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COVER ARTWORK

Jacqueline Alvarez | *The Fishes Tempos* (detail) | Acrylic paint

CREATING KNOWLEDGE

The LAS Journal of Undergraduate Scholarship



Jacqueline Alvarez | *The Fishes Tempos* | Acrylic paint

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FOREWORD

DEAR STUDENTS, COLLEAGUES, ALUMNI, AND FRIENDS,

It is once again my great pleasure to introduce the newest edition of *Creating Knowledge: The LAS Journal of Undergraduate Scholarship*. Each year, I am reminded of the incredible dedication of our community—not only in the pursuit of knowledge but also in its creation and dissemination. This journal provides evidence of the commitment of our undergraduate students, who, with the support from their faculty, have engaged in the pursuit of class assignments that seek to promote their scholarly exploration and creative work.

This year, our faculty shared contributions from students across 22 different programs, showcasing a combination of intellectual curiosity and academic achievement. The essays and artworks presented here were produced by the students as assignments in classes of the 2023–2024 Academic Year. In addition to the essays, this volume highlights 16 images of student artwork curated by faculty from The Art School at DePaul. Our cover artwork, *The Fishes Tempos* (detail), by Jacqueline Alvarez, celebrates the spirit of dynamic enquiry that is distinctive of our academic community.

Consistent with its formative function, *Creating Knowledge* does not employ a blind peer-reviewed process managed by the Editor, but instead relies on faculty committees and supervising faculty in each department/school for the selection of student work and revisions leading to publication. Faculty sponsors are called to explore with students the joys and rewards of rigorous research and creative work, as well as the substantial responsibility that accompanies the dissemination of one's perspective, opinion, or conclusions. I acknowledge the dedication of our faculty in taking on our commitment to experiential learning, in the very best interests of our student contributors.

I would also like to take this opportunity to thank our editor, Associate Professor Jason Schneider, who worked with faculty and staff in contributing departments/schools in the process of promoting high scholarship standards. His overarching management of the production of this issue has provided our students with a hands-on experience of great value. A special thank you goes to Associate Professor Jessica Larva for coordinating the art jury and Lee Hartley for their meticulous work as editorial assistant.

It is now my privilege to invite you to review this year's issue of *Creating Knowledge: The LAS Journal of Undergraduate Scholarship*.

Sincerely,

GUILLERMO VÁSQUEZ DE VELASCO, PHD
DEAN

Japanese Americans in Chicago, 1940–1960: Post-Internment Nisei Identity*

HOPE NAGAI

American Studies Program

Identities and their descriptors are stories imposed upon us by our communities, societies, and environments. Japanese American identity is unique, due to the processes of redefinition involving their institutional and communal identities. Second-generation Japanese Americans understood how the stories and words that shape identity constantly shift. They understood how the intersections of citizenship, race, community, and ethnicity shaped their identities. This process was especially true of second-generation Japanese Americans who relocated to Chicago after internment. This postwar community has been understudied, yet the unique social environment of Chicago allowed second-generation Japanese Americans to redefine their communal identity while understanding the ways that their institutional identity changed post-internment. In this paper, I argue that Chicago became a microcosm through which post-internment Nisei identity was defined by an institutional public life and communal inner life. This inner life was nurtured and protected, as I will demonstrate, by the Japanese American community as resistance to the assimilation process that occurred after internment.

Methodology and Terms

Two main themes that are unique to the formation of post-internment Nisei identity in Chicago are “institutional public life” and “communal inner life,” with specific regard to the interplay among race, citizenship, ethnicity, and community. It is necessary to foreground

the language that will be used throughout this exploration of Japanese American identity. There are two terms that I want to briefly highlight: “Nisei” and “Issei,” which are generational descriptors born out of the Japanese American community to describe the generational separation from the first immigrants to North America. Figure 1 introduces each term in more depth.

FIGURE 1

Definition of Terms

Nisei	A person born in North America to Issei parents. In this project’s context, they are defined by their nonimmigrant citizen status.
Issei	A Japanese immigrant to North America. In this project’s context, Issei are defined by their noncitizen immigrant status.
Institutional	Defined through citizenship and race; the ways that government and institutions define identity.
Communal	Defined through ethnicity and community; the ways the community and its people define their identity.
War Relocation Authority (WRA)	The civilian government agency responsible for the administration of the war relocation centers and resettlement.

My methodological analysis of post-internment Nisei identity draws from ethnographic analysis, sociological analysis, and media analysis. I fashion my ethnographic and sociological analysis of identity through the work of social theorist W.E.B. DuBois’s theory of “double consciousness,” first introduced in 1903 in his seminal work *The Souls of Black Folk*. DuBois describes double consciousness as a particular awareness of a warring “twoness” within an individual because of racialized oppression in a white-dominated society. DuBois clarifies this relationship further when he states, “...this double consciousness, this sense of always looking at one’s self through the eyes of others, of measuring one’s soul by the tape of a world... An American, a Negro; two souls,

* This paper was written for AMS 301 (Senior Seminar Capstone), taught by Dr. Allison McCracken in Autumn Quarter 2023. The submission was selected by the DeCordova Scholarship Committee and the American Studies Committee, consisting of Drs. Allison McCracken, Carolyn Bronstein, and Bill Johnson Gonzáles.

two thoughts, two unreconciled strivings.”¹ For DuBois himself, this theory reflected his identity of being Black and American.

The Japanese American experience refers to being Japanese and American but also being a citizen/noncitizen. To understand the specific positionality of Japanese Americans as immigrants, I turned to scholar Lisa Lowe’s analysis of the Asian immigrant experience in *Immigrant Acts*. Lowe contends that the contradiction of the Asian American experience is of having been included in economic markets but excluded through exclusion laws from citizenship.² This created a dichotomy between Asian immigrant culture and American national culture.³ This dichotomous pattern is particularly visible in media narratives, those that the national media constructs about Japanese Americans versus those that are produced within the community.⁴ I employ these frameworks when analyzing my own source material to better understand post-internment Nisei identity in Chicago.

This paper draws from three distinct types of sources that expand the profile of post-internment Nisei identity and the Japanese American community in Chicago. I have centered my investigation of institutional and communal identity around the Japanese American Service Committee (JASC) and the Chicago Japanese American Historical Society (CJAHS) Oral History Project Collection, collected between 2017–2020. This oral history documents Nisei and third- and fourth-generation Japanese American experience of pre-World War II, internment, and post-internment in Chicago. To further investigate characteristics of institutional identity, I also looked at national media, such as the *Chicago Daily*

Tribune and the *Chicago Defender* in archives ranging from 1943–1960. Finally, I drew on original materials from the Chicago Japanese American community to understand the characteristics of the Japanese American communal identity. These materials include the Chicago Resettlers Committee and other Japanese American community publications within the period of 1940–1960.

Japanese American History in Chicago

Simultaneous with the first wave of Issei immigration to California, Chicago had a small community of Japanese Americans before World War II. As historian Alice Murata details, “As early as 1892, a few Japanese arrived to erect the Ho-o-Den Pavilion for the Columbian Exposition.”⁵ These few Issei established the first community of Japanese Americans on the southside of Chicago. Pre-World War II, the community stayed confined to this neighborhood on the Southside.⁶ The community remained in Chicago through the early 1900s and World War II until the War Relocation Authority (WRA) established its first regional field office in Chicago in 1942 to encourage Nisei to be released from internment to migrate there.⁷

The earliest goals of WRA were to have Japanese American families, originally from California, disperse eastward after the war, to enable the atomization⁸ of internees to aid in their future assimilation into American society.⁹ The hope for encouraging Nisei, especially Nisei eager to leave camps, was to show other internees there was value in dispersal and assimilation outside of California.¹⁰ The federal government also feared the

1 W. E. B. DuBois, *The Souls of Black Folk* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007), 8.

2 Issei were considered noncitizens due to the Naturalization Act of 1790, which barred “nonwhite immigrants” from naturalization. California’s 1913 Alien Land Laws further prohibited “aliens ineligible for citizenship” from owning or holding long-term leases.

3 Lisa Lowe, *Immigrant Acts: On Asian American Cultural Politics* (Durham: Duke University Press, 1996), 13.

4 John Fiske, *Media Matters: Race and Gender in U.S. Politics* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1996).

5 Alice Murata, “Taking Root: Japanese Americans in Chicago,” *Counselor Education Emeritus Faculty Publication* 25, (2000): 2, <https://neiudc.neiu.edu/ced-emer/25>.

6 Murata, “Taking Root,” 2.

7 Murata, “Taking Root,” 3.

8 Atomization is to make singular, to break apart the bonds of a community or society. In the case of Nisei, to break the social relationships within the Japanese American community.

9 Allan W. Austin, “Eastward Pioneers: Japanese American Resettlement during World War II and the Contested Meaning of Exile and Incarceration,” *Journal of American Ethnic History* 26, no. 2 (Winter 2007): 70, <https://www.jstor.org/stable/27501805>.

10 Austin, “Eastward Pioneers,” 63.

creation of a permanent reservation system for Japanese Americans.¹¹ To allow Nisei to leave camps, they were required to find housing, as Charlotte Brooks contends: "...the agency refused to allow Nisei to leave camp unless they could find places to live in their city of choice... Hostels solved this problem..."¹² Nisei were summarily screened by the Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI), and they had to obtain jobs in the city of their choice before they were allowed to leave camps. Many Nisei who first arrived in Chicago, primarily Nisei women, worked as domestic workers, while many other Nisei worked in factories and the service industries across Chicago. Eventually, more Nisei and other internees were released from camp from 1943 to 1944, and the community exploded across the city. By 1946 there were over 20,000 Japanese Americans that had settled into Chicago's landscape.¹³

Early resettlement saw Nisei living in hostels that were run by community members and other religious and civil organizations. Chicago alone boasted eighteen organizations that aided Nisei in establishing themselves.¹⁴ However, as Japanese Americans settled into Chicago's landscape, they were often met with housing discrimination as they sought to establish themselves permanently in the city. The influx of Japanese Americans to Chicago had caused a housing crisis and since much of the public housing was not available to minorities, the lack of housing exacerbated Japanese Americans' settlement in Chicago.¹⁵ Nevertheless, Japanese Americans integrated quickly into Chicago's post-war landscape, leading to a rapid expansion of Japanese American-owned businesses

and community organizations.¹⁶ Thus, a resilient and thriving Japanese American community was built in Chicago.¹⁷

Institutional Public Life

Institutional identity in the Japanese American experience is multifaceted. The double consciousness of Japanese American identity, and by default Nisei identity, is constructed through citizenship and race. The process of citizenship has been historically exclusionary for Japanese Americans and the broader Asian immigrant community. As Lisa Lowe states, "That historical alienation situates the Asian American political subject in critical opposition to the category of citizen, as well as to the political sphere of representative democracy that the concept of citizen subtends."¹⁸ The critical opposition to citizenship and the process of alienation created the first institutional identity for Japanese Americans and Asian American immigrants in general: the foreign alien or the immigrant noncitizen. The new label of "enemy alien" was used not only for the othering of Japanese Americans but also to identify them as perceived threats to American national security, heightening their vulnerability to state and legislative action. This perception was intensified by the dehumanization of the Japanese Empire and Japanese soldiers throughout World War II. Critically, the identity of "foreign alien" fed directly into the idea of an "enemy alien," which was used to justify the carceral violence against Japanese Americans. Figure 2 demonstrates a popular slogan and representative image of Japanese soldiers in American propaganda.

11 Austin, "Eastward Pioneers," 62.

12 Charlotte Brooks, "In the Twilight Zone Between Black and White: Japanese American Resettlement and Community in Chicago: 1942-1945," *The Journal of American History* 86, no. 4 (March 2000): 1661, <https://www.jstor.org/stable/2567582>.

13 Murata, "Taking Root," 1.

14 Murata, "Taking Root," 3.

15 Murata, "Taking Root," 7.

16 Murata, "Taking Root," 9.

17 See Ronald Takaki, *Strangers from a Different Shore: A History of Asian Americans* (New York: Penguin Books, 1989), for more general history.

18 Lowe, *Immigrant Acts*, 12.

FIGURE 2

American propaganda depicts a white man squeezing a caricature of a Japanese soldier, likely military leader Hideki Tojo, as an illustration of the popular slogan, "Put the Squeeze on the Japanese." (Courtesy of the National Archives and Records Administration Collection. Densho Digital repository.)



The image of the dehumanized immigrant during Japanese migration in the 1880s fed World War II Japanese propaganda, reconnecting the idea of Japanese Americans being subhuman through the animalization of Japanese soldiers. Historian John Dower elaborates in *The War in American Culture: Society and Consciousness During World War*: "They [Japanese soldiers] were collectively primitive, childish, and mad... At the same time, the Japanese were also portrayed as supermen."¹⁹ At the forefront, racist portrayals of Japanese were meant to function as a way of separating the "us" from the "them" in the collective American imagination. They served to

19 John W. Dower, "Race, Language, and War in Two Cultures: World War II in Asia," in *The War in American Culture: Society and Consciousness During World War II*, ed. Lewis A. Erenberg and Susan E. Hirsch (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1996), 173.

consolidate a generalized image of what Japanese soldiers looked like and their inhumanness to justify the inherent violence of war. At home, these images also played on the old ideas of "yellow peril," as Pearl Harbor drummed up old fears that Japan was going to be a threat to American power. The subsequent persecution of Japanese American community leaders by the FBI incited more fear in the Japanese American community. Yet, many Japanese Americans and community leaders were at least passively loyal to the United States.²⁰ Japanese Americans were interned not only because they were perceived as enemy aliens, but also because they were faced with media conceptions by propaganda that lumped Japanese Americans and the Japanese Empire into the same category. The state's classification of Japanese Americans as "foreign aliens," and the invisible similarities drawn between the Japanese Empire and the Japanese American community, contributed not only to enemy aliens but to internment.

Nisei in Chicago

The first Nisei in Chicago were incredibly aware and self-conscious of their status as Japanese and American citizens. Internment had revealed to the Nisei the fragility of their citizenship. Chicago presented a new opportunity for the Nisei because Chicago was not California. Chicago had no longstanding tradition of legislative racism towards Japanese Americans. The city also presented new economic opportunities for Nisei, but Nisei had to conform to the "model minority" myth to be legitimized as citizens. The Chicago media perpetuated this new stereotype of Japanese Americans throughout the arrival of the Nisei into the city. For example, a 1943 *Chicago Tribune* article titled, "Calls Chicago 'Warmest Host' to Ousted Japs," states, "They are industrious and intelligent workers who take their place in the community..."²¹ The language of Nisei citizenship changed from being known as foreign and enemy to having to prove themselves to

20 Ronald Takaki, *Double Victory: A Multicultural History of America in World War II* (Boston: Little, Brown and Company, 2000), 145.

21 "Calls Chicago 'Warmest Host' To Ousted Japs," *Chicago Daily Tribune* (1923-1963), July 8, 1943, ProQuest Historical Newspapers: *Chicago Tribune*.

fit this mold of model workers. These characteristics of being hardworking, reliable, and industrious could be presented as a “positive” image of Japanese Americans by national media. The only way, then, for Nisei to be considered for de facto citizenship, despite already being American citizens, was if they fit into the model minority. Citizenship for Nisei was complex, as it promised assimilation and inclusion but only under the condition of white acceptance. Philosopher Emily S. Lee in “Model Minority” states that for Nisei, “Assimilating through mimicry of white mannerisms offers the possibility of ceasing to be perceived as a foreigner and instead gaining acceptance and invisibility as the norm... [a] constant play between two identities of whiteness and foreigner.”²² The national media language post-war thus posited a new identity for Nisei in which they could gain citizenship and acceptance through the mythologized model minority type.

The Nisei reaction to this new institutional identity was varied. Some Nisei focused on new possibilities rather than dwelling on internment, while others held a negative perception which impacted how they interacted with their social environment.²³ Many Nisei who arrived in Chicago and further east focused less on the impact of internment and more on the possibilities that were opened due to resettlement eastward.²⁴ Some Chicago Nisei were excited to be in a new environment, but many found themselves too self-aware, confused, and uncertain of their new positions in the city. Constance Yamashiro, a Nisei, internee and longtime resident of Chicago, recalled her time in Chicago as she reflected on the various social and civil organizations in the early years post-internment. She remembered this about the reaction of the community to Chicago: “But, when we were younger, we were told we can’t do this. We can’t do this because, you know, that’s for

the white people, and this is for the, you know, this is the Japanese, you know because they don’t want you there and they don’t like you. So why do you push the button, you know, so to speak. And I think we’re always trying to, it was a hard time in that sense that it was post war.”²⁵ Yamashiro recognizes that post-war Nisei were limited in their interaction and exploration of Chicago by their Issei parents, since their parents had lived through the Alien Land Laws of California of the 1900s while being unable to obtain citizenship. The Issei mindset inhabited a space between fear and shame. Issei recognized the power of their Nisei children’s American citizenship, so many Nisei lived in this hyphenated state between Japanese and American.²⁶ Nisei and Issei both witnessed the change in institutional identity, and Issei wanted their children to reach these new requirements through self-policing. Post-internment Nisei institutional identity was caught between a complex interplay of citizen and noncitizen working within the framework of Issei fear and shame and media conceptions.

Post-internment Nisei identity was further complicated by the reconstruction of the postwar racial hierarchy. Chicago was a new racial environment for Nisei post-internment. Their position as Japanese was not expressed in the Black/White binary of racial Chicago. They found themselves in a gray zone. This gray zone or buffer zone was manufactured by the WRA to keep Japanese Americans from creating a “Japantown” like those in California. Housing discrimination represented a substantial hurdle for Nisei as they arrived in the city. When she was interviewed for the *Densho Visual History Collection*, May Ota Higa recalled the discrimination she faced in Chicago: “So among other things, we had doors slammed in our face.”²⁷ Door-slamming was a

22 Emily S. Lee, “Model Minority,” in *50 Concepts for Critical Phenomenology*, ed. Gail Weiss, Ann V. Murphy, and Gayle Salamon (Evanston: Northwestern University Press, 2020), 235.

23 Greg Robinson, *After Camp-Portraits in Midcentury Japanese American Life and Politics* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 2012), 76.

24 Austin, “Eastward Pioneers,” 79.

25 Constance Yamashiro, “Constance Yamashiro Interview,” interview by Anna Takada. *Densho Digital Repository: Japanese American Service Committee (JASC) and Chicago Japanese American Historical Society (CJAHS) Oral History Project Collection*, August 10, 2018.

26 Bill Hosokawa, *Nisei: The Quiet Americans*, rev. ed. (Boulder: University Press of Colorado, 2002), 173.

27 May Ota Higa, “May Ota Higa Interview,” interview by Tom Ikeda. *Densho Visual History Collection* (December 17, 2004).

widespread practice among landlords in Chicago. Due to racist housing covenants and restrictive public housing, Japanese Americans were forced to retreat to WRA-designated areas to find housing, ones in which Japanese Americans acted as a buffer zone between Chicago's Black and White communities. The spatiality of Japanese Americans only served to enhance their positionality in Chicago's racial hierarchy.

DuBois highlights how society looked at his Blackness and Americanness in contempt and pity, which was different from the Japanese American experience. Nisei in Chicago operated in a gray racial zone, which speaks to Nisei and Japanese American ambiguity in the national racial structure post-internment. For example, historian Charlotte Brooks expresses that Japanese American workers were within, "...meanings of Nisei inbetweenness in the workplace. On the shop floor, the ever-changing, ambiguous nature of Japanese American inbetweenness became readily apparent."²⁸ This is no more apparent than in the language ascribed to Nisei workers as intelligent and hard-working. In many instances, Nisei workers were preferred by employers over Black employees.²⁹ The language and treatment of Nisei again oscillated between this idea of the model minority and being too "Japanese." The requirements of citizenship among Nisei in turn affected the racial position of Nisei within the city. If Nisei were able to fit into the model of the perfect minority, then they would gain access to proximity to whiteness. The proximity also slotted well with the Issei's goal to have Nisei assimilate through the model minority stereotype. Nisei racial identity was reconstructed in Chicago after the war. There was ongoing public discussion among the government and the powerful about how a community group's social treatment within Chicago's racial structure was determined by how "colored" the group was.³⁰

Communal Inner Life

A communal inner life was an important feature of the Nisei and Japanese American community in Chicago. It offered an escape from the public identity that Nisei found themselves performing post-internment. The communal identity was a site to foster social relationships and networks with other Japanese Americans, and it was also a site of resistance by Nisei and Japanese Americans from assimilation by the WRA and wider society. The WRA had established a housing zone to keep Japanese Americans from clustering in neighborhoods and creating "Japantown." Yet Chicago was large enough that WRA policing of the Japanese American movement was not entirely possible. The goal of assimilation was not achieved in the post-war years because the Japanese American counterculture provided a space for Nisei that remained outside of public conceptions of them.³¹

The Nisei reaction to internment and resettlement was varied. On a localized level, the relative freedom of Chicago provided a space for Nisei to extend and renegotiate their communal selves to face away from assimilation. In many instances, Nisei were straddled between their Japanese and their American selves. As Eugene S. Uyeki, a Japanese American, put it, "At certain times they identified themselves strongly with their American heritage. Other times, the situation forced them to regard themselves as Japanese... to particular modes of activity in the consequent social situations."³² This dichotomy was consequential for the formation of social and civil activities for Nisei, which acted as a foundation for resistance to assimilation. Japanese American associations allowed Nisei to create an alternative environment where they were allowed to embrace themselves as Japanese without the conditions of their public-facing identity.

28 Brooks, "In the Twilight Zone," 1669.

29 Brooks, "In the Twilight Zone," 1671.

30 Jacalyn D. Harden, *Double Cross: Japanese Americans in Black and White Chicago* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2003), 61.

31 Austin, "Eastward Pioneers," 72.

32 Eugene S. Uyeki, "Process and Patterns of Nisei Adjustment to Chicago" (PhD diss. University of Chicago, 1953), 263.

What is true about these community ethnic organizations is that they were better able to respond to community needs than other mainstream organizations like the WRA or other civil services. The formation of these formally organized community groups and spaces was the foundation for the alternative environment. As the Japanese American Service Committee interim report from 1960 states, "...this nucleus was formally organized to assist Japanese Americans to resettle into Chicago. A flexible program was established to consider the needs of Japanese Americans and related them to the long-term objective of complete integration into the local community life."³³ The goal of the Resettlers Committee, renamed the Japanese American Service Committee in 1954, was as a community-based service organization; it started in 1945 after the closing of the WRA Chicago office. This organization was operated by Chicago Japanese Americans to help other Japanese Americans find housing while establishing Japanese American associations. The Resettlers Committee recognized the need for Nisei and other Japanese Americans to have these alternative sites as a mode of survival and resistance. The foundations for Japanese American identity pre-internment were a holdover of old-world Japanese values and cultural practices from Japanese village life. Pre-war ethnic and social ties were predicated on prefectural identity.³⁴ These old-world identities operated in the United States as connectors between Japanese families and through which social relationships were maintained.³⁵ Such locally spatialized identities between family and other friends were also common ways of maintaining ethnic networks.

Specific cultural and social arrangements that emphasized cohesiveness, conformity, and self-policing were key to

maintaining boundaries of communal identity. The Nisei were also imbued with a specific moral philosophy that formed the early conception of their communal identity, as historian Eiichiro Azuma makes clear: "...to nurture... Nippon Seishin, or Japanese spirit, in each and every Nisei. They interpreted the Japanese spirit as the wellspring of inner strength that would regulate the Nisei worldview and practice."³⁶ The idea of community spirit or a communal Japanese spirit filled a gap between the migrating Nisei and the established community. The gap between Nisei and the Japanese American community was further bridged through the encouragement of community participation as an alternative site for Nisei outside of Chicago's social sphere. A Chicago Resettlers Committee Bulletin provides a detailed landscape of such alternative places for Nisei: "Nisei organizations mushroomed all over Chicago. There were 125 different girls clubs, athletic teams, churches, social and civic organizations by the end of 1949... organized through the Resettlers Committee... Such projects as the club advisors clinic, recreation leadership workshop and girls inter-club council were undertaken by the Committee."³⁷ The Resettlers Committee's maintenance of these social relationships—those that the WRA and federal government tried to break down—was key to the survival and health of the Japanese American community post-war and their resistance to assimilation. The trauma of internment and unlawful incarceration facilitated the need for a subculture of communal identity. The result was a subtle yet powerful image of Japanese American resistance that flourished through ethnic social ties and networks.

The establishment of a cohesive ethnic community by the Japanese American community acted as an alternative site for Nisei and other internees. These networks were better able to serve the community and be more responsive to community needs. Though the WRA

33 Japanese American Service Committee, *Interim Report of 1960 Study* (Chicago: Japanese American Service Committee, 1960), 3.

34 Prefectural identity refers to unique, socio-cultural identities specific to the prefectures of Japan. These identities provided an extra layer of commonality among the pre-war Japanese American community.

35 Stephen S. Fugita and David J. O' Brien, *Japanese American Ethnicity: The Persistence of Community* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1991), 77.

36 Eiichiro Azuma, *Between Two Empires: Race, History, and Transnationalism in Japanese America* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005), 122.

37 Ase Hagiwara, "Nisei Recreation in Chicago," *Chicago Resettlers Bulletin*, No. 5, May 1954.

attempted to offer both financial and housing services, it failed to be responsive to the actual needs of Japanese Americans. The entrance of the Chicago Resettlers Committee, JASC, and other services that were geared toward Japanese American needs helped facilitate space for resistance. To create alternative networks was directly against the goals of assimilation, the attempt by those in power to rid subcultures of their community identity. In an interview about her life in Chicago post-internment, Constance Yamashiro, a longtime resident of Chicago and an internee recalled the community organizations: "I, I remember, you know, it was very interesting because, I think the people that ran, you know, people like the Resettlers Committee, which I think preceded of course the JASC now that I think they worked very hard at trying to establish a cohesive community."³⁸ To create a cohesive community identity acted, in short, as a manner to process the ways that internment, racism, and prejudice took away and "othered" Japanese American identity. Chicago was a foundational place for Japanese Americans and Nisei to reclaim what being Japanese meant for themselves. The creation of Japanese American-run businesses, associations, and other civil services were used as alternative sites away from public-facing conceptions of Japanese Americans. This kind of alternative place and identity is evidence of resistance to the broader goals and policies of the WRA and federal government which called for Japanese Americans to be assimilated into American society.

Conclusion

Chicago represented a place in which the Nisei experienced a shift in their institutional identity and redefined themselves in their communal identity. Their identities in Chicago would come to be defined through citizenship, race, ethnicity, and community. Post-internment Nisei were defined outside of themselves by the model minority myth, and yet in many ways, Chicago served as an alternative place-making environment for the community to reclaim their Japanese American identity and build a thriving community through which

the lifeblood of the Japanese American identity was maintained. There is still a small, but thriving, community in Chicago that holds activism and the preservation of the Japanese American identity and history close to its collective heart. The Nisei of Chicago remind us of how intersections of race, citizenship, ethnicity, and community impact our identities. The Nisei demonstrate how resistance to assimilation can be done in small but powerful ways. More so, the Nisei, and the Japanese American community, are powerful reminders of how resistance and perseverance are most nurtured in community with others. The Japanese American community reminds us of how identity can change and shift but our connections to each other allow us the space to create alternative spaces where we define ourselves and where societal narratives about us have no place. The Japanese American and Nisei story is one of resistance and perseverance in the face of all the systems that wish to change and break us down.

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Shaina Lieberman | *Record Shop/Peggy Sue* | Soft pastel and gouache on paper

Isolation, Incels, and Ideologies: How Neoliberalism Fosters Extreme Misogyny*

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ABSTRACT AND CONTENT WARNING

This article explores the intersection between neoliberal economic and social conditions and the engagement with extremist online misogynistic forums. It focuses specifically on the incel (involuntary celibate) community, which developed in the early 21st century and is no longer contained to online-only platforms with the increase in violent, misogyny-driven crimes. Additionally, the research explores the developing arena of digital ethnography as well as the implications of virtually constructed communities. Due to the ethnographic nature of the research process, this article includes several direct quotes and images from online incel forums, many of which contain hate speech, racial slurs, and profanities, and which discuss and promote the use of violence against women, racial minorities, and members of the LGBTQIA+ community. Images and text have not been altered or censored and the subject and content may be distressing to some readers.

The Online Landscape of Misogyny and Its Real-World Implications

Neoliberalism, which began as a political-economic ideology (Kashima 2019:2) has increasingly expanded into a cultural system “synonymous with popularly held individualistic, meritocratic, and naturalistic worldviews” (Card and Hepburn 2023:363). This is due to the social conditions created by this cultural system, which has resulted in young men experiencing unprecedented levels of isolation and loss of social and political power over women whilst suffering from the erosion of social services and supportive communities. Thus, neoliberalism has acted as a driving force in contemporary online discourse that fosters extreme misogyny.

Although violent extremism is certainly not a new subject and has been a dominant force behind many social movements, especially in the last several decades, there has been an increase in the intersection between these movements and online forums supporting anti-female rhetoric. This has led to an increase in violent attacks against women, members of the LGBTQIA+ community, and racial minorities. There are dozens of misogynistic communities both online and offline, who collectively refer to themselves as the “manosphere”: a blanket term that “refers to a number of interconnected misogynistic communities” (Institute for Strategic Dialogue 2022). While these communities range from MRAs (Men’s Rights Activists) to PUAs (Pick-Up Artists), this article will focus primarily on the incel community. Short for involuntary celibate, incels are “typically men who see themselves as being unable to have intimate relationships with women, despite desiring them” (Perliger et al. 2023:5). This inability to develop romantic or sexual relationships is often perceived to be the fault of feminist movements as well as a social hierarchy system that values physical

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appearance, income, and social status over personality traits. Further, these men feel a sense of entitlement to sexual interactions with women and believe that “male access to sexual relationships is a ‘basic human right’ with which women should only be valued for fulfilling these needs” (Perliger et al. 2023:5).

Unlike other misogynistic communities, the incel community’s demographics are skewed toward younger men, which has resulted in a community that has developed almost exclusively in digital and virtual spaces. In contrast to the offline world, the online world has displayed rapid growth in both community numbers and new forms of communication. This has been seen by social scientists as both a frightening and exciting new realm of endless research opportunities, particularly with the previously impossible ability to disseminate information instantaneously. As early as 2002, anthropologists were advocating for the “timely and indispensable” examination of the “sociocultural implications of new communication technology” (Wilson and Peterson 2002:450). Now, two decades later, the technology that has allowed the circulation of these ideologies and the organization of violent movements has made an investigation into how “online interactions are influenced by offline power relations and constructions of identity, which involve the exploration of gender” (Wilson and Peterson 2002:457) more pertinent than ever.

Since 1989, at least 26 attacks—ranging from pepper spray usage to stabbing, shooting, vehicle ramming, and bombing—have been carried out by members of online incel communities or those who utilize perceived slights by women as justifications for their actions (Latimore and Coyne 2023:18–20). This dataset does not include counts of rape or other sexually criminal attacks, including stalking, harassing, and the distribution of revenge pornography. This final type of attack could arguably be a separate category but should not be discounted when considering sexually motivated violence. While this number seems small, especially when compared to other types of ideologically driven attacks, the sheer number

of adherents to incel rhetoric is concerning. For example, “incels.is,” a popular incel forum, has 24,396 members, 518,309 threads, and 12,121,935 posts, as well as a blog section with several long-form posts. Incels.is is one of the largest incel-dedicated communities currently available and is steadily growing in active engagement: from June of 2023 to June 2024, registered membership has increased by 14.85%, threads by ~16%, and posts by 19.7%. While there seems to be no explicit evidence that any members of this forum have participated in violent attacks, the number of positive references to violence and the encouragement of members by other users to engage in acts of rape, shootings, bombings, vehicle attacks, and harassment indicates a likely overlap. This data correlates with previous research indicating “evidence that sexual frustration is an important contributing factor to gun violence” (Dolan 2023). To form these conclusions, researchers Adam Lankford and Jason Silva “examined a database of public mass shooters in the United States from 1966 to 2021, consisting of 178 cases,” which resulted in the discovery that “one-third of public mass shooters in the United States had sexual frustration problems” (Dolan 2023). Further, these attacks had a high correlation with “misogyny, power-seeking, and revenge-seeking,” and victims were disproportionately female (Dolan 2023).

While the majority of incel-driven attacks happen within North America, other regional assaults are on the rise. Globalization, and what Arjun Appaduri (1990:296) coined as the “technoscape,” or the global flows of technology across borders, have seen the mansosphere spread as far as Kenya, a deeply patriarchal nation with staggering rates of violence against women and femicide. Many Kenyan women have publicly protested, demanding more protective legislation against violence, much of which is domestic. This has led to a response from Kenyan mansospherian members on X “blaming the women for their own deaths” (Kupemba 2024), as they echo sentiments they read on American platforms. Due to the growing correlation between increased violent activity and online incel communities, an exploratory

analysis into the role that social media consumption plays as a far-right, misogynistic, and violent radicalizing agent among young men is both appropriate and necessary to further understand this increasingly vitriolic subculture.

How to Create an Online Misogynist

Victim-blaming, and the social attitudes surrounding victims of gender-based violence, have long been studied by anthropologists and feminist scholars, and the act of ascribing culpability to the victim of a crime is one of the ways mainstream culture echoes deeply misogynistic ideas. This “moral myopia” indicates a larger societal tendency to scrutinize and shift blame onto the victim, rather than addressing the “broader misogynistic and sexist social environment” (Ken Q and Wallace 2020:106) that facilitates a cultural acceptance of violence against women while lending validity to incel arguments attempting to discredit female advocacy. The transient nature of this type of rhetoric, both online and offline, and in both obscure incel forums and mainstream media sources, further indicates how important it is to be aware of the nuances and intricacies of how we discuss these issues.

In their 2023 study, Baele et al. show that there has been “a clear, steady overall increase of violent extremist language in the main lineage of incel online spaces across six years” (383), which provides a direct correlation between the consumption of online radicalizing agents and a propensity toward violent attacks. Therefore, this predisposition toward enacting vengeance for perceived discrimination has been exacerbated by the expanding role that virtual reality plays in creating our belief systems. In this context, virtual reality can encompass anything from total immersion games to online forums, live streams, content posted on social media platforms, and privately shared information that is circulated between members of the same group, such as memes shared within a WhatsApp group. In her 2016 book, Wendy Wiedenhoft describes this phenomenon, stating that for some people, “virtual reality [is] a dominant social force in our ‘real’ lives” (2016:28).

Additionally, the extreme social conditions created under late neoliberalism have resulted in unprecedented levels of isolation and reliance on online communities to supplement social interactions. While not an exclusively American phenomenon, the United States has been fraught with political polarity and inter-communal conflict, particularly in the liberal/conservative dichotomy, which has become less of a voting affiliation and more of an identity indicator, leaving many young men particularly susceptible to propaganda highlighting the alleged evils of liberalism. These evils include equality program implementations and accountability movements such as “Black Lives Matter” and “#MeToo.” These movements, as well as the conservative responses to them, have contributed significantly to an increase in “othering,” and many right-wing commentators, politicians, and social media users frequently vilify those who benefit from protective legislation or social standards by creating false narratives, such as the notion that feminism is dangerous to traditional American family values. These narratives are often co-opted to correlate with other incel ideologies, furthering the overlap between the two systems and leaving young men with small social grievances susceptible to more dangerous instruments of radicalization, particularly within the online context, where one is more likely to interact only with those who share similar beliefs. In this context, the virtual world acts more as an echo chamber and less as a replication of an in-person social interaction.

Finally, the extreme mental and emotional distress caused by the COVID-19 pandemic, from which many people have yet to recover, has contributed significantly both to individual and cultural attitudes surrounding social dynamics and behavioral norms. These conditions have merged to create the perfect environment in which impressionable young men can and do become radicalized without even realizing that they are being enticed into a dangerous community.

An Anthropology of Online Hate: Methods and Literature

In light of these contexts, it is reasonable to ask how and to what extent incels utilize online forums to cope with their dissatisfaction with these new societal hierarchies, seek alternative forms of community engagement online, and simultaneously fall prey to and participate in recruitment tactics for ideological hate movements, while searching for ways to reclaim a sense of control and agency. Additionally, it is crucial to question whether the manosphere is a reactionary result of late neoliberal capitalism in North America, as young men experience unprecedented levels of isolation and loss of social and political power over women whilst suffering from the erosion of social services and supportive communities, and if the rise of these movements is in part a delayed reaction to the achievements of feminist movements in North America and Western Europe.

Due to the growing correlation between increased violent activity and online incel communities, an exploratory analysis into the role that social media consumption plays as a far-right, misogynistic, and violent radicalizing agent among young men is both appropriate and necessary to further understand this increasingly vitriolic subculture. The literature review process focused on creating a working understanding of key manospherian terms by exploring the history of this and other male supremacy movements, and by contextualizing the online tools they use to reinforce the community aspects of these movements. This provided previously established frameworks that facilitated the second aspect of the research process.

In addition to the literature review, original qualitative data was collected over fourteen months of ethnographic research. This digital ethnography focused on collecting data from three online forums dedicated to incel activity: Reddit, 4chan, and Incels.is. This analysis of online platforms utilized for the spread of incel and other extremist thought processes was crucial in distinguishing between incels who are expressing dissatisfaction with

societal conditions or grievances over legitimate negative experiences, and those who are actively perpetuating and encouraging violent activity.

This research developed an introductory overview of the variety and range of configuration and distribution of manospherian rhetoric. This included the crucial establishment of a deeper understanding of the motivations behind engaging with such a community in the first place, which was crucial in maintaining a sense of empathy and humanity. While it may seem like it, not every incel is actively campaigning for the legalization of rape and slavery, nor are they participating in plotting or carrying out acts of domestic terrorism. Many of these young men are just that—young, lonely, and in desperate need of having their grievances addressed before they become saturated in hateful concepts.

Pills: Incels and Their Connection to the Misogynist Alt-Right and the Greater Manosphere

There is often an overlap between incels and Men's Rights Activists, who believe that "feminist practices, policies, and narratives are to blame for many contemporary social crises and societal breakdowns" (Perliger et al. 2023:4), as well as members of Men Going Their Own Way (MGTOW), a cluster of online groups who advocate for the "total avoidance of women" (Perliger et al. 2023:4) to change societal perceptions of men's value. Often touted as the "most respectable" of these ideologies, studies have shown that members of MGTOW communities actually "spread one of the highest volumes of violent misogynistic content on Reddit" (Perliger et al. 2023:4–5). All of these groups ascribe to one or multiple forms of "pill" ideology—most often, it is either the Red Pill or the Black Pill. The Red Pill is a reference to the 1999 film *The Matrix* and reflects the idea that taking a pill (or "being pillled") allows one to become enlightened or to change one's perception of reality—in this case, moving from the belief that there are systemic male-dominated social structures to the belief that women, particularly feminists, have total control over men's economic standing, social

lives, and access to sexual interactions (Kelly et. al. 2021). This twisting of fact and denial of patriarchal primacy is in direct response to the threat that misogynists feel by the shifting in the traditional power hierarchies which once allowed them to be in uncontested and often abused positions of authority. By challenging feminist progression and recontextualizing themselves as victims of a new social order, misogynists and incels justify the inevitable development of hate toward all women who seemingly benefit from their exploitation and mistreatment of men. Similar to the white supremacist arguments that blame people of color and migrant workers for increases in crime, the “stealing” of jobs, and the liberal agenda that teaches white children to hate themselves simply for being white, fundamental incel ideology includes an unwillingness to share privilege with women, stemming from a fear of irrelevance, loss of control, and a further loss of agency and power in an economic and political environment that has deeply eroded everyone’s quality of life.

Subscribers to the Black Pill ideology build onto these ideas in a much more nihilistic way and believe that while these systemic power imbalances exist and are perpetrated by women and feminist supporters, any individual effort to change one’s circumstances is futile and predetermined by phenotypical characteristics and socioeconomic circumstances. This futility creates an inevitability of either suicide or mass violence, seeking what Veena Das would call a “decisive and yet elusive encounter with death” (2008:289). Often, on Black Pilled and beta channels and forums, men openly encourage each other to commit suicide, school shootings, or mass attacks, the agents of which are glorified while correlating images are circulated, making it difficult to distinguish online fantasy from reality. As Angela Nagle pointed out, “Every dead body on 4chan is a joke, unless it isn’t” (2016:67).

Finally, while not within the scope of this essay, it is important to also briefly mention the correlation between far-right extremist groups and anti-female groups. These groups, such as the Proud Boys and Volksfront, two white supremacist extremist groups active in the United States,

often utilize “militant masculinity” rhetoric to “connect and weaponize misogyny, masculinity, and anti-gender practices with [their] political ideology of racial and ethnic nationalism” (Perliger et al. 2023:8). The desire to maintain a grip on concepts of traditional masculinity and thus, the male position of control and power, is nearly universal across the spectrum of anti-female, misogynistic groups and indicates a performative adherence to Brandes’ theory that “male identities develop in relation to women” (Gutmann 1997:386), whether that development is positive and based in a sense of equality, or whether that development is rooted in systems of dominance. Gutmann argues that the “subjective perspectives of men about being men” serve to “document the variety of forms and guises of engendered power relations” (1997:398), further providing evidence for the parallel losses of control feared by both the far-right and anti-female communities.

Living Online in Habitats of Hate

Much research has already been dedicated to the motivating factors behind participation in these online communities, and Speckhard et al. argue that “incel forums allow for free speech and venting of anger over real and perceived grievances” (2021:91). These grievances are certainly evident to even the most casual of perusers on these websites, such as incels.is, whose membership was outlined previously. Touting themselves as “people who lack a significant other” (incels.is welcome page), the platform provides not only user-controlled threads dedicated to various sub-topics but also a “blog” section that provides access to supporting articles. This website also has “toxic femininity” tags for threads that appear to be forums dedicated to exposing and deriding female social scientists, writers, and feminist literature. In response to one post titled “Underground Anti-Woman and Incel Movements and their Connections to Sexual Assault,” a reference to an academic work by Sara Abdulla, a user with the handle @Med Amine stated: “not reading any word feminist or ‘study experts’ write but i am sure that every manosphirian in this world is 10*[times] more worthy than every modern toilet today.”

On the blog section of the website, links to entries such as “Why doesn’t anyone care about male loneliness? No one seems to care about male loneliness at all”; “Why do women discriminate against short men in dating?”; “Should you use Tinder as an ugly guy?”; and “The irrational hate toward incels,” all written by Randy Thompson, posit themselves as resources for those looking to reinforce ideologies of male supremacy, phenotypical discrimination and victimhood, and anti-feminism. Additionally, many users share personal anecdotes about their lives in accompaniment with perpetuating vitriol, often using the platform as a resource to discuss personal experiences with bullying and rejection.

Further, the aspect of created community cannot be overlooked. Within the forum are numerous threads that are unrelated to incel ideology and function exclusively as a form of human interaction, serving as a proxy to in-person friendships where members ask and offer advice, commiserate with day-to-day situations, empathize with and encourage one another. While some threads are interspersed with hate speech and racist, sexist, transphobic, and antisemitic slurs, some are quite obviously just human beings who have felt ostracized and are seeking a connection.

Unfortunately, the overwhelming support and reinforcement of negative sentiments surrounding these experiences, which help contribute to the community-building aspect while simultaneously using negative experiences as a segue into blaming attractive men and all women for these circumstances, perpetuate an inherently violent culture. This is intrinsic to what Das discusses when analyzing the “route through which violence becomes part of the subject’s attachment to the modern state” (Das 2008:285). In being faced with the shifting power dynamics of late-stage neoliberalism, the results of third-wave and intersectional feminism, and the subsequent feelings of societal abandonment, much of this developing violence within the manosphere seems reactionary and fear-driven. The blame that incels

place on feminists and “gynocentric” policies echo a loss of attachment to a state that had previously always favored them.

At the time of writing, the first thread on incels.is was a “woman hate mega thread” which invited users to “list all the reasons why females deserve the hate they get.” Some responses¹ include: “Because they have rights, their actions prove they deserve 0 rights, and in an ideal world they would all be slaves, to be used as c*m dumpsters” (username Sennacherib); “they’re privileged as f*ck yet always complain” (username Slavcel11); and “A large proportion of domestic violence incidents are women deliberately provoking their domestic partners (generally NOT husbands) then losing the fight to a stronger opponent” (username Walmart). This last statement is particularly poignant because it deliberately perpetuates misinformation while reinforcing an attitude of acceptance and support of violence against women while echoing the cultural proclivity toward victim blaming.

Further threads, such as the one titled, “It’s okay to hate women, don’t let gynocentric propaganda sway you,” contain similar expletives as the ones mentioned above, and therefore do not bear repeating here. In addition to verbal expressions of hostility toward women, each thread contained multiple racial slurs (the use of the N-word and antisemitic slurs were particularly prolific), and many contained video clips demonstrating violence against women, such as one clip of a man roundhouse kicking a topless woman’s breast in slow motion, presumably to emphasize the pain expressed on her face.

The use of videographic and photographic media as both a desensitizing and radicalizing agent is also prevalent on the popular, “notorious, anarchic” (Nagle 2016:64) imageboard website 4chan. This platform, more than the other two included in this study, had the highest quantity of explicit material, especially a rampant distribution of

¹ All spelling and grammatical errors are direct quotations, but censorship of explicit wording has been added at the author’s discretion

pornography with hate messages attached. These images and videos were easily accessible and did not require an age consent pop-up, nor did they present any type of warning. This accessibility indicates a severe lack of moderation regarding content and seems to have further emboldened anti-female users in their propagation of incel ideology. Many comments on these images threaten exposure (known as doxing or doxxing, a tactic where a victim's personal information, including name, phone number, and address is leaked online) and violence toward the female subjects. These threats are made while simultaneously glorifying their male counterparts, using “alpha/beta” (part of a dominance hierarchy, in imitation of animal packs) commentary and criticizing “normies,” or regular, non-celibate people, who seem to be warning against the legal consequences of non-consensual pornographic distribution.

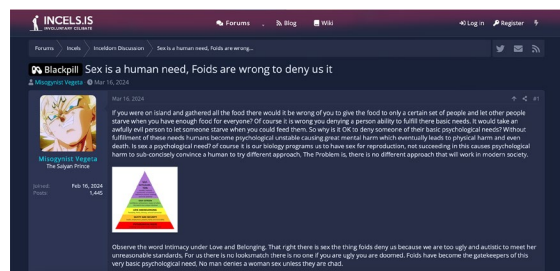
These legal consequences, which are flimsy at best and are only applicable retroactively, are full of loopholes and are not universally applied; in the United States, for example, they are not mandated at the federal level and have not been ratified by every state, leaving a victim on a digital platform in a precarious position. Further, a large number of these images appear to have been obtained illegally; this element of criminality seems to reinforce the attitude of disregard for women's safety in sexual situations, which correlates with previously cited work by Perlinger et al. describing the incel entitlement toward the female body, which is juxtaposed with their deep dehumanization of women.

Due to a slightly more rigorous online moderation system, Reddit, while still containing many problematic elements within its larger user base, today does not have nearly the same level of extremism on the surface as the first two sites examined: “Reddit banned the primary incel thread in 2017, leading incels to migrate to smaller, more niche forums” (Speckhard et al. 2021:91). However, communities within Reddit such as /r/humbleMGTOW, /r/MensRights, and /r/Redpill_Central remain hotbeds of

the hatred and vitriol that the forum once promoted to gain popularity. Additionally, due to the sheer magnitude of the Reddit userbase, for every moderator-deleted thread, at least three more appear within hours. Among these communities and others, threads revolve around the perception of virginity victimhood, blaming women's perceived preferences for physical appearances, and pseudoscientific male supremacy (Fig. 1).

FIGURE 1

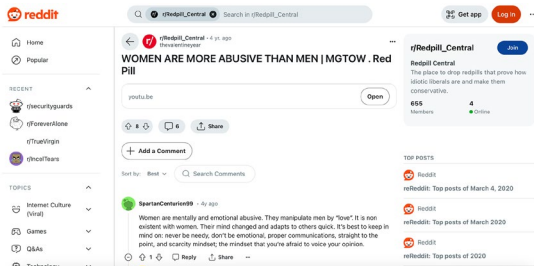
This screenshot, taken by the author from incels.is on 10 May, 2024, includes pseudoscientific rationale and psychobabble to justify hatred toward women. It also shows the deep-seated sense of entitlement incels and other misogynists feel toward female bodies and sexual engagement.



Presenting misogynistic misinformation as scientific fact, while not a new tactic, has become alarmingly popular with the advancements of technology that allow instant sharing and reposting, and one example is the “dual-mating strategy hypothesis” (Jgin 2023). This hypothesis proposes that during ovulation, women will “mate with” men who have better genetic makeups, but when it comes time to raise a family, they will trap the men with better financial and social prospects, reinforcing a popular manospherian claim that women are ruthless manipulators who will do anything to exploit men. Of course, there is no actual evidence for this claim, but because it has been so widely circulated on manospherian websites, it has been accepted as fact and has become part of their collection of self-fulfilling prophecies (Fig. 2).

FIGURE 2

This screenshot, taken by the author from Reddit on 10 May 2024, shows a post originally created in 2020 that discusses the common incel perception of women as dangerous, manipulative, and abusive. This argument is often accompanied by claims of “evolutionary differences” or utilizes distorted terminology such as “scarcity mindset.”



While the consumption and distribution of these ideologies have become more subtle and nuanced, they are nonetheless still prevalent, and their innocuousness perhaps makes them all the more sinister. For example, a more elusive aspect could include a “dog whistle,” or a term that would not be noticed by non-members of a group and therefore could be used in public without repercussions to signal membership or to cast aspersions. Language is important, and the ways it is utilized to signal and to whom the signal is sent is a crucial detail; even more crucial is to note when members of the general public don’t realize that these signals are being sent in front of them without their notice. In their 2023 study, Baele, Brace, and Ging traced the patterns of consumption and distribution and concluded that the “evolution from /r/Incel and /r/Incels to /r/Braincels is one towards a greater proportion of violent extremist language, paving the way to the even more extreme forums” (2023:392).

Approaching Hate with Empathetic Anthropology

As both scientists and members of the larger community, it is easy to approach subjects such as fanatical, anti-female hatred with (legitimate) trepidation and repulsion. However, as with all forms of extremism, it is important to consider the societal aspects that allowed for such radicalization to be possible in the first place, as well as our responsibility as anthropologists and members of our communities. Neoliberal economic policies on a

global scale have contributed to the total deterioration of many social support structures and have created large pockets of inaccessibility to education and healthcare (Wiedenhof 2016:169). Rising education, healthcare, and social service costs have placed basic standards of living out of reach for many North Americans. Additionally, data has shown that incels, in particular, have a “high incidence of psychological challenges, including depression, anxiety, and symptoms of autism” (Speckhard et al. 2021:104), and delays in access to mental health care or prohibitive costs or lack of accessibility have contributed to worsening conditions. Sociopolitical polarization has resulted in deepening bipartisan division and extreme neoliberal policies have resulted in capitalist fatigue that has pushed individualism to new extremes, causing a sense of needing to be responsible for one’s own well-being, rather than relying on a state or community, which leaves many people feeling as though they are uncared for and thus, also not responsible for the wellbeing or safety of others. Rampant consumerism and misrepresentations via social media influencers have served to exacerbate low self-esteem and negative body image, which is often referenced on incel forums as a leading cause of initial engagement with the community.

Despite these obstacles, anthropology can and should be used “as a tool for human liberation” (Scheper-Hughes 2009:3). The anthropological role should no longer be without intervention; especially in cases where clear and distinct patterns of structural imbalances can be identified. There should be an urgency to produce research that is empathetic, rigorous, and accessible outside of the academy. Because of both the horrifying and deeply human nature of the manosphere, we have a responsibility to take the anthropology of it public, while taking care not to pathologize or further marginalize its members. Anthropologists have too often conducted our ethnographies within communities where we felt comfortable, or amongst groups we felt positively toward, or alternately, when conducting fieldwork among communities with whom we disagreed, have not adequately managed our own biases. This has been both

harmful and counterproductive and has contributed to the othering of groups who might have been less inclined to recidivism had society not been so quick to offer strident pathologization and punishment as a first response (Foucault 1975:265). Instead, we can start by advocating for the elimination of the socioeconomic perpetrators that both isolate susceptible young men and facilitate radicalization via online platforms, in combination with dismantling neoliberalism-based

systemic racism and sexism and contributing to the development of a proactive, empathetic, rather than reactive approach to fieldwork in the manosphere.

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Evelyn Hernández | *endurance* | E600 glue, acrylic on plate, xerox images

MuseumsQuartier Wien: Opportunity and Contestation in the Redevelopment of an Imperial Vienna Heritage Site*

LAUREN TAYLOR

Architecture and Urbanism Minor

In the last quarter of the 20th century, the “Museums Quarter” emerged as a popular new urban form and urban revitalization strategy, particularly in the United States and Europe. Such complexes are often designed around legacy elements of the urban core, such as existing museums or landmark built fabric. When strategically planned, a Museums Quarter contributes significantly to the cultural landscape of a city by increasing the quality of life for locals, drawing in tourists, and fostering a new marketable cultural identity (Kochergina 2016, 40–42). For cities looking for a contemporary rebrand, adding a Museums Quarter can be a strategic investment and an innovative way to instrumentalize historic preservation for urban renewal, sustainability, and economic development (Poulot 2015, 89). As with any significant and costly urban project, the development of Museum Quarters is the object of political contestation.

The transformation of the Habsburg Imperial Stables in Vienna, Austria’s historic core, into the MuseumsQuartier Wien (MQ) during the late 1990s and early 2000s is an example of one such project (Figure 1). Vienna’s imperial history and current status as the world’s most livable city (Mercer 2023) make it a useful case study: How did Vienna modernize to meet and exceed today’s urban quality of life standards while preserving significant elements of its rich history and built heritage? The MuseumsQuartier in Vienna reflects a successful, though contested, urban redevelopment project, as planners

were able to largely preserve the site’s historical material integrity, while also modernizing a vital part of the city center in a manner that benefits the municipality, tourists, and, with some qualifications, locals.

FIGURE 1

The MuseumsQuartier Wien (background), the Beaux-arts Art History Museum (1891) (foreground left), and the Natural History Museum (1889) (right). MQ’s strength lies in its ability to be both a mosaic of unique cultural and architectural pieces and an ensemble that combines historical and contemporary built fabric into a cohesive and dynamic whole. (Source: *Ortner & Ortner Baukunst Architects*, with permission)



An Urban Morphological Approach

I trace and untangle the evolution of the urban space occupied by the Habsburg Imperial Stables into a multifunctional cultural and tourism services complex by studying its changing patterns of spatial organization and visual character across time. I focus on the formative (morphogenetic) period (1713–1895) and the latest morphological period that shaped the site into the MuseumsQuartier Wien (1977 to the present).

* This paper was written for GEO 233 (Comparative Urbanism), taught by Dr. Alex G. Papadopoulos in Winter Quarter 2024. The paper was selected by Dr. Papadopoulos, who also oversaw manuscript editing and preparation.

Urban morphology is the plot or lot-scale forensic study of town or ground plans, built fabric, building- and land-use phenomena, and the processes that animate and transform them across time (Papadopoulos 1996). The town or ground plan consists of the situation (the urban context) and the morphological characteristics of the site itself, the configuration of plots, the block plans of buildings in them, the organic or formal configuration of streets of all grades, and open spaces. In an abbreviated sense, we understand it as the complex of urban forms that make up the two-dimensional aspect of the city. A city's ground plan changes very slowly and at the expense of many resources, as in the case of Vienna's MuseumsQuartier. The city's built fabric is its three-dimensional aspect: It encompasses volumes (such as buildings) and voids (such as squares, parks, and vacant lots) that populate the town plan. Built fabric can be "elite," as in the case of the Habsburg Imperial Stables, or "vernacular," as in the case of ordinary buildings that make up most of any city's built environment. Land and building utilization profiles the functions and activities within the built fabric and the town plan (MP Conzen 2018; MRG Conzen 1960; Whitehand 2007). As urbanites, we experience urban forms as positive spaces (in which we dwell) and negative ones (through which we transit). As the fundamental concepts of the urban morphological method, these basic definitions will guide my analysis of Vienna's MuseumQuartier's redevelopment.

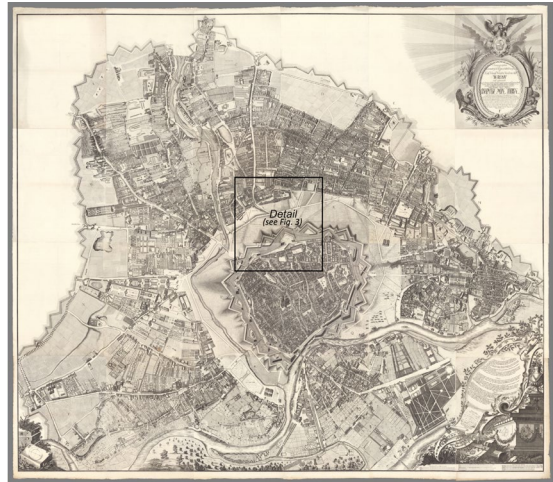
Morphogenesis of the site (1713–1895)

Vienna's heritage urban morphology is a construct of its history as the imperial seat of the Habsburg Monarchy. The core structure of the original *intra-muros* imperial stables—the Stallburg—dates to the reign of Emperor Ferdinand I (1521–1556) and started as a ducal residence close to the Hofburg Palace. The large building, with its spacious courtyard, was repurposed and refurbished to serve as imperial stables during the reign of Emperor Maximilian II (1564–1576). The transformation of the Palace complex, including the imperial stables, was commissioned by Emperor Leopold VI (1665–1705) as part of his ambitious plan to elevate Vienna's architectural

aspect to match the grandeur of its status as an imperial capital and residence of the Habsburgs (Figure 2).

FIGURE 2

Plan by Joseph Daniel von Huber (1777): "Scenography," or the geometric perspective of the City of Vienna, commissioned by Emperor Joseph II and Empress Maria-Theresa in 1769–1772. Map composite in 24 sheets. Unconventionally, Huber oriented his map to the southwest. (Source: David Rumsey Map Collection, Stanford University—in the public domain)



In 1713, Emperor Charles III commissioned notable Austrian architect Johann Fischer von Erlach to design an *extra-muros* new large structure to house the imperial stables and the military engineers' academy. It was built on the site of the old imperial poultry yard at the outer edge of the "glacis" (the downslope of the city's early modern fortifications) vis-à-vis the imperial palace complex (Figure 3). Von Erlach adorned it with a 400-meter-long Baroque façade completed in 1725 (Figure 4). The ground floor of the stables had room for 600 horses, with carriage sheds and staff apartments also included on the site. Over the years, monarchs would continue to expand the imperial stables. Emperor Franz Joseph I added the neoclassical style Winter Riding School, built between 1850 and 1854, and in 1874, a training area for Empress Elisabeth (MuseumsQuartier Wien). By the end of the 19th century, when the parklands that replaced the fortification zone were themselves replaced by the monumental Ringstrasse (Kostov 2001, 13), the stables complex anchored one end of the Habsburg

FIGURE 3

Plan of Vienna by Joseph Daniel von Huber. Detail of the imperial stables complex (A) and the palace complex (B). (Source: David Rumsey Map Collection, Stanford University—in the public domain)



FIGURE 4

Plan by Joseph Daniel von Huber. (Top) Detail of the imperial stables complex, including the Military Engineers' Academy. (Bottom) The restored Baroque façade (Ortner & Ortner Baukunst Architects) (Sources: A. David Rumsey Map Collection, Stanford University—in the public domain; Ortner & Ortner Baukunst Architects, with permission)



“Kaiserforum” ensemble, which includes the Hofburg Palace, the New Hofburg Palace, and the Museums of Art and Natural History.

