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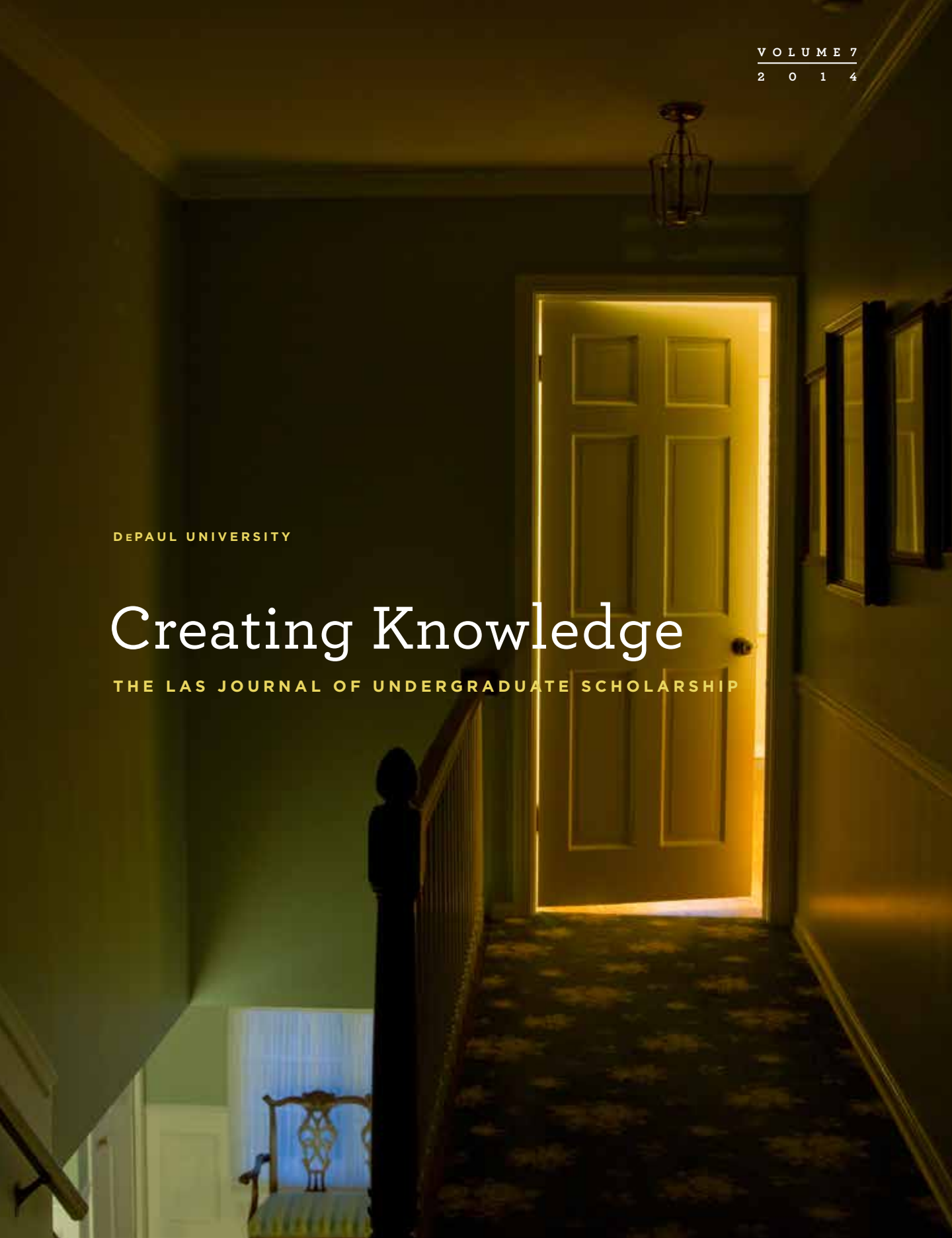
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DEPAUL UNIVERSITY

Creating Knowledge

THE LAS JOURNAL OF UNDERGRADUATE SCHOLARSHIP



CREATING KNOWLEDGE

The LAS Journal of Undergraduate Scholarship

2014 EDITOR

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TABLE OF CONTENTS

6 Forward, by Dean Charles Suchar

STUDENT RESEARCH

| | | |
|----|------------------|--|
| 8 | Victoria Trahey | Observations on Family Corruption Seen Through <i>Camera Lucida</i> (Department of Art, Media, and Design) |
| 12 | Maria Wojtas | 19th-Century American Identity Fashioned Through Children's and Misses' Ready Made Dresses of the 1897 Sears, Roebuck & Company Catalog (Department of Anthropology) |
| 18 | Scott Jones | Invectives Targeting Caesar and the State in Propertius <i>Elegies II</i> (Classics Program) |
| 24 | Ramiro Hernandez | Tracing the Decline of Catholicism in Contemporary Mexican Identity (Department of Catholic Studies & The Center for World Catholicism and Intercultural Theology) |
| 32 | Alex Kfoury | Re-Evaluating the Persistence of College Wage Premium Gaps Across Gender and Ethnicity (Department of Economics) |
| 42 | Jordan Weber | A Cynic's Duty: Ambrose Bierce's Tales of Soldiers and Civilians, Alienation and Challenging Civil War Authority (Department of English) |
| 50 | Sheridan Haley | À la recherche du temps perdu ; Du côté de chez Swann: Une œuvre impressionniste (French Program, Department of Modern Languages) |
| 56 | Marina Schneider | Reviewing the Origins of the Sudanese Style: Andalusian or African Provenance? (Department of the History of Art and Architecture) |
| 66 | Mary Ralph | Banging at the Door: Twenty Years of Activism That Put Jon Burge Behind Bars (Department of History) |
| 74 | Keavy McFadden | Gender, Labor Organizing & Solidarity in the Salvadoran Garment Sector (Department of International Studies) |

| | | |
|-----|------------------|---|
| 84 | Ryan Restine | “Putting Allspace In A Notshall”: The Presence of Hamlet in <i>Finnegans Wake</i> (Irish Studies Program) |
| 92 | Ben Brooks | Un’analisi Stilistica di “Guido, I’ Vorrei” di Dante Alighieri (Italian Program, Department of Modern Languages) |
| 96 | Rhone Talsma | Gay Marriage Makes Me Want To Puke: On Respectability Politics, Anti-Capitalist Queer Activism and the Legalization of Same-Sex Marriage (LGBTQ Studies Program) |
| 102 | Iwona Bies | Jewish Organizations in Brazil and Argentina and the Struggle to Protect Their Communities (Latin American and Latino Studies Program) |
| 110 | Molly Dannenberg | Feet on the Ground, Head in the Sky (Department of Philosophy) |
| 116 | Andrew N. Hardy | Sacred Dimensions: Diffused Religion in the Traditional Chinese Family, State and Local Community (Department of Religious Studies) |
| 126 | Brie Goldstein | Prevalence of Sexually Transmitted Diseases Among Young People By Sex, Race/Ethnicity and Income: Evidence from the U.S. National Health Interview Survey (Department of Sociology) |
| 134 | Kevin Cole | Revaloración De La Voz Negra En El Poema “Mi Lengua” De Jeannette Miller (Spanish Program, Department of Modern Languages) |
| 140 | Clare Stuber | Inventing Virtual Autonomy; Or, How to Friend Request the Discursive Hysteric (Department of Women’s and Gender Studies) |
| 150 | Bridget Wagner | You Should Be Ashamed: Exploring <i>Seventeen’s</i> “Traumaramas” as a Contradictory Genre (Department of Writing, Rhetoric, and Discourse) |

FORWARD

DEAR STUDENTS, FACULTY COLLEAGUES AND FRIENDS,

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

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

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



CHUCK SUCHAR

Dean

OBSERVATIONS ON FAMILY CORRUPTION SEEN THROUGH *CAMERA LUCIDA*

VICTORIA TRAHEY*

Department of Art, Media, and Design

For me the noise of Time is not sad: I love bells, clocks, watches...cameras, in short, were clocks for seeing, and perhaps in me someone very old still hears in the photographic mechanism the living sound of the wood.
- Roland Barthes, *Camera Lucida*

In his book on photography, *Camera Lucida*, Roland Barthes discusses time in relation to photography and how, to him, the passing of time is not a negative. I am drawn to this because I have always found comfort in the sound a shutter makes. The mechanical sound that results from the photographer's inspiration is powerful and motivating. Each photograph is a stamp of time; it is a fragment of the past.

A photograph marks a moment in time - it steals a second to be looked at and relooked at an infinite number of times. According to Barthes, the essence of photography is to ratify what it represents. This essence, however, can be corrupted by the passing of time. By corruption I am referring to a shift, which occurs over time, in understanding the essence of a photograph.

Camera Lucida is heavily weighted by the death of his mother; it is the author's way of understanding and coping. Although Barthes indicates no prior attachment to the *Winter Garden* photograph, since his mother's death he believes that this photograph is the essence of all photography. I question whether it would hold the same meaning for him had he found this image prior to her death. Thus, over time the essence of the photograph has

become corrupted. A snap in time, marking a moment for what may be forever, in Barthes opinion, is the definition of essence.

In a similar sense, I have a photograph of my grandfather taken just before he passed away. It is from my nephew's baptism. When looking at this photograph, "three tenses dizzy my consciousness" (97). This is an idea that Barthes talks about when looking at a photograph that captured the road to "Beith-Lehem." For me, I am *dizzied* by my present, the present of the photograph, and my grandfathers prime. This essence of *The Baptism* has been corrupted by the passing of time.

Although I was very young when my grandfather was both mentally and physically fit, I have been granted the opportunity to view snippets of this time that the camera preserved. The memories I have and the images I have aid in the corruption of *The Baptism*. These memories plague my way of thinking and create fragmentation in the photograph before me. When I look at the photograph, I am consumed by the innumerable photographs and memories I have of my grandfather. At one time, the essence of *The Baptism* was family unity. In my present—having knowledge unavailable to me when the photograph was taken—the essence has been corrupted.

When *The Baptism* was first taken, it was a *tame* photograph that was intended to serve as documentation of the event and who attended. However, with the passing of both my grandfather and time, it has become a mad photograph. It is more alive than it was upon its inception. The photograph has *punctum*, I see it in my grandfather's eyes;

* Prepared for ART 118, Thinking Photography, taught by Professor Steve Harp in winter quarter, 2014.

it leaves me uneasy. My own eyes look longingly upon his eyes, which look carelessly into the camera lens. It is a look that I cannot define, one that leaves me in anticipation for a moment, that he would again become the tenacious man he used to be. That has never happened. This look, this *punctum*, pushes aside the tame and commands madness (Barthes 117-119).

In *Four Pieces of Film Snatched From Hell*, Georges Didi-Huberman discusses the only known photographs taken by prisoners at Auschwitz. Two of the photographs were taken from inside the gas chamber and illustrate the gruesome work of other inmates. When the images were taken they were meant to be a documentary tool. They would, theoretically, hasten liberation (12-14). Originally, the photographs were that of *studium*, but with the passing of time they have become photographs of *punctum*. At one time, they served as documentation of the sanctioned horrors occurring at Auschwitz; now, however, these photographs have something more than that.

Since the photographs at Auschwitz were taken, information about the maltreatment of the victims of concentration camps and the number of people who suffered death has surfaced. The tragedy of the photograph, coupled with the knowledge I have of Auschwitz, gives these photographs *punctum*. Over time, the essence of these photographs has been corrupted in a similar fashion to *The Baptism*. Corruption, then, is a shift away from the original meaning or understanding of a specific photograph.

The photograph has become a memory block; I am unable to recall the boisterous man that he was because I am paralyzed by the truth of the photograph. My memory is trapped and unable to rely on these aspects of him, which were not portrayed in photographs. When looking at *The Baptism* I am consumed by the truths it unveils to me. On the other hand, I find myself struggling to remember the unseen memories. Because of this, the camera is violent. Although it is not photographing violence, it is acting out of a violence—it is deceitful (Barthes 91).

The camera captured something I never could: an eternal image. Without this photograph, I would not remember what my grandfather looked like the last time I saw him. Looking at this photograph gives me a sense of euphoria. My grandfather is trapped in a moment, a day, his *last* day with me. However, it also gives me a sense of disdain; I do not want to remember the man in this photograph, the frail, frigid, and removed man that stood before me. If this photograph did not exist, perhaps I could reconstruct my memory to envision the strong, noble, and engaging man that he once was.

Memories and knowledge have the potential to corrupt a photograph. In the same way, a photograph can corrupt memories and knowledge. Because of *The Baptism* I am constantly reminded of my grandfather as a frail and meek man. The photograph has seeped into my memories and tainted them with false recollection. Although I know logically that he was not always the man in that photograph, I am incapable of recalling the man before the madness.

An unconscious stream of corruption happens as a result of time; it begins when a picture is taken, and a moment is stunted forever. Later, something happens, such as a death, which alters your perception of a person, object, or event. Because of this, the understanding of the photograph becomes corrupted. On occasion, prior memories, which defy the concrete evidence the photograph provides, are altered. As a result, both the understanding of the photograph and the memories, which exist outside the frame, become corrupted.

The *Winter Garden* mattered to Barthes only after the passing of his mother. In a similar way, I was only able to evaluate *The Baptism* after the passing of my grandfather. Adjusting to a world without someone who was once so close to you is challenging. “Photography has something to do with resurrection,” Barthes states (82). How can I be expected to cope with death when my grandfather is so very alive in all that I see? His vacant eyes plead for me to

keep him alive. I am shaken by the idea that the referent cannot be found when the photograph still whispers his name (5). He is kept alive by a two dimensional image. I often struggle with my grandfather's death because photography reveals to me his life.

Death is the most heartbreaking image a photograph can reproduce. Sitting at my desk, looking at *The Baptism* I am overwhelmed with feelings of Nirvana; I am completely lost in the image. I have settled with the idea that my grandfather wears a mask in this photograph; the mask of illness has consumed him.

In *Observations on the Long Take* Pier Paolo Pasolini states, "It is thus absolutely necessary to die, because while living we lack meaning...it is thanks to death that our lives become expressive" (86). Sadly, I believe there is some truth to this statement. Before my grandfather passed away I would not have spent more than a brief moment looking at *The Baptism*. On the other hand, since his passing I often find myself staring at it—into it—for prolonged periods of time. It is not that my grandfather lacked meaning when he was alive, but because I had access to the referent I did not feel a strong desire to stare at a two dimensional replication.

Death is the ultimate tool that is capable of corruption. It highlights the important moments in our lives and alters our perception of reality indefinitely. When I look at *The Baptism* now, I look at it with the knowledge of my

grandfathers passing; as a result, the memories I have of him prior to his death are viewed through an altered perception. It is through his death that I now view his life. There is not a single aspect that is left untouched; every rare moment I have in which I do not remember his passing feels fraudulent.

Barthes, Pasolini, and Didi-Huberman all address the relationship between death and photography. These two ideas are dependent on one another in each of the photographs I have examined. In many instances, life is perpetually trapped in a photograph despite the passing of the referent. The theories and ideas Barthes, Pasolini, and Didi-Huberman present in their pieces provide a platform, which allow me to expound upon the essence of photography: corruption. *The Baptism*, thus, is a culmination of these pieces and how they interact with the death of the referent.

As time passes, we gain knowledge and develop opinions that are interwoven with the photographic image. Consequently, the essence of the original photograph is corrupted. *The Baptism* provides an example of how death is the foremost circumstance that will corrupt a photograph's essence. Because of *The Baptism* my grandfather is ageless and timeless, consumed by a long and restless life. To my dismay, he is a soul trapped in a photograph. ■

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Brian Bafaro | *Two Lives*

19TH-CENTURY AMERICAN IDENTITY FASHIONED THROUGH CHILDREN'S AND MISSES' READY MADE DRESSES OF THE 1897 SEARS, ROEBUCK & COMPANY CATALOG

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ABSTRACT The late 19th century in the United States was a period of innovation and growth. The nation was on its way to becoming a world entity and its consumers were just as eager to grow with it. With industrialization and urbanization paving the way of modernity, consumers began to become increasingly aware of their position in the market. By analyzing the 1897 Sears, Roebuck & Company catalog I address how material culture shaped American identity during the 19th century, how Americans saw themselves as consumers, what values were reflected in this type of consumerism (particularly the catalog), how did they engage in the production of goods, and how values in production are embodied in the catalog. This type of research is important because it demonstrates how marketed materials are intertwined into our daily lives and our cultural belief systems.

Introduction

The Sears, Roebuck & Company catalog was started in 1888 by Richard Sears. It was one of the first mail order catalogs to advertise watches and jewelry (“History of the Sears Catalog”). This gave Mr. Sears an instant economic boost because the growth of railroads brought the development of time zones, making consumers more consciously aware of time than ever before. In 1896, the United States government created Rural Free Delivery, which made the distribution of catalogs to rural farmers more economically feasible. The catalog’s advertising boasted about the quality and affordability it made available to its customers saying, “We Can’t Afford to Lose a Costumer” (“History of the Sears Catalog”). “The Farmers’ Bible,” used to commonly refer to the catalog, was said to have reached 20 million Americans at the height of its success. This catalog was the a 19th-century consumers’ one-stop-shop for almost any kind of good

from home furnishings, clothing, guns, bibles, and even houses that the buyer could assemble themselves.

With so many areas available for investigation, my research is focused particularly on children’s and misses’ ready-made dresses. Consumers of these products were engaged in conspicuous consumption with their decisions to buy ready-made dresses. According to Daniel Scott Smith (1994), clothing has the ability to be self-expressive while also demonstrating a family’s collective status. With this in mind, I believe that an in-depth examination of children’s and misses’ ready-made dresses in the 1897 Sears, Roebuck & Company catalog can offer great insight into 19th-century American identity and values.

Methods and Evidence

As stated previously, this paper is focused on children’s and misses’ ready-made dresses from the 1897 Sears, Roebuck & Company catalog. I chose to research this assemblage of dresses because I found their overall

* Prepared for ANT 386, Cultural Analysis, taught by Professor Nila Ginger Hofman in winter quarter, 2014. Professor Robert Rotenberg assisted in the editing for publication.

presentation in the catalog of interest. The children's section was for toddlers up to 28 inches. Children's/misses' dresses were for the toddlers over 28 inches to girls up to age 14. It was only once that I began using different methods of research did I start to uncover fascinating information.

Employing Craig Gilborn's approach to understanding material culture, I read through the descriptions of all the ready-made dresses that were available in the catalog to see if commonalities could be found in their item descriptions. The summary section located above the dresses used repetitive key words such as "price" and "dependable." Noting the repetitiveness of certain words and categorical references made, I designed a typology. The goal was to find any commonalities that were lurking beneath the surface and could have been missed with primary reading.

The first typology was created with the thought that there was an overarching connection between price and material. The typology started with a yes or no question, was the dress less than or equal to \$0.95. Then the next categorical level was whether it was made of cotton, followed by madras cloth and Chelsea cloth (all options within the catalog). Finding no outstanding correlations between fabrics and price, I decided to analyze the lay out of the models in the dresses to see if a model's stance had any importance. The typology began by looking at the number of models who were shown wearing hats, followed by if they the models were holding an object such as a toy or jump rope (a commonly seen feature in Sear's advertisement). Then I considered to see if any of these dresses cost more than the average amount for their designated category (I calculated that the average children's dress was \$0.685 and children's/misses' was \$1.183). Again, there were no visible correlations. While typologies are useful at finding commonalities and patterns between the dresses, their price, and material, it does not help in the understanding of how 19th-century Americans engaged in the production of goods. I was

only able to discover evidence of consumers' engagement with products once I analyzed the descriptions of each dress and the overall summary given to the dresses as a whole.

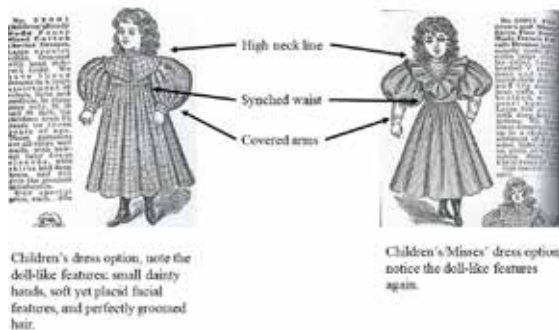
Employing E. McClung Fleming's approach to understanding material culture I looked at the objects as an entire whole to see how their location in proximity to other items in the catalog could possibly carry meaning. This is usually done to demonstrate some form of commonality; typically the closer the objects are to each other, the more likely they are similar in some aspect. The first step was to look at what preceded and followed these ready-made dresses. The goal was to see if those items offered any clues as to what these dresses meant to 19th-century consumers. Ladies' hats preceded the ready-made dresses with shawls, underskirts, and corsets following behind. Looking at the ready made dresses themselves, I investigated the possibility that there was some theme or common pattern that they all shared. This method of analysis helps in the understanding of possible cultural values and identities of 19th-century Americans, but again, it does not explain the engagement that 19th-century consumers had with their products.

Analysis of Materials

These children's and misses' ready-made dresses are able to give us insightful information as to the American identity during the 19th century, consumers' perception of self, and the consumers' engagement with the production of goods. These three concepts can be tied into two main themes that I uncovered through my research: socio-economic status and social constructs of the 19th century. Using Gilborn's model to help uncover any commonalities between the dresses, I became intensely aware of the price variations between the dresses. With the average children's dress costing \$0.685 and children's/misses dress at \$1.183, these prices seemed unusually higher than I would have predicted. Flipping through the catalog, I located patterns for sewing children's and girl's dresses; they cost only \$0.10. Fabric cost as little as \$0.07

FIGURE 1

Illustration from 1897 Sears, Roebuck & Company catalog.



a yard. Looking back at the page of children's and misses' ready-made dresses, prices went in ascending order from lowest to highest on the page. Additionally, every item had the term "our special price" or "an exceptional bargain" attached to it, and in the summary of the dresses for sale the phrase "no need to bother about making your children's dresses" appeared (322). The word "bother" seemed odd and inappropriate for its appearance in this summary, particularly because "bother" carries a negative connotation. While Gilborn's model was not able to offer any correlations between the price and material or model appearance and price, it was able to help illuminate the importance of affordability of these dresses.

Looking at the dresses from an objective level, patterns in the overall appearance of the dresses began to emerge. The children's dresses were relatively uniform with puffed sleeves, distinct yoke, and a wide skirt that attached fairly high up on the dress. The next pattern of interest was that all of the children's/misses' dresses had a synched waist and covered the upper body completely. Only the hands and head were free on the upper half of the body, the arms were covered to the wrists and the neck was completely hidden.

Finally, the last pattern noted was that all the models pictured wearing these dresses had a very distinct appearance. The faces of the models appeared to be older than what they were being marketed as. Their hair was well done and styled for the popular flair of the time. Under these oversized clothes, the models appeared dainty and fragile, almost doll-like in a sense. Their stance (arms out at their sides or a single hand resting behind their hip) does not give the overall impression of a child or adolescent girl. Here I have attached two advertisements taken from the 1897 catalog to illustrate these last two points.

Claims of Knowledge

From these patterns, it is evident that there is some form of socio-economic decision making occurring based on the layout of the dresses in the catalog. The dresses are laid out in a fashion that allows the consumer to easily decide how much money they are looking to spend when purchasing dresses. The cheapest dresses are the first ones to be displayed followed by increasingly more expensive options. There is a distinct emphasis in each description about the affordability and durability of each. Even the summary of the dresses page proclaims their affordability more than twice.

In 1897, the annual family income was \$411 ("American President: A Reference Resource"). With this money, provisions such as food, shelter, and other living expenses had to be taken into account as well. In order to properly distribute money, reductions in certain household living expenses had to be cut if a new child was born into the family. On average, "each child's clothing absorbed 2.49% of the total family income" (Smith 1994, 11).

Clearly these dresses had some way of proclaiming the wearer's socio-economic standing. A pattern set with the cheapest form of cloth would have cost \$0.17. The cheapest children's ready-made dress available was \$0.37. Buying a pattern set and cloth would have been more probable for larger families with young children. Purchasing one

single dress for twice the price of a pattern set does not make a great deal of sense, especially if the family has a tight budget. The patterns purchased could be reused over and over again. And being that these are children's and adolescent's dresses, it is only expected that they would become dirty and torn by the child during play and daily life. It is not fiscally responsible to purchase a dress for each child in the family when you can make two children's dresses for the average cost of a child's ready-made dress (that being \$0.685).

Analyzing the word choices used in the summary of the dresses, words such as "bother," "dependable," and "cheap," can offer insight into the overall values regarding production for 19th-century American consumers. In the 19th century, women typically sewed most of their own clothing as well as that of their children's clothing. The sewing machine became a common feature of the home by the late 19th century thanks to their cheapening cost. As the prices lowered on machines so did the prestige of owning a sewing machine (Connolly 1999, 36). With the lowering cost of owning a sewing machine and the growing availability of ready-made clothing, women saw the machines as a way to save money, not labor. Going back to the summary section of the dresses in the Sears, Roebuck & Company catalog, women no longer had "to bother making your children's dresses" because Sears offered "remarkably low prices." Using the knowledge gained from analyzing what was available to 19th-century consumers, their financial standing, and their impressions of domestic housework, it appears that 19th-century consumers highly valued their time. If the family had the available means to purchase ready-made dresses, there was no need to waste valuable time making the dresses. It also explains that 19th-century consumers no longer felt the necessity to be entirely involved in the production of their goods. With the growing value placed on time and efficiency consumers allowed production to fall into the hands of companies such as Sears, Roebuck & Company.

These dresses can also express cultural identity and

societal values of the late 19th century. Clothing has had the ability to "decorate the body, but also symbolize and enforced gender and social station" (Torrens 1996, 78). All of the children's/misses' ready-made dresses possessed synched waists. Synched waists are typically used to emphasize or create an illusion of smallness to the waist. Located on the following pages were corsets. The use of corsets was popular in the 19th century and their primary purpose was to create what was considered the ideal figure of a woman, an extreme version of an hourglass figure. The wearing of a corset, particularly for young adolescent women, was seen as a symbol of growth and transformation from a child into a young woman (Miller 2000, 138). It is reasonable to assume that young adolescent girls wearing these ready-made dresses were to begin assuming the roles of womanhood. The synched waists could be seen as a training tool for the soon to be corseted waist. Their dresses were made to idealize those of their older female role models such as their mothers or other matriarchal women.

Finally, the doll-like appearance of the models is something that cannot be over looked. The delicate faces of the models do not appear to show the heaviness of the dresses being worn. The high neck line seemed particularly unusual for young children because this would greatly limit movement to the wearer. The description accompanying the dresses mentioned that they were "fancy" and of the "newest style." Yet stylish attire of the era was known to limit mobility and act as a metaphor for the social control that was held over women (Torrens 1996, 79). The wearers of these ready-made dresses were being molded into what society dictated of them by placing them in constraining clothing that limited their movement at an early age. A child wearing a heavy dress cannot play or move as freely as a child with looser, less constrictive dress. Fashionable dress made women into what was considered ideal, "submissive, pious, domestic and pure" (Torrens 1996, 79). These are all the same qualities that can be expected of a young child who is restricted in play and movement.

The facial features of the models coincide as to what they are eventually expected by their society to become, quiet and calm.

By looking at the children's and misses' ready-made dresses from the 1897 Sears, Roebuck & Company catalog, it can be deduced that 19th-century consumers

highly valued modesty and decency. The coverage of the body in these dresses could begin imprinting values and behaviors at a young age. Young girls were to act mature and doll-like. Their clothing, with high neck lines and synched waists, limited their mobility and evoked feelings of daintiness and properness. A far cry from how we think of young children today. ■

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INVECTIVES TARGETING CAESAR AND THE STATE IN *PROPERTIUS ELEGIES II*

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Written between 29 and 24 B.C., *Elegies II* revolves around Propertius and his love interest, Cynthia, who is sometimes referred to as “*mea vita*” or even “*mea lux*,” meaning “my life” and “my light” (W.A. Camps 1). *Elegies II* is “almost wholly concerned” with the thoughts and feelings of Propertius as a lover (Camps 3). The condition of Propertius’ relationship with Cynthia in *Elegies II* fluctuates as he experiences a range of emotions: utter lust, jealousy and disdain. Yet, while *Elegies II* revolves around Cynthia and themes of love, there is a subtext throughout the book in which Propertius neglects traditional Roman values and mocks Emperor Augustus. There are many contexts throughout *Elegies II* in which he mocks the first among equals; Propertius’ comedic jabs at these figures are significant because their works had such enormous influence on the identity of Rome. Propertius neglects traditional Roman values, such as revering the gods and serving as a soldier, in other contexts throughout the book and in doing so he defies Emperor Augustus. In some poems Propertius more directly mocks Augustus. This study seeks to chart Propertius’ contention and to identify some verses that deviate from the themes of love, which often suggest his transcendence as a poet, along with his neglect of and sometimes mockery towards Augustus. Neglecting Roman values and mocking Augustus are often as significant to the overall message of *Elegies II* as Propertius’ thoughts and feelings as a lover.

The earliest implications of Propertius’ neglect for Augustus and traditional Roman values can be recognized in 2.1. Here Propertius neglects the custom of well-known poets to invoke a god or muse in their poems. In the opening lines he addresses Maecenas, a patron to poets such as Vergil and Horace and a counselor to Augustus. Propertius wonders if Maecenas is asking him from where his drive for writing love poetry comes. Propertius writes, “*Quaeritis, unde mihi totiens scribantur amores,*” which translates to, “Do you ask, from where the love comes that I so often write...?” (1-2). Propertius answers, “*ipsa puella,*” or “the girl herself,” referring to Cynthia (4). Here Propertius simply invokes Cynthia since she is his drive for composing his poems, but he also indicates that Calliope, a muse of epic poetry, and the god Apollo do not play any role in the creation of his work. He writes, “*Non haec Calliope, non haec mihi cantat Apollo*” (3). This strong opening statement that Cynthia drives the composition of his poetry, rather than Calliope or Apollo, is not only unusual, but it also demonstrates neglect for a Roman literary tradition. By discounting any invocation of the gods or muses, Propertius neglects the value of “faith in the old-time religion” that Emperor Augustus had been trying to revive at the time (Clyde Pharr 6). Vergil invokes a muse in the first book of the *Aeneid*, asking her to recall to him the causes by which the goddess Juno was driven to put Aeneas through so many trials and labors. He writes, “*Musa, mihi causas memora, quo numine laeso / quidve dolens regina deum tot volvere casus / insignem pietate virum, tot adire labores impulerit*” (*Aeneid* Book I 8-11). Similarly in Ovid’s *Metamorphoses*, Ovid invokes the gods in the first book, asking them to inspire his attempt to talk

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about how bodies change into new shapes: “*corpora: di coeptis (nam vos mutastis et illa)/adspirate meis primaque ab origine mundi / ad mea perpetuum deducite tempora carmen*” (*Metamorphoses* Book I, 2-5). One purpose of Vergil’s *Aeneid* was to restore faith in the old-time religion, which more educated Romans were gradually losing, as they were moving beyond the “simple, unquestioning reliance on the infallible wisdom of the gods and their helpful interference in human affairs” (Pharr 6). Clearly, Propertius mocks this faith in the old-time religion. He makes clear in the opening lines that *Elegies II* focuses on his love for Cynthia, but these lines have another imposing meaning as he signifies his defiance towards some traditional Roman values and literary tradition.

Propertius continues to distinguish himself from Vergil in 2.1 by asserting that he is not suited by nature and background to pursue epic poetry. He states that a sailor tells of the winds, a ploughman tells of the bulls, a soldier tells of his wounds and a pastor tells of his sheep: “*navita de ventis, de tauris narrat arator, / enumerat miles vulnera, pastor ovis*” (43-44). Implying that love is also a motivation for his poetry, he asserts that love is a disease that needs no medicine and that if anyone could cure this disease they would be able to feed the perpetually starving and thirsty Tantalus, and free Prometheus from his perpetual torture (65-70). Propertius never wants to be cured of this disease, and he doesn’t want to change; and he further distinguishes himself from an epic poet such as Vergil who reveres the gods and glorifies Rome. In the last lines of 2.1 Propertius remarks that if he, Maecenas, should ever come across Propertius’ grave, to make sure he writes in his ashes that his fate was a girl harsh on him, (rather than perhaps a glorious death in battle): “*Huic misero fatum dura puella fuit*” (78). In asserting that he is neither suited nor determined to write epic poetry nor fall out of love, Propertius downplays the honor in and significance of Vergil’s epics and their impact on the identity of Rome and its traditional values. While Propertius glorifies Cynthia and himself as lovers in this opening poem, these verses,

deviating from themes of love, establish *Elegies II* as a work that is as significantly concerned with Propertius’ neglect and mockery towards Augustus and Rome as it is with themes of love.

Propertius becomes more aggressive in slighting Augustus and neglecting Roman values in 2.7 when he indicates that a law has been repealed, which would not have been able to separate him and Cynthia from each other had it been implemented. He writes:

*Gauisa es certe sublatam, Cynthia, legem,
qua quondam edicta flemus uterque diu,
ni nos divideret: quamvis diducere amantis
non queat invitos Iuppiter ipse duos* (1-4)

These verses translate:

Cynthia was certainly overjoyed when the law was
repealed,

When once enforced we both would weep for a long time,
unless it was dividing us: although Jupiter himself
could not separate two lovers unwilling

Further, Propertius writes that he is more open to take off his own head than to waste the matrimonial torches on a bride, as was custom (7-8). The legislation that failed to pass is likely part of Augustus’ attempt at a moral reformation around 28 BC (Gordon Williams 28). In 18 BC and 9 AD Augustus successfully passed *lex Iulia de maritandis ordinibus* and *lex papia poppaea*, “legislation enforcing marriages and invoking penal disabilities on immoralities likely to weaken it” (Williams 28). According to Williams, poem 2.7 confirms the legislation Augustus passed in 18 B.C. (28). Propertius’ opposition to traditional Roman values and Augustus intensifies and becomes more direct. He also writes that he and Cynthia will bear no children who may become soldiers: “*nullus de nostro sanguine miles erit*” (14). Camps claims that “there is a certain extravagance, even shrillness, in the manner with which Propertius here expresses his defiance of ordinary Roman values” (97). Propertius’ disrespect for the Roman military

tradition is perhaps motivated by the confiscation of his family's estate when Propertius was quite young, which was carried out for the resettlement of troops returning from war. Moreover, Augustus oversaw the confiscation of land across the peninsula and the resettlement of those troops (George Luck 1). Propertius clearly demonstrates his deep love and connection to Cynthia, but what are equally prominent are his aggressive statements that signify his neglect for Augustus and traditional Roman values.

In 2.10 there appears to be a change in Propertius' attitude on epic poetry: "*et campum Haemonio iam dare tempus equo*" (2). In saying that it is time to give a field to the Haemonian horse (the horse of Achilles), Propertius seems to indicate that he will write epic poetry. He then says that it is now pleasing to recount battles of the conquests of Caesar. Propertius' motivations are not clearly stated. Although his verses up to this poem imply that he may sing of Cynthia for his entire life, one can assume that his relationship with Cynthia is complicated since he indicates that he has finished writing about her: "*quando scripta puella mea est*," which translates to "since my girl was written about" (8). Propertius makes mention of India in line 15, where he praises Augustus for subjecting it to his rule and in 16 he commends him for making the land of the untouched Arabia tremble at him. He writes, "*India quin, Auguste, tuo dat colla triumpho*," meaning, "Indeed, Augustus, India gives its necks to your triumph" (16). The historical record does not indicate that Augustus conquered India or scared it into submission; Camps refers to Strabo's record of an embassy from India approaching Augustus when he was in Spain around 25 BC (Camps 110). The dynamic of the encounter between Augustus and the embassy is not clear, but trade between the two is confirmed to have existed during the latter half of Augustus' reign and during Tiberius' (Seshadri 245). Propertius perhaps made this mistake or exaggeration on purpose in order to mock Augustus. Yet, the following verse, in which Propertius implies that Arabia trembles at Augustus, is consistent with the writings of Strabo, who recorded that Augustus sent an expedition from Egypt between 26

and 24 BC to guarantee the empire access to the region's wealth (Sidebotham 592). 2.10 as a whole is inconsistent with the content and attitude that encompasses *Elegies II* up to that point, but the sarcasm is evident since no epic poetry follows, much less poetry that glorifies Augustus or Rome. Propertius continues to mock Augustus and Rome by deliberately inserting 2.10. The poem feels awkward and out of place in *Elegies II* as it deviates from the themes of love. 2.10 signifies Propertius' fanatical attention to his mockery of Augustus.

After 2.10 Propertius' aggressive attitude towards Augustus and epic poetry subsides, and in 2.31 he praises the new portico of Apollo on the Palatine. Propertius' lack of aggression is not necessarily an indication of a change in his attitude, but rather a suppression of his ego until the last poem where he sarcastically implies that Roman and Greek poets should make way for the birth of Propertius' work. Poems 2.14 to 2.20 encompass a variety of scenarios in which Propertius demonstrates disdain, love, jealousy, and outright obsession over Cynthia's actions. In 2.14 Propertius says that by becoming physically violent with Cynthia he can gain the upper hand in their relationship. Here Propertius demonstrates how desperate he is to gain the advantage in his relationship with her. Propertius writes, "*nec mihi iam fastus opponere quaerit iniquos, / nec mihi ploranti lenta sedere potest*," "nor now does pride seek to oppose men unequal to me, nor is it able to sit by me [Propertius] wailing tough stuff" (13-14). And in 2.18 Propertius laments that Cynthia has dyed her hair blue. These poems do not encompass the same implications that are evident in 2.1, 2.7 and 2.10; rather, Propertius' sights are even more narrowed on Cynthia, his emotions, and the nature of love, another demonstration that epic poetry will not occur. Propertius appears to take the content of *Elegies II* in a new direction by describing to Cynthia the recently-constructed portico of Apollo on the Palatine in 2.31. This poem is among the shortest of the book and while Propertius addresses Cynthia in it, the content and tone is inconsistent with his obsession with Cynthia and comedic jabs at Augustus and traditional Roman values.

Although Propertius' description is elegant, he doesn't relate it to Cynthia or to himself, suggesting that this poem is sarcastic. The poem is also quite short, too short perhaps for imperial taste. Research by Lowell Bowditch argues that 2.31 should be combined with 2.32. Bowditch argues that there is an underlying message in which Propertius implies that the temple and the Danaids, which are sculpturally rendered on the temple, are symbolic of the monitoring behaviors of Augustus' regime, which was very concerned with the private affairs of everyone in Rome and how some may threaten the well-being of the state. In this case Propertius' methods of insulting Augustus would have reached new heights (Bowditch 422). If the poem is short, it is insultingly so; if it is long it is insulting as well. Concerning Cynthia he writes only in the first line, "*Quaeris, cur veniam tibi tardior?*" The subsequent description of the portico has no clear message that is consistent with the rest of *Elegies II*, if it projects any messages at all; in the last line Propertius only recognizes that the statue of Apollo is molded as singing in a long garment (16). In this poem Propertius appears merely to make more subtle his temperaments towards Augustus and Rome since in the last poem he returns to his defiance and neglect of traditional Roman values and Augustus.

The last piece of *Elegies II* is an address to Lynceus, whom Propertius accuses of pursuing Cynthia. But the accusation subsides and Propertius teases Lynceus for giving in to love. Propertius accompanies his address to Lynceus with elements of aversion towards well-known writers and thinkers such as Vergil that are similar to those he makes previously in the book. The tone is consistent with 2.1, 2.7 and 2.10 and so is Propertius' argument that he, his love, and poetry are exclusive—untouched and destined for fame and glory beyond the likes of other authors, Emperor Augustus, and Rome. From lines 26 to 30 he argues that neither the wisdom of Socrates, nor being able to speak on the nature of things like Lucretius, nor the verses of Aeschylus are of use when one is in love. In another effort to disrespect not only these authors and thinkers, but also Augustus and the state, Propertius writes that while

what's left of the fortune of his home is small and while his ancestors possess no triumphs in the wars of long ago, he is still in the company of girls: "*aspice me, cui parva domi fortuna relictæ est / nullus et antiquo Marte triumphus avi, / ut regnem mixtas inter conviva puellas / hoc ego*" (55-58). These translate to "Look at me, to whom a small fortune of my home has been left, and no military triumph of an ancestor from an old war, as I now rule as a king among a group of girls" (55-58). Propertius was raised by his mother on their relatively large family estate until a part of the estate was confiscated by Augustus in order to resettle soldiers returning from the war (Luck 1). Here he implies that these things that he does not have are indeed things for which one would be expected to strive and of which one ought to be proud as a Roman, but it is no matter to him that he doesn't possess much wealth or any ancestral military triumphs. Propertius then adds a verse, whose meaning reflects what he wrote in 2.1, lines 43-44, that Vergil can sing of the Actian shores and the brave ships of Augustus: "*Actia Vergilium custodis litora Phoebi, / Caesaris et fortis dicere posse ratis,*" translating to "Vergil may sing of the Actian shores of the guardian Apollo, and the brave ships of Caesar" (61-62). While Propertius recognizes here that some poets are fitted for specific genres of writing, in the subsequent lines he asserts that Roman and even Greek authors need to make way for a work that is greater than the *Iliad* (65-66), again sarcastically arguing that his work is destined for glory beyond that of more famous authors and their works of his time.

There exists a sense of sarcastic neglect for traditional Roman values and Augustus in telling Vergil to make way for Propertius' work, which is consistent with his attitudes in the first poem. In the final lines he expresses hope that his verses about Cynthia will be placed in what he implies is a hall of fame of love poets: Varro, Catullus and Gallus. This last poem is composed of elements of love and opposition that recur throughout the entire book, which are suppressed or even more cleverly hidden in the latter half up until this last poem where Propertius seems to speak more freely. The confessions of his meager financial

status and lack of a glorified ancestry remain unaddressed up to this point, and so in this poem he makes his most direct and climactic act of defiance towards traditional Roman values and Augustus.

Throughout *Elegies II* Propertius skillfully and carefully relays his invectives that target traditional Roman values and Emperor Augustus. Most of the poems focus on Propertius' thoughts and feelings as a lover of Cynthia, but his sarcastically denigrating invectives are striking and thus just as prominent in the book. Propertius elegantly begins and ends the book with comedic jabs at traditional Roman values and Augustus. Propertius conveys his argument magnificently in different contexts such as in 2.1

when he tells Maecenas from where his drive for writing elegies comes, as well as in 2.7, 2.10, and 2.34. He also makes extensive allusions to scenes from Greek and Roman mythology such as in 2.10 where he indicates that it is time to give a field to the Haemonian horse. There is a wonderful balance between the themes of love and his neglect for and defiance of traditional Roman values and Augustus, making *Elegies II* more than a simple collection of love poems. And although Propertius argues sarcastically that he is not suited to write other styles of poetry and that he is destined for fame beyond most writers and thinkers, the elegance and craft of *Elegies II* suggests that he might actually have earned a place among those most renowned authors and thinkers of the ancient world. ■

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TRACING THE DECLINE OF CATHOLICISM IN CONTEMPORARY MEXICAN IDENTITY

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'Poor Mexico: so far from God, so close to the United States.' Those were the ominous words uttered by one of Mexico's most notorious *caudillos*, or political leader, Porfirio Diaz. Although the adage has remained an appropriate analysis of the relationship between the United States and the Mexican nation, it, might be in need of revision. Diaz, or *Don Porfirio*, as he was often referred to, in this damning statement to a nation that allowed him the pleasure of being in power for more than three decades until the his ousting in 1910 with the coming of the Mexican Revolution, epitomized the psycho-social stigma that is impressed upon the imaginaries of the Mexican nation. Jose Vasconcelos, one of the country's foremost intellectuals of the early 20th century, tells us that the Mexican is part of the "cosmic race" of Latin America—that is to say, it is a combination of the native, African, and European ancestry which, together, produce an all-together different enlightened race. With this in mind, one could add that the Mexican imaginary is, therefore, comprised of the many different ideologies, practices, behaviors, and customs that embody the three different races that come together to create the Mexican identity. Chiefly among these components is the spiritual and the religious, and, in the Mexican context, the religious is the Roman Catholic.

The coming of the Spanish conquistadors to Mexico in 1521 brought Catholicism to the native peoples. The

implementation of religion, and its hierarchy, would—for many centuries—continue to hold power not only over the country in the forms of political and social hegemony, but, more importantly, in the hearts and minds of the *pueblo*, or people. The Church, the transhistorical symbol of power and order, continues to thrive in the country. However, this reality is slowly dissipating. And, why is that? This secularization of society is a phenomenon currently taking shape in Europe; yet, the fact that this process is taking place in one of the most historically significant bastions of Catholicism in the new world is quite problematic—not only for the Church in Mexico, but for the Church in the modern world. In a country where Catholicism was inseparable from national and regional identities, so much so that the Virgin of Guadalupe was utilized as a unionizing instrument, even in the most troubled of times, the fact that the religious aspect of the "cosmic" Mexican is declining is truly a shocking notion. Yet if the identity, national or otherwise, of the Mexican people is lacking in religiosity, surely, there has to be one other component that is supplanting it and filling that void—this filler, indeed, has taken the shape of neo-liberalism and the extensions thereof.

Beginning with the classic liberal reforms of the 1850's, through most of the 20th century, the Church in Mexico has repeatedly faced challenges from the political establishment, and consequently, has suffered devaluations.¹ This constant state of conflict between the state and the church resulted in a glaring divide that forcibly, even violently at times, sought to reduce the presence of religion to the private sphere. The many faces

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¹ Michael C. Meyer, William L. Sherman, and Susan M. Deeds. *The Course of Mexican History* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2011) 285-290.

of the classical liberal reforms and reformers in Mexican politics from the mid-19th century on through the greater part of the 20th, deftly and systematically began to work towards depleting the traditional power the Church exerted over the populace. While this repression, if it can adequately be identified as such, produced episodes of social unrest, the governing *caudillos*, which in the 20th century were more euphemistically labeled presidents, continually worked towards codifying the separation of church and state. In the modern day, the rapacious and pernicious policies of the neo-liberal state have necessarily assisted the further decline of religiosity in the country. The increasingly expansive reaches of the neo-liberal reforms in the country, apart from continuing to exacerbate social, political, and economic stratification, have fostered conditions in the country that—while not directly attacking the church—serve to dissuade the Mexican public from practicing their Catholicism (for if unemployment, debt, and poverty are looming over the heads of the pueblo on a day-to-day basis, they are less likely to want to make the trip to the temple).

In this work, I hope to analyze the period that I have outlined as being the most crucial in understanding the decline of the presence of the church in the Mexican national identity. Mexico, being one of the early satellites of the Spanish empire in the 16th century, and, therefore, one of the oldest Catholic strongholds in the new world, is no longer strongly identified by its religious fervor. The Mexican national identity has significantly changed from its colonial and early post-colonial tradition. I will contend here that one of the most significant contributing factors to this phenomenon has to do with the sizeable presence of neo-liberalism in the country. With a significant portion of its population living under conditions of (extreme) poverty, the emphasis on church-going and church affiliation may be slowly becoming an unimportant ritual, relatively speaking.² While there may

still be a strong, palpable presence of Catholicism in the country, for it remains a predominately Catholic country led by a majority of self-identified Catholic politicians, the growing social, political, and economic problems in Mexican society has produced a popular culture lacking in a religious identity.³

The relationship between the church and state in Mexico can be traced to the colonial period. Evidently, the conquest of the Mexican territories resulted in the creation of a Catholic land. The banner of ‘God, Gold, and Glory’ employed by the Spanish pioneers was a distinctive dynamic that funded the new world. The special relationship between the nation and the church was symbiotic and yet they did not comprise a simple unity. The addition of the apparition of the Virgin Mary to the Indian Juan Diego only served to reinforce the new religion in the hearts and minds of the marginalized and conquered native peoples. To this day, the Virgin of Guadalupe remains a sacrosanct symbol in Mexican culture—even though the church itself might not hold the same grand significance as it once did. The author Margaret Randall effectively describes this phenomenon through a conversation she had one day with her maid Serafina while living in Mexico City in the 1960’s.

