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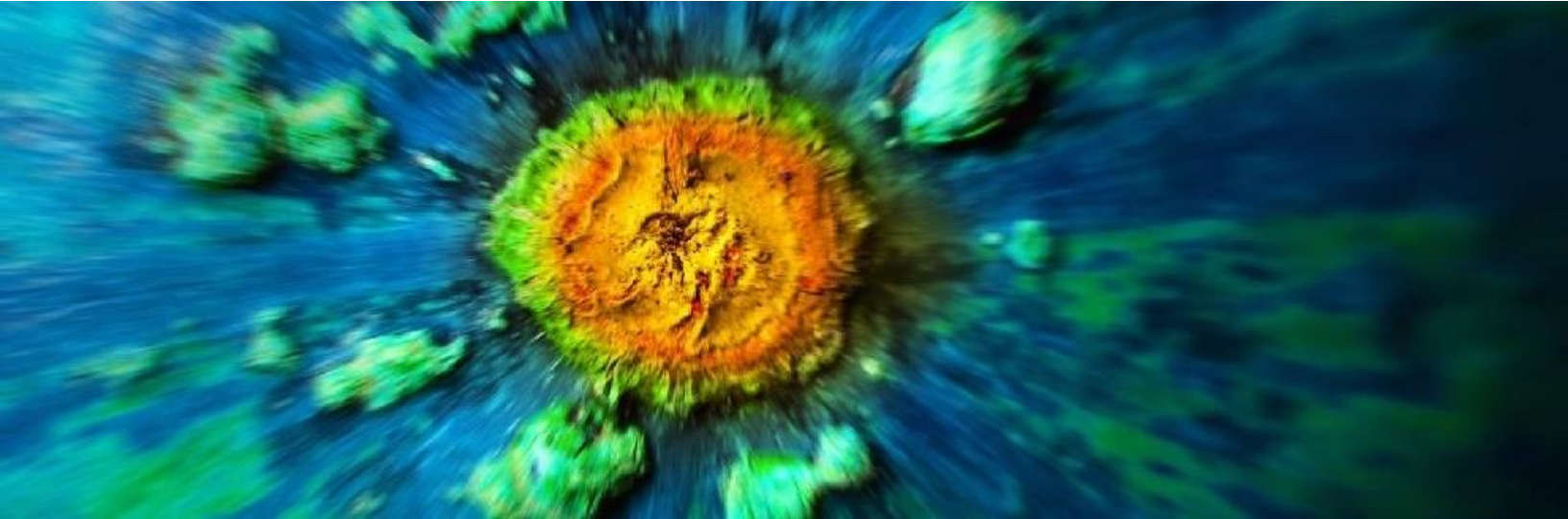
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The Image of Impact in Literature, Media, and Society: 2020 SASSI Conference Proceedings

Thomas G. Endres

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THE IMAGE OF IMPACT



in Literature, Media, and Society

2020 Conference Proceedings

Society for the Academic Study of Social Imagery

Edited by
Thomas G. Endres

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THE IMAGE OF IMPACT

in Literature, Media, and Society

Proceedings of the
2020 Conference of the
Society for the Academic Study of Social Imagery

March 2020
Greeley, Colorado

Edited by
Thomas G. Endres
University of Northern Colorado

Published by
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University of Northern Colorado
Greeley, Colorado

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Praelocutio – Annalis – Terminus

When we selected our theme of IMPACT for the 2020 *Society for the Academic Study of Social Imagery* (SASSI) conference, we had no idea how prescient the notion was. We were indeed IMPACTed by COVID-19. Originally slated for March 13-14, we were one of the first conferences nationwide to voluntarily move to a virtual format. The “shut-down” was not official yet in the States, and we had a couple weeks wondering “should we, shouldn’t we?” The live program was finalized until our half dozen or so international registrants had to cancel, as their countries were among the first affected. By the time our east coast attendees started dropping, we knew we had to make the move online. All things considered; the transition was smooth. Using the original program as a template, registrants were invited to submit their work in whatever format they wished – paper, outline, audio, video, PowerPoint, etc. – and that submission was linked on our website to their timeslot in the schedule. It was asynchronous but gave the feeling of being time bound and honoring our early plan. The interdisciplinary papers found in this compilation were selected from among those initial submissions.

Originally, the SASSI conference was known as SISSI (with the word "Interdisciplinary" used instead of "Academic") and was held annually in Colorado Springs, CO. The following excerpts are from a historical overview written by SISSI co-founder Will Wright:

In the fall of 1990 Dr. Steve Kaplan and I decided to try to hold an interdisciplinary conference in the spring of 1991. We decided that the organizing idea of the conference should be Imagery, which seemed vague, abstract, and interdisciplinary, and that each annual event should have a more specific topic – The Image of (Something). We called ourselves, as an organizing structure, The Society for the Interdisciplinary Study of Social Imagery (SISSI), and then we picked the topic of the first SISSI conference, The Image of Crime.

We found a great hotel, the Antlers in downtown Colorado Springs, and we reserved a set of meeting rooms and guest rooms. Then we made up and mailed out a Call for Papers, wondering if anyone would come. We figured out a registration fee, I think around \$60, and a Proceedings fee (around \$20), since we planned to produce a Proceedings, and we planned a two day conference. We accepted about 60-70 proposals, from around the country, and most people actually came, participated in sessions, and told us they had a good time.

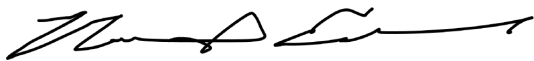
We began to plan a second conference but this time we would plan for three days and send out far more Calls for Papers. The topic for the second year would be The Image of War, and this time we had about 150 participants, another success. After that we had our routine.

The conference continued in this format for 25 years – always in March to capitalize on the tail end of the ski season. Over the years, the SISSI conference became a favorite for our faculty and graduate students here at the University of Northern Colorado. Upon professor Wright's retirement, we felt a great loss when there was no SISSI conference in the spring of 2016. We contacted Will and asked if he would be willing to pass the torch to us, and he thoughtfully turned over the reins. We tried to keep intact as much of the original conference feel and structure as possible, e.g. staying with "The Image of (Something)" theme. Upon reflection, we rebranded the association as SASSI as a way to honor the long-standing title while simultaneously making it our own and, in 2017, hosted “The Image of REBIRTH in Literature, Media, and Society.” Our most noteworthy addition was continuing to produce a bound copy of the Proceedings, but also registering it as a digital periodical with ISSN, and archiving the document online.

Unfortunately, the journey was an upward struggle. Unlike the Colorado Springs locale, we did not have easy access to an airport, and there is no local skiing. We needed to undergo a venue change after year one, and expenses generally exceeded our income at the gate. We found ourselves in competition with a wide range of conference mills and for-profit alternatives. Simultaneously, our university had a change in upper administration. As difficult as it was correct, our new president implemented massive and long-overdue budget corrections (cuts) to operating expenses, thereby reducing our ability to subsidize SASSI. Even before the devastation caused to higher education by coronavirus, we decided that 2020 was to be our final year hosting the conference. The spirit was willing, but the infrastructure was weak.

We are in hopes that the mantle will be picked up once again, this time moving to the University of Nebraska at Kearney. Then again, coronavirus continues to change our world, and we must all wait to see what the future holds. Our deepest appreciation to Dr. Wright and the SASSI forerunners for giving us a chance to carry on the tradition. Fortunately, we have been able to produce and archive four years' worth of these digital Proceedings, which have been downloaded thousands of times worldwide. We are happy to have provided opportunities to emerging and established scholars, and are confident these essays will continue to enlighten audiences for years to come.

Wishing health to all,



Thomas G. Endres, PhD
SASSI Executive Director
Professor of Communication Studies
University of Northern Colorado

August 2020

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Table of Contents (Alphabetical by Author)

In the Name of Religion: A Look into Ritualistic Religious Performance in Marjane Satrapi’s <i>Persepolis</i>	1
Hannah Keziah Agustin, University of Wisconsin-Whitewater	
Cross-References: Impacting Memorial Legacy in American Legion v AHA	7
Lin Allen and Dale Edwards, University of Northern Colorado	
Corona Covered: Mask Media	12
Lin Allen and Scott Franklin, University of Northern Colorado	
The Impact of History: Walter Kempowski’s <i>Im Block</i>	16
Ralph W. Buechler, University of Nevada – Las Vegas	
Of Moral Weakness and Redemption: The Impact of Malory on Tolkien	20
Megan Gifford, University of Nebraska at Kearney	
Impact of Contemporary Self-image (Selfie) on New Aesthetics, and Impact of New Aesthetics on Selfie, Vice Versa	24
Misbah Islam, Nanjing University of the Arts, Nanjing China	
Impactful Theatrical Portrayals and Two Continuums of Impactful Kinds of Talk	31
Heidi L. Muller, University of Northern Colorado	
Law Enforcement “Journalism” in the Modern Age: How does Social Media Erode Journalistic Authority?	45
Beth Potter, University of Colorado Boulder	
The Impact of the Mueller Report on the Public Opinion of the 45th President of the US	57
Andrey Reznikov, Black Hills State University	
Antoine de Saint-Exupéry’s <i>Pilote de guerre</i> and a Response to Fascism	59
Mac Thompson, Butler Community College	
Edward Bernays, Propaganda, and Black Friday	67
John Umland, University of Nebraska at Kearney	
Presumed Dead: The Impact of Tennyson’s <i>Enoch Arden</i> on the Cinema	73
Rebecca Umland, University of Nebraska at Kearney	
The Impact of the Civil Rights Movement on Race Relations in the United States	84
Frederick D. Watson, Metropolitan State University of Denver	

**In the Name of Religion:
A Look into Ritualistic Religious Performance in Marjane Satrapi's *Persepolis***

Hannah Keziah Agustin
University of Wisconsin-Whitewater

Pay for your sins in the streets. Slice your head open with a sword. Beat your chest purple. Bruise yourself. Let blood water the ground you stand upon. *Mea maxima culpa*. This is penitence in Shi'i Islam, staged by actors carrying chains with knives, played by little girls who are told to slam their closed fists against their chests for people they do not know. Public and theatrical in every aspect. In Marjane Satrapi's *Persepolis*, religion is a performance, consisting of actors, spectacle, drama, and action, all of which in some way expose the dissonance between external religious pressures and one's personal convictions. At the cost of obedience, carefully choreographed rituals are publicized. In this essay, I will examine self-flagellation in the context of Islam and the act of wearing the veil to protect the self — two external ceremonies done religiously but only out of fear rather than true piety.

Self-flagellation and Wounded Fidelity



As a way of being one with the sufferings of their brothers and sisters in God, the mortification of the flesh is deemed necessary. Creating these wounds of devotion is a demonstration of solidarity and allegiance to the martyrs. Marji captions the collage, “Hitting yourself is one of the country’s rituals. During certain religious ceremonies, some people flagellated themselves brutally. Sometimes even with chains. It could go very far” (96). Three men line up to carry chains for lashing their backs; their faces are contorted in anguish, jaws dropped and groaning. We see them wear the same clothes used inside temples, but this time it’s stained with blood. There is synchronicity in their movement and clothing, symbolizing unity, solidarity and brotherhood. They commemorate martyrdom through this bloodletting, carving their heads open while kneeling on a pool of blood, using the same posture Muslims use for daily prayer, *salat*. It is noticeable that the ritual is a public performance *shared* with others, and not a solitary act of piety done behind closed doors. The street is the stage. The metal whip is a prop. The sun is the lighting. Their cries and bellows are music. People congregate as it is performed in the company of fellow brothers in the faith, developing camaraderie as they carry the same chains that harm them. Although not compulsory, these devotees purposely lacerate themselves even with the threat of physical risk. This raises a question on the authenticity of one’s beliefs during the act of self-inflicting harm. Doesn’t this go against the very fabric of religious morality? If the repetition of such acts allows one’s spirituality and physicality to come together, then Religion encourages violence towards the self. These extremes perversify the love and joy that a relationship with God should bring.

Wounds invite sympathy. It disturbs the ethos. It parades suffering, angst, and ache that others do not feel. It crucifies the self — center stage — with one’s agency and permission. When it is done in public, one plays the victim and dwells on the wounds for other people’s pity party. These scars flatter religiosity; it is the most daunting and eye-catching stunt that screams devout and saintly. What is quite trivial about this is Marji’s remark on the grotesque exhibition as “a macho thing” (96). It could be possible that the histrionics are done as an ostentatious display of one’s pride, an egotistical assurance of what one can and *will* go through in the name of Religion. It brags self-righteousness. This public act of penitence is an exaggeration which provokes others to feel guilty for a crime they did not commit. It is putting blood into the innocent’s hands; sadly, this is still justified as a way of processing grief and commemoration for those who have fought against tyranny.

But because of the existence of the private and public self and the internalized split between the two, we’ll never know the authenticity of one’s purpose for doing the rituals. No one can ever examine one’s intentions for walking barefoot for miles and slashing the back open. It is between God and the self. From the words and image, we experience the agony. As we see the clenching of the teeth, we are unwillingly convicted and condemned. Still, it makes us wonder what symbolism is inherent in all this hurting. What is the point of all these?

Unveiling the Veil: Examining the Private and Public Self



Satrapi manipulates the pictorial medium with such careful precision. She flattens the image by having no point of focus, crowding the panel with small kids playing with the veil. She says, “We didn’t really like to wear the veil, especially since we didn’t understand why we had to” (3). From this, we can deduce that the imposition of the veil is coerced by the Islamic regime. Below the narrative caption, we see little girls use the veil as a shield from the sun, as a jump rope, as reins for horseback riding, as a costume for the monster of darkness. In the cluttered frame, their innocence shows; joking about “execution in the name of freedom” (3) still has no bearing. With the placing of the shadows below the girls’ feet, it can be said that it is lunch time; the sun is scorching hot and its overall brightness dominates the frame. Wearing a veil over the little girls’ school uniforms only adds up to the heat and discomfort, so they remove it. Since then, it has always limited, restricted, and restrained their actions.

Again, the theme echoes with symbolic resonance as we see the girls in the front yard of their school a few years later (95). The scene of the veil repeats, but this time they have greater cognizance of the implications of this ritual; they have been raised by the revolution. They’ve seen families and

friends die; their eyes are glassy and frightened but hiding unease, unwilling to show any hint of fear. They know their place in society now; it has been indoctrinated to every fibre of their being. Marji wrote, “At school, they lined us up twice a day to mourn the war dead. They put on funeral marches and we had to beat our breasts” (95). We see uniformity in the way they beat their chest, in how they dress, and how confused they were; still, as a symbol of their allegiance and submission to Islam and the theocracy, they repeat the rituals with the funeral marches serenading the background. From the moment they dress up for school, they put the hijab on, even under the denim jacket and fancy clothing (131). The self is denied into submission to the demands of the ritualistic religious group, but it has no choice. It is a small nut in a big war machine. The individual spirit is diminished. Being different is called *resistance*. Theocracies and militant regimes crush the self because the self seeks liberty, and fundamentalists cannot control people if their self-awareness and enlightenment hinders them from obeying.

Thankfully, the veil covers. The veil also symbolizes protection; it is a boundary which separates the self from the world. This is the concrete demarcation of the private and the public identity. This costume allows one to blend in, even when one’s internal stance is in defiance against the theocracy; it conceals. It allows women everywhere to take up the role of the religious, the demure, and the holy. This frame of modesty stops people from asking questions; it shields them from the word “whore” and un-vilifies them as objects of male lust. It gives room for another identity to be taken up into existence — an identity which can make others believe that you are one of them, even when you take the veil off at the end of the day.

The conclusion is this: Religion, as portrayed in *Persepolis*, imposes rules obeyed by its followers for the sake of performance. It is an institution which, when followed without careful scrutiny, can poison one’s morale. It has the ability to dehumanize and desensitize as a result of the violence it encourages. Like Marji, Religion can scar people and draw them away from having an authentic relationship with God — the good God who has called Marji His celestial light, His last and best choice (8). These rituals impose invariance, legalism, traditionalism, and formalism, as if all these save people from eternal damnation. If doing is believing, then call these people giants in the faith. But in the end, when all is said and done and we stand in front of the judgment seat at the throne room of God, are all these enough?

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Cross-References: Impacting Memorial Legacy in American Legion v AHA

Lin Allen and Dale Edwards
University of Northern Colorado

“on what theory are these (symbols) permissible? . . . What’s the theory”

Justice Elena Kagan, Oyez

"I don't see the daylight between proselytizing and endorsement," Gorsuch said. "It seems to me that you are taking us right back to the dog's breakfast you've warned us against."¹

Justice Neil Gorsuch

AMERICAN LEGION ETAL. v. AMERICAN HUMANIST ASSN. ETAL. presents a case rich in arguments about the legacy impact of memorials, both individually and as part of the public memory. Our purpose in this study is to analyze these impacts, drawing from the Oyez in United States Supreme Court Case No. 17–1717, argued February 27, 2019. From a definitional, contextual, interpretive and purposive vantage point, the impact is symbolically significant.

The venue for this rhetorical controversy is situated

In Bladensburg, Maryland, as part of a memorial park honoring veterans is a 40-foot tall cross, which is the subject of this litigation. Construction on the cross began in 1918, and it was widely described using Christian terms and celebrated in Christian services. In 1961, Maryland-National Capital Park and Planning Commission acquired the cross and the land, as well as the responsibility to maintain, repair, and otherwise care for the cross. The Commission has spent approximately \$117,000 to maintain and repair the cross, and in 2008, it set aside an additional \$100,000 for renovations.

Several non-Christian residents of Prince George’s County, Maryland, expressed offense at the cross, which allegedly amounts to governmental affiliation with Christianity. American Humanist Association is a nonprofit organization advocating for separation of church and state. Together, AHA and the individual residents sued the Commission under 42 U.S.C. § 1983, alleging that the Commission’s display and maintenance of the cross violates the Establishment Clause.²

A preliminary examination indicates implicit and explicit underlying theories for interpreting symbols. Alito’s majority opinion relies on progression from religious symbolism to historic symbolism for things like the Latin cross...the crosses in the US cemeteries in France as memorials to fallen dead rather than on symbols of Christianity, for example. He spends a lot of ink explicating how formerly strictly religious symbols might not be so strictly religious anymore. Breyer’s concurrence goes there as well, saying that something erected more recently might qualify for protection. Beyond that, the framing of media coverage of the arguments and decision in the case provide a glimpse of how such long-cherished memorials are reflected in the public memory and how that memory might be affected in future years.

Our study identifies the rhetorical framework constructed in the case, exploring these research questions:

RQ1: How does rhetoric function to create a discourse of a memorial's symbolic impact?

RQ2: How do media function to create a framework for a memorial's symbolic impact as part of the public memory?

Questions for Allen (from Edwards)

Q1: What is the case stasis?

The constitutionality of the Bladensburg Cross, a Maryland World War I Veterans' Memorial "Peace" Cross. Does the 40' tall cross violate the Establishment Clause?

Petitioner American Legion contends it does not; Respondent American Humanist Association (AHA) claims it does. The U. S. Supreme Court ruled for American Legion in a 7-2 decision issued June 20, 2019.

Q2: What does your rhetorical analysis of American Legion v AHA yield?

Contested context. Context is a shape shifter. Context is revealed in two distinctive ways, creating distinct arguments and interpretations, yielding a semantic hierarchy of meaning. Rather than the way interlocutors typically invoke context as a catch-all term for surrounding elements, context itself emerges as interpretive terrain.

Q3: To what does context add up for American Legion versus AHA?

American Legion invokes contextual elements focusing on **SHAPE**: story, history, affinity, permanence and eloquence.

AHA focuses on contextual elements including **SHIFTER**: size, hierarchy, imposition, fairness, time, exigence and resistance.

Q4: What is the significance of this linguistic equation for rhetorical/legal analysis?

Context is not simply a conglomeration of elements that make text meaningful, it is a contested collection of selected elements. When we say that we need to take context into account in determining various matters, we may be referring to very different elements of that context.

Q5: When, if ever, is it OK (permissible) to take something out of context?

Whenever we do not quote the entirety of a text we are, in a literal sense, taking it out of context. Quoting the First Amendment verbatim, for example, without quoting the entire Bill of Rights, by definition takes it out of context. The key is to not distort or manipulate meaning by taking something out of context.

Questions for Edwards (from Allen)

Q1: This is a local story that seems to have gone national both because of the issues involved and the U.S. Supreme Court's decision to accept the appeal. Did the major networks, newspapers, cable outlets, and other outlets cover the arguments before the court?

Short answer: yes, they did. For this research I examined 16 local and national journalistic outlets and found that all of them covered the oral arguments at least to some degree. The two local newspapers, the *Baltimore Sun* (Gresko, 2019) and *Baltimore Daily Record* (Lash, 2019) each carried articles, though the *Sun* merely carried an Associated Press article. Local television stations WBAL, WBFF, and WMAR all carried the same story, produced by the Capital News Service in Baltimore. (Gross, 2019) That's a reporting organization sponsored by the University of Maryland's school of journalism. WJZ carried a report announcing the oral arguments earlier that week but did not run a story covering the actual oral arguments. National media all covered the arguments, including three of the four major television networks, cable networks CNN (DeVogue, 2019), Fox News (Mears, 2019), and MSNBC (Levinson, 2019), plus the *National Public Radio* (Totenberg, 2019), *New York Times* (Liptak, 2019), *Washington Post* (Barnes, 2019), *National Review* (Ascik, 2019), and the *Associated Press* (Gresko, 2019). CBS did not air its own story, instead running the Gross article from its Washington, DC affiliate.

Q2: Was there a difference between the national press coverage and local press coverage of this issue?

Unsurprisingly, the answer to that question is also yes. Local outlets tended to put more local flavor on the story with more local interviews. The exception was the *Baltimore Sun*, which simply ran the Associated Press article reporting on the arguments. Nationally the coverage tended to examine issues as they apply nationwide, rather than locally.

Q3: Was there a discernible frame, or theme, in this coverage? If so, what was that frame?

There definitely was a clear frame that said the arguments showed the members of the U.S. Supreme Court appeared likely to allow the cross to remain because its secular meaning overpowered potential religious symbolism, but that the Court was anxious not to issue a sweeping ruling that would have broad impact for other cases. This frame is demonstrated by headlines:

Baltimore Sun: "Supreme Court Seems Inclined to Retain Cross Memorial in Maryland."(Gresko, 2019)

Washington Post: Supreme Court Seems to Seek Narrow Way to Uphold Cross that Memorializes War Dead."(Barnes, 2019)

New York Times: "Supreme Court Seems Ready to Allow Cross Honoring War Dead" (Liptak, 2019)

Fox News: "Supreme Court Appears Inclined to Let 40-Foot 'Peace Cross' Stand on Public Land" (Mears, 2019)

CNN: "Supreme Court Suggests Memorial Cross Does Not Violate Separation of Church and State" (DeVogue, 2019)

Q4: Were there other themes, and if so, what were they?

There were definitely other frames. For instance, in headlines, three outlets pointed out the Court's dilemma in finding a balance between the cross having greater historical meaning as a war memorial than as a symbol of Christianity, which might have broad impact for other cases dealing with similar facts and issues. (Ascik, 2019; Barnes, 2019; Dwyer, 2019) All stories

discussed that issue, though to varying depth. In a companion theme, the stories all discussed how the Court's ruling could have a direct effect on future cases. They pointed out that a broad ruling about crosses as non-religious symbols would open the door to not only crosses but other religious symbols such as the Ten Commandments, and such. The Court has had a mixed record dealing with religious symbols in government locations. For instance, the Court voted to allow a Ten Commandments frieze on a public building in Alabama, saying tradition and history had made it largely a secular memorial, while ruling that a Ten Commandments display in Kentucky was an unconstitutional violation of the Establishment Clause of the First Amendment because its meaning was overtly religious. All of the stories discussed the *Lemon v Kurtzman* ruling, and its resulting three-part test, that required the law under consideration have a legitimate secular purpose, that the law not have the primary effect of either advancing or inhibiting religion, and not result in an excessive entanglement between government and religion. But the stories pointed out that the *Lemon* test dealt with the constitutionality of government provision of financial aid for parochial school systems, which deal with vastly different issues than the Bladenburg cross case. Some of the stories also pointed out that certain justices, notably Justice Gorsuch, suggested that it is time to revisit the ruling in *Lemon*. (See, e.g. Barnes, 2019; Gresko, 2019) Most of the stories also pointed to liberal justices Stephen Breyer and Elena Kagan's comments suggesting their support for a narrow ruling in favor of this cross. Most pointed out that Breyer was willing to keep this cross because it had stood for nearly 100 years and was in keeping with World War One era tradition of placing crosses as a memorial for war dead. They quoted Breyer as saying "but no more, this is a different country now," indicating that he would not support a sweeping change that allowed crosses and other religious symbols to be generally approved. (Liptak, 2019) Kagan seemed to rely on the historical tradition of early 20th century remembrance of war dead by crosses to justify keeping the Maryland cross. (Barnes, 2019; Liptak, 2019) Some of the stories paid more attention to the disagreement between the decision of the District Court of Maryland, which found in favor of the American Legion, and the Fourth Circuit Court of Appeals, which reversed that finding and ruled in favor of the Humanist Association. The district court adopted the argument that the cross's historicity overcame objections of the religious symbolism of the cross. The Fourth Circuit, however, found exactly the opposite, saying the cross had inherent religious symbolism and historicity could not overcome that meaning.

Rhetoric functions as a symbolic perimeter, erecting distinct meanings for contested context carved via media portrayals. Rather than neutral sites of historical homage, monuments claim a language of interpretive terrain, portents and portals of legacy.

Endnotes

¹Establishment Clause - In Giant Cross Case, Justices Struggle to Clean Up a 'Dog's Breakfast' of Confusing Precedents, Jacob Sullum | 2.28.2019 3:30 PM

<https://reason.com> › 2019/02/28 › in-giant-cross-case-scotus-struggles-to

²Oyez. American Legion ET AL. v American Humanist Assn. ET AL.
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Corona Covered: Mask Media

Lin Allen and Scott Franklin
University of Northern Colorado

"In the most wishful part of my imagination, I picture America's reopening as the triumphant final scene in an asteroid movie, when citizens stream out of their homes and into the streets and fields, clapping and embracing, faces turned toward the sky, now clear of the deadly shadow. In reality, trying to restart the parts of life that have been on hold because of the pandemic feels more like doing a thousand-piece jigsaw puzzle while the picture on the box keeps changing."

