents of rape have been mentioned in several sources, but the stories were told with second or third-hand knowledge of the incidents. On December 6, 1920, Seamus Fitzgerald arranged to have victims and witnesses of crimes committed against them by Crown Forces give their testimony to the English Labour Commission.³⁹ Two of the testimonies given to the Labour Members of Parliament described incidents of rape and attempted rape. "I have been asked if I had collected any evidence of rape by Crown Forces," Fitzgerald explained. "I regret to say that I had two such cases. One, an already middle-aged pregnant woman was raped in Blackpool by Black and Tans, and in the same locality another middle-aged woman successfully resisted a similar attempt."⁴⁰

29 Ward, *Unmanageable Revolutionaries*, 143-44.

30 *Ibid.*, 144.

31 "The War on Women and Children," *Irish Bulletin*, July 8, 1921, 2.

32 Outrages on Irish Women (Sheehy Skeffington Collection, Manuscripts Collection, National Library of Ireland, Dublin) MS 33, 621 (10).

33 Statement of Denis Healy (Sheehy Skeffington Collection).

34 *Ibid.*

35 *Ibid.*

36 Statement of Mrs. Healy (Sheehy Skeffington Collection).

37 Statement of Denis Healy (Sheehy Skeffington Collection).

38 Statement of Mrs. Healy. (Sheehy Skeffington Collection), Statement of Denis Healy (Sheehy Skeffington Collection).

39 "Seamus Fitzgerald Witness Statement," (BMH, WS 1737), 34.

40 *Ibid.*, 30.

Lady Augusta Gregory, a prominent and vocal Irish nationalist and co-founder of the Irish Literary Theatre and the Abbey Theatre, kept a detailed record of the events of the day in her diary, describing in detail what she heard from friends and peers. One such example is that of an entry in which she explains that a Doctor Foley came to visit her and told her about two girls who were assaulted and violated by Black and Tans in front of their father and brother.⁴¹ The family declined to make any complaints to officials and wished for the case to be hushed up. He also mentioned that there was a similar case in Clare that also was to be hushed up.⁴² The family's refusal to pursue the matter might have stemmed as much from fear of retaliation as from a desire to protect their daughters from the feeling of humiliation or shame often experienced by victims of rape.

Another example sexual assault is described in a note written by Hanna Sheehy Skeffington in which she described the attempted rape of the maid of a Mrs. Irwin. One drunken military officer and two soldiers entered and searched the home of Mrs. Irwin. The officer forced her into a room, but after a struggle she got out and made her way to another room in which her maid was locked with one of the soldiers and was screaming loudly for help. When the door was opened, the maid, who must have had a violent struggle with the soldier, emerged with a considerable portion of her clothing torn off. Meanwhile, one of Mrs. Irwin's daughters had escaped and ran to the military barracks for help. An officer returned with her and arrested the three men. The raid was described as "quite unauthorized and is generally believed to be a case of attempted rape."⁴³

It is very likely that there were many more cases of rape or attempted rape, but because of the personal and traumatic nature of the crime, the victims declined to file complaints.

41 Daniel J. Murphy, ed. *Lady Gregory's Journals: Books One to Twenty-Nine*, 2 vols., vol. 1 (Gerrards Cross: Colin Smythe Ltd., 1978), 196-97.

42 *Ibid.*, 202.

43 Miscellaneous Notes (Sheehy Skeffington Collection).

In the early twentieth century, women rarely talked about sex and would have been even more reticent to discuss rape. Caroline Townshend, a member of the British Labour Commission, mentions this reluctance in the *Report to the Labour Commission*. She found it was "very difficult to obtain direct evidence of incidents affecting females, for the women of Ireland are reticent on such subjects."⁴⁴ It is also possible that the victims were afraid to come forward for fear of further attack or reprisals against them or their family.

In addition to determining the nature and extent of sexualized violence during the Anglo-Irish War, a study of this type must consider the degree of complicity in such activities by British authorities. Based on the evidence collected, one thing can be concluded with certainty. It is highly unlikely that sexual and gender-based violence against women was an officially sanctioned strategy of the Crown. However, evidence does strongly suggest that it occurred with varying degrees of frequency. In the case of gender-based violence, such as the shearing of hair, the widespread occurrence and the planned or semi-planned nature of the attacks (knowing the victims' names, bringing scissors or a razor with them, the larger groups involved) leads me to conclude that in many situations it had, at the very least, tacit approval by those in immediate command of the perpetrators. This can be supported by the much more widespread incidence of this type of attack, as well as the failure of authorities to punish those involved when the perpetrators were identified.

The incidents of rape or attempted rape do not appear to have been organized, planned attacks. In each incident, there were only two or three men involved. The victims often described the men as either drunk or smelling of liquor. In these incidents, there was often one more dominant and violent member of the group who was also the attacker. The other members were usually described as passive bystanders or sentries. The assaults appear to have been spontaneous incidents fueled by anger, frustration,

44 "Report of the Labour Commission to Ireland," (London: The British Labour Party, 1921), 29.

alcohol, and runaway norms. The violent conduct of the Crown Forces shows an obvious deterioration of control by both those in immediate command of Crown units, as well as by the British government.

Violence against women was part of a larger pattern of deliberate and spontaneous reprisals that alienated the Irish people and encouraged them to support independence and perhaps the IRA as well. Women were used as a target for reprisals following IRA attacks in an attempt to punish the IRA for its actions and keep women from continuing to aid the IRA. Unfortunately for the Crown Forces, it did not stop them. Women who were loyal to the cause continued to participate and help in any way they could even after they suffered indignities. The IRA also seemed unaffected by the attacks on women. Members were undoubtedly angered by the attacks, but

the majority appear not to have been intimidated into dropping their weapons; indeed, it seems possible that news of the attacks provided further incentive for them to fight and undermined any support for the British.

Following a peace treaty and a bloody civil war, Ireland ultimately got the independence for which it fought. Women, on the other hand, were left marginalized and their contributions, undervalued. The birth of feminist Irish history has led to an increased study of women's experience, leading to a better understanding of the Anglo-Irish War as a whole. Research has been hampered by the official closure of British and Irish governments' petty session and court martial documents for 100 years. When these documents become available in 2022, they will undoubtedly shed more light on this important aspect of the Irish experience. ■

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Alexandria Cluxton | *Untitled*



Angela Brown | *Future outta Frame*

DON'T SAY IT OUT LOUD: HOMOSEXUALITY DURING THE PRODUCTION CODE

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In 1970, *Midnight Cowboy*, an X-rated film about a male prostitute in New York City, won three Oscars at the 42nd Academy Awards.¹ With its X-rating and mature sexual subject matter, it was not expected to win against films like *Hello, Dolly!* and *Butch Cassidy and the Sundance Kid*. To this day, *Midnight Cowboy* is the only movie to have won an Oscar with the (now nonexistent) X-rating. One of the main reasons that the movie was not expected to get an Oscar was because of its homosexual undertone. *Midnight Cowboy* had enough of the “taboo” same-sex attraction to lead curious straight audiences to the film, but it did not talk too frankly about the complexity of being homosexual in the 1960s when homosexuality was still considered a mental illness. Most of the homosexual themes in the film were extremely tame (by today’s standards) and did not have enough “gayness” to upset the mostly straight audience. This essay argues that though the movies were few, films that had homosexual themes in the 1960s were made primarily for the pleasure of straight audiences by categorizing the LBGTQ+ community into harmful stereotypes. Though some of the movies were groundbreaking and innovative due to the fact that they portrayed non-straight characters as three-dimensional characters and not harmful stereotypes, most played off stereotypes that reinforced the “otherness” and need for “secrecy” of the gay and lesbian community. Homosexuality in these movies is never physically

shown except as a shock factor for the straight audiences. Ultimately, these films kept up the heteronormative ideals that American audiences upheld during the so-called “Sexual Revolution” the decade was going through.

The main reason that negative stereotypes of homosexuality persevered so long was because of Hollywood’s Production Code and its censorship of “controversial topics.” Started in 1930 by the Motion Picture Producers’ and Distributors’ Association under Will Hays, with great support from the Catholic Legion of Decency, the Production Code was designed to censor anything that may upset or distort rigid Christian values. The film industry was allowed to choose what would be censored or not but the Catholic Legion of Decency seemed to have the most influence on the Association’s decisions and what they wanted American audiences to view. Films deemed “inappropriate” could not be shown in many theatres that were under MPPDA control. Films portraying homosexuality, graphic violence, adultery, communism, and anything else that did not promote the American Dream were banned unless they showed that straying far from conformity would lead to unhappiness.

The MPPDA rules did not mean that homosexuality was not shown in movies; it meant that homosexuality would have to be shown in different ways. Since many people at the time saw gender and sexuality as the same thing, non-normative sexual preferences were implied in movies by characters who defied traditional gender roles. Implying that sexuality was directly linked to gender performance allowed filmmakers to “invert” characters to represent their sexualities instead of blatantly saying it and receiving government backlash. Protagonists

* This paper was prepared for MCS 344, taught by Professor Michael DeAngelis in fall quarter 2015.

1 *Midnight Cowboy* took home three Oscars on April 17, 1970: Best Adapted Screenplay, Best Director, and the most coveted award of the night, Best Picture.

would be defined by traditional gender roles while characters attracted to the same gender would be gender inverted. Gay men became pansies, and lesbians became mannish women (Benshoff and Griffin, 24). Gay men were effeminate fashion designers or friends of the female love interest who sashayed when they walked, had limp wrists, and talked with a lisp. Lesbians were rugged women who wore suits and tried their advances on the female protagonist before the male protagonist would set them straight. These characters were over the top and almost camp-like with every move they made. These characters were also the ones who experienced the most misfortune: they were never in relationships, never happy with their lives, hopelessly in love with a character who would never return their advances, and they almost always died in the end. There were a few movies that got away with representing some sort of ambiguous same-sex attraction, mostly as a form of strong admiration for a person of the same gender, but when they were shown in theatres, any part that directly implied this attraction was edited out of the film.

As the Sexual Revolution became more public in the mid-1960s, and Americans seemed to be more interested in sex than ever before, the number of films featuring sexuality and nudity skyrocketed. Attempting to revive struggling movie theatres, companies and producers created a more diverse range of movies to target a larger audience and get more people to come to the theatres. The MPPA, the Motion Picture Association of America, along with the Production Code Administration, the main government organizations that were in charge of censoring movies were weakening, and producers used this to their advantage. Films with adult themes were filmed overseas due to the lower production cost and sent back to America as “sophisticated” foreign films that would make audiences seem more sophisticated by watching them. In 1968, Jack Venti became president of the MPAA and set up a new motion picture production code in an attempt to censor movies. Originally created for the purpose of giving parents more information about a movie, so they

could make a more informed decision about whether it was suitable for their child, the new rating system had four different ratings: G, for general audiences, M for mature audiences with some parental discretion, R, where anyone under 16 was not allowed in without an adult present, and the dreaded X, where no one under 16 was allowed in the movies even with an adult. X ratings were the worst ratings to get because that meant the film had no “quality” or substance. X ratings were typically for pornography and underground, experimental films, and when the X label was put on a film, it was immediately deemed low quality and was thought to lack any substance. After the new rating system came in all movies had to pay a fee and be submitted to the MPAA to get a rating. Only G, M, and R ratings were eligible for the production Code seal, allowing them to be seen as respectable and legitimate films and not just porn (Lewis, 149). Movies with homosexual themes were almost always given an X rating, not because of possible sexual content, but because they simply dealt with something that made straight audiences uncomfortable.

Basil Dearden’s groundbreaking 1961 film *Victim* was a film like that. *Victim* was filmed in England at the passage of the infamous anti-sodomy law that kept many in the closet.² It was the first English-speaking film ever to say the word “homosexual.” It follows Dick Bogarde as Melville Farr, a closeted barrister close to becoming a judge, as he searches for the blackmailers who caused his former “companion,” a boy named Jack “Boy” Barrett (Peter McEnery), to commit suicide in a jail cell. Boy, a working class man, could not afford the price of the blackmail and stole £2000 from his job, which was the reason why he was jailed. Barrett knew that if the police saw an incriminating

2 The Buggery Act of 1533 was created by British Parliament under the rule of Henry VIII (who disliked sodomy but not adultery) and banned the act of buggery, which was an unnatural act against the will of “God and man.” Since that definition of bugger was extremely vague, the law was restricted to only anal penetration and bestiality. The law was repealed and replaced with the Offences Against the Person Act in 1828 and its revision in 1861; anti-buggery laws were officially repealed in England and Wales in 1967.

photo possessed by the blackmailers, they would want to know who the second man in the photo was, and so Barrett killed himself rather than reveal his lover, Farr. Ironically, the first time we meet Farr, he thinks that Barrett is going to blackmail *him* about their relationship. Farr goes to other closeted men and asks for their help in stopping the blackmailers, who know every homosexual in London and are blackmailing them all to keep their sexuality a secret, but the men would rather be blackmailed than tell their sexuality to police officers and be outed to all of London. Farr, married to a woman (Sylvia Syms), puts his business and his reputation on the line to stop the blackmailers.

There could be an argument that Farr is bisexual, not gay, but even he is not up to pretending in front of his wife. He shies away from intimate contact with her and their relationship seems to be more of a platonic, friendly love than a romantic one. The film also gives some insight onto what it was like to be a closeted gay man in early 1960s London, living a double life and hiding your love from the police for fear of being arrested. *Victim* was also a movie with no campy, comedic pansies to lighten the mood. There was no comic relief by the funny gay guys in the film; there were only real homosexual people with real problems. The movie was highly controversial to the British Board of Film Censors and was immediately refused a seal of approval from the MPPA. When it was allowed to come out later it was labeled X and reserved for underground movie theatres.

The movie is about the lives of closeted gay men but has no overt homosexuality. The character, Melville, recalls the American writer, Herman Melville, who wrote the incredibly homoerotic whaling epic *Moby Dick*. As in *Moby Dick*, homosexual acts are spoken of or implied instead of done. Farr and Barrett's relationship is not sexual, and the only time intimacy is talked about between the two is with respect to the blackmailers' picture of Barrett crying on Farr's shoulder in a dark cab. The film is neither for homosexuality nor against it. The straight characters' feelings for homosexuals vary from pity to disgust. The

detectives that question Barrett are split about how to deal with "them;" the elder detective feels sorry for them, while the younger one feels that if the anti-sodomy law is repealed, it will allow "other weakness to follow." Bea, the mind behind the blackmailing duo, is utterly disgusted and argues that gay men are perverts who can be found everywhere. She is right—closeted people will be everywhere in a society that condemns their sexuality—but it is no excuse to blackmail them. The owner of a bar infamous for being a local gay hangout feels no sympathy for homosexuals but is happy to milk money out of them. He says, "It's always excuses...environment, too much love as kids, too little love as kids. They can't help it. Part of nature. Well, to my mind, it's a weak rotten part of nature. And if they ever make it legal they may as well license every other perversion." Aside from the bartender, though, no one thinks of homosexuality as something unnatural, just disturbing.

Not even the characters themselves are accepting of their sexualities. The homosexual characters have a mentality similar to that which American Mattachine Society created in the 1950s, where conformity is better than difference. The Mattachines, a homophile organization formed after World War II by former Communist Party member Harry Hayes, were heavily conformist and even viewed their homosexuality as a weakness or mental disorder—what the American Psychological Association's Diagnostic and Statistical Manual at the time said it was—but they still asked for acceptance from the straight community (Lind and Brzuzy, 292). The characters in *Victim* act like every other member of society: They do not call any attention to themselves, and in return they have a secret. Anyone who tries to go against that mold and break the conformist chain—like Barrett—dies. Also like the members of the Mattachine Society, the characters in *Victim* try to stay away from making themselves public and prefer assimilation to confrontation. Henry, an effeminate hairdresser that Farr goes to, does not feel remorse about Barrett's suicide. "Nature played me a dirty trick," the hairdresser tells Farr before the barrister

leaves, and the hairdresser succumbs to the blackmailers. Farr, the protagonist, tries his very hardest to stop his “natural urges.” He has a wife to reassure him that he is straight; he says that he loves her deeply and needs her, but it is unknown whether he needs her romantically or as a beard. He feels sorry for Barrett but goes on the hunt for the blackmailer to save his own reputation. Farr is a homosexual character but so far in the closet that he dislikes gay men, even himself. The film gives no true moral but is heavily conformist and says that if you are respectable and are not “too gay,” then your homosexuality can be overlooked by society. The movie’s heavily conformist tone and passing-for-straight actors make the movie great for straight audiences who do not want to see homosexuality being performed—the only physical contact between two men is an embrace that is never shown and Farr seemed more emotionally aloof with Barrett than caring—but the film alienates LGBTQ+ audiences and gives them a conform-or-die ultimatum.

After *Victim* came out LGBTQ+ representation in movies ebbed and flowed. As the Production Code waned out of existence movies were now able to tell stories that differed from the typical cut-and-paste formula of straight-boy-wins-girl-and-they-live-happily-ever-after. Well, slightly differed. Even though more stories with characters from different walks of life appeared, most movies still focused on straight WASPS and made sure that everything was straightened out (no pun intended) in the end. Any possible same-gender relationship had to be squashed out and openly non-straight characters killed off by the final fifteen minutes of the movie. Movies like *Suddenly*, *Last Summer* and *The Children’s Hour* served as cautionary tales to straight audiences that, even though there was a growing and “more open” counterculture happening, there was still a group of people out there waiting to prey on straight people and “turn” them.

But in 1969 everything changed. First, with the Stonewall riots in Greenwich Village. And secondly, with *Midnight Cowboy*. *Midnight Cowboy*, a film directed by John

Schlesinger based off a 1965 novel by James Leo Herlihy, tells the story of a Texas man named Joe Buck who moves to New York. Joe, played by Jon Voight who dons cowboy attire all the time, travels to New York to be a “hustler,” a male sex worker. When he gets to the city it is nothing like he imagined, and he loses most of his money within the first week. He then meets and befriends a con man named Enrico Rizzo, known for most of the film as Ratso. Ratso becomes a sort of pimp for Joe and dreams of moving to Miami with him, where he thinks life will be easier. When Joe’s career finally begins to blossom, Ratso is dying of an unknown and mysterious illness that is never described or explained. Joe buys two tickets to Miami as Ratso’s final wish, but when they get close to Miami, Ratso is already dead. In the final shot Ratso holds his dead friend as he braces for Miami alone.

The film was rated X for multiple reasons. One was the blatant sexual content and swearing. Another was the partial nudity. But the main reason that the film was rated X was for its possible homosexual love story between Ratso and Joe. Many viewers, both straight and not, notice the implied relationship between Ratso and Joe. When Ratso dreams of a life in Florida, Joe is right next to him in the montage. When Joe finds Ratso after being kicked out of his hotel room, Ratso invites him back to his house almost like a man inviting another man back for sex. Joe cares a lot about his image and primps himself up in front of the mirror. When Joe asks if Ratso has ever had sex with a woman, Ratso is silent. Though it is implied that Ratso is a virgin, with the silence Joe never asked if he has been with a *man*. The way Joe and Ratso live in the condemned apartment is almost like a married couple living together. When Ratso is dying, Joe could just ignore him and keep up his hustler career, but he instead travels with Ratso to Miami and even holds his dead body in his arms. Joe walks around in a cowboy outfit throughout the entire movie and tries his hardest to be “macho,” which only makes his sexuality even more questionable. During the gay liberation movement of the late 1960s and the early 1970s, homosexuals went against the stereotypical

“flaming pansy” role and started appearing wearing “straight” clothes and adopting “straight” attitudes. John tries his hardest to emulate the super-straight Western hero John Wayne with his outfit but he looks more like a character from The Village People.