Serafina was anxious to see the pope come to Mexico. However, she was highly critical of the ‘golden rose’ that was to be offered to him as a token of the Mexican church’s appreciation for his visit. She told Randall, “Just imagine! A golden rose! As if the Vatican didn’t already have enough gold.”⁴ However, when talking about the Virgin of Guadalupe, Serafina—much like many a Mexican—changed her demeanor altogether, for, as she explained, “Our Lady of Guadalupe has never turned her back on me.”⁵ The Virgin of Guadalupe, *la virgen morena*,

2 Roderic Ai Camp, *Politics in Mexico: Democratic Consolidation or Decline?* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2014) 6.

3 *Ibid.*, 155-56.

4 Margaret Randall, “Guadalupe, Virgen Subversiva.” In *La Diosa de las Americas*, ed. Ana Castillo, 220-232. (New York: Vintage Espanol, 2000) 221.

5 *Ibid.*

or brown virgin, holds a strong presence in Mexican Catholicism. Next to the Mexican flag, it is perhaps the second most prominent symbol. As Randall concludes, “The dominant culture in each epoch creates figures that operate as immobilizing examples for the various social groups that need to stay in their place.”⁶ This quintessential symbol of all that is Catholic and all that is Mexican was one of the early unifying characteristics that led Mexico to pursue its independence from the Spanish Crown.

Mexico’s religious-political history has been very closely aligned and intertwined. On September 16, 1810 a friar by the name of Miguel Hidalgo y Costilla issued the call for independence. For the next eleven years, with the leadership of Hidalgo and later Jose Maria Morelos, another priest by training, rebel forces fought with royalists to establish a sovereign Mexican nation.⁷ It was not until 1821 when the war finally came to an end and the competing forces triumphed against the European power. At this moment in the country’s history, the relationship between church and state was emphatically codified.⁸ The Army of the Three Guarantees, named for its inclusion of three stipulations which were supposed to bind the newly formed nation-state together, including the establishment of Mexico as a sovereign nation, the declaration of a Roman Catholic Mexican state church, and lastly, the equal treatment of *criollos* and *peninsulares* before the new government.⁹

6 *Ibid.*, 231.

7 *The Course of Mexican History*, 220-227.

8 *The Course of Mexican History*, 227.

9 During the colonial era in Mexico, there was a very structured caste system and socio-political hierarchy in place. While the slaves and natives were well below the Spanish-born classes, there were certain high offices reserved exclusively to Spanish citizens that were not offered to Spaniards born in the Americas—for they were believed to be tainted by the new world. This, therefore, became one of the driving forces behind the independence movement—for *criollos*, e.g., those individuals of Spanish descent not fortunate enough to have been born in the mother country, wanted to break away with the Crown so as to create a new Mexican nation where they could enjoy political and economic power. Both of these Spanish sub-groups tended to be supporters of the Church.

General Agustin de Iturbide, a peninsular by birth, used this compact to bring the revolutionary forces together and give rise to the new state. This relationship would calm the conservative aristocracy in the new country; yet, as the nineteenth century gave way to increased enlightened political thought, classic liberalism would see to it that the church and state become two distinct entities. This fundamental discord between liberal and conservative groups would allow for the disruptive troubles that would plague the country up through the Revolution of 1910, and thereafter.¹⁰ As Thomas E. Skidmore et al. explains:

“There were two institutional bases of power after independence—the church and the military. The church had come through the independence wars with most of its immense wealth intact. According to one observer, the church may have controlled nearly one-half the nation’s land.”¹¹

This, naturally, placed the church in a predicament when the various liberal factions began to take power; they saw in the church a powerful entity that needed to be contained.¹² By the end of Revolutionary era, the Church no longer was considered an ally by any successive political leaders in the country. Much of this animosity traced its origins to the Church’s own opposition to the Revolutionary governments that came out of the 1910 insurgencies.¹³

This anti-Church, anticlerical sentiment would be a significant part of the rise of the Mexican governments that followed the Revolution. The *caudillo* that would most fervently implement the liberal reforms was

10 *Ibid.*, 227-228.

11 Thomas E Skidmore, Peter H. Smith, and James N. Green. *Modern Latin America* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2014) 49.

12 *Ibid.*

13 Jose Luis Soberantes Fernandez, “The New Legislation on Religious Freedom in Mexico.” In *Religious Freedom and Evangelization in Latin America: The Challenge of Religious Pluralism*, ed. Paul E. Sigmund, 129-138. (Maryknoll: Orbis, 1999) 131.

President Plutarco Elias Calles (1924-1928), whose staunch anticlericalism would lead to a rebellion of pro-Church forces called Cristeros against the Calles federal government from 1926-1929. The situation quickly escalated to the international arena, eliciting grave condemnation of the Calles government not only from the Holy See, but from the United States as well.¹⁴

The oppressive anticlerical policies enacted by President Plutarco Elias Calles began to receive special attention from the U.S. who did not condone the Bolshevik-like stance the government was taking in regards to religious practice. As one of the foremost scholars of the modern Mexican state, Friedrich Katz observed, “The anticlericalism of Calles and other leaders of the victorious faction in the Mexican Revolution reflected in part the anticlericalism of the nineteenth century liberals led by Benito Juarez [who was a priest-president himself].”¹⁵ Katz adds more detail about the overall scope of the conflict,

“The complex restrictions imposed on the church led to an uprising many of its supporters in the countryside, especially in west-central Mexico, above all in Jalisco. Many of these armed supporters, known as Cristeros, were small independent peasants—rancheros—who not only believed they were defending the church but also their own autonomy from the encroachment of the state.”¹⁶

This anticlerical ideology would remain the predominant one in relation the political sphere. In the wake of the popular presidency of Lazaro Cardenas, a truly popular *caudillo* that labored to provide social benefits to the most marginalized groups in the country, the *Partido Revolucionario Institucional* (or PRI) was born. This party

would remain in power for more than 70 years and would be the trademark of Mexican authoritarian governments throughout this time. Corruption, nepotism, patronage, and iron fist rule kept the democratic aspects of the supposed Mexican democracy at bay. However, this narrative began to change with the election of Carlos Salinas de Gortari.

The election of 1988 crowned Salinas de Gortari as the triumphant victor of the newly democratic time in Mexico, as it was so claimed. For the first time in almost 60 years, the presidential elections were allegedly opened for second and third party candidates to run freely. They were given a space in the public sphere. This space was to be the only significant concession the all-mighty PRI would give to the democratic process, however. The so-called “democratization” process in Mexico began to take shape in the final decade of the 20th century. After a period of over 70 years of authoritarian one-party rule in the country, the political sphere began to pluralize.¹⁷ Since the 1917 constitution placed some severely harsh restrictions on the church, thereby demonizing the church and its fellowship, the public sphere was not fully open to the religious elements in society. One of the two opposition parties was the *Partido Acción Nacional* (or PAN). This group was formed with the intent of creating a platform party which social and fiscal conservative strains in Mexican society could support. To this end, the PAN purported to represent the interests of the religious, namely the Catholic, middle- and upper-class faithful. Michael C. Meyer et al. explains,

“Over the previous several years [preceding the 1988 elections], the Catholic Church had become increasingly active alongside civic groups arguing the need for democratic reforms, thus strengthening its position as a legitimate moral voice in the heated atmosphere of political corruption. Middle-class

14 Friedrich Katz, “Violence and Terror in the Mexican and Russian Revolutions,” ed. Greg Grandin and Gilbert M. Joseph, 45-61 (Durham: Duke University Press, 2010) 54.

15 *Ibid.*, 54-55.

16 *Ibid.*, 55.

17 *Politics in Mexico*, 151.

18 *The Course of Mexican History*, 526.

Mexicans who once would have shied away from the pro-clerical PAN were no longer so put off by its ties to the church.”¹⁸

After the 1988 election, the new era of open democracy was supposed to take center stage. The public sphere was supposed to be expanded and the political could converge—amicably—with the religious in a meaningful way—for the PAN was to increasingly take on more political responsibilities. Affirmatively,

“The democratic transition and opening, by increasing the percentage of PAN and PRD politicians among top officeholders, altered the makeup of politicians’ religious beliefs....These broad political transformations did not significantly alter the level of religious affiliation among politicians, who remain more than 85 percent Catholic, similar to their Mexican constituencies.”¹⁹

With more religiously conscious representatives operating in various capacities during the Salinas de Gortari government, the Church and the role of religion in the Mexican political sphere appeared to be once again aligned—albeit, no longer to the same degree of old. The “social liberalism” championed by Salinas de Gortari was a break with the tainted history of his party that originated with a deep-seated animosity towards the Catholic Church.²⁰ It was a repudiation of the past, a past that was plagued with an adulterated form of republicanism and liberalism. The president envisaged a better day in Mexico, one that was looking toward the future. For better or for worse, that future was to be formed through neo-liberalism. This new schema proposed by Salinas de Gortari, while more modern and more free as compared to the policies of previous administrations, nevertheless

served to further aggravate the situations of the masses, the marginalized, and the indigenous groups.

The neo-liberal system of governance, which culminated in the signing of the North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA), consequently resulted in one of the most visible uprisings and attacks against the PRI governments in the 70 years they were in power; this was the rebellion of the *Ejército Zapatista Liberación Nacional* (EZLN) in the state of Chiapas. This movement took control of several cities in Chiapas on the morning of January 1st, 1994—the day NAFTA would officially be in full effect. The leader, clandestinely identified as Subcomandante Marcos, exploded as a figure across the globe. The EZLN desired, and continue to desire, that the Mexican government provide resources for the indigenous and the poor. The EZLN, however, was not the only group that was in favor of such needed reforms. The bishopric of San Cristobal in Chiapas, led for many years by Bishop Samuel Ruiz, had a long history of working in the highly destitute diocese of San Cristobal. An ardent supporter of the impoverished, indigenous populations in his diocese, Ruiz built a ‘church’—in the metaphysical sense of the term—in the state of Chiapas that was comparable to the church formed in San Salvador by Archbishop Oscar Romero and Galdamez prior to the eruption of the civil war.

The work by Bishop Ruiz in San Cristobal took to heart the message that came out of Vatican II and later the CELAM conferences in Medellin and Puebla, that being: “the option for the poor.”²¹ Through his office, Bishop Ruiz was able to give a voice to his voiceless flock. Although never outright allying himself or the bishopric with the violent means employed by the EZLN to bring about a change

19 Roderic Ai Camp, *The Metamorphosis of Leadership in a Democratic Mexico* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2010) 90.

20 Gavin O’Toole, “A New Nationalism for a New Era: The Political Ideology of Mexican Neoliberalism.” *Bulletin of Latin American Research* 22, no. 3 (2003): 284.

21 Roderic Ai Camp, “Mexico: Liberation Theology, Base Communities and Evangelical Protestantism.” In *Religious Freedom and Evangelization in Latin America: The Challenge of Religious Pluralism*, ed. Paul E. Sigmund, 139-149 (Maryknoll: Orbis, 1999) 140.

to the lives of his fellow countrymen, Bishop Ruiz was instrumental in making sure that the problems that were being faced by his congregation were heard. Living in a largely impoverished region of Chiapas, where landed estate owners had control of much of the land, the bishop at all times stood by his predominately indigenous Maya church faithful. Compared to Bartolome de las Casas in more than one respect by the distinguished Mexican historian and essayist, Enrique Krauze—I would add Monsignor Romero to this comparison—Bishop Ruiz has been one focal example of how the church in modern-day Mexico might be able to regain the support of the Mexican people.

In a time where the neo-liberal policies that were first introduced by Salinas de Gortari in the 1990's have all but completely stratified the society in Mexico, the church needs to heed the call and work to bring light to these social, political, and economic problems. The national problems that have reduced the significance of the church in the everyday lives of the Mexican *pueblo*, must be remedied by action and speech. In taking the example

of Bishop Ruiz, some religious leaders in the country have begun to take action. According to Politics in Mexico, “numerous bishops now believe it is their responsibility to take stands on significant social, economic, and political issues extending well beyond democracy itself, a belief that has produced implicit and explicit criticism of government actions.”²²

The political and democratic venues in Mexico are just now experiencing a noticeable change. The governing system that has been evoked and responsible for constant turmoil and unrest, either self-imposed or externally instigated, has allowed for more participation by the average citizen. The problems with poverty, narcotics, corruption, unemployment, and corruption persist, yet, with a loyal Church by the side of those most in need, the Mexican people may once again have pride in their country. In the words of Bishop Ruiz, “[this] is where the constitutive mission of the church is determined and clarified: if it is not in an adequate relationship with the structural world of poverty, the church will no longer be the Church of Jesus Christ.”²³ ■

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²² *Politics in Mexico*, 156.

²³ Enrique Krauze, *Redentores: Ideas y Poder en America Latina* (New York: Vintage Espanol, 2011) 444.



Lauren Dacy | *Hydrangea Preserved*

RE-EVALUATING THE PERSISTENCE OF COLLEGE WAGE PREMIUM GAPS ACROSS GENDER AND ETHNICITY

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ABSTRACT The college wage premium is defined as the percentage difference in hourly wages between college graduates and high school graduates, and essentially measures how much students get as a return on their decision to invest in higher education. Utilizing data from the Current Population Survey, this study asks whether various gender and ethnic groups experienced significant differences in college wage premiums during the time period of 1980-2010. Previous studies have documented wage premium gaps across ethnicity and gender, yet this study observes trends over a longer time-frame and utilizes more recent data than that of most existing research. I find that there are significant disparities in college wage premiums between gender and ethnic groups during the 1980's, but these gaps have largely dissipated during the 1990's and 2000's.

The metric of the college wage premium has held lasting relevance in academic and policy circles of both the 20th and 21st centuries, and extensive research has been done on many facets of this important topic. The college wage premium, defined as the percentage difference in hourly wages between college graduates and high school graduates, represents how much students get as a return on their decision to invest in higher education. This measurement and its movements over time have a wide range of implications for broader and more popularized economic topics including social inequality, productivity, labor market supply and demand trends, and the well-known theory of skills-bias growth, to name but a few.

Doubtless, there are countless applications and predictive theories which can be discussed centering on college wage premiums, but in this paper, I choose to focus specifically on relative movements in returns to college investment between different genders and ethnic groups in the United States over the last 30 years. It is widely documented

that college wage premiums have tended to differ across gender and racial groupings, as will be discussed further in a summary of the existing literature, and there have been many attempts to explain the observed trends using various econometric models. However, this paper does not attempt to give any exhaustive explanation for why such gender and racial discrepancies may persist; rather, I will use the Current Population Survey data to simply confirm that there have in fact been disparities in returns to education on the basis of race and gender over time, while leaving a definitive explanation of any possible causal relationships for future research. Furthermore, this study aims to update the current literature on college wage premium trends with data extending to 2010, since much of the previous research on returns to college education focuses only on the 20th century. Ultimately, I find that while differences in college wage premiums across gender and race were significant in the past, these disparities have largely dissipated during the last 20 years.

The methodology employed in this paper is simple yet effective for observing the changes in wage returns to education; Using cross-sectional CPS labor data, a difference in the logged hourly wage between college and

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high school graduates in each racial and gender sub-group (White Males, White Females, Black Males, Black Females, Hispanic Males, Hispanic Females, All Males, All Females) will be found using dummy variables for educational attainment for each year since 1980. Using the estimated wage premiums, it is possible to observe the movement in returns to higher education that each sub-group faced in the labor market over our specified time frame of 1980-2010. This paper refers to *college wage premium gaps* as the observed disparities between racial and gender groups in wage returns to a college education. Racial and gender-specific trends in college wage premiums should motivate further research into the rationale behind these contrasting labor market experiences, as the limited amount of variables offered in the working dataset constrains my ability to offer explanatory analysis. Nonetheless, understanding the magnitudes of *college wage premium gaps* between various social groups should contribute to the discourses of modern racial and gender relations in the U.S, and so this paper will hopefully act as a jumping-off point for further conversation.

Literature Review

As mentioned before, there exists a large volume of economic literature dedicated to all facets of the issue of the college wage premium in the U.S, and so an overview of what has come before this paper is both necessary and useful for framing our study. Perhaps the best way to begin is by giving a brief account of wage premium trends in the 20th century. Goldin and Katz (2007) utilize what they call a “supply-demand-institutions framework” to model educational returns for the population as a whole from 1890-2005.¹ They find that in 1915, college wage

premiums were at peak value, at around 70% difference in wage compensation relative to those with only a high school diploma. Yet over the next 35 years, that percentage plummeted to only 32% approximately. From 1950 until 1980, returns to education slowly climbed upwards, and finally at the beginning of the 1980’s wage premiums skyrocketed. They also observe that these rising wage differentials were accompanied by rising social inequality. Unfortunately, Goldin and Katz do not look at how these trends affect gender or ethnic groups specifically, but we can take from their study a general idea of the significant impact that labor market supply and demand shifts have on the college wage premium.

Eide (1997) is among the first to look at college wage premium discrepancies for gender and ethnicity. His study focuses on the critical time period of 1978-1986, during which the returns to education started to increase at a quicker pace than in previous decades. Eide finds that during his study’s time frame, white men and women experienced significantly higher increases in the marginal benefit of going to college than did their black counterparts. Furthermore, using a decomposition analysis, Eide investigates the relative effects of both changes in Major-choice distribution and Major-Specific premia changes on each sub-group’s total change in wage premium. The results are interesting; while white men and women experienced high increases in wage premiums due to Major-specific premia, these same changes in compensation for given majors did not have a significant positive impact on non-white graduates, who took most of their gains in returns to education from a change in Major-choice distribution towards higher paying fields of study. These differences imply that there was lower demand growth for non-white high-skilled workers than there was for white high-skilled workers. Again, this paper does not attempt to refute or confirm any type of causal explanation for wage premium discrepancies; however, such results speak to the complexity of the issue and the potentially deep-rooted disparities which persist in the labor market across racial and gender lines.

1 The Supply-Demand-Institutions model essentially treats college wage premiums as a function of labor supply, labor demand, and institutional effects such as union strength and time-period specific policies. This model does a remarkable job of predicting wage premiums over the 20th century, and therefore gives good insight into the basic theoretical approach to analyzing educational returns over time. I omit detailed descriptions since it is not a Race/Gender specific model, but anyone looking to do further research on the topic will surely find a more comprehensive look at the Supply-Demand-Institutions approach to be useful.

TABLE 1

Female Summary Statistics

| Variables | Mean | Std. Deviation | Min. | Max. |
|---|--------|----------------|-------|---------|
| Age (Years) | 35.93 | 7.62 | 23 | 49 |
| Weeks Worked (Previous Year) | 51.17 | 2.58 | 40 | 52 |
| Usual Hours Worked Per Week (Previous Year) | 41.03 | 6.09 | 30 | 99 |
| College Graduate (1 = Yes, 0 = No) | 0.46 | 0.5 | 0 | 1 |
| Weekly Earnings (Dollars) | 528.99 | 394.38 | 42.46 | 4958.75 |
| Hourly Wage (Dollars) | 12.79 | 9.06 | 1.415 | 84.13 |

| Female Demographics | Total | White | Black | Hispanic | Other |
|---------------------|--------|--------|-------|----------|-------|
| | 370707 | 273742 | 40578 | 39757 | 19630 |

Focusing more on recent developments, James’ (2012) overview of population-wide trends in the college wage premium offers a good initial look at movements since 1980 up to 2010. Asserting that the most current data from 2012 shows that college degree holders have an astounding 84% wage advantage over those with no college degree, James shows that over the last 30 years a large college wage premium has become an “enduring feature of the U.S wage structure.” Most interestingly, he finds that the increase in college wage premiums has almost completely been due to the increase in premiums for graduate and advance degrees, so that when the change in undergraduate degree premiums are observed alone, the wage premium appears to have been stagnant during the 2000’s for undergraduate degrees.

Moving away from population-wide aggregate trends, DiPrete and Buchmann (2005) offer the most recent analysis of disparities between racial and gender groupings in terms of returns to college degrees. Sampling from 1980-2000 and showing results from the first year of every decade (1980, 1990, 2000), the study shows that not only did females and blacks make substantially less money than their respective gender and racial counterparts, but

they also faced persistent differences in personal income returns for a college education. Females of both ethnicities saw higher college income premiums by percentage than men, despite still making less money than males. Blacks females tended to have higher returns to education by percentile of income than white females, and black males saw less growth in their income premiums in the last two decades of the 20th century than did white males. It must be pointed out that these results focus upon *college income premiums* (the average percentage gain in actual income resulting from a college education), and thus are not directly comparable to my own estimates of college wage premiums.² Nonetheless, it is evident from this study

² At first glance, the results presented in “Gender-Specific Trends in the Value of Education and the Emerging Gender Gap in College Completion” seem to portray a much more extreme gender gap in returns to education persisting in the year 2000 than my own results. I attribute this difference to the fact that they use personal income as a measure of returns to education, whereas I use wages. It is quite possible that measuring personal income as the dependent variable amplifies disparities in the returns to education that can be found by measuring changes in hourly wages. Yet various regressions I ran on weekly income did not yield significant results to replicate those found by DiPrete and Buchmann. Further research may be necessary as to why measuring total annual income amplifies returns to college education while measuring weekly income does not.

TABLE 2

Male Summary Statistics

| Variables | Mean | Std. Deviation | Min. | Max. |
|---|--------|----------------|-------|---------|
| Age (years) | 35.93 | 7.62 | 23 | 49 |
| Weeks Worked (Previous Year) | 51.17 | 2.58 | 40 | 52 |
| Usual Hours Worked Per Week (Previous Year) | 41.03 | 6.09 | 30 | 99 |
| College Graduate (1 = Yes, 0 = No) | 0.46 | 0.5 | 0 | 1 |
| Weekly Earnings (Dollars) | 528.99 | 394.38 | 42.46 | 4958.75 |
| Hourly Wage (Dollars) | 12.79 | 9.06 | 1.415 | 84.13 |

| Male Demographics | Total | White | Black | Hispanic | Other |
|-------------------|--------|--------|-------|----------|-------|
| | 500118 | 390338 | 35190 | 49964 | 24626 |

that there have been persistent differences across gender and race in terms of returns to educational attainment since the 1980's until 2000.

With all of these sources accounted for, this paper moves forward to measure race/gender-specific disparities in college wage premiums over a larger time frame than any of the aforementioned works. Additionally, I add a sub-group for Hispanic Americans, which has been missing from most previous research done on college wage premiums, including all of the works cited in this review. A long-term look at the trends between men and women of various ethnicities should help paint a more complete picture of labor market returns to education in respect to race and gender, hopefully providing a valuable perspective on the broader topic of college wage premiums.

Data Summary

To analyze the difference in college wage premiums across gender and ethnicity, I utilize the Current Population Survey (CPS) data from 1980 to 2010. CPS is a rolling cross-sectional survey of 60,000 households conducted every month. Households are selected randomly from

all 50 states and the District of Columbia, remain in the survey for 4 months, exit the survey for 8 months, and then re-enter the survey for another 4 months before permanently being excluded from further surveying. For labor market questions, only persons 16 years of age or older are surveyed, with no upper bound on age applied. In this paper, I estimate the college wage premium for every year from 1980 to 2010 using the CPS' data on hourly wages and education levels for 370,707 females and 500,118 males, with the average ages being about 36 for both genders. About 46% of the individuals surveyed were college graduates, working on average about 42 hours a week for approximately 51 weeks in the previous year. These statistics are encouraging signs that the sample population is active in the labor market and thus a good representative of the general population facing college wage premiums or the disadvantages of not having them. Tables 1 & 2 show the summary statistics of the data set for males and females, respectively. Overall, the large size and high involvement of the sample in the labor market show that this data is sufficient for analyzing national wage premium trends.

Methodology

Now that we have discussed the relevant literature dealing with college wage premiums and established that the data set is a strong sample of active labor force participants from all of the various demographic groups under analysis in this study, it is necessary to derive a regression which will allow us to estimate the college wage premiums during the years between 1980 to 2010. Each gender-race group will be analyzed with the same basic regression:

$$y_i = \beta_0 + E_i\beta_1^j + T_i\beta_2^j + Z_i\beta_3 + \varepsilon_i$$

The dependent variable (y_i) represents the natural log of hourly wages of an individual. E_i represents the interaction of two dummy variables, the first being a dummy variable for the year in which the individual was surveyed and the second being a dummy variable for college degree-holder status. This interaction yields 30 individual dummy variables (one for each year from 1980-2010) that any individual may fall into, depending on the year they replied to the survey and their level of educational attainment. Thus, the coefficient of β_1^j is the percentage gain in hourly wages experienced by a college-educated individual sampled in a given year (j) relative to the average non-college educated wage, i.e. the college wage premium. T_i is a set of dummy variables for each year, and so β_2^j is the percentage gain in the population-wide average hourly wage for each year with the reference year wage level being that of 1976. Finally, Z_i includes a host of control variables, including age of the individual, weeks worked the previous year, usual hours worked per week, marital status, and veteran status. These variables essentially work to control for endogenous characteristics of individuals, especially in terms of labor market participation habits. By including these controls, and then running the regression for each gender/ethnic sub-group, we can isolate the expected wage difference for two relatively similar workers in the same year who differ in education levels. Finally, we compare these college wage premiums and their historical movements between females and males of white, black, and Hispanic ethnicities to get an accurate picture of discrepancies in returns to

education across gender and racial bounds. For clarity, regressions are run on the following groups from the data: All Men, All Women, White Men, White Women, Black Men, Black Women, Hispanic Men, and Hispanic Women.

Results

As mentioned previously, I find significant differences in college wage premiums across genders and ethnicities persisting towards the end of the 20th century, yet also observe strong dissipation of these disparities across all sub-groups beginning in the 1990's and continuing up until the most recent data from 2010. I address my results in two parts; First I will focus on the trends between all men and all women, and then I move to ethnicity-specific results.

Gender

Table 3 shows the wage premiums from 1980 to 2010 at 5 year increments for females and males, irrespective of ethnicity. A graph accompanies Table 3 as a supplemental visual aid for observing the trends in the college wage premiums over time between genders. Going forward, all tables measure college premiums as the natural log increase in hourly wages, i.e. the percentage gain in hourly wages for a college degree-holder. Just as suggested by most other research, it appears that the gender-gap in college wage premiums was substantial during the 1980's, reaching a .10 (10%) gap in 1980 and still remaining at .08 (8%) in 1990. Yet, this gap becomes almost non-existent by 2010, at a mere estimated 1% wage premium advantage held by women. By looking at these results, it is obvious that the male college wage premium has grown fast enough over the last 30 years to catch up to the female college wage premium. It is important here to differentiate between *wage gaps* and *wage premium gaps*; the fact that the female college wage premium is now equal to the male college wage premium does not signify that men and women make the same amount of money. Rather, the closure of the wage premium gap tells us that women and men stand to gain about the same percentage wage increase if they obtain a college degree regardless of their gender.

TABLE 3

Male vs. Female College Wage Premiums

| | Female College Wage Premium | Male College Wage Premium | Premium Gender Gap |
|------|--------------------------------------|------------------------------------|--------------------------|
| 1980 | 0.30 | 0.20 | 0.10 |
| 1985 | 0.35 | 0.29 | 0.05 |
| 1990 | 0.44 | 0.36 | 0.08 |
| 1995 | 0.48 | 0.41 | 0.07 |
| 2000 | 0.50 | 0.47 | 0.03 |
| 2005 | 0.53 | 0.51 | 0.02 |
| 2010 | 0.54 | 0.53 | 0.01 |

Male vs. Female College Wage Premiums

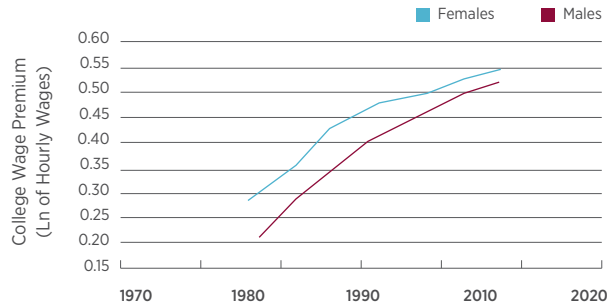


TABLE 4

College Wage Premiums for Males

| | White Men | Black Men | Hispanic Men |
|------|--------------|--------------|-----------------|
| 1980 | 0.29 | 0.39 | 0.29 |
| 1985 | 0.34 | 0.40 | 0.38 |
| 1990 | 0.43 | 0.47 | 0.45 |
| 1995 | 0.46 | 0.54 | 0.47 |
| 2000 | 0.48 | 0.52 | 0.44 |
| 2005 | 0.51 | 0.54 | 0.46 |
| 2010 | 0.52 | 0.55 | 0.54 |

College Wage Premiums for Males

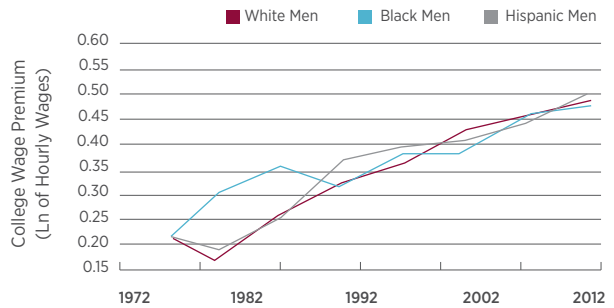
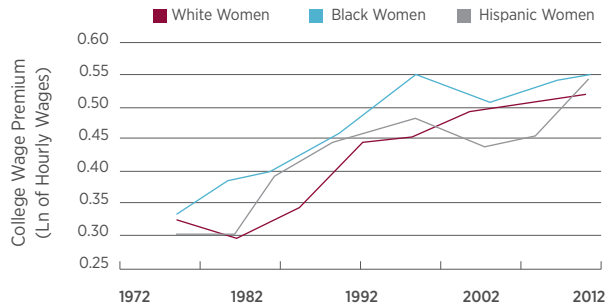


TABLE 5

College Wage Premiums for Females

| | White Women | Black Women | Hispanic Women |
|------|-------------|-------------|----------------|
| 1980 | 0.29 | 0.39 | 0.29 |
| 1985 | 0.34 | 0.40 | 0.38 |
| 1990 | 0.43 | 0.47 | 0.45 |
| 1995 | 0.46 | 0.54 | 0.47 |
| 2000 | 0.48 | 0.52 | 0.44 |
| 2005 | 0.51 | 0.54 | 0.46 |
| 2010 | 0.52 | 0.55 | 0.54 |

College Wage Premiums for Females



Ethnicity

From 1980-2010, college wage premium gaps disappeared not only between males and females, but also between ethnicities. Once again, I provide tables 4 and 5 with accompanying graphs to present the results of my estimated college wage premiums from 1980-2010, showing the premium changing over 5-year increments. Table 4 shows how college wage premiums differed between men of different ethnicities, whereas table 5 does the same thing but for women.

Looking first at estimates for males, it is evident that college wage premiums since the mid-1990's have been extremely similar for white, black, and Hispanic males, as opposed to during the 1980's where black males saw a much larger percentage increase in hourly wages as a return for obtaining a college education than did white males. This premium gap peaked in 1980 when black males had a 32% wage premium whereas white men only had an 18% wage premium. Hispanic males seemed to follow similar wage premium trends that white males did in the 1980's. Yet in the 1990's and 2000's, college wage

premium gaps between all three ethnic groups equalized, with blacks experiencing a 4% drop in their rate of wage returns for college education from 1985 to 1990, and then seeing growth similar to that of whites and Hispanics up until my most recent estimates in 2010. As of the most recent data, Hispanic men hold a small college wage premium advantage of 3% over black and white men, who show wage premiums of 50%. Nonetheless, relatively equal college wage premiums have been present across most males in the U.S since the 1990's, regardless of ethnicity.

College wage premium trends between ethnicity are not as obvious amongst the female population, as was found in the case of males. In 1980, black women showed 10% more wage increases from college education than did Hispanic women or white women. Furthermore, for every single year from 1980-2010, I find that black women had the highest college wage premiums (and therefore the highest pecuniary incentive to go to college) of all three ethnicities. Yet the degree of this college wage premium gap varies greatly over time, with the gap nearly closing at 1990, but also widening for a second time in 1995 and 2005 due to falling college

wage premiums for Hispanic women and relatively high college wage premiums for black women. Nonetheless, by 2010 the gap appears to have closed once again, with only a 3% wage premium gap between white and black women. It remains to be seen if this equalization of college wage premiums for women of different ethnicities will hold over time in the same way male college wage premiums have, but at least for the moment we can see that the trend seems to again point to less disparities in wage returns to education across racial lines.

Interpretation and Limitations

It is clear from the data that over the last 30 years, the significant college wage premium gaps experienced between different ethnic and gender groups have in large part disappeared. In more general terms, people in the United States have similar wage incentives to obtain a college degree; an average college graduate, regardless of race or gender, makes about 53-54% more in hourly wages than a similar person without a college degree. My results confirm previous work (Eide, 1997) documenting large college wage premium gaps of the 1980's, but I also find that these disparities are essentially non-existent in the U.S labor markets of 2010.

While I am confident that my regression does well to capture in a general sense the average wage returns to a college education for each racial and gender subgroup, there are limitations to my data which must be acknowledged. Understanding these limitations holds the key to furthering our understanding of college wage premiums through additional research, and so I discuss them briefly here.

First and foremost, I am concerned with the potential bias in my estimates resulting from an inability to control for endogenous personal characteristics such as ambition, academic achievement, and intelligence. Ideally, any regression measuring college wage premiums gaps between different racial and ethnic groups would include variables for standardized test scores and college

graduating G.P.A. These variables would eliminate potential bias that can occur if one gender or ethnicity is statistically outperforming another in academic achievement, ambition and/or general aptitude. For example, if Hispanics as a whole are performing worse in college than whites, and therefore graduating on average with less competitive transcripts, by not controlling for this difference we run the risk of underestimating the real college wage premium for Hispanics. In this case, we are not actually measuring the correct value of a college education, but simply observing that a college education may be on average a different experience for different racial or gender groups. Of course, it remains to be seen whether or not controlling for such endogenous characteristics would have a significant effect on my regression, but further research into this potential bias may be rewarding. The second limitation which I would like to address is the lack of data on Major-Choice (field of study) for college educated individuals surveyed in my data. Eide (1997) demonstrates that across different ethnicities and genders, there existed from 1978-1986 significant differences in Major-Choice distributions between high-skilled high-paying and low-skilled low-paying majors. It was demonstrated that changing distributions in major-choice had a crucial impact on the changes in college wage premiums during the first half of the 1980's. With this in mind, the lack of controls for major-choice in my regression constrains my ability to explain the time trends of college wage premiums as either resulting from shifts in major-choice towards higher/lower paying fields, or conversely resulting from legitimate changes in college education wage premiums. Investigating the causal relationships underlying the estimates I present in this paper is the next step towards fully understanding the different returns to education faced by different social groups.

Conclusion

Utilizing data from the Current Population Survey, this study asked whether various gender and ethnic groups experienced significant differences in wage returns to education during the period of 1980-2010. I interact

dummy variables for year and college degree attainment to obtain coefficients for wage premiums from each year since 1980 in a basic multi-variate regression with the natural log of hourly wages as the dependent variable and controls for age and personal background working to avoid bias estimates. I find that college premium wage gaps were large during the 1980's, yet these disparities went on to dissipate during the 1990's and 2000's. In 2010, returns to higher education in terms of percentage gain in hourly wages were relatively homogenous across racial and gender lines.

It is crucial that more work is done to analyze why gender and race gaps in wage returns to college investment were so strong in the 1980's, and perhaps more importantly,

why at this moment it seems that college wage premiums have equalized across most of the U.S population. By analyzing college wage premium movements over a larger time period than other previous studies, this paper serves to illustrate a long-term and updated picture of trends in wage premiums in respect to gender and ethnicity. The important question to ask now is not whether or not individuals face the same or different incentives to obtain education, but rather why at some periods of time this seems to be the case whereas today college wage premium gaps are negligible. Decomposing labor-market rewards for advanced degrees has great potential for adding to our understanding of modern gender and race relations in the U.S, and so it is my hope that this paper can stand as a jumping-off point for further analysis and critique. ■

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Lauren Ditallo | *Conservatory*

A CYNIC'S DUTY: AMBROSE BIERCE'S *TALES OF SOLDIERS AND CIVILIANS*, ALIENATION AND CHALLENGING CIVIL WAR AUTHORITY

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Animate corpses. Flying cavalymen. Heartless executioners. Men dead of fright. These types of macabre characters one might imagine populating the tales of popular horror writers, and indeed their source, Ambrose Bierce's *Tales of Soldiers and Civilians*, belongs among the best of these. However, reading Bierce's short story collection simply for its mystery and suspense is reductive at best and ignores its importance as a reinvention of Civil War literature. Published in 1891, *Tales* is positioned in a literary period obsessed with the concept of reconciliation. Following the reconstruction era of 1865-77, the United States ached for the relief of tensions between the North and South. David Blight calls the writing of this period the "literature of reunion" (211). War memoirs and novels of the time romanticized the bloody battles of the Civil War and focused on the shared struggle of veterans from both camps in an attempt to bridge the North and South's ideological differences. In this historical context, Bierce's work has been seen as an outlier. The scholarly work of Blight and Alice Fahs—among others—acknowledges Bierce as an innovative war chronicler who rejected the romanticism of his time period in favor of cynicism and ambivalence. However, work that historically contextualizes Bierce with a focus on his complex relationship with reunion literature is lacking. As this essay will show, *Tales of Soldiers and Civilians* reveals Bierce's trademark cynicism as advancing a social

agenda—one that provided a new cultural memory of the Civil War by emphasizing the macabre and alienating experience disregarded in reunion literature.

Bierce takes the tropes of popular war writing—romanticism, heroism, battlefield logistics, and honorable death—and inverts them. His characters live in a world balanced by chaos and fate where heroes die laughably and authority figures are shown to be ludicrous. The protagonists of these chaotic worlds are left in a vain attempt to find meaning in this absurdity. Bierce served in the Civil War, which gave him a heightened attunement to the battle experience Northern and Southern postwar writers sought to romanticize. However, Bierce focuses instead on the horror and alienation that combat creates in its participants. In doing so, Bierce offers a new representation of the Civil War that appreciates and recognizes the shared struggle of soldiers and scathingly critiques the structures of authority that perpetuate narratives ignoring the bloodshed of that struggle. This new representation stands in contrast to a long history of war literature, politicizes the conflict by mocking the principles of reunion, and provides a needed space for dialogue on the darker aspects of battle faced by veterans.

Tales of Soldiers and Civilians was published post-Reconstruction—an era culturally absorbed with the reconciliation of North and South. Reconstruction lasted from the war's end in 1865 until roughly 1877. The politics of this era were dominated by the Republican Party, which enfranchised freed slaves and black folks, enforced Unionist policies through military occupation, and sought

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repercussions for the South's secession. Crippled by wartime debt, a devastated population, and a destroyed infrastructure, Southern elites rapidly marshaled a counter offensive against Republican rule through paramilitary vigilantism, most notably in the form of the Ku-Klux-Klan. The counter offensive was successful; violent intimidation of black voters resulted in the return of white-only home rule by 1877. By the end of the century, Northerners' support of political reform in the South began to wane. Exhausted from years of war followed by years of race-fueled violence in the South, a frustrated nation began pushing for reconciliatory politics. By the end of 1877, the last U.S. troops in the South were pulled out of ex-Confederate strongholds, and the rise of a newly segregated Jim Crow South would quickly follow. With the demands of industrialization to concern them, Northern whites longed to forgive the transgressions of the Confederacy and turned a blind eye to the South's oppression of the freed black population. The war was long won; it was time for peace, no matter the cost.

The literature of the later postwar period mirrored the desire for reconciliation through heightened romanticism and sentimentality that sterilized war memoirs and depicted an idyllic antebellum South. The hallmark of late nineteenth-century Civil War writing was a focus on the shared struggle of participants both from the Union and the Confederacy. Shared-struggle narratives arose from what Blight calls "the politics of Civil War memory" (4). The Civil War called for public participation on a mass scale. From the poor Iowa farm wife writing letters to her boy fighting in Virginia, to the wealthy New York gentleman reading about battles in the paper, every member of society, not just soldiers, played a part. As a result, postwar culture hungered for an easy to understand explanation of what had happened during that momentous four-year struggle. According to Fahs, this phenomenon "provided a connection between an uncertain present and an imagined future, creating a gilded and engraved object of memory out of the chaos of conflict" (Fahs 310). To comprehend this transition, the American public demanded a literature

to explain the conflict. After the war, the explosion of veteran-based organizations, such as the massive Grand Army of the Republic, further increased the demand for war literature. Fahs and Blight point out that, by the end of the century, Civil War writings were predicated on a set of tropes that depoliticized the conflict and focused instead on the concept of reunion.

Widely popular reunion literature took two major forms: sentimental and sterilized memoirs from Civil War authority figures, and romantic "Old South" or "Lost Cause" literature. In both cases, national unity meant the creation of a cultural memory that forgot the sectional differences of the war. Blight writes, "Bitterness had no place in the fiction where every conflict was resolved... and where life itself was portrayed in naïve terms" (217). Postwar Americans desired a single national identity for both the North and the South, and this meant understanding the war, not in terms of political and ideological differences that still persisted, but as a shared process that created a new unified culture stripped of its politics.

Tales of Soldiers and Civilians is particularly aware of the depoliticized culture being manufactured around it and challenges the authority of this representation by mocking the tropes of popular literature. In one of Tales's best stories, "Chickamauga," Bierce dwells on the darker side of battle that reunion literature ignores. The story begins on "one sunny Autumn afternoon," with a child in his yard playing the part of a soldier (Bierce 20). He inadvertently stumbles into a wood where a battle has taken place and confronts a trail of injured men, though in his youth he is unaware of their condition. Bierce describes these wounded men in relentless prose: "the man... turned upon him a face that lacked a lower jaw—from the upper teeth to the throat was a great red gap fringed with hanging shreds of flesh and splinters of bone" (Bierce 22). In a mockery of military protocol, the boy finds himself leading these men in an imaginary charge; as "they crept upon their hands and knees... They strove to rise to their feet, but fell prone in the attempt. They did nothing naturally and nothing alike,

save only to advance foot by foot in the same direction” (Bierce 22). Reaching a clearing, the child finds himself in a scene of post-battle chaos: a massive fire burning down a desolated plantation home. The boy, at first pleased by the sight, begins a disturbing dance to the flames, until in a classic Biercian twist, he recognizes the place as his own home. Bierce narrates, “There, conspicuous in the light of the conflagration, lay the dead body of a woman... the greater part of the forehead was torn away and from the jagged hole the brain protruded overflowing the temple, a frothy mass of gray crowned with clusters of crimson bubbles”; of course, the woman is none other than the child’s own mother (25). Either by the fate of some cruel divinity or the unjustness of chaos, the boy is driven to find enjoyment in the destruction of those things he most loves. Dark and disturbing, “Chickamauga” does not avoid any of the unappealing consequences of battle.

However, Confederate Lieutenant-General Daniel H. Hill in his account of Chickamauga, or “The Great Battle of the West” as he names it, neglects the macabre and horrific aspect of the war Bierce describes in detail. Unlike Bierce’s destroyed soldiers who “do nothing alike,” Hill’s memoir recalls in detail the number of troops as well as their battlefield movements, but lacks the individuation apparent in Bierce. Instead of the individual, Hill recalls a singular mass-body of soldiers that moves in motion according to its commands. When Hill does speak of the injured or dead, he does so either in abstract numeric terms or in passing. At one point he acknowledges a wounded soldier, saying tersely, “He was shockingly injured” (Johnson 659). Hill’s piece is part of *The Century Magazine* series on the Civil War, one of the most popular publications of the nineteenth century. The vast majority of stories in this collection of veterans’ accounts follow the same formula as Hill’s, describing an experience that is not gritty or bloody, but sterile, clean, and understandable. Conspicuously missing from these accounts are the “clusters of crimson bubbles” (Bierce 25) or “shreds of flesh” (Bierce 22) found in Bierce’s. Both Bierce and Hill were active combatants at Chickamauga; both experienced it firsthand. The

difference in each account lies in what each writer holds to be legitimate representations of the battle. Hill highlights numbers, movements, and results—anything strictly factual. Bierce rejects the “truth” that facts bring, and instead offers a representation unconcerned with the logistics of the battlefield itself, in which perspective is skewed through a child’s eyes. What is important for Bierce is the horror and destruction that he renders with vivid detail but through such a peculiar lens that it gives a surreal quality to the work as a whole. Bierce suggests that the experience of battle fails to be explained in narratives that only deal with the quantifiable. There is an aspect to war that cannot be rationalized and that is best understood in a sense of confusion, horror, and chaos.

Throughout *Tales of Soldiers and Civilians*, Bierce delves into the unexplainable experiences of war; he attempts to blur the lines between what is real and what is only illusion. While the grittiness in which Bierce describes the dead or wounded gives an aspect of stark realism to his prose, he often gives these “real” images only to call their validity into question in the course of the narrative. Perhaps Bierce’s best-known story, “An Occurrence at Owl Creek Bridge” masterfully crafts a tale where the readers are forced to doubt their trust in time, space, and memory. The story again begins with the physical setting and the main character: “A man stood upon a railroad bridge in northern Alabama, looking down into the swift water twenty feet below. The man’s hands were behind his back, the wrists bound with a cord. A rope closely encircled his neck” (Bierce 11). The man, Peyton Farquhar, is about to be hanged as a Confederate spy. However, by a twist of fate, the noose around his neck snaps upon impact and he plunges into the water below. Bierce then plunges the reader deep into the mind of Farquhar, painstakingly rendering the physical sensations he experiences as he surfaces:

Something in the awful disturbance of his organic system had so exalted and refined them that they made record of things never before perceived. He felt the

ripples upon his face and heard their separate sounds as they struck. He looked at the forest on the bank of the stream, saw the individual trees, the leaves and the veining of each leaf—saw the very insects upon them. (Bierce 16)

By drawing attention to every minute detail around Farquhar, the story suggests that moments of extreme stress, such as war, can lead to clarity. However, one can never trust the early conclusions of a Bierce story.

As Farquhar makes his flight for freedom, his trust in the understanding of the physical world is ultimately proven to be misleading. Farquhar escapes into the woods and begins working his way homeward, finding “something uncanny in the revelation” that “he lived in so wild a region” (Bierce 18). He finds “a road which led him in what he knew to be the right direction,” but even when certain of his location Farquhar finds something disturbing and unfamiliar (Bierce 18). Eventually he reaches his home, rushing up to his wife, only to be struck by a “stunning blow upon the back of his neck” (Bierce 19). The reader is ripped out of Farquhar’s consciousness back to the scene of the bridge to find him dead, swinging in his noose, the entire story a split-second hallucination. Bierce paints an almost too realistic depiction of the corporeal world Farquhar experiences only to reveal it as a sham, a wistful dream. In contrast to Hill and most other war memoirists, who base their narratives on the reliability of location, time, and space, Bierce questions each. Farquhar’s believed location is wrong. The time that actually passes is only a fraction of what he believes he experiences. And his memories—of home and family, the things a good soldier should hold most dear—are the very things that ultimately lead him to his delusions. Bierce challenges the credibility of the prevailing literature by presenting the stresses of war as something that necessarily creates epistemological doubt in his characters, in contrast to the calculated certainty of war memoirs.

