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Creating Knowledge

THE LAS JOURNAL OF UNDERGRADUATE SCHOLARSHIP

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CREATING KNOWLEDGE

The LAS Journal of Undergraduate Scholarship

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FOREWORD

DEAR STUDENTS, COLLEAGUES, ALUMNI AND FRIENDS,

“We live and learn.” Every day of my life I have visited that short sentence as an introspective testimonial of our fundamental nature as learners. Every day we perform hundreds of micro-learning processes that start with awareness, build understanding, and finally support decisions. Some of those decisions are small and repetitive, like getting out of bed in the morning. We frequently build clusters of small decisions that are interdependent and reduce the granularity of our decision-making processes, like the process of getting dressed, eating breakfast, and walking to school. Sometimes we make big decisions that have the power to change our lives and impact the lives of others, like the important decision of studying at DePaul University in pursuit of a particular purpose in life.

Beyond the scale of the micro-learning experience, the rigorous process of linking awareness, understanding, and action is of critical importance. Most mistakes in life are the consequences of actions in the absence of reliable awareness, or of a natural tendency to jump from awareness into action without proper understanding of the full contexts of the issues at hand. DePaul University is a place where the full, rigorous process of the learning experience is celebrated and exercised to create life-long learners.

In many institutions, undergraduate education is all about awareness and understanding, leaving action as something only pertinent to graduate school or the enhanced environment of our Honors programs. At DePaul University and the College of Liberal Arts and Social Sciences, we take pride in addressing the complete learning cycle in our undergraduate programs, including the action of creating knowledge through research.

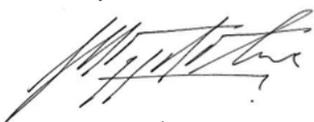
Creating Knowledge: The LAS Journal of Undergraduate Scholarship, was the product of a 2008 initiative aimed towards the goal of promoting research and creative endeavors among our undergraduate students. In this issue, you will find a selection of 16 essays and 15 art works, including the cover by Corinne Jones, representing advanced coursework produced in programs of the College of Liberal Arts and Social Sciences during the 2017-2018 academic year. All the work here presented has been selected by department-based faculty committees as the best of the year’s student-generated work, and each work has been revised for submission to this journal under the mentorship of faculty. Most of the work has already been recognized by department awards and supported by undergraduate research and creative grants. The first footnote to each essay provides information about the class in which it was written and the processes of selection and revision. This body of work celebrates the intellectual rigor, sophistication, and diversity for which our college is rightfully recognized.

In recognition of the intellect and enthusiasm of our faculty and staff, 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 Department of Art, Media and Design faculty who served as jurors of the artwork and the writing and publication students who proofread the volume. In particular, I would like to thank our new editor, Lisa Poirier, Associate Professor in our Department of Religious Studies for her extraordinary commitment to make this issue of *Creating Knowledge* such an amazing success. I also want to thank our past editor, Warren Schultz, Executive Associate Dean in the College of Liberal Arts and Social Sciences, for his many years of advocacy in support of undergraduate scholarship as a distinctive hallmark of a DePaul education.

I encourage our students to see the work of their peers as a challenge to build further on the accomplishments of their colleagues. I hope that our alumni and friends of the college will take this opportunity to celebrate the high quality of their college experience and support of our current students through the establishment of scholarships, internships and the inclusion of our graduating students in their long-term recruitment and hiring plans.

We are a collective of life-long learners committed to the mission of creating knowledge. It is my pleasure to invite you to enjoy this eleventh issue of *Creating Knowledge: The LAS Journal of Undergraduate Scholarship*.

Sincerely,



GUILLERMO VÁSQUEZ DE VELASCO, PHD
Dean

“IS THAT STILL A THING?”: THE “WOKE MILLENNIAL” AND REPRESENTATION IN RIVERDALE¹

NAOMI WILKIN

American Studies Program

FIGURE 1

Riverdale's formula

50s setting, noir environment, and contemporary teens.



Introduction

On January 26, 2017, the television series *Riverdale* premiered on the CW Network, accompanied by a weekly serial release on Netflix. *Riverdale* is based on the Archie Comics, but is darker than the original, infusing the traditional form of teen dramas with sinister and threatening twists aimed at a millennial audience. The first season focuses on solving the murder of local golden boy, Jason Blossom—the event which forces these darker elements to the surface. Within months of its release, *Riverdale* became one of the most popular television shows on the air, which was apparent from the

intense engagement of its fans on social media.² Since its premiere, bloggers, journalists, and reviewers have praised *Riverdale* for its inclusive representation and the social commentary it offers on hot-button issues in millennial culture.

Like several CW shows in the past two decades, including *One Tree Hill* (2003-2012) and *Gossip Girl* (2007-2012), *Riverdale* (2017-) portrays an exaggerated, affluent, white, middle-class adolescence where the teens act like adults. These programs are meant to appeal to both teens and viewers in their 20s and early 30s, the 18-34 demographic

most valued by advertisers and the age cohort widely referred to as “millennials.” *Riverdale*, however, differs in its representation, incorporating dark elements that expose the problematic nature of this idealized adolescence. While one could argue that teens naturally lean toward a critical, often dark, view of the world into which they are growing, the omnipresence of social media in their lives makes that perspective more visible and communicable. In current millennial culture, concerns surrounding social justice and issues like racial representation and non-normative sexuality are more mainstreamed, especially on social media platforms. *Riverdale* understands and responds to this, creating its characters and their relationships in a way that speaks to social concerns. The Archie characters in *Riverdale* have been updated and situated in a noir world to appeal specifically to millennials who consider themselves “woke”: that is, aware of the dark underside of the American Dream and the realities of America’s social problems.

Riverdale features issues facing millennials such as sexual harassment, mental illness, violence and murder, and media sensationalism and unreliability. The creators of *Riverdale* are particularly targeting these millennials who are part of a tradition of intense social media fan cultures surrounding teen shows; these viewers understand the way the conventions of these shows work and are adept at unpacking and analyzing the text’s popular culture references, representational referents, and real world analogies. *Riverdale* offers these “woke” social media savvy teens a self-aware text that frequently comments on its own use of dated archetypes and encourages fans on social media to comment on them as well. But how “woke” are *Riverdale*’s teen characters, and their audience, really?

Because of its textual reflexivity, its popularity, and the constant, public activities of its fan base, *Riverdale* is a prime subject for interrogation regarding the current ideological role of teen shows in the U.S. Specifically, I analyze the way *Riverdale* portrays two concerns of millennials: racial diversity in representation and inclusion

of non-heteronormative sexuality, in order to determine the degree to which the show offers a consistently socially critical point of view.³ Through focusing on these areas in relation to the show’s publicity, the text, and fan interaction with the cast through social media, I argue that *Riverdale*’s reflexive approach to teen drama works to complicate dominant norms to the extent necessary to appeal to this audience, but ultimately fails to go far enough to break free of the greater hegemonic work of its teen show archetype (by “hegemonic,” I mean affirming the political, economic, and cultural dominance of those in power).⁴ Instead, *Riverdale* culturally appropriates the cosmetics of “woke” culture to pander to its audience. And even though, as I will show, some fans are able to identify the shortcomings of the text, the majority do not seem to do so, and thus the show’s reflexive but shallow attention to “woke” subjects anticipates and effectively shuts down greater critique.

Background and Methods

The term “woke” has undergone considerable changes in meaning since the beginning of its widespread social media usage in relation to Black Lives Matter (BLM) activism. Charles Pulliam-Moore identifies the original use of “woke” as emerging in 2012 within the BLM community, to “indicate healthy paranoia, especially about issues of racial and political justice.”⁵ After “drift[ing] off into meme territory,” “woke” gained a more ironic usage by 2016; as Pulliam-Moore observes, ‘woke’ also began to refer, “mockingly, to (white) people whose perspectives on race change suddenly after learning about historical injustice,” but who otherwise fail in their misguided attempt to take part in activist culture.⁶ This more recent use of “woke” speaks to how I identify *Riverdale*’s target audience as “woke millennials”: a hegemonic (and majority white) group that identifies with the culture of social justice critique, but whose critiques in relation to the show suggest that they do not penetrate very deeply. Much of this social justice discussion occurs on social media platforms that also intersect with fandom culture, so fans are very aware of these issues. *Riverdale* fans

are constantly negotiating elements of “woke” culture, both authentic and cosmetic; however, my evidence suggests that most of these fan critiques reflect this more appropriative, cosmetic model.

In their book, *Teen TV*, television studies scholars Glyn Davis and Kay Dickinson describe important elements of teen dramas, including unrealistic, yet attractive and intriguing settings for the show’s adolescents. Although these dramas are created for teens, Davis and Dickinson point out that “the programs are created by adults, arguably with a particular adult agenda...to raise crucial issues (of *adult* choosing) in a ‘responsible manner’ that is entirely hegemonically negotiated.”⁷ Within shows for teens, current issues are portrayed in ways that reaffirm, counter, or complicate social norms, giving teens a lesson in sociability by watching television. The hegemonic treatment of issues in *Riverdale* follows this pattern, complicating certain mores while reaffirming others. *Riverdale* is also a clear example of the teen genre’s relationship between a younger and older audience; while it appeals to the “woke millennial” through social commentary, it also incorporates dated references and adult-looking teens to hook an older audience. Additionally, as is common within this genre, the show’s parents have detailed storylines that deal with similar issues to those of their children, inviting an older audience’s identification with some characters.

In addition, like previous teen shows, *Riverdale* is also about targeting its audience as consumers in whatever ways possible.⁸ I argue that *Riverdale* constructs the “woke millennial” identity as a consumer target. *Riverdale*’s complication of dominant values is limited in that once the show captures the attention of a millennial audience regarding this topic, it reverts to reaffirming hegemony. Understanding the capitalist nature of teen television is key to assessing whether *Riverdale* producers appropriate or authenticate “wokeness” and their methods for doing so.

Louisa Ellen Stein’s discussion of “Millennial Noir” in her

book, *Millennial Fandom*, identifies the key components of this “dark teen” genre and audience. Focusing her analysis on *Gossip Girl*, Stein defines millennial noir as “an embrace of immorality and excess,” depicting “millennials as morally ambiguous [and] adult before their time.”⁹ This genre’s representation of adolescence is unattainable to the general public, yet is still desirable and relatable through the show’s plotlines. The noir form challenges norms of beauty, whiteness, gender, and more through the “darkness” characters must navigate in this excessive, seemingly idealistic lifestyle. *Riverdale* fits this form to a tee. All of the characters fit conventional standards of beauty and exist in an affluent, manicured world, yet confront the evils implicit in it. Jughead’s narration in the first season’s opening scene introduces his community in just this way: “Riverdale presents itself like so many other small towns...safe, decent, innocent. Get closer, though, and you start seeing the shadows underneath.”¹⁰ It is within this framework that millennial noir complicates the idealistic, hegemonic world of teen shows.

The millennial noir audience is also unique, Stein argues, in that it extends the text and engages with it as authors—participating, critiquing, and remixing the show through social media.¹¹ Social media is an integral piece of understanding how this engagement works, as it connects individual fans to a larger fandom community and discourse. The creators of *Riverdale* are aware of this engagement, and they incorporate references and nods to social media fans within the text as a way of making the show especially accessible to this group. Additionally, the way *Riverdale* is self-aware of its use of archetypes encourages critical participation by the audience in these circles.

In order to understand how *Riverdale* offers riffs on its own archetypes, it is first necessary to identify the role representation plays in perpetuating hegemonic norms. Popular media like comics or television are spaces where portrayals of certain “social types,” are especially prevalent. Archie Comics are famous for this archetypal character formation; for example, Veronica’s

“raven haired vixen” identity is categorized by both physical and personality markers like dark hair, mystery, sexual promiscuity (or at least sexual forwardness), and affluence. Betty’s character embodies the contrasting “girl next door” archetype, connoting sexual innocence, femininity, blondness, and whiteness. Even if such tropes or archetypes seem positive, as many consider the “girl next door,” they often implicitly reinforce social norms. The girl next door is idealized because she is white, blond, submissive, and feminine, further reaffirming white, patriarchal, heteronormative, middle-class supremacy. Because of their longtime presence in US culture, Archie Comics are inextricably linked to an idealized normative American identity, which gives *Riverdale* the opportunity to reinterpret these archetypes as a way to comment on contemporary American culture.

Riverdale’s blend of millennial noir with Archie Comics’ cheesy innocence makes for a skewed archetypal representation of the characters to appeal to a millennial noir audience. In an interview with NPR called “Archie Got Hot’ Is a Sentence You’ll Hear in New, Noir *Riverdale*,” creator Roberto Aguirre-Sacasa discusses the ways the archetypes of original characters inform *Riverdale*’s characters: “We take those archetypes” at the core of Archie characters “and we put them in much more morally complex, adult, and even criminal situations, and see what they do.”¹² Not only does this speak directly to Stein’s definition of “millennial noir” but also shows that *Riverdale*’s creators are deliberately playing with the boundaries of stereotypes in representing the characters, complicating the traditional “All American” norms they are based on.

In considering the representation of racial diversity in television, scholar Mary Beltran lays out four key questions to guide analysis that I will incorporate into my own here.¹³ She situates her methodology as a critical response to racial representation in recent television shows, arguing that despite a cast’s racial diversity, white characters are still generally the focus of narratives,

making the characters of color unimportant accessories to a white-centric plot.¹⁴ This superficial approach to representing diversity closely aligns with *Riverdale*’s appropriations of “woke” culture to target a millennial audience. As a method, I am adapting Beltran’s questions in order to examine how *Riverdale*’s representation of diversity is more cosmetic than “meaningful.” While Beltran speaks specifically about racial diversity, I employ these questions in my analysis of both my case studies: racial diversity, and non-heteronormative sexuality.

To analyze fan interaction with *Riverdale*, I sought out discussions on social media platforms such as Tumblr and Reddit using popular tags or keywords. Of course, it would be impossible to analyze all of the program’s social media fandom, so I reviewed at least 20 posts per topic in order to gauge the general patterns in fans’ commentary and criticisms.

Case Study: Racial Diversity

Publicity

Veronica’s character is one of the many updates *Riverdale* makes to the Archie comic characters’ original representation. Played by Camilla Mendes, Veronica is Latina in *Riverdale*, in contrast to her stark whiteness in the Archie Comics. In an interview with *People Magazine*, Mendes discussed her own Brazilian background and her frustration with stereotypical Latinx roles in Hollywood. On her role in *Riverdale* in comparison to common stereotypes, Mendes said,

It’s just so refreshing to see a different story being told for Latin families. The Lodge family is a much-needed departure from the underprivileged, sleazy Latino drug-dealers we’re used to seeing in entertainment. It’s rare that you see Latin families being portrayed as intelligent, sophisticated, and powerful entities.¹⁵

Here, Mendes calls attention to the problematic nature of many Latinx representations in Hollywood and situates her character’s family in direct opposition to the

industry's offensive stereotyping. Mendes discusses her own heritage immediately after this, talking about the Brazilian community she has through her international family, which keeps her in-touch with her culture. She distinguishes her "Latin heritage" as an important aspect of her identity.¹⁶ Additionally, she expresses annoyance at Hollywood's looks-based typecasting, explaining she was sometimes deemed as "not Latina enough" despite her authentic Latin heritage.¹⁷ The publicity around Mendes' racial identity and her character's blends the two and further associates Veronica's Latina-ness with an accurate representation of people of color in opposition to traditional stereotypes.

Textual Analysis

Mendes values *Riverdale's* representation of the Lodges as non-stereotypical, but when considering Beltran's questions for meaningful diversity, there are some glaring shortfalls with *Riverdale's* Latinx representation.

Beltran's Question #1 is: Are the characters of color fully realized individuals? On the one hand, yes. Veronica's family and personal life are central to *Riverdale's* plot; however problematic their dynamic is, the audience has a detailed, in-depth view into Veronica's life. Her character is also more complex and multifaceted than the original "raven haired vixen" archetype in the comics. Veronica deals with her father's imprisonment, her mother's affair and criminal activity, and defining her personal identity in relation to her parents' immorality. That being said, her Latina identity rarely comes through in this complexity, which prompts Beltran's second question: Do the writers and producers appear knowledgeable about and interested in the worlds and perspectives of non-white characters?¹⁸ While Veronica and the Lodge family are complex characters in *Riverdale*, their Latinx identity feels cosmetic and forced. Beltran explains, in relation to her second question, the importance of a larger, cultural community for non-white characters to connect with.¹⁹ Aside from Veronica's mother, there is no indication of Veronica's connection to other Latinxs, either through

FIGURE 2



family or friends. Perhaps in an effort to create more of a community, the show does make a point to include Veronica in the women of color singing group, Josie and the Pussycats. However, this group, as originally comprised of three Black women—Josie, Val, and Melody—is a problematic representation in itself, operating on the racialized archetype of the Black entertainer (Figure 2). This is further reinforced by the fact that both Veronica and Josie's family lives are wrought with superficial, racialized details and no outside community. Additionally, they are the only two of the four pussycats to have any backstory at all, making Val and Melody marginalized token characters of color in a teen show.

The answer to Beltran's third question, "Does the diversity of the cast appear natural?" is a resounding no, when considering that Veronica's racial identity is communicated through stereotypical cultural markers. In dialogue with her mother, sporadic Spanish words will sometimes emerge, as if interjected into conversation to prove the bilingualism of the Lodges; a regular example of this is Hermione Lodge's use of the word "mija" when chastising her daughter. The random and sporadic use of "mija" becomes almost comical at a certain point, speaking less to the Lodge's Latinxness, and more to a cosmetic appropriation of a racial identity. One of Veronica's only other Spanish-speaking moments occurs when she wishes Jughead a "feliz cumpleaños" at his birthday party. Most Spanish-speaking instances in *Riverdale* are terms or phrases the average American would know,

even without any Spanish background. Despite Mendes's authentic Latina heritage, Veronica's Latinxness comes off disingenuous and appropriative.

Fan Interaction with Social Media

Beltran's fourth question asks, "Do the producers exploit the natural diversity of a story's setting or subject matter?" bringing into consideration what would be gained through exploitation in terms of representation.²⁰ Pandering to a "woke millennial" audience, *Riverdale* represents racial diversity in order to appear counter-hegemonic. Discussions of Veronica's identity on social media platforms, like Reddit, illustrate the complex "woke millennial" audience reception and the exploitative nature of shallow representation.

On Reddit's *Riverdale* discussion page, for example, a fan brought up just such a concern: "Does anyone else feel like Camilla (sic) is a Latino/Hispanic playing a white character?"²¹ The original poster (OP) further explained that they read an interview where Mendes stated her only interest in Veronica's part was because of the character's Latina identity, "however it doesn't seem like she is using that Latina culture that made her want to play the role in the first place."²² Detached from a greater Latinx culture and community and being physically white passing, this fan and some others questioned the authenticity of Veronica's Latina identity. The OP's inquiry clearly engages Beltran's concerns with non-white cultural visibility, suggesting that some percentage of *Riverdale*'s social media-engaged audience sees a difference between representing cosmetic and meaningful diversity.

However, the top (most endorsed) comments on this same post overwhelmingly suggested the opposite reading. Two particularly interesting top comments rebutted: "Just last week, she was invited to join the Pussycats because she's a person of color," and "Hermione calls her 'mija' all the time on the show. They acknowledge her being Latina but it's not something they're gonna throw in your face."²³ Drawing on the cosmetic, Latinx-coded additions

to Veronica's role, both of these commenters argue Veronica's racial identity is sufficiently acknowledged for them. The second comment, in particular, speaks in opposition to what Beltran and my analysis might consider "meaningful diversity" in saying *Riverdale* would not "throw" Veronica's Latinxness "in your face." Not only did this fan see the show's surface-level use of racial diversity as adequate, but they also felt any more mention of Veronica's Latinx identity would be overkill for them. This response exposes the inherent defensive whiteness of "woke millennial" culture. *Riverdale* fans are more likely to challenge or critique dominant norms that do not concern white supremacy, as I discuss below.

In this way, *Riverdale*'s representation of racial diversity is appropriative and exploitative, connoting an awareness of the necessity of increased diversity in television as sufficient in challenging a white-dominated medium. This, as Beltran's questions help illuminate, is not adequate or helpful representation and further reaffirms a white-centric narrative. While Veronica's Latinx identity could be incorporated into her character's life, by showing family members, traditions, or simply more of her bilingualism, the show does not risk alienating their white audience's accessibility to her character. Although not all fans are complicit with this portrayal, many are, some even railing against those who feel there should be more in-depth, culture-specific racial diversity. The dominant narrative of "woke millennial" discourse, within this example, is equally appropriative and white-centric because of its vocal opposition to fans who want more diverse racial representation in the show. Henceforth, the dominant "woke millennial" viewpoint silences social critiques of *Riverdale*, reaffirming the hegemonic structures implicit in the show.

Case Study: Non-normative Sexuality

Publicity

As the only out gay character in the immediate "Archie gang," Kevin Keller, played by Casey Cott, became the focal point of *Riverdale*'s queer representation in Season

One. In a short publicity interview for The CW prior to *Riverdale's* release, Cott discussed his character's role in the show, describing Kevin as witty and "constantly saying the truth," reveling in the drama it starts, especially in the context of darker situations, like Jason's murder.²⁴ Not once in this interview does Cott indicate Kevin's homosexuality; instead, clips from the first episode, one where Kevin ogles Archie's abs and another where Veronica deems Kevin "gay and her new best friend" illustrate this identity.²⁵ Allowing these stereotyped clips to be the only indication of Kevin's homosexuality reaffirms the notion that this representation is superficial. Cott's omission of Kevin's sexuality in this interview contrasts with an *Elite Daily* article written three months later that incorporates a subsequent interview with Cott entitled: "Casey Cott Dishes On His 'Riverdale' Character's Sexuality". In it, writer Sean Abrams fervently asserts Kevin's character is "by far the best one on Riverdale," later elaborating, "Cott has continually made a conscious effort not to allow Kevin to be defined solely by his sexuality."²⁶ Kevin "is as fleshed out a character as they come and isn't reduced to a sassy, limp-wristed companion to the other high schoolers."²⁷ As proof, Abrams cites Kevin's sociability, pithy truth-teller attitude, and two romantic interests.

Although Abrams's rave review of Cott's portrayal of Kevin illustrates the multifaceted and nuanced characteristics that suggest a departure from the GBF (Gay Best Friend) stereotype, a closer look at *Riverdale's* representation of Kevin and his "non-normative sexuality," in relation to Beltran's framework, complicates this celebratory rhetoric.

Textual Analysis

Although, as a main character, Kevin would be considered a fully realized individual because of his personal relationships with other characters, sex life, and developed backstory, the first two scenes Kevin appears in do not reflect this depth. Opening on Kevin looking at Archie through Betty's window after Jughead's initial narration, Kevin proclaims, "Archie got hot!" and continues to discuss Betty's plan for asking Archie out (Figure 3).²⁸ In

FIGURE 3



this introductory scene the audience learns about Betty's and Archie's summers, their lifelong friendship, and Betty's romantic intentions toward Archie. In all of this background to Betty and Archie's relationship, Kevin's name is never said. In fact, the audience is not formally introduced to Kevin until Veronica meets him at school the next day, when she interjects in Betty's introduction of him with, "You're gay, thank god. Let's be best friends."²⁹ So, while Kevin's character is detailed and nuanced, straying from certain aspects of the GBF stereotype, his development is delayed compared to his heterosexual counterparts.

Most likely because *Riverdale* creator, Roberto Aguirre-Sacasa, is an out gay man, the writers and producers of *Riverdale* are interested in and knowledgeable about Kevin's world and his connections to a gay community. One of the most important ways the representation of Kevin's sexuality differs from the GBF stereotype is the portrayal of his romantic life. Typically, the GBF is merely an accessory to the heterosexual female, as Kevin was in the first scene for Betty. Kevin's on-screen engagement in gay hook-up culture situates Kevin in the gay community, outside of his high school friends' heteronormative lives.

Apart from his brief and steamy romantic endeavors, though, Kevin's sexuality is rarely a topic to be mentioned and he has no other connections to a queer community. He has sex, but no gay friend group or political affiliations. Most obviously, there are no gay men or other queer

or trans characters who represent a non-normative gender identity in *Riverdale*. Abrams's rhetoric explicitly praises Cott for emphasizing his normative masculinity, suggesting that an effeminate gay man "limp wristed" would be an unacceptable LGBT representation on *Riverdale* because it is too "stereotypical" whereas a more normatively masculine gay character is not. This representation, however, serves heterosexual, cis-gendered audiences instead of representing diversity within the LGBT community. Just knowing Kevin is out, gay, and sexually active thus constitutes accurate LGBT representation and "progressiveness" in this framework.

Although Kevin's isolation from a diverse LGBT community could be attributed to Riverdale being a "small town," this explanation does not ring true as even the Archie Comics of recent years have more representation of non-normative sexuality than *Riverdale*. In the comics, Jughead's character recently came out as asexual. However, in order to give Betty a romantic interest other than Archie, Jughead's asexuality was not part of his character's adaptation on *Riverdale*. For a show seemingly intent on giving the Archie Comics a more modern, progressive update, not including Jughead's asexuality seems like a missed opportunity. As with their take on presenting diversity, the writers take the safe route by limiting their discourse about the complexity of sexual identity in today's culture. It becomes evident, from Kevin's limited connection to his gay identity and exclusion of Jughead's asexuality, that the meaningful representation of non-normative sexualities is not prioritized in the same way heterosexuality is.

As Abrams stresses, however, Kevin's witty truthfulness is not to be ignored and at times acts as a tool for calling out stereotypes. In one of the most emblematic exchanges of the first season, when Cheryl, the popular mean-girl, brings up cheerleading tryouts, Kevin asks, "Is cheerleading still a thing?" to which Cheryl retorts, "Is being the gay best friend still a thing?"³⁰ Undeniably, these characters both fit a classic teen show archetype, but their open

acknowledgment of these archetypes suggests how they are outdated in a modern, progressive context. While this exchange may not necessarily undermine stereotypes, it is confrontational in the way it calls them into question. These self-aware elements engage in self-criticism as well as in a larger critique of teen show tropes. And yet even in this way, this "woke" flagging of stereotypes is still not a rejection of them—Cheryl stays a cheerleader, Kevin continues to be a GBF. Simply grazing the surface of self-criticism, the show reaffirms the problematic elements it calls attention to.

Fan Interaction with Social Media

While most fans' interactions I examined were complicit in the program's superficial "woke" agenda, in terms of non-normative sexuality many fans voiced productive criticisms that did have an impact. Although Kevin's character garnered several critiques for the limitations of his sexuality, a more illustrative trend of productive critiques on social media was in relation to *Riverdale*'s queer baiting. Queer baiting is when a fictive narrative will tease or hint at queer relationships, drawing in a queer audience, but never fulfill these relationships, allowing them to continue operating in a heteronormative framework. In resistance to this fan-garnering device, fandom culture, particularly in fan fiction, has a long history of addressing queer baiting by intervening in the fictional text and creating its own, non-normative narratives. Without knowledge of this practice, Shannon Purser, who plays Ethel on *Riverdale*, tweeted a criticism of "Beronica" (Betty and Veronica) fans for aggressively "shipping" the couple.³¹ In a *Bustle* article detailing numerous angry fan responses to Purser's tweet, author Mary Kate McGrath highlights that "fans took the time to educate Purser on queer-baiting and the star heard them out."³² Although *Riverdale*'s text itself had implicit shortfalls that reaffirmed heteronormativity, the fan engagement with cast in critiquing these shortfalls was ultimately productive. While some "woke millennials" are complicit in the hegemonic agendas of *Riverdale*, others use social media and a collective voice to intervene

on problematic material, even using the situation as an educational tool.

Conclusion

Riverdale proves it knows its “woke millennial” audience, pandering to it through generic form, referential material, and the acknowledgement of prevalent social critiques. While at least some sector of this audience usually critically evaluates the show, these fans are in

the minority, and fans were also much more likely to critique homophobia than the superficiality of racial representation (*Riverdale* may be dark, but it is ultimately still white). Thus, I argue that the “woke millennial” praise from many critics and fans for the show’s surface-level complications of dominant norms still keeps these norms intact, creating a cycle of affirmation for this behavior.

ENDNOTES

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Mitch Buangsuwon | *Akou-Kurou-Gai - Residence in the Alleyway*

《活着》之中国文化分析

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ABSTRACT This paper reviews the Chinese movie “To Live” and analyzes the concepts of life and death in China from the 1940s to the 1970s. With a focus on various characters’ life stories depicted in the film, the paper interprets how Chinese traditional values as well as the larger chaotic political contexts shaped ordinary Chinese people’s fates and how they reacted to larger social and political forces beyond their control. Thus, choosing to live is a way of resistance to uncontrollable external forces.

《活着》这部电影讲述了在中国发生重大历史变革的一九四零至一九七零年间富贵和家珍这对夫妻所经历的遭遇。在电影开始时，富贵是一个嗜赌如命的纨绔子弟。但是，富贵因为嗜赌而破产，他和他的家庭随之也陷入贫困。在接下来的几年中，他被迫加入国民党和共产党军队，而家珍被迫做低阶层的工作。然而，因为这部电影对中国共产党的政策和运动进行了批判，因此一段时期内，这部电影被中国国家广播电影电视管理局查封了。这部电影的主题是活着意味着一切，而死则意味着成为时代的牺牲品；死意味着顺从时代的安排，而活则是为了家庭而活。

活着就是一切，这意味着只有活着的人才可以做有意义的事情。在电影里你可以看见富贵和家珍都经历了很多艰辛，但是他们尽己所能付出了所有。破产以后，他们的生活陷入困境，但是富贵和家珍都有工作。因为富贵不再赌博，在富贵加入国民党和共产党队以后，他和家珍的关系变好了一些。富贵和家珍会一起聊天，他们一起养孩子，一起相依为命。虽然他们没有钱，但是他们拥有和之前不一样的幸福。

死者是所处时代的牺牲品，换句话说，死是对时代安排的顺从。在国民党之前的一段时间里，龙二和其他的有钱人不会被处决，而是受到高度尊重。在这部电影中富贵看到龙二的行为，还有看懂了因为龙二是一位士绅，而且没有把自己的财富捐给“人民政府”，因此被枪毙了。此外，富贵的女儿凤霞也是受害者。在她分娩期间，

所有的医生都被派去受劳动教育，只有学生留下来值班。他们找到医生以后医生太饿了，所以他们给他饭吃，但是他们不知道正是因为他们给了医生太多馒头吃，医生变得意识模糊不能正常工作。因为医生无法帮助凤霞生产，她去世了。如果当时不是所有的医生都被派去农场劳动，那她就不会死了。这两个例子表明死是当时时代的牺牲品。

富贵和家珍都是为家庭而活。富贵在国民党和共产党队的时候常常说他不能死，他应该活着，原因是他想照看、帮助和保护他的家庭，他只是为了他的家人而活。家珍在电影开始的时候离开了富贵，那是因为那时候他不是个好爸爸。当时富贵只爱赌博，所以家珍觉得那不是个养家的好环境。但是她有儿子以后回来了，所以富贵可以看到有庆。那时候富贵不再赌博，所以他们一起养育他们的孩子。因此，家珍的行动让我们知道她活着是为了她的家庭。

这部电影有一个文化概念让我觉得特别有意义，那就是，你之所以选择改变自己的整个生活，仅仅是因为政府的要求和命令。在美国，政府的权力是有限的，所以无法完全控制人们的生活。《活着》这部电影中，富贵为了避免遭遇横祸，常常做出改变：他的行为、目标、工作、状态以及他与其他人的关系都改变了。我觉得这真是太艰难，也太奇怪了；我无法想象，仅仅是因为政府的要求，我自己就必须改变我的整个人生。

通过看这部电影，我认识到中国人民的坚忍。但是为何他们要如此忍耐政府造成的灾难？他们为什么不去反抗政府？原因可能在于孔孟之道教导人们要遵从统治阶层的管理和规定。孟子证明，当阶梯顶端的人相信或以某种方式行事时，那些信仰和行为将转移到下一层。举例说明，人类一般是遵循被有更高社会地位人管控的。因此，国王的部分作用就是为底层平民树立一个好榜样，以便人民能够像他一样行事。所以很久以前中国人的信仰就是看谁掌握着最高权力，然后效仿他们的做法和目标。这种观念也会渗透到家庭之中：比如妻子服从丈夫，孩子会继续父母未实现的理想。因此，依据孔孟的思想，人可以理解为什么在这部电影中富贵和他的妻子不会与权威抗争。不仅他们不会与权威抗争，他们也会改变自己以适应时代。

自古以来中国人服从权威的意志，但人民也觉得新的时代应该有新的原则，这是因为中国最后一个封建王朝失去了道德上的合理性，而且不关心人民。这可以解释为什么后来的国民党和共产党会更获得人心——他们破除旧路，开创更加关心人民的美好中国，所以人民爱戴新政府。新政府为了让社会发展得更好而努力，把它视为人民的胜利，这更多体现的是集体意志，集体意志是人民的意志。所以人民也更愿意尊重和服从他们的政府权威。

另一方面，一个人需要努力工作才能有所回报。中国民间传说中有许多关于克服苦难的故事，比如在《目连救母》中，目连为了救他的母亲，他必须完成多项任务。因为生活不会只是把你需要的东西送给你，所以你需要努力工作。而且在共产主义的思想中，你也不是为了自己而经历这些困难，而是为了改善你的社区和国家，让你家人的生活变得更美好。

最后，从中国历史来看，即使在最动乱的政治时期，中国人的韧性依然存在。比如说，在大元和大清时期，中国汉人被蒙古人和满洲人统治。他们能一直坚持下去，并遵守他们的规则，直到他们能够夺回他们国家的权力。所以中国人民历史上习惯于为了能长期取胜而等待和坚持不懈。

因此，中国人民有很多传统的观念来支撑他们对生活的热情。他们能够克服任何障碍和任何困难，经受住在人生中所面临的任何艰难困苦的考验。他们一般相信他们最终会看到隧道尽头的光明；如果他们没能看到，那么他们相信他们的家人和后代会看到。这是《活着》这部电影所体现的一个主要的中国文化特色。



Chris Keramidas | *Armchair in The Groves*

“WHY SHOULD THE ENVIOUS WORLD THROW ALL THEIR SCANDALOUS MALICE UPON ME?”: FEMININITY AND WITCHCRAFT IN *THE WONDERFULL DISCOUERIE OF ELIZABETH SAWYER* AND *THE WITCH OF EDMONTON*¹

¹ This paper was written for the 2018 Newberry Undergraduate Seminar led by Professors Valentina Tikoff and Glen Carman. Professors Eric Selinger and June Chung selected the paper, and Professor Jennifer Canary assisted with editing.

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Two seventeenth-century texts, *The Wonderfull Discouerie of Elizabeth Sawyer* and *The Witch of Edmonton*, tell the tale of Elizabeth Sawyer—an old woman outcast by and known for quarrelling with neighbors in the small community of Edmonton, England. In the spring of 1621, farmers in Edmonton began noticing that crops and livestock had been tampered with, and small children inexplicably began dying. Unease swept through the village. The cause for this mischief was no mystery: clearly there was a witch in Edmonton. Suspicion immediately fell on Sawyer. Members of the community attempted to prove her guilt through an old wives’ tale that said a witch would appear unsummoned if part of her thatch roof were burned. Sawyer reportedly did appear when they burned the thatch, but it was only after the death of her neighbor Agnes Ratcliffe that the Justice of the Peace charged her with any crime. Agnes Ratcliffe (referred to as “Anne Ratcliffe” in *The Witch of Edmonton*) fell deathly ill and told friends and family that if she did die, it was because Sawyer had cursed her out of malice. Her death was considered a murder, and Sawyer was arrested and tried. After being convicted, Sawyer made a confession to the chaplain of her prison, telling how the devil appeared to her in the form of a giant dog and converted her to witchcraft. She was hanged for witchcraft on April 19, 1621.

Although both texts are woven around the mythos of Elizabeth Sawyer, *The Wonderfull Discouerie of Elizabeth*

Sawyer is a pamphlet written by Henry Goodcole that claims to document her confession verbatim, while *The Witch of Edmonton*, by Thomas Dekker, John Ford, and William Rowley, explicitly fictionalizes her life as a play. The differences in the intents and modes of narration in the two mediums of print are crucial because while both texts find the *existence* of witchcraft unquestionable, they portray Sawyer in vastly different lights. Goodcole’s pamphlet serves to educate and ultimately police the public on the various ways in which one can easily fall prey to witchcraft and the devil. Sawyer is portrayed in a highly unsympathetic light, touted as an example for other women of the consequences of deviant behavior. Contrastingly, the play affords a certain sympathy to Elizabeth Sawyer, highlighting the social ills that plague all of Edmonton and that forcefully push Sawyer into the role of witch. I argue that only through investigation of Goodcole’s reliance on previous codifications of witches’ deviant behavior and reinforcement of widely accepted witch stereotypes can the depth of the subversive nature of *The Witch of Edmonton* be fully uncovered. Ultimately, the play complicates and destabilizes the pamphlet’s stereotypical depiction of witchcraft through its characterization of Mother Sawyer, Elizabeth Sawyer’s fictional counterpart.

The body of scholarship that exists on *The Wonderfull Discouerie* is primarily historical analysis that approaches

the document through the lens of Goodcole's other "murder pamphlets," which documented other instances of female criminality, and that fails to examine the ways in which female behavior is conveniently and easily codified as wicked. The scholarship surrounding *The Witch of Edmonton*, on the other hand, is primarily composed of literary criticism, with particular interest in the existence of strong female characters found within the play and the embodiment of the Devil as a dog taken directly from Goodcole's pamphlet (Pearson 89). The analyses of both texts are extensive; however, this paper builds upon the body of prior scholarship to show how the pamphlet draws upon previous codifications of deviant female behavior, as well as to illustrate how the play subverts Goodcole's stereotypes by creating a multitude of characters that could easily occupy the space of the "witch of Edmonton." Looking beyond just these two sources, I will show that the differences found between the pamphlet and play speak to the gradually changing social understanding and opinion of witches in Early Modern England.

The Wonderful Discoverie of Elizabeth Sawyer

Henry Goodcole's pamphlet *The Wonderful Discoverie of Elizabeth Sawyer, a Witch, late of Edmonton, her Conuiction, Condemnation, and Death. Together with the Relation of the Diuels Accesse to her and their Conference Together*, was "entered in the Stationers' Register on April 27, 1621," only eight days after Sawyer's execution (Wymer 7). It begins with a letter from Goodcole to his readers, whom he calls "Deare Christians," explaining that he published the pamphlet because of the great public demand for the details of the trial and execution. Goodcole was intimately acquainted with the trial and execution because he worked as the Newgate prison ordinary, or chaplain, often interviewing prisoners before their executions (Stymeist 30). He establishes his own credibility by asserting, "For my part I meddle heare with nothing but matter of fact, and to that ende produce the Testimony of the living and the dead, which I hope shall be Authentickall for the confirmation of this Narration" (Goodcole). The rest of the pamphlet is comprised of a

narrative account of the events leading to the accusations of witchcraft against Sawyer, the proceeding of her trial, her subsequent confession, and her execution. Goodcole concludes with a warning against immorality and blasphemy, providing a list of witnesses present at Sawyer's confession who can attest to Goodcole's accuracy.

Goodcole's authorship is important because his agenda is not necessarily clear. David Stymeist argues that analyzing his pamphlets as a collection illustrates Goodcole's dedication to "uncover[ing] the social, political, and economic factors that led individuals to commit criminal acts" (30). Goodcole's inclusion of domestic details seems to provide a more nuanced portrayal of the women in his pamphlets (Stymeist 31). Yet Viviana Comensoli, Anthony Dawson, Todd Butler, and Sarah Johnson, in their respective work on *The Wonderful Discoverie*, find him to be an overly-intrusive, moralizing narrator, providing a sensationalized account of female crime while still condemning his subjects. Even Stymeist equivocates on his reading of Goodcole as wholly subversive. He admits Goodcole's inclusions of "domestic realism" cannot be classified as a "proto-feminist sentiment that actively questions" women's motivations for crime because of his unquestionably damaging and condemning language surrounding each woman in all three pamphlets, overt moralizing within each pamphlet, as well as linking of God's will "directly with the actions of the judiciary and his own actions" (Stymeist 34). I will use Goodcole's authorship as a baseline both to identify what stereotypes are reinforced in the pamphlet and from which to judge the subversive nature of the subsequent play.

Goodcole begins the narration of Elizabeth Sawyer's history with the events preceding her arrest. He documents the causes for the town's distrust of her—the "death of Nurse-children and Cattell"—and writes that "to finde out who should bee the author of this mischief, an old ridiculous custome was used" (Goodcole). This custom was to take a bit of the thatch from Sawyer's roof and to burn it; if she appeared unprompted at the burning,

she was known to be a witch. However, Goodcole labels this tradition “ridiculous” before it is even described. His skepticism could easily be interpreted as a sort of progressivism. Yet, in dismissing one such superstition early on in the pamphlet, Goodcole primes his audience to believe he is a skeptical man, further condemning Sawyer based on the evidence that he *does* come to believe. The following stereotypes found within the pamphlet are then more credible because the audience has seen that Goodcole will not believe just anything.

One stereotype that the pamphlet relies on is the sexual relationship between witch and devil. In the narrative passage, Goodcole writes that the three women called to examine Sawyer found “a thing like a Teate.. [which] seemed as though one had suckt it” (Goodcole). Further in, a large portion of Sawyer’s confession deals with questions about how the Devil, who came to her in the shape of a dog, would suck Sawyer’s blood from the same “teat”-like mark. Sawyer confesses, seemingly unprompted, that she sealed her promise of devotion by giving him “to sucke of my bloud, the which hee asked of me” (Goodcole). She elaborates, “The place where the [Devil] suckt my bloud was a little above my fundament, and that place chosen by himselfe.... And I asked the [Devil] why hee would sucke my bloud, and hee sayd it was to nourish him” (Goodcole). Although “fundament” has fallen out of use in Modern English since the seventeenth-century, the original readers of the pamphlet would have understood it to mean a person’s buttocks. This intimate placement of the Devil’s sucking initially seems to provide bizarre, bawdy entertainment—possibly adding sex to enhance the scandal and harkening back to the widely-popular *Malleus Malificarum*.

Also known as *The Hammer of Witches*, the *Malleus Malificarum*, written by Heinrich Kramer, had been published in 1486 and remained popular for centuries. Witches having intercourse with the Devil are peppered throughout the text; as Kramer claims, “it is common to all of [the witches] to practice carnal copulation with

devils,” and sexual promiscuity was one of the many deviant female behaviors that pointed to witchcraft. In his questioning, Goodcole proceeds to ask whether Sawyer pulled up her skirts when the Devil, again in the shape of a dog, would suck on her, to which she responds, “No I did not, but the [Devil] would put his head under my coates, and I did willingly suffer him to doe what hee would” (Goodcole). The use of “willingly” suggests that the significance of this question lies in whether Sawyer consented to or initiated this interaction. Sawyer does not seem overly concerned one way or the other when the Devil claims her, but here indicates that she willingly let him suck her blood, engaging in a sexualized act.