Mary Laura Philpott, "In Search of Lost Time," *Washington Post*, June 28, 2020

Students enrolled in the University of Northern Colorado's BIO 495 spring semester 2020 classⁱ screened pieces of Philpott's puzzle, dispatching this research question: ^{RQ1}: How do media function in framing the COVID-19 Pandemic? COVID-19 demonstrates the critical nature of communicating science. *Every* decision made by individuals and institutions—including UNC'S move to online learning—is evidence of its pervasive presence in our lives, the intruder that threatens our very identity as a free people.

Framing involves the use of symbols to create a word-image of an issue. It highlights certain aspects of an issue and hides or minimizes others. For example, COVID-19 may be framed in various ways: impact, isolation, crisis, precedent, peril, or politicized propaganda.

This capstone assignment detects the **media framing** of the novel coronavirus—COVID-19. It reveals the ways in which Science is communicated, demonstrating the epistemic function of rhetoric—communication's capacity to create how we view reality. Think of your favorite framed photograph or a museum portrait. Just as a photograph's frame encloses and cues the meaning and memory of the picture, a discourse frame cues meaning through resonance: The resonance principle is defined as

using messages or message elements that almost unconsciously cue out meanings that receivers already have stored in their conscious or unconscious minds and which combine with the source's cues to create emotional and/or logical meaning. This recollection of past memories connects with present-day events and circumstances, resulting in a harmony or a "resonance" between source, message, and receiver. The basic idea is that it is better to get "messages out of receivers" that will motivate them to action than to try to put, plant, or teach information into their memories. . . In other words, the resonance principle relies on the sets of experiences and memories that people already have stored inside their heads.ⁱⁱ

Perhaps the most significant implication of framing is the variant versions of reality, and subsequent action, it produces: "exploring the differences between the (media) platforms can unearth different versions of reality,"ⁱⁱⁱ discrepant puzzle covers.

Our capstone Scientific Communication assignment was designed to reinforce and build upon completed course readings and assignments, including Press Article, Science in the News and Science You Can Use Bulletin. Each student was instructed to gather a variety of media coverage for analysis. They were given the option of coordinating data collection with their team, but it was up to each individual to find examples of media coverage of the novel coronavirus. Here are the assignment instructions, final presentation format, including debriefing, and rubric:

For your analysis, you may choose from a “smorgasbord” of media options including print news articles, opinion editorials, editorial cartoons, social media sites, etc. Collect the most striking examples—ones that capture *your* attention.

Skill sets	Time to implement	Number of participants
Comparative Analysis Identification and Appraisal of Rhetorical Variables	Weeks 10-16 (March 26-May7)	4-person teams

Assignment flow: The assignment is designed according to stages of development, which will be posted on CANVAS weekly beginning Week 10.

Homework: Begin looking for examples of media coverage of Corona. Collect at least 4 examples each week from April 2 – April 23. Instructors will work with you in ZOOM class sessions to help you summarize each example, based on framing. Each student will have a total of 16 examples collected by April 23. From there, we’ll have SCI COMM’s version of March Madness- moving from the Sweet 16 to the Elite 8 to the Final 4-selecting the best of your examples.

ZOOM sessions: Each week we will discuss your examples on ZOOM and help you identify the ways in which media **frame (portray)** the issue. Examples: Morality, Impact, Action, War, Sky is Falling, etc.

CORONA-COVERED: Mask Media Final Project Format:

Science You Can’t Refuse Bulletin
Rough Draft Due: April 30
Completed Project Due: May 7

Undergraduate & Graduate Students: Create a Science You Can’t Refuse Bulletin (similar to assignment format for Science You Can Use Bulletin). Include a collection of the best media examples you have collected on the topic of COVID-19, labeling and describing the frames in each example. Include your analysis of what makes these frames powerful. How do these frames function to create varying perceptions of the novel coronavirus exigency?

Graduate Students: Create a Science You Can’t Refuse Bulletin Ad or YouTube video.

In this original work, create a message designed for a target audience to persuade audience members to practice social distancing.

Rough Draft Due: April 30
Completed Project Due: May 7

Final Presentation Format: The final presentation format (scheduled Thursday, May 7, 4:15-6:45) may be followed by a panel discussion comprised of your team members. Each participant will focus on their individual findings, followed by a “so what?” kind of discussion identifying significant similarities and differences in the media coverage and what these implications portend for science communication.

Be prepared for debriefing questions at the conclusion of your panel!

Debrief question examples

1. What surprised you in terms of the coverage?
2. How will you use your new-found knowledge from this project in your future Scientific Communication activities?
3. What recommendations would you give to scientists for effective message creation and exchange? Dos and Don'ts
4. What is a future topic you would consider analyzing using media framing analysis?
5. GRADS: What rhetorical strategies did you use to create your Science You Can't Refuse Bulletin Ad or YouTube video?

COVID-19 Rubric

Item	A	B	C	D
Title	Attention-grabbing	Interesting	Somewhat interesting	Rather dull
Audience Media Targeted To	Clearly defined and narrow	Clearly defined	Partially Defined	Not Clear
Frames Identified	Clear, supported by evidence and explanation	Mostly explained – not confusing	A bit confusing	Very confusing
Significance of Frames	Significance established and illustrated	Significance somewhat established	Not fully explained	Null
Frames Portrayed Via Story Organization	Story clear	Story apparent but lacks flow	Partial story	No story
Communication 'style' (je ne sais quoi)	Innovative, creative, kept audience's attention	Interesting and begs some attentiveness	Somewhat interesting	Rather dull

Through this review and rubric, our class assignment revealed the relevance of communicating science in a pandemic, a scenario wherein the puzzle cover frames chameleonic choreography.

Endnotes

ⁱBIO 495 – Scientific Communication is team-taught by Professors Lin Allen, Communication Studies, and Scott Franklin, Biology

ⁱⁱ Media framing is one of the templates for media analysis described in Larson, C.U. Persuasion, 13th ed., Boston, MA: Wadsworth, Cengage, 2013, p. 376

ⁱⁱⁱ Encoding competing visions of reality is portrayed by Mercy Ette and Sarah Joe in “Rival Visions of Reality’: An Analysis of the Framing of Boko Haram in Nigerian Newspapers and Twitter,” *Media, War & Conflict*, vol. 11, no. 4, Dec. 2018, pp. 392-406.

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The Impact of History: Walter Kempowski's *Im Block*

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A prolific writer of both fictional and historical biography and autobiography, Walter Kempowski enjoyed popular, but not critical acclaim in the 1970's and 1980's with his *Deutsche Chronik (A German Chronicle)*, 1971-1984, a massive nine-volume project that traced in detail the history of his own family against the background of the calamitous German 20th century.

Eschewing the traditional narrative structure for a montage and collage form, Kempowski chronicled the catastrophes of 20th-century Germany through the lens of everyday life, combining fiction and documentation and doing so with wit, irony and a striking absence of sentimentality and nostalgia. The private history of his family and of himself and the countless lives of others are positioned into a dialectic of discourse on Germany from the days of empire before World War I through to the Weimar Republic, the Third Reich, to post-World War II Germany and finally to the economic miracle of the 1960s, all held together by the *Leitmotif* of *Vergangenheitsbewältigung* or coming to terms with the past.

The concept of literature, not as personal introspection and imagination, but as collection, chronicle and compilation and the notion of the writer as archivist and editor foremost are realized in Kempowski's other massive project entitled *Das Echelot (Sonar)*, 1993-2005. A ten-volume collective diary of unpublished biographies, testimonies, reports, letters and sundry other documentation by contemporary witnesses to WW II that Kempowski collected, ordered and edited over twenty years, *Das Echelot* is a kaleidoscope of memory ranging from the trivial and banal to personal and historical grandeur. It privileges no position, opinion or ideology, but viewed Germany as both victim and perpetrator, bearing witness through literary restitution to the lives lived and lost during the Third Reich.

For eight years from 1948 to 1956 Walter Kempowski was imprisoned in the Soviet (as of 1950 East German,) prison in Bautzen, Saxony. He had been sentenced to twenty-five years for espionage, anti-Soviet incitement, illegal border crossing and illegal assembly. I will argue that this experience in Bautzen (specifically *Bautzen I* as distinguished from *Bautzen II*, which was built in 1956 by the *STASI*¹) proved to be the defining impact upon Kempowski's life, both existentially and as a writer.

Born in 1929 into a well-off middle-class family, Walter Kempowski's sheltered youth, well-situated with comfort, culture and parental nourishment, suffered an abrupt end in April 1942 when allied bombers destroyed the Baltic city of Rostock: "1942-48: that was the darkest time, even darker than Bautzen."² (*Tagebuch*, 12.11.1992, WKA)

Just two weeks before war's end his life was further shattered when his father, an officer in the German *Wehrmacht*, was killed by a Russian bomb on the Vistula Spit while defending Rostock.

In the ensuing months of chaos that followed, Kempowski, just thirteen years old, absent from school and forced against his will to join the *Hitlerjugend* (Hitler Youth organization), expressed his individual rebellion and outsider status by listening to jazz, learning to play the organ, watching American films and even founding his own swing band, the "International Swing Club."³

He was drafted as a Luftwaffe courier in February, 1945 and defected from Berlin to Rostock in April 1945, where, on May 1, the Soviets army entered, occupied and plundered the city. By the fall of 1945 school had re-opened and Kempowski was forced to begin learning Russian, but soon found a job with the publisher *Hansa Druck*, which allowed him to travel throughout the Soviet Occupation Zone (the future German Democratic Republic). During this time he sought to distance himself as far

as possible from first the Nazis, then the Communists. Wary of anyone wearing a uniform, Kempowski viewed the new SED (Socialist Unity Party) as a Soviet totalitarian order and joined the LPD (Liberal-Democrats).

In November 1947 Kempowski fled to the west, to Hamburg, and then to Wiesbaden, which he considered a little interim paradise despite the irksome and self-righteous re-education programs of the Americans.

From his brother Robert, Kempowski had received documents, bills of lading confirming that the Soviets were plundering the Soviet Occupation Zone by shipping industrial material to the Soviet Union. Calling this a “strangulation by the Communists,” Kempowski planned to hand over the documents to the Americans, but made the mistake of travelling one last time back to Rostock where, along with his brother, he was arrested on March 8, 1948.

Kempowski was initially interrogated at the detention center in Brinkmann Street in Rostock, then transferred to Schwering for solitary confinement. In September 1948 Kempowski’s mother was also arrested and given a ten-year prison sentence for not reporting her son’s activities to the authorities. The family’s ship-building business was liquidated and the family Kempowski for all intents ceased to exist.

And yet, in retrospect, Kempowski considered his situation as fortunate—hundreds of prisoners were simply shot and about half of all captured were being sent directly to the Soviet Union: “Bautzen saved me.”⁴ Although “it dawned on me, I was nothing, I had nothing, was getting older with no school, no training, nothing,”⁵ (*Tagebuch*, 4.6.2002, WKA) Kempowski nevertheless somehow emerged from his despair and attempts to assemble a new identity.

Bautzen was a political prison, not a criminal one and it contained political prisoners, not criminals. Comparing Bautzen to a ship of fools, Kempowski later stated “the prison was my university. In Bautzen I met social democrats, eastern bureaucrats, Christians und liberals, farmers, rebellious students, businessmen, property owners, saboteurs—all who interfered with the building of the DDR.”⁶ (*Tagebuch*, 12.30.1989, WKA) In Bautzen alone there were over 8,000 prisoners, of which some died every day, mostly of tuberculosis.

Assigned from 1949-52 to a prison hall containing over 400 men—three men to a bed four feet wide — Kempowski began his collecting and archiving of prisoners’ experiences, began his listening in on conversations. Contrary to his expectations, “the most amazing thing was that, even in the conditions of a prison, something like a middle-class discipline and arrangement took root.”⁷ (*Tagebuch*, 10.19.2000, WKA)

Indeed, despite all the privations, hardships, hunger and sickness, Kempowski writes of an active cultural and pedagogical life that, for him, included French tutoring, music theory, literature, philosophy and translation: “Never again did I read poetry as intensively as at Bautzen”⁸ Eventually books were allowed in the cell block. When not available, the prisoners narrated to each other from memory. Soviet films were shown in the church. After 1949 letters were also allowed, although severely censored.

In sum, the social and cultural occupations and preoccupations functioned as antidote and therapy within the prison world of hardships, suffering and deprivation.

Aside from physical ailments, Kempowski, who contracted tuberculosis and subsequently lost forty-five kilograms, cycled through despair, depression and resignation. Nevertheless, in 1952 he joined the church choir, of which he became the director and through which he began a close acquaintance and comradeship with the prison chaplain.

Kemposki endured by finding meaning in the quotidian, everyday routines of the institution and its community of prisoners. In June 1955, after another collapse and stint in the prison hospital, Kemposki was included in a general pardon by the German Democratic Republic. His sentence was reduced to eight years—of which he had served seven—resulting in his March 3, 1956 release and deportation to the West. He was twenty-seven years old.

The question now becomes: how did the experience of eight years in Bautzen influence and define Kemposki's literary perception and literary work. That is, how did Kemposki transfer the moral indignation of the temporal and arbitrary into a literary process that would bear permanent witness to his experience?

I suggest that *Im Block-A Prison Report* represents the birth and beginning of Kemposki's literary career. Kemposki's pedagogical, literary and archival activities constitute the genesis of his understanding of literature as existential experience and redemption. While the actual eight years in Bautzen branded him for the rest of his life, *Im Block*—the literary transcription of those eight years—contained *in nuce* the whole of Kemposki's future writing. His *modus operandus* of gathering material, posing questions, taking notes and keeping a journal (in Bautzen often of necessity on toilet paper!), even making sketches—these all began with Bautzen and *Im Block*. Bautzen was nothing less than Kemposki's apprenticeship.

Im Block, a diary without dates, structured as collage, was published thirteen years after Kemposki's release. A protocol and chronological account, it is unusual in its style, structure and presentation; sober without much commentary, opinion or value judgement. The role of the protagonist-narrator is reduced to objective reporting in the present tense. In order to speak of horror amidst the banality of the everyday, Kemposki wrote later: "Facts are more important than opinions."⁹

Kemposki writes notably more about his fellow prisoners than about himself. For him truth always includes the multiple realities of others. He avoided the prison memoir as religious-existential drama of sin, fall and redemption and aimed rather for the depiction of the endless, quotidian boredom wherein the real challenges lay for the literary representation of nothingness.

On a deeper structural level Kemposki utilizes gallows humor and irony to create distance between himself and his narrated reality and to shift the inquiry for meaning away from himself and onto the reader.

After *Im Block* was published by Rowohlt in March, 1969, the critical reaction was positive but the public response lukewarm at best. Kemposki considered it a failure. However, utilizing *Im Block* as a launching pad, he began immediately on the narrative *Tadellöser und Wolf* (1971), volume three in his *Deutsche Chronik*¹⁰. The dialectics of the personal experiences of the first-person narrator and of Nazi-German society from 1939-1945 are structured into a montage of short texts and mixed with quotes from poems, songs, proverbs, advertising, the press, radio and television. The overarching impetus of *Tadellöser und Wolf*, indeed of all the *Deutsche Chronik*, was, as Kemposki, wrote to construct a bridge between the past and the present:

"I wanted to show the everyday middle classes in an authoritarian state and I wanted to bring the reader to the insight that the various characteristic qualities of those middle classes that had once been the soil for Nazi ideology still exist today."¹¹

Endnotes

¹STASI=*Staatsicherheitspolizei* (State Security Police).

²“1942-1948: das war die dunkelste Zeit, nicht etwa Bautzen.” (All translations mine.)

³Kemposki did his utmost to project himself into a bohemian atmosphere apart from the socio-politically prescribed world of the Hitler Youth (*Hitlerjugend*) including wearing inappropriate clothing, long hair, jazz music, literature, visiting the cinema and cafes, drinking and smoking.

⁴“Bautzen war ein Segen für mich.” (Gespräche mit Walter Kemposki 1995-1993)

⁵“Als ich mir darüber klar wurde, dass ich nichts war, nichts hatte, immer älter wurde, keine Abitur, keine Lehre, nichts . . .”

⁶“In Bautzen traf ich auf Sozialdemokraten . . . auf Christen und auf Liberale, auf Bauern . . . aufmüpfige Schüler, Kaufleute, Gutsbestitzer, Saboteure—alle jene die beim Aufbau störten.”

⁷Das Erstaunlichste war, dass sich auch unter den Bedingungen des Zuchthauses so etwas wie eine bürgerliche Ordnung herstellte.”

⁸“Ich habe nie wieder so intensiv Gedichte gelesen als in Bautzen.” (Gespräche mit Walter Kemposki 1995-2003)

⁹“Tatsachen sind wichtiger als Meinungen.” (Gespräche mit Walter Kemposki 1995-2003)

¹⁰ *Tadellöser und Wolf* was awarded the prestigious Lessing Preis and the screenplay for a popular film in 1975.

¹¹“Ich habe den bürgerlichen Alltag in einem autoritären Staat gezeigt und die Einsicht beim Leser erzielen wollen, dass zahlreiche charakteristische Züge jenes Bürgertums, das einst Nährboden des NS war, immer noch bestehen.” (Gespräch mit Walter Kemposki in *Osnabrücker Zeitung*, 10.30. 1971)

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Of Moral Weakness and Redemption: The Impact of Malory on Tolkien

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Frank D. Rigga asserts in “Gandalf and Merlin: J.R.R. Tolkien’s Adoption and Transformation of a Literary Tradition” that in the creation of Gandalf, Tolkien both drew on and adapted the Arthurian wizard Merlin. Rigga; however, compares Saruman to Dryden’s Osmond, asserting that he is representative only of the evils of previous Merlins (28). Saruman is not representative of viciousness throughout *The Lord of the Rings* as is Sauron, but throughout the trilogy is meant to be the object of pity due to his moral weakness. Rigga notes the similarities between Saruman and Malory’s Merlin unintentionally when he is contrasting Merlin and Gandalf, “In Malory’s account...Merlin’s ambivalence as a character with potential for both good and evil is foregrounded, and in his loss of power at the hands of a woman, the wizard appears less powerful and more human” (28). Both Merlin and Saruman are morally weak, which is the main causation for that spirit which James Douglas Merriman identified as “That spirit in the central story of Arthur [which] is profoundly tragic” (*The Flower of Kings*, “The Essential Arthurian Story”). In *Le Morte D’Arthur*, Malory molds Lancelot as a quintessentially morally weak character; Boromir is his counterpart in *The Lord of the Rings*. In her introduction to *Le Morte D’Arthur*, Helen Cooper realizes that, “Lancelot...will not give up: because he will not abandon his desire for the Grail, and cannot ultimately abandon his desire for Guenivere” (xiv). Boromir cannot resist the allure of the Ring. For Malory’s Merlin and Tolkien’s Saruman there is moral weakness and tragedy without redemption, but for the knights Boromir and Lancelot there is hope. The impact of Malory’s *Le Morte D’Arthur* on Tolkien’s *The Lord of the Rings* allows the Oxford Inkling to craft a tale of moral weakness and, ultimately, of redemption.

In the tragic moral weakness of Merlin and Saruman there is temptation preceding each seduction to evil. Malory’s “Of Neneve and Morgan le Fay” begins with the tale of Merlin and the damosel of the Lady of the Lake. Merlin was quickly “besotted” with the damosel, but, “she made Merlin good cheer till she had learned of him all manner of thing that she desired” (58). This single line of Malory had profound impact on Tennyson’s temptress Vivien, who seduces Merlin in order to steal his fame. With the exception of later writers and this single line, Merlin’s love for the damosel of the lake is unrequited. In fact, the lady comes to fear Merlin after he has attended her too closely.

And always he lay about to have her maidenhood, and she was ever passing weary of him and would have been delivered of him, for she was afraid of him for cause he was a devil’s son, and she could not be shift of him by no mean. (59).

Merlin may be a devil’s son, but he is more human than Gandalf. Merlin is tempted by the beauty of a woman, and he succumbs to her charm and his lust, at which point he becomes vicious in character. It is due to his relentless pursuit and vicious character that Merlin is sealed into a cave, “that he came never out for all the craft he could do” (59). Merlin is unable to escape the cave in which he is entrapped just as he was unable to escape his temptation.

To scholars of Arthuriana, the nobility of Merlin and the tragedy of his ensnarement is indisputable. However, to those who have only watched *The Lord of The Rings* movies as directed by Peter Jackson, the tragedy of Saruman will be less clear. Tolkien’s Saruman becomes

a foil of Sauron, but whereas Sauron was evil from long before the beginning of *The Fellowship of the Ring*, Saruman's temptation, seduction, and chances at redemption are revealed through brief glimpses throughout the trilogy. Gandalf refers to Saruman both as Saruman the White and Saruman the Wise. In "The Scouring of the Shire" when Frodo and his fellow Travellers face Saruman again Frodo asks that Saruman be spared in spite of all he has done in Middle Earth and even in the Shire. Frodo says, "He was great once, of a noble kind that we should not dare to raise our hands against" (1019). What causes Saruman's temptation?

Saruman's temptation is the power of Mordor, which he saw through the palantír. Saruman was the greatest of the wizards sent to Middle Earth to help in the battle against great evil: evil such as Sauron from *The Lord of the Rings* and Morgoth from the *Silmarillion*. In "The Council of Elrond" when Saruman's turn from wise counselor to agent of Mordor is first revealed, Gandalf says, "Saruman has long studied the arts of the Enemy" (257). Evil first had a foothold with Saruman through his study of it for the purposes of good. Gandalf learns more of Sauron's Ring from the lore of Gondor, but Saruman had already allowed himself to be exposed to the temptation of evil long before he changed sides in the war of the Ring.

The source of Saruman's moral weakness is his despair. Saruman lures Gandalf to Orthanc in order to give him a message of importance, but the message turns out to be, "A new power is rising. Against it the old allies and policies will not avail us at all. There is no hope left" ("The Council of Elrond" 259). Saruman gives in to his moral weakness and becomes vicious when he chooses to become just like Sauron "We may join with that Power" (259). Saruman tempts Gandalf with despair as he has been tempted. After the destruction of Orthanc, Saruman turns the Shire into an echo of Mordor.

Saruman tries to turn the Shire into mini-Mordor, and partially succeeds. The trees are chopped down and the land barren. Bag End is in ruins. Worse than this, Saruman has been spreading hatred and ambition among the Shire folk, as is the case with Lotho Baggins and Ted Sandyman. Saruman may not be responsible for the vices of Lotho Baggins, but he certainly succeeds in ensuring that Lotho becomes a mockery of Sauron, not unlike Saruman himself. Farmer Cotton tells the Travellers, "Seems he [Lotho] wanted to own everything himself" (1012). Could Sauron's purpose be summed up more concisely?

In *The Two Towers* from "The Voice of Saruman", Saruman is bewitching and dangerous, still powerful enough to tempt Theoden and achieve mischief. In *The Return of the King*, Saruman is reduced to a beggar, and less than a beggar; he is still filled with hatred and bitterness, but is now at the mercy of the Hobbits. Saruman's speech to Frodo shows the plight he is in,

There was a strange look in his eyes of mingled wonder and respect and hatred... 'You are wise, and cruel. You have robbed my revenge of sweetness, and now I must go hence in bitterness, in debt to your mercy. I hate it and you!' (1019)

Saruman's soul is in disarray. He is filled with the hatred of Mordor, and in the end he is undone by it. Having been shown mercy by his enemies, Saruman is undone by the hatred of his "friend" Wormtongue when he is stabbed and dies, with no hope of Valinor.

When the mist over Saruman's body looks to the West, one can almost imagine it looking to Valinor, from whence it came, never to return again. Throughout *The Lord of the Rings*, it becomes apparent that Saruman was seduced by the desire for the Ring in a similar manner to Boromir. Saruman wanted, at first, only to learn of the arts of the Enemy in order to fight the Enemy more adequately. Saruman fell to despair and to tyranny; he became Master of Isengard as Sauron was Master of Mordor. If that was all that happened to Saruman, it would have been villainous, but "The Scouring of the Shire" makes the end of the formerly white wizard tragic.

It is not stories of King Arthur and his wizards which are pulled from the shelf; however, it is stories of King Arthur and his knights. So it is to our two knights, Lancelot and Boromir, that we turn for the hope of a happy ending, or more precisely a *eucaastrophe*, as Tolkien called it in his seminal essay "On Fairy-Stories". Boromir and Lancelot both face and give into temptation. No matter how many times he is worn, or whether or not he is scorned, Lancelot cannot refuse the lovely Guenivere.

Malory was a knight himself, and as a knight, Malory identified the most closely with Lancelot, who had his own addition to the Pentecostal Oath, which was that a knight should remain chaste (108). Lancelot struggled to remain loyal to his oath, before finally succumbing to his temptation to be with the queen in the second half of the volume. Likewise, Boromir struggled to remain loyal to the fellowship and not succumb to the temptation of the Ring. Once Lancelot has given in to his temptation, he is caught, and finds himself unable either to fulfill his destiny as Grail knight or to free himself from his adulterous relationship with Guenivere.

It is to Malory we may turn for one of the earliest sanctifications of the Grail quest. For Malory, the Sangrail is not only a medieval holy relic, but is also a representation of the highest order of knighthood, which includes not only feudal honor and even chivalry, but also moral strength. When Lancelot gives in to his temptation, regardless of whether or not it was his fate to do so, he falls short of spiritual perfection, and proves himself to be morally weak. For this reason he is unable to obtain the Grail. In his essay on "The 'Morte Darthur'", C.S. Lewis writes, "The human tragedy becomes all the more impressive if we see it against the background of the Grail, and the failure of the Quest becomes all the more impressive if it is felt thus reverberating through all the human relationships of the Arthurian world" (109). Lancelot's failure is not his failure alone, but is shared by all of King Arthur's knights (save only Galahad) as well as any readers of the romance.

Lancelot does what Merlin never did; Lancelot realizes his mistake. In "The Tale of the Sangrail", when Lancelot fails to achieve his quest, he weeps for sorrow of what he has lost, "And then Lancelot kneeled down and cried on our Lord mercy for his wicked works" (331). Of course, the quest of the Grail is before the discovery of Lancelot and Guenivere's fateful adultery. It is reflective of the shared nature of Lancelot's fault that his weakness in tandem with the ambitions of Agravaine and Mordred should bring about the death of Arthur, for the fault is that of the entirety of the Round Table. Even after Arthur has besieged Lancelot in France, Lancelot is still willing to ride to Arthur's aid against the treacherous Mordred. Once Arthur is buried, *Le More Darthur* continues, ending only after the death of Lancelot. "So when Sir Bors and his fellows came to his bed, they found him stark dead; and he lay as he had smiled, and the sweetest savour about him that ever they felt" (525). It is hinted that Lancelot died a saint's death, and due to his repentance heaven was waiting for him.