The epistemological authority of war memoirs is not all

Bierce aims to call into doubt about them; he also critiques their sentimental and noble qualities. At the start of “Chickamauga,” for example, Bierce says that the child found an intrepid spirit of adventure, “in bodies of its ancestors,” who “had for thousands of years been trained to memorable feats of discovery and conquest...born to war and dominion as heritage:” in short he was “the son of an heroic race” (Bierce 20). These lines tap into a cultural memory that depicts soldiers as great, momentous figures of history. This type of depiction asserts that participating in war is both meaningful and important.

Similar motifs appear in the literature of reunion. For veterans writing war memoirs a sentimental reverence for brave soldiers, respect for military leaders, and praise of soldierly camaraderie are all too common; in Hill’s memoir, many of these themes are apparent. When not engrossed in the logistics of battle he will take moments to praise the bravery of his comrades and the inspiring leadership of his commanding officers. He calls one brigadier “young” and “gallant” (quoted in Johnson 656), and adds in a footnote the tender “respect and affection” General Bragg had for his troops (quoted in Johnson 658). At one point Hill recalls the words of an injured soldier who praised his regiment, claiming that it “illustrated the *esprit de corps* of the soldier—his pride in and his affection for command” (quoted in Johnson 660). Even in a soldier’s lowest moments, he should recite the virtues of war.

In “Chickamauga” Bierce deconstructs this type of sentimentality by painting it as ludicrous. The young protagonist is a deaf mute, implying his ignorance to the realities of what is around him. Throughout the story, the child continues to imagine himself the leader of a noble command. However, his soldiers are the dead or wounded, and the great cause in which he leads them is in the end his own undoing, the destruction of his home. The child works as a metaphoric symbol for soldiers who attempt to ascribe something noble or sentimental to war. Likewise, the destruction of his plantation adds a political aspect to the piece. It forces readers to remember the heavy cost

the Confederacy paid for rebellion. Ultimately, the child can only recognize the destructive quality of war after the mirage of noble battle is removed. Where Hill believes earnestly in the validity of the virtues of battle, Bierce suggests they are nothing more than a childish delusion.

In the second prevailing form of reunion literature, “Old South” and “Lost Cause” novels, a similar reverence for battle manifests. Picking up on a history of romantic war writing, “Old South” dramas create representations of pristine plantations and tender master and slave relationships. “Lost Cause” literature was similar in style, praising the virtues of Southern plantation living and portraying the Confederacy’s loss in the Civil War as a destruction of this way of life. In these stories, plantation gentlemen go to war to preserve their honor and the sanctity of the South; eventually, the hero dies a romantic death, and the rest of the characters are left to bemoan the loss of the idyllic antebellum South.

Thomas Nelson Page in his story “Marse Chan” has one of the most emblematic instances of the “Lost Cause.” The story is narrated by a slave who loyally follows his master to war, and is written in overtly racist language supposedly imitating the dialect of slaves. It follows the typical rubric of these dramas, and in the climactic death scene Page writes:

I pick’ ‘im up in my arms wid de fleg still in he hand’s an’ toted ‘im back jes’ like I did dat day when he wuz a baby, an’ ole marster gin ‘im, to me in my arms, an’ sez he coud trus’ me, an’ tell me to tek keer on ‘im long ez he lived. (34)

The scene is almost ludicrous in its depiction of master-slave relations and death on the battlefield. The kind master is held gently in the arms of his slave, the Confederate flag he nobly died retrieving still in his arms. As his master takes his last breaths, the slave recalls their first moment of tender affection long before the war disrupted their happy lives. By dwelling on the loss of a noble planter in such an

overtly romantic way, Page and the authors of this genre asserted that the loss of the Civil War meant the loss of a particular noble aspect of Southern identity. The death scenes parallel the death of the plantation system and all the glory that the novels assert it entailed.

Hill’s account of Chickamauga reveals the overlap of these genres. In its concluding paragraph, Hill writes,

There was no more splendid fighting in ‘61, when the flower of the Southern youth was in the field, than was displayed in those bloody days of September, ‘63. But it seems to me that the elan was never seen after Chickamauga—that brilliant dash which had distinguished him was gone forever. (quoted in Johnson 662)

These lines perform both a sentimentalization of battle typical in memoirs, and suggest that the South in particular lost some special facet of its identity during the Civil War. “Lost Cause” literature not only gave validity to a shared war experience between the North and the South, but did so on Southern terms. What it meant to serve, kill, and die in the Civil War South was to uphold the principles of racial superiority that formed the cornerstone of chattel slavery; yet these writers elude sectional differences by participating in the same sentimentalization of battle that emphasized the shared struggle of both sides.

Northerners, by becoming consumers of “Lost Cause” and “Old South” literature, lent authority to postwar claims of whites’ racial superiority. The mass consumption of this literature made Northern readers active participants in legitimizing claims of white supremacy, and simultaneously lent a passive acceptance of the dominant narrative of what it meant to be Southern during the war. In fact, Blight quotes a large section of Ulysses S. Grant’s memoir—the Union’s great general—as evidence of a specifically key moment in the creation of the “Lost Cause” Southern identity:

I felt like anything rather than rejoicing at the downfall of a foe who had fought so long and so valiantly, and had suffered so much for a cause, though that cause was, I believe, one of the worst for which people ever fought... I do not question, however, the sincerity of the great mass that were opposed to us. (quoted in Blight 215).

Blight explains, "These were the terms of the American reunion rendered in probably the most oft-read chapter of one of its best-selling books," creating a war representation "drained of evil, and to a great extent, of cause or political meaning. A politics of forgetting attached itself readily" (215). Such sentimental forgetting ignored the racial and ideologically charged aspects of the war and likewise permitted the rise of racist Southern literature that perpetuated images of complacent slaves in order to return blacks to a position of inferiority. Upholding the "Old South" and the "Lost Cause" became constitutive for what it meant to be Southern and, especially, what it meant to be a Confederate veteran.

To reject romantic depictions of death in Southern literature, *Tales of Soldiers and Civilians* relentlessly kills off the inhabitants of its battlefields and in particular those men who stand for some type of noble virtue. In two similar stories, "A Son of the Gods" and "Killed at Resaca," heroic principles have disastrous consequences for the characters involved. "A Son of the Gods" portrays an unnamed hero in full military regalia as what Bierce calls "the most astonishing of all the phenomena of human vanity" (26). The man, at first ridiculed by the other soldiers, courageously decides to determine singlehandedly the location of the enemy across an open field. Watching his progress, the soldiers become enamored by the man's bravery. He successfully ousts the enemy, but in an ironic twist, his bravery inspires the men to haphazardly begin an unordered charge to avenge him. The lives his heroism should have saved are ended because of it. "A Son of the Gods" mocks the sentimentality present in "Old South" and "Lost Cause" literature by making a romantic death ultimately lead only to more violent bloodshed.

A man of similar principles in "Killed at Resaca," Lieutenant Harman Brayle constantly puts himself in the front line and makes ostentatious signs of his bravery under fire. Unable to "ignore the law of probabilities," Brayle's bravery inevitably becomes his downfall (Bierce 45). The narrator finds amongst Brayle's possessions a letter from his lover at home, who states, "I could bear to hear of my soldier lover's death, but not of his cowardice" (47). Brayle's bravery—and subsequent death—in the end stems from some absurd sense of masculine pride. Though Brayle is not Southern, this scene still touches upon another aspect of the manufactured Southern identity. "Lost Cause" literature was concerned not only with the loss of the antebellum South in general, but also and more specifically with the loss of Southern masculinity that accompanied plantation culture. Without the plantation hierarchy, Southern men faced a removal of the power structure upon which their identity had come to depend. Postwar Southern literature allayed this anxiety by placing them in heroic circumstances, a heroism Bierce cynically dismisses.

Bierce crafts a world for *Tales of Soldiers and Civilians* where heroism and nobility cease to exist and where characters face a recurring sense of alienation. In "One of the Missing," Private Jerome Searing, finds himself trapped under a pile of rubble and staring down the barrel of his own gun. Believing himself too far from camp to call for aid and unable to move for fear of discharging the gun, Searing must sit, wait, and pray:

Sometimes he cried out thinking, thinking he felt the fatal bullet. No thoughts of home, of wife and children, of country, of glory. The whole record of memory was affected. The world had passed away – not a vestige remained. Here in this confusion of timbers and boards is the sole universe. Here is immortality in time—each pain an everlasting life. The throbs tick off eternities. (Bierce 40)

Searing, unable to take the unbearable solitude and torture of death by starvation, resolves to set off his rifle

intentionally. To the reader's surprise, the rifle does not discharge—it isn't even loaded—but Searing dies of fright nonetheless, and in a second twist the rest of the advancing army reaches Searing's location only minutes later. Feeling crushingly isolated and pushed by the stresses of war, Searing falls over the edge and finds himself unable to cope. Again, Bierce calls upon memory, like in "An Occurrence at Owl Creek Bridge," to emphasize the epistemological doubt that also accompanies alienation. The doubt is this time so great that it forces out all memories of home, country, and heroism. The romantic ideals of "Old South" literature quickly fall apart when Searing confronts the extreme alienation the confusion of battle creates. "Chickamauga" also concerns itself with the terror of alienation. As illustrated, the child protagonist works as a metaphoric naive soldier, who by the story's end has realized the horror of war. A key aspect to his naivety, however, is the fact that he is both deaf and mute. He cannot accurately communicate with the soldiers around him, and he is isolated in his imaginative heroic world. His inability to understand a shared experience of alienation with those around him keeps him from his epiphany on war until it is tragically too late.

Ultimately, Bierce's focus on alienation is what stands in greatest contrast to the prevailing narratives of war, as it is what is most absent from their accounts. The literary marketplace at the end of the 19th century was saturated with memoirs from the entire spectrum of veterans; the mass participatory nature of this print culture "democratized the conflict," notes Fahs, "but only within a set of constraints related to commercial interests" (Fahs 311). These narratives then conjoined with the new cultural memory of the South being fashioned by "old South" and "Lost Cause" authors. The structural and thematic strictness of these accounts gave a specific model for veterans to comprehend and understand their Civil War experience—a model reliant on a unifying experience that ignored the pervasive alienation present in *Tales*. In his book *Embattled Courage*, Gerald Linderman comments on this phenomenon: "When forced to absorb

the shocks of battle, soldiers suffered a disillusionment more profound than historians have acknowledged—or the soldiers themselves would concede twenty five years later" (240). Bierce is perhaps the first author to acknowledge and explore this alienation, creating a unique space for dialogue concerning this painful and potentially scarring experience otherwise absent from postwar culture.

In *Tales of Soldiers and Civilians*, Bierce creates a war where "Soldiers were in the end victims of a nation's folly, the wretched killers necessary to make the great machine work" (Blight 249). Bierce's Civil War does not unify the combatants in a shared struggle, but further alienates them. His cynicism stems from his recognition that the cultural memory formed by reunion literature ignored alienation; it became Bierce's duty, and the duty of any good cynic, to then question the authority of that memory. Bierce reminded postwar Americans of the unsettling aspects of war by destroying the sentimental, romantic, and honorable depictions that reunion literature prescribed. By removing these comforting conclusions, *Tales* forces its readers to reevaluate the merit of the political ideologies that led to the Civil War and the effect it had on combatants. In an era in which war was cleanly calculated and sterilized of its bloodiness, Bierce plunged his hands into the macabre, challenging a willfully ignorant society to remember a war that was unclean, incomprehensible, and ultimately alienating. ■

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À LA RECHERCHE DU TEMPS PERDU ; DU CÔTÉ DE CHEZ SWANN: UNE ŒUVRE IMPRESSIONNISTE

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L'impressionnisme du 19^{ème} siècle a marqué un tournant dans les conventions établies par la peinture et il est devenu un regard artistique dans la vie quotidienne de l'époque, par opposition aux formalités des portraits bourgeois et de la doctrine réaliste. Les impressionnistes ont fait des progrès dans la représentation de la lumière et de la couleur dans la peinture, et se sont concentrés sur le sentiment de la peinture plus que l'apparence totalement objective. Ce nouveau style de peinture, qui a capturé des moments éphémères et les sentiments qui les accompagnent, a su également se répandre dans tous les domaines artistiques. Ce n'était pas seulement une nouvelle technique de peinture, mais une nouvelle façon de penser à la façon dont les aspects de la vie pouvaient être transformés en art. La littérature était l'un de ces arts, et Marcel Proust, qui nous semble particulièrement représentatif, va écrire une œuvre qui représente bien les principes de l'impressionnisme dans la littérature. L'impressionnisme était important dans les années 1870 et 1880, ayant déjà été mis en place avant la rédaction de son œuvre, en 1913. On voit ces principes transmis dans *Du côté de chez Swann*; comme l'impressionnisme, c'est une histoire non conventionnelle qui vise à capturer des moments passagers et des sentiments par le biais de la mémoire d'un homme et de ses souvenirs. L'impressionnisme est reflété dans son texte à travers le style d'écriture, les thèmes de l'histoire, et les personnages.

L'impressionnisme est surtout un style de peinture, mais il a été appliqué à la littérature autrefois, comme nous le révèlent les écrits et la critique littéraire de Ferdinand Brunetière dans les années 1880, en liant les méthodes de la peinture impressionniste aux méthodes d'écriture. Dans son article *Literary Impressionism*, Maria Elizabeth Kronegger cite Brunetière, qui en 1883 a déclaré : "Nous pourrions définir déjà l'impressionnisme littéraire comme une transposition systématique des moyens d'expression d'un art, qui est l'art d'écrire" (Kronegger 24). Dans le cas de *À la recherche du temps perdu*, l'impressionnisme se manifeste de plusieurs façons. D'abord, il faut noter que l'impressionnisme avait été mal reçu par le salon de Paris, une exposition prestigieuse de l'Académie des Beaux-Arts, conduisant à la création du salon des refusés. C'était un contre-mouvement qui n'a pas été compris ou accepté à l'époque. L'impressionnisme et *À la recherche du temps perdu* semblent avoir subi le même sort parce que, comme les tableaux impressionnistes, le roman de Proust a été rejeté par les grands éditeurs de l'époque, et il a été obligé de publier le premier volume lui-même. Mais en dehors de ces circonstances similaires, c'est l'histoire elle-même qui rend le travail de Proust impressionniste. Afin de mieux définir l'impressionnisme, Kronegger écrit : "One of the earliest, even though vague, definitions of impressionist painting may be applied to literature by its reference to 'impressionism' as a slighting of all formal values, as a non-intellectual vision, and as a confusion of the organs of sense perception" (Kronegger 23). L'utilisation du mot « *perception* » est extrêmement importante, évoquant la façon dont les peintres impressionnistes ont changé la perception dans leurs peintures. Le tableau de Claude Monet, *Impression : soleil levant*, souvent crédité

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comme marquant le début de l'impressionnisme, est caractérisé par un manque de définition dans la forme. C'est-à-dire que le but n'est pas de faire une peinture avec un regard réaliste. Le travail des impressionnistes cherche à évoquer de fugaces moments quotidiens, et une caractéristique intéressante de leur composition est le fait qu'ils sont mieux vus de plus loin. Parce que les coups de pinceau sont laissés visibles et les formes sont moins bien définies, prendre un peu de recul permet au spectateur de distinguer les images. Ce style a été conçu pour refléter l'impermanence de ces moments dans la vie (*Gardner's Art Through The Ages*, 364). Peut-être le thème le plus important du roman est-il le souvenir de moments apparemment insignifiants dans l'enfance du narrateur. Ce sont des souvenirs de sa famille, du village de Combray, et des moments de son enfance qui correspondent à ces personnages et ces lieux. Dans le texte, Proust écrit selon les codes de « la mémoire involontaire » ; souvenirs retrouvés provoqués par une certaine expérience sensorielle. Le narrateur a eu une de ces expériences sensorielles. Il décrit ses souvenirs d'enfance à l'âge adulte, ce qui le rend capable de comprendre ce qui s'est passé dans son enfance et la signification de ces événements. Le texte tout entier est construit autour de ce concept. Juste avant la deuxième partie de *Du côté de chez Swann*, le narrateur parle de ces souvenirs de Combray sans avoir la capacité de les unifier :

C'est ainsi que, pendant longtemps, quand, réveillé la nuit, je me ressouvenais de Combray, je n'en revis jamais que cette sorte de pan lumineux, découpé au milieu d'indistinctes ténèbres, pareil à ceux que l'embrasement d'un feu de Bengale ou quelque projection électrique éclairent et sectionnent dans un édifice dont les autres parties restent plongées dans la nuit : à la base assez large, le petit salon, la salle à manger, l'amorce de l'allée obscure par où arriverait M. Swann... (Proust 26).

Comme pour une œuvre impressionniste, on n'est pas capable de distinguer l'image en la regardant de très près. À ce moment dans sa vie, le narrateur se souvient

des détails trop précis, sans avoir un souvenir complet de Combray. Cette comparaison du souvenir du narrateur à un tableau impressionniste ne fonctionne que lorsque l'on note les événements qui suivent dans le texte ; le narrateur est frappé par le souvenir entier du village de sa jeunesse. Le souvenir a été déclenché par un « petit morceau de madeleine » trempé dans une tasse de thé (28). Dans ce cas, cette madeleine apparaît comme l'action de prendre du recul devant un tableau impressionniste :

Et comme dans ce jeu où les Japonais s'amuse à tremper dans un bol de porcelaine rempli d'eau de petits morceaux de papier jusque-là indistincts qui, à peine y sont-ils plongés s'étirent, se contournent, se colorent, se différencient, deviennent des fleurs, des maisons, des personnages consistants et reconnaissables, de même maintenant toutes les fleurs de notre jardin et celles du parc de M. Swann... tout cela qui prend forme et solidité, est sorti, ville et jardins, de ma tasse de thé (28).

Cette description du souvenir du narrateur est directement comparable aux techniques impressionnistes ; les coups de pinceau sur ces tableaux sont, comme les morceaux de papier dans le jeu japonais, indistincts. Mais en les mettant ensemble, ils sont capables de prendre des formes. Il faut noter aussi que le narrateur est un adulte qui raconte son enfance depuis une sagesse rétrospective, renforçant ce thème de « recul. »

Les tableaux impressionnistes sont caractérisés par leurs sujets pris dans la vie quotidienne ; ils capturent des moments au lieu d'être utilisés pour illustrer des récits historiques ou présenter des gens importants. « Impressionist works represent an attempt to capture a fleeting moment- not in the absolutely fixed, precise sense of a Realist painting but by conveying the elusiveness and impermanence of images and conditions » (*Gardner's Art Through The Ages*, 364). Ce concept s'articule fortement dans *À la recherche du temps perdu*, dans lequel il s'agit souvent de l'allusion au souvenir et de cette « impermanence de conditions. » Le souvenir de Combray n'a duré qu'un

moment, car après avoir mangé plus, le narrateur n'a pas eu la même sensation de souvenir : « Je bois une seconde gorgée où je ne trouve rien de plus que dans la première, une troisième qui m'apporte un peu moins que la seconde » (Proust 27). Au début de l'œuvre le narrateur, en s'endormant, raconte ses pensées sur les livres qu'il a lus : « ...le sujet du livre se détachait de moi, j'étais libre de m'y appliquer ou non ; aussitôt je recouvrais la vue et j'étais bien étonné de trouver autour de moi une obscurité, douce et reposante pour mes yeux, mais peut-être plus encore pour mon esprit, à qui elle apparaissait comme une chose sans cause, incompréhensible, comme une chose vraiment obscure » (1). Ce genre d'obscurité reste présent tout au long du travail, à la fois dans les pensées du narrateur et les événements de l'histoire. *Du côté de chez Swann* n'est pas vraiment un récit d'action ou d'aventure, mais plutôt du souvenir d'une enfance, relativement normale, qui s'est déroulée à Combray, et ce que le narrateur va retenir de ces expériences-là. Ce rapport entre le narrateur et son enfance à travers le texte se manifeste comme l'une des caractéristiques du mouvement impressionniste : « In other words, the 'impressions' these artists recorded in their paintings were neither purely objective descriptions of the exterior world nor solely subjective responses but the interaction between the two. They were sensations—the artists' subjective and personal responses to nature » (*Gardner's Art Through the Ages*, 364). Le projet de l'œuvre cherche à évoquer un « édifice immense du souvenir » (Proust 28). C'est comme cela qu'on est capable d'y voir la nature impressionniste, parce que l'impressionnisme du tableau cherchait à décrire les aspects de la vie d'un point de vue beaucoup plus normal, quotidien qu'avant. L'article de Martine Gantrel, *Une esthétique de la surimpression: la représentation des repas de famille dans Combray*, explore cette idée de « la vie quotidienne » qu'on voit dans l'impressionnisme par rapport au texte de Proust. Celui-ci a pris grand soin de décrire tous les aspects de ces repas—une approche qu'il privilégie tout au long de l'œuvre—et en le faisant il permet au lecteur de reconnaître ces détails, apparemment sans grande importance, qui composent la vie quotidienne.

Directement inspirée de l'esthétique des travaux et des jours, cette description à caractère iconographique («une barbue..., une dinde... des cardons à la moëlle...», etc.) découpe et immobilise en médaillons des scènes de la vie de province, montrant ainsi comment «la chronique quotidienne mais immémoriale de Combray» s'ordonne autour des grands rythmes saisonniers et des aléas de la vie de tous les jours. (Gantrel 41).

Cette description du repas de famille rappelle surtout l'impressionnisme à cause de son sujet—le déjeuner. Par exemple, *Le Déjeuner* (1868) par Claude Monet, un travail impressionniste antérieur, montre des gens assis à une table recouverte de nourriture pour déjeuner. Ce tableau faisait partie de la première exposition impressionniste.

C'était Claude Monet qui, ayant écrit à un ami en 1868, Frédéric Bazille, à propos du *Déjeuner*, a exprimé qu'il pensait que peindre en pleine nature était préférable (*Wildenstein*, I, 425-426). Quatre ans plus tard, son tableau *Impression : soleil levant*, un tableau représentant le port du Havre, devient l'homonyme de l'impressionnisme et est un exemple iconique de ses qualités formelles. L'un des aspects les plus déterminants de la peinture impressionniste est la représentation de paysages et de la nature. Ce thème est certainement évident dans le texte de Proust. Après tout, la première partie tient son titre du chemin que la famille du narrateur emprunte pour rentrer chez elle : *Du côté de chez Swann*—un cadre suffisant pour de longues et belles descriptions de la nature :

La haie formait comme une suite de chapelles qui disparaissaient sous la jonchée de leurs fleurs amoncelées en reposoir ; au-dessous d'elles, le soleil posait à terre un quadrillage de clarté, comme s'il venait de traverser une verrière; leur parfum s'étendait aussi onctueux, aussi délimité en sa forme que si j'eusse été devant l'autel de la Vierge, et les fleurs, aussi parées, tenaient chacune d'un air distrait son étincelant bouquet d'étamines, fines et rayonnantes nervures de style flamboyant comme celles qui à l'église ajouraient

la rampe du jubé ou les meneaux du vitrail et qui s'épanouissaient en blanche chair de fleur de fraiserie (Proust 87).

Cette description, surtout la mention du soleil et de la lumière, et le commentaire du narrateur, « comme si j'eusse été devant l'autel de la Vierge, » correspondent aux buts des peintres impressionnistes. Comme on a pu le voir précédemment, les impressionnistes étaient maîtres de l'utilisation de la lumière dans la peinture, et les réactions du narrateur à cette nature qui l'entoure et sa déclaration sur ce qu'elle lui fait ressentir, créent le même effet qu'un tableau impressionniste.

Non seulement le style d'écriture de Proust peut-il être interprété comme impressionniste, mais ses personnages, leurs personnalités et leurs luttes correspondent grandement au mouvement impressionniste. L'Impressionnisme a abandonné les traditions vénérées de la peinture réaliste et n'a donc pas initialement été entièrement accepté comme une forme d'art valide. Cette attitude revient à plusieurs reprises au cours de l'histoire. Par exemple, le jeune narrateur a une passion pour les arts, comme en témoignent ses allusions constantes à la lecture, mais il aime aussi le théâtre.

Malheureusement pour lui, il lui est interdit d'y aller à cause de sa réputation comme un environnement non raffiné et banal (selon les normes morales de l'époque):

À cette époque j'avais l'amour du théâtre, amour platonique, car mes parents ne m'avaient encore jamais permis d'y aller, et je me représentais d'une façon si peu exacte les plaisirs qu'on y goûtait que je n'étais pas éloigné de croire que chaque spectateur regardait comme dans un stéréoscope un décor qui n'était que pour lui, quoique semblable aux milliers d'autres que regardait, chacun pour soi, le reste des spectateurs (45).

Évidemment, à l'époque, la scrutation de l'art et un certain type d'art étaient communs et ont posé un problème

aux impressionnistes. Le narrateur est introduit dans ce monde de la scrutation, et, parce que le personnage est si étroitement lié à l'art, il est un exemple de son importance dans le texte. Il est intéressant de noter ses observations, que chaque spectateur a sa propre vision d'une pièce, parce que le Salon des Refusés, qui exposait de nombreuses œuvres impressionnistes, a pu être ouvert par Napoléon III pour que, comme il est dit officiellement, le public puisse apprécier les œuvres pour elles-mêmes.

Revenant sur le thème impressionniste de la nature, le narrateur affiche également une attitude qui correspondait à celle des impressionnistes. Travailler à l'extérieur pour capturer ces scènes de la nature était essentiel. Par exemple, certains des plus célèbres tableaux de Claude Monet ont été peints dans son jardin à Giverny : "In sharp contrast to traditional artists, Monet painted outdoors, which sharpened his focus on the roles light and color play in capturing an instantaneous representation of atmosphere and climate" (*Gardner's Art Through The Ages*, 365). Le narrateur, parlant de sa lecture, exprime son désir d'être plus investi dans l'écriture en voyageant. Il dit : « Si mes parents m'avaient permis, quand je lisais un livre, d'aller visiter la région qu'il décrivait, j'aurais cru faire un pas inestimable dans la conquête de la vérité » (53). L'impressionnisme littéraire, tel qu'il est défini par Brunetière, est, encore une fois, « une transposition systématique des moyens d'expression d'un art, qui est l'art d'écrire. » C'est ce que Proust accomplit avec son style d'écriture, mais ce qui est vraiment remarquable, c'est qu'il l'a fait à travers ses personnages et leurs relations avec l'art et l'écriture. Non seulement il a une attitude impressionniste, mais ses personnages l'ont aussi. Un autre personnage « impressionniste » est celui de la grand-mère du narrateur. Celui-ci parle de sa relation avec la nature :

« Ce n'est pas comme cela que vous le rendrez robuste et énergique », disait-elle tristement, surtout ce petit qui a tant besoin de prendre des forces et de la volonté... Mais ma grand-mère, elle, par tous les temps,

même quand la pluie faisait rage et que Françoise avait précipitamment rentré les précieux fauteuils d'osier de peur qu'ils ne fussent mouillés, on la voyait dans le jardin vide et fouetté par l'averse, relevant ses mèches désordonnées et grises pour que son front s'imbibât mieux de la salubrité du vent et de la pluie. Elle disait : « Enfin, on respire ! » (Proust 6).

Bathilde, la grand-mère, est adorée par son petit-fils et il est donc particulièrement intéressant de noter que ce sont eux les deux personnages les plus « impressionnistes » de l'œuvre. Son lien avec le mouvement est plus extrême, mais notable. Comme l'a écrit Proust, elle est un personnage tout à fait en rapport avec la nature. Alors que les tableaux impressionnistes n'étaient pas toujours dans la nature, c'est pour cela qu'ils sont connus. L'Impressionnisme, encore une fois, a été considéré d'abord comme non raffiné et pas une méthode valable de peindre. La grand-mère semble détester cette raffinerie, ce qui la rend encore plus impressionniste (de cette manière) que le narrateur. « Elle eût aimé que j'eusse dans ma chambre des photographies des monuments ou des paysages les plus beaux. Mais au moment d'en faire l'emplette, et bien que la chose représentée eût une valeur esthétique, elle trouvait que la vulgarité, l'utilité reprenaient trop vite leur place dans le mode mécanique de représentation, la photographie » (23-24). Comme son petit-fils, Bathilde est un contre-pouvoir dans le roman en termes de groupe de personnages et des idéologies représentées, et cela se reflète dans l'histoire de l'impressionnisme, un mouvement qui est

né d'une nouvelle façon de faire de l'art. Sa dénonciation de ces « valeurs esthétiques » des images de paysage va de pair avec l'impressionnisme, tout comme les paysages impressionnistes n'étaient, selon les normes de l'époque, pas vénérés dans la peinture.

Dans *À la recherche du temps perdu ; du côté de chez Swann*, Marcel Proust a créé une œuvre traitant fortement le thème de l'art, et il l'a fait d'une manière impressionniste. Quand on examine son écriture et l'importance qu'il accorde à l'évocation des sentiments à travers ses descriptions, il devient clair que, même indirectement, l'impressionnisme exerce une influence sur son travail. Le narrateur, ayant une telle attitude impressionniste et étant si épris de l'art et de la lecture, semble avoir été un personnage créé parfaitement pour la transmission de ces influences impressionnistes dans le texte. Non seulement le travail peut-il être comparé à une peinture impressionniste en fonction de ses qualités formelles, mais les thèmes et les personnages de l'histoire sont également une partie de cette essence impressionniste, comme en témoigne le grand débat sur l'ambiguïté des souvenirs et leur impermanence. Plus que tout, Proust a décidé de créer un ouvrage traitant du sentiment et de la perception plutôt que d'écrire un récit plein d'action. L'intention derrière l'œuvre est impressionniste et il cherche à évoquer quelque chose d'aussi ordinaire qu'un souvenir d'enfance, mais d'une manière qui questionne ce que la rédaction d'un récit implique vraiment. ■

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REVIEWING THE ORIGINS OF THE SUDANESE STYLE: ANDALUSIAN OR AFRICAN PROVENANCE?

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The art and architecture of Africa was for years labeled as a primitive form of art unequal to the material creations of other societies.¹ Unfortunately, modern scholarship has not yet corrected the mistaken perception of African art set down by scholars working under a colonialist mindset. Modern scholarship still falls into the trap of assuming that new artistic styles were introduced through outside sources and were not rooted in the artistic tradition already present. Some of the anomalies within West African architecture, such as the uncommon use of baked bricks in the Old Gao mosque and the single example of stone arches in Mali, found within the Djinguere Ber mosque, are widely accepted to have been introduced to the African architectural repertoire by al-Saheli's. However, al-Saheli's role in shaping Sudanese architecture is riddled with contradictions. My methodology will include examining the different elements that compose this mosque, and providing theories of their origins with the intention of highlighting the still present prejudices in the field that accept the claim that one foreigner altered the aesthetic of an entire style of architecture.

The Djinguere Ber mosque falls into a category of architecture that has been labeled as part of the 'Sudanese style'. This label does not refer to one distinct style of

architecture but has been applied to the broad range of complex and distinct architectural styles found in the savannah belt of West Africa.² Scholars have proposed three different ways in which the Sudanese style could have been introduced to West Africa. It is claimed to be an offshoot of the style of architecture used in North Africa; the entire style is said to have been brought to West Africa by the Andalusian Abu Ishaq al-Saheli; or, it is said to have been introduced during the Moroccan Invasion in 1591.³ All of these theories fail to acknowledge the wide-scale movement of people, not only from North Africa across the Sahara, but also the movement and interaction of African cultural groups through the trade networks. Unlike North Africa, which was converted by force, the spread of Islam to Sub-Saharan Africa occurred through the peaceful and gradual spread of Muslims by way of trade relations, particularly focused on gold export.

The waterway between Timbuktu and Djenne connected the salt route from Taghaza to Timbuktu and the gold route from Djenne to the gold mines in the forest region.⁴ Mali was the first West African empire to control both territories on either side of the Niger's bend; Timbuktu is located between the two territories. The central location of Timbuktu propelled the city to a higher state of political and economic significance between the thirteenth and

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1 Labelle Prussin, *Hatumere: Islamic Design in West Africa*. (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1986) 103. The architectural style is called Sudanese because it can be found in the area of the former French Sudan.

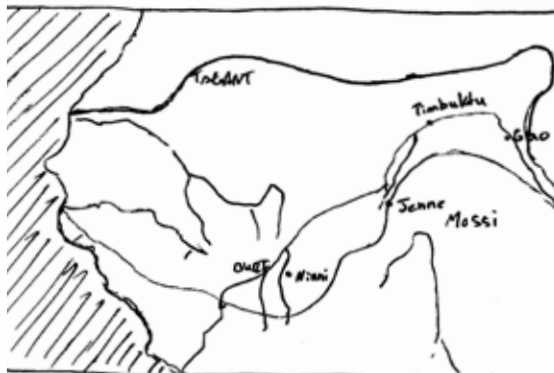
2 *Ibid.*, 103-104.

3 Levtzion, *Ancient Ghana and Mali*, 157.

4 *Ibid.*, 80. The market towns of Awdaghust, Koumbi-Salah, and Walata were all land-locked cities. Timbuktu served as a terminus for desert trade caravans as well as a river port along the Niger. Timbuktu is located outside of the Niger's flooding area, so it can be accessed by land all year round. When the Niger floods the city of Djenne becomes surrounded by water and can only be accessed by boat.

FIGURE 1

Map of the Empire of Mali. Drawing after Bovill (1995).



sixteenth centuries.⁵ Of the early trade cities located along the Niger River, Timbuktu was one of the few cities accessible by overland routes and the Niger waterway.⁶ Timbuktu was founded in 1100 A.D. as a summer camp for the nomadic Tuareg; an early Arabic writer reports that, "In the beginning it was there that travelers arriving by land and sea met. They made it a depot for their utensils and their grain. Soon this place became a crossroads of travelers who passed back and forth through it."⁷ The city attracted people who started setting up permanent residences and developed under the influence of the Tuareg from the north, the Songhai from the east and the Bambara (a Mandingo group) from the west.⁸

Beginning in the eleventh and twelfth centuries, all of the small kingdoms in the Upper Niger region were unified under the leadership of the Keita clan. According to Ibn Khaldun the leader of the Keita clan was converted to Islam

and to show his devotion made a pilgrimage to Mecca.⁹ At the height of its power in the mid-thirteenth century, the Mali Empire extended from the city of Gao on the Niger river westward seven hundred miles to the Atlantic coast (fig.1).¹⁰ Under Mansa Musa, Islam was encouraged through building projects and the development of Islamic learning centers.¹¹

The most famous ruler of the Mali Empire was Mansa Musa. The size and splendor of his pilgrimage to Mecca in 1325 has been recounted numerous times through the ages. The most famous story describes how Mansa Musa distributed so much gold during his stay in Cairo that the gold market was depressed for decades after his stay.¹² On this famous pilgrimage is when the Spaniard al-Saheli came into contact with Mansa Musa. What is known about the Spanish architect who accompanied Mansa Musa back to Mali comes from the documents left behind by Ibn Battuta, Ibn Khaldun, al-Sa'di, and a few Arabic sources from Andalusia. To summarize, Abu Ishaq Ibrahim al-Saheli is believed to have been born in 1290 A.D. in the city of Granada, Spain.¹³ He was formally trained in Islamic law and worked drafting legal documents; sources also praise his talent at composing poetry. There is no mention of his architectural skills from the Spanish authors.¹⁴ The exact reason for al-Saheli's departure from Andalusia is not clear; Ibn al-Khatib hints in his writing that al-Saheli fell out of favor, so he left to find work elsewhere. Ibn al-Ahmar recounts an occasion when under the influence

5 Nehemia Levtzion, "The Mande Trade" in *Muslims and Chiefs in West Africa*. (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1968) 5.

6 Horace Miner, *The Primitive City of Timbuctoo*. (Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1953) 3-4 and Levtzion, *Ancient Ghana and Mali*, 157.

7 Miner, 5.

8 D.T. Niane, "Mali and the second Mandingo expansion" in *General History of Africa*. Vol. 4. Ed. D.T. Niane, *Africa from the Twelfth to the Sixteenth Century*, (Berkeley: California University Press, 1984) 129. It is more likely that this story was created later to revise their genealogy in order to be more Islamic.

9 Roland Oliver and Anthony Atmore, *Medieval Africa, 1250-1800*. Rev. ed. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001) 62.

10 el Fasi "Stages in the Development of Islam and its dissemination in Africa" 78.

11 Niane, 148.

12 Hunwick notes that al-Saheli's birth date is not known: however it can be theorized based on the date of his pilgrimage where he met Mansa Musa in 1324. Ibn al-Khatib includes the titles of *al-katib* and *al-ra'is* before his name. The first title indicates his position as a secretary. The second title was used to refer to people related to the royal house of Granada.

13 Whether or not al-Saheli was actually an architect is not the primary focus of this essay. It is my intent to investigate the reasons why a foreigner is given a primary role in the formation of African architecture. I will refer to al-Saheli as an architect for the rest of the essay, despite the conflicting evidence.

of a mind-altering drug, al-Saheli compromised his moral conduct by claiming to be a Prophet and was exiled from Andalusia. Regardless, he undertook a pilgrimage to Mecca on which he met Mansa Musa and around the year 1324 accompanied the king back to Mali.¹⁵

The number of modern day authors who refer to al-Saheli's influence on West African architecture despite conflicting evidence is staggering. Roughly ninety percent of authors who discuss the reign of Mansa Musa also highlight al-Saheli in a role akin to the king's architect. The number of buildings attributed to al-Saheli is very small; the buildings are: an audience chamber and palace for Mansa Musa, a mosque in Gao, and the Djinguere Ber Mosque. Despite the small number of works, al-Saheli has been portrayed as introducing new building technology and style across the Malian Empire. When the broad expanse of evidence supporting the role one Spanish architect played in shaping West African architecture is examined, a large number of inconsistencies and assumptions become visible. For example, when the form and material used in his buildings are looked at together, they seem to contradict one another. Instead of considering the evidence and looking for new explanations for anomalies within African architecture, scholars have fallen back on the assumption that these anomalies come from an outside source. The following paragraphs will look at the form and materials in each site that are used to explain al-Saheli's involvement.

The Djinguere Ber mosque poses a unique puzzle of styles that can be broken up into three different sections: the *mihrab*, stone arches, and the minaret. This puzzle is made more complex by the lack of records or archeological data that can help the researcher pin down details of alterations made to the mosque and their possible dates of such alterations.¹⁶ Unfortunately, primary texts have been

14 J.O. Hunwick, "An Andalusian in Mali: A contribution to the biography of Abu Ishaq al-Sahili, c. 1290-1346." *Paideuma*, Bd. 36, *Afrika-Studien* II (1990), 59-62.

15 The majority of the archeological reports that discuss the Djinguere Ber mosque are in French. The few reports in English I was unable to access. My visual analysis will be drawn from photographs of the architecture.

unable to shed any definitive light on when each part of the mosque was built or on who built them. Al-Sa'di says that Mansa Musa commissioned the minaret of Djinguere Ber but does not refer to al-Saheli's involvement in its construction.¹⁷ Leo Africanus writes, "there is a stately temple to be seen, the walls whereof are made of stone and lime...built by a most excellent workman of Granada."¹⁸ While he references Spanish workmanship Leo Africanus does not refer to al-Saheli specifically or indicate who commissioned the mosque. There are three references to changes that were made to the mosque through the years. One is reported by al-Sa'id and took place from 1569-70 when the mosque was extended.¹⁹ The second was in 1678 when the outer wall was rebuilt, and the third is described as further repairs carried out from 1709 to 1736. The second and third alterations were reported by a French archeological team in 1899.²⁰ Based on the records mentioned above, it is safe to assume that the three points of interest explored in this essay have remained untouched since their construction.²¹ In order to make sense of the building techniques used in the mosque a larger examination of the same materials and forms present in the Old Gao mosque and the audience hall is needed to trace the reasons these monuments were attributed to al-Saheli.

The research conducted for this study indicates that the audience hall is the only example of a building al-Saheli is said to have built that was recorded with a detailed description. Ibn Khaldun writes, "Abu Ishaq al-Tuwayjin

16 Aradeon, 109.

17 *Ibid.*, 109

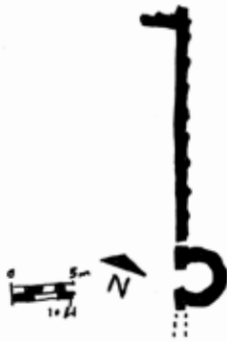
18 Hunwick, 63.

19 *Ibid.*, 64.

20 There is also a description of the main section of the Djinguere Ber mosque from the Frenchman R. Caillié, in which he expresses that the section of the mosque that contains the stone arches that will be expounded upon later is significantly older than the rest of the building. The Frenchman R. Caillié wrote "The west quarter of the mosque appeared to be of very ancient construction... the other parts of the edifice appear to have been built after the western part was in ruins... and appear to be quite inferior to the ancient remains." Prussin, Hatumere, 150. This could indicate that this portion of the mosque is part of the original building.

FIGURE 2

Plan of the qibla wall and mihrab at the Old Gao Mosque. Drawing after Labelle Prussin (1986).



made something novel for him by erecting a square building with a dome...he plastered it over and covered it with coloured patterns so that it turned out to be the most elegant of buildings.”²² Unfortunately, the audience hall no longer exists; however, because of the small number of buildings that al-Saheli is said to have built in the region, it is reasonable to assume that there would be parallels between the audience hall and his other constructions.

The only sections of the Old Gao mosque that have survived to the present are parts of the foundation and *mihrab*. While the entire *mihrab* of the Old Gao mosque no longer exists, a small portion constructed in fired bricks is still visible. The foundation of the Old Gao *mihrab* bears a resemblance to the *mihrab* at Djinguere Ber. Both *mihrabs* jut out from the *qibla* wall in a semi-circular shape. (fig.2) The foundation of the Old Gao mosque is similar to mihrabs in North Africa, however the conical shape of the Djinguere Ber mosque (fig. 3) is not seen outside of West Africa. This raises the question of from where the shape was drawn. The prominent theory suggested by Tor Engestrom and built on by Labelle Prussin is that the cone shape was

FIGURE 3

Mihrab of Djinguere Ber. Open copyright image



derived from ancestral mounds. These earthen shrines are usually found near the entrance to a compound and due to their close proximity to the entrance are thought to have provided protection or contributed to the well-being of the compound’s inhabitants. After the introduction of Islam, the center of the indigenous practice of veneration and rituals that congregated around the ancestral pillar was transferred to the mosque to signify the new center of veneration directed towards Mecca and the worship of Allah. This shows a conscious adaptation of a traditional architectural feature to the new guidelines set by Islam.²³

The defining feature of the Old Gao mosque that has been attributed to al-Saheli is the use of kiln-fired bricks. The French author Maurice Delafosse said that al-Saheli introduced the technique of brick laying to Africa, where prior to his arrival, the local population had been building mud huts with thatched roofs.²⁴ Further examination of the evidence shows that in cities that were formed before the birth of al-Saheli, mud bricks and stone were used in construction.

21 J. F. P. Hopkins, trans., *Corpus of early Arabic sources for West African history*, (London: Cambridge University Press, 1981) 335. In his article on al-Saheli Hunwick mentions on page 61 that Ibn Khaldun received his information on al-Saheli’s activities from a man named Khadija al-Kumi.

22 Prussin, *Hatumere*, 163-167.

23 Aradeon, 100.

Regarding material usage, excavations in Tegadoust have revealed a localized timeline of construction practices. The cities Tegadoust and Koumbi Salah were two trade hubs that preceded the formation of Timbuktu, and declined in prominence because of the accessibility of Timbuktu. The earliest layers of Tegadoust, which are dated to the eighth century, show signs of mud brick construction. On this earlier city, a stone-built town was constructed in the ninth century.²⁵ Later inhabitants then recycled the stone to use as foundations for new buildings. The use of mud brick in the eighth century city shows that this building material may also pre-date the appearance of Muslim traders in the area.²⁶ Raymond Mauny's excavations at Koumbi Salah indicate that the city was divided into two parts; the Northeastern portion of the city contains ruins of spacious structures built in stone.²⁷ In the lower section of the city are isolated instances of building with stone, but the majority of structures are of a lower quality material.²⁸ In both cities stone architecture dates from the tenth to the eleventh centuries, and the pre-fourteenth century mosques from each city show evidence of stone construction.²⁹ The writer, al-Sa'id, wrote that in the Sudan "none builds with plaster and baked bricks except a ruler or a person of wealth and distinction to whom he has given permission to do so."³⁰ This could indicate that stone and baked brick architecture served to showcase a person's wealth and social connections to the ruler.

A similar interpretation of form and materials has been applied to the stone arches found in the Djinguere Ber mosque. Hunwick writes, "the rounded arch, so reminiscent of the architecture of Muslim Andalusia, may,

therefore have been an innovation of al-Saheli".³¹ Here, Hunwick implies that rounded arches are not found in the African architectural tradition and must be an innovation created by a foreigner. In Hausaland and other parts of the Sudan, mud vaults are constructed by using "mud arches reinforced (within the arches themselves) with short pieces of palm".³² While arches constructed of mud may not occur as frequently in African architecture, the technology and knowledge needed to construct an arch is present in the area. If the arches in Djinguere Ber were built before the reign of Mansa Musa, they may indicate the presence of a more knowledgeable mason in the area. The other problem with Hunwick's assertion is that horse-shoe arches are more prevalent in the Islamic architecture of Spain and Morocco. If al-Saheli was the architect, he would have likely used horse-shoe arches instead of rounded arches.

The other intriguing feature of these arches is that they appear to be lined with stone. Prussin states that, "There are some vaulted arcades from which the plaster has fallen away. This edifice was built of sun-dried bricks, of nearly the same form as ours."³³ Later examination of these arches has shown that they are actually built using limestone not sun-dried bricks. The most unique reference to the building of the Djinguere Ber mosque that I came across in my research comes from a book published in 1896 by the Frenchman Felix Dubois discussing his trip to Africa. He wrote, "The merchants of Jenne taught Timbuctoo to build houses of baked bricks...they also built a mosque, afterwards the cathedral Mosque of Ghingaraber...He, [Mansa Musa] presented the Cathedral Mosque with a minaret of pyramidal form..."³⁴ This story comes from the oral tradition Dubois heard when he was in Timbuktu. Instead of mentioning al-Saheli the oral tradition credits the masons from Djenne with constructing part of

24 Susan Denyer, *African Traditional Architecture: An Historical and Geographical Perspective*. (London: Heinemann Educational Books Ltd, 1978) 162.

25 Devise, "Trade Routes in West Africa" in *General History of West Africa* 431.

26 Levitzon, *Ancient Ghana and Mali*, 23

27 *Ibid.*, 23.

28 Devise, "Trade Routes in West Africa" in *General History of West Africa*, 431.

29 Hopkins, 185.

30 Hunwick, 64.

31 Denyer, 94. Without an examination of the structural make-up of the arches, it cannot be said for sure that this technology was used. But, it does present a possibility rooted in African origins.

32 Prussin, *Hatumere*, 150.

33 Felix Dubois, *Timbuctoo the Mysterious*. Trans. Diana White. 1896. Reprint (New York: Negro University Press, 1969) 234-235.

Timbuktu. Additionally, Susan Denyer notes that in the Upper Niger region, “rich men used a kind of lime prepared at Jenne...”³⁵ Whether ‘lime’ refers to stone or a type of plaster used to coat the mud to prevent erosion is unclear. However, either interpretation could implicate the involvement of Djenne masons in the construction of the Djinguere Ber mosque.³⁶ The use of a more expensive plaster could explain why the western portion of the mosque still exists. Additionally, the use of more expensive materials and presumably borrowed masons could reflect the importance of Djinguere Ber as Timbuktu’s Friday mosque. As the mosque that the entire Muslim population of Timbuktu would attend for Friday prayer, Djinguere Ber would showcase the wealth of Timbuktu to visiting traders who would likely utilize the mosque during their stay in Timbuktu.