But even as the film made strides for showing a possible positive same-sex relationship, it also takes ten steps back. Joe’s sexuality is constantly in question. Just because he has sex with men for money does not mean that he is gay. He also has sex with women and was in a steady relationship with a woman in Texas before they were both raped, and she went to a mental asylum. When Joe is with men, the night usually ends with abuse of some kind either by Joe or the client. Like Sebastian’s hatred of the Spanish men he paid in the bathhouses in *Suddenly Last Summer*, Joe hates the fact that he has sex with men. Joe’s abuse of the gay clients could be a way of claiming or trying to control his relationship with men after getting gang raped by a group of men in Texas, or it could be an allegory for the way Joe is trying to fight his homosexual thoughts. Even the title of the movie *Midnight Cowboy* calls his sexuality in question. The phrase “midnight cowboy” became commonly used in the 1950s and 1960s for a straight man who has sex with gay men for money. Joe’s profession and costume are a literal translation of the phrase but if viewers knew the phrase before watching the movie it would be easy to see why they thought he was straight. Joe and Ratso never say that they are attracted to each other even though it is heavily implied. Their relationship is more similar to that of a comedy buddy duo than that of a romantic relationship. Joe, the victim of sexual assault and having sex with people for money, and Ratso, a dirty, homeless virgin whose only goal is to make it to Miami for a better life, are pitiful characters who are too “pure” to have a relationship with one another. They constantly condemn homosexuality as they get closer to one another. Ratso, being the “gayer” of the two, dies off so Joe can stop this romance-based relationship with another man and go back to being straight. *Midnight Cowboy* follows two possibly self-hating gay men as they struggle

with their feelings for one another. Its ambiguity leaves their sexuality open to the interpretation of straight and non-straight audiences alike, but if they are gay, they are extremely self-hating.

A month after the release and acclaim of *Midnight Cowboy* the Stonewall riot changed the face of America forever. On June 28, 1969, what was supposed to be a usual police raid ended with an all-out riot that got the attention of major news outlets. Suddenly gay liberation was public, and many gay men were urged to be “Out and Proud.” Organizations that centered on gay and lesbian liberation challenged the extremely heteronormative norms they lived in and urged for inclusion and acceptance in a straight-based society. A year before the major event a popular play by Matt Crowley of the same name with “out” gay characters, *The Boys in the Band*, was already dealing with how to survive in an extremely heteronormative society when you are not heterosexual. In 1970 the play was adapted into a movie, and Crowley got to write the screenplay, but the producers of the movie nitpicked about every part of the movie and made sure that it was gay enough for the gay audience but straight enough to not alienate the major hetero audience. It was the first movie shown in mainstream theatres that showed out gay characters and explored “...passing and not being able to pass, loving and not being able to love, and above all else, surviving in a world that denied one’s very existence. But it did so before an American public that was at the stage of barely being able to mention homosexuality at all” (Russo, 177). It was also immediately rated X for its topic, even though the gay characters show little to no physical affection with each other.

The Boys in the Band follows Michael, a Catholic gay man, as he invites his friends over for a birthday party for his friend Harold. Alan, Michael’s “straight” friend from college, unexpectedly comes to the party and the night dissolves from a fun birthday party to a critical self-analysis of all of the gay men. All of the gay characters fit into some form of stereotypical trope: Harold is the

unattractive Jewish man in a room full of Christians; Michael is a self-hating gay man whose sexuality goes against his religious beliefs; Larry and Hank are the straight passing gay men in a relationship; Emery is the effeminate gay man who would never pass for straight; Bernard is the token black guy; Cowboy is a young “midnight cowboy” whose sexuality is never said and is intended to be a gift for the older predatory Harold; and Alan is the literal and metaphorical “straight man.” The night starts off well, but after a freak storm, the characters are forced inside of Michael’s living room, and after the insensitive Telephone Game, a game where the characters call their one true love and tell them how they feel, every character that is not in a committed relationship becomes unhappy and leaves. Donald, Michael’s friend and ex-lover, criticizes Michael’s snarky and self-loathing behavior and Michael breaks down and cries. The movie ends with Michael going to church while Donald waits downstairs.

Since the film was being adapted from a play written by a gay author about gay characters many expected a film that talked about the complexities of being gay and positive aspects of gay life. Hollywood was not ready or willing to show that yet and the movie was released to mixed audiences. Many gays boycotted and criticized the film for being a weepy drama about stereotypical gay characters where the only happy characters in the end are the ones in a monogamous relationship. Only Harold, Larry, and Alan win the telephone game, and they win because they are in a relationship with the people they love. The characters are typical Hollywood tropes of gay men and follow the “hopeless gay” trope when they are doing the telephone game. Alan, whose sexuality is questioned by the gay characters, takes the role of the straight audience in the film and observes the party instead of participating in it. He is never there for the major “gay” scenes in the movie and when he does show up he brings with him self-analysis and criticism. When the characters are being introduced and having a fun time outside, Alan is upstairs in Michael’s room. When he does come down the stairs, it starts to rain, and they all have to go inside.

Alan’s sexuality is shown, not heard. He is standing when everyone else is sitting down; he is not in the room when the gay characters talk about their problems; whatever the gay characters do, he does the opposite. He is on the opposite side of the spectrum; he is as straight as they are gay (Carrithers, 69). Moviegoers do not learn anything about gay people in the movie; they just look at them from the same pitiful lens through which they have always looked at gay people.

On the other side of the argument some saw the movie as an exploration of Hollywood stereotypes and the moral dilemmas gay men faced in the 1960s. The movie is very critical of the superficial “Out and Proud” aspect of gay liberation because that mostly applied to younger gay men who would “cruise” for sex and did not really talk about the issues facing the gay community. The characters in the movie are middle-aged and are out of that “cruising” phase and are now looking at how they are going to survive in society. Gay liberation still had a long ways to go and discrimination based on sexuality was still big. Many gay people felt that they were the only people in the world with an attraction to people of the same gender, and they still had to deal with the homophobia they had to deal with as they were growing up. Some were heavily closeted and were afraid to come out and hated themselves for their feelings. Michael’s character is an excellent example of that with his condescending attitude because while the other characters are okay with their sexuality, Michael sees it as a “sin.” The stereotypical gay characters are depressed because their stereotypes would not allow them to prosper. Emery, the most effeminate, is not able to pass for straight and has to deal with criticism from both the gay and straight community for it. Bernard, the token black friend, not only has to deal with the homophobia of the black community in the 1960s, which was going through the Black Power movement, but he also has to deal with the racism he gets from the white gays. Harold, similar to Bernard, has to deal with the conflicts of both cultures. Cowboy is the hypersexual probably gay character who has to sell himself for money and is

not experiencing the “beneficial” parts of gay liberation reserved for the middle class. Michael’s homophobia is internalized because of his religion, and he has no idea how to deal with that. *The Boys in the Band* was a double-edged sword for gay audiences: if it was too depressing, it would play on the negative stereotype of pitiful gays, but if it was too happy, it would not be realistic in the least bit. The movie is conflicted in that sense and portrays both superficial and complex characters in its own special way. Are they Out? Yes. Are they Proud? That is debatable.

Midnight Cowboy winning an Oscar did not suddenly change the way Hollywood viewed homosexuality. The gay liberation movement did not solve every homophobic issue or end homophobia. Television shows and movies still occasionally portray LGBTQ+ characters using already-there tropes instead of developing a complex character who just so happens not to be straight. The Sexual Revolution solved some problems with conservative American values (which would be reinforced almost tenfold during the ultra-conservative Reagan era), but it could not solve every issue involving sexuality. The Production Code, greatly

dwindling but still holding onto its status, patronized the increasingly conscious LGBTQ+ community by showing gay characters, but also hurt them by constantly portraying them as stereotypes. Instead of trying to understand the complexity of sexual orientation and how it affects someone, Hollywood films decided to enforce stereotypes that were already there. But the Sexual Revolution and various LGBTQ+ liberation movements helped people see those stereotypes and create their own movies that had positive portrayals. After the Production Code finally ended LGBTQ+ directors realized that they could now make movies about non-heteronormative themes *and* give it the positive portrayal that they wanted. ■

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THE POLITICS OF PROTECTION: DOMESTIC VIOLENCE ASYLUM SEEKERS DIVIDED ALONG GENDER AND RACIAL LINES

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There has been a surge of children and women seeking asylum from Central America in the past few years. This surge of immigrants seeking refuge has created a crisis for the U.S. in terms of how to deal with the situation. Gang violence in El Salvador, Guatemala, and Honduras has forced thousands of people to migrate north for survival. According to the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees' report (UNHCR), in 2014, "tens of thousands sought asylum in the United States, and the number of women crossing the U.S. border was nearly three times higher than in 2013" (UNCHR 2016, 2). The report indicates that "Women are under particular threat, being raped, beaten, extorted, abducted and murdered almost every day. El Salvador and Guatemala now have the first and third highest female homicide rate on the planet" (UNCHR 2016, 2). These findings demonstrate that women, in particular, are extremely vulnerable to violence in their home countries, which explains the high numbers of female Central American immigrants.

The particular violence experienced by women not only comes from organized crime, but also from abusive partners in their homes. The UNHCR report states that "many women [whom they interviewed] cited domestic violence as a reason for flight, fearing severe harm or death if they stayed" (UNCHR 2016, 25). Because domestic violence targets a specific gender, women, domestic violence is considered a form of gender-based violence. In this sense I ask when women flee Central America from

domestic violence, to what extent has the United States' refugee laws protected refugees seeking asylum from this specific kind of gender-based violence? I argue that the U.S.'s refugee laws have done very little to protect domestic-violence asylum seekers, especially those that have been coming from Central America. I establish that the U.S.'s asylum process is gendered, racialized, and politicized when working with domestic violence-based asylum claims. The U.S.'s refugee law creates an exclusionary form of "worthy" asylum seekers in order to expand its hegemonic power and identity as "hero" of the "most vulnerable" around the world, all while strictly restricting the entry of non-citizens.

This research is important because there has not been enough scholarship on the ways in which current U.S. refugee law has impacted domestic violence asylum seekers, especially those who have been coming from Central America. With the surge of Central American immigrant women and children to the U.S. due to violence and poverty in their home countries, it is vital to explore the ways in which this population is treated in the U.S.'s immigration system. Not enough research on this subject has been produced through a feminist perspective that explores why, for the U.S., certain "victims" are more "worthy" of protection than others. It is important to understand how gender can bring a different approach in understanding the exclusions and identity formation of a "worthy victim," particularly when looking at refugee law's relationship to gender-based violence claims. It is also important to analyze to what extent these laws are doing what they were set out to do in theory.

* This paper was prepared for LST 390, capstone in Latin American and Latino Studies, taught by Professor Carolina Sternberg.

Domestic Violence-Based Claims in Refugee Law

The majority of literature on the topic of refugee law examines how gender-based violence is treated under the process of granting refugee status; however, there is little scholarship specifically analyzing domestic violence-based asylum claims. Two main themes emerge in the ways in which domestic violence-based claims are looked at under refugee law: (1) current U.S. refugee law has limited the protection of gender-based asylum claims because the requirements to be considered for asylum do not fully take into account gender-based violence as a legitimate form of persecution or worthy of protection; (2) immigration judges and asylum officers need more guidance on how to approach gender-based violence claims because there are not enough binding precedents that could lead to the granting of asylum for such claims.

Both the first and second themes are examined in Meghana Nayak's book, *Who is Worthy of Protection? Gender-Based Asylum and U.S. Immigration Politics*. Nayak looks at the various ways that refugee law treats gender-based violence asylum claims. She argues that there are different types of violence that generate ideas of who can be considered a "worthy victim," or "expectations about how asylum seekers should demonstrate their credibility and the legitimacy of their claims" (Nayak 2015, 2). Nayak's research uncovers the ways in which refugee law limits the potential for gender-based asylum claims to succeed. Her work gives us insight into how these different framings help us understand how the U.S. exercises power in the international world. Nayak's work will be discussed further in the next section.

In "The Politics of Domestic Violence-Based Asylum Claims," Joline Doedens argues that an individual's fundamental right to be free from persecution is not fundamental in the current context of how asylum is granted. Connecting to the first and second themes, Doedens explains that domestic violence-based claims are very difficult to win because claimants need to demonstrate that "the feared or experienced persecution occurred on

account of either the individual applicant's membership in a particular social group, or an imputed political opinion of opposition to female subjugation" (Doedens 2014, 112). Doedens explains that claims for asylum based on race, religion, political opinion, or nationality have less chances of failing under the framework set by current refugee law (Doedens 2014, 112). Doedens thus sheds light on how the requirements in place for asylum limit the opportunities for cases involving domestic violence to be granted asylum because the law does not take into consideration the causes and implications of gender-based violence.

Doedens' and Nayak's research also connects with Blaine Bookey's (2013) findings in "Domestic Violence as a Basis for Asylum: An Analysis of 206 Case Outcomes in the United States from 1994 to 2012." Bookey analyzes 206 outcomes in domestic violence asylum cases before the Board of Immigration Appeals (BIA) and immigration courts from December 1994 to May 2012. Bookey's findings show that although there have been great strides in the system to recognize domestic violence-based claims for asylum, there is still an absence of binding norms that make it difficult for immigration judges to grant asylum for women who are fleeing dangerous situations. Bookey's research points out how difficult refugee law makes it for domestic violence survivors to be granted asylum in the U.S.

Similarly, in "Beyond Gender: State Failure to Protect Domestic Violence Victims as a Basis for Granting Refugee Status" Laura Adams (2002) looks at the debate during the early 2000s on granting refugee status to survivors of domestic violence. Her research sheds light on how domestic violence has been argued to be a more "personal" and "private" matter that has no connection to the "public" and the state. This common understanding of domestic violence affects how immigration judges see domestic violence-based asylum claims when they do not have many binding precedents to rely on. This insight also goes back to Nayak's analysis of the lack of focus on gender in refugee law.

Because there are so many obstacles in refugee law for domestic violence survivors to gain protection, it is important to dig deeper into the ways in which the system decides who it views as “worthy” of protecting and who the systems excludes and why. There has been much research on the difficulties for gender-based violence claimants seeking asylum, but there has not been enough research on domestic violence claims. Furthermore, there has not been enough research where gender and race are included in the analysis as ways of understanding how the U.S. immigration system grants protection.

Research Methods

My project uses qualitative methods, including archival research, to examine the history of refugee law implemented in gender-based violence asylum claims, specifically claims dealing with domestic violence. The data collected through these methods is supplemented with statistical analysis, specifically, data on the denial rates for asylum for Central American applicants compared to denial rates for other countries.

Secondary sources include books, reports, and articles from academic journals dating from the early 2000s to the present. The reports are used for their quantitative as well as for their qualitative findings on the historical implementation of refugee law in domestic violence asylum claims in the U.S.

Are Domestic Violence Asylum Seekers Worthy of Protection?

In 1951, the international community in the Convention Relating to the Status of Refugees created a definition for “refugee.” After WWII, the international community felt that laws were needed to protect people seeking refuge from violence. According to Doedens, international human rights law affirms that an individual has a “right to seek refuge and asylum in another country in order to escape persecution in his or her home country, and further ensures that the receiving country cannot send an individual back to the country of his or her persecution”

(Doedens 2014, 111). Individual nations have the ability to define the criteria for obtaining asylum, but only with the general guidelines set out in the United Nations Handbook (Doedens 2014, 111). In this sense, for the U.S., a refugee is any person “who is unable or unwilling to avail himself or herself of the protection of [his or her country of origin] because of persecution or well-founded fear of persecution on account of race, religion, nationality, membership in a particular social group, or political opinion” (Doedens 2014, 113).

When connecting how domestic violence-based asylum claims fit in the context of the international and the U.S. refugee definition, it can be said that the refugee definition created in 1951 did not consider domestic violence as a form of persecution; therefore, it would have been difficult for it to act as a ground for claiming asylum. At that time, domestic violence was not widely recognized as a basis for which to apply for asylum in the U.S. Domestic violence was considered to be a domestic problem and not a political issue. According to Laura Adams, the argument against granting refugee status to domestic violence survivors was that “domestic violence is private in nature and therefore is not the type of politically motivated harm entitled to international protection under refugee law” (Adams 2002, 239). The other reasoning behind domestic violence not being used as a basis of protection was because it was believed that the country of origin from which the asylum seeker came from had responsibility in dealing with these cases. However, in 2014, the Board of Immigration Appeals decided in *Matter of A-R-C-G* that domestic violence qualifies as a basis for an asylum claim. The decision in *Matter of A-R-C-G* is important because it set a binding precedent to support domestic violence survivors who seek protection in the U.S.

Although this has been a great improvement in refugee law, it is still rather difficult to win asylum cases based on a domestic violence-based claim. The cases that have won have not had any binding precedent, making it easier for immigration judges to deny these asylum

cases because of a lack in legal principles. According to Blake Bookey, “the absence of binding norms remains a major impediment to fair and consistent outcomes for women who fear return to countries where they confront unimaginable harms, or worse death” (Bookey 2013, 110). This results in inconsistent rulings on domestic violence-based asylum claims.

It was not until 2014 that the first domestic violence-based asylum claim was won with a binding precedent. In this case, a Guatemalan woman fled her native country in 2005 to escape from her husband who “broke her nose, repeatedly beat and raped her, and burned her with paint thinner” (Center for Gender & Refugee Studies 2016). According to Doedens, domestic violence claimants need to demonstrate that “the feared or experienced persecution occurred on account of either the individual applicant’s membership in a particular social group, or an imputed political opinion of opposition to female subjugation” (Doedens 2014, 112). The decision in *Matter of A-R-C-G* only applies to women from Guatemala who fit the particular social group identified in the decision as “Guatemalan women who are unable to leave their marriage” (Doedens 2014, 132). Meanwhile, other domestic violence asylum seekers will need to meet the other rigorous requirements.

Many impediments for obtaining asylum for those fleeing violence in their country deal with meeting the numerous requirements set by refugee law. A judge or immigration officer can argue that a domestic violence asylum applicant can relocate within their home country to escape the violence even if they have a “well-founded fear of persecution in the future” (Doedens 2014, 116). The reality is that those who pursue asylum have to convince courts of the legitimacy and urgency of their situation. According to Doedens, “while multiple beatings and non-life threatening violence can be sufficient in some cases, in other cases, courts have refused to recognize even multiple beatings as persecution” (Doedens 2014, 115). The persecution, even if well-founded on fear, does

not qualify for asylum if claimants cannot prove that it occurred on account of one of the following: race, religion, national origin, membership in a particular social group, or political opinion (Doedens 2014, 116). Even now with the binding decision of *Matter of A-R-C-G*, domestic violence asylum seekers need to show that their government is “unable or unwilling to control [the private actor]” (Doedens 2014, 132). The asylum seeker would also need to prove that the persecution suffered was on account of “a particular social group defined by the requisite immutable characteristics with sufficient particularity and social distinction” (Doedens 2014, 132). This means that domestic violence asylum seekers have to convince immigration judges that they were abused based on their association with a “particular social group” that is widely known in the country of origin and that is difficult to change. From what has been stated above, it seems rather difficult to win an asylum case based on a claim of domestic violence.

When looking at why it is so difficult for domestic violence survivors who have a well-founded fear of persecution to win asylum, especially if the victims are coming from Central America, we see that refugee law in the U.S. is predominantly gendered, racialized, and politicized. Gender-based asylum cases are ones that deal with FGC (female genital cutting), domestic violence, trafficking, coercive sterilization/abortion, and persecution due to sexual orientation/gender identity. Although all of these asylum cases constitute forms of gender-based violence, they are not all looked at or treated the same under the judgment of the court and the system itself.

In addition, the definition of refugee in the U.S. does not include those who fear persecution on account of gender. Looking at gender is important in this analysis because, as noted before, domestic violence is a form of gender-based violence. Women are the most affected in situations of domestic violence. It is, therefore, important to ask ourselves the following questions: Why is one certain gender the most affected by domestic violence? Why has

the U.S. taken so long to establish domestic violence as a legitimate basis for an asylum claim? And why is it still extremely difficult for domestic violence-based claims to be granted asylum? Meanwhile, countries like “Britain, Australia, Sweden, Ireland, Canada, and New Zealand all allow gender-based violence claims” (Azadeh 2003, 1). When trying to understand why the U.S.’s refugee system has failed asylum seekers with domestic violence-based claims from Central America, a gender-focus analysis provides insight to the exclusions and identity formation of “worthy victims” in the immigration system. Since domestic violence is a specific type of gender-based violence that predominantly affects women, analyzing how gender plays a role in the ways in which policies affect this kind of violence will be helpful. When we place gender as the focus of our analysis in refugee law, we are able to understand who holds power in the system and who is deemed worthy of protection and who is not.