Goodcole does not explicitly link Sawyer’s confession to the *Malleus Malificarum*, but he does write that “the said Elizabeth Sawyer, not having the feare of God before her eyes [was] seduced by the [Devil], by Diabolically helpe” (Goodcole). In context, “seduction” works in dual ways, meaning both that she was turned to the Devil’s side and that there was some sexual interaction between the two that he initiated by crawling under her skirts. In that same passage, Goodcole writes that Sawyer was turned to the Devil “(because her neighbours where she dwelt, would not buy Broomes of her) [and] would therefore thus revenge herselfe on them” (Goodcole). Iconic of witches for centuries, broomsticks were included in the *Malleus Malificarum* as a method of transportation for witches. Kramer states that witches would anoint a “chair or a broomstick” with an “unguent,” or flying ointment, made “at the devil’s instruction ... [and were then] immediately carried up into the air” (Kramer). Goodcole, again, does not explicitly highlight Sawyer’s brooms—in fact, there is only the single mention of them throughout the pamphlet. However, this has circular consequences; the connection between broomsticks and witches was already registered in the social conscience of his readers and would have hinted at further deviancy on Sawyer’s part. So, while broomsticks would further identify Sawyer as a witch, the seemingly casual mention of them in the pamphlet also works to reinforce the *broomstick* as an icon of witchery.

Also included in the narrative section of Goodcole's document is a list of "publike and private markes on [Sawyer's] body" that indicated her guilt to the charge of witchcraft (Goodcole). The first mark is that "Her face was most pale & ghoast-like with-out any bloud at all, and her countenance was still dertected to the ground," and second is that "Her body was crooked and deformed, even bending together" (Goodcole). Although these physical indicators of age seem appropriate and natural in Sawyer, these markers of old womanhood are used by both the authorities and Goodcole to condemn her. This curiously ageist approach to witchcraft seems to again trace roots to the *Malleus Malificarum*, which often warned against the "crone-figure" (i.e. old women) as being witches capable of indoctrinating young, beautiful women.

One chapter of the *Malleus Malificarum*, titled "Of the severall Methods by which Devils through Witches Entice and Allure the Innocent to the Increase of that Horrid Craft and Company," contains three stories of ways in which young maidens and wives were at one point lured into witchcraft, and in each story the witch doing the luring was an old woman, qualifying as the crone-figure (Kramer). Although Goodcole's inclusion of the markers of age could be chalked up to a sort of proto-journalistic integrity, accurately reporting all of the evidence used against her at trial, the emphasis on Sawyer's appearance throughout the pamphlet indicates a level of regulation of the body. In the confessional section, Goodcole asks Sawyer how one of her eyes came to be "put out" (Goodcole). This question and her answer do not hold much relevance to the investigation. But the emphasis on Sawyer's body woven throughout the pamphlet offers a justification in that old age, disfigurements, and deformities were codified as indicators of witchery. Goodcole goes out of his way to illustrate the ways in which Elizabeth Sawyer looks the part of the stereotypical crone-witch.

The third and final mark on her body is "That tongue which by cursing, swearing, blasphemeing, and imprecating, as afterward she confessed, was the occasioning cause, of the [Devil's] accesse unto her, even at that time, and to claime her thereby as his owne" (Goodcole). Her tongue, identified as a metonym for her speech, highlights a severe social anxiety around deviant speech in women. To be identified as a "scold" or woman with an unruly tongue in Early Modern England had dire social consequences. Scolding was technically a legal term, and one could be prosecuted as a "scold" (Williams 24). Although both men and women faced the threat of legal action for unruly tongues, "women were more likely to be prosecuted and branded with the pejorative moniker 'scold'" and their "charges usually involved prolonged harassment of neighbors or a community and, at times, physical violence" (Williams 25). Certainly, Elizabeth Sawyer fits the role of a scold.

In her confession, Sawyer says, "The first time that the [Devil] came unto me was, when I was cursing, swearing, and blaspheming... the first words that hee spake unto me were these: *Oh! Have I now found you cursing, swearing, and blaspheming? now you are mine*" (Goodcole). The story-like structure of this answer—the plot, setting, and even dialogue—presents itself as a short morality tale: readers will now think of Elizabeth Sawyer and be wary of what they say, even in private, lest the Devil find them and claim them, too. Goodcole inserts himself in her answer, writing, "A wonderfull warning to many whose tongues are too frequent in these abhominable sinnes; I pray God, that this her terrible example may deter them," explicitly placing this passage as a warning against other women and scolds (Goodcole). Goodcole's pamphlet codifies unruly speech—through the use of Sawyer's physical tongue—as deviant behavior belonging to a witch.

This intentional skepticism of the opening pages of the pamphlet, coupled with Goodcole's dedication to "realism" within the pamphlet, creates a subtly persuasive text. This

realism is constructed by documenting legal details of the case and trial, although “for brevities sake [he omits] forms of Law and Information,” never going so far as to bog the reader down with any of the less sensational legal papers or forms (Goodcole). In his narration, Goodcole records the trial point by point, naming key players in Sawyer’s arrest and trial, such as Arthur Robinson, a Justice of the Peace who interviews Sawyer, and Margaret Weaver, one of the women called upon to examine Sawyer’s body for strange marks; he even goes so far as to claim that Sawyer’s confession is transcribed “verbatim” (Goodcole). Granted, these strategies can be seen as an effort to add credibility to his authorship, as well as provide the intimate details that the public demanded. However, it also grounds Elizabeth Sawyer’s superstitious story in reality during a period when there was great debate over whether witches did actually exist. With reality firmly established, Sawyer’s witchcraft is then layered as an undeniable facet of reality, reinforcing that the various stereotypes plucked from the pages of the *Malleus Malificarum* hold true.

The Witch of Edmonton

The Witch of Edmonton was first performed at Court by Prince Charles’s Men on December 29, 1621—less than a year after Elizabeth Sawyer’s execution (Wymer 6). Despite its swift conception and initial performances after Sawyer’s death, the play was not published until 1658. *The Witch of Edmonton* was a collaborative effort of William Rowley, Thomas Dekker, and John Ford. Despite its macabre source material, the play is a “tragi-comedy” and contains three plots—one main plot and two subplots. The main plot deals with Frank Thorney, a young man who goes against his father’s wishes and secretly marries a pregnant serving girl named Winifred. Unbeknownst to Frank, his father has arranged a more suitable marriage for him with Susan, the daughter of a wealthy merchant. Frank, unable to back out of the engagement and eager for Susan’s dowry, marries her and becomes a bigamist. He tries to leave town with the dowry to be with Winifred, but Susan follows him and he kills her after telling her about his crime and her unknowing fall from virtue. He cuts

himself in several places in order to make Susan’s death look like a robber’s attack, but Susan’s younger sister finds the bloody knife and exposes his crime. Frank is executed on the same day as Mother Sawyer. Sawyer’s witch plot is actually the primary subplot of the play and follows the series of events laid out in the pamphlet almost exactly. However, this iteration of Sawyer seems far more self-aware than the one in the pamphlet, recognizing her space in Edmonton as the hag her neighbors love to hate and playing into their expectations of her. The secondary subplot is about a fool named Cuddy Banks who befriends Dog (the devil in disguise), but hilarity ensues when he proves incorruptible.

In transcribing Elizabeth Sawyer’s story from pamphlet to the stage, the playwrights place a great deal of emphasis on the physical manifestation of the Devil from Sawyer’s confession, through the character Dog. This character is always played by a man in a variation of a dog costume. Yet, while the relationship between Mother Sawyer and Dog is pivotal to the entire play, it does not have the same sexual overtones as the relationship between Elizabeth Sawyer and the Dog in the pamphlet. Johnson writes that “On stage, Sawyer’s interactions with Dog move beyond the sensational to become haunting and sad,” especially when their relationship is characterized as the “first and only loving relationship” she has ever had (Johnson 70). There is some ambiguity within the stage relationship because Dog does suck blood from Mother Sawyer; however, the stage direction makes it clear that when Sawyer seals her promise to Dog with blood, he “sucks her arm,” which is clearly a far less sexual place than above the fundament (Dekker et al. 370).

Pearson notes that in one of the final scenes between Mother Sawyer and Dog, “she ‘tickles’ with Dog, which is a term of affection but also a permissive direction that has inspired a number of different stagings, ranging from Sawyer rubbing Dog’s stomach to the two rolling around the stage together” (Pearson 98). That some directors have in more recent productions made Mother Sawyer’s

relationship with Dog more sexual does not mean that a sexual relationship was written into the play. In the same scene, Mother Sawyer says, “Ho, ho, my dainty. My little Pearl. No Lady loves her Hound, Monkey, or Parakeet, as I do thee” (Dekker et al. 403). This reads more as dialogue between a doting woman and her literal pet than between a woman and her lover. In their portrayal of this relationship, the playwrights go out of their way to alter the narrative presented in the pamphlet, presenting a relationship between witch and Devil that is not intrinsically sexual.

Although *The Witch of Edmonton* affords sympathy to Mother Sawyer, the issue of scolds is still prevalent throughout the play. Mother Sawyer does not lose her unruly tongue in this fictionalized account, but her curses are shown to be meaningless; rather than dangerous curses, her words are more of an outlet for a frustrated old woman who has been alienated from her neighbors. Meg F. Pearson notes that Sawyer’s scolds “drive away even the Justice who enters the play desiring to temper Edmonton’s witch craze. He turns against Sawyer only when she refuses to acknowledge his rank” (103). The Justice orders Sawyer to know to whom she speaks. She responds, “A Man: perhaps, no Man. Men in gay clothes, whose Backs are laden with Titles and Honours, are within far more crooked than I am; and if I be a Witch, more Witch-like” (Dekker et al. 400-401). She upsets the power dynamic between herself and the Justice, expanding Goodcole’s definition of a witch. In doing so, this dialogue precisely illustrates what made a scold so dangerous for patriarchal Early Modern society.

Williams writes that in using deviant feminine speech, “a scold threatened the peace of a neighborhood, and represented one of the most egregious sins for women, that of verbal abuse” (25). Sawyer’s speech can indeed be seen as threatening the social order of Edmonton. In the same scene, Sawyer says, “an old woman Ill-favour’d grown with yeers, if she be poor, Must be call’d Bawd or Witch. Such so abus’d” (Dekker et al. 401). The playwrights give Sawyer lines that explicitly cite old age and poverty

for her outcast and supposed witchery. However, because of the eloquence of Sawyer’s speech and careful treatment from the playwrights throughout the play regarding the causes of witchcraft, the audience is aware that it is not her scolding speech that makes her a witch. Pearson writes, “Even as she is dehumanized in the eyes of her community, she becomes more and more worthy of the audience’s interest, largely as a result of her ability to see her situation and her community clearly” (104). In addition, that Mother Sawyer says that because she is an old woman she “*must* be call’d” such things, rather than self-identifying that she “*is* a Baw’d or Witch,” challenges the ageist stereotypes that Goodcole reinforces. Overall, rather than damning Mother Sawyer for her scolding tongue, the playwrights dig deeper to show sociological reasons for the accusations against her and separate the melding between scold and witch that the Goodcole pamphlet endeavors to create.

That *The Witch of Edmonton* is titled such, even while Mother Sawyer’s story is actually the subplot to the bigamy plot, hints at the ambiguous nature of who the titular character is intended to be. David Atkinson presents one possibility for this interesting pairing of plots as two consecutive Acts of Parliament in 1609 that turned both bigamy and witchcraft into death-penalty felonies (229). The first of these laws made bigamy a death-penalty offense, and the second made the “formation of a compact with an evil spirit (which is at the heart of Mother Sawyer’s crime)” also punishable by death (Atkinson 230). Atkinson argues John Ford’s legal education at the Middle Temple makes it conceivable that the playwrights would have linked these two crimes together in this way.

This is a possible explanation, but one that diminishes the meaning of these two crimes linked in one play under a title that references the subplot and overlooks Mother Sawyer’s speech. In the same scene with the Justice, Sawyer says, “A Witch? Who is not? Hold not that universal Name in scorne then. What are your painted things in Princes Courts? Upon whose Eye-lids Lust fits blowing

fires to burn Mens Souls in sensual hot desires” (Dekker et al. 401). She ends her attack by asking simply, “Are not these Witches?” (Dekker et al. 401). Conaway points out that Mother Sawyer never actually accuses the men in this scene of witchcraft, but instead just “condemn[s] those who attempt to condemn [her]” (59). Yet Mother Sawyer’s speech further opens up the definition of “witch,” offering it up to the audience’s discretion. During this time, men were occasionally accused of practicing witchcraft, and so the initial audiences of *The Witch of Edmonton* would not be completely unaccustomed to thinking of a man as a witch.

Mother Sawyer’s damning words should ring uncomfortably true to the people of Edmonton (and Early Modern audiences) because the main plot of *The Witch of Edmonton* is almost entirely comprised of sinners—Thorney is a bigamist and murderer, Clarrington (who is present as a male authority figure in this scene) seduces Winifred, and Winifred gives up her honor. The audience is privy to all of these crimes and therefore are in the position of being able to cast judgement on the characters, deciding for themselves who is the real “witch of Edmonton.” Although the Justice refuses to hear Sawyer’s damning words against others, instead using her words to validate the suspicions against her, the audience is aware of the crimes that go unnoticed by the citizens of Edmonton. As such, it is possible that there is in fact no singular “witch of Edmonton,” because as it turns out, Edmonton is full of many sorts of witches.

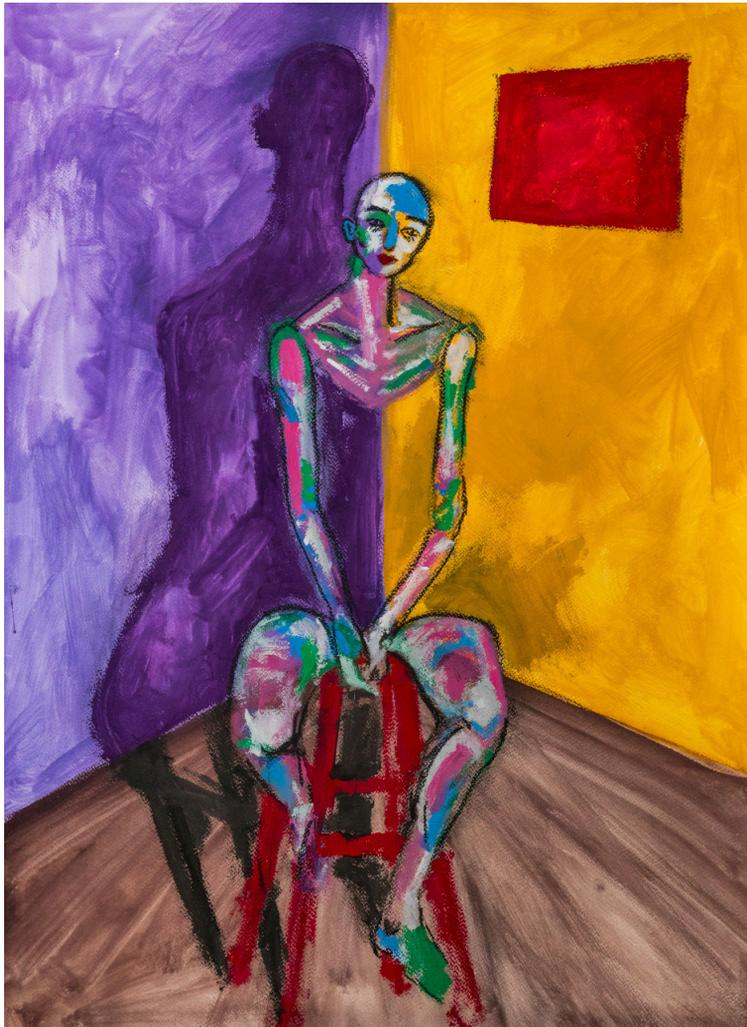
Because the bigamy plot most directly follows the sins of Frank Thorney, it is worth investigating his possible place as “the witch of Edmonton.” Both he and Mother Sawyer share similar non-sexual seductions to sin at the hands of Dog, which lead to their executions. In the most pivotal moment of the bigamy plot, Dog brushes up against Frank Thorney, prompting Thorney to kill Susan in order to free himself from bigamy (Dekker et al. 389). Just as Dog sways Mother Sawyer into pledging herself to him, turning away from God and prompting

evil deeds, Dog also leads Thorney to murder. The shared execution day of both Frank Thorney and Mother Sawyer ties the narrative up with a crisp bow and destabilizes the presumption that Mother Sawyer is the only witch in Edmonton, contributing to the subversive nature of the play as a whole.

Although Winifred, the pregnant serving girl, is absent for a great deal of the action, she is given an important role in delivering the epilogue. Winifred “speaks to her widowhood and her hopes of marrying again, if the free and noble tongues of gentlemen” will speak kindly of her (Pearson 106). Pearson, in fact, notes how, given the audience’s understanding of Edmonton and their treatment of marginalized, deviant women, we are not likely to view Winifred’s situation as a lower class, single mother optimistically (106). Realistically, Winifred seems poised to become the next, or simply *another*, “witch of Edmonton.” In both the pamphlet and play, the construct of witch and witchcraft is cyclical—Goodcole is in a constant state of basing his argument on stereotypes that reaffirm themselves, and the playwrights attempt to show how society perpetually assigns the role of witch to the next marginalized person in line. Goodcole’s cycle is smooth and ongoing: so long as there are deviant women and a general belief in witchcraft, his cycle will never be broken. However, the cycle of *The Witch of Edmonton* has a catch: the audience has seen the various sinners (and possible witches) of Edmonton, and Winifred is not quite the same as Mother Sawyer. Should the citizens of Edmonton offer “one kind word” to her, Winifred could be spared from Mother Sawyer’s fate. Regardless of whether this cycle breaks with Winifred, the audience is painfully aware that the repetitive nature of witchcraft accusations rests upon a community rather than the stereotyped actions of a single person.

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Gin To | *Figure on Stool*

PENSÉES PUÉRILES *

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ABSTRACT As our shoe sizes grow and our responsibilities multiply, it is difficult to remember our simple childhood thoughts, dreams, and genuine happiness. As a society, we become engulfed with daily stressors and flooded with questions about the unknown. We lose who we are. This poem was written to remind us to place our worries on hold for a little while. Tap into what you love but have neglected and replaced with unnecessary trepidation. Remember what it is like to have a childish heart. Everything will be okay.

Parfois, je me sens assez nauséeux
C'est comme si je ne bougeais plus mais toutes les choses
tournaient autour de moi
Faisaient des cercles rapidement autour de mon corps
Les objets définissent leurs formes ensemble
Deviennent ambigus
Parfois, je m'étends sur le sol
Je ferme les yeux pour aider à calmer le mouvement
sans fin
Il y a beaucoup de décisions à prendre
On m'avait soutenu qu'il y avait tant de temps
Ne t'inquiète pas maintenant
Prends plaisir
Insouciant, imprudent, sauvage
Je n'avais jamais réalisé que le temps passerait si vite

De nombreuses pensées drainent mon corps
Aspirant le sang et la vitalité
Comme si les inquiétudes à propos de l'incontrôlable
pouvaient provoquer l'anémie
Dommage qu'il n'y ait pas de vitamine pour un esprit torturé
Est-ce que je fais les bons choix ?
Et si je rate quelque chose d'extraordinaire ?
Vais-je être satisfait de qui je deviens ?
Mes pensées tournent aussi vite que le monde qui tourne
autour de moi

Je me sens tomber dans une ornière
La peur forçant mon esprit à douter
Des choses auxquelles je crois
De qui je suis
La vie est comme un jeu de Colin-Maillard
Vos yeux couverts
Incapable de voir, tâtonnant sans but à la découverte
des autres
Ils s'enfuient et échappent à votre emprise
Ils se moquent de vous
Vous regardant lutter pour trouver les choses
Les choses que vous ne pouvez pas voir

J'aime être dehors
Loin de la ville et de la foule
Loin du besoin constant de ---
Loin du sentiment incessant d'impatience
Dont tout un chacun regorge
Quelque part, je peux sentir l'herbe, entendre la paix, et
sentir la chaleur
Cela me rappelle mon enfance
Remplie de rire, d'imagination, enveloppée d'une
dentelle d'optimisme
Quand j'étais petit, il y avait ce champ près de chez moi
Inondé de papillons, de libellules et de tant de créatures
Pendant des heures, je les regardais simplement
Voler et voltiger librement dans des directions loufoques

Ils étaient vraiment ravissants
Pourquoi notre bêtise et notre liberté se perdent-elles ?
Même les yeux bandés la confiance du succès n'a
jamais disparu
Même l'inconnu ne pourrait pas tuer les rêves
L'incontrôlable a été embrassé avec la croyance que tout
irait bien

Un jour nous grandirons tous pour devenir adultes
Cela ne signifie pas qu'on doive oublier ses pensées puérides
Parfois, c'est revenir à vos racines qui apporte un
véritable changement
N'insultez pas votre force parce qu'elle ne mérite pas d'avaries
Ne castagnez pas votre propre esprit
Comprenez que ce sont précisément ces choses qui vous
ont amené jusqu'ici
L'optimisme ne devrait pas disparaître avec vos jouets
L'imagination ne devrait pas être remplacée par l'incertitude
Ne jamais avoir un esprit dubitatif parce que vous allez
empester l'échec
Le rire ne doit pas être masqué par l'inquiétude
Rappelez-vous qu'il est acceptable d'avoir des
pensées puérides
N'oubliez pas de regarder les libellules de temps en temps

*Prepared for FCH202 Advanced Communication II, taught by Professor
Pascale-Anne Brault in Winter 2018.

AFTERMATH OF A MEGA-FIRE: A CASE STUDY OF THE RODEO-CHEDISKI FIRE, ARIZONA THROUGH REMOTE SENSING

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ABSTRACT Wildfires are both a critical aspect of the cycle of forest succession and a major natural disaster to native species and humans alike. But in the case of mega-fires, fires that are massive in size and burn uncontrollably and with the highest intensity, where does the most damage occur? This research sought to investigate where in the burn pattern a mega-fire was at its height through change analysis performed utilizing GIS and Remote Sensing methodologies. By subtracting the end image from an image before the fire, a change image was created and ordinally organized, revealing a pattern in increased change along physical geographies of increased slope, with the most visible change occurring at the crest of these geographies. Additional research into fire behavior highlighted the tendency of fire to grow in momentum and tenaciousness as the slope rises. Therefore, it was determined that as the fire climbed hills and other steep physical features in its path, it gained speed, and the convection current of the fire allowed for the fire to burn hotter and char the forest more notably than the surrounding land. This information will be applied to elevation information for the entire state of Arizona, and areas with increasingly steeper slopes in areas with highly flammable environments will be identified as areas with increased risk for high-end fire damage in future research.

Introduction

In the United States alone during the 2016 calendar year, there were over 67,000 incidents of wildfire reported, with 9,000 wildfires in the State of Texas alone. In total, fires scorched over 5.5 million acres of land within the United States (Insurance Information Institute, 2017). The occurrence of wildfires has been steadily increasing as global temperatures and weather patterns shift towards longer and hotter summers. In conjunction with drier winters across North America, fire risk has been expanding to a wider range of locales. Yet, the areas of highest impact are regions that have seen wildfires the longest, as drier conditions in an already kindling environment lead to larger, more aggressive fires. One such state that has been devastated by wildfires is Arizona, which has seen an alarmingly steep rise in major fires since the 1990's (ClimateCentral.org, 2015). In the summer of 2002, Arizona

experienced the first of many expansive fires when an out-of-work Bureau of Land Management wildlands firefighter started a small fire just north of Cibique, Arizona on the local rodeo grounds. The fire shot up the adjacent hills and the Rodeo Fire was born. Three days later, a stranded motorist lost in the forest observed a news helicopter covering the Rodeo Fire and started a signal fire to try to get help. However, the fire got out of control and raced up Chediski Peak, later combining with the first fire to create a mega-fire. A mega-fire is considered any fire that cannot be controlled and burns quickly, leaving no room for escape or protection (Kodas, 2014).

The Rodeo-Chediski Fire burned a total area of 468,638 acres, or 732.25 square miles (United States Forest Service, 2003), of Native American and public lands, endangering thousands of people, including a string of

communities along the Mogollon Rim, a 2,000-foot-steep plateau dividing the state of Arizona in half diagonally from just south of the Grand Canyon to southern New Mexico. Along this rim is one of America's collectively driest forests. Between the Apache-Sitgreaves and Tonto National Forest lands nearly 9,000 square miles of dry pinon and ponderosa pine forest straddle central and eastern Arizona, leaving much of the state at risk for disastrous wildfires, which can paralyze transportation corridors along Interstates 17 and 40 as well as US Route 60 and other local highways. Within the Rodeo-Chediski impact region itself, a string of communities was evacuated during the fire and felt the economic impact of the fire's fallout, as it occurred during the peak tourist season when tourists and native Arizonans from urban areas such as Flagstaff and Phoenix seek recreational activities on the rim. Many locals maintain properties along the rim as vacation or rental homes, while fishing and equestrian campgrounds line the rim from Prescott to Alpine, and thus the fire not only damaged properties but negatively altered the economy of the region in the process.

Research Objectives, Question and Hypothesis

The objective of this research is to determine where the most change, and therefore the most severe burning, occurred within the extent of the fire by way of utilizing remotely sensed imagery and applying analysis methodologies. Once the segments of most change are identified, these segments can be analyzed to determine if any external factors contributed to the severity and development of the mega-fire.

The fundamental question in this research is whether the most remotely sensed change was uniformly dispersed, and if it wasn't, where within the burned land the most change or damage occurred. Furthermore, this research questions whether contributing factors such as physical geography, human-developed geographies or other features impact fire expansion and behavior.

This research hypothesized that the damage depicted by the change analysis will show the most notable change, and therefore burn damage, along the farthest extent of the fire's limits. It was hypothesized this way because mega-fires burn uncontrollably, and it was assumed that when containment is finally established, the fire will burn longer in one place along containment lines, therefore damaging the forest there more than any other location.

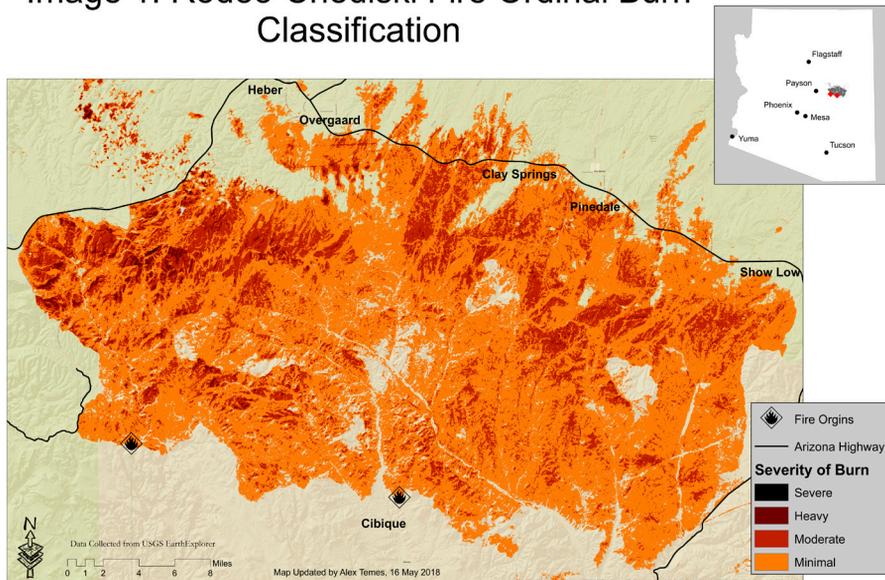
Methodologies

The methods utilized in this research can be broken down into four distinct categories: data collection, image correction, image classification and analysis.

In the data collection segment, images that fulfilled the fundamental needs of this research were identified from the US Geographical Service's Earth Explorer platform. Images were selected using platform-offered criteria including range of dates and percent of image obscured by atmosphere, or clouds. The 'Before Image' was selected from early spring, just after the winter snowmelt had completed its melting cycle but before the fire began. The 'After Image' selected was sensed on the last active day of the fire, July 7, 2002. There was a small percentage of the burn area obscured from the last plume of smoke, and that error was noted upon image selection. The images were downloaded, and the files were cleaned to provide streamlined data access.

During the image correction segment, images were radiometrically modified to account for the angle of the sensor above the Earth, and the images were clipped to specific areas of study. Images were then broken down into bandwidths, and the Channel 4 was selected for analysis, as healthy vegetation is most easily sensed in this channel due to the bands of light that are reflected within this range. Finally, the Before Image was subtracted from the After Image, creating a composite 'Change Image'. This Change Image was composed of the difference for each pixel's values between the two images. The value calculated then showed how much change occurred as a

Image 1: Rodeo-Chediski Fire Ordinal Burn Classification



result of the fire's presence. It was assumed that the greater the difference in pixel values, the greater the change in vegetation health or light reflection, and therefore the most intense burning and manipulation of the forest.

The Change Image was subsequently reviewed for quality, and it was determined that the noted smoke plume, which obscured a small segment along the northern section of the fire, would need to be addressed, as the reflective values of the smoke subtracted by the previous reflective value of the forest was altering the change image's data visualization. Therefore, a null value was applied to either end of the Change Image's pixel differentials, with -3 being the minimum change and the maximum at -50. These values were applied after reviewing the rest of the burn pattern's highest and lowest pixel differentials. By using these bookending null values, the data was cleaned and allowed to become a far clearer image. The now null-applied Change Image was given ordinal classifications of severe, heavy, moderate and minimal change (see Image 1: Rodeo-Chediski Fire Ordinal Burn Classification).

In the final stage of methodology, the Change Image was analyzed for patterns, and applied to a 3-D elevation model, which sought to expose any physical geographic factors attributing to increased or decreased change caused by the fire. Additional research ensued to confirm or deny any suspected factors noted in image analysis.

Findings and Discussion

Based on the ordinal classification of the Change Image (see Image 1), it was immediately determined that the hypothesis was rejected. The measured impacts of the fire were neither uniform nor most intensely focused around the edge of the burn's extent. The fire had a notable wandering pattern to its south; however, that wandering was apparently less random to the eastern and western extents. To the north, the fire jogged back and forth, at times crossing into communities and fingering into valleys. The fire extent patterns to the east, north and west can be explained by aggressive fire attack and control, as the fire's movement north would have triggered more evacuations and property damage. Along

the northwestern edge of the fire, it is clear that Arizona Route 260 was used as an effective firebreak. On the far northeastern section, the Show Low Golf Course was used as an open-space barrier to protect the city. In the south, the fire was less controlled, but based on the noted fire origins, the wind direction and fuel sources led the fire north. Therefore, the patterning along the southern extent can be observed as mostly minimal as the flow of the fire was moving northbound.

By rejecting the proposed hypothesis due to the fire's patterns along its extent, the image was reviewed for patterns and cause. The first noted pattern was a higher degree of ordinal change along a sagging pattern across the fire near its northern extent but not exclusively following it. Secondly, there were notable segments of the fire's burn pattern that had little or no sensed changes. These discrepancies were often in meandering lines through the fire, occasionally meeting and entering areas of decreased change. These sensed patterns could be immediately identified as seasonally active or yearlong active hydrological features in the region flowing downhill from sources. However, these creek patterns eventually became aspects of sensed change. As they trailed farther north, they actually became the center of areas with the most notable change sensed.

A reference map was underplayed into the ArcGIS platform where the data was being studied, and elevations were projected under the change image, demonstrating that there was a distinguishable pattern between increasingly steeper physical features and increased sensed change. This was particularly notable along the western slopes, where the most intense sensed change was noted. The observations of 2D elevation information was confirmed when the Change Image was overlaid onto a 3-dimensional ArcScene model.

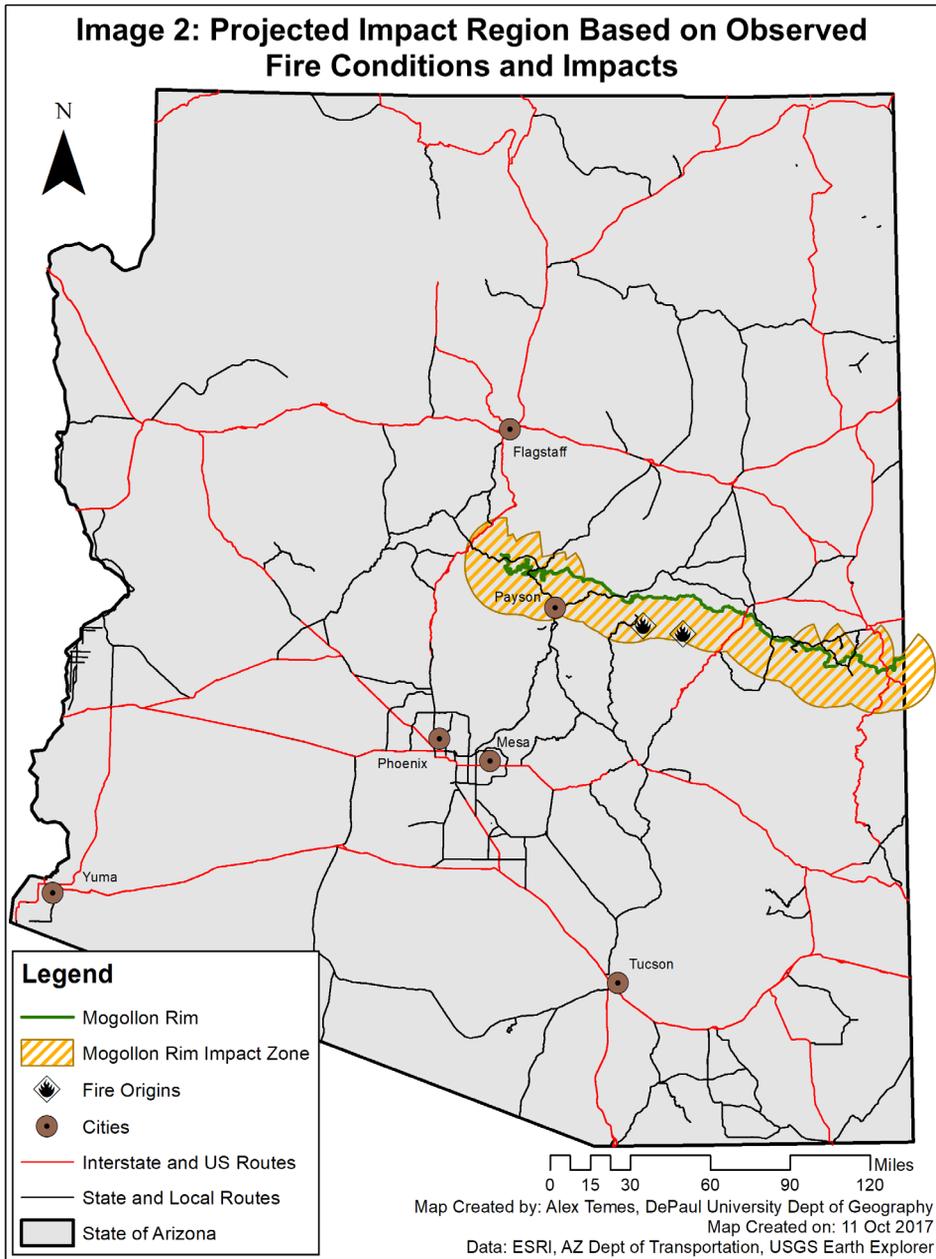
Upon external review, the increased burn patterning mirrored slopes attaching to or directly a part of the Mogollon Rim. The increased burning pattern followed

the wavering edge of the Rim from west to east, and the summit of the Rim is noticeable particularly in the left-to-center of the image, where moderate-to-heavy change differs from the substantially less impacted burn zones above the crest on the plateau and below it in the lower valleys.

Fire Behavior

Upon noting the pattern of increased change along the crest of the Mogollon Rim and adjoining steep physical features, additional research was conducted into fire behavior. Fire requires three essential features to maintain and/or grow its size and intensity: oxygen, fuel and heat (FireSafe.org, 2016). To sustain this, a fire will naturally move towards areas that increase any of these features to better fuel the fire. Factors of fire behavior and movement may include weather, wind, areas of increased or decreased water, and in the case of forest fires, canopy heights and fuel types (National Wildfire Coordinating Group, 2017). One factor noted in wildfire research is physical geography, which can guide fires. According to research at Auburn University, slope and "shape of country" dictate the strength of fire as well as its momentum (Auburn University, n. d.). The Auburn research went on to describe how fire in a wildfire setting is driven upward along the slope, allowing for cooler air to enter under the seat of the fire and fuel its upward momentum. This behavior is similar to what occurs in a house fire. When a house with a higher pitched roof is on fire, the heat rises to the higher pitch, allowing any introduced oxygen to get under the seat of the fire easier (Rickert, 2010). The only difference in this case is that a wildfire is unconfined and heat can escape, weakening the fire progressively. Therefore, the fire will seek to redevelop the lost heat by burning in a manner that will facilitate the greatest heat creation.

As described in witness statements, the Rodeo-Chediski fire produced "100-foot high" walls of fire that rained down on the Rim communities to the north of the fire's extent, and the build-up in heat at those particular locations



occurred from the steep climb in elevation from the Mogollon Rim (Forest Lakes Owners Association, 2002). The Rim, which is unique to Arizona in that it is a distinct two-hundred-mile long contiguous ridgeline, facilitated the growth of this wildfire into its 'mega-fire' status and upon the fire's completed climb over the Rim, the build-up of heat and fuel allowed for it to unleash its most damaging impacts along the crest of the Rim. Moreover, because of the continuous burning below the crest, the fire was able to maintain its impact far after the front of the fire had passed on.

These findings, both in the remotely sensed data and the fire behavior analysis, led to the creation of a projected impact zone map where a buffer based on the furthest of the two fire origins marked the edge of the buffer (see Image 2: Projected Impact Region Based on Observed Fire Conditions and Impacts). This impact zone outlines areas below the crest of the rim where fires could move north and, by traversing the rim, could unleash a fast moving and dangerous fire on other communities neighboring those impacted by the Rodeo-Chediski incident. This projected impact zone is subject to the correct fuel, meteorological and fire control conditions; however, given the occurrence of the Rodeo-Chediski incident as evidence for an area conducive to fires capable of acting in this manner, it is reasonable to suggest that the buffer zone centered along the Rim's crest moving both east and west identifies zones of additional wildfire caution.

Conclusion

During the summer of 2002, Arizona saw .6% of its total land area scorched by a fire covering over 700 square miles, or comparatively 3.09 times the 237 square mile area of the municipal boundaries of Chicago (City of Chicago, 2018). During the course of this record fire, land from two national forests and a federally protected Indian Reservation were charred into a wasteland, with shockwaves reverberating from ecological to economic realms. Wildfires are spatial in nature, and this fire was no different. In studying the remotely sensed data regarding

this fire, trends were uncovered in pixel differentials that reinforced additional research on fire behavior. However, in expansion of fire behavior information, it was noted that the nature of the Mogollon Rim, a physical phenomenon unique to that part of the country, facilitated far stronger fire behavior than traditional slopes due to its intense rise covered in fire fuel sources. By the nature of its varying vertical rises above forests below, the fire's convection currents drove heat and fire upwards and increased heat and momentum until it crested the Rim and unleashed its power on the communities nestled along the vistas. Finally, by identifying the contributing physical factors of the Mogollon Rim that encouraged fire growth and power, the information identified can be applied to wildfire responses along the Rim region, as well as in prescribed burns to limit the ability of fuel sources to contribute to such 'fire storms' that occurred during the Rodeo-Chediski incident.

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STATE-SPONSORED CLAIMS TO NATIONAL IDENTITY: THE MONUMENT TO CUAUHTÉMOC¹

1 This paper was originally written for Delia Cosentino's HAA 375 Mexico City (World Cities) course and then presented at the Department of History of Art and Architecture's Annual Student Symposium in May 2018. Minga's paper was then awarded the Annual Paper prize and selected for submission to the Students Creating Knowledge by the Symposium committee chaired by Dr. Mark Pohlrad with assistance from Dr. Joanna Gardner-Huggett.

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Tenochtitlan was an island city under Aztec control from 1325 to 1521. Tenochtitlan was the capital of the Aztec Empire and by the 1500s, the largest and most powerful city in Mesoamerica. The centralized government controlled the natural landscape, as well as anywhere from 150,000 to 200,000 inhabitants. However, this empire came to a fateful end with the arrival of the Spanish in 1519. Their conquest changed the language, social hierarchies, and political systems of Tenochtitlan. The political conquest of Tenochtitlan may have only been a few years, but the spiritual conquest of the people would continue for centuries. A new Spanish understanding of space affected the social organization of the population, marking rapid spatial and demographic change within this space.²

By 1521, the Aztec capital was completely under Spanish control and was renamed Mexico City, becoming the capital of New Spain. The Aztec structures around the city were razed, and new European buildings replaced them, implicating socially differentiated spaces. The built environment was designed to accommodate only Spaniards, regulating indigenous people to outlying

spaces.³ Narratives of the indigenous past, especially the death and torture of *tlatoani* Cuauhtémoc (1496-1525), the last Mexica emperor who had been hanged by Spanish conquistador Hernán Cortés, were tightly controlled by the colonial government. In 1577, Philip II prohibited any account of indigenous lifestyle or superstition. This continued for many years, and in 1790, a play of Cuauhtémoc's death and torture was quickly banned. 'Scientific' studies of indigenous groups occurred later.⁴ In 1700, Spanish power shifted from the Habsburgs to the Bourbons, who were French-associated and had an obsessive desire to control Spanish colonies. To gain this power, they put forth a series of reforms to regulate the built environment, thereby controlling the people who resided within the environment. Through a system of urban planning, the Bourbons transformed the city in order to meet changing needs and desires.⁵

However, urban planning was not easy. The population was diversifying and mixing, and the Spanish had to

2 Barbara Mundy, *Mapping of New Spain* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1996) xi.

3 Michael Schreffler, *The Art of Allegiance: Visual Culture and Imperial Power in Baroque New Spain* (Pennsylvania: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2007): 30.

4 Paul Gillingham, "The Emperor of Ixcateopan: Fraud, Nationalism and Memory in Modern Mexico" *Journal of Latin American Studies* 37, no. 3 (2005): 561-2.

5 Magali M. Carrera, "Regulating and Narrating the Colonial Body," *Imagining Identity in New Spain*. Austin: University of Texas Press, 2003: 107.

define new ways to categorize people. Racial tensions were complicated by *mestizaje* (racial mixing) which created complex realities. People were described pseudo-scientifically by their racial makeup, as can be seen in Casta paintings during this time. The European-born Spaniards, *peninsulares*, were presented as superior, with American-born Spanish, *criollos*, right under them. *Mestizo*, or mixed-blooded people, and *Indios* were inferior to the Spanish. African people were even lesser, as they were often slaves in the colony. People were designated to certain spaces within the city because of their race. This policing was a result of Bourbon efforts to reassert order and control within the city.⁶

Independence from Spain in 1810 did not solve the problems faced by inhabitants of Mexico City, however. At the end of the nineteenth century, wealth was extremely concentrated and urban space was weakly articulated. However, the French occupation of Mexico (1862-67) advanced urban growth and infrastructure within a short period of time. Metropolitan growth could be seen in the population, which grew by almost 45 percent between 1877 and 1895 and 120 percent between 1877 and 1910.⁷ The growth was the result of rural families migrating to the capital in search of economic security and stability. Tensions between francophiles (those who looked toward Europe for influence) and nationalists (those who believed Mexico had its own culture to be proud of) prompted discussions about national identity and modernity.