The final piece of the Djinguere Ber mosque to consider is the minaret. Due to the number of sources that mention that the mosque and its minaret were commissioned separately and the stylistic differences between the rounded *mihrab* and rectangular minaret, I have chosen to follow suit and treat the minaret as a piece that was added after the original structure had been built. The minaret at Djinguere Ber is the section of the mosque that has been written about the least. Labelle Prussin compared the floor plans of the Djinguere Ber mosque and the Sankore mosque, also located in Timbuktu, and concluded that the spatial relationship between the interior courtyard and minaret at both mosques is identical, leading her to theorize that the Djinguere Ber minaret was built when al-Aqib expanded the courtyard in 1570.³⁷ This date gives the Minaret a Songhai origin. Susan Aradeon has suggested that design for the Djinguere Ber minaret could have been influenced

by Ibadite architecture as they share a similar tapering rectangular form with a rounded cone on top.³⁸ Besides the use of mud bricks in its construction, there is little material evidence to tie the minaret to the reign of Mansa Musa or al-Saheli as the architect. There is not enough evidence to favor one theory over the other. Further research needs to be conducted before an adequate conclusion can be reached on the stylistic origins of the minaret.

Upon closer scrutiny, the role al-Saheli is claimed to have played in the formation of the Sudanese style does not hold up. He could not have introduced the use of mud bricks or stone to West Africa because these materials were used in the cities of Tegadoust and Koumbi Salah two hundred to three hundred years before his birth. The arches in Djinguere Ber are not the horse-shoe shape expected to be used by a Spanish architect. Additionally, the Andalusian mosque plan orients the aisles perpendicular to the Qibla wall, whereas West African mosques orient the aisles parallel to the Qibla wall.³⁹ The conical shape of the *mihrab* at the Djinguere Ber mosque does not occur in Spanish mosque architecture and can be tied to an indigenous African architectural form. These stylistic differences rule out Spanish influence in the Djinguere Ber mosque.

To assume that the Sudanese style is a product of foreign influences that usurped the architectural style that was already present in the area is naïve. To quote Labelle Prussin, “architectural style is rarely set by a single designer functioning out of his milieu. The adaptation of a style requires a supporting technology and skills derivative of the cultural setting into which it is introduced.”⁴⁰ Conversely, to assume that trade had no effect on West African architecture also does not give

34 Denyer, 93.

36 With the movement of goods and ideas along trade routes the possibility of traveling artisans should also be considered. As I stated previously Timbuktu was situated along the gold trade route that came from Djenne. So, travel between the two cities would most likely have been fairly easy.

37 Prussin, *Hatumere*, 151.

38 Aradeon, 120. Aradeon argues for an Ibadite influence because the Ibadite faith was one of the first Islamic sects to be introduced to Sub-Saharan Africa. She also claims that many of the architectural features found in West African architecture can be seen in existing Ibadite architecture today.

39 Aradeon, 104.

40 Labelle Prussin, “Sudanese Architecture and the Manding” *African Arts*, Vol. 3, No.4 (Summer, 1970) 71.

a complete understanding of the complex network of cultural exchange that occurred during the centuries of trans-Saharan trade. Not enough attention has been paid to cross cultural exchange; too many scholars have assumed that artistic styles flowed in one direction across the Sahara—from the north, to the south. More in-depth research is needed that acknowledges African architecture as a developed aesthetic style that was affected and morphed with the introduction of Islam, but that retained its uniquely African roots.

The title of architect seems to have been attached to the name of a Spaniard known to have met Mansa Musa

during his pilgrimage to Mecca, despite the record that describes his training in Islamic law and prowess as a poet. The story of al-Saheli highlights the prejudices that were present at the beginning of colonialist Europe's interest in African history. To assume that the Sudanese style is a product of foreign influence that usurped the indigenous architectural style of the area erases part of the cultural history of Africa. Instead of usurping what has been assumed to be a primitive form of architecture, the new ideas introduced by foreigners across the Sahara were integrated to become part of a new unique style of architecture that reflects both African and Islamic ideals. ■

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Lauren Fueyo | *ComeOnInHaveASeat*

BANGING AT THE DOOR: TWENTY YEARS OF ACTIVISM THAT PUT JON BURGE BEHIND BARS

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When Andrew Wilson called Flint Taylor at the People's Law Office (PLO) in 1987, it was because these lawyers had a reputation for taking impossible cases. The PLO had recently won a \$1.85 million civil suit in a thirteen-year battle against the Chicago Police Department in the assassination of Black Panthers Fred Hampton and Mark Clark. Yet nothing could seem so impossible as Wilson's proposition: he wanted the People's Law Office to represent him—an avowed cop killer—in a suit alleging that he was tortured by decorated Chicago Police Commander Jon Burge.¹

By the time they went to trial seven years later, it didn't seem so crazy—there was widespread condemnation of the CPD's handling of the Wilson manhunt, and activist group Citizen's Alert had been working to raise awareness of police brutality. Still, it seemed unlikely that a jury would believe Wilson's claims over Burge's denials...until the anonymous letters started coming:

Mr. Taylor:

...I believe I have learned something that will blow the lid off of your case. You should check for other cases which Lt. Burge was accused of using this device... I will not give any specifics until I am assured that these letters are not going to be used ever.²

With these letters, Taylor and his colleagues pulled a thread they would spend decades unraveling. The torture—consisting of beatings, suffocation, and electric shock, among other tactics—was used to extract confessions from suspects, regardless of guilt or innocence. The victims—largely impoverished young black men, some guilty, some not—landed in Illinois prisons and on death row. In trial and appellate courts, their lawyers brought up the torture, but it seemed a ludicrous allegation to make.

Throughout Illinois's criminal justice system, these victims were each treated as individual accusers and their accusations fell on deaf ears of the judges, police department, and the state's attorney's office. In 1989, however, lawyers at the People's Law Office began to link these victims' stories and discovered evidence of widespread systemic abuse. Along with legal colleagues, community activists like Citizens Alert, and a journalist writing for a free weekly paper, they spent the next two decades working to get victims out of prison and put the torturers in. These activists refused to allow the allegations to be swept under the rug, realizing that the city and the police department “are never going to do anything unless the public is banging at the door demanding action.”³

Lawyers collaborated on ingenious strategies to prosecute police torture despite the expired statute of limitations; activists pushed for police accountability, and journalist John Conroy asked his readers why they were content to be bystanders to such heinous crimes. These attempts to make Chicago residents aware of the torture kept Burge

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1 Flint Taylor, oral history taken by the author, January 22, 2014.

2 “March 6, 1989 letter,” People's Law Office archives, accessed February 19, 2014, <http://peopleslawoffice.com/wp-content/uploads/2012/02/March-6-letter-Chicago-Burge-police-torture2.pdf>.

3 John Conroy, “Town Without Pity,” *Chicago Reader*, January 11, 1996, accessed November 22, 2013, <http://www.chicagoreader.com/chicago/town-without-pity/Content?oid=889464>.

and his actions in the spotlight long after he had been dismissed from the police force. Because of these activists, torture victims were granted appeals, Governor George Ryan exonerated four torture victims, and victims won civil lawsuits costing the city millions of dollars. By raising awareness of the torture that took place under Commander Jon Burge at Area Two, these activists helped put him in a federal prison on perjury charges in 2011.

The history of the Area Two Police Torture cases has yet to be written. Indeed, for far too long, mainstream media ignored the torture allegations. In the years since Burge's conviction, academia has yet to examine the torture ring on Chicago's South Side. With Flint Taylor donating his archives to the University of Chicago and Citizens Alert's archives headed to the University of Illinois-Chicago, it is likely that my own research is only the tip of the iceberg.

Considering a lack of secondary sources on Burge, I have turned to sources on police brutality and police accountability. In a 1998 *Yale Law & Policy Review* article, Marshall Miller examines the difficulty in prosecuting police officers for misconduct. Miller focuses on the federal prosecution of New York Police Department officers for abuse towards Haitian immigrant Abner Louima. While the brutality inflicted on Louima made headlines, it was still difficult to remedy through traditional procedures. Miller points to the difficulties faced by victims of police brutality: victims are often members of marginalized groups; witnesses are generally either other marginalized people or other police officers unlikely to break the code of silence; finally, jurors are likely to identify with police officers rather than accused criminals. Even in cases of extreme brutality like that suffered by Louima, it is difficult for jurors to condemn the actions of a police officer in the line of duty. Finally, the working relationship between police departments and prosecutors can also work against complainants, as prosecutors rely on cooperation from police officers and often seek to avoid harming that relationship by prosecuting abuse or brutality.⁴

4 Marshall Miller, "Police Brutality," *Yale Law and Policy Review* 17, no. 1 (1998): 149-200.

James R. Hudson's article "Police Review Boards and Police Accountability," looks at the increased focus on accountability in post-civil rights America. Following the civil rights movement, minority groups demanded police accountability in response to allegations of widespread abuse. The conundrum in creating police review boards, according to Hudson, is that citizens do not trust accountability measures that are internal police measures, fearing that such investigations only seek to cover up police indiscretion. Likewise, police distrust citizen review boards as civilians are unlikely to understand the necessary action police must sometimes take regarding suspects. Even when civilian boards are created, they often lack any real authority; while the boards may recommend the department fire an officer, for example, there is often no way of insuring that the department implements their suggestions.⁵

Jeremy H. Skolnick and Candace McCoy also discuss civilian boards in their article "Police Accountability and the Media." They write that police accountability is necessary for police departments to function fairly for all citizens. Yet, they note civilian review boards are only as effective as the citizenry is informed. If the public is not aware of proper criminal procedure—which actions are or are not legal for police officers to take—it is impossible for true accountability to be possible. In Skolnick and McCoy's opinion, it is the duty of the media to keep citizens informed of any possible violations of civil or criminal rights. When the media informs the public of proper criminal procedure, citizens are able to give effective citizen review.

While these secondary sources describe problems encountered by Area Two victims, these sources all discuss police *brutality*, which differs greatly from police *torture*. The systems analyzed by these journalists and historians were created to provide redress for brutality that occurred (generally) when officers responded with undue force towards a suspect while in the line of duty. The premeditated, systemic nature of the torture at Area Two

5 James R. Hudson, "Police Review Boards and Police Accountability," *Law and Contemporary Problems* 36, no. 4 (Autumn 1971): 515-38.

police headquarters places it into a different class, worthy of historical examination.

Background

Fred Hampton's assassination in 1969 greatly influenced both the People's Law Office and Citizen's Alert. Flint Taylor and his colleagues started the PLO to represent the Panthers, Young Lords, and Young Patriots; when Hampton was assassinated, they were shocked and saddened by the loss of their friend and began investigating the shooting. Their discoveries led to a thirteen-year battle to find justice for Hampton's family and the surviving Panthers.⁶ Mary Powers was a middle-aged woman living in suburban Chicago when Hampton was killed; she toured the crime scene with a friend and decided that she needed to do something to fight for police accountability. She soon discovered a group called Citizens Alert had been formed at DePaul University and began working to seek redress for victims of police abuse.⁷

Allegations of Torture Surface

In February of 1982, Andrew and Jackie Wilson were pulled over on general suspicion shortly after committing a burglary. In a scuffle, Andrew Wilson grabbed Officer Fahey's holstered weapon and shot him and Officer O'Brien. The Wilson brothers fled the scene while both officers bled to death in the snow. A crime of this magnitude led to the largest and most-widespread manhunt in Chicago history. The investigation was led by then-Lieutenant Jon Burge, who went five days without sleep. Representatives from Rainbow PUSH and the Afro-American Police League described the excessive violence of the manhunt as similar to martial law or a lynch mob. The city's black community remained under siege until tips by citizens led police to the brothers' hideouts.⁸

6 Jeffrey Haas, *The Assassination of Fred Hampton: How the FBI and the Chicago Police Murdered a Black Panther* (Chicago, Ill.: Lawrence Hill Books, 2010).

7 Robert McClory, "Cop Watch," *Chicago Reader*, July 16, 1992, accessed February 13, 2014, <http://www.chicagoreader.com/chicago/cop-watch/Content?oid=880075>.

8 John Conroy, "House of Screams," *Chicago Reader*, January 25, 1990, accessed February 13, 2014, <http://www.chicagoreader.com/chicago/house-of-screams/Content?oid=875107>.

When Andrew Wilson arrived at Area Two police headquarters on February 14, 1982, he had a small cut above one eye. When he was admitted to a hospital ten hours later, he had more than a dozen injuries to his head, chest, and legs, and the officers had a signed confession. When he was brought to Cook County Jail, orderlies took pictures of Wilson's burns, bruises, and blackened eyes out of fear that they would be blamed for the injuries. When blown up, these photographs showed evidence of radiator burns on his chest and a small perforated "U" on his ear consistent with his claim of being electrically shocked by an alligator clip wired to a black box. Wilson's allegations were ignored by the judge and he was convicted with his brother.

When the PLO took Andrew Wilson's civil case, the memory of the manhunt to find him was fresh in their minds. Looking at the injuries Wilson sustained and the methodological nature of those injuries, Taylor and the PLO believed that this was different than simple police brutality—it was torture. Their initial suspicion was that Andrew Wilson had been tortured because he killed police officers. This was how they approached the allegations of torture in Wilson's civil suit against Jon Burge and the City of Chicago in 1989.⁹

Much of Wilson's testimony during the suit was disturbing and sad. He had never learned to read, dropped out before finishing elementary school, and had only been legally employed for three months of his life. He described Burge and other detectives using a crank-powered black box to electrically shock him, as well as handcuffing him to a hot radiator which burned him. "The pain just stays in your head," Wilson said of the electroshock.

Burge denied all charges and was polite and courteous, joking with the court reporter at times. Humbly answering questions about his celebrated military career and his work at the CPD, he did not mention his many honors. His attorneys, however, attacked the credibility of Wilson and

9 Flint Taylor, oral history taken by the author January 22, 2014.

a torture specialist who said that the abrasions on Wilson's ears were consistent with electroshock.

Ultimately, an all-white jury was tasked with weighing the story of a decorated war hero and police lieutenant against that of a poor, black career-criminal who had admitted to killing two police officers in cold blood; it ended in a mistrial resulting from escalating tensions between the judge and the PLO attorneys.

The Investigation and the Informant

Shortly after the lawyers at the People's Law Office finished presenting evidence in Andrew Wilson's civil suit, they got their first anonymous letter. Sent on Chicago Police Department letterhead, the writer claimed to have inside knowledge about Wilson's torture. The second letter outlined which officers had been involved in the torture, and the third suggested Taylor and his colleagues visit Melvin Jones, who had been interrogated at Area Two a few days before Wilson. Reading the transcript from Jones's suppression hearing, Taylor and the PLO learned that he, too, had been tortured by Burge with an electrical device. In his testimony, Jones said that Burge had asked if he knew two men known as "Satan and Cochise," and then threatened to give Jones "the same treatment" he had given them.

Taylor visited Jones and searched for "Satan and Cochise." "Satan" was Anthony Holmes, a prisoner in Stateville who said Burge had used the black box to torture him in 1973. Jones's attorney led the lawyers to Michael Johnson, who had filed complaints with the Office of Professional Standards and the Federal Bureau of Investigation alleging Burge had electrically shocked his testicles. With each torture victim Taylor and his colleagues interviewed, the list of victims grew: Gregory Banks, George Powell, Lawrence Poree, Darrell Cannon. The fruit of these investigations, however, was ruled inadmissible in Wilson's second civil suit, as Judge Duff said that Jones's testimony did not show "intent" by Burge. The growing list of torture victims also required the People's Law Office

attorneys to reconsider their initial theory: only Poree and Wilson were accused of killing police officers. A number of victims said Burge and other officers said the torture was used on "niggers"; the anonymous letters claimed Burge hated black people, and given that all victims were African-American, the attorneys theorized that Burge was the ringleader of racially motivated systematic torture. After an eight-week trial, the all-white jury said that, although Andrew Wilson had been denied constitutional rights by being harmed by Burge and his men, the abuse did not represent a policy held by the department.¹⁰

In January 1990, investigative journalist John Conroy published the first of his articles about the torture. Entitled "House of Screams," it detailed Andrew Wilson's arrest, interrogation, and civil suits; the investigative work of the People's Law Office was also featured, as well as Conroy's interview with Burge, whom he described as quite likeable. Published in the *Chicago Reader*, a free weekly newspaper, Conroy's article raised awareness of the charges against Burge. Citizens Alert and other community organizations demanded an investigation of the allegations against Burge. In 1991, the Chicago Police Department's Office of Professional Standards assigned Francine Sanders to investigate Wilson's claims. Her report stated that Wilson had indeed been tortured by Burge, John Yucaitis, and Patrick O'Hara; she recommended that the officers be fired for their actions. OPS investigator Michael Goldston investigated the systematic nature of the torture.¹¹ He concluded his investigation and presented his report to his superiors, but it was kept from the public. After a federal judge ordered that the report be released to the public, the People's Law Office held a press conference upon its release in February of 1992 that received national news coverage. Soon after, Burge, Yucaitis and O'Hara went before the Police Board on the torture of Andrew Wilson. The Fraternal Order of Police announced its support of

¹⁰ Conroy, "House of Screams."

¹¹ OPS Special Project Conclusion Reports and Findings, Nov. 2, 1990 (Goldston Report).

the officers and held a benefit for the accused torturers, which attracted protestors from the Task Force.¹² During the police board case, the city's attorneys described the torture by the defendants as "an astounding pattern or plan." In February of 1993, the board found Burge and Yucaitis guilty of abusing (but not torturing) Wilson. Burge was fired, Yucaitis faced a 15-month suspension, and the decision was front page news in Chicago.

Despite the board's actions, Burge's torture victims remained incarcerated, and many of the other torturers remained on the police force. John Conroy published an article breaking the fourth wall by asking readers how they could be content to look the other way, knowing this torture had taken place. "Town Without Pity" was published January 11, 1996 and drew parallels between readers' inaction regarding torture and bystanders during the Holocaust. It was a strong indictment, yet Conroy did not attempt to portray Andrew Wilson as innocent: murderers have constitutional rights, too, and without demanding accountability for all officers involved in the torture, the citizens of the City of Chicago are complicit. Despite this palpable anger, Conroy never betrayed his journalistic integrity by involving himself in protests or press conferences—he was there to observe, investigate, and bring the story to a wider public.

Moratorium and The Death Row 10: From Legal Battles to Political Causes

When State Appellate Defender Frank Ralph was assigned the case of Darrell Cannon in 1995, he was not familiar with Jon Burge or the allegations against him. Cannon had been denied a new suppression hearing at his 1994 retrial, despite the fact that important new evidence—the OPS Report, Burge's firing, and the PLO's discovery of other torture victims—and a corruption conviction against his judge had come to light. Ralph needed to convince the appellate court that evidence of the torture of Wilson and others

could make the difference at a new suppression hearing. To educate his attorney about the history of Area Two torture, Cannon suggested he read John Conroy's articles.¹³

In requesting a new suppression hearing, Ralph argued in his brief for the court to "courageously and forthrightly consider the compelling new evidence" in Cannon's case. In 1997, Cannon was granted a new suppression hearing, which was the first full hearing on Area Two torture, a turning point in the litigation of these torture claims.

As the 1990s drew to a close, skepticism grew about Illinois's capital punishment system. Many of those active in the Area Two cases had shifted their focus to death penalty reform, and other activist groups joined forces to seek justice for those torture victims on death row. Groups like Coalition Against the Death Penalty, Campaign to End the Death Penalty (CEDP), and Amnesty International joined lawyers from Northwestern, University of Chicago, and DePaul University, as well as the PLO and Office of the State Appellate Defender's Capital Litigation Division, as the spotlight shifted to capital punishment in Illinois.

In working to raise awareness of the myriad issues facing inmates, CEDP started referring to the Area Two victims sentenced to death as "the Death Row 10." Although it was later determined that there were thirteen victims of Area Two torture on death row, the misnomer stuck. While some of the inmates' lawyers feared the public perception of this politicized name, it ultimately allowed for greater visibility of these cases as a group.

The Special Prosecutor

In litigating the cases of torture victims, attorney Frank Ralph became familiar with the barriers to the prosecution of Burge and his colleagues: the State of Illinois has a statute of limitations of seven years on torture. By the late 1990s, it had been nearly a decade since Burge was accused of torture; clearly the statute had expired. It occurred to Ralph

¹² Peter Kuttner, Cyndi Moran, Eric Scholl, *The End of the Nightstick*, POV Documentary, 1994.

¹³ Frank Ralph, oral history with the author, March 18, 2014.

that in the ongoing proceedings of his clients, Area Two officers testified under oath that no torture had occurred, each officer telling the same story. In orchestrating this lie, Ralph theorized, the officers were conspiring to commit perjury together, thereby extending the statute of limitations on the original torture. In addition to this theory of conspiracy, Ralph and other colleagues raised the issue of conflicts of interest between Cook County State's Attorney Richard Devine and Chicago Mayor Richard M. Daley and the duties of their positions: Devine, the county official who would investigate and prosecute any torturers, had been a partner with the law firm that defended Jon Burge in the civil suit brought by Andrew Wilson, and he had once personally represented Burge in court. Daley had been Cook County State's Attorney at the time of Wilson's torture and received a letter from Police Superintendent Richard Brezak after Wilson's torture, urging investigation of Burge and his actions.¹⁴ These men were personally involved in Area Two torture allegations and this involvement made it very unlikely that they could look at these allegations without bias. "I remember telling [my daughters], 'If this works, this could be the best idea I've ever had.'" ¹⁵ Ralph presented his idea to a group of his long-time colleagues and then to activist groups like Citizens Alert, Illinois Coalition Against the Death Penalty, and the Justice Coalition. Together, they formed the Campaign to Prosecute Police Torture, whose aim was to get a special prosecutor appointed to investigate torture allegations.

In response to this relentless activism, some prominent Illinoisans began to question the death penalty. One of those wondering about the efficacy of the system was Governor George Ryan. Initially a proponent of capital punishment, Ryan was troubled by the fact that eleven Death Row inmates in Illinois were exonerated between the years of 1994 and 2000. In January 2000, Ryan announced a moratorium on the death penalty in Illinois and created

a Commission on Capital Punishment to determine the State's next move. When the Governor's Commission on Capital Punishment issued its report on April 15, 2002, it featured the Burge torture cases as a cause for concern. In April 2002, the Chief Judge of the Cook County Criminal Courts, Justice Paul Biebel, finally appointed a special prosecutor to investigate police torture at Area Two police headquarters under Jon Burge. Judge Biebel subsequently disqualified Devine and the Office of the State's Attorney of Cook County from further involvement in the torture victims' cases. Instead, he appointed the Illinois Attorney General to act as the prosecution in the cases that the torture victims brought into criminal court to challenge their convictions.¹⁶

With a moratorium on capital punishment and the appointment of a special prosecutor, lawyers and activists had reason to believe that, slowly, justice might come for their clients. Yet no one could have imagined what would come next. Two days before leaving office, Governor Ryan exonerated Death Row 10 members Aaron Patterson, Madison Hogley, Leroy Orange, and Stanley Howard. Patterson insisted that his lawyers, including Ralph and the PLO's Flint Taylor and Joey Mogul, ride with him in a limousine from Stateville's death row back home to Chicago. The unprecedented pardons made national news, and all were on hand the next day when Ryan commuted the sentences of every person on Illinois's death row to life in prison.¹⁷

Reports and Reparations

After a four-year investigation costing \$7 million, Special Prosecutor Edward J. Egan published his report, in which he sought no indictments for torture, conspiracy, or obstruction of justice. Egan said that while it appeared that torture did take place, the statute of limitations had long

14 John Conroy, "A Hell of a Deal," *Chicago Reader*, October 11, 2001. accessed April 10, 2014, <http://www.chicagoreader.com/chicago/a-hell-of-a-deal/Content?oid=906674>.

15 Frank Ralph, oral history with the author, March 18, 2014.

16 G. Flint Taylor, "Cook County States Attorneys' Office Disqualified (Again) From Burge Torture Cases," <http://peopleslawoffice.com/cook-county-states-attorneys-office-disqualified-again-from-burge-torture-cases>. Accessed June 30, 2014.

17 Flint Taylor, oral history taken by the author, January 22, 2014.

ago expired, making it impossible to prosecute anyone; he did not follow the theory of bias or conspiracy that led to his appointment.

Frustrated by what they considered a white-washing of the prosecutor's findings, the People's Law Office and their colleagues in the legal and activist communities released a "Shadow Report" outlining what they felt Egan had gotten wrong. The report bore the signature of 212 individuals and civil rights, human rights, and criminal justice organizations.¹⁸

Exonerated inmates Aaron Patterson, Madison Hobley, and others sought civil suits of wrongful conviction against Burge and the City of Chicago with the help of the PLO. In each of these cases, the Area Two officers were deposed and asked questions about the alleged torture. Hobley was unique among Area Two torture victims in that he had absolutely no criminal involvement prior to his arrest. Hobley was arrested for arson after his apartment building caught fire, killing his wife, young son, and five of their neighbors. His conviction was based entirely on an alleged confession, which the arresting officers claim was thrown away. The handsome, soft-spoken Hobley was a bit like the poster-child of the Area Two torture cases, quite different from violent career criminal Andrew Wilson or the fiercely outspoken Aaron Patterson.

Unlike previous civil suits, in Hobley's case Jon Burge chose to waive his Fifth Amendment rights and testify, stating in his deposition that he had never tortured Hobley or any suspect. The court decided in Hobley's favor, awarding \$7.8 million in damages for his wrongful conviction and time on death row.

In October 2008, U.S. Attorney Patrick Fitzgerald charged Burge with perjury and obstruction of justice for lying in Hobley's civil suit. In a press conference, Fitzgerald compared the charges against Burge with Al Capone's indictment on tax fraud. Unable to prosecute him for

torture, Fitzgerald used the theory espoused by the Campaign to Prosecute Police Torture and indicted him for lying under oath.

Jon Burge's subsequent trial was a media circus. Local news reporters waited outside the Dirksen Federal Building for any glimpse of Burge or the torture victims. Finally, 21 years after Andrew Wilson first called the People's Law Office, the citizens of Chicago were shocked and surprised to hear sworn testimony of a torture ring in their own city.

In perhaps the cruelest irony, John Conroy was there every day in the courtroom, initially with no press assignment.¹⁹ He'd been laid off by the *Chicago Reader* after a change in ownership in 2007. In a December 10, 2007 *New York Times* article, David Carr reported the loss of the *Reader's* finest investigative journalist and quoted a letter Conroy received from Aaron Patterson's mother, Jo Ann, the previous week:

My son, Aaron Patterson, tortured by the Chicago Police Department, would not be alive today, I believe, without your articles about police torture in the City of Chicago. You documented and wrote the realization of police torture, of which we will never forget. You helped save my son's life for which I thank you.²⁰

Throughout the trial, the effects of Burge's torture were examined by a variety of witnesses: torture victims, community activists, and a sociologist reporting the effect the torture had on the city's African-American community. Mary Powers remembers a chilling moment when torture victim Anthony Holmes was describing the pain inflicted on him; he broke down with tears in his eyes, turning to Burge and asking, "Why'd you do that to me, man?" The former officer only stared back at his accuser.²¹

19 Don Terry. "Justice for John Conroy." *Columbia Journalism Review*, July 15, 2010, accessed April 12, 2014.

20 David Carr. "Muckraking Pays, Just Not in Profit." *The New York Times*, December 12 2007, accessed April 12, 2014.

21 Oral history with Mary Powers taken by the author, March 30, 2014.

18 Flint Taylor, oral history taken by the author, January 22, 2014.

Burge was convicted in federal court on two counts of obstruction of justice and one count of perjury on June 28, 2010. In a moving statement on January 21, 2011, Judge Joan Lefkow sentenced him to four and a half years in federal prison. Lefkow mentioned the tragic murder of her own family when recounting the wounds left on the torture victims, families, and the city's black community. Most notable to those familiar with the saga, however, was a quiet hat tip Lefkow gave to the reporter who'd educated so many about the dirty police headquarters on Chicago's South Side. Paraphrasing a statement John Conroy made in an interview the previous summer,²² Lefkow said:

As one commentator wrote, if the first time—I'm paraphrasing—if the first time this happened your commander had said, you do that again, and you'll be guarding the parking lot at 35th and State, then you might have enjoyed your retirement without this prosecution over your head, without the reality that you will be going to prison in your declining years, when your health is compromised as it is.

If others, such as the United States Attorney and the State's Attorney, had given heed long ago, so much pain could have been avoided.²³

So much pain could have been avoided. In the decades of activism and legal battles, the goal of these lawyers and activists was always the same: justice for torture victims. Their tactics varied greatly over time, as the city and its political landscape shifted. In seeking a day in court for their clients, they found that they had to look beyond the city of Chicago and Cook County in order to find an impartial verdict. It was only by banging on the door again and again demanding action that they could be heard. ■

²² Michael Miner, "Conroy on Burge," *Chicago Reader*, July 10, 2010, accessed April 10, 2014. <http://www.chicagoreader.com/chicago/john-conroy-jon-burge-police-torture/Content?oid=2074209>.

²³ *United States of America vs. Jon Burge*, January 21, 2011.

GENDER, LABOR ORGANIZING & SOLIDARITY IN THE SALVADORAN GARMENT SECTOR

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It was mid-afternoon in San Salvador and very hot. We were just finishing up our lunches. Although the 15 of us women had now been in this small room together for five straight hours, the recent meal and break for conversation had helped to boost energy levels.

Our facilitator walked to the front of the chalkboard and commanded our attention once more. “Okay everyone,” she said, “You need to get into pairs. The partner with the chalk will ask the other partner what her favorite part of her body is and where she likes to be touched most. Then, the partner with the chalk must draw a picture of her partner with those features exaggerated. We will then switch and repeat the exercise. Afterwards, you will present your partner to the rest of the group.”

The women, the youngest around 19 and the oldest with gray hair, quickly paired off to participate in the exercise. Although it felt like I was in a sexual education class geared for teens, I was actually in the middle of an extremely effective union organizing session for a Salvadoran garment workers union. How did the union-organizers develop such an unconventional set of methods for recruitment? What does gender, sexual education workshops, and the body have to do with political mobilization? And what can their strategies teach us about contemporary labor politics in the era of flexible labor and flexible bodies?

This paper utilizes the China Missions Photographs and Vincentian Personnel Files in the DePaul University Special Collections and Archives to provide evidence for the basis of my argument. The 15 boxes of Chinese Mission Photographs provide an ample foundation to show how the Vincentian missionaries represented Chinese children as there are over one thousand photographs, and over 25 percent of them feature children. This paper uses the specific context of garment workers in El Salvador to analyze the physical and social impact of work in relation to the body and the implications this has for new forms of labor organizing. The paper finds that union organizers are increasingly using gendered recruitment strategies that leverage the complex relationship between female bodies and work to successfully mobilize a new generation of female activists. I argue that these novel and somewhat unusual forms of union recruitment are a response to broader economic shifts towards neoliberal policies that have changed the working conditions for female laborers. The success of the new recruitment strategies suggests that there is something generative about the gendered and physical experiences of garment work in terms of producing particular political possibilities, and that the body is a site where certain kinds of solidarities can be formed. In light of this, any analysis of labor or economics more broadly in El Salvador is incomplete without taking seriously questions of the body.

This case study is largely informed by ethnographic research conducted in the region surrounding San Salvador, El Salvador over a ten week period in the summer of 2012. This research consists of interviews with garment workers, testimonials, observation, and extensive field

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notes. In the first section, I begin by providing a brief overview of the recent history of El Salvador as it pertains to labor organizing and industrial transformation. Second, I analyze collective workshops and their significance as new strategies of labor organizing. Third, I discuss the importance of the body in garment work. Finally, there is an examination of labor organizing in relation to the effect of women's experiences in garment factories on motherhood, pregnancy, and the family.

This paper is informed by work of social theorists that deal with questions of embodiment, labor, and gender. Loïc Wacquant's work on boxers in Woodlawn was influential for thinking about bodily knowledge as a viable way of understanding the logics of institutions and of society (2004). Pierre Bourdieu was important for expanding upon and solidifying an understanding of the concept of embodiment (1990). Lastly, Noelle Mole's work on mobbing in Italy helped to facilitate connections between the neoliberal labor market and physical trauma to the body evidenced in my own research (2008; 2011). These are the theorists and texts who frame the analytical approach used in this paper.

Historical context of El Salvador & Labor Organizing

In order to understand the particular political, economic, and social moment in which garment workers are living, it is essential to understand the historical context of El Salvador. Labor has been an important part of the Salvadoran political environment since independence, regardless of whether workers were organized in trade unions, rural organizations, or farming collectives (Chasteen 2006). Disputes between the urban working class, rural farmers, and the land-owning oligarchy were at the root of social divisions that eventually escalated into the Salvadoran Civil War in the 1980s (LeMoyné 1989). Despite hopes of transforming life for the working class and rural peasants, the 12-year civil war led to horrific political violence, economic stagnation, and an overall deterioration of social life.

The Peace Accords of 1992 officially ended the Civil War,

but dramatic changes and internal conflict continued. As part of the Accords, El Salvador ushered in neoliberal economic reforms including a simplified tax structure, reprivatization of the financial system, and liberalization of the trade and financial sectors (Quispe-Agnoli and Whisler 2006). These reforms resulted in export growth and a diversification of the economy, but have done little to address the social turmoil caused by the war. The reforms served only to exacerbate existing tensions and to create new divisions (Vance 2012). In the following years, additional neoliberal economic policies were advanced including dollarization, free trade agreements, and deregulation (Velasquez Carrillo 2012). These policies and their effects define the economic context in which Salvadorans live today.

Older, more traditional, and predominantly male labor organizers during the war and the peace process tended to appeal to anti-capitalist and Marxist ideologies to connect with workers. These ideologies were prevalent in heavy industry unions with majority male work forces. Yet, the Salvadoran labor movement has lost power since the 20th century. Despite the fact that the cease fire of 1992 brought with it a period of heightened democracy and labor reforms, organized labor has steadily declined (Anner 2008). This is significant, especially in light of the fact that decreases in union density have occurred simultaneously with rapid industrialization (Sader 2011). Although traditional organizing strategies became irrelevant and insufficient for workers in the new Salvadoran economy, labor organizers overall have been slow to adapt new methods for recruitment.

New Strategies of Politicization

The organizing strategies used by female organizers in the garment sector represent a departure from the traditional strategies used in male-dominated trades. During the ten weeks of field work in El Salvador, there were four workshops, or *capacitaciones* that were organized exclusively for women in the garment union and their coworkers. Female family members were also welcome,

provided that they had spent a considerable amount of time working in the garment industry (which was often the case anyways). These four *capacitaciones* were organized separately and were not part of any ongoing program or institutionalized initiative. However, they all dealt very concretely with themes of female sexuality, healing, and the body. Despite the various forms, durations, and material of these sessions, each *capacitación* served as a space where women gathered to discuss and touch each other's bodies. The longest *capacitación* in duration was also the largest in terms of attendance. Using resources from the union, one of the primary leaders rented out the top floor of a local hostel in San Salvador. There were 30 attendees present, three of whom were very active in the union, eight more who were loosely involved, two specialists who were invited to aid in facilitation, two women doing research who were invited as guests of the organizers (including myself), and 15 other women who worked in garment factories in the region and were friends and coworkers of the other women. The participants ranged considerably in age. The youngest was 19 and the oldest women had grey hair and grandchildren. Almost all of the attendees were mothers. Some women brought their youngest children with them, and the group rotated periodically providing childcare for each other. Conversation at mealtimes frequently revolved around families and children. Meals and transportation were organized collectively.

This particular event was a two-day, all-day event. The facilitators strongly encouraged women to attend the workshop in its entirety, emphasizing that the conversations and benefits of the activities would be deeper and more easily reached if the group went through the experience together in sequence and uninterrupted. The women participated in interactive sessions interspersed with informational presentations, discussions, and go-arounds. The major focus of this *capacitación* was teaching a Mayan philosophy of inner energies and the cosmos and relationships between bodies and souls (El Centro de Estudio y Apoyo Laboral 2011). Facilitators asked women to form a circle and to share stories about

painful moments or places in their bodies where they held memories. Each woman was given a rock, and after she told her story, she placed the rock in the center of the circle. Then she received a hug from each member of the circle and returned to her place. Women told stories of what had forced them into working in the garment sector (typically sexual or domestic violence), what the work had done to their relationships with their children, or of violence on the job. This activity moved many participants to tears. It is interesting to note, however, that not a single woman cried during her own story. It was listening to the stories of other women that provoked the greatest emotional response. These collective workshops helped deal with issues of alienation amongst the workers. By explicitly linking emotional pain to moments of bodily violence and by linking painful memories with places in the body, these types of workshops enable women to think about healing in both physical and spiritual terms.

Another *capacitación* was held in the office of a women's organization. Roughly sixteen women attended this session. The women's organization put on the event at the request of the women in the union. Again, the attendees were all garment workers. This *capacitación* focused on sexual education and re-learning how to connect with one's own body. In one activity, facilitators asked women to think of all the slang terms for female body parts. After developing a list and writing it on the board, the group discussed how weak and small animals (usually pests and rodents), smelly food items, and other pejorative terms were used as euphemisms for the female body. Facilitators then re-taught the technical names for body parts and asked the women to use the non-derogatory terms in daily practice. As one facilitator explained, "The first step to reclaiming our relationships to our own bodies is through language." Later in the session, attendees went through an activity in which they were asked to tell another woman where they liked to be touched and then to ask the other woman to touch them in that place. For example, one woman would say, "I like it when people hold my hand," and then another woman would reach out and hold hands with her. This

seemingly simple exercise was extremely difficult for many of the women. Facilitators were met with blank stares when they prompted women to say where they liked to be touched. Many responded with, “I do not know where I like being touched,” or, “People do not touch me.” The group participated in a similar activity in which they were asked to describe what things they liked a romantic partner to do to them. Most of the women found this significant because they rarely thought about intimate relations in terms of their own pleasure or enjoyment. These *capacitaciones* served as support groups in which women could explore their relationships to their own bodies and sexualities.

At the end of each of the four *capacitaciones*, facilitators would briefly thank the union for donating funds for the meals, providing transportation, or for securing the space. After that, the *capacitación* would break into informal conversation and women would start to head home. Union representatives did not make any sort of presentation or ask for attendees to come to general meetings. If a worker showed interest in learning more, a union member would offer more information or set up another time to talk, but that was the extent of explicit organizing activity.

However, over the course of these women-only meetings, the *capacitaciones* proved extremely effective in recruiting new members. Attendees were willing to come back for more sessions and were interested in the other offerings from the union. Although the act of women sitting in a room together teaching each other the technical terms for female reproductive organs is not automatically associated with labor organizing, the success of the *capacitaciones* in stimulating interest in the union and drawing in new members suggests that there is a link between labor and themes of sexuality and the female body. Based on the experiences of female garment workers, bodies are becoming spaces of political mobilization and sites for new solidarities. By understanding the political aspects of the body and the implications of work-related pain, it becomes easier to see these *capacitaciones* as organizing sites.

The Garment Sector & The Importance of the Body

The focus of the *capacitaciones* on questions of the body makes sense in light of recent developments in the structure of the garment industry. Today, the majority of garment workers in El Salvador are young women who have moved from rural to urban areas in search of work (Garwood 2005). This has led to a surplus population of labor in cities. Due to free-trade policies and the availability of cheap labor, the garment industry is defined by cutting and running, flexibility, and outsourcing. The organization of apparel production is spread across many factories which makes it difficult for workers to hold brands accountable for labor rights violations (AAPN 2013). If workers successfully establish a union and secure a decent wage, companies are able to pull production from that factory and move to another factory or country where labor is cheaper. As brands search for the cheapest production possible, they force firms to compete amongst each other by cutting costs. This phenomenon in which factories and countries compete for the worst possible labor conditions is referred to as the global race to the bottom (El Centro de Estudio y Apoyo Laboral 2012). The restructuring of production in the garment sector to this model has made labor and bodies increasingly flexible.

This is evident in the experiences of workers in the factories. Mariela Ernesto is a 36 year old garment worker living in Apopa, San Salvador.¹ When export firms started setting up in the city, many located to the Free Trade Zone along the road that connects the higher elevation Apopa with the lower center of San Salvador. Mariela moved to the area shortly after the Free Trade Zone was established. She has worked in the garment sector for the past ten years, spending most of that time at Chi Fung. Chi Fung is a large factory that is a major player in subcontracting throughout the city, and it produces for brands such as Adidas, Soffee, and Joe Boxer. Mariela works extremely long shifts at Chi

¹ Blacklisting is a serious threat for organizers in the region. For security and privacy reasons, all names in this paper have been changed to protect the identity of workers and their families.

Fung and is often times forced into working overtime in order to keep her job. On nights when orders are excessive, supervisors lock the doors and workers are forced to keep working through the night until the start of their shift the next morning.

On the inside, the factory is organized by departments. The sewing department is organized by production lines, and this is where Mariela works. Each worker has a station on the line in which they sew the same seams on the same garments for over 12 hours a day, six days a week. As Mariela notes, “The repetition is enough to grind your bones away.” The temperature also contributes to harsh conditions. The factory itself is always extremely hot because of the heat produced by the machines and the chemicals used to cut the cloth. Additionally, the lights on the sewing machines are extremely hot and close to workers’ hands, causing the skin to burn and blister. Chi Fung has an “air conditioning” system installed that consists of ice cold water sprayed on the backs of workers to keep them from overheating. So, as workers’ hands and face are quite literally burning, their backs and their heads are wet and freezing. Mariela says that the body’s endless task of regulating itself in the face of such extremes is the most physically draining aspect of work in the factories. When Mariela returns home after a shift, she cannot shower or wash herself because of the pain in her arms and hands. Oftentimes the pain is so severe that she cannot remove her clothes and is forced to sit in her sweat-soaked shirt until she can move her fingers again and attempt to massage her arms back to functionality. Her daughter helps her when she is home, however, on nights when her daughter is working, Mariela has no other choice but to sit and wait.

Conditions only become intensified when higher demands of production lead to increased activity in the factory. Workers are required to work longer hours, suffer more abuse from management, and push their bodies to new levels of exertion. Mariela remembers one particular week in which the factory was behind on its production demands. Workers had not been able to break for food all

day, so the mangoes they had brought started to go bad. When they were going on their twenty-fifth hour, workers in her line discovered that the acid from the rotting mangoes was useful in keeping their eyes open through the fatigue and that “the burning sensation gave you something to focus on so you would not faint.” The workers rationalized inflicting this pain upon themselves because they needed to keep up with the demands of production in order to keep their jobs. The factory’s and the brand’s need for flexible labor, their dependence on surplus of labor, and the logic of qualimetrics manifest themselves in physical experiences like Mariela’s.

Mariela, who attended two capacitaciones and has since joined the union, noted that the activities that focused on discussion of the body were particularly important for her because they enabled her to talk about her experiences with other women. In many cases, she had experienced the same types of pain and treatment as other women, but had not realized how much it affected her until she heard someone else talk about it. Mariela’s testimony shows that there is a complex and central relationship between work and the body. This suggests that older organizing models that do not adequately address workers’ relationships to their own bodies fail to capture some of the injustices that workers are facing.

Additionally, the constant violence of the production system represents a break from older notions of bodily damage and violence on the job. In the past, union workers fought and organized around issues of workplace safety and accident coverage and accountability (Anner and Fitzsimmons 1999). Contracts outlined protections from the hazards of the work environment such as faulty equipment, injuries caused from accidents, and the provision of safety wear. However, in El Salvador today, the bodily damage that is occurring in the garment factories is not conceptualized as injuries due to work-related accidents. The machinery is functioning exactly the way it is supposed to, and injuries are occurring over time rather than in single instances. This is a complex form of worker

grievance that requires a new method of labor organizing and support.

The Limit Of The Body As A Site Of Solidarity

As discussed in a previous section, the apparel industry is composed of primarily female laborers. Because of this, conditions in the factories and experiences of work have a very specifically gendered effect. It is not only that women experience work in a way that is particular to the female body, but that work and pain affects their roles as women in families and in society. The violence of sweatshop labor has the ability to impact female subjects through the female body in ways that it could not affect a male subject. This is expressed in a variety of ways, and pregnancy and motherhood are the most obvious physical examples.

Erika is a 30 year old who lives in Santa Ana, a city in the northwest that lies between two major Free Trade Zones. Erika is a single mother of two who has worked in garment shops since she was 18. Erika works at Exmodica, a small factory of less than 400 workers that receives the extra orders of larger factories that are overcapacity. Because of this, work and production levels are often more precarious and unsteady in Exmodica than in other factories. Erika approached the union with whom I did my research after being unsatisfied and unsuccessful with another union. Erika had felt that the first union she approached, dominated by male workers from the cutting department, was too compliant towards management and unresponsive to new ideas. She aimed to gain protections for mothers and pregnant women, goals that the first union saw as external to typical worker demands.

Erika remembers one season at Exmodica in which the volume of production was especially high. There were 17 pregnant women who were working in the factory at the time. Some were four, five, even seven months pregnant. As conditions worsened and shifts increased, it became harder for the pregnant women to work. Workers were not allowed to get up from their seats; they were not allowed to use the restroom or break for food or water; and they rarely

moved from their fixed positions at their stations. Of the 17 women who had been pregnant, 16 women, including Erika, miscarried their pregnancies. Erika says that when the only woman that successfully carried her baby gave birth, the baby had serious health problems and died within six months.

In other instances, women lost their babies from physical trauma. In the mornings and evenings when the doors of the factory are unlocked, crowds of laborers exiting and entering the facility frantically collide in an effort to take a place at a machine or leave. It is common for women to get hit or trampled and to lose their babies in these stampedes to and from the factory. Erika remembers other instances in which some of her coworkers could not stay as long as the supervisors wanted. They were forced to jump over the factory walls, also causing them to miscarry. Erika says she never expected to have the baby. Women typically cannot carry pregnancies past five or six months while working in the factories. Erika relates that, "You either lose the baby because of the conditions, or you lose the baby because you have no money to feed it or yourself." Most women need to continue working and cannot afford to take off three months to rest. If they do leave work, there is no guarantee they will find a job to support their baby after the birth.

The physicality of work in the Salvadoran garment industry coupled with the economic situation and hiring practices makes it so that motherhood is both physically and economically infeasible. However, the effect of work and the organization of social labor and political life on women's bodies is easily ignored by those who cannot directly participate in that type of analysis. For men who are used to their place within existing power structures, and who do not have the bodily experiences to appreciate the fundamental impact of this type of pain on a subject and subject formation, the importance of something like a breastfeeding break or an early release time for expecting mothers may be lost. This issue of gendered knowledge may help to explain why Erika's first encounter with the

male-dominated union was frustrating and, ultimately, unsuccessful. When the effect of labor on the female body is understood and taken into consideration, new forms of solidarity emerge. Men who are distanced from the female reality of garment work are missing the experience that drives many women into political action to address what is for them extremely personal issues. It is not that the older, Marxist model of labor organizing in El Salvador is a failure, but rather that those who are most committed to the older model are missing a fundamental component of what is really happening because of their bodily experience base.

Conclusion

Although the older Marxist-based paradigm of labor organizing seems to be bypassed in the garment sector in favor of a new logic grounded in issues of the female body and violence, it is not going away completely. Central concepts such as inequality, class divisions, and transnational solidarity are still vitally important to union organizers. It would seem that, instead of being totally obsolete, the customary anti-capitalist analysis is necessary but not sufficient for organizing in the context of female Salvadoran garment workers. As economic structures and policies change, conditions change on the ground. As the gendered, physical realities and bodily relationships of workers change, the way in which they conceive of themselves as political also evolves. In response, organizing logics and method must also adapt. The relationship between economic structures, gender, workers' bodies, and political organizations such as unions is dynamic and multidirectional.