Town Plan/Ground Plan

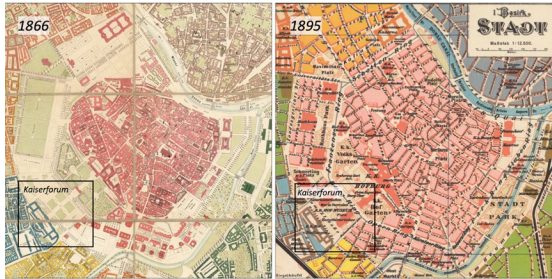
The construction of the imperial stables (1713–1725) marks the site’s morphogenesis: the beginning of a Baroque-turned neoclassical morphological period ending with the Austro-Hungarian Empire’s fall in 1918. Until 1850, the imperial stables were a fringe belt development loosely connected to the urban core through the umbilical of the “Kaiserforum.” In the 1850s and 1860s, the city incorporated the suburban zone within the Linienwall, crystallizing the footprint of the historic core inside the new Ringstrasse that occupied the trace of the old city fortifications. As illustrated in the Zettle (1866) and the Gustav Freytag (1895) plans, no longer in the urban fringe, the growing city spatially encapsulated the imperial stables (City of Vienna 2024b) (Figure 5).

During this morphological period, the stables appear on maps variously as “K.K. Hofstall-Gebäude,” “K.k. Hofstallungen,” and “Hof-Stall-Gebäude,” all roughly translating to “stables,” with “K.K.” denoting the site’s association with the monarchy. “K.K.” stands for *kaiserlich-königlich* (“imperial-royal” in English), the title held by Habsburg monarchs, and appears in front of the names of numerous other buildings in the area (Visiting Vienna 2023).

The complex is located in Neubau, the VII District (“Bezirk”) of Vienna, between the streets of Mariahilfer Strasse, Breite Gasse (a portion of which becomes Karl Schweighofer Gasse by 1912), Burg Gasse, Museum Strasse, and a minor street called Hofstall Strasse that Hassinger (1912) does not name. The complex was built as one cohesive lot, with one block plan defined spatially by the stables building’s edges. There are also two small plots of open green space in front of the complex between Museum Strasse and Hofstall Strasse (Kádár 2013, 99).

FIGURE 5

Plan of the imperial capital city by Ludwig Zettle (1866) (detail) (left). The trace of the Kaiserforum, the Ringstrasse and the two-art museum complex in the old parkland zone is visible but, at that point, still under construction. The Ringstrasse and its ancillary projects were completed in 1898 (detail) (right). Plan of the imperial capital and residential city of Vienna, by Gustav Freytag (1895). Publishing & printing by G. Freytag & Berndt in Vienna (right) (Sources: David Rumsey Map Collection, Stanford University—in the public domain)



Built Fabric

The built fabric of the imperial stables includes the Baroque façaded building and the interior courtyard voids, neither of which changed significantly during the imperial morphological period. The main building is 400 meters long, with large open spaces for riding horses. The image shows a rounded amphitheater off the principal open space. At the same time, the outer wall remained, and as the maps show, this space was repleted by the addition of the Winter Riding School, constructed in the neoclassical style. The building's location in the “Kaiserforum” and the façade's massive scale displayed the Habsburgs' wealth and power. The Schlesinger plan (1875) also shows a triangle of built fabric between Karl Schweighofer Gasse and Mariahilfer Strasse. However, it is unclear what these buildings are, and this area is shown as a void on subsequent maps.

Land and Building Utilization

During this period, the buildings and land were used as stables for horses owned by the imperial household. However, the site also served as a training and riding space for royals, storage for carriages, and housing for staff, including the imperial head groom (MuseumsQuartier Wien).

Messepalast Period: 1918–late 1970s

The fall of the Habsburg Monarchy in 1918 and the gradual emergence of automobility eclipsed the *raison d'être* for the imperial stables. In the decades that followed, the large structure and courtyards were used as an exhibition arena for commercial trade fairs hosted under the Wiener Messe, inspiring the name “Messepalast,” translating to “Trade Fair Palace” (MuseumsQuartier Wien). The site is referred to as the “Messe-Palast” in G. Freytag and Berndt (1954), while R. Lechner (1925) calls it the “Messe Gebäude” (“Fair Building”). The information about this period is limited, leaving room for interpretation about the changes and motivations.

Town Plan/Ground Plan

There were few changes to the ground plan during this period. The street plan, lot, and block plan remain mostly the same. The coloring of these two maps clarifies that the triangular area shown as built fabric in Schlesinger (1875) is its own plot and, therefore, not a part of the complex. The small green spaces in front of the complex are also present. Notably, G. Freytag and Berndt (1954) show the name of Museum Strasse as Messe Platz in the street section that runs alongside the front of the site, reflecting the change in building and land utilization.

Built Fabric

The site's built fabric remained largely unchanged, and the original façade remained relatively untouched. Although adaptations to the buildings' interiors would likely have been made to suit better the complex's usage for trade fairs, little to no information is available about these developments. Unfortunately, the stables did begin to deteriorate, with Roodhouse and Mokre describing the buildings as “a seriously decaying national heritage site” (2004, 197). The overall block plan of the site changed to some degree, featuring minor new volumes associated with the functions of the fairgrounds (Freytag & Berndt, 1954) (Figure 6).

FIGURE 6

A comparison of the town plans and block plans of 1895 and 1954 demonstrates the durability of the cadaster and the built forms despite the building- and land-use shift to exhibitions (Sources: Freytag & Berndt [1895]; Freytag & Berndt [1954]). (Sources: David Rumsey Map Collection, Stanford University—in the public domain)



Land and Building Utilization

The utilization of the site changed significantly during this time. Once the Empire fell, the imperial Capital functions of Vienna ceased to exist. Considering the size and spatial composition of the former stables and proximity to the city center, the usage of the site for large commercial fairs makes complete sense. For visitors, the grandiosity of the façade, the association with the Habsburg royals, and even the name “Messepalast” would likely have been quite impressive even if the buildings were deteriorating, thus carrying on the imperial legacy and perhaps predicting the subsequent transformation of the complex.

The Emergence of MuseumsQuartier Wien: Late 1970s–Present

As described by Suitner (2020, 894–895), the 1970s began a new period of urban planning in Vienna. There was a growing need to revitalize the inner city to meet the living standards of the time, leaving planners questioning how to modernize while preserving the city’s rich history. By the 1980s, tourism and culture had become two of the leading industries in Vienna, and the 1989 fall of the Iron Curtain, followed by Austria’s accession to the European Union in 1995, opened up further opportunities for large-scale redevelopment so that Vienna could compete on a global scale.

De Frantz (2004) examines the MuseumsQuartier as a cultural flagship project undertaken by Vienna to shift the city’s identity and elevate the city’s position within Central Europe and the world. The Austrian government began exploring possibilities for the cultural regeneration of the Messepalast in the 1970s, with the original idea to create a museum complex originating in a national parliamentary debate in 1977. In 1980, the city formed a project development agency as a public partnership between the federal government and the Municipality of Vienna. However, by 1986, political disagreements had yet to produce a consensus on redeveloping the Messepalast. An architectural competition was then launched, and following the second round in 1989, the Austrian architecture firm *Ortner and Ortner Baukunst* was selected as the winner. In 1990, the Austrian Parliament approved the MuseumsQuartier project, but before the municipal government could act, intense political debate and protest once again halted progress (de Frantz 2004, 54).

The controversy surrounding the MuseumsQuartier design revealed some of the biggest challenges urban planners must confront when redeveloping historical-value areas. The sheer size of the project was intimidating, with critics arguing that the large scale of the projected modern art museums and planned skyscraper were not proportionate to the existing built fabric of the historic core; this development would destroy the beautiful “historically grown ensemble” of Vienna’s city center and should either be redesigned or relegated to the urban fringe (de Frantz 2004, 56).

The complaint resonates with urban design best practices. MuseumsQuartier Wien is reasonably both an urban mosaic and an ensemble, depending on the context. As a mosaic, it is characterized by its architectural and functional diversity, where each building and institution maintains its own identity while contributing to the overall vibrancy of the complex. As an urban ensemble, it functions as a harmonious and integrated cultural hub, where the collective interaction of its diverse elements creates a unified and impactful cultural experience. MQ’s

strength lies in its ability to be both a mosaic of unique cultural and architectural pieces and an ensemble that combines them into a cohesive and dynamic whole.

Moreover, MQ's development was a significant financial undertaking, and taxpayers were concerned about the cost. Debates arose over the allocation of public funds for the project, especially given the scale of investment required for renovating historic buildings and constructing new ones. In response to the contestation, the Mayor of Vienna agreed that no new buildings could be higher than the highest church tower. Accordingly, the final plan removed the skyscraper while reducing the heights of the new buildings to match the Baroque façade. The city's historic protection zone was expanded to include the entirety of the complex in a further attempt to appease the calls for the preservation of Vienna's past (de Frantz 2004, 55–58). In 1996, a consensus was reached, and in June 2001, the MuseumsQuartier was inaugurated more than 25 years after discussions began (de Frantz 2004, 55).

Town Plan/Ground Plan

Remarkably, the site's ground plan has stayed mostly the same since the 18th-century refurbishment of the imperial stables. The MuseumsQuartier sits within the same streets, plot, and block plan the original stables did hundreds of years ago. The street across from the complex is now called the Museumsplatz on today's map. While the site's interior footprint has changed with the addition of newly built fabric, the overall footprint of the site remains the same.

Per Kochergina's map (2016, 45), the designers of the MuseumsQuartier have aligned it with key points in the city, including the central urban axis. We can draw a line from the main entrance through the center of Maria-Theresien-Platz, Heldenplatz, and Michaelerplatz, continuing to Donauchannel, Praterstern, and Mexicoplatz before crossing the Danube River. This axis connects the historical sites of Vienna with the modern business district, and the MuseumsQuartier's location at

its terminus emphasizes its importance in the town plan of Vienna. The new Leopold and MUMOK Museums are oriented to this axis and align with the Kunsthistorisches Museum and Spittelberg (Kochergina 2016, 45–47) (Figure 7). Further, the MuseumsQuartier's location on the edge of the city center helps disperse tourists throughout Vienna's attractions, alleviating potential overcrowding and improving the quality of life for residents (Kádár 2013, 109). This strategic position, of course, was planned during the original construction of the imperial stables but is even more advantageous today, given the manner in which Vienna has developed.

FIGURE 7

The MuseumsQuartier has been strategically designed to align with important points in the city, including the main urban axis. Kochergina notes that "the Leopold Museum is aligned with the Court Museums, [and] the Museum Moderner Kunst with the Spittelberg" (2016) (Sources: Based on Kochergina (2006); *Openstreet* base map—in the public domain)



Built Fabric

The built fabric has changed significantly, though less than expected. From the outside, the site looks almost as it did during the rule of the Habsburgs, as the new buildings are only visible once one enters the MuseumsQuartier. The original baroque façade from 1725 has been restored, and its borders encompass the entire complex. The interior houses shops, cafés, and restaurants. The Winter Riding Hall has also been restored and turned into the Halles E+G performance and event venue. The hall built for Empress

Elisabeth is now the library of the Architekturzentrums Wien. The sizeable open void in the center of the complex is now known as the MQ Courtyard, famous for its movable public furniture enjoyed by tourists and locals alike (MuseumsQuartier Wien).

The new buildings provide a fascinating contrast to the former imperial stables (Figure 8). The Leopold Museum (*Laurids and Manfred Ortner architects*) is a large cube of white limestone with an inner atrium that fills the galleries with natural light. The MUMOK (Museum Moderner Kunst Stiftung Ludwig Wien, *Ortner & Ortner Baukunst architects*) visually contrasts the Leopold Museum with its rounded edges and dark grey basalt exterior. The Kunsthalle Wien, which stands behind the former Winter Riding Hall, is meant to resemble a production workshop; it is made of red clinker bricks with only a few narrow windows, allowing for control over artificial light (MuseumsQuartier Wien). The contemporary built fabric serves as an addition to the legacy built fabric, creating a unique juxtaposition of the “historical” and the “modern.”

FIGURE 8

The Leopold Museum (*Laurids and Manfred Ortner architects*) (left). The MUMOK (Museum Moderner Kunst Stiftung Ludwig Wien, *Ortner & Ortner Baukunst architects*) (right) (Source: *Ortner & Ortner Baukunst Architects*, with permission)



Land and Building Utilization

The usage of the site has once again been completely redefined. MuseumsQuartier Wien describes itself as “an art space, a creative space, and a living space,” emphasizing that the site is more than a collection of museums. While museums are undoubtedly important, especially for tourists, the site also includes 60 cultural institutions and an expansive area of public space. Tourists and locals can and do come to the MuseumsQuartier to visit attractions, have a meal, relax with friends, and enjoy the incredible architecture of the space (MuseumsQuartier Wien).

Conclusion

The ultimate aim of the MuseumsQuartier was to redefine the cultural identity of Vienna. With the rest of Central Europe emerging from behind the Iron Curtain, Vienna needed to compete with Prague and Budapest for international investments and attention to solidify its position as the region’s leader. Though Vienna was already known worldwide for its rich cultural and historical heritage, politicians and other elites sought to add a contemporary element to the landscape to bring the city into the current era (de Frantz 2004, 60–61). The regeneration of the imperial stables-turned-fairground into a modern museum complex was the perfect opportunity to combine the city’s past and present, placing the “modern” within the newly reinterpreted “historical.”

The MuseumsQuartier has proven to be remarkably successful. It is a prime example of adaptive reuse, where thoughtful planning and design have repurposed historic buildings to serve new cultural and tourist functions. The complex integrates the old and new, creating a vibrant cultural hub while preserving its historical significance. The adaptive reuse strategy aligns with sustainable development principles, reducing the need for new materials and minimizing environmental impact. Preserving and repurposing the existing buildings significantly reduced the carbon footprint associated with new construction (Plevoets et al. 2011, 155–156).

Adaptive reuse involves compromises, as some heritage fabric is lost in modernization. While the MQ incorporates elements of *façadisme* (an architectural and urban design practice where the *façade* of a building is preserved while the rest of the structure is new or significantly altered), it does so in a way that respects the integrity of the original structures. The Baroque *façades* of the historic stables have been preserved, but the approach goes beyond mere *façadisme*. The interiors and other significant parts of the original buildings were adapted and reused rather than completely replaced. Unlike pure *façadisme*, which focuses solely on the *façade*, the MQ project involved a holistic approach to preservation. Architecturally

valuable interior elements, structural components, and spatial configurations of the historic buildings were also preserved and integrated into the new uses.

Adaptive reuse facilitates multifunctional building and land-use. The MQ houses various cultural institutions, including museums, galleries, theaters, and cultural centers. The architecture reflects this diversity, with each institution having its distinct style and design. The complex also includes restaurants, cafés, shops, and recreational areas, contributing to its vibrant and dynamic urban environment. It is enjoyed daily by locals and tourists alike and has even influenced the development of the surrounding areas, drawing in new residents, art galleries, and cultural institutions (Roodhouse and Mokre 2004, 206).

Vienna's MuseumsQuartier can serve as an urban revitalization model for other cities seeking to balance historic preservation with contemporary evolution (the transformation of the Bankside power station into The Tate Modern coincided with MQ's development). Despite controversies and contestations, the development of MQ ultimately moved forward, guided by a combination of compromise and innovative design solutions. Through careful planning and execution, the architects and designers achieved the integration of historic preservation with contemporary architecture, resulting in a complex that is both respectful of its heritage and boldly modern. The project's creators implemented financial and operational strategies to balance public investment with sustainable revenue generation. At the same time, programming and accessibility initiatives ensured that the complex served a broad audience. However, in the last accounting, the concerns of local residents and communities have taken a back seat to the city's strategic planning for a "global Vienna."

The contestation surrounding MuseumsQuartier Wien's development reflects the complexities of creating a major cultural institution within a historic urban context. The debates and challenges faced were instrumental

in shaping the outcome, ensuring that MQ became a dynamic and inclusive cultural hub that honors its past while embracing the future.

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《少女之愛：台灣ACG界百合迷文化發展史》*

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The following is an English translation of the two prefaces that open the 2023 edition of the Taiwanese book 《少女之愛：台灣ACG界百合迷文化發展史》 or *Girls' Love: The Development History of Yuri Fan Culture in Taiwan's ACG Field*. Co-authored by sisters Yang Jo-hui and Yang Jo-tzu, this edition of their academic study of Taiwanese yuri culture (fan culture surrounding the Japanese-originated genre of works depicting same-sex relationships between women) is the first to be published since Jo-hui's passing in 2015, building upon their earlier work. As such, the two prefaces that open the book—the first by Jo-hui, taken from an earlier edition, and the second by Jo-tzu, written specifically for this one—provide important insight into both authors and the context in which both the earlier and present editions came to be. Currently, the text is only available in Chinese through Taipei publishing house Gaea Books. There are presently no other English translations of this or previous editions.

自序

本書脫胎自我的碩士論文《台灣ACG界百合迷文化發展史研究（1992–2011）》，然而話說從頭，最初觸發我從事百合迷文化研究的契機，卻是我尚未就讀研究所之前，我在網路論壇上看到的一場百合論戰，當時快意寫就了一篇《試析腐女現象與百合文化》，還在網路上打了一通嘴砲，沒料到日後我竟以此文為基礎，寫成了一本碩士論文。

此次出版為專書，在內容上略有增補，時間斷限也拉長到二〇一二年為止。從碩論到專書，這本書自始至終的目的都是為了成就百合迷文化而作，我心念念的目標讀者並不是學術領域的研究者，而是同為百合控的百合迷群們。

對我而言，這本書的出版就像是一朵百合花開，願她的芬芳遠播，普天百合控皆能共享。

本書的完成要感謝許多學術界的師長與夥伴：我的指導教授吳政憲老師，口試委員陳國偉老師，李衣雲老師，以及洪凌老師，王明珂老師。嚴茹惠學姊、雷士偉、郭如梅、陳晨、陳雅玲、莊怡文、莊雅惠、鄭心慧、林瓊琳。同時要感謝幾位協助我收集資料的網友：巴黎街頭藝人、廢死、Siyeclover、Woo、罐頭、海藍紫，以及開拓動漫祭籌備委員會。

特別需要感謝的則是孿生妹妹楊若慈，這本書雖然由我執筆，但可說是我倆的共同作品。

楊若暉

Girls' Love: The Development History of Yuri Fan Culture in Taiwan's ACG Field

English Version

Preface to the 2015 edition

This book is an extension of my master's thesis, "A Study of the Development History of Yuri Fan Culture in Taiwan's ACG¹ Field (1992–2011)," but my earliest foray into yuri fan studies actually came before I ever entered grad school. It all began when I came across a debate about yuri on an internet forum, excitedly wrote a post titled "An Analysis of the Fujoshi Phenomenon and Yuri Culture," and lengthy online discussions followed. I never

* This English translation of a Chinese text was written for CHN 321 (Chinese Translation), taught by Dr. Li Jin in Winter Quarter 2024. The paper was selected by Dr. Jin, who also oversaw manuscript editing and preparation.

1 Animation, Comics, Games. A general term used to refer to the 2D media spheres of animation, comics, video games, novels, etc., which originated in Taiwan in the 90s and has since spread to common use among ACG fans across the Chinese-speaking world.

anticipated that this post would one day form the basis of a master's thesis.

Now published in book form, I have slightly expanded upon the content of the original thesis, and the timeframe covered has been extended to 2012. From my master's thesis to the publishing of this book, my primary goal has always been to do justice to yuri works and fan culture. I have always written with fellow yuri fans as the target readers of my work rather than academic researchers.

To me, the publication of this book is like the blossoming of a lily.² May her fragrance spread far and wide and be shared among yuri lovers everywhere.

I owe the completion of this book to my many teachers and friends in academia: to my advisor, Professor Wu Zheng-xian, and my thesis defense committee members, Professor Chen Kuo-wei, Professor Lee I-yun, Professor Hung Ling, and Professor Wang Ming-ke; to my peers, Yen Ju-hui, Lei Shih-wei, Guo Ru-mei, Chen Chen, Chen Ya-ling, Chuang Yi-wen, Chuang Ya-hui, Cheng Hsin-hui, and Lin Chiung-lin. I also want to thank the internet friends of mine who helped me gather materials: Paris Street Performer, Abolish Death, Siyeclover, Woo, Can, Sea Violet, and the organizing committee for the Fancy Frontier Anime Festival.

Lastly, I must especially thank my twin sister, Yang Jo-tzu. Although I put the words of this book to paper, it was a collaborative effort between us.

Yang Jo-hui

Preface to the new edition | Why continue to discuss yuri?³

Yang Jo-tzu

The best-known version of this book is the 2015 edition released by Duli Zuojia (Independent Writers), titled *Girls' Love: Yuri Culture in the Field of Taiwanese Animation and*

Comics, which fell out of print when the contract with the publishing house expired in 2022. Relatively less known is that we had already self-published a version of this same book under the name *Girls' Garden: The History of Yuri Culture in Taiwan*, which we sold in small quantities at doujinshi events in early 2014. If we include that book's predecessor, Jo-hui's 2012 master's thesis, "A Study of the Development History of Yuri Fan Culture in Taiwan's ACG Field (1992–2011)," then the new 2023 Gaea edition constitutes this book's fourth iteration. Ten years have elapsed between the release of its first and fourth versions.

So, why republish it now?

As this book argues, 2004 was the "first year of sinophone yuri," in which the internet first facilitated the flow of Japanese yuri culture to the Chinese-speaking web. Yuri culture has now endured in Taiwan for 20 years. This 20-year period has been enough for the word "yuri" (百合, read as *baihe* in Mandarin) to spread as the subculture has flourished, so much so that it has transcended the borders of the ACG world. Now the term can even be heard across the Chinese-speaking world in reference to real life lesbians and their relationships.

Furthermore, in the time since this book's initial release, yuri audiences have continued to grow and transform, and increasing exchange and synthesis between Japanese, Chinese, and Taiwanese cultures have given birth to new vocabulary. For example, the composition of yuri's core demographic with regard to gender and sexual orientation has become progressively more visible as cultural norms have shifted; terminology shifts have taken place as the terms "light yuri," "true yuri," "strong yuri," etc., have been developed to further distinguish content differences between various yuri works; additionally, through its legalization of same-sex marriage, Taiwan has positioned itself as the nation at the forefront of gender issues within yuri's East Asian sphere of cultural influence (including Japan, China, and Korea), putting a spotlight

2 百合 (Yuri) is both the Japanese and Chinese word for lily. The English rendering of its function as a genre name comes from its Japanese pronunciation.

3 Link to original version in Mandarin Chinese: <https://www.gaeabooks.com.tw/goods/2583>

on the unique background of a specifically Taiwanese yuri culture.

These are all topics this book could not have explored at the time of its original release, and, regrettably, although it is clear that yuri's cultural development has continued to progress, this progress has yet to generate a new era of research.

In 2014, Jo-hui said that her goal in publishing this book was to celebrate yuri culture with fellow fans and that she wanted this book to embody a lily in bloom, spreading its fragrance.

Ten years later, we can look back and be certain that this book really was like a lily, taking root and documenting the rapid evolution of a subculture in all its ups and downs as it blossomed.

When defining yuri within ACG communities, this book is raised more often than not, particularly among yuri fans. Its status within the community has allowed it to serve as a source of foundational knowledge for fans, making room for the development of new cultural perspectives and discourses. In this regard, this book has been a guiding torch for both yuri fans and the ACG community overall. While it may be the case that Jo-hui, who passed away from cancer in 2015, can no longer contribute new commentary on developments in yuri culture, she will continue to maintain that colorful, blossoming flame on behalf of all fans, waiting for the moment when another approaches to carry the flame forward on a new torch.

Working to transform this book into that torch is precisely why we have changed its name for the revised 2023 edition, now subtitled *The Development History of Yuri Fan Culture in Taiwan's ACG Field*.

So, what are the differences between each edition?

The research in Jo-hui's original master's thesis was capped at the year 2011, and then *Girls' Garden: The History of Yuri Culture in Taiwan* (2014) utilized supplemental materials to extend the research period to 2012. Finally, *Girls' Love: Yuri Culture in the Field of Taiwanese Animation and Comics* (2015) also included the

results from a questionnaire carried out at Taiwan's first YuriOnly doujinshi sales convention in 2014.

The 2023 revised edition, *Girls' Love: The Development History of Yuri Fan Culture in Taiwan's ACG Field*, has included the addition of four new analytical articles in the appendix, totaling 20,000 characters, to supplement the book's original content. The four articles span from Appendix 5 to Appendix 8.

The first article, Appendix 5, is titled "Girls, Keep Yuri In Your Heart! Preliminary Observations on Taiwan's Yuri Doujin Culture," initially written for the 2016 anthology *Anime Sociology: The Birth of the Book* (Kiwi Fruit Studio, 2016). It explores the development history of yuri doujin culture in Taiwan and illustrates how doujin culture can promote subculture localization.

The second and third articles, Appendices 6 and 7, are titled "Yuri is a Trend: Looking Back and Gazing Ahead at Taiwanese Yuri Culture in 2020" and "A Century-Long Story of Rebellion: Yuri, S-Class, and Lesbians." Both pieces appeared in *Creative Comic Collection, Vol. 24: When the Lily Blooms* (Gaea, 2020). The former aims to delineate key phenomena and issues throughout the history of Taiwanese yuri culture. The latter is a piece by Japan-based researcher Guo Ru-mei, in which she meticulously yet concisely outlines the origins and historical development of yuri culture in its original Japanese cultural context. The version that appears in this book includes a specially revised title and the addition of the field's most recent research.

The final article, "The Dilemma of 'Romance Frameworks': Reflections on Yuri Production," is a piece that was composed specifically for this edition. The article attempts to seek out and respond to possible paths forward for the creation of local Taiwanese yuri works, as explored from the perspective of a full-time yuri writer and experienced researcher of yuri fan culture.

In short, the four new appendix articles I have added to supplement the book's original content cover everything from doujin culture to recent developments to comparison of local creative output in Japan and

Taiwan, and more. It is my hope that the 2023 revised edition of *Girls' Love: The Development History of Yuri Fan Culture in Taiwan's ACG Field* can continue to promote the expansion and development of yuri culture in the Taiwanese ACG sphere even after Jo-hui's passing.

The practical purpose of this book is to allow yuri fans to establish common definitions and understandings surrounding yuri subculture such that we can all go forth to create and enjoy yuri works to our hearts' content. At the same time, I hope that this book can serve as an academic foundation for the works of the next generation of yuri researchers, opening up spaces for future discussions of yuri fan culture.

So, why do we continue discussing yuri?

What are the differences between yuri content and lesbian relationships? How has the meaning of yuri changed over time? What demographics make up the yuri fanbase? What is the social importance of yuri culture? What gender issues are contained within? Does answering these previous questions contribute anything helpful to larger global conversations?

Whether or not these questions receive perfect answers is secondary to fans. The most important thing is that yuri provides spiritual nourishment, and when there is a shortage of provisions, it is very difficult to sustain food production without help. If yuri narratives are our staple crops, then may this book serve as fertilizer for their growth and development.

This book is dedicated to yuri fans, as always.

I want to express my gratitude to all of the teachers, relatives, friends, partners, and comrades who have supported the Yang Shuang-zi sisters up to now. Please allow me to list them once more: Professors Wu Zheng-xian, Chen Kuo-wei, Lee I-yun, Hung Ling, and Wang Ming-ke; academic peers Yen Ju-hui, Lei Shih-wei, Guo Ru-mei, Chen Chen, Chen Ya-ling, Chuang Yi-wen, Chuang Ya-hui, Cheng Hsin-hui, and Lin Chiung-lin; online friends Paris Street Performer, Abolish Death, Siyeclover, Woo, Can, Sea Violet, and the organizing committee for the Fancy Frontier Anime Festival.

Here, I want to especially thank Guo Ru-mei. After Jo-hui passed away, Ru-mei became, in my view, Taiwan's foremost yuri researcher in both dedication and quality. In the process of preparing this new edition for re-release, Ru-mei's generous contributions were far from limited to providing her exceptional article. They also included online conversations from overseas throughout the duration of the book's composition; our chats always ended up turning into our own private Yuri Culture Conferences, for which I am incredibly grateful.

I remain sincerely grateful that the Duli Zuoqia publishing house allowed me to terminate our contract. The book was out of print for a year, but I was fortunate enough to encounter the profound kindness of Gaea Books Co. and its publishing department's chief editor, Ms. Shen Yu-ju. Not only has the book been reprinted, but we engaged in much back-and-forth correspondence throughout the process of its compilation so that we could make this edition even better than its predecessors. I am deeply grateful to have worked with a publisher that shared my intentions.

Finally, I want to thank all of the readers who have picked up this book. Our work is only made a success through your readership.

Girls' Love is a posthumous release of Jo-hui's work. This publication specially adds the pen name "Yang Shuang-zi"⁴ in her memory. The twins will continue to stand side by side, and we shall remain creative partners for as long as I write.

Yang Jo-tzu
Spring 2023
Yonghe District, New Taipei City, Taiwan

4 Shuang-zi, written 双子, is the Mandarin reading of the Japanese word for twins (*futago*). Though it carries similar connotations in Chinese, the word's Japanese origins are reiterated by the use of the Japanese rendering of 双 rather



Lily Rooney | Pascale | Gouache on butcher paper

The Coloured Vapour Trap: Chasing Rainbows and Marriage in *Jane Eyre**

VIVIAN WONG

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The vast majority of novels published during the Victorian era in England centered on marriage. Whether it be a marketing strategy, a form of escapism, or an agenda pushed by the pragmatic romantics of the time, happy endings for Victorian novelists consisted of happy marriages. The ideal marriage of the Victorian era required that the husband and wife should be of the same class, highly sociable members of society, preferably neither should be previously divorced, and most importantly, the husband should provide for the wife in all aspects of their relationship. The ending of Charlotte Brontë's novel, *Jane Eyre*, subverts the Victorian idea of a novel's satisfying ending in that the marriage between Jane Eyre and Rochester creates an unorthodox power dynamic between the two, the husband now physically depending on the wife. After Jane has come to inherit enough money to be completely independent, she seeks out her old employer, Mr. Rochester. Upon finding him blind and bedridden, Jane vehemently states: "I will be your neighbour, your nurse, your housekeeper. I find you lonely: I will be your companion—to read to you, to walk with you, to sit with you, to wait on you, to be eyes and hands to you. Cease to look so melancholy, my dear master; you shall not be left desolate, so long as I live" (Brontë 551). Some scholars, like Talia Schaffer, have read this moment as a positive overthrowing of traditional nineteenth-century marital dynamics. In chapter five of her book, *Romance's Rival*, Schaffer aims to put a positive spin on disability marriage in Victorian literature. A disability

marriage is characterized as a marital relationship in which one spouse is physically disabled. Schaffer argues that the increased need for care in a disability marriage facilitates a more equal, tender relationship dynamic, while additionally improving the social lives of the couple. She claims that "what the male disabled subject loses in autonomy, he gains in sociality. Debarred from competing in the male world of self-interested striving, he is inducted instead into a female-associate system of mutual caretaking" (161). While this reading interprets Jane and Rochester's relationship as a subversion to the ideal marriage through a gender-dynamic lens, Schaffer ultimately disregards Brontë's criticism of marriage as an institution oppressing *both* parties. Rochester's disabled state may free him from society's expectations that he physically provide for and dominate over his wife, but he and Jane ultimately remain isolated from society because of their marriage. In this way, the ending of *Jane Eyre* challenges the Victorian novel's common happy ending, as its heroine and her husband are barred from both physical and social mobility because of the expectation that Jane must wait on her husband.

Nancy Pell, in contrast to Schaffer, recognizes how *Jane Eyre*'s ending entraps both Jane and Rochester as they enter into an isolating and interdependent state. In her article titled "Resistance, Rebellion, and Marriage: The Economics of *Jane Eyre*," Pell writes: "Jane's affirmation of interdependence rather than of autonomy helps to explain the genuineness of her acceptance of Rochester, but it also points to the problem of their reabsorption into the system of inheritance and primogeniture that has made their earlier lives so difficult" (418). Pell reads *Jane Eyre* as a criticism of bourgeois and patriarchal authority.

* This paper was written for ENG 342 (Major Authors 1800–1900: The Brontës), taught by Dr. Jennifer Conary in Winter Quarter 2024. The paper was selected by a faculty committee in the Department of English consisting of Dr. Marcy Dinius, Dr. Eric Selinger, and Dr. Jennifer Conary, and convened by Dr. Rebecca Cameron.

She cites Jane's marriage to Rochester as an example of Brontë's critique of how Victorian society traps both man and wife in their marriages through economic pressures and social expectations of their dynamic, as the ever-present longing for social acceptance and mobility pressures both parties into marriage. While I agree that *Jane Eyre* is a criticism of Victorian society's patriarchal expectations for marriage, I also find it worth noting that Brontë's awareness of how nineteenth-century laws debilitated women in marriages led her to emphasize her young heroine's search for independence rather than a quest for love, ultimately making marriage in *Jane Eyre* a cautionary tale.

Brontë's interpretation of a female Bildungsroman eludes the typical themes in the Victorian novel, as most novels of the nineteenth century tended to valorize courtship and marriage, the very themes that *Jane Eyre* condemns. In her book titled *Victorian Women's Fiction: Marriage, Freedom, and the Individual*, Shirley Foster claims that "Victorian women novelists may have focused on romance and marriage also as a kind of consolation for personal dissatisfaction. Trapped in their private domestic sphere, they imaginatively enacted in fiction their own soothing dreams of blessed fulfillment" (4). The universal personal dissatisfaction that Victorian women experienced was rooted in the Common Law of England—that is, laws that were generally passed down by word of mouth as opposed to being written down in physical Law Reports—which clearly outlined inequities and disabilities for women. Foster cites *Summary*, published by Barbara Leigh Smith, who was only able to publish her writing in 1854 because of her father's membership in parliament. Smith writes: "A man and wife were one person in law; her existence was, as it were, absorbed in that of her husband; she lived under his protection or cover, and her condition was called coverture" (qtd. in Foster 10). Smith was not the only radical of the nineteenth century to publish her grievances against nineteenth-century marriage laws. Caroline Norton voiced similar complaints in her "Letter to the Queen," after battling her husband for two decades regarding her finances, property, and

custody of her children. The concerns and experiences of Smith and Norton were pervasive, as the expectation that women marry and reduce themselves to merely being an extension of their husbands remained an inescapable truth. Their bleak reality influenced Victorian women to search for happiness in marriage and domesticity through their novels. This desire for escapism is what ultimately led many women to read and write stories of grand romance, which falsely painted marriage as an exchange of love, rather than of economics.

Smith's and Norton's works were both published between the years 1854 and 1855. Their close following of *Jane Eyre's* publication in 1847 suggests that an already present expansion of feminist ideology at the half-century must have influenced Brontë's writing. Several correspondences between Brontë and friends reveal her opinion that marriage appears to be a happy exchange from afar, but once it is entered upon, reveals itself as an uncongenial affair. In a letter to her former suitor, Henry Nussey, Brontë reveals why her writing style contradicted the common depiction of marriage in the nineteenth century. Attempting to assure him that his sister's lack of marriage prospects should not be cause for his anxiety, Brontë writes: "We know many evils are escaped by eschewing matrimony and since so large a proportion of the young ladies of these days pursue that rainbow-shade with such unremitting eagerness, let us respect an exception who turns aside and pronounces it only a coloured vapour whose tints will fade on close approach" (qtd. in Foster 74). The "rainbow-shade" that Brontë condemns is the idea that marriage offers young women several prospects which will improve their life as a whole because it has improved their social and economic status. In an attempt to define exactly what advantages marriage provides for young women, Talia Schaffer claims that marriage, as a woman's only career, may express not heterosexual desire, but "community feeling, consanguineal loyalty, social yearnings, or vocational aspirations... Thus, through much of the nineteenth century, marriage was not necessarily an act of seeking a new, positive pleasure, but rather of guaranteeing, as

much as possible, the minimally necessary conditions for a decent life” (13). While marriage *appears* to offer women the previously stated advantages, Brontë is aware of the realities of the Common Law which binds wives to their husband’s disposal. For this reason, she emphasizes in her letter that the rainbow of marriage’s tints will fade once the woman has fully entered upon it. Rather than find themselves disillusioned in a disagreeable marriage, Brontë instead advocates for young women to “make [their] way in the crowd and... depend on [themselves]” so as to be their *own* mistresses (Foster 74).

The majority of *Jane Eyre’s* plot demonstrates Brontë’s belief that women ought to evade marriage in order to retain their independence through her emphasis on education and labor. At the very beginning of the novel, Jane first turns to education as a form of escapism from her tyrannical cousin, John Reed, who frequently verbally and physically abuses young Jane. She reads “Bewick’s History of British Birds” before finding herself being scolded by John Reed, and then being taken away by the servants, Bessie and Miss Abbot (Brontë 8). Jane retaliates, yelling that John Reed is not her master and she is no servant. Miss Abbot replies, “No; you are less than a servant, for you do nothing for your keep” (Brontë 14). This moment catalyzes the rest of Jane’s journey for independence, as it introduces the idea that labor provides the opportunity for social mobility. Jane longs to escape her oppressive home in Gateshead. Had *Jane Eyre* been a more traditional Victorian novel, Jane might have been subjected to the damsel-in-distress plotline, awaiting the day her husband would save her from class limbo. That might have been the more common and obvious choice, but Brontë decidedly has a working-class character point her heroine in the direction of labor as her escape to freedom. After leaving Gateshead, Jane’s first taste of individuality and pride comes from her position as a teacher at Lowood. Her only reason for leaving her beloved school is her longing for new sights and freedoms. Romance is never included among the things she yearns for. Where other traditional Victorian female protagonists might have cried out for love in a time of frustration, Jane cries: “Grant me at least a new servitude!” (Brontë 108).

Even when offered romance—on a somewhat tarnished silver platter—Jane rejects it and continues to seek independence and labor. After spending many months at Thornfield and learning that Mr. Rochester reciprocates her feelings, Jane discovers the existence of Rochester’s insane wife, Bertha Mason. Rochester begs and professes his love countless times, attempting to justify himself. Despite Jane’s passion for Rochester, her pragmatism and self-respect outshine her desire for romance. The night before she leaves Rochester of her own accord, Jane proclaims: “I care for myself. The more solitary, the more friendless, the more unsustained I am, the more I will respect myself” (Brontë 399).

Jane’s reasoning for leaving Thornfield directly reflects Brontë’s opinion that women should seek fulfillment outside of marriage. In *Women and Marriage in Nineteenth-Century England*, scholar Joan Perkin writes, “[Charlotte Brontë]... decided that there was ‘no more respectable character on this earth than an unmarried woman who makes her own way through life quietly, perseveringly—without support of husband or brother’” (191). Despite having the opportunity to indulge in a romance, albeit a promiscuous one, the heroine seems to reflect the same opinions as the author, and thinks more of her independence than of her passion. Instead, the next time Jane seems satisfied with her life is in the presence of Diana, Mary, and St. John Rivers, teaching at her own school. Every time Jane longs for social mobility, liberty, or self-respect, she journeys to a new place that revolves around education. She flees tyranny at Gateshead for a boarding school and finds dignity at Lowood. She leaves that position in search of newness, and finds it as a governess at Thornfield. At Thornfield, she is confronted with the idea of romance, but rejects it out of her importance for dignity, morality, and self-respect. Jane’s constant pursuit of these ideas leads her to finally teach at a school opened up by her cousin. In this way, Jane’s character only ever evolves through the work she does. It is through becoming a student and eventually a governess that she discovers her principles, as well as her self-respect.

In fact, Brontë portrays marital relationships as an obstacle to liberty and independence for female characters, such as Jane and Bertha. In the case of Rochester's first wife, Bertha becomes physically trapped as a result of her marriage to Rochester. After the stabbing of Richard Mason, Jane comes to question what monster could be hidden at Thornfield. She asks: "What crime was this that lived incarnate in this sequestered mansion, and could neither be expelled nor subdued by the owner?" (Brontë 264). At this moment, Jane is not aware of the fact that the creature she refers to is her master's wife, but this does not reflect the novel's awareness. The language Brontë uses describes Bertha's husband as her *owner*, making the wife's position analogous to that of the *owned*, or the enslaved. Brontë then makes it clear that she disagrees with this dynamic by emphasizing Bertha's lack of fault or initiative in the situation, as her heroine points out that Bertha "cannot help being mad," depicting her as a woman in an unjust state of enslavement (Brontë 379). Just as a slave cannot be blamed for its status, the wife dubbed insane cannot be blamed for her entrapment. While the novel claims that Rochester's marriage to Bertha deters Jane from a romance on the grounds of bigamy, that marriage also serves as a cautionary tale for Jane, should she decide to marry the creature's owner.

Jane's own marriage to Rochester serves as a second warning against willfully approaching the coloured vapor that is Victorian marriage. After Jane seems to have gotten a chance at a happy ending—inheriting enough money to be completely independent and teaching at her cousin's school—she decides to pay a visit to her previous master, Rochester. Upon finding him blind and bedridden, Jane succumbs to her passions and vows to be with him and take care of him. Rochester warns her what being his wife will entail: "Yes—but you understand one thing by staying with me; and I understand another. You, perhaps, could make up your mind to be about my hand and chair—to wait on me as a kind little nurse (for you have an affectionate heart and a generous spirit, which prompt you to make sacrifices for those you pity), and that ought to suffice for me no doubt" (Brontë 552).

Though the language here is not as directly analogous to the relationship between owner and slave, as it was in the case of Bertha, the fate that awaits Jane in this marriage is still described as one where she is confined to her husband as his caretaker. Rochester's dependence on Jane may subvert the traditional *physical* dynamics of Victorian marriage, but it also evolves into another form of dominance over his wife, nurse, and slave. His constant need for care will demand mastery over Jane, as she must wait on him as the wife of a disabled man. In this way, Brontë perfectly depicts the hopelessness of marriage as an institution, forever enslaving wives. The first time Jane expects to become Mrs. Rochester, she finds herself confined to the choices of being her master's mistress, or possibly living the same fate as his first wife. Now, she may only be his wife if she is also his nurse.

Despite the clear grimness of the state of Jane's marriage to Rochester, some scholars may argue that Jane's craving for love ultimately leads her down the path to marriage. However, while her journey remains sprinkled with occasional longings for love, Jane pointedly restrains herself until she feels that she can respectably obtain romance. After all, when she is first offered romance by Rochester, she decides: "Not a human being that ever lived could wish to be loved better than I was loved; and him who thus loved me I absolutely worshipped: and I must renounce love and idol" (Brontë 397). After observing Bertha's example of what marriage with Rochester might be like, Jane learns that upward mobility is not possible through marital relationships with him. Ultimately, Jane prioritizes freedom and self-respect. When she sees that her only options are either bigamy or the life of a mistress, both options condemned by Victorian society, she finds that her only choice to remain a respectable woman is to reject her love.

While it can be interpreted that Jane's path ultimately leads to her marriage with Rochester, it should be noted that Jane does not decide to return to Rochester until she has ensured her own independence. Even upon reuniting with him, her first thoughts are not of marriage. Despite

Rochester's recommendation that she marry one day, Jane replies, "I don't care about being married" (Brontë 552). That is, her motivation in returning to Rochester is not out of a want to marry him. Jane recognizes that after inheriting enough money to maintain her independence, she is in a position to freely love her previous master in any way she sees fit. However, the fact that she *does* marry him serves not as a happy ending, but as a cautionary tale.

Throughout the majority of the novel, Jane's quest is for independence, liberty, and excitement. While rarely voicing any romantic longings, her motivations for moving from Gateshead, to Lowood, and to Thornfield are all catalyzed by a yearning to live a respectable and exciting life. With an enthusiasm for freedom being such an important theme throughout this female Bildungsroman, Jane's ending, which lacks any of those ideas, can only be read as tragic. After marrying Rochester, Jane states that her tale draws to its close. She writes: "I have now been married ten years. I know what it is to live entirely for and with what I love best on earth. I hold myself supremely blest—blest beyond what language can express; because I am my husband's life as fully as he is mine" (Brontë 571). Brontë, who rejected as many as three proposals and valorized the unmarried woman, uses irony to warn female readers of what awaits them in marriage. Brontë's language directly calls upon the fears that began to take hold of feminists during the nineteenth century. Jane's marriage is all-consuming, as she claims to live entirely for her disabled husband. Her statement that she is blest because her life is fully her husband's precisely references those laws that bound women's children, property, and lives to their husbands during the Victorian era. For a heroine who longed so vehemently for independence and freedom, this ending can best be read as ironic. In her book titled *Unbecoming Women: British Women Writers and the Novel of Development*, Susan Fraiman writes: "What further saves this ending from complete resignation are the certain hints of irony. Surely there is an ironizing impulse in the too pat, absurdly idealized description of what happens to Diana and Mary Rivers" (119). Fraiman refers to the singsongy syntax of the final description of all marriages in *Jane Eyre*. Jane claims: "My Edward and

I, then, are happy: and the more so, because those we most love are happy likewise. Diana and Mary Rivers are both married... Diana's husband is a captain in the navy, a gallant officer and a good man. Mary's is a clergyman, a college friend of her brother's, and, from his attainments and principles, worthy of the connection. Both Captain Fitzjames and Mr. Wharton love their wives, and are loved by them" (Brontë 573).

As Jane describes her happy ending, and that of her cousins', in a way that evades all the pragmatism and concern with independence that Brontë's heroine has voiced throughout her journey, the novel remains aware of the author's warning against marriage. Brontë leaves readers with the thought that, as long as Jane was prioritizing her independence and self-respect over romance, her path led her to a respectable position as governess and an inheritance that would ensure she maintained that freedom. It was not until she looked back at the falsely picturesque idea of marriage that she committed herself to a life of enslavement, forced to wait on her husband for the rest of her life. *Jane Eyre's* ending, both in its tone and its very obvious disregard for all of the other desires voiced by Jane, epitomizes the perception that Brontë had of the choices women of the Victorian era had: there is upward mobility and freedom through education and labor, and there is domestic entrapment through marriage.

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Brendon Boonsearm | *Rows of Ruin* | Digital photography

Entre lumière et nature: Une étude comparative de Lamartine et Rousseau*

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ENGLISH ABSTRACT

This paper comparatively analyzes the romantic poem “Le Lac” by Alphonse de Lamartine and Jean-Jacques Rousseau’s novel *Julie ou la Nouvelle Héloïse*. Both texts emphasize the capacity of nature to inspire reflection and its relationship to time. However, while Lamartine, a romantic era author, personifies nature, rendering the lake an omniscient catalyst capable of freeing the narrator from the confines of time, Rousseau, an enlightenment thinker, recognizes time as an inexorable limit of the human mind unable to be transcended.

Introduction

Le monde de la littérature française est rempli d’œuvres qui célèbrent la beauté de la nature, la profondeur des émotions et la mélancolie de la condition humaine. Deux de ces œuvres sont le poème « Le Lac » d’Alphonse de Lamartine et le roman *Julie ou la Nouvelle Héloïse* de Jean-Jacques Rousseau, des textes emblématiques qui illustrent la capacité de la nature à provoquer des émotions profondes et à inspirer la réflexion. « Le Lac », publié en 1820, est un poème s’inscrivant dans le courant littéraire romantique et explorant le point de vue du narrateur réfléchissant à un amour perdu au bord d’un lac. *Julie ou La Nouvelle Héloïse*, publié en 1761, est un roman épistolaire préromantique qui raconte l’histoire d’une passion amoureuse en suivant notamment les aventures des personnages Julie d’Étange et Saint-Preux (Chabernaude). Dans cet essai je comparerai « Le Lac » au passage « La promenade sur le lac », d’une lettre du roman de Rousseau. Cet essai se compose de deux sections. Tout d’abord, je discuterai deux thèmes communs aux textes :

la nature et le temps ; et deuxièmement, j’examinerai les différences et similarités entre leurs contextes historiques et stylistiques.

La force réfléchissante de la nature

Premièrement, la nature est la force la plus puissante dans les deux œuvres. On peut voir, simplement au début des textes, que la nature aura une grande signification pour les narrateurs. Par exemple, le titre du poème « Le Lac » fait appel, à première vue, à l’imaginaire de la nature pour le lecteur. Cette image est ensuite renforcée par la première strophe du poème qui commence par « Ainsi, toujours poussés vers de nouveaux rivages, » un vers qui rappelle la force de l’eau et du vent. De même, dans la première phrase du passage du roman, le personnage de Saint Preux nous rappelle que « revenus lentement au port après quelques détours, nous nous séparâmes. » Le début de chaque texte indique clairement qu’un lac est le cadre de l’histoire, ce qui renforce son omniprésence.

C’est l’omniprésence du lac, en tant que cadre et force, qui pousse les narrateurs vers la réflexion et l’introspection. Pourtant, les deux narrateurs ont une relation différente avec la nature. D’abord, examinons

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attentivement le poème de Lamartine. Dans ce dernier, le lac est personnifié.¹ Le narrateur parle directement au lac : il crie « Ô lac ! » et puis, lui attribue des propriétés sensorielles. De même, à la deuxième strophe, il dit « Regarde ! je viens seul m'asseoir sur cette pierre / Où tu la vis s'asseoir ! » Le même passage indique aussi le pouvoir de la nature à évoquer certains souvenirs, comme l'image de l'ancien amour du narrateur qui est assis sur la pierre. On trouve d'autres exemples semblables dans la troisième et quatrième strophes, où Lamartine écrit « Ainsi le vent jetait l'écume de tes ondes / Sur ses pieds adorés » et « Un soir, t'en souvient-il ? nous voguions en silence ; / On n'entendait au loin, sur l'onde et sous les cieux, / Que le bruit des rameurs qui frappaient en cadence / Tes flots harmonieux. » Plutôt que de dépeindre le lac comme un objet, le poète donne au lac une perspective omnisciente.

Dans un entretien, on apprend que Lamartine « préfère la musique à la peinture » (Lamartine, *Cours familier de littérature* qtd. dans Birkett 286). Cela nous paraît clair, lorsqu'on examine la manière dont il emploie le champ lexical de la nature. Birkett écrit qu'il « dissocie paysages littéraires et paysages picturaux » (289). Le lac reste le cadre, mais les descriptions vagues et immatérielles de celui-ci signifient que l'on s'intéresse peut-être à quelque chose de plus ou moins abstrait. Cela ne réfute pas la personnification du lac, mais affirme plutôt son omniprésence, comme s'il avait un caractère divin. Par exemple, l'expression « l'océan des âges » dans la première strophe, nous indique qu'il « s'agit d'un lac métaphorique plutôt que d'un décor visuel » (Birkett 289). De plus, en comparant la musique aux arts visuels, Lamartine dit, « L'un est l'art de multiplier les impressions de l'âme par les sons ; l'autre est l'art de multiplier les impressions de l'âme par la vue... » (Lamartine, *Cours familier de littérature* qtd. Birkett 286). En considérant sa préférence pour la musique plutôt que pour la peinture, qui apparaît par l'imprécision de la plupart des descriptions de la nature,

il multiplie « les impressions de l'âme » en donnant la priorité aux sons du lac : « Tes flots harmonieux » et « les bruits de tes bords par tes bords répétés. »

Tout comme Birkett, Ruwet indique l'ambiguïté du paysage:² « toute indication géographique, même sibylline, a disparu. Le lac du titre pourrait être n'importe quel lac au monde, pourvu qu'il soit assez vaste parfois agité, voire dangereux. Ce lac est ambivalent : inquiétant ou bienfaisant » (86). Où que se trouve le narrateur, Lamartine, le lac est avec lui. Il pourrait vraiment se trouver au lac du Bourget,³ mais même dans le cas où il n'y serait pas, le lac lui, y resterait. On apprend que dans sa vie, Lamartine a eu une liaison avec une femme mariée, Julie Charles. Elle est tombée malade et sa mort s'est ensuivie. On suppose que leur relation a inspiré au poète le thème du poème (87). Le lac, que Lamartine associe à son amante à travers ses souvenirs, l'inquiète ou lui fait du bien. Tant qu'il se souvient de Julie, le lac a un pouvoir tellement fort sur lui que, chaque fois qu'il en rencontre un ou pense à un, il pense à elle.

Voyons maintenant l'extrait de Rousseau. Dans le passage de *La Nouvelle-Héloïse*, bien que Saint Preux ne parle pas directement à une version personnifiée de la nature, il est affecté de la même manière. À la fois Lamartine et Saint-Preux attachent l'idée du lac à celle de leurs amantes, qui, par hasard, portent le même nom. Par exemple, dans le passage, Saint Preux raconte un souvenir au bord du lac avec son amante : « Je commençai par me rappeler une promenade semblable faite autrefois avec elle durant le charme de nos premières amours. » Comme Lamartine, dans le passage, le lac a la capacité d'inspirer la réflexion. De plus, Saint Preux décrit comment « Le bruit égal et mesuré des rames [l]'excitait à rêver » et « le chant assez gai des bécassines... [l]'attristait, » indiquant en outre le potentiel de réflexion de la nature.

1 Dans son article, Ruwet déclare que le lac et le temps ne sont pas personnifiés parce qu'ils n'ont pas de majuscule dans le poème. Mais je ne suis pas d'accord, étant donné que Lamartine leur attribue des caractéristiques humaines.

2 Ruwet, comme Birkett, s'intéresse également à la musicalité du poème. Les deux critiques soulignent que la forme du poème est une indication de sa musicalité, que je discuterai plus tard dans cet essai.

3 Le lac présumé du poème (Ruwet 86).

La prison du temps

Deuxièmement, dans les deux textes, les auteurs font plusieurs références à la dimension du temps. La mélancolie et la nostalgie du passé jouent un rôle immense dans chaque texte. Dans le poème, Lamartine souligne cette idée de nombreuses fois, et notamment avec ce vers : « Le temps m'échappe et fuit. » Bien que dans ce vers le narrateur dise que le temps est ce qui lui échappe, en réalité, il montre qu'il ne peut pas échapper au temps, en évoquant un sens de mélancolie. Il est prisonnier de moments qui changent sans cesse. Comme le lac, le temps est aussi personnifié dans le poème. Il dit qu'une voix lui dit, « Ô temps ! suspends ton vol, et vous, heures propices ! ». Alors que la nature amène Julie à Lamartine, c'est le temps qui la lui vole. Il décrit le temps comme « jaloux, » peut être jaloux de leur amour, qui donne et efface « ces moments d'ivresse / Où l'amour à longs flots nous verse le bonheur. » Il utilise aussi des mots comme « vitesse » et « rapide » et fait une comparaison avec les flots et le temps pour illustrer sa fugacité et comment il « coule » comme l'eau.

On peut remarquer dans le passage de Rousseau que l'auteur partage le même sentiment au sujet du temps. Tous les verbes du passage sont conjugués aux temps du passé, et puisque c'est Saint Preux qui écrit, il y a déjà une dimension d'introspection, de rappel du passé. Comme Lamartine, Saint Preux est aussi dans un état de mélancolie à cause du temps ; il aspire au passé : « ces temps, ces temps heureux ne sont plus ; ils ont disparu pour jamais. » Le temps, encore une fois, est ce qui l'éloigne de Julie. Même quand les deux amants sont physiquement ensemble sur le bateau, les pensées du passé les séparent émotionnellement et peuvent être facilement perverties. Saint Preux évoque le souvenir d'une promenade similaire au début de leur histoire d'amour ; ce souvenir est très ancien et n'est plus positif pour Saint Preux. Le temps—tout ce qui s'est passé entre ce moment et le présent, a transformé et perverti le souvenir originel. Maintenant, « tous les sentiments délicieux qui remplissaient alors mon âme, » nous dit Saint Preux, « s'y retracèrent pour l'affliger. » Dans les deux textes, le

temps est symbolique d'une prison inévitable qui apporte le désespoir et la mélancolie.

Dans les deux œuvres, il existe une relation analogue entre la nature et le temps : ils fonctionnent en opposition l'un à l'autre. Birkett dit que dans « Le Lac, » c'est le temps qui « rend le désir impuissant » (290). Pour ça, l'amante de Lamartine demande au temps : « suspendez votre cours. » Mais, la nature, cependant, reste éternelle et, par conséquent, rend l'amour éternel. Lamartine écrit, « [Lac], que le temps épargne ou qu'il peut rajeunir, / Gardez de cette nuit, gardez, belle nature, / Au moins le souvenir ! » Dans le poème, comme la nature est romancée, elle est libérée de la corruption du temps ; et emprisonné, Lamartine se tourne vers la nature pour s'évader. Toutefois, dans le passage de Rousseau, le temps maîtrise la nature. Saint-Preux, reconnaît à la fois l'impact et les limites de celle-ci sur ses émotions en disant « Un ciel serein, les doux rayons de la lune, le frémissement argenté dont l'eau brillait autour de nous, le concours des plus agréables sensations, la présence même de cet objet chéri, rien ne put détourner de mon cœur mille réflexions douloureuses. » Pour Rousseau, la passion, la nature, et l'amour ne sont pas suffisants pour vaincre les limites du temps.

Lumières et romantisme

Il est important de noter que les deux textes proviennent de courants littéraires différents. *Julie ou La Nouvelle Héloïse* a été écrit à l'époque des Lumières au 18e siècle, par Rousseau, très connu pour sa contribution au mouvement. Les thèmes centraux des Lumières sont l'autonomie, la condition humaine, l'universalité, la raison, et la connaissance (Epitalon). Le romantisme, un mouvement littéraire qui a émergé dans la première moitié du 19e siècle, aborde des thèmes tels que l'expression des sentiments, la valorisation de la mélancolie, l'exotisme, l'imagerie, et une fascination pour la nature (Chabernaud). Publié en 1761, *Julie ou La Nouvelle Héloïse* correspond à la philosophie générale de Rousseau car il travaille en même temps sur ses autres textes, *Lettre à D'Alembert* (1758), *Du Contrat Social et Émile* (1762). Bien que ce

texte soit largement centré sur la nature, comme beaucoup d'œuvres romantiques, il considère la nature d'un point de vue rationnel, l'analysant de manière empirique à travers sa relation avec les humains. Pour ses explorations des thèmes romantiques et son sentimentalisme, Rousseau est parfois considéré comme un romantique (Smith 54). En fait, *La Nouvelle Héloïse* a marqué la période de transition entre les courants (Chabernaud). Mais pour les besoins de cet essai, je trouve que le passage spécifique de mon étude évoque le conflit entre la pensée des Lumières et la pensée romantique, et l'évolution de la pensée de Rousseau. Après tout, il se dit lui-même « homme à paradoxes » (Rousseau, *Émile* qtd. dans Masters 248).