Boromir's temptation is born out of despair and pride. Despair because Minas Tirith borders Mordor, and at the outset of *The Lord of the Rings* it was the concern of the men of Minas Tirith that they should not be able to hold out against the might of Sauron forever. Yet under the guise of

helping his people lies Boromir's pride. Boromir heard at the council of Elrond when it was first decided that Frodo was meant to take the Ring to Mordor that the Ring could not be used. He is reminded by Frodo in "The Breaking of the Fellowship" that, "what is done with it turnt to evil" (398). In spite of all warnings, in spite of his own internal struggle, Boromir cannot resist either the Ring or his own pride. Boromir tells Frodo in "The Breaking of the Fellowship", "What could not Aragorn do? Or if he refuses, why not Boromir? The Ring would give me power of Command. How I would drive the hosts of Mordor, and all men would flock to my banner!" (398). Boromir shares the desire of Lancelot to achieve the Grail, but in the moment which he drives Frodo from the fellowship, he lacks culpability. It is not until Frodo has vanished that Boromir realizes his mistake, too late for Frodo to come back as Boromir wishes him to do.

Boromir does; however, realize his mistake, only just in time for him to die a true hero's death almost and achieve his redemption. Boromir dies to save Merry and Pippin from the Orcs of Isengard, and when Aragorn finds him on the verge of death, he tells him, "You have conquered. Few have gained such a victory. Be at peace!" ("The Departure of Boromir" 414). It is due to Aragorn's reassurance that he died not in disgrace, but in victory that Boromir dies with a smile on his face (414). Yet how can Aragorn's words that Boromir "gained victory" be believed, when the Hobbits were taken captive, and Frodo and Sam were headed off to Mordor without any guides?

The victory which Boromir gained was not over the army of Orcs, against which physical victory would have been impossible, for any single knight, even for doughty knights such as Lancelot and Boromir. The victory which Boromir gained, like that which Lancelot gained, was not a victory which ensured the stereotypical "happily ever after" but which offers the reader something much more profound. In "On Fairy-Stories", Tolkien described the eucatastrophe which was essential for the success of such stories as, "a sudden and miraculous grace" (153). Merlin and Saruman, Boromir and Lancelot, and ultimately Malory and Tolkien are meant to show us a mirror, a mirror which calls upon us not only to confront our faults, but also to show us a chance, a chance with no expiration, even if it occurs in the moments before death, for us to triumph over our faults and gain victory.

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Impact of Contemporary Self-image (Selfie) on New Aesthetics, and Impact of New Aesthetics on Selfie, Vice Versa

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Introduction:

The #Selfie, an image that is captured usually using a camera phone and shared through social networks, is called a selfie” (Paul Frosh, 2015) – has become a place of debate on social platforms. Selfie is a trending media genre for self-expression, and as an image narrative in the process of online identity branding (Belk, 2013)

With the rapid development of technology, selfie has become an indispensable part of our lives, by practicing taking selfies also offers some fun and self-perception. These are inseparable from the support of advanced technology in today's society of the Internet age, it also gives life the new means of communication and self-representation through visual means. As Gunthert (2014) described; “Online Photography is an outcome of connection between social network and the smartphone (Gunthert, 2019)”. The selfie is a critical mixed method of communication, as the matter of knowing how to interpret the self-portrait (selfie) is ultimately originated from the conclusion either the sum of communicated message is embedded in the selfie photograph, accompanied captions, or the mixture of the both text and image (Eagar & Dann, 2016).

Taking selfie is in fact a process of creating a new reality and a new identity through the world of image technology, the portrait could be reflected in a person's personality representatives and social wonders. Therefore, the relationship "screen" mediated between people and information flow in many cases all contain diverse denotations. Like this, the photosensitive images and virtual images need to be examined, the difference between the aesthetic experience will be observed, especially with regard to self-portraits and selfie story. Although the self-portrait is very difficult to completely array from any one area of the analytical framework, a look at the historical origins of photography, careful observation will find this style of self-portrait image-building is a surprisingly developed into the wide range of variation of media and related technologies and its development and the widespread impact. “Networked Photography is an outcome of relationship between the mobile- phone and social interaction networks” (Gunthert, 2019). The prominence of selfie communicated by social media networks enhances its circulation and increase growth to its own customs. Assumption of pictorial means makes us realize a reinvention of the routine selfie-taking traditions.

Selfie journey:

Long before the 19th century, the portrait can only be seen in the form of traditional painting, but after the emergence of a self-portrait photography, relevant media also appeared. Although the self-portrait of various sizes can be located on the theory of history and photography, the self-portraits can also be seen as an inventive, and standard practices.

In the history of selfie, the practice of self-expression of a lineage found in art schools in the form of portrait-paintings and sculpture-portraits. Painting-Portraits usually presented to others, but the selfie is a modern-days consumer sort of the portraiture. The image is the essential of today's society, it has become large-scale means of interactions, therefore, the crux of everyday life is; humanity has converted to “homo photographicus”. Approximately everyone in today's society possess a smartphone-cameras, and they are connected to social media networks. Everyone use these images to

communicate their feelings, opinions, and views irrespective of their complicated nature (Fariás, 2015). In general, the image is defined to mean peoples. In other words, A Selfie in today's society is a mode of the mental representation of an object by the perception and understanding. In this context, Flusser (2001) wrote: image as a container within the meaning of meaning, as projected onto temporal and spatial abstract things. Since earliest humanities and societies, make a replica of the entity on behalf of other individuals or groups be given by the ownership entity. In this way, we created a representation. The idea to send pictures, or even knowledge of the means is also a cultural product because it is a base of visual communication. When a piece of artistic expression (two-dimensional art or sculpture) is due to imitation of a certain distance between the talents and practices by the artist or producer, that's also very unique in art practice.

Most of us live in an image-saturated world. In spite of faster development in the creation, exhibiting and experience the photographs, (it is not a problem of using feel or experience, it's about parallelism. Art-critics and philosophers started to study and delegate the similar photography philosophy, that is usually based on longstanding conceptions and techniques. Regarding that we will focus about the study of Czech-Brazilian philosopher Vilém Flusser (1920-1991), who has introduced a philosophy of methodological imageries which covers photography (including movie, Television, videos, Computational media, and satellite imageries). Photography today encompasses all of digital media, and therefore requires a new kind of theorization that his writings offer an exemplary model for understanding the contemporary state of photography. In addition to introducing Flusser inclusion in the photography discourse questions that the photography recognizably precipitated by the digital revolution. Photography also advocates the merger of photography scholarship with media studies and the field of visual culture.

Moreover, by highlighting the fact that different photography discourses predominate on different continents, the example of Flusser challenges the notion of a universal photographic theory. Flusser's peripatetic existence and migratory approach to philosophy argue for methods not fixed in one language or location, and a greater fluidity between mediums and ideas (Schwendener, 2016).

Internet/visual culture of social media selfie, and its aesthetic characteristics and their impact:

Contemporary Selfie has the ability to share it immediately with a friend or a group of people. During the starting period of contemporary self-portrait, the image quality of smartphone retrogresses compared to the taken by compact cameras. Under these circumstances, the user has an edge in networked photography by using a smartphone. The insufficiency, cumulated capability by the practicality of the new image practices and especially by the particularly cumulative capability of distributing it on the social networks (Gunthert, 2019).

a. Internet and Visual Culture:

The Form of social media self-portrait is often called "selfie" obsessed with the formation of a culture, especially teens and early twenties young women of their self-image strategy of particular interest. On Facebook, Tumblr, Flickr, Instagram, and other social media sites, the selfies are everywhere. It has become an effective way of self-expression, encouraging their selfies to share closely related to their life and private moments thus in a while self-fashioning in the form of creative participation. Selfie generally is considered to be a superficial manifestation of network narcissism, both loved by the people, but some people are cast aside. However, it can be a self-definition as one of the most effective and flourishing ways.

b. Selfie on Social Media and its Aesthetic Value:

On social media platforms the discussion regarding a self-portrait portray different moods and colors about life is not considered basically because of its aesthetical values since it used to record every aspect of life, and contribute for the activity of self-representation and fulfill its contextual means.

c. Selfie is product of De-specialization of conventional photography:

The modern era of de- specialization changes the ways of traditional techniques, importance, medium, and nature of photographic practice. The digital revolution (the combination of camera-phone and a broader communication network has settled some new trends, the contemporary image making practice to become a forte practice in this emerging and widely communication world.

d. A Paradigm Shift:

The revolution of de-specialization transforms conventional photographic archetype founded on traditional techniques, importance, medium, and nature of the photographic practice. Meanwhile, image capturing techniques once formed an independent, intensely recognized space. Its incorporation into versatile organisms makes it a more revolutionary dynamic system. This revolutionary merger of camera technology and communication technology was a game-changer into the facilitation of contemporary selfie image taking practice. This advancement has enabled, photography has become a niche in the information and communication technology world.

e. Contemporary selfie is a result of Minimalization and compact-ability:

We can analyze the minimalization process of clock industry which impact the industry between 15th to 19th century. That miniaturizes the church-clock to the pocket size time-piece. It was a big revolution. The same thing happened with the smartphone, which does not only integrate a tiny multipurpose camera but also integrated lots of amazing Applications which can distribute these self-portraits to our desired groups of people within the fractions of time. Almost every person carries this minimalized smartphone camera and cause a revolutionary breakthrough in the world of communication. That was not even precisely thinkable two decades before. It enables every person to share their happening, thoughts, ideas, with their pictures in a fantastic way. That minimalized gadget has created a new visual culture.

f. Selfie and internet meme:

Internet has long-term aesthetic trends, one of which is "Network vilify, or Internet meme" a not previously named style, throughout the many separate networks culture, primarily through the meme content. The Internet can be created by amateurs vilify no particular aesthetic intent; it can also be by the author intended it as a term characteristic personality. Due to the unique architecture of bottom-up media, and its spread on the Internet, many packages are expressions from the Internet to vilify the beginning of a long-abandoned demonize the Internet can reappear in the form of a new platform or creator who has a sexual reference, although this meme style can be attracted to business and political interests, are being sold to many consumers. Its participants often will respond in the case of strong public opposition to such exploitation, or simply give up this style of co-opted into the new version. Internet meme embodies many of the core values of network creators and community; therefore, to understand this aesthetic value linkage for any culture is essential.

g. Locational and Relational Characteristics of Selfie:

“Selfies have changed aspects of social interaction, body language, self-awareness, privacy, and humor, altering temporality, irony, and public behavior. It’s become a new visual genre—a type of self-portraiture formally distinct from all others in history. Selfies have their own structural autonomy. This is a very big deal for art”. (Saltz 2014). Today’s Selfie makers and Users on Social Media or any other online platform consider to be Locational and Relational Selfies. Selfie as a Media-particular genre of Photographic Patois. Selfies later are proceeded to reflect the social and moral associations to assuming patois selfie-making practice for arty and ethnographical representation, suggesting for embrace a practice of categorizing as virtuous (De Seta, 2015). Chinese Social media platforms WeChat is a good example of relational and Locational Social Media Selfies sharing platform. “WeChat” in particular, are similarly central in the works of transmedia artist Michael Beets. While working in Shanghai on the production of SELF – A Smartphone Theater Experience, he explains the impact of locational social media on his own creative practice: “WeChat had just come out, or rather was becoming increasingly popular. Everybody was downloading it and talking about the “People Nearby” function and how easy it was to find people, or for people to find you within a certain distance. It blew my mind that people were willing to share their personal information in such a free, and to a certain degree unrestricted, manner. (De Seta, 2015)(Michael Beets, personal communication 2014)

h. Selfie and Social Dynamics:

Selfies have changed dimensions of our social interface, our gestures, self-conscious, confidentiality, and absurdity, changing temporality, irony, and our social behaviors. The selfie has got the status of a new genre – that makes it distinctive from the previous versions of self-portraits that are being made in history. Modern Self-portrait (selfie) has particular organizational sovereignty. That is always considered to be a huge deal for the art and aesthetics of selfie (Saltz, 2014). Contemporary Selfie Genres is itself a true vernacular photography genre. Which is rear exhibit in Art-exhibitions and galleries, but they are widely being shared with our social circle through our Social Media (Rettberg, 2014).

i. Selfie is an Art Form of “virtual aesthetic category”:

Unlike traditional art-forms, a Selfie is a popular art form in new media art, where non-existent features and effects can be created at random by humans’ intuition and imagination with the New Media Technologies by software’s means of blending and generating the techniques. The digital presentation of Selfie has the characteristics of homogeneity that is to generate and delivery information by the data, images, human bodies, light and temperature. These characteristics break the traditional aesthetic principles and form virtual aesthetic categories. Whether aesthetic sense or objects come into being earlier than the other, aesthetic sense will drive the objects to obtain a certain aesthetic value.

j. Selfie – A Photography with Blend of Multimedia Genres and lost Authorship:

On the level of contemporary photography aesthetics, the internet has created a multimedia genre (i.e. something that incorporates and blends different media of text, images, video, graphics, sound) with a new standard of communication methods. Digital technology has also made it much easier for different media, different distribution networks and different audiences to implement the existing digital cultural practice of making different versions of the same project. The conventional strong link

between the identification of an art object and its medium is broken if one can create radically different versions of the same art object.

k. Contemporary Selfie exists in a very dynamic aesthetics communication environment:

In traditional Self-portrait art aesthetic activity, audiences are in a passive situation; they can spiritually attract to the subject of artwork by limited information of the medium. The audience can experience the true means of the subject of the artwork. At the same time, the subject of the medium can meet with the aesthetic needs of the public only by using limited resources. But the New Media Art environment is in two-way communication, which makes the aesthetic subject (Selfie) become both creators and receivers so that they can acquire aesthetic experience of creation and recreation. At the same time, feedback and art appreciation are very dynamic. Selfie become the subject of an extensive range of audience with active feedback and appreciation. That environment becomes two-way but more dynamic and faster, as compared to the traditional art environment.

l. Selfie-maker in the sharing process - A decomposition of aesthetic distance (everyone can be the artist):

In the New-Media Aesthetic environment, everyone can become an art-creator or artist. By definition, "Artist" is a social character, it can be any artist, the reason why they gain fame is not only individual talent and opportunities but also their social status and level of education. In spite of all this, they depend upon the communication platform, which is also the reason for their fame. When selfie and selfie makers come into the new media environment, the networked media becomes a compelling model of communication, which makes it possible that everybody becomes an "artist." This environment is a bit different because without the name of an artist and rich media and environment. Many amateurs get the opportunity to become an artist, and they own their online identities, their work, and their audience. Even they can make their strong identity through their self-portraits as compared to the traditional art environment within a short time.

m. Contemporary Selfie gave birth to New Artistic Existential Form to a Self Portrait:

With the appearance of modern network, self-portrait becomes very popular. Digital Selfie based on computer and internet has become a new art form to produce and communicate. In the post-internet era, it has become the most convenient method and a compulsory part of the modern lifestyle. In a society full of digital imagery, self-image creation requires no patent for professionals. On the other hand, Selfie-makers are creating selfies, which is according to their own aesthetic ideal by using new media digital tools and techniques. In modern high-tech society, the art of selfie making has become part of contemporary life through the continues process of conflict, integration, and recombination.

The Future of Aesthetic Trends of Selfie:

In short, the portrait is not a new practice, it was a very specialized job, but later photographic de-specialization makes it possible that an ordinary person can do photography. Commonly, the image is fiction; no one denies the ability of their subjectivity and tampering. However, the significance of the processing occurs throughout the linear duration. The still image, before the occurrence, the moment was a captured time. It has happened in the past is the image of the witness. However, viewers have the right to recollect some remembrances, historical reconstruction of personal storytelling is possible.

In the current era, one of the purposes of self-photography is consumers desire for everlasting existence, but the exciting thing that finally they do not want to be the history, which probably negates their presence, means that there is or no death. Quality reproduction of objects, including images, is a modern track; it has become a global cognitive process. However, this is the tradition of post-modern culture that quick and mass image-making and removal of personal visual story-telling and their

implications. Selfie made it possible to explore these aesthetic experiences; time is significant in order to distinguish some of the problems that vary in different layers of meaning. It also reaffirms its recognition of society's surreal spectacle of quality and demand. Selfie evoke through social media verification, look for self-portrait's construction, and even different social roles and identities interpretation of deconstruction.

n. Questions about the future of selfies:

Our topic is mainly surrounding the expansion of aesthetic analysis and discourse of contemporary society selfie. This issue involves not only aesthetic but also relates to the impact of technology on aesthetics, impact on social and cultural entities, as well as about the impact of technology on the digital culture of the selfie.

In this endeavor, we are exploring selfie with self-portraits (selfie) users of the 20th century to create a software-driven network, selfie early photographic art, engineering, and other aesthetic selfie historical ties. While asking what innovations and behaviors remain, which has become more common and vanished, we can also introduce question of variance. Capturing, editing, and sharing photos quickly, whether to give more visual diversity? Alternatively, will this result in more repetitions, unity, and social imitation, just as food, cats, and other popular selfie things will drown most the vast majority? To what extent can these technologies enhance our own aesthetic characterization? Will our current selfies development become an outdated and outdated future school?

o. Future Threats to Contemporary Selfie Photography Practice:

Throughout history, the self-portrait was always a mode of self-representation, that evolves through different medium genres and techniques. Contemporary selfie is a part of Digital medium Photography, do This genre has a danger of vanishing? Entirely antagonistic. For example, if there is a combination of photography equipment and some smart communication device, it would be unlikely considered an interconnecting device exclusive of the photo capturing device. Embedding camera with a multi-purpose communication device, the photography purpose is always a sovereign. Smartphone has acquired global adaptability and also appropriation for gaining wider acceptability of image-making. The integration of the photographic device proclaims the exceptional usability of this original function. Afar from the extensive fabrication of social imagery as a self-representing portrait, it sets tremendous revolutionary trends of its newer and newer usability in modern society.

p. Future implications of selfies and digital self:

Generally, Self-images on social media are useful for “Future Existence.” In this modern society, new media is recently moving towards the image-making of people and their actions into the entities. Though, people can be linked willfully. The images can be turned into meaning carriers by new media, and turn the folks into the “meaning- creator” in this undertaking procedure (Vilem Flusser, 1989).

Conclusion:

Our analysis of selfie aesthetics describes how individual selfies and self-representational media interrogate these conventions and construct alternatives, opening up new potentialities for self-constitution and selfhood using new aesthetical paradigms. Typically, selfies are assumed to be concerned wholly with the individual, it also indicates how the visual rhetoric of doubling can operate within self-representational art to assert selves as always necessarily relational. It is observed self-representational art and technologies can invoke plurality rather than individuality, articulating ways

of being that are multiple, relational, and networked. Their seemingly solipsistic individuality is not the only assumption about selfies. Politically, selfies are regarded as tools that can bring into visibility truth of identities that have been marginalized. But here a more ambivalent form of visibility is at play. As Each Self-image repeats, overlaps, and obscures other iterations of their self-representation. It has shown how the instantaneity of photography not only preserves that which is recorded but simultaneously opens up gaps in the record that produce the grounds on which alternative histories can be aesthetically produced, reproduced and imagined.

The idea of self is being challenged and transformed by many prospects that are being presented by the modern digital world. In the early 21st century, many facets of transformation and its effects rely on the digital world, future technologies and their possession. The prosthesis of modern self-extensions is being used, but future predictions of cyborg or post-human can develop unique technology to photography. For example, using 3D fabricating technologies, it is reasonably possible to imitate the digital assets, even moreover omitting their virtual or real parts. The concept of extended-self and its meanings need to be changed correspondingly. Meanwhile, there are many new horizons to explore, which can enhance the understanding of the digital extended-self in this modern world.

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Impactful Theatrical Portrayals and Two Continuums of Impactful Kinds of Talk

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As stated by Peter Daszak the president of the Ecohealth Alliance, “Good communication during a pandemic is as critical as developing a vaccine.” I have to be honest that it has been a challenge to finish writing this paper during the pandemic. There is so much to do to get through every day that committing energy to writing a paper that may be read by just a few people seems like not the best use of available energy, but the work on good communication needs to continue as does the work of community building. It needs to continue for as we have seen, there is never a time when the work on voice can end. We have to continue to refine and develop our understanding and articulation of the talk it takes for us to hear and make ourselves heard by others. In attending four culturally rich plays at the 2019 Oregon Shakespeare Festival, the talk I saw portrayed in these plays had a deep impact on me. As I contemplated this impact, it began to link up with a project that has become focal over the years in my writing of papers for SASSI and SISSI conferences. Working with the theme of the 2020 SASSI conference, the initiating question for the project reported in this paper is: What was the impact of seeing four deeply culturally based plays at the 2019 Oregon Shakespeare Festival on my understanding of impactful kinds of talk?

This focal SASSI/SISSI project is to identify kinds of talk along with the impacts of those kinds of talk (Muller 2012, 2017). To frame the analysis of the talk in the four plays, I begin by summarizing the notion of the four pillars of democratic discourse that emerged in an analysis of the interaction in the movie *Moonlight* (Muller 2017) and a set of related texts. The impact of these four pillars is that the kinds of talk associated with them are helpful to our fellow citizens in fully participating in a democratic society. In the movie *Moonlight*, Chiron encounters none of these kinds of talk. Rather, his communicative context is of consistently living a life in the guise of freedom, meaning to live as an individual so chooses. The movie provides an image of living alone, living side by side with others, and living a life where what one continually encounters is neglect. In such a communicative context, Chiron can make himself through remaking the images of others he encounters and is able to hold. Contrasting with this image of Chiron and building off the four pillars, PERPLE analysis of the talk in four plays yields an outlining of two continuums of talk that begins to paint a richer picture of the kinds of talk that foster the sharing of voices and living in community. An important note: gender inclusive pronouns are used in this writing including sthey (for she-he-they), theirs (for their-her-his), and theirmsel (for himself-themself-hersel).

Pillars of Helpful Talk in Democratic Discourse

These four pillars of democratic discourse are the ethic of justice, the ethic of care (Gilligan), resistance, and healing. The ethic of justice entails that all individuals need an equal right to speak as participants in the endeavor of justice as the process of working toward sharing truth. What happened here? What can we learn through rigorous, systematic investigation? What does the data tell us? What truth emerges as we sort through the motivations, forces, and veiling? Justice, here, is that through cooperatively oriented and at times adversarial processes, essentially tangible, rationally rooted articulations of reality can be attained. This process is complete when there becomes a sharing of the outcome of the justice process. The ethic of justice is enacted through primarily informational talk or the sharing of discursive details and talk grounded in expertise and clearly framed lenses through which analysis is completed and shared. Such talk is quite technical at times, for it is necessarily rooted in details, as they are part of building an accurate reconstruction of what happened after-the-fact.

Yet, to enact the ethic of justice there must be resistance. Resistance, here, means individuals holding on to their capacity to be agents of change and moving into the lurch to speak when moments for change emerge. What does it mean to do this? In large part, it means listening through the lens of one's experiencing. As Allen has pointed out, sometimes when we encounter theory, it make us go, "Hmmm, I'm not sure that accurately provides an explanation for my lived experience. " For justice there needs to be technical informational talk, yet this talk can become a near impenetrable veneer. As technical talk, due to training, practice, or other factors, not everyone will be equally facile at informational talk. This can be problematic at times, and implementing problem-solving techniques and discussion structuring techniques may address these issues. Resistance, however, is necessary because informational talk can morph into other kinds of talk. It can slide into rhetoric and persuasive talk, where a different set of skills are required for competent participation, and as is discussed in the analysis of the play *Indecent*, it can be consumed by the talk of culturally sanctioned transactional games. Resistance talk is in essence dialogue (Buber, Gadamer). It is giving authentic voice to lived experience, sharing that with others, and continuing to do so until it is heard. It is also about generating open conversations through open questions. When enacted as such, dialogue can cut through the veneer that informational talk can at times form.

The third pillar is the ethic of care. While it may be difficult to pull apart the ethic of justice and the ethic of care (White) and one interweaving of these two ethics is shown in the analysis of the play *Cambodian Rock Band*, the ethic of justice is rooted in the notion of rights and the ethic of care is rooted in a concern for others. Self-expressive talk is primary in the ethic of care. Self-expressive talk is both a companion and a contrast to resistance dialogue. Whereas resistance dialogue is a voicing of lived experience, self-expressive talk is a voicing of processing. Dialogue and voice are multifaceted kinds of talk and need some parsing in order to be highly informative as constructs. Specifically, Buber and Rogers take notably different approaches to dialogue (Freidmen). Relatedly, in research on classroom discussion, when analyzed through the lens of voice, two different approaches to voice, mutilvocalic and polyohonic, are both informative (Muller2011a. 2011b). The work of dialogic talk in resistance is to give voice to lived experience and make that known to others. However, as implemented in clinical settings, voice and talk work somewhat differently. When working on understanding self-expressive talk as voice, it is helpful to turn to dialogue theorists who focus on therapy (Rogers).

Within Rogers' client-centered therapy or the subject-object interview (Lahey et al.), the therapist's job is to facilitate the client talking through things in particular ways. While these sessions are designed to bring about the possibility of therapeutic change or assist the listener in assessing the level of a client's psychological development, in both instances the questioning and responding is done to facilitate the client talking through their processing or sense-making. Within the ethic of care, the everyday listening associated with self-expressive talk is to facilitate the person giving voice to their processing. Differently than with dialogue, in self-expressive talk the primary audience is not the listener but rather the speaker. The voice in self-expressive talk is in presenting one's own processing to oneself, to hear in one's own voice, how sthey is working through something. To hear one's own processing is a necessary aspect of democratic discourse, for to be able to facilitate others in voicing their processing one needs to know what it is to do so for oneself. Self-expressive talk and its impacts, including its impact on nascent healing and community building, are shown in the analysis of the play *Mother Road*.

The fourth pillar of democratic discourse is healing. While self-expressive talk can be part of healing under certain circumstances, healing is accomplished primarily through therapeutic talk. While the degree varies across lives, human beings experience trauma. There are many responses to

trauma, repression, working to get back to normal, and/or the trajectory linked to the ethic of care which is healing. Therapeutic talk is the shared aspect of healing. While healing takes place within individuals, without sharing in the process of healing with others via joint therapeutic talk, individuals will not heal. Unlike self-expressive talk which is a voicing of self-processing, therapeutic talk is a sharing, a talking through with others of the “glitches” in a person. Therapeutic talk is that talk where all involved know we are humans, we make mistakes, we get pushed into things, we get hurt, we hurt others. If we are to heal through these things and not push them aside to fester, we need to talk about them with others. We need to give each other space, time, support, and acceptance to do that. Self-expressive talk can lead to healing related to aspects of self-understanding, commitment to work, and appreciation of others. Therapeutic talk allows us to heal aspects of ourselves that somehow have been corrupted. Through therapeutic talk we come to accept the work we have done to participate in our own corruption. This healing is rooted in a commitment to growth, acceptance of our inabilities, and a sharing of the emotional energy of life. Part of engaging in therapeutic talk is sharing our energy with each other in ways that allow each person involved to find what they need in what is given to move along in their own healing.