This research on garment workers in El Salvador examines new methods for labor organizing that are emerging in response to changing economic environments and gendered labor. The case of female garment workers and the *capacitaciones* suggest that new themes such as gender, female sexuality, and bodily experience are important in shaping how labor organizing happens. The success of the new recruitment strategies suggests that there is something generative about the gendered

and physical experiences of garment work in terms of producing particular political possibilities, and that the body is a site where certain kinds of solidarities can be formed. Although this paper considers labor organizing in detail, it is only one of the many social and political assemblages that are affected by violent economic structures. Any analysis that attempts to understand modern social life in El Salvador without taking seriously the implications of the relationship between pain and the body will be excluding a fundamental component of the social and political landscape.

This paper has analyzed the physical and political impact of work in relation to the body in the specific context of garment workers in El Salvador, but this research has wider theoretical implications. As a discipline, political economy primarily analyzes macroeconomic policy changes at the structural level. However, by thinking beyond the concept of an individual as a fixed economic actor or decision maker and instead thinking of how the logics of economic systems must become learned and habitualized in the human body, we become better equipped to understand how and why social, political, and economic organizations assemble and reassemble over time in response to changing economic contexts. This research is important precisely because of the way that it links the implications of structural violence directly to bodily experiences. While this research specifically identifies Central America as a source, there is clear anecdotal evidence that these patterns emerge throughout the apparel industry and in other places globally. This suggests that this pattern is important for understanding social and political implications of bodily pain and work. Future analysis of structural violence is incomplete without taking the body and political being into consideration. ■

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“PUTTING ALLSPACE IN A NOTSHALL”: THE PRESENCE OF *HAMLET* IN *FINNEGANS WAKE*

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In the Scylla and Charybdis episode of *Ulysses*, Joyce includes the now famous quotation, “After God, Shakespeare has created most” (*Ulysses* 175. 1028,1029). Reading through Joyce’s short but dense list of works, and gaining insights into his personal life through biographies, one sees how true Joyce must have found this to be. His reverence for The Bard is seemingly unmatched in fiction, and nowhere is this influence more apparent than in Joyce’s final work, *Finnegans Wake*. The presence of Shakespeare’s play *Hamlet* permeates Joyce’s weaving of wordplay and pun. Throughout the *Wake* he makes extensive allusions to and rewritings of some of Shakespeare’s most memorable lines and characters, adding them to his collage-like fusion of languages, historical events, and philosophical fragments. In doing so, Joyce creates a modern work whose framework rests upon the legacy of the great dramatist that came before him. The aim of this essay is to demonstrate that just as Homer’s *Odyssey* frames *Ulysses*, Shakespeare’s *Hamlet* frames *Finnegans Wake*.

It is not merely the multitude of allusions Joyce makes to *Hamlet* that merits this comparison, but rather the way Joyce incorporates these works into the substance of the novel. In *Finnegans Wake*, Joyce pursues many of the primary themes Shakespeare did in his great drama. For instance, scholar Willard Farnham points out:

It is for Western man to realize that [Hamlet] is posing questions about truth itself, about the glorious but also terrifying lack of simplicity that truth shows... Here, I would say, is the *Hamlet* problem of *Hamlet* problems... the theme of unsimple truth. It may be said that Hamlet is indeed about the pursuit of revenge, but most deeply [it is] about the pursuit of truth.

While this analysis is certainly applicable to *Hamlet*, it is also an apt observation of *Finnegans Wake*. It is the *Wake*’s own embrace of its unknowability that has invigorated, enraged, and perplexed generations of readers since its 1939 publication.

If Hamlet’s aim is, as Farnham suggests, the pursuit of truth, then the framing of the play lies in uncertainty. Because Hamlet (along with Laertes and others) is seeking truth, he must be dwelling in a state of uncertainty, or at least an ambiguity concerning the truth. This reasoning inexorably links *Hamlet* with *Finnegans Wake* in that readers of both pieces are striving to find truth amid chaos, and interpret actions and events in chronological and coherent order. Readers are called to question the ghost’s request for Hamlet to avenge his death just as we are called to decipher just exactly what crime—if any—the *Wake*’s protagonist HCE is guilty of. Readers of Joyce are placed in a world of gossip, song, and hearsay as the nature of exactly what occurred between HCE and the young girls in Phoenix Park is explored. Hamlet’s attempt to discover the truth behind his father’s death further illustrates the search for truth that is apparent in both works, as both readers and characters strive for clarity.

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The most coherent analysis Joyce allows of the crime (which represents not only HCE's fall, but also the Fall of Man) comes through the Cad's speculation:

Was it supposedly in connection with a girls, Myramy Huey or Colores Archer, under Flaggy Bridge (for ann there is but one liv and her newbridge is her old) or to explode his twelvechamber and force a shrievalty entrance that the heavybuilt Abelbody in a butcherblue blouse from One Life One Suit (a men's wear store), with a most decisive bottle of single in his possession, seized after dark by the town guard at Haveyou-caught-emerod's temperance gateway was there in a gate's way. (FW 63. 12-19)

This uncertainty concerning the nature of HCE's crime is surpassed only by the uncertainty found in Joyce's linguistic indeterminacy. Both *Hamlet* and the *Wake* revolve around the reader's and the characters' lack of knowledge concerning the truth, as all involved seek (with varying degrees of success) to discover it.

Yet, it is Joyce's language that simultaneously delights and confuses readers. He has purposefully constructed his sentences and vocabulary to thwart the reader's ability to draw simple or fully comprehensible conclusions about the text. This linguistic indeterminacy is precisely what allows *Finnegans Wake* to be so vast in its scope. Because readers are never allowed the luxury to read uncritically, and because Joyce has included so many allusions within the work, it achieves an unmatched reputation for its range of topics, as well as its unknowability. The *Wake* has become a book with almost as many readings as there are readers because upon preliminary analysis, Joyce's language seldom allows even the most basic of deductions to be drawn. The difficulty of his writing conveys as much, if not more information than the plot because it challenges readers to question how they define certainty and knowledge. This is how the indeterminacy of Joyce's language becomes epistemological, as it forces us to question how truth and knowledge can be ascertained, and subsequently relied on.

Joyce tests his readers much in the same way Hamlet tests his uncle in the staging of the play "The Murder of Gonzago," as he attempts to discover the truth of his father's death. Readers of Joyce and Shakespeare are subjected to a fictional work that, while abstracted from reality, signifies beyond itself toward the depiction of truth. In Shakespeare's case, Hamlet tests his uncle for guilt in the murder of his father; in Joyce's case, the *Wake* tests his readers' ability (or willingness) to dwell within the "unsimple truth" Farnham mentions. Readers are forced to acknowledge their inability to master the text, or else face a maddening experience as Joyce challenges the ways in which readers were taught to read. Joyce scholar Phillip Herring writes of *Finnegans Wake*: "Uncertainty and the quest for meaning as we decipher the record of HCE's unconscious are what the *Wake* is about. This we see clearly if we frustrate ourselves by trying to read it as a novel. On the other hand, identifying the major conventions of the novel in their murky Wakean forms does enable us to see how each is undermined." One may logically begin to wonder if Joyce intentionally centered his work on the same essential theme as Shakespeare did in *Hamlet*, by concentrating on the quest for truth and the effects this has upon both the reader's and the characters' psyches.

Madness, another great theme of *Hamlet*, is also recreated and adopted in the dream structure of *Finnegans Wake*. Joyce replicates a dream through his ability to shape his words to offer multiple perspectives and allusions to rather uncommon objects (Russian generals, speaking trees and stones, etc). This replicates not only the wanderings of the mind while sleeping, but also the symptoms of schizophrenia many sufferers experience as well. While a dream can hardly be defined as madness, the psychological workings of a dream do share common traits with madness. As Hamlet suffers from both actual and feigned mental deterioration, Joyce crafts a fluid panorama of events and ideas that in many ways recreates the symptoms of schizophrenia. In his classic study *Shakespearean Tragedy*, A.C. Bradley writes:

That Hamlet was not far from insanity is very probable. His adoption of the pretence of madness may well have been due in part to fear of the reality; to an instinct of self-preservation, a fore-feeling that the pretence would enable him to give some utterance to the load that pressed on his heart and brain, and a fear that he would be unable altogether to repress such utterance. (Bradley 120)

Hamlet views the events leading up to the play's conclusion in a different manner than the other characters of the play, and those characters realize this. His own mother, when questioned how Hamlet fares, claims, "Mad as the sea and wind, when both contend/ Which is the mightier" (*Hamlet*. IV.i.7). While Hamlet's intelligence surpasses all within the play, his ability to reason with clarity and relate to others is quickly waning.

Compare Bradley's earlier observation with Cheryl Herr's analysis, "The Erratics of Irishness: Schizophrenia, Racism, and *Finnegans Wake*." Focusing on the similarities between the effects of schizophrenia and Joyce's prose, she writes:

Joyce turns *Finnegans Wake* towards the variety of linguistic characteristics often associated with schizophrenic speakers, the force of his results being not to indicate genetically produced disorder in himself/ his daughter, nor to represent his narrative/ narrator as a schizophrenic subject, but rather to force upon the reader the experience of living within a linguistic field that systematically conditions her into the polysemous world inhabited by some schizophrenic patients. (Herr 126)

While Hamlet may not suffer from the extremity of mental illness that Joyce replicates, and Joyce himself did not suffer from the madness that Hamlet experiences, the two works are bound by their skewed perception of reality, as they strive for truth against the odds.

Hamlet's mental disorder stems from melancholia,

which becomes madness, and Joyce's recreation of it stems from the esoteric, fluid, wordplay of a hyper-literate and educated author, who witnessed the effects of schizophrenia firsthand through his daughter Lucia. Joyce, while not schizophrenic himself, replicates many symptoms of the disorder by challenging conventional understanding of the relationship between the signifier and signified. Novelist Edna O'Brien seems to agree, in her succinct biography, *James Joyce*:

The English critic Desmond MacCarthy said Joyce was determined to write 'as a lunatic for lunatics.' What he was determined to do was to break the barrier between conscious and unconscious, to do in waking life what others do in sleep. Madness he knew to be the secret of genius. Hamlet was mad in his opinion and it was that madness which induced the great drama." (O'Brien 150)

It is as if Joyce realized that by truly challenging the way his readers were taught to read and interpret information, he was labeling himself as "mad" to many confused readers. Rather than shunning this title, however, Joyce seems to have embraced it.

By replicating the madness experienced by Hamlet, Joyce utilized the fluid wanderings of the mind, disregarding concern for linear or even fully coherent thought. This freedom opens the possibility of literature exploring not only the consciousness of being awake, but also the sub-consciousness of sleep. Yet the languages Joyce was equipped with would not suffice in his exploration. In his gargantuan study *James Joyce*, Richard Ellmann quotes Joyce: "I'd like a language which is above all languages, a language in which all will do service. I cannot express myself in English without enclosing myself in tradition.' At a time when others were questioning the liberties he took with English, Joyce was conscious only of its restraints upon him" (Ellmann 410). While the structure and scope of *Finnegans Wake* make it fascinating, it is the language used to express such ideas that renders it a work of genius.

Yet, Joyce himself seems to have been keenly aware of the difficulty his text would present readers, as he continually speaks directly to the reader with teases such as, “You is feeling like you was lost in the bush, boy? You says, It is a puling sample jangle of woods. You most shouts out: Bethicket me for a stump of a beech if I have the poultriest notions what the rarest he all means?” (FW 112). It is precisely Joyce’s ability to stretch the capacity of the English language (not to mention many other languages in the *Wake*) that earns him his distinguished avant-garde reputation. Yet, conceivably this ability to stretch the English language has more to do with *Hamlet* than one would initially believe.

Prince Hamlet, perhaps more so than any other of Shakespeare’s great heroes, possesses an intelligence that surpasses all others on the stage. His use of language is eloquent, dense, and sometimes intentionally exasperating. Bradley’s study goes on to mention, “Hamlet, everyone has noticed is fond of quibbles and word-play, and of ‘conceits’ and turns of thought such as are common in the poets whom Johnson called Metaphysical. Sometimes, no doubt, he plays with words and ideas chiefly in order to mystify, thwart and annoy” (Bradley 145). Readers see Hamlet’s dialogue repeatedly stretch itself to meet the action of the play as he demonstrates his exceptional ability to express himself.

Hamlet’s first line of the play contains a simple yet poignant pun, “A little more than kin, and less than kind” (H.I.ii.66), and by act two he is purposefully abstracting his language to appear mad, “For if the sun breed maggots in a dead dog,/ being a good kissing carrion- Have you a daughter?” (H.II.ii.180,181). Hamlet never finds himself at a loss for words, and his linguistic abilities transcend what readers would normally expect even from an author such as Shakespeare. Joyce also plays a large role in reshaping the English language by making extensive use of puns, alliteration, and portmanteaus throughout his work. One can hardly find all of the allusions Joyce makes to not only Shakespeare, but *Hamlet* in particular as Joyce

begins systematically deconstructing English through his wordplay.

Readers find Joyce tackling the most famous as well as the most obscure lines in *Hamlet*, and offering his inspired wordplays in homage. Among his relatively clear allusions are: “Me ken or no me ken Zot is the Quiztune,” (FW 110.14), “What’s Hiccupper to hem or her to Hagaba” (FW 276.8-9), and “Gaunt grey ghostly gossips growing grubber in the glow... even Dane the Great... Let shrill their duan Gallus” (FW 594.25-30). Yet, these allusions alone do not prove what a close relationship these two works have. It is the great themes that Joyce has inherited and developed from *Hamlet* that join the two works most closely.

One quotation in particular that seems to have inspired Joyce is Hamlet’s statement, “O God, I could be bounded in a nutshell,/ and count myself a king of infinite space— were it/ not that I have bad dreams” (H.II.ii.260-263). While Vincent Cheng in his landmark study *Joyce and Shakespeare: A Study of Finnegans Wake* detects only two allusions to this passage (“Omnitudes in a knutshedell” [FW 276.2] and “Putting Allspace in a Notshall” [FW 455.29]), the significance the line has in the shaping of *Finnegans Wake* as a whole is too outstanding to be ignored. It is in a discussion with Guildenstern and Rosencrantz concerning ambition and dreams that Hamlet makes the remark. Guildenstern retorts, “Which dreams indeed are ambition, for/ the very substance of the/ ambitions is merely a shadow of a dream” (H. II.ii. 264-266). This exchange may provide a key to understanding *Finnegans Wake*’s emphasis on a nonlinear relationship between time and space, as well as its exploration of the workings of the mind in a dream, and perhaps more specifically, what may be interpreted as a bad dream.

Finnegans Wake itself is akin to infinite space within a nutshell. Through the deluge of historical events, literary and theological allusions, and multi-lingual wordplay, Joyce manages to squeeze a vast portrait of the human experience into 628 pages. Its scope is perhaps unparalleled

in fiction, as Joyce seeks to include references to nearly all facets of knowledge. While achieving this, Joyce makes profound statements concerning how mankind interprets and categorizes information. Ellmann writes:

In all his books up to *Finnegans Wake* Joyce sought to reveal the coincidence of the present with the past. Only in *Finnegans Wake* was he to carry his conviction to its furthest reaches, by implying that there is no present and no past, that there are no dates, that time—and language which is time's expression—is a series of coincidences which are general over all humanity. Words move into words, people into people, incidents into incidents like the ambiguities of a pun, or a dream. We walk through darkness on familiar roads. (Ellmann 563)

It is in Ellmann's analysis that readers can understand Joyce's ability to condense "Ommitudes in a knutshedell." By creating a literary landscape with neither stops nor ends where each statement reinterprets the previous, Joyce is able to create an infinitely malleable environment. Joyce's sentences prove capable of expressing multiple thoughts at once through the extreme diversity of his vocabulary, both traditional and invented. By virtually creating his own language, Joyce fashions, as Ellmann suggests, "time's expression," which is capable of communicating Joyce's theories on both time and culture.

This idea may be better explained in Aristotle's summary of Zeno's paradox, which while disproved in mathematics, still carries a fascinating insight into our concept of space. Aristotle writes, "In a race the quickest runner can never overtake the slowest, since the pursuer must first reach the point whence the pursued started, so the slower must always lead" (Physics 239b,15). The key to understanding what Zeno may have to do with *Finnegans Wake's* attempt at finding "infinite space" in a nutshell is essentially the concept of repeated division. Joyce structured his language so that nearly every word is capable of expressing multiple, oftentimes contradictory, meanings.

He has, in a sense, divided each word into a representation of multiple subjects. Thus, by the time one reaches a new sentence, a vast amount of references and allusions will be communicated. There is so much information contained within the pages of the *Wake* because Joyce crafted each word to carry several potential allusions, connotations, and definitions. In doing so, he mastered the ability to say much in the space of very few words, and showed the vastness of space that even the smallest of environments (think sentences or nutshells) can contain when space is conceptually divided repeatedly.

Shakespeare demonstrates this throughout *Hamlet* as his protagonist seems to divide his personality and language to meet whatever event he encounters. In the course of the five acts, readers see Hamlet as a son, friend, enemy, lover, fencing master, and so on, yet rarely see him assume multiple of these roles at once. He seems to have mastered the role of dividing his personality to suit the situation at hand. Hamlet's character proves to be so complex because he, as Whitman says in "Song of Myself," "contains multitudes." This concept furthers the possible logic of Hamlet's claim about infinite space within the nutshell because it shows how capable he is of changing his persona to fit an event.

Joyce, a writer also capable of adopting a multitude of voices, possesses Hamlet's ability to assume different personas and linguistic capabilities. The primary difference, however, is that rather than limiting himself to one character or role at a time, Joyce embraces many roles at once. Rather than solely expressing one thought in a sentence, revealing a single aspect of his persona as Hamlet does, Joyce communicates a startling (often baffling) amount of information in a very short space. Both techniques, however, are fundamentally linked by the repeated division of personality. Hamlet shows one aspect at a time of who he is as a whole, while Joyce gathers many personalities and distributes them amongst his words and sentences.

This allows Joyce the ability to challenge, as Hamlet does with Guildenstern, the way audiences interpret time, space, and the function of language. Biographer Morris Beja recognizes this in his study, *James Joyce: A Literary Life*: “The language of *Finnegans Wake* is not merely ‘anythongue athall’ (FW 117) but rather a fascinating and magnificent exploration of the possibilities of the human condition. Major elements of that exploration are puns and ‘portmanteau’ words” (Beja 90). It is Joyce’s use of “Punns and reedles” (FW 239) that exposes and relates his unique interpretations of history and time throughout the *Wake*. While Hamlet’s statement about counting himself a king of infinite space within a nutshell strikes most audiences as a sign of Hamlet’s deteriorating mental health, Joyce saw it as a means by which to enhance his ability to express the way the sleeping mind understands space and movement.

While it is clear that Joyce respected the man who authored the “good King Hamlaugh’s gulden dayne” (FW 79), it is less clear to what extent. Despite utilizing Shakespeare prolifically in both *Ulysses* and *Finnegans Wake*, in his personal life, Joyce always maintained that the Norwegian playwright Henrik Ibsen was the superior dramatist. Ellmann writes of a conversation that occurred between a friend and the aging Joyce: “Do you then place Ibsen higher than Shakespeare?” asked Vinding. “He towers head and shoulders above him when it comes to drama. No one approaches him there.” (Ellmann 707). Furthermore, it is apparent that Joyce had issues with the dramatic construction, not only of some of Shakespeare’s tragedies, but of *Hamlet* in particular. Ellmann quotes Joyce’s conversation with his brother Stanislaus:

“Ophelia’s madness took all the force out of Hamlet’s simulation, and that her love for her father, whom the audience has seen to be a paltry old imbecile, is a character of Hamlet’s passion; and the evil in the King’s character that accounts for Hamlet’s hatred must be supposed for it is not dramatically explained. Ibsen was much better.” (Ellmann 276)

Readers see here Joyce offering a logical (perhaps even true) analysis of the very play that he would later be so artistically influenced by.

So why then, if Joyce truly did regard Ibsen to be the superior dramatist, did he place Shakespeare at the near center of his two final epic novels? It seems that even if Joyce did regard Ibsen to be a superior dramatist, Shakespeare nevertheless occupied a larger part of Joyce’s mind and imagination. In *Ulysses*, Buck Mulligan states of Joyce’s youthful alter ego Stephen Dedalus, “He proves by algebra that Hamlet’s grandson is Shakespeare’s grandfather and that he himself is the ghost of his own father” (U 15,555-557). However strange it may initially seem, it is a theory which, according to Ellmann and Joyce’s friends, “Joyce took more seriously than Stephen” (Ellmann 375). This paradox in Joyce’s life is extremely similar to his views on his native Ireland, a country which he saw as backwards and degenerate, yet used as not only the setting but also the focus of all his works. Despite Joyce’s appreciation of Ibsen’s work, it is clear that throughout Joyce’s life he greatly respected Shakespeare’s work and ultimately found himself returning to the themes which Shakespeare perfected.

There is certainly no shortage of scholarship dedicated to the immense influence Shakespeare has had in Western literature and art. The culmination of these studies most likely lies in Harold Bloom’s boisterous claim from *Shakespeare: The Invention of the Human*:

Hamlet’s relation to Jesus is enigmatic; Shakespeare, as always evades both faith and doubt. Since the Jesus of the Gospel of Mark, like the Yahweh of the J Writer, is a literary character now worshipped as God (I speak only pragmatically), we have the riddle that Hamlet can be discussed in some of the ways we might employ to talk about Yahweh, or Socrates, or Jesus. (Bloom 419,420)

While Bloom may have claimed too much for *Hamlet*, the quotation demonstrates the play’s ability to inspire a

sense of boundless significance in the reader's mind. It is clear through Joyce's correspondence and fiction that he regarded *Hamlet* to be a powerful influence over Western art, and perhaps despite maintaining Ibsen to be a stronger playwright, he was subject to the same "Bardolatry" as so many before and after him.

Regardless of his personal opinions on Shakespeare, one can ascertain that Joyce was certainly artistically inspired by Shakespeare in general and by *Hamlet* in particular. He is at once embracing Western literary tradition and furthering the ability of these shared themes to represent contemporary audiences. T.S. Eliot expresses this sentiment of literary inheritance most profoundly in his essay "Tradition and the Individual Talent." Eliot writes:

We dwell with satisfaction upon the poet's difference from his predecessors, especially his immediate predecessors; we endeavour to find something that can be isolated in order to be enjoyed. Whereas if

we approach a poet without this prejudice we shall often find that not only the best, but the most individual parts of his work may be those in which the dead poets, his ancestors, assert their immortality most vigorously. And I do not mean the impressionable period of adolescence, but the period of full maturity. (Eliot, *The Sacred Wood*)

While Joyce attempts to break free from literary tradition and explore the "unsimple truth," he does so with a deep, albeit sometimes humorous, reverence for his literary predecessors. As Homer's *Odyssey* stands at the center of *Ulysses*, so does *Hamlet* at the center of *Finnegans Wake*. Joyce utilizes not only the small fragments of speech and sentiment that Shakespeare expresses (the "wild and whirling words" of Hamlet), but also many of the same general themes, such as the role of madness and the interpretation of space, truth, and time. Joyce's work, like *Hamlet* itself, is an exploration of the mind's capabilities as it probes for truth and coherence. ■

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Laura Kolber | *River Branch*

UN'ANALISI STILISTICA DI “GUIDO, I' VORREI” DI DANTE ALIGHIERI

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ABSTRACT This essay performs a detailed stylistic analysis of a famous sonnet by the author of the *Divine Comedy*. In this youthful fantasy, Dante imagines that he and his friends—fellow poets Guido Cavalcanti and Lapo Gianni—are adrift at sea on an enchanted bark whose movements follow their every desire. The essay focuses on Dante's specific grammatical, rhetorical, and lexical choices to show how the text conveys a sense of dreamlike wonder in the courtly love tradition.

Guido, i' vorrei che tu e Lapo ed io
fossimo presi per incantamento
e messi in un vasel ch'ad ogni vento
per mare andasse al voler vostro e mio,

si che fortuna od altro tempo rio
non ci potesse dare impedimento,
anzi, vivendo sempre in un talento,
di stare insieme crescesse 'l disio.

E monna Vanna e monna Lagia poi
con quella ch'è sul numer de la trenta
con noi ponesse il buono incantatore:

e quivi ragionar sempre d'amore,
e ciascuna di lor fosse contenta,
sì come i' credo che saremmo noi.¹

Il sonetto “Guido i' vorrei” di Dante dimostra un chiaro collegamento tematico alle sue altre opere, ed alle altre opere della scuola stilnovista. Questo sonetto fu scritto negli anni giovanili di Dante, e la poesia riflette un senso di

ottimismo e di gioia tipico di un poeta giovane e raffinato come Dante. Il poeta usa temi e immagini tipici della poesia cortese per dipingere un viaggio magico in modo elevato con un senso generale della superiorità spirituale e intellettuale di questo gruppo di amici nobili.

Dante ci dà un sonetto che ha l'atmosfera di un sogno. È una scena con qualche idea concreta insieme alla fantasia. Questo sonetto fu derivato dal *plazer*, un tipo di poesia provenzale che è una poesia di desiderio. Il *plazer* viene dalla tradizione poetica in cui l'autore fa un elenco delle cose piacevoli, o le cose che vuole.² Dante comincia il sonetto con “vorrei,” che esprime il suo piacere ottimista e poi continua a elencare le proprietà dello scenario desiderato. La radice letteraria determina lo scopo o la tesi del sonetto: descrivere il viaggio ideale di Dante, un viaggio con i suoi amici gentili fuori delle regole normali del tempo e dello spazio, lontano dai problemi reali. Il metro del sonetto è endecasillabo, con una rima tipica (ABBA, ABBA, CDE, EDC). Nei versi sillabe toniche ed atone si scambiano, e questo cambiamento del suono dà uno slancio ritmico sempre in avanti come il viaggio dei poeti sul mare nel sonetto, una navigazione senza molta definizione.

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1 Dante Alighieri, *Opere Minori*, a cura di Gianfranco Contini e Domenico De Robertis, Milano e Napoli, Riccardo Ricciardi Editore, 1984, pp. 324-325.

2 Kenelm Foster, “Introduction” in *Dante's Lyric Poetry*, a cura di Patrick Boyde e Kenelm Foster, Londra, Oxford University Press, 1967, p. xv.

Dante comincia il sonetto con “vorrei,” un’espressione di desiderio al condizionale. “Vorrei” esprime la qualità sognante del viaggio. Nella prima strofa, Dante sviluppa lo scenario da favola. L’uso di “vorrei,” e la parola “fossimo” (essere al congiuntivo imperfetto) crea un sentimento di possibilità, o una situazione ipotetica e poco definita. È come un sogno perché non è certo dove comincia o finisce. I limiti sconosciuti dello spazio e il congiuntivo creano un ambiente senza forma, come in un sogno. Nel sonetto Dante usa la figura retorica dell’assonanza. Molti suoni simili si mescolano tra tutte le strofe, e non solo alla fine dei versi con la rima. Nel primo verso “Guido, i’ vorrei che tu e Lapo ed io” c’è lo stesso suono all’inizio e la fine, “io.” Il tono è rilassato e intimo, perché il sonetto è indirizzato a Guido, il suo caro amico.³ La ripetizione dei suoni come il nome di questo amico crea un contesto dolce e amabile in cui il poeta manifesta l’importanza dell’amicizia.

E dove siamo? Sul mare anonimo, con Dante e i suoi amici, Lapo Gianni De’ Ricevuti e Guido Cavalcanti. I due furono poeti nello stesso periodo di Dante. Dante li mette qui perché vuole circondare se stesso con personaggi tanto raffinati e superiori come lui. Questo tema del piccolo gruppo di amici era comune nella poesia cortese. Il dolce stil nuovo viene dalla tradizione cortese, e gli autori sono orgogliosi di sé stessi per l’alta qualità delle loro parole e la loro intelligenza. Dante e i suoi amici furono i membri principali dello stilnovismo, perciò c’è un elitismo culturale e letterario nella scena del sonetto in cui questi amici stanno insieme e l’unica cosa importante è il loro desiderio.

Dante scrive, “fossimo presi per incantamento, / e messi in un vasel ch’ad ogni vento / per mare andasse al voler vostro e mio” (versi 2-4). “Incantamento” significa magia, una gran parte della tradizione poetica cavalleresca a cui lui si riferisce. Questo tipo di magia cavalleresca e cortese Dante menziona ancora nel verso undici quando dice “il buono incantatore.” È un riferimento alla forma di magia

letteraria tradizionale, come quella nelle storie di Re Artù e la tavola rotonda.⁴ Nella tradizione inglese, Re Artù e i suoi cavalieri incontrano molti personaggi soprannaturali, come il mago Merlino, o altre creature fantastiche. La magia di Dante è più sottile di quella. Dante crea la propria forma di surrealismo in cui i desideri del gruppo sono le cose più importanti, specificamente quello che guida il viaggio sul mare. La magia di Dante è più raffinata della magia dichiarata delle avventure di Re Artù. La magia del sonetto dantesco riflette un’idea della fantasia meno narrativa e meno concreta. Dante ha un senso della fantasia più psicologica e perciò più sofisticata. La nave sta seguendo i loro desideri, e ogni vento li spinge attraverso il mare. Possono andare ovunque vogliono. Il viaggio appare spontaneo, e la magia non viene solo dal mago, ma dal gruppo di amici. Poiché loro stanno insieme, qualsiasi fuga dalla realtà sarà fantastica. Questa familiarità fra amici è fondamentale per il viaggio e diventa anche magica. Che bello.

L’uso dell’allitterazione nella strofa è anche molto in evidenza: vorrei, vasel, vento, voler, vostro. Insieme al ritmo cantilenante, crea un’aria quasi mistica e fantastica. Penso che ci sia qualcosa di speciale della lettera “v” che è eccessiva e favolosa. È una frequenza acustica rilevante che sembra quasi un incantesimo e una brezza marina.

Nella seconda strofa, gli scrittori continuano il viaggio. In modo fluido, Dante descrive la facilità con cui si muovono. Dante scrive, “sì che fortuna od altro tempo rio / non ci potesse dare impedimento” (versi 5-6). Forse vuol dire che qualsiasi tipo di tempo, bello o brutto, non ci può causare un problema. Questi versi rafforzano l’atmosfera spensierata, la mancanza totale di stress. I versi successivi, “anzi, vivendo sempre in un talento, / di stare insieme crescesse ’l disio” (7-8), aggiungono altre immagini della pace, e della purezza del viaggio. Dante usa ancora una parola di speranza e desiderio, “disio” e un sinonimo, “talento.” Queste scelte delle parole sono ovviamente significative. A questo punto, il poeta ha usato molte parole

3 Patrick Boyde, *Dante’s Style in His Lyric Poetry*, Londra, Cambridge University Press, 1971, pp. 272-273.

4 Alighieri, *Opere Minori*, cit., p. 324.

con significati molto simili che danno continuamente un senso idealistico e di desiderio.

Poi è importante notare che Dante illustra l'unità della mentalità del gruppo. "Anzi, vivendo sempre in un talento" vuol dire che stanno vivendo uniti con desideri comuni. Questi viaggiatori sono ben consapevoli della loro propria intelligenza. È facile credere che avevano obiettivi in comune. Agli altri stilnovisti forse sarebbe piaciuta quest'evasione dalla realtà.

A prima vista, queste prime quartine sembrano un po' ridondanti. L'effetto polisindetico dà un movimento ondulatorio, precisamente come il mare. Dappertutto, il mare diventa il simbolo centrale nella costruzione del sonetto. È solo menzionato nella prima strofa, ma ha un ruolo fondamentale per il metro, il ritmo e il tono. Un altro elemento stilistico importante qui è l'*enjambement*, la continuazione della frase nei versi seguenti. Le due prime strofe fanno solo una frase grammaticale, ma anche l'abbondanza delle virgole contribuisce al senso di scioltezza. Ogni virgola è come una pausa breve, un'onda sul mare, e quando si legge la voce segue questo percorso fluttuante.

Il verso nove introduce "E monna Vanna e monna Lagia" come le nuove arrivate al gruppo, con la donna trenta nel verso dieci. "Monna" è una forma ridotta di "madonna" che significa una donna raffinata. E chi era la donna trenta? Non è certo, ma lei è una donna fiorentina che occupava il trentesimo posto in una lista delle donne più belle della città menzionata nella *Vita Nuova* VI.⁵ Il poeta descrive questa lista per dire che la sua amante, Beatrice, è il nove, e non mette tutti i nomi delle altre. Questa donna anonima del numero trenta allude alla relazione fra il numero tre e l'amore. Tre ha un simbolismo religioso e potente con la tendenza di trascendere la vita normale. È un simbolo numerologico di Dio in quanto Trinità Santa—Padre, Figlio, Spirito Santo. Ci sono tre uomini, tre donne, e questa donna trentesima. Tre è la perfezione.

⁵ Alighieri, *Opere Minori*, cit., p. 325.

Naturalmente, Dante e i suoi amici vogliono discutere le cose amoroze: sono stilnovisti e la loro ragione d'essere è l'amore. Nel verso dodici, Dante scrive, "e quivi ragionar sempre d'amore." La parola "sempre" dà ancora il senso che questo viaggio succede fuori del tempo normale, sul mare infinito. Dante vuole conversare per sempre di amore con i suoi amici e le donne amate. A Guido Cavalcanti farebbe bene una conversazione leggera, come questa, perchè lui spesso sembra essere misero. Dante probabilmente lo sa, e scrive nel verso tredici e quattordici, "e ciascuna di lor fosse contenta, / sì come i' credo che saremmo noi." Finalmente, Guido si diverte. Negli ultimi versi, Dante sottolinea l'idea principale del sonetto. Il congiuntivo imperfetto di essere appare ancora (sempre dipendente da "vorrei" nel primo verso) e l'aggettivo "contenta." È curioso e bello che molti dei versi nelle terzine cominciano con "e" o "con." Specificamente nei versi dieci a tredici, c'è una ripetizione chiara. Queste congiunzioni sono altri elementi che contribuiscono alla circolarità delle terzine.

Dante inizia e finisce il sonetto con un'asserzione della speranza personale alla prima persona singolare con la forma troncata di "io," "i' vorrei," e "i' credo." Nelle prime strofe, Dante delinea la sua visione di desiderio personale, con la sua cerchia nobile e superiore. Però all'inizio Guido e Lapo sembrano quasi personaggi secondari. Gradualmente, Dante riesce a integrare i suoi amici con un cambiamento di prospettiva in cui tutti sono uniti e hanno uno spirito collettivo. Con lo sviluppo dalla prima persona singolare alla prima persona plurale nell'ultimo verso il poeta riesce ad unificare tutti gli amici, "i' credo che saremmo noi" (14). Il parallelismo è bello. Dante comincia il sonetto con "vorrei" e tutti i verbi seguenti al congiuntivo imperfetto dipendono dal condizionale, e finisce questo racconto immaginario usando ancora il condizionale di essere, ma questa volta nella prima persona plurale, una scelta stilistica che completa il circolo metaforico del sonetto. ■



Miti Kotak | *Flood in the sink*

GAY MARRIAGE MAKES ME WANT TO PUKE: ON RESPECTABILITY POLITICS, ANTI-CAPITALIST QUEER ACTIVISM AND THE LEGALIZATION OF SAME-SEX MARRIAGE

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Reflecting on getting married to Thea Spyer after forty-two years in a committed same-sex relationship, Edith Windsor was quoted saying, “‘Marriage’ is a magic word. Thea looks at her ring every day and thinks of herself as a member of a special species that can love and couple ‘until death do them part’” (Levy 60). While I have no desire to disrespect Edith Windsor, a woman who has experienced a long lifetime of joy and heartbreak that I cannot begin to fathom, I am compelled to think critically about the subtext of her statement. In an attempt to explain the way that state-sanctioned marriage has endowed her relationship with legitimacy, she highlights the way that marriage as a modern institution is intrinsically linked to capitalism (“her ring,” presumably procured either through inheritance or the jewelry market) and a certain level of societal access or privilege (“a special species”). Her statement begs an important question: how does the ascension of same-sex marriage as the premier issue concerning queer Americans impact queer culture and space? Perhaps more importantly, what members of our community are not part of that “special species,” and as a result, are left behind by same-sex marriage politics?

In this paper, I seek to analyze these questions through the work of Sandra Jeppesen, a queer anarchist and scholar from Toronto. In her paper “Queer anarchist autonomous zones and publics: Direct action vomiting against homonormative

consumerism,” Jeppesen focuses in on three key instances of vomiting as acts of queer resistance and connects these events to a larger and constantly shifting queer political discourse. Though the premise of the paper may seem absurd or unworthy of scholarly discussion, Jeppesen makes a strong case for the ways that vomiting and other bodily functions shamed by a dominant heterosexist culture can serve as sites of queer liberation.

Jeppesen structures her essay in a somewhat chronological fashion, starting with anti-heteronormative activism, which moves to anti-capitalism, then anti-homonormativity, and finally intersectional anti-oppression and the creation of the “queer autonomous zone.” She begins her essay by offering the reader baseline definitions of homophobia (a term which she rejects and does not engage), heterosexism and heteronormativity, and explanations of how the latter two phenomena manifest in public space. She describes two traditional strategies for responding to these systems of oppression: the first is infiltrating and disrupting heteronormative space, a strategy made famous by the Mall Zaps and Kiss-Ins acted out by groups like Queer Nation, and the second is the creation of explicitly queer spaces, which Jeppesen refers to as “queer counterpublics” (464). It is here that she offers the first act of vomiting in her piece, a BDSM (bondage/discipline, domination/submission, sadism/masochism) erotic play session performed in a leather bar in which the top force-feeds the bottom until he or she vomits into the top’s mouth.

This causes her to take pause and examine definitions of public and private space, explaining how bodies

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(particularly genitals) are only considered private due to heterosexist social norms (Jeppesen 465). Queer people and our bodies are outcast from these social norms by nature of their definition; historically, this ostracism has been enforced by the state through punitive measures to control our sexual activity and identities. Thus, we often create our own spaces to cope with the oppression we face. In order to illustrate the move from anti-heteronormativity to anti-capitalist queer activism, she interprets the BDSM scene from earlier as a performance of capitalist consumerism, in which the top (representing capitalism) forces the bottom (the consumer) to stretch his own limits of how much he can consume. The act of vomiting is an act of resistance in this sense, a way of liberating oneself from compulsory consumerism. When one links the state's attempts to control queer bodies and lives to the modern—and innately capitalist, as is the case in most of the Western world—state's vested interest in maintaining the power held by the bourgeoisie, it follows that as queer activists committed to ending our own oppression, we must align ourselves against capitalism.

Jeppesen goes on to describe the second act(s) of vomiting, described in a 1996 zine entitled *Projectile: Stories about Puking*, written by Jeppesen and her friend Leah Visser. She writes, "We were always puking so we made a zine about it. For us puking was the fullest expression of an authentic excessiveness in a life lived with the kind of intensity disallowed by polite society" (468). Acts of vomiting, having sex—especially queer sex—and other bodily functions *expected* by the dominant culture to be performed in the private sphere thus contain radical potential when performed in public, disrupting the "bourgeois decorum" that Jeppesen views as oppressive.

This is not to say that the power behind public vomiting lies in the choice to do it in public—in fact, Jeppesen and many other poor queers throughout history have been *forced*, due to classism, housing insecurity and heterosexism, to engage with their bodies publicly. Up until 2003, sodomy laws were still in effect in many states throughout the

U.S., which meant that queer sex, even when performed in private by queers with access to such private spaces, was illegal and could be made public at any moment. However, it must be noted that queers with more access to capital and, importantly, private space—often determined by one's race, education level, proficiency in English, and so on—were at a lower risk for facing punitive measures or arrests for any crime, including sodomy. Working-class queer people, on the other hand, lacked access to such private sexual venues and were rendered more vulnerable to policing and arrest. This legacy continues today in different forms, with many homeless queer and trans people, often trans women of color, being profiled as sex workers and facing arrests and at times police brutality, even in neighborhoods such as Chicago's Boystown, which claim to exist in the interest of all queer people (Daniel-McCarter 8).

In the next section, Jeppesen once again morphs her definition of anti-capitalist queer activism to be one opposed to homonormativity and the oppressive realities that emerge when queer identity is commodified by capitalism. She cites her third and final puking incident, a direct action performed by Montreal-based Pink Panthers in 2004 in which oatmeal (standing in for real vomit) was dumped on the doorsteps of upscale gay establishments, and members handed out counterfeit coupons to passers-by as a means of commenting on the commodification of Valentine's Day and queer kinship (Jeppesen 470). This ties in to her fourth and final section, where she describes the move from implicitly intersectional anti-homonormative activism to a truly holistic anti-oppression political framework. She concludes by describing a "queer autonomous zone," a queer counterpublic that, rather than being rooted in notions of economy and loving that heterosexist capitalism constructs, prioritizes mutual respect, consent, liberation and non-normativity (476).

The relationship between this work, a lovingly composed ode to regurgitation and the creation of queer utopia, and the same-sex marriage movement may seem tenuous. However, Jeppesen's scholarship here is situated firmly

in an anarchoqueer politic which is positioned against the nation-state and the creation of sexual norms, and thus is critical of civil marriage. These ideas are not simply masturbatory or unnecessarily nostalgic for the radical queer activism of years past, but account for which members of our community are ignored by same-sex marriage and gay assimilation.

Notable queer anarchist writer and activist Ryan Conrad offers some questions that suggest ways to enter into this critical analysis of marriage:

Do we really want full inclusion in the institution of marriage, a social contract that explicitly limits the ways in which we can organize our erotic and emotional lives? Furthermore, do we really want to reinforce a social institution where our immediate needs and access to collective benefits are contingent on this singular articulation of partnership? (Conrad 19-20).

Conrad explains how the discourse surrounding marriage equality has been dominated by two rhetorical strategies. The first of these involves playing on the general public's emotions and stressing that everyone has a right to legally love and marry whomever they choose. The second takes a different route, describing the innumerable benefits offered to couples when they enter into a marriage contract (19). There is a contradiction that manifests when analyzing these two strategies. When one considers how most of the rights offered to married couples constitute the transfer of money and property, as exemplified in the Edith Windsor case, it becomes clear that the institution of marriage is very much rooted in the reification of capitalism in our interpersonal relationships—for queers, this results in our lives, cultures and relationships being commodified and thus used to further the oppression of those who exist on capitalism's margins. Jeppesen offers commentary on this when discussing the Pink Panthers' direct action: "The Pink Panthers' statement critiques queer counterpublics for commodifying affect through 'the capitalist appropriation of emotions like love and liberty'" (471).

The way both Conrad and Jeppesen interpret love and kinship is that everyone is entitled to engage with them on an equitable basis. Same-sex marriage claims to achieve this for queers through liberal "equality" rhetoric: if straight people can get married, we should seek to become equal to them and gain access to marriage as well. Queer anarchism disrupts this by completely rejecting the system of marriage, which is exclusive to those who can and choose to get married, and whose economic situation allows the material benefits of marriage to work to their full effect.

The gay marriage movement has also caused harm to queer people through the rhetoric of traditional family values that it employs. "The fervent reinvestment in the nuclear family (gay or straight) as a site of financial security, moral aptitude, and physical safety for the child should be horrifying to us all" (Conrad 22). The deeply conservative rhetoric that offers up the nuclear family structure as a salve for heterosexist oppression not only erases the violence many women and children experience within the nuclear family, but also reinforces a respectability politics that ensures that trans people, queer people of color, queers with disabilities and mental illnesses, and many others are abandoned by a movement that claims to be working in their interests.

Challenging this respectability politics is at the core of Jeppesen's invocation of vomit as a symbol of queer liberation and rejection of capitalism. In describing her own relationship with vomit as a Toronto anarchist punk in the nineties, she writes:

Love and intimacy are created in these moments which would be shameful in consumer culture where intimacy is produced in circumscribed places through consumerism—fancy restaurants, expensive gifts and so on. The excesses of affect and intimacy produced by vomiting and sex in public challenge heteronormativity and its direct ties to capitalism." (469)

Through public vomiting, public sex and other “indecent” acts, queer punks and other marginalized individuals challenge white, heterosexist, classist notions of what acts are considered “respectable” and moral. Importantly, one does not disrupt respectability exclusively through deliberate and extreme acts such as public vomiting, but also on accident by virtue of simply existing in a dominant culture that attempts to erase perceived deviance. In this culture, people of color who speak in certain ways or in different languages while in public are often perceived as disrupting public decorum. People who are visibly queer and/or trans, whose gender expression breaks society’s understanding of traditional gender roles, are encouraged to attempt “to pass” in order to assimilate and become respectable. Poor people smoking cigarettes, using drugs and drinking to excess are seen as worthy of derision and unworthy of public benefits. People with certain mental disabilities which cause them to break the social contract at times are viewed as freaks and up until relatively recently were forcefully institutionalized. In all of these cases, we see the marginalized subject pushed into private space, denied access to the public sphere. The politics that Jeppesen applies to the act of vomiting affirm that the bodies and lived realities of marginalized individuals are valid; thus, forcing them into the shadows is oppressive. Conversely, gay marriage rhetoric reaffirms those harmful respectability politics and the dominant moral code, thereby contributing to that oppression.

In thinking about gay marriage in this way, we identify its fatal flaw: a lack of intersectional analysis that prioritizes queer sexuality over the various other identities, both privileged and marginalized, that make up the queer subject’s entire being. I should note here that I recognize that there are loads of queer people of color, trans people, poor queers and queers with disabilities that do benefit from marriage. In fact, I argue that much of the activism and literature that opposes gay marriage on queer anarchist grounds—predominantly written by white, cisgender, able individuals—tends to erase the realities of those who experience intersecting oppression by assuming that none

of them benefit from marriage. However, there is a case to be made for how many queer people, particularly queer people who experience other forms of marginalization in addition to heterosexism, are ignored by the same-sex marriage movement.

In response to the common assumption that same-sex marriage will help queer families work through custody battles, Priya Kandaswamy says:

Black families are the most likely of any racial group to be disrupted by Child Protection authorities, and 42 percent of all children in foster care in the U.S. are Black. [...] While marriage might offer limited protections to some people, it will not change the racist and homophobic practices through which Child Protective Services determines who is fit or unfit to be a parent. (Bailey 115)

Kandaswamy goes on to interrogate other social issues that same-sex marriage claims to solve, such as deportation of undocumented immigrants in same-sex partnerships, which she attributes not to the lack of access to legal marriage, but to racist immigration policies (Bailey 116). In making these claims, she encourages queer activists to consider the greater social forces that seek to disrupt our lives, and how marriage does little to bring an end to such disruption. For many of the people at the forefront of same-sex marriage advocacy, this intersectional analysis of how heterosexism operates in tandem with other forms of oppression is largely missing from their political work.

Jeppesen makes a point of touching on intersectionality towards the end of her piece. Quoting a Pink Panther “in *The Hour* of 29 July 2004, ‘Jubejube Molotov’ asks ‘What about drag queens, trannies, gays of colour? . . . What about everyone who doesn’t want to be married and have kids?’” (474). The mainstream gay political landscape, which has been dominated by same-sex marriage advocacy for as long as I have been politically aware, has repeatedly failed to address the inequalities that exist within our own community. Quoting Rosemary Hennessy’s “Queer

Visibility in Commodity Culture,” Jeppesen indicates how “...racialized and gendered division of labor suggests that there are more lesbians than gay men living in poverty and proportionately more of them are people of color’ (1994-95: 69)” (474). The fight for same-sex marriage does absolutely nothing to rectify this, instead ensuring that married queer couples are able to combine their wealth and property and keep it in their family, which often serves to only exacerbate class inequalities caused by capitalism.