With the expansion of population and the introduction of the Reform Laws of Benito Juárez, Mexico City began to occupy land in outlying areas belonging to the church and the indigenous communities of San Juan Tenochtitlan and Santiago Tlatelolco.⁸ In 1884, physical boundaries of the city were redrawn to include these neighboring territories.

6 Carrera, 107.

7 Ann S. Blum, "Conspicuous Benevolence: Liberalism, Public Welfare, and Private Charity in Porfirian Mexico City, 1877-1910," *The Americas* 58, no. 1 (2001): 26.

8 Blum, 26.

FIGURE 1



Reformers believed they could change the inhabitants by replacing agricultural areas with residential zones.⁹ This encouraged the idea that land was a capitalist good that should be bought and sold. Due to the increase in population, by 1900, Mexico City was the third largest city in Latin America.¹⁰ Beyond expanding the demographics, the government was concerned with political and fiscal expansion and control. The building of monuments, parks, and other urban spaces was essential to regulating inhabitants and encouraging economic growth within the city.¹¹ In the late nineteenth century, the *Monument to Cuauhtémoc* (Fig. 1) was erected on the Paseo de la Reforma in Mexico City as a state-sponsored claim of national identity in the midst of a time of immense tension between progress and tradition. This claim of nationality ignored the ethnic, social, and economic realities of the pre-Revolution indigenous person.

9 Emily Wakild, "Naturalizing Modernity: Urban Parks, Public Gardens and Drainage Projects in Porfirian Mexico City," *Mexican Studies/Estudios Mexicanos* 23, no. 1 (2007): 117.

10 Robert V. Kemper and Anya Peterson Royce, "Mexican Urbanization Since 1821: A Macro-Historical Approach," *Urban Anthropology* 8, no. 3/4 (1979): 267-89.

11 James Oles, *Art and Architecture in Mexico* (New York: Thames & Hudson, 2013) 199.

FIGURE 2



The Paseo de la Reforma was originally constructed by Emperor Maximilian under French occupation of Mexico. It went through surrounding farmland ending at his alcazar in Chapultepec (Fig. 2). The avenue was originally named “Paseo de la Emperatriz” in honor of Maximilian’s wife.¹² Maximilian believed he had to save Mexicans from themselves, considering Mexico to be a rich country that was inhabited by poor people. According to him, only European powers, especially France, were capable of using the resources in Mexico. In July of 1865, Maximilian called for full development and utilization of Mexico’s resources. The French only saw value in the exploitation of Mexico’s vast variety of resources and did not care about the welfare of the people who lived near these resources.¹³ The construction of this avenue marked a westward expansion of the capital, pushing attention away from the old colonial center towards Chapultepec.¹⁴

The French were eventually defeated by the liberals, and under President Sebastián Lerdo de Tejada, interest was revived in Maximilian’s calzada. Renamed the Paseo de la Reforma in honor of the Reform War (1857 - 1860), this avenue materializes the tension between progress and

tradition in Mexico City. Civic leaders transformed the Reforma in the like of Baron Haussmann’s reconstruction and beautification plans for Paris. Under this plan, Paris was to be the center of a profitable commercial space, becoming a global model for what a progressive and powerful city should be. Ignacio Cumplido, founder of the Mexico City liberal daily *El Siglo XIX*, lined the sides of the Reforma with trees to resemble the Champs-Élysées. Francophile progressive and railroad entrepreneur Antonio Escandón pioneered *glorietas*, Mexico City’s version of the etoile construction, which connected twelve avenues. Glorietas marked the intersections where important streets crossed the Reforma, symbolizing the centralization of national power. Escandón believed that with good construction, Mexico City could become a beautiful city that promoted economic development.¹⁵

While francophiles were concerned with progress, national mythologizers saw importance in tradition. Vicente Riva Palacio, the leader of mythologizers and the minister of development in Mexico City from 1876-80, did not always see this importance. In his city address on the Alameda of Mexico City on September 16, 1871, he romanticized the colonial period, claiming that mestizaje predestined the continent for democracy and republicanism. However, six years later, Riva Palacio began to recognize the propagandist power of the past, especially the Aztec past. He was not necessarily focused on presenting any historical truth, but rather proclaiming a link between contemporary rulers and historical heroes.¹⁶ Seeing the Reforma as an opportunity to educate Mexicans about “the nature of the national past,” Riva Palacio announced a competition for best “monument dedicated to Cuauhtémoc and to the other leaders who distinguished themselves in defense of the nation in the

12 Oles, 199.

13 Gary S. Dunbar, “The Compass Follows the Flag”: The French Scientific Mission to Mexico, 1864-1867.” *Annals of the Association of American Geographers* 78, no. 2 (1988): 233.

14 Oles, 199.

15 Barbara Tenenbaum, “Streetwise History: The Paseo de la Reforma and the Porfirian State, 1876-1910,” in William H. Beezley, et al. *Rituals of Rule, Rituals of Resistance: Public Celebrations and Popular Culture in Mexico*, Scholarly Resources, Inc., 1994: 127-150.

16 Tenenbaum, 135.

period.”¹⁷ Riva Palacio, alongside Porfirio Díaz, was able to promote a more nationalist history by eliminating private patronage. Díaz served as Mexico’s president for a total of seven terms, from 1876 to 1880 and 1884 to 1911.¹⁸ Painting and architecture in Mexico City was better funded than ever before and served the agenda of the government while promoting the sophistication of the upper class. Art and architecture also presented Mexico City as an ideal site for foreign investment and immigration.¹⁹ It was thought that these immigrants would bring European lifestyles and ideals to Mexico City.

Díaz and other liberals promoted federalism, laissez-faire economics, and republican principles. While liberals did not revere the Spanish tradition of monarchy, Western ideals of progress still greatly influenced policy.²⁰ Díaz desired foreign (Western) investment, capital, and approval in Mexico. Using the Reforma as a showpiece to impress Western capitalists,²¹ he encouraged them to invest in this new urban axis. By 1873, the wealthiest residents and foreigners moved here. New upper-class neighborhoods, called *colonias* (colonies), formed and were named after national heroes like Cuauhtémoc and Juárez. The development of the colonias displaced many low-income laborers and indigenous people, as the now suburbanized land was once haciendas. The Reforma also presented Díaz with a unique opportunity to recast Mexican history on a blank slate, rather than over ancient or colonial ruins.²²

The winner of the competition for the monument was engineer Francisco M Jiménez y Arias. The original plans for the monument included developing a national style based on rebirth architecture, which generalized details from ruins of ancient structures of Mexico. Three bronze figures of national heroes were originally proposed for the

monument. The largest figure was to be Cuauhtémoc, at four meters. Cacamatzin (King of Texcoco) and Cuitláhuac (identified in the proposal as “Chief of the priests and Aztecs who led the struggle on the Noche Triste”) were to accompany him at 2.8 meters. Only a vague visual description of the monument being in the general character of Aztec architecture was included. The budget for the monument was \$152,032, equal to 20 percent of the taxes collected in Mexico City in 1877²³ or the daily wages of 600,000 rural workers.²⁴ On December 9, 1881, new plans for the sculpture cut Cuitláhuac and Cacamatzin for supposed “budgetary reasons.” The budget was reduced by \$44,637, and excluding these two leaders drastically changed the meaning of the monument and its claim to national identity—a claim that is specifically Aztec.²⁵

Represented as a triumphant leader in this monument, Cuauhtémoc was the last *tlatoani* (Aztec emperor)²⁶ and a symbol of noble resistance. At the time of Spanish invasion, Cortés allied with other anti-Aztec indigenous groups and cut off imports to Tenochtitlan. Cuauhtémoc eventually surrendered to Spanish conquest. For three years, Cortés imprisoned and tortured Cuauhtémoc in hopes of finding his hidden treasures.²⁷ The glorification of the Aztec Empire and Cuauhtémoc was part of creating a distinguished past that would unify the nation and reinforce central authority of Mexico City.²⁸ *Periódico Oficial* (1887-93) claimed Cuauhtémoc as extremely important to nationalist projects. Following the Catholic tradition of sacred relics, bones of Independence leaders and other national heroes (namely Cuauhtémoc) were demanded to be revered. Between 1891 and 1893, a rancher from an isolated village even staged the discovery of Cuauhtémoc’s bones under an altar in a church.²⁹

17 Tenenbaum, 135.

18 Oles, 174-180.

19 Oles, 174-180.

20 William D. Raat, “Ideas and Society in Don Porfirio’s Mexico,” *The Americas* 30, no. 1 (1973): 46.

21 Tenenbaum, 127-150.

22 Oles, 174-180.

23 Tenenbaum, 127-150.

24 Gillingham, 565.

25 Tenenbaum, 127-150.

26 Oles, 200.

27 Caryl-Sue Micalizio, “1525: LAST AZTEC EMPEROR EXECUTED,” National Geographic, February 2014, <https://www.nationalgeographic.org/thisday/feb28/last-aztec-emperor-executed/>.

28 Oles, 201.

29 Gillingham, 565.

FIGURE 3



Cuauhtémoc as the sole hero on the monument prioritizes the Aztec past, despite there being 200 to 300 different indigenous groups at the time of Spanish contact. The designs on the base of the statue (Fig. 3) are influenced from other indigenous cultures of Mexico, but is generalized as solely Aztec. It includes a replica of the Pyramid of the Sun from Teotihuacan as well as various designs from Zapotec and Mixtec ruins. The middle of the shaft resembles the Temple of Inscriptions at Palenque in Chiapas, a Mayan city. The temple is supported by columns from Tula, the capital of the Toltec empire.³⁰

By claiming Cuauhtémoc as an icon of national identity, Riva Palacio linked Porfirian rule to the imperial legacy of Tenochtitlan, the ancient Aztec-dominated seat of power. This link claims Mexico City as the modern seat of power that has the right to rule the entire nation by inheritance, just as the Aztec subjugated lands from other ancient groups. The assertion of primacy is present in the fiscal goals of Díaz. He claimed rights over the control of state revenues just as the Aztecs used force and terror to take tribute payments of revenue and goods. The Porfirian policy of political and fiscal federalism confirms the primacy of Mexico City as the central state.³¹

30 Tenenbaum, 127-150.

31 Tenenbaum, 127-150.

FIGURE 4



The centralization of economic power in Mexico City was further commemorated by the *Columbus Monument* (Fig. 4) located on the Reforma just east of the *Monument to Cuauhtémoc*. The monument celebrated the opening of the railroad which linked Mexico City and Veracruz³², the principle eastern port connecting Mexico City to Europe. Before this, Mexico City was only connected by railroad to two towns: Guadalupe and Tacubaya.³³ The country of Mexico and specifically Mexico City became politically and economically dependent on foreign countries at this time. Connecting the capital to the port would increase imports and exports, creating a national market that was strictly controlled by the government along with other public finances. Mexico City was emerging as a primate city, and Díaz wanted it to be one of consumers, not producers. All national affairs were concentrated in Mexico City, transforming this space into a better articulated urban center. Industrialization and international expansion encouraged the Mexican economy to shift away

32 Tenenbaum, 127-150.

33 Blum, 7-38.

FIGURE 5



from its sustenance agricultural base in the rural areas towards a centralized commercial economy in Mexico City. Prioritizing the city disadvantaged rural peons who made up nearly 47 percent of the entire population, and 80 percent of them were indebted to rich landowners.³⁴ Railroads served to break down traditional regions in Mexico and unify them with the capital.³⁵

The erection of the *Columbus Monument* was not solely focused on the celebration of the port. The monument centered on the benefits of Christianity that Columbus brought to the New World, despite him never stepping foot in Mexico City.³⁶ *Científicos*, intellectuals who returned to Mexico after studying abroad, viewed indigenous people as obstacles to progress that needed to be physically and culturally assimilated. They dubbed this the “Indian Problem.”³⁷ *Científicos* identified with liberalism, aligning themselves with French and German

34 Kemper, 272.

35 Raat, 44.

36 Tenenbaum, 127-150.

37 Alicja Iwanska, “The Mexican Indian: Image and Identity,” *Journal of Inter-American Studies* 6, no. 4 (1964): 529-36.

FIGURE 6



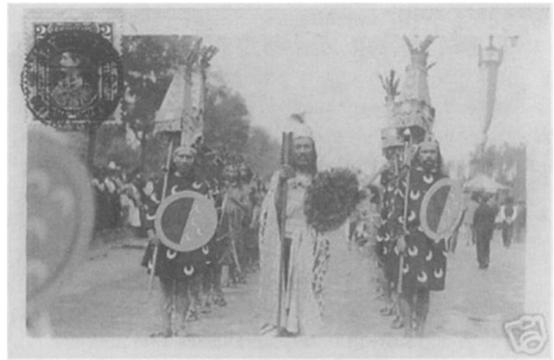
ideals instead of Spanish. Blaming the “backwardness” of indigenous people on their proximity to nature, *científicos* believed that society could only progress in a modern, urban space.³⁸

According to Western standards, progressive countries require homogeneity and unification, making assimilation necessary. In Felix Parra’s *Fray Bartolome de Las Casas* (1875), (Fig. 5) an indigenous woman is presented clutching the legs of Las Casas instead of the deity who has traditional pre-Hispanic offerings of paper and flowers on her. The indigenous woman shifts her devotion to the European friar, signaling assimilation through religious conversion.³⁹ Assimilation was also possible through marriage. A double portrait of Benito Juárez (Mexico’s first full-blooded indigenous president) and his white-skinned European-blooded wife (Fig. 6) presents the pair in close proximity, suggesting that through physical union, he is

38 Wakild, 108, 117.

39 Stacie Widdifield, “Dispossession, assimilation, and the image of the Indian in late-nineteenth-century Mexican Art.” *Art Journal*, Vol. 49, 1990: 129.

FIGURES 7-9



more civilized and refined and not “too Indian.”⁴⁰ It was thought that through biological and cultural mixing, the indigenous population could be “improved.”⁴¹ On his monument, Cuauhtémoc is dressed in Greco-Roman clothing,⁴² suggesting that he is somewhat civilized and not “too Indian.”

Porfirio Díaz, on the other hand, attempted to hide his own indigenous heritage altogether by having his official portraits present him as white instead of a dark-skinned mestizo. Díaz was obsessed with European ideas and believed modernization relied on foreign investment. In various postcards (Fig. 7-9) that were widely circulated, Díaz presented Mexico City as a modern city moving towards progress in order to encourage investment,

especially from Europe and the US. At the same time, he presented a theatrical indigenous representation to assure tourists that they can still explore the exotic landscapes of the indigenous past during their visit to modern Mexico. These representations focused on the ‘exotic-ness’ and otherness of the historic indigenous culture, rather than the reality of contemporary indigenous people. These postcards mark a distinct separation from the perceived “savage” ancient Mexico and the civilized modern Mexico.⁴³

The government controlled any study or retelling of the indigenous past. In the seventeenth century, a reevaluation of the Aztec Empire began with the research of Jesuit Manuel Duarte, who contrasted noble Aztec leaders with Greco-Roman royalty.⁴⁴ In 1890, all pre-Hispanic ruins were under federal jurisdiction. By controlling the past and its meanings, the government could use the past as propaganda to further their political agenda.⁴⁵ Porfirian-era historians wrote favorably of their times and were rewarded with official appointments and government subsidies. These historians lived and published in Mexico City, largely ignoring the reality of life and politics

40 Widdifield, 131.

41 Joshua Lund, “The Mestizo State: Colonization and Indianization in Liberal Mexico,” *PMLA* 123, no. 5 (2008): 423.

42 Tenenbaum, 127-150.

43 Alejandra Osorio, “Postcards in the Porfirian Imaginary,” *Social Justice* 34, no. 1 (107) (2007): 141-54.

44 Tenenbaum, 127-150.

45 Oles, 200.

FIGURE 10



outside of it.⁴⁶ The Porfirian rediscovery of the indigenous past included dishonest archaeological practices and forging of documents.⁴⁷ The discovery of new indigenous treasures deflected attention from the reality of the living indigenous population.⁴⁸ Cuauhtémoc was the chief symbol of identity during the Porfiriato because of his historic triumphant struggle. No contemporary indigenous people were honored for their struggle.

The *Monument to Cuauhtémoc* presented another theme of national identity and history: the Spanish as blood-thirsty, greedy villains. The bas relief of the monument (Fig. 10) shows the torture of Cuauhtémoc by these villains. The story of his torture was introduced after independence and became a popular theme for artists, like Leandro Izaguirre. His mural-sized painting, *Torture of Cuauhtémoc* (Fig. 11), was meant for international audiences at the World's Columbian Exposition of 1893 in Chicago. The painting shows unsuccessful attempts to learn the location of hidden treasure by the Spanish. They burn the feet of the good-looking emperor, presenting the Spanish as antagonists.⁴⁹ The representation of Spanish conquerors as villains presents colonialism as a cultural

46 Thomas Benjamin and Marcial Ocasio-Meléndez, "Organizing the Memory of Modern Mexico: Porfirian Historiography in Perspective, 1880s-1980s," *The Hispanic American Historical Review* 64, no. 2 (1984): 332-333.

47 Lund, 418-433.

48 Gillingham, 561-84.

49 Oles, 200.

FIGURE 11



FIGURE 12



destroyer, instead of a civilizing force. In 1813, Dominican Fray Servando Teresa de Mier published his *Historia de la revolución de Nueva España, antiguamente Anahuac*. In this, he claimed that Spain contributed nothing to Mexico, making the conquest illegitimate and wrong.⁵⁰ In Felix Parra's painting *Massacre of Cholula* (1877) (Fig. 12), Cortés is depicted over dead women and children. The innocence of the women and children is juxtaposed against the greedy and evil Spanish soldiers, representing a violent and destructive transformation of native culture to colonialism.⁵¹

Younger generations of artists, on the other hand, rejected ideas of positivism in their art. *Modernismos*, those who

50 Tenenbaum, 134.

51 Widdifield, 125-32.

rejected technology and industrialization, focused on spirituality instead. These marginalized visionaries expressed what they thought was the profound national spirit, *alma nacional*. Concerned with Mexico's traditional culture and colonial past, they depicted rural landscapes and viceregal churches, instead of modern Mexico City. One of these artists was Saturnino Herrán. Instead of depicting indigenous people as historical heroes, he mixed contemporary symbols with universal themes that were important to the modernismos. He was one of the first Mexican artists who painted urban and rural workers non-romantically and with sympathy.⁵²

These artists used their depictions of indigenous people as part of their political agenda. A picture in the magazine *El Hijo del Ahuizote* in 1889 links symbols of the Aztec past to the authoritarian rule of Porfirio Díaz. *Ahuizote* is a Nahuatl word meaning “water-dog,” “pest,” or “annoying person.” In the picture (Fig. 13), General Bernardo Reyes offers a Yaqui's heart to a false idol to show his patriotism. This false idol is a mixture of Porfirio Díaz and Huitzilopochtli, the Aztec god of war. The picture presents Díaz as the dark-skinned mestizo he is, instead of a white-skinned European. This picture, specifically, and the magazine, in general, exposed the paradoxical nation that “destroyed its own Indians while paying homage to its Indian past.”⁵³

While the government was claiming indigenous tradition as the national identity, contemporary indigenous people were suffering from policies that oppressed them economically and socially. The Porfirian government supported ideas of civilization that were in opposition to rural ways of life.⁵⁴ As new citizens of the nation, indigenous people were often the subject of public debate. They were seen as a problem, as they were usually illiterate rural peasants or poor urban workers.⁵⁵

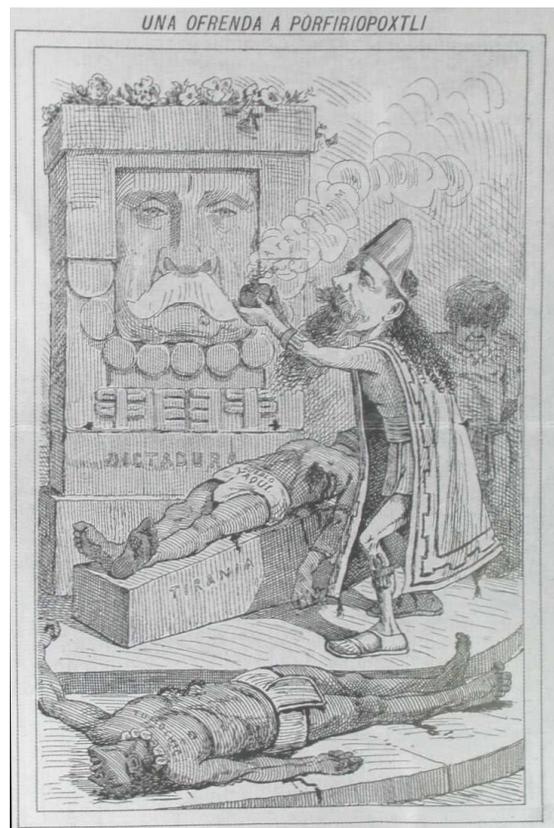
52 Oles, 224.

53 Oles, 204.

54 Wakild, 101-23.

55 Widdifield, 125-32.

FIGURE 13



Reform Laws passed under Juárez in the 1860s subjected communal lands (*ejidos*)⁵⁶ to privatization. This deprived indigenous people and their mestizo descendants of land, denying them of any means to support themselves. Rapid economic development, industrialization, and foreign-owned commercialized agriculture hurt sustenance agriculture.⁵⁷ The construction of an internal transport system encouraged commercialized agriculture further, creating a modern indigenous industrial base.⁵⁸ Large populations of the Yaquis and Maya were killed through military campaigns if they were not already enslaved on haciendas. Indigenous groups all throughout Mexico

56 Gillingham, 561-84.

57 Tenenbaum, 127-150.

58 Raat, 36.

were denied access to clean running water, education, and political power.⁵⁹ Modernization meant an increased cost of living at the same time wages were declining.⁶⁰

Indigenous people were criminalized during this period as well. Unaccompanied minors and orphans were incarcerated at high rates. The system of tracking minors in the penal system imported European ideas of racism and Social Darwinism. Racist ideologies combined with mainstream attributions of backwardness and criminality to the indigenous and African inhabitants of the country. Each prisoner was racially categorized by their appearance: white, mestizo, or Indio. After twenty days, body measurements were recorded into the department of Anthropometric Identification, providing data for studies of the criminality of indigenous peoples.⁶¹

The Porfirian government did provide welfare for lower-classes, and among this population was the indigenous. This welfare program trained people for marginal artisanal labor and domestic service. Obedient and talented welfare clients were capable of employment in the formal economy and therefore rewarded as they could be exploited in Mexico's modernizing society. Disobedient welfare clients were dismissed swiftly, despite their need for welfare. By distinguishing a deserving and undeserving poor, the government could deny any one who did not contribute to the modernizing economy. Through this system, the government could create a compliant and grateful workforce that would not question authority.⁶²

The nineteenth century urban landscape of Mexico City distinguished spaces for specific people. Middle and upper-class suburbs, *colonias*, began to develop. Wealthier colonias were westward, creating a distinct spatialized hierarchy within the city. Colonia Juárez and other

neighborhoods along the Paseo de la Reforma were for the extremely wealthy, while housing for the working-class included rehabilitated and overcrowded mansions and monasteries.⁶³ By controlling and regulating space, the government could control and regulate those who inhabit the space. Porfirian planners worked to reconstruct society through urban infrastructure. Parks in upper-income areas were for recreation and comfort. In lower-income areas, however, parks were used to regenerate the moral character of the surrounding people.⁶⁴

During the late nineteenth century, Mexico City was experiencing tension between progress and tradition. Building campaigns showed that certain people's needs and desires were prioritized. The government used state-sponsored claims of national identity in an attempt to unify the diverse inhabitants of Mexico City. The *Monument to Cuauhtémoc* is just one way the Porfirian government made a claim to national identity.

59 Oles, 176.

60 Benjamin and Meléndez, 325.

61 Blum, 28.

62 Blum, 29.

63 Blum, 7-38.

64 Wakild, 101-23.

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- Fig.1. Francisco Jiménez y Miguel Noreña, *Monument to Cuauhtémoc*, 1887. 6.2 x 6.2 x 16.68 m. Mexico City, Distrito Federal, Mexico.
- Fig. 2. *Map of Mexico City*, created in Neatline, 2017.
- Fig. 3. Francisco Jiménez y Miguel Noreña, Detail of base to *Monument to Cuauhtémoc*, 1887. Mexico City, Distrito Federal, Mexico.
- Fig. 4. Ramon Rodriguez Aragoity y Manuel Vilar, *Monument to Christopher Columbus*, 1876. Mexico City, Mexico.
- Fig. 5. Felix Parra, *Fray Bartolomé de Las Casas*, 1875. Oil on canvas, 358 x 269 cm. Museo Nacional de Artes e Industria, Mexico City.
- Fig. 6. Jose Escudero y Espronceda, *Portrait of Benito Juárez and Margarita Maza de Juárez*, 1890. Oil on canvas, 28 x 23 in. Museo Nacional de Historia, Mexico City. Reproduced in *Dispossession, assimilation, and the image of the Indian in late 19th century Mexican Art*, Stacie Widdifield.
- Fig. 7-9. Unidentified artist, Postcards Depicting Plateros Street and indigenous characters from the "Great Historic Parade," c. 1900. Reproduced in *Postcards of the Porfirian Imaginary*, Alejandra Osorio.
- Fig. 10. Detail of bas relief on *Monument to Cuauhtémoc*. Gabriel Guerra, *Torture of Cuauhtémoc*, 1887. Mexico City, Distrito Federal, Mexico.
- Fig. 11. Leandro Izaguirre, *Torture of Cuauhtémoc*, 1893. Oil, 4540 x 2945 mm. Museo de Palacio de Bellas Artes, Mexico City.
- Fig. 12. Felix Parra, *Massacre of Cholula*, 1877. Oil on canvas, 79 x 105 cm. Museo Nacional de Artes e Industria, Mexico City.
- Fig. 13. Unidentified artist, *An Offering to Porfirio poxtlí From El Hijo del Ahuizote*, vol. 15 no. 731, April 29, 1900.



Jordan Delmonte | *Cerulean Warblers*

“DIRECTLY FEMININE WORK:” FEMALE ADVOCACY AND THE EMERGENCE OF PROFESSIONAL HOME DECORATORS IN ENGLAND, 1860-1900

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On November 15th, 1878, an editorial letter to *The (London) Times* made a blunt observation: “English women are... brought up to be ashamed of the necessity of working for pecuniary considerations.” The author of this letter was a professional home decorator named Rhoda Garrett, who wrote in defense of technical schools for women. From her own experience, Garrett understood the correlation between education and financial opportunity— she knew that women were unable to support themselves due to having “no marketable commodity to offer” being “untrained to undertake any kind of skilled labour.”¹

Despite having no training or marketable skills, half of all adult women in Great Britain were supporting themselves or their kin in 1872.² By 1878, nearly a million more women than men lived in Great Britain and Ireland. Concerned, *The Times* expressed support for women’s education and employment, framing professionalism as a defense against the social ills.³ Arguments against women’s work varied: some highlighted economic anxiety (namely that women’s participation in the workforce would decrease male wages through competition). Others highlighted masculine anxiety: men worked to take care of women, who in turn should care for family and the home.⁴ Present too was anxiety over prostitution, destitution, degradation of the home, and immoral unchristian women. To counter these, *The Times* claimed work would make women

“productive agents of persons who are at present mere unproductive consumers” and protect penniless ladies forced into the “cruel mercies of the world.”⁵ *The Times* justified women’s employment as a way to uphold social and moral values. Traditional areas of employment for women, such as teaching and childcare, became competitive as the number of single women increased.⁶ Thus, unmarried, middle class, college-educated women like Rhonda Garrett increasingly campaigned for new paths for women’s employment.

This paper will explore women’s inroads into the previous masculine field of home decoration. Previous scholars have begun to document women’s contributions to this field. Anthea Callen’s *Women of the Arts and Crafts Movement* was the first monograph to research women’s participation in British art at the end of the nineteenth century. Previous understanding of artistic movements, she argued, considered only its male leaders. Callen’s research illustrates the paradoxical nature of women’s participation in the Arts and Crafts movement, which allowed economic opportunity and artistic creativity but perpetuated “contemporary stereotypes of women.”⁷ Additionally, Enid Zimmerman’s research into art education for women concluded that while women’s artistic education increased, their real-world application was less than men’s.⁸

1 Rhoda Garrett, “The Employment of Women,” *Times* (London, England) November 15, 1878, 10, *The Times Digital Archive*, accessed May 16, 2017.

2 Anthea Callen, *Women Artists of the Arts and Crafts Movement* (New York: Pantheon Books, 1979), 24.

3 “More boys are born than girls in the United,” *Times* (London: England) November 13, 1878, 9, *The Times Digital Archive*, accessed May 16, 2017.

4 Callen, *Women of the Arts and Crafts Movement*, 25.

5 “More boys are born than girls in the United,” *Times* (London: England) November 13, 1878, 9, *The Times Digital Archive*, accessed May 16, 2017.

6 Callen, *Women Artists of the Arts and Crafts Movement*, 25.

7 Callen, *Women Artists of the Arts and Crafts Movement*, 16.

8 Enid Zimmerman, “Art Education for Women in England from 1890-1910 as Reflected in the Victorian Periodical Press and Current Feminist Histories of Art Education,” in *Studies in Art Education* 32, no. 2, (1991).

Historians have also considered how domestic space constructed Victorian womanhood. Judith Flanders' research focused on material culture and its role in the division of public and private, gendered socialization, and the formation of class in the home.⁹ Deborah Cohen illustrated economic consequences which went with the expansion of the Victorian home: Emphasis on interior design accompanied the rise of middle-class consumerism and department-store commercialism.¹⁰

Recent scholarship has begun to highlight overlooked female artists. Elizabeth Crawford's *Enterprising Women: the Garretts and their Circle* examines the professional decorator Rhoda Garrett, author of *The Times* editorial, and her business partner Agnes Garrett. Secondary discussions of Rhoda and Agnes Garrett note their exclusion in most scholarly works. Historian Emma Ferry asserted that Rhoda and Agnes were "overshadowed by male contemporaries and their own relations," as evidenced by the lack of archival materials about the Garretts' lives – Rhoda Garrett's file at the RIBA library held only her obituary.¹¹ Similarly, Elizabeth Crawford explains that The British Museum Library turned down the opportunity to preserve Agnes Garrett's letters at her death.¹²

Within this context, this paper will explore how women made use of available avenues to advocate for financial independence and professional opportunity. Specifically, it will explore the emerging profession of home decorator through the lesser-known life of Charlotte Robinson, first Royal Home Decorator to Queen Victoria. This project will use a myriad of source materials dealing with domestic responsibility, home decoration, and artistic

trends, giving special consideration to advice manuals and artistic home guides. These guides are useful due to their massive circulation, reception, and target audience. Periodicals are key to this research because of their abundance and because of the way decorators utilized the press to promote progressive ideology.¹³ These materials have limits, however, as they demonstrate patterns in consumption as much as calls to change through public discourse. Still, I argue that women – and specifically, domestic decorators – utilized these circulating materials as a form of radical political action.

At the end of the nineteenth century, British artists worried their profession was endangered. England's rapid industrialization produced easily accessible, mass-manufactured materials at a low cost to consumers.¹⁴ In response, artists such as William Morris, John Ruskin, and Walter Crane formalized the British Arts and Crafts movement, describing an approach to artistic production which emerged in the mid-19th century and encompassed architecture, domestic goods, painting, and sculpture.¹⁵ These artists rejected manufactured materials, promoted traditional English artistic trends, and perceived art as a tool of morality against the social ills of industrialization. The British Arts and Craft Movement held significant traction amongst the upper class, workers, and art critics. Due to its inclusion of domestic goods, the Arts and Crafts movement became particularly relevant to home decorators.¹⁶

While the movement championed social advocacy, Arts and Crafts theorists promoted conservative notions of

9 Judith Flanders, *Inside the Victorian Home: A Portrait of Domestic Life in Victorian England*, (New York: W. W. Norton & Company, 2003), 18-19.

10 Deborah Cohen, *Household Gods: The British and their Possessions* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2006).

11 Emma Ferry, "Decorators May Be Compared to Doctors': An Analysis of Rhoda and Agnes Garrett's 'Suggestions for House Decoration in Painting, Woodwork and Furniture (1876)," *Journal of Design History* 16, no. 1 (2003), 17.

12 Elizabeth Crawford, *Enterprising Women: The Garretts and Their Circle*, (London: Francis Boutle Publishers, 2002), 170.

13 Since the focus of this paper was on individual designers, I chose not to limit its geographical scope to a particular area in England, but rather consulted papers that addressed these women. Most were from London and Manchester, cited frequently are *The Manchester Courier and Lancashire General Advertiser*, *The London Times*, *The Pall Mall Gazette*, and *The Illustrated London News*, among others.

14 William Morris, "Preface," in *Arts and Crafts Essays by Member of the Arts and Crafts Exhibition Society* (1893; repr., London: Longmans, Green and Co., 1903), vii-viii, (HathiTrust), accessed April 30, 2017.

15 Callen, *Women of the Arts and Crafts Movement*, 2.

16 It was William Morris who inspired women like Agnes Garrett to enter the domestic arts. Crawford, *Enterprising Women*, 170.

gender relations. The most prominent of these notions was in the writings of John Ruskin, who held that men and women's natural characteristics were complementary but not comparable. Men were active "doers," while women passively possessed an affinity for management and beauty.¹⁷ According to Ruskin, when both sexes adhered to the responsibilities of these traits, the home became a refuge from social ills. Ruskin supported education for women but felt women's instruction should exist only to the extent to help women tend the home and converse with their husbands.¹⁸

Ruskin's conceptualization of active men and passive women had tangible influence in delineating artistic practices within the Arts and Crafts Movement. Artists correlated masculine art with physical work, like wood carving, furniture construction, and metal working, as well as fine art techniques like painting and sculpture. In opposition, decorative craftwork was feminine -- practices like craftwork and textiles.¹⁹ The language of Morris, Crane, and others excluded women from 'high art': In the over-400-page essay compilation of the Arts and Crafts movement, only the sections on needlework were written by women, address women, and utilize female pronouns.²⁰ In his own firm, artist William Morris managed all sections except the embroidery department, run by his daughter May Morris.²¹ While shaped by progressive reform, the practices of the Arts and Crafts movement maintained gender divisions prohibiting women from exploring avenues of artistic training.

17 John Ruskin, "Of Queen's Gardens," in *Sesame and Lilies*, (London: George Allen & Sons, 1910), 107. Originally a lecture recited in 1864.

18 *Ibid.*, 118.

19 Walter Crane, "Of Decorative Painting and Design," in *Arts and Crafts Essays by Members of the Arts and Crafts Exhibition*, (1893; repr., London: Longmans, Green and Co., 1903), HathiTrust, accessed May 11, 2017.

20 See May Morris, "Of Embroidery," Mary E. Turner, "Of Modern Embroidery," and May Morris "Of Materials," and "Colour" [referring to needlework], in *Arts and Crafts Essays by Member of the Arts and Crafts Exhibition Society* (1893; repr., London: Longmans, Green and Co., 1903), HathiTrust, accessed May 11, 2017.

21 Callen, *Women of the Arts and Crafts Movement*, 15.

While formal practice excluded women, efforts to disseminate art as a moralizing force included women as subjects. One of these efforts was Charles Eastlake's popular guide *Hints on Household Taste in Furniture, Upholstery, and other details*. This is what he had to say about women in his introduction:

The general impression seems to be, that it is the peculiar inheritance of gentle blood, and independent of all training, that, while a young lady is devoting at school, or under a governess, so many hours a day to music, so many to languages, and so many to science, she is all this time unconsciously forming that sense of the beautiful, which we call taste; that this sense, once developed, will enable her, unassisted by special study or experience, not only to appreciate the charms of nature in every aspect, but to form a correct estimate of the merits of art-manufacture... We may condemn a lady's opinion on politics, criticise her handwriting, correct her pronunciation of Latin, and disparage her favorite author... But if we venture to question her taste, in the most ordinary sense of the word, we are sure to offend.²²

Generally, Eastlake held the opinion that women found artistic taste overwhelming and favored popular trends instead. His disdain was such that he detested hearing shopkeepers categorizing items as "genteel" or "ladylike."²³ Therefore, he encouraged men to play an active role in challenging women's innate "taste" and in decorating his home.

Facing economic anxiety, gendered expectations, and artistic derision, how did women rise to prominence as home decorators? The answer is largely due to two women, Rhoda Garrett and her cousin Agnes Garrett, suffragettes who were England's first female art decorators. Since childhood, Rhoda Garrett dreamed of being an architect, while Agnes Garrett became interested

22 Charles L. Eastlake, *Hints on Household Taste in Furniture, Upholstery, and Other Details*, 2nd ed. (Boston: James R. Osgood and Company, 1869), 7-8, University of California, (HathiTrust), accessed May 27, 2017

23 Eastlake, 9.

in home decoration after William Morris's firm gained prestige.²⁴ Their middle-class status gave them the freedom to pursue education, but the Garretts found it difficult to find artistic training.²⁵ Eventually, the women entered a three-year apprenticeship under J.M. Brydon and upon completion in 1874, opened their own business, R&A Garrett House Decorators.²⁶ Even with education and business ownership, some London tradesmen "refused their business orders."²⁷ Despite persistent sexism, the Garrett's popularity peaked after exhibiting at the Paris Exhibition of 1878.²⁸

In a speech at the National Association for the Promotion of Social Science, Rhoda Garrett expressed her motivation behind her artistic practice. "[The] woman's sphere and woman's mission is one of the most important problems of the present day, but here, at least, in the decoration and beautifying of the house, no one will dispute their right to work."²⁹ With Victorian women expected to be "Angels in the Home," domestic arts gave a unique opportunity to profit from their perceived expertise. Rhoda Garrett differentiated this path of employment and urged women to pursue artistic training in hopes to extend "the gracious influence of the home" and "raise the position of household art."³⁰

In line with this mission, the Garretts even published a decoration guide not unlike Charles Eastlake's. Capitalizing on the popularity of home advice manuals, Reverend W.J. Loftie published a series called "Art at

Home," designed to inform middle-class consumers on aesthetic decoration.³¹ In 1876, Loftie commissioned Rhoda and Agnes Garrett to write the second in the 'Art at Home Series', called *Suggestions for Home Decoration in Painting, Woodwork, and Furniture*. Their guide was well-received, reaching its sixth edition in only three years.³² They wrote practical chapters such as "How Much Will it Cost?" as well as idyllic chapters like "Houses as They Are" and "Houses as they Might Be."³³ Within these chapters, the Garretts gave practical advice in simplistic terms on how best to decorate a home to "actually improve with time and wear."³⁴

Unlike Charles Eastlake's *Hints on Household Taste*, the Garretts' guide did not have men as its intended audience. Its conversational tone more closely resembles circulations which informed women, such as domestic advice guides. Domestic guides were hugely popular among middle-class women in the second half of the 19th century. Like the Garretts' artistic guide, women wrote domestic guides for other women, conversationally imparting specialized advice like recipes and etiquette. Isabella Beeton edited the foundational tract *Mrs. Beeton's Book of Household Management*, which meticulously detailed how to run a middle-class home. The guide informed readers, among many topics, how to receive visitors, how to calculate finances and pay income tax, and how to bake the perfect soufflé.³⁵ Women faced enormous pressure to attain proficiency in household maintenance, which was necessary for familial happiness, public standing, the husband's success, and personal satisfaction.

24 Crawford, *Enterprising Women*, 170.

25 "Rhoda Garrett," *The Englishwoman's Review of Social and Industrial Questions* 13, (London: The Office of the "Englishwoman's Review," 1882), 548, New York Public Library, (HathiTrust), accessed May 16, 2017.

26 Crawford, *Enterprising Women*, 169.

27 "Rhoda Garrett," *The Englishwoman's Review of Social and Industrial Questions*, 548.

28 Ferry, "Decorators May Be Compared to Doctors," 17.

29 Quoted in Lisa Daniels, "Houses as they Might Be': Rediscovering Rhoda and Agnes Garrett and their Influence on the Victorian Middle-Class Home," *The Journal of the Decorative Arts Society 1850- the Present*, no. 35 (2011): 87.

30 "Rhoda Garrett," *The Englishwoman's Review of Social and Industrial Questions*, 548.

31 "Domestic Art*," *The Pall Mall Gazette*, March 6, 1877, britishnewspaperarchive.co.uk.

32 Ferry, "Decorators May Be Compared to Doctors," 23.

33 "Contents," Rhoda and Agnes Garrett, in *Suggestions for House Decoration in Painting, Woodwork, and Furniture*, 2nd ed., (London: Macmillan, 1877), (HathiTrust), accessed May 6, 2017.

34 Rhoda Garrett and Agnes Garrett, "Contents," 90.

35 *Mrs. Beeton's Book of Household Management*, ed. Isabella Beeton, (1861: repri., London: Ward, Lock & Co., 1909) 9, University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign, [HathiTrust] accessed May 2, 2017.

Contemporary to each other, Emma Ferry analyzed the Garretts's *Suggestions for Home Decoration* as a direct response to Charles Eastlake's *Hints on Household Taste*. The guide emphasizes their profession as "home decorator" rather than domestic "home maker." Where Eastlake criticizes "flustered, novelty-driven *Materfamilias*," the Garretts admonish "*Paterfamilias*... resistant to change."³⁶ Perhaps to establish authority, even the titles are similar. Understanding the Garrett's goal was "to raise the position of household art," their book billed itself as having been written by women for women without access to official training and education.

Not long after the Garretts's publication, another female decorator found herself in the position to advocate for female professionalism. Charlotte Robinson was born around 1860 in Settle, North Yorkshire.³⁷ Her father, Henry Robinson, was a prominent and wealthy attorney.³⁸ During her time as a student at Queen's College, two influential events occurred in her life: first, Charlotte came into acquaintance with the well-known publisher, women's work advocate, and public speaker Emily Faithfull. Second, her father died in her young adulthood, leaving an inheritance which Charlotte chose to invest in opening a business under her own name in Manchester.³⁹

Like the Garretts, Robinson rose to prominence after exhibiting her work to a large audience. She gained fame with the "Royal Jubilee Exhibition," held in Manchester from May to October of 1887 as part of widespread celebrations of the 50th anniversary of Queen Victoria's ascension to the throne.⁴⁰ She was literally in the spotlight from the start: during the Exhibition's opening ceremony,

Charlotte Robinson had the honor of publishing and presenting a series of Jubilee addresses written by Emily Faithfull for the Princess of Wales.⁴¹ Within the exhibition, Robinson is crediting as presenting: "Frieze. Corner Sideboard. Overmantel. Draught Screen. Fire Screens. Tuckaway Tables. Newspaper and Music Stands. Photograph Frames, &c."⁴² The Exhibition was hugely popular, and local papers called it "The Gem of the Jubilee." After an extended run, the exhibition closed in November of 1887 with a total of 4,765,137 visitors over 164 days, making it the longest and most attended Jubilee exhibition.⁴³

It is with no surprise, following such positive reception, that Robinson presented at several other Jubilee exhibitions that year. According to papers, she displayed "beautiful painted screens, brackets, plaques, and a corner cabinet richly ornamented with painted flowers" at the Royal Yorkshire Jubilee Exhibition later that year, where her glass painting artwork won second class.⁴⁴ In December of 1887, Charlotte Robinson had the privilege of submitting several pieces of artwork to Queen Victoria herself, who subsequently purchased Robinson's work. Later that month, Queen Victoria cemented her support of Charlotte Robinson by creating an appointment for her, First Royal Home Decorator.⁴⁵

Charlotte Robinson's work is interesting because it surpassed feminine craftwork - periodicals detail accomplishments in furniture construction, woodwork, and other masculine mediums. Yet periodicals highlight the domestic nature of her work. The *Illustrated Times*

36 Ferry, "Decorators May Be Compared to Doctors," 27.

37 "1891 England Census," Census Returns of England and Wales, ancestry.com, accessed April 7, 2017.