For an example of the enactment of these pillars, and before we get to the plays, *Star Wars: The Rise of Skywalker* provides an intriguing portrayal. In this movie, three pillars counteract the lack of the fourth. The first and final order takes the pillar of justice out of the equation. Without the possibility of enacting the informationally informed ethic of justice, how does the resistance survive through enacting the other three pillars? Consider the “force” to be the energy of shared emotional life. Negativity separates individuals. As stated in the movie, “they win by making you feel alone.” In a way similar to *Moonlight*, negativity dehumanizes and allows robotic action. Positivity allows engagement and connection. It allows Rey to see through the battle and hear the Jedi voices. Unlike what took place in *Moonlight*, where everyone was always alone, positivity puts us in a shared context with others. In being with the force, the possibility of positivity is always present.

In the environment of that emotional energy, the resistance enacts the triadic combination. The crux of the combination is healing. Rey heals the wound of the serpent blocking the underground exit on Pasaana. After the fight on the remnants of the Death Star on Kef Bir, Rey heals the wound she had just given Kylo Ren. Then finally, Ben heals Rey after her battle with her grandfather Palpatine on Exegol. Though healing is the crux, the enactment of the ethic of care is interwoven with the healing. Leia enacts the ethic of care by reaching out in responsiveness to Kylo. This enactment chains out when Kylo acts with responsiveness to Leia and his visual memory of his father Han. This healing and care mix generates a connectedness that allows continual commitment and even sacrifice for the good of others. Through this on-going commitment to connectedness, the shared context of the Jedi becomes accessible. As she could not do during her training, Rey now sees through the immediate surround and connects to the whole of the Jedi. Resistance is the third part of the combination. Scattered across the galaxies, there are many potential members of the active resistance. In large part due to the work of Lando Calrissian, through overcoming isolation and negativity, the connection becomes complete, and the resistance comes together when the flying fighters individually and collectively engage dialogically. As stated in the movie, it is no great single entity, “it’s just people.” This movie portrays the intermixing of the pillars in the energy of the living force and shows how enacting the pillars individually and importantly in combination is helpful to those endeavoring to work together democratically even in an environment where enacting one of the pillars is not possible. There’s more to come back to in this movie later in the paper, as there is an element of interaction that adds to those analyzed in the kinds of talk portrayed in the plays *Mother Road*, *Indecent*, *Cambodian Rock Band*, and *How to Catch Creation* as they expand on and add additional perspective to the four pillars.

Methodology

The methodology implemented in the paper is PERPLE or practically engaged reflection on the processing of lived experience (Muller 2015, 2016, 2018, 2019). The PERPLE method is designed to make apparent the movement from a particular lived experience to a practical insight that is meaningful beyond the person who had the initial experience. Combining a set of scholarly perspectives allows for articulating and sharing with others the processing of a lived experience which, in a notable way, stands out as important to the researcher. The writing of the research report is an attempt to create thoughtful and informative resonance with the reader.

The method begins with identifying a moment that captures a lived experience. Dewey and relatedly Gadamer address how thinking is often set into action when a difficulty in sense-making is experienced. When something doesn't make sense, we think about it, and we think about it in particular ways. Grounded practical theory (Craig and Tracy) builds on this foundation and is an approach to theorizing that includes identifying the dilemmas or problems communicators involved in a shared social practice experience when talking together. All three approaches advocate that thought and action are not separate endeavors. Rather, theory (how we think/talk) and practice (how we act/experience) are reflexively linked, especially in times of difficulty in sense-making. Translating this idea to PERPLE identifies that practically engaged reflection on specified moments involves addressing both thought and action when articulating the processing of that moment.

This practically engaged reflection occurs in thought, conversation, and writing. For each project, the writing is somewhat different because the writing is an attempt to capture the movement of the researcher. As such the writing is rooted in autoethnography (Ellis and Bochner; Denzin) and informed by analytic autoethnography (Anderson). Yet it is different because while it does share the impetus to "change the conditions under which lives are lived," (Denzin 2014, xi) it does so in a different way than that which is hallmark in autoethnography. While in PERPLE I am exploring a part of my own lived experience, as one would in any autoethnographic project, the practical aspect of this method means that the endeavor does not emphasize meaning-making per se but rather the point is to share reflection on my processing in order to provide a depiction of a way to "do" something in both thought and action.

In creating impact on thought and action through writing, the writing incorporates invitational rhetoric (Foss and Griffin) where persuasion is not the goal of the writer as rhetor but rather perspectives are offered and presented in a way that invites the reader into considering them. One seeks neither agreement nor engaging in argumentation. Though there are characteristics akin to dialogue (Buber), what is presented does not allow the reader to "experience" the writer as other; rather, the aim is to open the possibility for a kind of attunement (Lipari) for the reader with what is presented. In writing, this means that use of the first person is mandatory at the times when I am talking about my actions, my thoughts. This paper has been more of a challenge than some I have written using the PERPLE methodology, for the theme of the conference-impact, and of the paper-voice, processing, and helpful talk, are the stuff of PERPLE projects and writing. The practically engaged reflection in this paper incorporates some literature around dialogue and developmental psychology, but mostly it works through conference papers I have written, conversations I have had, and my experiences attending live theater performances. The processing of the overlaps and links between these are what is presented in the analysis and discussion that follows.

Though PERPLE must include an initiating moment, the process can begin prior to this moment through the coming into focus of an orienting question. For at times a person can happen upon an initializing moment (Muller 2015, 2016). However, in a world with deadlines and calls associated with conference opportunities, it can be beneficial to be open to questions that arise which

begin to orient one to potential initiating moments (Muller 2018, 2019). In this current investigation, the initiating moment arose not long after the call for SASSI 2020 was announced. I had expected the theme to be something different and had a basic idea for what I would address for this year's conference. When impact was announced as the theme, I left open the possibility to see what mediated or performative content would strike me as impactful. Upon attending the Oregon Shakespeare Festival, an initiating question arose out of my lived experience. What was the impact of seeing four deeply culturally based plays at the 2019 Oregon Shakespeare Festival on my understanding of impactful kinds of talk? The writing moves through a quick description of the initiating moment, the presentation of the analysis of the four plays through the lens of the impactful of kinds of talk, and the discussion that lays out the continuums of talk, their interweaving with the pillars of democratic discourse, and the practical uses of these kinds of talk.

The Initiating Moment

In 2019 my consistent companion for live theatre performances and I attended five plays in four days at the Oregon Shakespeare Festival, only one of which was a Shakespeare play. This was a focused and intense experience. The initiating moment of this paper occurred during our debriefing conversation of these plays. As we talked through these plays, articulating our experiencing, it became clear there was more to take away from these plays than what was in each of them individually. There was something in these plays collectively that though the portrayals were of different cultures and different kinds of talk, there was something knitting together this experience. As I continued to talk through this fabric, the explanatory framework that emerged was of two continuums of talk, and these continuums of talk seemed interwoven with notions of democratic discourse that had emerged in my analysis centered on the movie *Moonlight* (Muller 2017). What was the impact of attending these four culturally rich plays and experiencing the talk in them?

Mother Road

Octavio Solis' *Mother Road* is a play that follows the journey of "Okie" William Joad as he seeks to determine an heir for his Oklahoma ranch. When his lawyer, Roger, who in some ways has been somewhat sonlike to a sonless Will, locates a blood heir in California who is the Mexican-American descendent of Tom Joad who was part of the dust bowl Okie migration to California, the journey begins. The play covers the road back from Bakersfield to Sallisaw in Joad's old truck. The well t-shirted Martín Jodes is the first to join Will. Though Martín has field work experience, he does not have any management experience. For that they need to dip down into Arizona and pick up Mo, his lesbian cousin, who knows all there is about how to try to reclaim land into a workable state after it has been detrimentally impacted through the use of chemicals. As the three journey along the road, a roadside incident occurs involving a policeman, profiling, and links to the past which results in Martín taking off and becoming lost in a winter storm. He is "found" by his African-American ex-convict friend Cook James. Martín recuperates at James' cabin before he too joins the journey adding music to the mix. A gospel-like celebratory mood infuses the journey, but this is not the end of the play. James also helps crack the code of the map that brings Will to the place where his ancestor is buried. Doing the work of unearthing and reburying the ancestor becomes complicated because the burial site is not on the ranch. A group of racist language spewing ranch hands accost the group, one of whom shoots Will. Will Joad dies but not before he asks the ranch hand Curtis, who had shot him and is part Native American (as was Will's former wife) to join his ranch crew, and not before he cedes his land to Martín rather than his sonish lawyer. After Joad passes, this group of five commit to making the most of the earth that is the Joad ranch, and they begin to do that work.

The kind of talk that makes this play work is talk that enacts the ethic of care, self-expressive talk. There are all kinds of moments in this play where characters blatantly express prejudices, and characters do the work of not seeing each other. Yet, while on the road, characters find themselves encountering others engaged in self-expressive talk, where they/you as an audience member hear characters talking thorough something, making sense of something aloud in their talk. As each character engages in this self-expressive talk, each character does the work of “cleansing” their processing, making it not only more familiar to theirself, but making it more and more theirs own. One scene that was acted notably differently than it was written in the script highlights the impact of self-expressive talk. At this point in the play, Martín is wandering in the snowstorm but Mo and Joad need rooms for the night. The Hispanic innkeeper, Abelardo, is deeply reluctant to give a key to Joad dating back to his family’s experience with the dust bowl Okie migration. When the whites came through in that day, jobs that used to be available to Hispanics became inaccessible to them because there were whites to hire. This was a very difficult time for Abelardo’s family, and the story of this time and of the Okies during this time as told by his father is something he cannot get out of his head. Yet, through talking through his processing of the current moment (at times in conversation with his dead fathers’ voice in his head), Abelardo is able to determine how he will engage in this moment. Through this self-expressive talk, through talking through his processing, Abelardo’s voice emerges. The innkeeper can hear his own voice, he can see himself, and through such he is able to determine himself how he will relate to Mo and Joad in this current moment.

Mother Road is a story of nascent healing process. The work that takes place is at the level of individuals learning to see and hear theirself in the company of others. The journey on the road provides the space for hurtful talk, but also for the emergence of self-expressive talk where individuals share their processing aloud, where voices emerge, people become seen, and the ethic of care is enacted as the space for this talk is maintained. In the scene with the innkeeper, and then metaphorically with Joad’s death, this work includes reorienting to the past through cleansing one’s processing and learning to voice one’s own processing rather than reiterating what has been taken in from others. In this case, the reorientation is at the individual and group/family levels, and the potential for healing is interconnected with the shared endeavor of working to heal the earth. The family ranch – left by Tom Joad and held on to through the striving, will, and work of William Joad, is now a part of the earth in the caretaking hands of Martín, Mo, James, Roger, and Curtis. This ceding of the ranch is made possible through the voicing of individual processing in the presence of others and the helpful impact of this self-expressive talk.

Indecent

Paula Vogel’s *Indecent* is not a story of healing or enacting the ethic of care. It is a telling, framed in the animation cycle, of the slide down the kinds of talk from helpful dialogue, in this case, to highly destructive culturally sanctioned transactional games. It is the story of an individual finding purity in an enactment of connection. He, then, continues to stage-manage the play and the creation of that moment until the players are consumed by the dominant culture. The play is about Sholem Asch’s play *The God of Vengeance*. Asch’s play portrays the reaction of a Jewish brothel owner to his daughter falling in love with one of the prostitutes. At the end of Asch’s play, a scene shown many times throughout the production of *Indecent* representing the array of original performances of Asch’s play, the father throws down the Torah and banishes both women to the basemen that in this case is the brothel itself. As a play about a play, *Indecent* follow characters surrounding the production of Asch’s play. Lemmel, who becomes the stage manager, is a young tailor who happens to attend the first reading of the play. While others at the reading have a variety of reactions, Lemmel is moved deeply.

The centerpiece scene in Asch's play is the "rain" scene where the two lovers dance together in the rain. This is the scene in which dialogue is portrayed in both the original play and in the play about the play. In the joyous movement of the dance, Manke and Rifkele embrace the known-unknown of a fellow human being and open themselves to the fullness of their experienced connection. As Buber points out, there does not need to be speech to have dialogue. Dialogue is rather a turning-toward each other, and potentially, then, in turning toward the wholeness of another, one comes into knowing the wholeness of oneself. This purity moves Lemmel, for the portrayal of this purity within the complex environment of the surrounding society, culture, and material conditions is the play *The God of Vengeance*. Experiencing the enactment of possibility that the two characters achieve in at least this singular moment of dialogic connection is why Lemmel cannot stop bringing the play into performance.

While the primary environment of Asch's play is the family, the environment of Vogel's play is European culture of the early 20th century, through the Holocaust, and into early 1950's American society. That the keeper of the culture, the father, banishes the lovers to the brothel is also essential to the tale of Asch's play. If the daughter, Manke, will not participate with the father in the culturally-sanctioned transactional game (Muller 2019, 2020) and act appropriately as the virginal daughter, it is to the brothel for her. Culturally-sanctioned transactional games refers to the communication that takes place in maintaining the culturally sanctioned roles of the participants. If the daughter will not appropriately participate with the father, for the father to remain in his role, he must away with his daughter but also express how wrong the situation is by the throwing of the Torah. While the brothel is the end for Manke in the play, within the play about the play, the characters are tested through multiple layers of willingness or not to participate in culturally-sanctioned transitional games.

There are two primary games portrayed in *Indecent*. The first one is portrayed when after successful runs throughout much of Europe, the troupe comes to America and eventually has the opportunity to perform an English translation of the play on Broadway. Asch is little involved in this translation; and to the dismay of the troupe, the producers of the play in their attempt to make the play acceptable to the American audience turn the love between the two women into a seduction of the daughter toward a life of prostitution. During the first performance of the rewritten play, the entire troupe is arrested for obscenity. Rather than being an act of anti-Semitism, the charges were brought by a New York City Orthodox rabbi who did not like the portrayal of the Jewish characters. If the troupe will not participate in culturally-sanctioned roles with the rabbi, just as the father does with Manke, the troupe must be banished. The second game has to do with larger issues of the time.

One of the most difficult things for me watching this play, was how absent Asch was in defending his play and troupe, but also in not letting members of his troupe know about the pogroms he knew were taking place based on his recent European travels. Since they can no longer perform the play in America, Lemmel and some of the troupe decide to return to Europe where they had experienced acceptance and appreciation of their art. Why did Asch do so little to keep them from heading into such a known dangerous situation? One answer to this is that to do so would have taken enacting entirely different communication skill sets. As someone who had written a play about dialogue and culturally sanctioned transactional games, what would it have taken for him to build the talk skills needed to participate effectively in these interactions? Could he have built the skills to engage in highly skilled informational talk (in what was for him the foreign language of English) to participate within the ethic of justice? Could he have built the rhetorical skills to persuade the troupe to give up their art for potential safety through staying in America – where they had just been imprisoned? From another angle, does it make more sense that he would be in a deep state of depression feeling the culturally-sanctioned transactional games banishing all possibility of dialogue?

When there is so little likelihood of dialogue being seen and heard, having already given his play to the world and to his troupe, may not turning away be a reasonable option?

Maybe or maybe not regarding Asch's actions, but the life of the troupe continues. At least for a little while it does. One of the last scenes in the play is Lemmel directing a starving set of actors, hiding, living, and acting in an attic to make their way through the rain scene. As they do so, they are interrupted and taken away. This time not to go to prison or have a trial, but to stand in the interminably long line moving ever so slowly toward their death in a gas chamber. Just as in *Star Wars: The Rise of Skywalker*, the dominant culture has removed any possibility of participating in the ethic or justice. The troupe turned to dialogue as a way to shine through the society constructed by all the other kinds of talk, but eventually, in this case, the cost of not participating in the dominant culture's sanctioned transitional game is the ultimate banishment. When there is no possibility that the capacity for seeing other humans can break through the culturally-sanctioned transactional games, there is no possibility of the voices of individual members being heard. The only potential remains in the light that can be portrayed through art when picked up by a younger artist (an inexperienced but passionate young American director) who seeks the permission to do so from Asch.

Cambodian Rock Band

How do we make any move toward justice or care when our institutions fail us? When they turn on us, when they turn us against each other, when they make explicit and deadly cruelty expected of their citizens, how do we move toward anything other? Even if we survive the terror, what do we do then? This is the story told in Lauren Yee's *Cambodian Rock Band*. The main character in this play is Chum who was able to make it out of Cambodia even though he was sent to a Khmer Rouge prison/death camp. That he did so is unknown to his American born daughter Neary who has returned to Cambodia with her boyfriend Ted to participate in the upcoming trial of a Khmer Rouge war criminal, seeking to determine whether a certain person is actually Kang Kek Iew. Kang Kek Iew ran the notorious Prison 21 from which only seven (and now based upon an unearthed letter potentially eight) people escaped his death camp. This currently unknown and also to be determined eighth person may be the key to conviction.

The charm machine, former math teacher, and currently investigated potential war criminal, Duch, is the "stage manager" of this play, who often addresses the audience directly. He is also the one member of this six person troupe who does not play an instrument in *Cyclos*, the Cambodian rock band. The five person band is comprised of Chum, Leng, Southea, Dom, and Pou, composing and performing some serious 60's/70's rock music which they were seeking to record when the Americans pulled-out, paving the way for the Khmer Rouge to dominate the Cambodian people.

One way to describe what is so powerful about the impact of this play is that, without the incorporation of a court trial or any kind of formal system, it is an exploration of the interaction of the ethic of justice and the ethic of care in the life of an individual. Neary has come to Cambodia to bring change and potentially healing through being part of the court case of the war criminal that ran Prison 21. Her commitment and belief that bringing this individual to trial is of the utmost importance encounters a different perspective when her father unexpectedly arrives in Cambodia. Chum does not work to convince Neary to change her course. Rather, throughout the course of the play, the depth of the work it takes an individual to make his way through the complexity of moving toward healing is portrayed. Writing about this play is a challenge, for in order to honor what was portrayed, writing feels like it is not something for me to do. I had the opportunity to take in what was offered to me through this play, and the wholeness of what I experienced is something I am quite unsure I can represent. It is rather in the performance of the play. Proceeding with my attempted description,

information is divulged that shows the truth of the events. Chum was in Prison 21. He was under the watch of Duch, and he was also under the watch of his former bandmate Leng. He is in fact the mysterious eighth survivor. These events happened. What was cloaked is now seen as truth. Within the ethic of justice, this after-the-fact reconstruction of events is necessary; and if everyone comes to share this truth, it could be helpful.

Yet, as the story unfolds, Chum has to work through his own story. Why does his daughter not know his life story? Why did he make the decision to try to complete that last recording session when he had the opportunity to flee the country? When he had the opportunity to assist his family in fleeing the country, why did he choose his music? What did he experience while at Prison 21? What did he do to escape Prison 21? Telling the story of escape could be seen an informational talk – a component of the ethic of justice. However, to tell this story, Chum has to talk through his decisions that put him in harm's way. He has to talk through why there is so much of himself that he has not previously shared with his daughter. He has to talk through with others his experiencing the situation in which he found himself, the experiencing of living in his skin, and talking and acting as he did to survive and eventually make his way to America. This is not informational talk. This is therapeutic talk. He can only share this with others within the ethic of care. For everyone involved, all the characters in the play as well as members of the audience (in our performance, mostly Americans) are party to his trauma. The truth of the events will not set anyone free. However, for all involved there can be some healing. As Chum's humanity, the "glitches" in himself as a person that allowed him to abandon his family, talk with and play music for Kang Kek Iew while in prison, and murder his friend Leng, are shared through talk, everyone in attendance can access their own "glitches." As the characters talk through their decision-making, the audience can do the same with theirs, especially in working through what they do and do not know about this world situation, and how they do and do not implicitly and/or explicitly support such actions by the American government. There is no therapist here, but through therapeutic talk, the energy moves through and around the theatre, wounds become apparent, the potential for acceptance and healing arises, and the shared humanity of everyone is accessible.

The play wraps with an extended plateau of music and eventually audience-invited dancing. The contrasting, colliding, and complementing emotions are all present as anyone who chooses to do so can tap into their own choices and the impact making those have had on themselves and on others. This mix of talk enacting the ethic of justice, through uncloaking the events and the lived realities of the characters, and enacting the ethic of care, through individuals sharing their experiences and their articulations of what they have been through is extremely impactful. This play portrays an example of how enacting the ethics of justice and care intertwine when people work to move together as humans who have been through things and who have put others through things. What exactly should happen next is left unstated, for that would take another play.

How to Catch Creation

"I think I want to have a baby" is both the opening and closing line of Christina Anderson's *How to Catch Creation*, billed as a play involving "black gaze" where black characters are not portrayed as they are seen through white eyes. The play follows the intertwining lives of four artists, Griffin, Tami, Riley, and Stokes, living in the Bay Area. There are two additional characters. Professional sewist Natalie and the queer feminist writer G. K. Marche who were partners in the 60's. They were such until Natalie's one night fling with Thom (in the play for only one scene) results in a baby. Even after concerted trying, the emotional, motivational, and societal complexities involved makes it not work for G. K. to continue her relationship with Natalie and the baby. The kind of talk highlighted in this play, intercontextuality (Muller 2009, 2019, 2020), is not primary in any of the other OSF plays of 2019.

The title of this paper when virtually presented at SASSI 2020 was “The Impact of the Everyday Rhythm of Choosing, Caretaking, Conversation, and Creativity.” This title originated in the experience of attending this play. The play begins when Natalie’s son Griffin, a part-time professor and full-time wrongly convicted ex-con, tells his friend Tami a lesbian sometimes painter and full-time art school administrator, who had facilitated in getting his conviction overturned, that he thinks he wants to have a baby. As the younger couple Riley and Stokes come into the lives of both Tami and Griffin, it is unclear how these characters will arrange themselves. Stokes wants to be a painter but cannot get accepted into art school. Riley has chosen to work as a computer repair tech, and she seeks out Tami to see if she can facilitate Stokes getting into art school. Over time, Riley and Tami become happily involved. Stokes encounters G. K.’s writing, puts down his painting, and takes up writing. There is a scene when G. K. and Natalie encounter each other at a bus stop many years after we initially meet them and options of getting a ride are discussed. Griffin pursues the very few options for having a baby available to him as a middle-aging, partially employed ex-con. Riley becomes pregnant. After talking about G. K.’s work several times, Stokes and Griffin head to visit the elderly G. K. in the home in which she is living. Connections between Griffin and G. K. are unexpectedly experienced but not explicitly voiced. Conversations occur throughout as all characters work to figure out what comes next.

The conference presentation title refers to how no one in this community is ever dropped. Everyone is included in the collective rhythm. This sharing in the co-constructed rhythm generates the promise of well-being. There is always some level of care being taken by one character for another. This takes place through actions, mostly through conversation, and at times through created art pieces. The play moves at the rhythm of these three things. If an individual darts off in a direction, it is never for too far or too long for there is always another one of the characters who comes into view along the trajectory. The encountered character is always responsive though not always in the same way. Creativity is always present whether in new configurations between characters, new conversations, actual art pieces, or babies. As the play ends, Stokes and Riley are trying to make it work, and Tami says to Griffin, “I think I want to have a baby.”

The idea of Intercontextuality and intercontextual talk is rooted in Kristeva’s intertextuality where writers of texts are always doing so in reference to other written texts. In talk interaction, it is not texts but contexts that are relevant. Whereas in *Moonlight*, the same context of neglect was always present, in *How to Catch Creation*, the contexts and the overlap of contexts is always changing. A character will begin interacting as a friend, move to a mentor, become an artistic colleague, morph into a lover, become someone with a very different past, become someone who has access to something the other does not, and on it goes. As a person talks, different shared, overlapping, or quite different life contexts become relevant. As what is experienced as relevant shifts, how the characters interact shifts. Yet, it never shifts so much that anyone is left out of the movement. An argument could be made that Natalie and G. K. drop each other, for Griffin never knows of his mother’s connection to G. K., but yet he has a connection to G. K. for her writing has been essential in his development as a self-identified feminist. This interaction provides a never-ending potential for growth in each character as there is a helpful promise of well-being held within each interaction.

Discussion

The four plays, *Mother Road*, *Indecent*, *Cambodian Rock Band*, and *How to Catch Creation*, expand and provide insight into the four pillars of democratic discourse that emerged in an analysis of the movie *Moonlight* and related texts. To these four pillars of the ethic of justice, resistance, the ethic

of care, and healing, these plays add dialogue, rhetorical persuasion, culturally-sanctioned transactional games, self-expressive talk, therapeutic talk, and intercontextuality. The portrayed talk in these four begin to outline two continuums of talk, one associated with the ethic of justice/the promise of internal space and the other with the ethic of care/the promise of well-being.

The continuum of talk associated with the ethic of justice includes four kinds of talk and moving down the continuum is moving from more to less promise of internal space. The four kinds of talk are resistance or dialogue, informational talk, rhetorical or persuasive talk, and culturally-sanctioned transactional games. Dialogue is defined, here, as giving voice to lived experience. As seen in *Indecent*, dialogue provides the maximum promise of internal space. When Manke and Rifkele interact dialogically, they are free to move about in the entirety of their inner emotional space finding their connection to each other and portraying that in a way that, an audience can experience it in pure form. Through encountering this creation, Lemmel can resist all other interpretations of the play as well as many of the limitations imposed on his freedom by the surrounding society. As seen in *Cambodian Rock Band*, informational talk allows quite a bit of a promise of internal space but there are important limits. The freedom in informational talk is that veils are uncovered. Through such talk after-the-fact reconstructions are produced that require but also allow moving about within one's internal space to identify the accurate facts and unfolding of events. The internal space must be checked by veracity or other chosen limitations, such as the rules of a research or investigative method.