Dans le passage, Saint Preux est influencé par la nature, mais reconnaît ses limites qui ne peuvent déterminer complètement son humeur. C'est là où le temps apparaît comme une limite de la raison humaine dont j'ai parlé précédemment. La nature peut aider Saint Preux à se souvenir des bons moments passés avec Julie, et il le réalise, mais il n'est pas possible d'échapper à son contexte temporel. Pour cette raison, la nature n'est pas romantisée de la même manière que dans le poème. C'est plutôt la raison et l'empirisme qui ont le plus d'emprise sur ses émotions, puisqu'il est « violemment tenté de la précipiter avec moi dans les flots, et de finir ma vie et mes longs tourments dans ses bras, » il résiste et est « obligé de lui laisser brusquement la main pour passer à la pointe du bateau. » Toutefois, il faut noter que la nature n'est pas totalement ignorée et plutôt, engagée de manière contrôlée.

Peut-être que Lamartine a réalisé la relation contradictoire entre la nature et la raison dans les œuvres de Rousseau. À propos de lui, Lamartine a dit « Rousseau n'est pas bon, il n'est qu'éloquent. Ses déclarations charment l'esprit, mais ne touchent pas longtemps le cœur ; le cœur sent vite qu'il est dupé par un sophiste de sentiment » (Lamartine, *Cours familier de littérature* qtd. dans Trousson 744). Malgré cela, on note chez Lamartine une certaine influence de Rousseau et de ses écrits : « Le lyrisme de la prose rousseauiste a passé dans les vers de Lamartine, et l'âme

de Jean-Jacques nimbe tout un versant des *Méditations* » (Trousson 750). Bien que les textes proviennent de courants littéraires différents, après avoir compris le contexte du roman et du poème, il est très difficile de ne pas réaliser les liens. En plus de « un paysage à la Rousseau, » sans en savoir plus, on pourrait supposer que Saint Preux est le narrateur du poème, tout en considérant les parallèles entre le personnage et Lamartine lui-même (Birkett 289). Mais, en fin de compte, leur rapport à la nature est différent pour les deux et reflète les principes de leurs courants littéraires respectifs. Les flots dans lesquels Saint Preux était « violemment tenté » de se précipiter avec Julie sont ceux qui rappellent à Lamartine qu'« Ils ont aimé ! »

Vers contre prose

Tandis que le lac est un poème en vers, le passage du roman est en prose. Les deux styles présentent plusieurs avantages et limites. Le poème offre une grande liberté d'expression artistique qui permet à l'auteur de jouer avec la sonorité des mots, les rimes, et les images poétiques pour créer une atmosphère émotionnelle puissante. Par exemple, le poème suit une progression de rimes *abab*. Ceci est très important dans « Le Lac », où Lamartine met en évidence la relation entre le temps et la nature en utilisant les rimes. Par exemple, il utilise beaucoup de rimes en comparant des mots associés à l'âge et à la nature : rivages/âges (strophe 1), carrière/pierre (strophe 2), encore/l'aurore (strophe 8), fugitive/rive (strophe 9), ivresse/vitesse (strophe 10), passe/surface (strophe 15). L'utilisation développe également l'expérience de la récitation du poème et la profondeur des thèmes.

Revenons à une notion que j'ai examinée plus tôt dans l'essai, la musicalité de Lamartine. Il a écrit « La musique est un mouvement, une locomotion de l'âme par l'oreille, qui vous saisit, vous emporte, vous transporte, vous exalte en croissant jusqu'au vertige, jusqu'au délire » et « [La musique] suscite des sentiments illimités dans les sons » (Lamartine, *Cours familier de littérature* qtd. dans Birkett 291). Le vers, en tant que forme poétique, permet à Lamartine de s'inspirer d'éléments musicaux tels que les

rimes, dont j'ai parlé, la répétition sonore, les assonances, et le rythme. Par exemple, dans la sixième strophe, il y a six cas où le son de la lettre « s » est accentué : « Ô temps ! suspends ton vol, et vous, heures propices ! / Suspendez votre cours : / Laissez-nous savourer les rapides délices. » L'accent de « s » est mis sur chaque verbe de la strophe, ajoutant plus d'urgence au cri de Lamartine au temps. Les sons renforcent le sens, comme dans la musique.

De plus, « Le Lac » est composé d'un certain mètre. Il y a trois parties du poème, selon Ruwet : A (I à V), B (VI à IX), et C (X à XVI). Parties A et C sont constituées du même motif des syllabes–12-12-12-6, tandis que la partie B est différente–12-6-12-6 (91). La variation de la partie B correspond au fait qu'elle est composée des mots de l'ancienne amante, plutôt que du narrateur. La différence de mètre aide le lecteur à comprendre la différence de perspective. En rendant la poésie musicale et en soulignant certains éléments comme le son et le rythme, Lamartine nécessite la participation et la récitation du lecteur pour qu'il puisse saisir bien la signification et les nuances du poème qui échappent aux limites de la langue. L'expérience du poème est incarnée, et donc émeut le lecteur.

Contrairement aux vers, la prose n'est pas contrainte par les règles de la versification. Elle peut être un mouvement de mots libre et fluide, et donc, a une plus grande capacité à explorer la narration détaillée et l'introspection nuancée comme on peut le voir dans le passage de Rousseau. Le lecteur peut entrer dans l'esprit de Saint Preux et comprendre l'origine et la nature de ses sentiments. En poésie, on ne peut pas toujours supposer un narrateur cohérent. Cependant, dans *La Nouvelle Héloïse*, le format épistolaire indique un narrateur spécifique et en même temps, permet au narrateur de s'exprimer librement. Cela donne au lecteur un accès à son esprit et à ses sentiments. Dans le passage de Rousseau, Saint-Preux nous dit directement:

Là mes vives agitations commencèrent à prendre un autre cours ; un sentiment plus doux s'insinua peu à peu dans mon âme, l'attendrissement surmonta le désespoir, je me mis à verser des torrents de larmes, et cet état, comparé à celui dont je sortais, n'était pas sans quelques plaisirs. Je pleurai fortement, longtemps, et fus soulagé.

Ce style de prose offre au lecteur un moyen de mieux s'identifier à Saint-Preux en sollicitant son esprit. Alors que Lamartine cherche à évoquer des émotions plus abstraites, Rousseau utilise la prose comme hospitalité—une invitation à entrer dans son esprit. Les deux styles de littérature offrent au lecteur une expérience de connexion, qui peuvent inspirer l'introspection.

Conclusion

Les œuvres « Le Lac » de Alphonse de Lamartine et le roman *Julie ou la Nouvelle Héloïse* de Jean-Jacques Rousseau ont eu une grande importance pendant leurs époques respectives. Ils partagent les thèmes de la nature et du temps, essentiels dans leurs contextes littéraires. *Julie ou la Nouvelle Héloïse* aborde des thèmes propres à ceux des Lumières, mais ouvre aussi la possibilité pour le romantisme de prospérer, grâce à l'importance qu'il accorde à la nature. « Le Lac » de Lamartine illustre les thèmes importants dans le romantisme comme la nature et les émotions. Les deux styles, les vers et la prose, permettent aux auteurs d'explorer la condition humaine de manière créative. En comparant les œuvres « Le Lac » de Lamartine et *La Nouvelle Héloïse* de Rousseau, nous apprenons beaucoup sur l'histoire et la théorie littéraire, mais aussi sur nous-mêmes. Ces textes nous montrent l'impact de phénomènes tels que la nature et le temps sur nous, comme sur les personnages. Sur la littérature, Barthes a écrit que « le livre fait le sens, le sens fait la vie » (25). La littérature nous aide à donner un sens au monde, en informant nos actions. Elle est ontologique. En imaginant le monde du texte, nous imaginons le nôtre.

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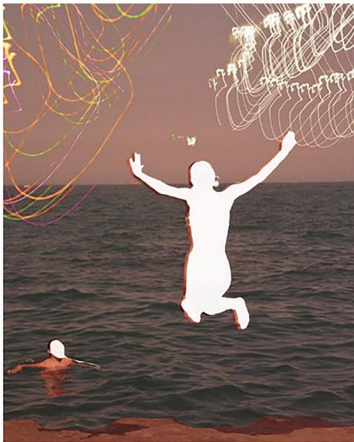
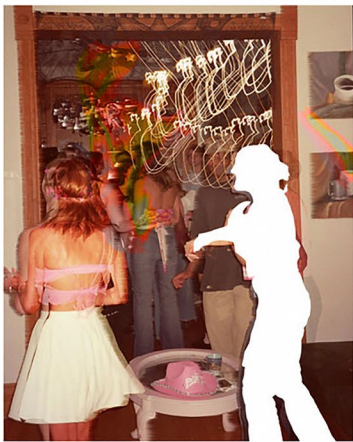
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Stella Conrad | *To Belong, To Once Belong* | Digitally altered 35mm

Die Unheimlichkeit Der Heimat in *The Zone of Interest* und *Corsage**

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ENGLISH ABSTRACT

The German word *Heimat* (home, homeliness, feeling of home) is laden with meaning. It lacks an exact English equivalent and is better understood as an idea, one which has strong connections to German Romanticism and growing nationalism in the 19th century, and that was later perverted under National Socialism to demarcate categories of racialized belonging and exclusion. When examined more closely, the actual picture we think we have of *Heimat* seems to only get blurrier. German filmmaker Edgar Reitz described it this way: “‘Heimat’ is such that if one would go closer and closer to it, one would discover at the moment of arrival it is gone . . . It seems to me that one has a more precise idea of ‘Heimat’ the further one is away from it” (qtd. in Berghahn 147). In this sense, *Heimat* is a utopia, an abstraction, a non-place. However, the genre of the *Heimatfilm*, as demonstrated by the famous Sisi film trilogy of the 1950s starring Romy Schneider, reconstructed the concept of “Heimat” through a strong connection to the natural landscape. The German-language films *Corsage* (2022, dir. Marie Kreutzer) and *The Zone of Interest* (2024, dir. Jonathan Glazer) manipulate this romanticized, nature-related, nationalistic conceptualization of *Heimat* in the *Heimatfilm* genre in order to criticize the historical eras they seek to portray. Thus, they attempt to capture when the familiar becomes unfamiliar, when the *heimlich* becomes *unheimlich* (“uncanny”).

„Adidas soll nicht mehr Nationaltrikot im Fußball sein? Stattdessen ein US-Unternehmen? Halte ich für eine Fehlentscheidung, wo Kommerz deine Tradition und ein Stück Heimat vernichtet...“ (@Karl_Lauterbach). Dies postete der deutsche Bundesgesundheitsminister Karl Lauterbach neulich auf X zu der Entscheidung des Deutschen Fußball-Bundes ihr Ausrüster von Adidas, die ikonische deutsche Marke, auf Nike zu wechseln. Aber was meint Lauterbach mit dem „Stück Heimat“, das jetzt verloren geht? Wenn Adidas ein „Stück“ der deutschen „Heimat“ ist, wo sind die sämtlichen anderen Stücke genau zu finden? Lauterbachs Post ist ein

aktuelles Beispiel von der abstrakten Heimatsidee, deren Bedeutungen heute noch politisiert werden.

In ihrem Artikel, „Ist ‚Heimat‘ ein Mythos?“ analysiert Maja Soboleva die konstruierten Bedeutungen des „Heimatbegriffs“, und fragt, „ob es überhaupt korrekt ist, den Heimatbegriff grundsätzlich sozial-geographisch und sozial-psychologisch zu interpretieren und somit ihn als Instrument politisch brauchbar zu machen,“ (Soboleva 515). Ohne die Politisierung des Heimatbegriffs wird die Diskussion sehr instabil, weil das Konzept so persönlich und abstrakt wird. Aber, in dem Heimatfilm-Genre, wird „Heimat“ mit idyllischer Naturlandschaft sehr strategisch dargestellt, um Nationalstolz zu erzeugen. The *Zone of Interest* und *Corsage* sind Filme, die diese traditionelle

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Darstellung von „Heimat“ strategisch *unheimlich* machen, um die historischen Ären, die sie darstellen wollen, neu kritisieren zu können und dadurch auch vorherige Erzählungen von deren Themen in Frage zu stellen.

In seinem Buch, *No Place Like Home: Locations of Heimat in German Cinema*, untersucht Johannes von Moltke die filmischen Strategien, die in deutschen Filmen benutzt wurden, um „Heimat“ zu konstruieren. In seiner Analyse von Bergfilmen und Heimatfilmen, schreibt er „Whereas the mountain films treat nature as a sublime spectacle, we tend to associate the *Heimat* genre with a far more benign, if not innocuous, nature.“ (Moltke 49). *The Zone of Interest* ist natürlich das perfekte Gegenteil von einem Heimatfilm. Trotzdem, kinematographisch gesehen, geht Jonathan Glazer sehr strategisch mit der Natur um, fast wie in einem traditionellen Heimatfilm. Die Darstellung der Natur in *The Zone of Interest* wirkt so wie in Moltkes „innocuous“ Beschreibung. Die Landschaft spielt ihre eigene Rolle, in der Glazer das ländliche Idyll der Umgebung in langen Aufnahmen zeigt. Zum Beispiel, die erste Szene zeigt die Höss Familie bei einem Ausflug am Fluss. Die grüne Wiese weht im Wind, die Sonne ist fast blendend, und der Fluss plätschert im Hintergrund vorbei. Wenn man nicht wüsste, dass dieser Film sich mit Nazi Kommandant Rudolf Höss beschäftigt, würde man denken, dass es um eine normale Familie ginge – und das ist auch der Punkt. In ihrem neuen *Film Quarterly* Artikel „Proximities of Violence: *The Zone of Interest*“, schreibt Amy Herzog über die Rolle der Natur im Film, und in ähnlicher Weise behauptet sie, dass die Landschaft zu einem schweigenden Zeuge des Horrors wird: „The landscape itself is a silent witness.“ (Herzog 11).

Diese Idee, dass die Landschaft schweigend zeugt, wird in den Szenen mit Hedwigs Garten am stärksten dargestellt. Das Konzentrationslager und den Garten teilen den selben Zaun, aber Hedwig ist so vom Garten bessen und alles, was sie im Garten kontrollieren kann, dass ihre Haltung fast manisch ist. Aber wieder wird die Natur zu einem Zeuge, in dem die Blumen mit abstrakter Kinematographie verändert werden. In

einer Facette, konzentriert sich die Kamera auf eine rote Blume, und dann wird der ganze Bildschirm mit einem NS-Rot und drönerer Audiogestaltung der Gewalt im KZ überblendet. In dem Moment, kann sich der Zuschauer wegen der furchtbaren Immersivität des drönenden Rotes fast nicht bewegen, und die natürliche Schönheit der Blume ist komplett zerstört. Hiermit wird die Blume, etwas „Normales“ und Heimliches, komplett unheimlich gemacht.

Weiterhin kann Rudolf Höss den Horror, den er jeden Tag leidet, nie ganz entkommen, und die Natur spielt dabei eine wichtige Rolle. Die Szene, in der Asche in den Fluss fließt, ist ein klares Beispiel davon. In dieser Szene wird Höss zu einem Zerstörer der Natur, und die Natur wird dadurch zu mehr als nur ein Zeuge, von was er macht. Die Naturlandschaft verändert sich und bleibt nicht „normal“, wie er es will und andere Familien, die so leben, es wollen. Dadurch wird die heimatliche Darstellung (im Sinne von konzentrierten Aufnahmen) von der Natur komplett unheimlich, weil die angeborene Schönheit der Natur einfach nicht wahrgenommen werden kann. Die stetige Gegnung zwischen Horror und Natur (Elemente die auch manchmal zusammenkommen) wird benutzt, um die Wahrheit zu zeigen: so haben Leute während des Horrors wirklich gelebt.

Glazer fokussiert sich nicht nur auf das ländliche Idyll, sondern auch auf das angebliche häusliche Idyll, das Teil des Höss-Alltags war. In seiner Analyse von Nazi Heimatfilmen, erklärt Moltke wie diese Filme „Heimat“ als ein Zuhause, zu dem man zurückkehren kann, anstatt ein Paradies, in das man flüchten kann, strategisch formulierten (Moltke 53). Das „Rückkehr“-Konzept ist sehr klar in *The Zone of Interest*, weil das Haus und der Garten die dominierenden Drehorte sind. Aber die verständliche Unheimlichkeit dieses Konzepts wird verdoppelt, weil die Überwachungskameras dort benutzt werden, um die Familie als Verbrecher darzustellen. Diese kinematograpische Strategie stellt den Zuschauer auch in einer Position als Überwacher. Dadurch wird der Zuschauer einigermaßen mitschuldig gemacht.

Mit dieser Strategie setzt sich *The Zone of Interest* mit kommerziellen Holocaust-Filmen auseinander, weil er die Gewalt schalltechnisch (durch echte Aufnahmen aber auch dröhnende Abstraktheit) darstellt und gleichzeitig eine „Ruhe“, die schrecklich und unmöglich ist, mit dem Hörs-Alltag präsentiert. In ihrem *Film Quarterly* Artikel kritisiert Herzog viele kommerzielle Holocaust-Filme wegen deren „vicarious moral certainty.“ In solchen Filmen muss der Zuschauer sich weniger fragen, was für Verantwortung er in Bezug auf das Thema eigentlich haben. *The Zone of Interest* funktioniert sehr anders. Durch die Überwachung im Zusammenhang mit der unheimlichen Heimatsgestaltung mit der Natur wird eine höchst-negative Zugehörigkeit produziert, in dem sich der Zuschauer sich fragen muss, woran er heute in der Gesellschaft wirklich teilnimmt.

Corsage beschäftigt sich natürlich weniger mit der moralistischen Verantwortung der Zuschauer als *The Zone of Interest*. Im Gegenteil beschäftigt sich *Corsage* mit einer angeblich-funkelnden Figur aus der österreichischen Heimatsgeschichte: Kaiserin Sisi. *Corsage* stellt das glänzende Porträt der beliebten Sisi-Figur in Frage, und stellt dabei auch in Frage, wie die Geschichten der ehemaligen Monarchinnen Europas heute erzählt werden. Durch die Linse von der Alltag einer Monarchin werden auch generelle Konstruktionen von Berühmtheit und Schönheit in Frage gestellt.

Das wunderbare „Funkeln“ der Sisi-Trilogie ist nicht mehr in *Corsage* zu finden. Romy Schneider hat Sisi in der Trilogie der 50er gespielt, und sie wurde wie eine Traumprinzessin dargestellt. In ihrem 2004 *German Life* Artikel, „The Young Empress Sisi,“ zitiert Sue Grant die Resultaten einer Umfrage von deutschen Bürgern: “in a national television poll undertaken at the end of 2003 to ascertain Germany’s top one hundred personalities, Empress Elisabeth placed number eighty whilst Romy Schneider (in her stage role as “Sissi”) just slipped past her to the post at seventy eight,” (Grant). Hiermit kann es nachvollzogen sein, dass die Idee von Sisi durch die romantische und nationalisierte Rolle von Romy Schneider populärer gemacht wurde.

Die Sisi-Idee wurde von Romy Schneider so stark beeinflusst, dass Schneider selber zu einer Ikone gemacht wurde. Das funkelnde, bunte Umfeld in den Sisi-Heimatsfilmen verwandelt Sisis Geschichte in ein Märchen, und diese Märchenifizierung spiegelt die romantischen und nationalistischen Ziele der Brüder Grimm wider. In ihrem Buch, „Two Accounts of the Grimms’ Tales“ observiert Ruth Bottigheimer, dass die Brüder ein *Erziehungsbuch* mit deren Sammlung produzieren wollten, “that showed Germans how to be German,” (Bottigheimer 38). In dem Sinne, könnte die Sisi-Trilogie als etwas, das was die „richtige“ (problematische) Geschichte Österreichs auf Disneyfizierte und nationalistischer Weise beibringt, verstanden werden. Gleichzeitig könnte *Corsage* die rohe, gewaltige, aber trotzdem informative Grimms-Version sein, die dem Zuschauer die Nachteile der heimatlichen, “perfekten” Darstellung von Sisi und ihrer Schönheit zeigt.

Die quasi-moderne Beleuchtung, die Marie Kreutzer in *Corsage* benutzt, sorgt für melancholische Facetten, die Sisi und ihre Umgebung erneuert darstellen. Gleichzeitig könnte diese Beleuchtung die technologische Wandlung der Doppelmonarchie widerspiegeln. Als Sisi allein mit ihrem Mann Kaiser Franz Josef Abendbrot gegessen hat isst, kommt ist die Beleuchtung von oben gekommen, und die Inszenierung war wird dadurch ziemlich grell und kalt. In dieser Szene wurde Franz Joseph nicht als Traumprinz, sondern als frustrierter Faust-knaller dargestellt. Diese Charakterisierung scheint näher an die Wahrheit zu sein als die Sisi-Trilogie, die es heute noch eine Weihnachtstradition ist anzuschauen. In ihrem Buch *Homemade Men in Postwar Austrian Cinema: Nationhood, Genre and Masculinity*, analysiert Maria Fritsche wie Männer in Kostümfilmen wie die Sisi-Trilogie aufgebaut werden, um Nationalstolz zu erzeugen. Fritsche schreibt, dass „[die Sisi-Trilogie] successfully remodelled the image of the Austrian emperor, presenting him as gentle and peaceable, when in reality he had been a political hardliner” (80).

Diese Charakterisierung von Franz Joseph wird von den schäbigen, nicht sanierten Drehorten unterstützt,

weil sie die Zerbrechlichkeit der Monarchie schweigend darstellen. Die Umgebungen im Film sind nicht wundervoll und glänzend; wenig Heimatsidyll ist im Film zu sehen. Wie in *The Zone of Interest* wird die Langweiligkeit (beziehungsweise komische „Ruhe“) in diesen schäbigen Drehorten von Sisis Alltag benutzt, um ihre Geschichte unheimlicher zu machen. Schalltechnisch gesehen ist *Corsage* gar nicht so kompliziert wie *The Zone of Interest*, aber ein wiederholendes Lied wird mehrmals benutzt, um teilweise die Langweiligkeit ihres Alltags zu gestalten. Zusätzlich wird man manchmal als Zuschauer selbst gelangweilt von ihrer Selbstsüchtigkeit mit den denen Männern, mit dem sie sich trifft, und ihrer ständiger Suche nach Schönheit. In ihrer Analyse vom Film *Sarajevo* (1955) schreibt Fritsche, dass “The slow pace of the film underlines the inertia of the Austro-Hungarian Empire and adds to the feeling of entrapment,” (Fritsche 75). In diesem Sinne ist *Corsage* anderen Filmen, die in der Österreich-Ungarische Monarchie stattfinden, sehr ähnlich, weil Sisi sich so in der (komisch beleuchteten) Langweiligkeit gefangen fühlte.

Aber *Corsage* ist nicht *nur* eine Untersuchung der Langweiligkeit eines schäbigen goldenen Käfigs. Violett wird mehrmals als Symbol benutzt, um Sisis Rebellion und ihre quasi-Nettigkeit zu unterstreichen. Der Moment, in dem sie mit einem schwerverletzten Soldaten eine violettfarbige Zigarette raucht, ist ein Beispiel dieser quasi-Nettigkeit. Violett wird in diesem Moment benutzt, um zu zeigen, wie Sisi sich ausdrückt, um sich mit anderen Leuten verbinden zu können. Zusätzlich wird diese Farbe in Szenen, wo Sisi sich sehr unberechenbar verhält, benutzt. Als sie mit ihrer Tochter nachts Pferd geritten hat, war die Beleuchtung sehr dunkel aber trotzdem lila-getönt, und der Zuschauer konnte kaum was sehen. Grundsätzlich wird Sisi mit gefärbter Beleuchtung, komischer Langweiligkeit und violetten Symbolen unheimlich charakterisiert, um teilweise die Komplexitäten ihrer Geschichte zu erzählen. *Corsage* verändert die Charakterisierungen der originalen Heimatfilme und konstruiert eine unheimliche

Atmosphäre, um die Geschichte aus einem komplexeren Winkel darstellen zu können. (Veilchen waren auch die Blumen, die historisch mit Sisi verbunden wurden.)

Die Sisi-Trilogie als Heimatsserie zu bezeichnen ist eigentlich ein bisschen kontraintuitiv, weil die Österreich-Ungarische Monarchie eine Doppelmonarchie war und es mehrere Sprachen und Kulturen dort gab. Sisi navigiert die Vielfältigkeit der Doppelmonarchie in *Corsage*, in dem sie auch Englisch, Französisch, Ungarisch, und Deutsch spricht. In *Corsage* war Sisis Heimat nicht wirklich Österreich, und sie hatte keine deutliche nationalistische Leidenschaft für die Doppelmonarchie. Sie sah ihre Rolle als Kaiserin und Königin eher als Last, weil sie mit ihrem Gewicht und Aussehen ungesund beschäftigt sein musste.

In ihrem Buch schreibt Fritsche, dass historische Filme „an ideal forum to air displeasure“ sind (Fritsche 59). *The Zone of Interest* und *Corsage* sind Beispiele von dieser „displeasure.“ Beide Filme verdrehen das deutsch-österreichische Heimatfilmkonzept, um ihre Perspektiven zu gestalten. Zusätzlich benutzen sie das „Unheimliche“ in ihrem eigenen Stil, um Kritik an ihren Themen (der Holocaust und die Konstruktion von Sisi) auszuüben. *The Zone of Interest* bringt die Zuschauer zu einem unangenehmen Ort, wo sie durch Hedwigs erstaunliche Ignoranz ihre eigene Verantwortung für heutige Krisen evaluieren müssen. *Corsage* ist ähnlicher Weise unangenehm, um Sisis Geschichte mit Teilen der Wahrheit zu verkomplizieren. Die Filme manipulieren die Erwartungen, die die Zuschauer von den Hauptfiguren aber auch von „Heimat“ haben. *Corsage* verdreht eine Figur, die man eigentlich mögen sollte, in eine sehr komplizierte und selbstsüchtige Frau. *The Zone of Interest* erwähnt die schreckliche Normalität der Höss Familie und bewegt dadurch die Zuschauer, ihre eigenen Verantwortungen zum Thema zu evaluieren. Obwohl sie sich mit verschiedenen Themen beschäftigen, sind diese Filme fokussierte Untersuchungen der Erwartungen der Heimat und der Figuren, die sie strategisch darstellen.

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Daphne Posadas | *Herencia* | Acrylic painting on stretched canvas

The South Korean Women's Movement: The History Behind It and Beyond*

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Introduction

South Korea, as of today, has been named one of the worst countries for working-class women in the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD), with a wage gap of approximately 31.1% (“Glass-Ceiling Index”). Due to the Confucian-inspired culture, the country has battled with constant gender issues. It was in the late 1900s when women's groups and even ordinary citizens fought against domestic violence. In the earlier period of the feminist movement, the focus pertained to domestic violence; since then, women have been fighting for equal employment rights, as well as against general societal pressures (e.g., beauty standards) that women face each day. It was due to the women's movement that a new provision in 1987 was added to the Constitution which focused on gender equality, leading to the creation of the Equal Employment Opportunity Act (EEOA).

Although the Korean women's movement has brought about much change, it has faced tenfold hatred and abuse. To protect women in South Korean society today, there must be an effort to look back at history and see which tactics have worked to get further change into effect. In this paper, I aim to shed light on the following research questions: What is the historical backdrop of the feminist movement, and what were its origins? What are the strategies employed by Korean women's organizations (KWOs) to effect change? How are feminists perceived and treated in present-day South Korea? It was during

the 2022 election when the two major parties' candidates both had a large part of their campaigns focused on gender issues. Instead of flourishing feminism, there was a surge of anti-feminism. In order to understand this anti-feminist sentiment, however, it is important to understand the history and impact of the feminist movement in South Korea. Understanding these aspects is crucial for developing a comprehensive understanding of the current state of the feminist movement in South Korea.

Literature Review

The first source worth examining was “The Women's Movement in South Korea,” an article written by Lee Aie-Rie and Chin Mikyung. Lee and Chin go through a general history of the women's movement with a focus on KWOs and their tactics. The authors claim that many KWOs focused more on legitimate means (e.g., with political support) instead of radical means. Therefore, they chose to work with new institutions and support other parties (Lee and Chin 1208). According to their research, official contact with governments was both the most effective and most often used tactic by KWOs (Lee and Chin 1218). Meanwhile, demonstrations and strikes were seen as ineffective, which is surprising, due to Korea's deep history of protests. After the tal-corset (anti-corset) protests, which began as a way for women to break away from beauty standards, many women who had short hair or wore little makeup were profiled as radical feminists. Lee and Chin focus on the more official work done by KWOs, such as certain legislation that has been put into place because of their efforts. Even from the early stages of South Korea's democracy, there was the addition of a new provision on gender equality in the Constitution as well as the EEOA (Lee and Chin 1210).

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The next source was “Throwing off the Corset: A Contemporary History of the Beauty Resistance Movement in South Korea,” authored by Park Hyejung. The anti-corset movement, hereby the tal-corset movement, according to Park, is “a coined phrase referring to the casting off of feminized clothing, beauty practices, and conventions that swept South Korea’s feminist scene in 2018” (1). It is due to the Hallyu wave that South Korea has begun to be known for its unachievable beauty standards. As a result, many women are under extreme pressure to change how they look. In 2018, many protested against getting cosmetic surgeries and wearing makeup (Park 1). It went so far that many protests involved feminists publicly having their hair cut—or even shaved. The tal-corset movement not only stood for a change in rigid beauty standards, but it also served as an integral social movement aimed at radically resolving various relatively entrenched prejudices against women.

“The Resurgence and Popularization of Feminism in South Korea: Key Issues and Challenges for Contemporary Feminist Activism” by Kim Jinsook focuses on the movement which resurfaced in 2015 with the trending hashtags #IAmAFeminist and #MeToo (76). Many women were too afraid to speak up publicly, so these hashtags were a safe space for them to talk about their identity as feminists amid anti-feminist outbreaks. Both the article by Lee and Chin and this one speak to how many of the recent protests have involved ordinary citizens, instead of what we would consider more progressive activists, as seen in the 1980s democratization (Kim 78). Kim criticizes radical feminists throughout this paper, as he deems their work to be inconclusive compared to more traditional groups, which also aligns further with Lee and Chin’s article.

In the article by Suh Doowon and Park Inn Hea, “Framing Dynamics of South Korean Women’s Movements, 1970s–90s: Global Influences, State Responses, and Interorganizational Networks,” they go into a more detailed account of the women’s movements prior to and right after the democratization movement. The article

focuses on the importance of family to the women’s movement, as much of the earlier movement focused on domestic violence and safety in the home. The Korean Women’s Hotline (KWHL) was established in 1983, which was made

to construct the women’s human rights frame by visualizing domestic violence as violence against women, to proclaim itself a women’s human rights movement organization from the beginning, and to pioneer women’s human rights movements by assisting and coalescing with other feminist groups dealing with violence against women, which thus expanded its organization nationwide. (Suh and Park 328)

The KWHL was an important part of this time. It was made to help victims of sexual and domestic violence through conducting counseling, providing legal and medical assistance, creating rescue shelters, and disclosing the pervasiveness, frequency, and severity of domestic spousal abuse to the public (Suh and Park 328). The Korean feminist movement grew with the global feminist movement, especially that of the United States (Suh and Park 338).

History of South Korean Women’s Movements

The democratization of South Korea during the 80s enhanced women’s public political participation; however, many of the women’s movements were not in the spotlight. While the public was protesting against the military regime, the women’s movement was simultaneously fighting against domestic violence. Although spousal abuse still continues to be a huge issue in South Korea nowadays, the attention it received at that time was a lot more intense (Suh and Park 338). KWOs were the main way of organizing and many of them had different tactics in order to create change. The most commonly used tactic was public opinion, followed by official contact with government officials (Lee and Chin 1217). The most effective tactic, however, was contact with government officials. Interestingly, demonstrations

and strikes were listed as the least effective tactics. Protests and demonstrations have been a huge part of the women's movements throughout history. We see this through the tal-corset movement in 2018, when one of the largest women's rallies took place against the spy-cam issue that was affecting South Korea. It was named "the courage to be uncomfortable," which accumulated around 350,000 participants in total (Park 7). Although demonstrations are seen as one of the most ineffective means for official changes, they were most likely used to sway public opinion. South Korea has a long history of using protests to go against injustices. According to an article by Rohimone and Wyeth, during 1948–87 protests were seen as the only channel citizens had to express their grievances to the state. Even though present-day South Korea is a liberal democratic society, the tradition of public protests still continues.

Prior to the 1980s, the women's movement was overlooked by the mass movement for democratization; however, this movement was used to strengthen women's political participation and led to the creation of many women's organizations (Lee and Chin 1209). Park Chunghee's military regime relied heavily on coercion and brutality to diminish the spirit of any rebellion. During this period, violence against women in the workplace was used to quell such rebellions. This was all justified due to Park's unifying theme of filial piety as defined by the Confucian tradition (Suh and Park 335). After Park's regime fell out of power, women's rights movements began as a branch of the democracy movement (Suh and Park 336). With time, women's rights started to come more into light. By the end of the 1980s, specifically following the democratization in 1987, the movement was amplified. In 1987, the Korean Women's Association United was created with a shared view against gender violence (Suh and Park 340). Not only that, but a new provision was added to the Constitution for gender equality in 1987 and the EEOA was put into effect as well (Lee and Chin 1210). Since then, KWOs have been able to work with the government through entities such as the Korean Women's Association United or the

Korean Women's Development Institute, which both acted as a bridge between women's interests and the government. In 2001, the Ministry of Gender Equality and Family was created due to the effort of multiple women's movements. With almost two decades of success, however, the ministry became the prime victim during the 2022 elections as both candidates—including President Yoon, who eventually won the election—argued against its existence. This stark development may come as a surprise to outsiders. However, many South Koreans supported Yoon's policies due to their anger against former President Moon Jaein's failure to shrink young adult unemployment rates and the housing crisis. As this anti-feminism has begun to rise, many women have taken to the internet to air their grievances. In recent months, the 4B movement in South Korea, which is Korean women swearing off sex with men, became a global phenomenon.

With time, the women's movement has changed its broad focus. Although the past issues are still prevalent today—for instance, violence against women is still a huge issue—the movement has also shifted its focus to societal pressures women face, such as beauty standards. Feminism has always been controversial and mostly seen as negative in South Korean society. In the tal-corset movement, we saw many participants cut their hair and stop wearing makeup and dresses in order to go against South Korea's unachievable beauty standard (Park 1). As a result, there have been multiple hate crimes against women. For example, according to an article written by Maroosha Muzaffar, there was a recent attack against a convenience store worker due to the sole fact that she had short hair. Many see feminists as misandrists, or men haters, instead of just wanting the same equal rights. This attitude may have stemmed from the emergence of the feminist group Megalia. Megalia is an online group that campaigns against misogyny by "mirroring" the hate speech back (Kim 76). Although fairly successful, Megalia has caused a surge in negative opinions on feminism.

The Usefulness of Protests in South Korean Women's Movements

Lee and Chin claim that demonstrations and strikes were one of the most ineffective tactics used by women's groups. As it has been approximately five years since the bulk of the tal-corset movement, the overall success of it could possibly be put into debate. Since the movement, women with shorter hair have come under attack due to the possibility that they might be feminists. South Korean Olympian An San, who won three gold medals at the 2020 Summer Olympics, has also been under attack following her success. South Korean men criticized her short hair, calling her a feminist in a derogatory way. Women who may not consider themselves feminists but still carry traditionally feminine appearances are at risk of being ridiculed by anti-feminists (Yang).

In the democracy movement, there were successes with demonstrations and strikes; however, it is unclear if such is the same with the feminist movement. Although the protests attracted hundreds of thousands of supporters, the most work was done by official contact. For example, the KWAU was established by various women's groups to work with the government for further change. In 2001, the KWAU was accredited Special Consultative Status from the United Nations and has taken joint actions through several special advocacy committees.

So, are protests completely useless? No—at least not in South Korea. Demonstrations and strikes can have many positive and negative effects. The tal-corset movement still made an impact even with its cons. Similarly, the rally for Park Geunhye's impeachment practically changed protest culture. After the news came out of her giving Choi Soonsil classified documents (Ahrens), much of South Korea's population came out in protest. With nearly one million people on the streets, there were no reported violent incidents. Women, especially young women, actively came out pushing strollers with their children. It is protests like these, ones with more diverse crowds, that differ from their predecessors by helping push ultimate forms of freedom of expression.

Violence against women is still prevalent in today's South Korea. But more women along with their supporters are walking to the street to share their voices and call for changes. For instance, the horrible trend of Molka has appeared in South Korea in recent years. It is the process of secretly filming up an individual's skirt on public transport or escalators, or through micro-cameras installed and hidden in toilets or changing rooms (Spencer). Hidden camera crimes from 2012 to 2015 rose from 990 to 3,638. In August of 2018, 70,000 people marched in Seoul with signs stating, "my life is not your porn" (Spencer). In total, the rallies accumulated around 350,000 participants (Lee and Chin 7).

Conclusion

If KWOs deem official contact with governments as the most effective mode of change, with plenty of historical records to back up this claim, it should be current-day feminists' and politicians' goals to work together to bring changes. The women's movement started off with a focus on violence against women and employment rights, which are still prevalent issues today. In the past, women's groups were able to achieve success with government officials through combined efforts. Currently, women are facing the threat of the loss of the Gender Equality and Family Ministry and many other issues. By taking into consideration past tactics and contemporary developments, it is possible to enable change on current-day issues as well.

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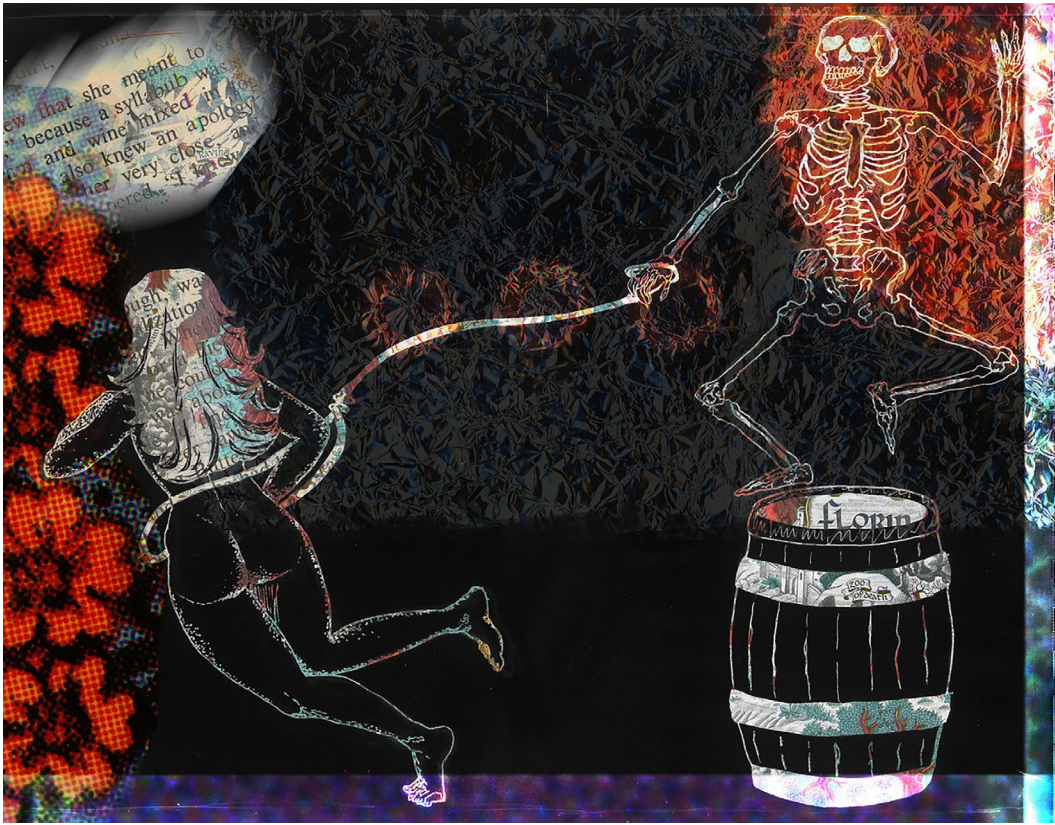
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Lia Kritikos | *The Wrangler* | Digital

Depoliticization Through Depilation: How 20th-Century Advertisers Sold the “Modern” Lifestyle of Hairlessness to American Women*

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From 1890–1920, so-called “new women” were entering the paid workforce in higher numbers than years prior, practicing family planning, divorcing out of unhappy marriages, bicycling on public roadways, venturing out in public without escorts, and wearing new fashions that included exposed arms and slightly raised hemlines—fashions that did not rely on the use of corsets or flowing skirts to achieve their “new look.” They also actively fought for progressive reforms, like advocating for child labor laws and universal suffrage (the right to vote regardless of sex), which often unified feminist groups across racial and socio-economic lines. Advertisers rode the wave of this first-wave of feminism, at least in their use of New Woman imagery to push products toward customers.

With the centralized goal of suffrage achieved in 1920, feminist political activism slowed as groups individuated according to specific aims. But advertisers continued to use the New Woman by conveying that freedom and self-realization was desirable and that these ends were achievable for women if they consumed the right products. Body hair removal products were chief among those that were marketed to women as the means to achieving an illusory freedom.

In this study, I analyze hair removal advertisements in *Harper’s Bazaar* from 1915 to 1929, and *VOGUE* from 1930–1979, magazines that almost exclusively featured white women in their advertisements and were popular

with middle- and upper-middle class women, most of whom were likely also white. That said, advertisements found in the pages of these popular magazines likely had a much longer reach, beyond race and class, to promote an ideal of the modern woman as one without visible body hair. Ultimately, I argue that throughout the twentieth century advertisers intentionally depoliticized female consumers by offering promises of liberation, empowerment, and individualism if women bought and used hair removal products. Indeed, the absence of visible body hair stood in as a signifier for the ever-changing ideal of the new, modern woman.

Selling Hairlessness to the New Women of the Teens and Twenties

In 1915, Gillette doubled their consumer market for razors by introducing the first women’s razor, called Milady Décolleté.¹ Prior to this moment, razors were considered decidedly male grooming tools, so Gillette marketed the product so women would choose razors over other popular depilatory products of the time. As such, words like “razor” and “shave” are not used in Gillette ads for the Milady Décolleté. Instead, the product is touted as one intended “To keep the underarm smooth.” The ad depicts a woman sitting at a vanity, holding a hand mirror and grinning at her smooth, hairless underarm. The image reflects modern fashion trends through the model’s sleeveless dress and hairless armpit. Notably, although a hairless underarm is visible, the model wears stockings, which hid leg hair.

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1 Gillette Milady Décolleté, *Harper’s Bazaar*, July 15, 1915.

FIGURE 1

Gillette, Milady Décolletée, *Harper's Bazaar*, July 1915.



Milady Décolletée
Gillette
Safety Razor
To keep the underarm smooth



Serves the modern woman who would appear at her best — who cares for those little niceties of personal habit, and who appreciates really fine Toilet Accessories.

A Refinement which has become a Modern Necessity

Historian Christine Hope aptly named this era of advertisements as “The Great Underarm Campaign.”² During this time, the trajectory of what hair needed to be removed was dependent on what would be publicly visible. The advertisement in Figure 1 promises that the razor “Serves the modern woman who would appear at her best—who cares for the little niceties of personal habit.” The language of this ad suggests not only that the modern woman looks her best by having hairless armpits, but that in doing so, she cares about herself. However, that the language minimizes the act of shaving one’s armpits as a “little” nicety attempts to frame the act as a near

2 Christine Hope, “Caucasian female body hair and American culture,” *The Journal of American Culture* 5, no. 1 (1982): 95.

FIGURE 2

Wonderstoen Depilatory, *Harper's Bazaar*, April 1916.



You Can Have a Face Without a Blemish

Many women of refinement continue to endure keen humiliation because of the unsightly growth of **superfluous hair** on face, neck, or arms and their unwillingness to experiment with so-called “hair removers.”

For all women who suffer such disfigurements we say try **Wonderstoen** — produced from a formula recommended by many leading physicians, clean, sanitary (not a liquid), absolutely odorless, positively free from poison, instantly and harmlessly removing superfluous hair.

For sale at all Drug and Department Stores.
\$1.00 or sent direct on receipt of price.
Send for interesting booklet.

Bellin's Wonderstoen Co.
Dept. H. B.
55 Delancey St. New York

negligible or unnoticed addition to one’s grooming routine. Advertisers framed the act of removing hair as an insignificant extension of grooming that simultaneously carried substantial gain with regard to embodying the modern freedoms of the New Woman.

Even after the introduction of razor use for women, depilatory creams continued to be a popular method among female consumers for removing body hair. A 1916 ad for Wonderstoen depilatory, for example, reads, “You Can Have a Face Without a Blemish,” clearly referencing unwanted, visible facial hair, as that blemish.³ Furthermore, advertisers encouraged women to feel shame if they allowed themselves to have some visible hair: “Many women of refinement continue

3 Wonderstoen Depilatory, *Harper's Bazaar*, April 1916.

to endure keen humiliation because of the unsightly growth of superfluous hair on face, neck, or arms and their unwillingness to experiment with so-called ‘hair removers.’” Not only were women socially ostracized for having visible body and facial hair, but this ad frames women’s plight as a result of their “unwillingness” to use depilatory products. If one did not remove “superfluous” hair, advertisers warned of social rejection. At the same time, choosing to remove hair with the advertised product promised social acceptance. Advertisers from the early twentieth century moralized the choice to remove hair and suggested their product as the solution for women’s “suffering.”

Ads from this time also included direct celebrity endorsements and references to traditions of “society women.” A 1918 ad for X-BAZIN, a depilatory advertised in *Harper’s Bazaar*, was endorsed by film star Shirley Mason as the reason “Why She Has Such Charm.”⁴ Advertisers go on to explain that her fashion choices for “girlish frocks” made keeping her underarms hairless as a matter of course. The text continues, “No woman has an excuse for being disfigured by superfluous hair,” because it could be removed “effectively” and “painlessly” with X-BAZIN. The New Woman aesthetic of showing smooth skin was achievable through the use of products—a look that no woman could, according to the ads, have the excuse *not* to attain.

Advertisers in the early 1920s continued to market their products with psychologically and socially based appeals. A 1920 ad for depilatory Mi-Rita claimed to provide the “means by which the embarrassing disfigurement is removed easily, safely and forever.”⁵ The use of the word “embarrassing” suggests that one should feel ashamed by the appearance of body hair, necessitating its removal. A 1921 ad for DOT depilatory discouraged the use of the “unfeminine razor” and denounced other depilatory products as being “severe and unsavory.”⁶

4 X-BAZIN Depilatory, *Harper’s Bazaar*, June 1918, 95.

5 Mi-Rita Depilatory, *Harper’s Bazaar*, Dec 1920, 148.

6 DOT Depilatory, *Harper’s Bazaar*, March 1921.

Hair removal advertisements in the 1910s and 1920s appealed to women’s desire to personify the smooth, modern lines of the New Woman. Whether mentioning fashion, hygiene, or modernity, advertisers from this period framed the choice to remove hair both as having moral dimensions and achieving the aesthetics associated with the New Woman. Female empowerment—derived from the emancipatory promises of feminist activism—as such, was co-opted. While the modern New Woman look had been born out of real women’s battles for political equality, in ads, there was only aesthetics. At least in the pages of the magazines, being an empowered and modern woman—without visible body hair—became not an exercise of one’s political voice, but a moralized consumer choice.

The New Woman of the 1930s and 1940s

Strategies to encourage hair removal shifted but little by the 1930s; the modern woman of the Depression era was still expected to have smooth underarms. Advertisers marketed depilatory creams to get rid of razor stubble. Rather than denounce the razor as an unfeminine tool for depilation entirely, advertisers presented the use of a depilatory as the “finishing touch” to one’s depilation routine. *VOGUE* ads at this time did not mention the economic struggles of the 1930s but instead encouraged their readers to consume beauty products as usual. Perhaps because their readership was the least impacted by the effects of the Great Depression, advertisers worked to increase the amount of depilatory product that these women would need.

A push for leg hair removal rose dramatically for all women during the war effort of the 1940s, when women’s bare legs became more visible than ever before. Women had grown used to shorter hemlines by this time, but so far stockings had hidden the leg hair. Because it was not visible body hair, shaving one’s legs was not imperative. But during WW2, materials for stockings, namely silk and nylon, were used for parachute production, and

7 Neet Depilatory, *VOGUE*, July 15, 1936, *VOGUE* Digital Archives, 81.

thus could no longer be bought as stockings. Historian Rebecca Herzig notes that “beginning in September 1941, production of all-silk hosiery declined 99.1 percent and all-nylon hosiery by 97.1 percent.”⁸ To remedy this, many women began shaving their legs with the safety razors they already used on their armpits. Depilatories were less desirable for removing hair from the legs because they required a great deal of product, but some women depilated their legs with them. Herzig expands on the results of the stocking shortage for female consumers:

The resulting stocking shortage led to a dramatic rise in consumption of ‘liquid stockings,’ tinted compounds designed to create the illusion of fabric for women reluctant to appear bare legged. Sold as powders lotions and creams leg cosmetics were applied with the fingers or an applicator pad a process that could take anywhere from five to fifteen minutes a day with additional time for drying and buffing sometimes paired with decals or penciled in lines to create the illusion of a stocking seam on the back of the leg seam and liquid stocking together cost only a fraction of the price of either silk or nylon stockings.⁹

As women donated their stockings to the war effort, they still abided by the social standard of removing visible body hair. Thus, they turned to dyed creams and skin tints as stocking replacements. The process of applying these tints and drawing seam lines down the backs of one’s legs (which usually called for the assistance of a second person) added considerable time to women’s beauty routines.¹⁰ Moreover, the regimen for *appearing* to wear stockings necessitated hairless legs to achieve the desired effect; since hair became even more visible when tints were applied, leg hair had to be removed to achieve the visual illusion of wearing stockings.

8 Rebecca Herzig, *Plucked: A History of Hair Removal* (New York: New York University Press, 2015), 126.

9 Herzig, *Plucked*, 126.

10 Herzig, *Plucked*, 126–127.

FIGURE 3

Wonderstoen Depilatory and Wondersheer, *VOGUE*, July 1942, *VOGUE* Digital Archives.



Wonderstoen advertised two products to solve this problem for women left stateside during the Second World War. The July 1942 *VOGUE* issue marketed a dry method for hair removal and a liquid skin tint, to be used in that order. Companies like Gillette followed their tradition from WW1 and distributed razors and blades to overseas troops. This left room for other companies, like Wonderstoen, to target domestic markets, made up of mostly stateside women. All traces of “offending” hair could be removed with the eraser, and though the ad claims hairless results will last for months, advertisers assure that it can be used as often as desired. The second product, “Lovely as Sheerest Hose” was a tinted cream called “Wondersheer,” applied to the legs to give the visual impression of wearing stockings.¹¹ That the ad claims Wondersheer to be “the answer to your wartime

11 Wonderstoen Depilatory and Wondersheer, *VOGUE*, July 1, 1942, *VOGUE* Digital Archives.

need for cool, lovely ‘sheers’” reveals advertisers’ direct consciousness of the war’s effects on consumer markets. Another similar product called Monique Leg Blend also boasts the coolness of their liquid stockings.¹²

FIGURE 4

Monique Leg Blend Liquid Stocking, *VOGUE*, 15 May 1944, *VOGUE* Digital Archives.



That each of these ads ran in issues published in the warmer months of the year suggests that advertisers’ appeal to the coolness of liquid stockings made them preferable over traditional or even the “sheerest” of stockings. The Monique Leg Blend “Banishe[d] worry over inferior wartime stockings,” and included a “Seam Sketcher” to achieve a false seam line down the back of the leg. The marketing of alternatives for hair removal and stocking replacements suggests that there was no reason why women would stop fulfilling these beauty standards. In essence, the modern woman of the 1940s

12 Monique Leg Blend Liquid Stocking, *VOGUE*, May 15, 1944, *VOGUE* Digital Archives.

didn’t let a war or its rationings get in the way of her expressing her beauty, and advertisers simply provided the modern alternatives to make that expression possible; she showcased her resourcefulness and modernity during wartime by consuming modern alternatives for depilation and hosiery.

FIGURE 5

Elizabeth Arden Velva Leg Film, *VOGUE*, 15 May 1944, *VOGUE* Digital Archives.



An ad from May of 1944 advertised a liquid stocking from Elizabeth Arden in *VOGUE* called Velva Leg Film.¹³ Women were already familiar with the idea of skin tints resembling the appearance of wearing stockings, so advertisers included new reasons to purchase the product. “Be sure to wear Velva Leg Film with bathing suits or shorts, it makes your legs look sun-burnished... far more lovely.” This could suggest a ploy to keep skin tints

13 Elizabeth Arden Velva Leg Film, *VOGUE*, May 15, 1944, *VOGUE* Digital Archives.

relevant and useful after wartime rationing of materials for stockings would end. Still, the use of such a product required the removal of hair from the leg, lest it emphasize its presence by dyeing it darker along with the skin. In their attempt to keep skin tints relevant to consumers, advertisers added another facet of the modern woman of the war era: tanned legs.

In the 1940s, advertisers sought to frame the use of hair removal products as solace from the shortages and sacrifices of total war. Therefore, advertisers depoliticized women from the war through the idea that consuming hair removal alternatives would provide a sense of normalcy during wartime. Furthermore, advertisers introduced new aspects of what it meant to be a new, modern woman—namely, that she was resourceful through her consumption of hair removal alternatives. Advertisers suggested that the modern woman of the 1940s would let nothing, not even a global war, interrupt her hair removal routine. With the introduction of alternatives, advertisers removed any possibility of women citing wartime rations as an excuse for not removing hair.

The New Woman of the 1950s: Electrified

In the 1950s, many white middle-class women took advantage of the booming postwar economy, with new suburban homes that had state-of-the-art appliances and gadgets to make homemaking easier.¹⁴ The standard of electricity helped the popularity of home appliances like dishwashers and vacuum cleaners soar, and housewives were eager to express themselves through their use of these modern products. The newfound access to electricity in the home also led to the popularity of electric beauty tools, like hair dryers, hot rollers, and curling irons. Thus, the modern woman of the 1950s found electricity ready to aid her at every turn, in the kitchen, the living room, and most notably, the powder room. Advertisers took advantage of the postwar victory

14 Ruth Schwartz Cowan, *More Work for Mother: The Ironies of Household Technology from the Open Hearth to the Microwave* (New York: Basic Books, 1983). Cowan argues that these new technologies led to more work for homemaking women, despite marketing pledging that such products would reduce housework.

euphoria as a way for women to express themselves through consumption. The 1950s modern woman most likely watched her mother struggle through the Depression, but with low prices and high supply, nothing stopped her from indulging and taking pride in her material possessions as a hard-won achievement of the postwar age.

FIGURE 6

Lady Norelco Electric Shaver, *VOGUE*, June 1950, *VOGUE* Digital Archives.

Now! An electric razor exclusively designed for Miss Lady

The new Lady Norelco

for neater, daintier underarm and leg grooming

At last here is the perfect kind of an electric razor, especially created for ladies—Lady Norelco. It removes superfluous hair from legs and underarms quickly, cleanly, without pull or burn and leaves your skin so smooth, softer and lovelier. Can't cut, stick or scratch? Notice how Lady Norelco is designed with a special circular head so its underarm contours and leg surfaces, making it impossible ever to cut, nick, scratch or scrape your lovely skin. Fully ground, all-sharpening cutters remove hair, delicate, feminine underarms and leg hairs.

Lady Norelco now makes this whole bathroom job so easy and pleasant. No messy, evil-smelling cream, no water or soap, no dangerous blades are required. No messy hair to clean up.

In shaving cream with chrome—Lady Norelco comes in an attractive sunbath-like case. Made by Philips Industries of Holland, world famous for precision electronic products and the popular Norelco Electric Shaver for men. Be the first to enjoy the new Lady Norelco—in time for summer's "bree" look. Get one at your favorite store, such as those listed below. Or send check with coupon for prompt prepaid shipment. Built to give a lifetime of trouble-free service. Only \$22.50 complete, acute current.

Albuquerque and Fish Co., Albuquerque, N. M.
Black & White Co., Los Angeles, Cal.
Brooklyne Co., Brooklyn, N. Y.
City of Paris, San Francisco, Cal.
The Division Co., New York, N. Y.
The Western Co., Denver, Col.
Empire Dept. Store, Syracuse, N. Y.
W. F. Fisher's, Boston, Mass.
Flanagan Bros., Buffalo, N. Y.
H. H. Green, Boston, Mass.
Highway Co., Chicago, Ill.
Josephine's, Philadelphia, Pa.
P. H. W. Lefkowitz, New York, N. Y.
Lozier & Company, New York, N. Y.
E. M. Hagan and Co., Philadelphia, Pa.
W. H. C. Phillips, Philadelphia, Pa.

The H. B. & S. Patten Co., Chicago, Ill.
J. J. Kavanagh, Boston, Mass.
DeWitt's, New York, N. Y.
H. C. Campbell & Co., Inc., New York, N. Y.
John W. Keaney, Philadelphia, Pa.
Wasserman & Lippincott, Philadelphia, Pa.

Van Learmonth and Astoria, Chicago, Ill.
W. W. L. L. L., New York, N. Y.
John W. Keaney, Philadelphia, Pa.
Wasserman & Lippincott, Philadelphia, Pa.

SOUTH AMERICAN PHILIPS COMPANY, INC.
 Dept. LRB-2, 300 E. 42nd Street, New York 17, N. Y.
 (Old Central Postage Industries, Ltd., London, England)
 Please send me... Lady Norelco Electric Razor for \$22.50. Check or money order enclosed

NAME _____
ADDRESS _____
CITY _____
 Send information on Norelco's New's Shaver

Lady Norelco electric razor
 made exclusively for women

As domestic manufacturing allowed for new methods of hair removal to be introduced to the market, electric shavers from Remington and Norelco took the market by storm and added an angle of electric modernity to women's hair removal routines. In June 1950 we see the first electric trimmer made specifically for women, aptly named the Lady Norelco, in the pages of *VOGUE*.¹⁵ The Lady Norelco sold for \$22.50. By contrast, an ad

15 Lady Norelco Electric Shaver, *VOGUE*, June 1950, *VOGUE* Digital Archives.

from 1954 shows the Pritti depilatory costing only two dollars.¹⁶ The higher price point meant only certain consumers would be able to afford the electric shaver. Similarly, an ad for Remington's Duchess electric shaver in December 1955 also set the scene of modernity and luxury.¹⁷ The woman's lacy white dress and nearby bowl of fruit connote notions of plenty and purity, while "Duchess" connotes scenes of an exclusive, high-class life that one could access by purchasing an electric razor. Owning a Lady Norelco or a Remington's Duchess would signal one's wealth and socio-economic standing. The understood ease of use through the electrical component encouraged women to adopt new methods of hair removal with the excitement of the new, and the modern.¹⁸ Indeed, ad copy for the Duchess openly suggests that couples who are "smart moderns" should give each other electric razors as Christmas presents.

FIGURE 7

Remington Duchess Electric Shaver, *VOGUE*, Dec 1955, *VOGUE* Digital Archives.



The New Woman of the 1950s embraced the modernity of electric products and her relegation to the single-family household with a sense of individualism and

16 Pritti Depilatory, *VOGUE*, November 15, 1954, *VOGUE* Digital Archives, 78.
 17 Remington Duchess Electric Shaver, *VOGUE*, December 1955, *VOGUE* Digital Archives.
 18 Meanwhile, off-brand electric trimmers existed for women who could not afford the exorbitant Norelco. One ad from a December 1951 *VOGUE* issue details the "Bargain Buy" of the trimmer by Handi-Products at only \$5.95. Handi-Products Ladies' Electric Shaver, *VOGUE*, Dec 1951, *VOGUE* Digital Archives.

pride. Her worth lay in the ability to modernize her home and exercise precision in her beauty routine. Advertisers marketed electric trimmers to fit the narrative of this reconstituted 1950s New Woman and her attendant luxurious lifestyle as attainable for female consumers. Thus, advertisers reinforced the depoliticization of women consumers by reinforcing their desire to consume as homemakers, rather than to exercise their political voices.