The treatment of domestic violence-based claims in the asylum-granting process is gendered. The requirements that are in place to give someone refugee status and asylum in the U.S. maintain gendered-power relations. The requirements make it extremely difficult for someone who suffered from domestic violence to be granted protection because they have to legitimize gender-based violence. U.S. refugee law makes the specific ways that women are victimized seem subordinate and less important than other forms of persecution that do not deal with gender-based violence. Domestic violence in itself is a form of female subordination and male domination. By looking at which countries acknowledge and address gender-based violence, we learn about their ideas concerning gender. The state’s response in these cases says a lot about their ideas of who qualifies as a victim and who is not worthy of protection.

According to Meghana Nayak, there are different types of violence that generate ideas of who can be considered a “worthy victim” (Nayak 2015, 2). The author explains that there are three “worthy victim” frames that pertain

to different gender-based asylum cases. She explains that FGC and domestic violence cases are expected to have asylum seekers prove they are autonomous victims; this means that they need to express their independence and show their rejection towards their country and family members (Nayak 2015, 3). These asylum seekers need to vilify their family and country so that the U.S. can consider them “worthy victims.” According to Nayak, sex trafficking and coercive sterilization/abortion cases are expected to demonstrate they are innocent victims (Nayak 2015, 3). Meanwhile, cases involving LGBT individuals fleeing violence related to their sexual orientation or gender constitute the frame of the “non-deviant” victim because they are expected to prove that they fit society’s perceptions of sexual orientation and gender identity (Nayak 2015, 3). In these different frameworks created by the state of who constitutes a “worthy victim” we see the power that the state has in the process of identity formation. Asylum seekers with gender-based violence claims need to prove their credibility based on the type of violence they experienced or else they will not seem worthy of state protection.

Moreover, asylum officers and judges do not take domestic violence claims as a serious form of persecution, although domestic violence has been included in the list of persecution claims. According to David Ray from the Federation for American Immigration Reform, refugee law “was never meant to be a divorce court...To expect refugee law to address family issues is impractical and invites huge abuses of the system” (Azadeh 2003, 2). Politicians have argued that granting asylum for domestic violence claims will lead to an increase in the number of asylum applicants, which could then lead to “potentially open[ing] the floodgates to a host of illegal immigrants” (Azadeh 2003, 2). This could be considered a bad argument to make. According to Ensha Azadeh, the Federation for American Immigration Reform used the same argument in 1996 in response to an asylum request of an FGC claim and “asylum was granted in that case, and no increase [in illegal immigration] took place” (Azadeh 2003, 2). Azadeh

added that, “Canada, which has long accepted gender claims, has experienced no dramatic rise in such requests” (Azadeh 2003, 2). The reality is that not every woman who has traveled dangerous journeys and requested asylum has been accepted. It seems that these arguments against giving protection for domestic violence survivors are another tool to fuel anti-immigrant rhetoric and to create fear. This argument also delegitimizes the experiences with violence that women are subjected to. It promotes the idea that cases like domestic violence are not problems that need to be dealt with by the state, but rather worked out within the home.

Following Nayak’s “worthy victim” analysis, the state creates an “other” and “victimizes” certain asylum seekers over others. Not only does this show the U.S.’s refugee laws dividing gender-based violence asylum claims along gender, but also along race and politics. Certain gender-based claims are more easily won than others. For example, in *Matter of Kasinga* in 1996, the BIA found that FGC constituted a well-founded fear of persecution. According to Doedens, the BIA “was able to fulfill its desire to ‘save the women’ from the barbaric practice, while not compromising the integrity of its own society’s dark underbelly” (Doedens 2014, 134). FGC is often associated with countries and cultures that are deemed underdeveloped and “barbaric,” while domestic violence is not considered “foreign” in the U.S. It is interesting to see how early on, and rather easily, FGC was seen as a form of persecution; meanwhile, it took until 2014 for domestic violence to be considered a basis for which to be able to apply for asylum. Acts like FGC are considered “foreign” to the U.S. and more likely to be considered political rather than how domestic violence is seen as “personal” and “private.”

Another example of a gender-based asylum claim that won was the *Matter of Toboso-Alfonso* in 1990. The BIA found that until the early 1990s, “homosexuals in Cuba constituted a particular social group for the purposes of refugee law, where the Cuban government classified homosexuals as a group, criminalized homosexuality,

maintained files on alleged homosexuals, and required registration and periodic exams” (Doedens 2014, 134). Homosexuality was still frowned upon throughout the U.S. during this time; however, the U.S. did not have a good relationship with the Cuban government since the 1960s. It helped the asylum seeker, in this case, to claim that he was being persecuted by the Cuban government, and not by a non-state actor. Therefore, it makes sense that the U.S. would grant asylum to a citizen of Cuba.

Alison Mountz argues that the U.S. has “historically formulated significant portions of its immigration and refugee policy to match economic and political circumstances” (Mountz 2002, 35). According to Mountz, “The USA grants refugee and asylum statuses more freely to individuals exiting nations ruled by communism” (Mountz 2002, 341). In the 1980s and 1990s, the U.S. denied 97 percent of asylum applications from El Salvador because “granting asylum to those fleeing this regime would affirm the violations of the very government that it supported financially, politically, and militarily” (Mountz 2002, 341-342).

Those familiar with the U.S.’s historical economic and political intervention in Central America, especially during the 1980s, can understand how implicated the U.S. has been in creating turmoil where people are forced to flee their countries in order to survive. Yet, the U.S. does not want to acknowledge these implications. It does not want to take responsibility in giving protection to people coming from the same countries where it has had a role in the creation of violence, corruption, and destruction of economies. International relations are thus also very important in the judgment of who can be considered a “worthy victim” deserving of U.S. protection.

Gender-based violence can be seen as racialized and used as a way for the U.S. to build its identity as the “protector” and “savior” of those who seek refuge from “barbaric” and “backward” countries. We see the ways in which the state is able to extend its hegemonic power over those “needing

to be saved.” Identifying as a “savior” and “protector” of “vulnerable” foreign nationals delegitimizes the power and sovereignty of other nations. By extending its hegemonic power in this way, the U.S. claims that their system of governance, society, and culture is much more efficient and dominant. The racialization and politicization of gender-based violence asylum claims goes hand-in-hand with understanding who holds power in the politics of protection. It also goes to show how international relations play a huge role in the asylum-granting process.

Another example that shows how the U.S.’s refugee laws are gendered, racialized, and politicized is the fact that there is a trend in the number of denial rates of asylum based on the country of origin of the asylum seeker. Countries with the highest denial rate of asylum include: El Salvador, Guatemala, Nicaragua, the Dominican Republic, Honduras, Mexico, Ecuador, Vietnam, and the Philippines (TRAC Immigration 2010). For example, during 2008-2010, there were 3,930 claims for asylum coming from Salvadoran nationals and 90.4% of those claims were denied (TRAC Immigration 2010). For other Central American countries like Honduras and Guatemala, we see similar amounts of claims for asylum and similar denial rates for the fiscal year of 2008-2010 (TRAC Immigration 2010). According to Doedens, “if a victim of domestic violence (or any other sort of persecution) comes from a country that the United States sees as a significant source of undocumented immigrants, he or she will also have to fight to show that they will not be a part of the flood across the border” (Doedens 2014, 131). The countries that have the least amount of denial rates for asylum include: Iraq, the former Soviet Union, Yugoslavia, Somalia, China, Iran, and Afghanistan (TRAC Immigration 2010).

These statistics serve to create a perception of “bad” versus “good” immigrant/asylum seekers. Asylum seekers are perceived to be exploiting the system if they are not granted asylum and undocumented immigrants are always perceived as “unworthy.” These findings also help us understand the politicized and racialized way in

which the system differentiates between asylum seekers from different countries. The system seems to operate in whatever way would be beneficial for the U.S. politically. Central American survivors of domestic violence (or any other sort of “persecution”) are a part of this list of “unworthy victims.”

Moving Forward: Why It Matters and What Needs to be Done

At a time when anti-immigrant rhetoric is high and there is an extremely high influx of Central American unaccompanied minors and women seeking protection, it is important to understand why people from these countries find themselves with no other option but to risk their lives to ask for protection in the U.S. Recently, an Immigration and Customs Enforcement spokesperson confirmed in a NPR report that U.S. immigration officials are “planning to detain and deport immigrants who were part of the surge of Central Americans who crossed into the U.S. illegally over the past two years” (Wagner 2016). A cause of concern is that the report also said that those targeted for detainment and deportation are mothers and their children whose “asylum claims have been rejected” (Wagner 2016). If the U.S. is serious about enforcing human rights, then it is important to continue asking why asylum applicants, especially those claiming persecution from domestic violence and coming from Central America, have such difficulty demonstrating that they are “worthy” of protection and why they have to prove their “worth” in the eyes of a system that divides and validates their traumatic and very real experiences along gender, race, and political lines. The Obama administration needs to be held accountable for the terror created in communities where families are being rounded up like criminals, although the government knows that these people are only trying to escape the violence and extreme poverty present in their home countries. No one wakes up in the middle of night with the idea of going through a journey that harbors many dangers and horrors unless they are truly in desperate need of help.

Hopefully, in the future, the U.S. will finally amend the definition of what constitutes a refugee in order to include gender as a category of persecution. It is important for the gendered experiences of female asylum seekers to be explored and taken as legitimate and real in the eyes of the courts and the system itself. It is time that domestic violence is no longer considered part of the “private” sphere, and instead is understood for what it really is, violence against someone whose gender or gender identity is deemed subordinate. Although domestic violence happens mostly in the home, the personal is very much political. It is also important for future research to look into what responsibility the U.S. has in providing adequate protection to those seeking asylum, especially those coming from

countries in Latin America, which historically have had large amounts of immigration to the U.S.

In all, when asking to what extent the U.S. protects survivors of domestic violence fleeing from Central America, it is important to include gender, race, and politics in the analysis. I argue that the U.S.’s refugee laws have done very little to protect domestic violence-based asylum seekers, especially those that have been coming from Central America. The U.S.’s asylum process is gendered, racialized and politicized when working with domestic violence-based asylum claims. The U.S.’s asylum process creates an exclusionary form of “worthy” asylum seekers in order to expand its hegemonic power. ■

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THE FUNDAMENTAL BELOVED: A HEIDEGGERIAN ANALYSIS OF LOVE, ART, AND BROKEN TOOLS

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“Another possibility of such revelation is concealed in our joy in the presence of the Dasein—and not simply of the person—of a human being whom we love” (*Basic Writings* 99). Heidegger, in his lecture-turned-essay *What is Metaphysics* pinpoints three fundamental moods in which humanity experiences the nothing, the revelation of the disclosedness of beings as such: anxiety, boredom, and love. Anxiety, and to an extent boredom, receive a thorough and adequate explication from Heidegger, but love remains little more than a footnote, and a confusing one at that. In what way is love similar to anxiety and boredom? How do we understand love insofar as it gives us the experience of the disclosedness of beings? For this analysis I will examine three of Heidegger’s works, the aforementioned *What is Metaphysics*, in addition to *Being and Time*, and *The Origin of the Work of Art*. I will argue that we can conceptualize and fit in the fundamental mood of love, or the experience of the beloved’s Dasein, with Heidegger’s discussion of both the conspicuousness of broken equipment and the transcendence of the thing-ly character of a work of art—implied here, we cannot understand fundamental love in the same way we understand his other two fundamental moods.

How do we experience the disclosedness of beings through the fundamental moods of anxiety, boredom, and love? And what is the disclosedness of beings? “This boredom reveals beings as a whole... [is there an experience] in which man is brought before the nothing itself, occur

in human existence? This can and does occur...in the fundamental mood of anxiety” (*Basic Writings* 99-100). As stated previously, one is exposed to the disclosedness of beings in three fundamental moods, boredom, love, and anxiety. It is worth noting that these moods are not directed (with the exception of love, discussed below) at something or someone. In boredom, I am not bored of something (a book, an essay, a person) or anxious about something (a test, an interview, a fear) rather I am anxious ‘about ...’ or bored ‘with ...’ and in this directionless anxiety or boredom the meaningfulness of beings slips away. The meaningfulness of beings slips away and one is held out into the nothingness, the meaninglessness of all beings once held meaningful. “Dasein means: being held out into the nothing” (*Basic Writings* 103). Dasein is understood here as the existence particular to human beings characterized by beings that have the ability to be held out into the nothing. A revelation of beings as a whole. A revelation of Being as it exists in itself. We experience things/beings in use, with the meanings that we ascribe to them. For example, on my way to school I make a turn at the same tree every day. The tree is not the tree in itself for me, it is the tree-where-I-make-a-turn. That is its mode of existence for me. The disclosedness of beings is when we experience the whole of beings without the meanings ascribed to them by our routine. I, as my Dasein, see the tree as a tree, wholly separate from me. When one returns from the fundamental mood of anxiety one is confronted with beings as a whole without the meanings normally ascribed to them by preconceived notions or perhaps a routine. Man is confronted with beings as they are in themselves. Dasein is confronted with beings as they are in themselves insofar as the beings

* This paper was prepared for the course Basic Principles of Phenomenology taught by Professor Avery Goldman during spring quarter 2015. It was selected by the Undergraduate Committee of the Department of Philosophy for its Creating Knowledge Award.

are not colored or altered by human meaning ascribed to them. Beings are disclosed before *Dasein* insofar as they are presented as they are in themselves; the reality of the being is disclosed before *Dasein*.

If love is included in the list of fundamental moods why cannot we understand love through an analysis of the other fundamental moods of boredom and anxiety? We cannot understand love in the previous contexts for three reasons, some of which are already evident. The fundamental mood of love cannot be understood through the analysis of the fundamental moods of anxiety and boredom because: 1. love is necessarily directed at something, 2. love is not something one falls out of quickly and 3. love cannot move from meaningfulness to meaninglessness.

First, love is necessarily directed at someone. As shown previously, the fundamental mood of anxiety is necessarily not directed at something. One is not not anxious about something (a test, a relationship) but rather anxious 'about...'. By contrast, when one is in love one is not in love 'with...'. One is specifically in love with their beloved. The fundamental mood of love is directional in a way that the fundamental mood of anxiety is not. However, one could claim that what Heidegger means is the state of being-in-love. A person in the state of being-in-love remains being-in-love when not physically with their beloved. Love could perhaps be understood as a state of being rather than a directional mood. For example, a person who has been in love with their beloved for years will not always have their beloved on their mind, unlike young lovers, where their beloved occupies their mind at all times, but they, the person long in love, will remain as being-in-love. This could be a way to work around the apparent necessary directionality of love. However, looking closer at what Heidegger explicitly wrote "...revelation is concealed in our joy in the presence of the *Dasein*—and not simply of the person—of a human being whom we love," (*Basic Writings* 99, emphasis mine) it is clear that Heidegger intends this love to be directional, in complete contrast with his conception of the fundamental moods of anxiety and

boredom. It is in the physical presence of the *Dasein* of the beloved that one is thrust into the disclosedness of beings, not simply in a state of being-in-love. And speaking to common experience, this must be the case. If simply being in a state of being-in-love was enough to trigger the disclosedness of beings, it would not be uncommon to walk down the street and see several people removed from physical reality, having a transcendent experience of the disclosedness of beings. This is obviously not the case.

Second, one (hopefully) does not fall out of love like one falls out of anxiety. The temporal nature of fundamental anxiety is a necessary part of the relationship between anxiety and the disclosedness of beings as such. When we are thrust into the nothingness through the fundamental mood of anxiety we obviously do not stay in that anxiety forever. One removes themselves, or more accurately, is pushed away from the anxiety and continues to live their life. This is not to say that one could not live in an extended period of anxiety directed at something, the experiences of those who suffer from chronic anxiety tell us as much. But, again, an extended life is impossible in an aimless directionless fundamental anxiety. This is partly because one would not be able to sustain life, but more so because in the fundamental mood of anxiety the nothingness itself actually facilitates a turning away from the disclosedness of beings as such. "Yet what does it mean that this original anxiety occurs only in rare moments... The more we turn towards [the disclosedness of] beings in our preoccupations the less we let beings as a whole slip away as such...The nothing nihilates incessantly..." (*Basic Writings* 104). The fundamental mood of anxiety is rare because simply in experiencing the nothing, the nothing nihilates itself. It does so by turning us back towards beings as a whole. The nothing directs us to beings as a whole and thus destroys itself when meanings are imposed on beings again. By contrast, it is evident that one stays in love longer than one stays in the fundamental mood of anxiety. One does not fall in love for the minutes it takes to experience the disclosedness of beings as such and then immediately fall out of love. Love and anxiety seem to be fundamental

opposites in that regard. And thus, the fundamental mood of love again cannot be understood through the fundamental mood of anxiety.

Third, love, as opposed to anxiety and boredom, starts at a place of meaning insofar as it is necessarily directed at the beloved. As previously stated, in the fundamental mood of anxiety the meaningfulness of all that is held meaningful slips away. However, in the state of being-in-love, the beloved acquires a heightened sense of meaning for the *Dasein* in love. How does one move from ultimate meaningfulness to meaninglessness? Can one make that move? Perhaps, when in the presence of the *Dasein* of one's beloved, in that state of heightened meaning, the meaningfulness of everything else slips away. The beloved's *Dasein* is the only meaning. For example, when one is in love with one's beloved, it's common to say that nothing else matters except the beloved. In wedding vows, we vow that nothing will separate us, for sickness or for poorer. Nothing material has meaning when faced with the beloved. Things like wealth, material possessions, health, and other relationships lose the higher meaning they held before one falls in love. But even when the meaning of everything else falls away, the beloved's heightened meaning remains. And thus, the entirety of meanings cannot slip away. The fundamental mood of love is further proven as inaccessible through the understanding of the fundamental mood of anxiety.

How then can we understand the fundamental mood of love? Surely there must be a way to understand it through Heidegger's own writings or else why would it have been included? The answer is found in two of Heidegger's other works, *Being and Time* and *The Origin of the Work of Art*.

The first acceptable comparison to the fundamental mood of love is the analysis of the conspicuousness of broken equipment. In what way is love comparable to something broken? And further, how is love anything like a broken piece of equipment? Love and a dull knife or a dysfunctional plow seems further apart than the

already disproven comparison of anxiety and love. Before one can understand the comparison between love and the conspicuousness of broken equipment, one must understand why the experience of broken equipment exposes the disclosedness of beings as such.

Heidegger begins section sixteen of *Being and Time* by maintaining that for the everydayness of Being-in-the-world there are certain modes of concern. When one concerns oneself with something (a job, or an activity), the entities that constitute that activity (the tools/equipment) are ready-to-hand. The tool is inconspicuous; its existence is its usefulness for the worker that uses it. "When its unusability is thus discovered, equipment becomes conspicuous. This *conspicuousness* presents ready-to-hand equipment as in a certain unreadiness-to-hand" (*Being and Time* 103). Rather, when the equipment is discovered as faulty, or missing, or anything that deviates from its intended purpose, the previously familiar equipment becomes foreign to us.

For example, consider a carpenter. While engaged in routine work, the *Dasein* of the Carpenter does not have a conscious knowledge of the tools in use as independent objects (as the bearers of determinate characteristics which exist independently of the *Dasein*-focused context of action in which the equipmental entity is concerned). While engaged in trouble-free hammering, the *Dasein* of the carpenter has no conscious recognition of the hammer, the nails, or the workbench, in the way that someone would have if they stood back and thought about them. The equipment-like quality of equipment only lasts insofar as the equipment is reliable. When the nail breaks the carpenter is suddenly aware of the nail, the nail is now not phenomenologically transparent. A properly fitting shoe is never noticed for what it is in-itself until it becomes noticeable through a wearing down of its comforts. But the nail is still not a fully-fledged object because it is still being defined in the context of its brokenness. The equipment loses its equipment-like meaning, and in that experience of the meaningless equipment the carpenter's

Dasein is thrust into the disclosedness of the equipment's being and then beings as a whole as such. "The context of equipment is lit up [changed, altered], not as something never seen before, but as a totality constantly sighted beforehand in circumspection. With this totality, however, the world announces itself" (*Being and Time* 105). When the context of the tool is changed through its brokenness the world of beings as they are in themselves announces itself. Rather, in the changing of the context in which one experiences equipment, the world announces itself, one is thrust into the disclosedness of beings as such.

How then is love like a broken hammer or piece of equipment? As a human, one experiences other humans in the world. One generally experiences them in relation to what they can do for one. The cook can provide oneself with food; the socially advantaged friend can provide oneself with connections in order to better oneself. Perhaps that is not at the forefront of one's experiences with others, but it does organize and relate our relationships insofar as they are related by their importance for *Dasein*. Others are, to put it bluntly, equipment. They serve a purpose. When one is (truly) in the state of being-in-love one is not concerned with what the beloved can do for them and thus the world announces itself to the lovers' *Dasein* akin to the experience of the conspicuousness of broken equipment.