With marriage out of the picture, one may wonder what sorts of structures (if any) queer anarchists seek to implement instead. Anarchism is often noted for and at times derided for its destructive and oppositional qualities. But as well-known anarchist Mikhail Bakunin informs us, “the passion for destruction is a creative passion too” (37). In destroying the institutions that enact violence against us, it is imperative that we also create new and better realities to fill the void. Jeppesen theorizes this alternative mode of queer life as the “queer autonomous zone,” which she illustrates for us in the conclusion of her piece: “Queer autonomous zones thus are open-ended spaces in which participation of all comers is encouraged through a direct (rather than liberal) democracy model. They are facilitated via engagement with a multiplicity of intersectional anti-oppression politics” (477).

Anti-capitalist and anarchist queer activism serves to liberate us from the institutions and powerful figures that seek to define our reality. Armed with the knowledge of the ways capitalism—and by extension, marriage—limit our ability to care for and protect each other, we are able to confidently reject politics of respectability

and heterosexist, white supremacist, classist morality in exchange for a world where we can make love, establish familial bonds and exchange skills wherever and however we please on truly equitable terms. Unfortunately, the creation of a society where these sorts of interactions are possible will take time and a significant collective effort. And so we must ask ourselves: how can we create intersectional queer autonomous zones within the context of capitalism and liberal democracy?

I contend that the answer lies in how we, as queer people, construct our social worlds; specifically, we are obligated to create queer communities and politics which are truly inclusive and conscious. Holding queer political events in locations that are accessible to people with physical disabilities; calling out our queer friends when they make racially insensitive comments; boycotting gay businesses or bars which we know participate in discrimination: these are steps that we can take today to work towards the ideal queer world that Jeppesen constructs in her essay.

Through queer anarchism, we declare that we have tolerated our force-feeding of equality rhetoric and single-issue politics for too long. We must make it our priority to refuse to digest these empty promises offered to us by liberal political efforts such as same-sex marriage advocacy, and in turn, we must stand up for the most vulnerable members of our community and include them in our activism. In this way, we can regurgitate notions of queer politics offered to us by the dominant culture, making way for new ideas and realities that will meet all of our needs and leave us feeling nourished and satisfied. ■



Kristina Pedersen | *Anonymous Lounge*

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JEWISH ORGANIZATIONS IN BRAZIL AND ARGENTINA AND THE STRUGGLE TO PROTECT THEIR COMMUNITIES

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ABSTRACT From the late nineteenth century throughout the twentieth century, many of the Jews seeking refugee from persecutions in Europe settled in Brazil and Argentina. There, they depended on the Jewish Colonization Association (JCA/ICA), Chevra Kedusha Ashkenazim, and Delegación de Asociaciones Israelitas Argentinas (DAIA) for protection against discrimination and anti-Semitism. While these organizations strived to remain truthful to their mission, the result of their actions often depended on the political situation, and in some cases on what was considered their own best interests.

Over the centuries, Jews have been condemned to the life of nomads: they had no land to call their own and travelled from one country to another. In Europe, they suffered persecution, discrimination, expulsion, and extermination, all of which finally forced them to seek refuge in other parts of the world. Those who emigrated to Brazil and Argentina experienced their share of successes and setbacks. Their survival revolved around building networks that eventually transformed into community-based organizations, some of which had an international outreach. The most important of these organizations were the Jewish Colonization Association, Chevra Kedusha Ashkenazim, and Delegación de Asociaciones Israelitas Argentinas. These organizations were involved in assisting Jewish communities in a variety of ways. Although they struggled to remain truthful to their mission and purpose, their *modus operandi* often underwent changes and modifications depending on political situation and their best interest.

The Jewish Colonization Association operated both in Brazil and in Argentina. A wealthy German-Jewish businessman and philanthropist, Baron Maurice de Hirsch,

established the organization on September 11, 1891. Baron Hirsch was an influential and distinguished banker in Brussels (Jewish Virtual Library, 2014). In 1880, Baron de Hirsch offered the government of Russia special funds to assist the government in establishing educational programs catering to the needs of Russian Jews. The Russian government, however, refused to aid Baron Hirsch in his philanthropic endeavor and thereby forced him to find another way to help Jewish communities. He created a plan that focused on resettling the unwanted Jewish population living in different parts of the world through an organization created for that very purpose—the Jewish Colonization Association, known also as JCA. The main objective of this organization entailed resettling the nearly three and a half million Jews from Russia and other parts of Eastern Europe to newly created agricultural settlements in Brazil and Argentina.

In Brazil, the organization had purchased lands in the region of Rio Grande do Sul and began to advertise them among Jews in Europe (Falbel, 328). JCA offered to pay travel expenses to all Jews deciding to resettle to Brazil and gave each settler a small lot, a dwelling house for each family, tools for agricultural work, an ox, two cows, a wagon and a horse (Falbel, 328). These loans were not charitable in nature, for JCA required that the settlers return the

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monies invested in their settlement, plus a small interest, within ten to fifteen years from the day of their arrival. The organization provided extensions on payments and partial reductions in times of drought or locust plagues. JCA also invested in educational institutions for new settlers but made no financial claims against the community in return. The Brazilian agricultural colonies ceased to exist within a few decades (1930s) from their establishment, and despite JCA's original goal, they were not able to aid more than a handful of families. While it is unquestionable that Jews desired to find a safe place to live away from persecutions, most were unable to conform to requirements presented to them by JCA and chose to move to urban areas instead.

According to Jeffrey Lesser, Rio Grande du Sul colonies failed for several reasons. Lack of experience in managing larger estates, the absence “of long service contracts, high interest rates on loans for agricultural equipment, together with JCA's rules that lessened production and provided little incentive to remain on the land” (Lesser, 143) are the most important factors that accounted for the dissolution of the colonies. In addition, the revolts that took place in the region in the 1920s and JCA's inability to protect the colonies against subsequent persecutions significantly impacted the move of entire communities towards urban areas (Lesser, 143). Furthermore, the distance between families within the colony, located in a remote area of Brazil, hindered the community's ability to create support networks. Unlike rural areas, the larger urban locations offered closer proximity to other Jewish immigrants and provided other means of earning money, such as peddling (Lesser, 253). It is no surprise then that Jewish settlers slowly moved into larger urban areas, abandoning at the same time the very colonies that Baron de Hirsch and JCA had prepared for them.

Although the agricultural colonies practically lost their purpose after their inhabitants moved to larger cities, the JCA maintained its presence within the Jewish community in Brazil. As the persecutions against Jews in Europe escalated during the interwar period, JCA again took it

upon itself to rescue their Jewish counterparts from certain death. As the U.S. and British governments began restricting entry permissions to Jewish refugees, JCA advocated for their Jewish counterparts within the Brazilian government as well as within the countries from where these refugees desired to escape (Lesser, 53). The organization issued numerous *cartas de chamada* required by the Brazilian government, that covered the costs of travel from Europe to Brazil (Lesser, 51), and, even attempted to build another agricultural colony (Lesser, 85-87).

In the years leading to World War II, the government of Getulio Vargas implemented various laws making it nearly impossible for Jewish immigrants to enter Brazil. Vargas and the Brazilian upper class, influenced by Nazi thinkers, blamed the Jews for all of the country's economic ills and accused them of capitalist conspiracy (Lesser, 18). In 1936, Brazil's anti-Semitic policies restricted Jews not only from agricultural settlements, but also from tourism. Over the course of a few years, Vargas' administration passed legislation known as Secret Circular 1127 (Lesser, 91), forged the Cohen Plan that provided an excuse for massive deportations (Lesser, 97), and eventually banned all (illegal) immigration through Circular 1249 (Lesser, 115). The governments of the United States and Britain, under pressure from the Jewish Colonization Association and other Jewish organizations, compelled Brazilian representatives to convince Vargas to open the borders for refugees. The U.S. interference in Vargas' anti-Semitic policies caused Vargas to lower the restrictions banning refugees from entering Brazil and awarded many of the refugees with residency. While Vargas wished to protect his relationship with the U.S., Washington was relieved from the potential burden of accepting Jewish refugees on its own land. Although the JCA's original colonization project was not as successful as its founders had planned, the organization continued to advocate for their community.

Unlike their counterparts in Brazil, the agricultural colonies in Argentina enjoyed greater success. JCA provided all material means necessary for establishing farms in the Etre Rios region of Argentina. Similar to Jewish immigrants in

Brazil, Jews in Argentina were given loans to cover costs of travel and basic needs. These loans were to be paid off in annual installments over the course of ten to fifteen years. The organization planned to use these annual payments towards financing the settlement of additional families (Levin, 342).

JCA rules and regulations in Argentine colonies were not exempt from criticism. The harshest words of disapproval came from farmers dissatisfied with JCA's refusal to grant them loans towards the purchase of harvesting equipment, thereby forcing them to perform hard physical labor without machines or outside help. Moreover, fearing that farmers might leave their plots and invest in livestock, JCA prohibited animal husbandry (Levin, 343). All these actions were done with a specific purpose. The Jewish Colonization Association aspired to train the settlers to become the farmers and prove to Argentines, as well as to governments in other parts of the world, that Jews were not only merchants and bankers, but also resourceful and self-sufficient farmers. It took about a decade for JCA to realize that the restrictions imposed on the farmers were counterproductive and to take action to modify the conditions. While far more Jews remained on their farms in comparison with their Brazilian counterparts, the majority of them moved to urban areas, with Buenos Aires as the preferred location. An urban setting not only allowed them to enjoy better economic opportunities, but it also enabled them to fund and form new organizations meant to support their community.

One such organization was Chevrah Kedescha Ashkenazi (CKM). Chevrah was created based on a European model of Kehillah. Per Eugene Sofer, no other organization was more important than Chevrah (Sofer, 7). CKM was created around the same time as JCA; however, its purpose was not to encourage farming, but rather to provide spiritual support for Jewish immigrants in Argentina. Its main task was organizing funerals for and burials of Jewish immigrants according to Jewish customs and traditions. In a relatively short period of time, the organization

became "the center of an extensive network of Jewish organizations" as well as an organization whose help was sought in times of need (Sofer, 7). After World War II, the organization transformed into *Asociación Mutual Israelita Argentina (AMIA)* and was formally recognized as *Kehilla* - the highest and most respected institution within the Jewish community. Of all European Jews living in Argentina, nearly ninety-five percent were members of AMIA (Sofer, 8).

As the economic depression of the beginning of the twentieth century struck Argentina, hundreds of immigrant Jews suffered economic hardships. Chevrah Kedescha, moved by numerous petitions for financial aid, fortified its efforts in helping the community overcome the crisis (Sofer, 41). In addition to providing direct financial support in the form of grants and loans for many of its members, the organization also engaged in finding employment and creating jobs for those in need.

As the economic issues in the country continued, Chevrah, together with other community organizations, supported working class Jews by organizing and participating in demonstrations. The tense atmosphere, as well as speculations about a Jewish Marxist agenda, eventually led to bloody and gruesome clashes with the police who were moved by suspicion of a "Communist plot" against the country (Sofer, 43). Chevrah and the Jewish Colonization Association intervened on behalf of the community and sought then President Yrigoyen's help in protecting the Jewish community against anti-Semitism (Sofer, 47). Furthermore, wanting to protect its members, Chevrah donated money to Yrigoyen's next presidential campaign; however, neither of Yrigoyen's presidencies significantly improved the situation of Argentina's Jews. Chevrah did whatever was in its power to aid the poverty-stricken community, but its resources were rapidly diminishing, and eventually there was very little that the organization could do to help its members. Dissatisfied with the situation, Jews began to leave the organization in large numbers.

Despite all these issues, Chevrah survived the decades following the crisis and continues to operate in Argentina as AMIA. Its mission remains to support Jewish communities through education, to preserve cultural and religious traditions, as well as to provide financial assistance to those in need. Furthermore, the organization focuses also on maintaining strong relations with Jewish communities worldwide (amia.org.ar).

Last but not least on the list of organizations that secured the survival of Jewish communities is DAIA, known also as Delegación de Asociaciones Israelitas Argentinas. DAIA is an umbrella organization that covers many smaller Argentine Jewish organizations (AMIA is one of them). The organization came to life in 1935 as a response to escalating anti-Semitism (jewishvirtuallibrary.org). The Jewish community in Argentina was largely underrepresented and in desperate need of an organization that could advocate for the community within the Argentine government in times of discrimination and persecution. The organization had its own share of successes and defeats.

DAIA marked its presence within the Jewish community most prominently in two significant periods. First, during the presidency of Juan Perón, and second, during the period of the “Dirty War” in Argentina. It was during the “Dirty War” that in an attempt to preserve its position and interests in the country, the organization compromised its commitment to the community it was created to protect, and instead chose to act in a way that earned it a great deal of criticism.

A few years prior to the presidential elections of 1946, Argentina struggled with an economic crisis. The situation provoked the emergence of anti-Semitic groups, such as Alianza Libertadora Nacionalista, that were responsible for attacks on the Jewish community in the country. Jews were forbidden to speak Yiddish and to prepare kosher meat. Soon, however, these bans and restrictions were followed by extreme violence and attacks against Jewish individuals (Marder, 126). During his candidacy, Juan Perón not only did

not take any steps to cease the violence, but he also never condemned the actions of his supporters, a great number of which were “staunchly anti-Semitic” (Marder, 125).

Although Jewish communities, hoping for the violence to stop, wished to align themselves with Union Demócrata which opposed Perón, their political representatives, DAIA, worked on maintaining their policy of non-partisanship (Marder, 126). Even though the violence continued after the elections, DAIA refused to openly blame Perón for the situation and instead excoriated the perpetrators (Marder, 127). As Jeffrey Marder argues, the situation of Argentine Jewry improved slightly thanks only to accusations of anti-Semitism coming from the United States (Marder, 127).

While it is clear that DAIA could not exercise any pressure upon Perón’s government without the help of outside forces, the organization managed to gain a few small victories for the benefit of the community. Among them was the dismissal of Perón’s government’s “openly anti-Semitic director of immigration, Santiago Peralta.” That eventually led to amnesty towards all illegal immigrants and enabled them to legalize their status (Marder, 128). In “The Organización Israelita Argentina: Between Peron and the Jews,” Jeffrey Marder argues that both achievements were not as successful as DAIA might have imagined them to be. Dismissal of Peralta did not lead to changes in immigration policies that could help the war refugees, while the amnesty was not directed strictly towards Jews but rather towards immigrants in general. That meant that the amnesty included also the very Nazi criminals that Jews had escaped from during World War II (Marder, 128).

In spite of the fact that Argentine Jewry respected and supported DAIA, it did not feel adequately and accurately represented. While the organization intervened with the government on behalf of the community in cases of anti-Semitic discrimination and violence, the result of collaboration between the two appeared to offer more of a tradeoff rather than any significant changes in the policy. To protect the community and to maintain its status

in Argentina, DAIA sustained its non-confrontational attitude towards the Argentine leader (Marder, 142). Such an attitude allowed Perón to live in peace with a community that openly opposed him. This attitude of non-confrontation on behalf of DAIA was maintained and gained the organization a wave of sharp criticism from the community during and after the Argentine “Dirty Wars.”

After the overthrow of Isabel Perón, a military *junta* ruled the country for a period of seven years. A characteristic of the regime was its obsession with Marxist subversion (real or imagined) that eventually led to kidnappings, torture, and disappearances. Although Argentine Jewry accounted only for two percent of the population, they constituted over ten percent of the disappeared (Feitlowitz, 90). The *Junta's* fight against Marxism focused on “leftists of all kinds, liberals, nonintegrist Catholics, Jews, intellectuals, journalists” etc. (Waisman, 238-239). Argentine Jews belonged to almost all of these categories. As a result, hundreds of Jews were sequestered and brutally tortured. Others simply disappeared.

Naturally, families of the disappeared were full of sorrow and pain; hoping to recover their children or at least investigate what had happened to them, they turned to DAIA, their political representative, for help. The organization's response to these inquiries was far from appropriate and caused even more pain and disappointment. Among the responses to families' inquiries was the following: “According to what we're seeing, the tendency is not to kill them. So it's best to do nothing. Anyway, there's nothing to do” (Feitlowitz, 97). Moreover, the organization justified the disappearances by suggesting to the families that their loved ones were not kidnapped in an arbitrary manner. It dared to suggest that there must have been a reason, such as belonging to a subversive group (Katz, 383). It also, intentionally or not, blamed the parents for not raising their children to be Zionist enough which, according to DAIA's representative, had led them to follow the wrong path. By doing so, DAIA distanced itself from

the very community it claimed it was committed to serve and support. It marginalized members of the Jewish community and refused to identify with them.

Furthermore, DAIA insisted on promoting the idea that the government did not have an official anti-Semitic agenda, not only in Argentina, but also abroad. As Feitlowitz mentions, on March 4, 1978, Polish novelist and painter Marek Halter wrote in an article for a French magazine that the situation of Argentine Jewry was frightening. In response to the article, DAIA denied any significant presence of anti-Semitism in Argentina (Feitlowitz, 101-102) and accused the article of being harmful to Argentine Jews. Having disappointed the families of the “disappeared,” DAIA continued to claim that it never “wavered in its commitment” (Katz, 368) to the community it was supposed to serve.

Paul Katz, while by no means defending DAIA, argues that the organization's behavior during the period of the military regime was dictated by the political situation in Argentina at that time. Katz states that DAIA's support of the government, or at least the lack of opposition to it, was a result of a meeting between DAIA and Emiliano Massera. During that meeting, Messera warned DAIA's representative that the organization should continue to cooperate with the government, for there was a threat of a “potential counter coup by anti-Semitic, far-right elements within the armed forces” (Katz, 375). DAIA took that threat seriously and avoided any open criticism of the *junta* in order to protect the community. In return, the *junta* allowed for a few concessions. Unfortunately, no more than two of these concessions involved releasing kidnapped persons. The only ones saved were DAIA leader's son, Marcos Resinzky, and the famous Jewish journalist, Jacobo Timerman (Katz, 376-377).

The three organizations mentioned in this paper aided the Jewish Community in Brazil and Argentina in different periods across the span of a century. The assistance they

bestowed on Jews, as well as their commitment to staying truthful to their original mission, depended on the period in which each of these organizations operated. JCA/ICA focused their efforts on rescuing Jews from Czarist Russia and then from Nazi-occupied Europe. Unfortunately, it was unable to carry out its plan to populate its agricultural colonies in the long run due to strict rules it imposed upon the settlers. Chevrah Kedusha's main goal was to provide assistance with burial rituals, but it eventually turned into an organization committed to providing financial support

and employment assistance. Of all of these organizations, DAIA, even though the organization continues to exist, brought the most pain and disappointment to its members. While it was supposed to protect the community and advocate on its behalf against discrimination and anti-Semitism, it failed to stay true to its mission and abandoned Argentine Jews when they needed its assistance the most. While DAIA's betrayal should not be treated lightly, it is difficult to completely condemn the organization that, after all, did not possess real power. ■

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Ololade Martins, | *Untitled*

FEET ON THE GROUND, HEAD IN THE SKY

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When reading Aristotle's *Organon*, a collection of six treatises concerning logic, we may find ourselves experiencing Aristotle's ontological theories as refutations of the theories of his teacher Plato. By asserting that there is no such thing as a Platonic heaven filled with what Plato calls *eidê* or 'Forms/Ideas,' Aristotle clearly disagrees with the central thesis of Plato's fundamental understanding of reality, according to which the Forms are the most real and most important things of the things that are. However, if we read closely what is introduced by Aristotle in those works, we find that his theories correlate with Plato's and that Aristotle does not so much reject Plato, as he expands on Plato's theories through his own doctrines and finds a practical way to explain the Forms and the human understanding thereof. Aristotle takes Plato's Forms, which Plato describes as not completely knowable, and brings them into a more concrete setting, so that those things Plato describes as unknowable can be scientifically understood, to a certain extent, through Aristotle's adapted version of Plato's theory.

Indeed, in this paper I will argue that Aristotle's ontology is a synthesis of Plato's ontology and the Materialist Presocratic's ontologies. Aristotle modifies any of Plato's notions that are without demonstrable evidence, namely the very Forms themselves, by finding a place for and explanation of the Form within our immediate sensible reality. Through his changes, Aristotle created an ontology in which everything that is depends upon what he calls particular sensible *ousiai* or 'substances,' rather than Plato's ontology in which all of reality depends upon

the separate reality of Forms. In sum, Aristotle may be read as being in agreement with Plato, but as finding his own way to join the Forms with the sensible world so that all types of existence could exist on the same plane.

Aristotle differed from Plato in evident ways. In order to gain the clearest view of these philosophers, we should follow the direction of their respective gazes. Plato seemed to look upwards towards the heavens, where he locates his Forms. In "The Allegory of the Cave," Plato uses the imagery of the sun and cave to suggest that we are living in an enclosed realm beneath the "real" reality, painting this image by saying, "Imagine human beings living in an underground, cavelike dwelling, with an entrance a long way up" (*Rep.* 514a). While Plato's metaphor is intended to explain metaphysics to a person ignorant of Forms, rather than actually positing that the Sun is the literal source of all existence, the imagery nevertheless influences the reader into believing that the divine Forms exist in a separate place, set above us, from which all perceptible things emanate. Aristotle, on the other hand, directs his gaze exclusively toward the perceptible thing itself.

To ground Plato's Forms in the sensible world, Aristotle amended the metaphysical theory so that it was based entirely in the perceptible realm of our senses rather than in an ultimately unknowable and abstracted metaphysical plane of existence. Aristotle makes this change through having the substantial form depend upon particular things, or what he calls primary *ousiai* or 'substances,' in order to exist. In his *Categories* Aristotle says, "all other things are either said of the primary substances as subjects or in them as subjects. If, then, the primary substances did not exist, neither could any of the other things exist"

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(*Cat.* 2b4-7). For Aristotle, then, the fundamental form of a thing, that which is said of a subject, can be understood when we investigate deeper into the particular thing itself. Aristotle defines a substantial form as being a part of the particular thing itself which is extracted from within the particular by the mind. The mind then stores the idea of the form as a universal, reversing Plato's definition of the particular being a part of, or participating in, the Form. For Plato, the universal creates the particular, whereas Aristotle believes that compiling particulars leads the mind to create the concept of the universal.

Aristotle widened Plato's sphere of 'what is' most of all or 'what most of all has being' by conjoining previous theories from both Idealists and Materialists. Presocratic philosophers, such as Heraclitus and Thales, were proponents of a Materialist ontology, according to which what is most real is the primary material or stuff that composes all the tangible things around us. Heraclitus believed that the first principle of reality was fire, whereas Thales believed it to be water. Aristotle references Thales in his *Metaphysics*, claiming that,

Most of the first philosophers, then, thought that the only principles of things were material. For, they say, there is some <subject> that all beings come from, the first thing they come to be from and the last thing they perish into, the substance remaining throughout but changing in respect of its attributes. This, they say, is the element and the principle of beings. (*Met.* 983b8-12)

Materialists believed the *archê*, or 'origin/principle,' of all beings was the physical matter constituting the concrete things around us. To them, what a particular thing truly is is the physical matter of the world. To truly know something, one needed to know the elements it was made of. To explain the ontology of the world, one needed only to pinpoint which element could logically constitute all things. Indeed, in this vein, the very best argument among the Materialists seems to be that of Anaximander, a student of Thales, who declared the *apeiron*—literally

translated as the "unlimited" or "limitless"—to be the first principle of all beings. That is, for Anaximander, the ultimate material constituent of all beings cannot be any one material with identifiable characteristics or qualities, such as Thales's water or Heraclitus's fire, because any of those particular materials would be incapable of explaining those things that exist which appear to be opposites. In other words, if water were truly the first principle of all things, how could it be the ultimate material reality at the base of and explaining dry substances? Anaximander remedies this by saying that the material that composes all things is, essentially, matter which is not defined. In a way, Anaximander's limitless principle, although used by him to describe matter, can be thought of as the beginning of the idea of unintelligible origins that Plato further develops into his theory of Forms. Essentially, the limitless is something we cannot comprehend and is the root of all things in existence. Plato's Forms can also be defined in this way. In his *Physics* Aristotle comments on Anaximander's ontological explanation, saying,

It is with reason that they all make [the limitless] a principle; for it can neither exist to no purpose nor have any power except that of a principle. For everything is either a principle or derived from a principle. But the limitless has no principle—for then it would have a limit. ... Hence, as I say, it has no principle but itself is thought to be a principle for everything else and to encompass everything and to steer everything—as is said by those who do not set up any other cause (for example mind, or love) apart from the limitless." (*Phys.* 203b4, in Barnes, 22)

Here Aristotle outlines the premises of Materialist thought and expands upon Anaximander's Materialist solution to the composition of opposite things through the limitless. However, he also hints in his last sentence towards the stance of the Idealists, including Plato, who set up another cause apart from the limitless as the ontological principle, namely the mind. Anaximander's limitless principle can very clearly be seen to have influenced

the theory of Plato's Forms: the limitless is posited as the divine, "for it is immortal and indestructible" (*Phys.* 203b3, in Barnes, 22). Plato built upon the concept of finding beings that are, and never 'are not' in any way, by searching for types of beings that are eternal and therefore never not in existence for any period of time.

Plato, influenced by the theories of the Presocratics, believed that the central question to 'what is?' was 'what is always?' If a substance could be at one point and then not be at another, Plato believed it was not as real as what is eternal, claiming that "if something could be shown, as it were, to be and not to be at the same time, it would be intermediate between what purely is and what in every way is not" (*Rep.* 478d). This means that material things are constantly changing ontologically (i.e. when a child becomes an adult, the person is and is not a child, because they were once a child but are no longer) and so these sensible things cannot be things that truly are because they both are and are not. Instead, Plato set forth the Ideas, which are perfect and eternally fixed as they are, to be the *archai* or ultimate 'sources, principle' of the world we experience so that the composition of all that is finds its foundation in what always is. Similarly, Plato finds absolute epistemological truth in the Forms by realizing that some ways of thought both are and are not, while others purely are. While describing the functions of a human being in regards to knowledge, he says,

When it [the soul] focuses on something illuminated by truth and what is, it understands, knows, and apparently possesses understanding, but when it focuses on what is mixed with obscurity, on what comes to be and passes away, it opines and is dimmed, changes its opinions this way and that, and seems bereft of understanding. (*Rep.* 508d)

To Plato, the sensible world around us leads us to form opinions about the particular things, but it is only through intellectual, rather than sensible, inquiries into the Forms of these particular things that bring us into a higher realm

of knowledge. In his ontology, therefore, the first principles or causes of all beings are these purely intelligible Forms which cannot ever be fully comprehended by human beings, making the first principle essentially unknowable except for in abstract theory. Hence Plato's epistemology is one in which full understanding is unachievable, but the human mind still has ways to reach towards and grapple with these Forms through reasoning and dialectic.

On the famous "Divided Line" image that Plato offers in Book VI of his *Republic*, Socrates describes the four conditions of the soul which interact with truth in descending degrees: Understanding, thought, belief, and finally imaging or imagination. The way to ascend the line towards the Good, which is defined as the source and foundation of all the other Forms, is delineated by Socrates when he shows how the mind is able to go either towards or away from the Good beginning always at the starting point, the particular things in the sensible world. When we are confronted with the appearances of the things around us, we can go further from the truth by creating images of the particulars, hence removing them one level from the truth because they are only the reflections of the particulars. The opposite direction, moving towards truth, comes from forming thoughts and hypotheses based off of observations of the particulars. In this organization of things that are, Plato has the intelligible parts of what are as the most real, saying, "you want to distinguish the intelligible part of that which is, the part studied by the science of dialectic, as clearer than the part studied by the so-called sciences, for which their hypotheses are first principles" (*Rep.* 511c). Hence Plato's ontology implies the premise that both sensible things and intelligible things can exist simultaneously, but specifying that theoretical or intelligible beings are closer to the truth, and therefore more real than those things which are sensuously perceivable (*Rep.* 472e).

Now that the ontological views of the Materialists and the Idealism of Plato have been determined, we are in a position to recognize the synthesis of the two in the

works of Aristotle. In his *Metaphysics* Aristotle devotes a section to his criticisms of Plato, ending the section by stating that from his time in the Platonic school, “none of the proofs we offer to show that there are Forms appears to succeed” (*Met.* 990b9-10). Aristotle believed that human beings “think we know a thing when we know its primary causes and primary principles, all the way to its elements” (*Phys.* 184a13-15). Knowing Aristotle’s epistemological view, we see why Plato’s ontology and epistemology seemed lacking to Aristotle, as did the theories of the Materialists. If Aristotle could not scientifically prove the existence of the Forms, then he believed them to be less real than those things that could be demonstrated clearly. In Plato’s metaphysics the types of things that are primary principles cannot be understood by people. Therefore, by Aristotle’s definition of knowledge, in Plato’s theory we can never truly know anything for we can’t comprehend its cause. Aristotle, being a curious man of science, could not accept a theory in which he didn’t have the ability to fully understand the primary causes and primary principles of a substance, since it would inhibit his ability to think he knew anything at all. Obviously Aristotle was unenthused by a Socratic wisdom of the world, especially one in which what is most real is withheld from us. It might at first appear that Aristotle’s challenge of Plato’s theory involving Forms and matter contradicts the original theory of the Forms and their place in reality, but in fact Aristotle’s amendments corroborate with Plato’s theory, despite the apparent rebuttal.

Aristotle adds on to Plato’s theory by defining more causes of the compositions of the sensible things. He notes of the Materialists that,

If one went by these views, one might suppose that the material cause is the only sort of cause. But as people thus advanced, reality itself showed them the way and compelled them to search. For however true it might be that all coming to be and perishing is from one (or more than one) thing, still, why does this happen, and what is the cause? (*Met.* 984a17-22).

Aristotle raises a valid critique of the Materialist ontology here. There must be an additional cause of the ontology of sensible things other than the physical materials from which the things are formed, because subjects must have a motivating force, or cause, which molds them into the various shapes any material might form. Therefore, the primary cause cannot solely be the material composition of the subjects. Plato, whose theory evolved from the Presocratics, claimed that the primary cause of perceptible things were the Forms impressed upon the Matter they were composed of. On this Aristotle said, “It is evident from what has been said that he [Plato] used only two causes, the cause involving the what-it-is and the material cause; for the Forms are causes of the what-it-is of other things, and the one is the cause of the what-it-is of Forms” (*Met.* 988a9-12). In Plato’s ontology then, uniting the Forms and matter is the necessary combination of two causes in order to create an object. For Aristotle these two causes were truly responsible for generating a thing that is, but he complicates the ontology further by giving two other causes which are necessary for the generation of a thing. One of these two causes is the Efficient Cause, which is the activating kinetic movement that sets the rest of the formation into motion. This self-generated movement must combine with both the Formal Cause, which can be interpreted by us as Aristotle’s version of Plato’s Forms, and the Material Cause, which are the natural substances of which a physical thing is composed. The Efficient Cause produces a change by bringing together Formal and Material Causes, all driven by the object’s end, referred to by Aristotle as the End Cause. The end cause is the function of the object, the function of a thing therefore being a necessity for the thing to be at all. This is a teleological ontology, in which things come into existence only when they serve a specific purpose or function. By defining this theory of primary causes, Aristotle incorporates elements of Plato and of the earlier Presocratics, as well as adding new layers to an ontological and epistemological theory of being, which accounts for what arises from combining form and matter. By doing this Aristotle did not

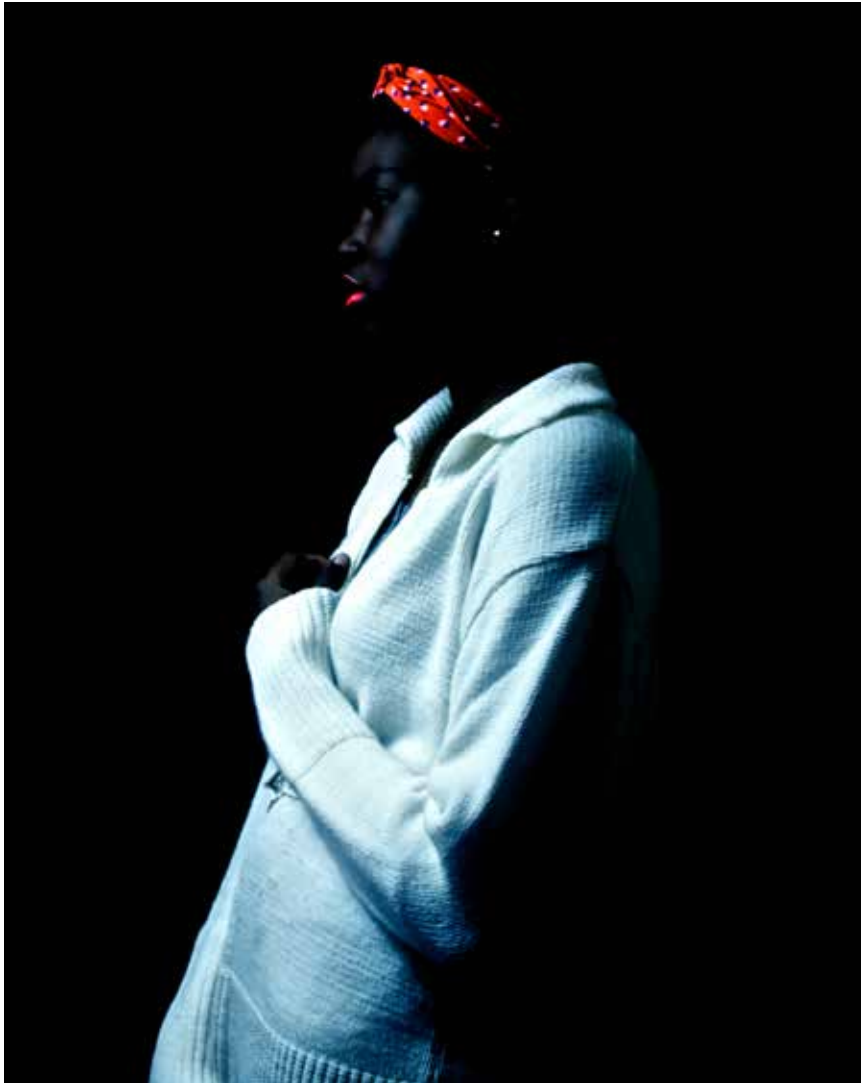
necessarily refute either branch of philosophical thought, but he did find a more sensible explanation for both. In conclusion, Aristotle's theoretical works did create a new ontology that accounted for the visible and intelligible aspects of a substance, but he did this by synthesizing the crucial aspects of Plato with the crucial aspects of the Materialists. Yet, Aristotle did break apart from Plato majorly in the reversal of that which is most of all. For Aristotle, the types of beings that are most of all are the sensible substances presented to us in everyday perceptions, which Plato would refer to as 'particulars.' While Plato believes that the Forms lead to the formation of particulars, Aristotle maintains that the individual substances lead to the formation of the species form becoming universalized in the mind. This very basic distinction leads the reader to believe that the two writers have entirely different views on reality. However, because

Aristotle believed the form of a substance was located within the substance, rather than elevated above our world, in a way Aristotle was also claiming that the form caused the substance only with the addition of the three other causes. What Aristotle did to Plato's Forms was bring them into the sensible world by claiming they were located within the substance. To a lesser extent than Plato, Aristotle maintains that the Substantial Kind (a.k.a. that which is said 'of' a subject) could only be comprehended as a universal, rather than us being able to comprehend the thing itself. To this degree, despite what appears to be a disconnect, Aristotle and Plato are actually walking along the same road towards the nature of what is. Both believed that the human mind had a journey towards knowledge in which the particulars around them were the primary signs, and both believed that no human being could ever reach full understanding of the *eidos* of what truly is. ■

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Ololade Martins, | *Untitled*

SACRED DIMENSIONS: DIFFUSED RELIGION IN THE TRADITIONAL CHINESE FAMILY, STATE AND LOCAL COMMUNITY

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The academic study of Chinese religion has long been dependent on concepts derived from mainstream Western religious traditions, particularly Christianity. From this perspective, a “religion” is an institution comprising a community of believers, possessing authority over a canon of scriptures, and exercising the prerogative of dividing the sacred from the profane. Although religions that to an extent fit this model did historically exist in China, it should be kept in mind that the category of “religion” is culturally particular. In fact, the Chinese word for “religion,” *zongjiao* 宗教, did not enter the language until very recently, when it was imported during the 19th century via Japanese translations of Western texts. These translations appropriated the term *zong* 宗, originally meaning “lineage” and used by Buddhists in Japan and China to mean “sect,” and compounded it with *jiao* 教, meaning “teaching.” The concept of “religion” in China was thus originally conveyed by a neologism coined by foreigners to convey a concept created by other, even more culturally distant, foreigners.¹ Recent scholarship has attempted to address this problem by creating new conceptual frameworks capable of comprehending the vast diversity of human religious experience. C.K. Yang in particular observed the prevalence of a kind of religion in

Chinese society which he called “diffused,” characterized by “having its theology, cultus, and personnel so intimately diffused into one or more secular social institutions that they become a part of the concept, rituals, and structure of the latter, thus having no significant independent existence.”² Indeed much of what is religious in China does not lie within institutional boundaries, but is pervasive and immanent in the various social phenomena that it permeates. I will attempt to illustrate this by examining three different levels of traditional Chinese society: the family, the state, and the local community. I will show that at each of these levels, religion is a constitutive element of social constructions that inextricably fuse the secular with the sacred.

The Family

There are a variety of ways of seeing the Chinese family as a secular institution: it is the fundamental social unit, the most basic economic organization, the primary context for the practice of Confucian ethics, and a microcosm of society itself. There are also aspects of family life that are overtly religious, such as the rituals of the ancestor cult. But how distinct exactly are these secular and religious ways of seeing the family? As this section will illustrate, the religious dimensions of traditional family life in China so thoroughly permeate the family’s social aspects that the difference between the religious and nonreligious is unclear. I will approach this issue by asking how the family

* Prepared for REL 246, Traditions of Chinese Popular Culture, taught by Professor Angelika Cedzich in fall quarter, 2013. Professor Cedzich assisted in revising the paper for submission to the Department of Religious Studies Committee for *Creating Knowledge*.

1 Joseph A. Adler, “Chinese Religion: An Overview,” in *Encyclopedia of Religion*, ed. Lindsay Jones et al. (Detroit: Macmillan Reference USA, 2005).

2 C. K. Yang, *Religion in Chinese Society: A Study of Contemporary Social Functions of Religion and Some of Their Historical Factors* (Berkeley: University of California, 1961), 295.

as a cohesive social framework is defined and maintained. Evidence relating to familial identification extends as far back as the written historical record of Chinese civilization goes, to the oracle bones of the Shang dynasty (c. 1600?-1046? B.C.E). These inscribed fragments of cow scapula and turtle plastrons are the remnants of a pyromantic divinatory practice performed by Shang monarchs as an essential part of their role as rulers. In the Shang state religion, the high god Di was accessible only to the members of the royal family who had died and been apotheosized; and it was only the living king who could, through the mediation of professional diviners, communicate with these royal ancestors. As David N. Keightly shows, the king's ability to communicate with the ancestors was predicated on his position within a family hierarchy, including both living and dead, that was constructed by a detailed set of rituals: [Di] stood at the apex of the spiritual hierarchy. Beneath him were the royal ancestors, who were to intercede with [Di] as the result of sacrificial payments offered to them, often as a promise or contract, by the living kings at a still lower rank. So far as we can tell, the relationships between the members of the hierarchy were "ordered systematically;" that is, the right sacrifices ensured the right responses, and the right responses by the spirits led, in turn, to appropriate thank-offerings by the kings.³

The king's power to benefit the kingdom in the form of bountiful harvests, military victories, protection from natural disaster, etc., depended on ritually supplicating the ancestors. In this way, the ritual complex that was fundamental to the exercise of sovereign authority depended on the ritually constructed cohesion of the family framework across the line between living and dead. The members of the Shang royal family who died and were ritually made into ancestors therefore continued to exist within the social framework of the family and continued to exercise the power granted to them by their rank within the generational hierarchy (in which even the king occupied

a relatively low position). For the Shang royals, then, the concept of the family integrally included a hierarchical but mutually dependent network of reciprocal ritual relationships, bridging the divide between living and dead. Although the family and the ancestor cult would of course undergo significant evolution in the succeeding millennia, this ritualized infrastructure would remain consistent.

During the Zhou dynasty (1046? - 256 B.C.E) that succeeded the Shang, participation in ancestral rites remained the exclusive privilege of the aristocracy, for whom it served as a mark of distinction from the common people.⁴ During this period and the subsequent Han Dynasty (206 B.C.E - 220 C.E), the ancestral rites were codified in the emerging Confucian canon⁵, restrictions were loosened, and practice gradually extended to all levels of Chinese society, where it continued to evolve as a main fixture of Chinese religious life until the present.⁶ Anthropological research has established that the modern ancestor cult in Taiwan⁷ is, like its antecedents, an extremely complex ritual system that makes very specific demands on the living. Not all dead can become ancestors: as a precondition, an individual must conform to an ideal life pattern of surviving into adulthood, marrying, and producing male progeny. If such conditions are met, upon death a person may be ritually transformed into an ancestor, a process in which their "soul"⁸ is installed in a wooden tablet and placed on an altar in the family home where they will continue to be venerated by their descendants.⁹ If the rituals are

3 David N. Keightly, "The Religious Commitment: Shang Theology and the Genesis of Chinese Political Culture." *History of Religions* 17 (1978): 215.

4 Mark Edward Lewis, *Sanctioned Violence in Early China* (Albany: SUNY Press, 1990), 26-31.

5 Albert Welter, "Buddhist Ritual and the State," in *Religions of China in Practice*, ed. Donald S. Lopez (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1996), 391.

6 Stephen F. Teiser, "The Spirits of Chinese Religion," in *Religions of China in Practice*, ed. Donald S. Lopez (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1996), 21.

7 Because of the Communist crackdown on traditional culture on the mainland, evidence relating to modern practice of traditional religion must be taken from Taiwan.

8 China has no analog of the Christian concept of an immaterial soul. Instead there are various life essences that disperse after death.

9 Arthur P. Wolf, "Gods, Ghosts, and Ancestors," in *Religion and Ritual in Chinese Society*, ed. Emily Martin and Arthur P. Wolf (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1974), 132-182.

performed properly, the potential rupture in the family structure occasioned by death is prevented, preserving the cohesion of the familial social framework in which the ancestor continues to be seen as a present, active member. Stephen Teiser illustrates how the social existence of the dead is sustained:

As one modern observer remarks, the ancestral cult 'is not primarily a matter of belief...the cult of the ancestors is more nearly a matter of plain everyday behavior...No question of belief ever arises. The ancestors ...literally live among their descendants, not only biologically, but also socially and psychologically'...a family in the normative sense includes many generations, past, present, and future¹⁰

The family is thus a social unit whose continuity is normatively not to be disrupted by death. One does not "believe" in one's ancestors, just as one does not "believe" in one's living relatives: they are simply there, part of the family. For someone eligible to become an ancestor, death is not a departure, but instead is a transition to an altered form of social presence that is enacted through ritual. This is well illustrated by the fact that the primary ritual form of the ancestor cult consists in the offering of food. Arthur P. Wolf, in his late-1960's anthropological study of communities in northern Taiwan, noted that "in China...the family is commonly defined as 'those people who eat together.'...As kinsman and people with whom one is on intimate terms, the ancestors are offered food in very much the same form as a family's guests...the food is presented in the form of fully prepared dishes, hot from the stove, and always includes cooked rice."¹¹ Ancestral rites are thus an explicit expression of inclusion within the family framework. The concept of the family therefore integrally involves those who, through the performance of ritual, continue to exist after death. The inclusion of these ideas and practices as an essential part of the definition of kinship makes it extremely difficult, if not irrelevant, to

differentiate between the secular and religious aspects of the family as a social institution.

It is useful at this point to examine one of the family's more ostensibly secular dimensions in order to see how thoroughly family life is permeated by religion. The ethical system propounded by Confucius in the Zhou dynasty (1046?-256 B.C.E), which later became the most pervasive ethical code in Chinese society, centrally involved the family. The most fundamental elements of this system are the complementary principles of "filial piety" (*xiao* 孝) and "humaneness" (*ren* 仁). Filial piety is the submissiveness, devotion, and reverence of children for their parents. Conversely, humaneness is a benevolence and selfless concern for humanity, particularly for one's social inferiors, manifested by the care and beneficence of parents for their children. All interactions between parents and children, as well as all social superiors and inferiors, are to be governed by these principles; they articulate the model of the ideal family and society. At first glance, there appears to be nothing particularly religious here: parents nurture, children obey. But according to Danyu Wang, the expression of these values is in fact a highly ritualized affair:

Serving parents in everyday life was considered merely ordinary and rudimentary; it was not sufficient to establish one as a filial son or daughter-in-law, nor to express one's devout filial loyalty. Filial piety could only be eloquently, legitimately, and formally addressed through the performance of ritualistic acts (often involving physical suffering) or elaborate family rituals (for instance, death rituals). Family rituals occupied a significant position in the conception of filial piety. As addressed in the teachings of Confucius, "When parents live, serve them according to the rites. When they die, bury them according to the rites."¹²

10 Teiser, "Spirits of Chinese Religion," 26.

11 Wolf, "Gods, Ghosts, and Ancestors," 176-177.

12 Danyu Wang, "Ritualistic Coresidence and the Weakening of Filial Practice in Rural China," in *Filial Piety: Practice and Discourse in Contemporary Asia*, ed. Charlotte Ikels (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2004), 16-33.

This is particularly illustrative of how difficult it is to draw a clear line between the ancestral cult and certain ritualized interactions between family members. The kowtow (a ritual bow), for example, is performed the same way in front of elders both living and dead. The family as a “social” institution, then, cannot be seen as a purely secular concept. Instead, the family is situated on a continuum between the secular and the religious, along which there is no absolute distinction.

The State

In the dynastic system of imperial China, each ruling house has assumed the duties of promulgating and enforcing a legal code, levying taxes, controlling trade, initiating public works projects, providing disaster relief, and mobilizing military forces. Ostensibly, these functions have nothing to do with religion. But, as was seen in the Shang dynasty royal ancestor cult, both the legitimation and the exercise of political power itself are in fact intimately involved with religious ways of thinking.

One of the most crucial concepts of pre-modern Chinese political culture is the Mandate of Heaven (*tianming* 天命). This concept emerged as a doctrine of political legitimation after the Zhou conquest of the Shang (ca. 1046 B.C.E). To justify their conquest, the Zhou propounded a theory linking the personal virtue of the emperor with the efficacy and legitimacy of his dynasty’s rule. In its most basic form, Heaven (*tian* 天) was thought of as a divine moral force governing natural phenomena that conferred a mandate upon the emperor, called the Son of Heaven (*tianzi* 天子), to rule virtuously. The peace and strength of the kingdom was directly related to the moral rectitude of the Son of Heaven: if the Son of Heaven was virtuous, he kept the Mandate and the country prospered; if not, the Mandate was revoked and conferred upon a new dynasty.¹³ By the Han Dynasty, particularly in the formulations of Dong

Zhongshu 董仲舒 (195 B.C.E? – 105 B.C.E?), the Chinese state was integrally fit into a cosmological framework in which models of good governance were correlated with natural principles like *yin/yang* and the Five Phases.¹⁴ In this system, the moral character of the emperor was seen as causally related to natural and political phenomena: an emperor’s conscientiousness or benevolence would be manifested by plentiful harvests, favorable weather, and contented subjects. Conversely, an emperor’s iniquity would be considered causally related to floods, plagues, invasion, or social unrest.¹⁵ The Mandate of Heaven is therefore a doctrine of political legitimation that confers upon the emperor not just the responsibility of political power, but also situates him as a crucial element within a larger cosmological scheme in which political power and cosmic order are fused. Imperial power itself was thus conceived of in religious terms.