38 "Death of Miss Charlotte Robinson," *Shipley Times and Express*, October 18th, 1901, britishnewspaperarchive.co.uk

39 "Ladies as Shopkeepers," *Pall Mall Gazette*, December 23rd, 1887, britishnewspaperarchive.co.uk.

40 *The London Times*, February 3rd, 1887, *The Times Digital Archive*, accessed April 8, 2017.

41 *The London Daily News*, May 3rd, 1887, britishnewspaperarchive.co.uk.

42 John Heywood, "Royal Jubilee Exhibition, Manchester 1887: Official Catalogue," 75, <https://archive.org/details/royaljubileexhi0oroya>, accessed April 8, 2017.

43 "The Manchester Royal Jubilee Exhibition Closing Ceremony," *Manchester Courier and Lancashire General Advertiser*, November 11th, 1887, britishnewspaperarchive.co.uk.

44 *The Leeds Mercury*, November 12th, 1887, britishnewspaperarchive.co.uk.

45 "New Appointment," *The Times*, December 20th, 1887, *The Times Digital Archive*, accessed April 8, 2017.

explained the Queen's appointment as result of "a kindly interest in ladies who are trying to open out new paths for the remunerative employment of women in appropriate directions."⁴⁶ An 1890 "Celebrity at Home" feature in *the World* states: "to brighten by every available influence the prosaic details of ordinary existence, is directly feminine work."⁴⁷ Thus, Charlotte's employment was perceived not as labor-intensive working, but rather as a natural extension of women's aptitude in the home.

This co-opting was not unique to Charlotte Robinson. Victorian women involved in organized charity relied on the language of domestic responsibility to defend their activism as "social housekeeping."⁴⁸ What was unique was Robinson's linguistic appropriation to defend profitable, professional work, not virtuous charity. Robinson's economic focus exemplifies the necessity of establishing professional opportunities for a growing number of college educated, middle-class women. Rather than marriage, many of these women elected to live with other women and advocate for female employment, education, and opportunity.⁴⁹ One of those women was Emily Faithfull, who Robinson lived with from at least 1891 until Faithfull's death in 1895.⁵⁰ The two shared a close relationship: Faithfull's will left her home to Robinson in appreciation for five years of cohabitation Faithfull called "the happiest I ever spent."⁵¹

46 "The Queen's Home Art Decorator," *The Illustrated London News*, 31 Dec 1887, britishnewspaperarchive.co.uk.

47 *The World*, quoted in *The Preston Herald*, May 17th, 1890, britishnewspaperarchive.co.uk.

48 Amanda Vickery, "Golden Age to Separate Spheres? A Review of the Categories and Chronology of English Women's History," *The Historical Journal* 36, no. 2 (1993), 400-401.

49 Martha Vicinus, "One Life to Stand beside Me: Emotional Conflicts in First-Generation College Women in England," *Feminist Studies* 8, no. 3 (1982), 604.

50 In 1881, England's census lists Charlotte Robinson as living with her brother, William A. Robinson. In 1891, she is a "boarder" in Faithfull's home, although exactly when they moved in is unknown. "1881 England Census," Census Returns of England and Wales, ancestry.com, accessed April 7, 2017 and "1891 England Census," Census Returns of England and Wales, ancestry.com, accessed April 7, 2017

51 "Emily Faithfull's Will," *The Cheshire Observer*, September 21st, 1895, britishnewspaperarchive.co.uk.

While genuine, relationships between professional women were also strategic. Faithfull had an established career by the time she met Robinson. She was secretary to the Society for the Employment of Women, and in 1860, Faithfull founded The Victoria Printing Press, where she employed women in journalism. Queen Victoria amplified Faithfull's success by appointing her "Printer and Publisher in Ordinary to Her Majesty."⁵² As Faithfull's career expanded, so too did her reputation as a suffragist and orator. Maintaining a high profile was integral to Faithfull's mission, as an 1871 speech to the Society of Arts explained:

If girls saw older women in positions of trust and authority, they would not only be encouraged to develop that business-like capacity and those qualities of character without which they must remain socially and individually in the lowest scale, but they would feel themselves far more protected than they can do at present, while they have no other safeguard than their own prudence.⁵³

Faithfull saw Robinson's work as in line with female economic advancement. After Robinson's appointment, Faithfull published a feature about Robinson which circulated in the *Pall Mall Gazette*, where she described the trouble Charlotte faced in placing her work as employment, not charity. Until employment was widespread "women will pose as destitute ladies, and never take a dignified position in any calling they adopt."⁵⁴ The description of Robinson's work in Faithfull's feature is a precise example of the public advocacy Faithfull built a career around as a journalist.

52 For more on Emily Faithfull and her significant role in expanding the rights of women through publishing, see Maria Frawley, "The Editor as Advocate: Emily Faithfull and 'The Victoria Magazine,'" *Victorian Periodicals Review* 31, no. 1, 1988, 87-104.

53 "Woman's Work: With Special Reference to Industrial Employment," read by Emily Faithfull at the meeting of the Society of Arts, March 29, 1871, 7 (HathiTrust), accessed April 28, 2017.

54 "Women as Shopkeepers," *Pall Mall Gazette*, December 23rd, 1887, britishnewspaperarchive.co.uk.

Over the next decade, Charlotte enjoyed public attention and economic success. Robinson followed Talbot Coke as decorative editor in *The Queen* magazine where she further gained an audience with respectable, middle-class women in a publication undergoing progressive changes.⁵⁵ *The Woman's World*, a popular publication edited by Oscar Wilde, published a feature about Robinson.⁵⁶ She also contributed illustrations and articles to the American-based *The Decorator and Furnisher*, giving her work international scope.⁵⁷ Her popularity allowed her to open a second shop in London. Following in the steps of Emily Faithfull's all-women press, Robinson exclusively employed female artists, whom she found more than artistically capable with simple training.⁵⁸ At the time of her death in 1901, newspapers called her "brilliant," a genius, and praised her turning artistic inclination into a professional career, winning "great distinction in the field of home art decoration."⁵⁹

Frequently, academics overlook, under-research, or exclude women's experiences from popular narratives. Because Victorian women had limited economic and cultural resources, it can be hard to untangle labor history, art history, and domestic history. Nonetheless, we can see that between 1871, when the Garretts began their apprenticeship, and 1887, when Robinson received her appointment, women made remarkable progress. Where the Garretts worked under a gender ambiguous name – "R&A Garrett" – Charlotte Robinson worked under her own name, an accomplishment mentioned frequently as

a signifier of Robinson's success.⁶⁰ Where the Garretts published a singular artistic guide, Charlotte Robinson served as decorative editor in a prominent magazine for many years.

These women actively defined and defended their work – in newspapers, in magazines, and in artistic guides – and argued for the merit of the art they produced. For politically disenfranchised women, participation in the press and in the economic sphere challenged public opinion, thus advancing women's interests, agency, and independence. Although these women fought for recognition, they remain ignored in the literature; Charlotte Robinson's exclusion from scholarly work is a consequence of research and interpretation that perceives domestic art as commonplace objects, rather than as they are – works of fine art. By returning Robinson to the history of the Arts and Crafts movement and the history of domestic arts, this paper situates domestic art as Art and recognizes the generations of women who fought for professional recognition and who deserve respect for their artistic labor.

55 "Gossip From the 'Star,'" *Aberdeen Evening Express*, October 25th, 1888, britishnewspaperarchive.co.uk.

56 "Some Practical Women," *The Woman's World* 3, ed. Oscar Wilde, (London: Cassell & Company, Ltd., 1890; repr., New York: Source Book Press, 1970), 193 (HathiTrust), accessed May 1, 2017.

57 See Charlotte Robinson, "New Materials for Home Decoration," *The Decorator and Furnisher* 17, no. 2 (1890), 46; "Recent London Notions," *The Decorator and Furnisher* 13, no. 5 (1889), 137, and "Nasturtium Embroidery Design," *The Decorator and Furnisher* 20, no. 1 (1892), 27-29.

58 *The Manchester Weekly Times*, April 12th, 1890, britishnewspaperarchive.co.uk.

59 "Death of Miss Charlotte Robinson," *ShIPLEY Times and Express*, October 18th, 1901, britishnewspaperarchive.co.uk.

60 "Women as Shopkeepers," *Pall Mall Gazette*, December 23rd, 1887, britishnewspaperarchive.co.uk.

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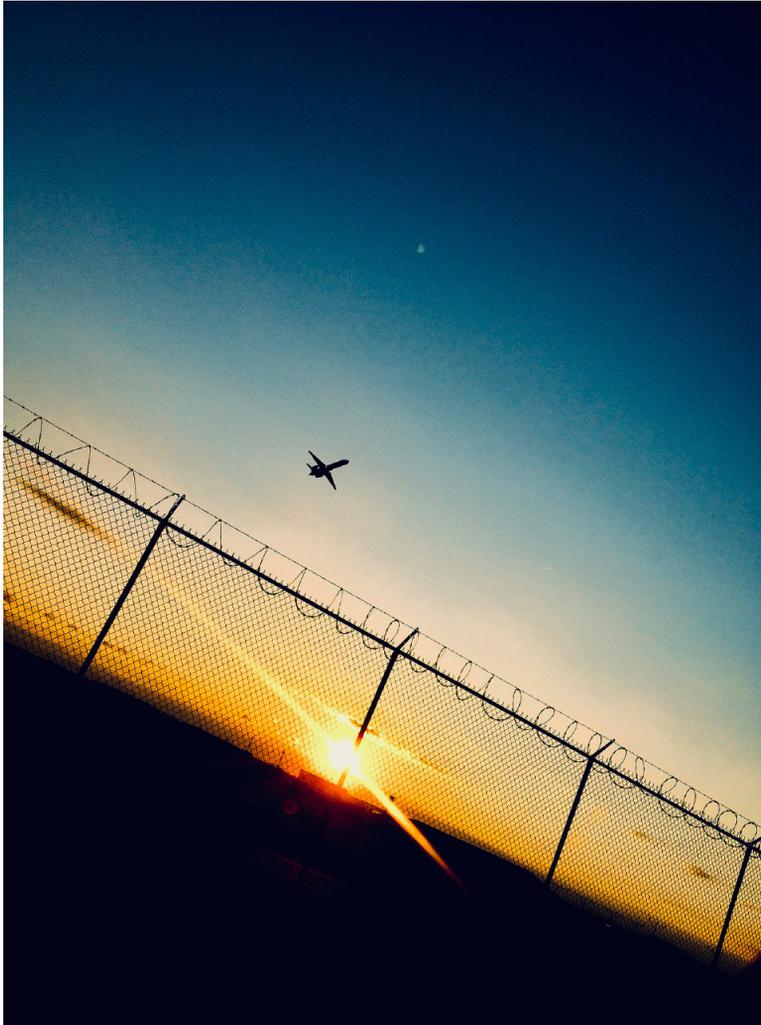
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Tamar Blair | *Airplane Riding in the Sunset*

THE REAL *MISS SAIGONS* OF THE AMERICAN BROTHEL: US MILITARY INTERVENTION IN VIETNAM THROUGH A FEMINIST-CONSTRUCTIVIST FRAMEWORK

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In the fall of 1989, *Miss Saigon* opened on Broadway and ran for the next five years before establishing multiple tours in cities across the United States and internationally. One of Broadway's longest-running shows, the tragic love story of a Vietnamese bar girl and an American GI torn apart by the Fall of Saigon added another contribution to America's collective memory of a war that was not only bloody, complex, but also sexualized— one of Southeast Asian prostitutes falling in love with righteous, heroic white American soldiers, with hopes of escaping the unfortunate fate of her country and herself. Scripted, musically composed, and produced by Broadway-renowned writer Claude-Michel Schonberg and other French and American lyricists, the beloved musical serves as an example and a starting point into understanding how Vietnam's identity is constructed and then reconstructed by a lens that is white, American, Western, and male— forming a narrative that not only is embedded in the American view of Vietnam, but how Vietnamese view themselves through internalizing that narrative.

By 1955, the US government had started to extend its involvement in the post-colonial third world of Indochina, and Vietnam provided an empty fighting ground for the Communist Soviets and the American government during the Cold War as it gained its early independence. American military occupation in Vietnam from 1966 up to the Fall of Saigon to the National Liberation Front of the Communist North are often told through Realist politics— politics of the state level in the academic field of IR, focusing on the US's hegemonic status and the dynamics of the Cold War. Arguably, in academic circles as well as

the American public eye, the war is usually studied with the central focus on an American experience instead of a Vietnamese one. In other words, mainstream literature in both academic and pop culture puts the country's history and the Vietnamese government as a subject under the French and American government, instead of an actor itself. In this paper, I attempt to retell the Vietnamese narrative as an active player on the global stage, as well as examine the Vietnam war through power not at the state level, but the individual. Using a feminist constructivist framework, I explore the role of identity politics in the Vietnamese "Brothel culture" from late 1960s throughout the Cold War with unfolding the narratives of the "bar girls" that served GI's in massage parlors and karaoke venues (Boczar 2015, 106). I explore the Vietnam war through a focus on the interpersonal politics of the communities and the remaking of the Vietnamese identity by American interventionism. I argue that alongside military action, US-implemented policies, the media, and the 1960s underground prostitution market that developed help create a narrative of identity for Vietnamese women and their succeeding generations and a power dynamic between white men and brown women that is both gendered and racialized. In the last section of the paper, I will argue that this power dynamic and perception of Vietnamese woman also helped shape the booming sex tourism industry in modern-day Southeast Asia.

In order to understand the individual politics occurring in Vietnamese societies and how American soldiers completely changed Vietnamese identity, we must first understand the context of how Vietnam emerged

on the global stage. In the postcolonial aftermath of independence from France, Vietnam, like other “third-world” countries, provided the fighting grounds for spheres of influence in a bipolar hegemonic world during the Cold War: Vietnamese independence from French colonial powers in 1954 posed a threat of the communist North Vietnamese led by Ho Chi Minh, which prompted the States to throw its support to president Ngo Dinh Diem and his family dynasty in the South. Part of a wealthy and devout Catholic-converted political dynasty, Diem reached out to Michigan State University’s government-sponsored assistance programs for Cold War allies to provide consultation for South Vietnam’s nation building. Even before physical war broke out, the US government had already involved itself extensively in shaping Vietnam as a new post-colonial nation, from the election meddling in 1955 that put the Diem brothers in place to establish an American-friendly foot in the far East. The relationship between American presidents and the South Vietnamese family changed drastically over the years, inevitably leading to a CIA-sponsored coup that assassinated Diem and his brother Ngo Dinh Nhu, sparking the start of the war. The relationship between the American government and the South Vietnamese state in the Cold War era is not only relevant in Realist politics but is crucial in understanding the intervention in the Vietnam war beyond the battlefield in its racialized-gendered narrative.

Studying US military placement in South Vietnam through the bar girls, under a feminist-constructivist framework, takes us beyond the front line, revealing that the bar girls and prostitutes in South Vietnam had an immense role to play in unwittingly mediating the course of the war behind the frontlines. In 1961, Kennedy ordered advisors and military men to be physically stationed in South Vietnam to help stabilize its government amidst unrest and tensions from the North. By the end of 1964, after the assassination of the Diem brothers, the number of American ground forces in South Vietnam increased by 7,000 men and reached a number of 190,000 by 1965

and continued to rise through the years. American bases were built in and around Saigon, making the city the new residential place for American GIs aged 18-30 (Boczar 2015). Up to the Tet Offensive, American military men were inevitably woven into the fabric of Vietnamese societies, bringing a new market venue, a way out of pre-war South Vietnam for the residents, as well as cultural and sexual expectations from the West. The American deployment of troops had the inevitable consequence of GIs interacting with civilians and drastically interfering in their traditional way of lives (Boczar 2015). GI men wove their ways into the lives of a people in political upheaval, nervous on the brink of war. The GI’s American dollars altered South Vietnam’s currency system as well as created a black market of cigarettes, Coca-Cola, stamps, and underground prostitution. As Diem’s government was a heavily Catholic one, brothels were never really called brothels in Saigon (Boczar 2015). Rather, the American GI presence with American money created a venue for employing young girls and women to work in air-conditioned bars and massage parlors as singers, servers, and entertainers, with sex as an implied concept, with “prostitute” seldom the official title of the job. The American men and the American dollar not only created jobs for Vietnamese in Saigon, but also attracted young girls from the countryside coming into the city to look for jobs, increasing the city’s population even more. Thus, Saigon became the “Paris of the Orient,” with the influx of troops attracting Vietnamese from the countryside, naming itself (at least in the Western eye) an underground venue of cheap drugs, cheap booze, and cheap girls (Boczar 2015, 142).

I argue that those girls, though often viewed as subjects, and a bi-product of an otherwise bloody, political, male-driven war, actually play an active role, affecting state-level policy and the course of the war from the ground up, through interpersonal politics. As Saigon became a mixture of contradictions, clashing cultures, and differences in religion and moralities, it provided the ground for the relationship between Diem’s government

and the American government to play out, change, and eventually disintegrate. The United States government increasingly deployed troops to Saigon, without acknowledging from early on the potential consequences (Boczar 2015). The GI black market economy of prostitution soared and along with it epidemics of biracial orphans, venereal diseases, and the eventual strained reputation of the United States abroad. Diem, South Vietnamese government officials, and authors heavily criticized the immorality and Westernization that GIs brought in, disrupting the lives of South Vietnamese civilians. Meanwhile, though there were efforts to protect the GI's (rather than the women's) well-being, the US military did attempt to administer medical assessments to contain and regulate the spread of venereal diseases, but other than that, the American military didn't seem to actively tackle the problem of prostitution as the South Vietnamese government wished (Boczar 2015). Rather, the attitude towards military prostitution was that it was, inevitably, "a natural part of warfare," a means to boost soldiers' morale (Boczar 2015, 141). Arguably, Vietnamese women were thought to serve as "[accommodations to] the sexual needs of U.S troops" (Stur 2011, 39)-- a notion repeatedly enforced by drill instructors and servicemen, throughout the United States' military history. According to scholars like Cynthia Enloe, basic training more or less prepared the young soldiers for that expectation (Stur 2011, Boczar 2015, Enloe 1989). After Senator Fulbright's comment on "the American brothel," the media sent a wave that exposed and portrayed the United States not as guardians of freedom, but rather getting themselves in a war of sin and depravity (Boczar 2015, 141), which arguably might've cost them the support from their European allies on the global stage.

As said above, though global politics are often concentrated in the policy makers from both sides, I argue that the women in Saigon should be considered active players in the Vietnam war as well. That being said, it is undeniable that Western men played a crucial role creating a narrative and shaping the identity of Vietnam

as a nation and its women, whether one likes to admit it or not. In this section, I will follow Kevin Dunn's model of constructivism used in his case study of the Congo to trace how the Vietnamese female narrative is formed and reinforced in both the Western and the Vietnamese eye. We examine how the image of the "Oriental woman" was started by French colonists but is also later adapted and reinforced by the second wave of Western interventionism by American men.

Coined by Edward Said, Orientalism is defined as the West's patronizing portrayal of "the East" as exotic, mysterious, and primitive. According to Said, Orientalism has a direct tie to imperialism and therefore is a reflection of inherently imposing power (Stur 2011). In South Vietnam, where more than half of the population were American GIs, the Western image of the "Oriental woman" (Boczar 2015, 58) in Asia was reinforced by the Vietnamese woman-- it was a narrative of distinctively Vietnamese Orientalism. After consulting primary sources of photos and literature as well as peer-reviewed scholarly studies, I argue that there are three general tropes that Asian women are often reduced and categorized into to help the West make sense of the Other, and in this particular case, Vietnamese women. These three tropes of the Oriental woman are the Innocent, the Sexual, and the Dangerous. The Innocent trope refers to the damsel in distress that is the Asian woman needing to be rescued by the West, the Sexual trope refers to the implied promiscuity and Oriental sexual images perpetuated since the French colonial times, and the Dangerous refers to the image of the mythical "Dragon Lady" - the cunning, mysterious, dangerous female of the East (Stur 2011, 22).

The damsel in distress trope first started with Madame Chiang Kai-Shek, the wife of the Chinese leader during WWII. The American media focused on Madame Chiang's impeccable beauty in contrast of her counterpart Eleanor Roosevelt, whose composition didn't fit the traditional domestic woman image. Recalling the development of the damsel in distress trope in regard to Madame Chiang, "...a

mysterious and exotic Asian female, projected the image of a tiny woman, frail yet valiant, being rescued by tall, strong, chivalrous [American] male senators...” (Stur 2011, 24). This image is also projected towards the Vietnamese woman- reserved, exotic, beautiful, and submissively feminine.

At the height of colonialism, French powers were the first major (and violent) Western intervention in Southeast Asia around 1946. With colonization came the “colonial intimacy” (Boczar 2015, 29); amongst the exploitation of resources in Indochina, the French also introduced their *bordels militaires de campagne*- the proliferation of military brothels, creating opportunities to bring Vietnamese women to French military men, therefore eventually perpetuating sexualized images of colonial culture. As the Vietnamese narrative became known on the global stage as an ex-colony and not its own country, the sentiment of the sexual colonial woman was preemptively ingrained in the American mind even before troops were deployed (Boczar 2015, Stur 2011). By the time GIs reached South Vietnam, the expectation of exotic, erotic women serving white men had already been ingrained in American minds even before they were stationed in Saigon. The Sexual side of the “Oriental woman” in Indochina existed hand in hand with its dynamic- one of mystery, exotic beauty, sexual submissiveness, yet still racially subhuman in the primitive nature of her society.

In the American eye, the Innocent damsel in distress and the Sexual merged into the Oriental woman that the French created in Indochina. The two are almost antagonistic with each other, both prominent performances of identities in 1960s Saigon. From pictures and memoirs, the iconic image of shy school girls riding their bikes in white, form-fitting tunics with silk slacks, wearing *non la* bamboo hats. The *ao dai* traditional clothing provides a powerful visual symbol of the dynamic of the Vietnamese women: purity, femininity, and national pride. Though the outfit has existed long before Western occupation, the Vietnamese traditional tunic,

for American soldiers, became a suggestive indication of a curious, oriental purity in the midst of a sexual revolution back home. One can see how Asian women were portrayed as objects whose beauty and sexuality was to be scrutinized and policed: in popular magazines and government publications in the States, there was an observed “affinity to the *ao dai*- clad Vietnamese women over the miniskirts” (Stur 2011,55). For Americans, the *ao dai* was not about cultural independence as it was for the Vietnamese, but of an idealized femininity in need of protection, as well as part of a contradicting combination of a secret sexual deviant for white men- as seen in a caption in the *Star and Stripes* military-issued magazines of a photo of Vietnamese women stating that they, “make a pleasing sight in their native dress” at the Engineer Battalion Headquarters (Stur 2011,26).

Thus, amongst the young girls in *Ao Dai*, mixed in with the increasing miniskirts of bar girls in massage parlors, the two coexisting prominent images created some kind of “oriental dream” for men from the French colonial period in 1945, to the mass population of American GIs in 1965, and arguably continued onto present day Ho Chi Minh City. The Vietnamese woman, under the umbrella of an Oriental Asia, is “the combination of submissive innocence and assertive sexuality.. It is the epitome of Orientalist fantasy” (Stur 2011, 31). In a city mixed with girls in tight miniskirts existing hand-in-hand with school girls in white flowy tunic dresses, the Orientalist sentiment is seared into the American male memory after the war. It provided a perception of the Vietnamese woman as an exotic sex object- promiscuous but not dirty, shy but friendly to Americans, and most of all, sexually submissive. The mentality prevailed after the war and stayed with the public memory up to today’s contemporary Asia.

In her book, Heather Stur looks at how gender in Vietnam in American perceptions are deeply rooted with a sense of “Cold War sexual anxieties” and “deep-seated Orientalist images” (Stur 2011, 31). As bar girls reinforce

a sense of heteronormativity and a debate over proper expression of heterosexual masculinity and femininity, their interpersonal relations constructed a link between deviant sexuality and race. In other words, the American consciousness helped further solidify the sentiment invented by the French towards Asian women being more sexual objects as a race, and that sentiment being the prominent part of their identity. As already stated by Stur, this was how the power dynamic between American men and Vietnamese women became not only gendered but also racialized, reflecting a war that is, too, not only gendered but also racialized. Postcolonial theorists talk of the concept of the “racial construction of the Other,” in which the colonized Vietnamese are considered primitive, and therefore subhuman to Euro-Americans, thus justifying their occupation (Stur 2011, 31). While there was the black and white of the colonizers and the subhuman colonized men, the colonial woman is presented somewhere in between (Boczar 2015, Nodelman 1992). In Henry Hervey’s novel *Con gai: Mistress of Indochina*, the oriental woman posed as “a beautiful savage,” bridging the “other” and the familiar, making Vietnamese women human enough to engage in sexual activity, but not enough to be the same as white (Boczar 2015, 29).

Lastly, the Dragon Lady trope exists in congruence with the constructed sexual nature of Southeast Asian women, providing yet another dimension into the West’s confounded attempt to make sense of the “exotic... beautiful savage” of the East (Boczar 2015,30). Going beyond sexual pleasure, the Dragon Lady trope is one of peculiarity, simultaneously giving the Asian woman power but also stereotyping and reducing them, providing Western/American soldiers the justification they needed in order to kill the enemy. Originating from a famous Chinese pirate, the Dragon Lady refers to “a cunning, beautiful Asian woman who transformed from seeming friend to deadly foe at a moment’s notice” (Stur 2011, 21). This trope is prominent in one key figure -- Madame Ngo Dinh Nhu, Diem’s sister-in-law. As Diem was a bachelor president, the role of first lady was filled

by Ngo Dinh Nhu’s wife, Tran Le Xuan, who became known to the international public as Madame Nhu. Born and educated in one of the most powerful families in 20th century South Vietnam, Madame Nhu’s social standing, wit, and fluent English earned her a spot on the global stage and the American public’s fascination through covers of *Time* magazines. As a woman, Madame Nhu was articulate, witty, charming, and unafraid of public appearances. Nhu was one of nine women in the National Assembly in the Republic of Vietnam and was considered Diem’s unofficial right-hand woman in guiding policy, and the physical embodiment of the “Dragon Lady” in America’s eyes (Stur 2011, 25). She met with leaders across the Cold War world, commented on international and domestic affairs, and never shied away from her identity performance as a strong but dainty-looking Vietnamese woman who fit neither the helpless nor the sexualized images of Southeast Asian girls. The *ao dai* that she wore for public appearances was both classic and modernized, with the traditional collar cut off just below the collarbones. Seen in the iconic picture of her firing a .38 pistol with members of her women paramilitary behind her, Nhu posed the trope of beauty and charm, but also of power and mystery, establishing her as a dangerous oriental creature: the Dragon Lady (Stur 2011). Like Stur analyzed, the photograph posed Madame Nhu as “both seductive and dangerous-- a metaphor for Vietnam” (Stur 2011, 26).

Moreover, Nhu’s identity was also not one of her own, but one that was constructed mainly by the American public’s fascination. From the US’s support of Nhu as they recognized her influence as well as her anti-communist sentiment, to her openly and fearlessly criticizing the place of the American government and military in South Vietnam, the American media’s treatment of Nhu changed throughout time. Within the White House, “as relations between the Kennedy and Diem administration deteriorated, assessments of Madame Nhu became more hostile, and the agenda underlying the US’s role as benevolent protector became clearer” (Stur 2011, 28).

Through Madame Nhu, we are able to recognize the power of writing narratives in constructivism and identity politics. The other time where the “Dragon Lady” came into play is the fear of the Vietcong-- specifically, female Vietcong fighters. The Vietcong’s guerrilla fighting strategy of warriors without uniforms like the South’s ARVN forces provided them an omnipresence that instigated Americans’ paranoia of disguised Vietcong in South Vietnam. Urban legends would develop around the “*vagina dentata*,” or “toothed vagina,” where it was rumoured that there were Vietcong prostitutes serving in Saigon’s bars with razor blades hidden inside their vaginas when serving American customers (Stur 2011,40). Going as far back as French colonial times in Indochina, Vietnamese women’s portrayal of the literature produced during the time has created the foundation for that kind of paranoia against the Vietnamese. This sentiment is specifically and explicitly expressed, seen in a quote from Hervey’s novel, *Congai: Mistress of Indochine*- [the Vietnamese girl] “is never just silly girl-- or a calculating minx-- but a confounding mixture of the two” (Boczar 2015, 30).

In his book *Reimagining the Congo*, Kevin Dunn took on the “invention” of the Congo as a modern product of colonialism. In his argument, there was never a “Congo,” or a “Congolese national identity” before Africa’s geographical borders were artificially cut up between Belgium and other European powers in their 19th century imperialist scramble. Europeans portrayed “the Congo” as a land of savages in dire need of civilization, stressing the inferiority of the Congolese people and justifying colonialism. Furthermore, post-colonial Congo provided an opening for a US intervention in the Cold War era to contain the Soviets (Dunn 2012). Thus, through different cases, we see parallels echoing from the imagining of the Congo to the Western construction of Vietnamese identity. The three tropes show us a primitive, boxed-in look at Vietnamese identity through the Western eye, that the “Orient” in Vietnam was an embodiment of a complex, layered identity reduced into a trope in order

to fit the Western perception of masculinity, femininity, and to make sense of “the Other.” This then prompts the question, who were the women beyond that American construction?

As Dunn explained, while Constructivist theory says that identity and narratives are socially constructed and therefore not “real,” it doesn’t mean that taking on those identities aren’t consequential. Even though this narrative was provided by white men, I argue that that narrative does not stand alone. Rather, it is internalized and taken by Vietnamese women themselves, therefore becoming their own “natural” identity. They took on that identity and performed it, even though the narrative wasn’t invented by them but was imposed upon them. Written in the memoirs of veterans, the bar girls often pretended that they were virgins and good Catholic women who wouldn’t have sex with American men (Boczar 2015, Christopher 1995). This further plays into the narrative of the “Oriental woman,” of a curiously combined, living contradiction of innocence and promiscuity in the American mind.

The idea of socially constructed identity and performances being consequential are also seen in the My Lai massacre, where the women and children raped and killed by American soldiers ranged from age 10 to 40. American soldiers’ fear of Vietcong girls as well as their defense mechanisms could be seen in an American cartoon with the caption: “They call her sweet Victor Charlene/ the cutest VC they had seen/ But she kicked when they tackled her/ Clawed when they shackled her/ And cussed like a salty Marine” (Stur 2011, 42). Such depictions reinforce the idea of Vietnamese women using their sexuality to lure American troops in and murder them, giving insight to the American sense of entitlement in engaging in sex in Vietnam, as well as their paranoia (Stur 2011). Looking at Dunn’s proposed theoretical model, regardless of whether or not the perceived identity of Vietnamese women was true, the Vietcong identity narrative of guerrilla fighters hiding under the disguise of a helpless girl paved the way for paranoid suspicions and for the eventual raping and killing of unarmed civilians in

My Lai. According to the narrative, everyone who wasn't American could be, and was, the enemy (Boczar 2011, Williams 2003). This is also seen in the feminization of not only the Vietcong fighters, but even their foot allies, the ARVN South Vietnamese army. Memoirs, records, as well as Hollywood movies provide countless examples of American soldiers attempting to diminish the masculinity, and therefore the physical and moral capabilities of their South Vietnamese counterparts. This paves the way to another interesting conversation about gender politics, the hypermasculinization of a post-Vietnam Reagan America, as well as the demasculinization of Asian men.

As mentioned above, the idea of masculinity and asserting dominance, the power dynamic created between white men and brown women, and the echoes of the old Saigon are still prevalent in present-day Southeast Asia, particularly Ho Chi Minh City. Now a rising global city, its acquired reputation is still one of sex tourism. Combined with the idea of "the exotic" and a dire need to boost GDP, Southeast Asian governments like Vietnam poured their money and investment into the tourism industry, and with it comes the underground sex tourism industry, from official-titled prostitutes to lounge servers and escorts (Hoang 2014, 515). Studies from field-obtained data suggest that Ho Chi Minh city's sex tourism industry is the product but also an active reinforcer of Western masculinity in an age of Western decline. Looking at the feminist-constructivist model of gender politics provided by Valerie Sperling, one could say that the unexpected and trauma-filled loss to the Vietcong was a point of emasculation for the American government and military (Williams 2003). Thus, the war movie genre that developed after the war produced movies like *Rambo*, *Green Beret* and *Full Metal Jacket*, we see the general trends of "rewriting" of the war, through a hyper-masculinization of the American soldier's body (Studlar 1988, 9). Most evident in *Rambo*, the story tells of a veteran returning to Vietnam where Americans "get to win this time" (Williams 2003, 222). Rambo's Reaganite American body is created by Hollywood so that it was both physically and morally upright, contrasted with

Vietcong soldiers portrayed as sinister and calculating (Studlar 1988). The hyper-masculinization of the West is produced hand-in-hand with a kind of "racial castration" of Asian men, as well as reflecting a sense of threatened, insecure, and fragile masculinity (Hoang 2012, 517, Williams 2003). This is explained by Valerie Sperling's model of gender politics, also used in the case of Russia: Putin utilizes Russia's social norms to portray himself as the true man of strength and muscles, his masculinity reflecting in international politics, making him the superior world leader compared to Obama, which is described using feminized narratives to indicate him being soft and incompetent- like a female (Sperling 2015). We see the parallel in Vietnam as well: while the Oriental woman bridges the gap between the racialized "Other" and the familiar, making them into an exotic sex object, the Vietnamese men remained as fully "other," and are feminized not for sexualization, but for degradation. Using heteronormative identity politics, Hollywood films and GI memoirs recalled the "gooks" (Williams 2003, 215) indicating the Vietnamese National Liberation Forces-- the enemy is feminized as "shooting targets, passive natives, children, homosexuals, prostitutes, and snipers..." indicating their sexual incompetence and therefore their inferiority (Williams 2003, 225). This type of "racial castration" is still exhibited in the emasculation of Asian men in contemporary Asia, seen from pop culture to Vietnam's sex tourism scene, where white masculinity was always preferred over Asian in sex (Hoang 2014, 517). This type of hyper-masculinization also arguably reflects a backlash in response to a kind of emasculating Western decline after the war and in the age of globalization (Hoang 2014).

In contemporary Asia, postcolonial masculinities research still shows tropes of exploration, conquest, and penetration of distant feminized lands, which helped construct masculine discourses of a "global hegemonic masculinity" of the West (Hoang 2011, 509). The narrative fits in explaining the booming sex tourism industry in Vietnam. Through her fieldwork

data working as an undercover hostess, Kimberly Hoang interviewed and analyzed the dynamics of sex workers in the underground industry. Hoang's work shows gender politics and identity performance constantly at play. Throughout different clubs where data was obtained, she analyzed the two demographics of Western customers: Western backpackers and middle-aged European/American men. Through her field work in different bars marketed to different social and financial standings, Hoang argued that customers who are young Western budget travelers participate in strengthening Western superiority. The backpackers often come to sex workers to "have an authentic third world experience," asserting the role of Southeast Asian women as exotic and sexual objects (Hoang 2011, 381). Secondly, the middle-aged Western businessmen clients are escaping their failed masculinities-- Hoang argued that as a result of the financial crisis in 2008, in cities like Ho Chi Minh a new set of bars emerged to cater to white Western expatriates or travel businessmen who "couldn't make it in New York or London" (Hoang 2011, 519). In her interviews, Western expats revealed feelings of inadequacy in relation to peers who worked in other global cities. In short, there is a construction of "class-positioned masculinity," where transnational businessmen compared themselves unfavorably to the younger, more successful businessmen back home (Hoang 2011, 518). Thus, the "third-world" provides the abundance of women and a sex economy available to revalidate their masculinity (Hoang 2011, 518).

As Cynthia Enloe stressed, as women have a long history of being "out of sight," studying International Relations with a feminist approach challenges the traditional perspectives and investigates how masculinity and femininity exposes unequal international power relations that are neither essential or inevitable (Enloe 1989). Studying US intervention in Vietnam through a feminist-constructivist framework takes us beyond the frontlines, into the untold stories and the underlying factors that shaped not only the course of the war but also Vietnam's identity up to present-day Southeast Asia.

The voiceless women in 1960s US-occupied Saigon were both reflections of American/Western invasive hegemony and active players in constructing the Vietnamese narrative of Oriental femininity and white masculinity. The framework shows us the interplay of power between white men and brown women. It is important to note that 1. The construction of the Vietnamese female identity in Saigon was largely one made from GI's expectations of "the Orient." Also, while that is true, the women took on gender performances of their own. In other words, the identity performance of the Vietnamese women was a transient, "real" narrative, yet it wasn't of their own making. Studying the bar girls in Saigon illustrates the power of identity politics, as well as providing insight into how Asian women are objectified, while still reminding us that they were very much active players in foreign affairs, in the case of the Vietnamese. When Vietnam is taught from a US perspective, Vietnam becomes not its own story but a subject, inherited by French and then American powers. Vietnamese identity is simultaneously lost and reconstructed again through a Western eye-- it is portrayed and then internalized by not only the American memory, but the Vietnamese one as well.

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Alanna Huck-Scarry | *Abstraction #1*

UN MONDO BUONO: LINGUA, RETORICA E IDEOLOGIA DELLA CAMPAGNA PUBBLICITARIA DEI PRODOTTI DA FORNO MULINO BIANCO 2012-2016*

LOURDES CONTRERAS

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ABSTRACT

This study examines the linguistic and rhetorical devices used by the Mulino Bianco brand in their 2012-2016 Antonio Banderas era of TV advertising. Through posing themes of family, authenticity, and nostalgia, Mulino Bianco guides Italian consumers into believing that the supposed current industrialized reality is not as wholesome as a life in a rural countryside. Through careful narratives built around their baked products, Mulino Bianco attempts to sell a world that is not only “good” but supposedly better than the reality in contemporary urban contexts. In addition to neologisms, repetitions, and polysemy, the ads often feature statistics and numbers aimed at a specific consumer population or color palettes to evoke a significance. Through their advertising strategies Mulino Bianco fabricates a “good” possible reality that contrasts with the company’s vision of a hectic contemporary reality; their reality is only attainable through their vast array of baked good. Through such mass-produced goods, Mulino Bianco attempts to sell a “good world” that is easier to understand and instantly gratifies one’s need to understand a more complicated world. The manufactured ease that Mulino Bianco concocts mimics authenticity and is an ingenuine approach used to pacify the need for self-reflection.

In ogni annuncio dell’azienda Mulino Bianco, si possono distinguere i diversi elementi che compongono l’immagine del marchio. Lo slogan più recente della Mulino Bianco, “Un mondo buono” non è solo uno slogan, ma racchiude l’obiettivo del marchio di creare una cultura di cui le persone sentano il bisogno di far parte. Mulino Bianco cerca anche di creare bisogni per le persone e norme che incarnino la genuinità, l’artigianalità e l’originalità. Tutte norme che possono essere visualizzate in uno spot TV senza apparire meno autentiche, come possiamo vedere in TV, giornali e film. Mulino Bianco punta a creare un mondo puro, originale, adatto alle famiglie, in cui ogni

consumatore possibile risieda. Mulino Bianco usa anche un senso di nostalgia per rendere la loro pubblicità più familiare ma anche abbastanza distante per cui sembri che l’unico modo per tornare indietro sia comprare i prodotti di quel mondo buono.

Nello spot TV per i biscotti *Tarallucci*, due ragazzini stanno pilotando un aeromodello in un campo di grano. Per dono di vista l’aereo che vola nel mulino eponimo. Antonio Banderas, il mugnaio, lo trova e mentre i ragazzini camminano nel mulino, il mugnaio dà loro i biscotti. I bambini commentano il buon gusto dei biscotti mentre il mugnaio indica Rosita, la gallina, e come i biscotti non avrebbero potuto essere gustosi senza di lei. Questo spot è un esempio perfetto di quello che Guido Ferraro definisce il senso di purezza e innocenza della campagna Mulino Bianco (Antonelli, 85). Ferraro spiega

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che ogni spot “mira a rendere il prodotto rappresentativo, per *sineddoche*, di un certo tipo di persona” (Antonelli, 87). I bambini rappresentano un aspetto familiare di Mulino Bianco e evocano il senso dell’innocenza e della salubrità dell’azienda, mantenendo intatto il personaggio del mugnaio. Il personaggio di Banderas è misterioso mentre i ragazzi entrano al mulino, eppure amichevole quando offre loro i biscotti. In altri spot, Banderas è una sorta di personaggio sensuale, come mostrerò in seguito.

Quando i due ragazzini entrano per la prima volta nel mulino passano accanto alla grande ruota idraulica, agli operai e ai mugnai, oltrepassano le grandi ruote dentate e infine arrivano a Banderas, il mugnaio. Proprio come la TV contemporanea, questa scena esemplifica la geografia emotiva che l’azienda vuole creare. Per creare un “mondo buono” da cui la gente possa essere attratta, Mulino Bianco presuppone che tutti vivano in un mondo cattivo. Mostrando i simboli dell’artigianalità e di una campagna serena e tranquilla, Mulino Bianco invita a presupporre per contrasto che il rumore e l’attività costante della città in cui vive la maggioranza dei consumatori siano cattivi. Ciò non vuol dire che la costante attività di una città non possa effettivamente provare una persona, però Mulino Bianco evoca un ambiente urbano incapace di offrire alcun tipo di soddisfazione spirituale. Il personaggio del mugnaio offre anche un volto amichevole che può essere o non essere facile da trovare in una grande città. Nel discutere un altro mezzo di comunicazione di massa, Atzori spiega che la radio mira ad essere una sorta di “amica” per gli ascoltatori, vuole essere personale e intima. Questa caratteristica della radio che Atzori chiama *la dialogicità* si può certamente ritrovare in questo spot di Mulino Bianco.