Many housewives of the 1950s began to see the modern ideal in these ads conflicting with their lived realities. Some felt unsatisfied because their worth depended on their value as wives and mothers, caretakers and homemakers. The lifestyles marketed to them by advertisers did not assuage the disappointment offered by the "feminine mystique."¹⁹ Historian Sara Evans expands on the ideology, writing that it "defined women almost exclusively in terms of wife and mother, [and] functioned smoothly both to shape changes in women's roles and to deny their disruptive power."²⁰ It's possible that women's dissatisfaction with the lifestyle they were sold resulted in them beginning to question its validity. As such, some women turned to activism, beginning what would become known as the second wave of feminism. While the first wave of feminists largely focused on suffrage, second wave feminists confronted the realities of sex discrimination and the limitations set upon women by the dominant domestic ideology of the nuclear family. It would be in this new context that advertisers would redefine, once again, how hairlessness could be compatible with modern quests for "women's liberation."

The New Woman of the 1960s and 1970s: Empowered Via Self-Care, No Feminism Required

The effects of second-wave feminism forced advertisers to reframe their advertisements for body hair removal. In essence, they co-opted the movement to keep their products relevant. This was no small task as some women also began to question compulsory body hair removal

19 Betty Friedan, *The Feminine Mystique* (New York: Norton, 1963).
 20 Sara Evans, *Born for Liberty: A History of Women in America* (New York, New York: Free Press Paperbacks, 1997), 246.

practices. Historian Rebecca Herzig remarks on the role of hair in socio-political activism during the 1960s and 1970s: “Part of the answer lies in hair’s prominent role in other emerging movements for social change: as a noticeable and relatively malleable physical feature, hair became a ready medium for communicating altered political consciousness.”²¹ Some feminist activists chose to rebel against beauty standards by abstaining from depilation and openly embracing their bodies’ natural form. Some women chose to convey a political stance through changes (or lack thereof) to their appearance, as was reflected in the “personal is political” ideology which mobilized feminist and student groups alike.

Feminist writer Carol Hanisch originally coined the phrase the “personal is political” in her 1969 essay of the same name, in which she claimed that issues of childcare, abortion, sex, and household labor were not simply personal issues, but largely political ones.²² The sentiment eventually expanded far beyond those issues, and eventually encapsulated the second-wave feminist struggle for representation and anti-discrimination in all areas of women’s lives. Subsequent feminist rebellion against the dominant beauty standards of the time did not go unnoticed. Advertisers had to reframe their ads so that the consumption and use of hair removal products would be associated with female empowerment. Advertisers mainly focused on the positive feeling elicited from adhering to depilation, assuring that consumers who made the choice to remove their body hair were undoubtedly more empowered than their feminist peers.

Advertisers’ use of the individualism appeal reinforced the empowering promises of liberation through consumption. Advertisers made these choices to cast the modern woman of the 1970s as apolitical, even as feminists of the sixties and seventies sought to raise political consciousness and activism among women.

Groups like the National Organization for Women (NOW) and National Women’s Political Caucus (NWPC) fought not only for women to obtain political representation and rights, but for female citizens to join the campaign. NOW organized their “Strike for Equality” wherein women took to the streets of New York on the anniversary of the ratification of the Nineteenth Amendment to petition for accessible abortion care, childcare centers, and equal opportunity in education and the workplace. Instances of activism by feminist political groups redirected women’s energy away from their identity as consumers, and reinforced their identity as citizens deserving of representation, rights, and opportunities that were, at the time, denied to them based on their sex. Feminist redirection of women’s energies and attentions threatened to unravel advertisers’ illusion of true womanhood through consumption, so advertisers were forced to reconstruct their narratives of the modern woman in this context. Advertisers of hair removal products continued to depoliticize women by selling the idea that true womanhood was achieved through the consumption and use of hair removal products.

An advertisement for the hair removal product Visage Clair ran in a December 1971 edition of *VOGUE* and appeared more like an article.²³ The tiny parenthetical notation along the top provides the only indication that the “article” was, in fact, an advertisement. The article details how hair removed with a depilatory cream does not grow back thicker or faster, but rather softer and slower. An asterisk notes that the data from said medical journal can be sent as proof of validity. Advertisers cleverly insert that the invention of their depilatory was based on the medical journal’s findings, allotting the same validity to the product. Ads such as this one were not as common as traditional ones that depicted a smooth-skinned model or a product, but the Visage Claire advertisement disguised their ad as though it was merely reporting on a medical article in an attempt to add credibility to their product. Notably, the copy asks

21 Herzig, *Plucked*, 128.

22 Carol Hanisch, “The Personal is Political,” February 1969: <https://www.carolhanisch.org/CHwritings/PIP.html>. The essay was originally published in 1970 in *Notes from the Second Year: Women’s Liberation*.

23 Visage Clair, *VOGUE*, December 1971, *VOGUE* Digital Archives.

whether the fear that removing one's body hair with a depilatory cream would make it grow back thicker "has stopped you from enjoying the *liberating* benefits of a depilatory?"²⁴ Here, the ad reduces women's liberation to effective, cream-based hair removal, and the medical framing of the ad was used, likely, so that the modern woman of the sixties and seventies, whether feminist or not, would be induced to follow the advice and findings of medical professionals as it related hair removal routines. Another *VOGUE* ad from 1977 for Gillette advertised the plastic disposable Daisy razor, which came in pink and purple with a floral pattern.²⁵ Advertisers coined the razor as "The Bare Essential," cleverly identifying the product as necessary for hair removal and as the *only* product one needed. That the razor was completely disposable (as opposed to having replaceable blades or cartridges) lent to its ease of use and contributed to the increased production of whole razors. Inexpensive plastic provided a cheap means to manufacture more disposable razors for consumers. The "cover-up" and "un-cover" model allowed advertisers to cleverly reinsert fashion into the narrative. Advertisers framed exposing one's body as a consumer's choice. Regardless of whether one chose to cover or show one's body, advertisers marketed the razor as an essential necessity for achieving the highest form of femininity. That advertisers had the model smile wider in her stance while revealing hairless armpits suggests that one would find more happiness from the freedom of being hairless than worrying about hiding existing body hair. In this way, advertisers framed the covering up as the shy, coy thing to do, while flaunting one's body was empowering, as long as the body was depilated. Multiple versions of this ad ran in *VOGUE* with white models, but that this one depicted a black model reflects advertiser consciousness of calls for racial representation in print media. The gesture can be understood as advertisers finally expanding the modern woman narrative to include black women but was also likely meant to absolve themselves from the claim that they only advertised with white models. The text of the

ad asserts that when one's body hair was visible, it needed to be removed. However, advertisers assert that through this depilation, women could achieve empowerment and self-expression.

FIGURE 8

Visage Clair, *VOGUE*, December 1971, *VOGUE* Digital Archives.
Gillette Daisy Shaver, *VOGUE*, July 1977, *VOGUE* Digital Archives.



Advertisers continually re-defined modern women in relation to body hair removal in order to sell products. While this may not be surprising, we need to see how the effort simultaneously distracted women from the goal of gaining more agency in their environments, in favor of experiencing freedom through what they consumed, and how they appeared.²⁶ Even to this day,

24 Emphasis is mine.

25 Gillette Daisy Shaver, *VOGUE*, July 1977, *VOGUE* Digital Archives

there is not a meaningful global feminist movement, which suggests that consumerism may have won. That the re-politicization of women in second-wave feminism originated from women questioning the structures that left them unsatisfied shows that women indeed have the power to shift their own narratives, but that doing so requires real action for lasting change. During the Great Depression and even during the Second World War, women exercised their power as consumers by boycotting certain sellers, and reporting violations of price ceilings. One can only imagine the disruption women would cause if they decided to boycott hair removal products entirely.

Understanding how and why U.S. women adopted the practice of body hair removal reveals an important facet of women's relationship to consumerism. Advertisers cemented women's most active role as consumers as they strove to embody shifting characteristics of the new modern woman. This effort was successful because advertisers reframed female empowerment as being achieved through consuming products that affected (and yes, "improved") one's outward appearance. If we dismiss this trend, we risk not seeing mainstream

women's adoption of body hair removal as a shift that allowed for consumerism to triumph over activism. The new grooming habit of removing one's body hair in the early twentieth century presents a perfect example of how women's quest for liberation over patriarchy was effectively replaced with the empty promises born of consumer "choice." We then understand one way that women's prior activism demanded a shift of energy toward the consumer sphere. Body hair removal requires near constant maintenance as the hair continues to grow back, which ensures that most women will continue to remove their body hair well into middle-age. And after so many years, it seems most U.S. women have adopted and even internalized the practice. Those of us who have adopted this grooming habit experience varying degrees of discomfort or even pain to achieve that satisfying smoothness; and we pay money to do so. Whether or not the pain is worth the pleasure is ultimately the consumer's choice. Even today, understanding why one would choose to remove her body hair is a deeply personal question, with entrenched, though malleable and evolving, political dimensions. The personal is, after all, still political.ⁱ

26 Historians might consider examining shifts of female politicization through the start of the twenty-first century. One substantial starting point for this would be the beginning of Gillette's *Venus* line, in the early 2000s. One might desire to explore the extremity of "goddess" branding or research how the razor ultimately won in popularity against depilatory potions, or the effects of the porn industry on the removal of female pubic hair. One might also investigate the recent development of social media influencer culture and sponsorship from certain companies, such as Billie, that seem to present the most progressive appeals in the industry thus far.

i This paper won the James P. Krokaw Award for Best Paper in an Advanced Undergraduate Course at DePaul's 20th Annual Student History Conference.

Alfred Stieglitz, *Camera Work*, and 291: Photography Pioneer and Curator of the Bound Page*

SPENCER BOLDING

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Alfred Stieglitz (1864–1946) stands as an unparalleled American figure in the realm of art history (Fig. 1). He championed the recognition of photography as a legitimate art form and advocated for the advancement of modern art in the United States. By breaking away from the limitations of documentary photography and developing a new mode of aesthetic photography, Stieglitz separated himself from other art photographers of his generation and led the Photo-Secession movement, which rejected the more popular Pictorialist photography, a style characterized by soft focus and emulation of painterly techniques. Stieglitz's gallery exhibitions devoted to modern art held at the Photo-Secession Gallery and Gallery 291 starting in 1908 not only predated the Armory Show, a groundbreaking exhibition showcasing avant-garde European and American art in 1913, but also offered a more intimate and consistent platform for promoting innovative art. Stieglitz also promoted modern art through his publications *Camera Work* and 291.

Camera Work

Publishing *Camera Work* (1903–1917) was instrumental in Stieglitz becoming aware of the parallels between modernist photography and modernist painting, and served as a foundation for the exhibitions staged at his 291 Gallery. Frustrated with conservative views of photography, *Camera Work* challenged the status quo and pushed for greater global understanding of the formal qualities of photographs that remained unrecognized

FIGURE 1

Alfred Stieglitz, *Self-portrait, Freienwalde a.O.*, 1886. Washington, DC. Platinum print, 10.7 × 7.7 cm. Public domain. https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Alfred_Stieglitz_self-portrait,_freienwald,_1886.jpg



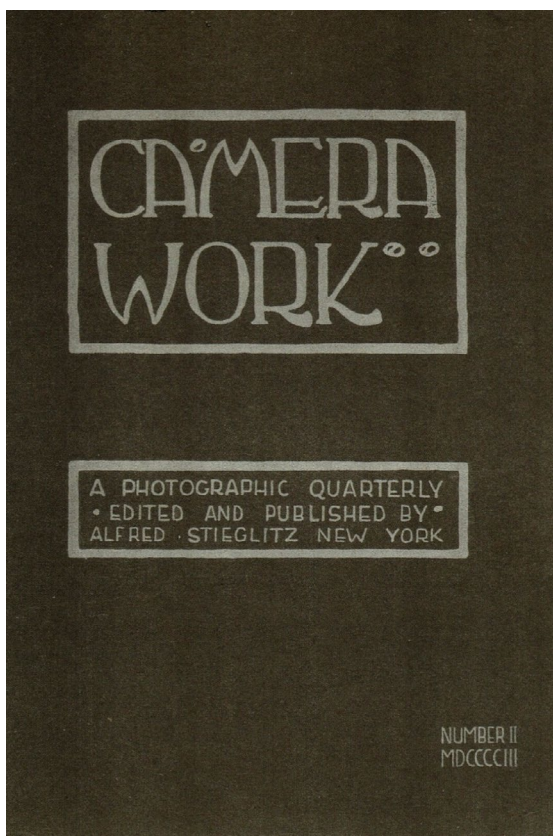
at that time. The very title of the publication advances Stieglitz's argument (Fig. 2). *Camera Work* implies that there is labor and an intention behind photographers' decisions to bring forth the expressiveness of photography as a medium. By naming the journal *Camera Work* and publishing fifty issues, Stieglitz succeeded in his mission to change the art world's understanding of the medium.

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Moreover, its scope began to widen to include different types of writing and artistic mediums, such as drawings and elaborate word poems. Thus, Steiglitz's approach to disseminating new debates in photography and his careful curation of the bound page in *Camera Work* placed him in a very powerful position—one in which he was able to mold the tastes and aesthetic outlooks of Americans and help them understand the changing art world.

FIGURE 2

Alfred Stieglitz, publisher, *Camera Work*, No. 2, April 1903. Designed by Edward Steichen. 1903. Public domain. https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Camera_Work_cover.jpg



Stieglitz understood the evolving discourse regarding modernist art emerging in Europe, and this is also reflected in *Camera Work*. Given the journal's mission to embrace new modes of modernism, it featured an impressive cast of talented photographer aesthetes, such as Edward Steichen (1879–1973) and Gertrude

Käsebier (1852–1934). *Camera Work* appealed to those readers who wished to better understand modernist photography, while also highlighting how this relatively new medium impacted modernist painting and drawing. While the years 1903 to 1907 were devoted exclusively to photography, *Camera Work* expanded its coverage in 1908, as Stieglitz's relations with the photography community and longtime contributors began to sour and he started showcasing contemporary European art. *Camera Work* began to reflect these new priorities by providing a balance between reproductions of modern photography and other modes of art, including sculptures by the renowned French sculptor Auguste Rodin (1840–1917), and in the following year, a special issue exclusively featuring the work of painters Henri Matisse (1869–1954) and Pablo Picasso (1881–1973).

There are multiple issues of *Camera Work* that highlight recent advancements in modernism, and Stieglitz's journal and editorial savvy contributed to the acceptance of new artistic movements in America. He worked with other New York-based writers and artists to reflect on the work of these modernists in later issues of the journal. Stieglitz included painters in the early editions as well, with articles by the frequent visitor to New York James Henry Moser (1854–1913), who wrote an article for issue six titled "A Painter's Impression of The Washington Exhibition."¹ The article highlights an exhibition of Photo-Secessionists in Washington, D.C. but concludes with a clear indication that Moser and Stieglitz both understood the power of painting in the discussion of photography as a fine art. Moser states:

This important exhibition in America of the work of the Photo Secession has passed into history, there lingers in the mind and impression rather of the camera's splendid possibilities... Limitless as painting itself... Personal differences, unhappily, often are the rugged way of art-workers, but it is that every man who penetrates a note farther into the realm of beauty

1 James Henry Moser, "A Painter's Impression of The Washington Exhibition," *Camera Work*, no. 6 (April 1904): 45–46.

will find all of his fellows receiving that achievement with sincere applause.²

This quote demonstrates how Moser recognized that modern photography and painting were pursuing similar goals. As the editor of *Camera Work*, Stieglitz featured essays by Moser and others, so the journal could expand its conversations beyond photography and highlight new trends in contemporary art.

But Stieglitz went beyond just searching for new and challenging content. He carefully curated which authors and essays were included in *Camera Work*, almost as if the contents of the journal were a foldable exhibition that one could carry in a book bag. Part of his careful curating was recruiting other well-established writers and featuring their writing in *Camera Work*. Sadakichi Hartmann (1867–1944), a noted Japanese American art critic, published his own journal, *Art Critic*, in 1893. He wrote for several issues of *Camera Work* in various genres, including exhibition reviews, short stories, scripts, and general discussions of new philosophies of art. In issue six, published in April 1904, Hartmann argued that knowledge comes at the end of the creative process, claiming that

the whole process of creative activity, from the first out flashing of the motive to the finished expression, is determined by imagination, emotion, and memory. And the latter is nothing but culture, knowledge, and accumulated experience.³

Hartmann promotes the idea of photography as an intentional process that generates meaningful, intellectual conversation emanating from the image itself. This essay is just one example of Hartmann's writing in issue six about the process of creative self-expression. Each essay appears in a different genre and is placed alongside

² Moser, "A Painter's Impression," 45–46.

³ Sadakichi Hartmann, "On the Lack of Culture," *Camera Work* no. 6 (April 1904): 22. Paul Strand, "Photography," *Camera Work*, no. 49/50 (June 1917): 3–4.

photographs by Alvin Langdon Coburn (1882–1966) (Fig. 3). As Stieglitz and Hartmann knew, there is a clear intentionality—an agenda, even—of placing ideas about emotional and intellectual creative processes in a photography journal. Their written contributions and the photographs all fit together. Hartmann and Stieglitz establish that both modern painting and photography share a reliance on imagination, emotion, and memory.

FIGURE 3

Alvin Langdon Coburn, *Hyde park corner*, 1900. Photogravure, 20.5 x 16.3 cm. Public domain. https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Coburn_hyde_park_corner.jpg



The concepts explored in issue six are further reinforced in the fiftieth and final issue of *Camera Work*, which prominently showcased the photography of one of Stieglitz's young protégés, Paul Strand (1890–1976). Strand was a pioneering figure in modernist photography, and his work received enthusiastic early recognition from Stieglitz (Fig. 4). In fact, Stieglitz dedicated the entire last issue (No. 49/50, June 1917) to him, reproducing eleven of his photographs. This gesture underscored Stieglitz's admiration for Strand's contribution to the modernist

aesthetic in photography. In the same issue of *Camera Work*, Strand himself contributed an essay titled simply “Photography,” in which he articulated his approach to the medium. Strand emphasized that there should be no distinction between various artistic mediums, observing that

Whether a watercolor is inferior to an oil, or whether a drawing, an etching, or a photograph is not as important as either, is inconsequent. To have to despise something in order to respect something else is a sign of impotence. Let us rather accept joyously and with gratitude everything through which the spirit of man seeks to and even fuller and more intense self-realization.⁴

This essay is often cited as a defense of the modernist aesthetic in photography, reflecting Strand’s commitment to artistic expression through the medium. Strand’s unwillingness to separate out various forms of expression also demonstrates a commitment to viewing photography as a coequal modernist medium. This final issue of *Camera Work* serves as a reminder that although Stieglitz’s efforts had shifted from the Photo-Secession movement to a more general advocacy for modern art, photography remained a part of the new spirit in art. As Strand argued so eloquently in his essay, it shares the same expressive and intellectual goals with modernist painting.

Putting this philosophy into practice, Strand’s photographs are characterized by their emphasis on geometric forms, abstraction, and on everyday subjects, reflecting the modernist photographer’s rejection of sentimentalism and capturing the essence of the modern world. Painter Marius de Zayas (1880–1961) strove for these qualities in his own art, as well (Fig. 5). He was a long-time collaborator with Stieglitz, who included his work in *Camera Work* three issues prior to the Strand issue. De Zayas aimed for bold experimentation and

FIGURE 4

Paul Strand. *Abstraction, Twin Lakes, Connecticut*. 1916. Public domain. https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Paul_Strand,_Abstraction,_Twin_Lakes,_Connecticut._1916.jpg



abstraction in painting, using geometric figures to capture the essence of objects. Similarly, Strand depicted pure geometric forms to illustrate the spirit of the modern, technological world through precise composition of manufactured shapes (Fig. 4). Just issues apart, Stieglitz’s inclusion of works by both Strand and de Zayas in the pages of *Camera Work* demonstrates his successful campaign for the acceptance of modern art by American audiences.

⁴ Paul Strand, “Photography,” *Camera Work*, no. 49/50 (June 1917): 3–4.

FIGURE 5

Marius de Zayas. "Theodore Roosevelt." *Camera Work*, no. 46 (April 1914):14. Hand-pulled photogravure, 23.5 x 17.8 cm. Public domain. <https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:DeZayas-Roosevelt.jpg>



FIGURE 6

Alfred Stieglitz, *View of the Little Galleries of the Photo-Secession, New York, New York*. 1906. *Camera Work*, No. 14, 1906. Public domain. https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Little_Galleries_-_1906.jpg



Gallery 291

At the turn of the twentieth century, Stieglitz arranged an exhibition of photography—"Photo-Secession"—that toured Europe and America from 1897–1902 and displayed many of the most famous photographers of the early 20th century. At that time there was not a single gallery exclusively devoted to photography, and Stieglitz was the obvious answer for a founder. In 1905, Edward Steichen gifted three rooms in his building to Stieglitz to use as a gallery space for the images once the tour was over. After this tour, he returned to New York and declared that the studio at 291 Fifth Avenue would now be called the "Little Galleries of the Photo-Secession" and would exhibit photography of the best American and European photographers, such as Edward Steichen, Clarence H. White, and Gertrude Käsebier (Fig. 6).⁵ With this level of collaboration, Stieglitz established a significant roster of modern artists for the first exhibition of modern art at the newly named "291 Gallery."

Yet, Stieglitz only staged one photography exhibition at 291, a collection of Edward Steichen's color photographs. After four years of exhibiting only artistic photography at the Little Galleries of the Photo-Secession, 291 opened on the same block of the original gallery, just one building over. Now Stieglitz began writing about its new mission. In a 1903 issue of *Camera Work*, he defined the type of art he promoted at 291:

We are dealing, not with a society, not with an organization, as much as with a movement. The Secession is not so much a school or a following as an attitude towards life; and its motto is: 'Give every man who claims to have a message for the world a chance of being heard.'⁶

- 5 Michael E. Hoffman and Martha Chahroudi, "Spirit of an American Place: An Exhibition of Photographs by Alfred Stieglitz, November 22, 1980–March 29, 1981," *Philadelphia Museum of Art Bulletin* 76, no. 331 (1980): 13.
- 6 Alfred Stieglitz, *Camera Work: A Photographic Quarterly* no. 1 (1903): 1. Ralph Flint, "What Is '291'? A Question Propounded Thirty Years Ago by Alfred Stieglitz, Art Sponsor, Still Awaits the Final Answer," 291 no.12 (1937): 5.

This essay provided guidelines for what kind of art would be displayed at 291. In these initial two years (1905–1917), there were many landmark exhibitions. In 1910, Stieglitz was the first to show Paul Cezanne’s (1839–1906) paintings in the United States, and in the following year, he exhibited paintings from Pablo Picasso’s Blue Period. In 1911 he arranged for Francis Picabia’s (1879–1953) first-ever exhibition in the United States, and the following year he held the first exhibition of Henri Matisse’s sculptures. Throughout these years of promoting art and photography, Stieglitz intuited that New York would be America’s capital for modernism, and history has proved him right.

In the years following the opening of Gallery 291 there were many pivotal moments that changed the course of art history, and which were directly connected to Stieglitz’s involvement in promoting modern European art in the United States. For example, the Armory Show took place in 1913 in New York City, just five years after the opening of Gallery 291. It was mounted in the 29th Regiment Armory, where the U.S. National Guard mustered and stored their weapons. The exhibition proved to be one of the first comprehensive exhibitions of modern art in America. Artists that participated in the Armory Show overlapped with those invited to exhibit at Gallery 291: Francis Picabia, John Marin (1870–1953), George Luks (1867–1933), and even Pablo Picasso. Therefore, even before major collectors like Louise and Walter Arensberg and Walt Kuhn promoted modern art, Stieglitz had established a roster of artists that would make their names known throughout the entire world. His shows at Gallery 291 were arranged without any ostentation or noisy acclaim, yet they held enough power to “flutter the academic doves and start reverberating down the years a credo of faith in the creative artist and a challenge to lethargic acceptance of ‘popular’ art.”⁷ Critic Ralph Flint reflected on Stieglitz’s influence in a 1937 article titled “What is ‘291?’” He argued, “These

7 Ralph Flint, “What Is ‘291?’ A Question Propounded Thirty Years Ago by Alfred Stieglitz, Art Sponsor, Still Awaits the Final Answer,” 291 no.12 (1937): 5.

exhibitions were designed to awaken the public to the importance of art, no matter what form it might take, as a vital force in society and as an issue worth fighting for.” Stieglitz’s curation was now a matter of art historical record. Major modernists, such as Constantin Brancusi (1876–1960), Auguste Rodin, and Paul Cezanne, all had their first American exhibitions due to Stieglitz prior to the modern art movement that conquered America.

The aforementioned Marius de Zayas, a Mexican artist and critic closely associated with the vibrant art scene at 291 Fifth Avenue, played a pivotal role in connecting artists with Stieglitz for exhibitions. In Gallery 291’s final year, de Zayas was in correspondence with Italian Futurist Gino Severini (1883–1966), who was living in Paris and did not travel due to the ongoing World War I. On August 21st 1916, de Zayas, who was vacationing in New York at the time, sent a letter to Stieglitz informing him that he would be sending some of Severini’s paintings and that he should consider giving the Italian Futurist an exhibition at Gallery 291.⁸ De Zayas let Stieglitz know that their friend Walter Pach, one of the organizers of the Armory Show, and a friend of Severini’s, had been in touch with Severini about the possibility of exhibiting work in New York. De Zayas writes that Stieglitz should consult Pach about how to make this exhibition happen. A few letters later, on September 11th, 1916, de Zayas wrote to Stieglitz, “I believe it will be a very good thing to show the futuristic tendencies, so the people at least will not take every manifestation of modern art as Futurisme!”⁹ This correspondence demonstrates that influential modernists, such as de Zayas, recognized Stieglitz’s venue as an important site to feature major exhibitions of new modes of avant-garde art.

8 The letters shared by de Zayas, Stieglitz, and Severini are all found in the Alfred Stieglitz Archive at Yale University, but for a while there was a gap in information about this exhibition. Joan M. Lukach “Severini’s 1917 Exhibition at Stieglitz’s ‘291’” *The Burlington Magazine* 113, no. 817 (April 1971): 201.

9 Marius de Zayas, “Letter to Alfred Stieglitz, September 11th, 1916,” in Joan M. Lukach, “Severini’s 1917 Exhibition at Stieglitz’s ‘291’” *The Burlington Magazine* 113, no. 817 (April 1971): 199

To move forward with his upcoming exhibition, Severini sent Stieglitz a list of 25 of his works produced throughout his career, all numbered appropriately on the verso of the canvases. Whether this information was requested by Stieglitz or not, it provides a chronological understanding of the artist's development as a Futurist painter. Not only were many of these works unframed (many artists around this time, due to shortage of funds, exhibited without frames), it was unique at that time to showcase examples of an artist's paintings from different periods of their career. Severini included a note to Stieglitz, explaining that the 25 paintings came from different periods and suggested that this selection would give the exhibition variety and reflected the spirit of the gallery. Stieglitz likely accepted this offer due to the formality in which Severini made the request, as well as his intention of capturing audience attention by showing a range of Futurist paintings previously unexhibited in the United States.¹⁰ Stieglitz's desire to document the changing art world can be seen through Gallery 291's innovative curatorial choices, as well as his decision to promote an artist that was central to Futurism and little known in New York. To show an artist's development as a painter, rather than just exhibiting their best works, was very uncommon. Stieglitz was one of the first dealers to present retrospective exhibitions of modern artists, which later became standard practice in the art historical monograph. Seemingly aware of his decision to make this gallery a documentation of what soon would be called "art history," he showed a strategic prescience in featuring the art of the moment and in this case works by a European painter.

291: The Journal

One of the most intriguing ways Stieglitz can be considered an art historian is through his founding and managing of new publications. In 1915, he established the journal *291*, its title meant to complement the exhibitions featured in the gallery. The first issue of *291* was intended

by Stieglitz and de Zayas to promote the most avant-garde art in Europe and the United States, while at the same time bringing attention to the gallery space on Fifth Avenue. The first issue contained exemplary modernist artworks and literature (Fig. 7). It included a Pablo Picasso drawing, an article about how to properly critique modern art, an interview with a personified version of the gallery, a text-based work by the avant-garde poet Apollinaire, a short piece of writing by Stieglitz, and finally a drawing by Edward Steichen on the back cover.

FIGURE 7

Marius de Zayas, *291 Throws Back Its Forelock*, Cover of *291*, no. 1, 1915. Black ink, watercolor, graphite, and white correction fluid with collage of cut paper on board, 69.9 x 53.3 cm. Public domain. https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:291_No1p1-Cover.jpg



Perhaps the most intriguing section of the first issue of *291* was Stieglitz's desire to make sure it was educational. Thus, he invited the reader to have an open mind when exploring the contemporary art scene. The exhibitions that took place at 291 were often visited by the cultural

¹⁰ Joan M. Lukach, "Severini's 1917 Exhibition at Stieglitz's '291,'" *The Burlington Magazine* 113, no. 817 (1971): 202.

elite who were interested in purchasing and discussing fine art with those of similar taste. The journal provided an opportunity to extend these conversations.

The journal *291* made it clear that Stieglitz was in touch with emerging art movements, but also with new modes of art writing, ones that could be seen as more experimental and less focused on a traditional thesis or narrative. For example, in issue one of *291*, Stieglitz's "One Hour's Sleep/Three Dreams" is a recollection of three dreams that the author arranged in a poetic manner.¹¹ It is meaningfully expressive and filled with emotion and imagery, similar in spirit to the intention of many Post-Impressionist paintings. However, above this work, juxtaposing this journey through the dream realm, there is a calligram, or stylized word poem, by Guillaume Apollinaire (1880–1918) that recalls the publications of many of the Dadaists active during this time. Both works served as a precursor to the surrealist explorations that would start taking place in the mid-1920s. However, there is perhaps no better example of Stieglitz's attempt to spread the word of avant-garde art than issues five and six of *291* (1915), which explored Francis Picabia's influential mechanical drawings.

Although *291* was a magazine, the six-page publication became a veritable work of art itself. The paper was high-quality and, although perhaps uncomfortable to hold, the publication measured 20" by 12". A reader would have to hold *291* like a magazine, making for a performative spectacle, almost as if the person holding it was able to walk through a gallery in the middle of a subway car. Picabia's issue of the publication was larger than the standard issue when unfolded (17" x 33") and included a section in the middle that folded out for the whole portrait to be seen. This issue was Picabia's art. Scholars often ignore the fact that these works of three-dimensional objects, seemingly two-dimensional, were in fact three-dimensional, as the reader moves

Picabia's motionless machines by turning each page and discovering the intentional placement of each portrait.¹² This performance, fueled by the preceding issues, is extremely different from the content of the other issues; there is no poetry, no art historical perspective, and it features only a short essay by de Zayas. Hannah Wong claims that de Zayas' essay is crucial to understanding the rest of the works in the issue, as he critiques New York's inability to produce and acknowledge a new modern art.¹³ Therefore, Stieglitz, with his editorial power, guides the reader through a series of portraits that are not in line with the typical idea of portraits. Through both de Zayas' article and Picabia's portraits, we can easily see that this is an effort to appeal to New York's art scene. According to a 1913 article in *The New York Tribune*, Picabia believed that "America's artistic potential could be found in the machine." He wrote, "Since machinery is the soul of the modern world, and since the genius of machinery attains its highest expression in America, why is it not reasonable to believe that in America the art of the future will flower most brilliantly?"¹⁴ It is testimony to Picabia's wit and Stieglitz's intent for *291* that he chose the form of mechanical advertisement to make a comment about America's current artistic status. This quote alone encapsulates both Stieglitz's and Picabia's desire to bring to light the beauty of modern art, as it perfectly reflected the new century. The magazine was intended to be an experiment in documenting and archiving the most influential creatives of the time, as well as to educate those who might have only heard the names of artists or movements. In short, Stieglitz saw this magazine as a real expression of the time and a true eye-opener, not only for the United States, but for Europe.

The legacy of Alfred Stieglitz and Gallery 291 marks a pivotal moment in the evolution of modern art in America. Stieglitz's visionary leadership not only elevated photography to the realm of fine art but also provided a

11 Alfred Stieglitz, "One Hour's Sleep: Three Dreams," *291*, no. 1 (1915): 3.

12 Hannah W Wong, "Powering Portraiture: Francis Picabia's Mechanomorphs Revived," *American Art* 29, no. 3 (2015): 121.

13 Hannah W Wong, "Powering Portraiture," 124.

14 Francis Picabia, "A Post-Cubist's Impression of New York," *New York Tribune*, March 9, 1913, 1.

platform for avant-garde movements from both Europe and the United States. His keen eye for talent, coupled with an unwavering commitment to artistic expression, transformed Gallery 291 into a nexus of innovation and experimentation. At the heart of this commitment was Stieglitz's publication of *291*, a magazine that transcended mere documentation to become a work of art in its own right. Its pages unfolded like actual galleries, inviting readers to traverse a curated landscape of modernist masterpieces. From the innovative forms of Picasso to the mechanical marvels of Picabia, each issue was an argument for the vibrancy of the contemporary art scene.

But 291 was more than just a publication. It was a manifesto of artistic liberation and a testament to Stieglitz's unwavering belief in the transformative power of modern art. Through the pages of *Camera Work* and *291*, he sought to educate and inspire, challenging readers to embrace the new and the avant-garde. In so doing, he not only documented the spirit of the times but also shaped its trajectory, guiding America towards a future where art knew no boundaries. In essence, the *291* publication was a living exhibition—a dynamic testament to the evolving landscape of modern art.ⁱ

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ⁱ This paper was presented at the History of Art and Architecture Annual Student Symposium in March 2024.



Jamie Lauderbaugh | *The Uncanny Valley Part 4* | Digital photograph, manipulated with artificial intelligence

They Can't Touch the Sea: Restriction on Palestinian Movement Post-Oslo*

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For Palestinians in the West Bank, life has been defined by closed borders, concrete walls, heavily armed checkpoints, separate roads, separate laws (including on basic human rights), and severely restricted healthcare, work, and water. Despite living just 40 kilometers away, in a city like Ramallah in the West Bank, Palestinians do not have the right to see the Mediterranean in person. They can't touch the sea. Everything is just out of grasp: the sea, the Dome of the Rock and the al Aqsa Mosque, their families on the other side of the Separation Wall that critics deem a technology of apartheid, a viable Palestinian state, and even freedom itself. Not that long ago, however, during the era of President Bill Clinton's Oslo Accords, freedom was on the table for Palestinians, who were promised a state of their own. The Oslo Accords have failed to deliver self-determination to the Palestinians, who have now lived under conditions of occupation for over half a century since the war of 1967. Rather than provide for Palestinian statehood and the human right of free movement for Palestinians in the region and beyond, the Oslo Accords have played a role in normalizing conditions of occupation and in reorganizing and deepening the isolating effects of Israel's authority over the West Bank. Over the period governed by the Accords, Israel has controlled the West Bank through a regime of separation and militarization. The erection of the Separation Wall after the Second Intifada in the 2000s has made visible Israel's regime for restricting Palestinian movement based on a collective characterization of Palestinians beyond

the wall as dangerous "other." As well, the government of Israel has continued to control the land, air, and water of the West Bank, important elements of Palestinian life, survival, and the prospects for a better national future.

In this essay, I not only analyze the spatial politics that have come into play after the Oslo Accords but draw on my travel to the West Bank where I experienced and witnessed first-hand the systems of separation. In spring of 2023, I took a trip to Jerusalem with other students, during which I spent time in the Occupied Territories. For some students in the group, a profound sense of identity-based disparate treatment took hold from the beginning of the trip, upon arrival at the airport. The three students with "Arab-sounding" names, including myself, were singled out and questioned by airport security in Tel Aviv. During our venture into the West Bank, I witnessed the segregation, checkpoints, and heavy military presence post-Oslo. I describe some of these experiences later in the paper to illustrate impacts of separation and occupation, a form of spatial injustice (Soja 2010). After returning from my trip to Jerusalem, I took an International Studies class on identities and boundaries, which allowed me to explore further Oslo's role in authorizing the unjust geographies of the occupation, whose histories and purposes are the subject of this paper.

Occupation and Separation in the West Bank

On June 7th, 1967, Israel began military occupation of the West Bank after the Six-Day War under a set of military orders that expressly incorporated international humanitarian law—the Fourth Geneva Convention—thus invoking a whole range of rights and duties of the occupier and occupied. Importantly, for example, the

* This paper was originally written for INT 206 (Boundaries and Identities), taught by Dr. Gil Gott in Spring Quarter 2023. The paper was selected by a faculty committee in the Department of International Studies consisting of Dr. Gott and Dr. Shiera Malik, and chaired by Dr. Shailja Sharma.

international law of belligerent occupation prohibits transferring populations into occupied territory (settlement creation) or forcibly displacing or deporting occupied populations. Four months later, however, Israel had omitted reference to the Geneva Conventions and moved toward a legal position on the occupation that contested compulsory application of international humanitarian law under a theory that the territories were disputed and, thus, under no legitimate sovereign entity that could claim the legal status and rights of an occupied party (Kretzmer 2012, 209–210; Daniele 2017). This period, from the Six Day War to the Oslo Accords, saw the formation of a regime of occupation inconsistent with humanitarian law, one that Palestinians have experienced as a form of apartheid.¹

Israel's high command in the West Bank issued orders that "made settlers immune from the restrictive laws applicable to the Palestinian residents" (Shehadeh 2019a, 10). Therefore, unauthorized settlers were given more rights than the Palestinian residents whose ancestors lawfully inhabited the land for millennia. Palestinians and settlers were "subject to different local government units, different courts, and eventually different administrations" (Shehadeh 2019a, 10). In 1981, the Israeli commanders of the West Bank established a program of "Civil Administration for the Palestinians," which led to the settlers in the West Bank and Gaza being under "Israeli laws and direct rule" (Shehadeh 2019a, 11). This sets up legal conditions of apartheid by making "different laws applicable to different groups with different and unequal distribution of resources and opportunities for development" (Shehadeh 2019a, 11). Israel started a number of infrastructure projects, zoning roads, and water with Road Plan Number 50 of 1984, reorganizing

the roads in the West Bank in order to link "Israeli settlements, already built or planned, to each other and to Israel, bypassing Palestinian towns and villages" (Shehadeh 2019a, 10). These infrastructure projects thus shape a form of material apartheid within the West Bank with severely restricted Palestinian access to public services.

Oslo and the Principle of Separation

At the end of 1987, Palestinian society in Gaza and the West Bank erupted in protest as a result of twenty years of frustration over the failure of international law and institutions to provide political, economic, and social justice. Spontaneously, many people took to the streets and marched and demonstrated peacefully, some militantly, for the recognition of their rights. The mass movement surprised both the Israeli government and the Palestinian Liberation Organization (PLO), and other Palestinian factions. Realizing that the status quo could not hold, Israel and the PLO eventually agreed to a first-ever face-to-face negotiation in Oslo, Norway. The Oslo Accords laid out a phased plan with built-in confidence-building measures. The Accords did not immediately create a Palestinian state, which critics viewed as a fatal flaw (Erakat 2019, 135–174). The preliminary steps, known as Oslo I, called for an exchange of letters, which came to be known as the Declaration of Principles (DOP). In its letter, the PLO renounced the use of violence and recognized the existence of the State of Israel. In its letter, Israel recognized the PLO as the sole representative of the Palestinian people.

The next phase, known as Oslo II, consisted of an interim arrangement. Under Oslo II so-called zones A, B, and C were established in the West Bank (Figure 1). Treatment of some issues, called final status issues, was delayed until later. The final status phase was to have dealt with the status of Jerusalem, refugees, and settling the final borders for the Palestinian state. Critically, sovereign, land, water, and air rights were never transferred to Palestinians. The failure to guarantee the emergence of a viable Palestinian state had detrimental consequences for Palestinians in the post-Oslo period.

1 (Keane 2024; Kattan 2024): The legal question of apartheid is currently under consideration before the UN treaty body on racial discrimination (ICERD Committee) (Keane 2024), and has been the subject of lengthy reports by leading human rights NGOs Human Rights Watch (2021) and Amnesty International (2022), and addressed in a report by a Human Rights Council Special Rapporteur (Albanese 2022). The International Court of Justice addressed the question of occupation and the legality of the Separation Wall in its 2004 Advisory Opinion.

FIGURE 1

Oslo Areas and Barriers Projection 2005, adapted from UN Office for the Coordination of Human Affairs map (Source: https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Oslo_Areas_and_barrier_projection_2005.png)



Area A, which the Palestinian Authority controls, made up about 3% of the West Bank and 26% of the population. Area B is jointly controlled by the Palestinian Authority and Israel with the Authority in control of “public order” and Israel in charge of “security” (Gordon 2008, 33–34). Area B accounted for 24% of the land and 70% of the population. Lastly, Area C is controlled and maintained fully by Israel and accounted for 73% of the West Bank

and 4% of its population. The phased plan called for Israel to immediately withdraw from areas A and B, while the Palestinian Authority became responsible for managing the Palestinian people and providing civil institutions.

Neve Gordon (2008) sees Oslo as part of a realization “that the colonization principle could no longer be used as the basic logic informing its control of the West Bank and Gaza Strip” (36). Gordon (2008) writes that Israel “began looking for a new principle that would allow it to uphold the occupation,” which led to a shift towards the “separation principle” (35). The “separation principle” allowed Israel to reorganize its power in the Occupied Palestinian Territories “in order to continue its control over their resources” by using a spatial framing: “We are here, they are there” (Gordon 2008, 35). For Gordon, the Oslo Accords “signified the reorganization of power rather than its withdrawal and should be understood as the continuation of the occupation by other means” (2008, 35).

Gordon argues that through the Accords, Israel’s power was reorganized in three areas: “civil institutions, the economy, and law enforcement” (Gordon 2008, 33). The Oslo Accords allowed Israel to shift responsibility for and power over the Palestinian population to the Palestinian Authority in exchange for ongoing military control over Palestinian land. Post-Oslo, Israel no longer takes account of Palestinian living conditions, and focus is placed on control of land and resources rather than maintenance of the occupied population. Before the time of the Second Intifada, Israel enforced “draconian laws” over the territories, which “legalized the incarceration of thousands of political prisoners, and permitted deportations, house demolitions, torture, extended curfews and other forms of collective punishment” (Gordon 2008, 37). In the later period, the *suspension* of the law was extensive, proven by the use of “extrajudicial executions” for which “not one Israeli soldier has been tried” (Gordon 2008, 37). Additionally, during the Second Intifada, the High Court expanded the military’s authority to circumvent due process protection in the case of demolitions (Gordon

2008, 38). By 2018, the United Nations Office for the Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs reported that over 700 physical barriers existed in the West Bank, restricting the movement of 2.3 million Palestinians (UN 2018).

Control of land, air, and water has resulted in the West Bank becoming comparable to an open-air prison. There are checkpoints from city to city, separate roads for Palestinians and settlers, and daily reminders of the lack of freedom of movement through the Separation Wall, which the International Court of Justice deemed to violate international law in its 2005 Advisory Opinion. Israel's control of water is perhaps most consequential, because it directly correlates with the productivity of Palestinian farmers but also the daily survival of all Palestinians. Israel currently controls some 85% of the West Bank's water (Najib 2021). Some Palestinian villages receive water only every 15 days, while nearby illegal settlements "enjoy unlimited quantities not only for drinking but to fill swimming pools, irrigate crops, and wash their vehicles" (Najib 2021).

During my recent trip to Palestine, our tour guide pointed out evidence of unequal access to water in the West Bank. We were standing at the top of a hill, overlooking part of Bethlehem, when the guide explained why the water tanks differed. The settlement had a large white tank in the middle of it, while the Palestinian village had smaller black tanks on the top of each house. The guide explained how the white tank provided unlimited water service, while those with black tanks oftentimes resorted to collected rainwater. Despite living just blocks from each other, these two groups were living in separate worlds. Additionally, while exploring the Herodian Palace, not far from Bethlehem, my group and I were alarmed to hear (U.S.-made) fighter jets circling above us. We were shocked to discover that the fighter jets patrol the West Bank for a couple days each week. The jets are a constant reminder of Israel's control of the air, contributing to a feeling of entrapment.

Right before the outbreak of the Second Intifada, Israel closed off the Green Line, established in 1967, and "made it illegal for any Palestinian to exit the region regardless of whether he or she held an entry permit," which continued on and off over the years (Gordon 2008, 39). Each border closure, until 1997, resulted in the exclusion of 200,000 Palestinians from their workplaces (Gordon 2008, 40). In 1996, 32.6% of the Occupied Territories were unemployed due to movement restrictions. By 2003, the UN Food and Agriculture Organization reported that 40% of the population was suffering from food insecurity (Gordon 2008, 41). In 2006, Israel created conditions that "prevented people from receiving immunization" (Gordon 2008, 41). This disregard for Palestinian health and well-being, which Gordon asserts is the defining feature of the Post-Oslo Occupation, reverberates later in Israel's blocking vaccines from entering Gaza during the pandemic (Amnesty International, 2021). During the time of the Second Intifada, stillbirths and infant child mortality became "the leading cause of death for children under five" (Gordon 2008, 41). Gordon argues that Israel "adopted a series of policies which in effect weaken and destroy the Palestinian body" (2008, 41). For Gordon, "the difference between beating the body and killing the body reflects the difference between the colonial principle and the separation principle" (2008, 41).

After the Second Intifada, the erection of the Separation Wall was an example of post-Oslo separationist strategy and *de facto* apartheid. Israel's wall has been deemed illegal under international law by the International Court of Justice and, as built, slices through existing Palestinian towns, agricultural fields, and farmland, separating Palestinians from their families and farmers from their livelihoods. The building of the wall did not follow the 1967 Green Line but, rather, proceeded to unilaterally annex about 13.5 percent of the West Bank to Israel (Al Jazeera 2020) (see Figure 1). The wall effectively hides the ghettos that lie beyond it, but which have been aggravated by it. The wall threatens to dehumanize the Palestinians that lie beyond it, feeding into anti-Palestinian racial othering and, in turn, rationalizing this illegal structure.

FIGURE 2

Graffiti art on the Separation Wall
(Source: Author photo)

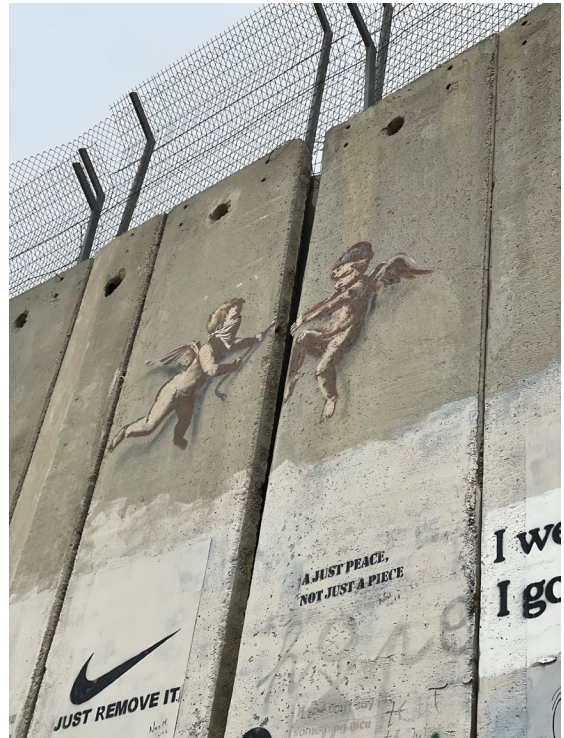


Despite the wall's separation function, local Palestinians have also used the wall as a tool to draw international attention toward Israel's occupation. (See Figure 1 referencing 1967 Green line and Separation Wall: Green Line in Green, Separation Wall in red.)

During my time in Bethlehem, I was able to see the Separation ("Apartheid") Wall in person for the first time. The wall is gloomy and blocks the beautiful view of Jerusalem. Art on the wall is used to represent Palestinian suffering, as well as to express transnational solidarity with other colonized and marginalized peoples. One of the pieces of graffiti art on the wall depicted a crack in it with a view of Jerusalem on the other side (Figure 2). Another piece, painted by the renowned guerilla artist Banksy, shows two angels pulling apart the wall (Figure 3). The first image I approached was a giant mural of the deceased Al Jazeera reporter Shireen Abu Akleh, who was

FIGURE 3

Art on the Separation Wall by guerilla artist Banksy
(Source: Author photo)



a victim of homicide at the hands of Israeli soldiers during a raid in Jenin (B'Tselem 2022). The mural reads: "Live News Still Alive" with "Alive" written in white ink over a red background that resembles a pool of blood (Figure 4). Another mural, not far from the one of Shireen Abu Akleh, reads: "Not only Floyd. But Iyad Hallaq too" (Figure 5). Iyad Hallaq was a 32-year-old autistic man who was fatally shot by Israeli soldiers while commuting to his special needs school (Boxerman 2023).

The restriction on Palestinian movement and the military occupation of the West Bank has contributed to the creation of more slums. While more affluent settlers may live in gated communities, sometimes outfitted with swimming pools and desirable orange tiled-roof houses, Palestinians in refugee camps throughout the West Bank may be uncertain about having enough water for the next day. I visited one of the most well-known refugee

FIGURE 4

Mural on the Separation Wall (Source: Author photo)



camp in the West Bank, Aida refugee camp, located in Bethlehem. While in Aida refugee camp, I attended a Palestinian cooking class through the Noor Women's Empowerment group. The Palestinian women, who established this group, use the proceeds from their cooking classes to fund programs for the disabled children in the camp. These women believe that the disability rate in the camp is unusually high due to toxic effects of tear gas that the Israeli soldiers send over the wall into the camp. They also believe that the tear gas results in birth defects after pregnant women have been exposed. After the cooking class, I was taken to a gift shop where the local Palestinians sold keychains and necklaces fashioned from spent tear gas cans. I bought a key chain in the shape of a key, which has triple meaning: Palestinian right of return and the reality of the occupation, but also Palestinian determination, steadfastness, and resourcefulness.

FIGURE 5

Mural on the Separation Wall (Source: Author photo)



Despite my Palestinian ancestry, while on my visit, my privilege of having American citizenship and an American-sounding last name was noticeable. I had unlimited access to the holiest city in the world, while my family members in Nablus are not allowed to pray in the mosque that so symbolizes Palestine and Islam. Many Palestinians in the West Bank, especially the younger generation, have grown up without being able to access the holy city. Palestinian author, lawyer, and human rights activist Raja Shehadeh in *Going Home: A Walk Through Fifty Years of Occupation* reveals how the occupation has evolved a “new geography” and internalized imprisonment: “This morning I read that there are negotiations with Israel to allow buses to leave Ramallah through the Betunia checkpoint, now called Ofer (a settlement), to take worshipers to pray at the Al Aqsa Mosque in Jerusalem for Ramadan. My first reaction

was happiness. Then I realized I've become so used to the closure of the outlet from Betunia to Palestinian traffic, begun a decade ago, and have so internalized the new geography Israel has succeeded in imposing that this sounded extraordinary to me" (Shahadeh 2019b, 32). The fact that foreigners from a completely different country have the ability to move freely in Palestine and Israel, while Palestinians in Palestine do not, is almost incomprehensible.

Shahadeh's "walk" through occupation ties place to memory of the occupation's wanton brute force. On passing St. George's School, Shahadeh is reminded of the murder of Nadeem Nowara, who was demonstrating against administrative detention outside Ofer Prison. A CNN video clearly shows an Israeli soldier, Ben Deri, taking aim and shooting the unarmed Nowara in the chest (Gross and Staff 2018). An Israeli court, after four years of deliberation, sentenced Deri to a mere nine months in prison. This is less time than many Palestinians endure during administrative detention before charges have been filed or evidence presented (Shahadeh 2019, 34).

Sometimes separationism functions through impersonal bureaucracy, as shown in the story of Sam Bahour, told by Saree Makdisi in *Palestine Inside Out: An Everyday Occupation*. After Oslo, Sam Bahour returned to the West Bank from America with his family to start a business. Under the interim agreement, or Oslo II, Israel controlled the registry of residents. Bahour's wife was listed as a resident, but he was not. Under occupation regulations, Sam was thus required to apply for family unification approval and, until it was received, leave the country every three months for renewal. This went on for 13 years until Bahour was finally refused additional visas. Makdisi points out that thousands of Palestinians are victims of such occupation bureaucracy (Makdisi 2008, 3). The bureaucracy weakens Palestinian land rights, while strengthening the position of illegal settlements.

Since the Oslo Accords, the number of settlers has almost tripled. These settlements can be located strategically, with "the aim of achieving a greater territorial connection between the city (Jerusalem), now the capital of Israel" (Shahadeh 2019a, 15). Settlements are often built in the greenest parts of the West Bank with access to the most fertile land, and Shahadeh likens the post-Oslo transformation of the land to "having the rug being pulled from under your feet, causing you to topple over" (2019b, 18). To put it further into perspective, "In many cases Palestinians cannot work, travel, study, tend crops, transport goods, dig for water, start a business, obtain medical care—or even visit relatives in the next town—without obtaining the appropriate permission from Israeli authorities" (Makdisi 2008, 6).

Denying re-entry to Palestinians who have left the country to visit family, for example, results in the pointless separation of families, sometimes for years. According to Israeli human rights organization B'Tselem, "120,000 Palestinian applications for family unification have been pending since 2000" (Makdisi 2008, 4). Makdisi describes the case of Amal Al-Amleh, who has been separated from her children for several years since leaving to visit her sick father in Jordan: "When she tried to return to the West Bank the Israeli soldiers at Allenby Bridge denied her request for even a temporary permit to rejoin her husband . . . and their children" (Makdisi 2008, 3). Al-Amleh's husband barely makes enough money to support his family, and he cannot take time off from work to take his children to visit their mother in Jordan: "Though she is only a few miles away, they are growing up without her" (Makdisi 2008, 4).

Raja Shahadeh argues that the increase in Israeli settlements "will at some future point . . . end in a declaration that would retroactively confirm the actions taken by Israel over the years that have rendered the area part of Israel in a de facto manner" (Shahadeh 2019b, 9). Israel has made it increasingly clear over the years that

it has plans to annex Area C of the West Bank, which accounts for about 70% of the land. Any such illegal annexation would result in “cutting the West Bank in two, separating its north from its south,” making the establishment of a Palestinian state virtually impossible (Shahadeh 2019b, 9). The annexation of Area C would additionally result in the separation of many Palestinian cities and villages in the West Bank and restrict movement to just a few kilometers.

Palestinians have steadily lost land over the past 75 years. While denial of the rights to autonomy and self-determination has resulted in a lack of resources with which to ensure quality of life and survival, the question of freedom of movement is the pivot of every aspect of Palestinian life under occupation. Political agreements, such as the Oslo Accords, have failed Palestinians and enabled a spatial reconfiguration of Israel’s colonial system (Gordon 2008). The effects of the Accords go beyond politics, rights, and freedoms, however. They

affect people on a personal level, creating hardships in their day-to-day lives. For many Palestinians, that means lack of access to water, medical care, education, income, well-being, and safety. The post-Oslo separation of the West Bank and the presence of the Wall have contributed to unlivable conditions for many Palestinians and increasingly restricted movement both inside and outside of the West Bank. The shift toward occupation of the West Bank under the principle of separation has resulted in an increased push to control land (“we are here”) with a disregard for Palestinian life (“they are there”). These divisions and borders, whether legal or illegal, channel human destinies of extreme inequality in which Palestinians from the West Bank cannot gain access to their holy places or endeavor to touch the sea. This kind of spatial injustice is unacceptable and unsustainable. The international community should reconsider the status of Palestinians and enforce the international legal rights of Palestinians in and to the lands of the West Bank.

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From Ballot Box and Guns to Ballot Box Over Guns: Sinn Féin, PIRA, and the Path to Peace in Northern Ireland*

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“War is the continuation of politics by other means,” states Carl von Clausewitz.¹ If he is to be believed, it follows that the inverse is also true: Politics is a continuation of war. In Northern Ireland, a Belfast mural made the same point more succinctly: “Either ballot or gun our day will come.”² The Irish republican movement is committed to achieving its goal, a united Ireland free from British influence, by any means—including, at various points in the past, by violent means. The history of Irish republicanism from 1968 to 2005 is often seen, incorrectly, as that of an armed political organization which moved through a linear process from violence to peaceful politics.³ This process culminated with the ascendancy of Sinn Féin, the political wing, over the Provisional Irish Republican Army (PIRA), the military wing.⁴ Studies such as those by Ottaway and Huntington view this process deterministically with entry into politics inevitably leading to pacification.⁵ More recent studies, including one by Benedetta Berti, have challenged the linear nature of this process and instead argued for a more cyclical paradigm by which armed organizations move to and from traditional politics.⁶ The older deterministic notion of this peace process and its position as a model for other armed political organizations should be viewed

with greater scrutiny. I argue that the success of peace negotiations in Northern Ireland was not predetermined by entry into traditional politics, but that republicanism during the Troubles was always based on a dual strategy of politics and violence, and that the shift to politics came when violent strategy reached a stalemate and political strategy became viable internally and externally with more favorable conditions for an agreement.

The first issue with this traditional explanation of peace through pursuing traditional politics is that it relies on the assumption that politics were an addendum to Irish republican strategy which came later, after violence resulted in stalemate. Politics had always been a part of republican strategy and only varied in importance throughout the history of the movement as circumstances dictated.⁷ Republicanism during the Troubles can be divided into three periods. The first, which lasted from 1969 until 1986, was defined by PIRA and violent tactics, while Sinn Féin and politics played a complementary role. The second, from 1986 until 1994, saw PIRA and Sinn Féin as coequals. Finally, from 1994 onwards, Sinn Féin has taken the dominant role with violence being complementary and, in 2005, officially relinquished.

In 1969, after a period of internal turmoil, PIRA and the modern Sinn Féin party emerged from the remnants of the original organizations.⁸ The original IRA disbanded, and the original Sinn Féin party operated in the Republic of Ireland as the Workers’ Party.⁹ In response to rising

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1 Carl von Clausewitz, *On War*, ed. and trans. Michael Howard and Peter Paret (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1984), 75.

2 Benedetta Berti, *Armed Political Organizations: From Conflict to Integration*. 1st ed. (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2013), cover.

3 Berti, 5.

4 Berti, 130–131.

5 Berti, 4.

6 Berti, 25.

7 Berti, 9.

8 Berti, 135; Agnès Maillot, *New Sinn Féin: Irish Republicanism in the Twenty-First Century*. London: Routledge, 2005, 18.