With increasing limitations on the promise of internal space comes the capacity for the talk to suppress or otherwise minimize the potential of talk that requires more promise of internal space. Not primary in any of these plays, but hinted at throughout is rhetorical persuasive talk. This talk is designed to attain certain ends. To engage skillfully in this kind of talk, internal space needs to be constricted to focus on that which would assist us in achieving said ends. Finally, there are culturally-sanctioned transactional games. In this kind of talk, our internal space necessarily becomes very limited for our jobs in these interactions are to talk only in ways that keep things as they are within our socio-cultural milieu. As seen in *Indecent*, if such games are the expected and enforced ways of talking, it can lead to various kinds of banishment for those who attempt to use any other kind of talk.

The continuum of talk associated with the ethic of care talk includes four kinds of talk and moving up the continuum is moving from smaller to greater promise of well-being. The four kinds of talk are self-expressive talk, therapeutic talk, intercontextuality, and (yet to be discussed) the Jedi-mind trick. Self-expressive talk is a different aspect of voice than is present in dialogue. In self-expressive talk, one voices one's own self-processing to oneself. Fellow interactants listen in ways that provide the promise of well-being, the promise that it is safe to speak this aspect of one's voice. As seen in *Mother Road*, self-expressive talk can bring about nascent healing on the level of acceptance and shared activity as people become more facile in speaking their own voice rather than what has been imparted to them by others. As individuals learn to hear their own voice, they become more able to hear those of others.

As seen in *Cambodian Rock Band*, therapeutic talk is a sharing of what one has been through including both the aspects of oneself that have been corrupted and one's participation in that corruption. This kind of talk can bring about deeper healing than is associated with self-expressive talk but it takes a greater promise of well-being to engage in this kind of talk. That promise of well-being usually begins through someone engaging in therapeutic talk themselves and this opens the possibility that others realize that a certain level of well-being resides in being willing to engage in this kind of talk. Intercontextuality is about an even greater promise of well-being. This well-being can be enacted through caretaking, conversation, and creativity and is present in interaction that has

the co-constructed rhythm of moving with the flow of ever-shifting relevance of life contexts. The highest amount of promise of well-being resides in the Jedi mind trick. This reading of the Jedi mind trick is that it is half intercontextuality (on the part of the Jedi) and half something else (coming from others in the interaction). In *Star Wars: The Rise of Skywalker*, as Rey, Poe, and Finn are rescuing Chewie, they encounter two stormtroopers. Rey uses the Jedi mind trick saying “It’s okay that we are here.” One stormtrooper replies. “It okay that you’re here.” Followed by the second saying, “It’s good.” Rey then says, “You’re relieved that we are here.” One replies, “Thank goodness you are here.” The second replies, “Welcome guys.” The Jedi mind trick is promising so much well-being that the adversaries realize that there is more well-being in being with the Jedi than in being a stormtrooper opposing the Jedi. Whereas in intercontextuality, all involved mimic the promise of well-being for each other, in the Jedi mind trick, one person provides that for all involved.

Per the PERPLE methodology, the movement in the writing should be from an initiating moment in the lived experience of the writer to practically relevant suggestions for how to do things. The two continuums of talk, one associated with the ethic of justice/the promise of internal space and the other associated with the ethic of care/the promise of well-being provide suggestions for the kinds of talk that can have helpful impacts. These continuums of talk build around the four pillars of democratic discourse and provide guidelines for how we can enact the ethic of justice through providing varying levels of the promise of internal space as well as how we can enact the ethic of care through providing varying levels of the promise of well-being in our talk. Voice is a complicated construct and these continuums provide one parsing of what it is for individuals to speak their voice, and how speaking different aspects of one’s voice variably enact the ethic of justice or the ethic of care. The impact of self-expressive talk can be to “cleanse” one’s processing of external influences and provide space for others to do the same. Mixing informational talk and therapeutic talk is one way to generate a helpful impact toward healing deep, often culturally-influenced wounds. Intercontextuality provides an alternative to culturally sanctioned transactional games for how we can helpfully impact each other in building and sustaining communities where no one is left out of the co-constructed rhythm. There are many ways talk can produce a helpful impact, and what is portrayed in these four plays provides insight into continuums of talk that can be referenced when seeking to do just that.

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Law Enforcement “Journalism” in the Modern Age: How does Social Media Erode Journalistic Authority?

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Introduction

Ambulance personnel took one person to the hospital after an ATV accident in the foothills near Evergreen west of Denver on a sunny winter weekend in 2019. Reporter Deborah Swearingen at the Canyon Courier community newspaper heard sirens and saw a post about a “possibly fatal ATV accident” on the “Evergreen Neighbors and Friends” Facebook page and the MyMountainTown.com web page. Swearingen called her editor that Saturday to ask for instructions. She then made several phone calls and social media queries to try to get more verified information. She tried to contact the resident who made the Facebook post, the Jefferson County Sheriff’s Office public information officer, the Evergreen Fire Rescue ambulance service, and other emergency services in the surrounding area. She finally reached fire department spokeswoman Jenny Fulton at Inter-Canyon Fire Protection District, who confirmed that a Jefferson County resident had been airlifted to a Denver hospital. Swearingen then called two Denver hospitals to try to confirm that an ATV accident victim had been taken to Denver from Evergreen. Because she did not have the name of the person, and because hospitals follow federal Health Insurance Portability and Accountability Act, or HIPAA privacy rules, Swearingen did not find out any more information about the incident. Based on the newspaper’s standards for information verification, Swearingen decided not to write a news story or to post anything on the newspaper’s web page.

Once the work week started, Swearingen again tried the Jefferson County Sheriff’s Office to see if she could get more information. That day, she saw information on the sheriff’s office Twitter account that described the incident but did not give the name of the person who went to the hospital or many details about what happened. After several more fruitless attempts to reach the sheriff’s office spokesperson by phone and email, the reporter moved on to other tasks. She and the newspaper editor decided that they could not get enough verified information from sources to write a story about the incident. This example shows how law enforcement officials now use social media as the primary outlet to get information to the public, including to journalists.

In this paper, I examine the issue of journalistic authority, specifically as it relates to journalism’s “watchdog role” in democracy. Journalistic authority is a theoretical model in which the right of journalists to tell the news to the audience can be assessed, as well as the right of the journalists to be listened to (Carlson, 2017). Journalism’s “watchdog role” is to serve as a monitor of power that keeps government institutions accountable to the public (Kovach & Rosenstiel, 2014, Norris, 2014). In addition, Bourdieu’s field theory comes into play, in that relations of power between the fields – in this case the journalistic field and the institutional or governmental field – structure human action (Benson & Neveu, 2005).

Both journalists and law enforcement public information officers interviewed for this paper use real-life examples to illustrate why they believe it’s important that their institutions (news outlets or law enforcement offices) generally are the ones who should have the most right to tell their information to the audience and the most right to be listened to. Journalists interviewed in this project most commonly said that it’s important for an outside third party to examine police reports and other law enforcement documents, since only then do they play the “watchdog role” expected of them in a democracy. This is an area of journalism studies often discussed by normative theory scholars (Kovach & Rosenstiel, 2014; Christians et al., 2009; Carlson, 2012; Habermas, 1991) who talk about the importance of independent, information verification done outside of government institutions

(Kovach & Rosenstiel, 2014). Carlson (2017), Anderson and Schudson (2008), Zelizer (1992), Robinson (2011), and others have grappled with the nature of what makes an occupational group such as journalists be considered as an authority on public knowledge. Moreover, as Bourdieu theorizes, the journalistic field has its own “nomos,” or ways of functioning, even though it cannot be completely independent of the outside world (Bourdieu, 2005). The journalistic field is seen as just one area of an overall field of power, and the individuals within it accumulate “social capital,” both with sources and with the audience (Benson & Neveu, 2005). Anderson and Schudson (2008), and Shoemaker and Reese (2013) discuss specifically the nature of the routines journalists use to do their work as a way to explain the industry’s professional norms.

Carlson says generally that to be an authority, one must have “institutional control” over the knowledge in the domain in which one wants speak (2017, p. 8). At the same time, law enforcement personnel have increasingly used social media in the last 10 years to disseminate information directly to the public (Kim et al., 2017) using social media sites such as Twitter, Facebook and Instagram (Dai et al., 2017; Kim et al., 2017).

Surveys consistently show that local news consumers most want to know about crime, weather and traffic (Pew Research Center 2015) in the regions where they live. Many of those consumers have migrated to social media sites in recent years, to find information (Kim et al., 2017; Kavanaugh & Fox, 2012; Rahman et al., 2019). Current Twitter use in the United States is more than 50 percent but less than other social media sites such as Facebook and Instagram, according to a survey done in 2013. The survey indicates that 62 percent of all adults say they use Facebook, and 30 percent say they get news on Facebook (Mitchell et al., 2013). Twitter news consumers generally are young, mobile and educated (Mitchell et al., 2013).

With these thoughts in mind, this study is meant to take a more detailed look at how journalists around Colorado interact with law enforcement officials and how those interactions are changing because of technology – specifically, social media technology.

RQ1: How, if at all, are journalist interactions with law enforcement personnel changing in the age of social media?

RQ2: How, if at all, are law enforcement personnel interactions with journalists changing in the age of social media?

This study is based on in-person, phone and email interviews with reporters and editors at the Canyon Courier, the Columbine Courier, the Clear Creek Courant (Evergreen Newspapers); the Brighton Standard Blade, the Fort Lupton Press, the Commerce City Sentinel (Metrowest Newspapers); the Greeley Tribune, the Ouray County Plaindealer, the Grand Junction Sentinel, the Colorado Sun, and the Denver Post. It also is based on interviews with public information officers at three law enforcement offices in Colorado. In addition, comments made by a Colorado Sun editor at a meeting of about 50 public information officers at an Emergency Services Public Information Officers of Colorado meeting held in the Denver metro area in Spring 2019 serve as background for the literature review. The comments illustrate some of the complexities of the relationships between journalists and public information officers.

This study adds to the body of existing research on journalistic authority by analyzing how professional journalistic roles are being redefined in a variety of ways in the current transitory news environment, especially as they relate to law enforcement sources, and vice versa.

Literature Review

Traditional journalistic authority

To understand journalistic authority in society, it is important to look first at the concept of what “authority” means. Long before social media sites existed, scholars such as Weber and Arendt suggested that authority is a hierarchical social arrangement (Carlson, 2017). They postulated that authoritative figures have enforcement mechanisms and legitimating practices in society that others do not have. In a traditional democratic system such as the one in the United States, institutional authorities such as law enforcement, judges and elected officials will always remain authoritative, while journalism is seen as *an* authority among others (Carlson, 2017).

When it comes specifically to journalistic authority, Anderson says that the journalistic field is one bound by people and organizations who do the “work of journalism” (Anderson, 2015; Benson & Neveu, 2005). Bourdieu explains that the journalistic field accrues social capital related to the work it does – the network that journalists have of institutionalized relationships with sources and others (Benson & Neveu, 2005, p. 119). “Social capital” also is related to the recognition that journalists receive from others, including law enforcement bodies and other institutions. By hiring their own additional social media public relations experts, law enforcement and government officials effectively are saying that journalism’s social capital is diminished.

A key to understanding how both journalism and law enforcement institutions might *gain* authority through social media is to think about how authoritative figures perform their roles through discourse (Carlson, 2017; Anderson, 2015). Journalists always have used the news platforms of newspapers, radio and TV to perform that discourse, while other institutional authority figures such as police, judges and elected officials traditionally had less of a chance to perform that discourse independently of journalists. Since social media sites have become ubiquitous in American society in the last decade, all nature of institutional authority figures have taken advantage of the independent discourse they offer.

Since journalists perform their roles through discourse, they’re also studied as the gatekeepers of information (Shoemaker & Vos, 2009). Journalists often see gatekeeping as a public and moral responsibility (Vos & Heinderyckx, 2015) including that of providing a forum and in serving as a check on abuses on political and economic power (Vos & Heinderyckx, 2015; Kovach & Rosenstiel, 2014). Journalists now seem to have lost at least part of that power of the “watchdog role” to the law enforcement agencies (Weaver et al., 2007; Weaver & Willnat 2012). As Starkman (2014) points out, complex information can be released in ways that put the law enforcement agencies in the best light. Other information can be “actively hidden by interested actors” (Starkman, 2014).

Journalism has always relied on its relationship between reporters and “elite” news sources – individuals or organizations that possess the reputation and audience to command public attention on their own – to report the news. These “elite” news sources are largely institutional. In law enforcement, for example, such sources would include the local sheriff or police chief. At the same time, in the journalistic field, reporters have always accumulated social capital by attributing information to others (Benson & Neveu, 2005), including these “elite” sources. This practice helps journalists strive for objectivity and professionalism in the field. (Benson & Neveu, 2005; Carlson, 2015).

In recent years, however, the ways that government officials, including law enforcement officials, now use the internet and social media have completely disrupted journalism, and news-gathering routines have become unsettled. (Reese, 2016). For example, scholars study how the roles

of news sources and boundaries between the news sources and the journalists helps establish journalistic authority (Robinson 2015; Carlson, 2017; Beckett & Deuze, 2016). Those scholars specifically look at the role the social media giant Twitter has played in how elite sources such as the American presidents Donald Trump and Barack Obama interact with the public. Politicians and companies (and other institutions such as law enforcement officers) now have their own “in-house newsrooms,” where they can frame their messages to suit themselves (Beckett & Deuze, 2016).

Journalists are alarmed by the user-generated content posted by sources, because of its potential for inaccuracy (Lewis & Carlson, 2015). Singer says that journalists now use user-generated content for tips, but re-verify all of the details (Singer, 2015) and do independent reporting to fill in journalistic “holes.” Journalists also are worried about being bypassed by the information on social media (Macnamara, 2014). Taken to its ultimate conclusion, such social media posting leads to misinformation and propaganda corrupting the public sphere (Macnamara, 2014).

Journalism’s “watchdog role” is guided by professional ideals such as objectivity, independence and fairness (Anderson, 2015, Zelizer, 1992). When journalistic authority declines, it’s likely to affect journalism’s power as a watchdog of government (Christians et al. 2009; Kovach & Rosenstiel, 2014; Anderson, 2015).

In basic terms, journalists want to protect society from corruption, while officials in government and business want to protect their own interests (Anderson, 2015; Kovach & Rosenstiel, 2014; Benson & Neveu 2005). Institutional sources such as courts, police and the legislature want to shape meaning and promote their own versions of reality (Ericson et al., 1989, p. 6). To extend this line of reasoning, the tension between journalists and sources is to decide an “ephemeral social power,” according to Berkowitz (2008) in which each side is constantly negotiating for the upper hand in an asymmetrical relationship (Berkowitz, 2008; Carlson, 2017). In the past, journalists accrued power because of media scarcity. Now, news sources need to be reassessed in an era of media abundance (Carlson, 2016). However, most traditional routines and practices of news production remain constant in newsrooms, despite new technology and outside challenges (Reese, 2016; Usher, 2014).

These themes of gatekeeping, changing interactions with news sources, and journalists’ “watchdog role” in democracy reinforce what journalistic authority traditionally has meant in the United States. However, they’re now being challenged by a host of factors, especially technology as it relates to social media.

Law enforcement social media messaging threatens journalistic authority

A small number of scholars have studied how journalist news-gathering processes have changed in recent years to adapt to law enforcement dissemination practices (Powers and Vera-Zambrano, 2017). Past research on how law enforcement agencies interact with the public has focused generally on increased government transparency and efficiency during emergency situations. Specifically, officials and consumers have turned more to social media outlets to send and receive information in times of emergency (St. Denis et al., 2013). Such research generally has focused on public trust and the reach of government information on social media (Hughes & Palen, 2012). Scholars have looked at how law enforcement agencies make plans for emergency

situations as well as the actual posts that law enforcement officials make in such situations. Overall, the existing body of research focuses on ways that government agencies try to be more modern and proactive to meet the needs of the public directly.

Hughes and Palen (2012) also discuss the increased pressure on law enforcement public information officers and social media officers because of cutbacks and staff shortages in traditional print and broadcast media outlets. Palen and Liu predicted in 2007 research that those pressures would cause fundamental shifts to the formal institutions of emergency management.

Scholars have examined law enforcement officials' push to better control the message to mass media and to residents. Many law enforcement officials have said that they are better able to control the information when they post it directly to social media outlets (Huey & Broll, 2012). Indeed, some officers have said they do not have to respond immediately to media questions probing for more information about crime incidents (Huey & Broll, 2012).

Law enforcement officials say that residents give them tips on social media (Hermida, 2010; Stassen, 2010). Law enforcement officials also use social media to interact more with residents once the officials have posted information (Stassen, 2010). In a similar vein, the Federal Communications Commission has expanded the government's use of emergency alerts to social media and to sending text messages to all mobile phones (Lindsay, 2011). The Federal Bureau of Investigation now sends out direct alerts on Twitter, and the FBI and other emergency agencies send "test" messages to all cell phones. One example of this in Colorado is the FBI message sent to Twitter followers on April 17, 2019, about an armed and presumed dangerous shooter named Sol Pais who came to Colorado and bought a shotgun after posting messages about the anniversary of mass shootings at Columbine High School. (<https://twitter.com/FBIDenver/status/1118326723056152576>) In this case, FBI officials used Twitter first, before following up with interviews with local news outlets(2).

However, Farhi says it's no big deal when institutional posts on social media gain attention (2009). He says that if journalists have to find out police information from social media sites these days, it's similar to journalists listening to police scanners or using press releases from law enforcement personnel to gather information a decade ago – in the days before social media gained the public dominance it now enjoys. Boczkowski and Anderson take a more measured approach, saying that whomever controls the information flow to audiences is able to derive benefits from that information, whether it's the benefit of influence (the previously mentioned "social capital") or other benefits (Boczkowski & Anderson, 2017).

Methodology

This study uses interviews with journalists and law enforcement sources to find out details about how journalist interactions with police sources are changing in the current era of social media. These interviewees were found through this author's personal professional network and a follow-up snowball sampling approach.

Interviews are the most appropriate method of analysis in this type of research because of

the details one can find from asking specific follow-on questions (Lindlof & Taylor, 2019).

Because this area of study has not been closely examined in the past, interviews give the researcher the capability to easily follow new areas of inquiry. This interview methodology could be easily scaled up to include sheriff's offices and other police departments across the United States.

Findings

The number of "followers" a social media site has doesn't necessarily correspond with the importance of the site to the audience. But for the purposes of this paper, the number of "followers" on a social media site such as Twitter serves as a data point to help tell a piece of the story about changes going on in the journalistic world and in the law enforcement world. For example, more than 30,000 residents are signed up to receive "news alerts" on Twitter from a local county sheriff's office (1) in the Denver metro area, while about 3,000 receive "news alerts" from the community newspaper in that county. (2) In Denver, the state capital, about 246,000 residents are signed up to the Denver Police Department website, while 569,000 residents are signed up to the Denver Post website. (3)

Two key themes emerged from the interviews in this study: 1) Law enforcement challenges to journalistic authority and 2) a shift in journalistic relationships with law enforcement sources.

First, both journalists and law enforcement public information officers acknowledge that the nature of journalistic authority has been changing in recent years.

Generally, journalists who were interviewed for this study say they're frustrated that law enforcement officials aren't corresponding with them (as we saw in the vignette in the beginning of this paper). As Deb Hurley-Brobst, the news editor at Evergreen Newspapers, says: "They are bypassing us to post directly to the web. We hear about it when everybody else does." Not only do law enforcement officials bypass the press, but they do so specifically so they can promote their own agendas, according to Noelle Phillips, breaking news editor at the Denver Post. Phillips says: "In my opinion, they (the Denver Police Department) tweet out what's favorable to them. They use social media, and it sounds like propaganda."

Hurley-Brobst says that the Jefferson County sheriff's department often does not respond for days, if at all, to requests for comment from reporters at Evergreen Newspapers. She worries about the lack of institutional sources in the small mountain community.

Phillips (3) and Joe Moylan, government and police reporter at the Greeley Tribune (5) say they have similar issues about the way their news-gathering processes are changing. Phillips says that she requires all Denver Post breaking news reporters to have Tweetdeck * open on their computer screens at all times, but sometimes police don't send out information about situations that the journalists feel are newsworthy. (*Tweetdeck is a social media "dashboard" program that shows all tweets for the chosen Twitter accounts that a user "follows." This makes it easy for reporters to see all of the Denver Police Department tweets in one place as soon as the tweets are posted).

Moylan says that the Weld County sheriff has told him that he feels that social media has more public impact, since information provided there is free to the public and news stories on the Greeley Tribune website are subscriber-only.

In both the Denver Post and the Greeley Tribune cases, reporters and editors are worried that their readers will not understand the difference between the verified news that they are trying to provide and the framed information that law enforcement institutions provide online through social media. Phillips says, for example, “(Law enforcement) think they can communicate more with the public, and they can bypass us, and they don’t need us. With social media, they can put out the body camera footage to YouTube with the police chief’s commentary, and various perspectives to help the public interpret what they see, and it’s cutting us out from them. You need the savvy public to look at that with a critical eye and digest it and break it down, and I don’t know if everyone is (savvy) or not.”

Editor Dana Coffield at the online newspaper the Colorado Sun (4) complains that Twitter now seems to be the preferred method of communication for law enforcement looking to get their messages out to the public, but that information posted on Twitter worse than information in a press release because it is so limited and is sometimes inaccurate. Coffield says, “We need more information, and if you’re going to be only on Twitter, you’d better be answering every single question. You can’t be like, ‘Sorry, we don’t respond on Twitter.’ You have got to figure out what your protocol is going to be, and even though you may think you’re communicating in a super clear way, sometimes you’re not.”

As with other journalist interviews in this study, Coffield here is referring to the idea of journalistic authority in that she is saying that journalists have been trained to verify information before making it public (Bourdieu, 2005; Kovach & Rosenstiel, 2014). Coffield’s point about law enforcement officials communicating only on Twitter harkens back to literature review findings from Habermas (1991), Carlson (2012) and Kovach and Rosenstiel (2014), who all say that independent reporting on government topics is crucial to creating a healthy democracy.

All journalists interviewed for the study feel that they should continue to demand information from law enforcement officials directly rather than through social media sites. Some have searched for ways to mediate the issue, such as Michael Hicks, the editor at Evergreen Newspapers, who said he has tried to meet with the Jefferson County Sheriff in the past to express the importance of clear lines of communication. A new sheriff in the sheriff’s office, and turnover in that role over the last several years has made it hard for him to develop a relationship with those in authority, Hicks says. “They have an avenue (with Twitter) and they don’t need the middle man,” Hicks says. (1)

Evergreen Newspapers has about 5,000 subscribers all together (newspaper websites www.canyoncourier.com, www.clearcreekcourant.com, etc.). The Greeley Tribune has about 20,000 subscribers (greeleytribune.com). The Grand Junction Sentinel has about 15,000 subscribers (gjsentinel.com). The Ouray County Plaindealer has about 1,500 subscribers (ouraynews.com). The online-only Colorado Sun has about 22,000 subscribers. (newspaper website www.coloradosun.com) By comparison, the public information officers for the Jefferson

County Sheriff's Office (Jeffco.us/sheriff), the Adams County Sheriff's Office (adamssheriff.org) and the Denver County Sheriff's Office (denvergov.org/content/denvergov/en/sheriff.html) have combined totals of social media followers that are much higher than the number of subscribers to the news outlets. For example, 33,000 people "like" the Jefferson County Sheriff's Office Facebook site. (2) Jefferson County, Colorado, is on the west side of the Denver metro area and includes Evergreen, where Evergreen Newspapers is based. In Adams County, about 18,000 people "follow" the Adams County Sheriff's Office on Facebook, and 11,000 follow the sheriff's office on Twitter (7). Adams County is on the northeast side of the Denver metro area.

On the law enforcement theme, Rebecca Ries, full-time social media and public relations person for the Greeley Police Department says she sends press releases to news outlets daily and that she also posts information "instantly" to the police department's social media channels on Facebook, Twitter, Instagram, NextDoor, YouTube and Snapchat. According to Ries, "I think the big change for law enforcement was when social media 'blew up.' We now have our 'own channels' – so to speak – to get our information out the way we want to tell it."(6)

In an interview at the Jefferson County Sheriff's Office, public information and social media officer Dionne Waugh says her job in law enforcement has changed over the last 10 years, and that she works closely with the sheriff to be strategic about how she puts out information. As an example, she now has made a schedule of the types of social media posts that go out at different times of day, based on what time the internet metrics show that the audience wants information.

Waugh gives another example of strategy, saying she recently interviewed the sheriff in a short video about body camera footage, then spent a full day getting internal review and feedback before posting it. Waugh adds, "If we have something big, we put it out on Twitter. That's the fastest way to reach everybody: the reporters, the community, that's how we update everyone, everywhere."(2)

Sgt. Paul Gregory at the Adams County Sheriff's Office follows similar rules in his job. Gregory says he learned new ways to use social media at a week-long course put on by the nonprofit national law enforcement-related group FBI LEEDA. The group, made up more than 7,000 law enforcement and public safety leaders across the country, especially sheriff's offices, focuses on training, education and networking , according to its mission statement (www.fbileeda.org).

Conclusions/Implications

Based on this data set, it appears that law enforcement public information officers feel they're successful in getting their messages out to the public without going through journalists. In addition, they believe that social media helps them do their jobs more quickly and efficiently - they can send information to news outlets and to residents all at the same time.

Several of the journalists said they continue to examine the nature of their authority in their communities. In some cases, journalists and the news outlets they work for have discussed not reporting breaking news types of information that can more quickly and easily be gotten from other sources.⁽⁴⁾ In that case, they might focus on more detailed examinations of areas where their reporting might make more of a difference, whether it's discussing the importance of a growing or decreasing budget at a law enforcement agency or taking time to investigate tips of wrong-doing by law enforcement officials. This is an area of journalism that continues to remain in flux, threatening the normative theories of journalism and journalism's "watchdog role" over government institutions in a democracy.

Journalists and law enforcement officials often have had adversarial relationships over the years, driven by a variety of situations and events. As law enforcement agencies have embraced the digital age and social media, their interactions with journalists have changed.

Given the changes happening in both law enforcement and the journalism industry, this area of interaction between the two groups appears to hold interesting new insights. At an applied level, the tension between law enforcement and journalists points to the continuing concern about if journalists serve as an independent check and balance on public officials. At a theoretical level, this paper points to how shifts in how law enforcement's technology/social media use now puts into question how journalism, as a field of practice, may have to consciously and reflexively explore the "rules of the game" (Bourdieu's field theory of doxa) again as related to its ability to cover things like crime, traffic accidents, weather and natural disaster stories.

This study matters because in a democracy, it's important to have outside news outlets play their roles as government watchdogs. This is something so fundamental to democracy that citizens often forget that freedoms they take for granted actually require constant monitoring for their government institutions to continue operating in an open and transparent manner.