For example, consider one co-worker falling in love with another co-worker. Previously the co-worker mainly interacted with their beloved on a working basis. Their interactions were limited to what the beloved could do to make my job easier or to help me do my job better. When the co-worker falls in love with the beloved co-worker, that work-like relationship is changed. The co-worker does not view the beloved primarily as someone who can make their job easier, but as someone they enjoy spending time with without the expectation that the beloved will do something in exchange for the lover. To be in love is to break equipmental connections with a fellow human being. Unlike the connotations of the breaking of equipment, this is a positive act. One experiences the *Dasein* of one's

beloved through the severing of the meaning previously ascribed to them. The equipment meaning is severed, and much like the way broken tools thrust the worker into the disclosedness of beings as such, the experience of the broken equipmental connection thrusts the lover into the disclosedness of being as such. To be in love is to break equipmental connections with a fellow human being. Notice, the beloved is still meaningful, which answers one of the main problematic aspects of the relationship between the fundamental mood of love and the fundamental moods of anxiety and boredom. The meaning has simply changed, changed from equipmental to something more, something different. Love contains or consists of the meaning that surpasses all meanings.

There second way in which the fundamental mood of love can be understood in Heidegger's discussion of the transcendence of thingly character of a work of art. Heidegger, in his essay, *The Origin of the Work of Art* is attempting to find the essence of art. This proves to be a complex and long discussion, however, for the sake of space and relative clarity, for Heidegger, the experience of a piece of art thrusts *Dasein* into the nothingness and disclosedness being as a whole.

How can one compare the transcendence of the thingly character of art¹ to the experience of the beloved's *Dasein*? Consider the person whose job it is to box and move the paintings. It would be in the best interest of the museum or owner of the art to employ someone who is not moved by that particular artwork so they do not get lost in the experience of the disclosedness of beings. The person who boxes or handles must only appreciate the artwork in its thingly capacity. They consider mainly its breadth, width, and monetary expense in order to fully protect and work around that work of art. Once one has the aesthetic

1 Art is a thing, it is made out of matter. It also contains a level of aesthetic meaning above its thingly character. Generally, when we consider a piece of art we consider its aesthetic meanings and value without considering its material existence. This is the transcendent quality of the aesthetic experience.

experience of the transcendence of its thingly character one is no longer capable (or as least easily so) of working around that painting.² This example in Heidegger is comparable with the rule that doctors are not allowed to treat their loved ones. A doctor, to an extent, must reduce the person they are treating down to solely a thingly being. They are treating flesh and bone, not the patient's *Dasein*. A doctor cannot treat their loved ones because they are not capable of experiencing solely the thingly character of their beloved's *Dasein*. They cannot work around it, much like the person who boxes the paintings cannot work around the painting that moves them. There then must be something in the experience of the *Dasein* of one's beloved that thrusts one into the disclosedness of beings as such insofar as one cannot work around the *Dasein* of one's beloved. This is how one can understand love insofar as it is a fundamental mood through Heidegger's discussion of the aesthetic experience of an artwork that moves oneself.

Let's recall Heidegger's exact language "Another possibility of such revelation is concealed in our joy in the presence of the *Dasein*—and not simply of the person—of a human being whom we love" (*Basic Writings* 99). In the presence of the *Dasein* of the person whom we love, the beloved is no longer simply a thing, but rather something more much like in the experience of the transcendence of

the thingly character of a piece of art that moves us. The transformation of the beloved's *Dasein* occurs in the act of falling in love, when the equipment-like character of the fellow human falls away, when the meaning normally attached to fellow humans is traded for something more than equipment. In love, the beloved's *Dasein* accrues a new meaning, the equipment like quality of Others falls away, changed to something fundamental. In love, the beloved's thing-ly body can be transcended, and yet the *Dasein* remains irreducibly present. The beloved is fundamental.

To conclude, in this analysis I examined three of Heidegger's works: *What is Metaphysics*, *Being and Time*, and *The Origin of the Work of Art*. I argued that we cannot conceptualize the fundamental mood of love in concert with the fundamental moods of anxiety or boredom but we can conceptualize and fit in the fundamental mood of love, or the experience of the beloved's *Dasein*, with Heidegger's discussion of both the conspicuousness of broken equipment and the transcendence of the thing-ly character of a work of art. ■

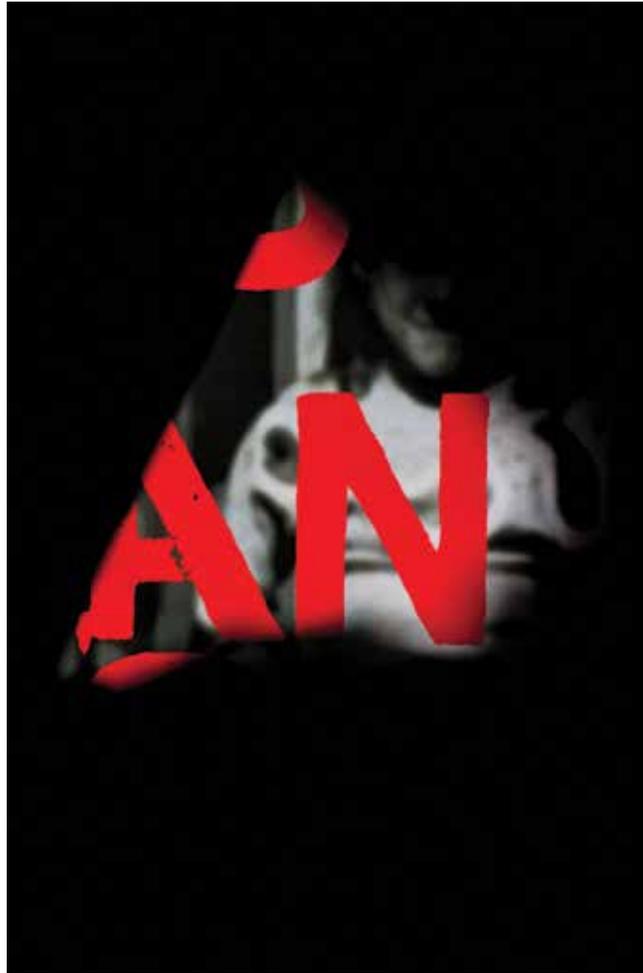
2 On a personal note, as someone employed as an art handler, this is absolutely true. One time, after two straight days of examining and cleaning framed works of art, someone asked me which one of the pieces I was working with was my favorite. I had to take a step back and actually examine them as art, I had only been considering their thingly nature.

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Victoria Trahey | *To Be Alone*

LOCKE'S DANGEROUS PROVISION: PREROGATIVE POWER IN THEORY AND PRACTICE

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John Locke's theory of liberal representative government advocates for a new civil society of political equality based on compact between the governed and the government to ultimately "preserve and enlarge freedom."¹ The foundation of his theory is the protection of mankind's inalienable right to life and preservation. Another necessity for Locke is eliminating the arbitrary creation of laws by paternal power, so he argues for political power that executes laws for the public good via natural law. Distinct from this model of equality and consent is Locke's often overlooked provision for the use of prerogative power.² This power allows for the executive to act "according to discretion, for the public good, without the prescription of the law, and sometimes even against it."³ Locke contends that legislators cannot foresee all laws that will serve the common good. Hence, prerogative power was established as "the most expedient way to accomplish an end during special circumstance."⁴ Locke understood the provision for prerogative power as better than arbitrary decrees of divine right monarchs because every end of his form of government is for the good of the body politic.⁵ Nevertheless, his conception of prerogative

remains open-ended and unlimited by any restrictions on when and where it could be used. Locke's provision is problematic because it has the potential to undermine both the rule of law and mankind's inalienable rights. In modern liberal governments, this extra-legal power has become a way for executives to use the law to justify any potentially necessary action, at home or abroad, under their own discretion in the name of national security.

Centuries after Locke's *Second Treatise of Government*, Hannah Arendt analyzed the unforeseeable result of Locke's theory. The danger of prerogative came to devastating fruition when Adolf Hitler, president of the Weimar Republic, unilaterally proclaimed the Decree for the Protection of the People and State, which legally suspended the personal liberties and rights of the people protected by the Weimar Constitution for twelve years.⁶ This suspension allowed the Nazis to legally expel Jews from the nation, strip them of their "right to have rights," and to exterminate them without consequence.⁷ When executives are given the power to act at their own discretion with total impunity, these states of total domination and lawlessness can be justified as a temporary necessity while simultaneously becoming the ultimate solution. Locke's prerogative unintentionally gave Nazi totalitarianism democratic justification because he did not account for the danger of a racialized common good whose special circumstance required violent means to a genocidal end.

* This essay was originally written for Professor Katy Arnold's course Contemporary Political Thought (PSC 331) during the winter quarter 2016. I also would to thank Professor Arnold for helping me to revise the paper. I would also like to thank professors Joe Mello, Ben Epstein, and Valerie Johnson for selecting the article for publication and for providing helpful feedback during the review process.

1 John Locke, *Second Treatise of Government*, ed. C.B. Macpherson (Cambridge: Hackett Publishing, Classic Series, 1980), 32 (section 57).
2 Pasquale Pasquino, "Locke on King's Prerogative," *Political Theory* 26, no. 2 (1998), 199.
3 Locke, 84 (section 160).
4 Arnold, Kathleen, "Domestic War: Locke's Concept of Prerogative and Implications for U.S. Wars Today," *Polity* (January 2005), 3.
5 Locke, 85 (section 163).

6 Giorgio Agamben, *State of Exception* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2005), 2 (1.2).

7 Hannah Arendt, *The Origins of Totalitarianism* (New York: Harcourt, 1986), 296.

Locke's Creation of Prerogative Power

Locke's *Second Treatise* is a critique of divine right monarchy. Prior to the Glorious Revolution, divine right monarchy operated arbitrarily, using paternal power as a justification for nonconsensual government. This government was characterized by unwritten or secret laws, rule by decree, and natural inequality. In response, Locke theorized a legitimized system based on "political power...only for the common good."⁸ His theory most remarkably includes a separation of the branches of government into the legislative, the judicial, the executive and the federative power. The legislative acts to make laws, the judiciary manages controversies and reparation between members of society, and the single executive has the power of supreme execution.⁹ Federative power entails "the power of war and peace, leagues and alliances, and all the transactions, with all persons and communities without the common-wealth."¹⁰ Locke links federative power to the executive, as it involves executing security and the interests of the public. For the most part, his theory hinges on total equality under the law, "wherein all the power and jurisdiction is reciprocal, no one having more than another."¹¹ This prescription was a direct reaction to the arbitrary use of power under divine right monarchy. With total equality, even actors within the government are supposed to be under the regulation of the law.

Locke's system also intended to protect the rights of the individual and the community. To him, those rights are the right to self-preservation, which includes the right to life, the right to property and the right to labor.¹² These rights derive from Locke's theory on the "state of nature"¹³ and the "state of war."¹⁴ In the "state of nature" all men

are free, equal, and preserved under the "law of nature."¹⁵ In this state, any harm done to a man may only be in the service of "reparation and restraint."¹⁶ It is all purely reasonable. When there is "force, or a declared design of force...where there is no common superior on earth to appeal to for relief [it] is the state of war."¹⁷ Civil society becomes desirable because it can establish a common superior that ends the state of war and avoiding the state of war is worth quitting the state of nature.¹⁸ Consensually entering civil society entails men transferring the freedom they possess in the state of nature to the government in return for total security of their rights. The right to preservation is key under "natural law" and Locke concludes that the right to property and labor are both essential means to preservation, and thus should be included under the security of the government. These rights to preservation are intended to be inseparable from man and thus protected by the government. If the government endangers these rights, the people should have the power to revoke their consent and take back their freedom or rebel.

Locke establishes this theory on these principles: total equality under the law and security of man's natural rights. However, he admits that there are bound to be unprecedented circumstances unexpected by the legislators where some apparently necessary political action cannot be accommodated under the law. For these instances, Locke provides the executive with prerogative power. This power allows for the executive to "mitigate the severity of the law, and pardon some offenders,"¹⁹ as well as direct the law when there is no precedent, or redirect the law when strictly observing them would be harmful.²⁰ This aspect of his theory is the most problematic to liberal democracy. There are no checks involved in prerogative

8 Locke, 8 (section 3).

9 Locke, 75-76.

10 Locke, 76 (section 146).

11 Locke, 8 (section 4).

12 Locke, 11 (section 11); Locke 30 (section 51).

13 Locke, 8.

14 Locke, 14.

15 Locke, 9-10.

16 Locke, 10.

17 Locke, 15 (section 19).

18 Locke, 16 (section 21).

19 Locke, 84 (section 159).

20 Locke, 84 (section 159).

power and it allows for the executive to legally act above and against the law. Despite these theoretical issues, Locke justifies the inclusion of prerogative in his theory because the ultimate end of government is supposed to be the good of the community.²¹

In Locke's perfect world, prerogative power would never be abused because everything in government is supposed to be done in the interest of the community. "Whatsoever alterations are made in it, tending to [the good of the people] cannot be an encroachment upon any body, since no body in government can have a right tending to any other end."²² Unforeseen by Locke, however, was the potential that this form of power could turn into when it operated under a racialized nation.

The Use of Prerogative Power Under Totalitarianism

Arendt's book *The Origins of Totalitarianism* analyzes the historical roots of the powers in government that led to totalitarianism and the barbaric atrocities against the Jews and minorities during World War II. Her theory is linked to Locke's prerogative power as she proves the conquest of the state by a nation ruled by Nazi ideology. In this conquest, the government shifts from acting for the good of the polity as a whole to acting for the good of a racist state. Through the success of anti-Semitism, imperialism, and totalitarianism, the power of the executive's prerogative legally transformed the Weimar constitution to allow a nation to mass murder the Jews through the guise of a manufactured emergency. Nevertheless, this lengthy and complex process shows that totalitarianism was not an inevitable outcome from Locke's theory and it did not grow simply from the prerogative. The growth of racism and race thinking in the nation completely undermined Locke's fundamental principles of equality and natural rights for all, drastically transforming the limits of the prerogative power.

21 Locke, 85 (section, 163).

22 Locke, 86 (section 163).

Crucial to the rise of totalitarianism was the deterioration of the European nation-state system and the subsequent rise of racism in the nation. European nation-states were created in revolutions against divine right monarchies. Both the French and the American revolutions successfully established a brotherhood of man, where all citizens were united in a equality, liberty and natural rights, principles very much influenced by Locke. These rights were also known in France as the Rights of Man and Citizen. These basic Rights of Man, or human rights, were supposed to precede the state and never be denied. They were to be inseparable from man.²³ In the new nation-state, the equality of man became the nation and the government became the state. According to Arendt, "the establishment of nation-states coincided with the establishment of constitutional government; they had always represented and been based upon the rule of law as against the rule of arbitrary administration and despotism."²⁴ The law was introduced as the intermediary between the nation and the state, and both were to remain under the law. This balance between the nation and the state was severely altered after the nation became racialized.

Race-thinking and the Racialization of the Nation

In part two of *Origins*, "Imperialism", Arendt analyzes the growth of race thinking and its development under political ideology in the nation-state. Her analysis shows how Hitler and the Nazis utilized racism, "a belief in the existence of a hierarchy of biologically distinct races,"²⁵ to appeal to the people of Germany specifically and Europe in general. Race thinking was not a new phenomenon, but rather it was "the ever-present shadow accompanying the development of the comity of European nations, until it finally grew to be the powerful weapon for the destruction of those nations."²⁶ Political race thinking in Germany originated as an effort to unite the nation against the

23 The term human rights replaced natural rights by the 20th century.

24 Arendt, 275.

25 Robert Miles and Malcolm Brown, *Racism* (New York: Rutledge, 2003), 112.

26 Arendt, 161.

immediate threat of foreign domination, and quickly it became connected to German nationalism.²⁷

The European nationalist project combined with the rise of capitalism made race thinking persuasive as it created “a collective sense of Self defined dialectically by the presence of the Other.”²⁸ This altered the nation’s identity from a collection of disparate people to a nation of racially and “scientifically” identical people coexisting with groups that they assumed were biologically inferior. The concept of a racial hierarchy stands in direct conflict with Locke’s foundational principle of total equality under the law. However, racism was used to justify European imperialism as a natural and necessary action that would have played its course eventually. In Germany, differentiating the Aryan race from the non-Aryans through racism made it conceivable that the Jews were at fault for the nation’s degeneration. Arendt argues, “The acceptance of race ideology as such would become conclusive proof that... a superior origin implied superior rights.”²⁹ These groups took on a misconstrued ideological interpretation of Charles Darwin’s theory of the genealogy of man from animal and applied it to eugenics.³⁰ The lasting success of political race thinking was its claim to be neutral and scientific.

Scientific racism developed with the Enlightenment in the late eighteenth century. At this time, discourse on biological determinism, or the fixed characteristics belonging to members of a certain race, developed into a supposedly “natural, inevitable, and unalterable” racial hierarchy.³¹ Scientists attempted to use phrenology, measuring the human skull, and weighing brains to establish race differences, however the science was consistently disproved. In the nineteenth century, race science changed both “the forms of classification and the content of attribution,”³² thus showing how malleable and inconsistent the science was.

27 Arendt, 165.

28 Miles & Brown, 145.

29 Arendt, 173.

30 Arendt, 178.

31 Miles & Brown, 39-40.

32 Miles & Brown, 41.

Nevertheless, these pseudo-scientific measures were useful to democratic colonialism, imperialism, and slavery, so they were implemented into society.

Arendt argues that scientists were so intent on proving these differences that they “no longer were interested in the result of their research but left their laboratories and hurried off to preach to the multitude their new interpretations of life and world.”³³ Maintaining science as a foundation for racism was crucial because it provided a seemingly neutral and natural argument for the Nazi’s goals. Racism does not coincide with democratic values of equality or human rights, but a foundation in science can work to silence opposition and debate. Racism became so widespread because of the legitimizing power of its pseudo-scientific origins.

For the Nazis, “racism and anti-Semitism were major political weapons for the destruction of civilization and the setting up of a new body politic.”³⁴ This politicized racism forced certain sectors of society out of their homes and denied them their rights under the state as a matter of bureaucratic course. From this, Arendt says “two victim groups emerged whose sufferings were different from all others in this era between the war...they had lost those rights which had been thought of and even defined as inalienable...the stateless and the minorities.”³⁵ Their rights were immediately denied by presidential decree and they were left with no outlet to revoke their consent or meaningfully revolt.

The End of the Rights of Man³⁶

In Chapter 9, “The Decline of the Nation-State and the End of the Rights of Man,” Arendt argues that when the stateless and the minorities became a permanent institution of the state “the nation had conquered the state,

33 Arendt, 159.

34 Arendt, 205.

35 Arendt, 268.

36 Arendt, 267, from Chapter Nine: “The Decline of the Nation State and the End of the Rights of Man.”

national interest had priority over law.”³⁷ These groups were being denied rights, not because of criminality, but because of their racial status. The fact that these groups of citizens were denied their natural rights under the prescription of the law directly links back to Locke. The racialized society created a government based on racist national interests, thus distorting Locke’s theoretical assertion that the government works for the good of the whole. At this point, Arendt argues, “The language of the mob was only the language of public opinion cleansed of hypocrisy and restraint.”³⁸ In this case, prerogative power to bend the law in exceptional cases ended up being utilized to destroy the democratic nation-state and leave groups of certain races without access to any civil or inalienable rights.