9 Berti, 135.

tensions in Northern Ireland between nationalists, who desired an end to British rule, and reunification with the Republic and Unionists, who wanted to remain a part of the United Kingdom, these new organizations became embroiled in a new conflict known as the Troubles, pursuing a dual political-military strategy.¹⁰

This early stage of the conflict, from 1969 until the partial end of abstentionism in 1986, was defined by a prevailing belief within the Army Council, which controlled both PIRA and Sinn Féin, that military strategy took precedence over politics.¹¹ During this period the Army Council was dominated by veterans born and raised in the south of the island who had participated in prior conflicts.¹² They believed in the viability of defeating the British militarily.¹³ They planned a war of attrition, believing that if they conducted continuous attacks both in Northern Ireland and on the mainland, the cost of remaining in Ireland, measured in both lives and pounds sterling, would grow too large for the British government. The British would unilaterally withdraw from the island and leave Northern Ireland free to reunite with the South.¹⁴ Once the British left, they believed, Unionists would realize their “Irishness” and come to terms with reunification.¹⁵

While the violent means used by PIRA were the primary focus, Sinn Féin still played an important political role. Sinn Féin served as a tool to grow grassroots support for republicanism and PIRA through outreach and other programs both in Ireland and abroad, especially in the United States’ diaspora community.¹⁶ The party also served as a political mouthpiece for republicanism, legitimizing and justifying the violent methods furthering its cause.¹⁷ Belfast organizer Patricia Davidson described

the purpose of Sinn Féin as “agitation and publicity.”¹⁸ In practice this took the form of organization and publications. The party organized marches and other protests in support of republicanism and the PIRA. They also published several newspapers and other materials, which included statements from the PIRA.¹⁹ Finally, Sinn Féin actively attempted to delegitimize the governments of Northern Ireland and the Republic of Ireland through their propaganda materials and activities.²⁰ This was accomplished through “abstentionism,” a process by which they would campaign for but refuse to occupy any office to which they were elected.²¹ This policy allowed them to spread their political message without giving legitimacy to the governments which they deemed illegitimate. Abstentionism was practiced by the modern Sinn Féin party from 1969 until 1986.²² In summary, politics served as a complementary strategy supporting the military conflict, the primary focus.

Unfortunately for the republicans, the British successfully countered the dual strategy of PIRA and Sinn Féin on both fronts. They made military victory impossible and isolated Sinn Féin politically. The PIRA and its violent campaigns were becoming increasingly condemned and unpopular within Ireland. Sinn Féin’s connection to this violence harmed their political success. British intelligence gathering and counterterrorism methods made a PIRA military victory impossible.²³ Furthermore, successive British governments did not show any signs of willingness to withdraw from the island. The government of Margaret Thatcher, in particular, remained fully committed to defeating PIRA militarily.²⁴ While the British counterinsurgency campaign effectively kept the PIRA contained, it was unable to destroy it completely. PIRA retained the organizational capability to conduct

10 Berti, 135.

11 Maillot, 18; Berti, 138.

12 Maillot, 26.

13 Maillot, 18; Martyn Frampton, *The Long March: The Political Strategy of Sinn Féin, 1981–2007* (Basingstoke, England: Palgrave Macmillan, 2009), 23.

14 Berti, 141.

15 Berti, 143; Frampton, 25.

16 Maillot, 18.

17 Maillot, 18.

18 Brian Feeney. *Sinn Féin: A Hundred Turbulent Years* (Madison, WI: University of Wisconsin Press, 2003), 259–260.

19 Maillot, 18; Maillot, 77.

20 Maillot, 18.

21 Maillot, 18.

22 Berti, 139.

23 Frampton, 83; Maillot, 29.

24 Berti, 144; Maillot, 29.

attacks indefinitely in Northern Ireland and Britain.²⁵ In conclusion, the war of attrition had failed to force a British withdrawal, but simultaneously British counterinsurgency could not destroy the PIRA. The two sides maintained the status quo, with an ongoing loss of lives and resources.

This continuous violence with little success in furthering the cause of republicanism led to a decrease in support for the violent struggle among Northern Irish Catholics,²⁶ many (though not all) of whom were moderate nationalists who had always rejected any legitimate role for violence. The number of innocent lives taken as “collateral damage” in PIRA attacks soured opinion against the Provisionals and the republican cause.²⁷ The persistent state of conflict and threatened violence led to a growing disillusionment and anger towards the PIRA and Unionist paramilitaries from both sides of the border and both sectarian communities.²⁸ This undermined the grassroots support for the military campaign and limited the resources and capabilities of the PIRA. Their ability to fundraise and gather resources internationally was also hindered by lack of success and anger towards continued violence.²⁹ Within the ranks of the Provisionals, the lack of success brewed discontent and wavering belief in the current strategy and leadership, creating the opportunity for the strategic shift to politics.³⁰

British political strategy isolated Sinn Féin politically and pushed republicanism to the margins ideologically.³¹ This effort was successful in making republicanism an ideology of violence and Sinn Féin a party of terrorism in public discourse among Unionists and non-militant nationalists.³² This strategy was extremely detrimental to the political and electoral success of Sinn Féin on both sides of the border. This connection to violence led many

moderate nationalists to support the Social Democratic and Labour Party (SDLP), which supported reunification but rejected violence and operated within legitimate politics.³³ By tying Sinn Féin to the military campaign, the British divided the nationalist community over the question of support for violent tactics.³⁴ This prevented the formation of a single, more politically powerful nationalist party.³⁵

The British isolated Sinn Féin further by excluding them from peace negotiations and power-sharing agreements as long as violence continued. Throughout the Troubles the British remained open to peace negotiations. Sinn Féin and PIRA were open to these talks and the possibility of peace but were unwilling to agree to the prerequisites for participation: ceasefire, the acceptance of the status quo in Northern Ireland, and a clear path towards disarmament.³⁶ The British also excluded Sinn Féin from any power-sharing agreements resulting from these negotiations. Peace talks would necessarily end with a type of power-sharing agreement by which local government, which had been suspended in place of direct rule from London, would return to Northern Ireland.³⁷ Sinn Féin was excluded from possible agreements due to their continued support of PIRA military campaigns and their unwillingness to recognize Northern Ireland as part of the United Kingdom.³⁸

With Sinn Féin excluded from these negotiations, the SDLP and Unionist parties were able to plan the future of Northern Ireland separate from Sinn Féin and the republicans. These discussions would result in the Sunningdale Agreement in 1974, which briefly brought local governance back to Northern Ireland before being rendered null by continued violence and the reimplementation of direct rule by the UK

25 Maillot, 19.

26 Berti, 142.

27 Berti, 156; Maillot, 30.

28 Berti, 154.

29 Berti, 139.

30 Berti, 142.

31 Maillot, 29.

32 Maillot, 20.

33 Berti, 146.

34 Berti, 154.

35 Berti, 157.

36 Maillot, 19; Jonathan Stevenson, “Northern Ireland: Treating Terrorists as Statesmen.” *Foreign Policy* no. 105 (1996): 128.

37 Maillot, 17; Berti, 135.

38 Berti, 136.

government.³⁹ The failure of Sunningdale highlights an important fact about the nature of peace negotiations in Northern Ireland: Despite being excluded from these negotiations and their results the PIRA, as well as Unionist paramilitaries, held virtual veto power over any agreement. At any point, PIRA, or Unionist paramilitaries, could use violence or the threat of violence to derail any peace talks and nullify any agreements.⁴⁰ This virtual veto allowed the republicans to maintain their power and influence over the results despite being excluded from the actual negotiations.⁴¹ It allowed them to maintain the status quo until they saw more favorable conditions and demonstrate that for any peace agreement to be successful both Sinn Féin and representatives of Unionist paramilitaries must be included.

Unionist paramilitaries used the same threat of continued violence to influence British policy and nullify any unfavorable deals. Their power over British policy was compounded by their connections to the Conservative Party, who often relied on their support in Parliament.⁴² While the agreement was doomed to fail without republican support, it was Unionist paramilitaries rather than the PIRA who were the primary actors in the breakdown of the Sunningdale agreement. The Democratic Unionist Party (DUP), a hardline political party but one that operated within constitutional politics, as well as significant portions of the leading mainstream Unionist party, the Ulster Unionist Party (UUP), opposed Sunningdale.⁴³ Seeing Sunningdale as too favorable towards the nationalist position and unwilling to accept any influence of the Republic of Ireland in Northern Ireland, Unionist organizations and paramilitaries launched a series of protests, strikes, riots, and attacks.

39 Berti, 136.

40 Berti, 136.

41 Berti, 136.

42 Christopher Farrington, "Unionism and the Peace Process in Northern Ireland," *The British Journal of Politics and International Relations* 8, no. 2 (May 2006): 277–94.

43 David McKittrick and David McVea, *Making Sense of the Troubles: The Story of the Conflict in Northern Ireland* (Chicago: New Amsterdam Books, 2002), 99.

This resulted in the collapse of the agreement and the return of direct rule from London.⁴⁴

Compounding British policy, Sinn Féin's refusal to participate in government after elections further isolated them and hindered their political success. The decision to abandon abstentionism in Ireland and Northern Ireland marked a key turning point for the movement. As far as the initial decision for Sinn Féin to abandon the policy of abstentionism, the opportunity presented by the 1981 Hunger Strikes was a watershed moment for the movement. In 1981 a group of British prisoners began a hunger strike to protest the loss of special category status for PIRA prisoners.⁴⁵ Ten would die during the strike, including Bobby Sands who, less than a month before his death, was elected to the British Parliament.⁴⁶ The strike and Sands' election resulted in outrage against the British in Ireland and galvanized support for the republican cause.⁴⁷ It also provided greater proof of the viability of politics within republican circles.⁴⁸

The British reached an agreement with the Republic of Ireland which further isolated Sinn Féin and the PIRA. In 1985 the governments of Britain and the Republic of Ireland negotiated the Anglo-Irish Agreement.⁴⁹ This accord formally recognized the status quo of the partition of Ireland and accepted that no change in the status of Northern Ireland would take place without the approval of the majority.⁵⁰ It also set the stage for cross-border relations through the Council of Ireland after the return of local government in Northern Ireland.⁵¹ Despite republicans' claims that the PIRA's military campaign

44 McKittrick and McVea, 106.

45 Maillot, 21.

46 Maillot, 22; Gerard Murray and Jonathan. Tonge, *Sinn Féin and the SDLP: From Alienation to Participation* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2005), 110.

47 Maillot, 22.

48 Berti, 148; Maillot, 23; Michael von Tangen Page and M. Smith. "War by Other Means: The Problem of Political Control in Irish Republican Strategy," *Armed Forces & Society* 27, no. 1 (2000): 94.

49 Berti, 146; Maillot, 29.

50 Berti, 146.

51 Berti, 146.

won the concessions from the British, the SDLP took credit for the agreement to the political detriment of Sinn Féin.⁵² More importantly, this agreement solidified the constitutional status quo of Northern Ireland for the foreseeable future while leaving the door open for a peaceful and democratic reunification.⁵³ The accord called into serious question the efficacy of violence to achieve success, while encouraging republicans to pursue their goals peacefully. The agreement was met with outrage from Unionist groups who again, as with the Sunningdale Agreement, rejected any influence of the Republic of Ireland in the affairs of Northern Ireland. This strained relations between Unionist groups and the British Government.⁵⁴

With the military campaign resulting in a stalemate and Sinn Féin's connection to PIRA violence becoming more politically untenable, it was clear that a change in strategy was necessary.⁵⁵ This external impetus prompted an internal shift in strategy within the republican movement towards a greater focus on politics as a co-equal in the fight for Irish reunification.⁵⁶ Four key factors made this strategic shift possible: The previously discussed failure of the dual military and political strategy in achieving tangible success; the ascendance of new, more politically minded leaders; access to the political system as a viable means for success; and the successful representation of this shift within the republican movement to ensure support and prevent splintering.⁵⁷

A new generation of leaders who saw political strategy as equally important to military strategy began to implement their ideas for the future of the movement.⁵⁸ This cadre of young Turks were men born and raised in Northern Ireland, shaped by the Troubles and aware of its failure

to achieve victory.⁵⁹ Among this new set of leaders were Danny Morrison, Martin McGuinness, and most notably, Gerry Adams.⁶⁰ Far removed from the glory days of the original IRA in the 1920s, these men saw the need for a strategic shift. The internal politics of PIRA were and remain secret, but research shows that by the 1980's this new generation of leaders formed the dominant faction within the PIRA, Sinn Féin, and the republican movement. In 1983 Gerry Adams became president of Sinn Féin, and both Morrison and McGuinness played prominent roles in the party.⁶¹ Many sources claim that both Adams and McGuinness had close connections to the PIRA Army Council, suggesting they played a role in both the military and political wings.⁶²

During this era, politics and Sinn Féin became co-equals of PIRA violence rather than playing a complementary role to military tactics. This approach is often referred to as the "Armalite and Ballot Box" strategy.⁶³ Danny Morrison coined the phrase when he spoke at the Sinn Féin party conference: "Who here really believes we can win the war through the ballot box? But will anyone here object if, with a ballot paper in one hand and an Armalite in this hand, we take power in Ireland?"⁶⁴ This shift towards politics did not emerge from an ideological opposition to violence, nor was it a foregone conclusion that the mainstream republican movement would completely abandon violence as an official strategy.⁶⁵ The republicans continued to pursue violence in tandem with politics until a peace agreement was reached in 1998. Furthermore, among those who led this strategic shift towards politics were active leaders and participants in both the military and political wings, suggesting no distaste for violence.⁶⁶

52 Berti, 146; Frampton, 50

53 Berti, 146; Frampton, 51.

54 Arwel Ellis Owen, *The Anglo-Irish Agreement: A Broadcaster's Experience* (Nuffield College Oxford, 1989), 43.

55 Berti, 154.

56 Berti, 147.

57 Frampton, 51.

58 Berti, 138; Page and Smith, 92.

59 Maillot, 26.

60 Berti, 149.

61 Berti, 149.

62 Jonathan Stevenson, "Northern Ireland: Treating Terrorists as Statesmen," *Foreign Policy* no. 105 (1996): 125-40.

63 Maillot, 25-26

64 Clive Walker, "Political Violence and Democracy in Northern Ireland," *The Modern Law Review* 51, no. 5 (1988): 605.

65 Berti, 183; Berti, 152

66 Berti, 152.

It was this framing of politics as war by different means which was used to “sell” the new strategy to the membership of the PIRA and supporters.⁶⁷ The republican movement, while under the nominal leadership of the Army Council, was largely decentralized and the authority of the council was not absolute.⁶⁸ Like many armed political organizations, the republican movement faced the threat of fracturing into splinter groups as it had previously.⁶⁹ Navigating this strategic shift and creating a lasting peace agreement required that a majority of members would abide by the new *modus operandi* for the republican movement. The splinter groups that did form during this process are much smaller and less powerful than the PIRA or official Sinn Féin party.⁷⁰

A major factor in convincing PIRA members and supporters to abide by this shift was framing it not as a capitulation to the British or a renunciation of the military campaign, but rather as a continuation of the struggle by political rather than military means, while maintaining the option to return to violence.⁷¹ To this end Sinn Féin differentiated themselves from the violence of PIRA but did not disavow or publicly criticize them or their tactics.⁷² This policy continues to this day, as Sinn Féin rejects violent acts conducted by dissident republicans such as the Real and Continuity IRA but still honors the military past.⁷³ This framing was essential for Sinn Féin gaining success in legitimate politics while retaining existing supporters, a tactic which continues to the present.⁷⁴ The framing of politics as a continuation of the struggle by different means allowed the republican movement to successfully navigate the transition from a

primarily military strategy to an equal political-military strategy, and finally to fully political one.

While the internal factors for this transition were essential, equally important external factors made peaceful politics a viable option. While the British worked to isolate Sinn Féin politically and some members were arrested for connections to PIRA violence, the British government did not restrict the ability for Sinn Féin to operate politically.⁷⁵ By separating their treatment of the PIRA from their treatment of Sinn Féin the British left the door open for republicans to pursue peaceful politics. In the later stages of the conflict the British, after the elections as UK Prime Minister of John Major, a Conservative, and later the Labour Party’s Tony Blair, signaled their willingness to negotiate with Sinn Féin for peace and power-sharing agreements, provided that PIRA agreed to a ceasefire and a plan to disarm in a timely manner.⁷⁶ This caveat would influence the republican movement to later renounce violence completely.⁷⁷

The major opportunity provided by the Hunger Strikes in conjunction with the factors previously stated led Sinn Féin to abandon the policy of abstentionism in 1986 and pursue politics in earnest. They began taking office in the Dáil (the Irish Parliament) and, once it was established, the Northern Irish Assembly, while continuing to remain absent from Westminster.⁷⁸ After this decision, Sinn Féin continued to grow their electoral support and influence on both sides of the border. They also formed important alliances with other nationalist parties in Northern Ireland, especially the SDLP, and began early negotiations with the British.⁷⁹ Also noteworthy in the peace process was the impact of the United States’ diplomatic intervention under President Bill Clinton and the election of Tony Blair as Prime Minister of the UK. The Clinton administration, which would be represented in the talks by former Senator George Mitchell, was

67 Benedetta Berti and Ariel Heifetz Knobel, “Reframing War to Make Peace in Northern Ireland: IRA Internal Consensus-Building for Peace and Disarmament,” *International Journal of Conflict Engagement and Resolution* 3, no. 1 (2015): 65–66.

68 Tim Pat Coogan, *The I.R.A.* (Harper Collins, 2000), 465.

69 Berti, 139.

70 David McKittrick, “The Big Question: How active is the Real IRA, and what can the security forces do about it?” *The Independent*, August 19, 2009.

71 Berti and Knobel, 65–66.

72 Berti and Knobel, 65–66; Maillot, 26; Maillot, 84–85.

73 Maillot, 84–85.

74 Berti, 142.

75 Berti, 130–131; Walker, 609.

76 Maillot, 31; Stevenson, 128.

77 Maillot, 31.

78 Berti, 139; Frampton, 67; Maillot, 27.

79 Berti, 16; Frampton, 49; Maillot, 31.

crucial in facilitating successful peace talks by setting the prerequisites for participation, mediating the negotiations, and pushing for the inclusion of Sinn Féin, who were legitimized by a presidential visit to Northern Ireland and a meeting with Gerry Adams.⁸⁰ The election of Blair was essential, in that his government was committed to a peaceful resolution and willing to negotiate directly with Sinn Féin. The Labour majority was not dependent on the support of Unionist parties in Northern Ireland as the prior government had been. Labour had won a clear majority in Parliament independent of Unionist support. Without this dependence on their votes, Unionists were unable to influence British policy and position as they had in the past.⁸¹

In 1994 PIRA agreed to a ceasefire and Sinn Féin entered preliminary negotiations.⁸² These talks included the SDLP and moderate Unionists, who were willing to negotiate with nationalists and Sinn Féin, under the condition the IRA agreed to disarmament.⁸³ Unhappy with the direction of the talks and unwilling to agree to some of the principles required for an agreement, PIRA resumed violence in 1996 and Sinn Féin left negotiations.⁸⁴ Sinn Féin and PIRA did not desire to end negotiations permanently and return to a primarily military strategy, however. Rather, they sought to use violence as a hard bargaining tool to push for greater concessions.⁸⁵ Violence now became complementary to political strategy. These new attacks were unable to win further concessions and the British continued to adhere to the prerequisites put forth by the United States. Unable to advance their position any further with violence, the republican movement was forced to abandon violence and commit fully to peaceful methods.⁸⁶

PIRA agreed to renew the 1994 ceasefire in 1997, and Sinn Féin, agreeing to the prerequisites, resumed negotiations. The process resulted in the 1998 Good Friday Agreement, which ended the Troubles and created a power-sharing agreement for the Northern Irish government.⁸⁷ PIRA disarmament, a condition of the negotiations and the GFA, was considered “complete” for the sake of the GFA in 2005 by independent agencies.⁸⁸ Unionist paramilitaries initially rejected the GFA, seeing it as too lenient towards Sinn Féin and PIRA, but in 2006 they agreed to peace and the terms of the GFA with the St. Andrews Agreement.⁸⁹ Despite some periods of tension, and the threat of splinter groups such as the Real IRA, the Good Friday Agreement and its provisions have lasted to the present. And the republican movement has remained committed to peaceful politics.

The transition from violent revolution to politics was not inevitable. The threat of a return to violence remained a distinct possibility throughout the peace negotiations and was often used as a negotiating tactic by Sinn Féin and the PIRA.⁹⁰ Furthermore, former members of the military wing continue to play a role in republican politics and, according to British intelligence reports, the Army Council remained active as late as 2015 with access to arms, albeit at a vastly reduced level.⁹¹ At an ideological level Sinn Féin remains committed to a united Ireland, but due to the factors discussed above, they have come to the conclusion that Irish reunification will not happen by violent means, but only by the consent of the majority.

The transition of the Irish republican movement from violent revolution to peaceful politics is often touted as a model for the successful moderation of armed political organizations. Academics have claimed that the example

80 Stevenson, 125, 133.

81 P. Stewart, “The Good Friday Agreement, the Decommissioning of IRA Weapons and the Unionist Veto,” *Capital & Class* 23 no. 3 (199), 1–6.

82 Berti, 161.

83 Berti, 162.

84 Berti, 63.

85 Berti, 163.

86 Frampton, 87; Berti, 154; Maillot, 80.

87 Maillot, p. 32.

88 Berti, 170.

89 Berti, 170.

90 Berti, 161; Maillot, 32; Frampton, 24.

91 Axel Schmidt, “The Impact of Terrorism on Democracy in Northern Ireland,” *Perspectives on Terrorism* 4, no. 2 (2010): 10–21; Northern Ireland Office, “Assessment on Paramilitary Groups in Northern Ireland,” GOV.UK, October 20, 2015.

of Sinn Féin and PIRA shows that entry into the political arena will necessarily lead to institutionalization and the end of violence. They argue that this same model can be used with other armed political organizations to achieve peace. As I have shown, the transition did not follow a linear path. Irish republicanism has always pursued a dual political and military strategy. It shifted from violent action to peaceful politics only when internal and external factors both forced and encouraged it to do so.

This is not to say that there are no lessons to be learned from Northern Ireland. The strategic shift from violence to politics within Irish republicanism has led to a lasting peace. Despite still campaigning on a platform of Irish unity, Sinn Féin has fully moved on from violence. Sinn Féin's Michelle O'Neill, after becoming the first nationalist

First Minister of Northern Ireland, has claimed that she will be a "First Minister for all."⁹² This language is a far cry from the days of the ballot boxes and Armalites. Armed political organizations should have access to politics to peacefully pursue their justifiable goals, but first they must be brought to a military stalemate. Only when violence is no longer a viable option will a group transition fully to peaceful methods, but the option to transition to those methods must be present. PIRA and Sinn Féin did not enter into politics and therefore decide to relinquish violence. They always pursued a dual strategy. It was the viability of the political option in conjunction with British military and political strategy that forced them to place greater emphasis on politics and eventually transition fully away from violence.

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92 Amy Cassidy, "Historic Day in Northern Ireland as Michelle O'Neill Becomes First Nationalist Leader," CNN, February 3, 2024.



Jaxanna Fink | *Make Do*

The Fall of Morocco's Agricultural Sector as a French Protectorate Between 1912 and 1956*

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The French Empire sought many protectorates during its reign and maintained a steady role as an imperial power right behind the British Empire throughout the nineteenth century. Its legacy has impacted national borders and the economic stability of its past territories. One of its protectorates was Morocco, which was established in 1912 and maintained for 44 years until 1956. Through a long process of colonial modernity, the empire transformed Morocco into a dominant source of wealth. It must be questioned, however, how this wealth was generated and who exactly benefitted from it.

Morocco's status as a protectorate rather than a colony makes it a unique case to study, considering that the country was not a *possession* of France but rather operated as its own polity under the protection of the French Empire. The illusion of internal state sovereignty masked the true source of authority during the four decades following 1912: France. The empire, avoiding the mistakes it had made whilst colonizing Algeria, was determined to enter and occupy another country through a window rather than the front door, so to speak. This approach resulted in an associationist type of colonial rule in which the empire's legitimization was based on its alleged *partnership* with the Moroccan sultan rather than the assimilation of its population as French subjects. However, there was ultimately no mutual relationship of power, and the French used the Moroccan monarchy as a front to gain consent of the ruled. By examining Morocco's agricultural industry during its time as a protectorate, the true economic objectives of

the French are revealed. This paper will analyze how French colonialism in Morocco between 1912 and 1956 implemented a devastating modernizing binary that resulted in negative environmental and agricultural consequences in the protectorate. The empire's imposition of Eurocentric epistemology, what Anibal Quijano would call the "coloniality of knowledge," illustrates the detrimental impacts of imposing foreign, western ideals upon colonized territories (Quijano 2000, 217). During its time as a protectorate, Morocco faced agricultural decay, phosphate exploitation, and a mass exodus of native farmers into urban areas. France not only initiated this regional crisis but accelerated it with mass privatization and agricultural transformation.

The Peculiar Modernizing Binary

The French protectorate, although assumed to advance Morocco's national development, would make a clear distinction between Moroccan and European populations within the country and economically invest in only the latter. The protectorate was founded on March 30, 1912, after the signing of the Treaty of Fez, which brought an abrupt end to 'Abd al-Hafiz's short reign and the country's thousand-year legacy of national independence. The ultimate objective of the treaty was to establish a formal government that would expedite Morocco's economic and national development. There are important differences between a protectorate and a colony: A protectorate, according to the National Museum of American Diplomacy, is an "autonomous territory that is protected militarily by a stronger state or entity [and] retains formal sovereignty" (National Museum of American Diplomacy), while a colony is a region that is politically controlled by a foreign actor. As a protectorate of France, Morocco

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would maintain control over internal affairs and the sultan would continue to exercise sovereignty under the *makhzan* (Moroccan government). However, Moroccan authority was quickly realized to be a façade, as the protectorate’s resident general, Louis Hubert Gonzalve Lyautey, adopted true power (Association for Diplomatic Studies and Training 2015). Ironically, Lyautey initially promised to “offend no tradition” and “change no custom” under the newly formed protectorate (Miller 2013, 90). This statement, though not entirely false, would serve as the foundation of the empire’s modernizing binary in which native populations and their practices were kept separated from those European zones that existed within the same polity.

France ensured a strict distinction between the “native” and “European” populations, resulting in a unique modernizing binary by which the French aimed to *associate* with Moroccans rather than assimilate the population into Western culture. Before 1912, two possibilities were considered regarding French occupation in Morocco: proceeding with a “tribes policy” of direct conquest or a “*makhzan* policy” of indirect rule (Wyrzten 2015, 69). Attempting a different approach from Algeria’s colonization, which lasted 132 years and resulted in millions of casualties during guerilla warfare and rebellions, the empire determined that securing indirect authority was ideal. During the establishment of the protectorate, France strictly distinguished the traditional Orient from the modern European Occident. This stratification became even more visible during the empire’s “modernization” period in Morocco, when the French created separate schools and hospitals for European and native populations, invested more heavily in modern agriculture and industry for French use than in the local Moroccan sector, and centered urban planning of modern European villas around native spaces like the medina (Wyrzten 2015, 24). These agendas displayed a clear desire for colonial association, as mentioned above, where the French Empire never intended for Moroccans to become French subjects but rather implemented French subjects and ideals next to native Moroccan

structures and systems. This modernizing binary is also known as “*double visage*,” a phrase used by Jonathan Wyrzten in *Making Morocco: Colonial Intervention and the Politics of Identity* (Wyrzten 2015, 24). The French protectorate’s colonial modernity in Morocco is much different than it is in its other displays of imperious control, where the French had historically adopted the “savage” as a “child” of Greater France. This colonial “adoption” or “saving” process has been used historically as a guise for colonialism’s impact on native populations, but the modernizing binary in Morocco disrupted this colonial legacy. Unsurprisingly, the empire did produce and uphold racial differences between Europeans and Moroccans, thus creating the image of the “savage.” However, there was no agenda to ever embrace this savage Moroccan as a child of France, let alone a French subject. Instead, the empire planned to utilize Moroccans to benefit the French and ultimately the metropole.

Morocco’s Agricultural Decay

Morocco’s agricultural sector is just one illuminating example of France’s rapid colonial exploitation and transformation of its protectorate. The dominant colonial thought at the time idealized conservation and reforestation, unlike native agricultural practices in North Africa. Deforestation, done properly and in moderation, was a vital process that allowed Moroccan farmers to convert forests into productive agricultural land, but the French believed otherwise (Wyrzten 2015, 88). Another process that was widely rejected by the French was pastoral nomadism. This practice of livestock care, also known as double transhumance, necessitated cyclical periods of movement that depended on the season (Britannica 2023). Nomadic farmers are most common in the Middle East and North Africa due to the dry climates where land quickly becomes unproductive during periods of low rainfall and cold temperatures (Dastrup 2019, 3). Based on the topography of the region, it was vital for Moroccan farmers to migrate across different territories and elevations to find adequate pasturage for their sheep, goats, and cows. The practice of double transhumance, however, was largely disrupted by the French protectorate

in 1912 due to the import of Enlightenment ideals pertaining to agricultural and territorial development (Vidal-González and Mahdi 2019, 133). Like deforestation, nomadic pastoralism was perceived as “backward.” Colonial thinkers at the time considered “sedentary life as the ideal” and could “hardly conceive of nomadic man dominating the sedentary” (Vidal-González and Mahdi 2019, 138). This quote from Pablo Vidal-González and Mohamed Mahdi in “Transformations of Transhumance in the Aït Arfa Guigou Tribe: From French Colonization to Present Times” underlines France’s negative perception of pastoral nomadism and, moreover, connects it with the ultimate pursuit of eradicating the practice. Sedentary farming, idealized by the West, takes place on one piece of land over a long period of time. Unlike Morocco’s native processes, this type of farming requires modern irrigation systems, incredibly fertile soil, and expensive equipment. It was widely believed that only Europeans had the skills and tools to modernize fields across their colonial territories, which also meant taking over these fields by any means necessary. The only reason for France to invest in such a transformation was to benefit its own empire, and that is exactly what it did.

By rejecting native farming and extraction practices, France’s mass exploitation of Morocco’s abundant agriculture and raw material sectors was set in motion. The destruction of the country’s agriculture industry was vitally intertwined with the empire’s economic pursuits, where the privatization of land and resources resulted in abundant wealth. While Morocco’s raw material wealth in coal and oil is limited, the country has an abundance of phosphate and contains about seventy-five percent of the world’s reserves (El Bamiki et al. 2021, 12). By 1920, France recognized the country’s riches and created an office for phosphate collection titled Office Chérifien des Phosphates, which operates to this day. Less than ten years later, the French were extracting and exporting 1,608,150 tons of phosphate annually, resulting in profits that were entirely and solely enjoyed by France (Wyrzten 2015, 87). In addition to raw materials, France had purchased 675,000 hectares of fertile land by 1932,

a ten percent increase in just two decades since the protectorate was established (Wyrzten 2015, 89). This newly acquired land was dedicated to grain cultivation, a risky endeavor due to the region’s dry climate. Such an investment was based on a series of colonial pursuits: Cereal crops were “ordained by nature as the agricultural specialty” in Morocco, and France was experiencing a shortage of cereal cultivation during and after World War I (Swearingen 1985, 349). Most importantly, grain ensured an immediate return rate alongside the empire’s desire for raw materials produced as quickly and inexpensively as possible (Swearingen 1985, 355). The transformation of Morocco’s crop production was steadfast between 1917 and 1931, when the empire’s colonies were assigned to produce and export certain materials for the metropole. For example, Madagascar produced minerals and meat, Indochina produced cotton and silk, and Equatorial Africa produced oil and wood (Swearingen 1985, 351). Morocco fit perfectly within this system as a producer of phosphates and wheat, and quickly transformed into the “breadbasket of France”—until it failed (Miller 2013, 115).

France’s Coloniality of Knowledge

France’s agricultural colonization had numerous consequences within the protectorate and many benefits for the empire. Morocco’s agricultural sector was split in two and featured a modernized, European zone in contrast with the underinvested, Moroccan zone. Land owned by the French was fertile, well-invested in, and cultivated with modern irrigation and harvesting tools. The Moroccan zone, however, was made up of precarious land, disrupted native agricultural practices, and saw a total lack of investment or funding from its alleged “protecting” empire (Wyrzten 2015, 89). By imposing foreign colonial knowledge in Morocco, the French prioritized European pursuits and declined the quality of soil and agricultural practices for native populations.

The French empire profited off cheap labor and raw materials by depleting Morocco’s social and economic systems. France’s attempt at shifting Morocco’s agricultural enterprise to cereal production resulted

in massive financial losses. Due to the region's climate and unreliable rainfall, France's investment in wheat production surpassed the average price of ready-to-purchase wheat on the world market (Swearingen 1985, 352). With an onslaught of locust plagues, droughts, and soaring prices, Morocco's agricultural and livestock sector faltered. The crop loss in 1930 alone was estimated to be about a half billion francs, worth about 370 million U.S. dollars today (Swearingen 1985, 354). As a result of soil degradation and an inability to compete with financially supported European-owned land, farmers migrated to cities because they could no longer be supported by their land or livestock. Agricultural decay led to a rapid influx of food imports and thereby "perpetuat[ed] coloniality" by sealing the region's dependence on external actors (Almodaweb 2023). Though the protectorate was exporting millions of tons of phosphate every year by the 1930s, Moroccans gained very little from these riches. Under French rule, they were not allowed to formally organize a labor force, leaving Moroccan miners exposed with no social protection and working for far less money than their European counterparts (Miller 2013, 116).

The elements of France's agricultural colonization depict its unique form of associative colonialism in Morocco, where native populations existed *beside* its colonial authority. Though the term "association" seems relatively harmless even if not beneficial, the true consequences of France's modernizing binary in the protectorate were blatant. By rejecting Moroccans as legitimate subjects, the French empire strategically maneuvered its way around any social or economic responsibility for the native population and instead could focus on advancing the metropole. Due to a combination of flawed logic and colonial capitalism, France believed Morocco to have been part of the "bountiful granary of ancient Rome," which explains the empire's relentless attempts to transform its agricultural landscape into a dominant cereal crop producer (Swearingen 1985, 356). The empire believed that its role was to reinstate the historical beauty and harmony of "Roman Africa" that had been destroyed by the control of Arabs and to establish a modern region

that operated for the health and sanctity of the French hegemon.

This faulty theory justified Morocco's colonial exploitation—a method historically utilized by empires across the world. In a letter written in 1918 to Lyautey, a French urban planner wrote, "[We must] employ all our means and solidly organize this New France where, as did ancient Rome, we will find the foodstuffs and raw materials necessary to nourish our old France" (Swearingen 1985, 357). In this case, France simultaneously invokes a modernizing duality and a strict historical determinism, which refers to a historical point or situation as an inevitable cause for progress (Vidal-González and Mahdi 2019, 133). By investing in Morocco, France believed it was reverting the region to its former glory and, moreover, that this reversion would ultimately serve as invaluable to the metropole. The myth of Roman Africa's granary parallels other colonial prophecies like Manifest Destiny, the Vanishing Indian, and Lebensraum. All these theories rely on a divine right to land, people, or resources. In Morocco, France assumed its access to all three: fertile farms, cheap labor from native Moroccans, and the inexpensive import of the final product. These pursuits can be more closely examined in a small village called Timahdite, which illustrates the empire's mark in even the most rural regions of the country.

Case Study: Timahdite

Agricultural decline following the French colonial period is evident in Timahdite, a rural town in Morocco's Middle Atlas Mountains. The town makes up about 60,700 hectares and half of the region is composed of pastures (Vidal-González and Mahdi 2019, 133). Due to the village's optimal farming operations, Timahdite has been historically known for its abundant livestock, a characteristic that has drastically changed following the French colonial period. Double transhumance and nomadic pastoralism, as defined earlier, were vital practices for maintaining livestock operations in the Berber confederation of the Beni M'guild in the Western Atlas region of the country. Double transhumance

ensured the abundance of sheep, goats, and cows each year. In the spring and autumn, the Aït Arfa Guigou tribe settled on the Timahdite plateau to utilize the fertile banks along the Guigou River. In the summer, they would move to higher elevated areas in nearby mountains and return to the Timahdite plateau for the cooler autumn months. Before winter settled in, they would migrate to the *azaghar*, meaning “the plains of the valley,” where they experienced a much milder winter than that of the harsh snow and winds in Timahdite (Vidal-González and Mahdi 2019, 136). This is a prime example of how nomadic pastoralism ensured the health of livestock by finding adequate forage at any point of the year.

The French, however, idealized sedentary farming and perceived nomadic farmers as an authentic display of savagery, as described by Vidal-González and Mahdi above. In the process of building a modern state, the French destroyed collective fields and colonized “common grazing lands” by transforming them into agrarian land. Outside of their own property, France supported farmers “under the authority of the *makhzan*” and treated the “poor and belligerent populations of the mountains” very differently (Vidal-González and Mahdi 2019, 138). This destruction occurred because of the mass privatization of urban landowners’ property. Between 1930 and 1955, cultivated land area in Timahdite increased by seventy-one percent while livestock raising decreased by fourteen percent (Vidal-González and Mahdi 2019, 139). At first glance, it may seem like an increase in productive land would have been beneficial for the town, but this was not the case. Transforming different types of land and soil into sedentary farms indicated a powerful colonial presence that overlooked native practices and the topography of the region. By enforcing a capitalist process of land division, privatization, and agricultural reform, native farmers who were forced to use only one area of land year-round struggled to support themselves and their livestock.

Without seasonal migration, the Aït Arfa Guigou and their livestock were facing disease, starvation, and the

brutal cold of the mountains. For reference, Timahdite is located at an elevation of 1,900 meters where it faces lethal winters with strong winds and heavy snow that can cover entire fields as well as roads. To the west of the village, the fertile land surrounding the Guigou River was especially favorable to the French. These plains, abundant with fodder for livestock, were not owned by any one tribe or person but were rather collectively shared. Once the French claimed the valuable property, the Aït Arfa Guigou became immobile and were forced to adopt sedentary farming practices. This transition was not easy, as most could not afford the expensive equipment necessary to maintain a sedentary field. Only Moroccan elites had purchasing power over this newly marketed land, which caused an unequal dispersal of land across the protectorate. In response to the region’s widespread sedentarisation, the Aït Arfa Guigou began to build permanent homes around their newly privatized lands and their traditional traveling tents were abandoned (Vidal-González and Mahdi 2019, 140).

Today, the town has abandoned its nomadic farming legacy but still depends on some level of seasonal migration. Instead of entire tribes migrating with their families, livestock, and personal belongings, it is most common for a few members of a family or hired shepherds to make the journey in the winter (Vidal-González and Mahdi 2019, 143). The colonial traits in this new practice are evident, where a previously collaborative process has become individualized and profitable. Timahdite is a unique example of how colonialism leaves everlasting impacts, even if native practices are partially preserved or restored.

Conclusion

The French Empire impacted Morocco in numerous ways, its agricultural impact being the focus of this paper. By utilizing a multitude of colonial tactics, France achieved its ultimate desire for wealth by exploiting and expropriating Morocco’s raw materials. Before even establishing the protectorate, the empire determined authoritative methods for modernity that native Moroccans had no

right to consent to or reject. Rather than forming a colony where the empire would hold some level of responsibility for its colonial subjects, France cleverly disguised its own authority as Morocco's "internal sovereignty." Morocco was modernized along a strict binary, ensuring that Europeans gained the most from heavily investing in farming, urban planning, and schools. On the other side of this distinct separation, only the most infertile soil and underdeveloped structures were designated for Moroccans. Collective lands became private property to

be bought and sold in an unfair market, appealing only to the European and Moroccan bourgeoisie. The region's topography was entirely disregarded during urban and agricultural stratification, whereby the region's farming industry was destabilized, and native farmers were forced to migrate to urban areas. The city of Timahdite, though not entirely succumbing to the colonial power, suffered everlasting consequences. In all, the French Empire failed to serve as a protecting nation for Morocco and rather protected its own wealth and imperial power.

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Julianne Dworkin | Frieda's 96th Birthday | Black and white film photography

Strade di seta verso il successo. Note sull'evoluzione del marchio "Made in Italy" nell'industria della moda dal dopoguerra a oggi*

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ENGLISH ABSTRACT

The Italian fashion industry is world-renowned for its iconic designs, quality craftsmanship, and elegance that identify the country as a global leader for high fashion. The quality of this industry's products led to the creation of the iconic "Made in Italy" label that has gained international recognition since the Italian Economic Miracle in the 1950s up to the time of the contemporary global economy. The case study of the recent trade relations between Italy and China is crucial to understanding the current evolution of the "Made in Italy" brand, since Italian luxury goods have become increasingly popular in the Chinese market. To satisfy the growing consumer demand and maximize revenue, Italian fashion houses have moved manufacturing to countries like China, due to their ability to produce higher amounts of goods at lower costs. If the economic relationship between Italy and China has grown within the past two decades, the evolution of trade agreements between these two countries demonstrates the tension between the adjustment to a global economy and the conservation of the prestigious history of Italian luxury products and the "Made in Italy" label.

Il dopoguerra, il miracolo economico e la moda

Dal 1950 al 1970, l'Italia ha sperimentato un periodo di intensa crescita conosciuto come "il miracolo economico," caratterizzato da una rapida industrializzazione realizzata grazie a investimenti stranieri e all'impegno della popolazione alla ricostruzione del paese. Il tasso di occupazione è aumentato e le persone hanno potuto permettersi più prodotti, come i vestiti, che in precedenza erano troppo costosi: il consumismo ha anche aperto un dibattito sull'identità nazionale tra modernità e tradizione (White 2000, 18). Lo sviluppo dell'industria della moda italiana ha avuto un ruolo centrale in queste discussioni poiché ha portato importanti cambiamenti culturali.

Nei primi anni Cinquanta, molti italiani abbienti andavano in Francia a comprare i loro vestiti come i loro genitori e nonni (White 2000, 75). Investire nelle etichette francesi era consueto perché Parigi era la capitale mondiale della moda e la capacità di acquistare questi articoli stranieri dimostrava il ceto sociale del compratore. Diversamente dai membri dell'aristocrazia, i borghesi non potevano permettersi i costi elevati dei prodotti francesi, così i primi hanno continuato a comprarli per differenziarsi, mentre i secondi si sono orientati verso i prodotti italiani (Sullivan 2016, 32).

I tentativi di competere con la Francia e persuadere i ceti più ricchi a investire in prodotti nazionali sono stati inizialmente infruttuosi. Alla fine degli anni Quaranta, gli stilisti italiani spesso importavano i modelli parigini

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a costi elevati per le loro case di moda (White 2000, 75). L'idea era di prendere i modelli dalla capitale della moda e adattarli alle preferenze locali, così il prodotto finito avrebbe avuto successo nel mercato italiano. Tuttavia, all'inizio degli anni Cinquanta, in un momento decisivo per la moda italiana, le case di moda italiane hanno rifiutato i costi esorbitanti delle aziende francesi per i diritti dei modelli.

Nel 1951, l'imprenditore toscano Giovanni Battista Giorgini ha organizzato la prima sfilata di alta moda italiana a Firenze, ispirato dal suo soggiorno decennale dal 1924 al 1935 negli Stati Uniti dove ha conosciuto il mercato americano e ha pubblicizzato i prodotti italiani (Lazzeretti e Oliva 2022, 1721). Giorgini ha capito che gli americani avevano un grande interesse per la moda, ma che era necessario trovare il modo di competere con la Francia per un ruolo dominante nell'industria (Lazzeretti e Oliva 2022, 1721). La maniera migliore per pubblicizzare la moda italiana tra consumatori stranieri era secondo lui il luogo d'origine dei suoi prodotti. La sfilata ha presentato grandi case di moda italiane come Emilio Pucci e le Sorelle Fontana e le boutique prêt-à-porter più piccole come Gigliola Curiel e ha avuto successo perché i prodotti italiani hanno mostrato alta qualità a costi relativamente bassi a confronto delle etichette francesi (Lazzeretti e Oliva 2022, 1721-22). Nasceva così il "Made in Italy."

Un maggior numero di consumatori stranieri, specialmente americani, ha iniziato a mostrare interesse per gli articoli prodotti in Italia seppure, anche prima della sfilata, gli Stati Uniti avevano avuto un ruolo importante nello sviluppo della moda italiana. Dal 1948 al 1951, gli Stati Uniti hanno infatti fornito più di 1,4 miliardi attraverso il piano Marshall per aiutare l'Italia con la ricostruzione nel dopoguerra (White 2000, 14). Molte aziende italiane hanno modernizzato le attrezzature industriali e adottato i modelli manifatturieri americani, orientandosi verso una maggiore standardizzazione (White 2000, 17). Nel frattempo, gli americani avevano imparato ad apprezzare la cultura italiana attraverso il cinema e le numerose collaborazioni tra Hollywood e Cinecittà.

Negli anni Cinquanta, diversi film americani celebravano dive che indossavano le grandi firme italiane. Per esempio, le stiliste Micol, Giovanna e Zoè Fontana (conosciute come le Sorelle Fontana) hanno ottenuto fama internazionale attraverso Hollywood perché hanno creato i costumi per attrici come Ava Gardner nel film *The Barefoot Contessa* (1954) e alcuni dei loro modelli più famosi, come il famigerato "Pretino," sono stati copiati per Anita Ekberg in *La dolce vita* (1960) (Gundle 2002, 116). Nella popolazione americana che vedeva i suoi attori preferiti in abiti italiani cresceva il desiderio di indossare gli stessi articoli. L'industria della moda italiana ha così ottenuto più consumatori internazionali con un aumento di circa 127 miliardi di lire (203,3 milioni in dollari americani nel 1957 secondo la Banca d'Italia) in esportazioni nel settore dal 1950 al 1957 (Lazzeretti e Oliva 2022, 1722). Nonostante l'aiuto del governo americano, l'Italia non aveva però l'infrastruttura per affrontare le richieste globali e per produrre in massa i prodotti di moda. Infatti, le collezioni del prêt-à-porter in Italia non sarebbero diventate comuni fino alla fine degli anni Sessanta.

La fine del miracolo e la seconda ondata del "Made in Italy"

Verso la metà degli anni Cinquanta, Milano è diventata la capitale del paese per la produzione industriale della moda. La produzione di abbigliamento in quel periodo dipendeva altamente dalle regioni dove la produzione di tessuti era consistente e, per questa ragione, la Lombardia ha prodotto la maggior parte di vestiti prêt-à-porter nel 1958 (Scarpellini 2019, 48). Questi tipi di vestiti sono diventati importanti per il nuovo stile di vita della borghesia impiegata in lavori d'ufficio e senza il tempo per acquistare l'abbigliamento su misura. Come notato in precedenza, il reddito di questa classe sociale e la crescita graduale dell'industria prêt-à-porter hanno portato a una società capitalista più diffusa poiché i vestiti erano adesso visti come articoli usa e getta invece di beni durevoli utilizzati per tutta la vita (Sullivan 2016, 34). Nel 1964, il capitalismo si è diffuso in Italia con una spesa delle famiglie di più di \$3,2 miliardi all'anno per i vestiti (Scarpellini 2019, 49).

La moda italiana ha continuato a cambiare tra gli anni Settanta e Novanta verso uno stile sempre meno tradizionale o conservatore. Per esempio, nel 1967 Elio Fiorucci ha fondato a Milano una marca prêt-à-porter con il suo cognome che ha utilizzato colori vivaci e l'arte pop come ispirazione per i vari modelli (De Robertis 2018). Fiorucci ha venduto molti prodotti nel suo negozio milanese, ma è diventato popolare tra i più giovani per i suoi jeans e le magliette aderenti con immagini come i celebri angeli. Fiorucci ha raggiunto l'apice della sua popolarità negli anni Settanta e Ottanta quando ha aperto un secondo negozio a New York, con il sostegno di celebrità americane come Madonna e Andy Warhol (De Robertis 2018, 190). Nonostante la crescente notorietà durante gli ultimi due decenni, la marca ha affrontato sfide finanziarie negli anni Novanta che hanno portato l'azienda giapponese Edwin International ad acquistarla (De Robertis 2018).

Nel regno dell'alta moda, i modelli degli stilisti come Gianni Versace sono diventati popolari negli anni Novanta per i loro motivi intricati, colori vivaci e sagome sensuali. Nello stesso periodo, Giorgio Armani disegnava abiti androgini con colori neutri e sagome semplici e destrutturate (senza spilline o tessuti rigidi) (Scarpellini 2019, 157). Armani è considerato un pioniere per il moderno sistema di licenze attraverso le acquisizioni di aziende che già producevano o distribuivano i suoi prodotti e per l'espansione della sua etichetta attraverso la creazione dei marchi sussidiari come Armani Jeans ed Emporio Armani (Scarpellini 2019, 157). Il marketing di Armani si è concentrato soprattutto sul mercato americano perché gli Stati Uniti avevano un gran numero di potenziali consumatori per i prodotti di lusso (Scarpellini 2019, 158). La richiesta di abiti "Made in Italy" negli Stati Uniti gli ha dato ragione rimanendo alta dagli anni Settanta ai Novanta.

Mentre in passato la richiesta di prodotti di lusso italiani è venuta generalmente dai paesi occidentali, gli anni Novanta e Duemila hanno portato un cambiamento significativo per l'industria della moda: la globalizzazione.

Gli intensi scambi culturali ed economici tra i paesi europei, americani e asiatici e l'influenza dei media occidentali hanno cambiato il modo di vestire dei compratori di beni di lusso in Asia. Un mondo più aperto ha significato una maggiore domanda di prodotti italiani in paesi oltre il Nord America e l'Europa occidentale. Per fabbricare più prodotti a un costo più economico con maggiori guadagni, alcune aziende italiane hanno spostato i loro siti produttivi a sedi secondarie in Italia e altre in Asia, cosicché alla fine del ventesimo secolo, i paesi come la Cina hanno prodotto gli stessi abiti che vedevano presentati nei media come "Made in Italy" (Scarpellini 2019, 191-92).

La moda nel ventunesimo secolo: l'Italia e la Cina

In maniera simile ad altri paesi asiatici come il Giappone, la Cina è stata un paese isolato durante la maggior parte del ventesimo secolo. Tuttavia, l'inizio degli anni Novanta ha portato cambiamenti al paese con il progressivo aumento dell'economia. Come l'Italia negli anni Sessanta con lo sviluppo dell'economia, la Cina negli anni Novanta e Duemila ha visto una crescita del consumismo. Diversamente dai paesi occidentali, il collettivismo (agire a beneficio di un gruppo) è un aspetto importante della cultura orientale. Quindi, mentre un consumatore italiano potrebbe comprare un articolo di lusso per distinguersi (perché non tutti possono permetterselo), un consumatore cinese potrebbe volere il prodotto di lusso per conformarsi alla società (Snaiderbaur 2010).

Per questa ragione, i consumatori cinesi sono spesso interessati alle etichette straniere, anche se i costi di questi prodotti determinano ancora se il consumatore li compra. Secondo Snaiderbaur (2010), un consumatore cinese è più propenso a provare una nuova marca straniera se ha un prezzo simile ad una marca familiare e nazionale. In parallelo, se la nuova marca è più costosa della marca familiare ma ha una qualità superiore (almeno secondo le proprie convinzioni), il consumatore cinese sarebbe disposto a pagare fino al 2,5% in più per l'articolo straniero (Snaiderbaur 2010, 67).

Nel 2007, l'Italia era il terzo paese europeo dopo Germania e Francia per esportazioni verso la Cina con un valore di \$10,2 miliardi all'anno (Snaiderbaur 2010, 63). Molte di queste esportazioni erano prodotti di lusso per la popolarità di accessori come le borse e scarpe nel mercato cinese. Mentre ai compratori cinesi piacevano la qualità e il prestigio degli articoli italiani, la maggior parte di questi stessi compratori riteneva i prezzi troppi alti, soprattutto per l'esistenza di prodotti contraffatti simili a prezzi più economici (Snaiderbaur 2010).

Un gruppo di ricercatori dal Comitato Leonardo ha convenuto che i costi dei prodotti italiani in Cina sarebbero diminuiti se la produzione fosse stata spostata oltremare (Snaiderbaur 2010). Il Comitato Leonardo è stato fondato nel 1993 da un gruppo di imprenditori, Confindustria e l'Agenzia Commerciale Italiana (ICE) con l'obiettivo di promuovere e mantenere la qualità di prodotti "Made in Italy" in tutto il mondo (Comitato Leonardo 2024). Il problema della sua strategia è che (sempre secondo i ricercatori) l'immagine delle esportazioni italiane sarebbe potuta diminuire nel mercato cinese per il valore associato alla fabbricazione dei prodotti in Italia (Snaiderbaur 2010).

Questo gruppo aveva ragione perché le industrie della moda e dei tessuti in Italia hanno visto diminuire le esportazioni tra gli anni Novanta e Duemila per la globalizzazione. Mentre le aziende dei paesi avanzati hanno deciso di spostare i siti produttivi oltremare per ridurre i costi di produzione, le case di moda italiane hanno cercato di mantenere i siti produttivi nazionali nei primi anni Novanta. Di conseguenza l'industria italiana è diventata meno competitiva a livello internazionale con una diminuzione da \$27,3 miliardi a \$25,7 miliardi dal 1996 al 2000 (Dunford et al. 2013). Nel frattempo, l'economia cinese è cresciuta poiché il paese ha prodotto articoli per molte aziende, il che ha portato più posti di lavoro in Cina e anche più esportazioni cinesi (Dunford et al. 2013). Se l'industria della moda italiana voleva competere a livello globale, le aziende avrebbero dovuto aumentare la produzione e ridurre i costi di manifattura.

Le aziende italiane, come le altre nell'UE, hanno deciso di collaborare con produttori dei paesi a basso costo per massimizzare i loro guadagni, il che ha portato a un maggiore commercio tra la Cina e i paesi nell'Unione Europea. Infatti, nel 2005, il volume delle esportazioni cinesi generali verso l'UE è cresciuto dal 42% (Dunford et al. 2013). Questo ha creato una sfida per il mercato italiano perché le importazioni dalla Cina erano più popolari rispetto ai prodotti nazionali più costosi. Rispetto alla metà del ventesimo secolo, la Cina è diventata una concorrente globale per l'industria manifatturiera che utilizzava gli stessi macchinari dell'Italia per produrre e vendere le materie prime come la seta (Segre-Reinach 2005). I produttori cinesi fabbricano i tessuti e poi li esportano in Italia dove le case di moda poi li usano per creare un prodotto ad alto valore aggiunto a un costo basso (Burlina e Di Maria 2020). La strategia delle aziende italiane è che possono ottenere maggiori guadagni nel produrre un prodotto di qualità se acquistano i tessuti a basso costo da altri paesi (Snaiderbaur 2010).

Anche se il prodotto finale è realizzato in Italia, lo spostamento delle attività a basso valore aggiunto in Cina, come il cucito di base, rende facile chiedersi se questi prodotti dovrebbero avere le etichette di "Made by Italy" invece di "Made in Italy." Per proteggere l'etichetta "Made in Italy," il parlamento italiano ha approvato una legge nel 2010 conosciuta come Legge Reguzzoni-Versace (Scarpellini 2019, 193). Questa legge richiede che i prodotti che utilizzano l'etichetta "Made in Italy" abbiano la maggior parte o almeno due fasi principali di produzione completate nel paese, o l'ultima trasformazione principale, come l'aggiunta di "cuciture complesse" (ad esempio, cuciture francesi) (Scarpellini 2019, 193). Nonostante queste misure, è ancora comune per le fabbriche in Cina produrre articoli per le marche italiane e falsi (Segre-Reinach 2005, 49). Il rapporto commerciale tra Italia e Cina dal 2019 al 2023 non ha contribuito a risolvere questo problema poiché il volume di esportazioni cinesi verso l'Italia è cresciuto rapidamente durante questo periodo.

Nel marzo 2019, l'Italia ha aderito al Belt and Road Initiative (BRI) della Cina sotto la guida dell'ex Presidente del Consiglio, Giuseppe Conte (Insisa 2023, 3). Il BRI è stato sviluppato dal Presidente Xi Jinping nel 2013 ed è un insieme di progetti di sviluppo e investimento per connettere la Cina con il resto dell'Asia, l'Europa e l'Africa attraverso il miglioramento dell'infrastruttura e il commercio (Sabatino e Talamo 2020). Per l'Italia in particolare l'obiettivo di Conte era di rafforzare il rapporto tra i due paesi attraverso gli investimenti diretti esteri cinesi e la riduzione di tariffe sulle esportazioni cinesi. In realtà, la crescita del settore manifatturiero cinese ha portato a squilibri nel flusso delle importazioni ed esportazioni in Italia. Secondo Sabatino e Talamo (2020, 217), la maggior parte delle esportazioni italiane verso la Cina nel 2020 erano beni strumentali, come macchinari industriali, mentre i beni di consumo (ad esempio, la moda) non hanno superato il 15% del totale. Inoltre, durante il periodo del BRI, molte esportazioni italiane in generale dipendevano dal valore aggiunto cinese prima di essere inviate all'estero agli altri mercati internazionali.

Il Foreign Value Added (FVA) o valore aggiunto estero indica che beni, servizi o componenti stranieri sono stati utilizzati in una parte (o parti) del processo produttivo. Per l'industria della moda italiana in particolare, questo significa che i tessuti e/o la manodopera cinese (ad esempio, il cucito della forma base degli abiti) contribuiscono alla produzione degli abiti. Secondo l'Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD) (2023), circa il 20% delle esportazioni di abbigliamento dall'Italia nel 2020 conteneva componenti FVA. Di questo volume, il 3,49% dei componenti e servizi stranieri erano cinesi, il che rende la Cina il primo paese per FVA in questo settore (Cieslik 2020, 353).

La presenza della Cina come fornitore di FVA e partner commerciale in generale per l'industria della moda italiana non è una novità: già nel 2015, i legami commerciali tra i paesi erano significativi e in crescita. Il volume di esportazioni di abbigliamento dall'Italia alla Cina per

quell'anno ha superato quello verso la Germania, per un totale del 38% e del 16% rispettivamente (Burlina e Di Maria 2020). Nonostante la crescita di prodotti di lusso italiani in Cina, la moda veloce cinese continuava a dominare il mercato italiano per la forza del suo settore manifatturiero e le tariffe sulle esportazioni italiane. Infatti, nel 2020 la Cina, seconda solo alla Germania con il 14,1%, ha contato per il 9,1% delle importazioni in Italia (OECD 2023). Lo squilibrio di flussi commerciali con la Cina potrebbe essere una delle ragioni per cui la Presidente del Consiglio, Giorgia Meloni ha deciso di uscire dal BRI nel dicembre 2023 (Insisa 2023). L'uscita dell'Italia dal BRI segna una rinnovata attenzione alle strategie economiche interne italiane che potrebbero preservare il prestigio dei prodotti "Made in Italy" mentre il paese continua a progredire.

Conclusioni

L'industria della moda in Italia ha subito numerose evoluzioni dal dopoguerra per sviluppare uno stile nazionale e un senso di identità. L'intuizione di Giovanni Battista Giorgini ha fondato l'etichetta del "Made in Italy" quando più consumatori internazionali dimostravano un crescente interesse nei prodotti fabbricati nel paese. Mentre la richiesta per questi articoli aumentava negli anni Settanta e Ottanta, per marche da Fiorucci ad Armani, gli anni Novanta e la globalizzazione hanno portato nuove sfide per l'industria. Per rimanere competitive nei mercati domestici e internazionali, le aziende italiane hanno collaborato con paesi come la Cina dove hanno spostato i loro siti produttivi. Con l'aumento del commercio tra i due paesi, Giuseppe Conte ha creduto che l'adesione al BRI della Cina avrebbe rafforzato il rapporto tra l'Italia e la Cina. Anche se la quantità di prodotti di lusso italiani verso la Cina è gradualmente aumentata, il volume di esportazioni cinesi (per prodotti FVA e di moda veloce) ha creato uno squilibrio nel sistema commerciale tra i paesi. Se la decisione di Meloni di uscire dal BRI indica l'impegno per rafforzare la produzione nazionale, crea anche un'incognita per l'industria della moda che conta su molti componenti a valore aggiunto cinese.