Democracy is weakened when any aspect of those freedoms erode.

Endnotes

¹D. Hurley-Brobst, personal communication, Feb. 20, 2019.

²D. Waugh, personal communication, April 8, 2019.

³N. Phillips, personal communication, Jan. 18, 2020.

⁴D. Coffield, personal communication, March 5, 2019.

⁵J. Moylan, personal communication. Jan. 3, 2020.

⁶R. Ries, personal communication. Feb. 18, 2020.

⁷P. Gregory, personal communication. March 10, 2019.

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The Impact of the Mueller Report on the Public Opinion of the 45th President of the US

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After 22 months-long investigation, special Counsel Robert Mueller submitted his report to US Attorney General on March 22, 2019. The report consists of two volumes: volume I deals with the Russian interference in 2016 elections; volume II documents obstruction of justice incidents. Mueller's team filed charges against 37 individuals, obtained 7 guilty pleas, and 1 conviction at trial. One of the most important conclusions, repeated throughout the report, is the following statement:

The Constitution does not categorically and permanently immunize a President for obstructing justice through the use of his Article II powers. The separation of powers doctrine authorizes Congress to protect official proceedings from corrupt, obstructive acts regardless of their source. (Mueller 2:24)

Such a conclusion alone, even without the knowledge of the facts listed in the report, should have had a substantial impact on the public opinion of the President. However, the public mostly remained quite indifferent. Thus, the question we need to answer is – why? Why the impact of the arguably most important legal document of our time was so miserable?

The short answer is simple and obvious: because no one (except pundits) has read the report. That answer begs another question – why the document which was so impatiently anticipated remained mostly unread by the American public?

If you ask several people in the street if they will read a 400-page text, they will say they do not have time for that. However, the same people will have time to spend over 7 hours a day¹ on their mobile devices and watching TV. So it is not that the people do not have time to read – they simply choose to spend this time on other things, like their smartphone or their computer screen.

But there is another and more serious reason why the majority of Americans will not read anything longer than 140 characters (now 280 characters): they are unable to concentrate for any long period of time on one task. Modern technology played a dirty trick on our brains: due to its plasticity, it got completely rewired to demand more and more information in less and less time. An average person spends about 10 seconds on any one web-page, before he or she moves to the next one, as well as checks email every 6 minutes during their waking time.²

Thus, the sad and scary fact is that nowadays the majority of people are unable to concentrate on any one task for a long period of time. This is, of course, great for advertisers and internet companies (Facebook, Twitter, and the like) but bad for the civic society, as it gets increasingly easy to manipulate and brainwash such populace. We live in a post-truth world, where facts do not matter not because they are unavailable (in fact, the opposite is true: internet

made information much more accessible) but because the vast majority of people do not – and cannot – know them.

However, there is hope: the same plasticity allows our brains to re-teach themselves again. Of course, this would require a conscientious effort on our part, but the fact is, it is possible. We can teach ourselves to be able to concentrate, not to get distracted, and to –finally – read. It will not be easy, especially for younger people, who were born with their iPhones in hand, but they can do it, too. What they need is guidance and explanations and patience. That is why, the role of educators – at all levels – becomes crucial. Maybe now more than ever, the education is the key to civil society in a true sense of that word. Students will listen – provided we do it without trying to lecture or blame them but explaining to them that being able to concentrate is an important skill that will make their lives – and the life of our society – better.

I would like to finish with a personal experience. In my freshmen composition class, I devote a special topic to internet and cell phones, showing students data and statistics about the influence of their favorite gadgets on their brains and their life in general. Surprisingly, many of them tell me, in their opinion surveys, that it was the first time they started thinking about these problems and as a result, changing their behavior. I believe this is a very important first step in the right direction. If they continue further along this route, there will be a time when they will not be intimidated by a 400-page book. And most important – they will read it and understand what they are reading. Consequently, instead of mindlessly repeating what their Facebook or Twitter feed tells them, they will read for themselves:

If we had confidence after a thorough investigation of the facts that the president clearly did not commit obstruction of justice, we would so state. Based on the facts and the applicable legal standards, we are unable to reach that conclusion. Accordingly, while this report does not conclude that the President committed a crime, it also does not exonerate him. (2: 329-330)

Only then Mueller’s and similar reports will have a significant impact on the public perception of any elected official, be it president of the United States, governor of a state, or a city mayor; and only then our republic will, indeed, be *res publica*.

Endnotes

¹“US Adults Spent More Time on Mobile than They Do Watching TV.” eMarketer.
<https://www.emarketer.com/content/average-us-time-spent-with-mobile-in-2019-has-increased>

²Carr, Nicholas. “What the Internet Is Doing to Our Brains.”
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Antoine de Saint-Exupéry's *Pilote de guerre* and a Response to Fascism

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Pilote de guerre translates to 'War Pilot.' It is generally known in English as *Flight to Arras*. The book recounts a reconnaissance mission flown by French Air Force Captain Antoine de Saint-Exupéry over and behind the German lines during the quick and crushing defeat of the French in the Spring of 1940. Saint-Exupéry, or Saint-Ex as he was known, was already a famous author and a pilot in France before the war, who had volunteered for the French air force. His most famous work in the English-speaking world, and the one which we will almost certainly know, is *The Little Prince*, written during the war, after the fall of France.

But before the *Little Prince* was written, moving back to the rout of the Spring of '40, what the French call *La Bataille de France*, in fact just before the takeoff for the mission which constitutes the narrative of *Pilote de Guerre*, we find Saint-Ex casually remarking to one of his friends 'Oh, we'll see about this or that after the war', to which his comrade replies 'You don't really expect to be alive after the war, do you?' (*Pilote* 8 – N.B.: translations are mine). And in fact, Saint-Ex did not survive the war; he disappeared during a mission in 1944. He saw the defeat of France by fascism; he did not live to see the liberation of France and the defeat of Nazism.

But even before his take-off in the spring of '40, he was under no illusion that France would be victorious; Saint-Ex already knew that France was losing, and would lose: he says that the French armed forces are 'in full retreat', that it was 'a full-on disaster' (7).

Personally, as well, he knew that he probably wouldn't live. He describes the mission which constitutes the narrative of the book as a 'sacrifice mission' (11), and notes that his squadron had already lost 17 out of 23 of their aircraft, with their crews, in just three weeks (8). He asks himself for what is it that he will die, asking 'What good is it to engage my life in this avalanche? I don't know' (45). And why would one throw oneself into a battle already lost, like, as Saint-Ex says, 'one would throw glasses of water at a forest fire'? (8).

Before his take-off in the Spring of 1940, it must have seemed to Saint-Ex, to all of France, indeed to the whole world, that fascism had won – it must have seemed that that after decades of expansion, fascism had defeated the liberal democracy which was the fruit of the centuries of the Renaissance, the Enlightenment, and French Revolutionary liberal democracy. Yet despite the overwhelming fascist march to a triumphant victory, Saint-Ex still found a reason to take off that morning. What? Why?

Indeed, the German General Staff stood on the Atlantic coast of France looking west over the Channel at England only weeks after Saint-Ex took off that morning. Fascism – an international fascist movement – had been victorious in Spain in 1936. Fascism, with the Nazis, had firm control over Germany and the apparent support of the German people. They had Anschluss't Austria, seized the Sudetenland and Czechoslovakia, taken the western half of Poland, allied with Finland, defeated France, Norway, Denmark, Belgium and Holland, assured

themselves of the neutrality and eventual alliance of fascist Bulgaria, fascist Romania, and fascist Hungary, which was moving on Transylvania, Monrovia and Slovakia. Italian fascism was moving in North and East Africa and in Albania. Other than neutral Portugal, Switzerland, and Sweden, all of Europe was fascist.

It must have seemed a crushing defeat. Only the British Isles, with the dis-armed British army and a smattering of Frenchmen and Belgians remained after having fled Dunkirk. The French had bled themselves white to allow the escape – 100,000 Frenchmen paid with their lives in six weeks in the spring of '40, and including the wounded, there were almost 300,000 casualties. That is more than 50,000 per week, excluding those taken prisoner, of which there were 1.8 million men by the end of July, three months after the offensive began. Between casualties and prisoners, that was over 2 million men. The Canadians and Australians had only begun to mobilise. The United States were doing the same thing they'd done in the First War – selling war goods to both sides while declaring neutrality. The Soviet Union had a non-aggression pact with the Axis. Where was hope? Why continue to fight when defeat appeared certain? Any lucid man would ask himself this question, and as Saint-Ex is taking off, he explains that his *Pilote de Guerre* is the result of himself 'Trying to understand why I must die' (17).

It is my contention that Saint-Ex faced *the* modern problem: how to respond to fascism. And we face this problem today, right here and right now, as well. The days are gone when we can pretend that we defeated fascism in 1945. We may have defeated German Nazism, but fascism is bigger than just the Nazis.

Reflecting on *Pilote de guerre*, my research has taught me that the XXth century was an entire century of continuous world war. This is perhaps not a new idea; more people died in war in the XXth Century than ever in the history of man, but I also assert that what we face is a fascist attack: I contend that we have faced a continuous fascist war of over 100 years, which comes and goes in waves, but never has never stopped. I should briefly establish my claim, because I know that many will not accept it. In fact, I have two different claims:

- 1) First, that there has been a continuous war for about 125 years – a war of varying intensity, but a state of war nevertheless – and
- 2) secondly, that this war is a fascist attack.

Now, it would take a book to firmly make my case, but briefly, as an example, we all remember that at the end of what we now call the Great War, the French General Foch said of the Treaty of Versailles 'It is not a peace, it's a cease-fire of twenty years.' And indeed the First War did not stop; the Americans, English, French, and Canadians took soldiers directly from the Western Front, sailed them straight to Vladivostok and attacked the Soviet Union in 1918-19. In 1922, Mussolini came to power in Italy. The French occupied the Rhineland in 1923, thus an attack on Germany only five years after the armistice. And overt and widespread fascism was on the rise the whole time: I quote researcher Kevin Passmore: '...by 1925 at least 45 groups in several countries called themselves Fascist' (3). This is before the Crash of the Great Depression, which led to a precipitous rise in fascism on a street level, setting the stage for seizure of political

power. In 1933, Hitler became Chancellor of Germany. In 1936, the Wehrmacht re-occupied the Rhineland, less than 20 years after the armistice, and in Spain, the fascist Franco and International fascism openly attacked – with the direct military action of Italy and Germany — and won. I contend that, in fact, there was no peace in the so-called “Between the wars”; there were proxy wars, repositioning of forces, a frightening growth and consolidation of fascist power, and a new generation of boys grew old enough to become cannon-fodder.

This is just one example of the continuity of our war, but I contend that WWI, WWII, WWIII, are misnomers, which show only the extreme heights of violence, spasms of industrial murder, but these so-called world wars have not been, and are not now, interspersed with peace, even though we, the US of A, claim to be at peace now, because we are not in a Congressionally-declared and thus official “state of war.” The official parlance of the US ruling class, the Department of Defense, and the security apparatus/state is that we are involved in various “low intensity conflicts”, “regime-change operations”, and “police actions” – but upon reflexion, we must admit that the US, and NATO, is involved in an international and endless war nonetheless, and we are all involved, like it or not.

This brings me to my second claim: that the more-than-a-century of war which we face is fascist. Saint-Ex knew that the rise of fascism was more than just a French, or even a European challenge – fascism is global in its threat, for as he said, ‘We fight in the name of a common cause. The freedom, not just of France, but of the whole world is at stake’ (*Wartime Writings* 130). This is our challenge, and Saint-Ex shows us how to authentically respond.

It is our challenge, and it is fearful, but the first thing which we must do is to frankly acknowledge the threat which we face. And yes, it is fearful. We wish that we could avoid it, and we are tempted to psychological denial. How could it happen here? How can it be true? How do we know it’s really fascism? We hope it isn’t, because if it’s not really fascism, maybe this social movement can be appeased, or solved easily, or maybe it will just go away. But we also know that fascism, if it is really fascism, doesn’t just go away, and our modern history assures us that the question is dangerously critical.

Well, fair enough: is the era of war we face “fascist”? Or is that word too extreme? A panicked accusation? Some accuse Trump of fascism, but is he a fascist? The CEO of the Tesla car factory, Elon Musk, accused the Government of California of being “fascist” for closing down his plant to prevent the spread of Covid 19; is enforcing quarantine during a pandemic fascism? Or is “fascism” just a word-weapon thrown out there to attack, like our propaganda machine throws out the words “communist and socialist and terrorist” – largely meaningless accusations intended to create fear?

So then our question might become, ‘How do we define Fascism?’ so that we can be sure of the threat which we face. Because if we were sure, as a people, as a society, that we were facing such a threat, we would have broad consensus to mobilise forces to combat it. Then should there be some work defining what fascism is? No doubt an important task for researchers and intellectual pursuit.

But the question then becomes: Can it be done? Can we define fascism so that we might hope to point it out clearly? It is not easy; my research has taught me that it is surprisingly difficult, in fact. Fascism is cynical; it will assume whatever persona best suits its particular rhetorical situation. And one of the trickiest things about fascism is trying to point it out clearly to those who are, psychologically, tempted to deny it. And while liberals wring their hands and closely discuss terms, fascism acts. Well, it is important to understand, so briefly, let's give it a try.

This conversation has been had before. US President Franklin Delano Roosevelt (FDR), contemporary to Saint-Ex and focussing on the same Nazi threat, defined Fascism as 'the growth of private power to the point where it becomes stronger than the state itself; ownership of government by...any private power' (Qt'd in Zinn 122), and Italian Dictator Benito Mussolini, Il Duce, who coined the term and was proud to bear the name fascist, defined it in similar terms, saying 'Fascism should be called corporatism as it is a merge of state and corporate power.'

These definitions are no doubt true, clearly indicating fascism as at least partly a reaction to the crises in modern capitalism, but do such economic and/or Marxist definitions really explain fascism? Was the Holocaust directly motivated by a consolidation of corporate power? For the open hatred of a demonised Other is central to fascism. The definitions of FDR and Il Duce don't imply anything of racism.

As well, fascism always points to a glorious mythological past as a utopian goal for the people – a Third Reich that would re-unite the Germanic peoples and through the sword acquire *lebensraum* for a thousand years of Aryan ascendancy, or the re-establishment of a new Roman Empire for the Italians, or an America made great again. This Utopia always has to be established by a self-justifying military and police power which will racially purify through violence and through eradication of the Other.

Again, in the Marxist definitions of fascism proposed by FDR or Il Duce, there is nothing of a mythological past nor of a Utopia which will be the end of history. But looking at our modern history shows that these idols are present in fascism and central to the propaganda justifying fascism to the masses.

Now, we have not plumbed the depths of the definition which we seek, but we have sketched it briefly: what we see is that during acute crises in capitalism, private power supplants the public will and welfare (as FDR and Il Duce have explained), and this crisis is the root cause: fascism is a reaction to the contradictions of industrial capitalism – but that is only the beginning. Subsequently, the people, who are in serious financial and material distress, are led astray by politicians or leaders who demonise minorities, both racial minorities and other vulnerable groups, and these cynical leaders use fear-mongering to blame these minorities for the problems which the people are suffering. The people are offered the vision of a mythological golden age, an idolised racial identity in which they can take some pride, giving them a false idealised identity. The race is assured that those golden days can be had again, if only the threatening and demonised Other is eradicated, which both calls for and justifies a brutal attack aiming for genocide. This is fascism.

Fascism is not an aberration – it is one of the consequences of our capitalist age. It is, as Saint-Ex says, ‘The fundamental problem of our time...’ (*Wartime Writings* 137). History has moved to place us here, where our binary perception of the world, the centuries of racist and violent socialisation which we in the West have undergone through the age of Colonialism, and the material threats and crises of late-stage capitalism lead us to a fear, an existential anxiety, which becomes a violent hatred of an Other upon whom we project evil, which results in the disdainful, immoral, hyper-militaristic dystopia which is fascism. It is *the* problem of the modern age. In short, fascism is one of the fruits of modernity.

Our pilot Saint-Ex knew this before we were born. Taking off on that morning of 1940, knowing that France had already lost, and that he would probably die, he told us that fascism is ‘the fundamental problem of our time...[implicating] the meaning and purpose of humanity...moving toward the blackest time in the history of the world’ (*Wartime Writings* 137). He paid for it with his life.

Voilà – we’ve briefly sketched a definition of fascism. As academics, a privileged class, we can sagely nod our heads and carefully clarify terms. And it is important work. But does our admittedly vague and complex definition help us to call for action? To clearly point out the threat we face to our fellow countrymen, to the masses? Not really; it’s too esoteric.

And what about the masses, the majority of our population? the plain-old folk, working people? In cycles of capitalist crisis, in economic distress, they feel pressure; they feel threatened. Capitalist propaganda and corporate marketing tell them that they deserve to conspicuously consume, to enjoy the good life, but in their poverty and debt, they can’t, so they feel frustrated. Coupled with that, the Protestant work ethic tells them that they should work their way out of it, that they should pull themselves up by their boot-straps, while at the same time their unemployment or under-paid work threatens them with poverty, threatens to leave them behind. Sociology tells us what unemployment and poverty do, the effects: the shame, frustration and desperation, the depression, leading too often to alcohol or drug abuse, encouraging petty crime – especially in Western men, who have been socialised to compete and succeed, to provide. The long-term unemployed and poor feel that they’ve failed at man-hood. Economic crisis leads to pressure, frustration, and stress which threaten the people existentially – in how they perceive themselves, who and what they are, in their being, in their self-identity.

They feel anxiety, but they largely lack the historical and sociological paradigm – which we have as academics – to articulate their own situation. They know that they are threatened, but they can’t really define the threat. This anxiety, coupled with Western racism, makes many of the working classes and poor vulnerable to the demagoguery of fascists pointing to a demonised Other as the cause of the ill-defined pressure they feel.

And on top of that, to make our warning to our countrymen even harder, here Saint-Ex teaches us another lesson: that the reason, the logic, the historical knowledge which we, as academics, have just used to sketch our definition, and which we prize so much, cannot, in fact, be used to help us identify and communicate the threat of fascism to our countrymen – in fact, fascism is able to twist logic and history to its own apparent justification.

Explaining this process, this perversion of reason, Saint-Ex shows wisdom and compassion – thereby enabling us to avoid the binary “Us vs. Them” perception of the world which fascism pursues to a murderous extreme: as he is literally taking off to fight and risk his life against fascism, he tells us that we must ‘... seek to understand [fascist troops] before we judge’ (*Terre* 170-1). It may seem counter-intuitive to attempt to sympathetically understand organised racist murderers; to many of us, they are bluntly repulsive, but there are a couple of good reasons to re-consider. Firstly, perhaps we had best ‘Know thy enemy’, as Sun Tzu said. Strategically and tactically, we must understand them to respond to them, or to seize the initiative from them.

But the second reason is probably the more important, and it is this: the masses – all of the working poor, the unemployed, those who have been dispossessed and then blamed for their poverty, all those who experience the shame and fear of poverty, and who have internalised their own oppression – they are us. They are just men and women; they are our folks. And as Saint-Ex tells us, ‘All of them feel, more or less confusedly, the need to become’ (174). He continues, that we all long to be ‘linked to our brothers in a common goal which is grander than each of us’ (169). We all long to transcend our tragic and mortal situations.

And here Saint-Ex explains one of the prime attractions of fascism: for the unemployed and hopeless mass of men, the ancient role of the warrior offers a path, and is presented as a way to manhood, self-respect, and community. Saint-Ex explains that: ‘dressed in uniforms, they sing their songs and break bread together’ (174). And this is the point which Saint-Ex teaches us, and which we would make a mistake in not recognising: ‘A fascist troop is, after all, a community of men’ (*Pilote* 194). Fascists, like all of us, find their identity and self-worth in pursuing a transcendent goal bound to their community, and, because as Saint-Ex says, ‘The truth for a man is that which makes a man out of him’ (*Terre* 171), fascism becomes their truth.

They are promised that if they follow the warrior’s ethic, they will be authentic men, warriors, patriots. Albert Camus, another Frenchman who, like Saint-Ex, witnessed and wrestled with the defeat of France by the Fascists during the Second War, explains the warrior’s ethic such that ‘Honour lies in obedience...and so honour becomes servitude’ (234). This unquestioning obedience implies that ‘When the whole world is military, *the crime is not to kill* if the orders demand it’ (N.B. italics are mine).

Again, the crime is *not* to kill – so therefore, to kill becomes virtue. If we accept the premises, the syllogism appears valid. The argument seems to hold up. Thus Saint-Ex shows us that, surprisingly, reason and logic lead to murder. Under Nazism, the warrior’s ethic of honour and virtue led to the Holocaust. Ironic, yes, but as French poet Paul Valéry explained, ‘The great virtues of the German people have created [this] evil....’ Neither the honour nor the bravery of some of the best soldiers who have ever marched on this earth in the Wehrmacht, nor the selfless service of a great people in the Germans, nor the logic which the West has carefully studied since ancient Athens, nor the reason which we vaunt as that which separates us from animals can defend us from the evil of fascism.

Saint-Ex has realised this, and shows us the way past this apparent *impasse*. He doesn’t let himself be caught up in semantics, logic, a reason which is inadequate to the challenge which

we find before us – he challenges us: ‘What good is it to argue about ideologies?’ (*Terre* 173). Saint-Ex tells us to judge not by intelligence, but by the spirit. A succinct explanation he gives, and a scene which many of us will remember, is from his uber-famous *Little Prince*, when the fox is saying good-bye to the Little Prince, and tells him, ‘Here is my secret. It’s very simple: we don’t see well except with our hearts’ (56). Saint-Ex tells us that, in fact, ‘Intelligence is not worth anything except in the service of love’ (*Pilote* 185). He points past our reason, our logic, our inability to clearly define fascism, pointing to an ultimate spiritual end; he tells us ‘Man is governed by the spirit. I am worth...that which my gods are worth’ (*Œuvres* 411).

Pointing to the ersatz utopian end of history espoused by Nazism, Saint-Ex recognises that fascism is a spiritual ill; it is an idolatry. And I do not use the word “Idol” lightly – fascism is an idolatry. The utopian destiny of the race is conceived as a transcendent end, the ultimate end, subsuming the individual and dictating morality; this is idolatry. Saint-Ex recognises this idolatry explicitly in the case of Nazism, explaining, ‘They can unearth the wooden idols, revive the old myths...the mysteries of Pan-Germanism...’ but these idols – the Reich – are false gods, for, as Saint-Ex specifies, ‘these idols are carnivorous’ (*Terre* 174).

Saint-Ex’s conception of fascism as a spiritual ill is reinforced by Albert Camus, who defined fascism as ‘*Mépris*’ – disdain or contempt, continuing that ‘...every form of disdain or contempt...in politics, prepares or contributes to fascism’ (231). Fascism is spiritual; using reason, we could spend all day and night, and get all turned around trying to get our fellow citizens to critically analyse the fascist threat which faces us, or arguing about what constitutes fascism with its apologists, but we will not succeed; reason won’t get us there. But we can clearly communicate with the people – and simply summarize Saint-Ex and Camus – in paraphrasing Christ from the Sermon on the Mount telling us ‘By their fruits shall ye know them.’

Since I was young, I have always looked up to my Grandpa, and he gave me a great example of recognising and communicating about fascism without using reason. He was a farm boy and a horseman – a working man. My Grandpa dropped out of school young and worked his way through the depression. Soon after that, he enlisted in the Royal Canadian Navy, and fought the Battle of the North Atlantic on board a corvette. In fact, he was fighting allied to Saint-Ex. His knowledge of fascism was not theoretical. Now, I asked my Grandpa a few times how you could know if you were looking at fascism. He never wanted to talk about it a lot, and I don’t know if it was because he’d already been through the war, and won it, and now just wanted to live out the rest of his life, or whether it was because he had a hard time putting his finger on it, which is probably more so the case. But when I could get him to talk about it, he spoke of three things: firstly, police brutality against minorities; secondly, night-time home raids; thirdly, when minority groups start to get rounded up and put into camps. Grandpa told me that when you see these things, you are seeing fascism. He was pointing to the disdainful acts of those who have contempt for the Other – the evil of the spirit of fascism acting in the world – not the theory of academics. By their fruits did Grandpa know them. And he acted.

Let me rhetorically pose the challenge to you: in this summer of the police murder of George Floyd, of ICE raids on brown people’s homes, and of Baby jails, what are we seeing?

We, too, are called to action. We cannot remain neutral; as Saint-Exupéry taught us, taking off that spring day in 1940 on a mission to fly over the German lines in a battle which he already knew was lost, the choice lies before us ‘...either to accept being Hitler’s slave – or to reject him entirely, taking all the risks inherent in this refusal’ (*Wartime Writings* 28).

Called to act, Saint-Ex, as he takes off, tells us ‘What saves us is to take a step – and then another step’ (*Terre* 46). He tells us that ‘taking off on my mission, I’m not thinking about the struggle of the West against Fascism. I’m concerned with immediate details...I do my job.... The fight against fascism becomes, on the scale of my acts, the turning of knobs and twisting of levers, the adjustment of valves’ (*Pilote* 39). Saint-Ex shows us that our day-to-day acts and action, however small, can be meaningful responses, creating the conditions for freedom and human dignity. Civic engagement, quiet and patient work, every act of kindness, informed by a spirit of unity and the vision of the spirit, for what works against disdain works against fascism.

So we are called to act. As academics, in a privileged position, we are seated upon the shoulders of giants, engaged in the work of Socrates, and we find ourselves granted a rhetorical voice, able to work day by day, class by class to create the conditions for freedom, and dignity. Those of us in this room may not see the victory; let us pray that we do not see the defeat, but even if we do see defeat – as St-Ex did, for he saw the crushing defeat – not to surrender to despite.

The question is still “Who are we?” – the existential question, the universal question. And specific to us of the Modern age, the question presents itself through fascism. In all humility, we cannot even say what victory would look like. We are still living the reality of the Modern age. With no guarantee of victory that we will see, we must remember that every action against disdain creates the conditions for human freedom & dignity, and is an act against fascism, is a small victory. And whatever hope there is, it is to be found in the reminder which Saint-Ex left us: ‘Genesis is not yet finished’ (*Terre* 178).

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Edward Bernays, Propaganda, and Black Friday

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A secular society needs secular holidays which celebrate secular people and ideas. This is why we have President's day, Martin Luther King day, Labor Day, and so on. But what about Black Friday? Who is its patron saint, so to speak? Is it us, the noble consumers? Perhaps that's what we're led to believe, and that's the entire point. Yet sometimes we discover odd holidays celebrating only the most esoteric figures, leaders, and events, such as in H.P. Lovecraft's *The Dunwich Horror* (1929). However, our leader would prefer the word "invisible." He is the reason bacon and eggs is a breakfast staple, smoking became acceptable for women, folks in lab coats advertise over the counter medicine, and much more. His name was Edward Bernays.