In un altro spot, Banderas è visto fare i *Cornetti* di sera con ingredienti che sembrano freschi e fatti in casa. Mentre immerge un cornetto al cioccolato, spiega che i suoi cornetti non sono facili da imitare e che prepara “la soffice sfoglia con crema al cioccolato ogni giorno” e rassicura i consumatori affermando di nuovo “ogni

giorno”. Con questa ripetizione, come sottolinea Arcangeli (65), lo spot mira a assicurarsi che il pubblico conosca la freschezza dei suoi prodotti. Il fatto che si ripeta implica anche che la produzione dei cornetti sia costante, affidabile. Questo universo è caratterizzato da cibo e ambiente apparentemente naturali, calore, cordialità e, naturalmente, Antonio Banderas. I colori in questo spot sono molto più caldi degli altri, dato che è notte e la scena è illuminata solo dalla luce del fuoco e dal sole al tramonto. Quello che Arcangeli descrive come “l’affollatissimo universo dei colori... privo di un reale valore informativo in dotazione a prodotti di largo e quotidiano consumo” (70) si vede in questo spot nei toni scuri, forse perché l’annuncio introduce un nuovo sapore di cioccolato e il cioccolato è pensato più per essere un cibo familiare, un cibo dell’infanzia, che evoca calore e comodità, o per aggiungere sensualità all’annuncio e al personaggio di Banderas. È importante notare che, a differenza della TV privata che spesso presenta una specifica regione o cultura in Italia, questa campagna ha come protagonista un attore che non è italiano, non parla in dialetto e non ha un lessico specifico della regione; Mulino Bianco cerca di soddisfare tutto il pubblico italiano. Mulino Bianco non solo prova ad avere un mugnaio che può soddisfare il pubblico, il mugnaio è in un certo senso in grado di essere un uomo sensuale e un padre di famiglia, amorevole e invitante ma anche misterioso.

Lo spot televisivo sui biscotti *Fiori di latte* si apre con il mugnaio che parla con Rosita, la gallina, della sua geniale idea di rendere i biscotti più leggeri, mentre si rilassano sul tetto del mulino. Lo spot TV mostra quindi i biscotti che cuociono nel forno e del testo che indica che i biscotti sono fatti con il 40% di grassi in meno. La scena finale mostra il mugnaio e una donna che assaggiano i biscotti e annuiscono in accordo. È interessante notare che Antonio Banderas assaggia questo biscotto con una donna. Soprattutto perché lo scopo principale dello spot è di annunciare che il biscotto è fatto con meno grassi ed è più salutare per i consumatori. Come spiega Antonelli, l’uso delle statistiche rende più attendibile uno spot e

rende più facile per gli spettatori convincersi a provare il prodotto (Antonelli, 110). Utilizzando statistiche come “il 40% in meno di grassi”, Mulino Bianco intende aggiungere un tipo di ricerca che sostiene il messaggio dello spot scientificamente. Antonelli spiega che il mass media televisivo ha “le maggiori responsabilità nel plasmare la sensibilità normativa degli utenti” (Antonelli, 58). Mulino Bianco ha aggiunto un personaggio femminile per indirizzare le consumatrici italiane per cui si presuppone il desiderio di cibo con meno grassi. Questo presupposto potrebbe essere sbagliato ma ha comunque un impatto sulle donne. È anche importante notare che l’aggiunta pseudo scientifica di questo dato non cambia il messaggio generale. Il biscotto è semplice, ha solo meno grassi. Dire di più sulle differenze di un biscotto più salutare renderebbe forse Mulino Bianco più un marchio dietetico, che non è il suo obiettivo generale. Anche Rosita, una gallina ovaioia meccanica, non solo allevata a terra ma dipinta spesso a condividere gli stessi spazi abitativi del mugnaio (tavolo, poltrona), si ricollega alla nostalgia dell’infanzia evocata dal marchio Mulino Bianco. Rosita è un personaggio quasi fumettistico nel mondo del Mulino Bianco, rende lo spot leggero, quasi come le immagini in un libro di favole. Rosita sembra servire non solo a evocare il senso di freschezza e prodotti “a chilometro zero”, ma anche ad attirare la curiosità dei bambini piccoli.

In un altro spot sulle *Fette Dorate*, Banderas è nel mulino a fare colazione a un tavolo con abbondanza di cibo. Banderas prova a spalmare la marmellata sulla sua fetta dorata, ma mentre lo fa la fetta si rompe. Poi spiega alla protagonista femminile che ha un’idea per risolvere questo problema: rendendo la fetta dorata più spessa, sarebbe più facile spalmare la marmellata senza incidenti. Banderas sottolinea con un coltello lo spessore del nuovo pane. Sebbene non utilizzi alcun tipo di misurazione o percentuale nell’aumento di spessore del pane, anche questo elemento informativo è parte della retorica degli spot. Antonelli scrive: “L’informazione più importante per l’effetto persuasivo è quella data per assodata”, in questo caso è la presenza della fetta biscottata a colazione; “se io

dico ‘mio fratello parla perfettamente l’inglese’ chi ascolta può dubitare del fatto che sappia l’inglese ma non che io abbia un fratello”—questo meccanismo riduce l’incertezza della novità del prodotto (Antonelli, 92). Alla fine dello spot si annuncia che il prodotto è più spesso: “più spesso [e] più facile”, Arcangeli spiega che l’uso di “più” insinua che qualcosa sia meglio del normale. Bonomi spiega come il lessico dei giornali si sia trasformato in una lingua più comune, analogamente alla televisione, ad eccezione della fiction (Bonomi, 130). Questo passaggio a un modo di parlare meno strutturato può essere visto nella maggior parte degli spot del Mulino Bianco, tuttavia questo spot che sembra assomigliare alla scena di una telenovela (vedi Nacci, 71) ha un lessico che è un po’ meno comune. Viene anche filmato in modo tale da aumentare il dramma di spezzare una fetta biscottata quando si spalma la marmellata. In questo modo, Mulino Bianco carica di straordinaria rilevanza piccoli problemi senza troppa importanza nella nostra vita quotidiana.

Nello spot televisivo per i *Galletti*, Banderas sta cercando Rosita per tutto il mulino. Banderas trova Rosita che guarda con nostalgia fuori dalla finestra mentre un altro gallo si allontana. Banderas quindi consola Rosita dicendo che l’amore è una combinazione di dolcezza e tempismo perfetto per “la cottura”. Giocando coll’espressione familiare “innamorato cotto”, Mulino Bianco intende far sì che i biscotti incarnino il significato dell’amore. Con questo, stanno insinuando che tra i loro ingredienti naturali e freschi c’è anche l’amore. Sebbene questa pubblicità sia particolarmente leggera, l’idea che l’amore possa essere trasformato in un ingrediente in un biscotto che è prodotto in serie è un modo per far sembrare il marchio più affettuoso di quanto sia possibile. Mulino Bianco sta tentando di imitare il modo in cui si mette l’amore nella cucina familiare, anche se i biscotti Mulino Bianco sono fatti in modo industriale.

In un breve spot televisivo per i biscotti *Macine*, il mugnaio avvia il mulino al mattino indossando il suo pigiama. Tira letteralmente le corde del mulino per

azionare la macina e prende un vassoio di biscotti e latte da mangiare. Prima di sedersi, ammira la sua macina e la farina per i biscotti che produce. Poi prende uno dei biscotti *Macine* e lo gira tra le dita rispecchiando la macina. Banderas procede quindi a mangiare il biscotto. Questo spot, pur avendo uno scenario rustico, mostra scene molto pulite e bianche. Senza dire una parola sui biscotti, Mulino Bianco ritrae alcuni valori fondamentali per il loro marchio. Questi valori comprendono l'armonia sociale e la buona artigianalità. Banderas raccoglie una manciata di farina e la ispeziona mentre prende il biscotto, con le sue mani infarinate e lo immerge nel latte bianco. La sensazione reale e organica di questo spot incarna ciò che la marca vuole che gli spettatori vedano nel Mulino Bianco. Un elemento importante in questo e in molti degli spot del Mulino Bianco è l'uso del colore in riferimento a determinate caratteristiche. Sembra che Mulino Bianco utilizzi il colore bianco per riferirsi a purezza e pulizia: la farina è bianca così come il latte in cui il biscotto viene immerso. Questo uso del colore ribadisce che Mulino Bianco ha una sola immagine della purezza o l'armonia, poiché sembra che solo questa tavolozza di colori sia utilizzata in questo contesto. L'unica eccezione in questo contesto sono i pacchi che vengono utilizzati per biscotti come la *Macine* che non sono bianchi, ma di colore giallo che è più caldo e assomiglia alle borse dei fornai di una volta. Come scrive Mario Carpo (2015), le confezioni sono state progettate per creare una sensazione di nostalgia per i sapori e i valori del passato.

In un altro spot Banderas lavora mentre una protagonista femminile gli mostra una foto di lui quando era un bambino. Lui poi sorride affettuosamente e risponde dicendo che vorrebbe ritrovare il sapore della sua infanzia. Spiega anche che i biscotti erano "grandi, grandi". Banderas continua quindi a preparare il biscotto, il *Biscottone*; la protagonista femminile poi assaggia il biscotto inzuppato nel latte. Non riesce a trovare la parola per descrivere il biscotto e suggerisce a Banderas che il biscotto è "inzupposo". La parola "inzupposo" non esiste al di fuori di questo spot, è un neologismo. Come

abbiamo visto in precedenza, la ripetizione della stessa parola "rafforza l'efficacia" del messaggio perché è subliminale nella sua azione persuasiva (Arcangeli, 65). Contemporaneamente i creatori di questo spot hanno inventato un neologismo come lo chiamerebbe Giuseppe Antonelli o un aggettivo derivato da un verbo come spiega Arcangeli, "inzupposo": "La base è non di rado costituita dal nome del marchio del prodotto (generico o specifico), della linea di prodotti" (Arcangeli 96). Un'azione costante in tutti gli spot del Mulino Bianco è che il biscotto viene sempre immerso nel latte. In altre parole, un biscotto deve essere "inzupposo", perché inzuppare i biscotti nel latte riporta indietro all'infanzia.

Nello spot televisivo per i biscotti *Abbracci*, Banderas sta ballando con una donna a una festa. Entrambi ballano insieme fino al mattino; quando la donna nota che è mattina, Banderas dice "è ora di un abbraccio". Il doppio senso nelle parole di Banderas è casto e anche misterioso, ed esemplifica chi è Banderas all'interno del marchio. Entrambi tornano al mulino, Banderas estrae una nuova infornata di biscotti *Abbracci* e spiega gli elementi del biscotto. La donna si e ci chiede come potrebbe mai resistere, quindi entrambi prendono un po' di biscotti. Questo spot si distingue dagli altri perché mostra un altro motivo per cui Mulino Bianco ha assunto Antonio Banderas come portavoce: la sua sensualità. Come spiega Antonelli, la sessualità e la sensualità sono un modo per sedurre le persone a comprare un prodotto. Lo spot cammina in punta di piedi intorno alla sensualità esplicita mostrando solo scene in cui Banderas e la donna danzano vicini, cosicché Mulino Bianco mantenga l'elemento familiare e conservatore. La musica che viene riprodotta in questo annuncio mentre la coppia balla è tradizionale e sembra tracciare una connessione geografica del marchio con il paese. Questo minimo elemento della musica dà il tono all'annuncio, proprio come la musica nei film e in TV trasporta una persona in un luogo e in un periodo determinati. È anche importante notare che sebbene Mulino Bianco intenda vendere a tutti, le persone che mostrano nei loro spot sono per la maggior parte

italiani bianchi, che rappresentano l'immagine culturale che stanno cercando di creare di un'Italia oltre la storia, contemporanea ma all'antica. L'associazione che l'azienda stabilisce tra gli oggetti bianchi e la purezza è legata a questo immaginario che esclude la multiculturalità dell'Italia contemporanea.

Nello spot televisivo per i biscotti *Nascondini*, Banderas sta lavorando del legno per farne attrezzi da cucina mentre i bambini giocano a nascondino. Da questo, Banderas ha l'idea di fare un biscotto con un pezzo di cioccolato nascosto dentro. Lo spot TV mostra come la cioccolata è nascosta e poi Banderas e un uomo provano il biscotto. Un po' diverso dagli altri spot, questo spot sembra avere una tavolozza dei colori meno bianca e più combinata. Sembra che quando il cioccolato viene utilizzato in un prodotto Mulino Bianco lo schema di colori lo rifletta. Inoltre, è importante notare che gli attrezzi da cucina costruiti da Banderas all'inizio dello spot TV sono gli stessi che usa per cucinare i biscotti *Nascondini* alla fine. Questo dimostra che i prodotti Mulino Bianco sono fatti completamente dal Mulino Bianco, dalle uova, farina e grano, agli stessi strumenti utilizzati per modellare i prodotti. Come spiega Antonelli parlando di intrattenimento nei mass media, la necessità di persuadere il pubblico attraverso l'intrattenimento mira a tre effetti: "l'animazione linguistica, la riconoscibilità, e il rispecchiamento" (113). Gli spot televisivi mirano a mantenere l'attenzione di qualcuno per un certo periodo di tempo e quindi condurre a un'azione reale, sia che si tratti di comprare un prodotto che di non comprarlo. L'elemento della riconoscibilità permette alle persone di connettersi con alcuni slogan, jingle, o qualsiasi tipo di immagine che in effetti mostra loro qualcosa che già sanno. L'aggiunta di bambini che giocano a nascondino riporta le persone alla loro infanzia. Lo spot che è inequivocabilmente collegato a un ricordo reale da un certo suono o immagine diventa un ricordo naturale. L'immagine finale di questo annuncio mostra la borsa di *Nascondini* venduta nei negozi di tutta Italia; sembra che anche i caratteri tipografici in cui è scritto "*Nascondini*" ricordino quelli usati nei libri di

favole o nelle favole per bambini. La "N" di *Nascondini* è più grande e molto simile alla lettera C del canonico *C'era una volta*. Piccoli dettagli come questo sovrappongono significati ai dettagli di altri marchi subliminalmente cambiando il modo in cui viene letto il nome del biscotto.

Nello spot *Voci della Valle*, il mugnaio sta esplorando la valle del Mulino. Mentre ci sono scene del paesaggio, Banderas spiega come tutto ciò che facciamo lascia un segno sul terreno, l'ambiente e la vita stessa. Spiega che dall'impegno di oggi "dipende come sarà il domani" e che non è solo ciò che si fa ma anche come si fa a rendere il suo prodotto davvero eccezionale. Lo spot quindi rassicura che esiste un mondo buono; e quindi incoraggia gli spettatori a visitare il sito online di Mulino Bianco invitando indirettamente i consumatori a sostenere l'impegno di Mulino Bianco comprando i loro prodotti e contribuendo a costruire un mondo buono. Questo messaggio implica che un mondo buono è accessibile solo sostenendo la loro idea di un mondo "buono" e anche che il mondo attuale non è buono. Come si è detto in precedenza, molte delle cose usate per cuocere i biscotti sono bianche come il sacco di grano, la farina, il latte dove si inzuppano i biscotti e le uova e questo colore evoca un senso di purezza. Ma è anche importante notare che ci sono toni d'oro in molti spot di Mulino Bianco, che attraverso il grano suggeriscono un senso di ricchezza. In particolare questo spot televisivo spiega il pay-off *Un Mondo Buono*. Come spiega Antonelli, uno spot serve a creare l'illusione che "attraverso [un] oggetto [si possa ottenere] l'accesso a un mondo caratterizzato da certi valori e da un certo stile di vita" (Antonelli 87) e le pubblicità televisive non servono tanto a convincere quanto a sedurre. Guardando questo annuncio televisivo si è attratti dai concetti di purezza e ricchezza della natura e dall'idea che la natura e gli esseri umani coesistono in perfetto equilibrio in un mondo buono. Ciò presupporrebbe anche che il mondo in cui vivono i consumatori non sia altrettanto "buono". È come se questa pubblicità promuovesse il turismo al mulino, offrendo un mondo di finzione ma presentato come reale e da scoprire, ironicamente, sul loro sito web.

Diversamente dagli annunci del Mulino Bianco negli anni Novanta, in cui una famiglia trasloca dalla città alla campagna per migliorare il proprio stile di vita, nel nuovo millennio non c'è più bisogno di questa premessa esplicita che viene data per scontata dalla Mulino Bianco. In un certo senso, sembra che Mulino Bianco stia incolpando le città moderne dell'incapacità di ritornare alla propria natura o alla natura in generale; questo evoca la sensazione che Mulino Bianco sia un modo semplice per comprare il ritorno alla propria natura. Gli spot televisivi più recenti mettono in luce l'idea che un "ritorno" alla calma della campagna non è molto rilevante come lo era negli anni Novanta e in un certo senso che la nostalgia che suscita la campagna è quella che viene fabbricata e confezionata per il consumo di tutti. Questo non vuol dire che l'idea di una campagna serena non sia rilevante per il passato di una persona, ma è radicata in un passato basato su una nostalgia innata nella maggior parte delle persone - è più un ritorno alla semplicità, un ritorno all'infanzia. È più facile digerire l'idea che un biscotto possa riportare alla semplicità che riconoscere che una tale semplicità non è mai stata radicata in una campagna o un mondo "buono" senza complessità. Inoltre, Mulino Bianco presuppone che gli spettatori abbiano bisogno di un mondo come il loro, hanno bisogno di una "Danimarca" come direbbe Antonelli (Antonelli 92).

Una tecnica di intrattenimento che Antonelli spiega essere fondamentale è quella del rispecchiamento; è un metodo che crea un certo senso di familiarità, ma soprattutto riflette direttamente gli spettatori. Questa tattica crea complicità e solidarietà. Antonelli spiega che riduce la distanza tra dove qualcosa è stata creata e dove è mirata. Siccome è un effetto che ruota attorno al pubblico, tende a gratificare il narcisismo. Il rispecchiamento sembra funzionare anche sui consumatori quando quegli stessi consumatori hanno un'immagine non chiara di se stessi, tanto meno di un'immagine di se stessi che coesiste con la natura.

L'obiettivo finale di un spot televisivo è quello di coprire tutti i consumatori possibili, gli annunci Mulino Bianco sono fatti su misura per adattarsi a una certa identità italiana che l'azienda ritiene essere comune. Questa identità tuttavia è radicata nella tendenza di molte persone a trovare l'autenticità in un mondo di merci preconfezionate e stili di vita industrializzati in una crescente mancanza di connessione umana. Il fatto è che l'acquisto di una fetta più spessa potrebbe forse risolvere un problema che qualcuno ha notato solo dopo aver visto un spot; il punto è di distrarre i consumatori da problemi reali e cruciali e rivolgere l'attenzione a quelli banali. Dipingendo un mondo dai colori chiari, Mulino Bianco cerca di riflettere un sentimento di nostalgia per il passato che si crede comune agli italiani che vivono in un'Italia sempre più multiculturale. La metodologia di vendita primaria è diventata una di pacificazione; in altre parole, Mulino Bianco vende un'autenticità prefabbricata, facile da acquistare, e molto più facile da ottenere rispetto alla vera comprensione di se stessi in un mondo ricco di diversità. Creando un mondo perfettamente buono, Mulino Bianco diventa inautentico e non offre genuinità. La scoperta di sé non è una contrapposizione tra mondi "buoni" e "cattivi", ma piuttosto un percorso di complessità e di gratificante autenticità. L'autocoscienza non culmina nella comprensione dei mondi cattivi e buoni, ma piuttosto nella comprensione che la semplicità di questo paradigma non si adatta alle sfumature del vivere in città o in campagna - o alle sfumature della propria natura. Mulino Bianco vende una finta autenticità facile e gratificazione immediata che dura solo un attimo e forse nemmeno questo. Non è necessario tornare in campagna come negli anni Novanta, o persino cuocere il proprio pane per ritrovarsi; si può trovare autenticità nella riflessione personale e collettiva, guardando al passato oltre la nostalgia.

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OPPORTUNISTIC INCLUSION: MILLENNIAL LATINXS AND THE SOCIAL MEDIA SPHERE¹

¹ Prepared for LST 390, the Senior Capstone Seminar in the Department of Latin American and Latino Studies, taught by Dr. Carolina Sternberg.

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From the early days of American cinema, Latinxs in the United States have been consistently neglected and ignored. Had it not been for the racism and stereotypes that were embedded into many of the characters that were portrayed in early film and television, it is likely that there would have been significantly fewer Latinxs in front of the camera. Failure to include positive representations of Latinxs in mainstream media has continued, however, and is a prominent issue that Hollywood filmmakers have failed to fully recognize and develop. As this neglect persists, Latinx content creators have sought to fill that void and make their voices heard by collaborating with or creating alternatives to traditional mainstream outlets like film and television.

With the rise in popularity of social media platforms such as Instagram, YouTube, and Facebook, Latinx content creators have found the means to illustrate their talent and stories to a large-scale Latinx audience in the United States and beyond. By creating content through widely used social media sites, millennial Latinxs actively work toward closing the digital divide that exists in our community. This digital divide is understood as the gulf between those who have ready access to computers and the Internet, and those who do not, which in turn greatly impacts who is represented in certain content over others. By creating their own stories and serving as Latinx digital influencers, some content has also become increasingly specialized, no longer focusing solely on the inclusion of a pan-Latinx image in digital media, but narrowing some programming to specific Latin American cultures.

Digital networks such as *Pero Like* and influencers such as LeJuan James and Monicastylemuse have also used their cumulative following of over 3 million people to create content that aids the visibility of multicultural Latinxs as well as Afro-Latinxs.

In my paper, I further explore these online alternatives to mainstream film and television to research the following: What contributions have Latinxs made in contemporary media to challenge traditional forms of entertainment that have ignored the demand to create content that represents Latinx audiences? In doing so, I include a number of sources such as academic journals, excerpts of articles, and videos posted on these platforms to illustrate how the presence of Latinxs in media has garnered a massive following and positively impacted the Latinx community. Prior to addressing my primary research question, however, I present a brief history of the role of Latinxs within the Hollywood industry by providing insight into the traditional stereotypes that were refined by non-Latinx filmmakers and are still perpetuated today. Additionally, I provide a number of statistics that help discuss the role that Latinxs play in contemporary Hollywood. This allows me to illustrate that we are still overwhelmingly underrepresented behind the camera as well. I discuss the impact that these negative stereotypes and low inclusion numbers have on our community. I do so by drawing on studies that highlight the effect that a non-inclusive media industry has on Latinx youth, their perceptions of themselves, the ways others may see them.

Literature Review

Each of the studies I have selected contributes to a few themes that I have identified as “representation”, “impact”, and “inclusion”. Representation and impact refer to the ways in which Latinxs have been represented on screen and the effect it has had on its primary audience-base. I see both of these subjects going hand-in-hand and discuss them together since misrepresentations in mainstream media have a direct effect on those consuming it. Secondly, the theme of inclusion identifies the actual roles that Latinxs have played in the past to be included in mainstream media. These roles vary from executives to directors and actors, all of which are crucial to content making.

In terms of the first theme of representation and impact, it is important to provide a brief historical context for readers to best comprehend the long-standing issues of stereotypes and racism that have shaped misrepresentations. In *Latino Images in Film: Stereotypes, Subversion, Resistance* by Charles Ramírez Berg (2011), the author provides an overview of the primary archetypes that we have become used to seeing in films and television programs, and are still perpetuated today. While the examples Ramírez Berg uses in his essay are much older, it remains relevant to the representation of Latinxs in contemporary media, where these archetypes are prevalent in the ways that Latinxs are not only depicted in film, but also television programming such as the news. The theme of impact stems from three different sources, all of which focus on the direct effect that the misrepresentation of Latinxs in mainstream media has on how they see themselves and others. *Do You See What I See? Latino Adolescents’ Perceptions of the Images on Television* by Rocío Rivadeneyra (2006), and *English-Language Latino Themed Programming and Social Identity: The Relationship between Viewing and Self-Esteem among Latina/os* by Adolfo R. Mora and Seok Kang D, both work to identify the manners in which students internalize negative media messages and discuss how these could potentially impact their self-esteem. While one study

examines high school students, the other study focuses on college students. In *Media Representations of Latina/os and Latino Students’ Stereotype Threat Behavior*, Joseph Erba (2017) examines the extent to which Latinx college students change their behavior based on how the media represents them. This illustrates that it is not solely an issue that affects how we see ourselves, but changes the interactions we have with those around us.

My second theme of inclusion relies more on contemporary sources that have been released as a result of recent criticism of Hollywood’s ongoing diversity issues. In using these sources, I show that Latinxs are actively removed from the opportunity to serve as leaders in mainstream media, resulting in the use of the Internet as a more accessible platform of storytelling. Scott Wible’s essay, *Media Advocates, Latino Citizens and Niche Cable*, discusses the policies that were in place during the rise of film and television that led to Latinxs and other people of color being actively excluded from opportunities to create content for their communities. Wible (2004) draws from many events throughout history where activists and audiences alike sought to use mainstream media as a means of engaging with their community, but were refused the right to do so through racist policies and regulations. This essay works alongside other thematic sources to provide some historical context to the invisibility of Latinxs in Hollywood. *Inclusion or Invisibility? Comprehensive Annenberg Report on Diversity in Entertainment* by Stacy L. Smith, Marc Choueiti, and Katherine Pieper (2016) thoroughly details the ways that Hollywood has managed to exclude numerous communities from the Hollywood film sphere, leaving many people of color, LGBTQ-identifying people, and women with little to no role in mainstream movie-making. While this paper is intended to be an introduction to the ways that many communities have had a lack of representation in media, *The Latino Media Gap: A Report on the State of Latinos in U.S. Media* by Frances Negrón-Muntaner (2015) further details the specific role of Latinxs in Hollywood, allowing for a stronger comparison of

Latinxs and others. This paper also resonates with the first theme of representation and impact, since these incredibly low numbers of Latinx leaders and filmmakers in Hollywood directly influence the stories featuring Latinxs that are developed and released. With more stories come more opportunities to redefine what representation looks like for Latinxs, allowing both themes to directly impact one another.

This research paper contributes to the field of Latin American and Latino Studies (LALS) because of its direct focus on the Latinx community, but provides a new conversation surrounding the relationship between Latinxs and the Internet, with a specific focus on social media. Because of its impending growth and relative newness, the role of social media and Latinx audiences has not yet been widely researched and analyzed. The LALS field is made up of many facets of Latinx history and culture and highlights the complex stories that exist in our community. Additionally, it further explores how Latinxs have helped shape American history through a wide variety of roles including those in film and media, but the field rarely recognizes how meaningful the Internet has been to Latinx culture. In studying this, I am contributing a piece that deals with issues relevant to both our past and future, which thus helps us better comprehend how media molds the ways that Latinxs, specifically, are understood and perceived in society.

Sources and Methods

The sources I incorporate throughout my research vary from news articles and journals to online videos. The specific studies I have included help gauge the relevant historical and societal context of my topic. I illustrate that issues of misrepresentation and lack of inclusion have been ongoing while research shows that it is internalized by Latinxs and simultaneously, it desensitizes other communities. The videos I refer to, however, are direct content from online pages such as *Pero Like* in addition to examples by LeJuan James and Monicastylemuse, both of which are social media influencers who utilize numerous platforms to engage with their audience.

While I incorporate data and analysis from the essays I have studied, the videos connect the elements these essays contribute with real examples by the content creators and organizations that have made media inclusion and positive representation of Latinxs a priority. My analysis loosely follows a chronological framework, beginning with a brief history of Latinxs in the entertainment industry in the 1920s when Latinxs were first sought out by the Hollywood industry to play small roles that would later become infamous archetypes on the screen. My study includes an analysis of contemporary content to analyze the current standing of Latinxs in Hollywood and explores the progress that has, or has not, been made since.

Additionally, the use of videos from online publications demonstrates how the Internet has enabled two approaches to creating content. First, the pan-Latinx approach includes videos that capture the interest and relate to a wide variety of Latinxs in the United States, and draws on our shared experiences to create humorous content that can be widely appreciated by our community. Second is the specialized approach where individual countries or cultures are highlighted in videos that are meant to be engaging and humorous to that specific community, but can also be a learning tool for groups outside of that culture. Videos like these are often centered on topics such as food and language specific to the group that they hope to attract. For this paper, I focus on the specialized approach that allows Latinxs in the United States to recognize our shared experiences while embracing our unique cultures and traditions.

Reports are an essential source to discuss the role that social media has played toward the inclusion of Latinxs because statistically, it is easy to see that we have long been left out of executive and lead roles in programming. While the mainstream Hollywood approach to the inclusion of Latinxs has long been through the use of stereotypes and minor roles, social media has produced an outlet to content creators that allows us to cater to a specific audience and further specialize the content to allow for the visibility of all Latin American communities.

With over 2,000,000 views on videos produced by groups such as *Pero Like* and a following of nearly 2,000,000 for LeJuan James and 300,000 for Afro-Latina beauty blogger Monicastylemuse, it is clear that Latinxs around the globe crave a presence in the media that is more than a stereotype. In studying these numerous sources, I further illustrate that social media has contributed more to the inclusion and positive representations of Latinxs in mainstream media than traditional platforms such as film and television ever have.

Discussion of Findings

Creating spaces for Latinx audiences is not simply a way to be more representative of the actual demographics of Latinxs in the United States, but has been shown to significantly influence the self-esteem of Latinx individuals. Additionally, media portrayals of Latinxs sway the ways that the general American public views and understands our cultures and communities. Simply put, representation of Latinxs has been negatively stereotypical and destructive to the public image of the Latinx community. As a result, Latinx content creators have had to start from the very beginning of the creative process to ensure that the negative images that have persisted are redefined and fixed, or fully reclaimed. Ultimately, Latinx content creators are looking to produce a better understanding of the community from those whose opinions are shaped from an outsider perspective. Additionally, the ways in which the community sees itself can shift in a positive manner once we no longer see ourselves as outsiders, but as active members of American society, as depicted in mainstream film, television, and now through images on the Internet. Since the early rise of Internet, Latinxs have also been slow to gain access to resources that were readily available to other communities through online platforms. In being excluded from access to the Internet, those who wanted to contribute to online publications and social media sites were already at a disadvantage in comparison to their peers.

Historically, many of the stereotypes that surround Latinx

characters in film and television are generally captured in six common archetypes that include images of the bandido, the harlot, the male buffoon, female clown, Latin lover, and the dark lady (Erba 2002). From 2010 to 2013, according to Negrón-Muntaner, 17.7% of Latino characters were related to crime, not counting uncredited actors (Negrón-Muntaner 2015). Images such as those of the bandido are still overwhelmingly present as Latinx actors continue to be cast in roles that depict the community as criminals and thugs. While these archetypes toward Latinxs have long existed, new stereotypical characters and images have been added to contemporary media works when Latinxs finally do have the opportunity to serve as, for the most part, supporting actors in major productions. For example, images of the maid have changed since first being ascribed to African-American actresses in the 1930s onward, to being predominantly represented by Latina actresses beginning in the mid-nineties (Negrón-Muntaner 2015). The archetypes and stereotypical images of Latinx characters thus create many issues that impact the larger Latinx community. First, it limits the opportunities that Latinx actors and actresses receive as many fall victim to typecasting, which occurs when actors and actresses are consistently cast in the same roles based on their appearance or previous acting experience. There are many consequences of typecasting such as the absence of diverse job opportunities and significantly less credited screen time. Also, it narrows the view of the diversity of Latinx cultures and practices if Latinx are consistently shown in the same roles, such as those of maids or criminals. As more audiences become desensitized to increasingly stereotypical images, they will also begin to internalize the roles that are presented, resulting in negative perceptions of the Latinx community and increasingly low self-esteem within it (Mora & Kang 2016).

As access to mass media continues to grow, the presence of these stereotypes in film and television increasingly limit how Latinxs are represented and has a significant impact in the ways that Latinx individuals navigate the

world around them. In a study of Latinx students by Joseph Erba (2017), the author examines the extent to which media representations and stereotypes affect the behavior of their subjects. Erba (2017) found that people may consciously change their behavior to avoid acting in a way that may be perceived as confirming a stereotype about their group. This phenomenon is a term that is otherwise known as a *stereotype threat*, which provides significant insight into the massive influence that media, and the ways that certain communities are portrayed, has on consumers.

However, it is not solely the presence of negative and stereotypical on-screen images that impact how Latinxs are perceived, but behind-the-scenes realities as well since writers, directors, producers, and executives are overwhelmingly under-representative of Latinx populations. Frances Negrón-Muntaner's report on the *Latino Media Gap* states, "we reviewed published lists of leading executives at the top 22 mainstream media outlets. We found that none of the 45 studio or network CEOs and presidents are Latino, and only two are not white men" (Negrón-Muntaner 2015). In addition to the lack of Latinxs in CEO and presidential roles, only 1.9 percent of creators and executives have greenlight authority, meaning that only this small amount of Latinxs in the film and television industry have the power to choose which content is fully executed (Negrón-Muntaner 2015). The low representation of Latinxs in high-ranking positions within this industry further controls the type of stories that are produced into television shows or feature-length films. This makes it more likely that existing stereotypes and misrepresentations continue to flow throughout the narratives of Hollywood. I believe that including more Latinxs in higher positions increases the likelihood that positive and accurate portrayals of our community will be included. Yet little progress has been made since the monitoring of media management began in 1968, where "minorities" made up less than 1.6 percent of high-level producers (Negrón-Muntaner 2015).

While the opportunities for Latinxs to have meaningful roles as actors, actresses, or executives in Hollywood continues to be nearly non-existent, social media has opened doors for content creators and personalities to build their own online brands. Access to the Internet, however, has not always been a reality for Latinxs in the United States. A major "digital divide" has long existed among Latinxs and whites, whereas white individuals have gained access to online resources and technologies at a significantly quicker rate than Latinx communities (Frank 2016). A study by the Pew Research Center from 2007 found that only 56 % of Latinxs in the United States used the internet in comparison to 71% of non-Hispanic white individuals and 60% of non-Hispanic black individuals (Fox & Livingston 2007). Today, Latinxs are still behind, but have become increasingly closer to white Internet access and usage. In 2016, the Pew Research Center reported that Internet usage now rivals television as the primary resource for news with 91% of Latinx millennials utilizing the Internet as their main news source on a typical weekday (Flores & Lopez 2018). It is clear that millennials are a driving force in the popularity of Internet usage and when examining specific digital networks and influencer presence, it is millennials who are creating the alternatives to mainstream media content and making a name for themselves among Latinx audiences.

Additionally, social media has contributed an even larger platform for individual content creators and digital networks. Digital networks such as *Pero Like* use the strategy of media convergence, the merging of previously distinct media technologies and media forms (Gasher 2011). Their videos can be found on Facebook, Instagram, and Youtube, which can be accessed from computer, phone, or other smart-devices. The presence of *Pero Like* videos on multiple social media platforms thus allows for further exposure and access by a wide range of social media users. This increases the likelihood that the content will be viewed and shared more widely, and can continue to be made for Latinx audiences.

One of the most significant contributions of videos found on digital networks is the inclusion of both specific and more general elements of Latinx and Latin-American culture. Videos that cater to Latinxs in particular, often focus on topics such as language, family, and the daily struggles of a person of color in the United States. One video titled *If Latino Nicknames were said in English*, for example, uses humor to address the major disparities that exist in the translation of Spanish to English nicknames. In the video, a few of the *Pero Like* content creators, all from different nationalities and backgrounds, greet each other by using various Latino nicknames. “¿Cómo estás mi rellenita?” is followed by “oh, hey my little fat girl!” while “cochina!!” is translated to “pig girl!!” in addition to various references to Salvadoran and Dominican culture, among others (*Pero Like* 2017). In these videos, we see a number of references to a wide -range of dialects while watching a diverse group of actors and actresses on the screen. Interestingly, a pan-Latinx portrayal in one video is extremely rare as opposed to traditional forms of film and television, where Latinxs are often represented as one homogenous and easily identifiable group that lacks individual differences (Erba 2017). The approach that *Pero Like* takes, however, seeks to represent the opposite notion, showcasing the diverse makeup of Latinx people throughout their videos. *Pero Like* thus creates inclusive content, putting ethnically diverse Latinxs as well as Afro-Latinxs at the center of their stories while other sources of entertainment actively ignore this growing demographic.

While the content that digital networks such as *Pero Like* release are important for fair and accurate representation of Latinxs, its significance extends far beyond numbers. While studies show that misrepresentations and stereotypes of Latinxs influence both self-esteem and outsider perspectives, they also affect the ways in which individual Latinx ethnicities view one another. Colorism and prejudice exist within our own community, making the absence of a pan-Latinx approach in many *Pero Like* videos and throughout social media especially important. While this content progressively breaks down

inappropriate notions against the Latinx community for non-Latinx audiences, it can also contribute to a more thorough understanding and appreciation from within. By including cross-cultural references, we can begin to further understand what unites all Latinxs *and* makes each culture unique, potentially resulting in a more cohesive understanding of both the nuances and shared practices that coexist within our diverse backgrounds.

Showing pride in one’s own nationality is not absent, and some social media influencers use their background to showcase their pride. They have incorporated their Latinx upbringing with audience-garnering strategies to create personal brands that can reach both a Latinx and non-Latinx audience online. Influencers, individuals who have the power to affect purchase decisions of others because of their authority, knowledge, position or relationship with their audience, and beauty bloggers such as LeJuan James and Monicastylemuse, incorporate elements of their Dominican and Puerto Rican backgrounds to create a space where Caribbean cultures and Afro-Latinxs are more widely represented. Through the use of beauty blogs and an active social media presence, both have reached a large audience on various platforms. Each medium highlights their individual culture and experiences to connect with audiences and stands out among the growing presence of social media influencers from a diverse set of backgrounds.

Nevertheless, a wide range of Latinxs appreciates their online presence and content. LeJuan James, for example, utilizes his platform to focus on the experiences of growing up with strict Latina moms and he consistently posts photos of his family and lifestyle all while incorporating Spanglish text in his captions. Oftentimes, he refers to his background as Dominican and Puerto Rican, highlighting his own pride and connection to many of his followers. Monicastylemuse focuses primarily on makeup tutorials, often speaking in Spanglish and referencing Dominican slang and culture. Some of the comments you can find on many of her videos are similar to the following: “My mom

and I LOOOOVE watching your videos! Especially cause my mom only speaks Spanish and she gets to understand and learn about makeup! Thank you for being you!” In a video by LeJuan James, captioned *When Hispanic Parents criticize you about what you post on Social Media*, a number of comments can be found of Latinx audiences relating to the humorous content: “Te digo que sigo sin superar este video. Que mi madre me ha dicho textualmente lo del final!” and “spot on Puerto Rican mother omg.” From the responses gathered by their large following, it is clear that Latinx audiences value and seek relatable Latinx content.

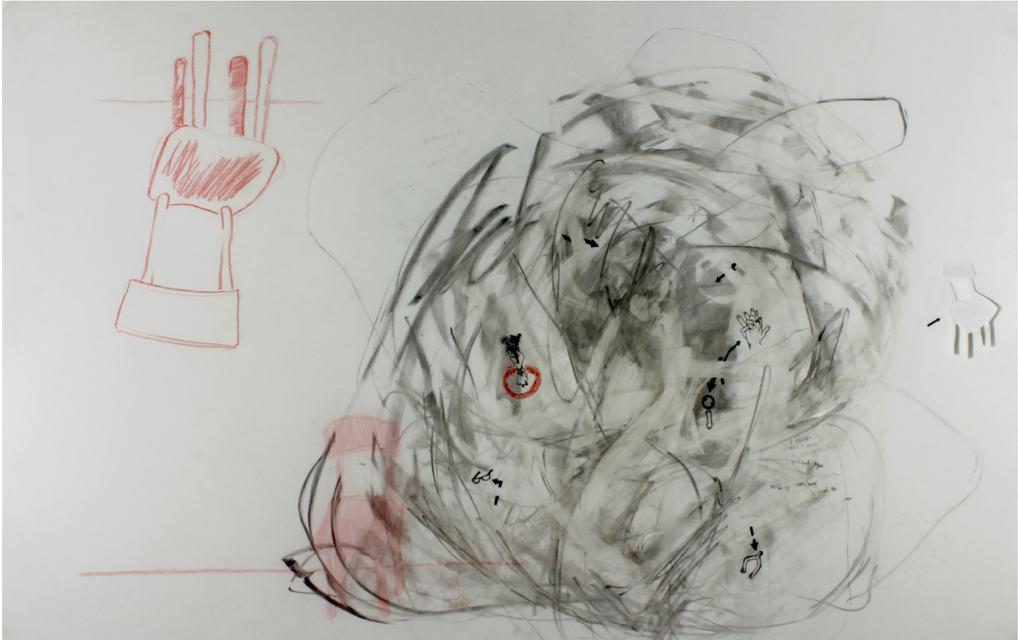
As the Latinx millennial presence becomes greater, the demand for Latinx influencers and digital networks to connect with their large audience will continue to grow. Seeing these figures on social media will give consumers a more representative entertainment selection, allow for more relatable content, and can begin to dismantle the negative stereotypes that persist on film and television. Ultimately, as larger networks begin to notice the impact and audience that Latinx-related and Latinx-inclusive content may draw, a more diverse set of productions will emerge. However, the inclusion of Latinxs in front of the camera is not the sole solution for the current lack of representation in media. Including diverse Latinx actors and actresses in programming is a start, but must also merge into diversity initiatives for those behind-the-scenes. Latinx CEOs and executives, producers, writers, and directors must also have a seat at Hollywood’s table to provide different and unique perspectives from both a Latinx and culturally specific standpoint. Contemporary Hollywood must take seriously the hiring of Latinx employees to ensure that our stories and experiences are being considered from reliable and critical individuals.

At the root of it all, however, is the significance of education and the value that media literacy and film courses could hold in Latinx and communities of color as well. Film, along with many other industries, is a particularly exclusive industry that is difficult to succeed

in and requires many connections and practice, oftentimes found at the college -level. By exposing young adults and students to film and media studies from an earlier age, they can begin to acquire first-hand experience in fields such as screenwriting, directing, acting, and editing, to name a few. Schools should take seriously a student’s capacity to pursue a career in the arts and should be fully supported in doing so. Additionally, teaching courses on media literacy is also an important step in helping a student or young adult develop the necessary skills to critically analyze the ways that they, and others in their communities, are being misrepresented and perceived. The pool of qualified candidates in Hollywood, with proper exposure from an early age, can certainly contribute to a growing and progressive means of creating content for film, television, and online networks alike. For now, however, up-and-coming content creators must continue to pave the way for new talent and continuously engage with new audiences to ensure that they are included in many projects to come. When diverse faces in Hollywood are present, we can begin to change the flaws in misrepresentations and lack of inclusion for Latinxs in the media, and provide a more cohesive understanding of our vibrant culture, language, and practices.

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Madeline Schoonover | *Bent*

WESTERN METAPHYSICS FROM PLOTINUS TO DESCARTES TO HEIDEGGER*

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If metaphysics investigates the original foundations of being, then it must continuously return to these and reinvestigate them, perpetually re-establishing the ultimate principles of these investigations. If a metaphysical inquiry takes this principle for granted, it operates under the presupposition of a truth which goes unquestioned, a dangerous truth. Metaphysics would then be functionally akin to the “natural sciences,” and the philosopher would base all inquiry upon an established but unquestioned truth, as the physicist takes the axioms of mathematics as their departure point (whereas the philosopher must produce the original condition of such axioms). When this is the case, the study of metaphysics becomes a practice which undermines itself; it only then discovers a derivative or preconditioned answer for the question of Being, rather than its original unconditioned condition. Thus, metaphysics, in any inquiry, must take up the continually renewed question of the principle according to which it is possible for beings to *be*. This task is complicated further by the acknowledgment that metaphysics is a discourse which is historically elaborated and thus tethered to its own historicity. It is then incumbent upon us to examine the methods and conclusions with which this challenge has been answered throughout the history of Western philosophy. By investigating both the changes and continuities between the metaphysical systems presented by thinkers paradigmatic of their era—Plotinus, Descartes, and Heidegger—we can map the course of Western thought

and begin to speculate as to what truths lie therein.