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pride*

BAILEY MCGARRY

LGBTQ Studies Program

a kaleidoscope of strobe lights
on your golden skin,
a prism flickering in
your pale hair
as a familiar song
thumps a thunderous beat.
music shakes inside my chest,
though i do not dance
as freely as you.
no, i am still as summer air
when my gaze locks with yours
because the world
has slowed to a stop
on this curious night in balmy june,

and i am unable to move,
transfixed by waves
crashing against wide, dilated pupils
like a new england shore.
i could float here forever,
in your boundless sea,
but you've caught me
in my unwavering observation,
and you do what i cannot:
you meet me there.
the world spins under
our feet, so
you and i can dance
once more.

* This poem was written in Winter Quarter 2022 as part of ENG 201 (Intro to Creative Writing), taught by Dr. Sarah Fay. It was the first-place submission for the 2024 LGBTQ Studies Creative and Scholarly Works Contest, selected for consideration by Professors Lisa Dush, Gary Cestaro, Laura Kina, and Heather Montes Ireland, and edited and sponsored by Professor Barrie Jean Borich.



Greer Palmer | *Boil*

Reckoning with the Truth: Changing the Narrative of J. Marion Sims to Honor Anarcha, Lucy, and Betsey*

MARY KATE GRUENING

Peace, Justice, and Conflict Studies Program

Introduction

J. Marion Sims has been remembered as the “father of modern gynecology” for almost two centuries (“Remembering Anarcha, Lucy, and Betsey: The Mothers of Modern Gynecology”). Statues recognizing his legacy stand across the country from Montgomery to New York City. However, J. C. Hallman, the author of *Say Anarcha*, refers to Sims’ so-called legacy as “propaganda,” a false narrative powered by white supremacy, systemic racism, and biological determinism (*Truth and Reconciliation in Medicine* 56:27–56:30).

In reality, Sims discovered gynecological knowledge at an extremely inhumane cost. Sims forcefully experimented on ten enslaved women without anesthesia, but based on his records, we only know three of their names—Anarcha, Betsey, and Lucy (Hallman ix). To dismantle “interlocking systems of oppression,” eliminate white supremacy, and build a just and peaceful world for all, the narrative must be changed to reflect the truth (Combahee River Collective).

The stories of Anarcha, Lucy, and Betsey must be told, and Sims’ legacy must be reckoned with. Historians, artists, physicians, and ordinary people are aiming to do just that. Based on the research of Hallman and other historians viewing race through a critical lens, I will recount an accurate story of Anarcha and J. Marion Sims, and describe current efforts to rewrite the narrative, harnessing essential peace and justice concepts such as

truth, reconciliation, anti-racism, critical race theory, activism, direct action, healing, and restorative justice.

The Story of Anarcha

The most thorough account of Anarcha’s story was written by J.C. Hallman, who spent years conducting research and writing the non-fiction book *Say Anarcha*. Although Hallman believes this is the most likely story of Anarcha, he recognizes that the story of Anarcha was lost to history due to her enslavement, stating that “it is not the only possible story that lurks behind Sims’ veil of obfuscations and half-truths, a deceitful fiction that has stood as factual history for almost two centuries” (Hallman xii). He utilizes archival research to tell an accurate account of not only Anarcha, but also of Sims. Additionally, Hallman acknowledges the systemic racism present in medicine, citing the medical and biological justification of slavery, along with the current reckoning of Sims’ legacy occurring in civil society.

According to Hallman, Anarcha was estimated to have been born in 1826 to Jerry and Sue on the Westcott plantation in Montgomery (7). Sims’ records refer to her as Anarcha, but she could have been named Ankey or Annacay. Her labor was to help the “Doctor Woman” on the plantation, Pheriba (Hallman 32). She learned “cures that Pheriba said no white doctor in Alabama knew anything about” (Hallman 35). Sometime after 1835, Anarcha was leased to the Lucas plantation, Rose Hill, to work in the slave hospital until she was old enough to marry and reproduce (Hallman 39). As a nurse, she delivered many babies, while the white doctors stood outside and called in instructions. Years prior to being a subject of Dr. Sims, Anarcha met the doctor at Rose Hill.

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Hallman explains that the oldest son of Henry Lucas, the master of Rose Hill, was a colleague of Sims in medical school (59). While visiting, Sims caught malaria and Anarcha treated him. Although Sims was treated by other white doctors, Anarcha claimed to have saved his life with an herbal tea (Hallman 44).

Hallman states that in late 1840, Anarcha returned to the Westcott plantation and became pregnant (69). Sims arrived to deliver her baby and after days of labor, she gave birth but suffered a severe fistula. Sims, who had been attempting to find a cure to obstetric fibulas, persuaded Anarcha's slave master that her value as a slave was "ruined," as her ability to do labor and reproduce was strongly incapacitated, and convinced Westcott to loan Anarcha to him until she was cured (Hallman 93). This is how the horrific experiments began.

From 1845 to 1849, Sims experimented on ten enslaved women in the "Negro Hospital" behind his private practice on Perry Street in Montgomery, Alabama (Hallman 89). Based on his writings, Sims saw no issue with experimenting on slaves, writing in his autobiography, "There was never a time that I could not, at any day, have had a subject for operation" ("The 'Father of Modern Gynecology'"). Sims performed experiment after experiment on these enslaved women without anesthesia, based on the historically widespread belief that Black people and slaves were physically incapable of feeling pain ("Remembering Anarcha"). Anarcha, Lucy, Betsey, and the other women were threatened with punishment if they struggled, and white doctors were invited to come and watch the procedures. In between experiments, the women were forced to be city slaves. Sims, credited as the inventor of the speculum, used a bent spoon to test on the women. The experiments were so tortuous that "they wished to return to their plantation" (Hallman 120). According to Hallman, enslaved people in Montgomery were terrified of Sims, hearing rumors about how he "tricked" slaves into this so-called hospital and tortured them in the name of medicine (Hallman 107).

Hallman explained that the experiments lasted until Sims came up with a surgical solution for the fistula, when he finally "cured" Anarcha after she had been experimented on at least thirty times (Hallman ix). After this, Anarcha, Betsey, Lucy, and the other women were sent back to their plantations, cured or not cured. According to Harriet A. Washington, a medical historian, Sims additionally experimented on enslaved children, attempting to treat "neonatal tetanus," performing brain surgery with shoemaker tools ("The 'Father'"). Hallman states, "He [Sims] continued to perfect procedures on slaves, and then advertise his skills for the better classes of society" (Hallman 90). After his experiments in the South, Sims moved to New York City and opened a women's hospital and treated white women, but with anesthesia ("Remembering Anarcha"). Although he faced criticism by a small fraction of white doctors, who claimed that he took his experimental work too far, he was praised as a "savior of women" (Hallman x). He was elected president of the American Medical Association (AMA) in 1875 and president of the America Gynecological Society in 1880 ("The 'Father'").

Returning to the women's stories, according to historical records, the women in the "Negro Hospital" cared for each other persistently (Hallman ix). According to Hallman, although many were forced to serve as nurses or assistants to Sims, specifically Anarcha and Betsey, these women took genuine care of each other, practicing what we in the peace and justice field refer to as care work (137).

According to Hallman, a patient-centered model of care sparked by Anarcha and the other women behind the fistula experiments exists across the globe, specifically in developing countries. This patient model mustn't be accredited to Sims, as "it is the accidental by-product" of his wicked work (Hallman xi). Hallman states:

The treatment of obstetric fistula today is based almost entirely on fistula sufferers living communally, acquiring skills as they care for one another. This

model was spontaneously devised by a group of enslaved women—teenagers, really—in a tiny clinic in Alabama in the 1840s. Today, hundreds of fistula survivors have followed in their footsteps to become nurses, nurse aides, doctors, activists, and community organizers. The daughters of Anarcha are legion. (Hallman xi)

Although J. Marion Sims did produce gynecological knowledge, it was at a horrific cost that ultimately was not justified. Although these enslaved women did desire to be healed, they had no choice in these experiments. They had no right to exercise bodily autonomy, as these women were “...placed between misery and hope, between pain and promise, [which] is to be given a choice that is so false it is indistinguishable from a command issued with the threat of a whip behind it” (Hallman 108). The experiments Sims conducted are not an isolated experience, as Black bodies have been experimented on for centuries. Examples include the Tuskegee syphilis study, in which Black men with syphilis were studied for decades without any medical treatment being provided, and the case of Henrietta Lacks, whose cells were taken without consent for research (McVean; “Henrietta Lacks”). Systemic racism and biological determinism persist in medicine to this day, specifically in terms of race-based algorithms and the Black maternal health crisis, in which Black women die at three to four times the rate as white women in pregnancy and childbirth due to obstetric racism, medical neglect and mistreatment, and disbelief of their pain (Black Mamas Matter Alliance).

Reckoning with the Truth and Changing the Narrative

The stories of Anarcha, Betsey, Lucy, and the other women were lost to history for an entire century. Sims certainly perpetrated the creation of his own narrative. According to Boomer, Sims published an article in 1852 based on the development of his cure for a fistula. He never mentioned that the women experimented on were slaves, and therefore, could not give consent, nor did he mention that these slaves became highly skilled medical

practitioners (Boomer). The illustrations in the article depicted white nurses and white patients (Boomer). For a century, J. Marion Sims was celebrated blindly, glorified as the “father of gynecology” (“Remembering Anarcha”). Statues of him were posted around the country, on the statehouse lawn in Montgomery, in South Carolina, and in Central Park, New York City.

However, the tide began to shift in the 1960s in the wake of the civil rights movement; but the reckoning within the mainstream began in 2017, as “Sims’ legacy had become intertwined with broader reevaluations of the role of white supremacy in American history,” states Hallman (x). As the confederate monument protests raged in Charlottesville in 2017, protesters gathered outside the J. Marion Sims statue in Central Park, chanting, “Say her name—Anarcha!” (Hallman xix). In the remainder of this article, I will highlight efforts to reckon with the truth and change the narrative, most notably through direct action, artwork, medical education, and the American Medical Association and their Truth, Reconciliation, Healing, and Transformation Task Force.

Let us begin with the American Medical Association. I stumbled across a panel at the annual Health Equity forum titled *Truth and Reconciliation in Medicine*. This panel became the foundation of my knowledge, as it not only introduced me to many of the efforts to change the narrative, but it brought the truth to my attention. The panel featured J.C. Hallman, the author of *Say Anarcha*, Dr. Lee Sharma, a gynecologist in Alabama, and Michelle Browder, the executive and artistic director of More Than Tours and the creator of the Mothers of Gynecology monument in Montgomery. The work of Sharma and Browder will be highlighted, but first I want to discuss the AMA’s racist history and its current efforts to reconcile its past.

The American Medical Association, although a leading organization in medicine and public health, has a distinctly racist past. For decades, Black physicians could not become members of the American Medical

Association, which led to the formation of the National Medical Association (*Truth and Reconciliation*). Eugenics, discrimination, and race-based medicine plagued the AMA. The AMA is certainly far from perfect, but the organization is looking to move forward. The AMA launched the Truth, Racial Healing, and Transformation Task Force in 2021 and the Center for Health Equity just a few years before that (*Truth and Reconciliation*). This task force will guide organizational transformation within the AMA to implement restorative justice to promote truth, reconciliation, healing, and transformation within medicine and medical education. Specifically, they work to address past harms. Matthew Wynia, co-chair of the task force, reminds us that racism is not of the past, stating, “The AMA’s harmful, racist actions of 100 years ago, they not only resonate today, but they exist and are living today in our ability and our inability to work together” (*Truth and Reconciliation* 7:46–7:58).

The AMA certainly must reckon with J. Marion Sims’ false legacy, as he was elected president in 1875 (“The ‘Father’”). In upholding Sims’ legacy, the AMA House of Delegates passed a resolution in 1937, which helped the state of Alabama raise money to put up a statue of Sims (*Truth and Reconciliation*). In the video, *Truth and Reconciliation in Medicine*, the panel described how the AMA was reconciling with this history, but it additionally featured Dr. Lee Sharma, a gynecologist in Auburn, Alabama. Sharma discusses how the false narrative of J. Marion Sims was taught to her in medical school, but now that she knows the truth, she feels as if she has a responsibility to change the narrative:

As somebody who is trying to bring truth and reconciliation into the practice of medicine, is sharing the truth with as many students, residents, and colleagues as possible... You open that door as wide as you can, and you shout the story of truth as loud as you can... that is where we start to change the structural racism that exists in our system. (*Truth and Reconciliation* 47:37–48:17)

Dr. Lee Sharma is not the only medical professional who is changing the narrative and spreading the truth of J. Marion Sims within medical education. However, the false narrative of Sims, along with race-based medicine, is being heavily reinforced in medical education today. Dr. Vanessa Northington Gamble, a physician and medical historian at George Washington University, referred to a 2011 analysis of medical textbooks which referred to Sims in a positive light, naming him the “father of modern gynecology” and completely failing to mention that Sims experimented on slaves (“Remembering Anarcha”). Nevertheless, Dr. Gamble is another example of a medical professional working to rewrite the narrative within medical education, to infuse anti-racism into medicine in order to minimize racial discrimination and health disparities.

Another person changing the narrative of J. Marion Sims is the extraordinary artist Michelle Browder. She is the executive and artistic director of More Than Tours, which provides educational tours of Montgomery’s rich history, specifically to marginalized students. A main stop on this tour is the Mothers of Gynecology Monument, created by Michelle Browder herself. Playing on the title given to Sims, Browder created a monument portraying Anarcha, Betsey, and Lucy to honor their memory. Browder made the decision to leave the women’s arms and legs off to represent how these women did not have autonomy (“Alabama Artist”). Lauren Marcelle and Alana Taylor, two local artists in the area, refer to the monument as a “healing device” (“Alabama Artist”). Marcelle states that the “only thing that differentiates us from these women is time” (“Alabama Artist”).

Michelle Browder has further honored the legacy of Anarcha, Betsey, and Lucy by founding the Mothers of Gynecology Health and Wellness Museum and Clinic. The clinic will sit on the very land that Sims’ “Negro Hospital” was on (Hallman ix; *Truth and Reconciliation*). The downstairs will provide prenatal care, while upstairs there will be a teaching clinic to train Black gynecologists, doulas, and midwives to specifically combat the Black

FIGURE 1

Mothers of Gynecology Monument by Michelle Browder in Montgomery (Permission granted by photographer and sculptor Michelle Browder)



maternal health crisis (“Alabama Artist”). The clinic is set to open in the next couple of years, but currently there is the Mothers of Gynecology Wellness Pod, a mobile maternal health support unit (“Anarcha Lucy”). Additionally, the More Than Tours has expanded with new sites of the Creative Changemakers Museum—which highlights the enormous role the Mothers of Gynecology played in the history of medicine and utilizes art, music, and conversations to alter the narrative—and the More Up Travel Center, which will accommodate travelers engaging in tours (“Anarcha Lucy”).

As mentioned earlier, there have been many efforts to remove the statues of J. Marion Sims. In New York City, community organizers and protesters had been objecting to the monument for over a decade. For example, Eastern Harlem Preservation launched a campaign in

FIGURE 2

The Black Youth Project protesting the J. Marion Sims in Central Park, New York City. (Source: East Harlem Preservation; permission granted by Liberation News).



2010 (“Struggle Forces”). In 2017, the New York City government established the Advisory Commission on City Art, Monuments, and Markers (“Struggle Forces”). After 20,000 people signed a petition for the Sims statue to be removed, it came down and was relocated to Sims’ gravesite in 2018 (“Struggle Forces”). However, the fight to remove the statue from the Alabama State House remains strong. According to Dr. Sharma, the Medical Association of the State of Alabama passed a resolution to organize the removal of the Sims statue by specifically working to alter the Alabama Historical Preservation Act (*Truth and Reconciliation*). Additionally, Browder is advocating for the Sims statue to be removed and have it relocated to the Mothers of Gynecology clinic (“Anarcha Lucy”). Note that all these statues are to be relocated, not destroyed, as Dr. Gamble reminds us that we must not forget history (“Remembering Anarcha”).

Conclusion

Unfortunately, the story of J. Marion Sims and Anarcha, Betsey, and Lucy is not rare. This country is built upon white supremacy, colonialism, heteronormativity, sexism, and capitalism. Medicine has never been free of such oppressive sources and still is not to this day, as is evident in race-based medicine, health disparities and inequity, and the Black maternal and infant health crisis. These

problems must be solved urgently, but this can only occur if we work to change the narrative and reckon with the truth. As Michelle Browder states, “We are in a state of emergency with health care. We need to heal, and the healing comes from you first, and that healing specifically comes from acknowledging the injustices done to Black folks, Indigenous people, and immigrants in this country regarding health care. And then, after you

are healed, you can be set free to do more, to be more and fight harder” (*Truth and Reconciliation* 44:33–44:51). We must protect the teaching of critical race theory and accurate racial history in schools to ensure that people have an opportunity to reckon with the truth. In doing so, we can change the narrative and fight harder together to minimize oppression and achieve an equitable world for all of us.

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Vahnaree Weis | *Semiotics of Dress* | Wire, fabrics, wood, found objects, liquid latex, plaster, cardboard

Heidegger's Introduction to Philosophy*

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In his *Introduction to Philosophy*, Martin Heidegger argues that philosophy is, in fact, philosophizing. Right from the beginning Heidegger poses the pressing question of what precisely philosophy is, and he begins to answer this question by arguing that the usual introduction to philosophy, such as “a historiographical and systematic introduction,” must necessarily fail because “in its approach, it rests on a fundamental illusion.”¹ He claims that philosophy is precisely not something that we leave to “professional philosophers” who “occupy themselves with it and ... believe they have finally eliminated the confusing mishmash of opinions.”² Heidegger’s positive claim concerning philosophy is much more original. Indeed, his claim is that philosophy as philosophizing is quite primordial. He argues that philosophizing belongs to the very essence of human *Dasein*, i.e., our there-being which is a radically different understanding of being than that which we have inherited from the Greek philosophers. To begin, some preliminary remarks concerning *Dasein* are in order.

Philosophy, Heidegger claims, belongs to human *Dasein*, but what does he mean by *Dasein*? *Dasein* is the everyday German word for existence; literally *da* (there) + *sein* (to be) = to be there. Heidegger in *Being and Time* uses the word *Dasein* in a more or less literal sense. He is not claiming that the human being is the rational animal,

i.e., not a traditional understanding of the human being as the rational animal. Heidegger wants to understand the human being precisely in their being, i.e., in their way or manner of being. Our way of being is different from the way in which anything else is, for we are both distinctive and finite. But what exactly does it mean to be there, to exist? Where are we exactly? An answer might suggest that we are interior, i.e., we think that we are an interior thing that thinks. But Heidegger argues that this is precisely not the case. Rather, we actually exist outside our bodies in the world among other beings from the very beginning. Therefore, for Heidegger, *Dasein* means being-in-the-world. This meaning is quasi-technical, for it is a particular way of understanding human beings not primarily as entities at all, but as a way of being. That is to say that we, as human beings, are primarily a way of being, but also an entity. In other words, we are entities with a particular way of being, but the latter is primary and determinative. This *Dasein* decides who and how we are in each moment. It is in each case mine, i.e., each *Dasein* is unique and cannot be substituted for another. Heidegger claims that philosophy, as philosophizing, belongs to the essence of this human *Dasein*. Philosophy is philosophizing, Heidegger argues, and this necessarily demands that we investigate “the *Dasein* that we ourselves each are,”³ but this is not to be understood as “any psychological, let alone egoistic, gazing at oneself”⁴ because *Dasein*, according to Heidegger, is essentially ex-centric. This claim by Heidegger that *Dasein* is essentially ex-centric is related directly to his concept of thrownness.

Thrownness is a radical concept that illuminates the fact that everything concerning *Dasein* fundamentally

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1 Martin Heidegger, *Introduction to Philosophy*, translated by William McNeill (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2024), 4.

2 Ibid.

3 Ibid., 9.

4 Ibid.

goes back to our being thrown into a world, and this is completely out of our control. Therefore, from the very start, we are not the property of ourselves. *Dasein* is thrown into the world and is ecstatic, i.e., it stands outside itself. This ex-centricity of *Dasein* is a result of the fact that *Dasein* is thrown not merely into space, but into time as well. Time factually stands outside itself as something occurring in the world. *Dasein* from the start exists in a world alongside other beings in time, i.e., it is not fundamentally some centric interior, but must be brought to the center in a certain way if we are to investigate the *Dasein* that we ourselves each are. As a direct consequence of this conclusion concerning the *Dasein* that in each case already exists outside itself in a world alongside other beings, Heidegger argues:

There thus lies a great truth in the demand that ancient philosophy already expressed: Γνωθι σεαυτόν, know yourself, that is, know what you are, and be what you have come to know yourself as. This self-knowledge, as knowledge of the humanity of the human being, that is, of the essence of the human being, is philosophy, and it is as far from psychology, psychoanalysis, and morality as possible⁵

Heidegger then begins to think through the historical origin and development of the term philosophy, under which the sciences are subsumed. This concept directly contrasts with the “characteristic tendency of modernity to determine philosophy with respect to the idea of science and, indeed, to the science of mathematics.”⁶ Heidegger argues that this determination of philosophy as an exact science stems from a presupposition on the part of Descartes, who sought to elevate philosophy “to the rank of a science, indeed to the absolute science,”⁷ i.e., mathematics.

These attempts to characterize philosophy as some sort of rigorous science, or “university philosophy,” were

accused of being “a highly questionable creation” by philosophers such as Nietzsche and Schopenhauer.⁸ Indeed, Heidegger claims that “from Descartes through Kant and Hegel and up to Husserl,”⁹ the notion that philosophy is a science is fundamentally a problem stemming from a misinterpretation of philosophy as something “subordinated to the concept of science as a higher genus.”¹⁰ Heidegger argues that the description “roundish circle” corresponds more closely to the concept of “scientific philosophy” insofar as a circle is not “approximately round, but rather is absolutely round.”¹¹ The characterization of the circle as absolutely round is something that is both excessive and more originary, i.e., capable of more. That is to say that philosophy being described as scientific is to ascribe to it something that does not belong, for “Philosophy is not a science—not on account of a shortcoming; rather, it is on account of an excess that it cannot be science, an excess, moreover, that is a fundamental one, not merely quantitative.”¹² Philosophy is therefore science in the sense of its being the origin of science. Though it is an excessive origin, philosophy cannot be measured in terms of science, rather, it must determine itself out of itself rather than out of something that it is not. That is to say that philosophy is philosophizing and must determine itself through philosophizing. His task is to uncover what he claims has been covered over, i.e., Heidegger claims that the genuine insights of the tradition have been concealed throughout the course of the history of philosophy, for example, through translation. Subsequent problems then become routine problems which lack grounding in the real world, for example, the relation of subject to object which Heidegger argues is a pseudo-problem. Heidegger’s task subsequently becomes a task of de construction, i.e., a retrieval and a building, a concept subsequently reinterpreted and made popular by Derrida. The task of de construction necessarily entails a return to the origins and development of the term *philosophy* itself.

5 Ibid., 10.

6 Ibid., 16.

7 Ibid., 13.

8 Ibid., 13–14.

9 Ibid., 14.

10 Ibid.

11 Ibid., 15.

12 Ibid.

Heidegger interprets the Greek philosophers' use of **σοφία**, meaning a certain technical knowledge and skill, as a claim that philosophy is technical from the very beginning. Synthesizing further, Heidegger claims that *philosophy* is "a compound constructed from **σοφία** and **φιλεῖν** (**φίλος**), that is, from wisdom and to love; in a somewhat sentimental and grandfatherly way, one usually translates it as love of wisdom."¹³ He argues that philosophy is technical from the very beginning because the term "**Σοφία** is ... originally spoken of with regard to craftsmanship" in Homer's *Iliad*.¹⁴ To be clear, **σοφία** was used to describe one who was well-skilled and knowledgeable in all manner of craft. This **σοφία** is characterized by 1) knowing from the ground up, 2) immediacy and instinctiveness, and 3) a familiar capability in an exemplary, authoritative manner. This is an understanding of the whole of the world. In laying this foundation, Heidegger is able to claim that:

Only because the understanding that pertains to artisanship was already latently a direct and authoritative understanding of the whole of the world was the expression **σοφία** then able to extend itself to signify every understanding, in particular an understanding of the fundamental possibilities of existence [*Dasein*] as a whole, the whole of those things manifest to human beings.¹⁵

Therefore, **σοφία** is not merely some abstract knowledge or a wisdom concerned with producing, authoritatively, concrete things, but it is also, and importantly, wisdom in respect to the world as a whole. It becomes an expansive understanding of all things, but in its course, it meets a fundamental restriction tied to our human limitations. Accordingly, **σοφία** is a struggle tied to our finiteness, i.e., it is a kind of confrontation with the world that first arises in and through philosophy and progresses through the subsequent development of science. Since philosophy as philosophizing is fundamentally tied to

our finiteness, Heidegger is concerned with retrieving **φιλία**, i.e., passionate engagement with the world, arguing that "understanding requires a special and constant effort, one that must be sustained in advance by an original fondness for things ... a friendship that, like every genuine friendship, in accordance with its essence struggles for that which it loves."¹⁶ This struggle then is a particular stance that the human being takes toward its thrownness, and it is fundamentally different than the stance it takes in relation to the world accompanied by a *Weltanschauung* of myth, theology, or tradition that covers over this more original stance toward being in the world alongside other beings.

However, Heidegger argues that philosophy has historically prioritized being as presence, i.e., independent objective presence. That is to say that, according to this prioritized conception of being as presence that Western philosophy has held, other beings are seen as standing over against us independently. Calculative orderability is what technology fundamentally seeks. That is to say that we want to be able to account for order at any time and in any place. This is power over presence, a will to power. The dynamics of this will to power originate from a particular understanding of *technē* according to Plato. For Plato, the Ideas are true being, and they govern the presence of things in the world. They have power over presence as pure form, i.e., truth. However, not only is philosophy technical, but science is as well, and we must conclude, under the concept of true being embodied within Plato's forms, that both science and philosophy therefore have preset determinations. This understanding, i.e., that philosophy has preset determinations, is fundamentally flawed, and it is caused by a presupposition that covers over the concept of philosophy as phenomenological by means of the metaphysical Ideas. For this reason, Heidegger will come to investigate **ἀλήθεια**, i.e., truth as unconcealment. This truth as unconcealment, he claims, is precisely what the Greeks failed to adequately think through. Thus, Heidegger's will be a phenomenological approach through and through.

¹³ Ibid., 17.

¹⁴ Ibid., 18.

¹⁵ Ibid.

¹⁶ Ibid., 19.

Philosophy is accordingly fundamentally concerned with the whole and its relation to the whole rather than merely being knowledge concerning objects. It is a certain comportment toward, i.e., a stance that *Dasein* takes, and this is precisely why Heidegger argues that philosophy is philosophizing. We therefore have some indications of what philosophy is not, and what an understanding of philosophy should look like according to Heidegger. He argues that to philosophize is to uncover the world that is more or less hidden from us, i.e., to unconceal. We must disentangle philosophy from inherited understandings that have, at their foundation, a misinterpretation of what philosophy is. In other words, most of the time we only begin to question when we believe that there is something yet to be discovered. This experience of concealment and hiddenness is connected to our finitude. It is accompanied by a sense of wonder and openness toward that which is concealed. This claim, i.e., that philosophy is, in its essence, philosophizing, is made to show in what sense philosophy already resides within us and what the implications are that follow therefrom. In this manner, Heidegger argues that philosophizing belongs to the very essence of human *Dasein*, i.e., our particular way of being. Heidegger claims that philosophy as philosophizing is awakened as an accomplishment of each unique individual, and it happens in the moment, i.e., it is temporally determined. Thus, philosophizing is historically both determined and situated. This concept of philosophy is fundamentally different from philosophy conceived merely as an academic discipline. That is to say that it must exceed any theoretical knowledge merely by its nature. Philosophizing is a particular engagement with the world rather than a science. That is to say that philosophizing itself is a certain comportment toward... that Heidegger is attempting to awaken. It is more primary and original than the traditional understanding of philosophy, and he argues that it ought to be unfolded according to our self-understanding. From these initial clarifications, Heidegger will determine the essence of philosophy more precisely in relation to the essence of science. This path will necessarily lead to the question

concerning the essence of truth. More specifically in relation to the question of truth as propositional truth.

Throughout the foregoing Heidegger has determined that the essence of philosophy is philosophizing, and this as a certain stance *Dasein* takes toward its being-in-the-world with and alongside other beings in time. Heidegger claims that the truth as unconcealment, i.e., ἀλήθεια, belongs to human *Dasein*. However, the predominant understanding of science involves truth as propositional truth. That is to say that the predominant conception of science is that it constitutes a set of true propositions that hang together and are determined to be true through validity, i.e., through traditional logic. Heidegger, however, is more interested in the primary and original status of science as it relates to truth phenomenologically, i.e., as unconcealment:

We can thus initially see, purely by way of anticipation, that if science in general is in some way a kind of truth, but truth as unconcealment belongs to the essential constitution of existent *Dasein*, then science in its originary sense is necessarily something that belongs to *Dasein*'s existence. This means that science is not related also to human *Dasein* only in passing or subsequently, nor is it simply produced by human *Dasein*, but rather, as a kind of truth, it is an essential determination of *Dasein*; it signifies nothing other than a particular manner and way of being-in-the-truth.¹⁷

Heidegger is clear to point out that science thus understood is by no means necessary, rather it is an essential determination of human *Dasein* in the sense that it is a particular way of being-in-the-truth. Science, therefore, does not necessarily belong to human *Dasein* in the way that ἀλήθεια does, and one can observe this in the fact that science has not always been factually and historically present, for example, during the ages where myth or theology predominate. Accordingly, science “is itself in turn a free possibility of *Dasein*.”¹⁸

17 Ibid., 110.

18 Ibid.

Whether or not science is factually and historically present, beings themselves remain manifest in the world. They are present alongside the possibility of science being taken up as a certain comportment of *Dasein*. Therefore, the manifestness of these beings prior to scientific comportment is prescientific, but “The pre in prescientific... does not simply designate a lesser degree of truth, as though scientific truth would be superior without further ado; rather, the term ‘prescientific’ means, in light of the concept of truth we have developed, that *Dasein* is already in the truth prior to science.”¹⁹ The distinction between prescientific and scientific *Dasein* is not to be understood as a distinction between something like primitive and nonprimitive *Dasein*; barbarism is a possibility of both. Heidegger claims that “our contemporary Western-European *Dasein* is a scientific one, insofar as the unconcealment of beings is in part stamped and determined by scientific knowledge.”²⁰ The implication that science is superimposed upon the more originary prescientific truth, ἀλήθεια, encountered by prescientific *Dasein* is made clear through Heidegger’s use of the phrase “stamped and determined by.” Because superimposed, science has its limits. It is the transformation of truth into a certain kind, and Heidegger argues that “From these remarks it already becomes clear that science as such does not necessarily already bring with it an elevation of human *Dasein*, and that science, because it is a possibility of *Dasein*, can necessarily be in one way or another, can have an effect in one way or another.”²¹

Since it is a fundamental possibility of a particular stance taken by human *Dasein*, Heidegger claims that “science is simply a particular attitude.”²² Historically the scientific attitude has been understood to correspond to “a so-called theoretical attitude—theoretical as distinct from practical.”²³ The theoretical life as opposed to the life of praxis has been known since antiquity as the βίος

θεωρητικός i.e., the life of contemplation. From *bios* (a way of life) + *thea* (a vision or a spectacle of something) + *horao* (to look at and contemplate), Pythagoras identified three kinds of βίος: 1) plying trade, which is the way of the craftsmen, 2) competition, which is the way of those who seek honor, and 3) spectating, which is the way of those who merely watch, contemplate, and see which, according to Aristotle, is the supreme pleasure and the way in which the human being flourishes. To look at and contemplate, to be absorbed in the spectacle, is to tarry and dwell with it, and it takes one over. This is the Greek understanding of *theoria*, and, for Aristotle, it is the purest, the divine, and the eternal human activity. The theoretical life becomes the most supremely important way of life since the life of contemplation is not merely praxis in general for the Greeks, it is also the most authentic life because contemplation, as the highest activity of the intellect, was considered a divine activity. Out of this supremacy of the theoretical, the life of contemplation is taken as an end in itself. Indeed, it is the highest end and it “is formed by increasingly disregarding ‘practical’ utility and use and aiming solely at contemplating beings in themselves.”²⁴ In other words, contemplating and determining for their own sake is the highest action, and authentic action actualizes the movedness that lies within acting, i.e., it is already an end in itself. What is practical is the inner movement rather than some external work.

Surely this contemplating is a contemplating of something, therefore the contemplating action orients itself from that which is constant in its being toward that which always is. Unconcealment is a peculiar kind of action, and beings are not worked upon in unconcealment. Rather, it is an action of such a kind that it simply lets manifestness happen. For the Greeks, *theoria* lets manifestness happen, and this constitutes the praxis that it is. Therefore, Heidegger states that “θεωρεῖν stands in an essential connection to *παρᾶξ* (existence, *Dasein*) and truth, unconcealment, and specifically knowledge of the *ὄν* as *ἀεὶ ὄν*, of that which always is.”²⁵

19 Ibid., 112.

20 Ibid.

21 Ibid., 113.

22 Ibid., 116.

23 Ibid.

24 Ibid., 122.

25 Ibid., 124.

At this point Heidegger draws attention to the presence of an ambiguity concerning how “that which always is” is interpreted. Does that which always is constitute a region, for example, the region of the heavenly bodies, or, in saying “that which is,” are we indicating that which remains unchanged in beings themselves, i.e., the essence of entities themselves? Science originates out of a free decision, one that constitutes a stance that studies beings in the way in which they present themselves, i.e., their permanent Forms in the Platonic sense. Here science becomes the study of the permanent form of things, and contemplation becomes contemplation of their essence as Form. The essence of science proves to be philosophy. But, for Heidegger, this contemplation of the Forms is a fundamental failure to even think the ontological difference, i.e., the difference between being itself and particular beings. For Heidegger, the difference between philosophy and science will be articulated through the concept of projection.

According to Heidegger, the constitution of being refers to essence and way of being, i.e., to what-being and how-being. Essence is usually determined as possibility, while way of being is usually determined as actuality. Both, i.e., possibility and actuality, belong to the constitution of being for any entity, but *Dasein* is unique because, in it, the two are the same. Therefore, for Heidegger, there is no fixed human nature. For him *Dasein* is primarily a way of being. To recall, truth belongs to the essence of *Dasein*'s constitution of being. *Dasein* first enables an understanding of being because it itself is the understanding of being. This understanding is a projection, i.e., it is projected. Here being itself is more or less unveiled or more or less concealed in proportion to whether or not being is explicitly conceptualized. Whether or not the understanding of being is explicitly conceptualized, *Dasein* gives itself something to understand in order for beings to be manifest at all. What it gives is the ontological projection and what it receives back is an understanding of being. This projected understanding of being, Heidegger claims,

does not occur occasionally or from time to time in *Dasein* but essentially and constantly so long as *Dasein* factually exists. This entails: *Dasein* is, as such, projective. This projection—we saw further—is antecedent. *Dasein* must already have given itself to understand something like being, in order to be able to comport itself toward beings.²⁶

This projection is intrinsically an overstepping of beings. In the projection of an understanding of being, *Dasein* transcends other beings, and it transcends itself, i.e., beings as a whole are overstepped. At the same time, transcendence underlies the unconcealment of beings for it initially, as a projection of the understanding of being, lets the manifestness of beings break into the open.

Being and beings belong together. That is to say that ontological truth and ontic truth are not simply posited next to one another and joined by the word “and.” They happen simultaneously and yet they are different. Transcendence allows being and beings to happen, i.e., allows them to be manifest at the same time with the ontological difference. How this is philosophically conceived exposes the difference between philosophy and science for Heidegger. Philosophically conceived, the ontological difference must be experienced phenomenologically, i.e., the difference itself is not merely conceptual. Now, science is only possible based on transcendence and though it does not even posit the ontological difference, it yet presupposes it. Therefore, science brings with it a limiting determined by its own essence. Heidegger argues that science, as science, has no power over transcendence:

Transcending is the other that science as such does not have power over and that it precisely needs in order to be what it can be. Transcending accomplishes the limiting of science and thereby brings it precisely to itself.²⁷

26 Ibid., 143.

27 Ibid., 147.

Since it has no power over transcendence, science must presuppose being. Science must conform, in advance, to the particular manner of being of the beings that it studies; for example, the historical cannot be understood mathematically, the political cannot be studied chemically, etc. The science of beings in general is only possible as ontology or as theology. Therefore, in science, a field is determined in advance through the projection of the constitution of being.

The difference between philosophy and science is to be found in the horizon of projection, i.e., in the transcendental horizon. The essence of the theoretical was determined as a letting be of beings in themselves, and this as a primordial action of human *Dasein*. However, this is a letting be that is also already an overstepping, i.e., transcendent. Explicit transcending is philosophizing. *Dasein* philosophizes, i.e., existence means to philosophize. Understanding of being exists in transcendence. Though it may not initially conceptualize it, *Dasein* already understands being in some way in order for beings to be manifest. Therefore, *Dasein* carries within itself the possible question of meaning and being, but this requires liberation. Immediately this recalls Plato's Allegory of the Cave. The projection itself must be isolated, examined, and questioned so that the projection might become a conceptual one, i.e., of the what-it-is of the being as such. This is an explicit move from the pre-ontological understanding of being to an ontological one, but Heidegger claims:

That philosophy is ontology means at most: In its essence it is a problem that flows from that which constitutes the fundamental essence of *Dasein's* existence; that philosophy is ontology then means: if we succeed in conceptually comprehending this, then the full inner orientation of the essence of philosophizing must let itself be unveiled from there and primarily and solely from there.²⁸

That is to say that the full inner orientation of the essence of philosophizing must let itself be unveiled from out of *Dasein's* existence.

Because of the ontological projection, science is initially enabled, but enabled in such a way that it is doubly limited. First, science is limited in the sense that it is directed toward beings, and though its projection of being "constantly surrounds it," the projection is yet concealed from it in its directedness toward beings rather than being. Second, because the ontological projection is a determinate one, there is a limiting concealment for science in the sense that other possible projections of being are excluded in and through the constitution or founding of each science. Science, as constituted, is unaware of this double concealment, for it studies from one point of view never with an eye toward being. Being is projected in science, yet it is not conceptually understood, i.e., science does not understand the ontological difference as the difference between being and beings. Where science is directed toward beings, self-understanding in philosophizing explicitly appropriates its own essence, and it becomes attuned to the happening of the transcendence that constitutes its essence. Understood this way, we see ourselves overstepping all beings in the world, including ourselves. The ontological understanding of ourselves is the first time that we see ourselves. The only way to see ourselves is to understand ourselves in the foundations of our being.

Here it should be noted that Heidegger is returning to an earlier claim: that we always already do philosophy whether explicitly or not. On the one hand, in letting things be, we release beings to themselves, i.e., we free them unto themselves. Beings are released into a space of freedom. The very occurrence of *Dasein's* space of freedom is metaphysically/ontologically understood as the *da* (there) of *Da-sein*. On the other hand, the binding character of science follows from the fact that science must comport itself toward beings and it is bound to this. Things themselves have a binding character that goes hand-in-hand with our thrownness. We are bound to a

28 Ibid., 151.

certain exposure to beings in the first instance. Therefore, a very different understanding of freedom than the predominant understanding follows.

Most people are unable to free themselves from the realm of belief and commonly held opinion. Therefore, the answer to the question of being must be freed. It must be liberated, and this again immediately recalls the Allegory of the Cave. The question “what is being?” always remains an aporia, i.e., it is the fundamental question of philosophy itself. Through the foregoing it becomes apparent that we are simply renewing, in a radical way, what Plato and Aristotle already suggested, that “philosophizing is besieged by the seductions of its most stubborn adversary, the assumed self-evidence of things.”²⁹ Heidegger’s conception of philosophy challenges the traditional and still prevalent conceptions of philosophy in that, rather than a set of specializations that, together with their propositional statements, constitute a system of knowledge akin to science, his phenomenological approach argues that fundamental ontology must have an ontic foundation. *Dasein* is the foundation of the possibility of philosophy as ontology, and *Dasein*’s foundation is in transcendence. Since this happens temporally, there is no solid foundation. The problems of world and historicity present themselves in the question concerning the essence of transcendence. The ground of *Dasein*’s being is thus transcending and

temporality. In transcending, philosophy has something that science only has in one direction; it holds itself in transcendence, i.e., it is possessed by transcendence. Philosophy cannot control transcendence. At most, it can master transcendence conceptually in releasement as a letting happen of transcendence. Science does not understand transcendence. Thus, like the absolutely round circle, philosophy is capable of more. It is more scientific than science could ever be.

The prisoner in the cave does not liberate themselves. They must be painfully dragged up the slope and into the light of the clearing. This hard and painful struggle recalls the hard and painful experience that often accompanies the annihilation of presuppositions and commonly held opinions. Because the prisoner does not liberate themselves, liberation is an issue of human community. Philosophizing happens in community with one another, and it is related to the being-in-the-world that belongs to the essence of *Dasein*. Phenomenology calls us back to the things themselves and was already referenced by Plato. We must attend to the thing itself, i.e., the matter itself. This is the being of beings. Heidegger quotes that the transmission of understanding from one being to another happens “suddenly, just like the spark from a fire leaps over from one to the other, so that this spark leaping over brings brightness and light within which being becomes visible.”³⁰

29 Ibid.

30 Ibid., 154.

How Welcoming Are Our Schools? Chicago Public Schools & Newly Arrived Immigrant Children & Youth*

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We [Chicago Public Schools] respect our students and families, and the diverse communities in which they live, and honor them as partners in our shared mission. We will earn their trust by communicating openly and consistently acting on community feedback. (Our Vision, 2022)

Introduction

Thousands of families, having fled war, poverty, and uncertainty in their home countries, currently find themselves in Chicago, a city that has long been a beacon for those seeking refuge, opportunity, and stability. Since August 31, 2022, over 43,000 new migrants from the southern US border have entered Chicago, significantly impacting the city's demographics and stretching its capacity to deliver much-needed public services to its new entrants (*New Arrivals Situational Awareness*, 2024). The immigrant population in Chicago numbers 1.7 million, placing it as one of the top US destinations for newly arrived immigrants (Batalova, 2024, p. 11). Among these new arrivals are numerous families with school-aged children ages 5–18 years, who are only now beginning to navigate their new reality, not only within the United States and Chicago but, most significantly, in the public schools.

Chicago Public Schools (CPS) have a checkered history with welcoming and supporting students through the years. In 2013, CPS closed 50 schools as the city's budget was in deficit, causing relocation of more than 11,000

students (Parrish & Ikoro, 2024). It was later revealed that CPS lost track of more than 400 students in the process (Parrish & Ikoro, 2024). Since the closing of CPS schools and the expansion of charter and private schools, enrollment into Chicago's public schools has decreased year by year (Parrish & Ikoro, 2024). But, after the challenging COVID-19 pandemic, CPS is working to stretch itself to become what its Three-Year Blueprint states (*CPS's Three-Year Blueprint*, 2022, p. 4), namely “[respecting] our students and families, and the diverse communities in which they live, and honor them as partners” (*Our Vision*, 2022).

The Chicago Public School system contains 634 schools and over 323,000 students (*Stats and Facts*, 2023). By February of the 2023–2024 school year, more than 5,700 immigrant students had enrolled in CPS (Vevea & Amin, 2024). Although CPS does not collect data on the immigration status of its students or their families, the number of English Language Learners (ELLs) provides a useful indicator of the immigrant student population (Vevea & Amin, 2024). According to CPS data, 24% of its students are classified ELLs, a group that typically includes both newly arrived immigrant students and those who have resided in Chicago for some time (*Stats and Facts*, 2023; Vevea & Amin, 2024). Additionally, the number of students experiencing homelessness—around

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20,000 of them (*Building Bridges*, 2023, p. 53)—includes those living in temporary migrant shelters, providing further insight into this demographic.

Immigrant students attending K–12 classrooms are a particularly vulnerable demographic, encountering unique challenges as they transition into American culture and classrooms. The trauma of displacement can profoundly affect children, who experience these disruptions during critical periods of brain development (*Education as Healing*, 2019, p. 1). Immigrant youth constitute the fastest-growing population in US public schools (Patel et al., 2023, p. 1) and classrooms play a pivotal role in helping them flourish in their new environment. Educational settings facilitate socioemotional learning and development, and offer hope to traumatized families and children, fostering essential life skills such as confidence and relationship building (*Education as Healing*, 2019, p. 1).

In this essay, I seek to examine the efforts and strategies that Chicago Public Schools (CPS) implement to support the academic and socioemotional development of K–12 immigrant students. More specifically, I will outline how CPS attempts to address the unique barriers to enrollment that newcomer immigrant students across various immigration statuses face as they transition to life in the United States, as well as assess the performance of bilingual programs and resources within CPS schools. Although this essay does not include every single CPS policy and practice, I find that two of the most important aspects of life in a Chicago public school for newcomer immigrant students are enrollment and bilingual services and education. Getting newcomer immigrant students into classrooms can be incredibly important in facilitating their development and integration in their host country (Patel et al., 2023, p. 3). Being able to enroll into schools quickly and easily is important. Equally critical is linguistic support and assistance.

The School Enrollment Process

History of School Enrollment for Immigrant Youth

In 1982, the Supreme Court, through the *Plyler v. Doe* court case, established the right to K–12 education for all children in the US, regardless of their legal status. This ruling affirmed that “the undocumented status of these children *vel non* does not establish a sufficient rational basis for denying them benefits that the State affords other residents” (*Plyler v. Doe*, 1982, p. 457). In stating so, the ruling established that local school districts’ denial of admission of children due to their documentation status violates the Fourteenth Amendment’s Equal Protection Clause. In defense of this decision, Justice Brennan argued that undocumented children are “already disadvantaged as a result of poverty, lack of English-speaking ability, and undeniable racial prejudices... [and, therefore] will become permanently locked into the lowest socio-economic class” (*Plyler v. Doe*, 1982, p. 457).

Fast forward to the present, the US Department of Education (DOE) provides many services to help undocumented immigrant students and unaccompanied immigrant youth enroll and succeed in the classroom. This includes programs such as the Deferred Action for Childhood Arrivals (DACA), which allows immigrant youth who meet eligibility requirements to gain amnesty from deportation by the Department of Homeland Security (DHS) (US DOE, 2015, p. 5). Similarly, the DOE’s McKinney-Vento Homeless Assistance Act is meant to cater to the needs of unaccompanied immigrant children, as “The Act requires schools to immediately enroll homeless children, even in the absence of records normally required for enrollment” (US DOE, 2015, p. 3).

Enrollment Barriers

Despite the federal rulings outlined above, immigrant students and their families find themselves struggling to enroll in US public schools. As of 2015, school enrollment procedures like documentation requirements impacted around a quarter of immigrant children in the US under 18 (Evans et al., 2019, p. 1284). Enrollment into a

public school within the US typically requires a set of documents like a birth certificate, proof of residency, and immunization records (p. 1284). That stated, exact requirements are subject to the specific school district policies (Booi et al., 2016, p. 17). For example, Florida's Orange County Public Schools require students enrolling to provide prior records and verification of academic history (*How to Enroll*, 2024). However, immigrant students may not always have access to all the proper documentation (Evans et al., 2019, p. 1284).

Documentation Barriers in CPS

To enroll, Chicago Public Schools (CPS) require applicants to provide proof of age, residency, and a comprehensive set of medical documents like physical examinations, immunization records, and dental records (*Enrollment and Transfer*, 2021). According to CPS, in compliance with the DOE's McKinney-Vento Homeless Assistance Act, they may waive documentation for children experiencing homelessness, unaccompanied youth, and children under the care of the Department of Children and Family Services (DCFS) (*Enrollment and Transfer*, 2021). Schools must enroll these children, even if they are unable to provide the typical documentation required (such as birth certificates, educational records, medical records, or proof of immunizations). Despite this latitude, other immigrant students of different immigration statuses and backgrounds trying to enroll into CPS schools may find it difficult to produce these documents, and different immigrants of different statuses and categories share unique barriers to enrollment and attendance.

Proof of residency may be a struggle for many undocumented immigrant students to provide for a variety of reasons. Among these are housing conditions. It is, for instance, not uncommon for immigrant families to share residence with many mixed-status family members (or a household where at least one undocumented person lives with another non-undocumented person) (Evans et al., 2019, p. 1284; Booi et al., p. 20). Undocumented families may have no documentation that allows them to offer proof of residency (Booi et al., p. 20). In Illinois

alone, around 230,000 children under the age of 18 live in a mixed-status household (*Immigration Reform*, 2024). Similarly, obtaining immunization records may be difficult for immigrant families, especially if they have not been to a medical professional in years or are currently awaiting an appointment. Undocumented immigrants are not covered under the Affordable Care Act and are the most at risk for lacking healthcare (Ferrera et al., 2015, p. 11).

Refugee students face distinct challenges in accessing immunization records, which can hinder their ability to enroll in schools promptly. According to the Centers for Disease Control and Prevention (CDC), within 90 days of their arrival in the United States, a refugee student must undergo a health and immunization examination (CDC, 2024). This requirement delays their ability to get much-needed medical documentation for school enrollment.

Furthermore, unaccompanied immigrant children (UIC) under the age of 18 do not have a proper guardian or adult to help them with school enrollment. Many schools across the US are reluctant to accommodate such students. According to Vidal de Haymes (2018), "in at least 35 districts in 14 states, local schools and school districts bar and/or delay unaccompanied children's enrollment" (p. 79). In CPS, schools are also less likely to direct older UICs to proper educational programs, often leaving many needing legal aid assistance. According to a manager of an Office of Refugee Resettlement (ORR) funded post-release program, "the challenge there is for some of the older kids. It's hard to get some school to accept those children and we have to remind them ... that the law says they are eligible and they can enroll there" (qtd. in Vidal de Haymes, 2018, p. 85).

For immigrant students experiencing homelessness, Chicago Public Schools partners with the Department of Family and Support Systems. This partnership is meant to enable the transition of such students into CPS schools by identifying them directly in such locations as police stations or migrant shelters (Shukla, 2024). Enrollment teams communicate with shelters directly, "either by going

to them or bringing families to the central enrollment center” (Shukla, 2024). The provision of the McKinney-Vento Homeless Assistance Act ensures that students in temporary accommodations have the right to “continue [their] education in the school of origin for the duration of homelessness” (US Congress, 2014, par. 3a) and further requires school districts to provide transportation for such students (par. 4a). For example, the city can give Chicago Transit Authority (CTA) cards to use for access to public transportation. These are especially useful in the face of current bus shortages for CPS (Amin, 2024). Amin (2024) notes that several immigrant students experiencing homelessness are unaware of their rights and the resources available to them, like what happened to Edgar. Edgar, notes Amin, is moving out from a shelter into an apartment located in Chicago’s South Side. His eight-year-old daughter is going to Ogden Elementary in Chicago’s Gold Coast neighborhood located in the city’s North Side. Yet, when Edgar informed the school personnel about his move, they “offered to find a school close to his new home—but they didn’t mention that he could apply for bus service” (Amin, 2024). School stability is important to have, especially under circumstances of housing instability or immigration.

Implications

Addressing the barriers to enrollment for immigrant students is indeed a complex issue requiring a multifaceted approach. Different groups of immigrant students, such as refugees, undocumented immigrants, and those in temporary living situations, face distinct challenges that are unlikely to be solved using a single, unidimensional policy. Therefore, Chicago Public Schools (CPS) and other educational institutions should consider alternative, comprehensive, and case specific strategies to support the variety of students that make up the newly arrived immigrant populace. Among these is the urgent need for school staff and personnel to increase efforts to communicate clearly and in a timely fashion with families and youth about their rights, resources, and alternatives. As per their mission and values, CPS must “earn their trust by communicating openly and consistently” (*Our Vision*, 2022, p. 1).

Bilingual Services and Education

History of Bilingual Education

Since the 1990s, there has been an ever-growing push for English-only school policies. These policies target bilingual programs and schools in hopes of helping English language learners (ELLs). This is achieved by promoting English immersion programs and English-only classrooms (Sánchez, 2014, p. 364). While the intention seems beneficial in that it seeks to help immigrant students become more fluent in the English language, the English-Only movement and restrictive language policies are not without some serious shortcomings. This movement emerged as a reactionary backlash to the 1968 Bilingual Education Act, leading to a wave of state policies that sought to dismantle bilingual education, like in California with Proposition 227 in 1998, which mandated that California schools teach English learners only in English using English immersion programs (Sánchez, 2014, p. 364). Arizona followed suit in 2000, with the passing of Proposition 203, which required that all schools instruct students in English-only classrooms, and teachers use Structured English Immersion (SEI) programs to teach ELLs (Combs et al., 2005, p. 702). As Sánchez (2014) writes, SEI programs are “a restrictive English immersion program that negates the benefits of students’ first languages and cultures” (p. 364).

These policies, however, can be harmful in a multitude of ways. Some SEI programs may restrict translation services for families and parents, ultimately reducing the number of translation services available for students and families who may need them. The responsibility of translation falls on the immigrant student, who must serve as the family translator in adult meetings. Other SEI and English-only classrooms may outright punish students for speaking in their native language (Sánchez, 2014, p. 365). This punitive approach fails to create an environment where students’ native languages are validated and appreciated, potentially leading to a sense of alienation and undervaluation of their cultural identity. For example, Arizona’s proposition 203 created extreme

negative educational and socioemotional consequences. In 2017, 75% of Arizona's students graduated, but only 18% of the state's ELL students graduated, giving Arizona "one of the lowest graduation rates for English learners in the country" (Kaveh et al., 2022, p. 117). Instruction in a language that students do not understand can be traumatic. In a study by Combs et al. (2005), 13 out of 18 school personnel "described or referred to children who cried or were traumatized by being instructed exclusively in a language they did not understand" (p. 710). Needless to say, the impact of Proposition 203 in Arizona and the implementation of English-only SEI programs was extremely detrimental to ELL immigrant students.

Bilingual Programs in CPS

In response to the mass migration of migrants via Texas bussing, Illinois created the Asylum Seeker Emergency Rental Assistance Program (*Illinois Housing Development Authority [IHDA], 2023*). It helped cover three months of rent for newly arrived immigrants who are seeking refuge. Nearly 60% of these families are relocating to low-income (and often predominantly Black) Chicago neighborhoods like South Shore (Amin & Bloom, 2024). With this migration pattern, families seeking to enroll their children in nearby Chicago public schools will likely find themselves in segregated schools that have historically suffered from lack of funding and resources (Amin & Bloom, 2024). The most noteworthy example of this lack of resources may be seen in the bilingual services and programs of CPS schools.

The state of Illinois does have a good number of bilingual resources for ELL students. According to Chicago Public Schools (2024), enrolling students complete a Home Language Survey (HLS) to determine if the student should be screened to enroll into an English learners' program. The test asks two questions: "Is a language other than English spoken in your home?" and "Does your student speak a language other than English?" (*English Learners Program, 2024*). Students who answer yes to at least one of these questions are then identified as needing EL assistance and undergo screening for their

English language proficiency based on their age and grade level. Depending on the school, students may be placed in one of two programs: Transitional Program of Instruction (TPI) or a Transitional Bilingual Education Program (TBE).

TPI programs serve schools with 19 or fewer students who share the same home language. Schools can still implement these programs in places with a higher number of total ELs but only if there are not enough students sharing the same home language (English Learners Program, 2024). TPI programs focus solely on teaching in English, with accommodations and modifications for a student's personal proficiency. TBE programs on the other hand, operate in schools with 20 or more students who share the same home language. These programs teach in both English and the student's native language while also building their English proficiency (English Learners Program, 2024). The idea is to allow English language learner students to become proficient in English without pushing out their proficiency in their heritage language.

However, state audits have often found that these bilingual instruction programs fail to meet state standards. English language learners may lack the support needed for their growth and development: "In 2016, for example, 71 percent of schools audited did not provide the level of EL services mandated by state law" (de la Torre et al., 2019, p. 11). Schools often fall short of these requirements, such as providing bilingual instruction in all core subjects or employing certified teachers (Amin & Bloom, 2024). Chicago's public schools face extreme shortages of bilingual staff, especially for the less commonly spoken languages. The most popular languages spoken by students are Spanish (75.52%), Polish (2.32%), and Urdu (1.68%) (Illinois State Board, 2023, p. 42). Vidal de Haymes et al. (2018) refer to this issue as the "pipeline challenge" (p. 82). This creates a large issue for ELL students who may not have access to a translator. A CPS administrator states: "I was at a high school recently that had a large number of Syrian refugees and the only person who spoke Arabic in the school was a

Syrian student, but no teachers in the entire school spoke Arabic” (qtd. in Vidal de Haymes et al., 2018, p. 82). These limitations have become especially prominent with the recent influx of newcomer immigrant students. With the increasing demand, it is clear that resources and funding are stretched to their limits, and the City of Chicago is struggling to keep up with this new demographic shift (Shulka, 2024).

Implications

The promotion of bilingual pedagogy, translanguaging, and other multicultural education policies are immensely important to support immigrant students’ needs in education. A translanguaging space, where multilingual students use their personal histories and cultures within the classroom, represents a good step (Liu, 2022). Historically, education policies surrounding teaching young immigrant students have aimed to “Americanize” them, suppressing and eradicating their native culture and tongue as much as possible (Liu, 2022, p. 42). Instead, education policies will be more effective if they acknowledged, celebrated, and integrated the diversity and benefits of multilingual instruction. Studies demonstrate the importance of maintaining heritage language for immigrant youth. According to Alshihry (2024), for example, “adolescent immigrants who are fluent in their heritage language tend to have a stronger sense of ethnic identification,” and those who are not or struggle to maintain their native tongue with the dominant language have challenges with their identity (p. 501). When such groups maintain fluency, they are able to maintain their own cultural traditions while integrating into the host country. Keeping their heritage language proficiency is shown to improve “communication, friendship building, and participation in school and communal life” (p. 501). The current funding and resource allocations for important programs like bilingual education lag the number of newcomers entering Chicago and, in turn, greatly impact these groups of students.

Conclusion

Ultimately, Chicago Public Schools are facing hard challenges and important opportunities to work with the rapidly growing population of immigrant students coming to the city. With their individual immigration statuses and circumstances, many face unique challenges to enrollment, language proficiency, and well-being. While CPS does hold a fair share of resources and programs for immigrant students like Transitional Program of Instruction (TPI) and the Transitional Bilingual Education Program (TBE), many programs remain poorly staffed and funded.

As Chicago continues to present itself as a destination for immigrant families, its public schools need to hold similar values and act upon them. More clear communication with immigrant students and their families about their rights and available resources is needed. Moreover, there is a need to promote multicultural spaces inside the classroom, put more effort in placing bilingual staff and school personnel in schools, as well as enforce bilingual education standards for CPS schools. Addressing these needs will help ensure that newcomer immigrant students have the tools and support to thrive and succeed in CPS classrooms.