Only a footnote in the works of Noam Chomsky, he is probably most prominently featured in Adam Curtis' 2002 documentary *The Century of the Self*. In short, the first half of this documentary discusses how America became a consumer-oriented culture. Being the American nephew of Sigmund Freud, Bernays used his uncle's theories such as the irrational and chaotic forces hidden in the unconscious as the justification to create a culture of mass consumerism, a population of what President Hoover would later refer to as "happiness machines." What this documentary emphasizes, and what is important to understand, is that the core of Bernays' reason for doing what he did was to create a docile, placated public, so that those in power could go on running the world smoothly and efficiently.

In the popular film, *The Matrix* (1999), Morpheus (Laurence Fishburne) explains to Neo (Keanu Reeves) that a false reality exists all around him. Everything he does, and everything in turn which feeds back to him, is created by it. Is the theory of Bernays quite so extravagant? Not exactly, because in the Matrix, Neo needs to be physically "unplugged" to see the true extent to which he is being deceived. As Morpheus says, "Nobody can be *told* what the Matrix is." Bernays, on the other hand, wrote several books explaining in great detail how our world is meant to function. That's right – he tells us. Not *us*, perhaps, the chaotic, irrational, and as he would have said "stupid" masses, but who he would have explained to be the "invisible government" which guides us.

In his 1928 work *Propaganda*, Bernays refers to this "invisible government" frequently. "We are governed, our minds are molded, our tastes formed, our ideas suggested, largely by men we have never heard of" (Bernays 37). This quote is particularly ominous, and makes us ask the question: who constitutes this "invisible government," exactly? Bernays, in short, would suggest it is elected government officials, CEOs, the Press, presidents of various cultural societies, universities, the most beloved celebrities, Wall Street, and of course, their handlers, such as Bernays himself—"PR" people, if you will.

We might ask the question: what is the origin of the term, Public Relations? Where did it come from? Perhaps the greatest irony of Edward Bernays, is that of all the things he was able to accomplish, the one thing he couldn't do was remove the stigma from the word "propaganda," which he attempts to do in his 1928 work of the same name. He identified that the reason

Americans react so negatively to the word is because of WWI. Propaganda was perceived as something only the evil Germans do (Curtis). Thus, he originally created the profession “counsel on public relations,” (a profession he discusses in great detail in his 1923 work *Crystallizing Public Opinion*) which has since been shortened simply to what we know as PR (public relations). Functionally, Bernays invented the term to be interchangeable with propaganda, but since it is a different word, the public receives much differently. Now, if, for instance, a celebrity is caught on camera spouting a racially charged tirade, they must hire a PR agent (propagandist) to restore their image. It is such an ingrained function within our society that it is given no extra thought.

It is perhaps for this reason that when we hear the word “propaganda,” we immediately think of politics, and that this is the only place propaganda exists within our society. This is in fact quite the opposite, as we only pick up on propaganda within the political sphere because it is so obvious. Oddly enough, politics was only a small area in which Bernays intended propaganda to be utilized. His greater, and most relevant campaigns, mainly relate to advertising and creating interest in consumer products. (He also talks about how the job of the propagandist is to create news, but more on that a little later.)

Bernays didn’t just set out to sell products, however; his goal was to fundamentally transform the consumer’s entire world. To demonstrate how much Bernaysian psychology works today, here is a somewhat antiquated, but genius example from Bernays of how a propagandist might go about creating the idea of a music parlor as a common household room:

He will endeavor to develop public acceptance of the idea of a music room in the home. This he may do, for example, by organizing an exhibition of period music rooms designed by well-known decorators who themselves exert an influence on the buying groups... Then, in order to create dramatic interest in the exhibit, he stages an event or ceremony. To this ceremony key people, persons known to influence the buying habits of the public, such as a famous violinist, a popular artist, and a society leader, are invited. These key persons affect other groups, lifting the idea of the music room to a place in the public consciousness which it did not have before.... Meanwhile, influential architects have been persuaded to make the music room an integral architectural part of their plans with perhaps a specially charming niche in one corner for the piano... They in turn will implant the idea of the music room in the mind of the general public. The music room will be accepted because it has been made the thing. And the man or woman who has a music room, or has arranged a corner of the parlor as a musical corner, will naturally think of buying a piano. It will come to him as his own idea (Bernays 78).

Bernays continues by explaining that this fundamentally changes the relationship between the manufacturer and the consumer. Instead of the manufacturer asking potential consumers to “please buy a piano,” he elaborates, “The new salesmanship has reversed the process and caused the prospective purchaser to say to the manufacturer, ‘Please sell me a piano’” (Bernays 79).

This is perhaps one of the most influential psychological inversions which has been created, and which guides modern consumerism. It is important to understand that prior to

roughly 100 years ago, most Americans didn't buy more than they needed. Because of this, advertising was rather difficult, and Bernays identified a key factor in the sales resistance of that time based on two misconceptions of who he would refer to as the "old propagandists" (as opposed to the new). To Bernays, the old propagandists believed that first, the public was made up of unique individuals, and second, the public made decisions based on rationality (Bernays 76). Bernays rejected these two notions, and instead sought to reverse them. Because Bernays believed fervently in his "uncle Siggy's" theories, he believed that the public was irrational, and that products should appeal to their emotions and desires rather than rationality. Additionally, he didn't believe in the individual as we understand it, Bernays writes extensively in both *Propaganda* and *Crystallizing Public Opinion* about how people exist only within different groups, many of which have overlapping interests. One example he provides would be the advertising (propaganda) of Proctor and Gamble soap.

Bernays identified that if he were to increase soap sales, he needed to involve many different groups. Therefore, he created a soap carving campaign which involved schoolchildren, their mothers, the schools themselves, and artists (Bernays 80-81). A modern example of this which is likely directly pulled from Bernays is the "box tops for education" program. In short, parents are encouraged to purchase products such as cereals, crackers, water, etc. which they can then turn into the schools their children attend. The school can then purchase the supplies it needs. Consider all of the different groups this involves: children, parents, teachers, and administrators to name a few. In turn, the corporations which make such products benefit as well. This is an excellent example of how groups, and the individual's belonging to the group, determine buying habits.

As mentioned earlier, Bernays also believed the public to be irrational, and that attempting to market based on the intellect of the consumer was not effective. It must be noted that although Bernays was a strong advocate of American business, it was not because of a political motive, such as a fervent libertarianism. Bernays deeply believed that the stability of modern democratic civilization hinged on consumerism, because it kept the masses placated and insulated from the potentially destructive forces of their unconscious minds. This is why he titled the first chapter in *Propaganda*, "Organizing Chaos." It is the job of the invisible government to guide the masses so that they can continue to run a smooth, well-oiled democracy. And how is such a tremendous feat accomplished? Through propaganda.

This is why it is important to understand why Bernays argued that propaganda was not a bad thing. He would explain "I am aware that the word 'propaganda' carries to many minds an unpleasant connotation. Yet whether, in any instance, propaganda is good or bad depends upon the merit of the cause urged, and the correctness of the information published (Bernays 52). This is how we would understand that Joseph Goebbels would be considered an "evil" propagandist, whereas a young columnist for the *Times* preaching racial equality is a "good" propagandist. In *Crystallizing Public Opinion* Bernays laments over the negative connotation of the word: "The only difference between 'propaganda' and 'education,' really, is in the point of view. The advocacy of what we believe in is education. The advocacy of what we don't believe in is propaganda" (Bernays 200). Yet moreover, what Bernays fundamentally does in this definition of propaganda is challenge the notion of democracy being an inherently more intelligent stage of

civilization. On the same page in *Propaganda*, just before the first quote in this paragraph, he states:

Universal literacy was supposed to educate the common man to control his environment... So ran the democratic doctrine. But instead of a mind, universal literacy has given him rubber stamps, rubber stamps inked with advertising slogans, with editorials, with published scientific data, with the trivialities of the tabloids and the platitudes of history, but quite innocent of original thought. Each man's rubber stamps are the duplicates of millions of others, so that when those millions are exposed to the same stimuli, all receive identical imprints... The mechanism by which ideas are disseminated on a large scale is propaganda, in the broad sense of an organized effort to spread a particular belief or doctrine (Bernays 52).

In other words, universal literacy simply makes it easier to propagandize the public. Bernays of course, recognized this. In turn, this suggests that using literacy rates to measure how advanced a society is, may be rather antiquated.

Bill Moyers' 1990 short documentary, *Consuming Images*, though it doesn't directly reference Bernays, continues this thread of literacy. However, instead of just newspapers being the primary dissemination of propaganda, it recognizes that through television (and now the internet) our culture is inundated with images. However, the barrage of images we get when changing channels, watching commercials, or switching browser tabs, is not just a new way in which we ingest media, such as what Nicholas Carr discusses in "Is Google Making Us Stupid?" While what he says about the way we have practically relearned to read deserves its own essay, I'd like to return to what Neil Postman mentions in *Consuming Images*. He begins by referencing a McDonalds commercial which shows a father and his daughter having a good time at the restaurant. He then points out that there is no real way to measure the truth or falsehood of the image. After all, how can this be measured? Instead, Postman suggests that the commercial is not attempting to suggest whether the image is true or false, but whether or not the viewer *likes* the image. This is the far more important revelation. Overwhelmingly, images seen by consumers on the TV, internet, in magazines, and so on, are evaluated by emotion rather than logic. Among many things, this is at the core of where Bernays is still with us. He has truly changed the way the world is perceived.

In Dan Gilroy's modern masterpiece *Nightcrawler* (2014), the main character, Louis Bloom (Jake Gyllenhaal), a sinister yet brilliant autodidact, discovers that he wants to pursue a career in news media. Specifically, he becomes what is called a "stringer," someone who collects footage of horrific accidents that happen overnight, this case in Los Angeles, and then sells it to local news stations. What he quickly discovers is that he can "adjust" the scenes he films to create a better image. He starts small by rearranging family photos to be next to bullet holes on a refrigerator, then to moving a body ejected during a car crash to be in front of the headlights. Finally, the film culminates in a police chase through downtown LA which he orchestrated himself.

There are several startling revelations in this film. In *Crystallizing Public Opinion*, Bernays emphasizes the importance of a mutual relationship in which the propagandist “interprets the client to the public, which he is enabled to do in part because he interprets the public to the client” (Bernays 51). The client can be a celebrity or politician, or, in Louis’ case, the product which is the news. Essentially, the propagandist (again, PR agent and propagandist are interchangeable) functions as a sort of middleman. It is their job to understand what the public *wants* to see, and package the product to meet those desires. In the film, Louis is keenly aware of this. When negotiating the price of home invasion footage with the nighttime news director Nina (Rene Russo) he mentions that part of the reason the footage is so valuable is because of the fact that the men escaped the scene and are unidentified. He tells her that if he had a family, he would continue to tune into the news for updates. In this case, he is precisely filling the role of a propagandist in the way Bernays articulated it. One final plot thread of the film is the nature of the home invasion itself. When it comes to light that the home invasion was actually a drug robbery, Nina intentionally postpones the information on her broadcast, saying that “it detracts from the story.” Once again, the relationship of interpreting the product to the public and the public to the product is at the forefront.

Nightcrawler, is arguably the best film in regards to illustrating Bernays’ writing about propaganda. However, it is also important to understand what the film is doing with the images that Louis films. Although Louis plays a large part in creating much of the footage he shoots, the public is simply receiving it as news. In this way, it transcends truth or falsehood. Returning to Neil Postman’s observation, this is largely how all media is consumed, even what is considered “news.” For the final car chase in *Nightcrawler*, the public will see that it *happened*, but we (the viewer of the film) know that it *didn’t happen that way*. Essentially, it is created as an interesting, exciting story which will improve ratings, nothing more.

Though *Nightcrawler* may be fiction, its analysis of how the media functions goes beyond the general suspicion of things not being presented as accurately as they are. Louis Bloom is an ominously Bernaysian villain in the sense that he is just as Bernays describes: invisible. In regimes we regard as authoritarian, such as Nazi Germany, the Soviet Union, and present-day China, the fact that the public was and is being propagandized is in the forefront. However, rather than understanding propaganda as something as only a part of a totalitarian regime, it makes it more interesting to take a look at its presence in our own contemporary culture. Our propaganda relies on media obfuscation, periphrasis, and advertisement. More research on the origin of the phrase “vote with your wallet,” would almost certainly suggest it was a Bernaysian construction (even though, to be effective, we might not connect it directly to him).

Bernays understood that because we feel entitled to transparency in regards to our government, media, and businesses, the language involving the propaganda must suggest such a thing. The language under a democracy always intimates it is us, the public, who have power and make our own decisions. It’s why one of the most common rhetorical tactics employed by politicians is the “I work for you” strategy. Finally, it’s the reason we believe Black Friday is dedicated to consumers, where in reality, it’s dedicated to the invisible man himself, Edward Bernays.

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Presumed Dead: The Impact of Tennyson's *Enoch Arden* on the Cinema

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Alfred Lord Tennyson, *poet laureate* of England from 1850 until his death in 1892, composed poetry that continues to resonate with modern audiences, but especially surprising is his impact on the cinema, namely through his famous narrative poem, *Enoch Arden* (1864). The titular character, marooned on an island after a shipwreck, is rescued a decade later, only to discover that his wife has wed his best friend. What is it, one may ask, that accounts for the continued popularity of this modern odyssey? *Enoch Arden* shares with earlier poems, *The Lotos-Eaters* (1832), *Ulysses* (1833, 1842) and the *Morte d'Arthur* (1842), a focus on the uncertain fortunes of the sea; Tennyson's preoccupation with time and death; and a simultaneous fear of and fascination with dispossession. They all include memorable visual images and an elegiac—at times even nihilistic—view of life more contemporary than Victorian, even though the Victorian Age was an elegiac one, its writers feeling separated from a personal and cultural past of greater certitude.

Tennyson's friend, the sculptor Thomas Woolner, provided the idea for *Enoch Arden* (*Memoir*, II, 7). Many of the *literati* admired this work; more important, however, was the fact that the poem enjoyed wide popular appeal. Robert W. Hill, Jr. for instance, comments, somewhat contemptuously, that it “established Tennyson as ‘The Poet of the People’” (*Tennyson's Poetry* n.1, 251). Bearing a superficial resemblance to Defoe's *Robinson Crusoe* (1719), *Enoch Arden* is one of several Tennyson poems, as we shall see, that owes a more remarkable debt to *The Odyssey*, the archetypal story of dispossession. Tennyson coaxes out of Homer's text latent elements in his belief that “myth should be modernized” (Culler, *The Poetry of Tennyson* 92). Homer's quest narrative, in which the hero returns to find his house and wife about to be inherited by the suitors, is surely why Tennyson found it so compelling, and which in turn makes his own poetry resonate with modern audiences. A version of this problematic delayed homecoming recurs in Tennyson's early verse, and then in *Enoch Arden*, helping to explain its impact on modern cinema.

In “The Lotos-Eaters” (1832) and “Ulysses” (1833, 1842) Tennyson uses Homer's epic as a point of departure to voice his conflicted self, and that of his Victorian audience, dramatizing the struggle between duty and desire, external obligations to family and community as impediments to the pursuit of personal happiness. “The Lotos-Eaters” opens with a single utterance by Ulysses, “Courage!” as he urges his mariners to continue their quest home after a decade in Troy, but the rest of the poem consists of a “Choric Song” in which Ulysses' companions, under the influence of the “mild-eyed melancholy Lotos-eaters” (l.27) and their narcotic, counter: “We will return no more . . . Our island home / Is far beyond the wave; we will no longer roam” (ll.43-45). Their ensuing argument to ignore a duty to their wives and homeland consists first of an assertion that death and oblivion are both natural and even seductive, but the most compelling reason, for them, at least, is their own sense that time has passed them by, that they have been relegated to an existence of ghostly memory. “Dear is the memory of our wedded lives, / And dear the last embraces of our wives / And their warm tears; but all hath suffered change; / For surely now our household hearths are cold, / Our sons inherit us, our looks are

strange / And we should come like ghosts to trouble joy” (ll. 114-119). James Richardson observes that Tennyson knew “dispossession begins with the living, and death can be his metaphor for pastness and powerlessness” (*Vanishing Lives* 92). The mariners, though still alive, feel the deadness of their former selves, and are thus resolved to remain on the island of oblivion, a disconnectedness both the poet and several of his characters express: “When Tennyson identifies with his ghost he finds a vehicle for his feelings of dispossession . . . sadly fascinating” (Richardson 93).

In “Ulysses,” Tennyson shows a disenchanting Greek hero, after his return to Ithaca, tired of his domestic and social responsibilities. Ulysses urges his companions to set out on a final twilight voyage, a metaphor for death. In this companion poem to “The Lotos-Eaters,” Ulysses recognizes that it is not Ithaca but rather *he* that has changed, a result of his experiences at Troy and after: “I mete and dole / Unequal laws unto a savage race, / That hoard, and sleep, and feed, and know not me” (ll.3-5). He cloaks himself in ghostly attire: “And this gray spirit yearning in desire / To follow knowledge like a sinking star / Beyond the utmost bounds of human thought” (ll.30-32). Turning over his scepter and domestic hearth to his son, Telemachus, Ulysses rallies his “mariners” stating that although “you and I are old . . . Some work of noble note might yet be done, / Not unbecoming men that strove with Gods” (ll. 49-54). Ulysses avers he and his mariners may seek a “newer world,”(l. 57) although it may be that “the gulfs will wash us down” (62). In this poem, Richardson detects the autobiographical element of Tennyson’s grief for the loss of Arthur Hallam, feeling “imprisoned in a jagged, unalterable present”(80). And “Like his poet in the aftermath of Hallam’s death, Ulysses has lost his past” (80). What he urges on his men is a reach “not toward the intractable present, but toward the future” (81) imparting a vague hope in a bleak time.

“The Lotos-Eaters” uses as its imaginative point of departure a brief episode from Book IX of *The Odyssey* in which Odysseus and his men encounter the Lotus-eaters, after which he coerces his men to resume their quest, to explore his own conflicted self, torn between personal gratification and restraint. This near-nihilism and sensual indulgence of the mariners belongs to a later age; it is an alien concept in the heroic literature of the classical Greek past. The same is true for “Ulysses,” the dramatic situation of which has no true antecedent in *The Odyssey*, in which the hero is the only one who returns to Ithaca, the others all having perished on the journey home. Instead, Tennyson uses as a point of departure Canto XXVI of Dante’s *Inferno*, which contains the condemned shade of Ulysses, now assigned to the circle of false counsellors, for having led his men to their deaths by deceiving them into sailing past the margin of the known world. A. Dwight Culler also points to its modern sentiment: “It is certainly a voyage into Death, for all Romantic heroes, from Werther on, have known that this is the ultimate experience . . . [that] includes the ‘last curiosity’ of death” (*The Poetry of Tennyson* 97).

In his 1842 poem, the “Morte D’Arthur,” Tennyson once again presents a character whose past vanishes before his eyes, leaving him isolated in an uncertain present. The titular character, a moribund King Arthur, prepares to sail off to the Isle of Avilion, leaving his only surviving knight, Bedivere, alone after the fall of Camelot. Culler reads this poem not only as an instance of “a kind of symbol of a dying god” (102) and therefore as a parabolic loss of religious certitude in the 19th-Century, but also as another expression of the loss Tennyson incurred from Arthur Hallam’s death, himself Bedivere to Arthur in the poem. “Ah! My Lord Arthur, whither

shall I go? / Where shall I hide my forehead and my eyes? / For now I see the old true times are dead, / When every morning brought a noble chance / And every chance brought out a noble knight. . . But now the whole ROUND TABLE is dissolved / Which was an image of the mighty world; / And I, the last, go forth companionless, / And the days darken round me, and the years, / Among new men, strange faces, other minds” (ll. 227-238). Bedivere is estranged from his own personal and cultural past; isolated in the present, he despairs about the future he cannot even imagine without Arthur after the dissolution of the Round Table, “an image of the mighty world.” As W. H. Auden notes in *The Enchafèd Flood, or The Romantic Iconography of the Sea* (1950), citing Baudelaire: “The sea is where the decisive events, the moments of eternal choice, of temptation, fall, and redemption occur. The shore of life is always trivial” (13). Like the two earlier poems—and *Enoch Arden*—water journeys can signal both danger and change. The poem concludes: “Long stood Sir Bedivere / Revolving many memories, till the hull / Looked one black dot against the verge of dawn, / And on the mere the wailing died away” (ll.269-72). Bedivere, like the Lotos-eaters, Ulysses, and Enoch, all reflect Tennyson’s own fear of and preoccupation with dispossession, a keen awareness of a past self that no longer exists.



The Death of King Arthur (1860) by James Archer, one of many Victorian paintings inspired by Tennyson’s Arthurian verse. Water journeys signal significant change in his poems that derive from classical, medieval, and modern sources.

Enoch Arden begins with a reckoning of the three principle characters who have been friends from childhood: “Three children of three houses, Annie Lee, / The prettiest little damsel in the port, / And Philip Ray, the miller’s only son, / And Enoch Arden, a rough sailor’s lad / Made orphan by a winter shipwreck” (ll. 11-15). The childhood rivalry for Annie’s love ends when they grow up and Annie chooses Enoch, so Philip “like a wounded life / Crept down into the hollows of the wood” (ll. 75-76). For seven years Enoch increases his financial security as he

and Annie have three children, the youngest of which is sickly, but his fortunes plummet when an injury prevents him from providing for his family; hence when offered a position as a boatswain on a ship that is “China-bound” (l.122) Enoch accepts. Though Annie implores him not to leave, Enoch’s resolve remains firm; Annie clips a lock of hair from the sick infant, which Enoch wears around his neck until the end. Annie, grieving long over her husband’s absence, and perhaps even suicidal, is pressed by the well-meaning Philip to marry him. Uncertain, Annie partakes of a divination method that consists of randomly opening a page of the Bible for advice, and reads: “Under a palm tree,”(l. 403) of which she can make no sense. However, in a dream that immediately follows, she envisions Enoch “sitting on a height / Under a palm-tree, over him the sun” (ll. 407-408), which she in error interprets to mean he has died and is in heaven. She then weds Philip and the two have a child together.

The shipwrecked Enoch is rescued after ten years and returns to his native land (the same duration of Odysseus’ adventures and water journey after Troy). He is so altered no one recognizes him and he moves about the village freely—this resembles Odysseus’ return to Ithaca in disguise—and learns from the gossip Miriam Lane about his family. Yearning “to see her face again,” (l. 712), Enoch becomes a voyeur of an idyllic domestic scene of his two children (now teenagers), and Annie, a new mother, in Philip’s drawing room that radiates warmth, happiness and prosperity.



A sure sign of popularity is signaled by a series of 1869 Currier and Ives lithographs of Enoch Arden. “The Hour of Trial” shows Enoch’s voyeuristic view of his own displacement when he sees his family with Annie’s new husband, Philip.

This is a terrifying moment of dispossession: “Now when the dead man came to life beheld / His wife his wife no more, and saw the babe / Hers, yet not his, upon the father’s knee, / And all the warmth, the peace, the happiness, / And his own children tall and beautiful, / And him, that other reigning in his place. . . [he] Stagger’d and shook, holding the branch, and feared

/ To send abroad a shrill and terrible cry, / Which in one moment, like the blast of doom, / Would shatter all the happiness of the hearth” (ll. 754-59, 763-66). Enoch, summoning all of his self-control to avoid this demonic shriek, calls on God’s help, ultimately sacrificing his own happiness. He confides in Miriam, extracting the promise from her that she only tell of his return after his demise.

A year later, Enoch dies of a broken heart, a death he longed for: “There came so loud a calling of the sea / That all the houses In the haven rang. / He woke, he rose, he spread his arms abroad, / Crying with a loud voice, ‘A sail! A sail! / I am saved;’ and so fell back and spoke no more” (ll. 904-908). This metaphor recurs in Tennyson’s verse; it is reminiscent of Ulysses’ proposed twilight voyage; the Lady of Shalott, who floats in a skiff to Camelot as she dies; Arthur’s departure to “Avilion”; and of the late poems, “Merlin and the Gleam,” in which the aged poet/mage, a figuration of Tennyson himself, urges: “O young Mariner, / Down to the haven, / Call your companions, / Launch your vessel . . . Follow The Gleam” (ll.124-31), and “Crossing the Bar,” in which Tennyson imagines his own passing via a water voyage. A few days before his death, he requested this poem conclude all editions of his collected verse. Only after Enoch’s death does Annie learn of his heroic sacrifice: “So past the strong heroic soul away, / And when they buried him the little port / Had seldom seen a costlier funeral” (ll. 909-11). Tennyson’s verse is replete with final water journeys, real or metaphorical—here, Enoch imagines his salvation as the arrival of a ship. Interestingly, the story of *Enoch Arden* proves to be a very real dilemma that led to legal questions regarding a vanished spouse and an ensuing marriage, resulting in what is still known as the “Enoch Arden Law.”

The tragic force of Enoch’s catastrophic parting and delayed return, and his heroism at the conclusion of the poem, account for why it has been the recognizable source text for both popular music and at least nine films, with varying degrees of fidelity to Tennyson’s narrative. The first film adaptation was D.W. Griffith’s in 1911, with another silent version, directed by Christy Cabanne, appearing in 1915 and featuring silent star Lilian Gish as Annie. Both versions, straight adaptations that employed the poem’s title, follow Tennyson in plot and sentiment, casting the three main characters of the love triangle—Enoch, Annie, and Philip—as noble and tragic.

No one is to blame for the circumstances that contribute to the unhappy end of Enoch’s well-meaning but catastrophic sea journey and its unexpected consequences. His belated return to find his wife and family now belong to his best friend is one of the significant ways the poem departs from *Robinson Crusoe*; it is also what accounts for its enduring appeal. The artistry and theatricality of the poem recommends it for cinematic adaptation, illustrated by a few singularly powerful moments, but also by Enoch’s terrible anguish of feeling dead to his past, with little hope of happiness, and his nearly super-human sacrifice and self-control.



Griffith's 1911 adaptation is a faithful transposition of Tennyson's poem.

Left: An anxious Annie (Linda Arvidson) as Enoch (Wilfred Lucas) prepares to depart on the catastrophic voyage.

Right: Enoch's point of view as he witnesses his own dispossession—the happy domestic scene of his son (Robert Harron) and daughter (Florence La Badie) adoring their infant sibling, the child of Annie and her new husband, Philip (Francis J. Grandon).