Locke’s theory of prerogative power made it possible for Nazis to legally rise to power under a constitutional democracy, declare a state of exceptional national circumstance and suspend parts of their constitution to legally implement measures eventually leading up to the Holocaust. When the citizenry and the government became racialized, equality for all disappeared under the law and both civil rights and human rights became bound to the whim of the government. “Without this legal equality, which originally was designed to replace the older laws and orders of the feudal society, the nation-state dissolves into an anarchic mass of over- and underprivileged individuals.”³⁹

In Lockean terms, the stateless and the minorities consented to civil society, but they were denied protection of their most basic rights. Locke’s model inextricably links the man to his rights, independent of any citizenship. However, Arendt shows how the decline of the nation-state ended up dissolving this relationship between man and rights. “The Rights of Man, supposedly inalienable, proved to be unenforceable—even in countries whose

37 Arendt, 275.

38 Arendt, 275.

39 Arendt, 290.

constitutions were based upon them—whenever people appeared who were no longer citizens of any sovereign state.”⁴⁰ Human rights failed because the inalienability of the rights was supposed to be so completely obvious, that no enforcement was necessary. In reality, when the law disappears completely for a group of people they become “superfluous” and completely rightless.⁴¹ They are missing something “much more fundamental than freedom and justice, which are rights of citizens... they are deprived, not of the right to freedom, but the right to action... the right to opinion.”⁴² Arendt points out the poignant irony that “only with a completely organized humanity could the loss of home and political status become identical with expulsion from humanity altogether.”⁴³

Locke’s prescription for prerogative power was a dangerous addition to an otherwise fair theory. Again, the impact of the prerogative was not clear to Locke at the time of its creation. Nevertheless, this specific power ended up justifying the denationalization of an assimilated group of citizens and their eventual extermination. It began with the rise of Hitler and his ability to manipulate the masses through propaganda. Arendt herself states that Hitler rose to power legally. In fact, “it was the first large revolution in history that was carried out by applying the existing formal code of law at the moment of seizing power.”⁴⁴ Through the Nazi appeal to the masses, the breakdown of the European nation-state system, and Hitler’s legal rise to power, the democratic freedoms of all citizens before the law were permanently altered. These democratic freedoms could be negotiated under a racialized nation because these freedoms “acquire their meaning and function organically only where the citizens belong to and are represented by groups or form a social or political hierarchy.”⁴⁵ It was through Locke’s prerogative

40 Arendt, 293.

41 Arendt, 296.

42 Arendt, 296.

43 Arendt, 297.

44 Hans Frank, *Recht und Verwaltung* (1938), 7, cited in Arendt, 306.

45 Arendt, 312.

allocation that Nazi leaders were able to legally suspend the freedoms and rights of Jews for the sake of the nation. The temporariness of the prerogative was never codified, and thus totalitarian regimes were able to take away the rights of people the deemed superfluous for as long as they were in power.

In *Second Treatise of Government* Locke argues that man gives up the total freedom that he has in the state of nature and enters into civil society as a way to avoid the state of war and protect his preservation. Again, civil society is preferable to the state of war because society is supposed to provide humanity with a common superior and security in their natural rights. In Arendt's era, however, this common superior is vested in a racialized government that no longer serves as representative to all. Those labeled as racially inferior were suddenly left with

no "right to rights." These groups were stripped of their citizenship, displaced from their homelands, and left with nowhere to go but denationalized camps. This process of total domination and mass displacement only becomes possible when "the nation conquers the state" and the law can be legally suspended by prerogative power. Arendt's account ultimately proves that the stateless would have more rights if they remained in the state of nature. Prerogative power contradicts the essential features of a democratic government. It is dangerous for a system of government that claims to be based on equality and consent to allow an outlet for unilateral lawless decision-making by a single leader. Without limitations or codification for this power, there is no assurance for the people's equality under the law, no guaranteed enforcement for their human rights, and no necessity for their consent. ■

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EXAMINING THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN NATURE RELATEDNESS, RELIGIOSITY, AND PRO-ENVIRONMENTAL BEHAVIOR: A MICRO-STUDY

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ABSTRACT Building on past research, this study investigates the relationship between individuals' connection to the natural environment and their subsequent engagement in pro-environmental behaviors. Using convenience sampling, individuals were approached on the street and asked for voluntary participation in a survey. The sample size consists of 15 adults, 18 years or older. The results of this study suggest that the greater an individual's connection to the environment, as measured by the Nature Relatedness scale, the more likely they are to engage in pro-environmental behaviors. A new instrument, the Wynn scale of Pro-Environmental Behavior (WPEB), was created to discern individuals' level of pro-environmental behaviors. Additionally, a series of questions were asked to determine religiosity. Therefore, the research question driving this study asked: is there a relationship between individuals' nature relatedness score and pro-environmental behavior, and does religiosity effect these measures?

Introduction

Despite the abundance of research supporting the validity of climate change and human behavior as a root cause, there are still many in the United States who are not convinced. As environmental degradation continues, it becomes necessary to understand characteristics associated with pro-environmental behaviors. At present, there is no consensus on the root of environmental concern and causes of environmentally responsible behavior. For instance, some scholars believe environmental behaviors are a result of moral schemas (Farrell, 2013), while others look to individuals' relationships with local environments and the strength of their social networks as strong predictors (Takahashi & Selfa, 2015).

Ultimately, the question remains, what is the best way to increase pro-environmental behavior by individuals? In order to address this question, I piloted the Wynn Pro-Environmental Behaviors (WPEB) scale, an index comprised of self-reported answers to a series of questions meant to elucidate individual activities that either support the environment or degrade it. After a brief description of the literature that supports this endeavor and statements regarding methodology and data collection activities, I present the findings of this pilot study.

Literature Review

Across the research on pro-environmental behavior, scholars contend that there is a strong relationship between environmental concern and pro-environmental behaviors. However, the factors that contribute to both environmental concern and subsequent pro-environmental behaviors remain contested. Motivation, values, personality types, emotions, capability, social

* Prepared for SOC 380: Research Methods I, taught by Professor Jessica Bishop-Royse in winter quarter 2016. The Department of Sociology selection committee included professors Fernando De Maio, Melanie Gast, Black Hawk Hancock, Sean Lee, Tracey Lewis-Elligan, John Schlichtman, and Academic Advisor Monique Billings.

connectedness, evolution theories, and worldview have all been studied as potential predictors of environmental concern and pro-environmental behavior. Of these, I will focus my review on morality and worldview as indicators of environmental concern, place-attachment or one's connection to their immediate environment, and motivations for preservation embedded in evolution. I will go on to speak about issues with methodology and a lack of common measurement tools.

In terms of one's worldview, some scholars contend that each person has a different moral schema relating to the environment. These schemas can be broken into three different categories: un-enchanted, intrinsic, and creational. The un-enchanted moral schema does not see nature as sacred. The intrinsic schema states that nature is sacred in itself, and the creational schema believes nature is sacred because it is a divine creation. In studies like these, one's group membership in a specific schema reliably predicts their level of environmental activism (Farrell, 2013).

Other scholars have argued that place attachment—one's degree of attachment to the social and physical place they live—can be a reliable predictor of pro-environmental behaviors (Takahashi & Selfa, 2015). They explain that increased attachment to other's in your community and your physical environment results in greater engagement in pro-environmental behaviors. Varied results have been found linking community attachment and pro-environmental behaviors. This variation may be due to inconsistent measurement techniques. For example, both surveys and in-depth interviews were used with different samples, perhaps indicating a variation in methodology rather than behavior. Another issue with this study is in the way attachment to one's physical environment can be measured. If one is asked about affinity, this may be a result of memories embedded in the landscape opposed to the actual landscape itself.

As stated earlier, some scholars have drawn upon evolutionary theories and specifically, some scholars have

oriented their research around the *biophilia hypothesis* (Nisbet et al., 2009; Kals et al., 1999). This hypothesis argues that humans have a strong need to relate and positively engage with other living things, including the natural environment. This has been substantiated by the popularity of outdoor recreation, as well as noted health benefits as a product of being in natural scenery. Given this hypothesis, scholars have sought to understand how much this need varies between people and its relationship to environmentally responsible behaviors. These studies look beyond exposure to nature, and question the emotional experiences in nature. Further, it has been well documented that positive past experiences in nature are strong predictors of environmental concern (Nisbet et al., 2009, Kals et al., 1999). However, it remains unclear to what degree past experience influences environmental concern, compare to, say, place attachment or one's moral schema.

Due to the lack of agreement on root causes or explanatory factors regarding environmental concern and environmentally responsible behaviors, there has subsequently been a lack of a common measurement scale. Variation in measurement scales has resulted in very different conclusions even in relatively similar studies. For instance, many studies testing a variation in urban versus rural levels of environmental concern are often contradictory due to a lack of using the same type of measurement scale (Takahashi & Selfa, 2015). As many of the studies testing these factors use surveys, lack of a common tool leads to conflicting results. The Nature Relatedness scale is one potential tool scholars could use to test individuals' connection to the environment over time and place. Tested with a large sample sizes multiple times, this scale prevails as a reliable tool.

Largely, studies investigating pro-environmental behaviors use self-reported surveys. Pro-environmental behaviors are typically characterized as 'recycling,' 'composting household kitchen waste,' 'donating money to environmental organizations' and 'avoiding chemical use in your yard (Takahashi & Selfa, 2015).' Surveys are convenient and

inexpensive, however, this method may alter the results depending on regional and national social expectations of certain behaviors. Additionally, some people's level of environmental concern may be high, yet a lack of ability to engage in certain behaviors would skew the results. For instance, an individual may not be able to own a compost bin or recycle with ease due to apartment or condo regulations. Some studies, however, employed a multifaceted approach, combining data from large-scale surveys, in-depth interviews, and media content analysis (Takahashi & Selfa, 2015).

In terms of other variables used in the field of environment and behavior, socio-demographic variables are rarely identified as having an effect on the relationship. However, gender has been noted as a strong indicator. It has been noted that females present higher levels of environmental concern than men (Farrell et al., 2013). Age on the other hand, tends to vary across studies. Religion is well documented as an indicator of environmental concern, however, rarely coupled with questions about past experience in nature. This connection of factors may be a key aspect missing in the literature and studies past.

Hypothesis

I examine three hypotheses regarding individual nature relatedness (NR) scores and pro-environmental behavior (PEB). Situating scores of nature relatedness as the independent variable and self-reports of pro-environmental behavior as the dependent variable, I investigate the ways that the former impacts the latter.

Hypothesis One: The higher an individual scores on the NR scale, the more likely they are to engage in pro-environmental behaviors.

Based on past research, this hypothesis draws on the assumption that individuals who have a stronger connection to the environment are more likely to engage in behaviors to protect it.

Hypothesis Two: Individuals who self-identify as more religious will engage in lower levels of pro-environmental behavior.

This may be the case due to a variation in how religions view the environment. The way in which different religions speak about the environment may influence their subsequent values and behaviors. For instance, it has been found that within Christianity, biblical literalism correlates with low levels of environmental concern (Greeley, 1993).

Hypothesis Three: Individuals who self-identify as more religious will score lower than others on the NR scale.

This hypothesis contends that, as stated earlier, some religions may convey stronger or weaker messages about their responsibilities toward the environment. Some religions may find the root of spirituality within the natural world where others may reject it.

Methods and Data

Convenience sampling was used to collect data for this investigation where interviews of individuals were approached on the street and asked for voluntary participation. The individuals were approached and interviewed on the street in the Logan Square, Lincoln Park, and Uptown Neighborhoods of Chicago, IL in Feb 2016(?). The sample size consists of 15 adults, 18 years or older. Individuals with religious affiliation were of interest; therefore, individuals leaving mass in Logan Square were initially approached. However, many of the potential participants spoke Spanish, or spoke very little English. Only one participant was used from this location.

The Wynn Scale of Pro-Environmental Behavior (WPRB) is an index comprised of 10 questions regarding the respondent's day-to-day behaviors. Table 1 below contains a frequency distribution for the individual questions included in the WPEB scale. Questions 1-3 are concerned with recycling behavior and questions 4-5 ask about re-usable water bottle usage. Questions 6-7 ask about organic, local, and seasonal food purchases, and questions 8-9 ask about time or money given to environmental organizations.

TABLE 1

Frequency Distribution of Questions from the WPEB.

	Yes N (%)	No N (%)	Total N (%)
Do you own a recycling bin?	12(80.0%)	3(20.0%)	15(100%)
Do you make an effort to recycle when you are outside your home?	11(73.3%)	4(26.7%)	15(100%)
If you buy a drink or food item in a glass container, do you save or repurpose the container?	7(46.6%)	8(53.4%)	15(100%)
Do you own a reusable water bottle?	12(80.0%)	3(20.0%)	15(100%)
Do you carry that reusable water bottle with you at least 4 days a week?	9(60.0%)	6(40.0%)	15(100%)
Do you buy foods because they are locally grown or in season?	6(40.0%)	9(60.0%)	15(100%)
Do you buy organic foods?	10(66.6%)	5(33.4%)	15(100%)
Do you donate any amount of time or money too an environmental organization?	2(13.3%)	13(86.7%)	15(100%)
If time permits, do you typically stop to listen and sign an environmental petition?	11(73.3%)	4(26.7%)	15(100%)
If time permits, on a nice day, do you walk or bike half a mile to a desired location?	15(100.0%)	0(0.0%)	15(100%)

Finally, question 10 asks about biking, walking and driving behavior. A skip-pattern is included within question 5, inquiring about potential monetary constraints.

As dichotomous questions, ‘yes’ was coded as 1 and ‘no’ was coded as 0. Each participant was then given a score out of 10. The highest score a respondent could receive was a 10, and the lowest a 0. Scores were divided into three categories, low, moderate, and high levels of pro-environmental behavior. Participants with a low score would range from 0-4, participants with a moderate score would range from 5-6, and participants with a high score would range from 7-10.

I utilize participant responses to the Nature Relatedness scale as an independent variable indicating feelings towards the environment. The scale, which has been developed and tested previously (Nesbit et al 2009), captures individuals’ past experiences in nature, beliefs about natural resources, and degree of anthropocentrism. Specifically, questions 16, 18, 19, 23, 25, 27, 28 and 32 are related to a respondents’ self-conception or relatedness within the natural environment. Questions 13, 14, 22,

26, 29, 30, and 31 measure an individual’s degree of anthropocentrism, and their level of environmental concern. Finally, past experiences with nature are recorded in questions 12, 15, 17, 20, 21, and 24

Individual items in the NR index utilized Likert type scoring, where participant responses were coded as, 5= strongly agree, 4= agree, 3= neither agree nor disagree, 2= disagree, 1= strongly disagree. Some items were reverse coded—questions 13, 14, 22, 26, 29, 30, and 31 were recoded to reflect this. The sums of the items were tallied and respondents were given a score. The last statement— I feel very connected to all living things and the earth—was not incorporated in the analyses due to participant feedback, often citing that there are a great deal of bad people they do not feel connected to. After removing this statement, the lowest possible score was a 20 and the highest possible score was 100. Participants were then grouped according to their scores, low (20-67) and high (68-100).

Finally, respondents are asked to report their religious affiliation and their feelings of connectedness towards their religion. Participants were asked to choose from Christianity, Judaism, Islam, Buddhism, or none. Skip

TABLE 2

Nature Relatedness Individual Item Frequency Distribution

	Strongly Agree	Agree	Neither Agree nor disagree	Disagree	Strongly disagree	Total
I enjoy being outdoors, even in unpleasant weather.	6 (40%)	6 (40%)	2 (13.3%)	1 (6.7%)	0 (0%)	15 (100%)
Some species are just meant to die out or become extinct.	1 (6.7%)	0 (0%)	1 (6.7%)	2 (13.3%)	11 (73.3%)	15 (100%)
Humans have the right to use natural resources any way we want.	3 (20%)	0 (0%)	1 (6.7%)	2 (13.3%)	9 (60%)	15 (100%)
My ideal vacation spot would be a remote, wilderness area.	4 (26.7%)	3 (20%)	4 (26.7%)	2 (13.3%)	2 (13.3%)	15 (100%)
I always think about how my actions affect the environment.	1 (6.7%)	8 (53.3%)	5 (33.3%)	1 (6.7%)	0 (0%)	15 (100%)
I enjoy digging in the earth and getting dirt on my hands.	8 (53.3%)	0 (0%)	2 (13.3%)	4 (26.7%)	1 (6.7%)	15 (100%)
My connection to nature and the environment is a part of my spirituality.	5 (33.3%)	6 (40%)	1 (6.7%)	3 (20%)	0 (0%)	15 (100%)
I am very aware of environmental issues.	6 (40%)	3 (20%)	6 (40%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	15 (100%)
I take notice of wildlife wherever I am.	8 (53.3%)	6 (40%)	0 (0%)	1 (6.7%)	0 (0%)	15 (100%)
I don't often go out in nature.	1 (6.7%)	0 (0%)	4 (26.7%)	3 (20%)	7 (46.7%)	15 (100%)
Nothing I do will change problems in other places on the planet.	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	1 (6.7%)	6 (40%)	8 (53.3%)	15 (100%)
I am not separate from nature, but a part of nature.	10 (66.7%)	3 (20%)	2 (13.3%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	15 (100%)
The thought of being deep in the woods, away from civilization, is frightening.	1 (6.7%)	1 (6.7%)	4 (26.7%)	5 (33.3%)	4 (26.7%)	15 (100%)
My feelings about nature do not affect how I live my life.	0 (0%)	2 (13.3%)	0 (0%)	5 (33.3%)	8 (53.3%)	15 (100%)
Animals, birds and plants should have fewer rights than humans.	1 (6.7%)	3 (20%)	2 (13.3%)	5 (33.3%)	4 (26.7%)	15 (100%)
Even in the middle of the city, I notice nature around me.	6 (40%)	8 (53.3%)	0 (0%)	1 (6.7%)	0 (0%)	15 (100%)
My relationship to nature is an important part of who I am.	10 (66.7%)	4 (26.7%)	0 (0%)	1 (6.7%)	0 (0%)	15 (100%)
Conservation is unnecessary because nature is strong enough to recover from any human impact.	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	4 (26.7%)	11 (73.3%)	15 (100%)
The state of non-human species is an indicator of the future for humans.	7 (46.7%)	5 (33.3%)	3 (20%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	15 (100%)
I think a lot about the suffering of animals.	4 (26.7%)	8 (53.3%)	2 (13.3%)	0 (0%)	1 (6.7%)	15 (100%)
I feel very connected to all living things and the earth.	7 (46.7%)	3 (20%)	3 (20%)	2 (13.3%)	0 (0%)	15 (100%)

logic was used, allowing participants who identified with a religion to answer a follow-up question regarding their level of connection to that religion on a scale of 1-10. Individuals who responded with 'none' were coded as 0 and those who responded with a number were coded with that number. Therefore a respondent could score from 0-10. Due to a lack of variety in type of religions, only the second portion of the item was used for the analysis. Those who reported a 0-5 were coded as 'less religious' and those who reported a 6-10 were coded as 'religious.'

Results

The present study included 15 participants. Of the 15, 5 (33.3%) scored low on their relatedness to nature, and 10 (66.7%) scored high, based on the Nature Relatedness scale. The mean score across all 15 participants was 71.3 with a range of 62-80. When measured on pro-environmental behavior, in terms of the WPEB scale, 2 (13.3%) were low, 7 (46.7%) were moderate, and 6 (40%) were high. The mean score was 6.4 with a range of 4-9. In terms of religiosity, 7 (46.7%) identified as not religious or less religious and 8 (53.3%) identified as religious.

Table 3 indicates the findings for the hypothesis: the higher an individual scores on the Nature Relatedness scale; the more likely they are to engage in pro-environmental behavior. Participants who scored "low" on their pro-environmental behavior are located in the first row, "moderate" in the second row, and "high" in the third row. The percentages show that of the participants who scored low on the NR scale, 0% scored low, 100% scored moderate, and 0% scored high on their level of pro-environmental behavior. Further, of the participants who scored high on the NR scale, 22.2% scored low, 11.1% scored moderate, and 66.7% scored high on their level of pro-environmental behavior. This supports hypothesis one by confirming that individuals who scored high on the NR scale also tended to score high on PEB.

Table 4 indicates the findings for the hypothesis: religious people score lower than less religious people on the Nature

Relatedness scale. Participants who were "religious" are located in the first row and "less religious" in the second row. The independent variable is again located at the top. The percentages show that of the participants who scored high on the NR scale, 60% were religious and 40% were less religious. Of the participants who scored low on the NR scale, 40% were religious and 60% were not religious. Hypothesis two was not supported in that participants who considered themselves religious were more likely to score highly on the NR scale.