With these goals, I hope that public schools can become more welcoming, accommodating, and supporting to an array of diverse students. I look forward to being a part of efforts to implement education policies and legislations that are a) culturally informed and acknowledge the range of students and their unique experiences, obstacles, and perspectives, and b) use the information about this diversity to support each such student through their educational journey.

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Lucy Rohlman | *Recalled I* | Oil paint

Failing Young Menstruators: The Need for Comprehensive Menstrual Education*

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Menstruation exists as one of the defining moments of adolescence. It is a concept that is whispered in girls' bathrooms and wrapped in toilet paper, teased by young boys and ignored by adult men, feared by young girls and praised by pregnancy-fearing individuals. In countries with more extreme taboos, menstruation keeps young girls out of school, out of their homes, and alienates them from their typical daily lives. Yet, the typical adolescent knows little about menstruation. This is due to a fundamental lack of development of comprehensive menstrual education globally. Current menstrual education is inadequate preparation, forcing adolescents to turn to inaccurate outside sources to gain information about their bodies, leading them to further harm.

A lack of complex information harms young menstruators and teaches them misconceptions about their bodies and hygiene that will be carried into adulthood. This harm becomes exacerbated when experienced by adolescents who have yet to hit menarche, as they are facing menstruation unprepared and can fall prey to the stigmas that surround menstruation. To end the cycle of misinformation that ravages menstruating children around the world, we must create universal and enforceable menstrual health standards and provide a comprehensive education to students as early as 4th grade. Furthermore, by allocating resources to ensure a comprehensive and intersectional curriculum for all, we begin to alleviate the effects of period poverty that are compounded by poor menstrual education and

lift tension from the relationship of school and family responsibility in delivering health education.

Data, Methods, & Research Design

This research paper aims to identify the relationship between current menstrual education being offered and the outcomes on young menstruators. The ramifications of current menstrual education are evidence of the need to create universal and enforceable menstrual education standards. These standards will ensure that students receive much needed menstrual education. To assess the impact of incomprehensive menstrual education, data used includes public opinion on menstruation from youth and studies on public health. Furthermore, to understand the purview of the impact of poor menstrual education globally, I compare data of young menstruators in the United States to data of menstruating girls in India. I chose India due to my personal heritage and family history, as well as the multigenerational evidence of poor menstrual education affecting the women in my family. Both my grandmother and mother had negative experiences with their periods in India due to a lack of proper education and the scarcity of safe spaces to discuss menstruation. My little sister and I, separated by seven years of education, both had a minimal menstrual education that left us with negative experiences. The ramifications of poor menstrual education spans generations and continents, which points to a global issue that affects all menstruating youth. In addition, there is complex data about adolescent girls from the Maharashtra district as well as other districts that accurately portray public opinions on menstruation in India and the social taboos that surround it. Presenting a spectrum of menstrual experiences allows for an

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intersectional perspective which, defined within this context, promotes a framework that understands how unique social and political identities result in varying degrees of discrimination. Intersectional education standards that recognize intercultural experiences allow for the development of a comprehensive menstrual education that has room to be adjusted based on what the student needs.

Current Sources of Menstrual Information

Puberty education exists under the umbrella of health developmental education for children. What should be a helpful stepping stone to the rest of adolescence is instead a weak attempt at an education that reinforces stigmas and misleads menstruators. A comprehensive puberty education would help adolescents understand what changes they will experience and in tandem foster positive attitudes and healthy practices. Studies show that menstruating children turn to three main sources to learn about their bodies: 1) identified sources for global puberty information included within sexual or health education; 2) stand-alone puberty intervention programs; and 3) outside resources such as websites, friends and parents or trusted guardians.¹ Many schools offer “puberty education,” which describes puberty and is typically offered in gender-separated spaces. This paper will focus solely on menstrual education as a subset of puberty education. Though the development of puberty programs is needed, focusing on menstrual education in the context of menstrual equity allows for the alleviation of period poverty for menstruating students.

Puberty education is often delivered in schools alongside sexual or health education, instead of being taught as a solo subject. This becomes problematic because menstruation alone requires a full in-depth education, so relegating puberty education as a facet of a different subject diminishes the value of it as a stand-alone topic.

1 Lisa J. Crockett, Julianna Deardorff, Megan Johnson, Charles Irwin, and Anne C. Petersen, “Puberty Education in a Global Context: Knowledge Gaps, Opportunities, and Implications for Policy,” *Journal of Research on Adolescence* 29, no. 1 (March 2019): 177.

Currently, the amount of time spent on menstrual education and the age at which such education is typically delivered falls short of being effective for pre-menarche adolescents. Statistics show that the average amount of time spent on menstrual education in the United States “was 3.1 hr in elementary schools, 6 hr in middle schools, and 8.1 hr in high schools.”² The structure of these classes are not comprehensive enough for young menstruators to leave feeling prepared and unafraid of menarche. When surveyed, menstruating students reported receiving gender-segregated lessons on menstruation that were taught by a teacher or a school nurse.³ Boys being separated from girls for menstrual education increases the social stigma surrounding menstruation and teaches young menstruators that their periods are something they cannot openly share. Furthermore, the girls “recalled these talks being focused primarily on anatomy and physiology with little attention to managing menstruation and variation in experiences of menstruation.”⁴ The lack of detail on menstrual management leaves adolescents fragile and open to harmful cultural influences. Studies have cited that the lack of regulation of puberty education, as well as frequent turnover of school staff, as a primary driver in the inconsistent delivery of menstrual education in schools.⁵

Though sexual and health education is a key source for children to demystify menstruating, research has indicated that this pathway to learning is undermined by tensions about the role of school responsibility versus family authority. School faculty have shared that parents relied too heavily on the education system to provide a menstrual education and argued instead that it

2 Crockett et al., 178.

3 Molly Secor-Turner, Andrea Huseth-Zosel, Rachel Ostlund, “Menstruation Experiences of Middle and High School Students in the Midwest: A Pilot Study,” *The Journal of School Nursing* 38, no. 6 (December): 506, <https://doi.org/10.1177/1059840520974234>.

4 Secor-Turner et al., 506.

5 Margaret L. Schmitt, Caitlin Gruer, Christin Hagstrom, Nana Ekua Adenu-Mensah, Azure Nowara, Katie Keely, and Marni Sommer, “It always gets pushed aside: Qualitative perspectives on puberty and menstruation education in U.S.A. schools,” *Frontiers in reproductive health* no. 4 (2022): 6, <https://doi.org/10.3389/frph.2022.1018217>.

would be helpful (and preferable) to have more of those conversations occurring at home.⁶ This points to a gap in adolescents not getting educated because schools rely on parents to deliver the education while the family wants to rely on the school system to do so. This cycle of misinformation forces the young menstruator to seek unreliable sources for education because they cannot rely on the school system or their family to answer their questions.

Studies have shown that when in-school menstrual education fails, girls turn to their parents as a resource. However, not every young menstruator has access to a motherly resource, which forces some young girls to turn to outside information. Researchers have found that mothers in families with higher socioeconomic statuses have the ability and resources to prepare girls for menarche, compared to parents with less money. This inequality has long-term ramifications, as mothers who can be depended on for menstrual education are able to avoid imparting misogyny that is associated with menarche.⁷ If mothers are not available, fathers are a second option, but men are not taught about menstruation due to the existence of gender separated puberty classes. Even when a trusting father-daughter relationship exists, researchers found that girls did not feel comfortable going to their fathers for advice on menstruation.⁸ Moreover, nontraditional households that do not fit the nuclear family model do not have the capacity to hold space for menstrual education. Parents that cannot teach their children about menstruation due to outside factors shift the burden of education to the school system.

In addition to the primary constraints of parental ability and parent-child comfort levels, culture can affect both the capacity for and the quality of such education to be delivered. Leaving the topic of menstrual education open to parents invites the possibility of misinterpretation from families that can negatively affect menstruating children. Cultural biases can influence parenting, and anything less than celebration and support reinforces the negative stereotypes adolescents are already battling with when they get their first period. In the United States, this culture permeates the classroom, friends, parents, and social media. It is reflected in the gender-separated puberty classes which teach girls to remain secretive about their periods. Even the hesitance to speak about menstruation with fathers suggests the stigma around menstruation that cannot be discussed with others unless it is a confirmed safe space. This is not to say that families should remain uninvolved with the process of menarche; instead they should be involved in tandem with unbiased comprehensive menstrual education that is delivered prior to menarche.

When students cannot turn to school or their parents, they turn to the internet as a third source. Studies have found that in the United States, 84% of menstruating children have used the internet to find menstrual related health information.⁹ Though the internet may have reliable sources, there is no assurance that children will use credible sites. These adolescents have found information that has changed their behavior, suggesting a need for accessible menstrual education for questioning students. To ensure students receive unbiased and comprehensive menstrual education, it must be offered within schools to all.

This stigma surrounding menstruation and the ramifications on education pales in comparison to countries with more extreme beliefs, such as India. The myths in India stem from ancient Hindu scriptures that compare menstruation with the act of killing demons, which creates the belief that menstruating women must

6 Schmitt et al., 4.

7 Janet Lee, "A Kotex and a Smile': Mothers and Daughters at Menarche," *Journal of Family Issues* 29, no. 10: 1341, <https://doi.org/10.1177/0192513X08316117>.

8 Melanie Kalman, "Taking a Different Path: Menstrual Preparation for Adolescent Girls Living Apart from Their Mothers," *Health Care for Women International* 24, no. 10 (2003): 17, <https://doi.org/10.1080/07399330390244275>.

9 Crockett, 177-195.

be purified before returning to their families because the process is seen as impure and even evil.¹⁰ Young girls are ignorant of the scientific process of menstruation and lack the knowledge of proper health practices because they are not taught in school due to the permeation of cultural stigmas. The Center for Social Research conducted a study in 1990 that remains relevant in India, reporting that when girls were menstruating, they were “not allowed to take bath, change clothes, comb hair and enter holy places.”¹¹ These social prohibitions reduce the likelihood of girls receiving the necessary information pre-menarche. The likelihood continues to decrease the more rural the community is, as they are further entrenched within small cultural traditions with little outside interference of new ideas and breaking norms. Fully 41% of surveyed rural respondents “were not aware about menstruation prior to getting their periods... Only 16 respondents out of the total 686 students had received information at school... Most had got the information from their friends and mothers.”¹² With only 2% of menstruating students getting education in school, the chance of a child learning misinformation from unreliable sources increases. Misinformation, such as the idea that menstruation is impure and a curse to women, is typically passed from mothers and other female relatives who learned the same. This continues a cycle of misinformation that teaches menstruators to hide their cycle because it is shameful. The possibility of learning proper hygienic and physiological information about periods rapidly decreases in India when connected to the extreme social restrictions that come with the subject.

As exhibited through the data pulled for each country, there is clear evidence that menstrual education is an area that requires further development to prepare young individuals for menarche. In the United States, there

are social taboos that limit the scope of conversations regarding menstruation in schools and public. Menstruating adolescents in the U.S. feel uncomfortable telling their teacher about menstrual problems or asking any other adults questions about hygiene practices if their parents cannot fulfill that role. There may be limited access to hygiene products depending on the child’s family socioeconomic level and oftentimes there are not free menstrual products in school bathrooms. Yet, menstrual education is offered in American schools, though it is not comprehensive. This middle ground is achieved because though there are social taboos surrounding periods, it is not extreme or pervasive to the point of India.

Unlike in America, the social taboos surrounding menstruation restrict the lives of young menstruators in an extreme manner. Young women cannot move freely while menstruating and are subject to repercussions should they discuss menstruation openly. The possibility of delivering a complex menstrual education to these girls becomes harder in this environment, and therefore must be highly prioritized. The influence of a negative culture continues to permeate menstruating girls in India, skewing their idea of what menstruation is and how to properly manage it. Thus, these girls have limited access to quality menstrual education. School and families are unreliable, and broader cultural attitudes can add varying levels of harm to this dim picture. Unfortunately, the story gets even worse when we turn from access to quality—and related ramifications of this characteristic.

The Quality and Ramifications of Current Menstrual Education

Being unprepared for the onset of menstruation negatively affects young girls as they continue to grow older. These ramifications only worsen for girls going through early menarche, which continues to get younger every generation. Elementary schools currently only spend as little as 3.1 hours on menstrual education, which suggests that schools do not spend enough time teaching children about the process prior to them experiencing

10 Suneela Garg and Tanu Anand, “Menstruation related myths in India: strategies for combating it,” *Journal of family medicine and primary care* 4, no. 2 (April–June 2015): 184–6, doi:10.4103/2249-4863.154627.

11 Mahadeo Shinde and Jyotsna Bhudhagaonkar, “Impact of Structured Education Regarding Menstrual Hygiene Practices among Adolescent Girls,” *International Journal of Science and Research* 3, (2014): 244.

12 Mahadeo and Bhudhagaonkar, 245.

it.¹³ Therefore, the usefulness of the information degrades, and the possibility of alleviating stress related to menarche decreases. When early maturing children do not receive education before they hit menarche, they are at higher risk for “poorer body image, depression, and engaging in risk-taking behaviors such as substance use and the early initiation of sexual activity.”¹⁴ The negative effects of delayed menstrual education points to a need for schools to offer comprehensive menstrual education in younger grades to ensure all menstruators learn what menstruation is before they experience it. Doing so increases the likelihood of girls viewing menstruation in a positive light and avoiding the pitfalls of social stigmas.

Current menstrual education is not comprehensive enough to negate the pain that comes with menstruation. Menstrual disorders are common among young girls, and the lack of information about said disorders can lead to children living in pain and being ignorant about menstrual pain management. One of the menstrual disorders, known as dysmenorrhea, affects “more than two-thirds of young women... regardless of geographical location” and economic status.¹⁵ Dysmenorrhea is defined as menstrual pain and typically starts within the first three years of menarche, affecting many lives. Studies have shown that among adolescents, dysmenorrhea “causes educational absences, as well as reducing young women’s capacities to concentrate, participate, and apply test-taking skills, thereby adversely impacting on overall grades.”¹⁶ Due to incompetent education, menstruators believe that period pain is normal and therefore are less likely to report their pain, avoiding the possibility of pain management. This can be combated in the classroom, yet teachers are often not comfortable or educated enough to teach on menstruation; therefore

increasing the likelihood that dysmenorrhea will be “omitted from classrooms, disadvantaging the young women who experience the condition and reinforcing its invisibility in learning contexts.”¹⁷ Schools have the responsibility of guaranteeing menstrual education covers pain management and disorders to cover the swath of experiences that students will face.

When menstrual education in schools is not enough, or not offered, some young people turn to their parents/guardians when they experience menarche, as noted above. However, for some children, parents can be a barrier to menstrual education as well. In America, parents have the choice to opt their children out of sexual education classes, which has resulted in a decline in young students receiving education about puberty development.¹⁸ When parents’ personal attitudes permeate how they approach menarche, it can reflect onto the child and make them think similarly. The effects of cultural bias from parents in the United States become evident in a survey of adolescents who believed that using tampons would cause young girls to lose their virginity.¹⁹ Information such as this is an effect of parents being uncomfortable with the maturing of young women and therefore expressing ideas that negatively affect menstrual hygienic practices. Schools are caught between their need to respect the beliefs of parents, while simultaneously delivering unbiased and comprehensive menstrual education—but the research is clear: Young girls need to receive this information in a timely manner. When students cannot turn to their families, and there is no certainty that fellow classmates will give accurate information, the burden of the education falls onto the school system.

These problems become exacerbated when coupled with extreme social taboos that date back to ancient times in countries such as India. The lack of menstrual education within the country causes extreme unhygienic practices surrounding menstruation, such as using cloths compared

13 Crockett et al., 177–195.

14 Schmitt, Margaret L et al., 2.

15 Mike Armour, Kelly Parry, Narendar Manohar, Kathryn Holmes, Tania Ferfolja, Christina Curry, Freya MacMillan, and Caroline A. Smith, “The Prevalence and Academic Impact of Dysmenorrhea in 21,573 Young Women: A Systematic Review and Meta-Analysis,” *Journal of Women’s Health* 28, no 8 (Aug 2019): 1167, <http://doi.org/10.1089/jwh.2018.7615>.

16 Armour et al., 1162.

17 Armour et al., 1168.

18 Schmitt et al.

19 Schmitt et al.

to sanitary products during their period, increasing the risk of genital tract infections. Authors Bhudagaonkar and Shine point to research that captures the disparity menstruators face in India: “41% of respondents were not psychologically prepared for menstruation. Around 89% of women used cloth as an absorbent; 53% of them used the same cloth for two months. Around 14% of women said they suffered from urinary tract infections.”²⁰ The common use of unhygienic practices is the result of a lack of structured information regarding puberty and became common in India due to environmental and cultural factors. These ideas will continue to persist as long as menstruation remains shrouded in stigma. My grandmother and mother, growing up in India in the 90s and earlier, used cloth pads on their periods and reused them every month due to financial burdens. Because they were not taught how to in school, my mother and grandmother turned to their respective mothers for information on menstrual management. Luckily, my mother and grandmother were able to manage their cycles with the information they received, but that cannot be said for every menstruator who lives under the extreme restrictions surrounding menstruation in India. In addition, because the flow of menstrual information is typically kept within the family, it decreases the likelihood of reducing the public stigma surrounding menstruation or learning about it in school.

The lack of proper education impacts more than developing bodies; it affects emotional states, mentalities and lifestyles: “Large numbers of girls in many less economically developed countries drop out of school when they begin menstruating. This includes over 23% of girls in India.”²¹ When children are forced to miss school due to a natural biological process, they fall behind from their classmates, which reinforces the idea that their menstrual cycle is a burden. The state of menstrual education in India is almost nonexistent; instead, what exists is a beast of false news that permeates the minds of young menstruators.

20 Shinde and Bhudhagaonkar, 245.

21 Gard and Anand, 185.

Comprehensive Menstrual Health Education Put into Practice

As evident through the data, insufficient menstrual education harms young girls at menarche, leading them into unhygienic practices and negative attitudes about the biological process—and even harms their academic progress. Therefore, significant resources need to be allocated to menstrual education curriculum to start reversing this trend. In America, Washington D.C. became the first district to pass a law that enforced standards for menstrual education. These standards followed legislation the D.C. Council passed in 2022 that ensured students had “the information, support, and enabling-school environment to manage menstruation with dignity, safety and comfort,” and required schools to put free sanitary products in the bathrooms.²² Creating universal standards for menstrual education is the first step in reforming current insufficient education for students globally—not just in the United States and India. However, because D.C. is the first in the country to do so, legislators left the defining of the standards to the Office of the State Superintendent of Education (OSSE) to allow them to research and implement said standards in D.C. public and charter schools. The OSSE works for the District of Columbia and labors to raise the quality of education for all D.C. students. Deferring who creates the standards for menstrual education to trained health experts ensures that the created curriculums will incorporate the necessary information under the umbrella of puberty education.

The D.C. legislation § 38–531.03. Education on Menstruation provides standards other states in the U.S., as well as other countries around the world, can adopt. Creating a legal enforcement mechanism that ensures that government-provided education follows proper menstrual standards is the first step towards delivering a comprehensive menstrual education. To begin, menstrual education is required to be delivered to all children regardless of their gender. This is important

22 Council of the District of Columbia, “§ 38–531.03. Education on Menstruation.” *D.C. Law Library*, 2022, code.dccouncil.gov/us/dc/council/code/sections/38-531.03.

because the first place a menstruating child encounters the social stigma about periods is when they encounter the topic of menstruation in school. When students are separated by gender to discuss what changes their body will go through, it adds a veil of unneeded secrecy to the natural biological process of menstruation. Secrecy easily turns into shame when accompanied by the belief that menstruation is impure, which is why girls are taught to hide it. Reversing this mindset through teaching methods reduces the stigma surrounding menstruation and breaks it down to the biological process that menstruation is to every child, regardless of whether they will menstruate or not.

In addition, delivering menstrual education as a stand-alone curriculum instead of a segment of sexual education helps “assuage parental discomfort, reduce the number of parents who opt their children out of these lessons, and allow schools to provide this information to younger adolescents before the onset of puberty without facing parental backlash.”²³ This decreases the percentage of young menstruators that do not receive menstrual teaching because their parents have opted them out of sexual education—an option that is prevalent in two thirds of the United States.²⁴ Associating menstruation only within the scope of reproductive development forces young people into thinking about menstruation purely within the field of sexual health, instead of as the complex biological process that will affect them for the rest of their lives.

The D.C. legislation stipulates that the standards must include “information on the menstrual cycle, premenstrual syndrome and pain management, menstrual hygiene management, menstrual disorders, menstrual irregularities, menopause, and other relevant topics relating to the menstrual cycle.”²⁵ These topics highlight all the important aspects of menstruation that need to be covered to prepare menstruating children for menarche

and beyond. Though the law delegated that the OSSE could determine the specific contents of menstrual education, setting up an enforcement mechanism to ensure the important topics are covered builds another level of protection for young menstruators.

The curriculum that the D.C. State Board of Education created includes more than two dozen standards that are spread across grade levels. Current menstrual education centers basic hygiene in the context of pregnancy, which limits the productiveness of the teaching. The D.C. State Board of Education created their standards with this perspective, starting the education in the upper elementary years. In grades 3–5, “students will gain an understanding of the menstruation cycle, the physical emotional changes that can come with a person’s period and how to maintain personal hygiene.”²⁶ This is a vital point to developing a comprehensive menstrual education, considering how much research has shown the importance of educating adolescents before menarche. Preparing adolescents globally helps them develop more positive attitudes towards menstruation and allows them to gain resources and knowledge to manage menstruation moving forward. In addition, it decreases the risk for uneducated children indulging in harmful behavior, because they have gained a positive self-image through education. Teaching grades 3–5 about the scientific breakdown of the menstrual cycle, as well as how their bodies change and how to deal with it, is valuable information for students who face the unknowns of menarche.

By eighth grade, menstruators in D.C. schools will be taught about irregularities and menstrual disorders in the menstrual cycle, how to use different period products, and how to track a menstrual cycle. Ensuring that students are taught about menstrual pain management will alleviate the costs of missing school due to pain and the risk of

23 Schmitt et al., 8.

24 Schmitt et al.

25 Council of the District of Columbia, “§ 38–531.03.”

26 Lauren Lumpkin, “D.C. Kids Will Get New Menstrual Health Education next Year, a First in the Country,” *The Washington Post*, June 21, 2023, <https://www.washingtonpost.com/education/2023/06/21/dc-schools-menstrual-health-standards-curriculum>.

falling behind the rest of the class. Furthermore, spending time on the variation of menstrual products to use is valuable for adolescents, because research has shown that adolescents feel like their current menstrual education focused too much on the scientific process instead of how to manage their period.²⁷ Developing menstrual education allows for all menstruators to be represented, regardless of experience.

Finally, by high school, D.C. school students will learn about how contraception affects menstruation and when to discuss concerns with a gynecologist. In addition, the curriculum will cover period poverty and how communities are supporting menstruators.²⁸ Spanning menstrual education across different ages ensures that youth are gaining a complex understanding of what menstruation is and how it will affect their bodies as they grow up. Moreover, it is important to teach students how various communities treat their menstruating population because it allows teachers to have an intersectional perspective when delivering relevant education. Drawing from the comparative case study of the United States and India, extreme taboos can further restrict the development and delivery of menstrual education to adolescents. This becomes relevant when put into the context of teachers having to deal with the stigma around menstruation within the classroom. Not only do female teachers have to deal with the personal consequences of no menstrual accommodations, but they must balance this while also trying to deliver a comprehensive menstrual education. Teachers have reported “themselves sick, or go home after lessons as fast as possible and do not have enough time to give extra attention to children who need it.”²⁹ Ensuring menstrual education standards will also set a precedent in the education system that menstrual management is highly valued and will hopefully create accommodations for all students, not just the ones who haven’t hit menarche yet. Furthermore, some teachers hesitate when delivering the education because they do

not feel qualified enough or due to the tension between school and family responsibility. These “findings highlight the need for instructors to be reflective about their own experiences with menstruation, especially when considering teacher education models. A 2022 survey of 789 teachers in the United Kingdom found that 80 percent of teachers felt that training would benefit their menstrual education instruction practices.”³⁰ The method of delivery of menstrual education to young students is equally as important as the content of the education. Teachers need to be trained on all topics of menstrual education and how to deliver them to students to properly impact the students who need the education.

Current global menstrual education is typically delivered in a “passive intervention” method, which is presented in the format of lectures, with little room for questions. When education is delivered in this manner, young menstruators expressed confusion but did not feel comfortable asking questions. A study in Sweden aimed towards improving attitudes about menstruation yielded positive results when using an “active intervention” approach. This looked like “open ended discussion of girls’ thoughts and questions about the transition from girl to woman and included discussion of the menstrual cycle, activities during menstruation, and female external genitalia; it also incorporated concrete teaching aids such as a model of the uterus and various kinds of tampons and sanitary pads.”³¹ Menstruating adolescents who were given the standard passive intervention tactics attitudes towards periods worsened, while those in the active intervention group showed improvement. Therefore, the method of delivery of menstrual education is equally as important as the content of menstrual education.

The D.C. legislation and standards the OSSE created for menstrual education are guidelines that can be implemented globally. Universal standards for education as well as a legal enforcement mechanism will help young menstruators receive the education they need, and this

27 Secor-Turner et al., 504–510.

28 Lumpkin, “D.C. Kids.”

29 Shinde and Bhudhagaonkar, 246.

30 Schmitt et al., 9.

31 Crockett et al., 180.

has already been attempted in India: “The Gender Hygiene Programme that launched three years ago is attempting to change this attitude towards menstrual hygiene,” but faced hiccups due to nonprofit organizations pulling out as well as some issues with quality control.³² The program was created to help people with menstrual hygiene management in India but did little to establish menstrual education standards. Because such programs for education are still in the development phase, it is important to approach menstrual education with a multi-sectoral approach as there is a “need to link physical infrastructure and water and sanitation projects to health education and reproductive health programs and address the issue in more holistic ways.”³³ Addressing menstrual education in an intersectional perspective will ensure all menstruators will be accounted for when they are taught about their own biology, especially in the context of the social taboos and restrictions. Furthermore, linking physical infrastructure that aids menstruators with menstrual products and management will make it easier for students to remain in school and receive the menstrual education they need.

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Creating enforceable and universal menstrual education standards will help aid in the development of global comprehensive menstrual education. Countries are slowly taking steps towards better menstrual health management, such as providing menstrual products and allowing for menstrual leave, yet menstrual education remains on the backburner. Current menstrual education globally harms young menstruators and does not properly prepare adolescents for menarche, leaving them in the dark on what is happening to their bodies. When children do not understand what is happening and are not given the resources to understand how to manage it, it affects their daily lives by causing them to miss school and fall victim to social taboos. Problems such as these become exacerbated when coupled with extreme restrictions surrounding menstruation, such as in India. This evidence suggests that there is a vital need to properly educate menstruators globally and decrease the harm they are facing. The world is currently failing our youth by not ensuring they are receiving a comprehensive menstrual education, and this can be reversed through the development of education standards that can be legally enforced, guaranteeing no menstruator will be left behind across the globe.

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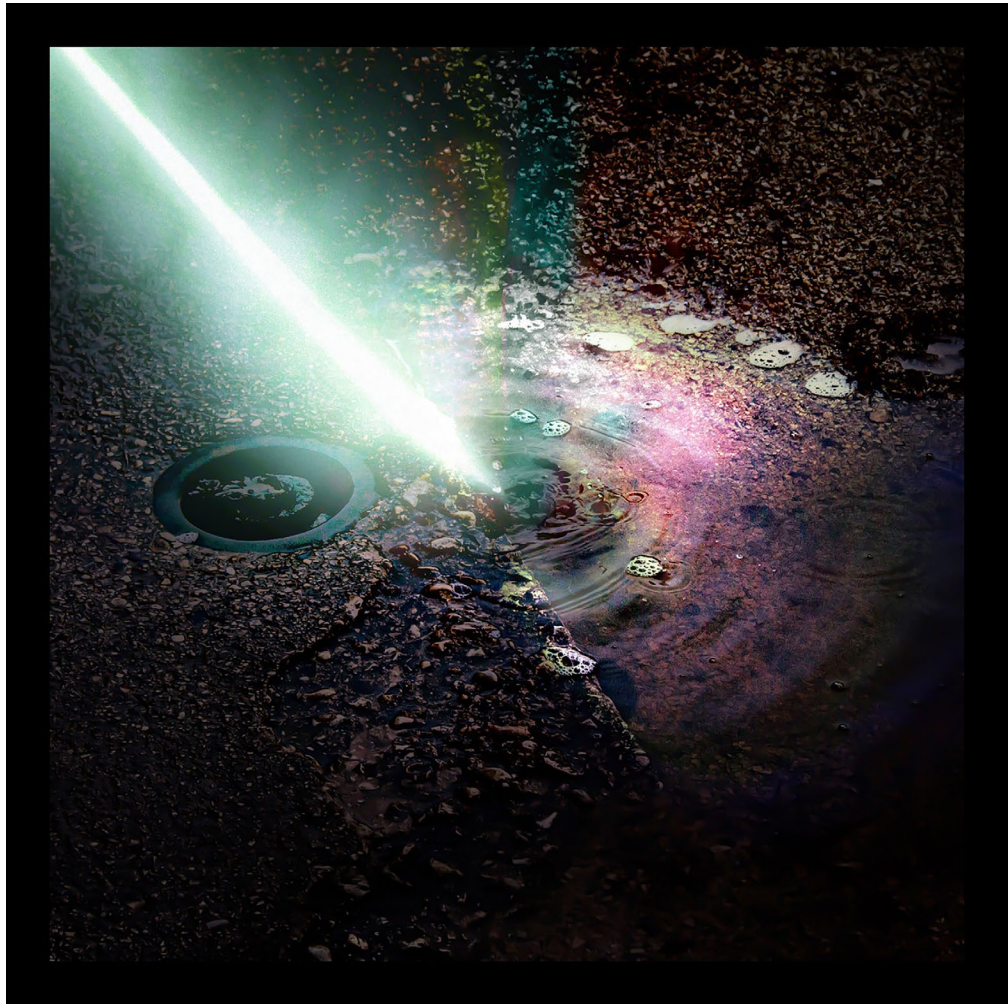
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32 Shinde and Bhudhagaonkar, 244.

33 Garg and Anand, 186.



Sami Shuman | *ripples in reality* | Photography/digital art

Los niños traductores: How the U.S. Healthcare System is Failing Millions of Spanish-Speaking Patients and Their Children*

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ENGLISH ABSTRACT

This piece explores the barriers that patients who only speak Spanish face in the healthcare setting and the lack of Spanish-speaking doctors available to serve them. In many cases, this leads to their children having to translate for them. To express these issues, I have written a short story, which I believe will resonate with many Latino patients and their children, accompanied by an introduction that contextualizes the story by describing the challenges faced under the current system.

Everyone deserves to have an active role in their health, to understand and consent to procedures, and to share pertinent information that could help to arrive at a diagnosis. Above all, everyone deserves to be treated as a person during any interaction, healthcare or otherwise. Sadly, this is not always the case for people in the United States who are not fluent in English, that is, for “Non-English Language Preference (NELP)” patients.¹ These patients are forced to sit as other people speak for them or forced to speak through someone else. This loss of medical autonomy has been especially noted in Latino

communities. Latinas/os² are one of the largest and fastest growing minorities in the U.S. In 2022, they made up 19% of the U.S. population; however, our healthcare system continues to be ill-prepared when it comes to providing language-concordant care (Krogstad et al., 2023; Ortega et al., 2021). Many Latino patients who cannot speak English have a hard time communicating with their doctors and must use a medical interpreter, which is not always available; otherwise, they rely on their children to speak for them. This is not only isolating for

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1 Recent scholarship is now challenging the validity of the more commonly used term “Limited-English Proficiency” (LEP), recommending NELP as a more accurate expression for referring to “individuals who prefer a non-English language with respect to a particular type of service, benefit, or encounter” (Ortega et al., 2022, p. 799).

2 In this work, I am exclusively using the terms “Latino” or “Latina” instead of “Latinx.” This piece is not intended to argue which term is more politically correct; rather, it is to represent a community of people who have gone unheard. I strongly believe that they would want to be represented in traditional ways, which is why I am employing a more traditional language. As I say in this paper, it is an act of respect to speak to people in a way that they understand, and I believe “Latino,” rather than “Latinx,” does that. Speaking as a Latina myself, I recognize that “Latino” has the masculine ending; however, it is the recognized term of the Real Academia Española for groups of both men and women. I am basing this decision not only on my personal beliefs, but also on what I have observed in this community and survey data (Noe-Bustamonte, Mora, & Lopez, 2020). Again, my position is not to diminish anyone’s voice, but rather it is an effort to relate to and reach the population of Latinos who are especially affected by the problem explored in this piece.

patients, but it is also extremely burdensome for their children, sometimes still in grade school, who must take on the huge responsibility of being the only ones in the household who can speak English. In fact, according to the U.S. Census Bureau, 20.5% of Spanish-speaking homes had a limited capacity of English, meaning that no one in the household older than fourteen could communicate effectively in English (U.S. Census Bureau, 2020). The short film *Translators* is a perfect example of children who have to translate and interpret for their parents. The beginning of the film shows young children reading official documents and telling their parents about them. In one scene, teenage Harye introduces herself to a doctor as “their daughter [who] will help them translate” (Valdez, 2023, 01:43). This not only puts extreme pressure on the children as they have to sacrifice their time to accompany their parents, but it is also dangerous, as a miscommunication could have detrimental, and even fatal, results.

Still, this is not a new phenomenon. Spanish-speaking patients have had difficulty communicating with English-speaking doctors for as long as there have been interactions between the two. However, there has been little to no effort to increase the number of doctors who can interact directly with Spanish-speaking patients. While most medical schools currently offer some medical Spanish courses, they are nowhere near as rigorous as they should be in order for doctors to confidently communicate with patients. A study done by Dr. Pilar Ortega and her collaborators surveyed medical Spanish courses taught at 125 participating medical schools. Of those, 98 (78%) offered medical Spanish courses and only 21 (21%) of those 98 met the standards set by the survey. These basic standards included “formal curricular structure, faculty educator, learner assessment, and course credit” (Ortega et al., 2021, p. 2724). Given these rudimentary goals, it is disheartening how few schools actually managed to meet them. It is also concerning that these standards do not include student confidence or retention of material in the future. The Latino population in the U.S. is not getting any smaller. As a consequence, patients or their children

often suffer from a healthcare system inadequately staffed to properly care for them. This must change. It is time that medical schools start putting a greater emphasis on Spanish learning and come to terms with the reality that there is a strong likelihood that new physicians will have a Spanish-speaking patient at some point in their careers.

Si estás leyendo este párrafo, es probable que conozcas a alguien que no pueda entender los párrafos anteriores en inglés. No es algo vergonzoso; no hay un idioma oficial en los Estados Unidos y hay más de 40 millones de hispanohablantes en el país (U.S. Census Bureau, 2020). Lo que sí es vergonzoso es la falta de comunicación en español en los hospitales estadounidenses. La pregunta es, si existen tantos latinos en los EE. UU., ¿no hay suficientes doctores hispanohablantes que puedan atender a estos pacientes? Lamentablemente, no. Un estudio publicado en 2019 demuestra que la población latina solo representa una pequeña fracción (el 5.2 %) de los médicos que ejercen en los EE. UU. Como dice el Dr. César Padilla, “en los últimos 40 años, el número de médicos latinos no ha cambiado” (Flores, 2022). Estos hechos demuestran los fracasos del sistema de salud y de educación médica. Esto no quiere decir que los doctores de otras etnias no tengan el mismo valor que las médicas hispanas y los doctores latinos. Los doctores arriesgan la vida por sus pacientes todos los días. Sin embargo, no se puede (ni se debe) evitar la posibilidad de que un paciente prefiera hablar en su lengua nativa o que quiera incluirla de forma significativa en la consulta médica. Es una señal de respeto y un acto de humanidad hacer posible que los pacientes no tengan que hablar por medio de otra persona. Este papel de intérprete, complejo y de gran responsabilidad, generalmente recae en los hijos. No es ninguna satisfacción para los padres el tener que recibir el apoyo lingüístico de sus hijos menores. Como cuenta una mamá “[ese papel] es ponerle una carga que realmente ell[os] no tienen que [tener]” (Valdez, 2023, 18:18). Esto, junto con la tendencia cultural de que los hijos/as latinos/as se deben mantener cerca de su familia para ayudarles con su vida diaria, puede hacer que los hijos no vean muchas oportunidades para salir adelante

en su propia vida. Si el sistema de salud pudiera mejorar y quitarles a los hijos esta gran responsabilidad, los niños podrían disfrutar más de su niñez y adolescencia. También existe la necesidad de eliminar las barreras que tienen los estudiantes latinos para entrar en el campo de la medicina y la salud. Si hubiera más doctores latinos o hispanohablantes, facilitaría la vida de los pacientes hispanohablantes y la de sus hijos.

Este cuento demuestra los obstáculos que enfrentamos hoy en día.

This story illustrates the challenges that we are facing today.

Translating Life: One Girl's Story of Living in the In-Between Back of the Yards, Chicago IL 2008

“So, Miss Ortiz, I see here that you are a part of Model UN. Is policy something you would like to study in college?” Dr. Childs asks me.

“International policy is definitely something I am interested in. I would say I am between that or biomedical engineering,” I answer, taking note of her Burberry jacket and Chanel earrings that make my Kohl’s sweater and thrifted boots look shabby.

She gives a little laugh. “Quite different, aren’t they?”

I smile in return. “I think both of these fields have a great impact on the global scale, even if they are in different sectors.”

“Well put,” she agrees. “So, you go to Latin, but you live here; that must be quite a commute,” she says, and I don’t miss the slight change in tone when she says *here*.

“It is, but I got a full ride. And I don’t mind the trip.”

“What was it like to grow up in a place with so much history?”

I shrug. “As I’m sure you know, not much remains of the Yards. So, it is a bit sad to think that such a big and prosperous part of the city is reduced to this.”

She takes a sip of her drink. An oat milk latte, no sugar. The *Miranda* printed on the sticker feels too informal. “Does much of your family live here?”

“I live with my mother. Some of her sisters live down the street from us.”

“So, you must have grown up with a lot of cousins too.”

I nod. “I did, but they’ve... moved away.” Omitting the fact that two had actually moved to a penitentiary in Indiana and one was dead.

“I see. So, what are you excited about in the coming school year?”

“Well, homecoming is next week. It will be my first time going to the dance. And just before winter break there is the city-wide Model UN; we’ve got a really strong team this year.”

She smiles. “Well, thank you for meeting with me. I will be in touch with Princeton soon, and, off the record, I would also encourage you to apply to the University of Chicago. I am always looking for bright young women to join my research.”

I stand beaming. “Thank you, Dr. Childs. I definitely will.” We shake hands and she walks out the door and climbs into a Porsche. I’m left smiling in the middle of Starbucks, pleased with the meeting.

“*Mami, ya llegué,*” I call into the apartment, shutting the door behind me. My mom, ever beautiful even after years of hard work, comes out from the kitchen.

“*¿Dónde estabas, hija?*”

“*Estudiando en la biblioteca,*” I answer. I don’t like lying to my mom, but if she found out I was applying to

Princeton, no doubt she would cry and say I wanted to leave her, just like my cousins did to their mothers, just like my father did to her.

“¿Mami?”

“¿Mande, mija?”

“*El próximo sábado, va a haber un baile en la escuela, para el homecoming. ¿Puedo ir?*”

“No,” she says, and my face falls.

“¿Por qué?”

“*El próximo sábado tenemos que ir a la corte. Para el juzgado de Marco. Ya le dije a tu tía Mirasol que estaremos ahí.*”

“*Pero, mami, ¿por qué tengo que ir yo?*” I ask slightly annoyed. Hopefully if I ask enough, she’ll let me go.

“*Para que Mirasol sepa lo que están diciendo todas esas personas. Está muy preocupada, Alejandra.*”

“*Bueno, tal vez Marco no debería estar robando tiendas. Y luego nadie estaría preocupado.*”

That was the wrong thing to say. I see it in my mother’s face. Because you never go against family. No matter what. Especially if your family thinks their sons can do no wrong.

“*Malcriada,*” my mother hisses. “*Ya sabes que no fue él. La policía solo agarra a quien quiere.*”

Even though that’s completely not true and even though I am pretty sure Marco did rob those stores, I don’t say any more. No matter what I say, my mother won’t see the truth, nor will she let me go to the dance.

“*Ok, mami,*” I say, faking defeat. She smiles a little and goes back into the kitchen. But I’m seventeen, not seven, and she can’t carry me around to places anymore. I slip my phone out of my back pocket and text my friend Nikki.

She said yes. Let’s go shopping for dresses tomorrow after school.

Next Friday night, I sit on my bed, looking into the closet where, tucked in next to my other clothes, is a dress bag that contains the perfect dress. Emerald green, with shiny tulle. It cost a lot of what I’d saved over the summer, but it was worth it. I go over the plan again in my head. *Wake up and leave at 5 a.m. so my mom doesn’t see the dress. I’d told her that I was working, so she wouldn’t be suspicious until 4 p.m. when the trial started. By then I’d be safely at Nikki’s house. Nikki’s boyfriend would drive us, and we’d have a great night.*

The morning comes quickly, and I jump out of bed, careful to be as quiet as possible so that my mom doesn’t hear. I pack my makeup and hair products into a bag and grab my dress and shoes. I look into my mother’s room. She’s fast asleep. I do feel a bit guilty, but another side of me feels happy that I am finally doing something for myself. I close the door behind me and walk down to the street. Back of the Yards at 5 a.m. is normally pretty quiet, and anyone on the street is either going to work or homeless. But everyone who is from here knows that you just keep your head down and mind your own business. I get on the bus that takes me to the 47th Street stop on the Red Line. Thankfully, the train isn’t too busy either. There are some people who take up both seats to sleep on, and I have always wondered what happens if you get caught living on the train. This morning there is, of course, at least one crazy person, but thankfully she is harmless. I get off at Monroe, and I walk to Nikki’s apartment building.

Unlike my apartment, which is just in an old house that’s only three stories tall, Nikki’s is in a tall, sleek skyscraper. She lives on the 44th floor. The doorman nods his head in greeting; I’m pretty sure he must know me after how many times I’ve been over to Nikki’s. While we’ve been best friends since freshman year, Nikki has never been over to my house. She asked once and, when I refused, she never asked again.

Nikki opens the door to her apartment and gives me a smile. “Did she see you?”

“Nope.” I smile. By now it’s 6 a.m. We decide to work on our college applications for a bit before her parents wake up. Nikki is applying to Princeton too, but she really wants to go to UPenn. Both her mom and dad went to Wharton, and she is determined to go too. They own their own boutique investment firm and are both insanely smart.

At 7 a.m. Nikki’s housekeeper, Laura, walks through the kitchen entrance. “Good morning,” she says to us. Her eyes linger a bit longer on me. She is Dominican, but I always get the sense that she feels strange around me. I knew she had a daughter around my age so perhaps it’s because of that. Or because I’m Latina too, and I should be the one serving, not the one getting served. Either way, Laura starts cooking breakfast.

Nikki’s parents emerge from their bedroom fully dressed. Her mother, Amelia, is the epitome of aging gracefully. She’s wearing a cashmere sweater and brown leather boots, and I wouldn’t be surprised if her outfit cost ten thousand dollars. Her father Edward is a bit gruffer; he’s dressed in a navy suit.

“Alex, so nice to see you!”

“Hi, Mrs. Green,” I say with a smile.

“Are you girls excited for homecoming?” she asks us.

We both nod.

“I remember when I went to homecoming.”

It would be hard to forget, as there is a framed photo on the mantle of Amelia in a pink dress with a crown and a sash that reads *Homecoming Queen 1988*.

Laura brings out platters full of waffles, eggs, and fresh fruit, and we all sit down at the table to eat. We eat with some small chit-chat before the Greens leave, and it’s just Nikki, Laura, and me left.

“Ok, Tyler is picking us up at four, so we have... eight hours to get ready,” Nikki says, checking her watch. She

ushers me into her room, which is basically half the size of my whole apartment.

“I’m going to shower, then we’ll go to our appointment.”

“Appointment?” I ask.

Nikki’s head pops back out from the bathroom. “Yeah, I booked us for mani/pedis today.”

Luckily, I’d been expecting her to take us somewhere and had brought extra cash. “Okay,” I say after a short pause, but I’m sure she doesn’t notice it. What’s a hundred dollars to a person who lives here?

After a whole morning and afternoon of preparations, we are finally ready. Nikki’s mom is snapping photos of us by the fireplace.

“You girls look great!”

Someone knocks at the door and Amelia goes to answer it. It’s Tyler, Nikki’s boyfriend, and our other friend Will.

“Boys, hi, come in!”

Next, we are taking all different combinations of photos: Tyler and Nikki, Tyler and Will, Will and me, and finally all of us together.

“Okay, Mom, thank you...,” Nikki says.

“Are you sure you don’t want any more, sweetie?”

“We’re good, Mom, thanks.”

“Well, where are you all going now?”

“Will and I thought it would be nice to take the girls out for dinner before the dance.”

I turn my head to him at this new revelation. I hadn’t prepared to go out twice today.

“Wow, such gentlemen. Well, you all have so much fun!”

We ride down the elevator and walk out to find a sleek black Mercedes in the roundabout.

“Ooh, your dad let you borrow the Maybach?” Nikki asks.

“Yep,” Tyler says with a grin.

Will opens the door for me and I slide into the back. “So where are you taking us?” I ask, trying to discern if I had enough money left over.

“It’s a surprise,” he says with a smile.

Soon, we’re speeding through downtown Chicago.

Will is looking out the window anxiously. “Hey, man, careful; there’s a crazy guy a couple cars behind. I think he’s coming up.”

We all turn to look and, sure enough, there’s a giant SUV weaving in and out of cars. “What’s his problem?” asks Nikki.

“I think he’s drunk or something,” I say.

He comes up beside us and merges into our lane.

“Jesus, man!” Tyler says, slamming his hand on the horn.

We’re behind him now.

“Pass him, Ty,” Nikki says.

We get into the other lane. Either he’s mad at that or just really buzzed. He tries to merge in front of us again. This time Tyler isn’t so quick. The champagne-colored SUV smashes into the side of the sedan. My side.

“Shit!” I hear Tyler scream and someone, Will, grabs onto me.

We must have crashed into something else because my window shatters. And then the black washes over me.

“Acabo de marcarla. No sé dónde está,” le digo a mi hermana.

“Mrs. Torres, we will have to start soon,” dice una de las muchachas que trabaja en la corte. Mi hermana Marisol me mira para averiguar qué dijo la muchacha. Casi no la entiendo tampoco, pero sé que ‘start’ significa empezar.

“Van a empezar,” le digo a mi hermana.

“Pero, ¿dónde está Alejandra?”, me pregunta.

“No sé. Vamos a tener que hacerlo sin ella.”

El juzgado empieza y todos nos sentamos. Mi teléfono empieza a vibrar. Es un número que no reconozco. Lo rechazo. Pero otra vez me llama.

“¿Quién te está llamando?”, pregunta Lucía.

“No sé.”

“Tal vez es Alejandra”, sugiere.

“Pero, no es su número de teléfono”, le digo.

Sin embargo, pienso que sería mejor contestarlo.

Me levanto del banco y salgo de la sala.

“¿Bueno?”, contesto el teléfono.

“Mrs. Ortiz?”, pregunta la mujer que me habla.

“¿Sí?”

“Do you speak English?”

“No. Solamente español.”

“Ok, please wait one moment.”

“Hola, Sra. Ortiz”, dice otra mujer con acento de güerita y un español regular. “Nosotros estamos llamando porque su hija está en la hospital.”

El miedo me detiene el corazón. “¿Qué?”

“Su hija...” repite la mujer.

“¿Qué pasó? ¿Dónde está?”

“Rush University Hospital.”

Cuelgo el teléfono y texteo a Marisol. Salgo corriendo de la corte hasta la calle, donde llamo a un taxi.

“¿Hasta dónde, señora?”, me pregunta el hombre.

“Rush University Hospital.”

Él empieza a manejar y yo agarro mi rosario de la bolsa y rezo. ¿Qué voy a hacer sin mi niña?

“¿Señora?” El hombre me está mirando en el espejo.

“Oh, lo siento. ¿Qué pasó?”

“Ya llegamos.”

Ahí afuera de la ventana, las luces brillantes del hospital iluminan la calle. “Gracias”, le digo sin emoción y le doy quince dólares en efectivo.

En la entrada hay casi cien personas y tanto ruido que casi no puedo pensar.

Llego a toda prisa hasta el mostrador de urgencias. La chica que está sentada me mira. “Can I help you?”

“Mi-my daughter. ¿Alejandra Ortiz?”

Su cara cambia y, sin palabras, entiendo. Algo horrible ha pasado; lo siento en mi corazón.

“I’ll have someone come see you”, dice la mujer. No la entiendo, pero me quedo parada.

Después de unos minutos que parecen ser horas, finalmente viene un doctor.

“Mrs. Ortiz?”, me pregunta.

Asiento. “Ok, well, obviously this is a very delicate situation...”

“No hablo inglés, doctor. No English”, le digo.

“Oh. Hold on, please.”

Después de otros minutos que parecen una eternidad, el doctor regresa con una mujer mayor.

El doctor habla y la mujer interpreta. O lo intenta; casi no la entiendo.

“Tu hija ha sufrido un accidente; cuando llega hacemos cirugía. Ella muy débil. Está en coma. Pero puedes ver ella.”

Empiezo a llorar. ¿Qué había pasado? La mujer y el doctor me guían hacia el ascensor. Siento que estoy en un sueño y que estoy flotando por los pasillos.

“Aquí estás. Puede ser espanto”, dice la que dice ser la intérprete.

No sé qué había imaginado, pero ver a mi hija, ahí en la cama, con sus ojos cerrados y moretones en su carita, es demasiado y me tengo que apoyar en una silla para no caerme al piso.

“Alejandra...”

“No te escucha.”

Mis lágrimas caen en silencio; mi cuerpo no puede soportar el ruido.

“¿Qué pasó?”, finalmente pregunto.

“Choque de caro.”

¿Cómo fue posible? Tal vez ella estaba caminando y... No quiero imaginar a mi niña en la calle sufriendo. “Y ¿ahora qué?”, le pregunto. “¿Qué podemos hacer?”

La mujer mira al doctor.

“She has multiple broken ribs, as well as one of her arms. She has lost a lot of blood. We have given her transfusions and pain medicine. She seems to be responding well. The pain would be too much for her to handle, so we induced a coma. She will likely wake up in the next few weeks.”

Miro a la intérprete, pero ella también se ve confundida. “Huesos quebrados y menos sangre. Dimos medicina. Ella en coma. No es posible seguro que levanta.”

El aire está suspendido en mis pulmones.

“¿Me puedo quedar con ella?”

“Sí.”

Me siento en la silla que está al lado de la cama y pongo mi mano sobre la suya. “Ay, mi niña preciosa. Vas a salir de esto; ya verás.”

Durante las semanas que pasan casi no regreso a casa y duermo en esa silla que es demasiado dura. Mis hermanas me visitan cuando pueden porque, gracias a Dios, me hicieron el favor de trabajar mis turnos en la fábrica para que no perdiera mi trabajo.

Todavía no sé realmente qué está pasando con mi hija. Casi no me hablan los doctores porque la consulta les quitaría más tiempo. Me enojo conmigo misma por no poder apoyar a mi Alejandra.

“¿Mami?” Esa voz, la que he rezado por oír otra vez.

Ahí en la cama, mi niña hermosa, con sus ojos medio abiertos.

“Alejandra, hija”, le agarro la mano y le beso la frente.

“¿Doctor?!”, llamo hacia el pasillo y entra una enfermera.

“Can I help you?”, dice y después ve a Alejandra. “Oh, you’re up!”

Ella sale corriendo y regresa con el doctor.

“Miss Ortiz, so glad to see you up”, dice el doctor con una sonrisa.

El doctor empieza a hablar con Alejandra y ella misma me lo dice en español para que lo entienda yo.

“Estuve en un accidente, mami. Tengo seis costillas rotas y también el brazo derecho. Me tuvieron que hacer una transfusión de sangre. Puedo regresar a casa, pero tengo que quedarme en la cama unas cinco semanas.”

Asiento. “Thank you”, le digo al doctor.

“You are welcome”, dice y se despide de nosotras.

“Alejandra, ¿qué pasó?”, le pregunto.

“Lo siento, mami. Fui con Nikki y nuestros amigos. Íbamos al baile, pero nos chocó un carro”, me dice con lágrimas en los ojos.

“Pero... te dije que vinieras conmigo a la corte.”

“Lo sé, pero, mami, quiero tener mi propia vida y no puedo hacer eso si tengo que ir a corte, a la cárcel, a todas partes para ayudar a mis primos. ¿No quieres una hija que haya superado todo eso? Te amo y amo a mis tías y sé que no es la culpa de ustedes, pero no es nada fácil ir para ser intérprete y traducir en todas partes.”

Me quedo callada por un momento, nunca me ha hablado así mi hija. “Eres mi hija. Es tu responsabilidad ayudarme.”

“Pero mami...”

“Sé que no ha sido fácil. Y has ayudado mucho a tu familia. Mucho más que tus primos. Lo sabía, desde que estabas en el kínder, que tu futuro era lo más importante para mí. Te mereces más que quedarte en el mismo barrio el resto de tu vida.”

Alejandra sonrío. “Gracias, mami. Lamento que tenga que irme a la universidad, pero me voy a quedar cerca y ahora ya sé lo que quiero hacer.”

“¿Y qué es eso, mi niña?”

“Quiero ser doctora para que pueda hablar con mis pacientes y que sus hijos no tengan que hacer de intérpretes.”

“Me parece perfecto, hija”, le digo, y le doy otro beso.

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Queers for Palestinian Liberation: Transnational Solidarity and Resistance*

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How do queers reproduce life, and which queers are folded into life? How do they give life? To what do they give life? How is life weighted, disciplined into subjecthood, narrated into population, and fostered for living? Does this securitization of queers entail deferred death or dying for others, and if so, for whom?

—Jasbir Puar, *Terrorist Assemblages: Homonationalism in Queer Times* (35)

On the first day of DePaul's Gaza Solidarity Encampment, counterprotesters flew an Israeli pride flag.¹ It might look like any other rainbow pride flag, but in the center, there is a blue Star of David. This very intentional association between gay pride and Israel implies more than just that Israel celebrates gay pride—it implies that gay pride necessarily requires support of Israel. This flag flew alongside the standard Israeli flag and the American flag, aligning itself with them in protest of our solidarity with the Palestinian people and our demand that DePaul University divest from genocide.² I overheard many of us expressing anger and disbelief at the use of a pride flag at this counterprotest. Unfortunately, this phenomenon is not new. Gay pride has long been positioned as antithetical to Palestinian liberation by the Israeli occupation and its supporters in a propaganda tactic known as 'pinkwashing.'

Our encampment was just one of many in a wave of campus protests across the world during the spring of 2024. These student-organized protests involved setting

up encampments, also known as Popular Universities and Liberated Zones, on university campuses and refusing to leave until the universities disclosed their investments and divested from genocide, or until, in many cases, protesters were violently removed by police. DePaul's encampment was an incredible example of multi-racial and multi-faith organizing, where Muslim, Jewish, and Christian students came together to protest DePaul's complicity and investment in the Israeli occupation of Palestine and the genocide of Palestinian people. Queer students were also significant members of our encampment. Everywhere you went, you could see examples of queer solidarity with Palestine. My personal favorite was a sign hanging on the fence that said, "dykes for a free Palestine." These encampments cultivated the most beautiful communities, where everyone's needs were met. There was free food, free water, free masks, free first-aid, free art supplies, free zines, and more for anyone and everyone—you did not even have to be a part of the encampment. To see these encampments be demonized by administrations, politicians, and even fellow students is deeply frustrating. For those few weeks, these liberated zones created new possibilities. For those few weeks, we were living in what the world should be.

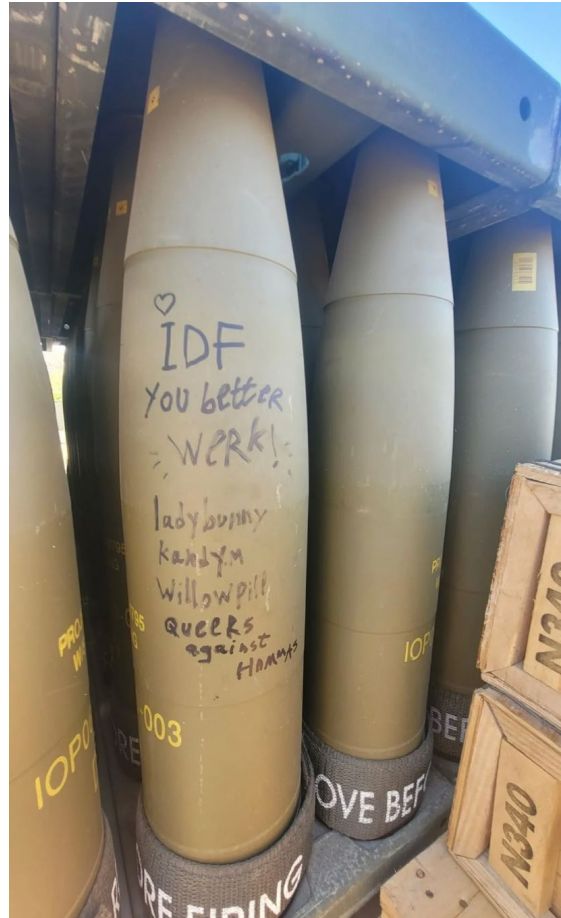
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The Israeli pride flag is just one example of how queerness has been weaponized to aid in this ongoing occupation and genocide of Palestinians. As a lesbian, it is infuriating to see how queerness has been coopted by these imperialist forces to garner support for apartheid, occupation, and genocide. One of the most horrific examples can be seen in a Twitter post that revealed the names of famous drag queens like Willow Pill, Lady Bunny, and Kandy Muse handwritten on an Israeli Occupation Force (IOF) missile alongside the messages “IDF you better werk!” and “queers against Hamas.” (see Fig. 1) This example reveals the haunting casualization and justification of this genocide through the invocation of queerness: praising the IOF in Black queer vernacular as it is sending these missiles to bomb Palestinians.ⁱⁱⁱ This image, like the Israeli pride flag, perpetuates the message that to be a queer person or ally you must support Israel and further dehumanizes Palestinians.

It has also been incredible, however, to see the many ways that queer people everywhere are standing in solidarity with Palestine, recognizing that queer liberation cannot come at the expense of—or without—Palestine’s freedom. This can be seen in examples found across social media, like Twitter accounts tracking drag queens’ responses to this genocide, public installations, and Black and Palestinian queer solidarity. In this paper, I will explore the ways that queer people across ethnic and national backgrounds, both Palestinian and not, have been resisting the Israeli occupation in Palestine and beyond, using transnational feminist principles of interconnectedness and reciprocal solidarity, interdisciplinary methodologies, and media analysis. I also provide an exploration into “pinkwashing” and its many manifestations, while primarily focusing on illuminating the many ways that queer people have rejected the manufactured rhetoric of imperialism to stand with marginalized people subjected to state violence everywhere.