The integral relationship between political power and religion can be seen even more clearly by examining one of the most salient features of the imperial Chinese state: its massive, centralized bureaucracy. This vast hierarchy of functionaries was a crucial instrument of the emperor’s power, but it was also an enormously significant element in the imagination of the other worlds—both celestial and infernal. Stephen Teiser identifies bureaucracy as one of the major overarching metaphorical patterns in the Chinese imagination of the otherworldly realms: “For many years it has been a truism that the Chinese conception of gods is based on the Chinese bureaucracy, that the social organization of the human government is the essential model that the Chinese use when imagining the gods.”¹⁶ From the Chinese perspective, of course, it is just the opposite: the celestial government provides the model for its terrestrial counterpart. In Chinese popular religious tradition, the heavenly realms are populated

13 Irene Bloom, “Classical Sources of Chinese Tradition,” in *Sources of Chinese Tradition* Vol. 1, ed. Theodore De Bary and Irene Bloom (New York: Columbia University Press 1993), 27.

14 Theodore De Bary, “The Imperial Order and the Han Syntheses,” in *Sources of Chinese Tradition* Vol. 1, ed. Theodore De Bary and Irene Bloom (New York: Columbia University Press 1993), 295-306.

15 *Ibid.*

16 Teiser, “Spirits of Chinese Religion,” 27.

by an enormous hierarchy of bureaucratic gods that extend from the Jade Emperor (*Yuhuang* 玉皇), the counterpart of the human emperor, all the way down to the Stove God (*Zaojun* 灶君), who is stationed in every home as an informant to keep his superiors apprised on the behavior of the family. Even originally non-Chinese religious traditions such as Buddhism eventually came to be imprinted by this bureaucratic metaphor. As Arthur P. Wolf observes:

Although the Chinese peasant's conception of the underworld was inspired by the Buddhist imagination, it has long since become a multilayered yamen [government office] staffed with supernatural bureaucrats. The great amounts of spirit money transmitted to the Bank in Hell at the end of a funeral are only partly intended for subsistence expenses. Everyone knows that most of it will be expended to bribe officials who might otherwise subject the deceased to his merited punishment and perhaps some unmerited punishment as well.¹⁷

Divine and human power alike are thus ideally bureaucratic, systematized and hierarchical. This goes beyond mere resemblance; the institutions of divine and human power do not always appear to operate independently. A good example of this overlap comes in an episode of the 16th century popular novel *Journey to the West* (*Xiyou ji* 西游记). In the story, a high-level human official of the Tang dynasty (618 - 907 C.E.) imperial court is summoned by the Jade Emperor to the heavenly realms to administer the execution of a dragon, an order that the minister obliges through a dream. The dragon, however, having previously beseeched the human emperor for a pardon, files a complaint with the bureaucracy in the underworld. The emperor is then summoned to the nether realms, where he is arraigned in a court presided over by the Ten Judges of the Dead, who upon finding him innocent, admit that the whole affair was just a matter of procedural formality:

We are quite aware, said the Judge, that even before this dragon was born it was entered into the Book of Fate that he was to be beheaded by a human official. But as he made this complaint about you we were under obligation to bring your Majesty here and investigate the charge. We shall now submit him to the action of the Wheel of Incarnation and he shall enter upon a new existence. It only remains for your majesty to step down, and forgive us for the inconvenience to which you have been put.¹⁸

There is a strong element of satire here, but ultimately the plausibility of the emperor being summoned to answer before the infernal court indicates that governmental bureaucracy was a pattern that pervaded all realms. Indeed, the rules of hierarchy did not change across the boundaries between human and spiritual order: a low-level celestial bureaucrat would be considered subordinate to a high-level human minister, and vice versa. This notion has extended all the way up to the present. Wolf provides an example:

When drought strikes part of a province, the governor does not appeal to the local gods to bring rain. Instead, he orders them to see to their duties, treating them with as little ceremony as he would treat one of his county magistrates. Gods who failed in their duties could be tried and condemned to a public beating. Shyrock writes: 'A year or so ago, at Nanling Hsien during a drought, a god was publicly tried by the magistrate for neglect of duty, condemned, left in the hot sun to see how he liked it himself, and finally after enduring every kind of insult, was broken in pieces.'¹⁹

Thus, the traditional Chinese state could never be conceived as a purely secular institution, or even an institution in which secular and sacred duties were clearly separate from each other. The structure of the state bureaucracy was simply one manifestation of a universal bureaucratic

17 Wolf, "Gods, Ghosts, and Ancestors," 175.

18 Wu Cheng'en, *Monkey*, trans. Arthur Waley (New York: Grove, 1958), 106.

19 Wolf, "Gods, Ghosts, and Ancestors," 144.

principle that extended throughout the cosmos. The state was the means by which “social order” was preserved, but it was able to do so only by aligning itself with the sacred underpinnings of the cosmic and natural order. It can be said that the state was the instrument whereby the power of the emperor is projected, but only if we understand that there was no categorical distinction between human and otherworldly power; rather power was predicated on a continuum where the secular constantly resonated with the divine.

The Local Community

While the imperial government was theoretically imagined as a unifying force projecting down from the emperor all the way to the home of the individual family, this was of course an idealization. For the vast majority of the Chinese population, social identity has always been firmly rooted in the locality. Defining the local community entails an understanding of geographical boundaries and hierarchical status respective to other communities. As will be shown below, the struggle to define community involves notions of hierarchy that are articulated largely in religious terms.

As mentioned above, the Chinese pantheon is strongly influenced by the bureaucratic principle, and this remains true of Chinese popular tradition up to the present. Gods are charged with the administration of jurisdictions, which are hierarchically arranged. The Stove God’s (*Zaojun* 灶君) jurisdiction is the individual residence.²⁰ The Locality God (*Tudi gong* 土地公) has dominion over a small village or a particular district of a larger village.²¹ A City God’s (*Chenghuang* 城隍) authority extends over all districts (and Locality Gods) of a town and, if the town in question happens to also be the county or provincial capital, then the county or province may be included within the City God’s jurisdiction.²² Worship of these gods is an act of identifying

oneself with a particular construction of community, a particular place on the hierarchy. For example, Wolf shows that the jurisdiction of many Locality Gods in mid-twentieth century northern Taiwan was defined through a ritual in which a wooden plaque inscribed with the title of the Locality God and the name of the community was passed in constant rotation from family to family:

The family holding the plaque on any given day was responsible for making an offering of incense, fruit, and tea at the T’u Ti Kung [Locality God] temple. This it did in the morning after receiving the plaque and again in the evening before passing it on to the neighbor. In this way every family participated in honoring the local T’u Ti Kung and in doing so identified itself as part of the community.²³

This illustrates how Chinese communities have traditionally defined themselves: common participation in rituals focused on local temples not only reinforces the coalition of individual members into the group, but also identifies the group with a particular sense of place. One of the ways of articulating communal identity is therefore based on a kind of sacred geography. Donald Sutton describes communal life in contemporary southern Taiwan in terms of complex dynamics involving local gods and their human devotees played out during festivals that take place in a setting that is both local and cosmological. Through the rituals of these festivals, community is defined by integrating local geography with sacred space and time within the framework of traditional Chinese cosmography, although these relationships are never static and must constantly be renegotiated.²⁴

Religion and ritual have also played a central role in defining relationships between communities. The ritual of *fenxiang* 分香, or “dividing the incense,” wherein incense ashes are taken from one temple and deposited

20 *Ibid.*, 133

21 *Ibid.*, 134

22 *Ibid.*, 138

23 *Ibid.*, 135

24 Donald S. Sutton, *Steps of Perfection: Exorcistic Performers and Chinese Religion in Twentieth-century Taiwan* (Cambridge: Harvard University Asia Center, 2003), 18-19.

in the incense burner of another, is a way of drawing lines of affiliation between temples and their respective communities. In Taiwan, this also takes on the significance of connecting communities to places of historical origin on the mainland. Sutton reports that during the Chinese settlement of Taiwan during the 17th century:

The migrants from southern Fujian (Minnan) made the new lands theirs and released their life giving properties not just through military and technological organization but by acts of cultural appropriation; in particular, they brought incense from the patron god(s) of their place of origin and established branches of its cult, keeping in touch where possible by means of pilgrimage visits.²⁵

Religion, specifically temple networks, therefore played an essential role in the formation of a new communal identity and the preservation of a sense of continuity with other communities on the mainland. The relationships between these temples were of course conceived in hierarchical terms, as were the gods to whom they were dedicated. Sutton notes that such religiously articulated hierarchical networks often played the most prominent role in shaping community identity:

These widening circles, each nested within the other, rarely correspond exactly to settlement and market zones but are named and have a formal existence, and people are more often conscious of their shape and extent than that of the mundane market hierarchy.²⁶

“Secular” economic and political relationships are thus secondary to the relationships outlined in the temple networks, which express and enforce the communities’ situation within a universal, sacred hierarchical order.

Every positive construction of community must of course entail a negative one. Articulating who belongs also identifies who does not. As much as communal ritual was ideally intended to affirm a sense of harmonious social cohesion, this strongly hierarchical character to communal identity makes communal ritual also an arena for conflict over status. Wolf relates the story of a Taiwanese hamlet that seceded from the jurisdiction of its Locality God, building another Locality God temple and circulating its tablet along a new route, establishing themselves as an independent community. Disagreements ensued over the new temple’s origin: the founding community claimed that its incense came from the central Locality God temple of the larger municipality, while the rest of the hamlets from which it seceded claimed that its founding incense came from their temple, thus subordinating the new temple community to their own.

Again, hierarchy is a major concern in the articulation of community identity. But it can be underscored that it is not just hierarchy, but relative status within the religious hierarchy that is an integral part of this articulation. Religious ideas are in this way inseparable from the definition of the local community.

In the discussion above, community identity has been analyzed in terms of the religious notions upon which it is predicated. But it is not simply that religion supports or reinforces the community. Rather, it is that “religion” and “community” are constructions that mutually involve one another in a way that is similar to the relationship between religion and family and religion and the state; they cannot be considered independently. Defining community is a process in which the synthetic union of ritual and social relationships remains un-splintered.

²⁵ *Ibid.*, 16.

²⁶ *Ibid.*, 16

Conclusion

In the above analysis I have tried to illustrate how rich and varied the cultural fabric is that constitutes traditional China. Many of its complex constructions of identity, power, and ethical norms—as well as the conflicts and tensions that they engender—are animated by religion and articulated in religious terms. Any conceptual framework that sees religion as bound to specific, discrete institutions and doctrines will inevitably obfuscate much of what there is to learn from China. This issue is becoming increasingly relevant in recent decades. Although traditional Chinese culture is surging back to life after long years of repression on the mainland, its revival is being carefully managed. There are five officially recognized “religions” in the PRC today: Buddhism, Daoism, Islam, Catholicism and

Protestantism. Whatever falls through the cracks of this neat and highly Westernized typology may be conveniently dismissed as “superstition.” In conjunction with this has been the eagerly sponsored revival of Confucianism, sheared of its religious and cosmological overtones and held up as the only authentic expression of traditional Chinese culture. The appropriation of Western paradigms that marginalize many of the socially embedded forms of traditional Chinese religion can therefore be seen as part of the resumption of an ancient pattern: the imposition of elite culture at the expense of local and popular forms. But, as I hope this paper has suggested, traditional Chinese culture has a habit of blurring and transgressing boundaries, a habit that may in the future prove impossible to kick. ■

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PREVALENCE OF SEXUALLY TRANSMITTED DISEASES AMONG YOUNG PEOPLE BY SEX, RACE/ETHNICITY AND INCOME: EVIDENCE FROM THE U.S. NATIONAL HEALTH INTERVIEW SURVEY

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ABSTRACT *Background:* Previous research suggests certain negative sexual health outcomes can be attributed to social inequalities more so than sexual acts themselves (Hogben and Leichter, 2008). This paper seeks to quantify disparities in sexually transmitted disease (STD) status in the United States across age, race/ethnicity, sex and income group. This study proposes that members of racialized minority groups, young people, females, and those in lower income groups will have higher rates of STDs. *Methods:* Secondary data analysis of the 2008 National Health Interview Survey (N=11,602). *Results:* Bivariate analysis indicates that respondents under 25 years of age, people of color, females, and people making less than \$45,000 a year were more likely to report having an STD other than HIV in the past 5 years. Binary logistic regression analysis was used to explore if any of these relationships proved to be spurious. Findings suggest that those under 25 years, females and Non-Hispanic Blacks have significantly higher rates of STDs than males and Non-Hispanic Whites. The relationship between income and STDs in the past 5 years was weak to the inclusion of the other independent variables in the same model. *Conclusion:* Rather than draw essentialized assumptions of a racialized group's susceptibility to contracting an STD, further research should seek to challenge systems and institutions that allow these disparities to occur. Furthermore, special attention should be given to young people and women's' experiences with sex, access to contraception, and other related health care in order to improve outcomes for these at-risk groups.

Introduction

In my research I will use data from the National Health Interview Survey (NHIS) to explore sexually transmitted disease (STD) rates among different age groups and how these rates may differ among sex, race/ethnicity, and income. It may be that teenagers and young adults have higher rates of STDs than middle-aged adults and the elderly. The presence of STDs in a particular age group may

be higher due to lower socioeconomic status or experiences with racism and discrimination as a member of a racialized minority group.

Research on the social patterning of STDs suggests that prevalence is not equally distributed among age groups, ethnic groups, and groups defined by economic status. For example, Heffernan questions the way STDs (including HIV) are disproportionately dispersed throughout socio-economic and ethnic groups in western societies. Heffernan recognizes the groups most affected by HIV such as “the prostitute, the intravenous drug user, the

* Prepared for SOC 279, Introduction to Statistics for the Social Sciences, taught by Professor Fernando De Maio in fall quarter 2013. The Sociology Department selection committee included professors Martha Martinez, Judy Bootcheck, Melanie Gast and Fernando De Maio.

homosexual, and the impoverished African” (2002: 172) yet also opens the discussion to include why specific individuals risk contracting STDs in the first place and how a broader analysis of health inequalities can contribute to the discussion. Using qualitative research methods she concludes that sexual health inequalities are maintained by the lack of political will to challenge these inequalities. Part of the process of reducing the high rates of such diseases and infections is to change the discourse of sexual morality and sexual deviance to one that recognizes STDs as just another public health issue, like cardiovascular disease, cancer, or asthma.

The existing literature also suggests that African American communities have higher rates of both viral and bacterial STDs but more specifically STDs such as gonorrhea, chlamydia, and syphilis (Newman and Berman, 2008). Based on the knowledge that African American communities have higher rates of STDs, Roberts et al. (2012) sought to investigate the role racial discrimination has played in an individual’s participation in risky sexual behaviors. They found that African American youth who perceived more racial discrimination at a young age were more likely to engage in sexually risky behavior at 18 or 19 (Roberts et al., 2012). This information is consistent with my hypothesis that people of color experience higher rates of STDs as a result of systematic racism, rather than biological differences.

Another reason African American communities may have higher rates of STDs is due to reduced access to care (Parrish and Kent, 2008). At an individual level, African Americans experience structural barriers to care such as poverty, lack of health insurance, and lack of a primary care provider and regular healthcare access (Parrish and Kent, 2008; Barr 2008). Other barriers include concerns regarding confidentiality and perceptions of discrimination at the hands of health care providers (Parrish and Kent, 2008). The health system perpetuates these disparities through inaccessibility of services, disorganization and racist perceptions of certain patients. This information

further supports my hypothesis that racial health disparities can be attributed to structural inequalities rather than biological differences.

While race is an important factor to take into account when examining disparities among STD rates, it is also important to recognize the role that gender plays. Sharpe et al. (2012) take an intersectional approach to understanding the way that black women experience life and become at-risk for contracting STDs. Certain economic and social trends such as higher rates of poverty, loss of status and support linked to declining marriage rates, and the devaluation of female-headed single-parent households all contribute to the marginalization of black women. Understanding the way racism and sexism intersect and influence peoples’ lived experiences provides an important framework for analysis of data regarding sexual health disparities.

The way someone’s identities intersect to form a social and economic status is another important factor in determining health outcomes. Socioeconomic status is deeply intertwined with race. For example, due to the extended history of institutionalized racism and segregation in the United States, people of color have disproportionately experienced poverty, have had fewer opportunities for upward mobility and have been denied access to necessary resources (Hogben and Leichter, 2008). The unequal distribution of resources has been found to be associated with lack of health care and higher STD rates (Hogben and Leichter, 2008). The United States is a country with higher rates of income inequality, a low employment rate, low education levels and a low mean income, all of which have been found to have relationships with higher STD rates (Hogben and Leichter, 2008). Because African Americans disproportionately have lower socioeconomic statuses, that may contribute to the higher rates of STDs in those communities.

This study seeks to analyze the disproportionate dispersion of STDs among youth from lower socioeconomic groups in the United States.

TABLE 1

Central Tendency and Dispersion

| Type of Variable | Variable Name | Level of Measurement | Mode | Median | Variation Ratio | Interquartile Range |
|------------------|---|----------------------|-------------------|-------------------|-----------------|---------------------|
| Dependent | Had STD other than HIV/AIDS in past 5 years | Nominal | No | — | .035 | — |
| Independent | Age Group | Ordinal | 36–45.9 years | 36–45.9 years | — | 25–45.9 years |
| Independent | Race/Ethnicity | Nominal | White | — | .384 | — |
| Independent | Total Earnings Last Year | Ordinal | \$25,000–\$44,999 | \$25,000–\$44,999 | — | \$15,000–\$64,999 |
| Independent | Sex | Nominal | Female | — | .437 | — |

Methods

Data

The data comes from the National Health Interview Survey (NHIS); a survey conducted on varying health topics since 1957. It aims to track health status amongst people living in the United States and access to health care.

Variables

The dependent variable in this study is one's experience with an STD other than HIV. The independent variables are age, race/ethnicity, income, and sex. In the bivariate analysis, age was treated as a categorical variable with 3 levels (18 to less than 25; 25 to less than 36; and 36 or above). For the binary logistic regression analysis the age groups were split into Group 1 being people ages 18-less than 25 and Group 2 being 25 and older. Race/ethnicity was operationalized through self-identification where respondents were able to identify themselves as Hispanic, Non-Hispanic Black, Non-Hispanic Asian, and Non-Hispanic White. Income, was operationalized through the respondent's self reported total income of the previous year. Income groups were divided as follows: Group 1 made between \$1 and \$14,999, Group 2 made between \$15,000 and \$24,999, Group 3 made between \$25,000 and \$44,999, Group 4 made between \$45,000 and \$64,999, and Group 5 made \$65,000 or more. Sex was operationalized by dividing the respondents into two groups (male and female) based on their self-identified sex.

Analysis

The central tendency and dispersion of each variable was examined using univariate analysis. The mode and variation ratio were calculated for all nominal variables, including experience with an STD, race/ethnicity, and sex. Additionally, the median and interquartile range were calculated for all ordinal variables including age group and income group. Simple relationships between each independent variable and the dependent variable were examined in bivariate analysis using chi-square tests. Finally, a series of binary logistic regressions were developed to test the spuriousness of the bivariate relationships. All analyses were conducted using SPSS.

Findings

Table 1 summarizes the central tendency and dispersion of each of the variables in this study.

The majority of people in the study have not had an STD other than HIV/AIDS in the past 5 years. It also shows that the majority of the study respondents are white and between the ages of 36 and 45.9. Most of the people in this study make between \$25,000 and \$44,999 a year with only a few respondents making less than \$15,000 or more than \$64,999. Furthermore, the majority of the respondents are female.

TABLE 2

Bivariate Analysis

| Variables | N | Had STD other than HIV/ AIDS in past 5 years | | χ^2 | p |
|---------------------------------|-------|---|------|----------|--------|
| | | No | Yes | | |
| Age Group | | | | | |
| 18 to < 25 | 2,060 | 94.9% | 5.1% | 57.4 | <0.001 |
| 25 to < 36 | 5,719 | 96.0% | 4.0% | | |
| 36 or more | 3,823 | 98.3% | 1.7% | | |
| Race/Ethnic Group | | | | | |
| Hispanic | 2,488 | 96.3% | 3.7% | 40.3 | <0.001 |
| Non-Hispanic Black | 1,845 | 94.5% | 5.5% | | |
| Non-Hispanic Asian | 770 | 99.0% | 1.1% | | |
| Non-Hispanic White | 6,270 | 97.0% | 3.0% | | |
| Total Earnings Last Year | | | | | |
| \$01-\$14,999 | 1,917 | 95.9% | 4.1% | 12.8 | <.05 |
| \$15,000-\$24,999 | 1,391 | 95.3% | 4.7% | | |
| \$25,000-\$49,999 | 2,394 | 96.3% | 3.7% | | |
| \$45,000-\$64,999 | 1,156 | 97.3% | 2.7% | | |
| \$65,000 or more | 1,137 | 97.5% | 2.5% | | |
| Sex | | | | | |
| Male | 5,212 | 97.7% | 2.3% | 36.2 | <0.001 |
| Female | 6,390 | 95.6% | 4.4% | | |

Bivariate Analysis

Table 2 highlights the significance of the relationships between each of the independent variables and the dependent variable.

Age is significantly associated with STD diagnosis, with

the highest prevalence occurring in the 18 to less than 25 years of age group ($\chi^2 = 57.4, p < 0.001$). Respondents from different race / ethnic groups also seem to differ in their STD rates, with the highest prevalence observed among non-Hispanic Blacks (5.5%) and the lowest prevalence observed among non-Hispanic Asian respondents (1.1%; χ^2

TABLE 3

Multivariate Analysis

| Variables | Model 1 (unadjusted) | | Model 2 | | Model 3 | | Model 4 | |
|--------------------------|-------------------------|-----------|---------|-----------|---------|-----------|---------|-----------|
| | OR | 95% CI | OR | 95% | OR | 95% | OR | 95% |
| Age Group | | | | | | | | |
| 18 to < 25 | 1.71 | 1.36-2.16 | 1.71 | 1.35-2.15 | 1.73 | 1.27-2.36 | 1.85 | 1.36-2.52 |
| 25 + | 1.00 | — | 1.00 | — | 1.00 | — | 1.00 | — |
| Race/Ethnic Group | | | | | | | | |
| Hispanic | 1.22 | .95-1.58 | 1.21 | .93-1.55 | 1.07 | .78-1.46 | 1.12 | 9.82-1.53 |
| Non-Hispanic Black | 1.86 | 1.46-2.39 | 1.85 | 1.44-2.37 | 1.54 | 1.14-2.08 | 1.47 | 1.08-1.99 |
| Non-Hispanic Asian | .34 | .17-.69 | .33 | .16-.68 | .34 | .14-.84 | .36 | .15-.87 |
| Non-Hispanic White | 1.00 | — | 1.00 | — | 1.00 | — | 1.00 | — |
| Income | | | | | | | | |
| \$01-\$14,999 | 1.68 | 1.08-2.60 | — | — | 1.24 | .77-2.00 | .99 | .61-1.61 |
| \$15,000-\$24,999 | 1.94 | 1.24-3.05 | — | — | 1.55 | .96-2.49 | 1.30 | .81-2.10 |
| > \$25,000-\$49,999 | 1.51 | .98-2.33 | — | — | 1.35 | .86-2.09 | 1.19 | .76-1.85 |
| \$45,000-\$64,999 | 1.09 | .65-1.83 | — | — | 1.06 | .63-1.80 | .98 | .58-1.66 |
| \$65,000 or more | 1.00 | — | — | — | 1.00 | — | 1.00 | — |
| Sex | | | | | | | | |
| Male | 1.52 | 1.42-1.65 | — | — | — | — | 1.91 | 1.47-2.48 |
| Female | 1.00 | — | — | — | — | — | 1.00 | — |

= 40.3, $p < 0.001$). Income appears to have a gradient-like relationship with STD prevalence, with each step up the income hierarchy generally being associated with a drop in the percentage of respondents with an STD in the past 5 years ($\chi^2 = 12.8$, $p < 0.05$). Lastly, prevalence of an STD in the past 5 years appears to be higher among females than males (4.4% versus 2.3%; $\chi^2 = 36.2$, $p < 0.001$).

Multivariate Analysis

Table 3 presents a series of binary logistic models. Model 1 presents unadjusted models for each of the independent variables. Model 2 considers the combined effects of age and race/ethnic group. Model 3 adds income, and model 4 considers all of the independent variables at the same time.

Model 1 shows that 18 to < 25 year olds are 1.71 times as likely than 25 + year olds to have had an STD in the past 5 years (95% CI = 1.36 – 2.16). When accounting for race/ethnicity, income, and sex the odds ratio actually increases to 1.85 (95% CI = 1.36 – 2.52). This shows that the positive relationship between being a young person and a person who has experienced an STD cannot be accounted for by the effects of the other independent variables in the final model.

Model 1 for race/ethnic group shows that the odds ratio of experience with an STD for people who identify as Hispanic compared with Non-Hispanic Whites is statistically insignificant across all 4 models. However, the relationship between Non-Hispanic Blacks and Non-Hispanic Whites, as well as Non-Hispanic Asians and Non-Hispanic Whites is statistically significant across all models. In Model 1, self-identified Black individuals are 1.86 times more likely than whites to have experienced an STD (95% CI = 1.46-2.39). While the odds ratio decreases to 1.47 after accounting for all the other variables, it remains statistically significant (95% CI = 1.08 – 1.99). The same can be said for Non-Hispanic Asians who are only significantly less likely than Whites to have experienced an STD in the past 5 years. Although the odds ratio does fluctuate slightly with each variable, it remains significant throughout each model.

The odds ratios and levels of significance for income group vary for each group. Overall the analysis did not show any specific pattern regarding income group and experience with STDs. While the two lowest income groups were significantly more likely to have an STD other than HIV in the past 5 years in the unadjusted model one, the significance of the relationship diminished when accounting for all other variables.

The bivariate logistic regression for sex shows that females are more likely than males to have experienced an STD. The odds ratio increases when accounting for other variables like age group, race/ethnicity, and income.

Discussion

The disparities present in this data are consistent with previous research that states African Americans, females, and young people are disproportionately at-risk for contracting STDs (Heffernan, 2002; Newman and Berman, 2008; Roberts et al 2012; Parrish and Kent, 2008; Sharpe et al, 2012). Rather than draw conclusions relying on essentialist and racist assumptions about different groups of people, it is important to question the circumstances involved in a society that generates these disparities in the first place. For example, rather than assume that the high proportion of females who experience STDs compared to males is due to some biological difference between gender, researchers should take into account STD prevention methods available to females, access to health care, and the sexism present in hegemonic medical practices when conducting research and implementing prevention plans regarding women and sexual health.

While this research does provide insight in the relationship between sex, race/ethnicity and experience with STDs, there are several important limitations that should be considered. For example, the dependent variable, “Have experienced an STD other than HIV in the past 5 years,” may exclude certain individuals whose experiences with STDs could be relevant to this research. It excludes adults who have taken the survey more than 5 years after contracting an STD and it

excludes people younger than 18 years of age. Furthermore, the framing of racial groups in this survey was problematic in that it did not account for the complexities present when describing a racial identity. Another limitation of the NHIS data is that it did not take sexual orientation or experience with incarceration into account. Information regarding the way LGBT individuals may be more at-risk for contracting STDs due to inaccessible medical facilities, discrimination from health care professionals, or riskier behavior is missing in this dataset. Additionally, information regarding history of incarceration and presence of STDs is lacking, which is important to include because studies have shown a correlation between incarceration and higher STD rates (Hogben and Leichter, 2008).

More research on the relationship between income group and rate of STDs is necessary. Although the data in this study did not provide any statistically significant connections between income group and experience with STDs, previous research suggests a strong correlation between income inequality and general health status (Wilkinson and Pickett, 2007; Barr, 2008). Further research should be done on the specific connections between income and sexual health status. In this case, the income variable could have been misleading because it was self-reported and only included income of the past year, which could

have led to the insignificance of the relationship in this study. Furthermore, it did not measure income inequality in the respondent's community, just a respondent's personal income, an important distinction within research on health disparities (Wilkinson and Pickett, 2007).

Despite these limitations, the results can help facilitate new research. A good place to start would be comparing differences in behavior, access to resources, and level of education between young people (including those under 18) and people of mature ages. Data should be collected and analyzed in regards to access to preventative health care in predominantly black communities versus white communities to see what other factors contribute to health disparities among different groups. While income did not prove to be statistically significant in this research, further information should be sought regarding rates of STDs in specifically low-income communities versus higher-income communities, as well as types of sexual health education present in each community. In order to improve health outcomes for at-risk groups, further quantitative and qualitative research of STD rates with specific attention to race and gender is needed, especially as it relates to individuals' experiences with sex, access to contraception and other related health care. ■

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Yanze Zhang | *Red Light*

REVALORACIÓN DE LA VOZ NEGRA EN EL POEMA “MI LENGUA” DE JEANNETTE MILLER

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La historia de la negritud en la República Dominicana, desde siglos, ha sufrido de un sistema de mentiras empleadas en la isla por los colonos blancos. En su libro *The Development of Literary Blackness in the Dominican Republic*, Dawn Stinchcomb explica que esta retórica racista ha existido en varias formas desde el comienzo del comercio de los esclavos africanos en la isla en el año 1501 (2). Este movimiento hacia la disminución de la historia de los negros en la República Dominicana fue perpetuado por varias instituciones gobernantes y sociales en el país culminando en la dictadura de Rafael Leónidas Trujillo, cuyo gobierno totalitario llevaría a cabo el genocidio de unos 30 mil haitianos por motivos raciales (Stinchcomb 65). Teniendo en cuenta el ambiente anti negro de la República Dominicana, la reapropiación de ‘lo negro’ no se mostró propiamente en la poesía hasta llegar el derrumbe del trujillato. En reacción a la negación de la identidad negra dominicana impuesta por la dictadura de Trujillo, Jeannette Miller escribe en su poema «Mi lengua» una fuerte proclamación que explora la verdadera historia del lenguaje y cultura dominicana, que se convierte en una revaloración de la identidad negra. Además, Miller trae la negritud al centro del discurso subvirtiendo la asignación de valores que había reinado en el intercambio social del país.

Para poder entender la negación de la influencia de la negritud en la República Dominicana, hay que conocer unos sucesos históricos de la formación del país tal como lo conocemos hoy día. Las investigaciones de la académica Dawn Stinchcomb analizan en gran detalle estos datos

imprescindibles que se usarán para que el lector los tenga en cuenta en el análisis de la voz negra femenina de Miller. Las raíces de la actitud anti negra se encuentran en el comercio de esclavos (Stinchcomb 2). En el transcurso de un siglo, el número de la población negra existente en la isla provocó que los criollos invitaran a familias españolas de las Canarias a trasladarse a la Española, con el afán de amplificar la presencia blanca en la colonia (Stinchcomb 2). Sin embargo, la población negra de la Española seguiría creciendo mucho más rápido que la blanca. El miedo de los criollos al negro fue profundamente exagerado con la independencia nueva de su vecino, Haití, cuyo gobierno conducido por negros ocupó la parte dominicana de la isla desde 1822 hasta 1844. Esto provocó un fuerte sentimiento anti haitiano, lo que, según Stinchcomb, se convirtió en la igualación de ‘lo negro’ con lo haitiano (3). Este tema fue repetido en el discurso social del país, incluso en la literatura, hasta la modernidad. Notamos que las primeras voces negras feministas surgirían en los cuentos de Aída Cartagena Portalatín (hacia 1960) y en las obras de Jeannette Miller en la década de los 80, después de más de 450 años de creación literaria dominicana.

También es imprescindible en el análisis de la voz de Jeannette Miller tener una familiaridad con el concepto dominicano de la raza. Teniendo en cuenta que el concepto de raza en la expresión literaria no se adhiere a la definición biológica, hay variación en su aplicación social entre culturas y sociedades distintas. El concepto dominicano de la raza ha sido afectado mucho por el sentimiento anti haitiano, como postula Stinchcomb (3). Además, este anti haitianismo ha sido reflejado en las estructuras sociales de la asignación de valores. Stinchcomb explica, “Classification of people by phenotypes, which Dominicans have traditionally used, is one way the racist rhetoric manifests

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itself in Dominican society” (5). Entonces los fenotipos asociados con la negritud, por ejemplo el pelo rizado, llevan un valor negativo en la sociedad, mientras que fenotipos asociados con la blancura son clasificados como “buenos.” En su poema, Miller subvierte este sistema, reasignándole valor a lo que ella considera lo suyo.

Jeannette Miller, nacida en 1944 en Santo Domingo, ha llevado una vida profundamente marcada por la dictadura de Trujillo. Su padre, el escritor Freddy Miller, fue asesinado por mandato de la dictadura el 5 de mayo 1959 cuando ella tenía 15 años (Valero, Ayala y Martínez). Como miembro de la generación poética de los 60, Miller escribió sobre los cambios sociales que empezaron con el asesinato de Trujillo en 1961. Su poema “Mi lengua” representa, al lado de los cuentos de Aída Cartagena Portalatín, una de las primeras representaciones de la voz negra femenina en la literatura dominicana. Además de ser una figura innovadora en la expresión poética de la voz femenina, Miller logra recuperar el valor de sus raíces negras en el poema.

La propiedad de lo negro, discutido por Miller, ya está presente en el título del poema: “**Mi** lengua [énfasis añadido]”. Carente de estrofas separadas y de cierto patrón de rima, el enfoque del poema se queda en la anáfora y en el uso sutil de metáfora entre lenguaje más coloquial y sencillo. Al principio del poema, el yo poético se pregunta “Esta lengua de siglos / cambiante como el agua / ¿qué es?” (*Poesía dominicana* 153). El acto de preguntarse sobre su propia lengua subraya el sentimiento de identidad comprometida experimentado por los dominicanos tras el derrumbe de Trujillo cuando volvían a luz las raíces negras del país. Miller continúa esta auto examinación:

Esta lengua de cieno que antes me amarraba
con la palabra cruz,
con la palabra oro,
con la palabra muerte,
(*Poesía dominicana* 153)

Yo postulo que aquí Miller rechaza la retórica trujillana que

apuntaba que todos los dominicanos eran descendientes de los españoles y criollos. En el poema resiste al colonialismo con las palabras cruz, oro y muerte. Para ella la cruz simboliza la llegada del cristianismo, el oro representa la explotación de los taínos en la minería y la muerte se refiere a las actividades mortales infligidas por los españoles en las poblaciones indígenas tal como en el comercio de esclavos. A través de todo el poema ella mantiene una voz anticolonialista, pero también valora mucho la influencia negra en el desarrollo de la cultura y lengua dominicana. Miller habla de la creación de un idioma propio con imágenes fuertes que se yuxtaponen y expresan una transformación:

Esta lengua vieja que mastiqué despacio
y me tomó la vida,
y otra vida,
y otra vida,
hasta que fue ablandando
de piedra a ritmo,
de tierra en agua,
de hierro a fruta,
de blanco en mambo.
(*Poesía dominicana* 153-4)

El último verso de este fragmento demuestra un cambio radical en la interpretación de la historia de la República Dominicana. Mientras que las instituciones del estado y obras literarias patrióticas mantenían un origen taíno-español del pueblo, Miller suplanta esta fabricación con la verdadera historia del país y su pueblo: una mezcla de tradiciones llevadas a la isla por los negros esclavos, y la cultura española-criolla, impuesta por la clase alta. Entonces aquí “el mambo” representa las raíces africanas que, a pesar de la negación sistemática de la negritud, resurge en la cultura isleña. Esta reelaboración de la historia continúa en los siguientes versos del poema. Más aún, Miller menciona el dialecto dominicano, específicamente el fenómeno de la elisión de la letra “s”: “Esta lengua de cielo y de murmullos / que volví a fabricar comiéndome las eses” (*Poesía*

dominicana 154). Según las investigaciones lingüísticas del académico John Lipski, este fenómeno llegó a las islas caribeñas con colonos canarios (228-9). A través del poema la poeta afirma esta mezcla cultural del pueblo, que se revela en el dialecto popular utilizado por los dominicanos. Junto a los vestigios coloniales, Miller también sigue subrayando las aportaciones culturales africanas en su país trayéndoles al centro del discurso para darles un valor positivo:

soñando las imágenes que amo,
masticando insignias y blasones a ritmo de
tambora,
con los negros suplantando los indicios
sementando las blancas,
y nosotros,
marrones,
haciendo la bachata desde siglos,
bailando con merengue, rumba y plena,
saboreando el sancocho,
remeneando las nalgas,
(*Poesía dominicana* 154)

Vemos en los versos no sólo la deconstrucción del sistema de valores culturales impuestos por la revisión histórica y las fuerzas del trujillato, sino también una clara oposición a este régimen que se exhibe en el segundo verso citado. Para ella, las insignias y los blasones que son símbolos conocidos del ejército plasman la represión militar del trujillato. Entonces el acto de “masticar” los símbolos expresa que la revaloración de las características negras destruye esta retórica racista. Supongamos que “sementando a las blancas” quiere decir que los negros inseminaron a las criollas, y por lo tanto, sería una frase que enfatiza la ascendencia común de los dominicanos, y una que incluye las aportaciones de los esclavos negros. Miller resalta esta característica compartida con sus palabras, “y nosotros, / marrones.”

Además, las menciones que hace la autora sobre las tradiciones profundamente integradas en la vida dominicana, como el merengue y la rumba—danzas que se originaron en África—, sirve también para dejar claro que el país, sin duda alguna, tiene orígenes negros. Esto está fortalecido a través del uso de lenguaje llanamente dominicano, como el verbo irregular “remenear,” que se utiliza en el país para describir unos movimientos repetidos y rápidos encontrados en danzas tradicionales.

En los versos finales del poema el lector ve la voz negra femenina en su presentación más poderosa. Miller utiliza un lenguaje repleto de insinuación que mina la retórica gubernamental. Por ejemplo, cuando se refiere a la República Dominicana como “patria penetrada que penetra...” habla no sólo de las numerosas invasiones conducidas en el país por gobiernos extranjeros (Haití, EEUU), sino también de la mezcla de razas, incluso hasta convertirse en una declaración contra el patriarcado (*Poesía dominicana* 155). Concluyendo su argumento, Miller describe la lengua como fuerza “que reescribe la historia marcando lo que quiere” para mostrarle al lector el giro completo en la revaloración de la negritud. Miller es una poeta que acoge orgullosamente sus orígenes negros y que aprovecha del mismo poder llevado por los blancos para reescribir la historia y reintegrar así al negro en la historia estatal y consciente de la nación. Hay que destacar que Jeannette Miller repite la anáfora de la pregunta “¿qué es?” en los últimos cinco versos:

Esta lengua bandera que une y que separa
¿qué es?
Una historia.
Una flor.
Un arma.
(*Poesía dominicana* 155)

Con este golpe impactante Miller define su idioma, el idioma del pueblo mestizo dominicano, como un arma potente. Un arma que sirve para destejer la red de mentiras que cegó al pueblo durante siglos.

A través de este poema, la poeta, ensayista, y escritora dominicana Jeannette Miller consigue quitarles a los dominicanos la caperuza que les impuso la dictadura, emergiendo como una de las primeras voces feministas a favor de lo negro en la creación literaria en su país. La negritud como sujeto poético también desgarró el sistema de valores supuestos por la retórica racista del país al llevar “lo negro” al centro de su discurso y así reasignarle su valor.¹ ■

¹ Además de este poema, ella sigue publicando ensayos y textos que subvierten este dogma falsificado de la negación de la negritud en la República Dominicana en obras como *Participación de la mujer en el proceso electoral dominicano* (1975) y *Textos sobre arte, literatura e identidad* (2005). Desafortunadamente, los rasgos de este sistema racista de valores todavía perduran en la cultura dominicana, subrayado quizás más claramente en el debate actual que ocurre en muchos países del hemisferio. Este debate consiste en la definición social de “pelo bueno” y “pelo malo”, que está atado muy profundamente a unos propensiones influidas por la retórica anti negro (Godreau 86)

OBRAS CONSULTADAS

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APÉNDICE

Mi lengua

A Manuel Rueda

Esta lengua de siglos
cambiante como el agua
¿qué es?
¿Una historia,
una flor,
una máscara?
Esta lengua de cieno que antes me amarraba
con la palabra cruz,
con la palabra oro,
con la palabra muerte,
¿qué es?
¿Mi historia,
mi lucha,
mi silencio?
Esta lengua que borró mis primeros fonemas
dejándome desnuda,
aterrada,
que me tiró en el pozo de la primera muerte
sin sonidos para espantar el miedo,
sin palabras para entender las cosas,
para guardarlas...
Esta lengua vieja que mastiqué despacio
y me tomó la vida,
y otra vida,
y otra vida,
hasta que fue ablandando
de piedra a ritmo,
de tierra en agua,
de hierro a fruta,
de blanco en mambo.
Esta lengua de cielo y de murmullos
que volví a fabricar comiéndome las eses,
soñando las imágenes que amo,
masticando insignias y blasones a ritmo de
tambora,
con los negros suplantando los indicios
sementando las blancas,
y nosotros,

marrones,
haciendo la bachata desde siglos,
bailando con merengue, rumba y plena,
saboreando el sancocho,
remeneando las nalgas,
a golpe de palma y sol,
de sangre.
Esta lengua impuesta que ahora me define.
Esta lengua libre como un pendón de fuego.
Esta lengua que se desprende de mi boca,
golpe,
agua que late,
bote que rema,
ola que llora,
patria penetrada que penetra...
esta lengua de isla,
de palma y hambre,
del odio y del amor,
de la esperanza...
Esta lengua esencial,
erguida en su esqueleto,
carnada de amapolas,
nueva como yo
en medio de mi patria bullanguera
vestida de esmeraldas.
Esta lengua de trópico, de tierra y continente..
Esta lengua en girones que nombra lo que hace,
que reinventa la vida,
que reescribe la historia marcando lo que quiere,
gritando como llama.
Esta lengua bandera que une y que separa
¿qué es?
Una historia.
Una flor.
Un arma.



Conner Pierce | *Danny*

INVENTING VIRTUAL AUTONOMY; OR, HOW TO FRIEND REQUEST THE DISCURSIVE HYSTERIC

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"Don't stir the trash."

-Sappho

Introduction

It is true that interesting things happen in psychiatric wards. You do not have to pay close attention to see staff members forcibly administer a schizophrenic a tranquilizer, or to notice the woman who stands silent in the hallway corner, unintelligibly mumbling to herself. Nearly every conduit of film, literature, and media makes certain that we understand the caricatures of neurosis as static bodies we do not have access to, though often these depictions resonate with us either as confirmations of our sanity or reminders that in our insanity, we are not alone. While it is simple to recognize behaviors of alleged lunacy, it requires a complete paradigm shift to notice how patterned processes for determining symptoms and conditions of the disordered intentionally reinforce the larger implications for their categorized existence. In its simplest form, this shift views pathologies as textually coded rather than naturalized inevitabilities to demonstrate how dominant knowledges and the power they wield are simultaneously constructed under the assumption that the female/feminine body is¹, and always

will be, suspect. Similarly, this paradigm shift calls for the "power of modern critical theories of how meaning and bodies get made, not in order to deny meanings and bodies, but in order to build meaning and bodies that have a chance for life."² As someone who has been thoroughly inculcated into this bureaucratic system and assigned various diagnoses, it is not just important, but essential that I investigate how my own meaning and body are made in order to understand the historical and contemporary ghosts of constructed meanings and bodies that I am among. In this sense, a feminist theoretical standpoint is crucial to my analysis, as gender historically has been (and remains) part and parcel to fundamental definitions of pathologies, particularly what often becomes the discourse of female hysteria.³

Though my essay largely takes issue with the assumed authority of professional medical institutions and the language of diagnosis, I use the etiology and pathology of hysteria as my framework for exposing the nuanced manifestations of institutional and local patriarchal structures at play in the oppressive taxonomy of bodies. As this essay will show, I wish to critically understand hysteria

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1 Throughout my essay, I intentionally refer to the "female/feminine body" to emphasize the instability of both its biological construction—that is, the sexed female body—and its consequent social construction as essentially maintaining feminine characteristics and behavior. By referring to the body as both constructed female *and* feminine, I situate my analysis within foundational critiques of sex, gender, sexuality, expression and embodiment as fluid and variable in line with Simone de Beauvoir, Monique Wittig, Judith Butler, etc.

2 Donna Haraway, "Situated Knowledges: The Science Question in Feminism and the Privilege of Partial Perspective," *Feminist Studies* 14, no. 3 (1988): 580.

3 Because hysteria takes on numerous definitions as a medical diagnosis, I will later address these in detail to demonstrate their evolution in historical and contemporary discourse.

as a both a discursive and metaphorical phenomenon, and investigate how its application maintains real consequence for its subjects as a product of casual conversation and symptom of technology. My efforts to draw on the evolution of hysteria as a valid medical category from past to present also aim to grapple with the social implications for discussions that normalize hysteria in popular discursive mediums. As such, a key aspect of my discussion revolves around a discourse analysis of a recent article from *The Atlantic* that reports on the role Facebook played to induce a recent outbreak of hysteria or, “mass psychogenic illness,” in Danvers, MA.⁴ In part, this sheds light on contemporary perceptions of hysteria, as well as how this disordered classification produces a collective consciousness of what it means for the female/feminine body to exist as a pathologized category. Moreover, I use this article as evidence to conceptually speculate how the medium of social networking works to produce, reaffirm and dictate normative gendered assumptions of what is considered essentially feminine behavior.

Admittedly, it is from both a location of delight and detached sadness that I write this essay, as my fascination with pathologized bodies and the hysteric stems from the ways in which I have been identified as such and thus, learned to identify as. Perhaps most importantly though, I want to stress that my preoccupations to reconcile the language that has deemed me disordered drive anything but a solitary task. While I am intimately familiar with what it feels like to be a subject of medical research, I am certainly not alone. For too long, supposed hysterics have existed in a curious and impenetrable space of both silence and explicit absurdity, as spectacle of femininity—an anonymous apparatus of masculine supremacy. Interestingly, the hysteric’s navigation of our embodied interactions and relationships in “the social production and

meaning of space”⁵ grants nearly everyone but ourselves a tenably secured access to our spatial representation in media, text and images. As a result, this objective cultural articulation of hysterics holds a particularly discursive space where our consciousness is exploited, and point of origin both obscured and learned. Though sensationalized portraits of mental illness teach our Western world specific cultural criteria to discern bodies and minds as “crazy,” it is the tacit pervasiveness of sanctioned medical categories that allow and encourage a discursive and material reality for both the pathology and pathologized. And, it will likely be in a fit of hysteria that I refuse to allow this language to stigmatize us any longer.

Theoretical Frameworks & Thesis

My analysis is primarily reliant on post-structuralism and disability/body-based theories that explore technologies of femininity, systems of disciplining and policing, and knowledge constructions in language and discourse.⁶ While I am influenced by extensive feminist scholarship, there is some work in particular that remains fundamental to my discussion in this essay. Susan Bordo and Sandra Lee Bartky’s analyses specifically involving ideas of feminine performance and socially obedient bodies have motivated what I refer to as the *discursive hysteric*—that is, the textual or narrative embodiment of an exaggerated and gendered pathology. When the discursive hysteric becomes a media-based spectacle, we obscure the very real policing and disordering of bodies and consciousness that occur; ultimately, this transaction replicates the traditional narrative of hysteria and pathologizes the female/feminine condition. By critically engaging hysteria as a disease construction, we can see that “the continuum between female disorder, and ‘normal’ feminine practice is sharply revealed through a close reading of those disorders

4 Laura Dimom, “What Witchcraft Is Facebook?”, *The Atlantic*, September 11, 2013, <http://www.theatlantic.com/health/archive/2013/09/what-witchcraft-is-facebook/279499/>.