Table 5 indicates the findings for the hypothesis: religious people engage in less pro-environmental behaviors than less religious people. Participants who scored "low" on their pro-environmental behavior are located in the first row, "moderate" in the second row, and "high" in the third row. The percentages show that of the participants

TABLE 3

Pro-Environmental Behavior	Low Nature Relatedness	High Nature Relatedness	
Low	0 (0%)	2 (22.2%)	
Moderate	6 (100%)	1 (11.1%)	
High	0 (0%)	6 (66.7%)	
TOTAL	6 (100%)	9 (100%)	N=15 (100%)

TABLE 4

Religiosity	High Nature Relatedness	Low Nature Relatedness	
Religious	6 (60%)	2 (40%)	
Less Religious	4 (40%)	3 (60%)	
TOTAL	10 (100%)	5 (100%)	N=15 (100%)

TABLE 5

Pro-Environmental Behavior	Religious	Less Religious	
Low	2 (25%)	0 (0%)	
Moderate	2 (25%)	5 (71.4%)	
High	4 (50%)	2 (28.6%)	
TOTAL	8 (100%)	7 (100%)	N= 15 (100%)

who were religious, 25% scored low, 25% scored moderate, and 50% scored high on their level of pro-environmental behavior. Of the participants that were less religious, 0% scored low, 71.4% scored moderate, and 28.6% scored high on their level of pro-environmental behavior. Hypothesis three (more religious people engaging in less pro-environmental behavior) is not supported here, as half of the respondents who reported themselves as religious engaged in PEB, compared to only 28.6% of those who considered themselves less religious.

Regression Analysis

Table 6 represents the results of a regression analysis. With an R-value of 0.348, the analysis indicates that 34.8% of my dependent variable, pro-environmental behavior, can be explained by the other variables in the model (nature relatedness and religiosity). Further, the table shows that for every unit an individual rises in their nature relatedness, they go up .089 units in

their level of pro-environmental behavior. Table 6 also indicates that for every unit an individual goes up in religiosity, they go down .067 units in their level of pro-environmental behavior. Therefore, according to these analyses, pro-environmental behavior is affected by an individual's level of nature relatedness. Further, a slight negative relationship exists between religiosity and pro-environmental behavior, whereby the more religious a person is, the less they engage in PEB's.

Conclusion

The research question driving the study asked: is there a relationship between individuals' nature relatedness score and pro-environmental behavior, and does religiosity have an effect on these measures? Due to sample size, resources, and the variables of interest, a few shortcomings were noted. First, both pro-environmental behavior and nature relatedness coalesce in intricate ways that are hard to operationalize in a valid way. Additionally, underlying

TABLE 6

Regression Analysis

Regression Statistics

Multiple R	0.3476
R Square	0.1208
Adjusted R Square	-0.0256
Standard Error	1.6149
Observations	15

ANOVA

	df	SS	MS	F	Significance F
Regression	2	4.3018	2.1509	0.8247	0.4617
Residual	12	31.2981	2.6082		
Total	14	35.6			

	Coefficients	Standard Error	t Stat	P-value	Lower 95%	Upper 95%	Lower 95.0%	Upper 95.0%
Intercept	0.3903	4.8254	0.0809	0.9369	-10.1234	10.9040	-10.1234	10.9040
X Variable 1 (Nature Relatedness)	0.0888	0.0696	1.2762	0.2260	-0.0628	0.2405	-0.0628	0.2405
X Variable 2 (Religiosity)	-0.0672	0.1237	-0.5438	0.5965	-0.3369	0.2023	-0.3369	0.2023

assumptions imbedded within the Wynn Scale of Pro-Environmental Behavior might have produced biased responses. For example, one item inquired about walking, biking, and driving preferences. A participant who does not own a car and who travels via walking and biking may look like someone engaged purposefully in pro-environmental behavior, but in reality, their response is an artifact of their car ownership status. Further, the present study's conflicting findings on the impact of religiosity's effect on these measures preclude strong conclusions about the role of religiosity for understanding pro-environmental behavior. It is possible that the failure of religiosity to produce definitive conclusions is an artifact of the present study's sample size and data collection techniques.

Future research should prioritize improvement of instruments that measure pro-environmental behavior, as well as those that capture other pertinent characteristics. For example, while the interviews with individuals on the street seemed rather short (each lasting on average four minutes), it was evident that several respondents were agitated with how long the interview took. It is possible that this agitation could influence responses. Future attempts investigating this question should consider shortening both the WPEB scale and the NR scale. Additionally, in order to collect reliable data, it may be fruitful to use a combination of methods. Participants

could fill out a survey, complete an in depth interview and perhaps a log of daily activities. Lastly, research in the field of environmental concern and behavior draws from multiple disciplines. Sociology, Psychology, Environmental Science and hybrids between them investigate a variety of different factors. A greater consensus may arise if scholars across disciplines to increase communication.

While more extensive data collection efforts are needed to elucidate a statistically significant answer, the findings presented here do merit consideration. The present study suggests that a positive relationship exists between an individuals' level of connection to the environment and their engagement in pro-environmental behavior. This is an important finding for its potential policy implications. For example, if we know that positive experiences in the natural environment increases an individuals' engagement in pro-environmental behavior, important policies may be created to facilitate those kinds of experiences. As our world increasingly becomes more urbanized, polluted and in need of serious micro and macro levels of intervention, increasing individuals connection to nature may be an integral part of the puzzle. This may take the shape of encouraging and incentivizing colleges and universities, employers, and other organizations to provide opportunities for their members to interact in meaningful ways with the natural environment. ■

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MÉRIDA: UN MOSAICO DE ETNICIDADES ATADAS POR EL COMERCIO

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El año pasado, tuve la oportunidad de pasar el trimestre de invierno del 2015 en la ciudad multifacética Mérida, México. Como Mérida es conocida como “la ciudad comercio”, quería explorar este concepto y a las personas que contribuyen en hacer de Mérida el mosaico que es hoy en día debido a la gente misma. Ver todas las influencias culturales diferentes aquí en Mérida fue fascinante a mi parecer. Esto me inspiró a hacer esta investigación sobre las experiencias personales de la gente de Mérida enfocándome en su llegada y sus experiencias trabajando. Por eso, dediqué mi tiempo para entender más sobre todos los aspectos de esta mezcla de culturas dentro de esta ciudad llena de historia. Me encargué de entrevistar a muchas personas de diferentes orígenes étnicos y clases socioeconómicas para unir mejor los pedazos del rompecabezas de la historia completa de lo que es Mérida.

Este es un estudio de casos individuales y no representa a una etnicidad completa para nada. Hay mucha diversidad en sueldos, clases sociales y cómo ellos definen el éxito social y financiero dentro de cada una de estas categorías étnicas. Quiero que mis lectores tengan esto en mente pero que también respeten las historias de los entrevistados como una realidad que es vivida no solo por ellos sino también por muchos otros de su misma etnicidad dentro de esta comunidad. Las entrevistas fueron hechas en el idioma en el que ellos se sentían más cómodos. De esta manera, la información dicha sería la más pura,

viniendo directamente del origen del pensamiento. Para los propósitos de este ensayo, me enfocaré en dos casos de personas cuyas vidas se yuxtaponen entre sí dentro de la misma ciudad. Otro componente será un retrato del entrevistado frente a la entrada de su casa porque creo que esto puede demostrar mucho sobre la situación socioeconómica dentro de una sociedad.

Historia de Mérida:

A lo largo del tiempo, la tierra que ahora se llama Mérida (y el estado de Yucatán) ha sido atravesada por muchos grupos étnicos diferentes. Empezó con los habitantes originales de la tierra que eran los Maya. Después los españoles llegaron a conquistar la tierra y cimentar la fe cristiana en la gente indígena de esta región. Pasaron muchos años y fue inevitable que hubiera una mezcla de etnicidades. Esta mezcla de etnicidad española e indígena (en este caso, maya) llegó a ser su propia etnicidad que se llama “mestiza”, o, lo que es, la etnicidad con que la mayoría de la gente mexicana se identifica. Muchos todavía dicen que, si se tiene el dinero, es más fácil viajar a Europa, que ir al Distrito Federal de México en el centro de México. Por eso, debido a que en los años 1900 la gente de Mérida tenía mucho dinero, se fue a Francia para estudiar el arte y la arquitectura de la región (Yucatán y Francia). Cuando regresaron, trajeron estas ideas a Mérida para además enriquecer la diversidad del lugar. En los años 1800 y 1900 y en menor cantidad en la actualidad, los libaneses, la mayoría cristianos, también llegaron a Mérida para escapar de la opresión del régimen otomán islámico en su patria. De este modo los libaneses dejaron su huella en la ciudad también (The Lebanese Connection).

* This paper was written for DePaul's winter quarter 2016 Study Abroad Program in Mérida, Mexico, under the direction of Professor Susana Martinez.

Aunque todas las etnicidades mencionadas que están en Mérida vienen de partes diferentes del mundo, lo que las ata es la cultura comercial y su ubicación estratégica en el mundo. Hay mucha gente de raíces diferentes que ha pasado por esta tierra por lo que me enfocaré en los dos grupos principales de esta región y, a su vez, veré cuál es la situación para la gente de estas etnicidades. Esta investigación hablará sobre las realidades de sus vidas con el propósito de abrirle los ojos al lector a cosas que quizás no fueron aparentes anteriormente.

Los Maya y un estudio de caso:

“Una de las culturas más avanzadas de las Américas son los Maya. Ellos empezaron como cazadores y recolectores y migraron a la Península de Yucatán cerca del año 2500 A.C. durante la época pre-clásica (500 E.C.-250 A.D.)” (History of the Yucatan). Su cultura, lengua y arquitectura es todavía claramente evidente en el estado de Yucatán, específicamente en Mérida. Aunque en el año 1537 el conquistador español, Francisco de Montejo fue exitoso en su ocupación de Yucatán y después en 1540 en el descubrimiento de la capital, Mérida, la influencia maya todavía se puede ver por todos lados de la ciudad hasta hoy. Hoy en día, la ciudad de Mérida tiene el porcentaje más alto de personas indígenas, el sesenta por ciento es maya. La ropa, el idioma maya y aun algunas costumbres han sido adoptadas por una gran mayoría de los yucatecos de Mérida (History of the Yucatan).

Tuve la oportunidad de entrevistar a Doña María Emita Cocóm Euán, o como todos le llaman, “Emita”, quien vive en la colonia que se llama “Emiliano Zapata Sur”, un barrio pobre en el sur de Mérida. Su familia vino del pueblo maya que se llama Abalá en el estado de Yucatán. Llegó a Mérida a los nueve años para que su madre pudiera escapar de su esposo quien impactó negativamente en la familia social y económicamente. Emita viene de una familia de raíces 100% mayas. Viene de una línea familiar de obreros que trabajaban la milpa. La milpa es un sistema para cultivar y cosechar la tierra. La familia tiene una historia de lucha, ya que algunos de los hombres

en su árbol genealógico no cumplieron su deber de ser buenos padres y trabajadores. No obstante es también importante notar que si algo pasaba con la figura paterna de la familia, algún otro hombre intervendría para ayudar. Aún si este hombre ayudara mucho a salvar las familias y fuera respetado por todos por hacerlo, esto no impediría que el padre de la próxima generación fuera a repetir los mismos errores, dejando a la madre de Emita, María del Socorro, sola. María empezó a trabajar limpiando casas sola para poder pagar los costos de medicamentos porque estaba determinada a no dejar que muera otro niño de enfermedades. Hoy día, en cuanto a la generación de la familia de Doña Emita, su esposo y sus niños, parece que fueron exitosos en romper este ciclo. Su esposo está presente en las vidas de los miembros de su familia y es buen trabajador. Algo más único de ésta generación es que es la primera vez que los niños no hablan maya fluidamente como primer idioma. El esposo de Emita, Ariel, es mestizo y viene de la ciudad. Se conocieron a través de la familia. Ariel es uno de los primeros hombres en el árbol de la familia de Doña Emita que no trabaja en la tierra (la milpa). Su educación es descrita por haber “terminado de la secundaria”. Emita solo terminó el tercer año pero volvió a estudiar y completar los requisitos de la primaria y secundaria después de que educó a sus cuatro hijos.

Le pregunté acerca de cómo ella se identifica dentro de su comunidad, y me dijo que se identifica como clase media y de la etnicidad maya (especialmente porque habla maya). Después, le pregunté acerca de cómo ella piensa que otros la ven dentro de la comunidad. Primero fue muy difícil recibir una respuesta que combinó con su situación económica, y esto me pareció interesante y diferente. Me dijo primero que se sentía respetada y bienvenida por todos. Es como si estuviera ignorando el sistema de clases tan rígido y claro que observan los otros meridianos. Después de llegar a un punto más profundo en la conversación pude descubrir que, por ser respetuosa, ella “pone una barrera” entre ella y sus empleadores de una clase más alta porque “ya saben que no es de ese

IMAGE 1

Doña Emita frente a la puerta de su casa en la colonia de Emiliano Zapata Sur de la ciudad Mérida.



barrio sino de Emiliano Zapata Sur”. No se olvida de que son más “altos” (en términos de clase social) que ella. Cuando le pregunté “¿y qué pasaría si fuera a tratar de romper este sistema y hablara con ellos como si fueran iguales?”, me dijo que no se siente cómoda hablando con ellos por el temor de que hablaran sobre temas que sobrepasarían su inteligencia educacional. Admite que “[le] falta seguridad en [si]-misma”. De hecho, la cosa que ella teme más en este momento es que sus niños vayan a perder su identidad maya especialmente porque no hablan maya. Siente que más cosas, especialmente la tecnología, los distancia más de su propia cultura. Su reto ahora es encontrar este equilibrio entre el adelanto y el recuerdo de sus raíces (Entrevista con Doña Emita).

Los españoles y un estudio de caso:

En el año 1517, mientras que estaba haciendo expediciones para obtener esclavos, un conquistador español, Francisco Hernández de Córdova, llegó a la península y preguntó a algunas de las personas indígenas dónde estaba. Cuando respondieron, “Tetec dtan. Ma t natic a dtan” (hablas muy rápido; no entendemos tu idioma), asumió que estaban contestando a su pregunta. Teniendo dificultad pronunciando sus palabras, Córdova llamó a la tierra Yucatán. En 1519, Hernán Cortés dirigió una expedición en la que paró brevemente en Yucatán para rescatar a Jerónimo de Aguilar, un sacerdote franciscano náufrago, antes de continuar hacia el norte hasta la tierra de Veracruz. En el año 1527, Francisco de Montejo se puso en camino a conquistar Yucatán pero fue derrotado por los nativos. Tres años más tarde, volvió con su hijo Francisco de Montejo y León pero otra vez fracasó en dominar la población indígena. Finalmente, un tercer esfuerzo en el año 1537 fue exitoso, y de Montejo fundó la ciudad de Mérida, la capital hoy en día, en 1542. En un esfuerzo para convertir la gente indígena a la fe católica, los sacerdotes franciscanos construyeron más de treinta conventos en Yucatán y trataron de reemplazar la cultura maya con el cristianismo (History of the Yucatan, mi traducción). La señal más aparente de las influencias de los españoles fue su lengua y religión que hoy en día se ve por todas partes en Mérida y México como un todo.

Yo entonces logré hablar con la maestra Dulce María Rodríguez Losa (viuda de Tur), quien vive en la colonia que se llama “Emiliano Zapata Norte”, un barrio mixto en el norte de Mérida. Dijo que antes, hace cuarenta años, todos vivían cerca del centro y Emiliano Zapata Norte era un campo o rancho. Ahora “la gente logró llegar hasta el Periférico con sus casas”. La casa de ella es relativamente nueva y la diseñó ella misma. Tiene un estilo español. Tiene una piscina también. Su casa se yuxtaponen entre las otras que son más viejas y parecen como casas pequeñas con solo un piso y mínima cantidad de cuartos. Hay otras casas que parecen nuevas o modernas en este barrio, pero es importante notar que hay muchas que

IMAGE 2

Dulce María Rodríguez en el patio frente a su casa en la colonia de Emiliano Zapata Norte de la ciudad Mérida.



parecen a la clase económica de las de la comunidad Emiliano Zapata Sur. Parece que la Maestra Dulce viene de la clase de lo ricos pero no es completamente cierto. Los hombres en los familia eran comerciantes y aun uno fue doctor y aunque tenía dinero, nunca paró de trabajar. También es interesante notar que ninguna mujer trabajó fuera de la casa hasta la generación de la Maestra Dulce. Una cosa que me llamó la atención junto con eso fue que ella originalmente, antes de ser profesora, quería ser abogada internacional o ser traductora para las Naciones Unidas pero nunca lo logró porque sus padres dijeron que la universidad tenía demasiados hombres y no sería buena opción para una mujer. La Maestra Dulce tiene una personalidad muy fuerte por lo que me sorprendió que no se rebelara contra este mandato de control sobre los géneros. Me respondió que “en esos días, se respetaba lo que dijeran sus papás, y ya.” La Maestra Dulce tiene cinco hermanos (tres hermanos y dos hermanas) y éste no fue el caso con todos. De hecho, una de sus hermanas tuvo una experiencia muy diferente. La menor de todas, “Sylvia, se casó muy joven, a los diecisiete años”.

Tuvo dos niños en seguida, y después de que crecieron un poquito, aunque todavía eran niños, decidió que quería ir a la universidad. Fue muy independiente y espontánea así siempre puso sus sueños o deseos como prioridad “y quizás es porque se casó y tuvo los bebés tan joven como era”. Como se casó primero (antes de que fuera

a la universidad), y debido a que tenía un esposo que la apoyaba (la mentalidad fue que ahora estaba bajo el cuidado de su esposo en vez de su padre), fue la primera chica en la familia que fue a la universidad. Dulce, en cambio, se quedó en la casa de sus padres porque no quería casarse tan joven y quería enfocarse en sus estudios. Irónicamente, hacer lo opuesto le habría dado más libertad si fuera a escoger un esposo con la mentalidad correcta para llegar a realizar sus sueños educacionales. Fue muy interesante para mí saber que aunque todas sus raíces étnicas son europeas (la mayoría de España) y a su parecer era de la clase alta media, y tenía dinero, que todavía haya habido restricciones para realizar sus sueños. Me hace pensar en el sistema social complejo de Egipto hoy en día. Aparentemente a veces la clase alta tiene aún más restricciones que la clase baja porque tiene que sostener sus reputaciones dentro de su clase y barrio. En conclusión, ella dijo que se lleva bien con todas las clases sociales y con toda la gente. Estudió muchos idiomas de niña porque le interesaba mucho y como fue dicho antes, quería trabajar para las Naciones Unidas, entonces aprecia todas las culturas. Aunque trabajó toda su vida, tiene que trabajar hasta hoy a los setenta años porque la pensión de una profesora no alcanza para subsistir. Esto es muy interesante. De la clase socioeconómica declarada más baja por la gente, en este caso, la de Doña Emita a quien no le alcanza el dinero, el caso de la maestra es similar. A Dulce tampoco le alcanza el dinero de todo el trabajo de maestra que ejerció toda su vida pese a pertenecer a una de las clases altas (Entrevista con Maestra Dulce).

Conclusión:

Al comparar y contrastar los desafíos y los estilos de vida entre una mujer que se identifica como maya y una que tiene raíces españolas, me doy cuenta que, aunque ambas vienen de clases socioeconómicas diferentes, tienen algunas similitudes como sus situaciones con el dinero y el trabajo. Es interesante que Emita piense que no se sentiría cómoda si se atreviera a hablar abiertamente y con libertad con alguien de la clase alta. Sin embargo, con la actitud abierta y simpática que tiene la Maestra Dulce,

además de su pasión por los idiomas y culturas, quizás si Emita empezara una conversación con ella, cambiaría su mentalidad de temer no ser tan educada como para no poder ni hablar con una persona de otra clase por miedo a que la situación fuera vergonzosa. Abrir ojos y cambiar la mentalidad para lograr mejorar es exactamente la razón

por la cual esta investigación es sobre este tema. Las dos trabajan en la ciudad- el trabajo es lo que las une - y parece que vienen de vidas muy diferentes, sin embargo después de hacer esta investigación, es evidente que se unen no sólo por la vida del trabajo, sino también por sus experiencias creciendo en el estado de la Yucatán. ■

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Angela Guest | *Acting Out*

FREEING BLUEBEARD'S WIVES: THE IMPORTANCE OF INTERSECTIONALITY IN FAIRY TALE STUDIES THROUGH NALO HOPKINSON

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This paper offers an argument for the importance of intersectionality in feminist revision of fairy tales, by using Charles Perrault's tale of Bluebeard and drawing heavily on Nalo Hopkinson's adaption "The Glass Bottle Trick."¹ Contained in a 1697 collection for the nineteen-year-old niece of King Louis XIV, Elisabeth-Charlotte d'Orléans, Perrault's original manuscript included "Sleeping Beauty," "Little Red Riding Hood," "Puss in Boots," and "The Fairies [Diamonds and Toads]" in addition to "Bluebeard."² The far less well known "Bluebeard" tells the tale of a curious wife and her murderous husband. Shortly after marrying, Bluebeard must leave for a business trip and the woman is given a set of keys, along with specific instructions to not open a certain door. While her husband is away she proceeds to disobey him, only to find the bodies of Bluebeard's previous wives. Seeing this no doubt gruesome sight causes her to drop the key into a pool of blood, resulting in its magical staining. This stain reveals the wife's disobedience when Bluebeard returns and prompts him to attempt to behead her like he had done to all his previous wives. However, before her untimely demise, two of her brothers swoop in to save the wife, killing Bluebeard in the process. After reviewing the events of the tale, it is almost unsurprising that "Bluebeard" is not well known. A violence-driven plot like this one is difficult to censor for children, as has happened to many other previous fairy

tales, and makes it unlikely that this particular tale would be included in many collections aiming for a younger audience. It is perhaps for this reason Hopkinson chose to reinterpret it in her collection focusing on Afro-Caribbean story telling.