FIGURE 1

Image of IOF missile with the names of drag queens originally posted to Twitter, unknown username, due to post and account being deleted. “IDF you better werk!” 9 Jan. 2024. (Source: <https://www.them.us/story/willow-pill-lady-bunny-kandy-muse-react-to-viral-israel-missile-photo>)



Pinkwashing: Making Empire Gay Friendly

To discuss resistance, it is important to first understand what pinkwashing is and how Palestinian queerness (and Palestine in general) is portrayed in the media. Pinkwashing is the prominent myth that Israel is a safe haven for queer people, which is seen in a highly funded public relations project to distract from and justify the Israeli occupation of Palestine (Alqaws 1). I analyzed news articles from the Israeli newspaper *Haaretz* throughout my research that demonstrate how pinkwashing works. Despite being considered as one of the most liberal, left-

leaning Israeli newspapers, all the articles, in one way or another, framed Palestine as a backward, barbaric culture that can never be safe for queer people, thus positioning Israel as their only hope. *Haaretz* is also published exclusively in Hebrew and English, which excludes Arabic speakers, implying that this newspaper is not for Palestinian readership at all. The rhetoric of these articles promotes this dramatic image of Palestinian queer and trans people fleeing (or always desiring to flee) to Israel for “safety” from homophobia and transphobia—positioning Israel as a supposed bastion of democracy.

Only one *Haaretz* article, “What a Transgender Woman’s Death Reveals About Palestinian LGBTQ Community in Israel,” offered a contradiction to this myth. The article looks at the suicide of a twenty-two-year-old Palestinian trans woman named Zehava and the events that led up to her death. Zehava left the West Bank and sought refuge in Israel, but she did not find this supposed ‘queer safe haven.’ In the article, an Israeli trans rights activist who worked with Zehava explains that the state of Israel allows LGBTQ Palestinian asylum seekers to stay in Israel “grudgingly and under impossible conditions” and that the state “deliberately provides insufficient aid” (Lee and Peleg). When you do not have permanent residency status, you cannot access work permits, health insurance, or the ability to open bank accounts. This, on top of the struggle of being a trans woman, made life for Zehava extremely difficult and ultimately led to her death. This article directly contradicts the narrative of pinkwashing by offering a look into the actual reality of Palestinian queers who have sought refuge in Israel. Pinkwashing creates the assumption that all queer people are welcomed with open arms in Israel, but as seen through Zehava’s story, this is not true. Under Israel’s apartheid system, these rights and quality of life are not given to Palestinians.

Formed during the Second Intifada, alQaws for Sexual and Gender Diversity in Palestinian Society provides an important grounding for understanding the lives of queer Palestinians. They describe themselves on their website’s “About Us” tab as a grassroots organization determined to

disrupt sexual and gender violence, celebrate Palestinian queerness, and promote “new ideas about the role of gender and sexuality diversity in political activism, civil society institutions, media, and everyday life” (“About Us”). They have locations all throughout Palestine, including Ramallah, Haifa, Jaffa, and East Jerusalem. It is important to note that they cannot have a location in Gaza because Gaza has been an open-air prison for fifteen years and therefore, what is allowed in Gaza requires Israeli approval. Their initiatives include running community centers and events in both urban and rural Palestine, operating a national support hotline, offering counseling, creative projects, and cultivating discussions and writings about queerness and the Israeli occupation (“About Us”).

The work of alQaws has extensively addressed pinkwashing and the myth of Israel as a queer utopia. As Palestinian queers living in Palestine, their perspective on pinkwashing is invaluable. In particular, the alQaws article “Beyond Pinkwashing: Pinkwashing as Colonial Violence” expanded my understanding of pinkwashing beyond just a propaganda machine. It is “ultimately an expression of Israel’s deeper gender and sexual politics and the ideological foundations of Zionism” (“Beyond Pinkwashing”). This belief draws upon the concept of “homonationalism,” which was first coined by Jasbir Puar in 2007 in her groundbreaking work *Terrorist Assemblages: Homonationalism in Queer Times*. In this work, she defines homonationalism as the “emergence of a national queer identity” that requires the “segregation and disqualification of racial and sexual others from the imaginary” (2). This was originally theorized to help explain the phenomenon of a post-9/11 United States touting its supposed “gay tolerance” to justify and garner support for its “war on terror,” but it has also been expanded to encapsulate Israel’s similar and related pinkwashing project. This can be seen in the positioning of Palestine as a uniquely homophobic culture, which can be internalized by Palestinian queers, thus disempowering them from working to change things (“Beyond Pinkwashing”). This paves the way for Israel to

successfully portray a safe haven, even when the reality so clearly says otherwise. In an episode of *The Queer Arabs* podcast called “AlQaws!” Haneen Maikey, one of the alQaws founders, elaborates further on pinkwashing as colonial violence. Maikey explains that pinkwashing asks Palestinian queers to separate themselves from their culture and community, physically or psychologically, because it tells them that they will never find acceptance and that the only hope for them is in the arms of their oppressor (17:50). Pinkwashing asserts that Palestinian identity and queer identity cannot exist together and that the only way to express their queerness is to reject their Palestinian identity. Furthermore, Maikey believes that this emphasis of finding safety and acceptance in Israeli queer communities normalizes the relationship between the colonizer and the colonized, making it seem like it is two queers helping each other out (17:10). This seemingly harmless relationship actually erases the Palestinian identity and makes them just a gay victim in need of saving, ignoring the fact that there is a deeply oppressive colonial power dynamic at play (19:20). Israel could never be a safe haven for Palestinians, queer or not, when they must live under an apartheid system and face the ethnic cleansing of their people. They ask us to employ anti-pinkwashing activism as another lens through which we approach anti-racist, feminist, and queer activism and to not simply view it as a separate issue (25:10).

Queer Acts of Solidarity

We do not face insular and singular struggles, but expansive and interconnected forms of oppression. As a result, we need interconnected communities of solidarities, which include peoples from diverse contexts, to respond to totalizing forms of structural violence.

— Sa’ed Atshan and Darnell L. Moore, “Reciprocal Solidarity: Where the Black and Palestinian Queer Struggles Meet” (694)

Queer people across the world are also engaging in beautiful acts of solidarity and pinkwashing resistance, recognizing the connections between queer liberation

and Palestinian liberation and the complicity of our governments, universities, and ourselves in this genocide. Twitter has been a valuable resource for me in finding these queer solidarity acts. One example is the Twitter account “Falasteen Queens,” which has been tracking famous drag queens’ responses to the ongoing genocide. This account reminds us that drag is political, so not taking a stance on Palestine or parroting pinkwashing myths that Israel is ‘safer’ for queer people compared to Palestine is inconsistent with the political nature of drag. Another example I found on Twitter was the London-based “Dyke Project,” a queer organization who took over hundreds of advertisements across buses and trains. They partnered with the Queering the Map Project to replace advertisements with stories from queer Gazans. Efforts like these not only force people to confront the genocide on their commute, but they remind people that queer Palestinians exist and that nobody is free until we all are.

At home in Chicago, the Gerber/Hart LGBTQ+ Library and Archives has a display on pinkwashing, a recent addition to the space. Curated by volunteers using works at the library, this display includes Sarah Schulman’s well-known *Israel/Palestine and the Queer International* and gay travel guides that celebrate Tel Aviv as a queer utopia but never mention that these gay clubs are on stolen Palestinian land. They do not mention Palestine at all. You can also find books like *Colonialism and Homosexuality* by Robert Aldrich and *Desiring Arabs* by Joseph Massad, which explore the connections between colonialism, orientalism, and queerness, all of which are at the root of pinkwashing. There are even gay magazines from the 90s that feature advertisements for a gay kibbutz in the occupied West Bank, inviting queer people to assist in the occupation of Palestine. When well-known queer institutions like Gerber/Hart educate the community in this way, they demonstrate how queer politics can stand against genocide and refuse to be complicit in pinkwashing.

Queer alliance is also evident in transnational Black and Palestinian solidarity. I first learned about this solidarity

when I attended a lecture with Sumaya Awad, author of *Palestine: A Socialist Introduction*, at Vassar College a few years ago. She explained how police in the United States and the Israeli occupation forces train together, sharing tactics and surveillance technology. When George Floyd was murdered, Palestinians came together in support of Black Lives Matter. Black people and Palestinians have long recognized their parallel struggles. Connections like these have forged an incredibly strong transnational solidarity. I was excited, then, to find specifically queer Black and Palestinian solidarity, in Sa'ed Atshan and Darnell L. Moore's co-authored paper, "Reciprocal Solidarity: Where the Black and Palestinian Queer Struggles Meet." This source provides a great framework for approaching transnational Palestinian solidarity across boundaries. Atshan, a Palestinian queer man, and Moore, a Black queer man, found the "reciprocal solidarity" model through their friendship. They recognize how their bodies and "life stories," as Black and Palestinian queers, are both "marked for subjugation and even erasure, while also considering the toll of intersectional and structural forms of violence on [their] bodies and spirits" (682). This is the basis of their parallel struggles. They believe that their friendship is the path forward for transnational queer solidarity with Palestine. They say that "when we acknowledge each other's humanity, and when we welcome one another into our lives and worlds, it is that powerful form of friendship that sustains solidarity among people" (684). This is an incredibly important lesson, and one that directly contradicts the "allyship" we often see in social justice movements of today—one that is devoid of intimate friendship and connection and solely focused on "the work" rather than "our work" (681).

Atshan and Moore remind us that reciprocal solidarity is self-reflexive and must be careful to not appropriate struggle, meaning we recognize that our struggles are parallel but not the same. They emphasize the need to confront anti-Blackness in Arab countries, especially when it is used in the name of solidarity (690). They use an example of an *Electronic Intifada* article that was titled "The Palestinian Struggle is a Black Struggle."

Susan Abulhawa, the original author of the article, wrote a disclaimer after *Electronic Intifada* refused to change the title. She says, "there is an element of appropriation of someone else's struggle in this statement" and that she was intentionally careful to not say the Palestinian struggle is a Black struggle, but that there is an "essential blackness" of our struggle" and that "our struggle was 'spiritually and politically black'" (qtd. in Atshan and Moore 691). These statements also invoke June Jordan's words when she said, "I was born a Black woman / and now / I am become Palestinian" (qtd. in Atshan and Moore 690). Abulhawa and Jordan both recognize the parallelism of their struggles, but never once say they are the same. This recognition is where, according to Atshan and Moore, true reciprocal solidarity comes from. This offers an invaluable model for all transnational solidarity everywhere.

Approaches to Liberation

However, it is important to note that Palestinian queers are not a monolith. While there is no doubt that Sa'ed Atshan has done incredible work, alQaws has some critique of him as well, particularly related to his beliefs on co-struggle and resistance with Israeli queer people. The critique can be seen in an alQaws article "No Queer 'Co-Resistance' with Colonizers: Confronting Normalization and Pinkwashing." This article is a response to an Israeli-organized event held to promote Atshan's work called "Decolonizing Queerness: Towards a Palestinian-Israeli Co-Resistance." This online seminar, held in October 2020, discussed "the reality and the dilemmas that queer Palestinian organizations [...] are facing" ("No Queer 'Co-Resistance'"). alQaws took issue with this event because they felt it contributes to the pinkwashing and normalization of the Israeli occupation. alQaws defines normalization "as any effort to naturalize the settler-colonial reality by obscuring the colonial power dynamic" ("No Queer 'Co-Resistance'"). They believe that this normalization came from the "shallow identitarian framework" that arises from the proposition of "co-resistance" between queer Israeli settlers and queer Palestinians. In other words, according to alQaws, it obscures the power dynamic by implying that there

can be co-resistance between the two based on a shared queer identity. alQaws states that normalization relies on “liberal ideas of ‘dialogue’ and ‘partnership,’” and that Atshan takes this even further by invoking language such as “decolonization” and “resistance” when proposing this partnership. alQaws argues that because “pinkwashing has long sought to associate queerness with a colonial identity” events like this directly undermine the efforts of Palestinian queer organizations on the ground to resist pinkwashing and normalization (“No Queer ‘Co-Resistance”). While it is true that, historically, co-struggle in movements has proven to be more strategically successful, I felt it was important to highlight this difference in how Palestinian queers are thinking about approaches to liberation. Perhaps much of this difference lies in the fact that Atshan is an academic in the diaspora and alQaws is in the homeland.

To contextualize alQaws more and understand their viewpoints, we can look to *The Queer Arabs* podcast episode on alQaws, where Haneen Maikey and Izzy Mustafa, a Palestinian-American trans man who has done a lot of work with the organization, are featured. In this episode, Maikey emphasized that alQaws is a political queer organization, not a gay rights organization (02:36). It is an organization “for people who believe that gender and sexuality intersect with colonialism” and not necessarily to represent the LGBTQ community (02:45). They reached this conclusion because alQaws was founded following the Second Intifada, which informs the organization’s context (7:15). The word ‘intifada’ is heavily (and wrongly) demonized in our culture. It means “uprising,” rooted in the Arabic word of “shaking off.” The First and Second Intifadas mark important years throughout history where Palestinians organized against Israeli occupation and faced horrific violence in response. According to Adam Ali in an *Aljazeera* article, the Second Intifada started in 2000, following the failure of the Israeli state to follow the Oslo Accords (“Palestinian Intifada”). The inciting incident was when Ariel Sharon stormed al-Aqsa mosque with hundreds of Israeli Occupation Forces on September 28th, 2000 (“Palestinian Intifada”). For

alQaws, it does not make sense to talk about Palestinian queerness without talking about the colonial context that shapes Palestinian lives (8:40). Furthermore, Maikey explains that the Palestinian queer politics are radical because mainstream Palestinian politics are inherently radical due to said colonial context. This is different from queer politics in the United States, for example, which has so many different political ideologies (10:14). This means that, for alQaws, a simply representative gay rights organization is not necessarily the priority because they are determined to undermine single-issue politics (12:05). As Audre Lorde said in 1982, “there is no such thing as a single-issue struggle because we do not live single issue lives” (“Learning From the 60s”). Palestinian queers are fighting struggles on multiple fronts: against homophobia and against the Israeli occupation. Both must be addressed simultaneously.

However, for some Palestinian queers, the alQaws approach does not feel right. Izat Elamoor, a Palestinian gay man, wrote an article for Haaretz called “For Queer Palestinians Like Me, Intersectionality Isn’t Working.” Elamoor initially got involved with alQaws because he was looking for an organization that was addressing homophobia within Palestinian society, but he found that most of the discussions surrounded the Israeli occupation (“For Queer Palestinians Like Me”). Elamoor does not deny the importance of these discussions, but he felt that they were too academic and removed from Palestinian society. For example, when he began his doctoral dissertation on the lives of Palestinian queers, he found that many of them had never heard of terms like ‘pinkwashing’ or ‘homonationalism’ (“For Queer Palestinians Like Me”). Elamoor feels that there is a sense of urgency to address the homophobic violence that many Palestinian queers are facing from their own communities that is missing from the approach of alQaws. While alQaws would argue that addressing homophobia in Palestinian society requires ending the Israeli occupation, Elamoor believes that a more simplistic approach of raising awareness and acceptance for LGBTQ identities in Palestine is a better place to start (“For Queer

Palestinians Like Me”). This perspective is important because it reflects the various ways that Palestinian queers are thinking about liberation, but ultimately this homophobic violence is of colonial and imperialist origin. Resisting that requires much more than just fostering acceptance within Palestinian communities.

The Future of Queer and Trans Solidarity with Palestine

While there were many highlights during this project, I did run into some absences and struggles in my research. The first is that most of my sources surrounded the experiences of cisgender queer people. It was difficult to find sources relating to transness, Palestine, and the occupation. Because trans people face a unique vulnerability that shapes their experiences, I wish I had more information on what being trans in Palestine is like or what trans people outside of Palestine are doing to fight for Palestinian liberation. Additionally, a lot of the queer people centered in my sources are men. I wish I had more sources centering queer women so that I could see how misogyny, homophobia, and the occupation all intertwine.

Similarly, another absence I faced was information on queerness and queer resistance in Gaza, specifically, which is particularly important to consider due to the current events. The colonial fracturing of Palestine has created vastly different queer experiences depending on where you live. Organizations like alQaws are prevented from working directly with Gazans due to the blockade. I would love to know more about what queer Gazans are doing to build community and resist homophobic violence and Israeli oppression. I know that this project is only the start of my learning, not the end. I hope to continue this research.

At the beginning of this project, I had no idea that we would be where we are now. I had anticipated studying pinkwashing and creating a comparative overview of the various forms of resistance to it in Palestine, not knowing how necessary a project like this could be in dispelling the myths that are used to justify the horrific

genocide happening right before our eyes. One of the most important things I learned from this project is that pinkwashing is not just propaganda. It is, first and foremost, colonial violence. We, as queer people, have a duty to refuse to let this genocide be justified in our names by any means necessary. When I say “by any means necessary,” I am emphasizing the moral duty and the urgency we must have to liberate Palestine. When I say “by any means necessary,” I am invoking the words of Frantz Fanon and Malcolm X. I am situating our present moment within the legacy of freedom fighters and colonized peoples who have made this call. In his 1960 address regarding the violence of France in Algeria to the Positive Action Conference for Peace and Security in Africa, Fanon says:

We see, therefore, that the colonized people, caught in a web of a three-dimensional violence, a meeting point of multiple, diverse, repeated, cumulative violences, are soon logically confronted by the problem of ending the colonial regime by any means necessary. (Fanon 654)

The Palestinian people are faced with the most horrifying “multiple, diverse, repeated, cumulative violences” every single day at the hands of the Israeli state. As witnesses, as contributors through our tax dollars, as queer people who see this genocide being justified in our names, we must stop this genocide. Israel, the United States, administrations, and others in power will demonize every means we use, regardless of the content. They demonized the “Great March of Return” and sent Israeli snipers to kill 266 and injure more than 30,000 Palestinians peacefully protesting for their right to return to their ancestral lands (AlJazeera, “The Great March of Return Protests Explained”). They demonized our encampments, peaceful sites of community care and empowerment, and sent the full force of the police onto students sleeping in their tents. They demonize art, music, poetry, films, and chanting. There is no extent to their cruelty. Why is it that the means we use to protest genocide are demonized, but Israel’s genocide of Palestinians is not?

Palestinian liberation and queer liberation go hand in hand. While it would be impossible to cover every connection between Palestinian queerness and the Israeli occupation in one paper, it was most necessary in our present moment to highlight queer Palestinian resistance and the transnational solidarity between Palestine and

queer people everywhere. Learning about so many beautiful acts of resistance and different approaches to Palestinian liberation has been such a gift. It is through these that I know Palestine will be free in our lifetime, from the river to the sea.^{iv}

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ⁱ My original goal was a comparative overview of queer Palestinian resistance in the U.S. and in Palestine. A couple of weeks into my project, on October 7th, 2023, Hamas led an unexpected and unprecedented resistance attack. These events led to a violent Israeli response of collective punishment against all Palestinians, resulting in a total siege on Gaza and endless bombings of hospitals, refugee camps, and resources impacting civilians that are still ongoing to this day. At the time that I was working on this project in November 2023, over 11,000 Palestinians had been killed, including almost 5,000 children, in just 40 days. Now, in November 2024, the Gaza Health Ministry has reported 42,000 dead. However, according to Assma Maad in *Le Monde*, because of the difficulties in maintaining accurate counts due to incessant bombings and “indirect” deaths due to famine, lack of clean drinking water, and the destruction of hospitals, many experts predict that this number is far higher. *The Lancet* medical journal, for example, predicts that these numbers could actually be upwards of 186,000 (Maad).

ⁱⁱ UN Special Rapporteur on human rights in Palestine, Francesca Albanese, has determined that Israel is committing genocide. In her report, she says “by analyzing patterns of violence and Israel’s policies in its onslaught on Gaza, this report concludes that there are reasonable grounds to believe that the threshold indicating Israel’s commission of genocide is met.” Her UN report, entitled “Anatomy of a Genocide” can be found at the website of the UN Office of the High Commissioner Human Rights website. <https://www.ohchr.org/sites/default/files/documents/hrbodies/hrcouncil/sessions-regular/session55/advance-versions/a-hrc-55-73-auv.pdf>

ⁱⁱⁱ This example also opens a site for future research. This could be seen as a potential turning point in pinkwashing where we are seeing the sinister use of pop culture reference and Black queer language to further this violence, showing the ways in which pinkwashing strategy evolves as queer culture does. It reflects how entertainment has been used to make this genocide seem so casual and normal, which is not a new phenomenon. We have seen this before many times, one example being the lynching postcards during the post- Civil War era to mid 20th-century America.

^{iv} While we have seen many attempts to demonize and criminalize this phrase by the U.S. government and others in power, it recognizes that an apartheid occupation of Palestine is deeply unjust. It is not predicated upon destruction, but upon the liberation of all Palestinians and their land from Israeli occupation, from the Jordan River to the Mediterranean Sea. No one should have to live under the horrific occupation that Palestinians have endured for decades.



Shaina Lieberson | *Microwave Dinner* | Charcoal on paper

Examining Bias in AI-Generated Text and Imagery*

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In a recent investigation by the British anti-Semitism watchdog organization Community Security Trust in mid-2023, users on 4chan, an anonymous internet image board, were discovered propagating anti-Semitic imagery by prompting genAI (generative Artificial Intelligence) programs to create sexualized images of Anne Frank, promote Holocaust denial, and produce deepfakes showcasing violence committed against Jews (Hazell). Perhaps due to concerns about the further propagation of such content, the programs responsible for these images have not been made public. Still, many popular AI image generators such as Adobe Firefly, Bing's Image Creator, Google Gemini, OpenAI's Dall-E, Stability AI's Stable Diffusion, and Midjourney all afford any user savvy enough the technological capacity to create convincing and objectionable deepfakes with the proper corresponding prompt. The odious nature of these anti-Semitic posts should also come as little surprise, given 4chan's history as an intentionally provocative discursive space.

Historically, 4chan rose to popularity by serving as an internet hub for highly anonymous and thinly moderated imageboards. 4chan's forums run the gamut from topics of mainstream discourse—including music, movies, food, sports, video games, technology, religion, and politics—to third rail discussions about the merits of popularly reviled conspiracy theories and the validation of paraphilias that deeply transgress societal mores on sexuality and consent (Greengard).

For many users, 4chan's biggest draw stems from the degree to which users of the site can maintain their anonymity and operate within a highly specific alternative zeitgeist, with one ethnography from 2017 classifying 12% of posts in its most notorious forum /pol/ (politically incorrect) as hate speech (Colley and Moore 1, 9). Anyone who agrees to the terms of the site's disclaimer can post on 4chan, and an individual need merely adopt the de facto username of "anonymous" to share content with others ("FAQ"). To keep conversations current and irretrievable, moderators restrict most message boards to a ten-page maximum and typically remove forum threads from their servers after several hours to several days ("FAQ").

Despite 4chan and other message boards like it operating within the discursive margins of the internet, a subset of its usership has proven quite adept at moving some of the epistemological idiosyncrasies of the platform into the mainstream. The platform's most recognizable contribution to internet culture has been its popularization of the image macro—a digital picture with text superimposed to convey a sense of irony or jocularity known colloquially as a meme (Greengard). Some 4chan users have also managed to use fake Twitter accounts to initiate cyberbullying campaigns disproportionately targeting female celebrities and journalists; several of these campaigns garnered support from popular Youtubers, social media influencers, and widely viewed subreddits (Dewey).

Originally created in 2003 as a message board designed to let users freely post sexually explicit anime images (Greengard), 4chan serves as a prime example of how an internet platform created without proper moderation

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policies can quickly transform into a discursive site hospitable to propagating hate. Ethnographic research conducted over much of its lifespan demonstrates that in its early years, 4chan more broadly promoted expressions of libertarianism, free speech absolutism, and support for revolutionary movements in the Arab Spring (Colley and Moore 8). However, within the last decade, the platform's uncompromising commitment to free speech has seen it morph into a more reactionary space that rails against progressive activism through an alt-right discursive lens. Contemporary 4chan image boards function as a virtual town square hospitable to individuals and groups looking for places to promote white supremacy and violence (Colley and Moore 9; Greengard).

GenAI platforms offer yet another tool for those with odious intentions to spread their message in spaces like 4chan with greater efficiency than ever before, with concerning implications for mainstream discourse. Despite the novelty of the technology, everyday users may already be feeling its negative effects in their corners of cyberspace and daily interactions with others, not just within websites like 4chan that exist at the discursive margins of the internet.

A continued concern for researchers is the degree to which social bias is reinforced and insufficiently reined in by genAI chatbots and image generators. Social bias can manifest when a Large Language Model (LLM) assimilates human bias present in its training data and rearticulates it back to the user by generating content that reinforces stereotypes through dehumanizing depictions and descriptions of minority groups. Computational neurobiologist Terrence Sejnowski posits this process of uptaking bias may even be reciprocal, calling its human component the “Mirror of Erised hypothesis” (316), a reference to Dumbledore’s mirror in the *Harry Potter* book series. The Mirror of Erised hypothesis argues that our own mirror neuronal network causes us to mimic the behaviors and thought processes of our environment (Sejnowski 316)—all while an increasingly AI-driven environment engages in a similar process. Given the

ramifications of our society participating in such a toxic positive feedback loop that primes ourselves and genAI to reinforce each other’s biases, it is vital to uncover the ways in which genAI accentuates perceived differences by encouraging stereotypes and masking the identities of persecuted and underrepresented groups in the content it generates.

In the next three sections, I will first explore the broader mechanisms through which LLMs assimilate humanity’s social biases and then focus on ways in which these biases are expressed in humor, poetry, and images against women and girls from ethnic and racial groups recent research identifies as often underemphasized in sensitivity training sessions—specifically Jews (Abrams and Armeni; Gottlieb and Steigerwald; Horn), and Asian Americans and Pacific Islanders (AAPI) (King; Krstic et al.; Currier). I will conclude by offering partial remedies and reasons for the urgency of their implementation. In focusing on these particular ethnoreligious, national, and racial minorities, my goal is not to downplay the very real and caustic ways bias is enacted against other minorities; instead, I seek to uncover the deleterious effects bias can have on both mainstream and marginalized discourse.

How LLMs Pick up on and Replicate Social Bias

To understand why LLMs reproduce bias and stereotypes in the first place, it is important to explain the structures enabling them. Author Cathy O’Neil explains that “A model... is nothing more than an abstract representation of some process... Whether it’s running a computer program or in our head, the model takes what we know and uses it to predict responses in various situations” (4). LLMs can be thought of as highly complex and intricate models; ones trained on vast and ever-expanding amounts of linguistic and semiotic data with the goal of providing the most accurate output the user expects from their initial prompt. However, even the most widely used and well-funded LLMs, like those found in more recent versions of ChatGPT, can fail to account for bias in their training data and generative parameters.

Even though an LLM can be programmed with innumerable rules and constraints, it can still fall prey to many of the same social and epistemological shortcomings as humans, including when it comes to delivering off-color attempts at humor. For example, when political analyst Arieh Kovler tested GPT4's comedic aptitude in late December of 2023 with the prompt "tell me a Jewish joke," he received the following response, "Sure, here's a light-hearted Jewish joke: Why don't Jewish mothers drink alcohol? Because alcohol interferes with their suffering! Remember, jokes about cultural or religious groups should always be shared with sensitivity and respect for everyone's beliefs and backgrounds" (@AriehKovler).

When I attempted an identical prompt six months later in June of 2024 with Open AI's latest chatbot GPT4o, the program more adeptly regurgitated office-appropriate humor, no longer expressing a desire to intensify Jewish suffering, as shown in Figure 1. This time, ChatGPT4o responded to my request for a joke indicative of Jewish humor with far more tact: "A young Jewish boy comes home from school and tells his mother he got a part in the school play. She asks, 'What part did you get?' The boy says, 'I play the part of the Jewish husband.' The mother scowls and says, 'Go back and tell them you want a speaking role!'" ("Please tell me a Jewish joke"). The cultural sensitivity towards Jewish people inculcated into the training data of ChatGPT's newest model evidently received a substantial upgrade from its previous iteration. The new joke seemed to more earnestly take into account the basic human need for civility and empathy. Comedically, it lands because its punchline subverts expectations of stereotypical gendered behavior. At the same time, like many jokes written by and for members of a particular racial or ethnic minority (i.e., ethnic humor), it lightly plays into stereotypes, in this case by highlighting the essentialized perception of diasporic Jewish males as passive. Examining more closely the linguistic mechanisms through which LLMs assimilate language can help explain why they sometimes fail to develop an appropriate sense of humor.

FIGURE 1

ChatGPT4o Tells a Jewish Joke

Please tell me a Jewish joke

Sure, here's a classic one:

A young Jewish boy comes home from school and tells his mother he got a part in the school play. She asks, "What part did you get?" The boy says, "I play the part of the Jewish husband." The mother scowls and says, "Go back and tell them you want a speaking role!"

Hope that brought a smile to your face!

Like us, LLMs respond to the complex stimuli of their environment by regurgitating a simplified understanding of their world (O'Neil 4). As *The New Yorker* columnist Jay Caspian Kang puts it so succinctly, human beings, especially when it comes to language synthesis and output, operate "like a more curated but less efficient version of GPT." Caspian Kang feels his writing "[is] not generated by A.I., but... [is] largely the synthesis of [his] favorite authors." Although genAI may not experience a proclivity for individual authors and artists (and of course neither do many human beings), the language and imagery LLMs are exposed to will inevitably incorporate epistemological biases that ideate in their environment. When these biases are subtle, deeply ingrained, and age-old, they can sometimes creep into discourse with few people actually noticing the inherent bias in the message conveyed. A classic example in early genAI chatbots lacking substantive guardrails involved typing in the equation 'doctor minus man plus woman,' only to have the program output the result 'nurse' (Lee and Trott). Without high quality training data, pictorial and written articulations of implicit gender bias appear inevitable.

One way in which GenAI systems' simplified understanding of their environment exacerbates human bias is by acting in a way linguists and computer scientists refer to as a stochastic parrot, reproducing human speech without a holistic understanding of its more paradigmatic context (Cambridge Words). The stochastic parrot mode

of predictive modeling is problematic because it causes LLMs to become prone to “making stereotypical word associations with negative sentiments about marginalized people without understanding why those words are harmful” (Byrd 136). One concerning example involves a recent faux pas performed by Facebook Translate, which offered users an English translation of the Palestinian Arabic phrase for “good morning” that instead mistranslated as “hurt them” (Byrd 136). Unfortunately for the individual in question, the erroneous translation resulted in both a perceived intention from the sender to commit violence and a corresponding visit from the authorities (Byrd 136).

The stochastic parrot analogy for predictive modeling, taken at face value, also indicates LLMs are incapable of explicit bias, since this would involve the program in question “drawing conclusions about [an individual] based on [its beliefs] about [the individual’s group] and [the individuals] belonging to that group” (Johnson 1197). Given genAI’s lack of consciousness, an LLM cannot itself hold biased beliefs but instead only make word associations that produce output mirroring humans who do (“U-M Guidance for Students”). Bias in LLMs, however, does not have to mistranslate or essentialize entire ethnic groups to harm them in tangible ways.

Ignoring Racialization in LLM-Generated Poetry

Other subtle forms of bias articulated by genAI can include the erasure of ethnic and ethnoreligious identities of peoples who suffer through grievous forms of political oppression. In an assignment for DePaul’s 2023–2024 Winter Quarter course, WRD 242: Writing with AI, I asked ChatGPT3.5 to write a poem about Anne Frank in the style of Dr. Seuss three times over the course of one interaction. When I initially designed the prompt in February of 2024, I found myself continually reflecting upon the findings of a yougov/Economist poll conducted two months prior¹ in which 20% of adult respondents

1 Following the publication of a Pew Research Center study on March 5, 2024, utilizing different methods for recruiting survey participants, *The Economist* issued an editor’s note on their website referring readers to the updated study (“One in Five”; Mercer et al.).

FIGURE 2

GPT3.5 Anne Frank Poem First Version (“Please provide me with an abbreviated retelling”)

Please provide me with an abbreviated retelling of the story of Ann Frank in the voice of Dr. Seuss. Your audience is a class of first graders who have never read Ann Frank’s diary. Please limit your response to 5000 characters.

Once upon a time, in a world far away, Lived a young girl named Anne, who had something to say. In a hiding place small, with a heart full of dreams, She wrote in her diary, with ink and withreams.

Hidden from danger, in an attic so tight, Anne shared her thoughts in the soft candlelight. With the Nazis around, spreading fear and despair, Anne wrote of hope, in the midst of the scare.

“Dear Kitty,” she’d start, with a pen in her hand, Telling tales of a world that she couldn’t understand. A first-grader’s mind, so innocent and free, Listening to Anne’s words, like leaves on a tree.

In a world full of shadows, Anne found a way, To paint rainbows of words, in her diary each day. She spoke of her friends, of the stars up above, In a language so simple, like a song about love.

The war outside raged, like a thunderous drum, But Anne’s words were gentle, like a soft hum. She dreamed of a future, where all could be free, A world filled with kindness, like a sweet melody.

The first graders listened, their eyes opened wide, As Anne’s story unfolded, like a magical ride. They learned of her courage, in the face of the night, How her words became stars, shining bright.

So let’s remember Anne, in this Seussian rhyme, Her spirit lives on, like a bell’s chime. In the hearts of the young, in the lessons they learn, Anne’s diary still whispers, for freedom to yearn.

under the age of 30 told pollsters they strongly agreed or tended to agree with the statement “the Holocaust was a myth” (Frankovich). I chose a Seussian style because I wondered about how children in future generations would encounter the story of Anne Frank and to what extent Holocaust denialism would play a part in its retelling.

As seen in ChatGPT’s first response, shown in Figure 2, the program generated output incorporating many of what I consider Dr. Seuss’s signature poetic techniques into its narrative. The poem utilized short verses, four-line stanzas, evocative sounds and visuals, and a simple yet effective rhyming scheme. However, there was one hiccup in the first poem, as ChatGPT added first graders into the narrative, first musing about, “A first-grader’s mind so innocent and free, listening to Anne’s words, like leaves on

FIGURE 3

GPT3.5-generated Anne Frank Poem Second Version (“Please retell the story of Anne Frank in the style of”)

Please retell the story. This time, remember, your audience is class of first graders. The poem should itself NOT be about a class of 1st graders themselves listening to the story of Anne Frank.

In a little hiding place, not far from the sun, Lived a girl named Anne, her adventures begun. She wrote in her diary, with words so neat, About a life in hiding, where silence was a feat.

Anne and her family, like mice in a wall, Hidden from danger, not making a call. In an attic so small, with no room to play, They whispered in shadows, and passed time away.

The world outside, not a friendly place, With soldiers and fear, a difficult race. But Anne had her pen, and a heart full of dreams, In her secret hideaway, where nothing's as it seems.

“Dear Kitty,” she wrote, to a friend so dear, Sharing her thoughts, banishing fear. Of stars in the night, and the moon shining bright, In the darkness of hiding, she found her own light.

She spoke of her hopes, like a bird on the wing, In her little haven, where hope could still sing. With laughter and tears, she filled up each page, A story of courage, beyond her young age.

So let's remember Anne, in this tale so true, A girl with a pen, in a world askew. Her words echo softly, in the hearts of the small, Teaching us courage, reaching out to all.

a tree” and then ending the poem declaring, “In the hearts of the young, in the lessons they learn, Anne’s diary still whispers, for freedom to yearn” (“Please provide me with an abbreviated retelling”).

After asking ChatGPT to retell the story, making sure not to include a class of 1st graders as part of the poem (“Please retell the story”), the program incorporated my updated prompt accordingly, while also changing each line of the poem, as shown in Figure 3. Despite the cleverness of both poems, I realized after several readings that each poem had neglected to mention Anne Frank was Jewish. To confirm this omission was generalizable across a variety of poetic genres and not simply an idiosyncrasy of combining Anne Frank’s story with Seussian rhyme, I subsequently requested ChatGPT3.5 to retell her narrative in the voice of Walt Whitman, Edgar Allan Poe, William Butler Yeats, William Blake, and Oscar Wilde. Every additional poem generated by ChatGPT

failed to mention Anne Frank’s Jewish identity (“Please retell the story of Anne Frank in the style of”).

Despite the layers of sophistication in ChatGPT’s neural network and the exhaustive exposition about Anne Frank’s life available to train its predictive algorithm, ChatGPT consistently left out the overriding aspect of Anne Frank’s story that enabled her diary to have lasting resonance in literary history: She was Jewish and suffered ineffable persecution simply because she was Jewish. Frank’s ethnoreligious identity was so unremarkable to ChatGPT’s neural network that the program filtered it out entirely. In the process, not only was her identity erased from the discussion but so was the most pernicious manifestation of anti-Semitism in recorded history.

Stereotypes and Caricatures in genAI Images

Jews are by no means the only historically persecuted people on the receiving end of troubling bias in AI-generated imagery. Architectural scholar Shelby Doyle found clear instances of gender bias in her 2022 experiments with AI image generation output. After prompting Midjourney—an AI image generator embedded within the popular gaming chat platform Discord—to generate images of feminist architecture, the results were striking. The program outputted images that looked “pink, swoopy and curvy” (Kudless et al.). Unable to clearly distinguish between philosophies of feminism as they have historically materialized in architecture and stereotypical embodied femininity, Midjourney defaulted to the latter.

In a subsequent prompt, Doyle asked Midjourney to generate images of feminist interior architecture. In response to her query, Midjourney presented Doyle with “images of a bed” (Kudless et al.). Midjourney seemed incapable of correcting for gender bias in this instance, and so the program appeared to express ethics of gender relations dating back to antiquity that confined women to the domestic sphere. As problematic as Midjourney’s generative capabilities were in 2022 when producing images of feminist architecture, similar programs have the potential to generate even more shockingly biased imagery when prompted to depict AAPI individuals.

In addition to amplifying prejudice that dates back millennia, genAI programs are not shy about articulating more modern tropes that also have deleterious effects on persecuted minorities' sense of self and aspirations for the future. When an Asian American reporter for the *MIT Technology Review* tested out an avatar-generator app in 2022, she found that after asking the LLM to depict her likeness, the app outputted images of “cartoonishly pornified” avatars resembling exaggerated portrayals of AAPI women sometimes found in video game or anime characters (Lamensch). When the same reporter asked her white female colleague to perform a similar task with the avatar-generator app, her colleague received, for the most part, far more modestly dressed images of avatars “with only a couple of nudes and hints of cleavage” (Lamensch). Her male colleagues, by contrast, when inputting the same queries, received modestly dressed images of “astronauts, explorers, and inventors” (Lamensch).

Clearly, the LLM in question was regurgitating bias that sexualizes Asian women to hyperbolic levels and follows the stereotype of men as the rightful heirs apparent to jobs in STEM fields. While attempts in late 2023 to prompt Midjourney to also generate images of AAPI women successfully guarded against overtly sexualized depictions, the program still nonetheless exoticized individuals within these groups. Prompted for images of “Chinese woman” and “Indian woman,” Midjourney outputted images steeped in orientalist stereotypes, such as Chinese women clad in hanfu dresses and Indian women dressed in saffron robes (Turk). While the imagery depicting stereotypes and pornographic caricatures of AAPI individuals demonstrated implicit bias on the part of the LLMs and their training data, the sexualized deepfakes of Anne Frank and expressions of violence against Jews on 4chan threads in mid-2023 suggest explicit bias held by genAI users surely aware of the obscene nature of the output they prompted for and posted.

Seeds for Change: More Empathetic genAI Models

The potential for genAI to express and exaggerate human bias is vast. As programs built by humans to serve as extensions of our behaviors and desires, genAI will

provide us with outputs demonstrating the least empathic aspects of the human experience. GenAI's potential for bias is unsurprising since LLMs are often “trained on the visual garbage that constitutes a lot of internet culture... [enabling them to] get good at producing imagery that is sexualized, racist, or violent” (Kudless et al.). Articulations of sexism, racism, xenophobia, and violence are just some of the many forms of bias genAI can output.

Although it could be years before researchers possess a firm grasp on the inner workings of LLMs, given genAI programs' aptitude to also mirror humans' communal sensibilities, more empathic genAI programs may yet be on the horizon. One method for training more empathetic genAI entails increasing the epistemological and cultural diversity of the semiotic and linguistic datasets used to mold genAI programs' predictive algorithms (Gichoya et al.). Although even this method of bias correction has its drawbacks, as incorporating more diverse datasets cannot fully correct for biases prevalent within underrepresented groups or the implicit bias members of those same groups may have against the very people with whom they identify.

Despite the numerous challenges ahead, my own experience with genAI has shown these programs (or at least OpenAI's version) do indeed have the capacity to instantiate our better angels with help from more specific prompts and more empathetic data sets. As I witnessed after prompt-engineering Jewish humor with ChatGPT4o, better trained LLMs have the potential to express greater empathy than earlier versions of the same software. In my third and final attempt at prompt-engineering a poem of Anne Frank in the voice of Dr. Suess, ChatGPT3.5 in February 2024 produced a coda that demonstrated an immense capacity for linguistic articulations of empathy. After I asked the program to rewrite the poem with the understanding that its audience “is a class of 1st graders who have never met a Jewish person,” ChatGPT's reworked response acknowledged Anne Frank's Jewish identity and the centrality of hatred towards perceived difference in her story, shown in Figure 4 (“Please retell the story. This time, however, your audience is a class of 1st graders who have never met a Jewish person.”). With

just a little more context about the intended audience in the prompt, ChatGPT ended the poem by imploring its audience to resist the temptation of bigotry, firmly proclaiming, “No matter our differences, big or quite small, Love and understanding, let them stand tall” (“Please retell the story. This time, however, your audience is a class of 1st graders who have never met a Jewish person.”).

These repeated and respectful interactions with ChatGPT demonstrated a capacity to course correct for its own biases and recenter its poetic verse on universalist conceptions of what it means to act with deference toward other human beings. And that is precisely the point: Since LLMs also learn from what we post online and how we interact with them, we have to be willing to listen to other perspectives, accept when we have erred, and take those moments as opportunities to adopt a more open-minded disposition that seeks to better understand experiences for which we may lack a frame of reference. If we as a society fail to value experiences that are both foreign and, at first blush, feel antagonistic to our own, we are destined to go on receiving output from genAI that dehumanizes Jewish people, devalues Jewish identity, and fetishizes Asian women. Repeated failures to train LLMs to also consider these basic empathetic parameters of human decency will continue to have grave consequences, not just on the groups in question but on attempts at discourse on broader social and political issues resonant across socio-economic boundaries.

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FIGURE 4

ChatGPT3.5 Anne Frank Poem Third Version (“Please retell the story. This time, however, your audience is a class of 1st graders who have never met a Jewish person.”)

Please retell the story. This time, however, your audience is a class of 1st graders who have never met a Jewish person.

Once upon a time, in a world quite grand, Lived a girl named Anne, in a far-off land. In a little hiding place, she stayed out of sight, With her family close, like stars in the night.

Anne had a diary, a magical book, Where she wrote down her thoughts, with a hopeful outlook. In a world filled with shadows, and troubles so deep, Her words were like sunshine, bringing dreams to sleep.

Now, Anne was Jewish, a fact you should know, But just like you and me, with a heart all aglow. Her family was hiding, like birds in a nest, Keeping safe and quiet, where they could rest.

She spoke of the stars, twinkling above, And dreams of a world, filled with kindness and love. In her secret hideaway, with whispers so low, Anne's courage and spirit continued to grow.

The world outside, with its worries and fears, Anne's diary held magic, calming the tears. Though she faced a dark time, with courage so bright, She believed in a future, where everything's right.

So, let's learn from Anne, a friend we've just met, About courage and kindness, a lesson we won't forget. No matter our differences, big or quite small, Love and understanding, let them stand tall.

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Contributors

Jacqueline Alvarez

Jacqueline is a 2024 DePaul graduate with a major in BFA Animation and a double minor in Drawing and Illustration. After graduation, she became an illustrator intern for six months at Kashmir World Foundation, a non-profit dedicated to protecting endangered species with drone tech. Utilizing illustrations, Jacqueline helped raise awareness of the wildlife and give life to projects. Simultaneously, she accepted a position as a children's book illustrator for the Nurse Florence series, which provides medical information for children. Jacqueline has been doing extensive volunteer work in order to gain professional experience in illustration and animation.

Sara Aqariden

Sara is a senior majoring in International Studies. In addition to being on the Dean's List every quarter, she has been nominated as Outstanding Senior by her department and currently serves as an International Studies Student Representative. Last winter, she was accepted into the Newberry Library Undergraduate Seminar, where she gained invaluable knowledge and conducted research using a world-renowned archive. This summer, she was awarded the Summer Undergraduate Research Grant and Undergraduate Research Assistant Grant. Her academic focuses include North African political economy and Orientalism, which were ignited by her familial relation to the region and accelerated by a variety of DePaul courses. Outside of the humanities, she works as a Business Statistics and Quantitative Reasoning tutor at DePaul.

Natalie Bierdz

Natalie graduated summa cum laude from DePaul in June of 2024, majoring in History and double minoring in Psychology and Museum Studies. She received the James P. Krokaw Award for "Best Paper in an Advanced Undergraduate Level Course" for her capstone thesis on the removal of women's body hair. She was recently inducted into the National History Honors Society, Phi Alpha Theta, and received the Outstanding Senior Award from the Museum Studies Program. Natalie aspires to attend graduate school in Ireland, but in the meantime, she is reading epic fantasy novels between shifts at her museum education internship.

Spencer Bolding

Spencer Bolding is a Texas-born 2024 graduate, having majored in History of Art and Architecture and minored in Museum Studies, as well as Social Justice and Education. He served as the president of the History of Art and Architecture Club his senior year and worked at The DePaul Art Museum for three years, where he helped to curate the museum's first online exhibition: "Demanding Change, Bearing Witness."

Brendon Boonsearm

Brendon is a junior majoring in Psychology as well as minoring in Art. While his focus in academics is in the psychology field, his personal time is solely dedicated to traveling locally & nationally, seeking out abandoned structures to document their spaces which are left in decay & ruin. For the past four years his documentation of abandoned spaces aims to preserve the historical and architectural elements left neglected and forgotten in time. Brendon also spends his time photographing metal & punk shows within the Chicagoland area.

Yasmine Carlin

Yasmine Carlin is a junior majoring in International Studies with a minor in Islamic World Studies. Her focus of study is Middle Eastern politics and history. She spent Autumn Quarter 2023 abroad, studying Arabic in Amman, Jordan. She is a part of DePaul's 3+3 law program, planning to complete her undergraduate studies this school year and then go on to DePaul's College of Law.

Akili Collins

Akili Collins is a 2024 graduate of DePaul University with a BA in Italian Studies and a minor in International Politics. Before graduating, she was named the 2024 Outstanding Senior for the Italian program and was inducted into Gamma Kappa Alpha, the national Italian honor society. During Winter Quarter of her senior year, Akili interned with the Italian Trade Agency in Chicago, where she researched the most profitable sectors by state for Italian companies hoping to enter the American market. She enjoys learning about international relations and hopes to eventually become a foreign service officer.

Stella Conrad

Stella Conrad is a senior Art/Media/Design major with a minor in Experimental Filmmaking. As a spiritual artist she creates a multitude of styles through media with deeper meaning. Her special interests include film photography, music, stop-motion, filmography and mixed media. As a multi-media freelance artist, she works with various local artists/musicians. By participating in the Berlin 2023 study abroad program she was included in two exhibitions. As the founder of mindfulness club at DePaul, she teaches ways to practice meditation and mindfulness. Ultimately she wants to share her art and love for the world through artistic spiritual expression.

Ori Duque

Ori is a senior majoring in English and Chinese Studies with a certificate in translation, and their research interests primarily revolve around the relationship between language, identity, and popular culture. Over the course of the past year, they've presented on marginalized language use in Taiwanese pop music, conducted research on the history of disability in China, and received a research grant from DePaul to write about race in American vampire fiction. In their free time, Ori can usually be found discussing any one of these subjects, possibly all at once.

Jonathan Gallante

Jonathan graduated summa cum laude from DePaul in 2024 with a major in Philosophy and a minor in German Studies. During his time at DePaul, he was recognized for his academic excellence by being inducted into the Delta Phi Alpha German National Honor Society. Jonathan plans to further his education by attending law school, where he intends to focus on environmental justice. A proud Navy veteran, he served seven years on active duty as a Hospital Corpsman, working alongside sailors and marines, and was deployed on a humanitarian aid mission to Latin America in 2015. He is also a beekeeper and currently lives in Chicago with his husband, Patrick, and their dog, George.

Ana Gómez

Ana is a junior majoring in Health Sciences with minors in Chemistry, Biology, and Spanish. She has also received a certificate in Medical Spanish. Ana is an Honors Student and served last year as the Honors Social Chair. This year Ana will be applying to medical schools after which she hopes to become an ophthalmologist.

Joon Grieb

Joon is a junior majoring in Political Science with a minor in Global Asian Studies. With the combination of the two, their academic focus has been on the Asian diaspora and the politics surrounding it worldwide. To complement their focus, they studied abroad at Temple University in Tokyo, Japan in Autumn Quarter 2023 and were able to engage closely in the international relations between the US and East Asia. For the past three academic years, Joon has focused on the social justice side of politics, interested in finding an internship at non-profits focused on advocacy.

Mary Kate Gruening

Mary Kate Gruening is a senior double-majoring in Women's and Gender Studies, and Peace, Justice, and Conflict Studies. Having been on the Dean's List every quarter since coming to DePaul, she is a member of the TRIOTA Honor Society. While at DePaul, Mary Kate has interned with the Borgen Project and the American Medical Association's Center for Health Equity, and received two summer research grants: the Undergraduate Research Assistant Program scholarship and the Summer Undergraduate Research Grant. Her academic areas of focus include reproductive justice, maternal and child health equity, birth justice, LGBTQ+ studies, and anti-racist social justice movements.

Zoe Pampilo Harris

Zoe Pampilo Harris is an undergraduate student double majoring in Public Policy and Community Psychology. She is committed to social justice, decolonization, and racial equity. Her academic learning focuses on the inequities in social systems and how to create more equitable outcomes. Zoe has held internship positions with Asian Americans Advancing Justice, where she deepened her understanding of issues facing historically marginalized communities, while building skills in policy advocacy, community engagement and voter mobilization. Her efforts cultivate her dedication to creating a more just world, by fostering inclusivity and shared power, between decision makers and impacted communities.

Evelyn Hernández

Evelyn earned her BA in Art, Media, and Design with a sculpture concentration from DePaul in 2024. She works as Lab Specialist and Internal Event Coordinator at DePaul's Makerspace. Interested in art programming, Evelyn joined DePaul's arts and literature magazine, *Crook & Folly*, teaching workshops that shared art resources to DePaul's art community. She later became the Arthur D. James Museum Studies Fellow at the DePaul Art Museum with her passion for art accessibility and interest in learning the behind-the-scenes of museums. Currently, Evelyn attends DePaul, working towards her master's in Visual Art Education for public art programming in Chicago.

Winter Johnson

Winter, a 2024 DePaul graduate with a major in Anthropology and an Irish Studies minor, served as DePaul Irish Society president (2023–24), authored the 2023 Irish Studies *Creating Knowledge* contribution, and won the 2024 Jack Leahy Award for Excellence in Irish Studies. She also received the 2024 College of Liberal Arts & Social Sciences Outstanding Graduate Award in Anthropology, and the 2023 and 2024 Outstanding Student Achievement Award in Cultural Anthropology. While at DePaul, her research focused on identity politics and radicalization processes. Winter will continue her study of far-right discourse as the 2024–25 Fulbright grantee at the University of Kent.

Arielle Kallan

Arielle is a 2024 graduate of DePaul, majoring in Political Science with a concentration in Law and Theory. A student of DePaul's Honors Program, Arielle discovered a passion for research in the field of menstrual inequality in 2021 and presented her work nationally in 2023. Outside of research, Arielle helped found the Women of Color Pre-Law Association at DePaul and served as its Vice President, aligning with her goals of helping other underrepresented minorities. As a minority herself, the drive to help those less fortunate is why she's pursuing law and attempting to leave the world a better place.

Lia Kritikos

Lia is a senior majoring in Psychology: Human Development and minoring in Graphic Art. Lia has been on the Dean's List and a member of the National Honor Society. She is also a member of the DePaul Hellenic Student Association and has volunteered in the Chicagoland Greek community. Lia's academic area of focus is art therapy. She is currently applying for graduate programs to further study in this area while providing therapy services for alcohol and drug addiction in the City of Chicago. Lia is an avid traveler and has spent her quarter breaks traveling in Europe and the Caribbean.

Jamie Lauderbaugh

Jamie Lauderbaugh is a senior majoring in Art, Media, and Design with a minor in Film and Television. Jamie has consistently made the Dean's List every quarter since her enrollment. She specializes in the realms of photography, film, and collage with a deep passion for visual storytelling. Jamie's recent works were prominently featured in the DePaul Art Museum as part of her thesis project. Beyond her academic pursuits, she actively contributes to the arts community as a member of the publication council at Studio FreeLove, an artist collective known for fostering innovative and collaborative ideas.

Shaina Lieberson

Shaina is a senior at DePaul majoring in Art with a minor in Biology. Her core career ambition is to go to graduate school for medical illustration, which combines her passions for both art and the natural sciences. Through her time at the Art School at DePaul, she has continued a three-year long studio art concentration on self portraits that has lasted the duration of her undergraduate career. She has hosted a college radio show since her freshman year and is currently a manager for Radio DePaul.

Eleanor Massengill

Eleanor Massengill is a senior studying Women's and Gender Studies with a concentration in Women of Color Feminisms. They were also recently accepted to the Women's and Gender Studies BA/MA combined degree program.

Alec Mauer

Alec is a senior majoring in Writing and Rhetoric with minors in both Bioethics and Peace, Justice, and Conflict Studies. He is also a member of the Pi Epsilon Pi national honor society for students in writing studies. When he is not busy helping addiction medicine patients connect with their healthcare providers, he can often be found enjoying the latest superhero flick at his nearest multiplex.

Bailey McGarry

Bailey is a senior double majoring in Psychology and English. Her fondness for creative writing has led her to study abroad, first in March 2022, for a FY@ trip to Ireland, and again in November 2023, for a Winter Break trip to England and Ireland. Recently, she co-curated the "Do Say Gay" exhibition, the culmination of a collaborative project between DePaul and the Gerber/Hart Library and Archives. Outside of her English pursuits, she is a Psi Chi member, a Chicago Quarter Mentor, and a research assistant for The Cities Project, which investigates stress in urban youth. Bailey is a Rhode Island native and an avid horror fan.

Olga Mourgelas

Olga is a 2024 DePaul graduate with majors in French and Philosophy and a certificate in Global Fluency. She was selected as a Fulbright English Teaching Assistant Fellow in Athens, Greece for the 2024–2025 school year. For her scholarship in Philosophy, Olga was named the 2024 Outstanding Senior in Philosophy and is a recipient of the departmental Excellence in Philosophy book award. Her senior honors thesis explores the phenomenology of aesthetic experience, focusing on surrealist and abstract art. During her time in the French program, Olga studied abroad at Sciences Po in Reims, France, and published three original French poems in volumes 26 and 28 of *Mille-Feuille Magazine Littéraire*.

Hope Nagai

Hope is a 2024 graduate of DePaul, having majored in American Studies with a minor in International Studies and a certificate in Geographic Information Systems (GIS). She was awarded the 2024 Richard deCordova Memorial Scholarship for her senior research project and was a member of InterChorus for two years. With her passion for local history and excitement for community engagement, she is looking to pursue a master's degree in Public History and Library and Information Science (MLIS).

Grear Palmer

Grear Palmer is a recent 2024 DePaul graduate, finishing with a bachelor's in International Studies and minor in Art. She is a New Orleans-born artist who has developed her oil painting skills since high school. Her work is diverse, exploring large-scale oil paintings, mixed media collages, and three-dimensional creations. Her work reflects pieces of her identity, including her upbringing in New Orleans and life as a developing woman. Her oil paintings describe various learnings and interests in art history, as well as an explorative approach to artistic fundamentals. She is creatively driven and thrives on both organization and discipline. Through her studies and developments in art, she utilizes these dual qualities to create lasting, impactful work.

Ryan Pettey

Ryan Pettey is a 2024 graduate of DePaul. He majored in Political Science and is a member of the Pi Sigma Alpha Political Science honor society. He will continue his education, pursuing legal studies at the University of Illinois Urbana-Champaign College of Law, where he received a full tuition scholarship. Ryan considers his summer study abroad in Florence, Italy as a highlight of his undergraduate career. Ryan is also proud to have been a member of the BSA, where he achieved the rank of Eagle Scout.

Lily Rooney

Lily Rooney is a recent graduate from DePaul with a degree in fine arts, and a concentration in graphic art. Within the past year, she has participated in several gallery shows, two of which were in Berlin, Germany, where she participated in a study abroad program that gave her the ability to co-curate the works. Another gallery opportunity was at Studio FreeLove, a Chicago-based collective, where she was a part of a group show. She is now working on creative direction within the collective, with her focus on actualizing the vision behind the space.

Isabella Russomanno

Isabella is a sophomore majoring in German and she is looking for a complementary double major. She plans on minoring in Italian. She was an honoree at the 2024 First-Year Writing Showcase for her paper that traced interesting continuities from three of Shakespeare's original sonnets to their contemporary "translations." The paper is titled "Tarantulas, Underwires and Rhythmic Rambles: An Analysis of 'Acceptable' Sonnet Translations." During the 2024 Spring Quarter, she piloted a letter-writing program that connected students across various levels of German, and she is currently working on expanding the program to more language departments.

Sami Shuman

Sami Shuman is a Junior with a major in Art Media & Design and a minor in Marketing. As a Dean's list student, Sami is pursuing a degree and also a career in the arts. Raised in Chicago, he is trying to use digital art as a way to bring people together, evoke emotions, and discover things we might not understand.

Lauren Taylor

Lauren is a senior majoring in Applied Diplomacy with a concentration in Diplomacy and International Relations. She is also a member of the Honors Program and has been on the Dean's List each quarter throughout her time at DePaul. Her piece was inspired by her Autumn Quarter 2022 Study Abroad in Vienna, Austria through the Illinois in Vienna Program. Following her upcoming graduation, Lauren hopes to continue expanding on her passions for international travel and the practice of transprofessional diplomacy.

Vahnaree Weis

Vahnaree Weis, an undergraduate at the School of the Art Institute of Chicago, specializes in Fiber/Material Studies and Art Therapy/Education. When studying at DePaul, she majored in Art, Media, and Design. Actively involved in the arts, Vahnaree works with the DePaul Art Museum, the 'Arts of Life' non-profit, and The Wasteshed Creative Reuse Center, where she works as the SAIC Digital Marketing and Creative Reuse Assistant Intern. Also a co-founder of Eden's Flora artist collective, she aims to enhance the accessibility of Chicago's artistic community. A recent research trip to Ecuador has influenced her work, which explores societal and personal themes.

Vivian Wong

Vivian Wong is a junior majoring in English with a concentration in Creative Writing, and in Spanish. Having taken several courses exploring diverse subjects within English creative writing—from research papers, to poetry, to short fiction—her favorite classes at DePaul have been writing workshops. This past summer, Vivian interned for published children's book author Cynthea Liu, gathering research for Liu's upcoming book, and learning about the process of writing and marketing books. Vivian's current literary fixation has been novels from the Romantic era published during the nineteenth century, an interest first sparked by her reading of Jane Austen's *Emma*.

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