For Plotinus, the fundamental ground of the metaphysical is that which he refers to as “the One,” which in principle must be distinguished from Being: “The One is not a being because it is precedent to all being.”¹ The question Plotinus confronts in postulating “the One” is not precisely about what Being is but rather what makes Being possible, which ultimately addresses that which is beyond Being. Accordingly, thought cannot simply address itself to the One; it is more general than being. As demonstrated in book VI of the *Republic*, metaphysical inquiry must initially proceed inductively, from the particular to the general, rather than deductively.² Such is the Plotinian method (Plotinus having regarded himself essentially as an exegete of Plato), which is evident in the treatise *Beauty*, in which he observes that while beauty is most obviously visual, beauty is experienced over and above the things that we can see, hear, and sense.³ Beauty is something that lies outside of perception and thought, towards which these are attracted; it is not mere “symmetry,” it is something the soul more or less dimly intuits through its virtues, but yet still transcends these. For Plotinus, beauty is something that may be *in* entities material or intellectual, but always exceeds them.

From this Plotinian perspective on beauty we are then able

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1 Plotinus, “VI,” in *The Essential Plotinus*. Translated by Elmer O’Brien. Hackett, Indianapolis, 1963.

2 Plato, *Republic*, trans. G.M.A. Grube and C.D.C. Reeve (Indianapolis: Hackett, 1992), 510a-511e.

3 Plotinus, I.6.1.

to affirm that what is real, being, is beyond the concrete, materiality: “As long as any shapelessness that admits of being patterned and shaped does not share in reason or in Idea, it continues to be ugly and foreign to that above it.”⁴ Imperfection, ugliness, and evil are thus for Plotinus produced by the inertia of matter in its pure potentiality to receive form and participate in the purely intellectual realm, i.e. being. Reality is then structured by and lies primordially in the purely intelligible. The individual soul, thus distinguished from the body, is then associated with an excess over the concrete world, the cosmic Soul, and this Soul is what mediates between the purely material and the purely intelligible, that which lacks being and that which is being. And it is when the human soul turns inward and away from materiality that it gains this insight.

Plotinus further asserts that “the rational soul” has knowledge of things concrete, and this knowledge “is of later origin” than a “reflection” of the concrete, and this soul also has knowledge of purely “intelligible objects,” which are “from the Intelligence.”⁵ The Soul, for Plotinus, is thus the vehicle of rational thought and categorical reasoning, and it is primarily within the scope of the intelligible, an order of being that acts on the world through the Soul which “descends” into matter, ordering the cosmos in accordance with pure intelligibility. But the Soul cannot be identified with Being and cannot be considered to be the ultimate ground of the real. “The reason for such an existent as The Soul is that the totality of things cannot continue limited to the intelligible so long as a succession of further existents is possible; although less perfect, they necessarily are because the prior existent necessarily is.”⁶ The Soul exists because of causal necessity, as a mediating agent between being and potentiality, and has being because it refers to a prior being, just as the being of materiality refers to the being of the Soul. The Intelligence is the general register of

Being and beings which the Soul draws on in the Plotinian framework, and insofar as things have being only as Idea or as informed by Idea (Ideas being the constituents of the Intelligence) then “the act of Intelligence and the act of being are one sole act--or, better, The Intelligence and Being are one.”⁷ Thus, the Intelligence is the echelon upon which that which is ‘real’, meaning for Plotinus immutable and thus formative, has its seat. The Ideas then are the beings which constitute being as such which the Intelligence is.

The Intelligence is again made up of these Ideas; it is not their envelope but their living compositum. The Intelligence is and “thinks” its Ideas which the Soul gestures towards and brings down into matter, which is thus informed with Idea and made actual as being to the degree that matter participates in Idea. In other words, for Plotinus, to be at all, to be actual, is to be intelligible. Or rather, “to be and to think are the same thing,” and furthermore, “in beings that involve no matter, thinker and thought are identical.”⁸ The Intelligence is this “thought” that “thinks itself,” or rather “it thinks beings and they are. It is these beings,” for they, the Ideas, are not “somewhere else,” extended, but are entirely immanent to their domain, the Intelligence.⁹ Hence the Intelligence is being.

But Plotinus insists that the Intelligence, while it is all ‘things’, cannot be the *origin* of all things, for if it is Being, and all being has a cause, then the Intelligence must be derivative of something else, or rather it must itself have a formative principle. Plotinus thus asserts that there must be one ultimate, indivisible source from which Being proceeds, and it cannot be the Intelligence itself, for “Duality is implied if The Intelligence is both thinker and thought.”¹⁰ That is, if the Intelligence is thought, and its manner of being is that it thinks itself, or rather its constituents, then it splits itself into thought and

4 Ibid, I.6.2.

5 Ibid, V.9.7.

6 Ibid, IV.8.3.

7 Ibid, V.9.8.

8 Ibid, V.9.5.

9 Ibid.

10 Ibid, VI.9.2.

object, both of which it is for itself because “the activity of The Intelligence consists necessarily in intellection. Intelligence, which does not turn to external objects, contemplates what is superior to it; in turning towards itself it turns towards its origin.”¹¹ That is, Intelligence thinks itself, and it thereby addresses itself in the same essential act to a principle “higher” than itself. Plotinus states, “And if The Intelligence contemplates some object other than itself, then certainly there exists something superior to The Intelligence.”¹² This “source” is what Plotinus calls the One.

The One is what “begets all things”, and yet it is none of them¹³; the One is *not itself a being*. It is *beyond Being*, or rather it *subtends* Being as its principle of *unity*, without which there could not be Being. For example, “The Soul imparts unity to all things in producing, fashioning, forming, and disposing them,” which is to say that the Soul constitutes beings in the cosmos and the cosmos has being insofar as it unifies the formless into the actual.¹⁴ The Soul is not the principle of unity itself, for while it is a unity (the individual soul being non-separate from the cosmic Soul), its faculties are multiple, and it “makes each being one by looking upon The One.”¹⁵ The Intelligence too, as Being itself, is a unity which is yet not the principle of the unity of Being, for the Intelligence is constituted as a unity of multiple elements, beings or Ideas: “Being, containing all beings, is...multiple, thus differing from The One even though it is one by participation.”¹⁶ Being is through the principle of unity but does not contain this principle in itself because it is brought together out of an initial plurality by the One. We here confront a problem concerning knowledge and Oneness, for “awareness of The One comes to us neither by knowing nor by the pure thought that discovers the other intelligible things, but

by a presence transcending knowledge.”¹⁷ Intellect and therefore knowledge are directed towards beings or Being, but the One is not Being. Thus the One cannot strictly speaking be “known”, but rather must be experienced: “we must go beyond knowledge and hold to unity.”¹⁸ According to Plotinus, we can approach the One through thought, but as we draw near, knowledge “falls back”; attaining awareness of the One then, for Plotinus, becomes a matter of achieving unity with Oneness itself, and this attempt is a difficult one for a soul which is essentially mired in plurality. Achieving this ultimate awareness will only attain from “looking inward,” “turning away” from the multiplicity with which the soul normally concerns itself. Plotinus’ metaphysics is thus fundamentally concerned with ‘something’ that is necessarily beyond the possible scope of metaphysical inquiry.

This epistemological limitation represents a controversy in the history of metaphysical inquiry, for it is taken up in different ways or rejected in other doctrines (and even this is still enlightening). But as we will see, Plotinus presents us with many important inheritances for the history of philosophy, for example, in method. This is especially evident in Descartes’ *Meditations*. In the metaphysical system presented therein, we have again, as in Plotinus, a method which stresses turning in towards the interiority of thought itself. We arrive at this “interiority” via “methodical doubt,” the method by which Descartes aims to “raze everything to the ground and begin again from the original foundations.”¹⁹ Descartes’ negative method of doubt again takes up the Platonic method of induction employed by Plotinus, a method which takes a particular problem as its point of departure with a first principle as its goal, and in this way attempts to discover an avenue through which to illuminate the question of being qua being. By calling into doubt that which may be false in beings Descartes aims to posit

11 Ibid.

12 Ibid.

13 Ibid, VI.9.3.

14 Ibid, VI.9.1.

15 Ibid.

16 Ibid, VI.9.2.

17 Ibid, VI.9.4.

18 Ibid.

19 Rene Descartes, *Meditations on First Philosophy*, trans. Donald A. Cress (Indianapolis: Hackett, 1993), 13.

what is true in them beyond any doubt. Specifically, the problems of the fidelity of perception and thought to actual being allow him to interrogate the reality of being as such. First, the possibility of living in a “dream world” forces him to question the reality of materiality, for as he notes, “the senses are sometimes deceptive,” and thus sure knowledge of being cannot be constituted by sense data.²⁰ Second, the possibility of the fabrication of all presented realities by some malevolent intervening being forces him to call into question the reality of even our most seemingly certain principles. On this “being,” Descartes wonders, “How do I know that he did not bring it about that there is no earth at all, no heavens, no extended thing no shape, no size, no place, and yet bringing it about that all these things appear to me to exist...?” and even further, such that the being of mathematical principles can be called into question.²¹ The truth of the being of presentations is thus provisionally negated by Descartes, just as it admitted of mutability and falsity for Plotinus.

Hence Descartes begins to broach that which is *indubitable*: the inescapable fact of consciousness, or the *cogito* (“I think”). Even given the twofold postulation of the complete unreality of phenomena, he can affirm that “I am, I exist,” by virtue of the fact that he is thinking.²² Thus, for Descartes, to be human is at base to be thinking. Here we must note the striking resemblance to Plotinus, for whom existence was a matter of intelligibility, not merely in that he establishes a being as something of which there is knowledge and thought, but also or more precisely as being that is established *in and through* the act of the intellect. He states, “I am certain I am a thinking thing. But do I not therefore also know what is required for me to be certain of anything?”²³ That is, if as a “thinking thing,” one can “clearly and distinctly” grasp that there *is* thought, then the criterion for establishing that something “is” will be the same as that with which we

can affirm that the mind “is.” Ideas which appear before the mind must therefore have some measure of being, regardless of whether or not they exist in the manner of their presentation or in the world. As Descartes notes, “I find within me countless ideas of certain things, that, even if perhaps they do not exist anywhere outside me, still cannot be said to be nothing.”²⁴ That is, regardless of whether these “ideas” have concrete existence, they certainly in some way *are*. Beings therefore cannot be constituted *by* thought alone, for “they have their own true and immutable natures.”²⁵ Beings for Descartes must exist independently from thought since they exist with their own definitive characteristics and essential principles. Descartes makes an example of the triangle, which has certain mathematically determined essential characteristics that cannot be manipulated by thought: a triangle will always have three interior angles the sum of which is 180 degrees, and this I must acknowledge as true, “whether I want to or not.”²⁶ Therefore, things which can be grasped as having a distinctive and “immutable” essence to them necessarily must have being.

And yet, Descartes notes that he has introduced a distinction between presented reality and principle, and separated “existence from essence.”²⁷ For a triangle or some other such being that can be grasped by the mind does not of necessity have concrete existence. But he notes that the triangle, as something that *is*, has certain principles that necessarily belong to its essence, such that its being necessarily implicates these principles as immanent to it. That something *be* necessitates that it admit of being conditioned by principle at the very ground of its being, just as to be for Plotinus was to be conditioned by the principle of unity prior to being proper. However, Descartes’ problem here is distinct in that what is fundamentally at issue is establishing the truth of a being such that its actual existence is beyond doubt. Any being

20 Ibid, 14.

21 Ibid, 15.

22 Ibid, 18.

23 Ibid, 24.

24 Ibid, 42-43.

25 Ibid, 43.

26 Ibid.

27 Ibid, 44.

whose essence includes a priori the principle of existence would be, for Descartes, a perfect being, a being that lacks nothing and is fully actual: God. According to Descartes, if one can think a being that is perfect, it is again not in virtue of being able to mentally fabricate the idea of said being, but again because the idea of perfection has come to the mind from without, and thus it must necessarily exist, for “it is no less contradictory to think of God (that is, a supremely perfect being) lacking existence (that is, lacking some perfection) than it is to think of a mountain without a valley.”²⁸ That is to say that to exist necessarily belongs to the being of perfection, and thus the perfect being necessarily exists, for its principle of existence has being independently of cognition.

It is then the necessary existence of God, Descartes’ metaphysical absolute, upon which he will be able to reaffirm the existence of the beings which he had previously seen cause to cast doubt upon: “And thus I see plainly that the certainty and truth of every science depends exclusively upon the knowledge of the true God, to the extent that, prior to my becoming aware of him, I was incapable of achieving perfect knowledge about anything else. But now it is possible for me to achieve full and certain knowledge about...God and other intellectual matters, as well as...corporeal nature.”²⁹ “Certain knowledge” of the existence and nature of God will condone and guarantee the truth of the objects of human knowledge; the certainty of the latter is dependent upon the certainty of the former. Descartes uses this insight to rediscover beings in this new light. For instance, Descartes, echoing Plotinus, notes that he has established a relation of nonidentity between the mind and the body; the pure immanence of the *cogito* is essentially distinct from the extended and material nature of the body.³⁰

From this it can also be ascertained that certain modes

²⁸ Ibid.

²⁹ Ibid, 47.

³⁰ Ibid, 51.

of thinking are distinct from thought itself. The *cogito* is essentially independent from sensation and imagination, which are directed at objects other than thought itself and are thus not necessarily capable of assenting to immediate truth. Yet these modes of thought are necessarily dependent on the immanence of thought itself, just as a physical quality is dependent on the existence of a physical substrate. Nonetheless, the senses and the imagination are capable of taking up an object; phenomena, since they cannot be fabricated by the mere thinking thing, must appear to the thinking thing through these faculties spontaneously without any initial act of understanding. Thus, “it is in some substance different from me, containing either formally or eminently all the reality that exists objectively in the ideas produced by that faculty.”³¹ By this, Descartes means to say that that which is responsible for these appearances or ideas are either actually existing phenomena, or else, God. However, Descartes reasons, since God cannot deceive, but is perfect, the possibility that God would present beings before the faculties of the thinking thing, either as ideas or as phenomena, necessitates that these presentations be fabrications and thus deceptions. Therefore, there must be some measure of objective reality, actual being, in material things.

The significance of this conclusion is that Descartes affirms metaphysical truth as the guarantee of scientific truth, i.e., concrete knowledge. The cosmos of being is made a possible object of clear and thorough understanding by both a transcendent guarantee, the perfect being of God, and an immanent guarantee, the *cogito*. Additionally, as with Plotinus, this possibility is only opened up by an inward turn into the mind itself that at once verifies itself as an existent and categorizes its faculties for knowing according to their activities and the certainty that can be attained through them. In addition to their use of the supposedly infallible inductive method, both of the systems we have thus far discussed

³¹ Ibid, 52.

necessarily posit what-is above all as *beings*, which are conditioned primordially by a transcendent principle, though for Descartes that principle itself is contained in a being, God, whereas for Plotinus it is beyond Being, the One. This particular discrepancy is elaborated in distinct and interesting ways in the history of metaphysics which follows these thinkers.

For instance, in the work of Martin Heidegger, where, despite some continuities, we find a major inversion of the order of reality. Heidegger asserts that “Metaphysics thinks beings as beings.”³² This means that the question of Being as such is to a degree beyond the scope of metaphysical inquiry as it has been developed within the tradition we have thus far roughly traced. “Metaphysical representation owes [its] sight to the light of Being,” but, “the light itself...no longer comes within the range of metaphysical thinking.”³³ This is to say that metaphysical investigation, insofar as it is limited to beings, forgets that which subtends being. Metaphysical thinking aims at discovering universal truth, and yet its ultimate limit is being, and beyond that it struggles to tread. And yet for Heidegger, the question of this subtending “thing” must be a metaphysical question, a line of inquiry by which metaphysics directs itself back at its very ground and guesses at something which is beyond its capacity. What is this subtending “something”?

Heidegger asserts that the sciences, including the philosophical sciences, require this as their guiding affirmation, that, “What should be examined are beings only, and besides that—nothing.” However, Heidegger asks us, “What about this nothing?”³⁴ Thus, we see again in Heidegger the unfolding of metaphysical inquiry out from a particular problem towards truth in general. And it is crucial for Heidegger that the human being, the essence of which is *Dasein*, “being-there” (being situated in the

world in relation to other beings), is “essentially finite.”³⁵ Such then are the beings we bring into and discover in the world. Metaphysics thus studies the relations between finite things, and as such he criticizes the tradition of metaphysics as dealing only with *presence*, things that are *in front of*, or simultaneous with *Dasein*. Heidegger’s question, “What about this nothing?” thus aims at what lies outside of the finitude of beings-present. “The nothing,” as Heidegger refers to it, must be thought of as an ontological and even epistemological condition, but only insofar as it is outside of, underneath these categories.

It is thus that he asserts “the possibility of negation as an act of the intellect, and thereby the intellect itself, are somehow dependent upon the nothing.”³⁶ This means that when we posit a being, we necessarily affirm “this is X, and *not* Y,” which is dependent upon the possibility of affirming “this is *something*, and *not nothing*,” in such a way that the possibility that there be anything whatsoever for *Dasein* is dependent upon an original nothingness. This affirmation explicitly rejects the notion that nothing is derivative of mere negations. For if there is anything at all, Being must be juxtaposed from “something” else, as figure from ground. This original ground upon which the consistency of being comes to the fore is that which is besides being, the nothing. Thus, the intellect’s activity is dependent upon a continual yet repressed confrontation with this original nothingness, grasping thinghood essentially as being-distinguished-from nothingness.

Moreover, per the precedence of nothing over negation, it is a reality *Dasein* experiences through anxiety. According to Heidegger: “Anxiety manifests the nothing...more precisely, anxiety leaves us hanging, because it induces the slipping away of beings as a whole.”³⁷ In the experience of anxiety, the totality of things in the world and being as

³² Martin Heidegger, *Pathmarks* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998), 277.

³³ *Ibid.*

³⁴ *Ibid.*, 84.

³⁵ *Ibid.*, 86.

³⁶ *Ibid.*

³⁷ *Ibid.*, 88.

such is presented to us only as being-nihilated, as they are essentially nothing; *Dasein* recognizes the original “uncanniness” of the world around it and of itself in the nothing as its original existential mode. This also means, for Heidegger, that “Da-sein means: being held out into nothing.”³⁸ This is also the essence of transcendence for Heidegger; to be “held out into nothing” is also to be “beyond beings” by virtue of which the human existent is able to “adopt a stance toward beings.”³⁹ Thus, in the nothing, we meet not so much an epistemological limit, as in Plotinus, nor merely the guarantee of being and knowledge as such, as in Descartes, but also and more precisely the potential for new being and knowledge; being and knowledge are thus for the human being an open question, with an answer that must continually be developed. Ultimately, then, Heidegger’s thesis in “What is Metaphysics?” develops into an ethical one, an inquiry into *Dasein*’s “selfhood” and the essence of its freedom, which is thus posited as foundational.

However, this consequence of Heidegger’s work, along with those we have drawn out of the other thinkers in question, is again most meaningful when understood as a development of a historical discourse that Heidegger and the others are but a part of, and should thus be discussed in this context. For instance, Heidegger’s ontological conception of *Dasein* is comparable to that of Aristotle, in virtue of the latter’s emphasis on being as causal, as a potency and being-at-work. The four-fold theory of being, as recapitulated in book I, chapter 3 of *Metaphysics* is striking in philosophical retrospect: to have a causal agent, a certain definiteness or formal finitude, a factual material attachment, and a finality towards which you aspire, is to be situated (being is conceived as situated or “worldly”).⁴⁰ It is also then to transcend from *presence*; to have a *telos* is to discover or establish being in one’s future; to have an efficient agent as that to which one

owes one’s delimitedness is to be directed back towards a precedent being; to be, in Aristotle, is to be situated and transcending, which is the essence of *Dasein*. Furthermore, for *Dasein*, to transcend towards being, in and through the nothingness which surrounds being, is to be-at-work. The “causes” which act upon beings and make them be what they are, or derive “thinghood,” are such that they direct being beyond the present state of affairs in and through the “work” of being a being.⁴¹ Being-at-work is thus to be situated and transcending.

We must then similarly acknowledge the Platonic heritage of both Plotinus and Descartes: all three insist upon an ontological absolute around which to structure their metaphysics, and all three approach being in a similar way because of it. In the case of Descartes, this ontological absolute is God, which is simply put, the perfect being, the principle by which there can be beings, much like the Good in Plato’s *Republic* dialogue; God and the Good serve a similar function, as the absolute being around which all realities are structured. Or rather, while God in Descartes doesn’t merely act on the world as a Platonic formal being, it bestows the principle of necessity precedent to being. Descartes also treats concrete reality in much the same way as Plato; to be a dubitable reality is much the same as a degraded or derivative reality. If Descartes’ methodical doubt appeals to the “clear and distinct” nature of ideas, as opposed to the unclear and vague reality of phenomena, it does so in virtue of Platonic formalism and its distinct distrust of the world of appearances. Similarly, Plotinus’ metaphysics are *fundamentally* Platonic, especially given his ontological delegitimization of the materiality of things—their being is incomplete because they are not stable. Just as Plato attempted to demonstrate in the *Republic*, Plotinus takes the reality of that which exists in the world and places it beyond the world as a concrete totality, and into ideality, and this being the case, that-which-is-most-of-all in both Plotinus and Plato is decidedly “abstract.” Furthermore, in

38 Ibid, 91.

39 Ibid.

40 Aristotle, *Metaphysics*, trans. Joe Sachs (Santa Fe: Green Lion Press, 2002), 983a 25-983b 20.

41 Ibid, 1049b 5-1049b 29.

Plato, the ontological guarantee, the Good, “is not being but superior to it in rank and power.”⁴² Therefore, we have in both Plato and Plotinus a causal source of Being as such which lies outside of being, though Plotinus deals extensively with the epistemological limitations associated with this “realm beyond being” which Plato’s works begin to broach.

Of the three thinkers we take as our paradigms for metaphysical thought, one must pay careful attention to Heidegger, given that any given metaphysical or generally philosophical inquiry is not an isolated, purely original thought but a part of a lineage. In much the same way that some have described Western philosophy as a continuing discussion of Platonic and pre-Socratic doctrines, we can also diagnose contemporary Western thought as a discourse that is at least partially rooted in the work of Heidegger, especially in Sartre, Agamben, and Badiou, to name a few. What is especially concerning about a thinker as influential yet controversial, or even reprehensible (especially politically) as Heidegger, whose

work as we have already seen speaks ultimately to what it means to be a human being and most importantly to the essence of freedom, is that we are forced to reconcile this doctrine with the state of affairs of our historical epoch. In this age in which the phantom of fascism creeps back into and inflicts itself upon the worlds of politics and theory, it is our responsibility to grapple with this formulation of freedom. Heidegger helped to solidify what was, at the time, an emerging truth, and which must therefore be treated seriously within the cannon of modern truths, for a truth that goes unquestioned is a dangerous one. It is thus incumbent upon us to take up, question, and challenge this theoretical apparatus in an inquiry regarding totalitarianism and a certain conception of freedom which may not be totally divested from each other. If the question of freedom does indeed implicate the question of metaphysics, and metaphysical inquiry unfolds according to its history and proceeds always by posing its most ultimate question, then thinkers such as Heidegger will continue to press upon both the boundaries of contemporary Western thought and the worldly situation in which it finds itself.

⁴² Plato, *Republic*, 508b-510a.

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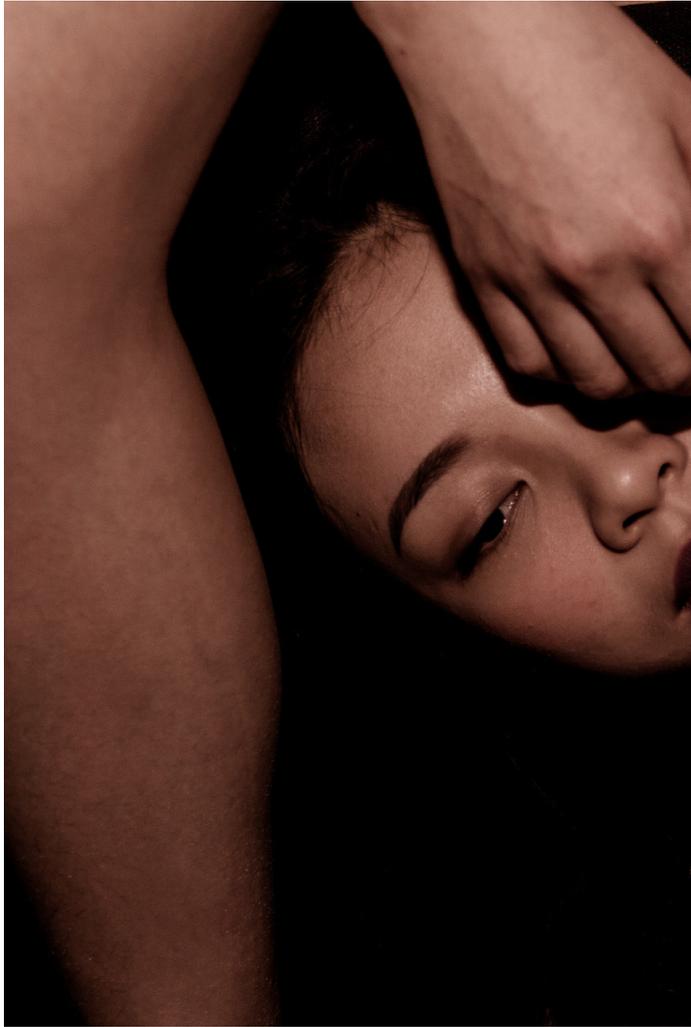
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Gin To | *Camouflaging*

MANDATED MOTHERHOOD: THE PATRIARCHY OF POLICING AND PUNISHING FEMALE SEXUALITY BY THE IRISH STATE*

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Introduction

1984. A grotto dedicated to the Virgin Mary in county Longford, Ireland. It was here where Ann Lovett, a 15-year-old schoolgirl, came to give birth. She was not in her classroom that day, as her long-kept secret threatened to escape. By the time she was found that afternoon, her newborn son had died, and she was fading fast, her body taken first to the local priest and not a doctor. Why did she choose such a place? Was she seeking the peace that this place of faith had given those who would condemn her? Perhaps she sought protection from the Virgin, believing her prayers would be better heard on this sacred ground. Did the hell she went through, alone in that field, warm her against the January cold?

That same year, little girls in America were carefree; knowing *Roe v Wade* ensured that children would not be forced into motherhood.¹ Just months previously, Ann watched on as Ireland closed the book on a nasty referendum campaign to seal her fate with the addition of the Eighth Amendment to the Constitution.² This amendment equated the life of an unborn child to that of its mother, making abortion unconstitutional in all but a

few circumstances.³ Of course, women and girls should not become mothers out of wedlock, that had not changed. Now the law would simply require they live with their sins in the public eye.

At the core of overarching Irish economic and social policy is an assertion that the sole purpose of female sexuality is for reproduction in the confines of marriage, and that, furthermore, sexuality expressed outside of those criterion is a punishable offense. Factors like forced labor and abuse in Magdalene Laundries, a Constitution that has included special status for the Catholic Church and a ban on abortion, among others, add up to a staggering conclusion about the place of women in Irish society. Using an analysis of policy language, scholarly research, and Irish news reporting, this essay posits that, having met resistance from the very beginning, the Irish legislature has imposed patriarchal will on its female citizens that does not reflect their personal ambitions of motherhood. Moreover, the consequences of such indignant measures have manifested as economic and social discrimination against women, relegating them to second-class citizens.

Church Governance

Ireland and the Catholic Church have a long, entangled history. Since before the foundation of the state in 1922, the Church was a catalyst of nationalism.⁴ Under British rule, Catholics had limited rights, and so they leaned heavily on the Church for institutionalized support. It funded schools and hospitals, helping to ensure generations of Irish children did not go unwell and uneducated. As

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1 *Roe v Wade*, 1973

2 Mullaly, *Gendered Citizenship*, p. 90

3 *Bunreacht na hÉireann*, Amendment 8

4 Smyth, *Ireland: When Church is State*, p. 2

the state gained its independence, the reliance on these religious institutions remained. Its web of services grew and the Church's social teachings informed community and family dynamics with increasing strength.⁵ Be it out of gratitude or greed, the authors of the current Irish Constitution, *Bunreacht na hÉireann*, felt the financial and social relationship between the Church and the Irish people should be enshrined in the nation's highest law. From 1937 to 1972 the Constitution featured a provision that highlighted the special place of the Catholic Church in Irish life and government. As one scholar notes, the provision had, "a pronounced Catholic ethos and [was] heavily marked by so-called natural law... it granted special protections for the family as the 'natural primary and fundamental unit-group of society' and as the 'basis of social order.'"⁶

The tie between societal order, personal value, and the traditional family unit displayed here bled into all facets of institutional life, including policy that punished women who did not express their sexuality within the confines of the traditional family unit, and rewarded those who did. The Church reaped many benefits from its close link to the Irish state, primarily control. Molding women to their image was essential, as "women are constructed as biological and moral bearers of the nation."⁷ With the lever of the law in one hand, and the banner of nationalism in the other, they could powerfully construct a world in which female citizens were held to the standards of Catholic social teaching.

Magdalene Laundries: Abuse, Economic Exploitation, & Punishment of Sexual Expression

Perhaps one of the most overt ways in which the Church and state colluded to abuse women who did not operate within Catholic moral code was the sending of girls who were too "bold"⁸ or "sexually aware,"⁹ survivors of

sexual assault, and anyone pregnant outside of wedlock to Magdalene laundries.¹⁰ From the mid-eighteenth century until the final laundry closing in 1996, Magdalene laundries were operated by orders of nuns with the alleged intention of rehabilitating so-called fallen girls, placed in their custody by court justices and neighbors alike. It is estimated that over 30,000 women and girls were kept in these laundries against their will, forced to do demanding labor for no pay.¹¹ An additional illustration of the economic exploitation of women and girls faced in laundries was the illegal sale of babies to American families coordinated by the Church and state in the 1950s and 1960s, using Magdalene girls as vessels for profit. Babies were taken without the consent of their vulnerable mothers and given false documents by Catholic adoption agencies, all of which were signed by government officials.¹² This was a display of blatant disregard for the lives of these babies and their mothers and reflected a belief that babies born to unwed mothers were not legitimately theirs. They were instead a reflection of poor moral behavior and as such, a mode of profiteering.

Not only do survivors deem this horrendous economic exploitation of women and babies to be slavery,¹³ in 2011 the United Nations Council Against Torture insisted upon an investigation into the nature of these institutions. The McAleese Report was published in 2013 as a result, and after public outrage at its egregious contents, Ireland's then Taoiseach Edna Kenny issued a formal apology. A policy to provide for survivors' every need was developed, however, the Church hasn't donated a penny of what they agreed to contribute. Ironically, religious orders were put in charge of distribution of these support services, and advocate organizations say the system has done little to help survivors.¹⁴

5 Ibid.

6 Smyth, *Ireland: When Church is State*, p. 2

7 Yeager and Culleton, *Gendered Violence and Cultural Forgetting*, p. 135

8 Costello, *Survivors Remember Ireland's Magdalene Laundries*, p. 5

9 Yeager and Culleton, *Gendered Violence and Cultural Forgetting*, p. 136

10 Ibid.

11 Costello, *Survivors Remember Ireland's Magdalene Laundries*, p. 1

12 Millote, *Banishing Babies*, Ch. 9

13 Ibid. p. 2

14 Ibid. p. 2-3

Abuse in these institutions ran the gamut from emotional to physical abuse, neglect, and malnutrition and, as a result, multiple scandals broke nearing the end of the laundry era. In 1993, a mass unmarked grave of 133 women and girls was uncovered on the property of the High Park Convent, which was once a Magdalene laundry.¹⁵ Discoveries as stomach-churning as this continued for decades and, in 2017, a story broke that the corpses of 800 babies ranging from 35 fetal weeks to three years old were discovered under septic tanks on the property of the Bon Secours Mother and Baby Home, another Church run internment facility.¹⁶

The state was not simply complicit in this behavior by turning a blind eye to the practice of priests leading communities to turn in their shameful daughters. It was also an active participant that funneled women from the criminal and social service systems directly to these institutions for labor exploitation and allowed for politicians to profit off the export of babies. Such disgusting treatment of these unmarried mothers and their children makes clear the cost of not living by Catholic standards as a woman in Ireland. To have sex outside of the marriage bed was to forfeit your humane labor rights, your dignity, your child, and your life.

Marriage Bar: Economic Deprivation & its Modern Consequences

From 1933 to 1973, a series of laws were enacted and repealed called the marriage bar. These pieces of legislation required a woman to retire upon marriage from her role as a teacher, or later, as a civil and public servant. Among these were the 1956 Civil Service Commission Act and 1956 Civil Service Regulations Act. These laws outlined both the required retirement of married women from civil service jobs and the limited grounds under which they could re-enter the workforce as widows, on the assumption that, once married, they would become mothers.

15 Yeager and Culleton, *Gendered Violence and Cultural Forgetting*, p. 135

16 O'Carroll, *Remains of Young Children*, p. 1

There was no attempt to hide the intention of forcing married women into retirement, as modern readers might assume, and is revealed in the straightforward language of the acts. Article 16(2)(C) of the Civil Service Commission Act, while referencing competitive civil service job openings, clearly states, “the requirement that, where females are not excluded from the competition, a female candidate to be eligible for selection shall be unmarried or a widow.”¹⁷

Beyond that, there were a series of additional hoops for widows re-entering the workforce to jump through. One of these featured in article 11(2)(A) was that women seeking to be reinstated in their previously established positions are, “required to serve on trial for such period...as the Minister may determine...if he thinks fit.”¹⁸ This ambiguous language empowered supervisors and Commissioners to set arbitrary limits on such reentry as well.

A popular claim at the time—aside from the commonplace assumption that newlywed women would be pregnant within the year—was that the workforce was overpopulated and underproductive, thus requiring retirement upon marriage opened positions for the next generation of job-seeking and qualified young men. Women saw through these claims of ‘economic need’ for forced retirement. *The Irish Times* was filled with commentary from women’s rights advocates in the years leading up to the repeal of these acts, evidence to the resistance of women against retirement and the implication that as married women, they should become mothers.¹⁹

Regardless of the premise’s legitimacy, the natural follow up question becomes, why were married women the demographic chosen for forced retirement? At a meeting of the Public Service Union in 1971, male representatives in attendance to support the abolition of the marriage

17 Civil Service Commissioners Act, 1956.

18 Civil Service Commissioners Act, 1956.

19 Maher, *Dear Mr. Brennan*

bar asked a similar question.²⁰ As all the married men in the room knew, one's marital status is not inherently time consuming, or incapacitating, so how could it be marriage that inhibits one's ability to work? What is unique to married women that would warrant a prohibition on their participation in the workforce? Assuming a homemaker role does not require all day. Carrying a child, however, requires a womb. Rearing a child? That may as well have. It is this, the legal assumption that married women will become mothers, that the marriage bar was built and enacted upon.

The consequences of this assumption are not merely personally offensive. Removal from employment meant removal from the social welfare system, and in 2018, this problem has ballooned. There are now several generations of women with partial or no pension to support them in old age, and the Irish government is only just beginning to explore solutions, all the while, failing citizens in waiting.²¹ Being deprived of economic autonomy leaves women dependent on a provider, thus in a position of vulnerability. The government's policy to forcibly retire married women not only made them less safe, it said they were less valuable in public life. Even more, it sent an overall message that the capacity to bear children indicates that one should bear children, regardless of one's preferences or priorities.

Children & Family: Married Mother's Key to Protection and Unmarried Mother's Financial Burden

Article 41 of the Constitution

More than the assumption that married women should and will have children, Article 41 of the Constitution and related laws like the Illegitimate Children Act created and fostered the legislative framework to assert that married women not only should, but must, become mothers and unmarried women should not. The exact wording of Article 41(2)(1-2) is as follows:

In particular, the State recognises that by her life

within the home, a woman gives to the State a support without which the common good cannot be achieved. The State shall, therefore, endeavour to ensure that mothers shall not be obliged by economic necessity to engage in labour to the neglect of their duties in the home.²²

Look at the break down of these two lines. The order in which each of the three key phrases speaks volumes to the value the Irish state chose to assign to women. 'By her life within the home' comes first, using a gendered pronoun before naming the actual subject, as if to say it is a universal assumption that a life spent in the home is a female life. The second half of the sentence hinges on the first, suggesting that the state is only grateful for the woman when, and because, she is in the home. Finally, it concludes with reference to a mother, yet again presuming that a woman in the home is a mother, and it is her motherhood that qualifies her for financial protection. By pairing those two sentences together, the woman's value and dignity are tied to her location in the private sphere of the home and to her motherhood, in line with the Catholic ethos Ireland prides itself on.²³ Finally, one must pause on that all-powerful word 'duties.' It is here that the fate of the Irish woman seems to be sealed in law, for it is in the law that her role as a mother is mandated. The convoluted network of beliefs that informed this policy of privileging married mothers by simultaneously qualifying them as diminutive and in need of protection, as opposed to entitling all families equal support, led to the punishment of mothers and children who fell outside the traditional family unit.

The Illegitimate Children Act of 1930

As opposed to the Constitutional demand that married women should be mothers who stay at home, there is also the prevailing idea that motherhood comes with the caveat of marriage. This belief system is also enshrined in law in many ways, but this essay will focus on the Illegitimate Children Act of 1930. The act was, according to its

²⁰ Musgrave, Resign-on-Marriage Rule Abhorred

²¹ Anon., Green Paper to Examine Women's Pension Rights

²² Bunreacht na hÉireann, Article 41

²³ Mullally, Gendered Citizenship: Debating Reproductive Rights, p. 85

summary;²⁴ supposed to ensure that mothers of children born out of wedlock receive financial support from their fathers. The reality of the law was much more malignant. It created arbitrary parameters and bureaucratic barriers that acted as weights around the ankles of unmarried mothers treading water. It resulted in undue economic hardship for these unwed mothers, in effect, a punishment for their sexual activity. This law said that only if you are equipped to swiftly take action following the birth of your illegitimate child, could you receive support for it. It was almost a test: Prove to the government you are responsible now, as you were not before, or let this child be your burden to bear alone. Men were given a 6-month window to be called on for child support, then they were free.²⁵ By ignoring equal male and female responsibility, the government showed its true colors, punishing women for their sexual escapades and giving their counterparts a get-out-of-jail-free card. This resentment harbored towards female sexuality was eluded to in the document's definitions and leaked into the lives of Irish women for decades.

Section 1 of the Illegitimate Children Act reads as follows:

The word "mother" means any of the following persons who is with child or has been delivered of an illegitimate child, that is to say, any single woman or any widow, or any married woman living separate from her husband, and includes any married woman not living separate from her husband who before her marriage was delivered of an illegitimate child; and the expression "putative father" means a person adjudged by an affiliation order made under this Act to be the putative father of an illegitimate child.²⁶

One immediately notices the imbalance in qualifiers for women as compared to men, and all the ways in which a woman can be the wrong kind of mother. Additionally, only fathers who have been successfully pursued in court are subject to the legal requirement of providing financial assistance to the mothers of their children. All of this also

24 Illegitimate Children Act of 1930

25 Buckley, *And the Deserted Women*

26 Illegitimate Children (Affiliation Orders) Act 1930

centers on the indignity of the word 'illegitimate' being assigned to a human being.

The process through which the mother of an illegitimate child could seek financial support was complex, as before mentioned, but just what were these difficulties? A piece for *The Irish Times* written by Don Buckley detailed the hoops laid out before these new mothers in 1972, fourteen years before the act's repeal:

Throughout the Illegitimate Children (Affiliation Orders) Act, 1930, specific time limits are laid down which can, and often do, cause injustices because of their shortness. For instance, a mother must start legal proceedings before the birth of the child or within six months after it... The psychological, social and financial problems confronting an unmarried mother may upset her so much that she may not be able to start legal action within the prescribed times and thereby loses opportunity of making the father of the child contribute to its maintenance.²⁷

These new mothers often lacked support systems of their own thanks to social condemnation that was paired with their legal disenfranchisement, which Buckley's piece eluded to. Additionally, not all of these frequently young, single mothers had levels of education that would have given them knowledge of their right to seek child support.

The significance of the Illegitimate Children's Act is the tangible consequences it had for women. It fostered an environment wherein the Irish state was able to damn its citizens by constructing an institutional ideology that women were financially accountable to the children resulting from their sexual impropriety in a way that their male counterparts were not. This bias snowballed and permeated the decades of legislation that followed.

The Eighth Amendment: Abortion Rights & Bodily Autonomy

Perhaps the culmination of harnessing motherhood as a

27 Buckley, *And the Deserted Mothers*

punishment and targeting its predecessor, the expression of female sexuality, comes in the form of the Eighth Amendment of the Irish Constitution, and its subsequent laws and amendments. Proponents of the Eighth Amendment say it is about protecting mothers and babies, and that it is based in the belief that life begins while a child is in the womb, therefore rights must be extended to that child. The language of the amendment would suggest this to be true, as can be found in reading article 40(3) (3) of the Irish Constitution, “The State acknowledges the right to life of the unborn and, with due regard to the equal right to life of the mother, guarantees in its laws to respect, and, as far as practicable, by its laws to defend and vindicate that right.”²⁸ The real-world effect this has had is that abortion, in all but a few circumstances, is not only illegal, but unconstitutional. Moreover, in practice, it has proven to speak more to the government’s callousness towards women than to their sheltering of babies.

The Eighth Amendment was born out of fear following two key court rulings. The ruling of *Roe v Wade* in America granted access to abortion at the federal level to all women in 1973.²⁹ In the 1974 case *McGee v Attorney General*, an Irish woman with a health condition that would make any pregnancy fatal challenged the state’s ban on birth control, and won the right to a prescription to prevent pregnancy.³⁰ Concerned this was precursor to abortion rights in Ireland being expanded, the Catholic right united to campaign for a referendum to insert the Eighth Amendment into the Constitution.³¹ As one scholar observed, the significance of legal change may have been a leading concern for the Church and state due to, “the tendency on the part of the electorate and the legislature to see the law as an effective agent for moulding social behaviour.”³²

While the amendment technically always promised access to abortion in the case where a mother’s life was at risk,

this was not practiced for decades. In 1992, a fourteen-year-old girl who was pregnant as the result of rape was forcibly returned to Ireland and had her travel rights revoked after her parents asked the police if they could use the aborted fetus tissue to identify the rapist when they returned from England.³³ When her case made the news, people were horrified, and the High Court overturned the injunction on her travel. She should have been granted an abortion once detained because she threatened suicide, which the court order also mentioned. Due to the publicity of her case, and a looming EU Treaty that needed signing, the government held a referendum that year to solidify access to abortion when there was a risk to health, including the case of suicide, the right to travel to procure an abortion, and the right to information about abortion.³⁴

The government, however, did not use this decision as guidance for legal regulation of abortion for 20 years, leaving women to challenge medical inaction case by case. The Protection of Life During Pregnancy Act was written 2013 following another highly public case. Chapter 1 of the Protection of Life During Pregnancy Act outlined three circumstances under which a woman could access an abortion and they include, “risk of loss of life from physical health,” “risk of loss of life from physical illness in emergency,” and “risk of loss of life from suicide.”³⁵ The need for such legislation existed well before Irish women received it, as a stack of maternal fatalities grew in the face of doctors who were ever more fearful of striking the wrong balance between maternal and fetal life.