Other film versions of the Enoch Arden story ensued, especially during the 1940s and 50s, but most adapted the plot to suit the formula of either the romantic or screwball comedy, frequently also reversing the gender of the cast away, so that it is the wife who returns to find her husband in another relationship. The 1940 film, *Too Many Husbands*, recreates the love triangle in *Enoch Arden* when Vicky (Jean Arthur) marries her husband's business partner Henry Lowndes (Melvyn Douglas) after the apparent death of her spouse, Bill Cardew (Fred MacMurray) in a drowning accident. After only six months, Bill returns and the dilemma begins. A few months before its release, however, the studio was informed that the 1919 William Somerset Maugham play on which the film was based (*Home and Beauty*) was in violation of the Hollywood production code because of its "apparent lack of any respect for the sanctity of marriage; its farcical treatment of the subject of bigamy; and its very frank and detailed discussion of the unsavory subject of divorce by collusion." (*TCM*) Moreover, the studio filmed two endings, then solicited feedback from UCLA and USC coeds to determine which its largely female audiences might prefer, but settled on a "somewhat open-ended conclusion" (*TCM*). In the end, a judge declares that Bill is indeed Vicky's lawful husband, the two enjoy a second honeymoon in France, but Henry follows, and the film ends with the three on a dance floor, the issue unresolved. Vicky is in fact reluctant to make a choice, having relished being the object of adoration by her two husbands, this resulting from the change in genre and audience expectations.



In the comedy, Too Many Husbands (1940), Vicky (Jean Arthur) finds herself in the thrilling position of being wed to two husbands when her first husband, Bill (Fred MacMurray) returns six months after his presumed drowning, only to find she has married his friend, Henry (Melvyn Douglas).

A few months later, RKO released *My Favorite Wife*, introducing the role reversal in which the wife, not the husband, is the cast away who returns. After a seven-year absence, Nick Arden (Cary Grant) has his missing wife Ellen (Irene Dunne) declared dead so he may marry a new love, Bianca (Gail Patrick). Ellen returns on the eve of Nick's honeymoon and insists he tell Bianca, something he lacks courage to do, even though guilt makes it so he cannot consummate his second marriage. A complication occurs when Nick discovers Ellen has been marooned with another man, Steve Burkett (Randolph Scott) and that, on the island, they referred to each other as "Adam" and "Eve." Jealous Nick demands to meet the man, and Ellen substitutes the real Steve for an unattractive shoe salesman, but in the end, the same judge who had declared Ellen dead and married Nick to Bianca annuls the second marriage, and Ellen and Nick are reunited. A popular formula, this was remade in 1963 as *Move Over, Darling*, starring James Garner, Doris Day, Polly Bergen, and Chuck Connors. Comic treatments of the Enoch story may well have been motivated in part by the problem of a missing spouse, to which audiences in war time would have been especially sensitive. In addition, the rise of what Stanley Cavell named the "remarriage comedy," a popular subgenre of the romantic comedy that enabled films to feature risqué material without violating the Hollywood Production Code (1934-1968) that prohibited any positive portrayal of adultery or illicit sex, was probably also a contributing factor to the rash of comic adaptations of Tennyson's foundational poem (*Pursuits of Happiness: The Hollywood Comedy of Remarriage* 1981).



A clever reversal of the missing husband motif, My Favorite Wife (1940), complicates matters when Ellen (Irene Dunne) reappears after seven years on the day her husband, Nick Arden (Cary Grant) weds Bianca (Gail Patrick). Ellen’s castaway companion on the island was Steve (Randolph Scott), creating a “double” love triangle.

The return to a serious dramatic adaptation of Tennyson’s poem is best represented in the 2000 film, *Cast Away*, which understands that the tragic circumstances that inform the titular character’s life and final choice in the poem is the source of its enduring cognitive power and aesthetic appeal, as early filmmakers had clearly discerned. Tom Hanks stars as Chuck Noland, a FedEx systems analyst (obsessed with delivering packages on time) who disappears in a plane crash over the Pacific and is presumed dead. Kept alive through his own resourcefulness, Chuck also engineers his own rescue, and returns to his former life after a four-year absence. *Cast Away* features the love triangle, which lends the poignancy to its last act, but avoids the complication of invoking the Enoch Arden Law, as he and his love interest, Kelly Frears, (Helen Hunt) are not yet married when he vanishes. When he returns, the contemporary setting makes it impossible for him to do so *incognito* as had Enoch. Chuck soon learns his family and friends, seeking closure, declared him dead and conducted a funeral for him; he also discovers that Kelly has married his dentist, Jerry Lovett (Chris North) with whom she has a child; hence a love triangle similar to that in Enoch Arden.



Left: Upon his return, Chuck peers through a window, like Enoch before him, to see his former love with her husband, Jerry. This shot emphasizes Chuck's dispossession.

Right: Chuck talks to Kelly in her home, with photos of her new life displayed behind him. He decides he cannot intrude on this domestic happiness.

The poignant scene between Chuck and Kelly (one that does not occur in Tennyson's poem) serves to renew their love for each other, an important and necessary moment for Chuck to resume his life. Time has passed him by; his chance for a future with Kelly—despite their mutual and enduring love—is gone, and he knows he must depart so as to not destroy her family. Affirming their love seems to give him the resolve to do this, sacrificing his own happiness for hers. He returns the watch she had given him, a family heirloom, a token that had kept him going when he was missing, like Enoch's necklace with the lock of his sick child's hair, and departs after a last kiss.



Goodbye and hello. Left: Chuck and Kelly in a final, poignant embrace, one that affirms their continuing love. But for Kelly and her child, he knows he has no place in her life.

Right: Having returned the package to its original address, Chuck takes directions from Bettina (Lari White) only to learn that it was she who had "saved his life," recognizing on her truck the same angel wings etched on the package that gave him hope when he was stranded.

Three items had provided Chuck the fortitude and hope to survive—the aforementioned watch (Kelly's token), a Wilson soccer ball that soon became Chuck's alter ego (and which floats away when he is on his rescue voyage), and an undelivered package with a pair of angel wings etched on it, a symbol of hope. Leaving Kelly, the film concludes with his decision to

return the package to its sender. When he arrives at the address, no one is home, so he leaves it with a note: “This package saved my life. Thank you. Chuck Noland.” Once he departs this rural Texas address, Chuck hesitates at a crossroads, when a woman in a pickup pulls up, observing that he “looks lost.” After reciting where each road will take him, she departs and he sees the wings on her truck, showing this was the same Bettina Peterson (Lari White) to whom he has just returned the package.



The emblem of angel wings the Texans ranch Bettina shared with her estranged husband. Chuck returns a package to this address.

Chuck’s fate is thus more hopeful than Enoch’s and is left open, but the disconnectedness from his prior life— despite the somewhat positive ending—and the painful knowledge of what he has lost, provides the same moving heroism with which Tennyson’s *Enoch Arden* concludes.



Indecisive about what to do next, Chuck is still left with hope at the end of the film, with the promise of a new life, in contrast to Enoch, who welcomes his death when he hears “the calling of the sea” that releases him from misery.

Fellow Victorian, Thomas Hardy, once confessed: “For me, if there is any way of getting a melancholy satisfaction out of life it lies in dying, so to speak, before one is out of the flesh . . .

when I enter a room to pay a simple morning call I have unconsciously the habit of regarding the scene as if I were a spectre not solid enough to influence my environment” (*The Life of Thomas Hardy* 209-210). This strange imaginative dispossession also pervades Tennyson’s poetry. Hardy’s sentiment, and those of other Victorians (Dickens’ *A Christmas Carol* comes to mind) shows that Tennyson’s is both individual (the loss of Arthur Hallam) and cultural (a rapid severing of the past), but why does its appeal continue—as *Cast Away*, for instance—clearly demonstrates? Tennyson displayed the uncanny ability of “looking before and after,” (*Hamlet* IV.iv.37), with a mature self-awareness that scrutinized a dispossessed, younger version of himself. It is this acute sensibility of both the continuity of and break with the past that lends a modern tone to his verse.

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The Impact of the Civil Rights Movement on Race Relations in the United States

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This paper will revisit the major historical facts of the civil rights movement so that we can assess the impact of the movement on race relations in the United States today. This paper will explain how we arrived at today's racial nightmare where in 2016 a foreign power and a presidential candidate was able to turn white, black, and brown Americans against each other. Donald J. Trump was able to easily manipulate the fears and resentments of over half the American voters. We have never had a president who said that he thought some Neo-Nazis were "very fine people." David Duke, a former Klan leader said that he admired Donald Trump and that his organization would do all they could to help him.

The nonviolent heroes of the American civil rights movement wanted their country to live up to its ideals and principles of freedom and equality for all. They wanted good jobs, to live where they chose, to send their children to school, and maybe at mid-day to sit down at the local Woolworth lunch counter and order a hamburger and a Coke.

Some Americans believe that the civil rights movement started when it burst onto their television screens in 1957 when nine black students were mobbed and spat on trying to enter Little Rock Central High School. Others think that the civil rights movement began in February 1960 when four well dressed black college students sat-in at the Greensboro, North Carolina Woolworth lunch counter and politely asked to be served .¹

Some historians chronologically place the civil rights movement between the landmark *Brown v. Board of Education* case and the Selma to Montgomery march that led to the 1965 Voting Rights Act. Harvard Sitkoff places the movement's origin in the 1930's with the CIO sit-down strikes.² In *There is a River: The Black Struggle for Freedom in America* placed the origin of the black struggle for freedom four hundred years ago when the first blacks arrived in Jamestown, Virginia in 1619. Jacquelyn Dowd Hall also believes in the long and ongoing civil rights movement.³ For the purposes of this paper I will place the origin of the modern civil rights during World War Two. When Franklin Roosevelt was preparing the nation to enter the war he had to prove that the U.S. was different from Germany, Italy, and Japan. The American war effort was going to bring the world the Four Freedoms. World War Two discredited the extreme racism of Hitler's Third Reich that led to the systematic extermination of over six million Jews.

Gunnar Myrdal's 1944 study, *The American Dilemma*, spoke to the need for Americans to come to grips with its great contradiction. It was a country that claimed to value freedom and equality but its treatment of African-Americans as outcasts made it a hypocrite in the eyes of the world because it violated its creed. During the turmoil of the sixties, I think Charles Silberman's comment in *Crisis in Black and White* was closer to the truth when he wrote that: "The tragedy of race relations in the United States is that there is no American dilemma. White Americans are not torn and tortured by the conflict between their devotion to the American creed and their actual behavior...But what troubles them is not that justice is being denied but that their peace is being shattered." (10)

When African-American activist and labor leader A. Philip Randolph threatened to have a march on Washington D.C. in 1941 to protest discrimination against blacks in the war production industries, FDR issued Executive Order 8802 that barred discrimination in defense industries because of race, creed, or color. Roosevelt set up a Fair Employment Practices Committee to enforce the order. With industrial jobs open to them over a million blacks moved to the North and West to build planes, tanks, and ships. Black leaders announced that the main war aim that African-Americans would fight for during World War Two would be the “Double V.” They were going to fight for victory over the fascists and at the same time were going to fight for victory over discrimination and segregation at home.

After the war many black soldiers returned home determined to pursue their civil rights as citizens after having fought in Europe and Asia. They joined groups such as the NAACP and organized voter registration drives to take advantage of the Supreme Court’s ruling in *Smith v. Allwright* striking down the “white primary” in Texas. As the black suffrage rolls began to grow they encountered opposition from Southern white business owners and politicians who were reinforced by a murderous reign of terror from white supremacist thugs.

As a result black leaders looked to the federal government for assistance from the beatings, lynchings, shootings, and bombings that took place in the postwar South. When a delegation of black leaders and their white allies urged President Truman to investigate the violence spreading throughout the South in 1946, he was appalled at the attacks on black citizens. At the same time casting an eye toward his campaign in 1948, Truman sought to shore up support among African-American voters in the North and West.⁴ President Truman, the racial moderate, from Independence, Missouri, was morally opposed to the postwar violence against African-Americans who were just trying to exercise their rights as Americans, but was also concerned about being elected in his own right after being selected by FDR as his vice president. According to Alonzo Hamby in *Beyond the New Deal* Truman was also concerned about the growing tension and cold war rivalry with the Soviet Union (188-189). It was hard for the U.S. hearts and minds in the decolonizing countries in Asia and Africa as long as it mistreated African-Americans. It was embarrassing to the U.S. when military attaché and diplomats from these countries were denied hotel accommodations in the South.

During the cold war African-Americans picked up the government as an ally in the civil rights struggle. Manning Marable points out that the fifties was also a setback for civil rights activism because of Joseph McCarthy and the red scare at home. W.E.B. DuBois, Paul Robeson, and many others were harassed by HUAC.⁵ In 1947 Truman issued an Executive order desegregating the Military. He embraced the findings of the blue ribbon civil rights committee that produced a report titled *To Secure These Rights*, which was a blueprint for changing the racial caste system in the U.S..⁶

In 1954 Earl Warren was appointed Chief Justice of the Supreme Court by President Eisenhower. Warren sided with NAACP and ruled that segregation was inherently unequal in *Brown v. Board of Education* that overturned *Plessy v. Ferguson*. Eisenhower disagreed with the ruling. He considered himself a gradualist on race relations and thought that the South should be allowed to work out its racial problems at its own pace. Richard Kluger in *Simple Justice* said that in private Eisenhower said that appointing Eisenhower Chief Justice was the worst mistake he ever made (668). Eisenhower refused to take a public stand on the *Brown* ruling that it was the law and should be obeyed. When Arkansas Governor Orval Faubus ignored a federal court

injunction and barred nine black students from entering Little Rock Central High School, Eisenhower was forced to send a thousand paratroopers from the 101 First Airborne Division to escort the black students to class. Robert Burk in *The Eisenhower Administration and black Civil Rights* asserts that under Eisenhower civil rights gains would be slow and gradual (249).

The Kennedy and Johnson administrations were known as the Second Reconstruction. Manning Marable in *Race, Reform and Rebellion* points out that both movements brought about the end of rigid caste structures (slavery and Jim Crow segregation) which had been used to oppress blacks for many decades. Both elevated articulate black leaders to state and federal offices and positions. The South was the battleground for both movements. Both periods also inspired major legislative reforms in the South and in Northern states as well. In both instances the federal government was an ally (“Radical Republicans” and 20th Century Democrats) of the blacks and their progressive white supporters (3-5).

John F. Kennedy showed his commitment to the *Brown* ruling when he sent federal marshals to get James Meredith into the University of Mississippi. However, Howard Zinn in *A People’s History* pointed that several young activists criticized Kennedy for his reluctance and slowness to use federal force to protect the civil rights workers in the South. Zinn said that JFK’s administration should have been called *Profiles in Caution* (454). Theodore White in *The Making of the President, 1960* points out that JFK’s margin of victory over Richard Nixon was only about a hundred thousand votes (393). Several historians, such as Carl Brauer assert that JFK did feel comfortable introducing major civil rights legislation without a major mandate (61-65). He wanted to wait until a second administration before introducing major civil rights legislation. He advised civil rights activists to focus on voting rights campaigns (they were less confrontational than sit-ins and freedom rides). Attorney General Robert Kennedy was happy when he didn’t have to send troops to force George Wallace to back down from his symbolic position from standing in the schoolhouse door so that Vivian Malone could matriculate at the University of Alabama.

Victor Navasky in *Kennedy Justice* asserts that Kennedy appointed several segregationist judges in the South to please Southern Democrats in the Senate he needed to pass New Frontier legislation (243-249). Navasky also criticized Kennedy for not protecting the freedom riders right to travel without being brutalized by mobs in Alabama and Mississippi. Navasky reported that, “he didn’t hesitate to trade the freedom riders constitutional right to interstate travel for Senator Eastland’s guarantee for their right to live (24). “

Dr. Martin Luther King’s Birmingham campaign took place in the spring of 1963. Birmingham, Alabama was known as the most segregated city in America. Its brutal police chief Eugene “Bull” Connor had a hair trigger temper. The nation and the world had a chance to see how inhuman the Jim Crow system was in the South. Before television cameras, Connor and his minions hit peaceful demonstrators with clubs, cattle prods, powerful jets of water from fire hoses and used vicious police dogs to attack the marchers. When Birmingham’s jails were full, Connor ruffed up children marchers as young as six years old held them in cattle pens at the fairgrounds.⁷

The Kennedy administration helped the city of Birmingham to work out a settlement with Dr. King. Kennedy was sickened after viewing these shameful events that took place in Birmingham. JFK went on national television and declared that segregation and discrimination

based on race was a moral issue and that it violated the country's principles. Kennedy also announced that he was going to send a major civil rights bill to Congress. Kennedy's civil rights bill would pass a year later after he was assassinated. It turned out to be the strongest civil rights bill ever passed. Dr. King commented that he believed that the Kennedy civil rights bill was not the result of political calculation or pressure being applied by civil rights activists but was introduced because he sincerely and honestly thought it was the right thing to do.⁸

In *Civilities and Civil Rights* William Chafe wrote that the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC) was established in the Spring of 1960 after four college students sat-in at the Woolworth lunch counter in Greensboro, North Carolina (71). Clayborne Carson reports in *In Struggle* that SNCC wanted more than to reform America from within. They wanted to create a better world by transforming America into a true grass roots participatory democracy similar to ancient Athens (2-4). The SNCC Freedom Summer campaign of 1964 used white and black college students from all over the U.S. to set up Freedom Schools and its voter education campaign to try to bring Mississippi into the modern world. After being released from jail late at night three of its workers (Goodman, Chaney, and Schwerner) were kidnapped and brutally murdered by the Klan. Their mutilated bodies were found buried in a dam in rural Mississippi. Goodman and Schwerner were white college students from the North and Chaney was a local African-American. This was another incident, besides the Birmingham church bombing that killed four little girls, that sparked international outrage. It caused many young activists to believe that America was a sick society that couldn't be reformed. Some were saying that they "didn't want to be integrated into a burning house."

The "bloody Sunday" incident on the Edmund Pettus Bridge in Selma, Alabama enabled President Johnson to pass a powerful voting rights bill in 1965 that transformed the South. The 1965 Voting Rights Act was the last piece of major civil rights legislation passed during the Second Reconstruction. The 1964 Civil Rights Act and The Voting Rights Act gave African-Americans their legal rights as citizens of the United States.

Before the ink was dry on the Voting Rights Act a destructive riot broke out in the Watts section of Los Angeles. The Watts riot was sparked by an incident involving police brutality. Every summer from 1965 to the end of the decade would see major race riots in most of the nation's inner cities. Some reporters and social scientists claimed that the riots were unthinking spontaneous outbreaks of violence. James Baldwin (known as the prophet of the civil rights movement) had been warning white America about the anger and racial tensions that had been building up in the ghettos for years. In *Notes of a Native Son* (95-97) and in *The Fire Next Time* (141) he wrote about the humiliation and the stifling conditions of these internal colonies.⁹ President Johnson assigned the Kerner Commission to investigate the riots. Its report gave an account of the conditions that bred the anger and despair that caused the violent outbreaks in the inner cities and squarely blamed white racism for creating the ghettos (redlining, block busting by realtors, restrictive covenants and FHA policies) and their problems. The Kerner Commission Report warned that America "was moving towards two societies, one white, one black---separate and unequal (1-2)."

In 1966 Dr. King moved his family into a Westside Chicago tenement to dramatize the need to make rat infested slums illegal. King organized open housing marches in white neighborhoods where Northern whites brutally attacked the marchers. King denounced big-city segregation as internal colonialism that rested upon the exploitation of inner city black workers,

consumers, and tenants. After civil rights and voting rights legislation passed, King focused on fighting for economic justice. King explained that human rights included the right to live in a decent house and the right to earn a living or to receive a guaranteed annual income. In 1964 when Dr. King went to Sweden to accept the Nobel Prize he was highly impressed by the Scandinavian countries social welfare programs.

Some historians divide King's civil rights career into two major periods—before Selma and after. The first begins with the 1955 Montgomery bus boycott and ends with the march from Selma to Montgomery. The second begins with the Chicago demonstrations for jobs and housing in 1966 and ends with his assassination in Memphis on April 4, 1968.¹⁰ I disagree with historians who write that King transformed himself from a liberal reformer into a radical threat to America's class structure and dominant institutions. These critics say that King's growing economic radicalism helped to kill the civil rights movement, because redistribution and collectivism violated traditional American values of individual personal liberty.

Thomas Jackson in *From Civil Rights to Human Rights: Martin Luther King, Jr. and the Struggle for Economic Justice* reports that King's economic radicalism can be found in his Christian social gospel roots and his long association with socialist labor leader A. Philip Randolph. Jackson writes, "as early as 1956 King publicly described his dream as a world in which privilege and property are widely distributed (2)."

President Lyndon B. Johnson wanted to wage a war on poverty. His great goal was to go beyond his great mentor Franklin D. Roosevelt and his New Deal and provide security for all Americans so that they could enjoy their political freedoms after their basic economic needs were satisfied.¹¹ The Kennedy-Johnson Keynesian economist (Walter Heller) believed that eliminating American poverty without altering the economic system was possible. The Kennedy-Johnson "technocrats" believed that "a rising tide lifts all boats."

President Johnson also believed that affirmative action programs would be necessary for African-Americans to overcome past and current institutional racism. Johnson's 1966 Howard University commencement speech was titled, "Freedom is not Enough." President Johnson declared, "You do not take a person who, for years, has been hobbled by chains and liberate him, bring him up to the starting line of a race and then say you are free to compete with all others still justly believe you have been fair." This speech was published in Bruce Schulman, *Lyndon B. Johnson and American Liberalism* (202).

LBJ thought that the U.S. was rich enough to have a two front war, the Great Society's war on poverty at the same time he was fighting an expensive war in Vietnam. Johnson promised the nation could have "guns and butter." By the time the sixties ended, the U.S. had squandered it's the surplus World War Two had given it in Southeast Asia and was crippled by "stagflation," de-industrialization, and rising competition from Japan and European countries.

The greatest impact of the civil rights movement occurred with the ending of Jim Crow segregation and the lifting of voting restrictions. African-Americans who had strong family support systems were able to take advantage of mainstream opportunities that blacks who were mired in poverty could not. The civil rights movement did not get to fully address the chronic generational poverty of the inner city because of the white backlash. Dan Carter in *The Politics of Rage: George Wallace, the Origins of the New Conservatism* described the first manifestation

of nationwide white opposition to black economic gains in the civil rights movement. In 1964 George Wallace was able to drive a wedge between the Democratic coalition voters by winning 34 percent of the vote in the Wisconsin Primary and 30 percent of the vote in the Indiana Primary by attacking integration, civil rights programs, and “pointy headed” liberal politicians and government bureaucrats who were spending money on the black poor (262-263).

Dr. King perceptively and accurately explained in his last book, *Where Do We Go From Here*, what the civil rights movement came up against when it sought economic justice:

“There has never been a solid, unified, and determined thrust to make justice a reality for Afro-Americans. The step backward has a new name today. It’s called the “white backlash.” The white backlash is nothing new. It is the surfacing of old prejudices and hostilities that have always been there. It was caused neither by the cry of black power, nor by the recent unfortunate recent wave of riots in our cities...The white backlash is an expression of the same vacillations...that has always characterized white America on the question of race (68).”

In this new politics of resentment and zero sum gain conservatives have succeeded in pitting those who might bear some of the costs of federal intervention against those whose struggle for equality has been advanced by interventionist government policies. The conservative backlash has mastered using coded language that never mentions race. Thomas and Mary Edsall’s book *Chain Reaction* points out when the official subject is presidential politics, taxes, welfare, crime, rights or values, “the real subject is race (3-7).” Nixon, Reagan, George H.W. Bush, and Donald Trump have all taken a page from George Wallace’s play book. Complaints about quotas, welfare queens, freeloaders, law and order disguise the older rhetoric of black laziness, and irresponsibility. George H.W. Bush used the specter of the over sexed black rapist, Willie Horton to defeat Michael Dukakis.

Endnotes

¹William Chafe, *Civilities and Civil Rights* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1981), p. 84.

²Harvard Sitkoff, *A New Deal for Blacks: the Emergence of Civil Rights as a National Issue* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1981), pp. 58-59.

³Jacqueline Dowd Hall, “The Long Civil Rights Movement and the Political Uses of the Past,” *Journal of American History* v. 91 (March 2005):1233-63.

⁴Because of the wartime migrations to the cities in the North and West African-American voters tip close elections, because they usually voted as a bloc, see Robert Weisbrot, *Freedom Bound* (New York: Plume, 1991), pp. 9-11.

⁵Manning Marable, *Race, Reform, and Rebellion* (Jackson: University of Mississippi Press, 2007), p. 26. Also see Martha Biondi, *To Stand and Fight: The Struggle for Civil Rights in Postwar New York City* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2003), p. 274. Biondi points out that W.E.B. DuBois, the venerable scholar, and other leftists like Paul Robeson had adopted the stance that black liberation depended on stopping U.S. imperialism and this included lending support to the rivals of the United States, such as the Soviet Union and China. DuBois’ stance during the fifties foreshadowed the internationalist outlook of later radicals like Malcolm X, Angela Davis, and Black Panther leader Huey P. Newton.

⁶Alonzo Hamby, *Beyond the New Deal: Harry S. Truman and American Liberalism* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1973), p. 214.

⁷Harvard Sitkoff, *King: Pilgrimage to the Mountaintop* (New York: Hill and Wang, 2008), p. 101.

⁸Michael O'Brien, *Rethinking Kennedy: An interpretive Biography* (Chicago: Ivan R. Dee, 2010), p. 101.

⁹Howard Zinn, *A Peoples History* (New York: Harper Perennial, 2003); Todd Gitlin, *The Sixties: Years of Hope, Days of Rage* (New York: Bantam Books, 1993); Allen Matusow, *The Unraveling of America, the 1960's* (New York: Harper & Row, 1994).

¹⁰Stephen Oates, *Let the Trumpet Sound* (New York: Plume Books, 1983), p. 388; David Lewis, *King* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1978), p.297; Taylor Branch , *Parting the Waters* (New York: A Touchstone Book, 1989).

¹¹William E. Leuchtenburg, *In The Shadow of FDR* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1983), p. 219. Lyndon Johnson operated in "the shadow of FDR," as historian William Leuchtenburg put it. LBJ was bolder on civil rights than FDR, and he updated the New Deal with Medicare; Also see Doris Kearns Goodwin, *Lyndon Johnson and the American Dream* (New York: St. Martins Griffin, 1991), pp. 210-212.

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