Women have a history of rewriting fairy tales, notably with the *conteuses* and their salons in France. One example among many women authors is Madame Marie-Catherine d'Aulnoy who published four volumes of fairy tales during the 1690's. A later French writer, Madame Jeanne-Marie le Prince de Beaumont can be credited with making fairy tales more palatable for children, particularly with her version of "Beauty and the Beast" in 1756.³ The revision of fairy tales by women authors has been a tradition which has continued to the present day. Three of the most famous women to undertake the tale of "Bluebeard" have been Margaret Atwood, Joyce Carol Oates, and Angela Carter.⁴ Though each made revisions to the same tale, they produced drastically different retellings. Both Oates and Carter continued the fairy tale theme of "Once upon a time," setting their tales in some era that is distinguishable as merely "the past." Unlike these other two women, Atwood sets her tale in a much more contemporary time, writing about an era that feels very much like the United States' 1970's. The inner musings of the main character, Sally, explore themes of infidelity, spousal secrets, and shifting perspective. "Bluebeard's Egg" does not end

* This paper is a short excerpt from a longer thesis of the same name, written for Robin Mitchell, PhD's WGS 395: Women's and Gender Studies Advanced Seminar course. The thesis is available on request.

1 The version of "Bluebeard" used for this essay is Perrault, "Bluebeard," 104-114; Hopkinson, "The Glass Bottle Trick," 266-272.

2 Bottingheimer, *Fairy Tales: A New History*, 64.

3 For more information on women writers of fairy tales see Harries, *Twice Upon a Time*.

4 Carter, "The Bloody Chamber," 1-45; Atwood, "Bluebeard's Egg," 160-183; Oates, "Blue-Bearded Lover," 390-3.

with a literal death, but more the death of a marriage as Sally discovers her husband's infidelity. This lack of gruesome detail may seem like a drastic departure from the original, but Atwood's version is nothing compared to that of Oates. Rather than have her heroine go through the forbidden door, the protagonist in "Blue-Bearded Lover" does not enter the chamber at all. Instead, she chooses to live her life with Bluebeard and bear his children. This act reveals the calculating nature of this wife, who would rather choose to live with evil than attempt to open the door. In this way, Oates' protagonist is able to conquer the figure of Bluebeard and truly take control of her own tale, even if her actions might seem just as despicable as her husband's to the reader. Of the tales authored by women, the one that perhaps is most true to the original is Carter's "The Bloody Chamber," which may seem surprising since it is closer to a novella than a fairy tale, which readers would assume leaves more room for reinterpretation. While staying true to many of the plot points, Carter chooses to explore areas such as sexuality, female agency and the effects of poverty on a marriage decision.

These three versions of "Bluebeard" are quite different from each other, while at the same time being recognizable as stemming from the same tale.⁵ This quick detailing of these reinterpretations managed to point out the ways in which the tales were different from the original "Bluebeard" and from each other; however, what it failed to mention were the ways in which they are all extremely similar. Many of the issues changed in these tales revolve around the female protagonist's gender and the assets or limitations that come from it. Part of this similarity could be explained by the fact that all these authors are largely famous, all born in the late 1930's and all white women who are residing or resided in the United States, Canada and Europe. Another part of the reason for this intense focus on the gender of the female protagonists and

5 Fairy tales that all exhibit the same themes and plot summary can be found using the Aarne-Thompson-Uther classification system. "Bluebeard" and its variations are considered to be ATU 312 tale types.

little else could come from the field of feminist fairy tale criticism itself, which had for so long been inundated with a heavy focus on gender, at the expense of other identities.

While the field of fairy tale criticism had been in existence for quite some time, feminist fairy tale criticism did not occur until the beginning of the second wave of feminism.⁶ It was in 1970 that Alison Lurie published the article that would lead to the creation of the field, by claiming fairy tales were beneficial to young girls.⁷ Lurie comes out strongly on the side of both folk and fairy tales, arguing that they are full of strong female characters, hidden in popular and less popular stories. It is due to the male domination of the literary world, through careful selection, editing and publication of only certain tales that women had been kept in the dark for so long about these female characters, ripe for idolization. Lurie advocates not for the tales that we might be familiar with today, but instead "traditional" tales, which she claims are "exactly the sort of subversive literature of which a feminist should approve."⁸ This sparked a rebuttal from Marcia R. Lieberman, who fundamentally disagreed with Lurie, a move that started what is now termed the Lurie-Lieberman debate.⁹ Lieberman's article claimed that it did not matter if there existed obscure female role models hidden away in neglected fairy tales. These are not the characters that young girls learn of when undergoing the process of what it means to be a woman in the United States. Lieberman writes: "Only the best-known stories, those that everyone has read or heard, indeed, those that Disney has popularized, have affected masses of children in our culture."¹⁰ She goes on to argue that fairy tales do the work of teaching young girls that the best thing in

6 This section would not be complete without giving credit to Haase's "Feminist Fairy Tale Scholarship," 15-63. The scope of his survey covers much more than is mentioned in this paper and I would direct those further interested there.

7 Lurie, *Don't Tell the Grown-Ups*. Parts of this book are a revision of Lurie's earlier article "Fairy Tale Liberation," 42-44.

8 *Ibid.*, 19.

9 Lieberman, "Some Day My Prince Will Come," 383-4.

10 *Ibid.*, 383-4.

life they can be is pretty, necessitating them to be chosen by a man above all others—which relates closely to their ability to gain wealth—and that marriage is taught as the end goal of every popular fairy and folk tale. As a result of Lieberman’s countering article, this debate would come to define the central concerns of the field of feminist fairy tale criticism until this day. Most scholarship that was produced centered on the effect of fairy tales on young girls, with the majority of early scholars siding with Lieberman.¹¹ Feminist fairy tale studies as a field has focused a great deal of its attention on issues of gender, whether analyzing fairy tales, collecting forgotten ones, or writing completely new interpretations.

The initial focus of feminist fairy tale studies on gender has experienced some deviation in recent years, as evidenced by books such as *Fairy Tales with a Black Consciousness*.¹² This collection of essays tries to insert a Black perspective into familiar fairy tales by discussing Black cultural retellings of European fairy tales. The three main points made are: 1) fairy tales have always been revised, so now revise them to include more multicultural perspectives; 2) Black representation matters to young children and it is noticeably absent from fairy tales; and 3) multicultural fairy tales can function as a vehicle for cultural tourism, as a way to explore a variety of cultures, necessary for young children and adults both to be well rounded individuals. Unfortunately this call for intersectionality has not been taken up in other aspects of fairy tale studies. There has been some conversation around the television show *Once Upon a Time*, which takes Disney fairy tale characters and deposits them into the modern world. One of the criticisms of this show is the way characters of color are either only presented as evil or killed off, sometimes in as little as the

same episode in which they are first presented; sometimes characters of color are given both characteristics.¹³ Fairy tales are being written about from an intersectional perspective when they appear in other media, such as television, but not by themselves. This attempt at a racially based discussion is often shut down with comments about how the tales being portrayed are traditionally from eastern European areas. What this counterargument often does not realize or ignores is the fact that these fairy tales are not essentially rooted in their initial location, as Hopkinson’s transplanted “Bluebeard” into the Caribbean shows us. We must also question why it is these eastern European fairy tales getting the most attention in the first place, an answer which often has its roots in the racist devaluation of cultures not originating in Europe. This example about *Once Upon a Time* and the essays included in *Fairy Tales with a Black Consciousness* show us there is some intersectional dialogue happening around fairy tales. However, these trends are few and far between and often occur on the edges of the discourse. In order to truly advance the field of feminist literary studies, scholars must all be committed to using an intersectional analysis of the texts, not only when it is convenient or just when we have a stake in the outcome.

Since its inception, the major issue of feminist fairy tale criticism has centered on the question of whether fairy tales were good for women or not and what effects they have on women readers. While this question is interesting, I feel that for feminist fairy tale criticism to use this as its basis no longer reflects the changes in feminism since the field’s beginning debates. One major change was the movement away from second wave feminist ideas about the universality of women’s experiences, or the notion that what affected some women—in most cases, upper- to middle-class white feminists—was affecting all women. Instead, the concept of intersectionality was introduced to mainstream feminist thought at the end of the second wave, which a majority of feminist fairy tale scholarship has not

11 See Dworkin, “The Fairy Tales,” 29-49; Brownmiller, *Against Our Will*; and Daly, *Gyn/Ecology: The Metaethics of Radical Feminism* for just a small selection of books containing these themes. Dworkin’s book has garnered much criticism, particularly from sex positive feminists; however this chapter showcases the ways other writers have expanded on the ideas put forth by Lieberman in “Some Day My Prince Will Come.”

12 Yenika-Agbaw, Lowery and Henderson, *Fairy Tales with a Black Consciousness*.

13 Strom, “‘Once Upon a Time’ Rewrites Fairy Tales.”

caught up with. There has been little questioning of which “women” analysts engaged in the Lurie-Lieberman debate were concerned with, for example. While feminism has begun moving forward, feminist fairy tale analysis has been stuck in stasis.

In order for feminist fairy tale studies to advance as a field, we must start embracing the feminist theory of intersectionality when we do our analysis of fairy tales. A term coined by Kimberlé Crenshaw in 1989, intersectionality is the theoretical position that peoples’ lives do not fall on one axis alone. We are not just a race or a gender, but rather a race *and* a gender, along with a number of other identities. Crenshaw and other women of color feminists as far back as the nineteenth century have worked to create a theory in which we are allowed to see all of the complexities of a person.¹⁴ All facets of our identities collide to give us the variety of experience that we have as humans. Part of the reason intersectionality was introduced and gained so much traction during the second wave of American feminism was to critique the idea around the universality of women’s experiences, which we have seen was quite common in the field of feminist fairy tale scholarship.¹⁵ Ideas from the second wave of feminism have been largely positive in allowing scholars to primarily focus on gender and the relationships it creates; however, even though we have an amalgamation of experiences, gender is often the only facet that analysts are allowed to tease apart. The effectiveness of intersectionality as a theory for literary analysis cannot be overstated, because it allows us to look beyond merely one aspect of characters and instead allows us to form a more complete understanding of this interpretation of “Bluebeard.” By reading Hopkinson in concert with Atwood, Oates and Carter, the importance of intersectionality both in feminist fairy tale scholarship and in our fairy tale revisions themselves can properly be illustrated.

14 Notable women in regards to intersectional theory include: Collins, *Black Feminist Thought*; Lorde, *Sister Outsider: Essays and Speeches*; and hooks, *Ain’t I a Woman*, just to name but a few.

15 Cobble, Gordon, and Henry, *Feminism Unfinished*, 185-189.

The Work of Feminist Fairy Tale Revision

While I wish there was room in this paper to justify the use of “Bluebeard” and to examine Hopkinson’s revisions to it in “The Glass Bottle Trick,” for brevity’s sake we must jump straight to the uses and advantages of feminist revision, in order to examine the type of work that feminist revision does. Revision in general allows writers to create different perspectives all stemming from the same original fairy tale. A way of thinking about this concept is by using Salman Rushdie’s idea of the Ocean of the Stream of Stories. When Haroun is visiting Iff the Water Genie, Rushdie writes:

He looked into the water and saw that it was made up of a thousand thousand thousand and one different currents, each one a different colour, weaving in and out of one another like a liquid tapestry of breathtaking complexity; and Iff explained that these were the Streams of Story, that each coloured strand represented and contained a single tale. Different parts of the Ocean contained different sorts of stories, and as all the stories that had ever been told and many that were still in the process of being invented could be found here, the Ocean of the Streams of Story was in fact the biggest library in the universe. And because the stories were held here in fluid form, they retained the ability to change, to become new versions of themselves, to join up with other stories and so become yet other stories...¹⁶

This model of looking at stories allows us to see how revisions of a tale like “Bluebeard” are not just connected to the original tale, but also draw on and are connected to other retellings of the same story, while at the same time transforming into something completely new. When using this concept, Maria Tatar writes: “The Ocean of the Streams of Story represents a kind of collective cultural archive from which we draw strands of narrative to construct our own experiences.”¹⁷ Experience in this sense

16 Rushdie, *Haroun and the Sea of Stories*, 71-72.

17 Tatar, *Secrets Beyond the Door*, 7.

can mean how we use our interpretations of “Bluebeard” to inform our understanding of the world or how writers can take elements of Perrault’s original story to begin constructing their own narrative, one that will interact with and feed off other revisions, “becom[ing] yet other stories.” Tatar also writes of famed author and folklorist Italo Calvino, who was reported as saying of storytelling “that the tale is beautiful only when something is added to it.”¹⁸ Merely reproducing stories with many of the same or similar elements does not result in a story that is beautiful or even original. This is one of the reasons it is easy to see feminist revisions of a fairy tale as healthy and important.

While looking at the way stories are all interrelated is important to being able to understand how and why a revision was created, it does not answer the question of what feminist revisions actually do. For this we need to look beyond listing the changes Hopkinson made in her revision of “Bluebeard” to questioning how these changes are important. For one thing, revisions of less popular fairy tales help create a new readership base for the tale. This enhanced readership extends both ways. On the one hand, readers of well-known authors like Atwood, Carter, Hopkinson and Oates will be given exposure to the “Bluebeard” fairy tale through reading these revisions. Reading “The Glass Bottle Trick” or “Blue-Bearded Lover” for example might prompt an interest in the reader to return to the original source material of these retellings, namely “Bluebeard.” On the other hand, those who grew up knowing the tale of “Bluebeard” and have an interest in fairy tales might be tempted to seek out alternate versions of the tale, in order to explore how other authors have dealt with themes like curiosity and betrayal. This type of retelling exploration could even lead to one of the goals of *Fairy Tales with a Black Consciousness*, which is using cultural diverse representations of traditional fairy tales as a form of cultural tourism for children—and I would also argue adults.¹⁹ While creating new audiences might seem

like a relatively insignificant result of fairy tale retelling or even just an interesting by-product of the “real” goal of revision, these offshoots from traditional tales create new spaces for audiences who are often left out of many fairy tales and challenge the literary canon that promotes the work of white, affluent men above all others and by extension privileges white, affluent male audiences.²⁰ In this way, revising fairy tales is a radical act, one that even expands to what might seem like merely byproducts.

Related to creating a new readership, another act that feminist revision allows writers to do is articulate what might seem like new ideas while couching them in a familiar, perhaps even harmless setting. Hopkinson’s decision to relocate the tale of “Bluebeard” from France to the Caribbean allows her to confront both the racism that exists between Samuel and the white women he interacts with and the colorism within the Black community that causes Samuel to persuade Beatrice to stay out of the sun so that she might keep her light skin tone. While these concepts are very much present in our real world, they are also politically and emotionally charged, so by inserting them into “The Glass Bottle Trick,” Hopkinson is able to comment on them in a relatively neutral setting of the fairy tale. Atwood, Carter and Hopkinson all able to comment on the dangers of older men taking younger, often inexperienced wives in their versions of “Bluebeard.” On multiple occasions throughout “The Bloody Chamber” Carter’s Marquis comments on the age of his bride, calling her everything from “my child” to mockingly uttering the phrase “Baby mustn’t play with grownups’ toys until she’s learned how to handle them, must she?”²¹ Besides being utterly patronizing, this sentence highlights the ways in which the Bluebeard character seems to be attracted to innocence and youth as an ultimate show of power over the wife character, not just in Carter’s revision but also the original and subsequent revisions such as Atwood’s and Hopkinson’s as well. One just needs to look at the

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, 12.

¹⁹ Yenika-Agbaw, Lowery and Henderson, *Fairy Tales with Black Consciousness*, 223.

²⁰ For an example of fairy tales being revised to include marginalized groups see Cashorali, *Fairy Tales: Retold for Gay Men*.

²¹ Carter, “The Bloody Chamber,” 14.

proliferation of old, often rich, men married to younger wives or the constant jokes about men trading in their wives “for a younger model” to see that this ideology is still very much prevalent in our society. By equating this desire for young women with the monstrosity of Bluebeard, feminist writers are able to use fairy tales as a mode to expose this kind of thinking for the misogyny that it is. In this way, fairy tales offer a relative safe method to explore concepts that might not be as well received in other works.

Feminist revision also offers writers and audiences the chance to confront aspects of the original tale that might be tasteless or often harmful. An example of this, is the way “Bluebeard” is commonly interpreted as being an “Orientalized” villain opposite of a young, white wife. Examples of this can be found in the variety of illustrations about the “Bluebeard” tale, where Bluebeard is often depicted wearing robes and a turban, while his wife’s outfit more resembles that of the European gentry.²² Carter is guilty of continuing this trend in “The Bloody Chamber.”²³ Intersectional revision, such as what happens in “The Glass Bottle Trick,” allows authors to adopt these harmful themes and subvert them. Hopkinson’s explicit racialization of her Bluebeard character, Samuel as a black man was able to both limit the potential for further harm and provide a motivation for her villain that the original and all of the other retellings seemed to lack.²⁴ Feminist revision also allows Oates to confront the idea put forth by Perrault in his morals, that women are naturally curious and that this leads to horrible things happening to them. By not having her wife open the door to the forbidden chamber, even though she is given the key, Oates’s character is in some way able to overcome her husband and keep her life, his wealth and the power that no

doubt comes from her status as a noblewoman. The wife character in “Blue-Bearded Lover” uses her obedience to exhibit other characteristics that Perrault would probably think of as unladylike, such as cunning, calculation and trickery. These might not necessarily be positive traits, but they do afford the wife more of a complex character, beyond merely being disobedient and, as a result, stumbling upon something she does not wish to know.

Other authors will no doubt find a variety of different uses for the feminist revision of fairy tales, but of those focused on in this essay, we are able to identify a few key uses. To start thinking about the work this feminist revision does, it is important to consider how all of the retellings contribute to a reading of the original and to each other. Once we could understand this, we were able to identify a small selection of objectives, stemming from the feminist revision of fairy tales, including: the expansion of readership for both the story being retold and the story that is doing the retelling, and in turn expanding and interrogating the literary canon; using fairy tales as a mode to confront real world dangers, like racism, colorism, and misogyny; as well as being able to revise unsavory or prejudiced aspects of the original tale. This is by no means anything close to an exhaustive list. There are probably many more ways that feminism might influence how a fairy tale is revised and I look forward to reading each of them.