A final case of note was that of the O case. A Nigerian woman whose asylum claim was denied tried to invoke the Eighth Amendment to halt her deportation in 2002 because she was pregnant. Pointing to the high maternal and infant mortality rates in her home country, she claimed sending her back violated her baby’s right to

28 Bunreacht na hÉireann, Amendment 8

29 *Roe v Wade*, 1973

30 Mullaly, *Gendered Citizenship*, p. 89

31 *Ibid.*

32 Whyte, *The Family and the State*, p. 255

33 Garcia-del Mora and Korteweg, *Sexual Politics of Citizenship*, p. 419

34 Mullaly, *Gendered Citizenship*, p. 95

35 *Protection of Life During Pregnancy Act*, 2013

life.³⁶ The courts quickly denied her request, saying, “The State’s duties to defend and vindicate the right to life to the unborn did not extend to ensuring the health and well-being of Baby O, or even ensuring a safe delivery.”³⁷

All of this comes together as a thinly veiled condemnation of Irish women who find themselves pregnant. The rights to travel and information, and the O case, indicate that the defense of the unborn child is not at the center of this Constitutional policy on abortion. Instead, the core of this policy is punishment of the women, of those who dared to engage in sex for pleasure and not procreation. It has no equivalent for men, who have been given little legal responsibility to their children.

Conclusion

On May 25th of 2018, the Eighth Amendment was repealed via referendum in a landslide vote.³⁸ Moving stories from women bled increasingly into the news in order to create the Repeal movement that ended the Eighth Amendment. In 2012, the death of Savita Halappanavar was reported. She was a Galway woman who learned that her painful, ongoing miscarriage was a health risk, and asked to have an abortion. In the wake of doctors denying her that service, she died. Reportedly, the nurse responded to her request by saying, “this is a Catholic country.”³⁹

Her name became a rallying cry for the intensifying Repeal the 8th movement. She was the perfect example of how misguided restrictive abortion regimes are, personifying all that its founders couldn’t imagine when they constructed laws regarding what women can and cannot do with their bodies. She was married, accomplished, and wanted her baby. Not a citizen of Ireland, travel out of the country to obtain an abortion would have been difficult, therefore throwing a wrench in the scheme to

make abortion other countries’ problems. The baby was naturally miscarrying, and the mother’s health was at risk in a complex, ongoing medical situation. Her experience was the tragic result of callous and willfully blind laws designed out of spite and not concern.

Savita’s story is wildly different than Ann Lovett’s. Separated by three decades, the women were 21 years apart in age, worlds apart in circumstances. But their senseless loss of life has resonated with a mass of Irish citizens who would otherwise be turned off by political debates. They have humanized and complicated the legislative picture Ireland has been painting of women since the nation’s birth. They are the calls to action, to end the state’s ironclad grip of female sexuality, and its mandate of motherhood.

This paper has explored the many forms in which Irish policy, be it social or economic, has created undue barriers, burdens, and harm. The state’s facilitation of the Catholic Church’s teachings via the law has endangered women, girls, and babies by putting them in Magdalene laundries, barring them from work upon marriage, deeming only some mothers worthy of support and denying them abortion access. All of these practices have been grounded in the punishment of women who are open about their sexuality, regardless of marital status, and in the mandate that married women become mothers as it is their natural duty. While many of these laws have been changed, Ireland has only begun to reckon with its long history of abusing its female citizens. Until meaningful changes to the law and community dynamics are made, the longstanding obligation of motherhood will not be shed and the true potential to flourish as an equality driven nation will not be explored.

While Repeal may appear to close the current chapter of the Irish state’s policing women’s bodies and sexualities, this paper has alternatively illuminated Ireland as having a complicated history of inaction, resulting from

³⁶ Garcia-del Mora and Korteweg, *Sexual Politics of Citizenship*, 422

³⁷ *Ibid.*

³⁸ Towe and Griffin, *Ireland Votes Yes*

³⁹ Holland, *Woman ‘Denied Termination’*

demonizing it's women. There have been referendums and court rulings before, and the government has been slow to act. While this victory should be celebrated, the fight for bodily autonomy isn't over yet. Until legislation is created to outline the parameters of legal abortion, women will continue to be forced to travel abroad seeking the medical care they deserve. This perpetuates economic burden and indignant treatment of women who Ireland claims as its citizens. This must not stand. The women of Ireland deserve more.

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Lindy Soffer | *Photogram with drawing materials*

“BIGGER THAN FOOTBALL”: RACE AND RELIGION IN COLIN KAEPERNICK’S NFL PROTEST

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Introduction

In 2016, Colin Kaepernick, quarterback for the National Football League’s San Francisco 49ers captured national attention—of football fans and otherwise—for kneeling in protest during pre-game performances of the Star-Spangled Banner. The NFL reported that he “willingly immersed himself into controversy by refusing to stand for the playing of the national anthem” (Wyche), the reasoning behind which Kaepernick explained in a post-game interview in August 2016:

“I am not going to stand up to show pride in a flag for a country that oppresses black people and people of color. To me, this is bigger than football and it would be selfish on my part to look the other way. There are bodies in the street and people getting paid leave and getting away with murder” (Wyche).

Kaepernick’s protest was meant to call attention to the racist attitudes pervading American society, specifically, the controversy surrounding the police officers responsible for the murders of African American men like Michael Brown, Eric Garner, Philando Castile, and many others. However, what followed was a widespread objection to Kaepernick’s choice to kneel for the national anthem as it was perceived as not a protest of the systematic racial injustices exposed in the handling of police brutality he references in the above quote, but rather a protest of the national anthem or of the American flag itself. This mischaracterization prompted myriad attacks on Kaepernick, including accusations of his ingratitude toward armed forces and veterans, dubious patriotism, and therefore, his qualification to represent America on the significant cultural stage that is the NFL.

Interestingly, Kaepernick is not the only professional football player to have used on-field kneeling as a political statement in recent years. Former Denver Broncos quarterback Tim Tebow started kneeling down to pray before games in 2011, in addition to his habit of painting Bible verses on his under-eyes. In a 2017 *Washington Post* article, Michael Frost contrasts attitudes toward Kaepernick’s and Tebow’s protests. Titled “Colin Kaepernick vs. Tim Tebow: a Tale of Two Christians on Their Knees,” the piece questions why Tebow has been hailed as “the darling of the American church” while Kaepernick, who is also a Christian, is, “reviled” by the same people who praise Tebow. Frost’s analysis is insightful in that it points out a discrepancy between two brands of Christianity, one that is concerned with “respect for cultural mores” and another that “values social justice...and political activism” (Frost). However, the article lacks a religious studies approach, resulting in the complete omission of race from this discussion. Perhaps the range of attitudes within the conversation about Kaepernick’s versus Tebow’s protest is better understood by approaching religion differently than Frost. Instead of relying upon Christian conceptualizations of religion, this analysis places Christian ideas within the framework of civil religion. This way, connections between race, ritual, and symbol are more visible—a definition of American nationalism and its various rituals of patriotism as examples of civil religion highlights these intersections in ways that Frost’s religious inquiry, rooted in Christian theology, cannot.

This paper examines the underlying causes of national outrage over Kaepernick’s supposed disrespect for the flag

as it has disrupted the racial and religious sensibilities of those who praise Tebow for what might be understood as an equal yet opposite political action. I argue that Colin Kaepernick's choice to kneel during performances of the national anthem, a deliberate disengagement with ritualizations surrounding the American flag, 1) disrupted the racial and religious sensibilities of many who claim a deep investment in American patriotism mythologized through sacrificial soldiers and 2) was purposefully aimed at addressing white supremacy. Investigating themes central to the analysis of Kaepernick's protest, including analyzing the flag as totem; the American myth of sacrifice; the demands of reverence toward the flag; and the collapse of religion into politics reveals the hegemonic localization of America as a white and Christian nation. Examining the production of locality and hegemonically decided normativities will provide insight into why Kaepernick's version of on-field kneeling is so offensive to white Christian audiences, while Tebow's kneeling evokes an opposite reaction.

The Flag as Totem

To confront the primary issue taken with Kaepernick's protest (that it presumably indicates a fundamental disrespect for the military), consider the extent to which the American flag functions as a signifier of the sacrifices made by United States armed forces. The public performance of Francis Scott Key's "The Star-Spangled Banner," which was written after a battle victory during the War of 1812 and became America's national anthem, is accompanied by the presentation of the American flag, and citizens are strongly encouraged (if not coerced) to stand and face the flag in reverence for the duration of the anthem. The anthem's lyrics depict in detail the image of the flag emerging through a war-stricken battlefield. In the introduction to *Blood Sacrifice and the Nation: Totem Rituals and the American Flag* Carolyn Marvin and David W. Ingle illustrate how ideas and practices of U.S. patriotism actually reflect forms of American civil religion, an epistemology that operates in the form of "nationalism as a ritual system organized around a core myth of

violently sacrificed divinity manifest in the highest patriotic ceremony and the most accessible popular culture" (Marvin and Ingle 3). This definition of American civil religion provides a way of revealing the hegemonic attitudes toward religion, race, and the flag that frame the criticisms of many within the NFL's white Christian audiences. Expanding on Émile Durkheim's theory that totems symbolize the sacredness of the cultures in which they are worshipped, Marvin and Ingle illustrate that the American flag has arisen as the totem object of American civil religion, a religious object of devotion that all Americans are conditioned to honor through ritualized expressions and enactments of patriotism (2).

As it will be shown, flag ritual generates a hegemonic solidarity with the ideals of militarism and creates bias against dissenters. On the other hand, protests like Kaepernick's have the potential to raise awareness of injustice and affect change. That "ritual practices can serve both social control and social change" (Bell 171) highlights the need for an analysis of the controversy Kaepernick has stirred with his NFL protest, as he has exposed the racial and religious problems that underlie both the ritualization of the national anthem and American flag, and the American civil religion as a whole.

Allegiance as Religion in America

From its opening, Marvin and Ingle's work makes clear the unbreakable American association of the nation's flag with the military. They write that the American mythos posits soldiers' martyr-like sacrifices for their country as the sole reason for our freedom—a myth, they argue, since it is the nation-state itself that sanctions the violence and death experienced in the military through war (3). Michael C. Kearl and Ansel Rinaldi also illuminate the issue of soldier sacrifice in their work, "The Political Uses of the Dead as Symbols in Contemporary Civil Religions." Writing that "social rituals involving the dead contribute to the collective integrity and solidarity of the political groups employing them" (Kearl and Rinaldi 695), Kearl and Rinaldi discuss how the dead, especially

fallen soldiers, serve as useful political symbols when drawn upon to galvanize public support for a given issue. Kears and Rinaldi explain that troops are the sacrificial embodiment of the “American resolve to protect its interests and peoples abroad against an international injustice” (695).

Comments from critics of Kaepernick, attempting to disable Kaepernick and silence his protest by presenting it as a threat to American nationalism, essentially argue that Kaepernick’s kneeling is irreconcilable with the ideals of America. Moreover, those who are sympathetic to the racial aspects of Kaepernick’s protest but nevertheless condemn him for having appeared to disrespect the flag and, consequently, the troops (as did African American former NFL linebacker Ray Lewis) demonstrate that deliberate nonparticipation in the spectacle of NFL-sponsored patriotism, while surely not *about* the American flag, is of course related to it. Kaepernick’s refusal “to show pride in a flag for a country that oppresses black people” (Kaepernick) presents a challenge to the totem (the flag) as “the ritual instrument of group cohesion” which “binds collective sentiment” (Marvin and Ingle 2). Despite not citing religion (in the Christian sense) as an important factor in this debate, Ray Lewis’s comments are related to civil religion in that he felt he had to express disappointment with Kaepernick for having brought the flag into something it should be left out of (Lewis 2016)—or in other words, using the national anthem as an occasion for a protest about racism—recalling that he has “uncles...brothers who walked out of [his] house, going into the military” saying “I’ll never see you again.” That, to Lewis and many others, deserves the utmost respect, and indicates that the reason Kaepernick’s protest is so controversial is because the flag represents the sacrifices made by soldiers, a notion which also establishes militarism as a reality in the United States and results in the flag’s occupation of a totemic position within the American civil religion.

If, as Marvin and Ingle suggest, the flag serves as a

symbol of the “collective sentiment[s]” (2) of America, then in the context of post-9/11 United States, “group cohesion” (2) is reliant on the maintenance of nationalist attitudes in order to legitimize and safeguard such myths as the necessity of militarism. Kears and Rinaldi’s piece also elucidates how the commemoration of fallen soldiers functions as a defense of post-9/11 anti-Muslim sentiment, since American casualties of the United States conflict with the Middle East are remembered to have fought and died protecting Americans from the threat of Islamic religious extremism. In “The Production of Locality” Arjun Appadurai examines the ways in which “neighborhoods...situated communities characterized by their actuality, whether spatial or virtual” (179) are not only founded on cultural norms but are also compelled from within to reiterate these norms as a way of establishing and reinforcing what is truthful and meaningful to a given community. Building upon Marvin and Ingle’s work and viewing America as a distinct neighborhood the way Appadurai describes, rituals involving the American flag can be understood as products of the nation’s endeavor to protect its citizens under the premises held within a particular locality. The distinctive neighborhood occupied by Kaepernick and his adversaries alike serves as a “context, or set of contexts, within which meaningful social action can be both generated and interpreted” based on that which the power systematics of the given neighborhood maintain are important and necessary (Appadurai 180).

Compared to the denouncement of Colin Kaepernick, who is Christian and biracial (Branch), the congratulatory response to the white Christian, Tim Tebow kneeling provides evidence that the “racial schism that exists in America today” dictates how one interprets protest (Intravia et al.). On a superficial level, much of white Christians’ approval of Tebow arises because he is a white Christian, while their opinions of Kaepernick are influenced by the fact that he is a black man disrespecting the flag. It is important to note that white Christians, whether or not they are aware, enjoy the privilege of

occupying a local territory in which their identity as white and Christian allows for relatively easy agreement with and protection under locally advised norms and practices, such as honoring the national flag. Black Americans, on the other hand, have historically been obliged to prove their patriotism as evidence of proper assimilation. At its core, arguments within the discourse surrounding Kaepernick's kneeling during the national anthem boil down to a fundamental disagreement over what constitutes acceptable behavior for black men versus white men, as individuals immersed in distinctly American locality. Tebow, who exemplifies the "hypercommodified Christian nationalism" dominating the American cultural scene (Hawsen and Newman 15), supports the premises of the locality. Kaepernick, on the other hand, declines to adhere to a number of its requirements, threatening hegemony's authority to instate compulsory nationalism.

The reason Christianity plays an integral role in Tebow's success, as well as the debate over whether Kaepernick's protest, and can be deemed appropriate in the eyes of an American audience is precisely the consequence of a system of power which "through exclusion and differentiation" constructs certain subjects—those whose ideas and practices do not align with the systematically empowered norm—as the "abjected other" (Butler 12). Hegemonic conceptualizations of America's locality often put forth the image of America as a nation of Christians, and for decades, considerable efforts have been made to attach Christianity to Americanism. In "Warrants for Reconstruction: Christian Hegemony, White Supremacy," Jeannine Hill Fletcher outlines how the "project of hierarchal ordering" (59) employed by colonists in order to subjugate indigenous people and African slaves serves as a starting point of the long history of Americans' preference toward Christianity. Fletcher uncovers the inherent white supremacy associated with the endeavor to Christianize America ever since colonial times, framing whiteness as both "theological and political" (55). In the modern day, this has translated in such a way that

"Christianity seems compatible with White supremacy" (Fletcher 77).

In the case of the Ku Klux Klan in the 1920s, as Kelly J. Baker shows in "Robes, Fiery Crosses, and the American Flag: The Materiality of the 1920s Klan's Christianity, Patriotism, and Intolerance," a considerably violent effort was made to ensure the exclusivity of the United States for white Christians. Here, the KKK's undertaking should not be dismissed as but one extreme example of white supremacy—Baker notes that a 1920s rebranding of the Klan has had long-lasting effects and continues to inspire modern-day white supremacists to practice "Christianity and intolerance" as their general rules (Baker 338). Baker details how the material objects employed by the KKK to represent the white supremacist movement (the American flag, white hooded robes, and Christian crosses) were deliberately chosen for these objects' symbolic value in America, and their aptitude toward "conflating Americanism with Protestantism" (317). Although certainly many modern-day evangelical and Fundamentalist Christians would distance themselves from and even condemn the explicit, violent racism of the KKK, historically, the idea of America as a Christian nation has served as the foundation for a wide array of complementary and varying political groups. Many in these groups supported southern Jim Crow racial separation and northern redlining racial segregation; denounced the Civil Rights Movement or were, at best, hesitant about its consequences; and believed that American citizenship and nationalism should only reflect Christian belief and prerogative. American Protestantism has also historically framed even seemingly neutral political categories like democracy as God-given. From an epistemological perspective, American civil religion has always had racist implications given that it has arisen from ideals about the country's whiteness and Christianity. Because notions of white supremacy underlie American exceptionalism and naturalize a hegemonic order, it is necessary to interrogate both the overt racism held by the

likes of the KKK and also the stealthier white supremacy present within American Protestantism.

Just as the myth of military sacrifice establishes and promotes the norm of flag ritual, the collapse of the Christian religion onto United States politics has resulted in the further integration of Christianity as a pillar within the American civil religion, and the presumption of militarism and Christianity as truths of American identity. These issues are inextricably linked inasmuch as the nation's fallen soldiers are symbolic of the fight against Muslim extremists, so the observance of the flag as a symbolic of soldier sacrifice also advances the idea that the troops fight for religious freedom—but more specifically, the right of Americans to practice Christianity as their supposed authentic religion.

The NFL: Audience and Branding

The National Football League is undoubtedly a product of the unique American cultural and commercial scene, and as a result has internalized notions of Christianity and politics as inseparable. The NFL also quite obviously fits Marvin and Ingle's description of the, "highest patriotic ceremony [in] the most accessible pop culture" (1999:3), with an average game viewership of approximately 16.5 million people (Rovell 2017). Because football is one of America's most watched programs, the NFL plays a major role in representing what is righteous, valuable, and profitable to the nation, and has done so by perpetuating narratives of American patriotism. Examining Tim Tebow and America's response to his Christian prayerfulness on the football field, Matthew G. Hawsen and Joshua I. Newman articulate that Tebow is one celebrity athlete who lives up to the branding of the NFL as representative of the "broader commercial and cultural politics that define the 'real America'" to which conservative politicians often refer and attempt to appeal to as a voter base (2017:14). In doing so, Hawsen and Newman identify a crucial aspect of politicized and commercialized action on large cultural stages such as professional sports:

"...Athletic and commercially-viable, God-fearing,

patriotic, family men tend to set the seemingly transcendent, yet deeply political and culturally contingent, moral expectations in the North American sporting popular. Sport celebrities who do not live up to or transgress these cultural expectations consequently risk operating outside the "accepted" norms and/or the mediated fiction upon which celebrity is constructed, inviting culturally codified derogatory representations of their mediated demise" (14).

This passage exemplifies the contrast between Kaepernick and Tebow—Tebow, of course the "God-fearing, patriotic family man," and Kaepernick the inverse and a transgressor of these "cultural expectations" (14).

The differences between Tebow and Kaepernick and, arguably, an explanation for why the two players elicit such widely differing responses from NFL viewers is made apparent in the physical appearance of Tebow and Kaepernick. Tebow gained popularity after painting Bible verses such as John 3:16, Philippians 4:13 and Ephesians 2:8-10 on his under-eyes. Kaepernick expresses his Christian faith through several tattoos, displaying verses like Psalm 18:39, Psalm 27:3 on his arms and chest, and a large-scale depiction of angels and demons that covers his entire back (Oxarart 2013). Though neither Tebow's nor Kaepernick's expression could be considered inconspicuous, it seems that some might evaluate Kaepernick's tattoos as loud, for reasons racially-motivated or otherwise, while Tebow's clean-cut exterior and gentle demeanor exudes Christian purity. The difference between the players' chosen Bible verses is also suggestive of their contrasting approaches to faith—Kaepernick's verses manifest an active theology while Tebow's are passively evangelical in nature. Angela Denker, former sportswriter and current Lutheran pastor, theorizes about opinions on Kaepernick in "Colin Kaepernick and the Powerful, Religious act of Kneeling." She writes that perhaps some Americans are put off by Kaepernick's physical appearance: "his hair...refuses to conform, be tamed," he has tattoos, and wears "t-shirt[s] of Malcolm X and

Fidel Castro, and socks depicting police officers as pigs” (Denker 2017). It is true that Kaepernick “sounds virtually Tebow-esque when he talks about his faith in God,” but even so, Denker interprets Kaepernick to be making, “a statement rooted in an African American Christian tradition built on nonviolent resistance” (Denker 2017) which, as his protest has demonstrated, is less desirable in the eyes of some audiences than Tebow’s modest yet impactful religious expression. The image put forth by the respective players (Kaepernick as an outspoken advocate for social issues, with visible tattoos and clothing bearing politically provocative sentiments; and Tebow, who allows his face paint Bible verses to evangelize for him) is a determining factor of NFL audiences’ reception.

In his 2007 article “Fumbling Religion?” Mark Moring reminds readers that the NFL is, “a big business. It makes judgments all the time about what will promote business—and what might discourage it” (Moring 2007:36). Displays of religion, he argues, are precisely the kinds of displays the NFL wants to distance itself from in order to maintain a neutral image. Moring characterizes this as a “blunder,” pointing out that, “the league recognizes that many who watch its games identify with the Christian religion” (2007:36) and react positively to religious demonstrations like Tebow’s, for example. At the same time, he notes that the NFL’s preferred stance is often to pretend as though it has *no* stance, distancing itself from events that can be interpreted to “promote a message” and avoiding association with anything that can be construed as overtly political (2007:36). How, then, should audiences interpret the United States military’s sponsorship of the NFL? In “America’s game: The NFL’s ‘Salute to Service’ Campaign, the Diffused Military Presence, and Corporate Social Responsibility,” Adam Rugg discusses the place of politics in the NFL, describing current programming as infused with “extravagant spectacles of patriotic display” working to “codify the league’s long-term efforts to market itself as supporting the troops” (Rugg 2016:21). The *Huffington Post* also reported that the United States Department of Defense sponsors patriotic performances before NFL

games, spending up to \$6.8 million in contracts which funded teams’ pre-game salute to armed forces (Barron-Lopez and Waldron 2015). This fact in particular has raised concern that the NFL has discovered a way of profiting off of fans’ patriotic propensities, but perhaps one should consider this scenario for the ways in which it reflects the League’s apparent subscription to and promotion of the normative, nationalistic ideal of militarism and soldier sacrifice.

Morin’s contention that the NFL has “fumbled” religion is suspect given that the NFL, despite avoiding purposeful or outright integration of Christianity into its ceremonies, does tolerate certain Christian expositions on its stage. Displays of Christianity are tolerable, it seems, because the NFL’s audience does not voice enough opposition to threaten its profit margin. After all, Tim Tebow and others have not endured punishment for their religious displays, whether or not the NFL agrees with their messages—the blacklisting of Colin Kaepernick from playing in the NFL as a penalty for his raising awareness for racial issues stands in stark contrast. One cannot help but see this dichotomy as an unwritten ruling that, unless demonstrations play into the sensibilities of the NFL’s audience, they are to be dealt with punitively. In May of 2018, for example, the NFL responded to the steadily increasing number of players who have followed Kaepernick’s lead, announcing that kneeling during the anthem will now be a punishable offense. Starting next season, players will have the opportunity to remain in the locker room for the performance of the national anthem, but teams of players who kneel on-field will be subject to fines. Alluding to the original purpose of the movement Kaepernick started, the league said in a statement, “It was unfortunate that on-field protests created a false perception among many that thousands of NFL players were unpatriotic. This is not and was never the case” (Ortiz 2018).

That the NFL would like to present itself in a neutral light yet provides a platform for select religious and

military theatrics while restricting Kaepernick's socially-minded demonstration further demonstrates the extent to which the United States has internalized the norms of Christianity and militarization. The prevailing image of America as a white and Christian nation, though not a statistical reality, affirms these notions in such a way that they cannot be considered neutral.

Kaepernick's Disengagement

It must be acknowledged that systems of power compete for the sole ability to define (and are responsible for upholding) standards for proper and improper displays of nationalism and any other cultural norm, for that matter. Appadurai mentions that, "the production of a neighborhood is inherently an exercise of power over some sort of hostile and recalcitrant environment" (1995:184) and in situating disrespect for the American flag as irreconcilable to the nationalist ideals of the community, hegemonic power works to disable and silence those who jeopardize normativity. In "Contingent Foundations: Feminism and the Question of Postmodernism," Judith Butler lays the groundwork for understanding how hegemony upholds such norms. In her work, Butler reveals the necessity of, "[interrogating] what the theoretical move that establishes the foundations *authorizes*, and what precisely it excludes or forecloses" (Butler 1992:7). As such, it must be asked: who or what, exactly, is the power operating to authorize, exclude and foreclose "normative universality" (1992:7) in America? Donald Trump's thirteen tweets about NFL protests over the course of one weekend are particularly telling. He tweeted, "Courageous Patriots have fought and died for our great American Flag --- we MUST honor and respect it! MAKE AMERICA GREAT AGAIN!" And, "If a player wants the privilege of making millions of dollars in the NFL, or other leagues, he or she should not be allowed to disrespect...." "...our Great American Flag (or Country) and should stand for the National Anthem. If not, YOU'RE FIRED. Find something else to do!" In a speech at a rally in Huntsville, Alabama Trump went further, asking, "wouldn't you love to see one of these NFL owners, when somebody disrespects our flag,

to say, 'Get that son of a b**** off the field right now. Out. He's fired!'" (Tsuji 2017).

The president illustrates Arjun Appadurai's argument about the consolidation of community when he wrote that, "the production of a neighborhood is inherently an exercise of power" (1995:184). In viewing America as a neighborhood, it appears that flag ritual and display help to sustain the distinctly localized American community by naturalizing patriotic behavior and ultimately benefiting those in power. That hegemonic systems of power work to construct and enforce normative subjectivities (Butler 1992) sheds light on why Kaepernick's kneeling in protest has been vilified by many white American Christians, while Tebow's kneeling in prayer is applauded by that same group. Appadurai grants that neighborhoods must systematically protect themselves from outside disturbances, or in his words,

"...[Rely] for its legitimacy on the intensity of its meaningful presence in a continuous body of bounded territory. [The nation-state] works by policing its borders, producing its people, constructing its citizens, defining its capitals, monuments... and by constructing its locales of memory and commemoration...[in] the bizarrely contradictory project of creating a flat, contiguous and homogeneous space of nationness..." (Appadurai 189).

In addition to power bestowed by racial hierarchies, Christianity functions as another example of a power dynamic embraced by citizens of the United States, and is therefore one such hegemonic tradition that Butler suggests should be questioned.

Colin Kaepernick has shown the capacity of public protest to make visible societal problems. The act of kneeling was intended to expose the racism that exists in America, especially in conversations about police brutality. But responses to his protest highlighted a different issue—the acrimonious relationship between American civil religion and race. It is clear that as individuals immersed in a distinctly American locality, what is behaviorally

acceptable for black men versus for white men is incongruous. At its core, the discourse of American nationalism surrounding Kaepernick's kneeling during the national anthem illustrates the fundamental disagreement over whether American civil religion provides freedom, democracy, and security for all its citizens, or whether it institutes white supremacy.

Kaepernick's choice to kneel for the anthem also demonstrates the extent to which American civil religion has incorporated the concept of military sacrifice as myth that seeks to legitimize American patriotism. His protest can and should be seen as a conscious subversion of hegemony, attempting to destabilize the norms of patriotism and nationalism that have been injected into the NFL for sheer political and economic gain. All things considered, his protest and the controversy surrounding it highlights the need for a religious studies approach to contemporary debates arising from the political intersection of consumerism, race, and religion, and the systems of power operative in all these areas.

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Jessica Freeman | *Shadows of Depth*

LA ESPERANZA EN ESPAÑA REPRESENTADA EN “LAS MEDIAS ROJAS” DE EMILIA PARDO BAZÁN

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ABSTRACT This literary analysis explores the connection between 20th century economic and social factors in Spain and the writing of Emilia Pardo Bazán’s “Las Medias Rojas.” This connection is investigated by first understanding the dire circumstances of many Spanish people in the 20th century and then comparing such circumstances to the plot of “Las Medias Rojas.” It was found that such circumstances influenced the naturalism literary movement and that the naturalism movement influenced the theme of hopelessness in “Las Medias Rojas.”

La literatura a menudo hace comentarios sobre, o conexiones a, cuestiones históricas o sociales durante la época en que es escrita. Es común expresar frustraciones y emociones a través de la escritura y, al analizar las obras literarias, podemos entender la opinión pública sobre un tema en particular. En “Las medias rojas” por Emilia Pardo Bazán, la autora crea la historia de una mujer joven que tiene esperanza de una vida mejor. Esta historia presenta cómo la esperanza es lo más importante para los españoles y, sin la esperanza, los españoles no tienen por qué vivir. En el siglo XX, cuando Emilia Pardo Bazán escribió “Las medias rojas”, los factores sociales y económicos de la época y el movimiento del naturalismo formaron el tema de la falta de esperanza en la historia.

El tema de “Las medias rojas” es que la esperanza es muy importante para la gente de España. Los españoles sienten que cuando se les quita la fe, no les queda nada. Como la esperanza es tan importante, resulta claro que sin ella, no tiene sentido nada. La estructura del tema de la historia comienza con la comprensión de la trama. La historia comienza con Ildra haciendo fuego y preparando comida para su padre, Clodio. El narrador explica que la madera que Ildra estaba usando para el fuego estaba húmeda y que la comida que estaba

cocinando no era muy fresca. Esto le dice al lector que la familia probablemente vivía en la pobreza. Cuando se inclinaba para aumentar la llama, su padre notó unas nuevas medias rojas. Ella le explicó que cuando le vendió huevos al abad, usó ese dinero para comprarse un nuevo par de medias. Él se enojó con Ildra porque no quería que gastara dinero en medias nuevas. Ildra no le dijo a su padre que sus medias rojas simbolizaban la aspiración de un futuro mejor. Ildra compró las medias rojas para sentirse bella y tener el optimismo de encontrar un marido y escapar de la pobreza. Clodio se molestó mucho y comenzó a preguntarle a Ildra por qué no quería caminar descalza y por qué le importaba tanto su apariencia y siempre se estaba arreglando el cabello. Clodio atacó a Ildra; le golpeó la cabeza, la cara y uno de sus ojos. Ildra vio miles de puntos oscuros hasta que ya no vio más nada. Se fue a lavar la sangre en un arroyo cercano y el narrador cuenta que solo le quedaba un diente y que solo podía ver por un ojo. Ella fue a ver a un médico, aunque era demasiado tarde y este le dijo que su retina estaba desprendida. Ella no entendió lo que eso significaba, pero comprendió que no volvería a ver por ese ojo. Nunca sería capaz de subirse al barco que la llevaría a una vida de felicidad y lujo. El barco solo aceptaba mujeres que fueran hermosas, aptas para el trabajo y que tuvieran todos sus dientes.

La tesis de la historia se presenta a través del método de escritura de Pardo Bazán. La autora estaba muy interesada en la literatura y escribió otras “historias, novelas, poesía, libros de viaje, estudios sociales, crítica histórica y crítica social” (Friedman 50). Ella vivió durante la Primera Guerra Mundial y la violencia y la desigualdad que surgieron de la guerra tuvieron un efecto en su estilo de escritura y en los temas en sus historias. “Las medias rojas” se conecta con los acontecimientos que rodeaban España y Europa a principios del siglo XX, cuando se escribió la historia. Había desequilibrios significativos en la economía de España en el siglo XX. La oligarquía agraria ejercía un monopolio de la política nacional y basaba la riqueza en el poder social. El auge económico después de la Primera Guerra Mundial— debido a la posición neutral de España— solo hizo más fuerte a la burguesía (Preston 16). Esta desigualdad social dificultaba que los españoles tuvieran esperanza para el futuro. El naturalismo, un movimiento literario que se explica como el “realismo extremo”, fue desarrollado durante la era en que Pardo Bazán escribía. Este movimiento influyó en su escritura porque, a menudo, ella abogaba por el arte y usaba mucho simbolismo y escritura metafórica en sus historias (Bretz 6). Muchos investigadores están de acuerdo en que el naturalismo fue la estética que estimuló el arte y la literatura de Emilia Pardo Bazán (Chamberlin 183).

El entorno de este cuento se encuentra en una zona rural de España en 1914. Durante ese periodo, el mundo estaba al borde de la Primera Guerra Mundial, que comenzó en ese año. España había sido derrotada en la guerra hispanoamericana de 1898 y perdió sus colonias y el poder europeo (Rosenbusch 20). España intentó permanecer neutral durante toda la guerra, aunque tenía fuertes lazos económicos con los aliados (Rosenbusch 149). Por razones geográficas y económicas, España fue especialmente amigable con Francia y Gran Bretaña. Esta amistad hizo que Alemania creyera que España pelearía con las potencias aliadas (Hertog 56). España se convirtió en una economía integrada, un acuerdo

entre los países para reducir las barreras y promover la libre circulación de mercancías, y, por lo tanto, era improbable que pudiera luchar por su cuenta (Tirado 344). Jesús Mirás-Araujo, asociado a la Universidad de A Coruña, escribe en su investigación, “In 1914 most of [La Coruña’s] commercial activity was focused in the centre, where the population density was very high” (Mirás-Araujo 22). Esta cita e investigación explica que solo las personas que vivían en el centro se beneficiaron del éxito económico de España. Los que vivían en áreas más pobres no tenían la oportunidad de participar en actividades comerciales. Debido a que la historia tiene lugar en una zona rural de España, se supone que los personajes principales no pueden participar en el comercio ni luchar por una vida sin pobreza. Como escribe Carolina García Sanz, profesora de la Universidad de Sevilla, “Spanish historiography has been dominated by such a national perspective because of the breakdown of the constitutional framework between 1917 and 1923, which marginalized the complexity of the inclusion of the neutral position in the global stage of the conflict” (García 497). Esta cita explica los cambios drásticos en la política y economía que tenían lugar alrededor de Emilia Pardo Bazán mientras escribía “Las medias rojas”. La estructura económica y política de España cambió por completo después de la Primera Guerra Mundial y dejó a todos, menos a los ricos, sin aspiración. Estos factores hicieron que los españoles, no solo los funcionarios del gobierno, sintieran que no había esperanza de ser completamente independientes.

Esta falta de esperanza se entrelaza con el uso del naturalismo por parte de Emilia Pardo Bazán porque en ese momento, los españoles sentían que su destino estaba predeterminado por el gobierno. Este sentimiento se muestra a través de la lente del naturalismo. El naturalismo puede ser representado por el uso del determinismo que está presente en “Las medias rojas”. En la historia, el destino de Ildra, el personaje principal, es determinado por Clodio, su padre, cuando él la golpea para hacerla menos atractiva. Ildra pierde la fe porque

ya no tendría los “ojos alumbrado[s] y [una] dentura completa” (línea 71). Debido a que su padre la quiso atrapar en esa vida que ella estaba viviendo, su futuro cambió de forma permanente.

A través del naturalismo, “Las medias rojas” de Emilia Pardo Bazán muestra al lector que la expectación tiene un papel central en la vida española. Cuando Ildra es descrita a la audiencia, sabemos que sus pupilas son “claras, golosas de vivir” (Pardo Bazán línea 26). Sus medias rojas hubieran podido ayudarla a sentirse bella y a brindarle esperanza para un futuro mejor, pero cuando su padre la golpeó y le quitó su belleza, su deseo de vivir una vida mejor desapareció. Posteriormente, nos enteramos de que quiere dejar a su padre e irse en un bote en el que ella y otras mujeres bellas se iban, a donde encontrarán la felicidad y el lujo, “y nunca más el barco la recibió en sus concavidades para llevarla hacia nuevos horizontes de holganza y lujo” (Pardo Bazán línea 26).

El símbolo de la esperanza está presente en los ojos de Ildra desde el inicio de la historia. Las pupilas de Ildra son “claras, golosas de vivir” (Pardo Bazán línea 26), un símbolo de su deseo de dejar a su padre y vivir una vida más privilegiada. El símbolo más prominente y obvio son las medias rojas. Las medias rojas son un símbolo de la fe y la felicidad que Ildra siente porque pronto abandonará a su padre y vivirá una vida más feliz. En la historia, tío Clodio, quién es realmente su padre, pero conocido como “tío”, está muy molesto cuando ve las medias rojas de Ildra. Él dice: “Ahora me gastas medias, como la hirmán del abade?” (Pardo Bazán línea 23). El tema principal está presente en esta escena porque Clodio e Ildra están luchando por la esperanza. La ilusión de Ildra, simbolizada por las medias rojas, es nueva para ella, ya que su belleza le dará la oportunidad de irse y tener un marido. La fe de Clodio, simbolizada por su ira y agresión física hacia Ildra, hace que le robe su belleza y así ella no lo abandonará. Esta trampa y círculo de creencia es un símbolo de la esperanza moribunda de las personas en España después de la

Primera Guerra Mundial. La pobreza y los destinos predestinados causan violencia y tristeza. La belleza de Ildra en sí misma es un símbolo de esperanza. El tío Clodio venció a Ildra para quitarle su belleza y mantenerla atrapada en su mundo. Después de la escena violenta entre Ildra y su padre, ella no tiene dientes y no puede ver por un ojo, pero para subirse al barco, todos “han de ir sanos, válidos, y las mujeres, con sus ojos alumbrado y su dentura completa” (Pardo Bazán línea 71). Esta cita explica que sin su belleza original, Ildra no tiene esperanza de un futuro sin pobreza. El tono triste de su nueva realidad enfatiza cuán desalentador es su falta de belleza. La pérdida de la esperanza se presenta a lo largo de la historia de manera similar a la muerte. Todo está bien en la vida de Ildra y hay vida en sus ojos hasta que le quitan la esperanza. La pérdida de esta es un suceso trágico en la historia y aunque nadie muere en la misma, es aún considerada una tragedia. Por esta razón, es evidente que la esperanza es muy importante para los españoles de la época. Este tema y los ejemplos de “Las medias rojas” enfatizan la influencia del naturalismo en Emilia Pardo Bazán.

Al analizar el texto, es importante conectar el análisis con los eventos históricos que tuvieron lugar durante el tiempo en que se escribió la historia. Está claro a través del simbolismo y la estructura de “Las medias rojas” que es una obra naturalista. El uso de Ildra de Emilia Pardo Bazán se ve a lo largo de la historia. Las mujeres en aquella época eran maltratadas, especialmente en el lugar de trabajo. Se entiende que:

“Like other Naturalists, Pardo Bazán had great sensitivity to the brutal, denigrating conditions of most nineteenth century workplaces. She affirmed that ‘El verdadero infierno social a que puede bajar el novelista [. . .] es la fábrica. [. . .] ¡Pobres mujeres las de la Fábrica de la Coruña! Nunca se me olvida todo lo bueno instintivo que noté en ellas, su natural rectitud, y caridad espontánea. Capaces son de dar hasta la camisa si ven *una lástima* como ellas dicen” (*Apuntes*, citado en Chamberlin 184).

Esto muestra que las mujeres debían aferrarse a su fe durante los tiempos en que eran maltratadas. El sueño de una vida mejor era lo único que las amparaba para sobrevivir esos días que se les hacían tan largos.

Aunque se puede suponer que la historia se trata de la esperanza en la vida de las personas en España a principios del siglo XX, es importante entender por qué la esperanza es tan importante durante esta época. Esto se puede relacionar con “Las medias rojas” porque España tuvo la oportunidad de ser independiente en la Primera Guerra Mundial. Esto le dio al pueblo español la fe de algún día ser independiente y no verse obligado a depender económicamente de otros países. Esto es similar a cuando Ildra compró sus medias rojas y esperaba a que su nuevo accesorio y su belleza natural le permitieran vivir una vida libre y feliz. Cuando su padre se burla de las mallas y le roba su belleza (Pardo Bazán línea 51), Ildra pierde la esperanza de subirse al barco y ser independiente de Clodio (Pardo Bazán línea 71). Los españoles sintieron lo mismo cuando tenían la esperanza de ser completamente independientes al permanecer neutrales durante la guerra, pero se dieron cuenta de que todavía tenían que depender de las economías de otros países.

El tema de una historia es la parte más importante de la escritura y, por lo tanto, al comprender el por qué un autor escribió un texto específico, es más fácil entender cómo las personas en ese momento se vieron afectadas por algo. Pardo Bazán en “Las medias rojas” es eficaz al presentar su tema a lo largo de la historia. Ella usa un problema más personal para representar la lucha de la nación de España en ese momento. Ella hace que el público sienta que la situación de España a principios de los 1900 es trágica, al igual que la vida de Ildra en la historia. Queda claro para los lectores que la esperanza es muy importante porque es la única tragedia en el texto. Aunque Ildra pierde parte de su belleza y la visión en su ojo derecho, está menos preocupada por su salud que por su capacidad de vivir una vida lujosa.

En conclusión, Pardo Bazán escribió “Las medias rojas” para ejemplificar cuán importante es la esperanza para el pueblo de España y que cuando se les quita la ilusión, es verdaderamente una tragedia. Debido a que Ildra necesita escapar con su belleza, cuando se la quitan después de ser golpeada, su esperanza se va con ella. La esperanza fue especialmente importante para España cuando estuvo al borde de la Primera Guerra Mundial y después de la guerra hispanoamericana, aunque se les fue arrebatada por su necesidad de depender económicamente de otros países. En el siglo XX, cuando “Las medias rojas” fue escrita, los factores sociales y económicos de la época y el movimiento del naturalismo influyeron en el tema de la falta de esperanza en la historia. Emilia Pardo Bazán, inspirada por su entorno, escribió una historia que simboliza todo lo que es importante para los españoles en el siglo XX.

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Mitch Buangsuwon | *Akou-Kurou-Gai - Entering the Alleyway*

IDENTITY, INCLUSION AND SOCIAL CHANGE AT DEPAUL UNIVERSITY: LOCATING STUDENT AFFAIRS WITHIN THE NEOLIBERAL UNIVERSITY*

VICTORIA AGUNOD

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DePaul invites to its programs of study students from across the nation. Originally founded for students from the greater Chicago area, and still serving them predominantly, DePaul continues its commitment to the education of first generation college students, especially those from the diverse cultural and ethnic groups in the metropolitan area...

From its first charter DePaul has supported a philosophy which now is expressed as being an equal opportunity educator and employer. DePaul continues to provide equal opportunities to students and employees without regard to age, national origin, race, sex, handicap, creed or color. Moreover, it strives to recruit and retain faculty and staff who reflect the diverse mix of the student body...

Motivated by the example of Saint Vincent, who instilled a love of God by leading his contemporaries in serving urgent human needs, the DePaul community is above all characterized by ennobling the God-given dignity of each person. This religious personalism is manifested by the members of the DePaul community in a sensitivity to and care for the needs of each other and of those served, with a special concern for the deprived members of society...