5 Linda McDowell and Joanne P. Sharp, eds., *A Feminist Glossary of Human Geography* (London: Routledge, 1999), 267.

6 I locate myself among many theorists that fuel my epistemological approaches in this topic, such as Donna Haraway, Susan Bordo, and Michel Foucault.

to which women have been particularly vulnerable.”⁷ Similarly, theories positing the female body as a historic site to culturally and socially reproduce what are deemed as normative and healthy behaviors call for a close examination of hierarchies in medicine that pathologize gender.⁸ As such, I feel that the analysis of Facebook as a device that maintains the power to provoke symptoms of hysteria (as per *The Atlantic* article) is my necessary intervention into this conversation.

Moreover, the role of Facebook poses fascinating questions of technological supervision and gendered social networking. It occupies a bizarre space that grants the illusion of self-autonomy while simultaneously disciplining its users by giving them specific confines to exist within, similar to Foucaultian theories of power dynamics and discipline. I think there is a great deal to be said about the way the teenage girls in *The Atlantic* article are policed and surveilled on literal, physical, metaphorical and discursive levels. Their bodies and consciousness—which manifest in images, visual text and status—are conceptually and actually monitored in everything from the frequency at which they use Facebook to the normative expectations for how it is used. Similarly, it is important to note that there is currently a lack of academic feminist research on the role Facebook plays in gender construction and performance.⁹

Ultimately, I use a historical and discursive analysis to argue that the application of Facebook renders it both the perpetrator and scapegoat for the way we envision gendered hysteria and female/feminine bodies as inherently disordered. Laura Dimon’s *Atlantic* article

and similar representations of hysteria and hysterical behavior erase the policing of the female/feminine body and replicate the discursive hysteric as spectacle. Because my analysis directly involves Facebook, I understand it as a technological medium that both empowers and disempowers all of its users. It offers a faux-sense of virtual autonomy. At the same time, larger constructions of language and social orientation implicitly teach gendered self-representation and behavior that reposition incapability and vulnerability as inherent consequences of femininity. Finally, it is in these series of complex and contradictory discursive, material and technological realities that extensions of patriarchal domination manifest, but the deconstruction of language and meaning aims to challenge or reclaim them.

Historically Situating Hysteria

It is beyond the scope of this essay to present a historically comprehensive explanation of hysteria as a medical diagnosis. Its evolution spans thousands of years, and the scholarship that both theorizes and critiques hysteria comprises a massive body of work in fields of medicine, neurobiology, psychoanalysis, sociology and psychology. I will, however, offer what I believe to be its foundational developments, as well as those most relevant to my discourse analysis of its contemporary perceptions. As a gendered medical phenomenon, or what Rachel Maines understands to be a disease paradigm, hysteria first appears in the medical corpus as early as 2000 B.C. in Egypt, but it was not until the time of Hippocrates in the fifth century B.C. that the Western clinical definition of the disorder begins to develop.¹⁰ In the Hippocratic text, hysteria was understood essentially as a disease of the womb, and Plato’s aggressively poetic interpretation of hysteria as “an animal inside an animal”¹¹ demonstrates the patriarchal curiosity with which the disease was originated, studied and treated. It was commonly considered that hysteria

7 Susan R. Bordo and Alison M. Jaggar, *Gender/Body/Knowledge: Feminist Reconstructions of Being and Knowing* (New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press, 1989), 1-13.

8 See Sandra Lee Bartky’s essay, “Foucault, Femininity, and the Modernization of Patriarchal Power.”

9 The scholarship of Jackie Orr that involves collective panic and anxiety through emphasizing its performative elements is crucial to the way I am understanding the effects of recent hysteria outbreaks among specific communities in the US.

10 Rachel P. Maines, *The Technology of Orgasm: “Hysteria,” the Vibrator, and Women’s Sexual Satisfaction* (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1999).

11 Rachel P. Maines, *The Technology of Orgasm*, 22-23.

occurs in a woman's body when her uterus begins to 'act up' or literally wander throughout her body, causing a variety of symptoms that traditionally depend on the individual patient and their physician; these include "fainting, edema or hyperemia (congestion caused by fluid retention, either localized or general), nervousness, insomnia, sensations of heaviness in the abdomen, muscle spasms, shortness of breath, loss of appetite for food or for sex with the approved male pattern, and sometimes a tendency to cause trouble for others, particularly members of the patient's immediate family."¹²

The historical evolution of hysteria is extremely important to consider in framing my discursive examination of its contemporary relevance as a medical category that continues to target women who demonstrate a sense of control over their own bodies/consciousnesses. It is important to note, however, that my argument focusing on pathology as a tool of control is certainly not new to the rich scholarship and study devoted to etiology. David B. Allison and Mark S. Roberts thoroughly deconstruct the historical power of medical imperatives in diagnosing and disordering bodies based on notions of objectivity and biological essentialism, which abandons any analysis of the cultural and social biases various medical cannons are predicated upon.¹³ Their critique of diagnosis narratives focuses on the problematics of assigning scientific criteria to explain human deviance and difference from (and posited by) the dominant Western, andocentric white discourse. Similarly, Allison and Roberts are among a number of scholars who challenge the construction of hysteria and demonstrate the consequence of its patriarchal efforts to medically justify the mystery of women's sexuality. By way of comparison, their essay discusses historical disease construction as seen specifically in Samuel A. Cartwright's influential research on runaway slaves that determined their "insane desire to wander away from home was caused

by a dreaded disorder, *drapetomania*."¹⁴ In this way, the language of pathological taxonomy has largely served as a means to rationalize the "unusual" reactionary behavior of the oppressed and prevent these individuals from actualizing their autonomy. Moreover, Allison and Roberts trace medical understandings, approaches and treatments of hysteria as very much having "the wide understanding of women as inferior human beings, not fully mature in their rational faculties or self-control."¹⁵ They, among others, note that the hysteric has been associated with and diagnosed in an array of identities that are in some way challenging female dependence on patriarchal power and influence. These include, but are not limited to lesbians, virgins, frigid women, single mothers, women without children, widows, women seeking employment, women with employment, and (my personal favorite) women who were suspected of witchcraft. While I have only offered a relatively brief historical overview of hysteria at this point—as I believe it important to frame my methodology and theoretical approach—it is in my discourse analysis of *The Atlantic* article that I continue to draw contemporary parallels of its construction as a deeply coded language and performance.

Engaging with *The Atlantic*: Discourse Analysis

As an occasional reader of the online news source, *The Atlantic*, it was completely at random that I came across an article published on their website on September 11, 2013. The title, "What Witchcraft is Facebook?" naturally caught my eye, but it was the sub-header text that quite literally made me jump out of my seat: "Mass psychogenic illness—historically known as 'mass hysteria'—is making a comeback."¹⁶ In summary, Laura Dimon's piece describes how, in January 2013, a group of about two-dozen teenage girls at the Essex Agricultural and Technical School began experiencing strange hiccups and vocal tics; the

¹² *Ibid.*

¹³ David B. Allison and Mark S. Roberts, "On Constructing the Disorder of Hysteria," *The Journal of Medicine and Philosophy* 19, no. 3 (1994): 239-59.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, 240.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, 242.

¹⁶ Laura Dimon, "What Witchcraft Is Facebook?," *The Atlantic*, September 11, 2013, 1, <http://www.theatlantic.com/health/archive/2013/09/what-witchcraft-is-facebook/279499/>.

article goes on to highlight two other speculated cases of hysteria (or mass psychogenic illness) in Le Roy, New York, and more specifically, it offers a generous portrait of how the disorder impacted one woman's life—a discursive comparison involving bodies as sites of evidence for pathology, which I will discuss later. Dimon also consulted Robert Bartholomew, a sociologist who has extensively researched hysteria, collective panic, and mass psychogenic illness, and he frequently incorporates his analysis of social media as contributing to the rapid spread of global anxiety.¹⁷ There has been a large collection of media documentation of both the Danvers and especially the Le Roy case, but it would require a book for me to fully investigate these events. Similarly, I want to stress that there are a multiplicity of feminist critiques involving (though not limited to) race, class and sexuality that I wish I could engage with at a much more intimate level here, as whiteness plays a particular role in the diagnosis of pathology and disease. I hope, however, that this essay serves as the very beginnings of a much larger, long-term project that addresses the intersection of these important nuances of identity. Though one could argue that the article itself is an innocuous account of an outbreak of mass hysteria in a group of teenagers, I feel it exemplifies a significant cultural discourse that contributes to contemporary perceptions of hysteria and gender constructions more broadly. In effort to critically understand how the article reproduces a depiction of the discursive hysteric, I discursively examine its nuances as a text, social dialogue, and representations of language and rhetoric—as these reinscribe the female/feminine body and link them to pathology, performance and Facebook.

When considering the type of mainstream presence *The Atlantic* has, I argue that the consumption of this

17 *Ibid.*, 2. Robert Bartholomew's essay, "Mass Psychogenic Illness and the Social Network: Is Changing the Patter of Outbreaks?" is also of particular use in theorizing the role of social networking; though I believe it lacks a thorough critique of gender construction and femininity, I briefly draw on his framework for understanding the power and spread of rapid communication as central to spreading the discourse and perception of panic.

document has strong influence on its audience when discussing a historically loaded topic like hysteria, and neglecting to situate it as such. In this sense, my feminist reading of the article grapples with ideas of situating and positioning—of myself, this article, its language, subject matter, and knowledge claims—as “the key practice in grounding knowledge organized around the imagery of vision [because] much Western scientific and philosophic discourse is organized in this way.”¹⁸ As such, I feel it necessary to mention that the image—a photograph from the Salem witch trials—positioned alongside the article's title is discursively imperative to consider as it shapes both content and organization. By associating this outbreak of mass hysteria with witchcraft because it happens to have occurred in a town where the Salem Witch Trials were held, the author is discursively inviting in a limited narrative of the hysteric that is inherently associated with over emotional tropes of exaggerated femininity. Allison and Roberts argue that witchcraft and hysteria “were themselves constructions by public institutions and opinion, whose interests (religious, social, economic, cultural, emotional, etc.) would be served by their outright rejection.”¹⁹ Building off of this analysis, not only does the article's immediate presence forecast its cultural tone, but its rather compelling speculation of social media as causal for symptoms of hysteria is, I argue, the contemporary analogue of the same public institution(s) Allison and Roberts refer to. Just as Western institutions of education, employment and government largely come to fruition as a means to monitor those who actively participate within them, so too does Facebook become a powerful though intangible and technological medium to systematically surveil its users. In this sense, I believe my discussion currently lacks adequate feminist, academic analysis in part because Facebook is still a relatively new form of social media (having been introduced in 2004), and because cyberspace socially and discursively

18 Donna Haraway, “Situated Knowledges: The Science Question in Feminism and the Privilege of Partial Perspective,” 587.

19 David B. Allison and Mark S. Roberts, “On Constructing the Disorder of Hysteria,” 257.

materializes a bizarre and difficult reality to locate. As such, this analysis requires a meeting point at the center of the language spectrum. It heavily relies on the academic jargon of critical feminist, spatiality, and post-structuralist theories, as well as the contemporary cultural language of Facebook, which often involves not simply text, but a familiarity with elements such as status updates, profile photos, and friend request. It is for these very reasons that I use Dimon's article to illustrate this difficult balancing act of discourse to support my critique and deconstruction of contemporary perceptions of hysteria. "What Witchcraft is Facebook?" is the perfect example of how these two discourses are effectively conflated, though the language that reinforces cultural tropes of the discursive hysteric ultimately champions its jargon-y counterpart, and for good reason. The discourse of etiology, psychoanalysis and feminist theory are ones that few have access to; mass audiences are taught what it means to be hysterical solely through mainstream media, and just as Bartky indicates, the feminine body is especially taught to discipline themselves to behave according to these implicit rules.²⁰ As much as I am performing a discourse analysis of Dimon's piece, I want to make clear that I do so while simultaneously critiquing my own use of language, as larger ideas of discourse, pathology, and policing are all directly embedded within deep constructions of knowledge production, objective claims, and patriarchal power.

Additionally, I would at this point like to mention that my critique here is not of Laura Dimon as an individual author, as her piece does include a somewhat multi-faceted approach of these outbreaks in that she includes Bartholomew's point of view and draws on a variety of explanations for this mass hysteria. More so, I am taking direct issue with the discourse and even the visual/online medium of this piece, as it caters to some of the most pervasive conversations regarding femininity and spectacle by dramatizing the mysterious nature of hysteria

20 Sandra Lee Bartky, "Foucault, Femininity, and the Modernization of Patriarchal Power," 450.

to the point where these girls and their stories become entirely mythologized as a form of public entertainment. By repeatedly posing questions such as, "how did she catch it?"²¹ the article successfully codes femininity as inherently susceptible to disease, and grammatically, it attributes a sense of blame to the victim. A much more powerful question might be "what gave this to her?" Through simply discursive reconstructions like these, we can begin to conceptualize how deeply rooted issues of gender, privilege and oppression are in habitualized language.

Though not phrased as such, the article does interrogate the source of different instances of hysteria in Danvers and Le Roy. Dimon highlights the possible links between a 1971 toxic spill, social media use, as well as childhood trauma and repression or "conversion hysteria"—a far more Freudian interpretation.²² In what I believe to be a strategic way to reproduce the discursive hysteric, the article first discusses the Danvers case, then the Le Roy, and it most prominently centers on the experience of one woman in Le Roy, Marge Fitzsimmons. Dimon dedicates the bulk of the piece to tell the story of a woman who, after seeing 32 doctors and trying 27 different medications in the past year, still suffers from the same vocal tics and involuntary twitches as the Le Roy and Danvers girls.²³ Moreover, Marge's story involves speculation of environmental issues bringing on her symptoms, but also emphasizes the strong possibility of repressed trauma resulting from being raped by a friend when she was a 14-year-old virgin.²⁴ Undoubtedly, *The Atlantic* piece creates and evokes a strong sense of sympathy for this woman who has suffered not only serious emotional and psychological trauma, but also extreme physical symptoms of tremors, fainting, tics,

21 Laura Dimon, "What Witchcraft Is Facebook?", 7.

22 Rachel P. Maines, *The Technology of Orgasm*, 45. See Freud's 1896 essay "The Aetiology of Hysteria," for a more complete overview. Freud made a prominent intervention in the construction of hysteria as a disease paradigm with his psychoanalysis that focused on childhood trauma and sexual molestation, though he later speculates that these repressed memories are actually invented in the memory of the hysteric patient.

23 Laura Dimon, "What Witchcraft Is Facebook?", 4.

24 *Ibid.*, 6.

and other motor impairments. As such, I think Marge's narrative is especially important to consider alongside historical interpretations of hysteria that revolve around the body as a site of evidence in the pathologization process.

As discussed earlier, the list of physicians and doctors who studied hysteria is chronologically exhaustive; however, the mid-19th century English physician, Robert Brudenell Carter "argued against the explicitly biological model, urging that the real etiology of hysteria was to be found in the patient's inability to deal with emotional conflict, especially when confronted with oppressive social conditions."²⁵ This has commonly been an embraced and expanded upon theory by psychoanalysts, such as Freud, who suggest that acts of sexual assault or rape also play a role in hysteria, much like Marge's case. Similarly, Jean-Martin Charcot's 19th-century work agreed with Carter's analysis of repressed shock or trauma but specifically focused on clinical treatment processes of hypnosis, claiming that "the hypnotic state, and the behavior exhibited therein, was precisely what was understood as hysteria."²⁶ Essentially, Charcot disguised hypnotherapy as method and medium of treatment for those deemed hysteric to quite literally enact the dramatization of a hysterical fit under his professional supervision.

I bring in these two historical etiological interpretations to argue that the article's focus on the Danvers and Le Roy girls to Marge Fitzsimmons acutely demonstrates traditional and contemporary perceptions of how we legitimate the pathologization of femininity and the female body. By evidencing their symptoms as directly resulting from the body as marked or sullied (the Freudian analysis of sexual assault), we can culturally and socially accept the hysteric that Marge is, though she is still constructed as weak and inferior. In comparison, when we do not necessarily have proof that something has occurred to damage the site of the body—the Danvers and Le Roy girls—we pathologize their

consciousness and exploit their performance, like Cater and Charcot. According to Dimon's article, the media attention on the Le Roy girls was pervasively overwhelming, and a few of the girls with the most severe tics were even brought onto *The Today Show* and made into literal embodiments of a hysterical femininity for an entire nation to consume. As Allison and Roberts note, Charcot's hypnotized patients frequently performed their hysterical roles before audiences, including the Prime Minister of France, Guy de Maupassant, doctors, and intellectuals—"all of whom found the spectacle most delightful."²⁷ This split focus in the article's content—from the teenage girls to the individual woman—is a discursive sign that we value the female/feminine body with evidence that explains or rationalizes their behavior. Consequently, this posits the other bodies as disposable and lumps them into a category to demonstrate the discursive hysteric as spectacle.

Finally, it is important to note that the role of Facebook is deeply compelling and one that I feel *The Atlantic* article addresses as playing a significant role in the spread and replication of panic, as it gave the public an arena to harass, surveil and police both the Danvers and Le Roy girls, as well as Marge Fitzsimmons. To date, Robert Bartholomew's sociological-based research has made some of the most significant contributions to the material and discursive consequences of social networking in that he primarily sees it as a tool that expedites processes and manifestations of collective panic. He shares feminist epistemological, methodological and ontological concerns, noting that "researches need to use a social construction of reality perspective in their research, rather than searching for 'objective' psychological causes of imaginary illness"²⁸ and encourages us to be aware of the somatic reactions and anxieties created in technologically communicative processes. Though he at times lacks a full analysis of gender, his focus on the hyper-reality and spatial nuances

25 David B. Allison and Mark S. Roberts, "On Constructing the Disorder of Hysteria," 244.

26 *Ibid.*, 247.

27 *Ibid.*, 248.

28 Bartholomew, Robert E. and Jeffrey S. Victor, "A Social-Psychological Theory of Collective Anxiety Attacks: The 'Mad Gasser' Reexamined." *Sociological Quarterly* 45, no. 2 (2004): 242-243.

Facebook creates supports my argument that it is a peculiar of disciplinary zone that particularly offers the Danvers and Le Roy girls a sense of faux-autonomy; they might be able to control their status update, but their presence and identification as a Facebook user alone has them marked as a discursively hysteric body.

Closing Thoughts

Undoubtedly, a diagnosis offers a great deal of relief by ‘validating’ symptoms and providing documented evidence of a condition that influences how we function in the world. Psychiatric conditions are, however, immediately suspect, and non-conventional diagnosis can be a double-edged sword: the authority that medical language maintains is accompanied by processes of stigmatization, permanently marking bodies within institutional and local arenas. Largely, my aim is to

illuminate the discursive multiplicities that construct language, bodies and meaning, and I believe that *The Atlantic* article exposes how, as a technological medium, Facebook is both the perpetrator and the scapegoat for the way we contemporarily envision hysteria and the female/feminine body as inherently disordered. It is crucial to unpack the discursive explanations of hysteria that play off cultural tropes of “the crazy woman,” as these disguise and overlook how the feminine body is policed and disordered by larger Western, patriarchal intuitions of power and domination. Similarly, Facebook has the potential to be a serious and emerging medium for faux-empowerment to exist in. In this sense, I would like to close with a response to the title of this essay: so how, then, do we friend request the discursive hysteric? I argue not to. Simply don’t. We will not need to friend request her once we understand the language that produces her performance. ■

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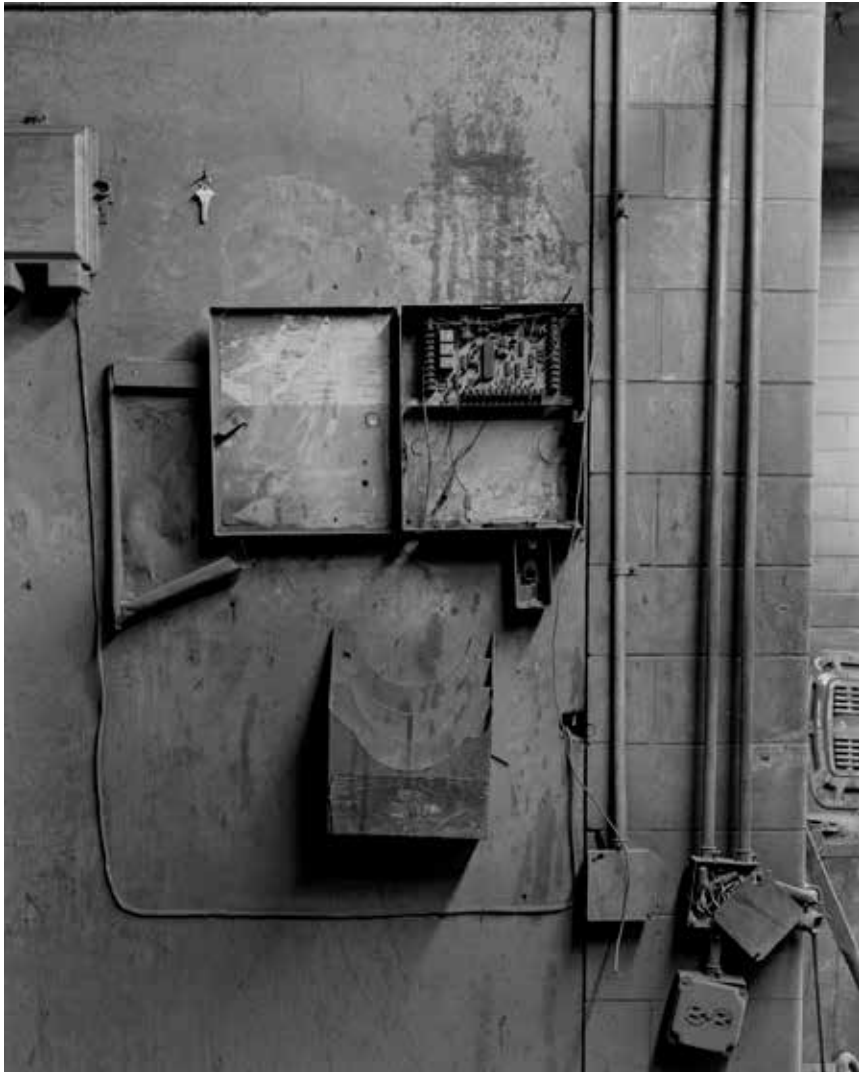
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Angel Pedro | *Untitled*

YOU SHOULD BE ASHAMED: EXPLORING *SEVENTEEN'S* "TRAUMARAMAS" AS A CONTRADICTIONARY GENRE

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Being a teenager is hard. Every day is full of new and intimidating experiences. Zits. Flirting. Mood swings. Morphing bodies. Not surprisingly, these experiences are often reflected in the discourse of teen magazines—especially those for girls. This discourse unfolds the confusing, awkward, and sometimes embarrassing social dramas teenage girls have to navigate. And in these magazines, these social dramas, rather than everyday occurrences, often take on the magnitude of life-altering traumas. Thus, the discourse of teen girl magazines plays a role in shaping the lives of those that read them—and perhaps even those that don't.

Discourses help to organize our social lives. James Paul Gee explains discourse as “a socially accepted association among ways of using language, of thinking, and of acting that can be used to identify oneself as a member of a socially meaningful group or social network” (3). Discourse is consequential because it integrates people as well as abstract concepts like ethical values, social norms, and shared history, thereby creating and defining social identities (Gee 4-7). As James E. Porter elaborates, “All discourse functions in and can be described as part of a social transaction that has defined roles for both readers and writers” (108). For the audience to receive and interpret the discourse, a physical manifestation of the discourse is necessary (Porter 108), for example the publication and distribution of teen magazines for girls.

The publication and distribution of teen magazines for girls not only reflects a discourse but also establishes a

discourse community. A discourse community is “a local and temporary constraining system, defined by a body of texts (or more generally, practices) that are unified by a common focus” (Porter 106). A discourse community is a textual system that contains “stated and unstated conventions, a vital history, mechanisms for wielding power, institutional hierarchies, and vested interests” (Porter 106). Discourse communities find expression in forums, which are “concrete manifestations of the operation of the discourse community” (Porter 108). Forums are physical locations for a discourse community's discursive activity, such as *Seventeen* or *Teen Vogue*, and different forums exist for different discourse communities. And forums are defined in part by genres, or as Carolyn R. Miller explains, “typified rhetorical actions based in recurrent situations” (quoted in Dean 8). Many genres may exist within forums and may serve as stabilizing forces in discourse communities. By using genres we both “invoke or reconstruct” the values and rhetorical situations within these situations (Dean 16-7). Because genres represent all sorts of social interactions, they are defined more by rhetorical situation than formal features or classification system (Dean 9). Thus, genres are ideological, for they reflect what certain groups believe about the world and serve as “ways of being, participating in genres involves assuming the ways of thinking that encompass those ways of being” (Dean 18).

Genres within a forum are one way discourses get expressed, and “Traumaramas” are a genre that shape and are shaped by particular social and rhetorical situations in the teen magazine *Seventeen*. “Traumaramas” (a portmanteau of “trauma” and “drama”) are short narratives (75-125 words) submitted by the magazine's readers that

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document the day-to-day embarrassments of teenage girls. The stories are about shame, not accomplishments, and they rarely end well for the girl in question. It seems that by writing or reading the stories, girls are encouraged to move on and accept what has happened. However, unlike advice columns, which are an antecedent genre, girls are never given any suggestions as to how to deal with these traumatic moments. While readers may hope for consolation through the stories, it is never provided. Further, the stories are uniform in language and rhetorical moves, suggesting that girls have internalized the rhetorical moves or that the magazine intervenes in the publication process, or both. By potentially homogenizing the stories to make them more relatable, *Seventeen* is also providing a sort of etiquette or system through which teenage girls understand and make sense of the embarrassing moments they encounter. Namely, by publishing the stories and labeling them “Traumaramas” the genre’s very existence promotes a climate of narcissism and vanity—encouraging girls to believe people care about what they are doing and are critical when they violate social norms. The writer, reader, and *Seventeen* are all connected through a shared understanding and feeling of disgust for embarrassment, and the constant need to be in control of their every move and emotion in order to avoid violating social norms. Thus, “Traumaramas” are a contradictory genre: girls write and read the stories to experience a cathartic release of embarrassing happenings, but the publication of the genre actually builds and supports the discourses that shape why and how girls find moments embarrassing in the first place.

I will begin with a comprehensive analysis of the linguistic features, rhetorical moves, and context of the “Traumarama” genre. I will then compare and contrast “Traumaramas” with a similar antecedent genre also published in teen magazines, the advice column. In doing so, my analysis will illustrate the “Traumaramas” as a contradictory genre that establishes standards for embarrassing moments that may alienate or confuse the teen girls that interact with the “Traumaramas”—ultimately further complicating the already awkward and troubling teenage girl experience.

Data: Sampling “Traumaramas”

For this analysis, I compiled samples from *Seventeen*’s website. In the magazine and online, the stories are titled “Traumaramas.” I chose to take the samples from the website because the website is more accessible than hard copy issues. I also looked at how the stories are printed in the magazines and noted the submission process is the same regardless of where they are published; thus content and text are similar. I compiled documents containing only the text and also took screenshots of the stories on the website in order to capture the visual elements, font choice, and color scheme. I collected fifteen samples from *Seventeen*’s website, selecting the first five stories from the first three pages of the online collections. The genre has proven to be very popular, and the magazine publishes special edition “Traumaramas” with themes such as “Spring Break” and “Prom.” For this study, I chose the more typical “Traumaramas” that are published regularly.

Linguistic Analysis: Defining “Traumaramas,” Explaining Their Appeal(s)

“Traumaramas” are meant to be informal stories that girls can relate to, as indicated by the introduction included in each issue: “These embarrassing moments from teens are so funny, you’ll laugh out loud (or cringe)! See if these girls have experienced some of the same traumatic moments as you. Plus, submit your own Trauma now!” (*Seventeen*). The introduction uses second person, you, to address readers and invite them to submit their own “Traumarama.” Doing so helps readers to view themselves as members of *Seventeen*’s discourse community. While *Seventeen* readers are urged to submit their own stories, the magazine serves as a gatekeeper of the embarrassing stories. To maintain the “Traumaramas” as a consistent genre and to help the genre fulfill its rhetorical purpose, *Seventeen* likely intervenes as an editor. Consequently, girls may internalize the rhetorical moves and genre patterns and begin to see their own embarrassing moments as “Traumaramas.” In any case, “Traumaramas” are a way of expressing embarrassing moments, and by writing or reading the stories, girls are interacting with *Seventeen*’s

discourse community. And as an established genre that shapes how girls view embarrassing moments, there are definite patterns in diction and conventions of the printed “Traumaramas.”

The “Traumaramas” use third person and abstract and concrete nouns to represent characters in the stories to allow readers to more easily situate themselves in the moment. *Crush* or *friend* is used in almost every story to represent relationships that this readership can imagine in their own lives. For this reason, the stories encourage girls to submit their own “Traumaramas” without hesitation, for no one will be able to track them back to their owner. Another trend throughout is the use of vocabulary reflecting a typical high school setting. Words such as *locker*, *dance*, *teacher*, *bleachers* and *desktop* appear frequently. Otherwise, diction is rather vague and simple throughout, and description is limited so that the stories can reach and appeal to the largest audience possible.

Seventeen is a playful magazine, as demonstrated by their use of vibrant colors, excessive use of exclamation points, and informal document design and text formatting. For example, the stories’ titles remain in all lowercase and feature playful sayings or short and sweet striking moments from the stories. In addition to contributing to the playful feel, exclamation points are used in every story to emphasize the most embarrassing moments and to draw attention to the climax (thus inciting the “cringe!” *Seventeen* hopes for).

The “Traumaramas” also appeal to the wider *Seventeen* audience in their use of slang, and more specifically their use of superlatives, such as *so* and *totally*, to draw attention to the trauma the girls reflect on. This discourse community views embarrassing moments as the end of the world. Although these stories commemorate disasters, the other playful elements help to make a forum girls feel comfortable and willing to share within.

Rhetorical Moves: Identifying How “Traumaramas” Accomplish Their Communicative Aim

Genres are typified responses to recurrent rhetorical situations (Bawarshi and Reiff 78). As responses to recurrent rhetorical situations, they “embody a community’s way of knowing, being and acting” (Bawarshi and Reiff 78). They establish and enforce relationships by allowing users to choose from options in order to accomplish their purpose in any given situation (Dean 13). Genre users consider options for communicating their own purpose within the situation, and the choices they make are shaped by the rhetorical moves—portions of a text that carry out specific purposes—that are essential for others to identify the genre (Dean 13-4, Swales 140). The moves work together to help a genre engage rhetorically in a situation by showing us the communicative purpose of the text and how it tries to accomplish the aim. Over time, certain moves become conventionalized within a genre and appear obligatory. Moves become conventionalized because genres normalize activities and give them some predictability (Bawarshi and Reiff 79). The information conveyed in these moves demonstrates the roles, settings, props, and language that shape a community (Gee 34). Further, rhetorical moves contribute to how genres reflect social interactions while also helping people to make sense of shared social experiences (Dean 11). The rhetorical moves vary in length and can be embedded within other rhetorical moves included in a larger text, and they all work together to help the genre interact with a social situation, accomplish its communicative aim, and normalize the social activity.

The rhetorical moves identified in Figure 2 are made in the vast majority of the “Traumaramas.” “[S]uper stalker” serves as prime example to illustrate them:

Moves 1 and 2: I was sitting at my house texting my crush, who was at work a block away from my house.

Move 3: I asked him to stop by because no one was home and he actually did! But he only sat down for a minute and left in a hurry.

FIGURE 1

"gym class fail." *Seventeen Magazine*

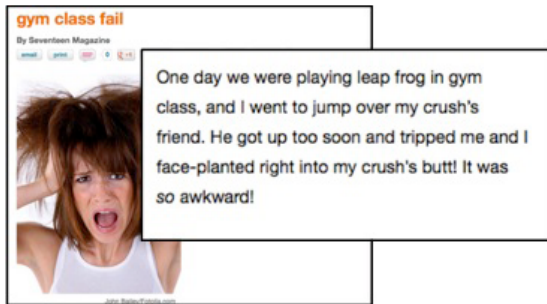


FIGURE 3

"super stalker." *Seventeen Magazine*



Move 4: I didn't know why and then after he left I realized I had his name written on my arm the whole time!

Move 5: I must have looked like a stalker!

Rhetorical moves one and two—establishing the setting and introducing the characters—are often accomplished at the same time. As one "Traumarama" details, "I was on the bus and this hot senior came and sat next to me" ("not-so-undercover"). When the setting of the embarrassing moment is small and familiar, such as a bench on a bus, the first two moves can be combined. When the setting is large, such as a basketball court in a high school gym, the writer typically spends more time describing their location so the reader can better visualize the setting. In every case, the setting and characters remain vague. To reemphasize, the setting is described generally with words

FIGURE 2

A chart of rhetorical moves made in "Traumaramas."

| RHETORICAL MOVE | DESCRIPTION |
|---|---|
| 1. Establishing setting/context | Describe the location and time, explain the writer's presence in/relation to the location, and briefly detail the emotions felt prior to the moment |
| 2. Introducing characters (often occurs in conjunction with the first move) | Explain the relationship of the writer to other characters in the story, provide short indications of their appearance and suggest how the writer values the other characters |
| 3. Detailing actions leading to embarrassing moment | Provide short chronological documentation of the actions preceding the embarrassing moment, often including explanation of spatial orientation to other characters |
| 4. Stating and emphasizing embarrassing moment | Provide the climax of the story in an exclamation |
| 5. Reflecting on embarrassing moment | Reemphasize the feelings felt in the moment and other characters' reactions; sometimes suggest a lesson learned by the writer |

such as school or gym. The characters are introduced with abstract or concrete nouns in order to make them more relatable, such as *crush* and *father*. By using these abstract and concrete nouns, the writer also moves to suggest how they value the other characters in the story. For instance, when the "Traumaramas" use *crush* to introduce an agent, it suggests that the writer thinks highly of this character and values their opinion. The short adjectives utilized in this move, such as *cute* and *hot*, accomplish a similar aim. Also, both of these moves serve to strengthen the writer's ethos as a member of the *Seventeen* discourse community.

The next rhetorical move, detailing the actions leading to the embarrassing moment, gives the reader a chronological documentation of the events that will help them to imagine and situate themselves in the story.

This move describes the writer's spatial orientation, which is frequently necessary to understand the coming embarrassing moment. Then, the embarrassing moment—the climax of the story—is stated in an exclamatory sentence to encourage the laughing-out-loud or cringe-inducing response *Seventeen* advocates. Finally, the writer ends by reflecting on the embarrassing moment with another exclamation about the “trauma” or some indication that they learned from the ordeal. The reflection move seems to help the writer and the readers release the anxiety felt in the moments. These rhetorical moves are found in most of the “Traumaramas” because the stories derive from similar social situations. The rhetorical moves also dictate how girls perceive these social situations. As explained by Aviva Freedman and Peter Medway, “Genres have come to be seen as typical ways of engaging rhetorically with recurring situations. The similarities in textual form and substance are seen as deriving from the similarity in the social action undertaken” (qtd. in Dean 9). The rhetorical moves in “Traumaramas” work together to reflect embarrassing moments and help girls to make sense of and define their shared social experiences and to see these embarrassing moments as traumas.

A Genre Network: Mapping the Genres, Discourses, and Forums of “Traumaramas”

The rhetorical moves in the “Traumaramas” help influence how girls perceive embarrassing moments. But to understand the entire social situation “Traumaramas” respond to, it is necessary to recognize how “Traumaramas” are located within and interact with other genres in the *Seventeen* forum, which can be mapped in a genre network. These interactions shape the “Traumaramas,” and the “Traumaramas” in turn shape other genres. Understanding these relationships is crucial to understanding the “Traumaramas” rhetorical functions. A genre network, as defined by Norman Fairclough, is “a particular configuration of genres in particular relationships to each other” (quoted in Berkenkotter). Further, mapping a genre network allows us to “characterize actors’ specific discursive practices in the context of chains of interrelated genres

that both constitute and are constituted by institutional practices” (Berkenkotter 327). The genre network, mapped in figure 4, illustrates the work of a discourse community, in this case, as it is manifested in the *Seventeen* magazine forum. Some of the genres carry out specific activities for multiple discourse communities, and many are embedded or recontextualized in *Seventeen*’s “Traumaramas.”

Mapping a genre network includes identifying antecedent genres that are recontextualized or appropriated in new rhetorical situations. Genres are historical because their development depends on antecedent or previous genres, for as Mikhail Bakhtin describes, “Any utterance is a link in a very complexly organized chain of other utterances” (quoted in Dean 15). Thus, an antecedent genre is a response to a situation that guides our current response (Dean 15). The blue bubbles in figure 4 identify possible antecedent genres to “Traumaramas.” Advice columns, for example, publicize personal hardships. Similarly, Facebook statuses are often used to lament embarrassing moments to a group of like-minded “friends” (just like the “Traumaramas”). While journal or diary entries are not usually public, they are an antecedent genre, for some girls write their embarrassing moments down in private before they are willing to share with a larger group. The blue bubbles in figure 4 are connected with a dotted arrow because they are not always antecedent genres, but can be.

The purple parentheses represent the *Seventeen* forum, which is one means of publication for the *Seventeen* discourse community. Inside the parentheses are other genres in the magazine that are structured similarly to the “Traumaramas.” As I found in an interview with a user of the genre, girls may be drawn to the shorter highlighted sections more than the longer articles, and may read these similarly structured features all in one sitting/reading (Krumrey). So, the other genres in the magazine could potentially influence how one perceives and understands the “Traumaramas” if the initial motivation for reading them is the same, and if they are all read within minutes of one another. Other magazine forums (located in purple

FIGURE 4

A genre network



blocks in figure 4) influence the *Seventeen* forum at large and the shorter genres within it. The content in these magazines is similar to that of *Seventeen*, and three of them also have (or had) embarrassing moment sections. Also, they contain similar shorter features that I suspect are read similarly to those I have identified in the *Seventeen* forum. The other genres in the magazine are connected with a double-ended arrow because magazines draw content and inspiration from one another to enhance competition and stay relevant.

Finally, the orange boxes, at the bottom of the network in figure 4, refer to discourses and ideologies that contribute to the magazine forum and specifically to the rhetorical moves made in the “Traumaramas.” All of the stories appear to be heteronormative (as is most of the magazine). Also, as made evident in the linguistic analysis, many of the stories take place in “normal” high school settings because they talk about school buses, lockers, gymnasiums and sporting events. I never came across a “Traumarama” that said anything about being in a chapel, for example, or one that mentioned riding a tractor to school. “Traumaramas” demonstrate an obsession with the opposite sex (as made evident by the frequent use of crush) as demonstrated in figure 5.

FIGURE 5

“romance gone wrong.” *Seventeen* Magazine



While not everyone in high school is obsessed with the other sex, the way a “typical” high school is portrayed in popular culture paints that picture and so does *Seventeen*. “Traumaramas” participate in a vanity discourse that represents vanity as an obsessive belief in one’s own abilities or attractiveness to others. The girls in the stories are obsessed with how they are perceived. And when they think they have done something to break a norm, they present it as a life-changing moment. Finally, discourses feed into genres and are also influenced by them—they solidify each other (Dean 11). Thus, heteronormative, “typical” high school and vanity discourses shape the *Seventeen* magazine forum while also being influenced by the forum.

Advice Column and “Traumaramas”: Controlling the Interpretation of Everyday Life

Because antecedent genres influence how new genres develop, it is important to understand how the advice column (see fig. 4) is a potential antecedent genre to *Seventeen*’s “Traumaramas” and thus guides the “Traumaramas” rhetorical and communicative aim, while serving a slightly different social purpose. In *Girl Talk: Adolescent Magazines and Their Readers*, Dawn H. Currie argues that advice columns frame questions “in terms of a ‘typical’ teenage girl, someone who the reader may

relate to" (169). In so doing, advice columns construct "an imaginary 'community of women' united by their commitment to feminine pursuits" and "a social world of feminine adolescence" (Currie 170). These columns, like "Traumaramas," also address what are considered typical or expected problems for teenage girls and represent the everyday preoccupations of the typical teen girl. By reading or writing to the advice pages of teenage advice columns, girls "are encouraged to judge themselves from the position of an absent 'other'" and to "orient towards traditional pursuits of vanity and heterosexual romance" (Currie 170). The vague and homogenized "Traumaramas" encourage girls to obsess over the display of the self and pursue traditional heterosexual romance.

Furthermore, as Angela McRobbie points out, "The advice column provides an open forum for an audience with little or no access to conventional therapeutic venues" (qtd. in Currie 163). McRobbie continues by claiming that the question-and-answer pages of teen magazines play an important social role: "It is listening and responding to a discourse which so far has found no other space" (qtd. in Currie 163). "Traumaramas" and advice columns are a way for girls to relate to others with similar problems, and to be consoled in doing so when identifying with the writer or the social situation described. However, advice columns equip readers with actual direction that could help them deal with their issues. Both genres suppose that girls need to relieve unhappiness or embarrassment with their everyday "agonies," but the advice column is more therapeutic because it presents not only a listener, but also someone willing to respond. Additionally, this response comes from an identifiable editor with a photo and a name: "In contrast to the anonymity of the reader, the editor is a specific and identifiable person" (Currie 200). Therefore, advice columns may be a more effective means for girls to materialize and make sense of their problems than "Traumaramas," which offer no advice or guidance regarding the embarrassing experiences. "Traumaramas" are submitted with no expectation of a response.

Nevertheless, both advice columns and "Traumaramas" construct the writer as an unknowing girl struggling to work through her problems, thereby allowing writers and readers to identify with the experiences. Both genres suggest that there are indeed prescribed ways in which girls in the imaginary "community of women" should deal with their dramas, serving as a way to homogenize and regulate what girls view as traumatic issues. "Traumaramas," in particular, suggest that everyday moments are indeed embarrassing and traumatic. As Currie explains, the social power of teen magazines is linked to their role as a "regulative, controlling mechanism which operates along the terrain of provision of knowledge in a culturally specific way which addresses women" (163). The publication of both genres controls how girls interpret the everyday and what girls constitute as dire situations and interactions. Both genres perpetuate a discourse of vanity: everyone is watching you all the time and judging you against an assumed set of social norms—social norms that teen magazine forums capitalize on as demonstrated through other texts and discourses such as that of heteronormativity. Advice provided in advice columns "corrects any potential transgression of prescriptive femininity by encouraging readers to conform to established behavioral codes and standards" (Currie 164). Because "Traumaramas" do not provide advice, the writer, or hypothetical girl subject, must subscribe to the discourse kit as demonstrated elsewhere in the magazine forum, which encourages them to adhere to a specific set of social norms.

Conclusion

In some ways, *Seventeen's* "Traumaramas" seem to help girls to share their traumatizing, dramatic, or embarrassing moments to move on and to achieve some sort of peace. At the same time, readers read the genre to feel better about similar instances and to relate to the discourse community at large. As the genre is anonymous and is published in a magazine with assumed like-minded thinkers, it is a safe way to move past the moments and relieve some

still sour feelings. Also, every “Traumarama” is clustered with other “Traumaramas” so that no single story seems like it could be the end of the world; that is, girls may take comfort in the sheer volume and regularity of the “Traumaramas,” suggesting that these experiences and feelings are ordinary. The linguistic features must tap into the language used throughout the discourse community in order for the genre to be relatable. Also, the genre is short and features a catchy title because, perhaps, members of the discourse community are drawn to this type of text as opposed to more developed editorials that are longer than the 75-125 word “Traumaramas” (Krumrey). However, the genre also restricts both the writers’ and the readers’ identities. The genres are influenced by and influence discourses of vanity, of typical high school experiences, and of heteronormativity. These discourses limit who will find the genre’s content and linguistic features relatable.

Further, a conflict exists between the genre’s rhetorical aims, the discourses that shape it, and the *Seventeen* magazine forum that publishes it. Although “Traumaramas” are meant as an emotional release, their very publication brings about feelings of embarrassment that girls need to be released from. By publishing these short stories, *Seventeen* implies that teenage girls should continue obsessing over how they are perceived by others. And despite the vague language of the stories and the seemingly common embarrassing moments they feature, “Traumaramas” are only privileging a portion of teenage girls—those that can relate to typical high school experiences and heteronormative discourses. Consequently, “Traumaramas” might work against their social purpose by alienating and confusing readers about how their embarrassing moments fit in with social norms and expectations—thus solidifying “Traumaramas” as a contradictory genre. ■

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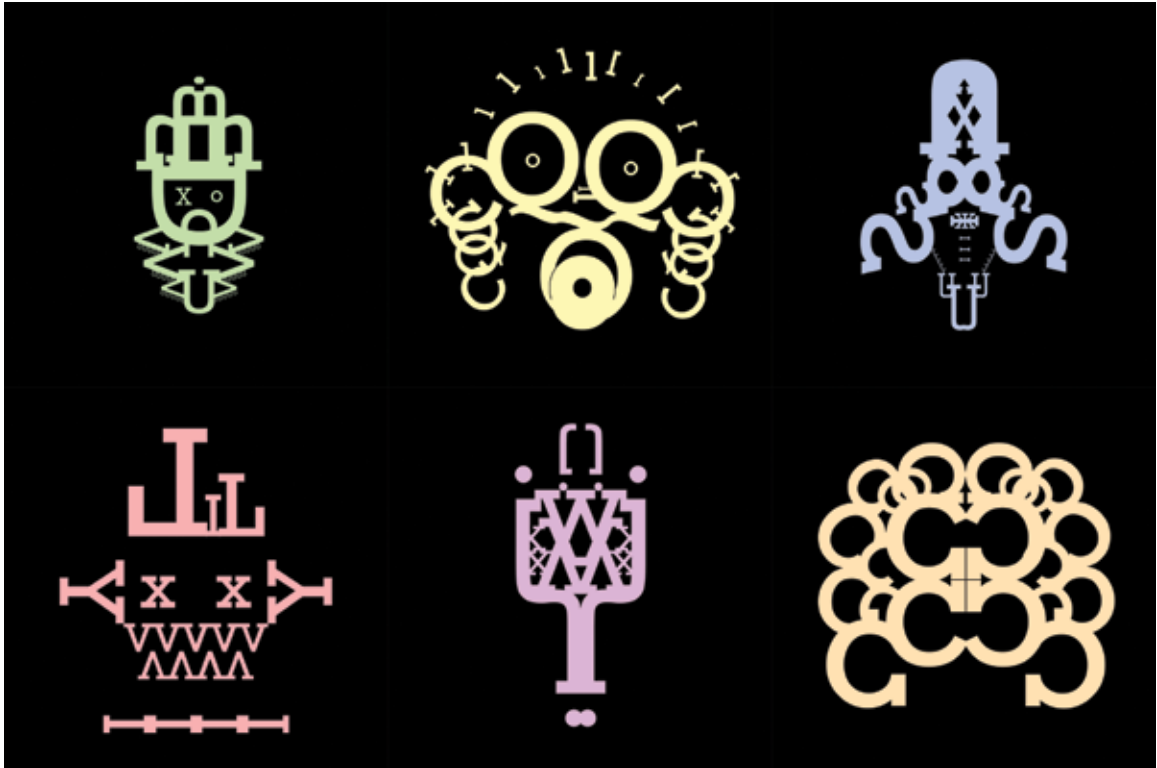
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