With more than three hundred years separating Perrault and Hopkinson, we would no doubt be expecting to find a number of differences between “Bluebeard” and “The Glass Bottle Trick.” The reality of intersectional feminism makes these changes even more pronounced and calls our attention to the necessity of intersectional feminism in fairy tale revisions. It is not enough to merely revise a story in a feminist way, but instead we must look at what these revisions end up doing in order to continue the process of making better, more intersectional revisions and scholarship in the future. While there is no doubt a plethora of different work feminist revision could do depending on the way it is presented, as it stands there

22 For a small selection of examples of these illustrations, see Tatar, *Secrets beyond the Door*.

23 See Roemer, “The Contextualization of the Marquis,” 95-115 for further reading on this topic.

24 Samuel’s motivation in the “The Glass Bottle Trick” for killing his wives was due to their pregnancies, because he could not tolerate the thought of his skin color being passed on to his children.

are three readily identifiable aspects to revision of the “Bluebeard” fairy tale. Firstly, feminist revision creates a mutually beneficial way to reach new audiences. People interested in the work of one particular writer are exposed to new fairy tales, and people primarily interested in fairy tales get the benefit of reading works from a new author. Secondly, feminist fairy tale revision allows writers to engage with difficult real world subjects, like racism and sexism, in a realm of fantasy. Fairy tales are a relatively neutral setting for articulating new ways of thinking about harmful material, when compared to journal articles and

nonfiction stories. Lastly, feminist revision also allows authors to interact with aspects of the tale that they may seem as harmful, like the racist depictions of Bluebeard as “oriental” in order to contrast to his innocent, white bride. It has been my hope that by comparing Hopkinson to other revisions of “Bluebeard” and by highlighting the changes that she has made to this tale, we can begin to see the importance of including intersectional feminism into our own fairy tale revisions and into the way we participate in feminist fairy tale scholarship. ■

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THE VISUAL RHETORIC OF FLOWER CHILD AT THE PENTAGON: ICONICITY APPROPRIATED ACROSS TIME AND SPACE

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One of the oldest definitions of rhetoric comes from Aristotle's *Rhetoric*: "the faculty of observing in any given case the available means of persuasion" (2, 1). Contemporary rhetorical scholars have focused on "the available means of persuasion" to broaden rhetoric's purview to include not only oral and written words but also images, sounds, movements, and other media and means. We might look specifically at visual rhetoric to help us make sense of our increasingly visually saturated lives. Defining visual rhetoric is both intuitive and disorienting. On the one hand, visual rhetoric could simply refer to images as a means of persuasion; on the other hand, visual rhetoric is a contested term because various disciplines and fields of knowledge take different approaches to understanding images. Consequently, an inclusive model of visual rhetoric would be "a collaborative venture...[that] would bring together the work currently being accomplished by scholars in a wide variety of disciplines, including art theory, anthropology, rhetoric, cultural studies, anthropology, psychology and media studies" (Hill & Helmers 19). By bringing together these disciplines, visual rhetoric offers scholars a rich vocabulary for analyzing the meaning and arguments within images. One such term is iconic photographs.

Iconic photographs offer interesting sources of visual rhetoric because of their ability to transcend the events

they represent through the heft of the rhetorical work they do. Hariman and Lucaites define iconic photographs as

photographic images appearing in print, electronic, or digital media that are widely recognized and remembered, are understood to be representations of historically significant events, activate strong emotional identification or response, and are reproduced across a range of media, genres, or topics. (27)

Hariman and Lucaites offer some examples of iconic photographs. For instance, "Raising the Flag on Iwo Jima" "provides performative resolution of the tension between liberalism and democracy in U.S. post-war public culture" (374). "Migrant Mother" similarly "outlines a set of civic relationships in respect to fundamental tensions within liberal-democratic society" (67). To understand what makes photos iconic, Hariman and Lucaites use five qualities to frame their interpretive analysis. First, iconic photographs are aesthetically familiar in some way. That is, they follow the conventions of the time. They do not experiment with genres and meaning, but adhere to conventional photojournalistic and artistic ways of seeing. These pictures also function as a mode of civic performance: "As with other modes of civic performance, the iconic photograph...refashions social forms to structure understanding, motivate action, and organize collective memory" (33). Third, iconic photographs must be rich with semiotic transcriptions. This quality makes the image approachable and identifiable to many

* Prepared for WRD 363: Visual Rhetoric, taught by Professor Jason Kalin. The WRD selection committee included professors Pete Vandenberg and Jason Kalin.

different groups of people, as a complex set of meanings might be gleaned from just one picture. Fourth, iconic photos must capture and share emotional scenarios. The emotions felt in a picture transcend the singular event, the singular person, and become an emotion shared by the public sphere, helping members of a public understand themselves and their own position within that public. Thus, iconic photos are both intimately connected to and representative of a specific time and event, as well malleable and relatable representations of recurring tensions. Fifth, such photographs are embedded in and with crises and contradictions. All political systems operate within and around some series of contradictions. For example, Hariman and Lucaites note that “one cannot optimize both liberty and security at the same time” (37). These goods inherently contradict one another. Similarly, a single photograph cannot “reproduce the social totality” and “cannot avoid signifying biases, exclusions, and denials” (37). Yet, members of political systems and publics continually grapple with these oppositions.

These two contradictions of political and photographic representation find eloquent expression in “Flower Child”, a photograph from the March on the Pentagon on October 21, 1967, to stop fighting in Vietnam.¹ “Flower Child at the Pentagon” continues in the tradition of iconic photography. This image has a visual eloquence and enjoyed a wide circulation; as Hariman and Lucaites might say, it’s “an image known for being known.” In this way, it serves as a rhetorical enthymeme, a kind of guide for tacit knowledge and visual persuasion. The themes become familiar because they perform certain rhetorical work. Iconic photographs crystallize and convey a unique rhetoric that is relevant to the time and space in which they occur while also communicating with photographs before and after their own genesis. Through analyzing “Flower Child’s” visual composition, semiotic transcriptions, and historical and social contexts, we can examine its

visual rhetoric and show how it takes on new layers of meaning as time passes and how other photographers and publics have appropriated it for similar purposes. “Flower Child at the Pentagon” was one of the first artifacts to promote peace in what was later termed the flower power movement, rooted in opposition to the Vietnam War. Though rooted in this historical situation, “Flower Child” communicates with other photos taken in a similar time and space, with photos taken nearly forty years later during Russia’s Orange Revolution, and with photos taken in 2012 during protests in Romania. In this way, “Flower Child” has proven to be a persuasive means of encouraging young people to speak up in times of conflict. Similarly, each of these photos captures specific crises and contradictions of their respective political systems.

In the next section, I examine specific physical details of “Flower Child”, describe some of its context, and explain the unique perspectives it gives us. I then illustrate how later appropriations build on and change this rhetoric and our understanding of these images and the time and space they originate. Most importantly, “Flower Child at the Pentagon” is a picture that promoted peace in the face of war. The photograph depicts the possibility of the public to rebel against those in power in times of crisis.

Flower Child at the Pentagon

The image is black and white and slightly blurry. On the right a young woman clutches a flower about the size of her palm with both hands close to her face. Her expression is calm, and she seems to be slightly pursing her lips. On her left hand is a watch and ring on her ring finger. Her dress is light and has a flower pattern on it. Her hair is dark and cut short. Across from the woman, to our left, is a row of sheathed bayonets pointing to the right. The bayonet closest to the camera lens and the girl is by far the clearest. Behind this one the other bayonets create a pattern of nearly horizontal blurred lines. This line of bayonets disappears into the background, appearing to continue forever, or at least out of the lens’ sight. Only the gloved hand and wrist of the person holding the

1 The photograph by Marc Riboud can be viewed here: <https://pro.magnumphotos.com/Asset/-2S5RYDZ247PK.html>.

closest bayonet is visible. The soldier standing next to him wears a helmet, and we barely see a few identifiable facial features in his profile: slightly squinted eyes, a nose, and an expressionless mouth. The next man's face is less distinguishable. Beyond him, everyone turns into a hazy line of helmets and sheathed bayonets.

French photographer Marc Riboud photographed the woman, Jan Rose Kasmir, at an anti-war rally in Washington D.C. on October 21st, 1967. At the time she was just seventeen and a high school student (Curry). People gathered around the Pentagon to protest the Vietnam War effort by exemplifying the ideology they promoted, one of peace and non-violence, which was termed the flower power movement by poet Allen Ginsberg (Curry). Antiwar protesters dressed in flower patterns and bright colors to identify themselves as "flower children." Demonstrators, embracing the term, would also pass out flowers, carry bells, and sometimes chant mantras. The event later became known as the March on the Pentagon, and would come to serve as an U.S. public memory of the Vietnam War, and of the counterculture involving the flower power movement that accompanied this time period.

The seemingly endless line of sheathed bayonets gives the viewer a sense that the girl on the right is quite outnumbered. This line of weapons also seems to stand in for the overwhelming presence that the Vietnam War had in the U.S. at this time. Yet, the lone Kasmir seems unafraid in front of these soldiers. Her innocent figure and flower offering contrast the line of destructive, mechanical tools. The National Guard's sheathed bayonets and guns threaten the protesters' safety, most urgently Kasmir's. They have the means to attack if need be they seem to say. Their helmets demonstrate their preparation to protect themselves in the potential combat, something that the woman in the flower-print dress on the right seems far from ready to do. Yet, we feel confident that Kasmir can hold her ground. She attempts to engage with the Guard. She is not passive. She approaches them and offers a flower. The image forces us to wonder what she says to

them, as she tries to get their attention with her daisy. The almost entirely faceless soldiers reflect an inhumane force of war. The men melt together. We see weapons, bodies, and helmets. The image manages to capture the overwhelming presence that the war had in the U.S. at this time, as well as the innocence of the peace promoting flower power movement. In this way, the photograph and Kasmir herself reflects the contradictions in the response to the war. Kasmir recalls, "It wasn't a war machine, it was just a bunch of guys with orders. Right then, it went from being a fun, hip trip to a painful reality." The March on the Pentagon did not end in the peace that this photo captures, however. Later that day the National Guard and the protesters succumbed to violence, and hundreds of protesters were arrested and hurt. Interestingly, the same people who fought for the National Guard were also civilians. The nation both protects and attacks its citizens with its own citizens.

"Flower Child at the Pentagon" embodies the qualities that Hariman and Lucaites offer to help us understand iconic photographs. First, the photo is aesthetically familiar. The subject, Kasmir, is in focus and framed slightly to the right. The photograph follows the rule of thirds, in which the photographer imagines the image as divided into nine equal parts, where the important subjects or compositional elements are aligned on one of the imaginary horizontal or vertical lines or intersections. In addition to familiar composition, the semiotic transcriptions are conventional in U.S. culture. For example, the body offering the flower is a woman. This is largely in line with traditional American values and representations of femininity. Flowers too are symbols of femininity, peace, and beauty. And she seems to offer the flower in supplication or prayer. Where she seems to delicately hold the flower, the soldier grasps the barrel of the rifle. The sun's reflection almost intensifies or sharpens the grip. While Kasmir is not passive in the image, she is certainly peaceful and seemingly nurturing, looking out for the well-being of others. This image performs civic and public memory by capturing the conflict between the National Guard and flower power

counterculture. The efforts of the flower power movement are positively represented: we find the innocent flower child on the right easier to empathize with than the faceless Guard on the left. The photograph validates the voices of those in opposition to the war. Beyond this historical moment, it also encourages the public to speak out in times of conflict. This image also emotional not only because of the interaction between Kasmir and the faceless Guard, but for the events we imagine occurring before and after the photo as well. As we will see with the photographs taken during Russia's Orange Revolution and the more recent riots in Romania, these pictures embody comparable emotional and semiotic scenarios. Lastly, contradictions and crises are at the center of this picture, as represented by the emotional bodies and semiotic meaning of various compositional elements. The good, physically defenseless girl on the right promotes peace, while the evil, armed and protected National Guard seems to represent a fight for what they think is justice. This image selectively depicts one aspect and one perspective of the war, perhaps oversimplifying the seemingly two-dimensional forces framed in such stark opposition.

As I looked for information about this photograph, searching for terms such as flower, woman, peace, in various combinations, I came across a handful of other photos. These images interestingly mimic certain physical elements of the original "Flower Child at the Pentagon", as well as build on this iconic photograph's visual rhetoric. By mimicking this image that is already recognized as representative of a certain era, and communicative of a specific ideology, that of peace, these other images are able to create a new, richer meaning of their own. Additionally, they create a dialogue between their own perspective, similar images emerging in times of chaos, and with the original itself.

Flower Power

Photographer Bernie Boston took a similar photo, Flower Power, in nearly the same time and space as "Flower Child at the Pentagon"—October 21, 1967, at a March on

the Pentagon.² It is also in black and white, and depicts a man in a turtleneck sweater who places carnations down the barrels of soldiers' rifles. The soldiers appear as anonymous as they did in "Flower Child", making it easy to understand the protesters as simply victims to this overpowering, ruthless, faceless war. The soldiers are only helmets, uniforms, and weapons. Other people stand behind the flowering man. They are unarmed, and seem to curiously peer into the crowd of soldiers. Interestingly, the man is also on the right, in the position of the benevolent side of this photograph. We do not see his face, however. He turns away from the camera and to our left. Kasmir is not alone, even though she appears to be in "Flower Child at the Pentagon". Other people at the same event that day similarly share flowers with the soldiers outside of the Pentagon. Both photographs capture the innocent flower child on the right, offering indicators of the movement they represent to the armed soldiers. These photographs serve as an American memory that conveys the conflict between the anti-war counterculture and the Vietnam War.

Despite these apparent similarities, there are noteworthy differences that separate these two pictures, leading to one being more iconic than the other. For one, the framing of this second picture is noticeably more unconventional and nontraditional than "Flower Child". The camera faces downwards, capturing the tops of protesters' and soldiers' heads. This framing disrupts our ability to emotionally relate to the image's subject. We do not have the same intimacy with the subject as we did with Kasmir. We saw her eyes and her unique expression; here, the young man's eyes are covered by his hair, and he is less vulnerable, surrounded by other protesters. The soldiers are also less intimidating. Rather than being uniformly lined up, they are scattered and unorganized. While this image certainly captures a similar crisis as "Flower Child at the Pentagon" and to some degree emotional and semiotic scenarios, it

² Flower Child can be viewed here:
<http://www.famouspictures.org/flower-power/>.

seems to depend on the rhetoric that “Flower Child” has established to civically perform on its own.

Nearly forty years later two photographs were taken that each depict a woman placing flowers in police officers’ shields outside of Kiev, Ukraine’s presidential office.³ We notice an obvious difference in these images from “Flower Child at the Pentagon”: they are in color. In the first photo, a blond-haired woman seems to be smiling as she puts a bright, coral colored carnation in the openings of a shield. The other vibrant colors in the photograph come from the woman’s pink scarf, a large yellow ribbon tied around her wrist, and three stickers that are on the low wall that separates the soldiers from the rioters. The lively colors all come from the side of the wall that protests, that is against what is going on behind the shields. The men and women behind the wall are just barely visible above their shields. All we see of them are black helmets, which have a clear cover that extends over their eyes. Similar to “Flower Child at the Pentagon”, the military personnel clump together by means of their anonymous foreboding attire. However, the soldiers are no longer on the offense pointing rifles and bayonets at the onlookers. They are now only visible on the defense. It was important in “Flower Child at the Pentagon” and Flower Power for the protesters to use peaceful means to communicate their message promoting peace and to abort the Vietnam War. In Ukraine, the values are different. Many Ukrainians suspected the election was unfair because of voter intimidation and electoral fraud. Leonid Kuchma supposedly won the election, despite overwhelmingly popular support of Viktor Yushchenko. In protest, citizens wore the color of Yushchenko’s campaign, orange, and flooded Ukraine’s capital Kiev. The protesters are not present because they want peace, but because they want justice. Perhaps this is the most important historical different between these photographs of the Orange

Revolution and those taken at the March on the Pentagon. In “Flower Child at the Pentagon”, there was a war that protesters wanted to stop. In this photo, there would not have been a crisis had citizens not acted in response to the election. Interestingly, the more recent photos demonstrate citizens taking a more active role in civic engagement. We might even go so far as to wonder if “Flower Child at the Pentagon” validated young people’s feelings and encouraged them be more involved in their communities.

In the second photograph taken nearly the same time and space, a woman dressed in a black coat strains to reach over the low wall and place the carnations, perhaps slightly pinker than the previous, in the soldiers’ shields. She holds two flowers in her left hand, while the right hand shares another. Similar to “Flower Child at the Pentagon”, the shields stretch into the background, seeming to go on forever. The men still wear their black helmets and clear shields, but their faces are barely recognizable. Now we see a mass of ominous black helmets behind the front row of shielded soldiers, where before we only saw the front line. Again, all of the vibrant colors are on the right, behind or on the woman: the flowers, an orange stripe on her hat, other yellow flowers in the background, some orange-yellow ponchos that other onlookers wear. Both of these women are on the right of the photograph, flowers in hand, facing a line of armed uniformed military, as in “Flower Child”. The question remains: why are these people sharing flowers with the force who is blocking them from intervening? Why does this type of image keep reappearing? There is a perceived helplessness embodied and felt by citizens on the right of each of these images. However, these pictures validate their actions and this kind of peaceful response. Kashmir reflected the values of the flower power counterculture she was a part of, promoting peace in spite of a war. These women face shields, not bayonets. Are they the threat? The relationship between the left and right halves of the photographs is perhaps not as deceptively simple here. We cannot identify the offense and defense, the right and wrong, the innocents and threats. Yet, it is still women

³ The first picture can be viewed here: <http://mostepicstuff.com/wp-content/uploads/2014/12/16-Ukrainian-Women-Placing-Flowers-In-Police-Shields.jpg>. The second can be viewed here: <https://s-media-cache-ak0.pinimg.com/736x/cf/f5/2e/cff52ebd7c52ebddb8738a3bd8933d6.jpg>.

offering flowers, symbols of peace. These images expose more of the complexities of the current situation, perhaps more transparent than “Flower Child at the Pentagon”. However, observing the women on the right, in such a similar composition to “Flower Child at the Pentagon”, we see Kashmir’s innocence, confidence, and well-meaning reflected.

In 2012, riots broke out in Romania due to health care reform.⁴ While health care was regularly a point of tension in Romania, citizens were enraged to find that a popular official of the health ministry who was respected for improving emergency health care, Raed Arafat, was resigning largely because of disagreements with Traian Băsescu, the center-right president. The protesters became so violent that the prime minister resigned from his position.

A young boy stands in front of what appears to be his father, still gripping him with his left hand, extending his right arm out towards the line of military personnel facing him. He holds a white, heart-shaped balloon. None of the uniformed people’s faces are visible. They wear black from head to toe. Their helmets also have a clear shield that drops down in front of their eyes. The uniformed anonymity is similar to the soldiers in “Flower Child at the Pentagon”, but they are on the defense as they were in Ukraine. In the background of the photo, onlookers are much clearer than they have been in previous photos. A woman stares with her mouth open at the little boy’s gesture. The man behind the boy smiles up at the soldiers; he seems to admire his son’s offering. It is easier to identify innocence in the young boy. The issue becomes again deceptively simple here, as it was in “Flower Child at the Pentagon”. Kashmir was just a high school student dressed in a flower dress, giving someone a daisy, asking someone to please stop the fighting. Here, a young boy

dressed in a crown hands a heart-shaped balloon to a soldier, not without the support of his father. Once again, the individuals facing the soldiers, offering their innocence, stand on the right, reaching to the left. This image is noticeably different from the preceding four in that the intended benevolent subject on the right is not alone. The boy seems to take center stage—he is still the figure offering something to the armed bodies on the left. We are asked to reflect on the relationship between the boy and his father. We wonder what their relationship has to do with how culture, politics, injustices, and inequalities are communicated and shared across generations.

Conclusion

The photographers who captured the images taken in Ukraine and Romania may or may not have known about “Flower Child at the Pentagon.” Perhaps they recognized the similar composition and act of the event and captured it with their lenses. Perhaps they captured the event because it was significant on its own. However, the similarities are there whether they were intended or not. Innocence stands with its offering on the right, reaching out to the anonymous uniformed military on the left. This relationship becomes complicated as rifles turn into shields, and roles are not as easily distinguished. Nonetheless, we see reflections of “Flower Child at the Pentagon” in other aspects of the photo, and project new meaning and assumptions onto these appropriations. Not only do these later images take on a significant weight because of their mirroring of U.S. public memory, but “Flower Child at the Pentagon” seems to change as well. We cannot look back without bringing our present experience and knowledge with us, complicating the perhaps originally simple and obvious interpretation of the image. “Flower Child” stands in for more than just the Vietnam War. While the image certainly reflects a specific time and counterculture, its meaning broadens to facilitate our understanding of later conflict, such as depicted in these photos from Ukraine and Romania. As viewers, we are invited to view ourselves in these images to help us confront and reflect on the crises and contradictions inherent in our own communities. ■

⁴ This photograph can be viewed here: <http://image.slidesharecdn.com/loveinthetimeofprotest-141009125546-conversion-gate01/95/love-in-the-time-of-protest-50-638.jpg?cb=1413247906>.

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