An excerpt from DePaul University's Mission Statement

It was a Tuesday afternoon, May 26, 2016, when the populist white supremacist Milo Yiannopolous, invited by the DePaul College Republicans, came to DePaul University's campus, met by over five-hundred audience members and several dozen protesters. Six protesters gained entry into the event and took over the stage. Within about an hour, a riot of his audience members had been led by Yiannopolous from the Student Center to the Quad. Chicago Police officers arrived but did virtually nothing but threaten to arrest some of the protesters. A

number of university staff members who had stayed after their working hours were pressed to find ways to help the student protesters in the chaos. The Student Center (the building where the event was held) was locked down with some students and staff still inside. In the midst of the riot, I found myself alone and scared. Eventually, I was in the arms of Sara Furr, the director of DePaul's Center for Identity, Inclusion, and Social Change, being pulled by her through the crowds outside of the Student Center. Despite the lockdown, a door was opened somehow by Rico Tyler, another staff member, and I was taken through and back to the Center's offices. In the violent confusion of the day, several Black and brown students were physically attacked. On Wednesday morning, then-university

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president Father Dennis Holschneider sent a university-wide email from his fund-raising trip on the beaches of Normandy, condemning the protesters for interrupting the event. On Thursday morning, an empty noose was found hung outside a residence hall, and DePaul Public Safety officials refused to check camera footage of the area when students requested it. In the weeks and months after, vocal student organizers and staff were stalked, harassed, and threatened by students from the DePaul College Republicans and their supporters. A year later, the Center was dismantled, and Sara Furr was let go.

Universities have historically been hailed as sites of liberal progression in the U.S. However, waves of neoliberal ideologies since the leftist eruptions of the nationalist and anti-war movements in the 1960s have sharpened the lines of what kind of “liberal progression” is allowed at university campuses. This sharpening has reached a tangible apex as civic engagement has entered a new phase, incited by the intensity of the BlackLivesMatter movement and reconstituted by the 2016 presidential race. University campuses have become a telling site for confrontations between the alt-right and leftist, anti-racist movement, often amounting to cyclical arguments over “free speech” and “diversity.” This is a dynamic being increasingly recognized by those who study social movements and the neoliberalization of universities, but this discourse has overwhelmingly missed a crucial part of the script: Student Affairs.

Through a case study and historical contextualization of a particular series of events introduced above, I explore in this paper the role that Student Affairs has come to play in times of racial tensions at DePaul University. With DePaul’s Division of Student Affairs as an example, I argue that Student Affairs – showing up differently across university structures – has become a buffer for university administrations by providing the university with the appearance of a commitment to diversity, a façade which enables the university to maintain an underlying structural racism. Through a brief history of

the Division of Student Affairs and interviews with four Student Affairs practitioners who were implicated in the events above, I argue that the practitioners tasked with “diversity” initiatives operate in a contradictory space as the university depends both on their existence and on maintaining institutional barriers to effecting real change. The interviews illuminated the ways that these practitioners navigate their particularities and negotiate personal compromises in order to do the work they feel is necessary to support marginalized students.

Neoliberalism and Student Affairs

By way of introduction, it is first imperative to establish relevant theories of neoliberalism and how they have manifested on college campuses in the U.S. As set forth by David Harvey’s monograph on neoliberalism, the rhetorical strategies of neoliberalism are based on the co-optation of social democratic values in order to equate social liberation with free market capitalism: “The word ‘freedom’ resonates so widely within the common-sense understanding of Americans that it becomes ‘a button that elites can press to open the door to the masses’ to justify almost anything.”¹ Grace Kyungwon Hong’s body of work analyzes a deep history of the development of the conditions which allowed liberatory values to be absorbed by global capitalism. Hong identifies the social movements of the post-World War II era – those that named and advocated for decolonization, desegregation, and self-determination and which culminated in the nationalist and antiwar movements of the 1960s – as having opened the opportunity for this rhetorical co-optation.² The battles of this time were ones of epistemology, as the state and the Left contended on the ideals of nationalism and imperialism.³ From this era developed a strategy of

1 David Harvey, *A Brief History of Neoliberalism* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2005), 39.

2 Grace Kyungwon Hong, *Death Beyond Disavowal: The Impossible Politics of Difference* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2015), 7.

3 Grace Kyungwon Hong, “The Future of Our Worlds: Black Feminism and the Politics of Knowledge in the University under Globalization,” *Meridians: Feminism, Race, Transnationalism* 8, no. 2 (2008): 99.

optics and “diverse forms of power” which simultaneously affirmed and repressed the antiracist values of the post-World War II movements.⁴ Naming it as neoliberalism, Hong explains it as “an epistemological structure of disavowal, a means of claiming that racial and gendered violences are things of the past.” This optical illusion – which has come to be standard to U.S. institutional powers – necessitates an “official policy” of diversity (as a passive form of antiracism) as integral to an institution, which, in turn, has created a dynamic that necessitates the subjugation and minoritization of racialized bodies in order to provide a basis for intervening in perceived injustice. Just as Harvey emphasized the construction of consent in his historical analysis, Hong maintains that “[n]eoliberal ideologies hold out the promise of protection from premature death in exchange for complicity with this pretense.”⁵ In this way, race is solidified at the same time that racism is renounced, and the disavowal of racism is always incomplete, a dynamic to which Hong refers as the perpetual “haunting” of the past in this re-branded liberal moment.⁶

Melamed concurs in this historical development of neoliberalism and the transformation of diversity into a national value. Melamed identifies a situation in which racism “constantly appears to be disappearing... even as it takes on new forms that can signify as nonracial or even antiracist”⁷ and contends that the years since the Leftist movements of the 1960’s have been marked by a shift from “racial liberalism” to “neoliberal multiculturalism” by which multicultural reference has developed as a façade for the prerequisite nature of race and racism to neoliberal policies and ideologies.⁸ Under racial liberalism, race became reimagined as culture just as culture came to signify a national ethos under which a racially liberal and

inclusive U.S. government was folded into the narrative of manifest destiny and U.S. exceptionalism.⁹ As an epistemological project, this adoption of a racial liberalism allows institutional powers to renounce “old” ways of knowing as unconnected from the now “liberal” present – while still being “haunted” by the power structures that maintain hegemonic powers, rendering past epistemologies of racial relations not only as invisible but as empowered by silence so that they are present in, and communicated by, de-racialized rhetoric. As neoliberal multiculturalism then developed to give language to this officially “nonracial” systematizing of racism, the multicultural rhetoric of “‘diversity,’ ‘representation,’ and ‘fairness,’” was “formalized to the extent that political conservatives can designate themselves a ‘culture’ and demand fair representation in universities on identitarian grounds.”¹⁰

This neoliberal multiculturalism and its rhetorical strategy are foundational to Student Affairs (SA). In Porterfield and Whitt’s overview of the development of SA, they identify the same historical timeline as identified by Harvey and Hong: the post-World War II period, globalization, and the movements of the 1960’s and their socio-political and rhetorical legacies.¹¹ This history was then compounded by soaring tuitions costs,¹² rapid demographic changes in university populations,¹³ and an upsurge of public scrutiny of the efficacy of higher education – changes to which universities were not equipped to react effectively.¹⁴

4 Grace Kyungwon Hong, “Neoliberalism,” *Critical Ethnic Studies* 1, no. 1 (Spring 2015): 57.
5 Hong, *Death*, 7.
6 Hong, *Death*, 29.
7 Jodi Melamed, “The Spirit of Neoliberalism: From Racial Liberalism to Neoliberal Multiculturalism,” *Social Text* 89, no. 4 (Winter 2006): 3-4.
8 Melamed, “Spirit,” 1.

9 Melamed, “Spirit,” 7.

10 Melamed, “Spirit,” 19.

11 Kent T. Porterfield and Elizabeth J. Whitt, “Past, Present, and Future: Contexts for Current Challenges and Opportunities for Student Affairs Leadership,” *New Directions for Student Services*, no. 153 (Spring 2016): 11-13.

12 Florence A. Hamrick and Krista Klein, “Trends and Milestones Affecting Student Affairs Practice,” *New Directions for Student Services*, no. 151 (Fall 2015): 15-17; Porterfield and Whitt, “Past,” 11.

13 Hamrick and Klein, “Trends,” 17; Porterfield and Whitt, “Past,” 11-13; Raechele L. Pope and Amy L. Reynolds, “Multidimensional Identity Model Revisited: Implications for Student Affairs,” *New Directions for Student Services*, no. 157 (Spring 2017): 15.

14 Hamrick and Klein, “Trends,” 20-23; Porterfield and Whitt, “Past,” 11-13.

These changes in student populations – which included race as well as socioeconomic status, age, dis/ability, and students with children¹⁵ – called for SA programs to develop in order to accommodate the needs of students whom universities were not developed to serve. There is a contradiction in the way that SA programs were created to accommodate (and even recruit¹⁶) these marginalized populations at the same time that universities were rapidly raising tuition costs, furthering the marginalization of these under-resourced populations. In this way, SA has always operated in a deficit, with the student populations they are meant to serve remaining in perpetual marginalization.

The need for universities to get as many students as possible through to their degrees can, at least in part, be attributed to the demands that globalization puts on universities to produce productive global citizens.¹⁷ In order to respond to rapidly-diversifying student bodies and to the notion of universities in “crisis” that predominates U.S. sentiment around universities, assessment and “accountability” have taken on a dominant role in SA scholarship and, of course, in SA practices within universities.¹⁸ The constant assessment of program efficacies call for constant changes and restructuring;¹⁹ Rankin and Garvey go so far as to say, “Perhaps nowhere is the expression ‘the only constant is change’ more evident than in student affairs.”²⁰ Christakis sings the praises of quantitative program assessment and “scaling” programs both in bettering program efficacy

and in improving the optics of a university. Christakis encourages rapidity in assessment and scaling in order to “signal” to parents and students a SA division’s desire to retain students and to other programs within a division to quickly assess and scale their own programs in order to compete for expansion resources.²¹ This numbers-driven and optics-focused direction in Student Affairs speaks to the contentious ways that SA praxes contribute to the maintenance of a bureaucratic distance between students and the university. It is also this complex which allows the university to restructure in any way it sees fit, as we will see in the next section.

A Haunting History at DePaul

In conducting research of DePaul University’s history of responses to students’ claims of, and protests against, systemic racism and cultures of racism at DePaul, there is to be found a cyclical history of “evolving” yet consistent institutional responses which have allowed the university to maintain a liberal and inclusive brand. Undercutting calls to make changes at different levels of the university, it is the Division of Student Affairs that most commonly absorbs the university administration’s “antiracist” policies. In maintaining Hong’s idea of an institution “haunted” by its past, DePaul’s history of student protest and response is integral to understanding the current moment. It is thus important to note that DePaul’s very foundation – its geographic location – contains a deep history of structural harm against disenfranchised communities despite the university’s stated commitment to serving under-resourced communities. Located in Chicago’s Lincoln Park neighborhood, the university systematically displaced the residents of Chicago’s first predominantly-Puerto Rican neighborhood in its rapid expansion of the late 1960’s and early 1970’s, in forceful opposition to protests from the community.²² In the

15 Hamrick and Klein, “Trends,” 16; Porterfield and Whitt, “Past,” 9-13; Rosemary Gillett-Karam, “Student Affairs: Moving from Theories and Theorists to Practice and Practitioners,” *New Directions for Student Services*, no. 174 (Summer 2016): 86-89.

16 Larry Moneta, “Intersectionality in Student Affairs: Perspective from a Senior Student Affairs Officer,” *New Directions for Student Services*, no. 157 (Spring 2017): 69-70.

17 Hamrick and Klein, “Trends,” 17-18; Porterfield and Whitt, “Past,” 11-13.

18 Hamrick and Klein, “Trends,” 20-23; Porterfield and Whitt, “Past,” 9-13.

19 Hamrick and Klein, “Trends,” 17.

20 Susan (Sue) Rankin and Jason C. Garvey, “Identifying, Quantifying, and Operationalizing Queer-Spectrum and Trans-Spectrum Students: Assessment and Research in Student Affairs,” *New Directions for Student Services*, no. 152 (Winter 2015): 73.

21 Michael N. Christakis, “Using Assessment Data to Scale Programs in Student Affairs,” *Assessment Update* 28, no. 6 (November–December 2016): 8.

22 Jaqueline Lazú, “The Chicago Young Lords: (Re)constructing Knowledge and Revolution,” *Centro Journal* 25, no. 2 (Fall 2013): 41.

same decade, it took DePaul administrators nearly a year to agree to meet with the newly-formed Black Student Union in 1969 to hear their demands (including educating students on gentrification).²³ On the day after the meeting, the BSU offices were burned down in an arson attack, met with little concern from DePaul administrators.²⁴ While DePaul has a dense history of contentions between antiracist student (and non-student) organizing and the administration, this brief history will focus on the student organizing that palimpsestically led to the creation of the Center for Identity, Inclusion, and Social Change and eventually to its demise.

1994 and 1995 saw historic protests by students of color on DePaul's campus. First in 1994, Latinx students staged a sit-in to call to question the university's dismissal of two Latinx staff members and its ability to work with students, staff, and faculty of color.²⁵ In 1995, a coalition called Concerned Black Students protested the publication of anti-Black articles in the school newspaper, *The DePaulia*, with a ten-day sit-in, supported by students from other student organizations, United Muslims Moving Ahead, Concerned Latino Students, and the Organization of Students of Color. The protests were answered by the university administration's creation of the Multicultural Implementation Committee, which declared needs for increased funding and institutional support and representation of students of color.²⁶ By early 1996, the Cultural Center opened on DePaul's Lincoln Park Campus.²⁷ This attempt at accountability sparked a chain of constant overhauls in the ways resources were allocated to support marginalized student populations. Between

2004 and 2005, responding to more student protest, LGBTQ Studies and LGBTQ Student Services were advocated for, and implemented, with the support of then-president Father Dennis Holtschneider, who served as the university's president from 2004 to 2017. 2009 saw the merging of the Cultural Center and the Office of Diversity Education, becoming the Center for Intercultural Programming (CIP). In 2014, LGBTQ Student Services was subsumed by CIP. In 2015, CIP was restructured and rebranded as the Center for Identity, Inclusion and Social Change (CIISC). At the end of the 2016-2017 academic year, the administration announced a comprehensive restructuring of the Division of Student Affairs that was predicated on the dismantling of CIISC.

In its institutional capacity, CIISC hosted speakers, artists, and workshop facilitators with social justice-oriented work to share with students. CIISC provided dozens of student jobs, space and computers to do homework, and a library of queer literature and media. CIISC provided support, training, and funding for cultural student organizations; social justice educational training for groups, faculty, and classes; and advocacy for students experiencing problems with professors, financial aid, and other institutional barriers faced especially by marginalized student populations. Next to its intended structural functions, the CIISC practitioners scouted out ways to get as much free food for students as possible, often forfeited their offices to students who needed to sleep during the day, held intentional healing spaces after local or national tragedies, and often made themselves available for students in emotional crises. However, the office was not without its many and complex problems, as it was an entity sanctioned by an institution which was founded on hegemonic forms of power. In this social-justice-focused space, the staff were forced into an irreconcilable friction between defying the institution and keeping their jobs. Homophobic and transphobic students of color renounced the predominately-queer space as one that didn't work for them, and some of the staff were resented by students for not being "radical enough."

23 Hellena Smejda and Michelle Stacey, "Summit Meeting At Last," *The DePaulia*, May 19, 1969, 1.

24 "BSU Offices, Bookstore Fire Blamed on Arsonists," *The DePaulia*, May 19, 1969, 8.

25 Monica Schragger, "Latino Students Hold Sit-in over Personnel Turnover," *The DePaulia*, May 13, 1994, 1.

26 Vanessa Weber, "10 Days that Rocked DePaul," *The DePaulia*, April 21, 1995, 1.

27 Colin Moeller, "DePaul Celebrates Opening of Cultural Center: Students, Faculty, and Staff Participate in the Week-long Celebration," *The DePaulia*, January 26, 1996, 1.

The decision to dismantle CIISC was in accordance with the university's historical responses to student unrest, as student organizers had waged a campaign against the university's "diversity" practices in the year after Milo Yiannopolous' visit and amidst the concurrent inflammations of racism. These student organizers were connected to, and supported by, many of the CIISC staff, as well as other staff and faculty throughout the university. At the same time, groups of Black and Latinx students advocated for having their own, respective resource centers (in addition to CIISC). At this juncture of student demands, vocal dissent among some SA staff and faculty, and budgetary considerations - compounded by many other circumstances - the administration took the opportunity to kill a number of birds with one stone. The complex restructuring involved scattering or ending the various programs that CIISC had developed and establishing four resource centers in its place, respectively for Black, Latinx, LGBTQA+, and AAPI and Desi students. All seven of CIISC's staff positions were terminated in this plan and only two staff members were hired into new positions. This plan reactivated the waning unrest of students, staff, and faculty (mostly of color) who consequently invoked "intersectionality" to make a case against separation as an answer to institutional subjugation. The administration's answer to this was the creation of a staff position titled "Intersectional Programming Coordinator," whose job is to work with these various centers to create "intersectional programming." However, at the time of this writing, one year after these announcements, the position is being phased out.

Responsive to student protest and willing to establish structural support for marginalized students when demanded, DePaul boasts a commitment to "[providing] equal opportunities to students and employees without regard to age, national origin, race, sex, handicap, creed or color. Moreover, it strives to recruit and retain faculty

and staff who reflect the diverse mix of the student body."²⁸ However, as evident in the recent years, this language of diversity and inclusion has done relatively little to change the experiences of people of color and queer-identified people at DePaul. This history shows first that absorption into Student Affairs and reactive restructuring are the university's primary responses to students' claims of racism. Secondly, it shows that the university structure is, in a number of ways, antithetical to supporting marginalized students, as budgetary allocations and constraints detrimentally impact the kinds of resources with which rapidly-diversifying student populations are provided.

On Being Antiracist as a Student Affairs Practitioner

The interviews conducted for this research project were done with a developing thesis which began as one rooted in the assertion of an "us vs. them" dichotomy between "us" antiracist students and staff and "them," the administration. However, such a dichotomy makes three mistakes: it first discounts the radically-different approaches the staff and students have toward their antiracist praxes, including the differences among my four interviewees; it draws an unproductive picture of an actively-malicious administration which overshadows the structural operations of racism and neoliberalism within the institution; and it mars my interpretation of the interviewees' responses by allowing me to assume that we are "on the same side" and therefore have identical understandings of Student Affairs and the events that transpired during and after Yiannopolous' visit. In challenging these dichotomous understandings, I allowed the responses to reshape my thesis and approached the interview transcripts with the intention to contextualize the respondents' answers rather than extracting the answers that supported my original understanding.

For these interviews, I chose four SA practitioners

²⁸ DePaul University Mission Statement, updated 2016. <https://offices.depaul.edu/mission-and-values/about/Pages/MissionStatement.aspx>.

who are intentional in their antiracist praxes and in supporting students marginalized by the university, and who were more directly involved in the conflict between student organizers and the university administration than many of their colleagues in the division. Two of the interviewees tentatively suggested a dichotomy among SA practitioners, separating those who are in the field with a more career-oriented mindset and therefore less personally-involved in student support and those who operate more “radically” and see themselves as working against the institution in order to support students. While all four interviewees recognized that this dichotomy was far too simplified to accurately reflect the myriad job positions and practitioners in the field, it speaks to the conflict between doing a job and doing *the* job for SA practitioners who are critical of institutions. There were a number of such contentions among the interviewees’ responses, and the complexities of such responses should speak to the complexities of their positionalities as being committed to supporting students with lives that are fundamentally not conducive to the university structure.

One major theme among the interviewees in negotiating this conflict was the issue of compensation: “If you want to be a change agent or radical advocate, it’s actually really almost impossible in a capitalist system to find a job that’s gonna feel like you’re purely doing that where you’re still making money and...existing within that system.”²⁹ Three of the interviewees expressed a certain level of guilt that they work for, and collect a paycheck from, the institution that marginalizes the students who come to them for support. One interviewee named this conflict very early in their interview as one of the hardest issues for them to navigate in their position, saying that they struggle constantly with adequately advocating for students (i.e. being vocally critical of the institution and the administration) while still remaining non-threatening enough to the administration in order to keep their job.³⁰ While being tied to the institution often hinders

29 Interview with Student Affairs employee D, May 3, 2018.

30 Interview with Student Affairs employee A, April 24, 2018.

what practitioners can do to support certain student populations, three of the interviewees find their purpose in strategizing around the institutional barriers of their positions in order to support students. Referencing Audre Lorde’s assertion that “the master’s tools will never dismantle the master’s house,” one practitioner offered this allegory:

[This work is] not going to dismantle the house. Right? But here’s what I can do. I can be like, “The master goes to bed at this time, so you can go this way. This step right here is really squeaky, so don’t go on that step. Here’s a few things that will make dismantling that a lot easier. Like I already ripped up the carpet so...all you need to do is pull it up as opposed to having to do the hard labor of pulling out the staples of it...”³¹

This approach goes beyond the material bureaucratic systems to a navigation of the culture of the division. One interviewee of color spoke several times of knowing their place as a tokenized body for the institution. What’s most interesting here though is that, for this person, being “complacent” with their position as a token is what allows them to be able to do the work they feel they couldn’t do if they vocally and actively refused to play into the optics of the division.

Next to the complication of compensation was the navigation of the bureaucratic side of their jobs, particularly the constant assessment and restructuring within the division:

I truthfully believe that the profession is still in transition and when we develop these programs or these initiatives...we’re always in pilot mode, and I think that’s what student affairs practitioners maybe sometimes forget or sometimes faculty don’t understand. There is always a pilot mode because students are ever changing and people are ever changing and the institution is ever changing. So how can we say this program is going to stay here and be

31 Interview with Student Affairs employee B, April 25, 2018.

the same, have the same vision, mission and goals moving forward when that can change from year to year, potentially quarter to quarter as we've seen obviously.³²

The same interviewee went on to say that this constant change can be both good and bad but that, regardless, it is compounded by the short-term memory of the institution so that the division tends to re-do models and methods from the past without moving forward. Two of the other interviewees recognized that the model for the separate identity-based resource centers is outdated and predicted that they will be overhauled in the next few years and possibly even returning to a model similar to CIISC.

Another common thread in these practitioners' praxes was their personal identities as a driving force for them to navigate these compromises. Among the four interviews were identifications as assault survivors, queer people, and people of color and all named such identities as what propelled them to work with such student populations and what distinguished them from many of their colleagues with relatively-less personal commitment to students. Three of the four spoke to the fact that this personal attachment to the work pulled them toward these jobs and blurred the traditional lines between work life and personal life and that late nights and heavy emotional labor were an implicit but integral part of their jobs.

These personal attachments showed up on the day of Yiannopolous' visit when dozens of practitioners made the decision to stay after their working hours in preparation for the brewing confrontation, including three of my interviewees. Each of these interviewees felt that being there was part of the commitment they made to students in their jobs, and as the conflict erupted that evening, all three said that they became prepared to physically defend students. One interviewee hinted that it has since become an ongoing touchpoint within the division to acknowledge that it was staff of color who did end up

physically putting themselves in between students and the white supremacist rioters that day.

Of the policy changes and restructuring in the two years since that day, the interviewees recognized the undeniable causation between the events of that day, the student organizing, the outspokenness of many of the CIISC staff members, the university's systemic racism, and the dismantling and replacement of the Center for Identity, Inclusion, and Social Change. At the same time, however, the interviewees did not pretend that it was as simple and linear as this narrative suggests, as they recognized the complicated politics and interpersonal histories within the division, the real budget constraints that the university is facing, and the need of then-president Father Holtschneider to leave a seemingly-positive legacy behind him with the creation of resource centers for Black and Latinx students.

CONCLUSION

It is not just that the neoliberal university is antithetical to antiracist work, but that institutionalism is antithetical to antiracist work. There is no succinct answer to the disunion between the neoliberal institution and such liberation work because the institution is predicated on the denial of liberation to certain peoples. However, a refusal to allow the university's promises of "inclusion" and "diversity" to lapse into passivity is foundational to interrupting the *status quo* of the neoliberal state. The liminal space in which I find antiracist SA practitioners should not be taken as a vacuum of agency. These practitioners are prevented on many fronts from effecting real change at the university, but understanding the historical context and political particularities of these dynamics allows us to imagine beyond the methods and restraints we see before us. The interviews offered in this paper should indicate that waves are possible even within a deeply bureaucratic and hegemonic institution.

³² Interview with Student Affairs employee C, May 2, 2018.



Lindy Soffer | *Photogram with drawing materials(4)*

SHARE A PEPSI, END RACISM: A MEMETIC ANALYSIS OF THE AD THAT BROKE THE INTERNET*

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In a country based around partisan politics, division is inevitable. And with division comes passionate people on both sides, willing to protest and sacrifice their own safety for a greater cause. While some protests have remained peaceful, others have turned violent, becoming infamous for both rioting and police brutality. #BlackLivesMatter is one movement that campaigns against violence and racism towards African-Americans, which has had many protests in response to police brutality. However, in the past year, protests have occurred in response to a wide range of social injustices, not limited to those in relation to #BlackLivesMatter. Starting in January 2017 with the Women's March, followed by the airport protests after two Iraqi refugees were denied entrance into the U.S., and then in February 2017 with the Berkeley protests against speaker Milo Yiannopoulos, it was clear that left-leaning liberal social groups were becoming more active in the political and social conversation. With an ethos centered around justice and equality for marginalized groups, younger individuals especially have taken a more prominent stance against the intolerant discourse and actions of the alt-right. When one thinks of these young activists striving for change, Kendall Jenner would not be the first person that comes to mind, until Pepsi's ad on April 4, 2017 tried to change that.

Due to technological advances, activism is not limited to physical involvement such as protests and fundraisers. #BlackLivesMatter started as a hashtag to bring awareness

to the African-American victims of racially targeted crimes, and over the past five years has transformed into an international foundation and social movement. Today, political movements heavily rely on social media communities and culture to spread awareness. One of the most popular social media trends over the past decade is the rise of internet memes. Much more than a funny image or viral video, internet memes are “the linguistic, image, audio, and video texts created, circulated, and transformed by countless cultural participants across vast networks and collectives” (Milner 1). Internet memes and the cultural logics informing them have become so widespread online that Ryan Milner, in his book *The World Made Meme: Public Conversations and Participatory Media*, states, “It's hard to imagine a major pop cultural or political moment that doesn't inspire its own constellation of mediated remix, play, and commentary” (Milner 1). Thus, and not surprisingly, a Pepsi ad starring Kendall Jenner, a world-famous supermodel and reality television star, showing her participating in a political march quickly became an internet meme because of its controversial appropriation of the #BlackLivesMatter movement. After the Pepsi commercial was released on YouTube on April 4, 2017, the company faced major backlash from many individuals and online communities who created memes to exemplify how tone-deaf the commercial's execution was. As such, this meme is unique in the way that it combines pop culture and political activism.

To understand the cultural popularity and political relevance of this meme, I conduct a memetic analysis that employs the fundamental logics of all memetic media, according to Milner: multimodality, reappropriation,

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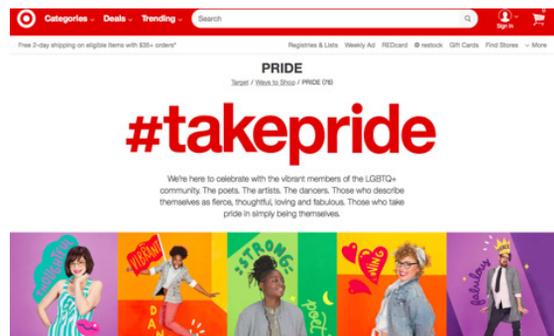
resonance, collectivism, and spread. When analyzing the logics of this meme, I examine how polyvocality can facilitate vernacular creativity and be used for collective civic talk. In other words, I observe the ways in which multiple voices may use memetic participation to join the conversation surrounding this ad. From this study, we can begin to understand how internet memes add to a cultural conversation that intertwines political, social, and technological components. Most of the controversy was sparked by the insensitivity to actual protesters and the danger that people of color face when they speak out against authorities. The violence and police brutality towards marginalized groups was reduced to a commercial to promote Pepsi, endorsed by a white woman of the most famous family in America.

Description

Because the internet has become such an integral part of our lives, social media users have expanded its uses beyond interpersonal social networking. Popular sites such as Twitter and Reddit have allowed people to share their unfiltered thoughts, arguments, and memes about any topic for millions of users to view and respond to. Whether concerning a current event or personal desire, people are publicly conversing with each other, facilitating polyvocality. Because of the easy accessibility, popularity, and anonymity of Twitter, Reddit, and other social media platforms, “the marginalized can use these media to engage in public conversation on more equal footing” (Milner 155). However, this also means that social media is the most preferred way to advertise products and ideas to the general public. Corporations are always trying to find their voice in the internet conversation and incorporate their product in any way they can, so it is no surprise Pepsi felt it should use its resources to show support for a current social movement. We see similar advertising tactics from many corporations and their projects in June, also known as LGBTQ Pride Month. Target, Macy’s, Coca-Cola, and essentially most businesses, big or small, use the unifying element of the LGBTQ community to slap a rainbow flag on their product and promote a “buy one

FIGURE 1

Target’s website’s homepage for LGBTQ Pride Month, June 2018.



get one free” deal (See figure 1). In the case of Pepsi, the company decided to capitalize on current racial tensions in America to create a viral-worthy commercial. Using a Kardashian off-spring in relation to a contemporary activist movement, such as #BlackLivesMatter, Pepsi managed to release an ad that broke the internet, and not in a positive way. The ad portrays a narrative that shows young people of color who are joining together, for what seems like a march for peace outside of a building where Kendall Jenner is modeling in a photoshoot. Jenner is shown leaving the glamorous setting to join the march, handing a Pepsi to the blockading police officer who takes a satisfied sip as the marchers erupt in cheers. Peace and justice is achieved.

The ad was first posted as a thirty-second commercial by Kris Jenner, who is Kendall’s mother, on Twitter on April 4, 2017. This video clip turned out to be a teaser for a two minute and forty second commercial posted by Pepsi later that day. Then, on April 5, 2017, Pepsi deleted all traces of the video from its official social media accounts. However, the unofficial YouTube channel “Kendall and Kylie” had posted the video that same day, where it remains viewable, raking in over twelve million views as of June 12, 2018.

The most popular memetic variations of the ad were in the form of images that circulated on Twitter, specifically “Black Twitter,” which I will go into more detail about. According to the Google Trends chart on *Know Your*

Meme, “Kendall Jenner Pepsi ad” reached its peak search interest in between April 2-8, 2017 calculated as 100%, then went down to 8% between April 16-22, 2017. Since May 2017, there have been only small blimps of search interest. Although these memes may have had a short lifeline, they should not be considered culturally obsolete or political irrelevant. Their cultural significance has made an impact on society: they were so popularly circulated that they caused the ad to be taken down the very next day. The memes were the main modes of expressing a political issue and for that their relevance will always remain.

Living in a capitalist society, Americans are used to corporations having bigger voices in political and social policies than individuals do themselves. This is what we know as lobbying, which can sometimes turn into corruption. This is often out of the people’s control, but when Pepsi tries to join a movement that is very personal and community oriented such as #BlackLivesMatter, and misses the mark so drastically, individuals are bound to criticize Pepsi for doing so. Therefore, this specific internet meme matters because memetic participation allowed multiple and marginalized voices to be heard and to enact social change.

After receiving mockery and criticism, Pepsi tried to defend their commercial with a statement to *Adweek* claiming, “This is a global ad that reflects people from different walks of life coming together in a spirit of harmony, and we think that’s an important message to convey” (Monllos). Yet, the backlash only grew which prompted them to pull the ad the next day. Pepsi then released an apology stating, “Pepsi was trying to project a global message of unity, peace and understanding. Clearly we missed the mark, and we apologize. We did not intend to make light of any serious issue. We are removing the content and halting any further rollout. We apologize for putting Kendall Jenner in this position” (Monllos). Instead of taking the chance to apologize to members of activist communities, Pepsi decided it was more appropriate to apologize to Kendall Jenner. This apology sparked even

FIGURE 2

Social activist Deray McKesson’s tweet in response to Pepsi’s statement, April 5, 2017.



It's incredible that @pepsi apologized to Kendall. She chose to be a part of that ad. Pepsi needs to apologize to the protestors.

more criticism, disproving the mantra that all publicity is good publicity (see figure 2). This series of mistakes made by Pepsi prompted publications such as *The Washington Post*, *The New York Times*, and *BBC* to cover the event. In October 2017, on the premiere of the fourteenth season of *Keeping Up with the Kardashians*, the Jenner family’s reality television show, Kendell Jenner opened up about her regret in participating in the commercial. In a tearful apology in her confessional, she exclaims, “The fact that I would offend other people or hurt other people was definitely not the intent” (“The Cleveland Show”). This mistake may not have ruined their credibility as brands, but Pepsi and Kendall Jenner will have to live with the fact that their ignorance of the efforts of political activism was so immense that the majority of the internet finally agreed on something, which is a phenomenon in and of itself.

Analysis

Studying the logics of memes is necessary when trying to understand not only online conversations but also cultural events going on in the world. Because of technological advances, forms of *digital rhetoric* have emerged, such as memetic media, aka memes. More than just satirical content, memetic media are cultural texts, or “small strands [that] weave together big conversations that are increasingly prominent, vibrant, and instantaneous” (Milner 2). If the preferred method of communication is digital, then individuals must come up with the most effective ways of participating. This memetic participation is crucial in making up a cultural tapestry of public conversations with multiple participants. Through Milner’s fundamental logics of memes, we can

understand how memetic media, “whether playful or serious, interpersonal or public, or all of these at once—exhibit specific tendencies across individual cases and genres” (Milner 23). The multimodality, reappropriation, resonance, collectivism, and spread of the memes that came from the “Kendall Jenner Pepsi ad” are telling of the individual innovation that is occurring in the digital era. Racial inequality has been an American issue for as long as this country has existed, and now the internet is helping to spread the awareness of this issue by bringing together the vast number of people communicating with each other instantly: “If more people holding more perspectives can log onto Reddit or Tumblr and engage in political expression and discussion, democracy benefits” (Milner 155). Political awareness of systemic racism has increased simply by people tweeting about their own experiences.

Multimodality

Although the event came to life in video form, its multimodality has allowed a plethora of images and texts to spread even more than the video itself. Multimodality refers to the different “technologies of representation,’ such as written language, image, audio, video, or hypertext” (Milner 24). From the original ad, memes have come in the form of reaction gifs, image macros, photoshopped images, and imitation videos where people would go to protests and try to hand Pepsi cans to police officers, which sparked the ‘Pepsi challenge’ (Fisee figure 3). There is not one particular meme format that made “Kendall Jenner Pepsi ad” so popular; instead, it was the vast amount of varying modes that made this a trending topic for days. Multiple modes of communication influence “the complex tapestry of mediated conversation; the more semiotic codes participants have to work with, the more versatile their mediated conversations can become” (Milner 24). Because of the many different types of memes that came out of this event, which will be shown throughout this paper, more polyvocal conversations were able to emerge. Among the most popular variations of this meme was a snapshot from the ad paired with a politically criticizing and witty caption, most commonly posted to Twitter (See figure 4).

FIGURE 3

A famous YouTuber, Vito, tries the “Pepsi Challenge” at a Berkeley protest in a video that went viral, April 15, 2017.



FIGURE 4

A Twitter meme created by Olivia A. Cole, author of *A Conspiracy of Stars*, in response to Pepsi’s ad, April, 4, 2017.



FIGURE 5

A viral tweet criticizing “Kendall Jenner Pepsi ad” by using famous historical image of police brutality, April 4, 2017.



Reappropriation

The next fundamental logic of internet memes is reappropriation, which is “weaving novel texts into existing contexts, blurring the old and the new” (Milner 26). Furthermore, Milner argues that reappropriation may occur more easily because “digitization allows texts to intertwine with regularity and ease: from mash up to machinima to memes, new creative expression consistently emerges from existing contexts” (26). The most common example of reappropriation is combining the content of the “Kendall Jenner Pepsi ad” with the words and images of historical political protests (See figures 5 and 6). After the ad was released, Twitter participants used photographs of police brutality at real protests, most commonly from the Civil Rights Movement. Combining these two cultural artifacts emphasizes the anger of #BlackLivesMatter supporters towards the ad and exemplifies the insincerity of Pepsi towards protestors throughout history. Without the reappropriation of the cultural artifacts, such as the historical photos, the critics would not have an argument as strong as they did. It is

FIGURE 6

Figure 6 “Pepsi Spray” posted by Know Your Meme, 2017.



one thing to claim police brutality at protests but having the photos present makes the *pathos* much more effective. Editing in Pepsi cans into previous protests makes the mockery of Pepsi’s message much more powerful.

Resonance

The “Kendall Jenner Pepsi ad” meme strongly adheres to Milner’s definition of resonance, which is the personal meaning and importance of a meme that an audience can connect with or relate to. According to Milner, resonance is the made up two parts, the *studium* and the *punctum*. While the *studium* is the “connection with an image at a cultural level...a socially coded appreciation,” the *punctum* is the “connection with an image at a personal level; it’s what Barthes describes as a ‘pierce,’ a ‘prick,’ or a ‘mark’ emanating from some distinct detail of an image that hits the person viewing it” (Milner 30). At a cultural level, the event sparked controversy because of its attempt to tackle a larger issue. The memes that came out of it have varied from actual criticism of capitalism, racism, and violence, making more sociopolitical commentary through memes. On a personal level, the memes affected Black Americans in the way that the commercial trivialized their experiences and fight for equality. Memes that pertain to both factors of resonance have circulated most prominently through Black Twitter.

Black Twitter is a subculture within Twitter, in which memes circulate mostly in the form of reaction gifs ranging from witty and personal to cultural and political. As social worker and author Feminista Jones describes it, Black Twitter is “a collective of active, primarily African-American Twitter users who have created a virtual community...proving adept at bringing about a wide range of sociopolitical changes” (Jones). #BlackLivesMatter is a unifying element throughout Black Twitter; therefore, those who participate in actual forms of protest will feel an affinity towards the negative Jenner-Pepsi memes and the insensitivity towards the experiences of the Black community. Milner states that “as the popular intertwines with the populist in public commentary, participants can make assertions about the social and political issues that resonate with them. Because they facilitate polyvocal participation, pop reappropriations have political potential beyond ‘mere’ entertainment” (Milner 156). The memetic texts that participants create, circulate, and transform all stem from the resonance with the meme and add to the polyvocality of these texts.

Collectivism

This shared resonance in memetic media is the product of different collectives. Collectivism is the core of participatory media because individuals are bonded together by their shared social identities and experiences, which produce the texts and conversations that become memes. To understand collectivism as a fundamental logic, one has to see how memetic media is cohesively acting in “vibrant contexts at varying levels of individual and group communication, memetic texts help ‘the internet’ – though it is a multiplicity of texts, sites, perspectives, and experiences – feel more like a ‘place’” (Milner 33). When it comes to the “Kendall Jenner Pepsi ad,” the primary “place” may have been Black Twitter. However, the memes were not limited to this collective. The event was so controversial that members of mainstream Twitter and Reddit groups also joined in on the conversation. Kardashian and Jenner fans joined in the conversation as well, yet usually in defense of Pepsi. While collectivism is

an important part when studying the roots of this meme, it definitely has gone beyond the conversation of just one community. Collectivism shows how polyvocality emerges through these memes. Differing opinions from different communities led to civic talk about the political issues that Pepsi attempts to co-opt in the ad.

Spread

The last of Milner’s logics is the spread of the meme, in other words, “the pervasive circulation and sharing of resonant media texts” (Milner 37). Spread in the case of the “Kendall Jenner Pepsi ad” went at an exponential rate because of the power of the “gatekeepers.” Milner states, “Even with the persistent power of institutional and cultural gatekeepers, the ‘many-to-many’ communication networks possible on digital media produce a more vibrant meme pool” (Milner 37). The gatekeepers in this meme were the ones who created and posted the content, Pepsi and Kendall Jenner. Their power to spread their ad was strong considering the immense popularity of both brands. Pepsi as a brand is an obvious observation, being that it is one of the leading soda companies in America. While most would not consider a person as a brand, one can definitely argue that the names Jenner/Kardashian have become a brand, with a following larger than Pepsi itself. Interestingly enough, their power to spread their content ended up in the hands of the public, having them lose all power and forced into apology. Both parties deleted every trace of the ad, yet online culture persisted, reposting the mistake that was made. The ad is still on YouTube, with over twelve million views. Therefore, the spread of this meme went far beyond what the gatekeepers could have ever expected. In today’s society, millions of retweets, likes, and views are what many brands aspire to achieve. However, when that many people are coming together to criticize your rhetorical and political choices, it becomes a company’s worst nightmare. The monumental spread of this ad and its memes in only two days proves how strong polyvocal conversations can be when they are focused towards reasoned, civilized, and productive discussion.

Conclusion

With the immense spread of the memes pertaining to the ad, a larger issue was revealed which sparked the polyvocal conversations between members of differing communities. Because social media has played such a large role in unifying members of the #BlackLivesMatter community, it has also helped unify the voices that called out the insensitivity of the “Kendall Jenner Pepsi ad.” And it did not just stop at widespread agreement, because the talk around the commercial was potent enough for Pepsi to delete and apologize for the ad. It is quite amazing that what started as one ad turned into thousands of memes that influenced the culture enough for the ad to be considered a colossal mistake on behalf of everyone involved. This memetic participation shows how powerful polyvocality can be in changing cultural and political conversations. When communities use “participatory media to produce their own populist, political commentary, civic talk is braided into everyday participation,” and by using the memetic logics, “public participants can create, circulate, and transform texts in the name of political expression” (Milner 159). Considering that Pepsi seemed to be trying to express solidarity with Black Americans to promote their product, political expression from critics was absolutely necessary to prove that appropriation of social movements is unacceptable when driven by capitalist motives, especially when done so awfully. Polyvocality – the voices of the different memes, the different collectives that made them, the critics of the ad, the supporters of the ad, Pepsi, and Kendall Jenner – contributed to mediated civic talk through participatory media. This meme shows just how strong vernacular creativity is in our society, and the effects it can have on political, social, and cultural issues.

When Pepsi attempted to ease tensions between protestors and the police by using their product as a metaphor of “peace,” they did more than just “miss the mark.” They used a prominent celebrity, in this case Kendall Jenner, and they used popular social media

sites, such as YouTube and Twitter, to promote their ad. It is important to note that Pepsi and Jenner’s use of internet media is just as important as the memetic media that came out of it. Writing, rhetoric, and discourse is not limited to physical texts and conversations anymore, but instead has entered the realm of the internet. Applying traditional theories of rhetoric is necessary when studying digital texts, but so is the innovative memetic logics that Milner has employed. The “Kendall Jenner Pepsi ad” goes to show that once something is put on the internet, there is no taking it back. And since internet advertising has overshadowed traditional forms of advertising, it is now the main way in which corporations are using social media platforms to reach their customers and fans. In doing so, these corporations are attempting to create memetic media, using the same logics of multimodality, reappropriation, resonance, collectivism, and spread. However, corporations will need to be careful in how they participate in and reappropriate popular culture. Memetic participation is a vital part of living in this day and age, and mistakes made by large companies can no longer be ignored or forgotten by the public for as long as they are on their phones. The world has already been made meme, and from studying this commercial, we are still trying to figure out how to navigate it.

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